BARKING ABBEY. A STUDY IN ITS EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE DISSOLUTION.

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to trace the history of Barking Abbey from the Conquest to the Dissolution. In some respects it has proved a disappointing study, for though Barking was among the greatest and wealthiest nunneries of mediaeval England, many of its records have perished. There is no chronicle to tell its history, nor cartulary to show how its lands were acquired. Even the Valor Ecclesiasticus, which one takes for granted in the study of English monasticism, is lost for the county of Essex.

A considerable section of the thesis deals with the estates of the house and their administration. My chief source of evidence for this has been the court rolls of ten Essex manors, covering, though with many serious gaps, the years 1279 to 1539. These, together with a thirteenth century Domesdaye of Ingatestone and Bulphan, and a few compoti of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, have been used to show the methods employed by the abbess and her council to exploit the abbey lands, in accordance with prevailing economic tendencies.

The revenues from the estates were allocated to obedientiaries. By the sixteenth century, the main
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funds were administered by a treasury, from which four defective account books have survived. The cellaress and the office of pensions handled substantial revenues, as their surviving account books show.

Like most mediaeval monasteries, Barking owned a number of appropriated churches. It has been possible to trace the careers of a few of their vicars, especially when these owed their benefice to the king, for as a royal foundation Barking experienced in this, as in other demands, the effects of royal patronage. The abbey's relations with the outside world, and its franchisal rights have been discussed.

A fifteenth century ordinal throws considerable light on the liturgical life of the house. While the subject calls for treatment by a specialist, I could not completely ignore it.

Finally, the surrender of the abbey and the consequent dispersal of the nuns and of their estates have been treated.
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Plan of streets in the immediate vicinity of the abbey.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Bodl  Bodleian Library
Bn'  British Museum
Ch R  Calendar of Charter Rolls
CCL  Consistory Court of London
CChR  Calendar of Close Rolls
C Pap L  Calendar of Papal Letters
C Pap Pet  Calendar of Papal Petitions
CPR  Calendar of Patent Rolls
DNB  Dictionary of National Biography
EchFR  Economic History Review
EHR  English History Review
ER  Essex Review
ERO  Essex Record Office
FF Essex  Feet of Fines for Essex
LP  Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII
N:  New Series
MC  Chapters of the Black Monks (Pantin)
Lon  Monasticon Anglicanum (Dugdale)
MO  The Monastic Order in England (Knowles)
Ordinale  The Ordinale and Customary of the Nuns of Barkin, (Oldhurst)
PCC  Prerogative Court of Canterbury
<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
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<td>Rec Com</td>
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<td>VCH</td>
<td>Victoria County Histories</td>
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The contribution made by the nunneries to the religious life of mediaeval England is, for the most part, a subject still awaiting investigation. Apart from Eileen Tower's book, *Mediaeval English Nunneries* which appeared more than thirty years ago, *The Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell* edited by O. Hassall, and several valuable articles on individual houses written for the Victoria County Histories, the nunneries have not received the same attention as the men's houses. This is not surprising. Mediaeval nuns have not attracted the modern historian by their administrative ability. Very few of them have left chronicles to


3. Professor N. O. Wolf has remarked on this in his preface to *The Religious Orders in England* II (Cambridge, 1955).
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posterity. The vast majority of whom belonged to poor and insignificant priories, most of whose records have been lost.

There was, however, a small group of Benedictine houses, almost all lying in the South of England, which were larger and richer than the rest. Barking Abbey which forms the subject of this thesis, must be counted among these.

1. These may well have been, as for instance at Lacock, the work of chaplains, not of the nuns. A late fourteenth century cartulary of Thetford, deposited in the British Museum, contains in addition to grants of land, a narrative history of the abbey down to 1261. There is also in the British Museum a document containing a narrative account in French of the foundation of Crabhouse Priory, written in a series of thirteenth and fourteenth century hands, apparently for instructional purposes, and a late fifteenth century annalistic account in English of building work carried out at the priory. Both documents are catalogued by G. R. C. Davis in Mediaeval Cartularies of Great Britain (London, 1958), 33, 113.
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The abbey attracted the attention of the eighteenth century antiquarian, Émile Lethiéulier, who excavated its site, and in 1759 wrote its history. Lethiéulier was a scholar of some repute, and though he does not always give the sources of his information, where he can be checked, for instance in the Patent Rolls, he is reliable. The only other works on the subject, apart from the VCH, Essex, are two small books, one entitled *A History of Barking Abbey* by E. A. Loftus and H. F. Chettle, and the other, dealing exclusively with the foundation charters, *The Early Charters of Barking Abbey*, by C. Hart.

In this thesis I have found myself hampered by many gaps in the evidence. For instance, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* for the county of Essex has been lost, and

1. The original ms. is in the possession of Sir Estrow Hulse of Breamore, Hants. There is a photostat copy in Dagenham Public Library.

2. There is a short article on him in *DNB*, XI, 1011.


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though the gross income of the house can be obtained from the Liber Regis, this document lacks the details contained in the commissioners' returns. More serious still are the many gaps in the unprinted primary sources, which frequently make it impossible to arrive at satisfactory conclusions. As a result, this study ranges perforce over many scattered details, whose relations to one another have often been lost. They may be gathered together under the following headings:

I. Documents concerning the estates and their external administration.

II. Documents concerning the churches of which the house possessed the advowson, or which it had appropriated.

III. Documents illustrating the franchisal rights enjoyed by the house.

IV. Documents illustrating internal administration.

V. Documents concerned with the liturgical life of the house.

VI. Documents illustrating royal patronage.

VII. Documents illustrating the social connections of the house and its place in society.

VIII. The dissolution records.
I. Documents concerning the estates and their external administration.

The bulk of the abbey's lands had already been acquired by the time that Domesday was compiled. The Great Survey, therefore, has been taken as the starting point of my investigation, though a handful of Anglo-Saxon charters must be mentioned because of the light they throw on the origins of the estates. No cartulary has survived, and very few post-Conquest deeds. These, to the number of perhaps fifty, deposited in the Essex Record Office, relate almost entirely to the manor of Ingatestone. Hence it is difficult to build up anything like a complete picture of the growth of the property, at least earlier than the Statute of Mortmain. After 1279, the Patent Rolls begin to yield some useful information, especially about the property in Barking.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, a complete survey of the abbey's lands, called a Domesdaye, was drawn up. Unfortunately, only the section dealing with Ingatestone remains, and is deposited in the Essex record Office. The section, however, describing

1. D/DP T 1,2,2.
2. D/DP 115C.
Buiphan has survived in a fifteenth century copy, which is attached to a court roll of the manor, though it bears no relation to it. In both sections, the lands held by tenants are given, together with the rents and services they owed to the abbey. The only other survey comparable to the Domesdaye is a rental of the manor of Barkings for the year 1456, which may also have formed part of a complete statement, now lost, of the abbey lands. Other rentals compiled in the fifteenth century were lost through the carelessness of local rent collectors. No trace remains of a "great rental" said by Smart Lethieullier to have been compiled before the dissolution, under the chief steward, the Earl of Oxford.

1. ERO, D/DSg M3 m.3.
2. The original is B, Add. Ms. 45387. It has been edited by J. L. Oxley in Barking and District Arch. Soc. Trans., 1936-7.
The most complete series of documents are the court rolls of the manors of Essex. These were saved in the general dispersal of the abbey's records at the time of the dissolution through the manor of Ingatestone passing to Sir William Petre, and they are now deposited in the Essex Record Office. The following tables show the distribution of the rolls. It will be seen that, though a large number has survived, the only manor with anything like a continuous series is Ingatestone. The value of all the court rolls is lessened by their becoming more formalised just at the period when they began to be representative of all the Essex manors. There are no court rolls for the abbey's property outside Essex.

There are very few comptus rolls. The manor of Dagenham and Vestbury has two reeve's account rolls for

1. A seventeenth century document in the Petre archives contains the following endorsement: "Reasons why no more court rolls of ancient times. These lands were the Abbess of Barking's and came to King Henry VIII by dissolution, and so the court rolls coming into many hands were scattered. Also divers that did come to the hands of the last Lord Petre were burnt with divers other evidences in the burning of my lord's house at Thorndon." ERO, D/DP M177.
## Court Rolls 1279 - 1469

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1. ERQ, D/DP II-54.
2. Ibid. D/Dsg II-4.
3. Ibid. D/DP I’l 7. There are also a number of meagre sixteenth century extracts of court rolls, covering the years 1349 to 1470. ERQ, S.C.2 171/22.
4. The court rolls of Bulphan are complete for the years 1379 to 1399.
### Court Rolls of "Forinæc" Manors 1470-1539

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the years 1321-2 and 1376-7, both deposited in the Public Record Office. The rent collectors' rolls of six manors, Great Warley, Bulphan, Mucking, Hockley, Ingatestone and Great Wigborough for the year 1440-1 are also in the Public Record Office.

II. Documents concerning the churches of which the house possessed the advowson or which it had appropriated.

The registers of the Bishops of London have been consulted in this connection. Several registers of the fourteenth century have been printed. The others, from Robert Braybrook's (consecrated in 1381) to Cuthbert Tunstall's (translated in 1530) are deposited in the Guildhall Library. Though the registers afford no illustration of the "ordination of vicarages" in any of the abbey's churches, they show the induction of the vicars presented by the house. It is to the printed

1. S.C. 6 849/11, 12.
2. Ibid. 849/4.
4. SR 34.8 9531/3-4; SR 97.1 9531/5-11.
calendars of Patent Rolls and the Papal Registers that one must go to see the abbey appropriating the churches of which it already possessed the advowson.

III. Documents illustrating the franchisal rights enjoyed by the house.

The calendar of Charter Rolls and the court rolls of the manors have been used for this chapter of the thesis.

IV. Documents illustrating internal administration.

There are no complete household accounts, but internal administration during the sixteenth century can be illustrated from a number of documents deposited in the Public Record Office. They are as follows:

(a) Four defective account rolls of what seems to have been a treasury. One, bearing the heading, "The account of William Pownsett, Receiver of the monastery", and dated 1537-38, contains the receipts from twelve manors but no expenditure. A second, of which the heading and first entries are lost, gives some expenses

1. S.C.6 H VIII/930.
2. Ibid. H VIII/929/2.
and also the sum total of the receipts, together with the date 1535-36. In addition, there are considerable sections of two "books of repairs and expenses". They are dated in the PRO Lists and Indexes as "temp. H. VI", but from internal evidence such as the names of "farmers" and of the manors and officials of the house, they belong to the same period and office as the two accounts just mentioned.

(b) The account rolls of the last cellaress of the abbey from 1534 to the dissolution. There are also two defective visus compoti of the same obedientiary, dated 1516 and 1525, and the first membrane of her rent-collector's roll for 1525-26, showing the rents she received from property in Barking and London. One membrane of what appears to have been a daily account book, showing her expenditure for each day of the week, has been attached to a fifteenth century court roll of Ingatestone. It is too badly worn to be of much use.

1. E 101,458·7, 542·2.
2. S.C.6 H VIII/929.
3. Ibid. H VIII/927/2.
4. Ibid.
5. ERO, D/DP M61.
The organisation of this important office can be further illustrated from a document entitled "The Charthe longyne to the office of the celeresse", deposited in the British Museum and printed in Dugdale's Monasticon.

(c) The account rolls of the office of pensions, which are complete for the years 1507 to 1539.

The records of these different departments coincide in time, but they frequently lack the details which earlier account rolls might have provided. On the other hand, they help to some extent to compensate for the loss of the Valor Ecclesiasticus.

V. Documents concerned with the liturgical life of the house.

The most complete picture of the liturgical life of Barking, and indeed of any English mediaeval nunnery, is contained in an early fifteenth century ordinal and customary deposited in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by J. B. L. Tolhurst under the title, The Ordinale and Customary of

1. Cott. Julii D VIII.
4. MS. Univ. Coll. 169.
the Nuns of Barking. It is further supplemented by a number of folios from different fifteenth century service books, which have been assembled together in one volume, and are now deposited in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The register of John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, recording the visitation of 1279, has also yielded important evidence concerning the liturgical life of the house.

VI. Documents illustrating royal patronage.

The exercise of the king's regalian rights over the abbey as a royal foundation has been illustrated from the Patent and Close Rolls, and from the bishops' registers.

VII. Documents illustrating the social connections of the house and its place in society.

Wills have proved an enlightening source of information, especially the unprinted ones of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, deposited in Somerset

1. Vols. Lxv, Lxvi (1927-28). The pages of the printed edition are quoted throughout this thesis, though the original has been consulted.

2. M6. 0.3.54.

House, and of the Consistory Court of London, deposited in the County Hall, London. Further examples occur in printed collections.

VIII. The dissolution records include:--

(a) A Minister's account of the manor of Barking,\(^1\) drawn up in 1540, together with a less detailed account of all the estates, dated 1544 and printed by Dugdale.\(^2\)

(b) The evidence for the dispersal of the abbey estates in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*.\(^3\)

(c) A list of debts of the house.\(^4\)

(d) The accounts for the demolition of the abbey buildings, 1540-1.\(^5\)

(e) The will of the last abbess.\(^5\)

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1. PRO, S.C.6 964.
5. PCC, 24 Chaynay. See Appendix III.
CHAPTER I

THE ESTATES

While this thesis makes no attempt to penetrate into the period before the Norman Conquest, a small number of Anglo-Saxon charters must be mentioned because of the light they help to throw on the origins of the Barking estates. The first is the earliest extant East Saxon charter. Though it is not considered today to be the original, it is generally believed to be a copy made not later than a hundred years after the foundation of the house. It was granted by a certain OEōilred or Ethelred, who cannot now be identified. It seems most likely that he was an East Saxon of some importance.

OEōilred gave to the nuns and to their abbess Ethelburga, "to augment your monastery of Beddanhaam,


the land which is called Rqingahaam, Budinhaam, Deccan-
haam, Angelesbeshaam and the open country called
Widmundesfelt within the forest." The only place-name
here which can be identified with certainty is Deccan-
haam which became Dagenham, but the other settlements
must have been in the same area. Barking is not mentioned
in the text of the charter. The name Barking is one of
those plural names in eng which often designate a region
rather than a single settlement. This very extensive
grant may have caused the monastery of Beddanhaani to
be known henceforth as Barking, with the consequent
loss of the name Beddanhaam.

The charter continues, "and their bounds enclose
together forty hides, with all that belongs to them,
with fields, woodland, meadows and marsh." The Old
English hide is a term, to use Stenton's phrase, "of
elusive meaning", whose equivalent in real acreage

1. Whitelock, op. cit., 446. A similar explanation
is given in Skwall, English Place-Names in Ing.
The Venerable Bede calls it Berecingum.
The older name may already have died out by
his time. The Berecingas were "the dwellers
by the birch trees". P.H. Reaney, 'The
face of Essex, a Study in Place-Names' in
BR, Lvi (1949), 10.

cannot be accurately assessed. Hence it is impossible to calculate how extensive Qdilred's grant was.

While the southern boundary of the grant is fixed by the phrase Flu en Tamisia, that to the north, "Centinces tricos and then Hemetede" cannot be so easily defined. It probably lay north of the Ro an road to Colchester, in the forest known lat r as Yneholt or Henholt, an today as Hainault. On the east, the boundary is called "ritolaburna". 

In etymological grounds, this may have been the River id on which Whittle now stands. It would explain the possession of Incatestone by the house, without necessarily including the hole area as for e t as the "id. It seems more likely, however, that the "ritolaburna" was a river much near r B rking, namely the Beam, for which the old name is the Mar or the Marks-dic, i.e. the boundary ditch. It would al bring the boundary of the grant mor int line ith t at which existed in later times.

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1. The origin l na e of th forest was highne holt, meaning "com unity (i.e. mon stic) wood." The modern spelling arose from a fictitious connection with hilippa of Hainault. P. H. Reaney. The Place Names of ssex (Cambridge, 1935).

2. Hart, o., cit., 38.
between the manor of Barking and the royal manor of Havering. In any case, though the exact boundaries cannot be fixed, the grant must have covered an extensive area, thinly populated, and bounded by thick forest to the north and by marshes to the south, which could not be easily defined at so early a date. It was the first substantial grant made to the house, which turned it from an obscure community into the important abbey it became. Hence it may rightly be regarded as the foundation charter.

OEdilred, however, was not the founder of Barking. This title was held by Erkonwald, Bishop of London, who established the house for his sister, Ethelburga, the first abbess. There exists today a sixteenth century copy of a charter, dated 687, which purports

2. It was transcribed by John Joscelyn, one of the earliest Anglo-Saxon scholars, and is preserved in BM, Cott. Vesp. A. IX, fos. 112-3. According to Smart Lethieullier, the original was lost in the fire in the Cottonian Library. op. cit., I, 27.
3. It has been shown by C. Hart that the year 695, which is usually assigned to the Charter, is the result of a misreading by antiquarians, like Weever, Dodsworth and Smart Lethieullier. op. cit., 11.
to be from Erkonwald to Barking. The authenticity of this charter is doubtful, but its fabricator clearly had access to genuine early material, including OEdilred's charter. Such a fabrication of its early charters by a religious house could be made without its necessarily implying forgery, for the new documents repeated in substance what had frequently been lost in, for instance, the disruption caused by the Danish invasions. In the case of Erkonwald's charter, the land endowments which it recites appear for the most part to be genuine.

The pancarta of Erkonwald contains eight grants of land made to the house. It repeats the gift of OEdIlred already described, but increases the area granted to seventy five manentes. It also speaks of forty cassatae called Berecingas and Beddanhasm, given by King Suifrid, i.e. Suebred, son of Sebbi, King of Essex. There is probably confusion here on the part


2. Manentes and cassatae are taken by C. Hart to be the equivalent of the Old English term, "hide". The Early Charters of Barking Abbey, 16. Miss Whitelock also translates manentes by "hides". op. cit., 447.
of the fabricator, and there may in fact have been only one grant, that made by OE
dilred.

OE
dilred is also said to have bestowed on the house ten hides called Cel
ta. This was the name of a stream which runs through Childerditch, and on to which abutted the lands of Bulphan and Great Warley. Domes
day shows that the abbey possessed both of these manors before the Norman Conquest.

Erkonwald's charter also speaks of donations at Erith and Swanscombe in Kent, made by King Ethelred of Mercia and his brother Wulfhere. Both grants had been lost by Domes
day. The ten manentes super vicum Londoniae also given by Wulfhere probably explain the twenty eight houses and the moiety of the church of All Hallows Barking, near the Tower, described in Domes
day as belonging to Barking in the Saxon period.

2. Ibid.
3. VCH, Essex, I, 448,449.
4. Ibid. 448.
Finally, Erkonwald's charter speaks of a donation by King Ceadwalla of Mercia, of land at Battersea, in Surrey. That this was a genuine grant of land is suggested by the fact that the spurious eleventh century "Battersea Charter" of Westminster Abbey, which the monks claimed to have been given them in 693 has several witnesses identical with those of Ædilred's charter.\(^1\)

The period of prosperity following the foundation of Barking was succeeded by the destruction brought on by the Scandinavian invasions of the ninth century, when regular monastic life died out in this country.\(^2\) It was King Edgar who "with royal munificence" restored the house to its former position, though there is no definite evidence to show that he bestowed land upon it. The second part of the tenth century saw the rapid expansion of the Old English monastic foundations, through the gifts of pious benefactors, and it is to be expected that so important a nunnery as Barking would benefit from their generosity. Among the benefactors


2. ibid., 32.

3. Ibid. 59, 66.
of the house were Aelfgar, Ealdorman of Essex, and his two daughters, Aethflaed, who married King Edmund, and Aelflæd, wife of Brihtnoth the Ealdorman. From them, Barking received Woodham and Baythorn, but both had been lost by 1086.

All the abbey's Essex manors, namely, Abbess Roding, Bulphan, Great Warley, Great Wigborough, Hockley, Ingatestone, Mucking, Stifford and Tollesbury were acquired at some date preceding the Conquest, though by what means it is impossible, for the most part, to say. In 1212, the Book of Fees describes Great Warley, as being held by Barking "in alms, but it is not known by whose gift." In 1242, Slatton in Buckinghamshire and Lidlington in Bedfordshire were said to be

1. Brihtnoth was a benefactor of several religious houses. For his gifts to Ely, see E. Miller, The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely (Cambridge, 1951), 22; and to Christ Church, see J. F. Nichols, Custodia Essexae (unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1930), 7.


3. 122.
held "in elemosina domini regis", while Tollesbury and Great Wigborough were described in 1373 as "gifts of the king's progenitors." All were among the pre-Conquest estates of the house. Land in Weston, in Surrey, and the manor of Tyburn in Middlesex are said in Domesday to have "always belonged" to Barking, an indication that they also were possessed before 1066.

It is clear from Domesday that the house suffered several petty encroachments on its lands as a result of the Norman Conquest. Thirty acres were taken from Stifford by William de Warenne, "pro escangio ut ipse dicit", to add to his neighbouring property at Aveley. Thurold of Rochester, one of the great under-tenants of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, who acquired much land by lawless aggression, encroached on Mucking and took thirty acres. The loss of Battersea to

1. Book of Fees, 877.
2. CPR, 1370-1374, 264.
3. VCH, Surrey, I, 311.
4. VCH, Essex, I, 449.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. 448.
Westminster Abbey has already been mentioned. To this must be added the manor of South Benfleet, "which used to belong to the Church of St. Wary (i.e. Barkin") in King Edward's time but King William gave the church with the land to St. Peter of Westminster." 

Perhaps the most serious loss to the abbey, though it proved to be temporary, was that of the manor of Abbess Roding. Its fate at the Conquest also provides an illustration of the distinction which was drawn between personal commendation on the part of the holder of land and right over the land. At some time before the Conquest, the manor was held of the abbey by a tenant who also became the "man" of the prominent Essex landowner, Ansgar the "Staller". This gave him no right to dispose of the land "away from the abbey". Ansgar, however, was dispossessed of his estates by Geoffrey de Mandeville, and for a time Abbess Roding also fell into Geoffrey's hands.

1. See above, p.30.
2. VCH, Essex, I, 444.
3. Ibid. 505.
Difficulties also arose at Tollesbury where the Essex thegn Siward was dispossessed of the holding of a hide by the Norman, Ranulf Peverel. The Abbess claimed that this land was held in demesne, de victu ecclesiae, and she refused to allow Ranulf to hold it by the same service as his predecessor; "ipse vult facere tale servitium quale suus antecessor fecit, sed abbatissa non vult quia erat de victu ecclesiae." It is impossible to tell what servitium had been rendered to the abbey by the Englishman, Siward. He may have held the hide as "thegnland", granted out of the abbey's demesne, which could not be alienated, whereas the Norman Ranulf may have been seeking to carve out a knight's fee for himself.

1. VCH, Essex, I, 449.

2. The process of change in the estates of Ely abbey brought about by the Norman settlement, in which "thegnlands" were involved, is discussed in Miller, op. cit., Ch. III. The Ely estates were, of course, much vaster than those of Barking.
Tollesbury also suffered the loss of ten acres through the encroachment of another neighbour, Odo, the tenant of Suain of Tolleshunt.

Nevertheless, by the time Domesday Book was compiled, Barking was in possession of its most valuable estates, which it was to retain until the dissolution. The adjoining table gives a summary of them, as they were assessed in the Survey. It indicates the relative value, in hidage, stock and money, of the different parts of the estates. It also shows two important geographical features of the Essex manors, namely, the marsh, indicated by the expression "pasture for sheep", and the forest indicated as "woodland for swine". The extensive area of marsh and woodland on the same manor, for instance at Tollesbury and at Mucking, illustrates how rapidly the marsh merged into scrubland, with very little cultivated land between.

1. VCH, Essex, loc. cit.
2. See Map, p.42.
### The Barking Estates in Domesday

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<th>&quot;Fas-land&quot;</th>
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<th>Stock for Figs</th>
<th>Stock for Sheep</th>
<th>Stock for Swine</th>
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<th>Value £. s. d.</th>
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2. Dagenham does not appear in Domesday, but it must have been included with Barking.

3. This was its valuation by an English jury. It was considered by the Normans to be worth £100.
The abbey's gross income in Domesday (presented here with the caution necessary in quoting Domesday statistics) was about £162. 19s. 8d. This figure placed Barking third in wealth among the eight nunneries which then existed, Shaftesbury with £234. 5s. 0d. and Nilton with £246 alone surpassing it. Though Barking's income in 1086 was small in comparison with that of some great black monk houses like Glastonbury, Ely and Christ Church, Canterbury, it was greater than that of many monasteries.

The next occasion when a general assessment of the abbey's temporalities can be found is in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas of 1291. They were then valued at £300. 13s. 2d. The intervening two hundred years since Domesday had seen a gradual extension and development of those estates which the house possessed in 1086, and the acquisition of new property. Thus, the

manor of Ingatestone, which was one of the smaller and less valuable parts of the estates in 1086, had risen by 1291 to the first place in importance after Barking itself, and was now assessed at £30. 14s. 11½d. The outlying hamlet of Handley had been quitclaimed to the abbess Maud, daughter of Henry II, by William de Vesci. Grants of land in Ingatestone itself had also been made to the house by the son of William the Dispenser, an official of the abbey, and by Theobald de Helles.

The same expansion can be traced in other parts of the estates. The property in Surrey was augmented by three hides and a virgate of land in Weston and a hide in Mitcham, both of which were granted to the house by Edward, the servant of Matilda, wife of King Stephen.

1. Ingatestone was known variously as In-gat-Stone or ad petram or Ing-Abbezz, to distinguish it from the other "ings" of the neighbourhood, Fræning, Margaretting and Mountnessing.


3. ERO, D/DP T1/A694.

4. Ibid. D/DPZ 16/6.

5. Ibid. D/DP T1/A1587.

In 1207 the nuns also obtained from Theobald de Helles a virgate of land in Wigborough, while in 1239 they came into possession of a hide of land in Horndon.

Moreover, the same process of expansion continued throughout the fourteenth century, when grants of land, often considerable in extent, were still bestowed on the house. Much of this newly acquired property was in Barking itself. Thus, in 1308, Gilbert de la Nye, the rector of Abbess Roding, obtained a licence to give the house two hundred acres of land and an annual rent of 40s. In the middle decades of the century, arable land up to one hundred and fifty two acres, as well as meadow land, woodland and three messuages were added to the manor. They were the gifts of various grantees like Sir John Sutton of Wivenhoe and John Bampton, the Judge.

One of the greatest benefactors of the house in the fourteenth century was Joan Felton, the mother of the abbess, Sybil Felton. In 1398, she bestowed on the

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1. **FT Essex**, I, 35.
2. **Ibid.** 124.
4. **Ibid.** 1258-1271, 57; 1364-1367, 291.
nuns, in addition to seventeen houses in the parishes of St. Olaf, Old Jewry and St. Mary, Staining Lane in London, eleven messuages, two hundred and nineteen acres of land and a rent of 2s. 3½d. in Barking and 1 Dagenham.

In all, the property in Barking was increased in the fourteenth century by about a thousand acres of arable land, fifty six acres of meadow, thirty three acres of woodland and fifty five of marsh. In addition, lands and rents to the value of £20 a year were given 2 by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, whose sister, Agnes de Valence, held the manor of Valence in Barking from the abbess.

Elsewhere, two other valuable pieces of property were acquired in the fourteenth century. The manor of Cockermouth, abutting on Dagenham marsh, was given 3 in 1330 by the royal clerk, John de Cockermouth. It consisted of a messuage, one hundred and forty acres of arable land, thirty acres of meadow, twenty five of pasture, eight of woodland and 70s. rent. Further away,

1. CPR, 1396-1399, 353.
2. Ibid. 1307-1313, 507.
ESSEX ESTATES OF BARKING ABBEY

(geological features of manors shaded)
at Lidlington, the property was increased in 1359, through the grant by a certain Master Edmund de Morteyn of four messuages, one hundred and five acres of arable land, twelve acres of meadow and 18½d. rent. No fresh grants of land were made to the house in the fifteenth century.

The methods which the abbey adopted to exploit its lands depended to a considerable degree on the physiognomy of the different manors which showed marked variations, caused by geological differences. Hence, before attempting to trace the "estate policy" of the house, something must be said on the geological aspect of its possessions, especially in Essex.

The Essex estates of the abbey, lay at the eastern end of the geological area known as the London

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2. See adjoining map.
This basin of London Clay, which underlies South and East Essex, gives rise to low-lying country, with heavy ill-drained soil, which is hard to work and liable to extremes of flooding and drought. The whole region, however, is not uniformly flat and unattractive. Local variations in the soil, caused by coverings of glacial drift, have brought about differences in landscape and vegetation which have affected the economy of the different areas.

Barking itself, with Ilford and Dagenham which in mediaeval times formed part of it, together with its subsidiary manors of Westbury, Eastbury, Newbury, Gaysham Hall and Loxford, stood on the Flood Plain Terrace, i.e.

the lowest terrace of gravel along the valley of the Thames which widens out here for about four miles to the north of the river. Covered with deposits of loam or brick earth, this was one of the richest and most easily worked areas of the London Basin, with a soil favourable for ploughing from the earliest times. Moreover, it possessed the great advantage of dryness and firmness of surface, together with readily available supplies of water from springs and wells, and hence was an obvious place of settlement and exploitation.

The manor of Abbess Roding was in an equally fertile region, though for a different reason. It lay in the centre of the county, in the rich wheatlands of the Rodings where chalky boulder clay rested upon and lightened the heavy London clay.

Below the gravel terrace on which Barking stood, an alluvial tract of marshland stretched along the estuary of the Thames and up the coast of Essex, as far north as the River Stour. It took in the marshes of Barkings, Dagenham and Mucking and the coastal strip of Tollesbury and Great Wigborough, which from the time of Domesday formed rich pasture land, especially for flocks of sheep.
Four of Barking's manors, Bulphan, Hockley, Great Warley and Great Wigborough, as well as the extreme north of the manor of Barking, lay on the London Clay Plain, between the belt of alluvium along the Thames and the glacial drifts to the north of the county. Much of the abbey property belonging to Tollesbury also lay on London clay, though Tollesbury itself stood on a deposit of sand and gravel. Ingatestone was situated at the place where the boulder clay which characterises the north of the county begins to rest on London clay, and where deposits of Bagshot Sand raise the level of the land to a height of some three hundred feet. Throughout mediæval times, all these manors were thickly wooded with oak, ash, elm and hornbeam, though where the forest had been cleared, considerable cultivation was carried on.

Three different types of land are therefore found in varying degrees on the abbey's estates, (a) arable land, (b) marsh, (c) forest. Each made a valuable contribution towards the revenues of the house. In addition there existed other sources of income, which will be treated separately.
(a) The Arable Land.

Essex has always been regarded as a county of enclosures. Writing in the sixteenth century, John Hales described it as one of those counties "where most Inclosures be." In our own day, H. L. Gray, in his work, *English Field Systems*, regards it likewise as a county of enclosures, except for the north-west corner where he finds affinities with the open-field system of Hertfordshire. The evidence, however, from mediaeval deeds has shown that though piece-meal enclosure was at work as early as the thirteenth century, the open fields did nevertheless exist in many parts of the county.

One of the signs of open-field farming is the presence of holdings of tenants scattered in small strips.


2. 387–394.

3. C. S. and C. S. Orwin, *The Open Fields* (Oxford, 1954), 68. G. Slater considers that "though much of Essex might have been ancient woodland, and have been enclosed directly from that condition, the primitive village community of Essex was approximately of the same type as that of central England." *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields* (London, 1907), 215.
through the fields. This strip system cannot be discerned on the Barking manors. The thirteenth century Domesday of Ingatestone and Bulp an gives the holdings of the tenants, but since it is concerned with the rents, dues and services which they owed to the abbey, it does not describe where or how they were situated. The first folio of the section belonging to Ingatestone has entries of tenants and their strips belonging to another manor which clearly refer to an open-field pattern, but they are too few to identify and may refer to a manor outside Essex.

1. Orwin, op. cit., 64.
2. See above, p. 11-12.
3. They are as follows:

Henricus Haciam ibidem iij acras dimiciam.
Stephanus Roster in Tronkelmeshoxe iij acr. i rod.
Adam Tropinsa ibidem ij acram dimidiam.
Ricardus Domyn in Estfela vij acr. i rod.
Benedictus faber ibicem iij rod.
Ricardus piscator in Southfeld ij acras.
Wilhelmus Cok iiiij acr. iiij rod.

LRO, D/DP M150, fo. 79.
If there is nothing to indicate the presence of large open fields divided into strips, there is evidence of a three-course rotation of crops. Under the three-field system of agriculture, the field which had been lying fallow during the summer was ploughed early in the autumn and sown with winter corn (wheat or rye). In the spring, the stubble of the field on which the last crop of wheat had been grown was ploughed up, and this field was then sown with barley or oats. This cropping of the land is apparent in an early thirteenth century lease of Ingatestone. Seventy acres of the demesne were then sown with wheat, one hundred with oats, ten with rye, six with barley and four with legumes. The same arrangement is found in leases a hundred years later. In 1341, the demesne lands were divided into three courses as follows:—sixty acres of wheat, ninety eight acres of oats and eighty acres of fallow land.

1. ERO, D/DP T 1/A1589. A three-field system of agriculture existed on all the Essex manors of Christ Church, Canterbury. Nichols, op. cit., 294.

2. ERO, D/DP b14 m.4.
In 1369, wheat and oats were grown in equal proportions of about one hundred and twenty acres, and another ten acres were sown with peas. The lessee had not only to restore the land at the expiration of the lease, sown with the same crops, but he had also to return "seisona yemalis bene warectata et rebinata." This is the usual expression for the fallow land, ploughed and ready for sowing.

There is nothing here to show whether the demesne lands were in strips in the open fields, or whether they were enclosed. The large areas of woodland in the district would have prevented open fields on a wide scale, though the original arable land of the abbey may have been unenclosed and side by side with that of the tenants. The land which the house asserted in the thirteenth century was enclosed, but this was the normal

1. ERO, D/DP M21 m.2. The same words are used in a fourteenth century lease of the land at Hawkbury, in the proportion of sixteen acres of wheat and of oats, and nine acres of fallow. Ibid. D/D5g M1. They occur in a twelfth century lease of the Essex manor of Nestock, belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral. The Domesday of St. Paul's 1222 (ed. W. H. Hale, Camden Society, 1838), 133.

2. See below, p. 96.
practice with assarted land. Certainly by the fifteenth century, much of the demesne land was enclosed. In 1466, when the abbey leased "Millfield" measuring thirty acres, the lessee undertook to keep it "sufficiently enclosed". The other fields, called Boxholt and Rongtre', were enclosed and sown with grain, for through the carelessness of the lessees, the fences of pales and brushwood fell into disrepair, so that the crops were trampled down and eaten by the neighbours' animals.

The frequency with which crofts belonging to tenants are mentioned on the court rolls after the beginning of the fourteenth century reveals the process of enclosure at work. In 1323, one tenant leased to another "thirteen acres of land of which three lie in a croft called horncroft and ten in a certain croft near sawhalecroft", but at the same time he also leased

1. ERO, D/DP M52.
2. Ibid. M48 m.2d. The word clausturas, meaning small enclosures of pales and brushwood is found in the records of Christ Church, Canterbury, which deal with the Essex Custody of the Priory. Nichols, op. cit., 268.
3. ERO, D/DP 19 m.1.
to the same man ten acres "in the field called grosfeld" which sounds as if it was unenclosed. Another field called "sevenaker" belonging to a tenant was enclosed with hedges and ditches, but at the same time there was a holding of six acres in five separate parcels, between the lands of the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem and the road to London.

The termination of field names in "redene" indicates holdings assarted and enclosed in the woodland area. Thus, we find Squalebrookredene, seven acres in extent, held by the Prior of Blackmore from the abbey in the thirteenth century, and also Le Redene containing twelve and a half acres, and Parkredene.

A feature of open-field farming was grazing-rights, exercised in common in the arable fields after the

1. ERO, D/DP 114 m.4.
2. Ibid. M75 m.1.
3. Ibid. 1150 fo.79.
4. Ibid. 135.
5. It was held on a forty year lease at 20s. a year rent in the middle of the fifteenth century. In0, S.C.6 849/4.
gathering in of the harvest. This right was granted to the tenants of Bulpham at least in the thirteenth century, when all who paid a rent of a duck and a cock might graze their animals in the lady's fields from harvest time until the feast of the Purification.

At Abbess hodyng, a similar arrangement applied as late as 1417, not to the arable fields but to pasture land. It belonged to the abbey from Candlemas until Michaelmas, and after that to the tenants ad communicandum until Candlemas.

H. L. Gray makes use of a Survey of Barking drawn up in 1603 to prove his thesis of enclosures in Essex. He quotes three seventeenth century virgate holdings, which on account of their compactness he regards as enclosed. From them he argues back to enclosures in

2. ERO, D/DSg 1:3.
3. Ibid. D/DP M32 m.1d. The same division of the pasture is found at Glastonbury. N. Neilson, Customary Rents (Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, 1910), 75.
5. op. cit., 393.
Barking in the Middle Ages. These three holdings appear in 1540 but they cannot be traced on the rental of 1456. Moreover, it can be shown that at least in the early fourteenth century open fields still existed in Dagenham and Westbury. Some were farmed in strips, like Buttsfield in the north-west of Dagenham, Chequers lying nearer the marsh, and the Common Field which was still ploughed in one acre strips in 1816. Moreover, a three-course rotation of crops was also used. The reeve's account for the year 1321-2 shows that a seventy three acre field was sown with rye, another of eighty one and a half acres with Lent barley. It also indicates the fallow field where it refers to the time of "fallowing and second ploughing" and the "fallowing of barley". Though this evidence is meagre, it seems to

1. PRO, S.C. 6 964.
2. BM, Add. Ms. 45387.
4. PRO, S.C. 6 849/11.
show that the south-west corner of Essex, like the north-west, was at least, till the fourteenth century, a land of open fields.

No attempt seems to have been made to specialise in any particular type of crop on the different Barking estates. Wherever the evidence has survived, it shows mixed husbandry with the crops characteristic of heavy soil, wheat, oats, barley, rye and legumes.

The use to which the demesne land at Ingatestone was put in the fourteenth century has already been mentioned. Wheat and oats were the heaviest crops, but in one year, 1378, seventy two acres were sown with peas. Such a heavy leguminous crop may have been peculiar to that year. It may also indicate a temporary realisation of its value as a foodstuff and as fodder for animals, as well as of its value for the soil.

1. This view is also held by R. Coles in 'Essex Agriculture' in Essex Naturalist, XXVI (1937), 8.
2. See above, p. 49-50.
3. ERO, D/DP M20.
The stock and grain account of the reeve of Dagenham also gives us a glimpse of the utilisation of the land in this important area. The heaviest crop for the year 1321-2 was oats, with less rye and barley and a comparatively small quantity of legumes and wheat. This of course represented the grain stored in the barns from the previous year. During the year for which he accounted, the reeve had sown eighty eight and a half acres with wheat, ninety six with oats, and seventy three with rye.

It is impossible to tell from the names of the fields where exactly they lay, but one would expect them to be on the dryer and firmer gravel, or "Northern part" of the manor. The greater part of the marsh or "Southern part" was used for pasture, but the same reeve's account shows that part of it was cultivated. The difficulties of ploughing in the marsh are recorded under the heading "cost of the ploughs". Here, the reeve enters

1. PRO S.C.6 849/11.

2. The grain was accounted for in the following proportions; oats 406 quarters, rye 198 quarters, barley 119 quarters, beans 70 quarters, wheat 50 quarters.

3. The floods of the fourteenth century also show this, See below, p.74.
"for whetting the shares of three ploughs while they were ploughing in the marsh at the time of the sowing of corn, of beans, of winter barley and of oats, on forty three occasions, 10½d., for each time ½d.; again sharpening them while they were ploughing in the marsh at the time of fallowing and second ploughing, on sixty occasions this year 1½d., for each time ½d. The fodder of twelve stoits had to be increased "for twenty six nights for their great labour when they ploughed in the marsh at the time of sowing of wheat, four quarters 7 bushels, taking per night 1½ bushels more than the fixed amount".

There are no accounts for the central part of the manor of Barking, but the fact that at the time of the dissolution there were ten granaries at Gaysham Hall points to an area of intense cultivation.

One of the cardinal principles of mediaeval agricultural theory, as it was taught for instance by Walter of Henley in his treatise on "Husbandrie", namely "to sow with bought seed, not with what you have sown", is

1. PRO, S.C.6 964, fo. 148.
illustrated by the same fourteenth century Dagenham account, as is also that inter-manorial dependence which was customary upon the centralised estates of a monastic establishment. The Dagenham reeve bought 44 quarters, 4 bushels of wheat for seed, making his purchases further north in the county, at Stapleford, Ongar and Brentwood. He obtained further supplies from the abbey's manors of Hockley and Mucking. The manor of Eastbury sent him 36 quarters, 7 bushels of rye "for seed", while barley, oats and beans came in from several manors. He himself also sent grain to the other manors, wheat to Newbury, barley to Eastbury, and rye to Ingatestone, Tollesbury and Great Wigborough. He sowed 2½ bushels of wheat and of rye to an acre, and 4 bushels of oats, barley and beans. He does not record the yields for the year in detail, but simply the totals from the demesne and from tithe.

It is possible to obtain from the Barking records some figures showing the local prices of grain at various points in the Middle Ages. In 1321, and again in 1374, the average price of corn at Dagenham was 1

10s. a quarter. In 1449, at Warley it was 6s. 8d. a quarter, and about 1534 it was this price at Abbess

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1. PRO, S.C.6 849/11, 12.
2. Ibid. 849/4.
Roding and Great Wigborough. At the same time, however, the cellaress was paying as much as 16s. 8d. a quarter, but since it was for pittances, it may have been of better quality. The average price of rye was 9s. 8d. a quarter in 1321, and of oats 5s. A few years later, oats had dropped to 3s. a quarter. There are no prices for barley before the dissolution, when it varied between 5s. and 6s. 8d. a quarter. These prices are fairly typical of south-west Essex in the Middle Ages. Though the soil and climatic conditions were suitable, and transport facilities for marketing grain, both by river and by road, were good, prices remained high. This is attributed by N. S. B. Gras to the fact that "the area's consumptive demand constantly tended to outstrip its productive power."

1. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/929/2.
2. Ibid. 921/1.
3. Ibid. 849/11.
4. Ibid. 849/12.
5. Ibid. H VIII/921/1, 2.
7. Ibid. 53.
There is no evidence to show the price of grain on the manors along the coast, like Tollesbury and Great "igborough, but they also belonged to the high price area, caused here by the predominance of pasture farming over tillage.

Very little evidence has survived to illustrate the methods used on the Barking estates to increase the productivity of the soil. The process of marling the land, which goes back in Essex as far as the reign of Henry II and was used on the Essex estates of Christ Church, Canterbury, must have been employed at some period at Ingatestone, since there are several references on the court rolls to marlpits.

2. Reaney, op. cit., 586.
4. On each occasion it concerns the amercement of tenants who were caught fishing in "the lady's marl pit". E.g. ERO, D/DP M3, M15 m.2, M45 m.3. On the roll for the year 1450-51 one such pit is described as "the lady's pond called marlepet in Stonsfeld". Ibid. M45 m.3.
Another agricultural practice, that of scorching the meadow land seems also to have been used on this manor in the fourteenth century, since in 1354 a reeve was in trouble "quia prata domine male scrobantur."

(b) The Marsh.

It has already been said that five of the Barking manors, namely Barking itself with Dagenham, Cockermouth and Mucking on the Thames estuary, and Tollesbury and Great Wigborough on the coast, had land in the great stretch of Essex marsh which spread from the River Lea to the Stour.

The organisation and government of the Essex marshes seem to have been similar to that of the far better known Romney Marsh in Kent long before the Commission of 1436 was given "power to make laws and statutes according to those of Romney Marsh, and to do all things touching the same repairs, according to the law and custom of that marsh."

1. ERO,D/DP M18 m.1.
2. It is quoted in W. Dugdale, The History of Imbanking and Draining (1772 Edition), 79.
3. The Charter of Romney Marsh became "a pattern and exemplar to all the like places of the whole realm whereby to be governed". W. Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent (1596 Edition), 200.
"The law and custom" of the marsh was upheld and made more explicit by a series of commissions consisting of justices appointed ad hoc, to survey the walls, dykes, gutters and severs. One of the earliest known commissions for the county of Essex was appointed by Edward I in 1287, "to view and repair the banks and ditches of this county upon the side of the Thames and parts adjacent, then in decay, and to enquire through whose default they became so ruinous." This commission, was modelled on a similar one sent to Romney Marsh in the same year, "to learn through whose default the damage (caused by violent tempests) had occurred and to make provision and ordinances for better security for the future."

1. C. T. Flower, Public Works in Mediaeval Law (Selden Society, 1923), II, xxv.

2. CPR, 1281-1292, 276.

3. Ibid., 309. The same Commissioner of Walls and Ditches, John de Lovetot, was sent to view both marshes, but in Essex he was accompanied by William de Lamburne, and in Kent by Henry de Apuldrefeld. The earliest enquiry into Romney Marsh had been held in 1258 by Henry de Bathe. M. Teichmann Derville, The Level and Liberty of Romney Marsh (London, 1936), 1.
During the fourteenth century, when there were bad floods along the Thames, as many as fifty commissions de Walliis et Fossatis were appointed, in two of which, in 1375 and 1385, the marshes of the abbey were inspected. As the Middle Ages went by, the commissions became more frequent and more exacting, until finally a quasi-permanent body was established by the Statute of Sewers of 1532.

The activities of the commissioners, however, left local bodies and landowners plenty of scope to deal with the marsh lying within their own territories. A special Marsh Law or "custom of the marshes" existed for the marshes of Essex, as early as the reign of Henry I, for King John ordered his sheriff to add to a jury dealing with a dyke in Essex, men who knew the Marsh Law of the days of his great grandfather. It was

1. CPR, 1374-1377, 158.
2. Ibid. 1381-1385, 591.
3. The frequency of their appointment for Essex is apparent from the Patent Rolls. An abbey account of the sixteenth century has the entry, "To John Morse for the expenses of six men that viewed goredich by the justices' commandment 2s." PRO, E101,542.2, fo. 7d.
4. J. G. O'Leary, Notes in preparation for VCH, Essex, III.
5. Flower, op. cit., xxvi.
administered at Barking by a special section of the
manorial court called "Le Watergang", which was comparable
with the highly organised local bodies which existed
in many other places for sea defence and land drainage.
It consisted of two juries, each of twelve men, under
a marsh bailiff, called the "marshman", one for the
southern and the other for the northern part of the
manor. They were elected by the tenants. Their
chief work was the maintenance and protection of the
levels, by the inspection of ditches and walls, and the
presentation of offenders in "Le Watergang". The same
kind of duties were performed in Bulphan fen by fen-
reeves, elected by the chief pledges of the manor.

1. The lurates of Romney Marsh are well known.
Prepositi fossatorum or custodes fossatorum
existed in the Fenland. H. C. Darby, The
Mediaeval Fenland (Cambridge, 1940), 152.
In 1316, there were Wateraves at Stepney,
appointed by the manor court. H. G. Richardson,
"The Early History of Commissions of Sewers" in
EHR XXXIV (1919), 390.

2. They appear on a court roll of 1440. ERO,D/DP
M187.

3. E.g. in 1475, the chief pledges elected a man
"in officium prepositi communis pasture
videlicet in toto commune de ffanne infra meta
et bundas in manerio de Bulfanne ex antiqua
consuetudine". Ibid. D/DSg. M16. Fen reeves
are also mentioned in 1392 and 1395. Ibid. M3.
Landowners along the Thames estuary were responsible, as indeed it was to their own advantage to be, for the upkeep of the marshes in their lordship. They assessed their tenants for the repair of the banks of the Thames according to their holdings. Very little evidence of the levy made on its tenants by Barking has come to light. An account roll of the lessees of the manors of Foulks and Withifield in Barking, dated 1477-78, has the entry, "paid in contribution for making of the great brook in the melsmede in Barking, 3s." The Minister's account of 1540 mentions the mariscode of Dagenham, but if this represents the payment of marshscot, no amount is given. A set of ordinances for the management of the Level, called "a marsh book for my Lord Buckhurst", which was drawn up about the year 1560, gives an assessment of sixpence.

1. This is made clear as early as 1210, in a dispute between Roger de Crammavill and the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, "touching the banks, gutters and ditches to be made in Rainham marsh", which lay immediately to the east of Dagenham marsh. Curia Regis Rolls, VII, 1213-1215, 289.


3. Ibid. 964, fo. 122.

4. ERO,D/DMs 016.
an acre. An illustration, however, of what must certainly have been happening on the Barking marshes may be drawn from the case of the nunnery of Stratford-by-Bowe. In 1351, the prioress of that house was presented at Chelmsford "because she has a wall called Prioriswal in West Ham, which she is bound to repair, and has a pasture and a rent from divers tenants for preserving the said wall which must be mended or otherwise it will in a short while be beyond repair."

The marsh or "shore" as it is sometimes called, at Barking and Dagenham, was protected against the danger of flooding by a number of walls. This was essential because when a piece of salting is enclosed, the surface sinks a little as the marsh clay dries and contracts. Through the accretion of new alluvium, the saltings on the river side of the wall are gradually raised to a level higher than the enclosed marsh, which therefore becomes more vulnerable to flooding. If it were not for the river walls, which must be constantly maintained in repair, the region would be merely a wild expanse of salting marsh, periodically flooded by spring

It is impossible to say when the abbey first built embankments as a protection for its lands, but it may have begun in the thirteenth century, or even earlier. Other parts of the Essex marshlands were already embanked by 1201, as the dyke mentioned in John's order to the sheriff of Essex bears witness.

In addition to the river wall, Barking and Dagenham marshes were separated by "Highams Wall", called in the Middle Ages "Hyclmyswall", which was built at right angles to the Thames. Dagenham marsh itself was divided into East and West Marsh by another wall, called "Albrow Wall" or "St. Albrows Trough", while the whole


2. See above, p.63. The word "dyke", fossatum, implies a bank with a ditch behind it.

3. E.g. in PRO, S.C. 6 849/11. This wall still exists and is now preserved by the Essex River Board. O'Leary, op. cit., 50. It is shown on a map of Dagenham marsh, dated 1707. BM, King's Map xiii, 34.
extent of the marsh was bounded on the north by "Stock Wall". The walls were made of wood, crested with straw thatch made from reeds from the water-side, as a protection against the elements, and probably reinforced with clay. There is no indication anywhere of their height.

The various account rolls of the abbey show how constantly they were in need of attention. The Dagenham reeve's account for 1321-2, for instance, has a special section, headed "cost of the marsh", under which he entered, "for making forty perches of new wall at Hyelsmyswall, on behalf of the Lady, 21s. 8d., for each perch, 6½d." In addition, under the heading, "small matters and necessaries", he recorded another

1. This wall and the previous one are mentioned in a Survey of the marsh made in 1563, "showing who is charged with the keeping and maintaining of the reparations of the walls, how many acres the Queen's Majesty had within the same level by the dissolving of the abbey of Barking and how many rods of wall be maintained and kept." The original survey is lost, but an eighteenth century copy is preserved in ERO, D/SH7.

2. PRO, S.C.6 849/11.
4s. 9½d. spent on the wages of men hired to make, or mend and rethatch fourteen perches on various parts of the walls.

The supervision of the walls of the marsh on the other manors along the coast must likewise have called for constant attention on the part of the abbey's agents there. There were complaints of neglect at Salcote, for instance, in 1505, and tenants were ordered to repair their portion of the wall under penalty of amercement. It was imperative there, for both lord and tenant, to protect the land for sheep pasture. The rise of the mean sea level in relation to the land, which seems to have been constant after the Norman Conquest, and the possibility of freak weather made the

1. E.g. "For two men hired for one perch between Stakhawe and Almesfeld, and one perch of wall between Carthousehawe and Melehoushawe to be new covered, 6d; and the thatch of other walls to be mended, 3d; one perch of new wall at the gate of the marsh of Tondonne, 21d." PRO, S.C. 6 849/11.

2. E.g. Willelmus Smyth habet unam walliam iacentem erga communam mariscam de Salcote non reparatam. Preceptum est prefato Willelmo quod reparare faciat walliam predictam citra proximam sub pena 3s. 4d." ERO, D/DP M73 m.2.

encroachment of the sea an ever present danger. It
could be resisted only by perpetual watchfulness over
the embankments which defended the land.

Behind the embankments lay an elaborate drainage
system of dykes and cross ditches, called in the Barking
records "fludiches" and "thoroughs". There were also
floodgates and communicating sluices to drain away the
water. The "troughs" were faced with wood, as is
shown by the entry, "To Horn and his fellows for laying
the thorough at Bakerscreek and for timbering the same
25s. 4d." Tenants who leased parcels of marsh under-
took in the lease to keep the wall, troughs and ditches
in repair.

In spite of constant vigilance however, the
marshlands were open to the danger of flooding, and

1. "Les floodgates" are mentioned in the 1456 Rental,
   fo. 4, and "Fluddiches Current between Six
   Gates and Three Gates" appear in the Minister's
   Account for 1540. PRO, S.C.6 964, fo. 39d.

2. Ibid. E 101, 542·2, fo. 3d. Wooden gutters, to
   drain away flood water, were constructed
   in the marshes belonging to Canterbury Cathedral

3. The leases recorded on the Court Roll of 1440
   and the Minister's Account of 1540 include
   this condition. ERO, D/DP M187; PRO, S.C.6
   964, fos. 29, 34.
there are signs of severe and prolonged floods on
the abbey lands in the late thirteenth century and
during the next hundred years. The damage that could
ensue has been chronicled by Adam Murimuth. Describing
the floods along the Thames in 1334, he says, "the sea-
walls were broken down and many animals drowned; and
fruitful land was converted into salt marshes, so that
one could not hope to restore its usual fertility for a
long time."

In 1291, after severe floods on the Essex coast,
the abbey was given royal permission to sell timber
from Barking and Tollesbury to the value of £30, 2
towards the expenses of repairing the walls. It is
clear, nevertheless, from the evidence of the fourteenth
century, that in spite of repair, the walls were not
strong enough to stand up to the constant pressure from
the sea. In 1375, the abbess was allowed to impress
"workmen and labourers for repairing the walls of the
marsh at Barking which are broken down by the force
of the sea, and put them to work at her wages, there
to stay as long as shall be necessary." 3 Two years later,

1. Quoted by C. E. Britton, A Meteorological Chronology
to A.D. 1450, 137.
2. CPR, 1281-1292, 465.
3. Ibid. 1374-1377, 127.
during the winter of 1376-77, a devastating storm swept over Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, the area of the Wash, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. Its disastrous effects on the abbey lands are recited in the petition which the nuns addressed to the King that summer, in which they begged to be excused from furnishing men-at-arms for the King's arrayers, for "by reason of the flooding of the Thames they have lost a great part of the profit of their possessions in Barking and elsewhere in Essex, and have spent and are spending a great part of their goods in repair of dykes broken, stopping of trenches and thrusting back the water there, wherefore they may not bear the charge." The extent of the damage to the abbey lands by the spread of the flood waters is revealed in 1380 by the description of the

1. Commissions were issued in all these counties between February and May 1377. Grieve, op. cit., 12.

2. COR, 1377-1381, 16. St. Osyth's Priory was reduced to equally dire straits by the devastation of its lands and the drowning of its cattle and sheep. Grieve, loc. cit.
arable lands at Barking as "a broad lake or pond."

This year, the house had to be relieved of the maintenance of a mile and a half of fence in Havering Park, and more labourers were pressed into the work of repairing the walls and embankments. By 1384, "Barking Matrays", which had hitherto yielded great profit to the house was "at the point of becoming a total loss."

The nuns seem also to have encountered difficulties in finding workmen to repair the breaches, for the commission of 1384 was empowered to arrest and imprison the disobedient. Such difficulties, however, were not new in Essex; they are heard of as early as 1355. They may well reflect the restlessness in the county which culminated in the Peasants' Revolt.

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1. CCR, 1377-1381, 402.
2. CPR, 1377-1381, 469, 482.
3. Ibid. 469.
4. Ibid. 1381-1385, 438.
5. Ibid.
6. See Richardson, op. cit., 387 et seq.
It is obvious that a heavy strain was being put on the financial resources of the house by the floods of these years. In 1382, its revenues were diminished to £266. 13s. 4d. and by 1409 it was calculated that £2000 had been spent on enclosing and saving the land. Six hundred acres of meadow and one hundred and twenty acres sown with wheat had been lost. Even when due allowance has been made for possible exaggeration, the losses were clearly heavy. Indeed, it is probably true to say that the abbey never completely recovered its prosperity.

One of the most pressing tasks, therefore, which must have faced the fifteenth century abbesses was the reclamation of their flooded lands. Unfortunately, there are no documents to illustrate how this work was done, though some measure of their success may be gathered from the value of the marshland which was being

1. CPR, 1381-1385, 106.
2. Ibid. 1408-1413, 99.
3. Ibid.
leased as early as 1456. The leasehold rents for
the parcels of marsh in Barking then amounted to £15.
By 1540, when far more was being leased, the rent-roll
from the marshes was reckoned at £77. 19s.

By the dissolution, new names have appeared in the
marshes in newly drained land, like "New Inned or Green
Marsh", "Pond Lees, one time flooded", and "Sixteen
acres in West Marsh abutting upon High Hills lately
recovered." It is also clear from the last accounts
of the house that the walls were then being continually
strengthened. Thus, the cellareress paid in 1539 "to
Richard Horn and his fellows for barrowing the cellareress's
wall in Ripple Marsh at 6d. a day, 3s. 6d.; Richard Horn
for making the cellareress's wall at Ripple Marsh 20s."

1. BM, Add. Ms. 45,387.
2. PRO, S.C. 6 964.
3. Ibid. fos. 28, 29.
4. Ibid. fo. 34.
5. Ibid. fo. 32.
7. This expression may be the same as "burrowing", i.e. digging up the clay to form the earth bank or wall. Grieve, op. cit., 6; or as Miss Grieve has suggested to me, wheeling the clay in carry-barrows to the wall.
while at the same time, the treasury paid "To Richard Horn and his fellows at Easter for repairs done on the Seawall in Ripplemarsh £6. 13s. 2d."

In spite of constant vigilance, however, a parcel of marsh called "small links, totally devastated by an influx of water of the Thames and without profit," and a breach called "Le Great Danger" show the ever present possibility of flooding. Dagenham Marsh was in fact flooded again in 1560, when the damage was repaired by Vermuyden, and again in 1707 when what is today known as the Gulf or Breach was made.

The value of the marshes in the abbey's economy lay in the rich pasture which they provided for cattle and sheep, for although some of the Essex marshland was broken to the plough in the Middle Ages, even at the opening of the seventeenth century, it was still valued mostly as "pasture for sheep". The marshes of the manor of Barking stretched for about a thousand and seventy acres over Barking and Dagenham Levels, and west of the River Roding into East Ham Level. The use to which the greater

1. PRO, E 101, 542-2, fo. 3d.
2. Ibid. S.C.6 964, fo. 105.
3. Ibid. fo. 117.
4. ERO, Marsh Ledger D/SH 7.
part of this land was put is frequently indicated by names such as "Oxen Lees", "Sheep lees", "Cow lane" and "Cowladd", and again "a virgate called cowes in Ewars marsh." The presence of sheep and cattle is further indicated by the number of gates and hatches.

Sheep were also grazed at Mucking, further down the Thames estuary, and at Tollesbury and Great Wigborough on the coast. The "salt marshes" along the coast were especially favourable to sheep rearing because the salt in the soil and herbage rendered them healthy pasture ground for the animals. The sheep were put to graze on them during the summer, and moved to the uplands for the winter. Their value as early as Domesday, both in extent and in the number of sheep they carried, has already been indicated. Even on the

1. PRO, S.C.6 964, fo. 124.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. fo. 82.
4. Ibid. fo. 91.
5. Ibid.
6. E.g. "the gate of the marsh at Tondonne" already mentioned. See above, p.69. Also, "one perch of land lying near fishpond called Marshgate". PRO, S.C.6 964, fo. 82.
8. See above, p.36.
inland manors, like Great Warley and Hockley, the expression "pasture for sheep" occurs, and in 1086 both had flocks of one hundred and fifty sheep each. The grazing ground for these manors was allocated to them on the marshes, even at some distance. For instance, the marsh belonging to Hockley was seven miles away from the manor, on the banks of the River Fleet, opposite Wallasea Island. Later, in 1202, Clamfleet Marsh in Hockley was quitclaimed to the house by a certain Richard FitzWilliam.

Thus in 1086, though Barking's flocks were small in comparison with those of many monasteries, they numbered one thousand and twenty-five sheep, a figure which compares favourably with the Essex manors of Christ

1. See table above, p.36.

2. VCH, Essex, I, 371. Many inland parishes in South Essex had pasturage rights on the marshes. Foulness Island and Canvey Island were broken into a patchwork of pasturage divisions attached to inland parishes. Woolridge, op. cit., 200. The same intercommoning by a group of villages is found in the Fenland. Darby, op. cit., 67-68.

Church, Canterbury, which at that time carried one thousand, four hundred and six sheep. More than a quarter of the Barking flocks were grazed on the Tollesbury marshes, which carried 4% of all the sheep in Essex.

Essex wool was not so valuable as that produced in some other counties. There is not enough evidence to show how much income Barking derived from its wool. The house does not appear in the thirteenth century Practica della Mercatura of Francis Pegolotti, though the neighbouring Cistercian monastery of Stratford Langthorne does. In the early fourteenth century, however, its wool was being bought by the wool merchant, John de Northburgh. The name of this English merchant

1. Nichols, op. cit., 4, n.2.
5. E.g. in 1321-2, the reeve of Dagenham accounted for "116s. for 116 fleeces of wool sold to John de Northburgh". PRO, S.C.6 849/11.
appears frequently in the opening phase of the Hundred Years' War, supervising the collection of wool granted to the king in the county of Northampton, or raising money to pay the royal debts to the Italian firms of the Peruzzi and Bardi. In 1343, Edward III owed him £343. 0s. 1½d. in payment for the wool which the king had taken from him at Dordrecht in 1338, when he had seized the stocks of all the English merchants there.

In the light of this connection between Barking and John de Northburgh, it is not surprising to find that the abbess of Barking was called on in 1347 to lend the king the equivalent of two sacks of wool, at £6 a sack.

It was, however, for their milk rather than for their wool that the Essex sheep were valued, for there existed in the south and east of the county a flourishing cheese-making industry for which ewes' milk was used.

4. *Ibid.* 1346-1349, 265. This was the price fetched by Essex wool at the time. Smith, *op. cit.*, 149.
The industry was carried on in primitive dairy sheds called "wicks", whose position is marked in the numerous place-names ending in "wick", still to be found in the region. Tollesbury, for instance, has "the wick", while at Great Wigborough just before the dissolution the "wickhouse" was kept in repair by the "farmer" of the manor whose expenses were reimbursed by the abbey.

Salt was necessary for the manufacture of ewe-milk cheese, and this was provided by the salt pans on the coastal manors. In Domesday, Tollesbury is described as possessing two and Great Wigborough six. The hamlet of Salcot, which belonged to the abbey, though it is not mentioned in the Survey as possessing salt pans, derived its name from the clusters of dwellings or salcots, containing the stores in which the salt was kept and the dwellings of the salters. They are

1. VCH, Essex, I, 373.
2. The entry occurs in an account book, "To Thomas Morrant for reparations done on the wickhouse of the manor of Wigborough 6s. 8d." PRO, E 101, 542.2, fo. 2d.
3. VCH, Essex, I, 449.
4. Ibid. 381.
marked today by Abbots Hall Saltings. A salt rent was still being paid by tenants of Hockley in the sixteenth century.

Unfortunately, there are no ministers' accounts belonging to the coastal manors, to indicate how much cheese making was carried on, or if any cheese was sold. A certain amount seems to have been made at Dagenham in the fourteenth century, for the reeve's account belonging to the year 1321-2 enters under the heading "Dairy"; "13s. 4d. received from the produce (lactaglum) of ewes this year, and not more because they were all destroyed after the feast of Trinity by order of the bailiff on account of their sickness."

Elsewhere on the same account, the reeve notes the purchase of "one hundred ewes bought for stock." In spite of the ravages of murrain to which he refers, he ended the year with a flock of seven hundred and eighty sheep. His numbers had been made good from Warley, Tollesbury, Newbury and Eastbury, and even from the more

1. The following entry occurs in an account book: "To Thomas Osbern for carriage of two loads of rent salt from Hockley to Barking at 8s. the load, 16s." PRO, E 101, 542.2 fo. 6d.

2. Ibid. S.C.6 849/11.
distant manor of Lidlington in Bedfordshire. In 1374, there was a flock of five hundred and seventeen at Westbury.

The flocks at Dagenham were not the only ones to be decimated by outbreaks of murrain in the fourteenth century. Indeed it would be surprising to find the disease absent from fourteenth century manorial life. It did considerable damage to the flocks at Ingatestone in the middle of the century. In two years, from 1356 to 1358, one hundred and twenty five lambs were lost. The flock of ninety, which had been handed over to the lessee of the manor in the early thirteenth

1. E.g. "15 wethers received from the reeve of Lidlington before shearing by one tally, and 74 received before shearing from the reeve of Newbury by the tally with the rams, 12 received from the reeve of Tollesbury after shearing by one tally". Varley supplied five rams, seventeen wethers and two hundred and thirty three ewes. PRO, S.C.6. 849/11.

2. Ibid., 849/12.

3. There were bad outbreaks in other parts of Essex in 1322, 1327 and in the 1380's. Nichols, op. cit., 297.

4. Murrain is certified by the coroner at eight courts held during these two years. ERO, D/DP 178 m.1, m.1d, m.2, m.2d; 19 m.1, m.1d, m.2. The losses were probably higher, since part of one roll has been damaged and the numbers lost.
century, had increased by 1368 to one hundred and twenty six sheep and one hundred and twenty lambs. So small an increase in the size of the flock over more than a hundred years may well have been the result of the ravages of murrain.

The only other manor about which it is possible to piece together a certain amount of evidence of the presence of sheep is Bulphan. Here there was a flock of eighty in 1086, and Wick's House on the Ordnance Survey Map indicates that cheese making was carried on in the district.

The sheep at Bulphan were tended by a shepherd who held his land in return for this service, but sheep shearing services were performed by the customary tenants, whose holdings ranged from fifteen to forty five acres. In return, they received "a quartern loaf or

1. ERO, D/DP T1/A 1589.
2. Ibid. D/DP M21 m.2.
3. E.g. in 1395, "Johannes Richard elongavit se extra servicium domine videlicet de officio bercarii ad gravum dampnum domine". ERO, D/Dsg M2 m.16, m.17 d.
4. Of the twenty three tenants performing this service one held forty five acres, six held thirty and the rest fifteen. Ibid. M3 m.3.
the wombelokes of the sheep." 1 The same services also formed part of the obligations of tenants at Ingatestone. Here a tenant holding ten acres "shall wash and shear ten sheep, and it shall not be allowed him as a work." A tenant holding five acres sheared five sheep, with the exception of one who sheared six and a half, and another who sheared one and a half. 2 There may also have been one or more paid shepherds, as there were at Westbury by the fourteenth century. 3

The pasture used by the Bulvan flocks was called "la fanne" or sometimes "la vanne". It stretched for a considerable distance to the south and west of the manor. Chapman and André's Map of the County of Essex of 1777 still showed a large marsh called "Bulvan Fenn", and it is indicated on the modern Ordnance Survey Map by Fen Farm. It was protected by earth walls, called

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1. ERO, D/DSg M3 m.3.
2. Ibid. D/DP M170.
3. E.g. In 1375, two shepherds were paid 2s. 4d. each a year. PRO, S.C.6 849/12.
"Innewalles", which had to be kept in repair by the tenants of the manor, though in the late fifteenth century there are complaints of the bad condition into which they had been allowed to fall. The upkeep of the gates to the common was also the duty of the tenants. In 1458, a tenant was amerced "because he has not repaired a gate called le North hatche near la fanne to the grave damage of the tenants." As late as 1563, the fen reeves were collecting ½d. "from every tenant as well free as customary for sufficient gates to the common."

1. E.g. in 1454, the "farmer" of the manor was allowing "omnes muros terreos vocatos Innewalles infra clausuram predicti manerii cadere et devastare". LRO, D/DSg M3. The court roll of 1460 has the entry "adhuc dat' est dies omnibus tenantibus custumariis hujus manerii ad intulendum unam billam ad proximam curiam de omnibus nominibus eorum qui reparare debent at sustentare mures terrestros hujus manerii virtute tenure sue ac eciam quantum inde quisquis reparare debet et in quo loco". Ibid. M4 m.1.

2. Ibid. M3 m.1.

3. Ibid. M18.
It is clear by the late fourteenth century that tenants on the Barking manors owned their own flocks of sheep and were exerting pressure on the abbey to secure pasture for them. Complaints and amercements begin to appear on the court rolls of peasants overloading the common. Thus at Ingatestone, a man was amerced in 1353, for putting on the common fifty sheep more than he had the right to. At Bulphan, an offender named John Hanhill or Haneryll, after being amerced on three different occasions between 1379 and 1383, was eventually given "common in le ffranne pertaining to le Burland paying a rent of 2s. a year." About the same time, there are complaints of other peasants overloading the common with forty or sixty sheep, or of "trespassing with sixty sheep on the lady's separate common." The number of offenders seems to have become so great

1. ERO, D/DP M18 m.1. This is a frequent complaint in the middle of the fourteenth century at Ingatestone.
2. Ibid. D/DSg M2 m.2, m.6.
3. Ibid. m.7.
4. Ibid. M2 m.6, m.10.
5. Ibid.
by 1395 that the chief pledges of the manor were given "a day to inform the steward of those who were overloading the common." Eventually, in 1488, an agreement was reached in full court, between the tenants and the abbess's council on the number of animals a tenant might have "ambulantes et pasturantes in commune domini vocata Bulfan communis". The number depended on the size of a tenant's holding. A man with five "acrewar" of land might have one horse or one cow, and fifteen sheep grazing; one with fifteen "acrewar" might have three horses or three cows, and forty five sheep. Henceforth anyone who overloaded the common was liable to have his extra animals distrained. Complaints also began to appear in the later Middle Ages of outsiders using the common, whereas "non sunt tenentes hujus manerii". The same kind of thing was also happening elsewhere. For instance, in

1. ERO, D/DSg M2 m.17.
2. The record of the agreement is stitched on to the membrane of the court roll. Ibid. M16.
3. E.g. in 1513. Ibid. D/DK M2 m.3.
1526 men from Brentwood were trespassing at Great Warley on "the lady's common called Allefasshe, on which they had no rights of common because they were not tenants of the manor."

In addition to its flocks of sheep, the abbey also owned cattle, though probably not in large numbers. The marshes of the manor were, as has been indicated, used as pasture, but by the sixteenth century the cellaress was hiring pasture and purchasing cattle each year. She also had to supplement the supplies of milk, cream and butter, which were sent in from the manor of Westbury. There may also have been a small stock-farm at Loxford, for cows taken at Ingatestone as heriots were usually sent there "pro stauro domine."

1. ERO, D/DP MS m.2. The manors of the Essex custody of Christ Church, Canterbury, were also crowded with sheep beyond the capacity of the pasture available. Nichols, op. cit., 190.

2. See above, p. 77.

3. See below, p. 295.

4. See below, p. 294.

5. 102 dishes of butter, 10 gallons of cream and 6 gallons of milk were paid as rent in kind by the "farmer" of the manor. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/930.

6. E.g. ERO, D/DP M57 m.1, m.2. Stock-farming was carried on extensively on the estates of Canterbury Cathedral Priory. Smith, op. cit., 146-8.
The Forest

Since the county of Essex was so thickly wooded, it is not surprising that the forest played an important part in the life of several manors belonging to Barking Abbey. The extent of the abbey's woodland is first indicated in Domesday where in all there was a total 1 pannage for 3,310 pigs. Its widest area lay in the north of Barking itself, in what is now called the forest of Hainault. There were also considerable stretches in Handley wood and High wood in Ingatestone, and in Alderfen in Tollesbury. Bulphan and Mucking had equally extensive areas, although in the Hundred of Barstable in which they lay, there had been a destruction of woodland by "waste" during the preceding years.

1. See Table above, p.36. In fact, only 282 pigs were being reared.
3. See R. Lennard, "The Destruction of the Woodland in the Eastern Counties under William the Conqueror" in EcHR, XV, Nos. 1 & 2 (1945), 36-43. In describing the Hundred, Domesday speaks of the land of six free men, "who belonged to Barking but now the king can do what he likes with them", who had held woodland formerly assessed at 100 swine which was now reduced to 55 swine. VCH, Essex, I, 448.
Under the Conqueror and his successors, southwest Essex and at times the whole county became part of the royal forest of Waltham, and therefore subject to the Forest Laws protecting "the vert and venison". Forest land belonging to Barking was affected by this afforestation. Though Stephen granted the house a charter disafforesting the woods afforested by his predecessor, Henry II still claimed the venison within them. In the first perambulation of the forest of Essex in 1225, which took place soon after the issuing of the Charter of the Forest, the northern part of the Hundred of Becontree was left within the forest, but the knights who made the perambulation left it to the king to decide whether this included the woods of the abbey. When the greater part of the county was disafforested in 1301, the abbey's woods in the Hundred were still left within the forest. Thus, in spite of the relaxation of the

2. Ibid., 385.
4. Ibid. 393-399.
Forest Laws in the fourteenth century, the forest of Hainault continued to form part of the royal forest of Waltham, where "the King goes to forget his cares in the chase".

The royal forest of Essex was administered by a whole hierarchy of officials, ranging from the Justices of the Forest South of the Trent, down to the game-keepers and woodwards who pursued and arrested offenders against the venison and vert. In the thirteenth century, the officials were dealing with cases which the abbey itself, as the landowner, might be expected to settle. While not interfering in questions of rights between the lord of the manor and his tenants, the forest courts

1. The earliest extant inquisitions into offences against the Forest Laws come from Essex in 1239. In one of them, a Gilbert Dun, who may have belonged to the same family as the William Dun who was a benefactor of Barking (see p.13) is described as King's Forester in Hainault. The King's woodward is mentioned in the same eyre, charging men whom he had seen with bows and arrows and greyhounds in Hainault, "the forest of the King". G. J. Turner, Select Pleas of the Forest (Selden Society, 1899), 70.
did not allow the lord to deal with cases affecting the Forest Laws. In 1277, a steward of Barking was fined half a mark because he had seized and imprisoned at Barking a man who had entered the abbey wood and felled an oak tree. He was further amerced "because he was not sworn of the forest", and was therefore taking too much upon himself in dealing with the case.

In the Forest Eyre held in 1292, the abbey was again in trouble, because its woodwards for Alderfen, Hainsult, Gaysham, Alesereth and Handley, which were within the regard of the forest, had not been sworn in to the king. According to the Assize of Woodstock, the woodwards, as the foresters of Essex were always called, were supposed to be presented to the justices in eyre and of the forest, and bound by oath to preserve the vert and venison for the king's hunting.

1. Fisher, op. cit., 73.
2. Ibid. 172. The regard was an inspection of the forest by officials known as regarders, who had to discover whether any offences had been committed against the vert or venison.
3. Ibid. 171.
No details of the case in 1292 are given, but the abbey seems to have obtained exemption from the regard, though the king's foresters still had custody of the venison of its woods.

The most characteristic and the most unpopular of the Forest Laws were those forbidding anyone, even the landowners, to take game or wood without royal permission. It was not uncommon, however, for mediaeval kings to make small grants to religious houses. Though the royal foresters still had the custody of the venison in the Barking woods, the abbess was allowed in 1220 to take estovers and to hunt hares and foxes in her woods.


2. But Miss Ley Bazeley has shown that "the forest system was not so hard and fast as it is often pictured". Ibid. 146.

3. Rot Litt Claus, I, 470. Hares and foxes were not classed as beasts of the forest.
In 1292, she had dogs and harriers coursing through the forest. Deer-leaps seem to have been constructed at the bounds of the woods at Ingatestone, for in 1459 a tenant there was in trouble for breaking them down by destroying the hedge and ditch. The manor house at Hockley provides an interesting example of the protection taken against the royal deer, which the inhabitants were forbidden to drive off their property. Use was made of the animals' dislike of water by building a moat right away from the house.

Small grants of wood were also made by the king to Barking in the course of the thirteenth century, for domestic purposes or for repairs. Fifteen oaks were given in 1253 as fuel, and another twenty, six years later, to repair Barking Mill. On two occasions,

2. The charge brought against him on the court roll reads "saltoria fregit". LRO, D/DP M49.
4. CCR, 1251-1253, 342.
5. Ibid., 1256-1259, 383.
in 1260 and 1277, the abbess was allowed to take £40's worth of wood from Barking and Tollesbury, the first grant being made on account of her debts. Finally, in 1337 the house was allowed to carry out wood without molestation from the king's officers.

Earlier than this, however, assarting had begun in the abbey's woods, though its rate cannot be gauged. Stephen's charter, disafforesting its lands, granted them "ut illas excolat et hospitetur". The movement is most discernible at Ingatestone. In 1230, the abbess paid five marks into the Exchequer for a licence to enclose and cultivate sixty two acres of assarted land in Ingatestone.

1. CCR, 1259-1261, 74.
2. Ibid. 1272-1279, 392.
3. CPR, 1334-1338, 195.
4. See above, p.91.
5. Great Roll of the Pipe (Pipe Roll Soc.) NS, IV, 150. The same year, the Prior of the neighbouring house of Fryerning was engaged in a similar policy of enclosing and clearing his woods. ERO, D/DP 2 16/9.
Later court rolls mention year after year the cutting down of trees, especially of oak trees in Handley wood, and the sale of timber and brushwood, which proved a lucrative source of revenue.  In 1472, a fairly typical year, it realised £8. 17s. 4d., and between 1524 and 1530 it amounted to £46. 19s. 9d. 1 Brushwood was sold by the acre or division of an acre. In 1382, eight tenants bought a rod each, at 18d. a rod, and two years later another man paid 5s. for an acre. 2

The woods at Ingatestone were regarded as valuable not only as a means of revenue through the sale of timber, but also because they provided material for building purposes and repairs. For instance, in 1305, forty one oaks were cut down, to be used at Mucking, Bulphan and Barking, "pro negociis domine", and another seventy three

1. ERO, J/DP L56 m.2.
2. Ibid. L80 m.4, 81, 82, 83, 84.
3. Ibid.; M23 m.1.
4. Ibid. m.5.
5. Ibid. H19 m.4.
for the grange at Bulpham. In 1422, the timber used to repair the chancel of Mucking church was taken from Ingatestone.

The abbey also had rights of warren in its woods there, and there is plenty of evidence in the court rolls to show that its hand was heavy on trespassers. Poaching in the lady's warren of animals and birds of the warren, hares, partridges or pheasants, was followed by the suing out of a writ in the royal courts. The 1563 custumal of the manor, drawn up after Sir William Petre came into possession of Ingatestone, forbade anyone to take partridges, pheasants, conies or hares, or to hawk or hunt within the manor. Tenants who carried off wood,

1. ERO, D/DP M36. The other manors also provided wood for repairs. In 1475, the woodward of Tollesbury sent six oaks to Mucking to repair the mill and twelve to Great Wigborough to make the pound. Ibid. M58.

2. E.g. In 1451, three men, Thomas Morcock of Fryerning, Nicholas Kemp and William Canon of Buttsbury, all described as "husbandmen", broke into the warren and killed hares and rabbits with their dogs and nets. A writ was sued out against them. Ibid. M46 m.1. This type of offence occurs fairly frequently on the court rolls.

3. Ibid. M175.
except what was allowed for housbote, were likewise rigorously pursued.

The abbey also obtained an annual sum of about 8s. each from the payment of pannage and garsanese by the customary tenants who agisted their pigs in its woods. Pannage was paid at the rate of 3d. a pig, 1½d. a hog, and ½d. a piglet, and garsanese 1d. a yearling, ½d. a half-yearling and ¼d. a piglet. Both payments appear on the court rolls as separate items, pannage sometimes under the name of avisagium. The tenants had to pay them on the feast of St. Martin, "according to the custom of the manor." If the manor was leased, the garsanese was collected by the rent collector and the pannage went with the lease.

1. E.g. in 1336, an entry runs, "Christina Mondes succidit et prosternebat duos spiros quorum sine licencia, misericordia condonatur quia pro housbote". ERO, D/DF m.13.

2. Ibid. M150 fo. 80, 83.

3. E.g. in 1382. Ibid. M23 m.1.

4. E.g. the court roll of 1428 has the entry, "compertum est per Johannem Paty firmarium domine quod Johannes Horce non solvit avisagium trium porcorum suorum ad festum Sancti Martini secundum consuetudinem". Ibid. L39 m.3.

5. E.g. In 1339 the court roll notes, "De pannagio porcorum nihili quia concessum est firmario ex convencione. De garsanese porcorum hoc anno xiijs. iijijd. ob. qu." Ibid. M14 m.2.
The supervision of the abbey's woods was the duty of the woodwards. Like the other manorial officials, they were elected and sworn in at the manorial court. Their chief duties were the care of the trees and the attachment of trespassers. Their work was supervised by the chief steward and the receiver, who carried out a regard of the woods and received money from wood sales when they made their rounds of the manors.

More than once a woodward held the position for several years. Some reward may have been attached to the office, for the Ingatestone court roll for the year 1455, speaking of the outgoing woodward, has the entry, "capiendi inde pro labore suo feodum consuetum."

1. E.g. in 1444 "Johannes Brette electus est in officium wodewardi domine et iuratus est ad bene et fideliter faciendum suum officium". ERO, D/LP 143 m.3.

2. E.g. in November 1399, the entertainment of the steward and receiver who came to Ingatestone for two nights and days, "to hold the court and view Handley wood" cost the manor 6s. and 5½ bushels of oats. 8s. 8d. was paid from the sale of loppings of oaks which had been cut down to repair Barking church. Ibid. M29 m.3. They made the regard again the following spring, both of Handley and Woodbarns. Ibid. m.4.

3. Ibid. M47 m.1.
Reference has already been made to the assarting which the abbey was carrying out at Ingatestone in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Not all of this land, however, was kept in demesne. About the year 1230, for instance, the steward took up a life lease of assarted land belonging to the abbey, lying between Writtle and Handley Wood. Several other parcels of assarted land were granted to tenants in the early thirteenth century. The thirteenth century Domesdaye mentions a peasant with eighty acres of land and seven acres which had been assarted in Handley Wood.

It becomes increasingly clear from the frequent amercements on the fourteenth and fifteenth century court rolls that pressure was being put on the abbey by the tenants to obtain land by assarts and purpestures, in

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1. See above, p. 96.
2. ERO, D/DP Z 16/9.
3. E.g. twenty eight acres "de assarto nostro qui jacent inter stratam que ducit ad silvam hospitaliororum et terram David de Ging". Ibid. T 1/A 665; and two acres "que fuerunt de assarto in territorio de Ginges Abbe." Ibid. A 670.
4. Ibid. D/DP M'150, fo. 80.
the same way as pasture for their sheep. There are frequent amercements for making purpestures, and for cutting down trees on their land without licence. It is impossible to tell how much woodland was cleared in this way before the dissolution, but it was probably a considerable extent.

(d) **Additional Sources of Revenue.**

In addition to its main sources of revenue derived from its manorial estates, Barking also possessed smaller sources which are interesting because they were peculiar to the locality. One of these was the oyster beds which the abbey possessed at Salcot and Tollesbury. These two manors, lying in the shallow estuary of the River Blackwater were well placed for the oyster fisheries which are still famous on this part of the Essex coast. From earliest times, the fisheries have sheltered the "native" Essex oyster, whose "layings" have been guarded as jealously as any game preserve. Though much of the

1. E.g. in 1406, a tenant had to answer for the cutting down of eighty seven oaks on his copynola land. ERO, D/DP M31 m.1. This was an unusually large number of trees. Most of the amercements were for cutting down two or three.

2. VCH, Essex, II, 425.
Blackwater estuary was, from time immemorial, "common ground" where anyone had the right to fish, there have always been private "layings" also, chiefly at Tollesbury and west Mersea. Some of these "layings" belonged to the abbey, since we find it in 1527 leasing two off Tollesbury, one of them called "leynhuisleyn" and the other "unam leynam vocatam oldwhale". The entry fine paid by the two tenants who took them was in one case two bushels of oysters, and in the other one bushel. Oyster "layings" were held by tenants of the manor, and exchanged by a process of surrender in the manorial court, in much the same way as their land. Thus in 1537, a "laying" called "sepeleyn" was surrendered, and the new tenant took it up ad virgam, paying a rent of 8d. a year.

Stringent bye-laws existed for the protection of private "layings" where the owners had, by royal grant, the exclusive right to dredge and fish. Oyster culture took place in the "culch" or "cultch" of the "laying", where the brood of oysters developed. Anyone who broke

1. ERO, D/DP N52 m.3. "Half a wash" of oysters annually was a common rent on some manors. VCH, Essex, II, 436.

2. ERO, D/DP I86 m.2.
into his neighbour's "laying", took the oysters in
his nets and destroyed the brood acted "contra pacem
domini regis." Similarly, to dredge the "layings"
in the autumn, and so to destroy the brood was "contrary
to ancient usage and statute."

Since all the evidence on the subject belongs
to the last fifty years of the abbey's existence, there
is no means of knowing what its policy was with regard
to its "layings". In earlier times, it may have kept
them, as it were, "in demesne" in order to make profit
from the sale of the fish, but it is probably true that,
like much of the manorial property, they were soon
leased. Some "layings", however, may have been kept
down to the time of the dissolution. The cellaress
entered in her last account "2d. in rewards to Brokok,
servant of Wigborough for bringing of mullets and oysters." This was probably for cartage, and there is nothing to
show whether the cellaress was purchasing the fish or
getting them from the abbey's own "layings".

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1. Four men were amerced in the court at Salcot
in 1449 for doing this. ERO, D/DP M70 m.2d.
2. Ibid. M55 m.3.
3. PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/929.
The ownership of a fishpond was indispensable to a monastic establishment in the Middle Ages, on account of the fish diet of the numerous abstinence days. Very little evidence of any possessed by Barking has survived, and late account rolls show that the officials bought quantities of fish, for instance from Stourbridge fair.

Domesday speaks of fisheries at Lucking, Tollesbury and Barking, but it is impossible to say how valuable or how extensive they were. The prosperity of Barking as a fishing village belongs to a period subsequent to the dissolution of the abbey, but in the fourteenth century Barking Creek already had its fishermen. During the bad floods which did so much damage at the end of that century, the abbey and its tenants were in trouble for illegal fishing in the Thames. In 1386, an enquiry was instituted by the Mayor and Aldermen of London as to "how and by whom the fish in the Thames were so destroyed that hardly a seasonable fish could be found in it." The fishermen who gave evidence declared that "the fish usually entered

1. See below, p. 296.
2. VCH, Essex, I, 448, 449.
at the breach on the land of the abbot of Stratford and of the abbess of Barking, in order to feed on the land there and to be more at ease than in the current of the Thames and there they stayed till the tide ebbed and they could not pass back to the river but betook themselves to the ditches which remained full of water, which ditches the abbot and abbess hired out to people to put weirs and other engines in them, against the assize, whereby all the fish, great and small, being unable to pass, were destroyed, and thus the abbot and abbess were the principal maintainers of the destruction of the fish."

The abbey also had a private fishpond at Ingatestone which was jealously guarded against poachers. In 1406, a writ was sued out against several tenants who were caught fishing in it, while in 1444, an amercement of 7s. 6d. was imposed on others "who fished in the lady's separate fishpond with nets and other instruments."

No further evidence has survived, and the fact that the abbey was buying considerable quantities of fish at

1. ERO, D/DP 430.
2. Ibid., M43 m.3.
the time of the dissolution shows that, unless it was leasing its fisheries, they were no longer valuable to it.

Another purely local source of income was a tile-kiln at Handley, called on the court rolls a "tylkkele" or "tylhoues". An abundance of clay in Essex made the manufacture of tiles and pottery for domestic purposes one of the oldest industries of the county. Mediaeval tile-kilns have been excavated at Mile Green, Fryerning and Billericay, all in the immediate vicinity of Ingatestone, and in the seventeenth century there were extensive potteries in the nearby village of Stock. There is no evidence that Barking manufactured tiles for sale. It was probably for building purposes and repairs at the abbey or on the manors that they were used. Tilers

1. Chapman and André's Lap of Essex shows a brick kiln at Handley.

2. E.g. the court roll for 1414 has the entry "Johannes Fynch fecit diversos puteos in regia via iuxta le tylhoues". EK, D/DP L32 m.2.

3. VCH, Essex, Ii, 414.

4. E.g. the Dagenham reeve's account for 1321-2 has the entry, "In fodder of six horses seeking tiles at Ging' once." Four barns, the "tithe barn", "great barn", "Le keve's berne", and the "oats barn", and several farm buildings were reroofed this year. PRO, S.C.6. 849/11.
were employed by the house to work at the kiln, and when
the manor was leased, the kiln was at first excluded
from the lease. Later the kiln itself was leased,
usually to a tiler.

The frequency with which tilers are mentioned on
the court rolls, and the recurrence of the surname, Tiler,
says how common an occupation it must have been. On one
occasion, in 1379, when a tenant sought permission to
live away from the manor, he was given leave to depart,
"but if the lady and her council need him to make tiles, he is to return." As late as 1470, a certain John
Fynche, tiler, paid an entry fine of a thousand tiles when
he took up a tenement and seven acres of land.

1. E.g. this was the case in 1368, when the lessee had
to provide the kiln with wood for the manufacture
of tiles. EH0, D/DP M21 m.2.

2. E.g. in 1380 Robert Tyler leased "the tylhouse and
four acres of land for ten years", paying 5s. a
year rent. Ibid. M22 m.1.

3. Ibid. m.3.

4. Ibid. M54.
Permission to dig potter's clay, sand and turf on Handley Common had to be obtained from the steward of Barking, who exacted the payment of a rent, and amerced the culprits who failed to obtain the necessary licence. The new owner of the manor after the dissolution also laid down in the custumal of 1563 that "no tenant may make any pit, dig any turf, clay, gravel or sand without licence of the lord, in any waste ground, common, green or highway."

Another valuable possession of the abbey was its mills. Five of these already existed at the time of Domesday, two at Barking and the others at Hockley, Tollesbury and Pucking. The early mills were worked by

1. E.g. in 1386 Robert Tyler was allowed to dig sand and turf for ten years, for making tiles, at 2d. a year rent. ERO, D/DP M24 m.2.

2. E.g. the court roll for 1387 has a typical entry, "Robertus Tyler ponet se in gratia domine de eo quod foavit sabulon in communia sine licensia". Ibid. m.3.

3. Ibid. M175.

water power, but later windmills were erected at Ingatestone, Bulphan and Slapton, and probably on the other manors. The one at Ingatestone was already built by the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it was included in the lease of the manor to Sir Thomas de Foulkings.

The upkeep of a mediaeval mill was a heavy expense. The "costs of the mill" at Dagenham amounted in 1321-2 to £6. 10s. 8d. The detailed description of the reeve's expenditure on the repair of the "floodgatis" and the mill sluice, and the ordinary equipment which had to be renewed, makes it clear that this was a water-mill. Its position can be located on the modern Ordnance Survey map by the "floodgates" on the River Roding.

1. The water-mill was earlier and more commonly found in mediaeval England than the windmill. H.S. Bennett, Life on the English Manor (Cambridge, 1948), 129, n.1. In the twelfth century, the Templars had numerous corn mills on their Essex properties, which were mainly worked by water power. They were of considerable financial value to the Order. B. A. Lees, Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century (London, 1935), Lxxix. In 1300, Christ Church, Canterbury possessed fifty four mills in Essex. Nichols, op. cit., 4.

2. ERO, D/DP T1/1589.

3. PRO, S.C.6 849/11.
The millstone was the most expensive item in the equipment of a mill. A new one for Barking, bought in the early sixteenth century, cost £5. 3s. 4d. The same year, one for Tollesbury was purchased at £2. 6s. 8d. and another for Mucking at £5. 15s. 2d. The one which was bought for Slapton about the same time cost another £5. 7s. 8d. These expenses were over and above the ordinary repairs to these mills, which were also heavy. When timber was needed for repairs, it could be obtained from the abbey woods, and occasionally in the early days from gifts made by the king.

1. PRO, E 101, 458.7, fo. 5.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. 542.2, fo. 3d.
4. E.g. repairs at Dagenham amounted to 21s. 8d., and at Tollesbury to 14s. 2d., while a mill-wheel cost another 2s. 5d. Ibid. 458.7, fo. 5.
5. E.g. in 1475, six oaks were sent from the woods at Tollesbury to repair Mucking mill. See above, p. 98, n.1.
The mediaeval mill was a seignorial monopoly, and the lord made his profit by taking from the tenants who used it a proportion of their grain, called "multure". All the tenants, both free and unfree, were obliged to go to the mill to grind their corn, and though it is usually impossible to calculate the proportion of grain taken, the amount seems frequently to have been heavier for the serf than it was for the free man. In the early fourteenth century, Barkin obtained in one year as much as forty six quarters, four and a half bushels from Dagenham mill alone. The reeve there sold it for £19. 16s. 11½d. He also entered on his account, under the expenses of the mill, the wages of two men whom he hired to saw planks of wood for the wooden boxes into which the tolls of grain were put.

Evasion of their obligation to use the lord's mill was a common fault of mediaeval peasants, but the irksome nature of the obligation does not make it surprising.

1. Bennett, op. cit., 133.
3. "For 2 sawyers hired for 4 days sawing planks for the work of the mill and also planks for the toll-hutches to collect the tolls and put them in, 2s. 8d., taking per day 8d." Ibid.
They frequently took their grain elsewhere, or ground it secretly at home with a hand-mill. Fourteen customary tenants of Ingatestone were amerced 3d. each in 1346, "quia retraxerunt sectam molendinum domine." Their grain was not confiscated as this was their first offence.

Any attempt on the part of a tenant to set up his own mill was thwarted by the abbey. William Dun, an important tenant and benefactor of the house, tried, in 1242, to erect a windmill in Barking. The abbess took the matter to court, on the grounds that it caused "injury to her mills in the same town which she had of the gift of the king's predecessors." She won her case, and William Dun acknowledged that "he ought not to erect or construct any mill or water-mill in the manor of Barking or its appurtenances."

Attempts to set up hand-mills or querns were more common offences. In 1466 a certain William Baker of Ingatestone, who at one time held the office of rent collector, carried off from the mill an old millstone, "to make a small handmill, called a quern" in his house.

1. ERO, D/DP 116d.
2. FF Essex, I, 144.
3. ERO, D/DP 152d.
He was aided and abetted by John Fisher the miller, who was also guilty of stealing a second millstone and taking it to Chelmsford. Both were amerced for their offence. John had taken up a ten year lease of the mill in 1463, the year that William Baker held the position of rent collector, so that they were probably carrying on their illicit practices some time before they were brought to book. The baker may have been grinding tenants' corn and possibly also baking their bread illegally. In 1470, he was outlawed, though for what reason does not appear, and his goods and chattels confiscated. The miller seems likewise to have been an undesirable character. He was accused of taking excessive tolls from the lady's tenants, and of quarreling with the "farmer" of the manor over the possession of the "millfield" in which the mill stood.

1. ERO, D/DP 151 m.3.
2. Ibid. m.55 m.1d.
3. Ibid. 156 m.2., 57 m.1.
4. Ibid. M57. The miller claimed that the "millfield" was an appurtenance of the manor, and the "farmer" that it was part of the demesne lands which had been leased to him. The matter was referred to the abbess's council. The "millfield" was extensive, measuring thirty acres.
The mediaeval miller was a notoriously bad fellow, and many of those whom Barking employed seem to have been no exception. Scattered over the court rolls of the different manors are complaints of the extortions they practiced on the tenants, of their theft of the abbey's corn, and of their negligence in repairing the mill.

In the later Middle Ages, the abbey continually leased its mills, sometimes with the manors and sometimes separately. Bulphan mill was generally leased with the demesne lands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and Lucking mill was leased in the same way in the fifteenth century. It is impossible in these cases to calculate the value of the lease, because it does not appear on the

1. In 1390, the miller of Ingatestone was amerced 3d. for taking excessive toll. EkO, D/DP 125. Similar complaints appear on the court rolls of Tollesbury, e.g. Ibid. A57 m.4d, 79 m.3.

2. E.g. in 1304, "the miller carried off four sheaves of the lady's corn and left them in a derelict house so that they were spoilt." Ibid. II9 m.4.

3. E.g. in 1457, the jurors of Bulphan presented that the mill was almost roofless and in need of a sailyard. Ibid. D/DSg M3 m.2.
few surviving account rolls. At Ingatestone where the windmill was an important one which drew on a wide area including Woodbarns and Handley, the abbey leased it together with the manor, in the early thirteenth century. This policy was also adopted in the middle of the fourteenth century, but in the fifteenth century the mill was frequently leased by itself to a miller. The ten year lease to John Fisher in 1463 has already been mentioned. Forty years earlier, in 1423, John White had taken a five year lease, and had paid the abbey a rent of 13s. 4d. for the first year, and then 16s. 8d. twice a year for the remaining four years of the lease.

1. E.g. in 1450, the rent collector of Mucking made the following entry on his account roll, "de firma molendini aquatici nihil hic oneratur quia dimittatur cum manerio." PRO, S.C.6, 849/4.

2. See below, p.442.

3. It is mentioned in leases of the manor in 1340, 1341 and 1368. ERO, D/DP H14 m.3d, m.4, h21 m.2.

4. See above, p.414.

5. ERO, D/DP H35d.
By 1450, the rent had fallen to 20s. a year, and even this was a theoretical amount only, for under his allowances the rent collector entered that the mill was unoccupied for want of repair. Thus at Ingatestone, as at Bulphan, there was carelessness and consequently a fall in value in the mill, a state of things which is also discernible on the Essex estates of Christ Church, Canterbury.

By the time of the dissolution, all the abbey's mills were leased. £21. 11s. 8d. came in, in this way from the water-mill at Dagenham, the windmill at Ingatestone yielded £1. 6s. 8d., while the water-mills at Hockley and at Tollesbury were each bringing in £2. 13s. 4d.

3. PRO, S.C.6, H VIII/930. The Minister's account of 1540 assigns this rent to the hospital at Ilford belonging to the abbey. It also speaks of another "corn mill in the hospice of the late monastery." Ibid. S.C.6, 964, fo. 14v.
4. Ibid. H VIII/930.
5. Ibid. H VIII/929/2.
Finally, a valuable source of income to the house was provided by rent charges from houses and shops. Some of these were in London and Colchester, but by far the greater number were in Barking itself.

Much of the manor of Barking still remained open land as late as the middle of the fifteenth century, when the rents of some five hundred tenancies, divided between the "north side" and "south side" were yielding just over £148 a year. At the same time, the area in the immediate vicinity of the abbey was becoming more densely populated. A pattern of streets emerges in the rental of 1456, identical with that which can be seen on the eighteenth century map of Chapman and Andre. North Street was the main street leading from the abbey to its lands at Ilford. It converged at the abbey gates with East Street, which led to Becontree Heath, the original meeting place of the hundred court. South of East Street and running parallel with it was Baker Street, renamed by 1540, Axe Street. It continued as

1. BY, Add. Ms. 45,387.
2. Ibid. See plan opposite.
3. See below, p.173.
4. It is called by this name in PRO, S.C.6 964.
Hethe (i.e. Hithe) Street, as far as the town quay on the River Hoding, at the south-west corner of the abbey precincts.

It was in the area between East Street and Baker Street, just outside the abbey gates and within easy reach of the wharf, that the trade of Barking began to develop. Names of streets like "shoprowe", "fleshrowe", "fishrowe" and "le fishshambles", and the surnames of the abbey's tenants show the avocation of many of their inhabitants. The market was held here, though no charter granting it to the abbey has survived. According to Smart Lethieullier, the abbey "enjoyed from time immemorial the privilege of a market every Saturday and of a fair annually on the eve of the feast of St. Ethelburga", but there is no evidence to show their financial value to the house.

Barking abbey drew rents, amounting to about 14s. a year, from shops and tenements in all these streets. Twelve shops paying rents are specifically mentioned in the rental of 1456, but these were not all since some entries read "divers shops". In addition, there were a

1. op. cit., I, 100. No source is given for his information.
number of shops "by the gates of the convent", like that of John Littleton of London, mercer, who was renting it at 18d. a year. Another had been built "near the walls of the monastery." The rental shows the trading centre expanding, where it describes, for instance, how a man acquired a plot of land to the north of the abbey gates and then a purpesture four feet in length to the south, to enlarge his newly erected shop.

It would, however, be incorrect to regard mediaeval Barking as a monastic borough growing up under the control of the abbey. The lack of municipal consciousness on the part of its inhabitants is shown by their attitude to the house during the Peasants' Revolt. There is nowhere any evidence of hostility on their part, even though Essex was one of the main centres of general discontent, and there seems to have been some disturbance at Ingatestone, in which a number of court rolls were burnt.

1. BY, Add. Ms. 45,387, fo.1.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. E.g. in 1386 and 1387, tenants were unable to produce evidence of their holding of land "quia rotuli curie istius manerii combusti fuerunt tempore rumoris populi." ERO, D/DF M24 m.2, m.4. The word rumor is used on the court roll of the manor of Milton, belonging to Canterbury Cathedral Priory, to describe the Peasants' Revolt. Nichols, op. cit., 85.
Before turning to the property which the abbey possessed in London, it is worth mentioning here the town quay or wharf, which lay, as has been said, to the south-west of the abbey. There is no mediaeval evidence regarding it. In 1601, however, a Town Wharf Commission made enquiries into complaints being made about it by the people of Barking, and its findings have survived. The commissioners reported that "the jury say upon their oaths that in the time before the dissolution of the abbey, the said wharf was for the use of people dwelling there and resorting thither, yet specially used by the Lady Abbess who had two pairs of stairs thereupon and was accounted to be the maintainer and repairer." It was used for "the carriage of provisions into the abbey and of corn and meal to and from the watermills there", and also by the abbess "to land at her passage by water to and from the Thames." But the market folk were allowed to use it, and also "such barks, lighters, fisherboats and other vessels as frequented the said place." After the dissolution it had been repaired "at the proper cost and charge of King Henry the Eighth of famous memory as

1. See above, p. 120.
being lord of the manor of Barking," but it was falling now into disrepair through neglect. It is hardly likely that the abbey would have allowed the people of Barking to use the wharf without their paying dues, but no reference to any income the house may have derived from it can be found.

The earliest reference to the London property of Barking is contained in Erkonwald's charter, which, as has been said, speaks of ten manentes super vicum Londonie. These may be the origin of the twenty eight houses assigned to Barking in Domesday.

During the Middle Ages, several tenements in the capital belonged to the house, though lack of evidence makes it impossible to assess their financial value.

The most extensive were the seventeen tenements in the parish of St. Olaf, given to the house by Joan Felton in 1398, which were leased in the fifteenth century. In addition, there were other messuages scattered in different parts of the city. Thus, there was a tenement

1. See above, p. 29.
2. See above, p. 41.
3. In 1439, John Walrand of London was leasing them from the abbey. CCR, 1435-1441, 337.
in St. Lawrence Jewry,\(^1\) and another in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-East.\(^2\) Several others, in various parishes, were allocated to the cellaress, who drew annual rents from them. \(^3\) The office of pensions also drew rents from property in London. \(^4\)

At the time of Domesday, Barking also possessed three houses in Colchester, but no further information on them has survived.

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1. See below, p. 461.

2. In 1429, the abbess was conducting a lawsuit for intrusion against several persons, "touching her free tenement" in this parish. Calendar of 1lea and Memoranda Rolls of City of London (ed. A. H. Thomas), 1413-1437, 224.

3. See below, p. 292.

4. See below, p. 301.

5. VCH, Essex, I, 449.
CHAPTER II

SPIRITUAL SOURCES OF REVENUE

The fifteen churches owned by Barking Abbey formed an important and lucrative part of its possessions. Eleven of them lay in the diocese of London. Of these, nine were in the Archdeaconry of Essex, namely Barking and Dagenham in the Deanery of Barking, Great Warley in the Deanery of Chafford, Abbess Roding in the Deanery of Ongar, Ingatestone in the Deanery of Chelmsford, Mucking, Bulphan and Horndon in the Deanery of Barstable, and Hockley in the Deanery of Rochford. Two others, Tollesbury in the Deanery of Wytham and Great Wigborough in the Deanery of Lexden, came under the jurisdiction of the Archdeaconry of Colchester. All Hallows, Barking, by the Tower of London and St. Margaret's, Lothbury, were in London itself, and the other two, Lidlington and Slapton, belonged to the diocese of Lincoln. In addition, the abbey had the right of presentation to the Hospital of St. Mary at Ilford, founded as a leper hospital in the twelfth century by the abbess, Adelicia FitzJohn.

No documentary evidence survives to show how these churches first came into the abbey's possession, but
as most of them lay on its manors, they probably formed part of the original grant together with the land.

Knowles has traced the growth of the Germanic system of Eigenkirchen in Anglo-Saxon England, by which the fabric of the churches and the land belonging to them passed into private ownership. Ownership of the church gave its proprietor the right, not only to appoint its priest, but also to sell or bequeath the church, or even a fraction of it, like any other property. Thus, in Domesday, Barking is said to possess "half a church" in London, rendering the abbey 6s. 8d. This was the church of All Hallows, Barking, by the Tower, from which the abbey received later an annual pension of half a mark.

Apart from a small tax probably introduced into England by Cnut, Anglo-Saxon churches brought no financial profit to their owners. It was the Normans

1. _No_, 592-600. The growth of churches in Essex in Anglo-Saxon and early mediaeval times is described by W. R. Powell in 'The Taking of Essex Parishes' in _ER_, LXII (1953), 6-17, 32-41.

2. _VCH_, Essex, I, 448.

3. For the subsequent connection between this church and the abbey, see below, p. 389.
who introduced the idea of exploiting them as a financial asset. They also made many of them over in gift to the monasteries, so that by the end of the first century after the Conquest it is probable that a quarter of the total number of churches in England were in monastic hands.

The earliest complete list of Barking's churches giving their financial value is contained in a fourteenth century copy of an older document, which bears the heading *Registrum Fulconis Basset quondam Londoniensis episcopi*. It contains the names of all the churches in the diocese of London, with their vicarages, pensions and portions. W. E. Lunt considers that it belongs, not to the episcopate of Fulk Basset, which extended from 1244 to 1259, but to a slightly later date, between the years 1258 and 1268, and probably to the year 1262 or 1263. The figures it contains are, however, identical with the Valuation of Norwich of 1254, so that the estimated values

1. It forms part of the larger Statuta Majora Ecclesie Sancti Pauli, deposited in the muniments of St. Paul's Cathedral. It has been printed by R. C. Fowler in Trans. Essex Arch. Soc. NS, XVIII (1928), 16-24, 119-131.
of the churches would seem to be those of that Valuation.

R. C. Fowler regards it as belonging to the time of Basset and assigns it to the year 1246, when a papal subsidy was levied in England.

Fulk Basset's register ceased to have any practical value after 1291, when the Taxation of Pope Nicholas superseded all earlier assessments and formed the basis of papal taxation for the remainder of the Middle Ages. It is valuable, however, in the history of Barking's churches because it contains information not given in the later taxation. It includes five churches not mentioned in 1291, namely Abbess Roding, Bulphan, Hockley, Horndon and Stambridge. For several other churches, it gives a higher estimate than the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, which is rather unusual. In the case of the abbey church, the estimate was decreased from £70 to £33. 6s. 8d. Apart from this church, Tollesbury was

1. *op. cit.*, 15.
2. Stambridge does not appear elsewhere, so that this may be an error, or it may have been lost or disposed of later.
3. The tables compiled by V. E. Lunt show almost invariably an increase in the rate of assessment in 1291. *op. cit.*, 530-539.
the most valuable in 1291, when it was assessed at £20. £13. 6s. 8d. was the average assessment of the others.

The possession of the advowson of these churches gave Barking a financial return in the form of an annual pension. Except for Lucking which paid £2. 6s. 8d., a mark a year was the average amount which the abbey received. As the patron of the churches, Barking also had the right to present their incumbents.

The possession of the advowson of a church by a religious house was frequently, however, the first step towards its complete appropriation. As the practice increased whereby the monastery became the non-resident rector, it became the duty of the bishop of the diocese to see that a vicarage was "ordained", which should be permanent and guaranteed in its income. This was to be either a fixed sum of money or a specified portion of the church's revenues. By 1184, permanent vicarages had been ordained in more than half the dioceses of England. In 1200, the Council of Westminster decreed that in every church canonically appropriated by religious, a vicar should be instituted, to whom the bishop should assign a decent and sufficient maintenance from the property of the church. A minimum salary of five marks
was fixed by the Council of Oxford in 1222.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, Barking had already appropriated four of the churches of which it possessed the advowson. These were Barking itself, Dagenham, Great Warley and Horndon. There is no record of the ordination of their vicarages, or indeed of any belonging to the abbey, in the registers of the Bishops of London. The Valuation of Norwich shows that there were two vicarages at Barking, one of "the Southstrete" which was assessed at nine marks, and the other of "the Northstrete", assessed at eight marks. It makes no mention of the vicarages of Dagenham and Great Warley except that they were appropriated to the abbey. Horndon was assessed at 100s., but no more evidence on it has come to light.

Since the Crown regarded an advowson as temporal property, an appropriation could only be carried out after the Statute of Mortmain, by royal licence, which

1. C.R. Cheney, From Becket to Langton (Manchester, 1956), 131-3.
2. Lunt, op. cit., 333.
3. Ibid., 341.
131

often involved expense and delay. The Statute, however, did not check the number of appropriations, as is shown by their frequency on the Patent Rolls. In the absence of evidence in the bishops' registers, that provided by the Patent Rolls on the appropriation of Barking's churches is all the more valuable.

The Patent Rolls show that the abbey was allowed to appropriate Wucking in 1315, and that this was followed in 1362 by a licence to appropriate their richest church, Tollesbury. There was some delay in the latter case, for the nuns had been given permission to appropriate by the Pope, as far back as 1355. It was more usual and also safer for a monastery to obtain a royal licence before approaching the Pope, and failure to do so could result in forfeiture of the advowson.

2. CPR, 1313-1317, 363.
3. Ibid. 1361-1364, 205.
In this instance, however, the papal faculty is said to be granted on the petition not only of the abbess and convent, but also on that of the king. Objections may have been raised by the bishop or the rector, and in any case the nuns would have been obliged to wait till the death or resignation of the rector. They seem to have taken possession only in 1373, in which year they made a grant for life to the rector of Tollesbury of a rent of £40, from their manors of Tollesbury and Great Wigborough, together with the manor house of Tollesbury for his habitation.

The appropriation of Tollesbury was followed in quick succession by that of Hockley in 1382, All Hallows, Barking in 1385, and Lidlington in 1410.

Before 1366, papal permission made an appropriation secure, but after the decree of Pope Urban V in that year forbidding the appropriation of churches, recourse had to be had to the papal court, though the appropriation

1. CPR, 1370-1374, 264.
2. Ibid. 1381-1385, 106.
3. Ibid. 1385-1389, 43.
4. Ibid. 1408-1413, 211.
was not normally refused. Even so, the papal assent was usually applied for after the royal licence had been granted. Barking obtained permission from Pope John XXIII in 1412 to appropriate Lidlington, "the assent of King Henry having been given" two years earlier.

The appropriations made by Barking at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth took place at a time when the movement was at its height in this country. Moreover, it is clear from the reasons given by the monasteries, that they regarded the appropriations as an emergency measure to meet their own financial troubles. Poverty, arising from a variety of causes, such as pestilence, murrain, war or flooding is the usual reason given for the appropriations. In the case of Barking, the frequent flooding of their lands was the reason put forward by the nuns, for the appropriation, for instance, of Hockley and Lidlington. The financial difficulties which the floods did indeed create

1. Wood-Legh, op. cit., 133-134.
3. Hamilton Thompson, op. cit., 110.
for the abbey have already been pointed out, and an appropriation, though it might be expensive, could tide the house over a bad period.

In taking a church ad proprios usus, the abbey became the rector of the parish, and upon it therefore devolved the duty of deputing a vicar for the cure of souls. As rector, the nuns had the right to the great tithes of the parish, while to the vicar fell the altarage, i.e. the small tithes, oblations and casual offerings. A more satisfactory arrangement could, however, be made by allocating to the vicar a fixed annual stipend. When the nuns received permission to appropriate Tollesbury, it was merely stated that a vicar's portion must be reserved. At Lidlington, the royal licence gives no specific sum but states that a vicarage must be sufficiently endowed and a competent sum of money from the fruits of the church distributed annually among the poor parishioners, according to the ordinance of the diocesan. The Papal permission is, however, more explicit.

1. See above, p. 71 et seq.

2. E.g. ten marks were paid into the hanaper when Mucking was appropriated.
It states that a yearly portion of fifteen marks must be reserved for a perpetual vicar, the total value of the church being forty marks.

The first church to be appropriated was, as has been said, the abbey church which until the fourteenth century served as the parish church of Barking. The parish it served, 12,000 acres in extent, was the largest in Essex. By the middle of the thirteenth century, there were two vicarages, ex parte australi and de boreali, served by two perpetual vicars with separate stipends. At some point in the fourteenth century, the present church of St. Margaret was built, and this became the parish church of Barking. Though it is impossible now to tell whether it lay in the monastic precinct, it was certainly built in close proximity to the abbey church, and must therefore have been dependent on it. It was served by the "northern" vicar, while the "southern" vicar was bound to celebrate Mass in the conventual church.

1. See above, p.130.
2. Powell, op. cit., 34.
The financial troubles of the late fourteenth century made it impossible to maintain the vicar of "the Southstrete", whose endowment was probably derived from the marshy land along the River Thames, which had been flooded. The abbey therefore obtained papal permission to amalgamate the two vicarages. The arrangement, however, seems to have given rise to considerable difficulty, both with the vicars and the parish. In 1395, the abbess was obliged to abide by the judgement of the Bishop of London, "in regard to the strife and debate between her and her parishioners." The reason for "the strife and debate" does not appear, but it may well have concerned the services in St. Margaret's church. Relations had not improved by 1414. The "north vicar", who since the amalgamation of the two vicarages was in enjoyment of the portion of the "South vicar" as well as his own, was refusing to abide by his part of the bargain, which was to find a fit priest to celebrate Mass in the conventual church, while he was responsible for the cure of the parish. The matter was taken to Rome by the

2. CCR, 1392-1396, 500.
abbey, and the abbot of Stratford was appointed to compel the vicar to carry out his part of the agreement. The result of the proceedings is not given, but the litigation must have been costly and lengthy for the abbey.

A curious agreement between a later abbess, Catherine de la Pole, and a vicar of Parking, has been preserved by Smart Lethieullier, though he gives no indication of his source. Until the time of Catherine de la Pole, the vicar received annually from the abbess a goose, a hog, a cheese and a lamb. Now, he was to receive instead three yards of cloth, two ells broad, or six yards one ell broad, for a livery, and provision for himself at table every day with her chaplains, and likewise for his servant with her servants. This arrangement lasted until 1536 when the vicar received instead an annual sum of £10.

2. op. cit., II, 198. He gives no date for the agreement but Catherine was abbess from 1433 to 1473. A similar agreement, at a slightly higher rate, was made between Tavistock Abbey and the vicar of Tavistock in 1514, to put an end to friction. H. P. R. Finberg, Tavistock Abbey (Cambridge, 1951), 25.
By the Constitutions of Otto and Ottobon, a vicar was required to reside in his parish, and the Bishop of London, in inducting the vicars presented by Barking, usually ordered them to do so. The nuns, as the new proprietors of the church, were supposed to provide the vicar's house, which would presumably have been the former rectory or at least part of it, if the rectory was farmed. There is nowhere any reference to the nuns providing a house, nor is there anywhere any description of one, though there is an occasional entry on the manorial court rolls of the amercement of a rector whose house was in need of repair.

Though many of the clerks who thought it worth their while to obtain a benefice in the presentation of Parking, or who became vicars in its appropriated churches are nothing more than names to us, it is possible to find out a little more about some of them. In the fourteenth century, several of them were royal clerks or papal provisors. The extent to which the

1. E.g. in 1473 the rector of Abbess Koding was amerced, together with five tenants, for having his house in a ruinous state. ERO, D/DP M56 m.1.
Crown made use of its right, as patron of Barking, to put its own clerks into the abbey's churches, will be discussed later. During the same period, six clerks, four during the pontificate of John XXII, when papal provisions reached their widest extent, appealed to the Holy See for provision to a benefice in the gift of Barking.

The system of papal provisions is one which has been most severely criticised in the past, as an abuse which was exercised solely for the benefit of the papacy and against the best interests of the Church at large, and as one of the main causes of the decline of the mediaeval Church. It has, however, been shown that provisions were simply part of the growing centralisation of Church government, a feature which was common also to the secular state of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The exercise of its plenitudo potestatis, by which the papacy could provide to all benefices throughout the universal Church, was fully accepted by the mediaeval mind. In so far as

1. See below, p. 383 et seq.

the system of provisions became subject to a strict and well-defined legal procedure, its results must have been at least as beneficial as the traffic in advowsons which went on in England. The popes rarely interfered with lay patronage. Moreover, a papal provision normally had to originate through the initiative of the impetrant rather than through the exercise of the _plenitudo potestatis_. Again, the number of provisions far exceeded on paper what it was in fact. Many clerks, out of the thousands who appealed for benefices, fell by the wayside, through their ignorance of the correct procedure to be adopted in the papal court, or through their failure to pass the examination to prove their suitability. But even if they received papal permission, this gave them no real proprietary right in the benefice. The ordinary collator had every opportunity to state his claim, while rival claimants might appear.

At certain times, as for instance the beginning of a new pontificate, large numbers of poor clerks

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1. Hamilton Thompson, _op. cit._, 107.
2. Barraclough, _op. cit._, 94.
petitioned the pope for an *expectatio in forma pauperum*. Among these "poor clerks of diverse nations present in the papal court who have no benefice, and with great labour, pains and expenses, and in great dangers, have come in the hope of obtaining grants", there was in 1364 a clerk named Robert Waram from the diocese of York. He petitioned for a benefice in the gift of Barking, but the surviving lists of incumbents of the abbey's churches make no mention of him.

A clerk who could rely on the backing of the secular prince would have more chance than a poor unknown priest, making use of an "expectative grace" to obtain a benefice. In 1327, a William Noreman was provided to a benefice of Barking, which was to be worth £20 with the cure of souls and £15 without it. The provision was made at the king's request, but there is no indication of the relationship in which he stood to the king. He may have been a royal clerk. Nor is

there anything to show that he obtained a benefice from the abbey.

Since the popes were anxious to promote learned clerks, one of the strongest arguments an impetrant could use when petitioning for a benefice was his possession of a university education. In 1363, a clerk named Nicholas de Bothesham, LL.B., of the diocese of Ely, petitioned for a benefice, though he then held the church of Capel St. Mary in the diocese of Norwich which he declared himself ready to resign. In 1366, he was still expecting a benefice from the abbey and had not yet resigned Capel St. Mary. He was then residing at Cambridge as a Fellow of Gonville and Caius. He died at the Curia in 1381, without obtaining a benefice from Barking.

Several fifteenth century clerks became incumbents of the abbey's churches by making use of a papal dispensation to hold an "incompatible benefice" while residing at the University. For instance, John Forster was rector of St. Margaret, Lothbury from 1475 to 1480, during which time he was a Fellow of Merton College,

Oxford, and for the last twelve months Junior Proctor of the University.  

Similarly, John Dunmow who was rector of Bulphan from 1473 to 1476, was at the same time a Fellow of All Souls, as well as a canon of York, a prebendary of Barnby and vicar of Oakham in Rutland. In his case, Bulphan proved to be the first step in a career which ended in the royal service as proctor at the Papal Curia. Though all the clerks who thus benefited from the papal dispensation were not so successful as John Dunmow, these two priests are fairly typical of the incumbents found in the abbey's churches in the fifteenth century. For many, though not for all, the benefice was little more than a stop-gap, until something more valuable was found. Hence this bewildering number of resignations of incumbents, an abuse which was widespread in fifteenth century England.

2. Ibid. I, 606.
3. E.g. Richard Dene held Abbess Roding for a year in 1472 to 1473, and thence became in turn rector of Eastrop, Hants., from 1473 to 1474, of St. Swithun's on Kingsgate, Winchester from 1473 to 1477, and simultaneously of St. Lawrence, Winchester, and of Exton, Hants., till his death in 1484. Ibid. I, 568.
A small number of priests were relatives of abbesses, and probably owed their benefice to this fact. Nicholas de Sutton, who died as rector of Great Wigborough in 1371, was related to Katherine de Sutton. In his will, he left among a large number of bequests 40s. "soror me de Berkyng" and 12d. each to the other members of the convent. William Barley, who was presented to the vicarage of Dagenham in 1530, was probably a relative of the last abbess, Dorothy Barley.

While many of the incumbents possessed university degrees, others came from local families and were often of humble villein stock. This type of clerk was quite well known to mediaeval society, and often dependent, as ordination lists in bishops' registers show, on a religious house for the "title" by which he could proceed to ordination. Thomas Bene, who became vicar of Barking north in 1385, and in 1395 exchanged it for Waltham, probably belonged to a villein family of that name who held a tenement and land called Reyndol Penes in Barking, in the fifteenth century.

2. J. P. Shawcross, History of Dagenham (1904), 68.
4. Ibid., fo.130.
5. The name appears several times on the Barking court rolls for the year 1440. ERO, D/DP M187.
The court rolls of the abbey's manors sometimes show a rector or vicar of the parish in the same light as tenants of the abbey, liable to be summoned before the steward and amerced. George Davy, an Oxford A. who was rector of Ingatestone from 1470 to 1476 and then vicar of Dagenham until his death in 1484, was amerced 2d. in the manorial court of Ingatestone in 1475 for not performing the customary works attached to a tenement called Glasiers which he held there. Fishing without licence in the lady's pond and digging turf were further offences for which the abbey's clerks were amerced.

The wills of some of these humbler priests have survived. That of Sir John Ufford, vicar of Dagenham, which was proved on 9th October 1390, reads, "I, John Ufford, vicar of the parish church bequeath my soul to God, and will that my body be buried in the cemetery of St. Ethelburga, Barking. Item, I give to the

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2. EKO, D/DP 15. In the fourteenth century, the tenement consisted of six acres, three rods, three dayworks, and owed seventeen works of mowing and reaping a year. Ibid. h.22 m.3.
3. Ibid. h.41 m.2.
4. Ibid. l.24 m.1.
monastery of Barking XXd. to pray for my soul. To the
priest for the execution of this will, Xlld. I desire
the abbess of Barking to be my executor, and John Ewere
to whom I leave the residue of my goods, and power
reserved for the abbess of Barking when necessary.\(^1\)

One of his fifteenth century successors, John Valentyne,
who died in 1475 wrote, "also yet John Sturmyn \(\text{another}
name common in the district in the fifteenth century}\),
ye young scoler of Oxforde woll be a prest, I woll
he have my secunde best portose which was William
Davys with ij bokys or queyers of morall matter Whereof
on is Seynt Gregoryes workys and els matter."\(^2\)

One other will may be quoted. It is that of Richard Knyet,
who died as vicar of Tollesbury in 1444. It contains
a large number of bequests, all connected with his
parish and its people: 6s. 8d. for the fabric of the
church, in whose chancel he asks to be buried, 6s. 8d.
for the poor of the town for seven years, 20d. for every
householder, 12d. for everyone of either sex over twelve
years of age, and 4d. to every child under ten.

\(^1\) Shawcross, op. cit., 65. No source is given by
the author, and I have not found the will, nor
the following one.

\(^2\) Ibid. 67. A portose was a \text{portiforium} or portuary
and hence breviary.

\(^3\) Reg. Gilbert, fo.163.
When a church was appropriated, the financial burden was divided between the rector and the vicar. Various arrangements were made at different times and in different parts of the country, but the repair of the chancel of the church was usually charged to the monastery, since as rector this was regarded as its peculiar property. There are no extant records of visitations of Barking's churches to show whether the abbey was doing its duty in this respect. On one occasion, in 1422, the court roll of Ingatestone records the felling of oak trees on the manor for the repair of the chancel of Mucking church.

There are, however, several interesting references on the court rolls to the fabric of the church, which it was the duty of two churchwardens of the parish to look after. For this purpose, there was a fund into which parishioners paid regular rates, assessed according to their land.

1. See above, p. 98.

2. The position and responsibilities of the mediaeval churchwarden are described by C. Drew, The Origins of the Office of Churchwarden (St. Anthony's Hall Publications, No. 7).
One case illustrating this occurs on the court roll of Ingatestone for the year 1305. A man named Richard de la Strete, who seems to have been a guardian of the fabric of the church though no title is actually given him, accused Alice, the widow of Thomas Ellis, of refusing to pay 16s. 6d. which she had been taxed "for the fabric of the church, the bell-tower and the walls around the church." Alice, present in court, said that she had been taxed too heavily, "ultra mensura", and that whoever wished to build a new church could not tax her against her will. But Richard answered

1. ERO, D/DP 1/19 m.4.

2. This villein had held eighty acres of arable land and seven acres of assart in Handley. The rents and services he paid are given in detail in *The Domesday*. Ibid. M150, fo. 80. His name still survives on the modern Ordnance Survey map in Ellis farm.

3. After the maintenance of the nave of the church, the most costly duty of the churchwardens was the upkeep of the enclosure of the churchyard. Drew, *op. cit.*, 8.
that "she had never been taxed for a new church but for a new bell-tower and the other things he had stated, and this Alice could not gainsay." And so, the steward gave judgement that Richard should recover the 16s. 6d., and that Alice should be amerced for its detention.

The oblations of the faithful, and legacies and gifts frequently augmented the church fabric fund. Bequests were usually in money, but once at Ingatestone, it was seven good healthy cows, "abiles et firmabiles", which were to be delivered to the warden of the church of St. Edmund for the use of the church, and to be looked after by him.

When the fund for the fabric of the church was not being used for the repair of the church or for new building, it was put to other charitable purposes, like the repair of dangerous roads or the care of the poor.

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1. E.g. at Bulphan, a woman left 20s. and the two "guardians of the fabric" were in trouble for misusing it. ERC, D/DSc 5 m.3. About the same time, 23s. 4d. was left for the fabric of the church of Warley. Ibid. m.2d.

2. Ibid. D/DP 175 m.3.
In 1447, a tenant of Ingatestone left a tenement, twenty acres and a garden near the church. If his son died without heirs, they were to be sold, and the money used for the fabric of the church, for repairing dangerous roads and for the poor.

The cost of entertaining the archdeacon, at the time of his visitation of the church, was borne by the religious house which had acquired the church in proprios usus. By the fourteenth century, visitations were becoming rare and an official was often substituted whose chief business was to collect the archdeacon's fees. A list of these procurations, as the fees were called, for Barking's churches, was entered in the register of William Gray, Bishop of London, in the year 1428. For most of the churches, a sum of half a mark was levied, except for Great Warley which paid 4s. and Barking which paid nothing. While the rector

1. ERO, D/DP M44 m.2.
3. fo. 75.
paid the procuration the vicar of the church paid the comparatively lighter burden of the synodal dues, which were rated in 1428 at 1s. three times a year in Barking's churches.\(^1\) The Peter's Pence of that year, contributed by the parishioners, varied from "nihil" at Dagenham to 10s. at Barking.

By the time of the dissolution, Barking had appropriated all but six of its churches. Those of which it retained the advowson only were Bulphan, Ingatestone, Abbess Roding, Great Warley, Great Wigborough and Slapton. In the fifteenth century, the abbey began to adopt a common practice of the monasteries in the later Middle Ages, viz. to lease the rectory of its appropriated churches to a lay farmer. It was given permission to do this in 1415, by Pope John XXIII who allowed the nuns "to rent or farm to any persons, clerks or laymen, the fruits of their

\(^1\) Reg. Gray, fo. 75.

\(^2\) Ibid.

\(^3\) C. Pap. I, 1404-1415, 471.
By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Hockley, Tollesbury and Lidlington were being farmed, and the money thus received was accounted for by the obedientiaries of the office of pensions.

In 1501, Lidlington was yielding £7. 2s. 11d., Tollesbury £8 and Hockley £11. 14s. 8d. It is impossible to compare their value then with what they had been worth to the house when they were appropriated, since the income derived from the great tithes is unknown.

1. The nuns of St. Mary Clerkenwell farmed their church of St. Peter in Great Otham, Essex, to a layman in 1494. In an account roll of the nunnery of 1525-6, he is described as the farmer of the manor instead of the rectory. W. O. Hassall remarks, "it is an indication of the fact that the nuns not only farmed out their spiritualities to lay persons but that the writer of the roll was not guilty of a chance clerical error; he was illustrating by the word used the way in which the rectory was regarded as a source of income only, in the same way that a manor would be regarded. This illustration would be none the less significant because unconscious." loc. cit.

2. PRO, S.C.6, H VIII/928.

3. They may still have been paid in kind, as they were at Dagenham. See below, p.163. The distance, however, especially of Lidlington does not make this very likely.
Obviously there had been a considerable increase in their value since the days when the abbey possessed only the advowson. Then, Tollesbury and Mockley had paid a mark and Lidlington 4s. a year. By the sixteenth century, the total receipts from the churches belonging to the office of pensions came to £82. 8d., and four of the abbey’s churches were not included in this.

Some of the churches belonging to Barking had chapels attached to them, though the evidence about them is sparse. Outlying chapels grew up in large scattered parishes in England from early times. One would expect to find them in a county like Essex where the flooding of the marshy land along the coast and the Thames estuary must often have made the mother church inaccessible to distant parishioners. It has been calculated by W. R. Powell that there were at least three hundred churches and chapels in Essex before 1200, and about four hundred churches and seven hundred chapels before 1300. The chapels were served by a curate appointed by the rector of the parish church.

1. PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/928.
2. op. cit., 8.
Barking parish had a chapel, dedicated to St. Nicholas, which was situated in North Street, near the abbey. There are two passing references to it in fifteenth and sixteenth century documents, but it is impossible to tell how long it had then been there.

The manor of Salcot also had a chapel in the fifteenth century. In 1471, the abbess gave three tenants a croft of two acres, on condition that they kept two wax candles burning on the high altar during divine service on festivals every year, another before the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and a third, three pounds in weight, before the Easter Sepulchre.

In the sixteenth century, there was a chapel of "Blessed Ethelburga" on the manor of Ingatestone, where two men met to settle their debts in 1533, but nothing more about it can be found.

1. It is referred to in a rental of 1452, not belonging to Barking. PRC, Rentals and Surveys (Gen. Series, fo. 7, no. 29), and in the Minister's account of 1540 in the entry, "ivd. rent from Thomas Lanowe for a garden near the chapel of St. Nicholas." Ibid. S.C.6. 964, fo. 9.

2. ERO, D/DP M55 m.3.

3. Ibid. M85 m.3.
 Whereas these were chapels-of-ease dependent on the mother church, the chapel which Sir Thomas de Foullings was allowed to set up in Ingatestone Hall was a domestic chapel. In this case, the rights of the rector were safeguarded in a deed which was drawn up in 1221, after Sir Thomas had leased the manor from the abbey. He might have the chapel and a chaplain at his own cost, provided that the chaplain bound himself by oath every year to uphold the rights of the rector and to pay him all the offerings made in the chapel. No parishioner, except Sir Thomas and his familia, might assist at divine service there, nor might the chaplain hear confessions, reserve the Holy Eucharist, administer it or any other Sacrament. Sir Thomas and his household were to go to the parish church on feast days, and on the feast of St. Edmund offer a pound of wax, as a sign of the subjection of the chapel to the mother church.

Such an attitude on the part of the rector, who did not want the offerings of his parish diverted into other hands, was common in the Middle Ages. It probably lay also behind the threat of excommunication which the abbey could hold over the heads of the vicars and

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1. ERO, D/DP T1/1588. It was drawn up with the consent of the Bishop of London and of the abbess as the patron.
parishioners of Barking who did not attend divine service in the abbey church on July 13th each year, on which day its dedication was celebrated.

It was common in the Middle Ages for a rector or vicar to be helped in his work, either in the parish church or in an outlying chapel, by an assistant priest. This "parochial chaplain" or "parish priest" as he was sometimes called, was hired by the incumbent of the parish for a small salary. His duties lay either in the parochial chapel or in the parish church itself, where he celebrated Mass and probably heard the confessions of the parishioners and administered the Last Sacraments. There was such a priest at Ingatestone, for in 1394 a certain Dominus Walterus, described as capellanus parochialis, was attacked and assaulted by a tenant of the manor. Similarly, a presbyter parochianus was attached to the church of St. Margaret at Barking in the early sixteenth century.

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1. Ordinale, 257.
2. Hamilton Thompson, op. cit., 122-123.
4. reg. Fitzjames, fo. 13d.
Like most of the churches of the later Middle Ages, Barking abbey church possessed perpetual chantries, served by chantry priests called *cantaristæ*. One of them, served by two *cantaristæ*, was at the shrine of St. Ethelburga. The endowment of one of the priests was given by the fourteenth century steward, *Thomas Sampkin*, and became known as "the Sampkins chantry." It was valued at the dissolution at £13. 6s. 8d. The endowment of the second priest was given in 1392 by five benefactors, two of whom at least, *William Righill* and *Clement Spice*, served the abbey in administrative posts. The endowment consisted of fifty acres of arable land, ten of meadow, eleven and a half of pasture and fifty five of marsh, and 53s. 4d. rent, to find a chaplain who should say Mass daily before the shrine of St. Ethelburga in the abbey church for ever.

1. It is called by this name in the sixteenth century *Liber Regis* (Valor Ecclesiasticus, Vol. I. ed. J. Caley and J. Hunter, R.P. 1510-34), 435. See below, p. 421. for an explanation of the *Liber Regis*.

2. Ibid.

3. See below, p. 213 for Clement Spice.

4. CPR, 13 1-1396, 59.
Another chantry was founded at the altar of the Resurrection, probably situated under the rood-screen. It was endowed about the year 1398 by Maria Felton, the sister of the abbess, Sybil Felton. The presentation of the first chaplain of this "perpetual chantry", a William Tendrili from the diocese of Norwich, appears in the register of Bishop Braybrook of London that year. After swearing on the book of the Gospels to observe the form of ordination of the chantry, he was admitted by the bishop who ordered the chaplain of St. Ethelburga's chantry to induct him. From this time onwards the names of chaplains presented by Barking to these chantries appear on the bishops' registers as regularly as do the vicars of its appropriated churches.

Not everyone in the Middle Ages could afford to endow a perpetual chantry. Many of the poorer folk could only contribute towards a lass over a length of time, or towards a yearly anniversary lass. It would

1. This was assessed at £14. 13s. 4d. in the Liber Regis, loc. cit.
2. fo. 162d. - 163.
3. E.g., Reg. Walden fo. 12; Clyfford fo. 5d.; Fitzhugh, fo. 22.
never be difficult to find the necessary chaplain among the unbefitted clergy of the period. Moreover, all nunneries in the Middle Ages, even the poorest, had trust-money in their keeping from endowments of this kind, which they could and were obliged to use in this way, in accordance with the wishes of benefactors.

So, for instance, in 1420, a tenant of Ingatestone left ten marks, part towards the bells of his parish church, and part to find a chaplain who should say Mass for his soul for a year.

The abbey also received what were called "obit lands" for the same purpose. They consisted of small areas like "two parcels of meadow called Nightbrooke containing four acres, the obit of John Hide, l5s., a messuage and garden in Hoprowe for the anniversary of William Cheneys l4s."

Other bequests, mostly small in amount, were left to Barking by humble folk, like the 20s. given in 1533 by William Chowe of Barking, carpenter, to maintain

1. LHCr, D/DP 137.
2. Smart Lethieullier quotes from "a book of lands given for obits in the Augmentation Office." op. cit., II, 156. I have not been able to find out whether it is still extant.
a light burning before the Blessed Sacrament on the
high altar, or the 3s. 4d. left to the shrine of
St. Ethelburga by a priest, Thomas Durell, who had served
the chantry there. Another will, that of Richard
anor of Bar'ing whici was proved in 1501, asks that
he should be buried in the monastic cemetery, "if my
lady wills", or else in the parish church of St. Margaret.
He leaves to the high altar for forgotten tithes a cow
priced 10s. or else 10s. in money, a taper of a pound of
wax "to brenne before Saint Alborowe" \( \text{i.e. St. Ethel-
burga} \), 40s. towards the making of the steeple of the
parish church of St. Margaret, and "to every lady within
the monastery of Barking, to pray for me, 12d." Another
legacy left to the shrine of St. Ethelburga in 1354
by William de Berking, Fisamonger, was a gold ring and
40d.

1. Smart Lethieullier, op. cit., II, 155.
2. Ibid.
3. G. M. Benton, 'Essex Wills at Canterbury' in
   Trans. Essex Arch. Soc., NS, XXI (1934-7),
   265-6.
4. Calendar of Wills in the Court of Hustings, London,
Besides the shrine of St. Ethelburga, another centre of pilgrimage at Barking, and hence of offerings to the house was its thirteenth century Rood with the figures of Our Lady and St. John, which is still preserved, though badly worn, in the Curfew Gate. In 1400, it was in an oratory called "the Roodlofte situate upon the walls of the cemetery of the church and to it a great multitude of people resorts." No evidence of the offerings made at this shrine has survived.

Before leaving the subject of the abbey's parish churches, an interesting sixteenth century document concerning Ingatestone church may be mentioned. It bears the title, "The bill of goods belonging to the church at Ingatestone." Under the heading "Light Kyne", there are listed eight images in the church, and the number of cows with their owners, who were responsible for finding lights to burn before them. Thus, the image of St. Edmund had one cow, owned by William Smith, while the "bason light in the chancel" had five. Similarly, the

2. ERO, D/DP Z 16/11 A1214.
roodloft, the candlesticks before the high altar, and the ringing of the curfew bell, each had a number of cows assigned to it, while "the parson hathe a gardyne platte for fynding of bell roopesse."

In addition to its appropriated churches, which carried with them the right of the abbey to the great tithes of the parish, Barking also possessed separate grants of tithes in various places. The earliest of these were the two parts of his tithes offered on the altar of the abbey church by the son of Leomar of Cockfield who held land in Little Ilford in the time of

1. *Domesday Book.* He had taken 24 acres of land from the abbey, and this may have been in reparation.

The difficulty of collecting tithes paid in kind soon made their owners substitute for them a money pension. Barking received from the Prior of Dunmow 20s. for the tithes of Pechedene in the parish of Henham, and another 20s. for the tithes of Borle in Foxchurch, from the lands of Sir Humphrey FitzWalter. On the

1. *VCH, Essex, I, 559.*
2. *Ibid., 448.*
other hand, the tithes from Barking and Dagenham seem always to have been paid in kind. In the early fourteenth century, the reeve of Dagenham accounted for grain received from the tithes of the demesne at Westbury and Dagenham. He also entered among his expenses the wages of the tithing man on horse-back and on foot, and the stackers and carters of the tithe. Two hundred years later, the last Receiver of the abbey was still accounting in the same way for "the carriage of the tithe of Dagenham."

The possession of tithes was in mediaeval times one of the most fruitful sources of litigation for the monasteries, and in this Barking took its share. In the middle of the twelfth century, the rector of the church of Buttsbury was unjustly claiming the tithes of Ingatestone and Handley, and the abbey appealed to Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London. Judgement was given in favour of Barking, to which belonged "the church of St. Edmund at Ging, with its appurtenances in lands, tithes and offerings." Less than twenty years later, another

1. PRO, S.C.6 849/11.
2. Ibid. H VIII/929.
3. ERO, D/DP Z 16/6 A692.
dispute broke out over the same tithes, this time with the Hospitallers of Clerkenwell. It was settled by the Bishop of London, the Dean of St. Paul's and the Archdeacon of London, the three Judges-delegate, again in favour of Barking. "For the sake of peace" the abbess and convent granted the Hospital an annual rent of a mark from their property in London. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the Prior and Canons of the Augustinian house of Blackmore, near Ingatestone, laid claim to them, with no more success than the Hospitallers.

During the fourteenth century, the rector of the church of Foxchurch tried to despoil the house of its tithes in that parish. He was excommunicated for doing so by Archbishop Winchelsey, during the metropolitan visitation of the diocese in 1303. Seven years later he was cited to appear before the archbishop. No details

1. ERO, D/DP T1/693.
2. Ibid. 694.
4. Ibid.
of the case have survived, but the fifteenth century account rolls of the abbey record the payment of the original 20s. so that the nuns must have successfully retained their rights.

1. The entry occurs regularly on the account rolls of the office of pensions. PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/928.
CHAPTER III

FRANCHISAL RIGHTS

Though a charter of King Stephen bestowed on Barking all that was possessed by "the church of St. 
Edmund and the church of St. Etheldreda", there was never, of course, a "liberty of St. Ethelburga" comparable with the East Anglian liberties of Bury St. Edmunds and Ely. Essex was a county where few great honours or franchises broke up the system of royal administration. Barking did, however, possess franchisal rights over the hundred of Becontree. This hundred included the central manor of Barking and all its subsidiary manors, called on one late account the Bailiwick of Barking, and co-terminous today with the boroughs of Barking, Dagenham and Ilford.

3. The account roll has the entry, "received of the bailiwick of Barking 40s." with no further explanation. PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/929/2.
4. In the eastern counties, the hundred often took its name from the moot stow rather than from the manor in which its soke lay. H. M. Cam, Liberties and Communities in Mediaeval England (Cambridge, 1944), 88.
The hundred also extended west of the River Roding to include West Ham, East Ham, Walthamstow and Leyton. In 1465, it became a half hundred, when the manor of Havering was separated from it by Edward IV and formed into an independent liberty.

In addition to its franchisal rights over Becontree, Barking also had quasi-hundredal jurisdiction over its other manors, scattered in various hundreds of the county, most of which were retained in his own hands by the king.

1. The liberty of Havering is said to have been created by Edward IV to reward the services of Sir Thomas Urswick and Sir Thomas Coke. Urswick, who held the manor of Marks in the north of the hundred, arranged the boundary of the liberty in such a way as to include in it his own manor in Havering. The boundary does in fact jut out round the house. J. O'Leary, Notes on the Topography of Dagenham in preparation for VCH, Essex, III.

2. See map, p.42.

3. In 1274 the royal hundreds in which Barking held land were Chafford, Chelmsford, Rochford and Thurstable. Barstable was granted to Gundreda and William Giffard, Onger to John Rivers and Winstree to the Prior of Mersea. H. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls (London, 1930), 266.
The franchisal rights enjoyed by the abbey were embodied in a series of royal charters. Apart from the vaguely worded bestowal of "my peace and love" by the Conqueror, the earliest charter was conferred on the house by Henry I. This king confirmed what was in fact the most common type of grant of the Norman rulers, "sac and soc, toll and team and infangtheof". These the house was said to have possessed in the time of Edward the Confessor.

If, however, the charter may be taken to mean that Barking began to exercise private jurisdictional rights in the Old English period, it is another matter to define exactly the nature of these rights. It is precisely the expressions, sac and soc, toll and team and infangtheof which have given rise to conflicting views on the nature of Anglo-Norman franchises. It was the

2. Ibid. 285.
3. Many religious houses were already exercising such jurisdiction before 1066, through grants made by the Confessor and earlier kings. Cam, Liberties and Communities, 59.
opinion of Maitland that they were a grant of comprehensive criminal jurisdiction by the Crown. This view has been disputed by Miss Hurnard, who holds that such terms denote financial profit for the holder, rather than high criminal jurisdiction. She considers that the normal franchise court of the Norman period was competent to deal only with such offences as medleys, batteries, wounding and petty theft, and not with more serious crimes.

The whole question has also been discussed by E. Miller with regard to the rights possessed by the abbey of Ely. There, the abbots in the Confessor's time were probably doing in their own courts the business which would normally have been done in the hundred courts. But by then, these courts had already lost to the courts of the shires "the embryonic pleas of the Crown - important cases in which the king alone could mitigate the sentence."

1. E.g. in Domesday Book and Beyond.
3. op. cit., 25 et seq.
4. Ibid., 28.
Theoretically, private jurisdiction was of three kinds, baronial which a lord exercised in his honour court, franchisal exercised in the private hundred court and the view of frankpledge, and domanial exercised in the manorial court. In practice, however, there was often no clear differentiation between courts or jurisdictions.

The expression "honour court" does not occur anywhere in the surviving records of Barking, and it is not likely that the abbey possessed such a court. Like St. Mary's Winchester, Barking held of the king in chief, but performed no knight service, though it was called on, on at least one occasion in 1203, to pay fifty marks in scutage. The Domesday account of the abbey's lands mentions three knights who held two hides of the house. They may have been the holders of

3. *Great Roll of the Pipe* (Pipe Roll Society, NS, XVIII), 30, 34.
Clayhall, Valence and Dagenham who in later times not only paid a money rent, but also rode with the abbess when she visited her manors, and owed suit of court every three weeks. This, however, was in all likelihood performed in the Barking manorial court, in the same way as suit of court was paid at Ingatestone, at least in theory, by the Frestlyng family who were said to hold by military tenure. On the other hand, fealty for their lands was performed by such tenants before the abbess at Barking.

1. The services of Clayhall are described in T. Flount, Tenures of Land and Customs of Manors (London, 1874), 16; those of Valence in Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem, V, 203; and those of Dagenham in Fracton's Note Book (ed. F. W. Maitland, 1987), II, 578.

2. See below, p.177.

3. E.g. the family of Iye held a hide, measuring eighty acres, in Bulphan, in the fourteenth century. It passed in the late fifteenth century to William Brown, Mayor of London, whose son inherited it in 1520. His fealty was postponed until he came before the abbess at Barking. ERO, D/DSg M16 fo. 217.
By the reign of Stephen, the house had come to possess the hundred of Becontree, though its acquisition seems to have been later than Domesday. Stephen reconfirmed the grant, conferring the hundred now in free-alms and quit-claiming the house of an annual rent of 60s., hitherto paid for it into the Exchequer. At the same time, he bestowed on the nuns the hundred of Barstable in fee-farm, for an annual rent of £16, making the offering himself "super altare beate Marie et beate Aëthelburge in ecclesia de Berchings per unum cultellum." Here however, the hundredal rights exercised by the abbey seem never to have extended beyond the two manors of Bulphan and Lucking. Henry I had already granted the hundred to the Fitzgerald family whose descendants, Gundreda and William Giffard, held it in 1274 and shortly afterwards surrendered it into the Exchequer.

As the owner of the private hundred of Becontree, Barking had the right to exercise franchial jurisdiction over it in its hundred court. The traditional meeting

2. Ibid.
place of the hundred court was on Becontree Heath. There is nothing to indicate whether it continued to meet here after the hundred had passed into the hands of the abbey, when its meetings would have been presided over by the chief steward. There is only one slight piece of evidence referring to the existence of the court, in a dispute which arose in 1220, between the abbey and the prior of the Augustinian house of Holy Trinity Aldgate. It concerned the suit which the latter owed at the court for the manor of Leyton. No details of the case have survived, but the judgement went in favour of Holy Trinity. In return for an annual quit-rent of 3s., the priory was set free from all the abbess's exactions, except for the presence of her "serjeant" at the view of frankpledge at Leyton.


2. Curia Regis holk, 1220, 4; PP Essex, I, 59.

3. The name "serviens", as well as "minister", "sub ballivus" and "clericus" is often the equivalent of the comprehensive name, "ballivus". Cam, Studies in the hundred hols, 149.
The private hundred court of Becontree enjoyed no criminal jurisdiction; indeed Stephen's charter specifically excluded "pleas of the Crown" from the grant. It was rather the profits of justice which the abbey must have received in the "sac and soc, toll and

\textit{team} and \textit{infangtheof}", the "pleas" and "murder fine" of the charter. The sheriff and his subordinates were excluded from the hundred by a "\textit{ne intromittat}" clause, thereby granting the abbey what later became known as return of writs. Beyond this, the evidence for the functioning of the court does not go.

In addition, Barking had courts on its manors where the abbey's men owed suit, and where offenders against agrarian practice were tried and punished. The series of court rolls which has been preserved provides evidence of the \textit{domania} jurisdiction exercised in these courts.

The heading of the court rolls frequently draws a distinction between "a general court", a "court" and "a court with a view of frankpledge". The "general court"

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] \cchR, V, 282.
\item[2.] See below, \pageref{key}. \end{itemize}
was usually held in the late autumn or early winter, 1 and is sometimes called "the winter court", while the "court" which met in the spring is sometimes described as "the Lent court". Unlike the view of frankpledge which met regularly in the same week each year, the date of these two courts varied slightly from year to year, though the method by which the tenants were given "reasonable summons" to attend does not appear. While it is true that a tenant of Ingatestone took up land in 1341 for which he was to do suit every three weeks, there is no reason to suppose that at least from the late thirteenth century when the surviving court rolls begin, Barking held courts on its manors more often than three times a year. The one exception to this is the manor

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1. E.g., a man who had taken up a tenement and seven acres of land was ordered to pay 6s. 8d. at the next "Winter court". ERO, D/DP M39.

2. E.g., a tenant was distrained by command of the "Lent court". Ibid., M50 m.3.

3. Though it was not always the same day on each manor, the headings of the court rolls show that the steward went on his rounds during the week after Trinity, visiting one manor after another.

4. ERO, D/DP M14 m.4d.
of Barking. Here, the rolls of one year only, 1440-1441, have survived. They show that the business conducted in the court was similar to that of the other courts, but the court was meeting every three weeks. Unfortunately, a sixteenth-century copy of extracts of rolls running from 1349 to 1470 does not yield any information, since the extracts are entirely concerned with the election of tithers on the manor.

It is clear from the contents of the different court rolls that the headings "general court" and "court" do not indicate two different types of court, one for the free and the other for the unfree tenants. Free and unfree tenants alike appear at all the courts, irrespective of the heading on the roll, though suit of court by important free tenants seems to have been more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Among

1. LRO, D/DP 1187.
3. The distinction of the sixteenth-century lawyers between the court baron for free tenants, and the court customary or hallmote for unfree tenants does not seem to have existed in actual practice in the Middle Ages. Bennett, op. cit., 198.
the chief offenders were the abbey's ecclesiastical tenants. On the Ingatestone court rolls, for instance, the names of the priors of Blackmore and Ihoby and of the hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem appear among the defaulters with monotonous frequency, down to the time of the dissolution. Sometimes a court adds to the name a penalty of 40s. distrain. It did this three times in 1335 after the name of the prior of the Hospitallers, only to follow it by sicut pluries five years later when he was still defaulting. Neither did the threat of suing out a writ against him have any apparent effect.

Important lay tenants were equally difficult to bring to book. In 1291, for instance, Philip of Prestlyns was distrained ad faciendum domine id quod de iure facere debet. The appearance among defaulters of

1. ERO, D/DP M13.
2. Ibid. M14 m.2.
3. In 1426 and 1427, the words "prosequatur breve" were written beside his name, but he reappears among the defaulters ten years later. Ibid. 138 m.3., M39, m.2.
4. See above, p.171.
5. ERO, D/DP M3.
important fifteenth century landowners, like Sir John Tyrell who held land in Hockley and Sir Richard Fitzlewes of Warley whose families were closely linked to the convent by ties of relationship and service, makes one suspect that at least by that time, the clerk of the court was entering their names on his rolls as a mere formality.

Controversy over suit of court might arise through franchial rights passing to the grantee with the land and services. The abbey had difficulties in this way with some of the tenants of Ingatestone who refused to pay suit of court "because they are not the tenants of the lady, but the men of the mesne tenants Henry de Fonte and the prior of Thoby."

Attendance at the manorial court, although it might last only one day, was unpopular among the unfree tenants. Most court rolls begin with a list of essoins and defaulters. Sometimes a man was excused attendance

1. ERO, D/DP 1'63 m.1.
2. Ibid. '79, m.1.
3. Ibid. M3.
on account of sickness, or poverty, or he was amerced and then arrived late.

All this would seem to reflect a growing ineffectiveness on the part of the abbey, but dilatoriness and unbusinesslike methods, judged by modern standards, were widespread failings of mediaeval manorial courts, and those of Barking were probably no worse than any other lord's.

1. E.g. in 1420, a tenant named Robert Tyler was excused "quia infirmus". ERO, D/DP M34 m.2. Other examples occur on the rolls.

2. E.g. in 1304 a tenant of Ingatestone who was infirm and poor was excused. Ibid. M19.

3. E.g. in 1383, the names of three tenants are given as defaulters with their amercement, and then "postea venerunt" is overwritten. Ibid. M23 m.4. Similarly, an entry occurs on the roll for 1399, "Nicholas Fitzrichard debet venire ad istum diem et non venit. Ideo in misericordia". This is crossed out and a further entry is given, "quia venit ante recessum et iuratus". Ibid. M29.

No sharp distinction was drawn in manorial courts between franchisal and domanial jurisdiction. Manorial business of every kind was transacted at all the meetings of Barking's courts, including the one in which the view of frankpledge was held. The presentments connected with the view were merely separated on the roll under the heading modo de visu.

The greater part of the business of the court was purely administrative, even though the work was done in the form of judgments. Naturally, it was most concerned with the land, its conveyancing, the services and heriots owing for it, and disputes arising from its tenure. There were also endless complaints to be heard about obstructing roads and sewers, about making purpestures on the common or overloading it with too many animals, and frequent amercements for trespassing on the lady's common.

2. E.g. ERO, D/DP 3O. Sometimes the view is entered first, and is followed by "nunc de curia". Ibid. M23 m.3., M49 m.2.
3. See also ante, p. 87 et seq.
In addition, there was the judicial business which was administered elsewhere by the sheriff in his town. Here, in the view of frankpledge, was exercised the petty criminal and civil jurisdiction and police control, which was the most common grant made to the private landholder by the Crown. All the usual judicialia connected with the holding of the view appear at one time or other on the Barking court rolls, as well as the tithing system, the assize of bread and ale and the election of officers to enforce it. The pillory and tumbrils are mentioned, usually because they are in need of attention, and then the demand for their repair comes from the presenting jury of the court. In 1450, for instance, a presentment was made against the "farmer" of Ingatestone that he did not keep "t*e pillory and tumbrils within the precincts of this leet where of old they were accustomed to be." Eight years later, a

1. It was not infrequently assumed where it had not been granted. The commissioners of Quo Warranto questioned Barking's right to hold the view and possess gallows at Tollesbury. Rot Hund, 161. They appear however on the fifteenth century court rolls, e.g. ERO, D/DP M57 m.4.

2. Ibid. M45 m.4. They are described in 1490 as "standing near the lady's meadow called Stonmede". Ibid. N67 m.2d.

3. Ibid. D/DSg M3 m.1.
similar complaint was lodged against the "farmer" of Boulphane that he did not keep the gallows, tumbrils and pillory "as they were of old in the lady's liberty". In both cases the demand for discipline and good order was coming, not from the abbey but from the inhabitants of the manor. It is significant that the complaints were made when the abbey had joined the ranks of the rentier land owners, and had therefore lost direct contact with its estates. Many lords, indeed, were already preferring a money fine to corporal punishments, and were allowing their pillories and tumbrils to fall to the ground. In 1276, for instance, the Bishop of Ely, like the Abbot of Ramsey "uses his liberty other than he ought, in that he takes redemption when he ought to administer judgement and justice", in other words, when he ought to use his tumbrils and other judicialia.

The charters of Henry I and Stephen already

1. Neilson, op. cit., 183.
mentioned, granted the house the right of *infangtheof* by which it might hang a thief caught on its estates with stolen goods in his possession; hence the presence of the gallows on the Barking manors. It was the duty of the steward, however, not only to hang the "hand-having thief", but also to see that justice was done on those guilty of "hamsoc", on assault, on those who drew blood or slandered others, or did not pay their debts - in a word, on the public nuisance.

Side by side with the authority of the abbey's steward, the power of the chief pledges as a "manorial bureaucracy" is revealed by the court rolls. The


2. E.g. in 1388, "filii et servientes Johannis Edmund fecerunt hamsoken super filios et servientes Willelmi Dave in tenemento suo contra pacem domini regis. Ideo in misericordia." ERO, D/DP M24 m.7.

3. The Ingatestone court roll for 1386 describes the chief pledges most succinctly as "Ricardus Paty et socii sui." Ibid. 2d. The rise to importance of Richard Paty and his family will be referred to later. See below, p.258. The "manorial bureaucracy" on the manors of Crowland Abbey is described in F. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey* (Cambridge, 1934) 69.
recurrence of the same names year by year shows that
the position of chief pledge was held for life. It
was from among their numbers and often probably by
them along that the chief manorial officers, such as the
reeve and hayward, were elected. Their influence on
the manor, particularly in the fourteenth century, was
strong, touching as it did every aspect of manorial life.
Sometimes the "whole homage" is said to be present in
the court, but here also the influence of the chief
pledges would have been paramount. Disputes over the
inheritance of land were decided, not only by the steward
examining the court rolls but also by the homage deciding
"quod consuetudo hujus manerii talis est." Negligence
on the part of the "farmer" of the manor, for instance
in the upkeep of the dykes and "troughs" in the marshes
where neglect could lead to the flooding of the land
was brought to the notice of the court. Thus, the
homage of Ingatestone reported that "the lady's ditches
are not scoured", and the farmer was ordered to attend
to them.

1. See below, p. 229.
2. ERO, D/DP M50 m.2.
3. Ibid. M46 m.1.
The chief pledges were, of course, held responsible for the good behaviour of the men of their tithings. In addition, both the jury of presentment and the jury of inquisition were frequently drawn from among them. There is no evidence on the fourteenth century rolls of the manor of Ingatestone of free men serving on a jury with un-free tenants, or of two separate bodies, as is sometimes found elsewhere. The Ingatestone juries seem to have been composed, as far as the evidence shows it, of un-free tenants.

1. E.g. in 1304, all the chief pledges of Ingatestone were amerced for concealing the flight from the manor of two villeins, one of whom is described as "litteratus sine licensia". ERO, D/DP M4 m.3.

2. E.g. in 1386, at the court and view held at Ingatestone on Trinity Monday, the names of thirty chief pledges are given. Twelve of them formed the presenting jury at the same court. At the next winter court, eight of these twelve, together with four other chief pledges, formed the jury of inquisition. Ibid. M24 m.1., m.2.

3. At Ramsey, free and un-free tenants served on the same jury. Ault, op. cit., 166.

4. Bennett, op. cit., 211.
The deliberations of the jury of inquisition were carefully guarded, and a juror who violated its secrecy was liable to amercement. In 1417, a certain juror named John Lavenham who talked about his case to the defendant whose dispute over rent was pending, was amerced 20d. On another occasion, also at Ingatestone, a tenant who seems to have been a chief pledge and juror, was amerced because "he spied on the council of the chief pledges to the great damage of the lady and of her court." Fines were also inflicted on jurors who contradicted their fellow-jurors; like the man who was amerced 20d. in 1500 when he accused his companions of perjury.

Violent altercations obviously took place in court when the verdict of the jury angered the parties concerned. In 1504, a "husbandman" of Beauchamp Roding accused the chief pledges of Abbess Roding of making a false presentment against him, saying in English "they

1. ERO, D/DP M33 m.2.
2. Ibid. M24 m.3d.
4. Ibid. M73 m.2d.
werr' forsworn harlott' and that he wold spend twenty
noblys to fals them," in contempt of the king and the
lady's court. His outburst gained him an amercement
of 3s. 4d., if of course it was paid.

Barking watched jealously over its franchisal
rights, since to every mediaeval lord, "justice is great
profit." Any attempt by its tenants to make use of an
outside court was liable to punishment. In 1304, a
tenant of Ingatestone was amerced when he appealed
another unfree tenant in the Court Christian for debt,
"renouncing the court of the lady and the aid of the
steward." Similarly, an injunction was laid upon
two tenants in 1390, to refrain from taking their
quarrel into the ecclesiastical court, under penalty of
an amercement of 20s. each. As late as 1493, two
tenants named William Benton and Thomas Bret took their
dispute over trespass out of the manorial court without
licence, into the court of the King's Bench. They were
warned by the bailiff that if they went further their

1. ERO, D/DP M4 m.1.
2. Ibid. M25 m.1d.
3. Ibid. M70 m.5.
tenements would be confiscated, since they were acting "contrary to the custom of the manor." No more is heard of the matter, and they may have decided that less was to be gained by the king's justice in distant Westminster than by the bailiff's threat at their cottage doors.

It was chiefly as a source of revenue that the private hundred was valued by its owner. What would normally have flowed into the king's exchequer, now came by right into the pocket of the private owner. It is not possible to calculate the annual percentage of the abbey's income which came from its franchisal rights. From the nature of these rights, the amount was bound to fluctuate year by year. By the fifteenth century, when the value of money had fallen, and when the fiscal devices contained in the charters had become obsolete in face of new methods of taxation, much of the financial value of the abbey's franchisal rights would evaporate. Nevertheless, Barking continued to enjoy a certain amount of income from these rights. Hence the sources which provided it, which were contained in the royal charters granted to the house, are worth examining in greater detail.
Some were seignorial, others judicial.

Among its oldest seignorial rights, mentioned in Stephen's grant of the hundred of Becontree, was the wardpenny, a commutation of guard or watch on roads or bridges, frequently laid on customary tenements. It was paid at Hocktide on most of the Barking manors, but its incidence can best be seen on the thirteenth century Domesdaye of Ingatestone. Seven out of the one hundred and thirty three holdings mentioned in this rental were assessed for its payment. These were the oldest on the manor, and in addition owed week work and payments of commuted foodrents such as maltsilver and lardersilver. The number of wardpennies paid by each

1. See above, p.172.
2. Neilson, op. cit.,133.
3. The Hundred Rolls speak of 40d. being paid by the vill of East Ham and 20d. by West Ham. Rot Hund., 152. The following amounts are entered under "rents of assize" on rent collectors' accounts for 1450; Ingatestone 13d., Great Warley 21d. and 9d. on the Nativity of St. John, Hockley 2s. 10d., Great Wigborough 14d. PRO, S.C. 6 849/4.
4. ERO, D/DP L150.
5. See below, p.239.
of the seven tenants depended on the size of his holding. Three tenants who held five acres operabiles paid one wardpenny, two others holding ten acres and another holding twenty paid two, while the other with thirty acres paid three.

Though it is not mentioned anywhere in the Barking records, the symbolic willow twig called the wardstaff, which was passed from one will to another in Ongar hundred, was taken from a tree growing in the woods of Abbess Roding.

Sheriff's aid, which was originally an ancient due paid to the sheriff for his hospitality or for the holding of his court, was levied on the oldest tenancies of Ingatestone in the same way as the wardpenny, according to the size of the holding, five acres paying 4d.

A more lucrative item of income, amounting to a total of at least £2. 16s. 4d. a year from all the manors, came from the regular payment of the "common fine" or as

1. Neilson, op. cit., 135. Some of the most picturesque and detailed ceremonies connected with watch and ward come from Essex. R. S. Charnock, Ancient Manorial Customs in the County of Essex (London, 1870), 17 et seq.

2. ERO, D/DP M150.
it is usually called on the later rolls, "cert-money."  
Originally paid by the tithings through their chief pledges, at the rate of 1d. or 2d. a man in order to gain exemption from the view of frankpledge, it later became a fixed annual rent. The amount paid varied substantially from one manor to another, Abbess Roding for instance paying 2s. in comparison with 13s. 4d. paid by Ingatestone.

"Cert-money" continued to be paid after the Barking manors had passed into new hands. So also did "knowledge-money." This, the equivalent of the

1. E.g. the chief pledges of Ingatestone "dant domine de communi fine pro se et decenariis suis ad hanc diem in certo ex antiqua consuetudine." ERO, D/D/P 449 m.2.

2. In 1493, four men of Ingatestone were amerced 3d. each because they had not paid, one a ld., and the others 2d., "common fine". The bailiff was ordered to levy it "ad opus capitalium plegiorum". Ibid. M69 m.l.

3. E.g. in 1565, the court roll of Abbess Hall in Great Wigborough, then in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk, has the entry "communis finis iiis, vild. tempore quo memoria hominum non exstitit." Ibid. D/DU 4/1 m.1.

4. E.g. in 1541 the customary tenants of Bulphan were told to collect "40s. vocat' le knowledge money," for the new owner of the manor, Edmund Bury. Ibid. D/DG M6 m.8. It was also called "palfrey money" at Bulphan, and was paid by copyholders there to the new lord of the manor, as late as 1822. ER, XXXVIII, 156.
"welcom abbatis" in some monasteries, was paid by the tenants at every "new creation" of an abbess. The method used to raise "knowledge money" is described on an Ingatestone court roll for the year 1500, after the election of Elizabeth Green. Six tenants were elected by all the customary tenants to apportion the assessment of £3 among them all. It was left to the bailiff to levy the amount. This varied from one manor to another, but seems to have been heavy on all. It was distinct from the ld. paid by each tenant at the first court of a new abbess, when he did fealty for his land and tenement.

1. It was known by this name at St. Albans, Neilson, op. cit., 33, 111.

2. ERO, D/DP M71 m.3.

3. E.g. he was ordered to collect it at Ingatestone in 1527, after the election of the last abbess. Ibid. M83 m.1.

4. E.g. at the court mentioned in the previous footnote, "omnes tenentes venerunt et fecerunt domine fidelitatem pro eorum terris et tenementis quos tenent de manerio isto, et attornaverunt se tenentes per solucionem unius denarii." Ibid. Similar entries occur at Salcot, Ingatestone and Abbess Roding in 1499, after the election of Elizabeth Green. Ibid. M70 m.3, m.4.
The "great profit" arising from the judicial rights which had been granted by the royal charters to the house brought in some useful windfalls, though they fluctuated considerably from year to year. These judicial rights were set out most fully in a letter patent of Richard II, dated 1st May, 1379. By it, the king granted to the abbess and convent "in their hundred of Becontree and in all their lands and fees all fines for trespasses and other misdeeds, all fines for licences to agree and all other fines, ransoms and amercements, forfeited issue of their men ... and all forfeitures, year day and waste, and all that can belong to the king in whatever court the foregoing may be adjudged, with power to levy the same by their bailiffs." The grant also allowed them the amercements and profits arising from the assize of bread and ale, the chattels of fugitives, felons, suicides and outlaws of their men, as also the chattels of waifs and strays and deodands. The court rolls provide abundant illustrations of the exercise of these various rights. The financial profit which they brought to swell the abbey's annual income is

1. CPR, 1377-1381, 482.
represented by the *summa huius curie* with which each court's proceedings were concluded. The "perquisites of court" might vary from a few pence to several pounds. While the amount sometimes seems impressive, it is not always a reliable indication of the revenue obtained in this way. It represents what should have come in to the abbey, not what necessarily did, because of the difficulties involved in collecting it. In a considerable number of the later rolls the entry "*summa huius curie*" is followed by a blank, and this may well indicate the impossibility of collecting it. Moreover, after the middle of the fifteenth century larger entry fines were being paid by tenants taking up land, and these tended to keep up the total.

The letter patent of Richard II also granted the abbey "return of all the king's writs and summons, estreats and precepts of the exchequer in the said hundred, lands and fees, and the execution of the said writs, summons, estreats and precepts, to the exclusion of the sheriff."

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1. E.g. in 1448, it came to £27. 7s. 2d. for the three courts and view at Ingatestone. ERO, D/DP M45 m.2. This was unusually large. Two years later, the "perquisites of court" of six manors amounted to £16. 14s. 1d. PRO, S.C.6, 849/4.
This was a confirmation of what the nuns had already been granted by Stephen, "but they had not enjoyed it as fully as the charter implied."

The enjoyment of such a privilege meant that the sheriff's hundred bailiff handed over the king's writs at the boundary of the abbey's liberty, where he might not enter, to be executed by the abbey's bailiff. The "riding bailiff" is a familiar figure on the court rolls, as he accompanies the steward and other members of the abbess's council from one manor to another, carrying with him the estreats, or lists of fines and amercements, and the royal writs. The court rolls of the later fifteenth century show a considerable increase in the use of writs by peasants. Cases in which a writ of novel disseisin, of de ingressu super disseisam, or of

1. The abbey obtained a second confirmation of its privileges in 1392, at the request of the Duke of Gloucester, to assist it in the losses sustained by the floods. CPR, 1391-1396, 126.

2. His expenses occur regularly at the foot of the court roll, with those of the steward, e.g. "Expensis Thome Samkyn senescalli et bailivi equiter et aliorum, Xs. IXd." ERO, D/DP M24 m.2d. He is also described as "the bailiff of the manors" or "the bailiff of the liberty", e.g., in 1405. Ibid. M30.
mortis antecessoris has been obtained appear in the
manorial court before the steward. In each case, the bailiff summoned a jury of twelve to give the verdict.

There is usually no means of identifying an individual "riding bailiff", but he would have been drawn from the gentry, i.e., from the same class as the other members of the council, and was possessed of a certain amount of legal training. He probably received a salary and a livery for his services.

The "riding bailiff" had working under him a number of subordinates who carried out the mandates of the court. The collector on a manor was responsible for the fines and amercements, as well as rents. A bedel or bailiff attached and distrained offenders and produced pledges, and a constable guarded men under arrest. The abbey possessed a prison at Barking, into which a man was put in 1277 for cutting down an oak tree in Hainault Forest.

1. E.g. ERO, D/DP M63 m.1, m.2., 169, m.3, m.4.
2. See below, p.213, 215.
3. See above, p.93.
The privilege of excluding the sheriff was accompanied in the charter by the proviso, "save in case of default", and many an owner of hundredal rights found that he could keep out the sheriff and his officials only on condition that he did their work. Failure to do so would quickly teach him that "the royal authority extends throughout the whole realm both within the liberties and without." Moreover, the law was there, ready to assist any man who sought justice against his overlord. A vividly told battle of words between Dame Sybil Felton and the sheriff has been preserved on the Close Roll for the year 1399. The abbess was holding prisoner a man named John Hoke of Fingreth. She was approached by the sheriff who "craved of her the said John's body to replevy. She refused to produce him but is detaining him in a place of hiding to the sheriff unknown so that he might not be replevied, and further she told the sheriff that the said John was her neif and that for that cause she refused to produce him or deliver him up." John had petitioned that he was ready

1. The Bishop of Durham was told this when he failed to punish those who had assaulted the king's messengers carrying writs into his palatinate. Cam, Liberties and Communities, 184.

2. CCR, 1396-1399, 516.
to prove his freedom. He was ordered to do this or be delivered to the abbess, "if he be proved her neif", but whether he succeeded or not is not recorded.

Since, however, Essex was predominantly a county of royal administration, most of the complaints of malpractice are on Barking's side. In the thirteenth century, it was, to a large extent the abbey, along with many others that suffered from the depredations of the sheriffs and their underlings. The notorious Richard of Southcherch, who was sheriff from 1265 to 1267, distrained the abbey heavily for the repair of Hull Bridge across the River Crouch, to the north of Hockley. At the Inquest held at Stratford in 1282, the verdict was given in favour of the abbess, "whose predecessors at no time repaired it, but it ought to be repaired and was accustomed to be repaired by the alms of the neighbourhood, together with the alms of the said abbess bestowed of her own will."

1. For the charges brought against him in the presentments of the hundreds, see Cam, Studies in the Hundred Rolls, 72.

2. The verdict is preserved among the Petre deeds. ERO, D/DP T1/2083.
One of the worst offenders among thirteenth century sheriffs of Essex, Walter of Essex, fell foul of the abbey by exacting unjustly a _murdrum_ fine of five marks in Becontree hundred, "contra libertatem ecclesie de Berking." The hundred bailiffs whom he appointed were equally extortionate by reason of their "outrageous takings" from the inhabitants of their hundreds. Both Chelmsford and Barstable hundreds, where Barking manors lay, suffered at the hands of their bailiffs from unjust distraints. The jurors of Bulphian complained in 1274 that Bartholomew Hangdon, bailiff of Barstable, had seized the carts belonging to the abbess, and that she had been obliged to pay 12d., to recover them. According to the jurors, his pretext was to obtain a legal decision, "ad unam wardam." The Hundred Rolls are full of similar cases of unjust distraint under cover of executing the decisions of superior courts or of initiating proceedings in such courts.

1. He was sheriff for a few months in 1269, and again from 1270 to 1274. See Cam, _Studies in the Hundred Rolls_, 147 et seq., where his misdeeds are enumerated.

2. _Rot Hund_, 152.


4. Cam, _Studies in the Hundred Rolls_, 175, et. seq.
Another bailiff, John de Langeford, seized from the abbess's reeve a quarter of oats worth 2s.

Occasionally the sheriff was more co-operative. In 1277, he presented to Sir Richard de Tany, who was holding an Inquest in Essex as custos pacis, that the steward of the lord of Walthamstow had taken and hanged a free man of that vill, "without the view of the bailiff of the hundred, against the peace of the lord king and the liberty of the abbess of Barking, who holds the entire hundred from the king."

The proximity of the abbey and its Essex estates to London led in the thirteenth century to their suffering from abuses of the royal right of prise. In 1256 and 1257 the bailiffs of Barking were ordered several times to provide bread for the king at Westminster. Ten years later, when Henry III and his army lay encamped


2. Cam, Liberties and Communities, 167. The Inquest of 1277 is the oldest extant example of a procedure concerning which few records have survived. The custos pacis of the thirteenth century was to develop under Edward III into the Justice of the Peace. Ibid. 162.

3. CCR, 1256-1259, 114, 125, 130.
at Stratford for five weeks, and the surrounding 1
countryside was scoured for supplies of food, the abbey 2
was granted protection for a year. Since, however,
the royal writ was issued on June 1st, and the army
had been in the district for the whole of May, it is
hardly likely that the abbey lands escaped the royal
purveyors.

The thirteenth century was not the only time
when the nuns found it hard to resist the exploitation
of royal officials. In the later Middle Ages, it
became increasingly difficult to maintain the rights of
their liberty. In 1460, ten quarters of corn were
seized at Ingatestone, five of them from the abbey's
land, by the royal purveyor, Thomas Colyngbourne. No
payment was made for the grain, though "it was contrary
to the charter of the king and his progenitors."

1. Chafford hundred, where the manors of Great Warley
and Stifford lay, was drained of food and
supplies, preparatory to the siege of London.
Cam, Studies in the Hundred Rolls, 175.

2. CPR, 1266-1272, 65.

3. ERO, D/DP M44 m.2.
Ten years later, a customary tenant of Bulphan, "under pretext of his office of constable of the hundred of Barstable", took from the manor victuals, goods and chattels - their nature is not specified - for the expenses of the household of the king and the Duke of Gloucester. His act, however, looks like common theft for his own benefit, for he was amerced in the manorial court a quarter of corn towards the work of the fabric of the monastic church or 8s. in silver for the election of the abbess.

Instances of further violations of the abbey's franchisal rights by the sheriff and his officials can be found. In 1457, the undersheriff of Essex, accompanied by a man from Stock, probably its bailiff, entered the abbess's liberty of Ingatestone with royal writs, and arrested two men on a charge of felony. One of the men was a tenant of Ingatestone, and the other, who came from Stock, was seized in the parish church where he had fled to sanctuary. The abbess's council took up the matter

1. ERO, D/DSg M16, fo. 110.
2. Ibid. D/DP M47 m.2.
and sued out a writ against the undersheriff, but it
is impossible to say what happened as a result. A
similar incident occurred in 1501, also at Ingatestone,
when the itinerant bailiff of Sir Henry Teye, then sheriff
of the county, entered the liberty and arrested a widow
woman on a charge of debt. Such an act might be described
on the court roll as "contemptuous of the lady and dero-
gatory to her liberty", but probably no more could be
done about it.

Of what use to the nuns then was this "liberty of
Barking"? It certainly gave them prestige and powers
which they would not otherwise have enjoyed. This,
however, must have been counterbalanced by the expenses
it entailed. The salaries and travelling expenses of
the various officials, the bailiff of the hundred, the
coroner of the liberty, their clerks and servants, had
to be paid by the house. There were, no doubt, lawsuits
to be faced, not only to defend the rights of the abbey
against royal interference, but also against other private

1. ERO, D/DP M72 m.3.
2. He makes a fleeting appearance on the manor of
Salcot in 1480, to enquire into the death by
drowning of a five year old boy. Ibid. M61
m.3.
lords possessing similar grants. Complete isolation of the Barking lands would have been impossible, and the rights of other lords would have cut across those of the abbey when boundaries of manors and townships did not necessarily coincide. Barking itself would have owed suit at the shire court, and probably also at some hundred courts.

The private hundred was regarded by its owner not primarily as a source of prestige or of power, but rather as a source of revenue. The incompleteness of the evidence makes it impossible to arrive at a satisfactory estimate of the annual income which Barking derived from its franchisal rights. These were probably much more valuable when they were originally granted. Yet if the nuns found it worth their while to renew them as late as 1413, they must still have been providing a useful source of revenue to the house. It is also significant that when they leased their manors, they never gave over to the firmanii the power to hold the courts. In this way, they retained seignorial jurisdiction over the manors.

1. The expenses of the steward going to Brentwood are occasionally included in the sum incurred by his visit to Ingatestone. No explanation of his going to Brentwood is given, but it may have been to the hundred court of Barstable. ERO, D/DP M43 m.1., m.2.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE ESTATES

The administration of the Barking estates lay in the hands of a number of lay officials employed by the house. A group of religious holding positions as obedientiaries were also responsible for administering property originally allocated to their offices by benefactors. Their work will be described in a separate chapter.

At the apex of the hierarchy of lay officials stood the steward, a familiar figure in all the great households of the period, both lay and ecclesiastical. He first emerges at Barking about the year 1160, when the position was held by a certain Hugh of Barking.

1. The organisation of the lay household is described by N. Denholm Young in Seignorial Administration in England (Oxford, 1937), Ch. I. That of the monastic household is given in RO I, Ch. XXIII.

The stewards whom Barking employed during the next hundred years were landowners of some importance, and possessed of a certain amount of legal experience. Their names and the duties they performed for the house can be found in deeds, in which they usually acted as first witness. Thus, for instance, Reginald de Fonte, who was steward in 1192, witnessed the abbey's lease of the manor of Handley. The transactions recorded in the deeds and sealed in the Chapter house were carried out with their knowledge and probably also on their advice. They also acted as attorneys in the litigation which was the invariable accompaniment of landownership in the Middle Ages. Their work already entailed travelling from one manor to another, for part of the service rendered by two important tenants, holding land of the abbey in Clayhall and Dagenham, was to ride with the steward to the manors, or "upon the business of the

1. ERO, D/DP Ty/A 1690. A few years earlier, he was witnessing deeds for St. Mary Clerkenwell. W. O. Hassall, Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell, 93, 203.

2. In 1197, Reginald de Fonte was the abbess's attorney in a lawsuit over thirty acres of land in Essex. PP Essex, I, 13.
During the hundred years or so from 1160 to 1283, the names of thirteen stewards of Barking can be traced. Except for Reginald de Ponte, whose name occurs at intervals between 1192 and 1210, though he may not have held the office continuously, none of them retained the position for long. Nor is there any indication that attempts were made by any steward such as can be found in other monastic houses, to make the position hereditary in his family.

Several stewards of the thirteenth century came from families connected in one capacity or another with

1. The service of the tenant of Clayhall is quoted by Blount, *op. cit.*, 16, from a fragment of a survey of the manor of Barking which probably formed part of a complete survey of all the abbey lands, to which the *Domesdaye* of Ingatestone and Bulphan belonged. The service of the tenant of Dagenham is given in Bracton's *Note-Book*, II, 578.

2. Except for the first, Hugh of Barking, their names appear on the *Pette* deeds, deposited in the Essex Record Office.
the administration of the royal forest of Epping. Thus, the names de Fonte and de Ponte are found among the Regarders of the forest, while Simon de Dunton, who was steward in 1256, had held the office of Verderer of the hundred of Barstable in 1250.

As the whole economy of Barking grew more elaborate in the later fourteenth century, the office of steward divided, as it did in the great black monk houses like Canterbury Cathedral Priory and Crowland Abbey. By 1382, there was a chief steward, or as the court rolls call him, seneschallus capitalis, and a substeward or sub-seneschallus.

1. They occur in the lists of officers given by Fisher, op. cit., 385.
2. Ibid. 374.
3. Smith, op. cit., 86.
5. ERO, D/DP M22. The seneschal at Ely was called the "capital seneschal" to distinguish him from his subordinates. Miller, op. cit., 263.
The chief steward was responsible for the general supervision of all the estates. While the understeward could receive surrenders of land and hold the manorial courts, and in fact by the late fifteenth century was known as "the steward of the courts, more difficult cases in the manorial courts were reserved for the visit of the chief steward. In 1379, for instance, a villein of Ingatestone had to wait for his arrival to know how much chevage he would have to pay, in order to live outside the manor. Similarly, in 1422 a tenant's case was deferred until the coming of the chief steward.

Unfortunately, the court rolls do not usually distinguish between the chief steward and his subordinate, but simply use the term, seneschallus. Moreover, there

1. ERO, D/DP H39 m.3.
2. E.g. the rent collector of Ingatestone entered on his compotus for the year 1450-1, "in expensis seneschalli curie et aliorum de consilio domine pro curiis tenendis ijs. xd. ob". PRO, S.C.6 841/4.
3. ERO, D/DP M22.
4. Ibid. M36. The details of the case are not given.
are so many gaps in the court rolls, both in time and in place, that it is impossible to get a complete picture of the steward's activities. He travelled from one manor to another, inspecting them and giving general directions of policy to the local agent on the spot.

The itinerary he took seems to have been fairly arbitrary, though he frequently went first to the outlying manors on the coast, like Great Wigborough and Tollesbury, and returned along the Regiam viam to Barking, through Ingatestone. Manors lying in the same vicinity, like Bulphan and Hawkley, or Great Wigborough and Salcot, were usually inspected together on the same day, whereas Ingatestone frequently had to entertain the

1. In 1305, for instance, one hundred and fourteen oak trees were cut down at Ingatestone, at the command of the steward, for repairs at Barking, Mucking and Bulphan. ERO, D/DP M19 m.4. In 1444, the chief steward gave orders to the woodward to allow two tenants to take wood for the repair of their tenements. Ibid. M43 m.3.

2. This was the main road from London to Colchester, which passed, as it still does, through Ingatestone. It is mentioned on the court roll for 1470. Ibid. M55 m.2.
steward and his retinue for a couple of days and nights. The expenses of this were borne by the manor, or if it was leased, by the lessee, and they are usually entered on the court roll after the income derived from "the perquisites of the court". The cost of entertainment varied from manor to manor, and from one court to another on the same manor, though one court roll points out that the chief pledges and jurors were largely responsible for the heavy costs.

Though, as has been pointed out by E. W. Ives, the court rolls of Barking are too stereotyped and incomplete to provide very satisfactory evidence, nevertheless the stewards who administered the abbey's estates

1. The fourteenth century leases of Handley and Woodbarns make the lessee responsible for the entertainment of the steward, his clerk and the bailiff of the manors. ERO, D/DP M14 m.3, M20.

2. That of the year 1441, which has the entry "expensis factis hac die pro senescallo et receptori et pro capitalibus plegiis, ixs. ixd. unde pro seneschallo et receptori xviid, et cetero pro capitalibus plegiis et iuratis". Ibid. M43 m.2d.

from the fourteenth century onwards fit into the general pattern which he describes. Until the middle of the fifteenth century, only one steward, Sir John Sutton, came from an influential county family. The chief seat of the family was at Wivenhoe, near Colchester, but it had lands elsewhere, in Essex and in Suffolk, Sir John, who was related to the two fourteenth century abbesses, Katherine and Yolande Sutton, was among the knights appointed by Edward I in 1301 to carry out the perambulation of the forest of Essex and he frequently sat on commissions of the peace and of labourers in Essex and Suffolk.

The other stewards, like John Bainton who held the office in 1334 and again in 1368, though perhaps not continuously during the intervening years, and Clement Spice who appears at the end of the century, came from

1. Fisher, op. cit., 393.
3. His name appears as the first witness of deeds for these two years. BM, Add. Ch. 27371, 27372. These deeds do not refer to abbey lands, but to those belonging to people in Barking.
the gentry, the class from which the legal profession was mainly drawn. In some cases, like that of Thomas Samkyn who was steward in 1386, and those of Ralph Chamberlayne and Thomas Stockdale in the early fifteenth century, the stewards held land in Barking itself.

None of them were professional legisperiti, but they had sufficient legal experience, not only to administer the abbey's estates, but also to act as attorneys in lawsuits concerning land, and to sit on the numerous commissions of sewers which were kept so busy in Essex by the floods. Several of them passed

3. Thomas Samkyn, whose obit-day the nuns celebrated on August 15th, held the manor of Withifields in Barking. Ralph Chamberlayne, whose daughter, Eleanor, was prioress in 1473, was possibly connected with Sir Robert Chamberlayne of Barking who was executed on a charge of high treason in 1491. *DNB*, IV, 7. The land of Thomas Stockdale in Dagenham was still marked as Stockdull on Chapman and André's map.
4. *E.g.* Thomas Samkyn and Clement Spice were on the commission of 1385. *CPR*, 1381-1385, 591. The name Clement Spice, presumably of a father and son, appears time and again over more than fifty years in Essex affairs. *E.g.* Ibid. 1374-1388, 158; *FE Essex*, III, 103, 124, 138.
from the employment of the abbey to the more exalted
position of sheriff or escheator of the county.

After the middle of the fifteenth century,
more influential landowners began to accept the position
of chief steward. Among the most prominent were Sir
Thomas and Sir William Tyrell, who were members of one
of the oldest families in the county. Their estates,
which lay in Herons, Little Warley, Horndon and Buttsbury,
made them the near neighbours of the abbey lands.
Similarly, Sir Thomas Lontgomery of Faulkbourne Hall,
whom the sixteenth century Essex historian, Morant, calls
"one of the most eminent men of his time,"
must have
been a useful friend of the nuns, on account of the
favour he enjoyed at the court of Edward IV.

1. Thomas Samkyn was sheriff in 1395. W. Berry,
Pedigrees of Essex Families (London, 1840), 5.
Clement Spice became escheator in 1398. CPk,
1396-1399, 353. It has been shown by E. W. Ives
how frequently in the later Middle Ages admin-
istrative positions on clerical estates served
as important opening for lawyers. op. cit., 322.

2. P. Morant, The History and Antiquities of Essex

3. Ibid.
Yet this type of steward did not leave the work of administration entirely to his subordinates. The manorial court rolls show him on the manors, holding the court and giving judgements and decisions. As late as 1508, Sir John Reynsford held the court at Ingatestone twice in four months, and presumably he visited the other manors on the same circuit. After his time, however, the title of chief steward, now swollen into "chief steward of the Liberty of Barking", was a purely honorary one of patronage and protection. At the time of the dissolution, it was held by John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who was, like others in a similar position, a lay pluralist in this respect. In 1527, he had been given the same office at Coggeshall Abbey, with an annuity of £3 "with all the fees and profits of the office". There is nothing before the dissolution

1. The two court rolls for this year bear the unusually elaborate heading, "Curia Elizabeth abbatissae de Berkyng manerii sui de Gyng Abbesse predicti tenta ibidem coram Johanne Keynsford milite senescallo eiusdem abbatissae secundum consuetudinem manerii illius a tempore quo non exstat memoria". ERO, D/DP 74 m.2.

2. Ibid. D/DRg T2/19. According to Smart Lethieullier, Oxford and Reynsford were appointed joint stewards of Barking in 1520. op. cit., II, 125. He gives nothing to indicate the source of this information, but the date may represent the appointment of de Vere.
to indicate the emolument he received from Barking. In 1555, however, he was still being paid an annuity of 5s by the Court of Augmentations, the equivalent, no doubt, of the salary he had once received from the abbey, since it was said to have been granted to him under its seal. By this time the real work was being done by subordinate officials, and it seems doubtful, as will be shown later, whether the nuns gained much from his protection.

The chief steward was ipso facto a member of the abbess's council. The court rolls afford an occasional glimpse of the working of this body. It is first mentioned at Ingatestone in 1311, though it must have been in existence earlier than that date. It was functioning in 1527, and indeed is mentioned by the cellarer as late as 1538, but the period of its greatest

2. See below, p. 425.
3. ERO, D/DP M5.
4. Ibid. M32.
5. PRO, S.C. 6 H "III 929/1. The rent owing from the manor of Tyburn was then said to be remitted "by the lady and her council".
activity seems to have been the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

It is only very rarely that the composition of the council is made clear, and then the evidence is late. In 1420, it consisted of the chief steward, the chamberlain and receiver who was the chief financial officer, and the understeward. An auditor was also a permanent member, since on later occasions his expenses at the manors appear among those of the council. This group represents the usual composition, at least in its simpler stages, of the household of any great abbot or lay magnate. All were permanent, salaried officials of the house, though except for occasional references to fees paid to them by obedientiaries, there is no evidence

1. ERO, D/DPM34.
2. His functions will be described later. See below, p.225.
3. E.g. the Ingatestone roll for 1470, when William Woode was auditor, enters "Expensis Senescalli, camerarii, auditoris et aliorum preter prebendum equorum, 4s. 10d." ERO, D/DP M54d.
5. See below, p.229, 293.
to indicate the salary they received. Until the middle of the fifteenth century, it was men of legal experience whom the abbess sought for her council, but later it was the influence and protection of the landowning classes which were regarded as all-important.

The court rolls, chiefly of Ingatestone, provide a certain amount of evidence to illustrate the work of the council. Questions dealing with the holdings and services of tenants occupied its attention on the manors. In 1311, for instance, on the death of the reeve of Ingatestone, another tenant took up his holding of fifteen acres by a grant of the abbess and her council. On another occasion, about a hundred years later, a holding was confiscated by the council after a tenant had taken twice the amount the council had arranged in full court for its sale.

It is clear from expressions like "consulendum est" or "loquendum est" that the keeper of the courts sometimes found it necessary to refer to the council on certain matters, though the ultimate decision is not usually

1. ERO, D/DP M5.
2. Ibid. M34 m.2.
recorded. It was a custom of the manor of Ingatestone, for instance, for a tenant to seek a licence from the steward if he wished to lease land for a period longer than a year. There are plenty of instances of evasions, and consequent amercements and even confiscations. In 1394, however, the issue was complicated by the death of the tenant shortly after he had leased a messuage and fourteen acres of land for twenty years, without a licence. The matter was referred to the council, and more than twelve months later the order appears on the court roll to distrain the lessee at the next court. Subsequently, the land seems to have been confiscated.

Sometimes consultation took place on the spot among the councillors who had come to the manor. In 1457, for instance, the land of a former rent collector was

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1. See below, p.259-260.
2. IRO, D/DP M26.
3. Ibid. M26d.
4. Ibid. M27 m.3. But at the next court that year, the widow obtained a licence to lease it to the same man for four years. Ibid. 49d.
5. Ibid. M48 m.2.
seized to pay his arrears to the abbess. The chief steward, after consulting the auditor, chamberlain and under steward, granted the holding to another tenant who paid an entry fine of 18s. 4d. and undertook to pay a further ten marks in 40s. instalments. Similarly, in 1470, the steward, on the advice and with the consent of the receiver general and auditor, granted a tenement and seven acres of land to a tilemaker of Ingatestone.

In addition to the licence which had to be obtained by a tenant before he could lease his land, certain other actions had to come under the cognisance of the council. Permission to live outside the manor, which was evaded in the late fourteenth century as frequently as the licence to lease land, had to be sought by unfree tenants. In 1379, two men were granted the permission provided they came every year to the view of frankpledge - a common stipulation - and paid the sum of money fixed by the council as chevage. One of them was obliged to return to the manor if the council needed his services as a tile-maker.

1. ERO, D/DP M54.
2. Ibid. '22, m.2, m.3.
Even so important a tenant as the prior of Thoby was obliged to seek a licence to dig turf in Ingatestone. In 1418, he was in danger of an amercement for digging and carrying away a cartload, until it was testified that he had the permission of the abbess’s council.

One or two further illustrations of the relations between the tenants on the manors and the council may be found on the court rolls. On one occasion, in 1430, a tenant came into the court and surrendered a holding consisting of a tenement, twenty four acres of arable land, six acres of meadow and an annual rent of 12s. in favour of another tenant. The heriot, as it was called in such a transaction, was remitted by the council, as it was on the death of a tenant.

There is one example, which occurred in 1393, of a tenant, again of Ingatestone, appealing to the abbess and her council against the action of the steward of the court. His appeal, written in French, is still

1. ERO, D/DP M33 m.3. In 1463, a writ was sued out against him for carrying off twenty loads of sand without a licence. *Ibid.* M51 m.3.


4. French, "the language of the polite, but unlearned" as it has been called by the editor of the *Litterae Cantuarienses*, would be the natural language of the petition.
attached to the court roll. Addressing himself "a sa
très honourable et très gracieuse dame ma dame de Berkinges", he complained that the steward had seized the croft which he had come into court to surrender and take up again for himself and his heirs, and had granted it to another man. The matter was examined by the abbess and her council, the intruder was evicted and the rightful tenant reinstated. This is the only surviving illustration of a direct and successful petition on the part of a tenant, to the abbess, as the final court of appeal and as a means of obtaining justice. It is impossible to tell how frequently it was practised, and hence how far the council could supersede or over-ride the authority

1. The steward against whom the appeal was lodged was John Lightfoot, described as "locum tenens Clementis Spicie senescalli nostri". On the Essex estates of Christ Church, Canterbury, tenants sometimes sought to interest the prior on their behalf by means of petitions. E.g. in the early fourteenth century, the tenants of Bocking sought redress against the abuse of power by a steward. See Nichols, op. cit., 131, and also 'A fourteenth century petition from the tenants of Bocking to their manorial lord' in EcHR II (1930), 300, by the same author.
of the manorial court. In other matters, it would not seem that they did so. The manorial court consisted not only of the abbey's representatives but also of the "whole homage", which was clearly present in court and ready to make its opinion heard. The influence of this body has already been discussed in an earlier chapter, and also the part played by the council in defending and safeguarding the interests of the abbey in the courts of the kingdom.

The most important member of the abbess's council after the chief steward was the receiver general. This office, like that of the chief steward, arose from a division of powers, in this instance of the chamberlain, the chief financial officer of the great landed estate.

A chamberlain existed at Barking at least as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century. At the

1. See above, p. 184.
2. See above, p. 203.
4. His name appears at this time among the witnesses of a deed. ERO, D/DP T1/A653.
same time, the house also employed an official called a **dispensator**. There is no surviving evidence to indicate the work of either, but presumably the dispensator was the subordinate, in charge of the provisions of the house, and the ancestor of the sixteenth century steward of the household, while the chamberlain was concerned with the finances.

During the fourteenth century, when receivers and a "buyer" make their appearance, the name of the chamberlain is usually coupled with that of the steward, issuing orders, and making their round of the manors.

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1. He is frequently found in the list of witnesses of deeds of the first half of the thirteenth century, e.g. ERO, D/DP T1/A 665, 674, 1552, 1587, 1589. The title dispensator is found in the men's houses, but the duties varied. At Canterbury Cathedral Priory he received the rents. Smith, op. cit., 14. At Tavistock, the cellarer was called the dispensator. R. H. Snape, *English Monastic Finances in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1926), 40.

2. E.g. in 1322 the reeve of Westbury and Dagenham "handed over to the two receivers and chamberlain for wool sold 116s. without tally." He also sent stock and grain to the buyer. PRO, S.C.6 849/11.

3. The allowances of mixed corn for the famuli of Dagenham were given by the reeve, "by order of the steward and chamberlain." Ibid.

4. E.g. ERO, D/DP M28.
By the middle of the fifteenth century, the chamberlain had developed into the receiver general, a man obviously of some social standing and legal experience. By that time, the bulk of the revenues of the house were passing through his hands. He was collecting payments of every kind from the manors, rents from the rent collectors, money from wood sales from the woodward, heriots and the perquisites of the courts. He gave orders to subordinate officials on the manors, for instance to the woodward for the felling of trees, and his counsel and consent were sought by the steward.

Parallel with this expansion of the power and work of the receiver general, there developed a centralisation of the main revenues of the abbey in a

1. E.g. in 1470, he is described on the court roll as "armigerus". ERO, D/DP 154d.

2. E.g. in 1462, the woodward gave testimony on oath that in cutting and selling wood at Ingatestone, he had been carrying out the orders of the receiver general. Ibid. M50 m.3.

3. E.g. in 1457, the entry fine of a tenant was waived at the discretion of the steward and receiver. Ibid. A47 m.2.
treasury, of which he was the head. Though the obedientiaries continued to receive funds originally allocated to their office, rent collectors now began to account for sums of money which, according to their compoti, appeared "in papiro thesaurarii." In 1450 the sum total of their contributions made in this way amounted to £46. 15. 4d.

The evidence of the surviving accounts on the eve of the dissolution points in the same direction. Obedientiaries speak of a treasury and a treasury book. In 1534-35, the cellaress entered on her account £10 received from the collector of Lidlington, "because it is charged in the treasury book in as much as the convent went to commons." She also included among her rents, the sum of £4. 6s. 1d., "paid to the treasury for lands and tenements to the office pertaining on the north and south parts of Barking."

1. The compoti of six manors for the year 1450 contain this entry. PRO, S.C.6. 849/4.
2. Ibid. H VIII/929. The responsibilities of the cellaress will be discussed in a later chapter. See below, p.291 et seq.
3. Ibid.
It has already been suggested that four fragmentary accounts on the eve of the dissolution, one of which bears the heading "The account of William Pownsett receiver of the monastery", belonged to the treasury. The revenues then passing through the receiver's hands represented what may be described as the income of the house, as distinct from that administered by obedientiaries. Out of a possible gross income of £1362. 12s. 5½d, £775 came to the receiver. This was made up partly of leases of the demesne lands of fifteen different manors, thirteen in Essex, and the other two, Slapton and Lidlington, in other counties, and partly of rents of assize. The lease of Barking mill realised £21. 11s. 8d. and the coteland rents in Barking £47. 1s. 9d. In addition, the lessees of several manors were sending in payments in kind, such as grain, dairy produce, hay and wood.

The general funds which passed in this way to the receiver general seem to have been administered by the abbess, presumably with his advice and assistance.

1. See above, p.19.
2. See below, p.263.
The abbess herself possessed a large household, whose functions are discussed elsewhere.

Besides the steward and receiver general, there was at least one other permanent member of the abbess's council, namely, the auditor. The auditing of the manorial accounts took place on the abbey's manors, when the auditor accompanied the council on their visits. On these occasions, a thorough inquisition into the most minute details took place, since every animal and every bushel of grain had to be accounted for.

In addition, the auditor inspected the obedientiar-ies' accounts, but it is not clear whether anyone else was present at the audit. In 1527, a cellaress, Dame Dorothy Fitzlewes, had to make good before the auditor an arrear of 36s. 8d. owing to her rent collector, John Morse, for his expenses on her behalf.

1. See below, p.254 et seq.

In return for his services, the auditor probably received a regular salary, and also, as was customary, a gown. In addition, he received fees from the obedientiaries, which appear on their account rolls.

"While the general direction of "estate policy" lay in the hands of the abbess's council, the everyday working of the estates was the concern of local agents. The most responsible and the best known of these was the reeve. Like the other manorial officials, such as the constable, ale-taster, woodward and hayward, the reeve was elected in the manorial court, where he took an oath to perform his duties faithfully. The court rolls usually state that he has been elected by the whole homage, but this was not always necessarily the case. The chief pledges alone were often the sole electors and the reeve was frequently one of their number.

1. The last auditor before the dissolution was still receiving an annuity of £4. 6s. 8d. from the Court of Augmentations in 1555, the equivalent probably of his salary. Mon. I, 438, n. b.

2. The cellareress "paid to the auditor for the examination and declaration of the account 5s." PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/929. The office of pensions "paid to the auditor for his fee 2s." Ibid. 928.

The reeve usually held office for a year, though a man might sometimes continue in the position over a longer period. While one reeve was usually chosen for each manor, the manor of Barkin had two, one for the "northern part" and one for the "southern part". At Ingatestone, there are references to the election of three or four, or of two reeves and two haywards. In each case, the court roll adds to their names, "et jurati sunt", so that they did in fact take up office, and were not mere nominations of the homage from which the steward chose one man.

The work of the reeve was not always performed on the manor from which he came. One reeve of Ingatestone, who held the office in 1318, appears two years

1. E.g. William Alph was reeve at Ingatestone in 1304 and died in office there in 1311. ERO, D/DF N4 m.3; M5.
2. E.g. in 1321. Ibid. M14 m.2d.
5. Ibid. M8.
later as bailiff of the "northern part" of Barking, and about the same time the reeve of Bulphan was paying £3s. 4d. to be exonerated from the position of reeve of Mucking.

The reeve's work, which was assigned to him by the steward, was typical of his kind. He bought stock, and seed for sowing, as well as farm implements of every sort. He also sold grain, stock, wood, wool and wool-fells, for which he obtained tallies from the receiver of the abbey. In 1321-2, the reeve of Dagenham sold sixty eight quarters of rye during the course of the year. He was paid £28. 4s. for this, in addition to £19. 16s. 2½d. which he obtained from the sale of the multure of the mill. There is no indication as to where

1. PRO, S.C.6 849/11.
2. ERO, D/DSg. M2 m.21.
3. Similarly, the messors were elected to work "in quo loco senescallus eos voluit assignare", or "ad serviendum abbatissam in autumno in quo officio vel in quo loco senescallus eos voluit assignare". Ibid. D/DP M5, M8.
4. PRO, S.C.6 849/11.
he sold his grain, but it would not have been difficult in the market of the growing town of Barking. In addition, he supplied grain to the granger of the abbey.

The reeve was responsible in the eyes of the steward for the good estate of the land, stock, and outbuildings and barns of the manor, and he was amerced for whatever went amiss. It was he who summoned the tenants to perform their boon-works, and appointed and paid the wages of the famuli.

1. *E.g.* Under the heading "oats", he entered "used for victuals within the abbey this year, 48 qu: also delivered to Peter Granger 81 qu. 1 bus. by 2 tallies; also delivered to him from the new granary, 24 qu. 1 bus. by 1 tally." PRO, S.C.6 849/11. In 1450-1, supplies were being sent in to the abbey's granger, and also "to the lady abbess's cook" from Warley and Bulphan. *Ibid.* 849/4.

2. *E.g.* in 1304, he was amerced for allowing a tenant to cut down two trees without the steward's licence. ERO, D/DP M4. In 1354, he was in trouble "quia prata domine male scrobantur". *Ibid.* M18 m.1.

3. *E.g.* in 1343, the reeve of Ingatestone testified in court that a tenant had not performed a ploughing work, "nisi per licensiam prepositi". *Ibid.* M9 m.2.
Once a year, the accounts of the reeve were severely checked by the auditor, who scrutinised every detail. In 1304, for instance, there was an enquiry at Ingatestone, "de quibus parcellis videlicet de iijd. de quadem pastura in Dunnysfield et de xijd. in Possemore et de xvjd. de exitu iij porcorum hecatorum et de vijd. de iij ovibus mactatis venditis et de iij. de ix ergis mortuis." The reeve was obliged to clear himself on the sworn evidence of the iurati. The pasture had been assarted at the command of the lady's bailiffs, the pigs were too old for sale, and the lambs had died through the negligence of the shepherd.

Any losses had to be made good by the reeve, even after he had ceased to hold office. In 1319, for instance, the reeve of the previous year at Ingatestone was accused of selling corn delivered to him for sowing, so that "the lady's ploughing was hindered and cultivation prolonged to the grave damage of the lady". The reeve, present in court, said that he had sold no grain except three bushels of his own livery, and placed himself on

1. ERO, D/DP M4.
2. Ibid. M8.
the jury. Unfortunately for him, however, its findings went against him, in that "he had sold five bushels of grain to Thomas Fabr', to John le Chapman three bushels, to John Phellpott three bushels, so that the cultivation of six acres was delayed until Lent." 1

In 1341, it was ordered that the roll of the previous year be searched, to see if the reeve had made fine for is transgressions though nothing more than the cuttin down of an oak tree appears against him for the previous year.

The leasing of the Barking estates, w'ic' began to take place in the later fourteenth century, brought about a shifting of balance in the manorial personnel. 2 Henceforth, as will be shown, a firmarius, himself drawn from villein stock, took on the upkeep of the land, while

1. ERO, D/DP Ll4 m.4.
2. See below, p.253 e seq.
3. In 1396, a tenant "summonitus fuit per firmarium ad faciendum opera et consueta sua secundum tenorem tenure sue et non venit quando summonitus fuit ad dicta opera facien a. Ideo in misericordia". ERO, D/DP T.28 m.2.
the abbey's relations with the tenants became the responsibility of a new figure, known as the rent collector. The office of rent collector entailed other duties besides the collection of tenants' rents. One was the execution of all the commands of the court, a distasteful task for the neglect of which the rent collector was frequently in trouble. In addition to rents he also collected chevage, and could accept surrenders of land by peasants in the absence of the steward. He had his own seal, and unfortunately for the twentieth century student, had the custody of the rental of the manor during his term of office.

The position of rent collector, no less than that of reeve, was a notoriously unpopular one, to be evaded if it was possible. In 1392, a rent collector

1. E.g. in 1415, the entry on the court roll reads "Ricardus Veysey collector redditus quia non attachiavit Willelmum Bret ad respondendum Henrico Symme de placito transgressionis prout habuit in precepto ad ultimatam curiam. Ideo ipse in misericordia. Et preceptum est sicut alias preceptum fuit eidem collectori redditus ipsum attachiare contra proximam". ERC, D/DP M32 m.3.

2. E.g. Ibid. M25 m.l.

3. E.g. in 1470 and 1471, two rent collectors were distrained to produce "the rental and custumal of the lands, rents and services of the lady". Ibid. M55 m.l.

4. Ibid. 127 m.l.
"placed himself in the lady's grace because he had rebelled against the steward, and had refused to take up the office." On another occasion, a woman who had been elected preferred, rather than hold the office, to leave her land and tenement, and both were confiscated by the steward.

During the fifteenth century, many of the abbey's rent collectors were unsatisfactory, though this was due as much to the recalcitrance of tenants as to their own negligence. In 1470, for instance, the rent collector of Ingatestone was attacked, while trying to collect the arrears of rent of a tenant who broke his seal and carried off his corn.

Not infrequently, however, rent collectors owed the abbey considerable sums of money and their lands were confiscated in compensation. The court rolls of the manor of Barking for the year 1440, which are full of complaints

1. ERO, A50 m.2. Reluctance to serve was characteristic of the fifteenth century. For similar examples on the estates of Crowland Abbey, see Page, op. cit., 72.

2. ERO, D/DP 154. op. also, 39 m.2., 172 m.3.

against its rent collectors, show that one owed the abbey £20. The tenement and forty acres of land of a rent collector of Ingatestone were sold in 1453, in part payment of his debts to the abbey.

The house was not always ill served by its officials however, and normally it was the bad ones only who made their appearance on the court rolls. One also hears of a fourteenth century reeve who was allowed 57s. by the abbess, "ex gratia sua speciali tam pro suo laudabile servicio quam pro omnibus calumpniis suis istum compotum suum tangenciis." His successor, whose account has survived, was allowed £4. 7s. 2d. "pro omnibus calumpniis suis". Another man at Ingatestone was excused the payment of the entry fine when taking up his land "quia est bonus serviens domine."

1. ERO, D/DP M46 m.3. The next year, however, his son was allowed to lease them for two years, paying 26s. 8d. a year. Ibid.
2. PRO, S.C. 6 849/12.
3. Ibid.
4. ERO, D/DP M37 m.1.
CHAPTER V

ESTATE POLICY

Though the evidence is very disconnected and incomplete, some attempt must now be made to trace the "estate policy" of Barking over the later centuries of its existence. This policy may be said to have been governed by two considerations: (1) the maintenance of regular food supplies to the convent and its dependants; (2) the necessity of a fixed and stable money income. The methods of exploiting the estates used by those responsible for their administration were those best fitted in their judgement to meet these two needs. Through the centuries, changing times and circumstances called for certain modifications, which will be developed in this chapter.

It was the custom in many monasteries, both before and after the Norman Conquest, to receive rents in kind, or "food-farms" from their country estates, in order to ensure a regular supply of food stuffs, such as grain, fowl, eggs and honey for the community.

1. NO, 441-444. See also Miller, op. cit., 36-39.
lanors which were kept by the monasteries in demesne
are said in Domesday to "lie in the church" or "in victu
monachorum", whereas others, often more distant and
scattered in different counties might be farmed out at
a fixed money rent.

There is no evidence early enough to show whether
Barking devised a regular system of food—farms from its
manors. The "lardersilver" and "maltsilver" paid by the
older holdings on the manor of Ingatestone in later
times may have been commuted food—farms. In Domesday,

1. Miller, op. cit., 37; The Domesday of St. Paul's,
XXVI.

2. Tenants holding ten acres were paying, in the late
thirteenth century, lld. "ad lardarium", while five acre holdings paid 7d. One tenant
holding fifty acres paid 18½d. a year. ERO,
D/DP M150. Maltsilver was paid by some tenants,
at the rate of 3d. a year, on the feast of
St. Michael. Ibid.

3. For similar examples, see Neilson, op. cit., 32, 35.

three of its manors, namely Tyburn and the more distant ones of Slapton and Lidlington, are said to be in ecclesia, while Tollesbury is described as de victu monialium. Though the abbey must also have been drawing its food supplies from other manors nearer home, these four manors provided the cellareress with her most substantial revenues, long after these had become money rents. They may well have been allocated to this purpose in Anglo-Saxon times, when they were first granted to the house.

The practice of farming out their estates for a fixed rent in money, or in money and in kind, while maintaining a "headquarter estate" for the sake of its produce, was common among monastic houses in the twelfth century. Though there is evidence that Barkin adopted the policy of farming some of its manors, the extent to which

1. On the eve of the dissolution, her rents at Lidlington amounted to £10 a year, at Slapton to £8, at Tollesbury to £4, and at Tyburn to 30s. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/929.

it carried the practice is not very clear. In a
vacancy which occurred in 1172, £33. 6s. 8d. was accounted
for by the custodian of the house for the farm of
1 manors, but whether this was only a royal expedient
adopted during a vacancy to get a quick return, does not
appear. The manors farmed are not named.

By the end of the twelfth century, the manor of
2 Handley was being continually farmed on a life-lease.
Ingatestone was leased at the beginning of the thirteenth
century to the abbey's steward, Sir Thomas de Foulkings.
In this, Barking was adopting a universal practice of
religious houses, both as to the length of the lease, and
the type of person who took it up. It was the professional
steward or bailiff to whom the monastery 'farmed' its
4 estates, often on a life lease.

1. Great Roll of the Pipe (Pipe Roll Soc. XVIII, 1894), 45.
2. E.g. it was leased in 1192 to Richard, the parson
   of Barnston for a yearly rent of 50s. ERO,
   D/DP T1/A1690. It was leased again in 1200,
   and again a few years later. Ibid. 697, 695.
3. Ibid. 1589.
4. WO, 441.
The conditions under which Sir Thomas de Foulkings leased Ingatestone are set out in considerable detail in the deed recording the transaction. If the abbess visited the manor, the expenses he incurred for her entertainment were to be reasonably computed in his rents. He was to maintain and repair all the manorial buildings, curia, ox byre, stable, kitchen and windmill, the abbey supplying the timber and he the labour. He was to have all the estovers in the waste of the abbey's woods, but he might not sell or give away anything. The acreage under the plough, and the number of stock on the manor are also set out in the lease.

This system of farming out their manors, which was so widely adopted by monastic houses and which would certainly be much more convenient to nuns than the running of distant estates themselves, was severely criticised by reformers both within and without the monasteries, on account of the loss of revenue for the house which it often entailed. Moreover, the agricultural boom which had set in by the middle of the thirteenth century, led the monasteries, in company with the great lay landowners, to abandon the method of leasing for a
policy of direct exploitation of their estates. Money
was sunk into developing demesne lands, labour services
once commuted were again exacted from the unfree tenants,
and in some of the greater houses individual monks
took over the manors from the farmers and supervised
them, themselves.

It is most unlikely that the estates of Barking
would have remained unaffected by these economic trends.
Though there is no series of manorial account rolls
from which to deduce the policy of the house on its
different manors, there are one or two pieces of evidence
which throw light on the subject. Unfortunately the
evidence refers almost exclusively to the manor of
Ingatestone, but since it runs true to type, it may be
regarded as representing the agrarian policy of the house.

In the first place, it is clear that in the early
thirteenth century, the demesne lands at Ingatestone
were being expanded by assarting, for purposes of culti-

1. See above, p. 96.
a money rent, does not necessarily contradict the idea of direct exploitation, but illustrates further the policy of the house in using every means at its disposal to increase its income.

A further sign of the policy of high farming on the manor of Ingatestone in the thirteenth century is the exaction of labour services from the customary tenants. At a time when the demesne land measured at least two hundred and fifty acres, there were one hundred and twenty seven customary tenants, holding between them about three hundred and forty acres. Among them, there was a small nucleus of peasant cultivators, whose holdings are described on the Ingatestone Domesdaye as veture tenure or acre operabiles. It was


2. This figure is not given anywhere, but the lease to Sir Thomas de Foulkings gives one hundred and ninety acres as demesne land, and to this at least sixty acres of assarted land had been added.

3. These holdings are given in the Domesdaye. ERO, D/DP M150.
from this group that week-work was demanded, nine who
held five acres being bound to one day a week, and four
holding ten acres to two days a week.

In contrast to the comparatively light week-works,
the boon-works of ploughing and harvesting, which of their
nature demanded a full-time service depending on weather
conditions, were expected from many more tenants.
Ploughing works, called precaria caruce, were owed twice
a year, and in harvest time, reaping services which could
not be commuted, and haymaking "as long as the weather
holds" were performed by thirty six tenants. They also
had to weed for a day and a half, and for this they
were given food, either for the day or for the whole
time.

The abbey's manor of Bulphan also provides evidence
of the labour services performed by its tenants. Here,

1. The same week-works were exacted on the Essex
manors of St. Paul's Cathedral, e.g. at Walton.
The Domesday of St. Paul's, 51.

2. The services of the less stabilised tenants on the
Essex estates of the Templars combined a money
rent with light labour service, one or two boon
days a year. Lees, op. cit., Lxxx.

3. This is shown by a fifteenth century copy of the
thirteenth century Domesdaye, attached to the court
roll for the year 1454. ERO, D/Dg M3 m.3.
See above, p.12.
the population in the late thirteenth century was much smaller than at Ingatestone, numbering only thirty-eight tenants. As at Ingatestone, boon-works constituted the bulk of the labour services, though hoeing, harrowing, and manuring services were heavy. Reed cutting was demanded at Bulphan, as it probably was at Barkin, whereas nut gathering formed an important service at Ingatestone.

Carrying services were heavier at Bulphan than at Ingatestone. On the latter manor, twenty tenants carried four bushels of corn or oats, twice a year to the abbey. At Bulphan, distinction was made

1. On the eves of its dissolution the abbey was paying wages for the reaping of reeds in Ripple marsh, but to a probably a labour service of in lly. PRO, 101.453.7 f.7, 54.2 f.6.

2. ERO, E150. In Barkin, also, a tenant had to gather a full measure of nuts called a "ybot", four of which made a bushel. Charnock, op. cit., 16. Nut gathering was also demanded on the Essex manors of Christ Church, Cantrbury. Nicols, op. cit., 263.

3. A comparison with the sex of Christ Church, Cantrbury, shows that the services on the Barking manors were heavier. At Borley, for instance, the customary tenants were required to carry a load not exceeding two bushels of salt, or three bushels of wheat, ye, peas or eams, or four bushels of oats. Ibid., 249.
between "great" and "small" carrying services of grain. Larger holdings had heavier services, presumably because the tenant would possess his own horse and cart with which to perform them. One tenant, holding forty five acres, was bound to sixteen a year. Others, holding thirty acres, were responsible for five "great" and five "small", while those holding fifteen acres had five "great" and two and a half "small". In return, the tenant was to receive at Barking, bread and a "tray" of ale.

The allowances at harvest time are set out in similar detail at Bulphan. A measure of bread, cheese, butter and milk was to be given to the harvester, varying in quantity according as he worked till none or till vespers. Each virgater had the right to a sheaf of corn called the _mingsef._

1. This was not a distinction, sometimes found elsewhere, between services within and without the manor, since in both cases the tenant went to Barking. It was probably the amount or the kind of grain he carried.

2. This was a widespread practice at harvest time. Neilson, _op. cit._, 56. It was called the _Meneschef_ at Lawling, a manor of the Essex custody of Christ Church, Canterbury. Nichols, _op. cit._, 279.
Many of the Ingatestone holdings might "find a man" to perform customary services. Hence there must have been a surplus population on the manor, men who, as the thirteenth century *Domesdaye* shows, held less than five acres and in many cases only one or two "dayworks". It was this class of men, the manorial proletariat, who earned their livin; by working on the abbey's land, and in this way supplied the regular tasks which farm-life required.

This combination of customary works and paid *famuli* as the means whereby the demesne lands were cultivated is shown more clearly on the manor of Westbury and Dagenham in the fourteenth century. In his account for the year 1321-2, the reeve entered under the section headed "harvest" that nothing had been paid for reaping that year because it had been done by customary works. In 1374, twenty four acres of beans in "Newbreach" were picked by piece-work, because this land was not ancient demesne. The implication in both cases is that the ancier

demesne lands were cultivated, at least as far as ploughing and harvesting went, by customary works. It is clear from the same documents that there were, at the same time, a number of wage-earning *famuli* on the manor. Thus, in 1321, there were three carters, one of whom also did the work of a sower, three drovers, a maidservant, a doorkeeper, and a "doyllour" or woodcutter, whose wages amounted in all to 25s. 8d. a year. Other labourers, like six harrowers, and four boys employed to keep pigs and pull down acorns, as well as extra pitchers and stackers called in at harvest time, were paid at piece-time rates. In 1374, the paid servants included a gardener, a swineherd, a cowherd, two shepherds and a washerwoman. There is nothing unusual in this twofold source of labour, for Professor Postan has shown how common was the full-time paid servant, even at a time when the demesne was cultivated by customary labour.

Very few of the *famuli* at Darenham lived in the *curia*. This is shown by the enormous difference between the quantities of grain consumed in pottage, by those who received their board in the *curia*, and in allowances.

1. 'The Famulus' in *ECHR Supplements* 2.
Pottage only required 4 quarters, 6 bushels of oats, whereas 94 quarters 3 bushels were expended on liveries which were meant to be taken home. Some of the servants who received their board on the manor slept with their animals, as was common, since 2s. was spent by the reeve in 1321 on "six beds in the oxhouse and stable". Six dishes and platters cost him another 3d. He also had to carry out repairs on the servants' house and the bailiff's chamber.

The wages of several important manorial officials are not mentioned, because land was attached to their office. In the case of the reeve, the office was attached to the villein holding, rather than to the person. As one court roll has it, "it was laid on their lands." The same was probably true of the woodward at Ingatestone and of the shepherd at Bulphan. The blacksmith of Bulphan held ten acres of land, in return for which he shod four stotts and made an axe, a knife, and a bill for the lady's mill there, the abbey providing

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1. ERO, D/DP M187. Hence it is not at all infrequent to find a woman holding the office "pro tenura sua", e.g. Ibid. M75 m.l.

2. See above, p.100.

3. See above, p.84.
the iron. He was also entitled to a loaf and a tree trunk for his fire. These holdings in "base serjeanty" are a common feature of the mediaeval manor, and they were probably found all over the Barking estates.

By the middle of the fourteenth century, however, the abbey, in company with the great landowners of the day, began to abandon direct exploitation of its estates in favour of a policy of leasing. One by one, its manors were handed over to firmarii, and the abbey lost direct contact with them.

It would seem that the house was forced into the position of rentier by circumstances and by economic conditions over which it had no control, rather than by choice. It is clear from the fourteenth century court rolls that the old order was breaking down. Two or three tenants on the manor of Ingatestone were refusing in 1322 to perform their customary works, especially the boon work called "benhierthe". By the end of the

1. ERO, D/DSg M3. A similar tenement existed at Heybridge, an Essex manor belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral. The Domesday of St. Paul's, 57.

2. ERO, D/DP M9 m.1. Benhierthe or benerthe was a ploughing service, ad cibum domini. Neilson, op. cit., 43, n.3.
century, it was a much more common offence. In 1394, eleven men on the manor of Ingatestone were amerced for refusing to do their ploughing. Elsewhere, other services were being refused. In 1395, for instance, two men of Bulphan refused to carry oats to the abbey.

Side by side with the evasion of labour services went flights from the manor. In 1397, for instance, two men of Buiphari refused to carry oats to the abbey. In 1399, eight tenants were missing from Ingatestone and had made their way to different places, two to London, and the others to Brentwood, Coggeshall, Great Baddow or South Weald. Nor did the endless threats of amercement put a stop to negligence and ruined tenements.

Nevertheless, the abbey went on demanding labour services well into the fifteenth century. At Mucking, for instance, in 1450-1, five acres of land were in the

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1. ERO, D/DP M27.
2. Ibid. D/DSg M2 m.16.
3. Ibid. D/DP M29 m.4.
4. These occur frequently on the court rolls of these years.
hands of the farmer of the manor "eo quod nullus vult
dictam terram conducere pro operibus."

Apart from the general decline of agricultural
profits, the nuns of Barking had the added difficulty
at the end of the fourteenth century, of finding ready
money to repair the damage done to their lands by the
constant floods. There is no word to indicate this as a
reason for their change of policy, but it must have been
an important factor influencing it.

The nature of the lease of the abbey lands in
the fourteenth and later centuries was different in
several respects from those found in the twelfth century.
In the earlier leases, the manor was farmed out for
life at a money rent, to a man of social standing, often
connected with the house. Now, the lessee was a villein,
a nativus domine, who had no right before the law to find

1. By the end of the fourteenth century demesne
farming was abandoned on the manors of the Essex
custody of Christ Church, Canterbury, in
favour of leasing, a process described by
Dr. Nichols as "a revolution in the methods of
administration of their property". op. cit.,
301.

2. See above, p.74.
pleads for the obligations he had contracted in the lease. He belonged, however, to the class of richer peasants, already holding considerable land in the manor.

It was from him and from his type that a new class of yeoman farmers was to arise, men of substance and enterprise, forerunners of the "entrepreneurs" of a future age, who were willing and able to "farm" whole manors and pay for them a considerable annual rent.

Thus, for instance, the lessee of Ingatestone in 1369 undertook to pay an annual rent of £35. 6s. 8d. Sometimes, however, the rent was paid partly in money and

1. The leases of Ingatestone end with the clause, "et quia predictus /N,/ est nativus non potest alios invenire pleios qui pro ipso volunt domine et successoribus suis obligari pro dicta firma bene et fideliter solvenda et omnes predictas condiciones bene et fideliter observandas". Any arrears in the rent or failure in his obligations on the villein's part are to be followed by eviction. ERO, D/DP M20, M21 m.2.

2. E.g. two tenants leasing Hawkbury in 1330 came from families holding one sixty, the other fifty acres of land. Ibid. D/Dg M3 m.3.

3. Ibid. D/DP M21 m.2.
partly in kind, and this arrangement held good, at least on certain manors, until the end. It has already been seen from the receiver's accounts on the eve of the dissolution that grain was being sent to the abbey by the "farmers" of Newbury, Gaysham Hall, Mucking, Great Wigborough and Abbess Rodinœ, in addition to an annual money rent. Westbury was supplying the house with some of its butter, cream and milk, and loads of hay and wood were sent by other manors, as part of the rent.

The lease itself, of the stock and land type, ran for a short number of years, not longer than fifteen, and usually for five or six. The state of the whole manor is set out in the lease, since all had to be restored at its termination as it was at its commencement. Hence the crops growing in the fields are catalogued, the kind and number of the livestock, and farm implements. The lessee had to maintain farm buildings, curtilages and hedges, and commit no waste.

One interesting feature of the manor of Ingatestone which emerges from its records of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is the rise to prosperity of certain
villein families. Some of the oldest, who were performing week work in the thirteenth century Domesday have left their traces in the names of farms and in features of the landscape down to the present day. Three such families, called White, Hamond and Paty, by their life as cultivators of the soil and their experience as reeves, haywards or woodwards, were able by the fourteenth century to take over and lease the demesne lands of the manor. All three surnames appear in the Domesday among the villein tenants. The Hamond family seems to have had several ramifications, two of its members holding ten acres and another holding five, in return for heavy boon works and some week works. The member of the White family, named Nicholas le Wyte, had a holding of five acres for which he performed the

1. E.g. Potter Row Farm was once the land of Thomas Potter. Osborne's Wood was held by William Osebern, who also held fifty-five acres, of which five were operabiles. ERO, D/DP M150. His descendant in the fourteenth century added another fifty acres to them. Ibid. M23 m.5. The same type of family is found on the estates of the abbey of Bec. See M. Morgan, The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec (Oxford, 1946), 112, et seq.

2. ERO, D/DP M150 fos. 87, 91.
usual services. In addition, he paid a money rent for another fourteen acres in five different places, probably the fruit of assarting. By the middle of the fourteenth century, the White family was represented by a certain William described as tegulator, who provides an excellent illustration of the class of men already referred to. By 1343, he had collected into his own hands all the land held by his forbears of the thirteenth century; and before he disappeared from the Ingatestone scene, he was in possession of thirty-five and a half acres. In the days of his prosperity, he was acting as money-lender on the manor. It was while he held the office of reeve that he leased for six years the manor of Ingatestone and the hamlet of Woodbarns, for which he paid an annual rent of forty quarters of corn and forty of oats,

1. ERO, D/DP M150 fos. 91, 92.
2. Ibid. fos. 84, 93, 95.
3. He held a messuage and five akervar' once belonging to Nicholas le Wyte, a messuage and five akervar' once William le Wyte's, and a third messuage and one and a half acres, once Pake le Wyte's. Ibid. M15 m.l.
4. In 1343, he lent sums of money amounting to £38, to three tenants. Ibid.
and a money rent of ten marks. Then he went a step further and leased Handley for fifteen years, paying five marks a year. By the next year, however, he was dead, and the abbey was leasing the manors to a member of the Hamond family and to a stranger, Reginald Tylhurst.

In 1369, Ingatestone was leased to Richard Paty, whose thirteenth century ancestor had held twenty acres of land for a rent of 5s. 7½d. and the usual boon works. Some members of this family took to flight in the fourteenth century, and left the manor, but in 1483 there was still a William Paty holding forty acres, and the name is found on the court rolls as late as 1520.

1. ERO, D/DP M14 m.3d.
2. Ibid. M14 m.4.
3. Ibid. M21 m.2.
4. Ibid. I15O, fo. 92.
5. E.g. in 1304, the court roll states that "Thomas Paty litteratus est et elongavit se extra feocum ab atisse ideo in misericordia". Ibid. T19 m.3d.
6. He surrendered this year a tenement and forty acres to two tenants. Ibid. M57 m.6.
7. At the court of April 31st this year, the bailiff was ordered to distrain the goods of Thomas Paty who was living at Blackmore, although he was "nativus domine de sanguine". Ibid. M79 m.1.
Another striking illustration of the abbey's position of rentier is the extent to which unfree peasants were leasing land among themselves. Unable to prevent it, the abbey tried at least to ensure that it should be done in the manorial court, with the licence of the steward. The manor of Ingatestone, again, is the only one which provides anything like adequate evidence, and even here the many gaps in the court rolls make statistics difficult to arrive at. The movement had already begun in the first half of the fourteenth century, but it reached a peak in the last twenty years of the century and the early years of the fifteenth. This is also the period when the peasants evaded most frequently the licence they were supposed to seek from the steward if the lease was longer than a year. When this happened, the land was seized, but it was sometimes restored on payment of a fine.

1. E.g. in 1399, a tenant was amerced 12d. because "dimisit tenementum suum nativum ultra annum annum contra consuetudinem manerii." TRO, D/DP M29 m.3.

2. E.g. in 1368, the lessor and lessee were both amerced 2s. and the land was confiscated. It was restored on payment of 6s. 8d. in court. Ibid. h.21 m.2.
The average length of the leases is seven years, though two or three years are frequently found. Only rarely does one lasting twenty years appear. Similarly the amount of land leased was small. It is rare to find as much as forty acres, or even twenty acres.

Side by side with the leases, there was constant surrender and taking up of land, as tenements were re-arranged, broken up, and accumulated in new hands, by peasants who rose to prosperity at the expense of the abbey. Moreover, many formal surrenders of land in the manor court were disguised purchases. A man would "surrender in court" a tenement and several acres "for the use of" another tenant, who then undertook to pay him in annual instalments until a fixed sum had been reached. The abbey gained by increasing the entry fines, which swelled the "perquisites of the court".

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1. There are numerous examples of this in the middle years of the fifteenth century, when land was changing hands rapidly and the tenants had ready money. E.g. ERO, D/DP M37 m.1d, m.2.

2. E.g. in 1436, the entry fine into a tenement and twenty four acres was 33s. 4d. Ibid. M42 m.3. Other examples can be found on the court rolls of these years.
The extent to which the nuns were obtaining income from money rents and leases is illustrated by a series of six compotus rolls for the year 1450-1, representing the manors of Great Warley, Bulphan, Luckin, Hockley, Ingatestone and Great Wigborough. The rents of assize and leases from these manors realised a total sum of £100. 12d. Seventy years later, on the eve of the dissolution, the rents from farms of all the manors and the rents of assize amounted to £517. 13s. 3½d. By then, the house had turned over completely to a policy of leasing, keeping only a few acres as a small home farm in the monastic precincts.

2. Ibid. S.C. 6 H VIII/930.
3. They were described in 1540 as "a meadow called Gunnes Mede, another called Convent Meade containing six acres of meadow, a pasture called Huntynges containing sixteen acres of meadow, a pasture called the Warpehawes containing six acres of meadow; also a parcel of land called the Vyneyard containing five acres and a parcel of land called the Grove containing eight acres". They were valued at £7. 15s. 4d. Ibid. S.C. 6 954.
CHAPTER VI.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

The internal administration of the Benedictine nunneries lay in the hands of religious called "obedientiaries". Their functions were similar to those performed by the black monks, though their numbers varied according to the size and wealth of the house. In a large establishment, such as Barking, some kind of departmentalisation would soon become necessary, while the wishes of benefactors who allocated their gifts to specific purposes would have to be respected. The nuns do not seem to have taken the further step of dividing their revenues between the head of the house and the community, in order to prevent everything from falling into the hands of the king during a vacancy, though this was a device to which the greater monasteries resorted. Thus, in 1199-1200, when a six months' vacancy occurred, the custodian of the king disbursed £70 in the maintenance of the community, which he would not have done had its

2. See below, p.378.
revenues been separated from those of the abbess.

It has already been suggested that the abbess of Barking disbursed the general funds of the house, at least during the later Middle Ages, and that these general funds were made up of substantial contributions from all the properties of the house. A central treasury of this nature existed in some nunneries in the later Middle Ages, though treasurers are usually found administering the revenues side by side with the superior. There was a central treasury at Elstow after the beginning of the fifteenth century, controlled by the abbess and two nuns, who obtained their revenues from rent collectors and receivers.

Expenses incurred by the abbess of Barking occur in the fragmentary accounts which appear to have belonged to the treasury. One account, for instance, enters "my lady's expenses at Dagenham by the hands of Miles Trowditch, 3s. 3d." while the other bears a heading

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1. See above, p. 227.
3. PRO, E101, 458-7, fo. 8.
4. Ibid. 542-2, fo. 7d.
"expense of my lady and other her officers and servants". The bulk of the expenditure, however, was accounted for by fairly large items like "repairs in the monastery", amounting to £10. 7s. 8d., and "repairs without the monastery", i.e. on the different manors, which added up to £32. 17s. 11½d. "Repairs of marshes and mills" cost another £32. 3s. 8d."

In addition to administering the funds of the treasury, it is clear from scattered references that the abbess had her own revenues though they were not extensive. They included rents of assize, worth about £12, which she drew from several manors, like Barking, Ingatestone, Lucking and Stifford.

The abbess maintained a considerable household, as befitted her estate as head of one of the great nunneries of the land. It counted among its members a gentlewoman, an esquire, and an unspecified number of

1. E.g., the rent-collector of Varley entered on his compotus roll for 1450-1, "et liberatus ad manus domine abbatisse pro denariis pertinentibus camere sue reductu de Stifford xjs. 1xd." PnO, S.C. 6. 849/4. The rent collector's account roll for Ingatestone has a similar entry with the sum of £5. 6s. 8d. Ibid.
gentlemen, yeomen and grooms. The steward of the household must have been an important official, though there are only passing references to him. A marshal also appears occasionally. In 1376, for instance, the reeve of Westbury accounted for six quarters of oats "delivered to John English, the lady's marshal, for provender for horses in the abbey". Just over a hundred years later, in 1482, a certain Thomas Felle, described as "generosus et mariscallus abbatie de Berking" was among the witnesses of a will.

1. E.g. The Charthe of the Celeresse directs her to pay, in offerings and gifts, "to my lady's gentlewoman 20d. and to every gentleman 16d. and to every yeoman's it pleaseth her, and grooms." Lon. I, 443.

2. E.g. the cellaress was to give "to the steward of the household what time he bring home money from the court at each time 20d., and she shallive him at Christmas 20d." Ibid. The last cellaress entered on her account roll, "...wards given at Christmas to the Steward, other officers and servants, 35s. 2d." PhO, S.C.6 4 VIII/929.

3. Ibid. 849/12.

4. PCC, 5 Logg.
ith so large a household, one would expect the abbess ofarking to live in a separate building, as was customary for the head of a great mediaeval abbey. It is impossible now to locate the site of such a building at Barking, but its existence by 1298 is implied in Archbishop Peckham's order to the abbess, to dine with her community on at least the five great feasts of Easter, Whitsunday, the Assumption, St. Ethelburga and Christmas. The abbess's household also had its own separate kitchen with its clerk to whom the cellareress sometimes applied for special food supplies, and "the lady's cook" who received his own grain separate from the supplies sent to the granger of the house.

1. Reg. Peckham, I, 84. The Charter of the Celereges also gives the direction, "and the under-cellarers must remember at each principal feast that my lady sitteth in the frater; that is to wit five times in the year, at each time shall ask the clerk of the kitchen supper eggs for the convent, and that is Easter, Whitsuntide, the Assumption of Our Lady, St. Aldburgh and Christmas." Mon. I, 445.

2. E.T. "Attendance Farm and Iutton". Ibia.

The "buyer of the lady's household" likewise procured hens, capons, eggs and salt from the different manors, to supply the abbess's staff.

It is quite possible that the children who are occasionally mentioned in the Barking records were being reared in the abbess's household. These children might be minors in the wardship of the abbess, as were the son and two daughters of her tenant, Henry of Dagenham, whose story has been recorded in Bracton's Notebook.

The abbess was able to make good her claim to the wardship of these children because their father had held land of her "by the service of riding with her from manor to manor." Other children may have been receiving their education in her household because she was a great personage, and such a practice was usual with the mediaeval aristocracy. In 1433, Catherine de la Pole had living with her Edmund and Jasper Tudor, whose "charges, costs and expenses" she had taken upon herself.

2. II, 578.
3. he was petitioning that the sum of £62. 12s. owing to her for their maintenance might be paid. Mon. I, 437, n.1.
Similarly, in 1527, the son of Sir John Stanley was being brought up by Dorothy Barley until he reached the age of twelve years, and provision was made by Sir John in his will for £20 yearly to be paid to the abbess. The fragmentary account of 1535-36 which, it has been suggested, belonged to the treasury, contains a number of entries which may refer to children living in the abbess's household. One reads, "received for the commons of Master Smith's two daughters for sixteen weeks, paying 12d. a week, 33s." and another "for the commons of Margaret Barley for the year 40s." The same account includes under the heading "money paid to the convent for winesilver and alesilver", 2s. 2d., to the "scolemaster".

In accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict, it was the right of the abbess to appoint the obedientiaries. This appointment took place annually at Barking in the chapter house, after the Chapter Mass, on the first Monday

2. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/929/2.
Those who had held office during the previous year resigned their charge into the hands of the abbess who could, if she so desired, re-appoint one "who had acted prudently and was suitable." Apparently the list of officials is not in order of seniority, since on other occasions the cellaress or sacristan ranks first, but it shows the full complement of obedientiaries common to the larger Benedictine nunneries, with the principal offices subdivided. It mentions, in the following order, a librarian, subprioress, third prioress, "searchers", mistress of novices, a precentrix and her assistant succentrix, sacrists, refectorians, almoners and cellarettes. They represent the main departments of the monastic establishment, concerned with religious discipline, with the proper discharge of divine service, and with the material affairs of the house.

1. Ordinale, 68.

2. E.g. in two lists compiled for elections, in 1499 and 1527, the cellaress is named after the subprioress, and in the latter case is followed by the precentrix and third prioress. Reg. Kemp, fo. 17, Reg. Tunstall, fo. 109. In 1473, the sacrist is named after the subprioress. Reg. Kemp, fo. 7d.
The list of officials is followed by the decrees of the Benedictine General Charter of 1225, on the duties and responsibilities of the obedientiaries. They are given first in Latin, and then in a French translation adapted to nuns, and open with the words, "omnes obedientiarii hoc maxime observent ne bona sibi commissa distrahant aut consument sed ea in utilitatis ecclesie fideliter expendant et secundum receptas et expensas eo modo et ordine fideles prelato rei dant raciones".

The prioress does not appear in the list of obedientiaries. She was appointed as necessity arose, and was installed in her new office with considerable ceremony. She ranked next after the abbess, and was a person of great authority, especially since the abbess lived in her own household and was frequently engaged in secular business. Upon her fell the burden "to be unto hyr helping [i.e. the abbess] and the poynete of the Rule to meyntene Religion." Passing references show

1. Ordinale, 68.
2. Ibid. 362-3.
3. Ibid. 362.
that the prioress administered revenues of her own, but as hers was not one of the great spending departments of the house, they could not have been very extensive.

Below the prioress in rank, and assisting her in the maintenance of religious discipline were a subprioress and third prioress. They also must have been allocated a small revenue, for one item of their expenditure was the provision of candles, to light the nuns on their way to the church after supper, from the feast of All Saints until Candlemas Day. There is no further reference, apart from the ordinal, to the circuitrices, i.e. "those who go about the monastery at times appointed for reading, and see that all are engaged in that duty", and by the later Middle Ages they had probably ceased to function.

At Barking, the novice mistress went by the name of magistra scolarium, and the novices were called

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1. E.g. She received 13s. 4d. from the rent collector of Mucking in 1450. PRO, E.C. & 849/4. She also received an annual sum of £1 from Lidlington. Ibid. H VIII/930.

2. Ordinale, 329.

3. In the list of obedientiaries already cited, the name appears in the plural, so that each novice may have been assigned to her own magistra.
scolares, as distinct from the invencule \textsuperscript{1} and infantes who were the children living in the abbey. The spiritual training given in the noviciate of a modern religious order was practically unknown to the mediaeval Benedictine, for whom the period of probation meant training in the customs of the house and ceremonies of the choir, and memorising the Latin and chant of the Mass and Divine Office. This is illustrated in the ordinal which stipulates that the novice is to enter the choir after her reception, and all that day is to follow the Office with her mistress who is to instruct her "\textit{de sua observancia}". The part played by the novices in the liturgical life of the house can be gathered to some extent from the ordinal, and will be described later.

The obedientiaries directly concerned with divine worship, at the altar and in the choir, were the sacrist and precentrix and their assistants, and with them may also

\begin{enumerate}
\item If a \textit{scolaris} died, she had the right to the same suffrages "as another dame". \textit{Ordinale}, 358.
\item \textit{Ibid.} 351.
\item See below, p.354 \textit{et seq.}
\end{enumerate}
be classed the librarian. No account rolls of the sacrist have survived, but there are several references to the sources whence she drew her income. The rental of the manor of Barking of 1456 mentions rents and leases there belonging to her, which were worth 11s. 11½d., but gives no details about them. It does not include a valuable piece of land called the Almesfield which the sacrist was already leasing in 1440 at 13s. 4d. a year. By 1540, when her rent collector accounted to the king for the receipts of her office, her total revenues in Barking amounted to £7. 7s. 7½d. These were made up of rents of assize from tenements and gardens lying in the immediate vicinity of the abbey which were worth 33s. 2½d. a year, and the lease of other property like the Sextonfield, the Almesfield and part of Ripple Marsh. In addition, rents of assize on other manors, like 31s. 6d. from Ucking and 5s. from Ingatestone were allocated to her. At least one rent in kind, 1 lb of wax, was still

1. BM, Add. Ms. 45387, fos. 19, 20d.
2. ERO, D/DP 1187.
3. PRO, S.C. 6 964.
4. Ibid. 849/4.
being paid to her in the fifteenth century by a tenant of Ucking.

In addition to these stable sources of income, the bequests to the high altar of the abbey church which have already been described were probably allocated to her, as were likewise sums of money for forgotten tithes which the inhabitants of Barking sometimes left in their wills. In 1496, for instance, a man named Thomas Hoke set down in his will, "I bequeath unto the office of sexton within the monastery of Barking for tithes negligently forgotten, a bullock price 6s. 8d., and in the same year Stephen Burre, also of Barking, left "to my lady sexton of the monastery for tithings and offerings negligently forgotten 2s."

The responsibilities of the sacrist are summed up in a rhymed English translation of the Rule of St. Benedict, "she shall keep the ornaments of the church, the chalice, books, vestments, relics and wax. She shall

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2. See above, p. 160.
3. PCC, 1 Horne.
4. Ibid. 33 Vox.
preserve the vessels of the altar and keep them clean."

There is no evidence that the nuns themselves made the vestments. Indeed, the accounts of the office of pensions which was responsible for the upkeep of the chantry chapels, show that they bought the material and paid for the making. Sometimes the nuns received vestments or the material to make them, as bequests in wills. Thomas Duke of Exeter left to the house in 1426, "a vestment of black and green velvet with orphery, a chasuble, two dalmatics, three amices, two stoles, three maniples and three copes." Anne Brickys, the mother of one of the nuns, left in her will, "my gowns of tawny and black satin to make two vestments to be given to the church of the monastery of Barking", and in addition "to the chapel of All Hallows within the monastery a pax of silver and gilt and a vestment."

The only description of sacred vessels owned by the house is contained in the receiver's account drawn

2. See below, p.304, n.2.
4. PCC, 3 Thower.
up for the king after the dissolution.

The liturgical life of the abbey, especially as it was carried out on the great feasts, must have kept the sacrist and her assistants fully occupied. On such days, she alone is exempted by the ordinal from choral duties. Her position also called for considerable knowledge of liturgical practice and of rubrics. Each liturgical season brought its own particular demands, as the details of the ordinal show. There were candles to be provided for the procession on Candlemas Day, ashes for Ash Wednesday, and the flowers that were scattered in the sanctuary on Whitsunday. The sacrist was responsible for the adornment of the church with carpets and hangings on the great feasts, for the preparation of the tent to which the procession went on Palm Sunday, and of the Easter Sepulchre.

While the revenues of the sacrist could have covered ordinary current expenditure on such necessities as wine, oil and candles, they could hardly have been

1. See below, p.453.
2. E.g. on Christmas Day. Ordinale, 27.
sufficient to pay for heavy repairs to the fabric of the church or for large scale building operations. For these, the central fund of the treasury seems to have been used. Thus, in the late fragmentary accounts already quoted, there are payments to a plumber and carpenter, amounting to £4. 15s. 3d. "for mending of the great steeple."

While the sacrist was concerned with divine worship at the altar, the obedientiary known as the precentrix, with her assistant the succentrix, was responsible for the correct rendering of the chant and the carrying out of the ceremonial in the monastic choir. In order to do this efficiently, she had to be conversant both with Latin and with the complicated rubrics of the liturgy. She and her assistant are warned in the Ordinal to study the Calendar carefully, to calculate correctly for instance the number of Sundays after Pente-

1. See above, p.263-4.
2. Several Barking wills leave bequests to the "great steeple", but it is not clear whether they are referring to the parish church of St. Margaret, which today has no steeple, or to the abbey church.
cost, "ne quod absit incuria illarum vel negligencia divinum officium irrationabile fiat".

The precentrix was responsible for the chanting of the daily High Mass and of the Divine Office. Whereas most of the community needed to know only those parts of the Mass and Office made familiar by repetition and sung from memory, the precentrix would have to be able to use the other liturgical books to which the cues of the ordinal refer. She led the singing, and had to be ready to replace the abbess when it was necessary.

She was at liberty to choose sometimes the melody of hymns at Office, the "farse" of the Ordinary of the Mass, and occasionally the part of the Proper to be sung by the choir. She also regulated the duties of the other "ladies of the choir" by placing the names of those

1. See below, p. 308.
2. E.g. on the Ember Saturday after Pentecost, the Introit of the Mass was intoned by the abbess, "vel a presentrice si ipsa aliter occupata fuerit". Ordinale, 140.
3. The hymn Te lucis of Compline on Christmas Eve might be sung, i.e. "cum nota" and "ad voluntatem cantricis". Ibid. 22.
4. E.g. the Kyrie on the feast of St. Andrew. Ibid. 166.
taking some special part, like the singing of a lesson or antiphon, on the *tabula* which was read out at Chapter. She combined with her duties of a modern Choir Listress, those also of a Listress of Ceremonies, giving directions in the choir, and in processions, when she had to warn the priests taking part that all was ready.

It is hardly likely that the precentrix would have needed to administer revenues of any sort. In many monasteries, the service books and their copying were the responsibility of the obedientiary in charge of the choir. At Barking, however, there was a librarian who had care of these books. On the Wednesday of Holy Week, when the annual washing of the church took place, this official had to collect any left in the choir and put them away in a cupboard. This stood in the church,

its usual place in the early Middle Ages, near the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen.

Though it cannot be said for certain when the office of librarian was instituted at Barking, it was possibly as old as the thirteenth century. The house was conspicuous in this for it is rare to find a librarian in a mediaeval nunnery.

It is equally rare to find a library catalogue of a mediaeval nunnery. No catalogue of Barking is extant,

1. MO, 527.
2. Ordinale, 67. The Ordinal itself, according to the direction left by Sybil Felton, was to be placed in the library during a vacancy and given to the newly elected abbess after her installation. Ibid. 13.
3. The name occurs at the beginning of the list of obedientiaries in the Ordinal. See above, p. 269.
4. There was a librarian at St. Mary's, Winchester, in 1501, according to Dom Ph. Schmitz the only one in an English nunnery. Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint Benoît (Maredsous, 1956), VII, 260.
5. That belonging to the Bridgettine house of Syon shows that its library was one of the largest and richest of the later Middle Ages, but the collection belonged to the community of priests, while the nuns' library was small and composed of devotional books. RQ, II, 347.
but several books of a devotional or liturgical character belonging to the house survived the vicissitudes of the sixteenth century and passed into various depositories. The oldest, which has been preserved in the Bodleian library, is a book of the Gospels of the late tenth or early eleventh century. Its only means of identification as a possession of Barking are two eleventh century deeds, granting tithes to the house, which are written out at the back. In this, Barking was following a widespread custom of copying royal and other important charters into Gospel-books.

There is also in the Bodleian Library a twelfth century glossed copy of the Canticles and Lamentations


2. MS Laud Lat, 19. At one time, it was owned by William Chark, the Puritan preacher and expelled Fellow of Peterhouse. J. Rendall Harris, Origin of the Leicester Codex of the New Testament (1887), 33-45.
which bears an **ex libris** inscription of the house. It was a common practice from the twelfth century onwards to show the ownership of a book in this way. The book also bears on the spine the title **cantica canticorum glossata**, and the press-mark **b.3**, which may denote the place of the book in the book-press or in a catalogue. The "prickly script" in which the manuscript is written is characteristic of the handwriting of south eastern England at that period and especially of the **scriptorium** of Christ Church, Canterbury, where it was most flourishing. The book was either a gift to Barking, or if it was written for the house was probably the work of a paid scribe.

1. The inscription reads, "**Hic est liber sacratissime dei genitricis marie et beate aethelburge virginis berkingsii ecclesie quem qui abstulerit aut super eo / sic / fraudem fecerit anathematis mucrone feriatur**".  


3. **Ibid. XXI.** Elsewhere, Ker suggests that this "prickly" kind of writing was cultivated at Barking, as it was on the other side of the Thames, at Lesnes, Rochester and Christ Church, Canterbury. He also suggests that the mediaeval binding of Laud Lat. 19 may indicate the normal system of titling and pressmarking in use in the abbey, and attributes the title to the thirteenth century and the pressmark to a later period. "**MSS from Essex Libraries, 301.**"
There seems to have been a strong tradition of scholarship and culture in the house at this period, going back to the days of friendship with St. Aldhelm and St. Boniface. This was the time when the French minstrel, Guerres de Font Sainte Mayence, is said to have visited Barking, in order to obtain from the abbess, Mary Becket, material for the Life of St. Thomas which he wrote in 1174.

Some of the nuns themselves undertook the writing of verse. One, named Clemence, composed a life of St. Catherine in French verse, about the year 1150. This work lacks the inspiration found in the various writings like The Life of St. Edmund by Denis Pyramus, a monk of Bury St. Edmunds, or The Life of St. Brendan, emanating

2. Ibid. 121.
4. Eckenstein, op. cit., 357. French was the language spoken in the nunneries from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. See Power, op. cit., 246-7.
from some of the black monk houses in the twelfth century, but it was a competent piece of work and was frequently copied. The example of Clemence was followed soon after by another nun of Barking, though she refuses to give her name, who translated from Latin into French the life of Edward the Confessor.

The suggestion has been put forward that the secular priest, William Adgar, who was the author of a collection called The Legends of St. Mary, was a chaplain at Barking. He addressed his composition to the

'bone gent senee

Kien Deu estes esemblee

Et vus, Dame l'ahaut, premers'.

Dame Mahaut may have been the Lady Maud, daughter of Henry II, who was abbess from about 1175 to 1198. Adgar lived within reach of London, for he was translating, he says, from a book he found in a bookcase in St. Paul's Cathedral.


2. By Eziolevi in Troveri ed Abbazie (Archivio storico italiano, lxxx, ii, 63); it is accepted by Legge, op. cit., 106.
Though the fashion of writing verse-lives of saints died out after the twelfth century, the tradition of culture at Barking never seems to have been entirely lost. It was represented at the beginning of the fifteenth century by Sybil Felton, who was instrumental in the compilation of the ordinal as it now exists, and who possessed several books in English. One was a spiritual tract called The cleansing of man's soul, now in the Bodleian Library. It bears the inscription "iste liber constat Sybille de Felton abbatisse de Berkyng, and may indeed have been composed for her, since it is addressed to a nun.

1. See below, p.310. At the bottom of fo. 6, the name Dorothy Broke has been written in a sixteenth century hand. Dorothy Broke was the wife of a lawyer, Thomas Broke, who appears on an account roll of the abbey just before the dissolution.

2. S Bodl 923.

3. Margaret Deanesly suggests that it may have been written for a nun of Barking. The Lollard Bible and other Mediaeval Biblical Versions (Cambridge, 1920), 337.
Sybil Felton also owned a translation of *Meditationes Vitae Christi* of St. Bonaventure, made by Nicholas Love, Prior of the Carthusian monastery of Mount Grace in Yorkshire. It is not surprising to find a copy of it in Barking, for it was one of the most popular books of devotion in the fifteenth century. It had been taken to London before 1410 by its translator, and read and licensed for use by the faithful by Archbishop Arundel to counteract the reading of the Lollard Bible. When the nuns dispersed at the time of the dissolution, Barking's copy was taken from the house by Margaret Scrope, the subprioress, who gave it to a Mistress Agnes Goldwell. Its subsequent ownership is told on the fly-leaf of the book.


3. The fly-leaf bears the following inscriptions, "Istrictis Agnes Gowldewell me possidet ex dono Margarete Scrope quondam monache monasterii de Berkynge"; "John Campe owes this booke"; "Reynold Clarke is the trewe owner of this booke"; "Bought of Roger Pott of Colchester Bookseller 29th April 1628". It is now in the possession
We know the titles of one or two other books which were in Barking during the fifteenth century. About the year 1430, a nun named Matilda Hayle owned a Wycliffite manuscript, containing some religious treatises, including one called *A Craft of Dying*, and the texts of the *Books of Tobias and Susanna*. It was about this time that Barking, together with Syon, was given permission to use an English Bible, though it is not said which translation the nuns were allowed to use. Such a permission was given only to the larger and better instructed nunneries, whose inmates were allowed to use them by themselves for private devotion or for a better understand-

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of William Foyle, the bookseller. F.W.S., 'A Barking Abbey Manuscript' in ER, LIX, (1950), 52. Agnes Goldwell and her children received bequests in the will of Dame Elizabeth Pecke, the sister of Margaret Scrope. See below, p. 446.

1. BM, Add. MS. 10596. It is discussed by M. Deanesly in Mod. Lang. Rev. XV, 358.
ing of the text of the Vulgate. Matilda Hayle passed on the manuscript to another member of the community, Mary Hastings, and it may have been given to the library by her.

Another book which was presented to the house was a composite work made up of meditations of St. Bernard and St. Augustine, followed by a number of proverbs and sayings of ancient philosophers. It is written in French, and was given to the house in 1477 by Elizabeth de Vere, the Countess of Oxford. It is deposited now in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford.

1. M. Deanesly, op. cit., 337. Miss Deanesly has suggested to me that it was probably the Vycliffite text of the Bible which the nuns used, as MSS of this were far more numerous than those of any other English biblical text. It was the Prologue of this text which was harmful, and many MSS were without it. The licensing authority would be the Bishop of London, but it was not a matter which would be entered on his register.

2. Deanesly, op. cit.

3. The possession of books by an individual religious who at the hour of death donated them to the house was common in mediaeval monasteries. RO, II, 339.

4. It bears the inscription "Memorandum that Elizabeth Veer sumtyme Countes of Oxforde the xxvj day of feverer the yere of lorde maccclxxvij yave this boke to the monastery of Berkyng on whos sowle Oure Lorde have mercy amen."

5. Magdalen College, Lat. 41.
An indication of the kind of book which was in the house at the time of the dissolution is contained in an inventory of "certain books in the abbey of Barking", which came into the hands of the receiver William Pownsett, and in 1555 were in his house in Eastcheap. There were twenty six of them in all, and they included a variety of subjects. There were religious books, like a cathologus sanctorum, an opus aureum sanctorum and the enchiridion militis christiani of Erasmus, written in 1502. Others, such as "two books of sermons", the gemma predicantium of John Bromyard, the Dominican, and John Beleth's Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, and several books on law had probably belonged to chaplains. The list also includes one or two of the classics, like a copy of Virgil, and of Cicero's De Officiis, while "decem libri ethicorum" may have been a copy of Aristotle's

1. ERO, D/DP F234.

Ethics. *Aesop's Fables* were likewise included. Except for a *vocabulus utrinque juris*, valued at 12s. most of them were worth only a few pence. It is, however, interesting to find them passing into the hands of a lay steward.

The ordinal contains an interesting description of the distribution of books to the community by the librarian. This took place, in accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict, in the Chapter House on the first Monday of Lent, before the appointment of the obedientiaries. During the Chapter Mass which preceded it, the librarian placed all the books from the book press on a carpet, spread out on the floor of the Chapter House. When the community had assembled, she read out, at a signal from the abbess, the titles of the books borrowed during the previous year and the names of the borrowers. Then the books were returned, and new ones for the following year distributed, care being taken, adds the ordinal "that

1. *Aesopus in Fabulis* was a book of sixty fables in Latin elegaics compiled probably by Walter the Englishman between the years 1169 and 1190. Ovst, *op. cit.*, 302.

2. *Ordinale*, 67-68.
important obedientiaries are given the smaller ones and the nuns who were less occupied, the larger ones". The account of the distribution ends with the ordinance of the General Chapter of Northampton of 1225, on the proper treatment of books.

The material affairs of the house were in the hands of a fairly large group of obedientiaries, the cellaresses, refectorians, kitcheners, and also the infirmarian and almoner. In the later Middle Ages, there was an office of pensions, which seems to have replaced that of the wardrobe.

The cellaress, who was assisted by an undercellaress, was by far the most important obedientiary of this group; indeed she was one of the great officials of the abbey. In the later Middle Ages, she was administering revenues in the region of £98 a year, paid to her "by diverse fermours and renede-gedereres" of the different manors. Tollesbury, Great Wigborough and Hockley each contributed £10, while amounts varying from £4 to £8

1. The Chartes of the Celeresse, Mon. I, 442.
were sent in from the other manors. Rents of lands and houses in Barking, Ilford and Dagenham brought in £12. 18s. Many of these rents were small rents of assize, but the cellaress possessed one valuable tenement in Barking called Gallofer's House, the gift of an Alice Gallofer, on whose obit day the cellaress regaled the community with a special pittance of two and a half bushels of wheat and three "muttons". By the time of the dissolution, Gallofer's House, together with much of the cellaress's land, was long since leased.

In addition, the cellaress drew on rents from property in London. A tenement in the parish of St. Nicholas within Newgate was rented from her at 22s. a year by the Minor Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral. The Prior of St. Bartholomew's paid her 17s. a year for land near Aldersgate. Her Charthe also mentions a yearly rent "of diverse tenements at St. Mary Scherehog'e by year 22d." and "she should receive yearly 23s. 4d. of a

1. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/929.
2. E.g. she was leasing thirty acres of marsh in Ripple Marsh, at least as early as 1440. ERO, D/DP M187.
4. Ibid.
tenement in Friday St. but it is not known where it stands." A tenement called "The George" in "atling Street brought her an annual rent of 34s. 4d. 30s. a year was supposed to come from the manor of Tyburn, but in the last years before the dissolution it seems never to have been paid.

The cellaress was the purveyor of the main food supplies of the community. She also supplied the abbey's chaplains and an almshouse for women in Barking. By the time her surviving accounts came to be written, the demesne lands of the abbey's manors had all been leased. Supplies of grain were sent in by the lessees of several manors which would have provided the staple bread and ale of the community. They were inadequate, however, for

1. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/929.
2. The charte has the entry "she should receive yearly 30s. of the rent of Tyburn but it is not paid". loc. cit. In 1516, her rent collector entered on his account that the rent was in arrears "eo quod remanet in manu domini regis racione minoris etatis heredis". PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/927.
the numerous pittances which the cellaress supplied on the anniversaries of benefactors. For these, she had to purchase wheat for bread and cakes, as well as oatmeal and malt. Neither was the dairy produce from the neighbouring manor of Newbury sufficient. It had to be supplemented by heavy purchases of milk and butter. From these, the cellaress supplied "fortnight butter" between Trinity Sunday and the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14th) to "thirty three ladies with five doubles, that is to say one to the prioress, one to the cellaress, one to the undercellaress, one to the kitchener, and one to the bell-ringer and to the sisters of the hospital". Twelve "dishes" of butter every fortnight, which cost her 2\frac{3}{4}d. a dish, gave her a "piece" of butter for everyone. She also bought "feast butter" for Easter, Whitsuntide, the Assumption of Our Lady and St. Ethelburga's day. In all, butter cost her £2. 16s. 6d. a year.

1. E.g. in 1539, the "buying of wheat, malt and other rains" and the wages of a baker and rewer amounted to £4. Os. ½d. PRO, E.C. 6 H III/929.

2. Ibid.
The heaviest item on the cellaress's account was the purchase of the oxen which provided the "messes" of beef for the community. The Charthe recommends a herd of "twenty two good oxen", for they were slaughtered at the rate of one a fortnight, to provide meat on Sundays Tuesdays and Thursdays, throughout the year, except during Advent and Lent and on Vigils. Even so, the cellaress ran short of supplies, and had to buy thirty nine "messes" during the year, at a cost of 23s. 3d. The market where she made these purchases is not named in her accounts, but it was presumably in the town of Barking. Her oxen, however, were bought at various places, at Smithfield, St. Albans, Uxbridge, and at the fairs held at Dunstable and Kingston. John Morse, the rent collector of Dame Dorothy Fitzlewes who was cellaress in 1526, paid £30. 9s. 8d. for forty oxen at Kingston and Dunstable. 

This repeated purchase of stock and the hire of pasture for it indicates that by the sixteenth century the abbey had no extensive pastures in

1. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/929.
2. Ibid. 927.
demesne and hence no large herds of cattle. In the same way, the pittance of pork and mutton given on the obit days of certain benefactors were all purchased.

Another expensive item of the cellaress's budget was "the provision of Lentstuffe and for Advent" which amounted in 1536 to £11. 2s. The staple Lenten diet of fish was bought in several places. Barrels of salmon and cades of red and white herring, costing 8s. 4d. a cade, were purchased in London; eels were obtained in Cambridge, while from Stourbridge fair, which was described in Henry VIII's reign as "the most notable fair within this realm for the provision of fish," the abbey's servants carried "loads of fish". The monotonous Lenten

1. PRO, S.C. H VIII/929.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
5. The nunneries of Syon and Delapré both made purchases at Stourbridge, and the Oxford Colleges bought their winter herrings and Lent fish there. J. Thorold Rogers, Six Centuries of Work and Wages (London, 1884), 146.
fare was made more palatable by the rice, raisins, figs and almonds which the cellaress provided each week, the ration being 1 lb. of raisins and figs and 2 lbs. of almonds for each member of the community.

At no time in the year do the cellaress's documents give an impression of austerity in food or drink. On the contrary, Barking seems to have had a well-stocked larder and a varied diet, in addition to several sums of money which the nuns received from obedientiaries "for necessities and comforts" and which constituted so widespread and grave an abuse.

The servants whom the cellaress employed and the wages they received appear on her account rolls under the heading "wages paid by the office and rewards given." Her rent collector for Barking, Dagenham and London was paid two marks a year, and the clerk who kept her accounts a mark. The convent cook, or "yeoman cook" as he is

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2. They are discussed in a later chapter, p.479 et seq.
3. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/929.
4. Ibid. The clerk purchased paper and parchment for the accounts, spending 2s. 8d. on them.
called in the Charthe, received 26s. 8d. in wages, and
the "groom cook" or undercook and "pudding wife" 2s. a
year for their livery. At Christmastide, the cellaress
spent 35s. 2d. in gifts to the Steward of the Household
and other officers and servants. She also made offer-
ings to the abbess's household, "to my lady's gentlewoman
20d., to every gentleman 10d., and to every yeoman as
it pleaseth her and grooms." Finally, the auditor
received a fee of 5s. "for the examination and declarat-
ion of the account."

While the cellaress provided the staple food
supplies and most of the pittances of the community,
the preparation of the food was the responsibility of
the kitchener, while the refectory was in charge of two
"fratresses". Beyond the double pittance which these
obedientiaries received, there is no further reference
to them or to any revenues they may have administered.
The frater itself lay along the northern range of the
cloisters. In the north-east corner, separated from the
frater by the warming house, was the misericord. The

1. These details have been drawn from her various
account rolls, and from the Charthe of the
Celeresse, Mon. I, 443.
infirmary hall with its chapel lay still further east. The "fermery", as it was called, received from the office of pensions the sum of £1. 2. 10d. four times a year for "bloodlet silver".

There are one or two passing references to the almoner in the ordinal. Her name appears in the list of obedientiaries who surrendered their offices at the beginning of Lent. She is mentioned again on Good Friday, when she collected the portions of food and drink for that day's meal, and distributed them to the poor. This is an indication of the kind of work done by the almoner, namely the distribution of doles of food to the poor at the abbey gate. That it does not represent the full almsgiving of the house, however, is clear from the surviving account rolls of the cellareress and treasury, as will be shown in a later chapter.

1. See below, p.303.
2. *Ordinale*, 68. The word is in the plural here.
3. Ibid. 101.
4. See below, p.434-5.
The most complete series of account rolls of Barking which have survived, and which runs almost continuously from 1507 to 1536, belongs to what is described as "the office of pensions". This office was shared by three nuns, among whom the prioress and sub-prioress always figure. From 1507 to 1527, the third member was the sacrist, until the promotion of Thomasina Jenney from sacrist to prioress, on the death of Mary Tyrell, altered the composition of the office. From then until the dissolution, the sacrist was replaced by the third prioress.

The revenues of the office were fairly substantial, amounting on an average to £80 per annum. The greater part came from the spiritualities of the house. A comparison between them and a statement in the ordinal shows that these revenues were originally allocated to the chambress. Under the heading, "la receite des porcions que la chambre doit receiver", the ordinal enumerates eight churches from which the abbey received a "portion".

1. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/928.
2. Ordinale, 360.
All of these appear in the account rolls of the office of pensions, their financial value being enormously enhanced when the churches were farmed. In addition, a further sum, varying in amount from £13 to £17, came from rents of assize of lands and tenements in Barking and London. On the Minister's account drawn up for the king in 1540 where they amount to £11. 19s. 9d., these appear under the heading "Le Shrene Rent". This may have been rents set aside for the upkeep of the shrine of St. Ethelburga, of which the office of pensions had charge.

While it seems fairly obvious that a connection exists between "the receipts of the chamber" and the revenues of the office of pensions it is not so clear that the expenditure of the latter grew out of that of an

1. See above, p.52-3.
2. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/928.
3. Ibid. 964.
4. See below, p.304.
obedientiary called the chambress. The original duty of this official was to provide the clothing, footwear and bedding of the community. The ordinal mentions a cameraria who supplied the coins which the nuns gave to the poor at the Mandatum on Maundy Thursday, but she does not appear in any other records. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, her primary work had disappeared, for the nuns were already receiving a sum of money, instead of clothing from a common store. In 1410, they were complaining that the 14s. a year "for habit and vesture" to which they were reduced by the poverty of house after the constant floods, was insufficient for their needs.

The principal expenditure of the office of pensions was the payment of certain sums of money to the nuns, on the anniversaries of great personages connected with the house. The obit days of former abbesses, like Maud and Isabelle ontagu, Anne Veer, Yolande Sutton and Sybil Felton were included, as well as those of benefactors

1. "Tribuant pauperibus numros a cameraria sibi commendatas". Ordinale, 94.

2. See above, p.133.
like lord Edward Montagu and the parents of Sybil Felton. The amount of money given on each anniversary varies, but usually amounts to several shillings, and one would expect it to be coming from legacies bequeathed to the house for this purpose. Sometimes a pittance of bread, called "mykylmes", and ale is given, and also "wynesilver". The office also paid on each anniversary 3s. each to nine priests who were chaplains of the house, and a few pence to bell-ringers, who rang the knells or "knyllys" reminding the faithful of the anniversary. "Bloodlet silver", or "money paid to the fermery" as it is sometimes called, was given to the nuns four times a year.

While about £50 out of a total expenditure of £78. 8s. 2d. was spent in the ways just described, the

1. E.g. on the anniversary of Dame Yolande Sutton, there was "paid to my lady abbess 3s. 4d., paid to thirty seven ladies, every lady 20d., £3. 2s. 8d."
   and on that of Thomas Felton, the father of Dame Sybil Felton "to my lady abbess 4s., to thirty seven ladies 2s., £3. 15s. 4d."
   PRO, 3.C. 6 v VIII/928.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. See below, p. 480.
office of pensions was also responsible for the upkeep of the shrine of St. Ethelburga and the wages of the chantry priests who served it. The nuns holding the office bought linen cloth and paid for it to be made into surplices for the priests. They also paid for the making and mending of vestments. In 1522, 10s. 10d. was spent on the statue of St. Ethelburga which presumably adorned the shrine. The account roll for that year speaks of "16d. paid for the fetching home of St. Albrew from London to Barking, paid for paintin; the same St. Albrew, 6s. 8d., paid for carrying home of St. Albrew, the setting up and the expenses there 2s. 8d." Seven years later, seven yards of material, costing 6d. a yard, were purchased for a canopy for "Saint Albery's altar".

1. E.g. for the year 1536 there is an entry, "paid for fourteen ells of cloth to make surplices for the two chantry priests, 16s. 4d. For making the surplices, 2s. 8d." PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/928.

2. E.g. in 1525, in addition to 7s. 11d. spent on the purchase of material and making up of a surplice, 3s. 4d. was paid "for mending of a vestment at the shrine". Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.
The stipend of two chantry priests serving the shrine is set out under the heading "money of the chantry priests". Each received 33s. 4d. at Easter, Michaelmas and Christmas, and a further 26s. 8d. "for their vesture". At Christmas, £3. 6s. 8d. was paid "to the priests"; but this may be an offering to all the chaplains of the abbey.

These then were the chief offices held by members of the community in Barking Abbey. To the modern mind, such a method of administration, in which each obedientiary was responsible for her own revenues, contained many weaknesses. It led inevitably to overlapping, and therefore was wasteful. Borrowing of money between different obedientiaries was usually taken for "rented, as well as payments of rent for land. Accounts

1. E.g. in 1507, the entry on the account reads, "paid to Sir John Perne, Easter term 33s. 4d., paid to Sir John Holy for the same term 33s. 4d." The same entries occur for Michaelmas and Christmas. PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/928.

2. Ibid.

3. E.g. the cellaress entered the following on her account roll for 1534-5, "To the sexton for a parcel of land lying next Uphall, 3½d., to my lady abbess for nine acres of land lying next Dunneshall 5s., paid to the treasury for land and tenements to the office pertaining on the north and south part of Barking, £4. 6s. 1½d., paid to my lady for a parcel of land lying at Dunneshall 3s." Ibid. 929.
were supposed to be presented regularly in Chapter, but even when allowances have been made for the loss of records, this could not always have been observed. The most dangerous weakness of the system, from the point of view of religious discipline, was its encouragement of the spirit of *proprietas*, of which private households and retinues of servants were the most glaring abuses. \(^1\)

The obedientiary system lost its whole *raison d'être* when a central reserve fund was established, and more especially when life in common, in which the needs of the community were supplied by the obedientiaries, broke down.

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1. See below, p.477 et seq.
CHAPTER VII

LITURGICAL LIFE

The study of Barking Abbey would be incomplete without some account of its liturgical life and of the documents which illustrate it. Such an account, however, demands specialised knowledge, and the time and opportunity to make a comparative study of the liturgical books of other monastic houses, all of which are lacking to the writer of this thesis. Hence this chapter claims to do no more than give a brief description of the liturgical life of the house, based on the surviving records, noting where possible what is peculiar to Barking. The strongest impression which the modern reader gains from the perusal of these records is the very full liturgical life led by the nuns.

The most important evidence is contained in a kalendar, ordinal and customary, which have been edited under the title, The Ordinale and Customary of the Nuns of Barking. The kalendar, which stands at the beginning,

1. See above, p.21.
contains the feasts of the saints, some common to the whole Church and others special to Barking, arranged throughout the year. It also has the obits of the abbesses and principal benefactors of the house. The ordinal which follows is a book of directions for the proper carrying out of the liturgy on any specified day. It indicates by incipits, i.e. opening words or cues, sometimes accompanied by Gregorian notation, the parts of the Proper and sometimes of the Ordinary of the Mass to be sung by the choir, and the antiphons, psalms, lessons, hymns, chapters, collects and commemorations to be used at the different Hours of the Office.

Directions relating to the Mass and Office are interlaced with instructions on other liturgical practices, such as processions and the various accretions to the Office found in mediaeval monasteries. All were taken from various service books, such as the missal, gradual, antiphonal and processional, to which the ordinal refers but which have been lost. Only one such service book has survived, an incomplete hymnal slightly later in date than the ordinal. This contains a large number of

1. MS 0.3.54, deposited in Trinity College, Cambridge. Although the MS bears no title, the presence in it of three hymns for the feast of St. Ethelburga
hymns sung at Office during the year, with the Gregorian notation for many of them. The lessons and responsas of the Office or the Dead and the ferial psalms for the octaves of Easter and Pentecost have also been bound into the same MS.

While the object of the ordinal was to define the contents of the liturgical service by means of the opening words of the chant, the purpose of the customary was to define the ceremonial. They are not, however, separated from each other. The ceremonial on particular days is incorporated into the ordinal, to form the rubrics. In addition, the ceremonial to be carried out on certain occasions, such as the election and installation of an abbess, or the consecration of a virgin, is placed at the end of the manuscript.

and one for St. Erkonwald make it almost certainly the possession of the abbey. T. R. James, Catalogue of Manuscripts in Trinity College Library (1902), III, 239.

1. At fo. 1 and fo. 12.
2. Ordinale, 349.
3. Ibid. 353.
In its present form, the ordinal was drawn up about the year 1404 for the use of the abbess, and at the instance of Sybil Felton who then held that office. It represents, however, usages considerably older than the fifteenth century. It seems indeed to be based upon two different traditions, one relating to the Office and the other to the Mass, which were grafted together to form what may be termed "the Barling Use". This is borne out by an undated ordinance at the end of the ordinal, which lays down that the Hours of the Office are to be said according to the Rule of St. Benedict, but that the Use of St. Paul's Cathedral must be used for the Mass. The first part of the ordinance is generally

1. The opening words read "Iemorandum quod anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quarto domina Sibilla permissione divina abbatissa de Berkyng hunc librum ad usum abbatissarum in dicta domo in futurum existencium concessit et in librario eius loci post mortem cuiuscumque in perpetuum commemoratur ordinavit donec eleccio inter moniales fiat, tunc predictus liber eadem electe in abbatissam per superiores domus post stallacionem deliberetur." Ordinale, 13.

2. Ibid. 359.
adhered to in the ordinal. The incipits of the psalms, however, are taken from the Roman Psalter, which was used in Anglo-Saxon England, and not from the Gallican Psalter, which superseded it after the Conquest. Moreover, many of the observances of the ordinal resemble those laid down in the Regularis Concordia. Hence it is probable that the usages drawn up at Winchester, which spread to many houses, were adopted by Barking, and remained subsequently as the basis of the ordinal. The second part of the ordinance cannot be verified, because all the early missals of St. Paul's Cathedral, previous to the adoption of the Sarum Rite in 1415, have been lost.

Not only was the ordinal much earlier in origin than 1404; it was a composite work growing over the centuries. Incidents taking place in the early part of the thirteenth century are mentioned in it. Thus, in

1. E.g., the original reads Gaudete justi in Domino where the Gallican Psalter reads Exultate justi in Domino (Psalm xxxii), and Domine ne in ira tua instead of Domine ne in furore tuo (Psalm vi). The same cues are given in Trinity College MS 0.3.154, fo. 1.

connection with the celebration of the feast of St. Peter and Paul, the raising of the Interdict in 1214 is referred to. Again, when the ceremony for the distribution of books on the first Monday of Lent is described, the decrees of the General Chapter of the Benedictines, held at Northampton in 1225, are quoted in full. And again, though the Knights Templars were suppressed in 1312, a Mass was still to be celebrated for them on March 5th. Even after 1404 additions were made, as, for instance, the injunctions of the visitation of 1507.

Before turning to the liturgical life described in the ordinal, something more must be said about the kalendar. Its framework is an eleventh century kalendar of Winchester Cathedral (Old Linster), based in its turn on a pre-Conquest one of the same house, which was adopted

1. Ordinale, 251.
2. Ibid. 68.
3. Ibid. 206.
4. Ibid. 363-4.
5. BL, Cott. Vitellius E XVIII (Printed in Hampson, Medii Aevi Kalendaria, 1841, i, 422-433).
by most churches in the eleventh century. By the fifteenth century, many new entries had been added whose provenance cannot now be established. There is only one example, and that too late to be of any value, illustrating how the kalendar must have grown and taken shape. The feast of the Name of Jesus (August 7th), which became popular in fifteenth century England and began to appear in kalenders and liturgical books at that time, is written in the Barking kalendar in a hand later than in the other entries and over an erasure, possibly of an obit.

The feasts are graded in the kalendar according to their importance as principal, double, having a sequence at Mass, having twelve or three lessons and Office, and as taking the Chapter Mass. Some feasts are commemorated only, sometimes at Vespers and Matins, sometimes at Vespers. There is no grading, of course, for the greater feasts by the expression in cappis and in albis, such as is found


2. Ibid. 165.
in calendars of the monks' houses. On greater feasts, however, the nuns seem to have worn a white garment during Vespers. For instance, at Vespers on the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, they assisted in vestibus albis. They also took part in the procession after Terce, on Christmas Day, Whitsunday and other principal feasts, palliate which presumably means wearing a cloak.

The later monastic custom of multiplying first class feasts beyond the original five laid down by Lanfranc is apparent in the kalendar. The kalendar graded eighteen feasts as principal, each having an octave. These included not only Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and the Assumption of Our Lady, but also four other feasts of Our Lady, and the Epiphany, the Ascension, Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist and Sts. Peter and Paul. The feast of St.

1. **Ordinale**, 246.
2. **Ibid.** 27.
3. **Ibid.** 135.
4. From the word *pallium*, meaning a cloak.
Ethelburga (October 11th) and of her brother St. Erkonwald (April 30th) whom the ordinal describes as "hujus ecclesie primus exitit fundator et frater beate Ethelburge matris nostre et advocate." The importance of some of these feasts in the kalendar is also reflected in the dedication of the abbey church. Until the twelfth century, the title, "the church of Blessed Mary and of Blessed Ethelburga" was usually used. By the fifteenth century, the house was said to be specially dedicated to the Blessed Trinity, Our Lady, Sts. Peter and Paul, St. Erkonwald, St. Ethelburga and also to St. Nicholas.

1. Ordinale, 222. The quotation shows an interesting use of the word 'advocate' which became a technical term.

2. The expression is found in twelfth century charters of the house. C Ch R, V, 282.

3. It is so described at the election of Elizabeth Green in 1499. The reason for St. Nicholas at Barking, except his popularity everywhere is not clear. Reg. Kemp, fo. 17.
Local saints and the possession of their relics had considerable influence on mediaeval liturgical kalendars. Unfortunately, no list of relics belonging to Barking is known to exist. However, several Anglo-Saxon saints connected with the early history of the house, are given an important place in the kalendar, though their feasts ranked as double, not principal. In addition to St. Erkonwald and St. Ethelburga, the chief examples are St. Hildelitha and St. Wulfildis. The former succeeded St. Ethelburga as abbess, and her feast was celebrated on March 24th; the latter was brought by King Edgar from Wilton to be abbess, when the house was restored, and her feast was celebrated on September 9th. The translation of their relics was kept on March 7th as a feast of double rank with an octave. On the same day, a commemoration was made of two other Barking saints, Edith and Tortitha. On March 19th, a commemoration was made of a St. Esica, who was presumably the child whose death is related by the Venerable Bede.

1. See below, p. 367.
2. Historia ecclesiastica, Book IV, Ch. VIII.
Apart from these local saints, the entries are found on many kalendars, and therefore cannot be said to have any special significance.

The ordinal itself is divided into the temporale, made up of the Sundays and ferias throughout the year, and the sanctorale, the feasts of the saints. Alongside this main liturgical division, there is the purely monastic division into the winter, Lent and summer time-tables. This division, which is provided for in the Rule of St. Benedict, was necessitated by the alterations of the ordinary seasons of the year and the consequent lengthening and shortening of the hours of the day and night. It affected the length of the Office at night, and changed the order in which certain day Hours and extra Offices were said. The winter time-table began on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14th) when the meridiana or siesta granted during the summer, ceased, though the permission to take it seems in fact to have been

1. "Nota quod hac die conventus non erat ad meridianam set in choro remaneat et statim post prandium dicant nonam." Ordinale, 303. In this way, the letter of the Rule (Chapter XLVIII) was kept.
extended until October 1st. On Ash Wednesday the winter time-table was replaced by that of Lent, which continued until Palm Sunday when the meridiana marked the opening of the summer time-table.

The liturgy, which regulated the whole monastic life, can be divided into (a) the Mass, (b) the Office, made up of (i) the canonical Hours, (ii) accretions such as extra Offices and processions. Exceptions to the normal horarium also require description.

(a) The Mass.

There were three Masses daily at Barking, the Mass de beata Maria or Lady Mass, the Lissa Matutinalis or Capitular Mass, and the Magna Missa or Conventual Mass.

The Lady Mass was said at the Lady Altar, after Prime during the winter, and before this Hour from the first Sunday after Trinity. The Capitular Mass took its name

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1. "Isto die, videlicet kalendis mensis Octobris
post prandium non eat conventus ad meridianam
set remaneat in choro et statim post gracias dicant
nonam et statim post nonam in claustro remaneant
usque ad sonitum vesperarum". Ordinale, 313.
September 14th was the marking date for the change of the time-table. MO, 449.

2. "Nota hac die post refeccionem incipiatur meridiana
cumque tempus hore none fuerit pulsetur campanula." Ordinale, 87.

3. Ibid. 148.
from the "capital" or "cardinal" altar at the east end of a monastic choir, where this Mass was celebrated.

At Barking, it was said between Prime and Chapter, except on ferias and fast-days when it was postponed until after Terce. The practice of a Votive Mass of the Cross on Fridays and of the Blessed Virgin on Saturdays, which goes back in monastic houses to the Regularis Concordia, is found at Barking. The ordinal also mentions a Votive Mass of the Blessed Trinity on Sundays from the Purification until Lent. Such directions as "cantetur capitalis Missa cum nota" indicate that at least on some feasts, this Mass as well as the principal Mass of the day was sung.

2. 19, 20, n.e.
3. Ordinale, 52.
4. Ibid.
5. E.g. during Easter week and on the Sundays in Paschal time. Ibid. 113.
The Magna Missa was sung every day at the high altar, after Terce on Sundays and feasts, after Sext on ferias, and after None on the ferias of Lent. The ordinal gives the cues only of those parts of the Mass which were sung by the choir, though it mentions occasionally the Epistle and Gospel sung by the sub-deacon and deacon. The full text from which the cues were taken was contained in the gradual used by the precentrix directing the choir, and in the missal used by the celebrant of the Mass.

The most outstanding feature of the Mass as it is described in the ordinal is the extent to which parts of the Ordinary and Proper were farsed. Nine different tropes of the Kyrie eleison are mentioned. Of these, the elaborate Kyrie fons bonitatis was reserved for the greatest feasts of the liturgical year, like the Epiphany, Easter and Pentecost. Rex Virginum amator was always

1. E.g. on the first Sunday after Trinity, the cue of the Alleluia verse is followed by the words, "et cetera ut in gradali continetur". Ordinale, 147.
2. Ibid. 98. 3. Ibid. 44.
4. Ibid. 111. 5. Ibid. 135.
6. E.g. the Assumption. Ibid. 280.
sung, as elsewhere, on feasts of Our Lady. Rex splendens, whose composition is usually attributed to St. Dunstan, was sung on his feast, and on three others, including that of St. Erkonwald. Qui Nupcias is assigned to feasts of women saints connected with the house. A large number of feasts merely have the rubric per versus without specifying which trope was to be sung.

Tropins of the Gloria in Excelsis is also found in the ordinal on several feasts. Spiritus et alme, which the ordinal calls a "prose" is reserved, as it was throughout the Roman liturgy from the thirteenth century onwards, for feasts of Our Lady. Te Unum Deum colentes was assigned to a small group of Anglo-Saxon saints like St. Botulph and St. Alban.

2. Ibid. 223.
4. Ibid. 280.
5. Ibid. 238.
6. Ibid. 240.
The troping of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei died out much earlier than that of other parts of the Ordinary of the Mass. There is only one example of it in the ordinal, on the Ember Saturday in Whitweek.\(^1\) The "Sanctus and Agnus Dei of St. Ethelburga" which are mentioned several times in the ordinal were probably a particular melody used at Earking, rather than a trope.

In the Proper of the Mass, the most notable feature in the ordinal is the sequence, or to give it its correct name, sequentia cum prosa, which was added to the Alleluia.\(^2\) No feast ranking higher than of twelve lessons is without its sequence, while the octaves of some great feasts have a different one for each day. \(E\)arking is illustrating in this the great popularity of the sequence, for many of those mentioned in the ordinal were sung in England and on the continent until the later Middle Ages. To quote one or two examples, Nato canunt omnia, which was used

1. Ordinale, 140.
2. E.g. Ibid. 23, 127, 134.
3. For the development of the sequence and a list of those sung in the Middle Ages both in England and on the continent, see Dom Anselm Hughes, Anglo-French Sequelae (Plainsong and Mediaeval Musical Publications, 1934).
at Barking, for Midnight Mass at Christmas, was sung universally at this Mass throughout mediaeval England, and in France, Italy and elsewhere. Again, *Area virga* was normally used everywhere on the feast of the Assumption, as also *Clare Sanctorum* for feasts of the Apostles.

The more elaborate parts of the Proper of the Mass, like the Gradual and *Alleluia* verse, were sung by three *cantrices*, while the choir joined in only at the *coda*. A more complicated form seems to have been used on great feasts like Easter and the Assumption, when the Gradual and *Alleluia* verse were divided between the three cantrices, six other voices, namely the abess, prioress, precentrix, succentrix and two seniors, and finally the whole choir. No further details are given, but it was a not uncommon way of singing this part of the Mass on solemn feasts.

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Another feature of the Mass which is mentioned in the ordinal, though it had died out of general use by the fifteenth century, was the offering of bread and wine at the Offertory. The ceremony was performed on principal feasts by the abbess, and on doubles by the sacrist. On Candelmas Day (February 2nd), the abbess, community and novices offered their candles, and on Palm Sunday their palms, customs which date back, like the offering of the bread and wine, to the Regularis Concordia. On Christmas Day, the abbess made a special offering at the beginning of the first Mass, taking up to the altar three candles and 3d. for each. At the Offertory of the same Mass, bread and wine were offered, first by the prioress, then by two nuns from either choir, and lastly

2. E.g. the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14th). \textit{Ibid.} 303.
5. 16, 31, 36.
by the sacrist. On the feast of the Epiphany, three nuns from the right hand choir replaced the two who had made the offering on Christmas Day.

The ideal of the daily reception of Holy Communion, recommended by the Regularis Concordia, is not found in the ordinal. Besides the Sundays throughout the year, nine principal feasts and the last three days of Holy Week are the times when those may communicate to whom "Deus contulerit gratiam." In continental nunneries, however, once a month was the maximum allowed. At Barking, those who wished to communicate did so at the High Mass, indicating their desire to the sacrist by a deep inclination, after the Creed. The novices and the sick who were not able to fast, and also the obedientiaries, were allowed to

2. **Ibid.** 45.
3. 19.
communicate at or after the Chapter Mass, so that they might take the mixtum before the High Mass.

The liturgical life of the abbey would have been impossible without the priests who acted as chaplains to the community. Hence, it may be appropriate to gather together here such evidence as has survived regarding their position and functions.

By the end of the fifteenth century they numbered nine. This was probably less than it had been in earlier times, since the ordinal was already complaining that, whereas formerly the novices received the ashes on Ash Wednesday at the altar of St. Lawrence, now they had to wait to receive them after the professed nuns at the high altar, because of the shortage of priests.

The ordination lists in bishops' registers show the number of clerks receiving Holy Orders who depended on nunneries for their "title" and hence for their keep. Barking seems to have provided for choir boys.

2. PRO, S.C. 6. 4 VIII/928.
3. Ordinale, 63.
4. Hamilton Thompson, op. cit., 143.
5. See below, p. 357-5.
as well as acolytes who passed on to Major Orders. In 1333, for instance, a Robert Apthorp was made an acolyte "ad titulum domus monialium de Berkyng". The following year, he received the subdiaconate and took an oath not to seek ordination until he came of age. By the end of 1384 he had been ordained a priest. There is no sign of any financial arrangement being made with the abbey by him, nor can his subsequent career be traced.

It seems from the expression attitulatus ad alterem Sancti Petri" which occurs in the ordinal, that the different altars in the abbey church were allocated to priests who held their "title" from the house.

There is no mention in the bishops' registers of the presentation to the bishop of any of the abbey's chaplains. Some of them, however, may have been chantry priests in the abbey church, for among the capellani mentioned in 1509, there was a Sir John Lody who was chantry priest of the shrine of St. Ethelburga at that time.


2. Ordinale, 304.

3. See below, p.332.

4. He held the position from 1502 till his death in 1519. Reg. Hill, fo. 42; Reg. Fitzjames, fo. 79d.
Chantry priests were regularly presented to the bishop by the abbey.

The visitation of Archbis op Pecham in 1281 points to a body of chaplains having rooms in the abbey precincts. There was a "principal priest" living in his own house, whose title indicates that he was exercising authority over the others. A similar arrangement is found at St. Mary Clerkenwell in the thirteenth century. There also a considerable body of priests lived in the precinct, one being called "master" or "procurator". It is quite probable that such priests lived in common, as they did in some continental nunneries.

1. They were forbidden to reserve the Blessed Sacrament "in cubiculis suis". Rez. Pecham, I, 83.
2. Ibid.
3. Hassall, The Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell, xii.
The priests at Barking depended on the house for their maintenance. They received their food from the cellaress, who noted the supplies she sent to them in her daily account book. The office of pensions entered regularly on its account rolls an annual salary of £6. 13s. 4d. paid to the chantry priests, a sum of £1. 6s. 8d. for their "vesture" and "offerings at Christmas".

The last account of this office contains a list of furnishings of the rooms of two priests. Under the heading, "stuff belonging to the chantry priest of the shrine" (i.e. of St. Ethelburga), the furniture "in the hall" is first described. Some of this points at least to meals taken in common. It includes "a long table for the hall, yellow and green", two benches, and "a cupboard without an aumbry". There were tables, chairs, a coffer,

1. Pecham forbad them to go to the locutorium for it, and ordered them to receive it from the cellaress. loc. cit.

2. E.g. "in the expenses of 120 eggs for the chaplains". Meat and stockfish were also bought for them. ERO, D/DP I'61.

3. See above, p.305.

pots, platters and dishes in "the chamber" of the priest of the shrine, as there were in "the chamber of the priest of the Resurrection" \(i.e.\) of the altar of the Resurrection\(^7\).

Another chaplain asked in his will, which was proved in 1516, that "there be reserved and kept of my stuff within my chamber, my best featherbed, my best counterpoint, bolster, pillow, two pairs of sheets, a pair of blankets, and a tester of white with four curtains", for his nephew. He also left £20, "to rest in the hands of Dame Elizabeth Green, abbess, to dispose yearly for the exhibition of the said Lewis to his learning in schools £4, as long as the £20 may endure."

The rôle of the chaplains in the liturgical life of the house can be seen to some extent in the ordinal. Their duties lay at the altar, in the Mass, in the Hours of the Office on great feasts, and in processions. The *sacerdos hebdomadarius* sang the *Magna Missa* at the high altar, in his turn of the rota. He officiated at the Hours

1. PCC, 18 Holder.
of Divine Office on great feasts, intoning the Deum in
adjutorium meum intende and chanting the chapter and
collect. The "priest of the Morrow Mass" or "the
chapter priest" celebrated the daily Capitular Mass,
while "Our Lady's chaplain" or "the priest of Blessed
Mary" said the Lady Mass.

Other clerics, and their duties on great feasts
are mentioned in the ordinal. The singing of the Gospel
from the pulpitum fell to a deacon. Three deacons chanted
the Trisagion on Good Friday, before the adoration of the
cross. Three subdeacons were assigned the Lessons of the
Missa in Gallicantu of Christmas. Other clerics in Minor

1. E.g. on the feast of the Ascension. Ordinale, 129.
2. Ibid. 98, 129.
3. Ibid. 113.
4. Ibid. 189.
5. Ibid. 169, 210.
6. Ibid. 27.
7. Ibid. 99.
8. Ibid. 25.
Orders acted as acolytes, thurifers, and crossbearer in processions.

Another aspect of the priests' work in connection with the liturgical life of the house is brought to light in the permission granted to Bishop Fitzjames in 1509, to celebrate the feasts of the Barking saints, "ildelitha and Wulfhildis by a Proper Office. The responds, antiphons and lessons, taken from "the life and miracles of the holy virgins" were to be composed by the chaplains of the house.

The chaplains seem also to have carried out some parochial duties. When Archbishop Peckham forbade them to keep the Blessed Sacrament in their rooms, they were told to reserve an oratory for this purpose, so that they could minister to sick parishioners without needing to enter the nuns' cloisters to obtain the Blessed Sacrament.

The chaplains whom the house employed were engaged entirely in duties of a spiritual nature. They took no

2. loc. cit.
part, in later times, in the administration of the
temporal affairs of the house, which lay in the hands of
the abbess and her council. It was only in the smaller
and poorer nunneries that a priest, called a custos or
warden, was sometimes placed in charge of their temporalit-
ies by the bishop. Such early deeds of Barking as have
survived sometimes mention chaplains among the witnesses.
They also acted as witnesses at the elections of abbesses.
According to Smart Lethieullier, one of them acted as
commissary of wills to the fifteenth century abbess,
Catherine de la Pole, but there is no further evidence
to bear out his statement. They did, however, act as
witnesses of each other’s wills and of those of local
benefactors, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

1. See above, p. 216 et seq.
2. E.g. BM, Add. Ch. 15584; ERO, D/DP Tl/A693, 1588.
3. E.g. three were present as witnesses at the election
4. op. cit., II, 155. He gives no source for his
   statement.
5. E.g. Four witnessed the will of John Vody,
capellanus. LCC, Reg. Palmer, fo. 41. The
chapter priest witnessed the will of Sir Thomas
Nevill in 1432. PCC, 5 Logg.
(b) **The Office.**

(i) The canonical Hours.

The framework of the Office, as it is laid down in Chapters VIII to XVIII of the Rule of St. Benedict formed the basis of the ordinal. Though the psalms were still monotoned, antiphons, hymns and responds were sung on the great feasts, while extra prayers lengthened the Office on ferias.

By the thirteenth century, the Divine Office, as it was sung in many of the greater black monks houses, had been greatly elaborated both in the chant and ceremonial. The General Chapters of the English Benedictines which began to meet at irregular intervals after 1218, attempted to prime away the excrescences and to restore the Office "iuxta quod in regula continetur." The nuns' houses did not take part in the Chapter meetings, and the statutes drawn up on these occasions were not usually addressed to theer. The Charter of 1277, however, which


2. MC, I, 96.
made several sweeping alterations in the Office and its accretions, addressed its statutes to abbesses and prioresses as well as to monks. The decrees drew down on the Chapter the severe criticisms of Archbishop Pecham who, at a meeting with his suffragan bishops in London, condemned all who accepted its decisions. The nuns of Barking, and also those of Godstow, followed the decrees, for we find Pecham writing to them after his metropolitan visitation in 1279, reproving them for shortening the Office "as certain monks had suggested to them", and ordering them to return to their "praiseworthy customs of older times". It seems rather surprising, in fact, that the nuns should have obeyed the General Chapter, when many conservative black monk houses refused to do so. They would not need the time for study, which was the motive for the change put forward by the Chapter. The ordinal, as it was finally drawn up in 1404, contains many of the

1. NC, I, 64.
3. loc. cit.
accretions cut away by the Chapter of 1277 and by subsequent ones, so that the nuns could not have followed the "reformed liturgy" for long.

The General Chapter of 1277 shortened the respond at the end of each Nocturn of Matins, by abolishing its repetition after the doxology. On great feasts, however, the ordinal directs the older and longer way of singing it, and even elaborated it further by the addition of a prose. "Triumphing" the Magnificat Antiphon at Vespers, i.e. singing it three times, at the beginning of the Canticle, after the first part of the doxology and at the end, was likewise abolished in 1277, but it appears in this form in the ordinal on all principal feasts.

While the Office was prolonged on great feasts by the solemnity of the chant, it tended likewise to be

1. MC, I, 67.
2. E.g. on the feasts of the Purification (February 2nd), the Immaculate Conception (December 8th), St. Ethelburga (October 11th). Ordinale, 159, 170, 319.
3. MC, I, 68.
4. Ordinale, 25, 140.
lengthened on lesser feasts and ferias by the recitation of preces or petitions at the end of each Hour. In 1277, the General Chapter reduced them to a single petition, 1

Domine salvum fac regem. The preces were said at Barking at all the Hours of the Office on Sundays, ferias, and feasts of three lessons throughout the year. The complete series is not given in the ordinal, but the 2

incipit, Ego dixi domine, which was the opening phrase of the longer series, would seem to show that this continued to be used after 1277.

The multiplication of memorials, or suffrages of the saints, at the end of Matins, Lauds and Vespers was a custom which the private devotion of a house could carry to extremes; hence the attempt of the Chapter of 1277 to keep it within bounds. A number of permanent memorials were made at Barking, except on the greater feasts. The one Sancte Michael Archangele, which appears at the beginning of the list in the ordinal, represents

1. MC, I, 68.
2. Ordinale, 22.
3. Ibid. 16.
the opening words of the fairly common memorial made in honour of the angels. Similarly, suffrages to Sts. Peter and Paul, beginning with the words Petrus et Paulus, were made. They also were not peculiar to Barking, although the two apostles were co-patrons of the house.

The remainder of the suffrages of the saints are covered in the ordinal by the cue pretiosi et cetera, so that any other devotions peculiar to the house are hidden.

Commemorations of the Blessed Trinity, of the Cross and of Our Lady were certainly made, however, and from the feast of the Circumcision till Candlemas when it was customary to omit the commemoration of the Cross, Barking had a special series of alternative antiphons suitable to the liturgical season, called De Puero Jesu.

1. Tolhurst, op. cit., 106.
2. Ordinale, 40.
3. Ibid. 37.
4. Ibid. 49, 146.
5. E.g., during the octave of the Epiphany and on the feast of St. Brigid. Ibid. 46, 186.
In addition to these permanent suffrages, a number of accidental commemorations might be made on any specific day. On at least one feast, the Circumcision, there were six commemorations, in addition to the normal suffrages.

A commemoration was usually composed of an antiphon, versicle and collect, but during the octaves of several great feasts, it was made much more elaborate. The antiphon was intoned by the abbess, and then to the singing of the Magnificat, the nuns went in procession to the altar of the saint. Here the antiphon was repeated, and the versicles and collect sung. There is a strong resemblance between this practice and the procession to the chapel of a saint for the chanting of Matins of All Saints prescribed in the Regularis Concordia. There is no mention at Barking, however, of a procession after Lauds, though as will be said later, the Office of All Saints was said.

1. Ordinale, 38.
2. Ibid. 31, 34.
3. 15.
4. See below, p. 344.
This elaborate form of commemoration was replaced on two feasts by the singing of Double Vespers. After the First Vespers of the Annunciation, the community went to the shrine of St. Hildelitha, the second a bess, whose feast ranked as a double. There, they sang her Second Vespers, although a commemoration had been made in the normal way during the Vespers of the Annunciation. Similarly, after the First Vespers of the Presentation of Our Lady (November 21st), the Second Vespers of St. Edmund were sung, this time in choir. The priests remained for the incensing during the Magnificat.

(ii) Accretions to the Office.

In addition to the Office as it was regulated by St. Benedict, certain devotions were gradually added to the monastic horarium, especially as manual labour fell into the background. One of the earliest of these devotions was the Trina Oratio, which was recited in the church but

1. This is found elsewhere, e.g. at Gloucester and Peterborough. Tolhurst, op. cit., 273.
2. Ordinale, 209.
3. Ibid. 340.
outside the choir. The ordinal makes it clear that this devotion was customary at Barking. Thus, for instance, on Christmas Day before Prime, the nuns went to the church, "tres faciant orationes vij psalmos more solito decantantes". The second of these three devotional exercises was said before Terce in the winter, the first being before Latins and the third after Compline. Parkins, however, seems to have said it before Prime both in the winter and summer, since the nuns waited in the cloister, when it was finished, for the bell to be rung for Prime.

Another devotion, the recitation before Latins of the Gradual Psalms, is also described in the ordinal. It is usually called there "the fifteen psalms", though in the long winter nights thirty psalms were said. Yet another devotion, "the seven psalms and litanies" took place every day after Prime, except on great feasts. The

2. 10, 714.
4. Ibid. 307.
"litanies" here means those of the Saints. The ordinal does not give the invocations used at Barking, but in addition to those common to all churches, saints enjoying a special cultus in the abbey would have been included.

A Lenten devotion known as the psalmi prostrati, resembling that found in most monastic customaries, is set out in detail in the ordinal. Two or three versicles were used alternately at the end of the psalms, whereas most houses used only one. A longer form of the concluding collects was also used, and Barking followed the Regularis Concordia in adding the devotion to Compline as well as to the other Hours.

In addition to these devotions, which were common to all mediaeval monasteries, additional Offices are found in the ordinal which had been suppressed or considerably modified by General Chapters. These Offices, which were similar in structure to the Canonical Hours, were those of Our Lady, of the Dead, of All Saints and of St. Æthelburga.

1. Ordinale, 67, 71.
Two forms of the Office of Our Lady appear in the ordinal. One grew out of the memorial of Our Lady, and was said after the Hour of the Divine Office and before the suffrage of the saints. The other was said on Saturdays as an extra Office with twelve lessons.

The popular devotion of the Psalter of Our Lady was also recited at Barking on vigils of her feasts. It was composed of rhymed quatrains, added to a verse from each of the psalms and introduced by the word Ave.

The oldest of the additional Offices was that of the Dead. It was said every day at Barking, except on feasts ranking higher than twelve lessons. The ordinal follows the Regularis Concordia in the place of the Office of the Dead in the horarium. During the winter

1. E.g. It is mentioned here on the octave day of St. Stephen. Ordinale, 40.
2. Ibid. 246.
3. Ibid. 187.
4. Ibid. 16.
5. Ibid. 26.
6. Ordinale, 16.
Lauds of the Dead followed the Lauds of the day, but during the summer the entire Office of the Dead was said after Vespers.

Until the Chapter of 1277, it was customary in Benedictine houses to recite five psalms for the dead, known from the first psalm as *Verba mea* (Psalm V). Their recitation at night was suppressed in 1277, except during the trental of a dead religious, but the ordinal indicates that Barking continued then.

Though the Office of All Saints was replaced by a simple commemoration at the Chapter of Evesham in 1255, it too finds a place in the ordinal. The Office had only two Hours, Vespers and Lauds. Vespers were recited every day, except on a double or when the Office of the Dead with nine lessons was prescribed. It was placed between the suffrages of the saints of the canonical Hour and Vespers of the Dead. The other Hour, Lauds, was said after Lauds of the Divine Office in the summer, and before it in the winter.

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5. Ibid. 16.
During Lent, when it was customary to say the Vespers of the day before dinner, Barking had the peculiar custom of separating the suffrages of the saints and the additional Offices from the canonical Hour, and of returning to the church after the meal to say them. This arrangement was the result of an ordinance of the abbess and convent which is not dated.

Finally, the nuns said once a week, except on principal feasts and during Lent, the Office of St. Ethelburga. The twelve lessons of this Office varied with the season, but the Hours were taken from the Common of a Virgin.

Processions of a liturgical or quasi-liturgical character occupied an important place in the liturgical life of Barking, as they did in most monasteries. The ordinal gives many details on the subject which are of liturgical and topographical interest.

The strictly liturgical and ecclesiastical rather than monastic processions took place on Palm Sunday and

1. Ordinale, 71.
2. Ibid. 177.
3. Ibid. 85-87.


on the Rogation Days. On both occasions, the nuns, accompanied by the people, went through the town and fields to a nearby "stational" church. On two of the lesser Rogation Days, the Monday and Tuesday before Ascension Thursday, the "station" was a neighbouring church, Barking, and Little or Great Ilford, but on the Wednesday and on Palm Sunday it was a tent erected near the abbey. This may be the equivalent of what is called in the processional of the nuns of Chester "The City of Jerusalem". The singing during these processions is common to all liturgical books. On Palm Sunday every year at Barking, a Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem preached a sermon at the "station" and collected alms.

In addition to these important liturgical processions, there were others confined to the monastic precincts. The usual one on Sundays after the blessing of Holy Water was held in the cloister and the nave of the church. It took place before Terce unless a principal or double feast fell on a Sunday, when it followed that Hour.

2. ed. J. Wickham Legg (Henry Bradshaw Society XVIII, 1899), 5.
3. Ordinale, 15.
Another procession went every Saturday to the cross under the rood screen. It was omitted, however, during Advent and Christmastide, and at Easter was replaced by one to the altar of the Resurrection. The Lenten procession on Wednesdays and Fridays after Sext, prescribed in the Regularis Concordia also finds its place in the ordinal.

Processions in honour of the saints were also popular. One illustration, forming part of an elaborate commemoration, has already been mentioned. A second, also making its way to the altar of the saint, took place between Terce and the Conventual Mass. During it, antiphons were sung in honour of the saint, of Our Lady, and of St. Ethelburga.

1. Ordinale, 191.
2. Ibid. 225.
3. 32.
4. Ordinale, 64.
5. See above, p.339.
6. Ordinale, 166, 182, 192.
The route taken by the procession is usually indicated in the ordinal simply by "around the church" or "around the cloister". On the feast of the Dedication of the Church, however, the fuller directions which are there given throw some light on the arrangement of the conventual buildings. The procession began in the nave of the church, and passing through the main west door, turned north through a passage under the dormitory. It then traversed the south and east walks of the cloisters, and going through a slype between the north transept of the church and the chapter house, emerged into the nuns' cemetery. It must then have gone right round the east end of the church, for the directions bring it through the parish cemetery which lies to the south of the ruins of the church today, and so back along the south wall of the church to the west door. As the procession re-entered the church by the main doors, all the bells,

both great and small, were rung, and as the chanting of
the last antiphon ended, the High Mass of the feast
began.

One great difficulty in the interpretation of the
ordinal, which is common to all monastic customaries, is
the absence of any reference to clock-time. Hence it is
usually impossible to tell when the different observances
began, or to calculate how long they took. On great
feasts especially, the whole day, except for the interval
allowed for the prandium or main meal, was occupied in the
vocal prayer, chant and ceremonial of the Mass and Office,
to which was frequently added "a sermon from None till
Vespers".

According to Chapter VIII of the Rule of St.
Benedict, the religious rose "at the eighth hour of the
night", i.e. c 2.30 a.m. in the winter and 1.30 a.m. in
the summer, to recite the Night Office, called Matins in the
ordinal. By the thirteenth century, many monasteries
were advancing Matins to midnight, in order to allow a period
of sleep between Matins and Lauds, the first day Hour.

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1. E.g. on Easter Sunday. Ordinale, lll.
But during the short summer nights, Matins of a great feast would end too late for Lauds to be begun before dawn, and so it became customary to anticipate Matins and sing them the previous evening after Compline. It is clear from the ordinal that Barking was doing this on the greatest feasts during the summer, for instance, on the Annunciation when it was transferred to Easter tide, the feast of St. John the Baptist, the Dedication of the monastic church, the Assumption and the Nativity of Our Lady. On the feasts of St. Erconwald and Sts. Peter and Paul, it was left to the abbess to decide whether

1. RO, I, 280. The nunnery of Sopwell rose for Matins at 11 p.m., and in the summer sang the Hour immediately after Compline on certain feasts. Ibid. II, 238.
3. Ibid. 242.
4. Ibid. 258.
5. Ibid. 279.
6. Ibid. 295.
7. Ibid. 222.
8. Ibid. 248.
Matins should be sung after Compline or at midnight. On the feast of St. Ethelburga, when the days would be drawing in, Matins were sung after Compline, and lights had to be provided by the sacrist, "pro magno servicio et brevitate diei." On lesser feasts and ferias, however, the ordinal implies that Matins were sung at night. How far this represents what was in fact practised, it is impossible to say. Archbishop Pecham had to remind the nuns at his visitation that midnight was the proper time. In the middle of the fifteenth century, at least, the ordinal was followed. In an incident to be referred to later, when the house was having trouble with Robert Osbern, who rented a tenement in the precinct, the churchwardens of the abbey church complained that "they feared to minister divine service as in saying Matins at midnight" because his servant assaulted them.

1. Ordinale, 319.
2. Ibid.
3. loc. cit.
4. See below, p. 395,
While the ordinal gives the impression that the life of the abbey was primarily liturgical, it is also clear that the full choral duties did not fall on every member of the community. A division similar to that found in the black monk houses, between obedientiaries engaged in administrative work, and "monks of the cloister" on whom rested the responsibility of the "opus Dei" in all its mediaeval fulness, existed also at Barking. It is marked by the titles, "ladies of the household" and "ladies of the choir", which occur in two wills, one dated 1496 and the other, 1516. In the first, Alice Burre of Barking left "28s. 6d. to be distributed among the ladies within the abbey, manner and form following, so that they sing a dirige with a Mass of requiem for my soul, that is to say to my lady abbess, 3s. 4d., and to every lady which keepeth household, 12d., and to every other lady in the choir, 6d." In the second, the rector of Great Warley left "to my lady prioress and to every principal householder of my ladies singularly for themself 3s. 4d." in addition to 15s. for the whole convent "for my dirige and Mass singing." The obedientiaries were allowed to

1. PCC, 26 Horne.
2. LCC, Reg. Palmer, fo. 21.
communicate at the Chapter Mass. All except the sacrist were expected to be present in choir at Terce on great feasts, but the further instruction that on these days they were to remain at the High Mass until after the Offertory implies that on other days they were free to go about their appointed tasks. Even so strict a disciplinarian as Pecham regarded their absence from choir as a necessity, when he wrote that all should be present at Divine Office "quae non impedit infirmitas vel occurratio obedientie."

What proportion of the community was thus exempt from duties in choir cannot be exactly calculated. At the time of the two wills just mentioned, the community numbered about thirty-five. Apart from obedientiaries like the subprioress, third prioress and mistress of novices, whose work was disciplinary, and the precentrix and succentrix

1. E.g. on Easter Sunday. Ordinale, 110.

2. E.g. on Christmas Day and the four following days. Ordinale, 27. The Mass of Maundy Thursday was not to begin until the abbess arrived, "unless she was occupied in any arduous business". Ibid. 90. So also, on the Ember Saturday after Pentecost. See above, p. 278, n. 2.

3. loc. cit.

4. In 1499, there were thirty-four professed nuns and three novices. Reg. Kemp, fo. 17.
whose office demanded their presence in choir, there must have been about ten obedientiaries engaged in administrative duties. Hence about a quarter of the community was absent from some at least of the liturgical services in choir.

In addition to the professed nuns, the ordinal also mentions novices and children participating in the liturgical services. It is difficult to tell from the ordinal whether the novices had a separate choir, or whether as at Syon, they occupied the lower stalls of the nuns' choir. For some liturgical functions, like the receiving of ashes on Ash Wednesday, and the adoration of the cross on Good Friday, they went to the altar of St. Lawrence and not to the high altar. That they were not always

1. The Rule of Syon lays down that "both working day and holy day, / the novice / shall be at service of the day there standing in the lower stalls reverently, each in his order, keeping the same observances in standing, sitting, inclining and kneeling and other as the quyer doeth." Aungier, op. cit., 366.

2. Ordinale, 63.

3. Ibid. 99.
present in the nuns' choir for all the Hours of the Office is shown by the injunction that they must take part in Vespers on the last Saturday before Septuagesima. On this occasion, *Benedicamus Domino*, the concluding words of the Hour, was always sung with special solemnity, although at Barking, where the words were followed by a double *Alleluia*, it was simpler than in many houses.

On the other hand, there are many occasions in the ordinal when the novices were not only present but took an important part in the chant. For instance, the antiphons, versicles and responds at Lauds and Vespers on ferias were intoned by them. The short ferial lesson and respond of Matins during the summer were left to two novices. The direction that they should chant them, not

1. *Ordinale*, 58.
2. E.g. in Worcester in early times, *Alleluia* was sung eleven times. Elsewhere three or four times was common. Tolhurst, *op. cit.*, 233.
at the lectern but in their stalls, implies that they were in the lower stalls of the nuns' choir and not in a separate choir, at least on these occasions. They also chanted the lessons of the Office of the Dead when the full Office was recited once a week.

The announcement of great feasts, like the Nativity and the Assumption of Our Lady, at the Chapter on the eve of the feast was made by a novice, and she also chanted aloud the Gospel [Vespere autem sabbati announcing the Resurrection on Holy Saturday.

The novices were responsible for giving certain signals for the different religious observances. After the [Trina Oratio in the early morning, the nuns sat in the cloister until the novices recited the hymn [Veni Creator, when the bell for Prime was rung. Though this seems to

1. Ordinale, 360.
2. Ibid. 23.
3. Ibid. 278.
4. Ibid. 127.
5. Ibid. 26, 202.
have been a custom peculiar to Barking, it may perhaps represent the practice, common in mediaeval monasteries, of novices sitting in the cloister after Lauds, learning the chant and Latin of the liturgical services. When the permission was given to speak about necessary things in the cloister, it was a novice who gave the signal after Chapter, by striking a wooden clapper, called a *tabula*.

The children are distinguished in the ordinal from the novices or *scolares*, by the name *iuvencule* or *infantes*. It has already been seen in an earlier chapter that there were children at Barking, being reared in the abbess's household, but not a great deal of information on them has come to light. Those, however, who are mentioned in the ordinal have a definite, if small, part to play in the liturgical functions. They may even have been choir-boys, and indeed, on one occasion at least, they are called *pueri*. This is in the description of the

1. *Ordinale*, 17. The word *tabula* also refers to the notice board to which the precentrix fixed the names of those responsible for any special part of the Office. See above, p. 279.


Palm Sunday procession,¹ when the traditional hymn, Gloria Laus was sung at the return of the procession to the abbey church. Six boys, standing above the door of the church, sang the verses of the hymn, to which the procession below responded with the words, Gloria, Laus et honor tibi sit, Rex Christe Redemptor.

It was four children who sang the Benedicamus Domino ending the elaborate commemoration made at an altar of a saint.²

It has been said that the ordinal and hymnal frequently give the musical notation over the incipits of hymns in the Office, and of parts of the Proper of the Mass.³ This is always the plainsong notation, which was normally sung in the monastic houses. It is most unlikely that the more elaborate musical settings, which were being composed in England in the later Middle Ages, were ever sung at Barking. There is no mention anywhere in the records of an organ in the abbey church.

1. See above, p. 346.
2. See above, p. 339.
3. See above, p. 308.
Exceptions to the normal horarium.

The great liturgical seasons of Christmas and Easter brought exceptions to the normal horarium. On Christmas Day and for the remainder of the week, the antiphon Hodie Christus was intoned by the abbess or precentrix, and sung three times by the community. It was followed by a versicle and collect. This was in addition to the usual procession, and took place after None, in the cloister.

The ordinal also describes one aspect of the festivities which took place on Holy Innocents' day. A novice, called the iuvenis abbatissa, occupied the place of honour in the abbess's stall, assisted by a prioress, precentrix and two others. It was only after Second Vespers of the feast that the senex abbatissa resumed her rightful place. Archbishop Pecham ordered that no seculars, not even children, should be admitted to the celebration of this feast. He wrote in a similar strain to Godstow, describing the ceremony as "puerilia solemnia."

3. *loc. cit.*
During the last three days of Holy Week, the horarium took on a completely different aspect from the rest of the year. From early times, it was a common practice to replace the monastic cursus by the Roman secular office called Tenebrae, and this continued until the dissolution, in spite of the opposition of the General Chapter of 1277. Barking, therefore, followed the secular Office from Matins of Maundy Thursday until Vespers of Easter Sunday. On this day, however, unusual psalms, which were sung also at Ely, Durham, Newminster and Peterborough, are prescribed in the ordinal. Matins and Lauds of Low Sunday and of Pentecost were also sung according to the Roman usage. All the additional Offices were continued during Holy Week, as well as devotions like the

1. Tolhurst, op. cit., 206.
2. MC, I, 96.
3. They were Laudate pueri (Psalm CXII, Laudate Dominum omnes gentes (Psalm CXVI), Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus (Psalm CXLVI) and Lauda Jerusalem (Psalm CXLVII). Ordinale, 111.
5. Ordinale, 117.
Trina Oratio and the Gradual Psalms. From the time of the Regularis Concordia, the recitation of the whole psalter was also customary, though many monasteries reduced the obligation to Good Friday only. In the ordinal, it is placed on the first three days of Holy Week.

The ceremonies and chant of these days of the year have always been marked by a certain dramatic solemnity, which the monasteries were not slow to utilise. The concluding prayers of Lauds were often sung by special chanters at the four corners of the choir. At Barking, four nuns, two from either choir, sang alternately Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison. Then the abbess and prioress, standing at the lectern, sang three versicles, to which two of the senior nuns answered miserere nobis from the middle of the choir. The ordinal gives the incipits only of the versicles, which varied each day. They are identical with those sung at Ely and Peterborough.

1. 38.
2. Ordinale, 88.
3. Ibid. 92, 97.
4. Tolhurst, op. cit., 211, where the full text of the versicles is given. They are also found in E. Martene, De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus (Venice, 1783), IV, 355.
The concluding collect, *Respice quesumus*, is usually found, but it was not repeated at Barking at the Little Hours. Instead, one beginning *Domine Jesu Christe qui hora*, adding the Hour which was being said, was used.

Compline was not recited in choir on these days, but *sub silencio bine aut trine*, i.e. privately in groups of twos and threes.

It was customary at Barking, as it was elsewhere, to carry out the annual cleaning of the church after Vespers on the Wednesday of Holy Week. The high altar was washed on Maundy Thursday, with water mixed with wine. The ceremony was performed by the officiating priest, assisted by a deacon. During the ceremony, the choir sang responds. The Lady altar was also washed, so that the Hosts consecrated during the Mass might be reserved there.

The twofold *Mandatum* or "washing of the feet" performed in monastic houses is described in the ordinal. The feet of the poor were washed first, some by the abbess in her chapel, others by the prioress in the chapter house, and a third group by members of the community in the cloister near the refectory. Those nuns who were sick or infirm and confined to bed had the poor taken to them. Later in the day, the same ceremony was performed for the community by the abbess and prioress.

The focal point of Good Friday was the cross, round which grew up two ceremonies, its adoration and burial. The ordinal follows in its main lines the traditional ceremonies. It instructs the sacrist to uncover all the crosses in the church, to spread carpets in front of the private altars and to place crosses upon them for the veneration by the faithful. She had also to adorn the sepulchre, where the cross was buried, with carpets, hangings and white linen cloths. The ordinal

2. They are set out in Tolhurst, *op. cit.*, 233-235.
does not describe the sepulchre, and there is nothing to indicate whether it was a permanent stone structure or a temporary one made of wood. It was situated near the high altar, and was large enough to allow the priest to enter.

The performance of the extra-liturgical Resurrection drama, which was a common feature in the churches of England and Europe, is set out in considerable detail in the ordinal. Until the middle of the fourteenth century, the drama was performed at Barking before the short Easter Matins. Katherine Sutton, wishing to stir up the devotion of the people, removed it to the end, after the third respond, Dum transisset, where it had originally appeared as a trope.

The drama was divided at Barking into two scenes, Christ's "Harrowing of Hell" and "the Visit to the Sepulchre". The first took place in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen,

1. It is fully discussed in K. Young, The Drama of the Mediaeval Church (Oxford, 1933), I, 201-410.
3. Young, Loc. cit.
the abbess and nuns taking part with the priests and other clerics. The officiating priest, impersonating Christ, called them from the chapel by striking the door and singing three times Tollite portas. All then went in procession to the sepulchre, carrying palms and candles as a sign of victory.

The visit of the three Marys to the sepulchre was performed by three nuns appointed by the abbess at the Chapter of Holy Saturday. They were clad in white garments and white veils, and carried silver vessels in their hands. The dialogue between them and the two clerics impersonating the angels, beginning with the words "quem queritis in sepulchro o Christocole", is common to all the versions of the Resurrection drama. The whole drama ended with the intoning of the Te Deum, the usual conclusion to Matins.

Finally, the feast of Pentecost had its own special ceremonies. During the singing of the hymn, Veni Creator at Terce, a dove was let down in the middle of the choir, together with seven lighted candles. A similar ceremony was performed at St. Mary's, York, where the dove was to

1. Ordinale, 135.
be "sine viva sine imaginaria." More attractive is the scattering of flowers in the choir at Barking during the sequence of the Mass, "ob recordacionem donorum spiritus sancti."


2. Ordinale, 141.
CHAPTER VIII

RELATIONS WITH THE EXTERNAL WORLD

King Edgar, that energetic restorer of monastic life in England after the Danish invasions, was traditionally regarded as the second founder of Barking, but royal patronage, as it was exercised in the Middle Ages, must have become a real factor in the life of the abbey only after the Norman Conquest. The position of Alfgiva, the abbess at the time of the Conquest, was confirmed by the Conqueror who granted her "my peace and love, and all my rights within and without the burgh as fully as any abbess in that monastery of St. Mary had them in the time of King Edward." It was to this protection that subsequent confirmations of charters by future kings were to look back; hence it may be regarded as the effective beginning of that closer connection with the Crown which is implied in the expression "royal patronage".

One of the chief rights claimed by the mediaeval patron, whether royal or not, was that of granting the

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In royal abbeys, however, until the thirteenth century, not only was the royal consent necessary before the community could proceed to an election, but the appointment of the superior rested with the king. Within twenty years after the Conquest, Norman names begin to appear among the abbesses of the greater nunneries, showing the same process of Normanisation at work in them, albeit on a much smaller scale, as characterised William's policy towards the men's houses. The date of the death of the English Alfgiva of Barking is not known, nor the name of her immediate successor. There may have been a period of vacancy, more or less prolonged, before the appointment of Agnes by Henry I. Nothing more, beyond her name, is known of this abbess. Norman names, like Margaret Peverell and Ida de Lisle appear in the ordinal among the "prioresses of ancient times" but there is no indication of what is meant by the expression "ancient times".

1. Wood, op. cit., 11 et seq.
2. _______ 137, 395-401.
Royal nominations continued to be made during the twelfth century. Ascelina, the sister of Pain FitzJohn probably owed her appointment to her brother's support of the royal cause in Stephen's reign.

The reign of John witnessed the struggle for freedom in episcopal and therefore in abbatial elections, in which the king was ultimately defeated. In November 1213, John had to promise free elections in the royal abbeys. The repercussions of this at Barking throw an interesting sidelight on the baronial struggle of the reign. They show the king bringing pressure to bear on the house, in his anxiety to prevent relatives of his enemies obtaining high positions, even in the nunneries. Although Barking had been specifically mentioned among the houses which were to enjoy free elections, John tried to interfere in the election that took place there on the death of Christiana de Valoines. He wrote to the prioress and convent, requesting them to elect one of their number, Sarah de Walebar, as their abbess. How free the election was intended to be may be gauged from the words which accompanied the request, "preces nostras efficaciter exaudientes sicut volueritis nos preces vestras in aendis vestris"

1. Wood, op. cit., 42.
expediendis exaudire et libertates vestras ubique defendere et magutenere." The nuns, however, seem to have stood firm against the royal demand, for shortly afterwards Peter des Roches was instructed to secure as the new abbess the aunt of Robert de Ros, the Yorkshire baron whose adherence the King was trying to obtain. If this failed, Peter was to put forward either their own prioress, Sybil, or the prioress of Elleschurch who was the sister of John de Bassingbourne, the custodian of Hertford Castle. On no account were the nuns to choose the sister of Robert FitzWalter, the leader of the barons. In June 1215, the convent elected their prioress, apparently under pressure, but before long she resigned, and Mabel de Bosham was chosen.

1. Rot Litt Claus, I, 181.

2. Robert had just been appointed sheriff of Cumberland, and had received various other favours, which failed, however, to secure his loyalty. F. Powicke, Stephen Langton (Oxford, 1928), 208, n.1, DNB, XVII, 217.

3. Rot Litt Claus, I, 202. The part played by Robert FitzWalter and the support he received among the barons in Essex is described in Powicke, op. cit., 126-127, 207.

4. Rot Lit Pat, 17 John m.22. She appears among the early abbesses in the ordinal as "Sibilla electa de diure." Ordinale, 359.

5. The temporalities were restored to her in August, 1215. Rot Litt Claus, I, 227.
After the death of John, the king's part in elections became merely a matter of form. Henceforward until the dissolution, the nuns chose their abbesses without royal interference, though with numberless formalities which can be reconstructed from the Patent Rolls, from bishops' registers and from the ordinal. The whole process is set out in considerable detail in this customary of the house under the date 1291. After referring to the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council, *Quia Propter*, on canonical elections, the ordinal instructs the nuns to send two or three of the community to the king, on the day after the funeral of a deceased abbess, carrying a letter from the conventual chapter. The correct formula to be used in the latter is then recited in Latin, informing the king of the vacancy and asking leave to proceed to a new election. The Patent Rolls afford several instances of this procedure taking place, even earlier than 1291, for what appears in the ordinal was "selom la

1. *Ordinale*, 349-350. The letter given here as a model is dated "the twentieth year of our reign". It is addressed to "domino H. dei gracie Rex Anglie", but the other names mentioned in it and the evidence from CPR, 1281-1292, 461, show that this is a scribe's error of a later date.
custume de la meason". In 1252, for instance, Maud de Loveland and Margery de Rokele sought the king at Oxford, to obtain the congé d'éîire. Christiana de Bosham, the abbess elected on this occasion, resigned six years later, and three nuns set out to find the king at Ely, in order to obtain permission for the new election. Sometimes, as in 1291 and 1294, the king could be found at Westminster, but on other occasions it meant a longer journey, to Burton-on-Trent, to Llanfaes, in South Wales, or to Windsor.

The king usually granted the congé d'éîire on the same day, and the election was then held. The new abbess

1. CPR, 1247-1258, 129.
2. Ibid. 1258-1266, 7. For the possible reason for Christiana's resignation, see below, p.379-380.
3. CPR, 1281 1292, 461.
4. Ibid. 1292-1304, 72.
5. Ibid. 1272-1281, 130.
6. Ibid. 1292-1304, 134.
7. Ibid. 1317-1321, 70.
presented herself to the king, who wrote to the Bishop of London signifying his assent to the election. ¹

The bishop's duty was to satisfy himself that the election had been carried out canonically, that the abbess "was discreet in spiritual and temporal affairs, of good and virtuous living, canonical age, and expressly professed according to the Rule of St. Benedict." He then informed the king that the election was canonical.

After this, the new abbess performed her act of fealty to the king for her temporalities. Ironically, the oath of the abbess who surrendered her house to Henry VIII has been preserved in full. There was nothing novel in the wording of the oath, but in the light of what was to happen twelve years later, the words have an unpleasant ring. Dorothy Barley promised, "I shalbe faithfull and true, and faith and truth shall bere

¹. The letter of Richard II to Bishop Braybrook in 1393, after the election of Sybil Felton, is preserved among the records of her election in the bishop's register. Reg. Braybrook, fo. 297.

². Ibid.

³. Reg. Tunstall, fo. 113d.
to the kyng our sovereigne lord and to his heirs kyngs of England, of lief and lym and earthly worship for to lief and dye against all people, and diligently I shalbe attendant unto the kynges nedes and beseignes after my will and power and the kynges frewill I shall kepe and layne and truely I shall knowledge and doo the services due of the temporalities of my church of Berkyng, the which I claim to hold of my said sovereigne lord the kyng, and the which he giveth and yeldeth me, and to hym and to his commandments in that that to me attaineth and belongeth for my said temporalities I shalbe obeissant so God help me and his saints."

The oath of fealty taken, royal writs were sent out to the escheators of Essex, Buckinghamshire and Bedforshire, where the abbey lands lay, ordering them to restore the temporalities of the house to the abbess, and likewise to the abbey's tenants to be intendant.

1. Several of these writs are registered on the Patent Rolls, e.g. 1281-1292, 462; 1374-1377, 445; 1429-1436, 260.
The ceremony of the blessing and installation of the newly created abbess by the bishop is set out in the ordinal. The English nunneries were subject to the jurisdiction of the Ordinary in whose diocese they lay; hence the promise of "subjection, obedience and reverence", made by the abbess on this occasion.

The blessing of at least one abbess, Maud Montacute, took place in St. Paul's Cathedral, in the presence of her brother, Simon Montacute, Bishop of Ely, and of her sister, the prioress of Haliwell.

The whole business of an election must have been an expensive one, for though there is no instance recorded in which the king had to be sought abroad, there was, as has already been mentioned, a certain amount of travelling involved. Moreover, the licence to elect

1. Ordinale, 351-353.
4. See above, p. 372.
and the royal assent were never refused, but they had to be paid for. Unfortunately, there are no household accounts which might have given the costs of an election. It is surprising, however, how quickly the complicated procedure was carried out. In 1294, for instance, the licence was issued on June 15th, the Bishop of London was informed of the royal assent to the election of Matilda de Grey on June 17th, and after receiving the new abbess's fealty, the king sent out his mandate for the restoration of the temporalities on June 20th. On this occasion, it is true, the king was at Westminster, but there are several other occasions when all was completed within a week, and the delay did not usually last longer.

1. At Wilton, at the end of the thirteenth century, the feast of a new abbess must have been expensive. Among the delicacies eaten were swans, peacocks and venison. Sixty gallons of milk and two thousand eggs were bought, and among other purchases were large numbers of candles, plates and dishes. VCH, Wilts, III, 235.

2. CPR, 1292-1301, 72, 74, 76.

3. E.g. Ibid. 1258-1266, 7; 1281-1292, 461-462; 1374-1377, 445, 450.
than five or six weeks.¹ There is no indication as to why these longer delays occurred.

It was probably fortunate for the abbey that an election was normally a speedy business, for one of the chief rights claimed by the mediaeval patron was the custody of the temporalities during the vacancy. One or more custodians, later the escheator of the county, were put into the house, to collect such revenues as rents, manorial profits, whether agricultural or the perquisites of manorial courts, and tallages imposed on tenants. The current expenses of the house were paid out of these revenues, and the rest went to the royal coffer. In the days before free elections, when the danger of long vacancies was much greater, the Exchequer benefited accordingly. In 1172-1173 it received 113s. 4d. as well

¹ In 1352, it took from November 22nd till December 25th to complete all the formalities. CPR, 1350-1354, 367, 375, 379; in 1393, from October 5th till November 17th, Ibid. 1391-1396, 319, 328; Reg. Kemp, fo. 297.
as £33. 6s. 3d. from the farming of the abbey's manors, while a six months' vacancy from October 1199 to April 1200 brought in £219. 8s. 5d. £70 of this was disbursed in the maintenance of the prioress and nuns, and £6. 16s. 2 in chaplains' wages. The use to which the sum accruing to the king might be put is illustrated by John's order in 1214, "quod necessaria inveniatis Hugo de Sancto Andoen' et Thomas Mariscallo cum vij dextrariis nostris et tribus suis ad ducendum eos quo eos misimus." 3

Under John's ever impecunious son, things were probably worse, especially as three vacancies occurred within ten years during his reign. 4 Henry, as strict in claiming his due as he was lavish in his gifts, and tending when he needed money, "to turn to those quarters which could not resist him", 5 ordered the custodian at Barking in 1252 to send all the money collected during

1. Great Roll of the Pipe (Pipe Roll Society, XVIII), 45.
2. Ibid. (NS, XII), 255-266.
3. Rot Litt Claus, I, 177.
4. In 1247, 1252, and 1258.
the vacancy into the wardrobe.\textsuperscript{1} The vacancy lasted only eight days, and the king had already given his assent to the election of Christiana de Bosham when the writ was sent.\textsuperscript{2}

Further incidents resulting from this vacancy give the impression that Barking was being ruthlessly exploited, and no doubt other nunneries suffered in the same way. Five months after her election, the abbess was under threat of distraint for 49\textfrac{1}{2} marks, assessed as tallage on her tenants during the vacancy and still owing to the king.\textsuperscript{3} Her steward had already been pursued for an amercement of 4 marks for a breach of the regulations on weights and measures by the \textit{villata} of Barking. Christiana's resignation six years later may have been the result of financial difficulties, caused in part at least by royal

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{CCR}, 1251-1253, 51.
\item The nuns were given licence to elect on February 6th, and the king wrote to the Bishop of London on the 14th, signifying his assent to the election. \textit{CPR}, 1247-1258, 128, 129. The order to the custodians was sent the next day. \textit{CCR}, 1251-1253, 51.
\item \textit{Ibid.} 70.
\item \textit{Ibid.} 69.
\end{enumerate}
During the ensuing voidance, the custodian was ordered to recover the silver plate which the king had given his sister, Matilda, while she was abbess, for her own use and that of future abbesses, and which Christiana had alienated and sold. By 1260, the house was obliged to petition the king for permission to sell timber from its woods to the value of £40, in order to help pay off its debts.

It is clear that a vacancy lasting only a few days, as it usually did after 1213, still meant financial loss that was far from negligible. This would be all the heavier if one vacancy followed quickly on another. Thus, the vacancy of 1291, which lasted eight days, gave the escheator, Malcolm de Harleye, who was acting as custodian, £41. 8s. 6d., including 73s. 8d. from the sale

1. E.g. in 1256, the abbey undertook to pay 100 marks a year for five years, to Reynold Rayneri and his fellow merchants of Siena, in part discharge of its share in the clerical tenth contributed towards the king's "Sicilian business". CPR, 1247-1258, 517.

2. CPR, 1254-1256, 465.

3. Ibid. 1259-1261, 74.
of herbage. Four years later, there was another vacancy, from 23rd April until 18th May, during which £52. 9s. 10d. was collected for the King.

From the beginning of the fourteenth century, however, Barking seems to have come to an agreement with the king whereby the prioress and convent received the custody during a vacancy. This arrangement is first mentioned in 1329, during the voidance created by the death of Eleanor Weston, and was permitted on condition that the nuns rendered as much as they had rendered at the last vacancy, and saving to the Crown all knights' fees and advowsons of churches. Unfortunately, the sum of money at the last vacancy, which occurred in 1318, is not given. Thenceforward, however, this was the arrangement the nuns followed. It is similar to that made by Wilton, in order to avoid serious financial loss.

1. PRO, E372/136/27.
2. Ibid. E372/145/38.
4. Further examples occur for the years 1341, 1355 and 1358. Ibid. V, 214; VI, 343; VII, 59.
Here, the nuns compounded in 1271 for permission to retain the administration of their temporalities by paying forty marks into the Wardrobe, and until the middle of the fifteenth century, they paid £40 for the same purpose.

On one occasion, namely in 1393, the nuns of Barking were released from their obligation. On account of the damage done to their property by the heavy floods, they were allowed to keep the sum of £12 from their temporalities during the voidance of forty six days created by the death of Maud Montacute.

During the two hundred years following the Conquest, it seems to have been a not uncommon practice for the king to grant to his wife the custody of Barking abbey, and therefore also, presumably, the enjoyment of its revenues. Both Henry I and Stephen did this, but there is no indication of the duration of the vacancy or of the amount of revenue the abbey lost. It is perhaps

1. VCH, wilts, III, 237.
2. CPR, 1391-1396, 389.
not without significance that during the longest vacancy after 1215, that of 1275, which lasted five months, the custody of the abbey was granted by Edward I to his mother, Queen Eleanor.

The king not only claimed the custody of the temporalities of the house during a vacancy. He also used the opportunity to present royal clerks to churches of which Barking possessed the advowson. During the thirteenth century, this right seems to have been exercised on one occasion only, when Henry III presented one of his clerks, John, the son of Robert le Norreis, to the church of Great Warley. The fourteenth century, however, saw an enormous extension of the king's regalian rights in this direction, as the Patent Rolls testify. It furnished him with a cheap way of rewarding royal clerks for their services, even though it brought the possibility of conflict with the Holy See, which was engaged in a similar policy by means of papal provisions. It has been

2. CFR, 1232-1247, 505.
3. See above, p. 139 et seq.
said that the king's action was motivated by a policy of direct attack on papal provisions. On the other hand, neither party was anxious to antagonize the other, and compromise, based on political and diplomatic considerations, was often resorted to by the king.

Though the benefices of which Barking possessed the patronage must have been poor and insignificant in comparison with others which fell to the king, their history is typical of what was happening up and down the country. Edward II, who extended his rights on a large scale, presented to three of the abbey's churches in one month during the voidance created by the death of Anne Veer in 1318. John de Crosseby, the clerk who received Tollesbury, incidentally Barking's richest church, continued in the royal service. The following year he was up in Yorkshire, paying £100 to the abbot of St. Mary's, York, for wages for the footmen coming from Wales for service against the Scots who were invading the north. He was also sufficiently important to act as

1. A. Deeley, 'Papal Provision and Royal Rights of Patronage in the early fourteenth century' in EHR, XLIII (1928), 497.
4. See above, p. 129.
5. CPR, 1317-1321, 307.
attorney to the Earl of Pembroke on at least one occasion, during the latter's absence abroad. He died as rector of Tollesbury in 1330. How much attention he had given to his parish cannot be determined, nor is there any evidence of vicars ministering to his flock during these years.

Edward II not only appointed clerks to the abbey's churches during a vacancy. He also claimed the right to appoint, in virtue of a vacancy, after the vacancy had occurred. The allegation made was that the benefice had been vacant during the voidance of the abbey and that "no time runs against the king". Thus, for instance, in 1318, in addition to the three clerks already mentioned, he later appointed a fourth to Bulphan, "by reason of the late voidance." On at least one occasion, in 1358,

1. CPR, 1317-1321, 520.
4. CPR, 1317-1321, 207.
5. Ibid. 1358-1361, 50.
Edward III did the same thing, appointing his clerk, William de Wode, to the wardenship of the hospital at Ilford, after the election of the new abbess, while Richard II claimed the right in retrospect from the previous reign.

Every election also gave the king the right to claim an annual pension for a royal clerk until the new abbess could find him a benefice. In 1377, Laud lontacute was requested to provide a pension for a Thomas de Barton "because the king has his advancement at heart." He was probably the same man to whom in 1374 the king had promised £3000 - no doubt in repayment of a loan - £1000 towards it coming from the tenth granted by the clergy of the diocese of Norwich, £800 from the same tenth in the archdeaconries of Lincoln, Stowe and Leicester, and another £800 from customs and subsidies. The pension given by Barking was probably the least of his emoluments, for ten years later he was made Archdeacon of Uriel in Ireland, and by the end of the century he had amassed the

1. CPR, 1377-1381, 5.
2. CCR, 1374-1377, 555.
3. CPR, 1374-1377, 7.
rectory of Ilfracombe and three prebends, the "bursar" prebend in the Cathedral Church of Exeter, another in the free chapel of Bosham and the third that of Stoweford in the collegiate church of Credington. There is no record of his receiving a benefice from Barking.

Another royal clerk, named John Dunmow, was nominated by Edward IV for an annual pension "by reason of the recent creation of the abbess". In 1473, he was presented to the rectory of Bulphian on the death of the then incumbent, and was thenceforward launched on a career of pluralism and royal service until his death at the Roman Curia in 1489.

The subsequent career of other royal clerks sent to Barking as pensionaries cannot be followed so successfully as these two, but they probably followed much the same pattern since it was the accepted system of the time.

1. CPR, 1396-1399, 659.  2. CCR, 1468-1476, 309.
5. Another was clerk of the Statute Merchant and Recognisances in the City of London. CPR, 1391-1396, 570.
The abbey was able to make good its claim
to two of its benefices, against the royal nominee.  
In 1389, Richard II tried to appoint as warden of
St. Mary's Hospital, Ilford, a clerk named Henry de
Assheburn, who had already obtained the church of
Llandeffenam in Anglesea and had been nominated for the
first vacant canonry, prebend or other dignity in the
collegiate church of Penkridge. He did so on the
grounds that his predecessor had made a similar presentat-
ation in 1358. But by a statute passed in 1389, it had
been decreed that the king's nomination to a benefice
was to fall through if the title on which it was grounded
was found to be unjust. In the case of Ilford, Richard
was making use of his right to appoint during a vacancy
in the abbey, but since there was no vacancy at the time,
he was going beyond his rights.

The other benefice, that of All Hallows, Barking,
beside the Tower, provides an instance of the use of the

1. CPR, 1385-1389, 227.
2. Ibid. 1381-1385, 477, 537.
3. Ibid. 1358-1361, 50.
Chancery as a means of obtaining redress. It has already been suggested that this is the church referred to in Domesday, half of which was said to belong to Barking. In the thirteenth century Valuation of Norwich, the patronage of the church, together with a pension of 6s. 8d. is assigned to the abbey, but the monks of Rochester — who may therefore have possessed the other half of the church in earlier times — drew a pension of a mark. This arrangement, presumably, held good until 1355, when Edward III received permission from the Pope to appropriate the church to the royal chapel of St. Peter in Chains in the Tower. He intended to

1. In the later Middle Ages, the equity jurisdiction of Chancery was preferred to ecclesiastical procedure or the king's courts, as likely to give the best remedy or redress to parties in disputed presentations. Churchill, loc. cit.

2. See above, p. 126. A Saxon arch, revealed by enemy action during the war, points to the presence of a church here, possibly as early as the eighth century. See article in The Times, September 9th, 1960.


4. I have not been able to find any more information on this point.

enlarge this foundation so that it could maintain five chaplains instead of the three it had previously supported. He does not seem to have carried out his intention, and under his successor the advowson and a licence for appropriation were bestowed on Barking. The abbey, however, was still insecure in its possession. In 1402, Henry IV gave it, together with the wardenship of St. Peter's chapel, to a royal clerk named Thomas Haliwell. This time, the abbess, Sybil Felton, took the case into Chancery. She complained that "by virtue of the grant to the said Thomas, she is much troubled unlawfully touching her possession thereof, and wearied with costs, travail and expense for the reservation of her right". She successfully proved her claim.

There were several other ways in which the king could exploit Barking as a royal abbey. One, which was both costly to the house and detrimental to regular observance but which was a common practice, was the placing of royal

2. CPR, 1385-1389, 43.
3. CCR, 1399-1402, 191, 344.
servants in the house as corrodians, to be kept at its expense. The earliest recorded example of this occurred in 1253, when a certain Philippa de Radinges and her daughter were sent by Henry III. The Patent Roll does not reveal who Philippa was, but she had probably been in the royal service.

During the fourteenth century, the king was claiming this right at every election of a new abbess. Edward III sent two servants in succession, William de Chikwell and Henry Oldyngton. The latter was a yeoman of the avenary, and he seems to have continued to work in this capacity, purveying provender for the royal stables, after his appearance at Barking. In 1383, a lardiner in the royal service named John Spencer, was sent by the king and received from the abbey a messuage

1. CPR, 1247-1258, 180.

2. The same thing was happening at Wilton, where there were numerous instances between 1328 and 1442. VCH, Wilts, III, 237.

3. C Chancery errants, 1316, 443. His name appears in lists of purveyors of hay and oats for the king's horses several times later. CPR, 1313-1317, 62, 129, 188.
and six acres of land. He had already seen service in the household of the Black Prince, by whom he had been granted the bailiwick of Penwyth and Kiryel in the Duchy of Cornwall.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, the nuns were trying to avoid the burden put upon them by royal corrodians, for when John Chancy, esquire, the king's serjeant, arrived in 1451, "for a maintenance for which the king ought to send a person to the, even as his forefathers were used heretofore to do, and which has been unlawfully concealed", Catherine de la Pole, the abbess at the time, refused to admit him, on the grounds that a corrodian could only be sent at the time of an election.

The proximity of the abbey to London provided the king with a useful place of detention for the female relatives of his enemies. Twice during her abbacy, Anne

1. CPR, 1381-1385, 265.
2. Ibid. 1377-1381, 339.
3. CCR, 1447-1454, 321.
4. Ibid.
Veer was ordered to act as custodian to politically dangerous figures. In 1309, she had in her charge, Elizabeth, the sister of Sir William Olifard, the defender of Stirling Castle against Edward I. Seven years later, the abbey was being used as a temporary prison for Elizabeth de Burgh, the wife of Robert Bruce, whom Edward had taken prisoner in 1307, while her husband wandered, a king without a kingdom, in the eastern highlands of Scotland. In 1314, the abbess of Barking received orders to hand her over to the sheriffs of London, who took her to Rochester Castle. Here, under Henry de Cobham, Constable of the Castle, she received a suitable chamber and 20s. for her expenses, an indication, no doubt, of what had been provided for her maintenance during her enforced stay in the abbey. This, however, was probably not borne by Barking, for on at least one other occasion, Edward II bore the cost of another political prisoner during her residence there. In 1322, the executors of the deceased

1. CCR, 1307-1313, 114.
2. Ibid. 1313-1318, 43.
sheriff of Essex received from the Exchequer the sum of £74, which had been paid by the sheriff to the wife of Roger Amory "while she was staying at the abbey and forbidden by the king to go beyond its gates." 

In addition to secular boarders and corrodians, it seems that Barking was expected to offer hospitality, at least in the thirteenth century, to royal messengers passing through the neighbourhood. In 1253, Henry III promised that the house should not be burdened with them "while it is not in the king's hands in a vacancy". The King also promised not to send lay brothers, but there is no further evidence to show who they were.

How often the abbey was favoured with royal visits it is impossible to say. There is only one recorded visit of a king, that of Stephen which has already been referred to, but there may well have been others of later monarchs. The ordinal provides an elaborate ceremonial

1. CPR, 1313-1323, 428, 651.
2. CPR, 1247-1258, 180.
3. See above, p.172.
for such an occasion. Wealthy patrons and benefactors must also have visited the house. The is' ops of Ion on sometimes held ordinations in the abbey church which was one of the largest in Essex.

Like st. Iary, Clerkenwell, the abbey also allowed secular residents to occupy tenements in the outer precinct. The difficulties to which this arrangement could give rise are illustrated by a vivid account on the Patent Roll for the year 1450. A certain Robert Csbern, who is described as "clerk of the secret signet" and who may therefore have been there at t'e Kin's behest, occupied a tenent and garden in the parish churchyard. An altercation took place between his servant and the c'urchwardens of the monastic church over the possession of the ke of the churchyard.

2. E.g. Simon Sudbury did this in 1362, an Richard Clifford in 1410. Reg. udbury, II; 10; Reg. Clyfford, fo. 24d.
3. Hassall, Cartulary of St. Iary Clerkenwell, XV.
It led to an assault upon the person of the abbess by Robert who "hir shulldred ayenst the wall that she fill to the grounde". The abbess took the case into Chancery, though with what result is not known.

An even greater intrusion into the life of the community than corrodians or prisoners were the nuns whom the kinr might nominate at each succession to the throne and at each election of an abbess. Here again, it was Edward II who made the most of his position as royal patron. In 1307, he wrote to the nuns, desiring them to accept Alice de Belhus, "they being bound to admit a domicella upon t'he king's nomination at his accession." Alice may have been the daughter of Thomas de Belhus, an Essex landowner who was employed in the royal service by Edward I.

1. CCR, 1307-1313, 48.

2. In addition to being sheriff of Cambridge and holding commissions of oyer and terminer in the eastern counties, he was sent to Ponthieu in 1289 on business for the king, and to Rome for a similar reason in 1292. Cam, Liberties and Communities, 45-46.
The creation of a new abbess in 1318 brought a fresh demand, this time for the admission of Ellen, daughter of Alice de Leygrave. Ellen may well have been related to Juliana de Leygrave, "the niece of the king's foster mother, who suckled him in his youth", who had been sent to St. Mary's Winchester as a nun in 1313. It would explain Edward's readiness to provide for them, at the expense of the nunneries. Barking, however, replied that Ellen could not be received "for certain reasons", which unfortunately are not specified. Its triumph was short lived, for in her place the nuns had to find an annual pension for an extra royal clerk.

While this domicella was probably a girl of comparative insignificance, it was different in the case of another royal nominee, Margaret Swinford, who became a nun at Barking in 1377. She was the daughter of Katherine Swinford, and destined to be a future abbess.

3. CCR, 1313-1318, 611.
4. CPR, 1377-1381, 20.
The king's exercise of patronage in this way was common in English nunneries throughout the Middle Ages. It was imitated by other lay patrons and also by the bishops. In 1319, Stephen Gravesend, Bishop of London, sent to Barking a girl named Isabel de Atre, the daughter of his friend John de Atre, ordering the nuns in virtue of their obedience (perhaps he had heard of the king's difficulty the year before), to receive her and treat her as one of themselves.

There are two other instances, both in the Pontificate of John XXII, of the use of papal influence to obtain the entry of a nun. In 1317 it was exercised in favour of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and the abbot of Waltham was ordered to see that it was carried out. The other case, which occurred in 1330, is that of a certain Matilda de Bionie of the diocese of London who, while on pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, Santiago


2. *C Pap L*, 1305-1342, 142. The abbey is called Derliyng in the Register. The same command was given to Elstow and Godesstow.

and Assisi, possibly as a penance, was upset out of a boat on the Rhone, and finding herself penniless, was unable to continue her journey. She obtained a dispensation to enter a nunnery instead, and Barking was commanded to receive her. The abbot of St. John's, Colchester and the Archdeacon of Colchester were to see that it was put into effect.

All these examples help to illustrate the mediaeval attitude towards the nunnery. To the outside world, the nun was, as she had always been, the bride of Christ, who was privileged to sing at her profession "Ipsi sum desponsata cui Angeli serviunt", but this did not prevent her and her convent from being caught up into the society of their times and affected by its claims. These were as much social and economic as they were religious. There must have been real vocations to the religious life, and for many such a way of life offered opportunities of genuine dedication to the service

2. Ordinale, 355.
of God. But for many other girls and young women, there could have been very little choice, especially since, for the upper classes at least, the nunnery offered the only alternative to marriage. Daughters for one reason or other unmarriageable were sent to the nunnery as a matter of course.

Moreover, the nunnery was essentially an upper class institution, "the refuge of the gentle born". Indeed, Barking in its earlier days could boast of royalty among its members. A daughter of Henry II was abbess towards the end of the twelfth century, and the sister of Henry III held the same office from 1247 to 1252. Until the fourteenth century the community was drawn almost exclusively from the nobility and the landowning families of the county. The powerful family of the Montacute was represented, during that century, by four of its members, three of whom became abbesses.

1. Power, op. cit., l.
3. CPR, 1232-1247, 506; 1247-1258, 129.
Maud (1341-1352) and Isabel (1352-1358) were the daughters of William Lord Montacute and sisters of the Earl of Salisbury. The high favour in which Salisbury and his son, William the second earl, stood with Edward III seems to have benefited Barking. In 1339, the king while at Antwerp, granted the abbey freedom from the pleas of the forest and the right to fell wood within the royal forest. This was done at Salisbury's request. Salisbury was the companion in arms during the fighting in France, of Robert de Ufford, the Earl of Suffolk, who in 1362 granted Barking rent of three hundred marks from his manor of Walsham in Suffolk, during the lifetime of the second Maud Montacute.

Margaret Swinford, the protege of John of Gaunt, was succeeded as abbess by Catherine de la Pole, the eldest daughter of Michael de la Pole, the second Earl of Suffolk, who was killed at Agincourt. Catherine was

1. CPR, 1338-1340, 195.
2. Ibid. 1361-1364, 224.
3. His father, Michael de la Pole, had succeeded to the title in 1385, when the Ufford line became extinct.
only twenty two years of age at the time of her
election in 1433, and her abbacy lasted forty six years,
the longest in the history of Barking. Her successors
until the dissolution, as their surnames, Shuldham,
Green and Barley indicate, came from the lesser gentility,
a social group which had risen to considerable influence
by the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Now closely the life of Arkin was interwoven
into the fabric of society of the county is shown
by the surnames of the nuns. Those of influential
county families, often close neighbours of the abbey's
lands, appear time and again until the end. They
gave their daughters to Barking as nuns, took part them-
selves in the administration of its estates, and remembered
the convent in their wills. Many of them were bound to
one another by ties of friendship and marriage. The

1. Elizabeth Shuldham, a Norfolk woman, was the sister
of Edward Shuldham, D.C.L., ardent of Trinity
Hall, Cambridge. _ibid._ I, 437, n. n.
2. No further biographical details regarding the
lives of individual abbesses beyond those
recorded in _CH, Essex, II, have come to light
in the research work for this thesis.
Suttons of Wivenhoe, whose names appear frequently among the Essex Justices of the Peace in the fourteenth century, acted as stewards of the abbey. Two daughters of the family became abbesses, Yolande from 1329 to 1341, and Katherine from 1358 to 1377. Another family which played a similar rôle in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the Tyrells of Little Warley, one of the oldest families in the county. There was a Maria Tyrell in the community at the end of the fifteenth century, and a Mary Tyrell, the daughter of Sir John Tyrell, at the time of the dissolution. Yet another family, allied by marriage to the Tyrells as well as to the Pontacutes, Veres and Nordaunts, names all familiar in the community at Barking, was that of Fitzlewes of West Horndon. Besides the Dorothy Fitzlewes whose name appears with that of Maria Tyrell, taking part in the election of 1499, there were two others there in 1535, both the daughters of Sir Richard Fitzlewes, who died in 1527. Two other daughters of Sir Richard Fitzlewes were

1. See below, p. 445.
3. PCC, 13 Jankyn. Dame Jane Norton, Sir Richard's fourth wife, left 20s. to each in her will. *Ibid.* 26 Hogen.
at the same time, nuns at Haliwell. Indeed, Barking was linked, especially in its latter days, with other nunneries in and around London, by family ties. Yet another Fitzlewes, Dame Elizabeth was abbess of the Minoresses of Aldgate in 1497. The names of Shuldham and Scrope both occur at Syon. Similar connections with other houses can also be found in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. About the same time that Isabel de Basinges was abbess of Barking, there were members of the same family at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. The blessing of Maud Montacute in St. Paul's Cathedral was witnessed by her sister Elizabeth, who was prioress of Haliwell.

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1. They each received 40s. in Jane Norton's will. PCC, 26 Hogen.
2. Archaeologia, XXIX, 207.
3. Aungier, op. cit., 81, 89.
4. See below, p.408.
6. See above, p.375.
Occasionally there was an interchange of personnel between the different houses. This might be, as in men's houses, to provide a superior, as for instance in the interesting case of Matilda Newton, the recluse of Barking who was chosen first abbess of Syon, or much earlier the proposed transfer of the prioress of Elleschurch in 1213. Another interesting example, though she held no office, is that of an Elizabeth Chausir. She was nominated to Haliwell at the same time as Margaret Swinford was to Barking. Either she did not go or she was subsequently transferred to Barking, for in 1380 John of Gaunt contributed £51. 8s. 2d. towards the expenses incurred when she became a novice of Barking. Whatever her relationship to Geoffrey Chaucer may have been, she would have owed her connection with John of Gaunt to Chaucer's wife, Philippa, the sister of Katherine

2. See above, p.370.
3. CPR, 1377-1381, 20.
5. Coulton suggests she was a daughter.
Swinford. An Elizabeth Chausir appears in a list of nuns professed at Barking in 1397. She may have been the same person, since a number of years might elapse between admission and profession before the bishop.

The family connections between neighbouring nunneries are found not only in the personnel of the house, but may well also have reached to their administration. Only one instance in the late twelfth century has appeared, in Barking's connections with St. Mary Clerkenwell, but further research might bring others to light. Between 1178 and 1185, the steward of Barking, Reginald de Fonte, appears on two occasions witnessing deeds drawn up at Clerkenwell. In another deed of the same period, in which Clerkenwell received land at Willingale from "Richard the Chaplain", the deed was witnessed by Matilda, the abbess of Barking.

3. Ibid. 94.
The personnel at Barking was drawn mostly from the landowning society of Essex, but other counties were also represented. At the time of the dissolution, Gabriel Shelton, the daughter of Sir John Shelton of Norfolk was in the community. A better known name is that of Margery aston, the eldest daughter of Sir William Paston, the Judge and High Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. The family of Dorothy Barley, the last abbess, came from Hertfordshire, and the Mordaunts from Bedfordshire.

Though it is true that Barking remained an upper class institution until the end, during the last two hundred years of its existence the strongly aristocratic element became less conspicuous, as other social groups

1. The Visitation of Norfolk, 247.
2. Ibid. 216.
4. The Visitation of Bedfordshire, 193; Complete Peerage, IX, 195.
penetrated its precincts and found a home there. First among these, in time and social importance, was the mercantile element from London, though this could not have been so predominant as it was in the City nunneries. Its earliest example, and since she held the office of abbess from 1291 to 1294 one of its best known, is provided by Isabel de Basinges. She came from the family of Adam de Basinges, who founded a line of silk and wool merchants in the reign of Henry III, and whose obit was kept at Barking the day after Isabel's own.

During the fourteenth century, the wills of London tradesfolk sometimes reveal the presence of their daughters

1. E.g., at St. Mary Clerkenwell, the daughters of London mercantile families predominated in late thirteenth century and the fourteenth century, whereas in the second half of the twelfth century, the daughters of rural magnates had predominated. This change in the social composition of Clerkenwell from rural to urban took place at a time when its property was becoming more urban and less rural. Hassall, The Cartulary of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, XIV.


3. Ordinale, 6. The nuns received a pittance from the cellareress on this day. PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/929.
at Barking. In 1311, Dame Joan de Brynkele was left for her lifetime, a house upon "la Roumlonde" in the parish of St. Michael, Queenhithe, by her father, John de Brynkele, a corn merchant. Joan of Wycombe had a legacy of 20s. from her father, a London "corder" in 1361, while Joan Dolsely received an annuity of four silver pounds in 1363, in the will of her father, a London pepperer. Five years later, John de Worstede, a mercer, left bequests to the conventual church and to his daughter, Joan.

During the fifteenth century, the social composition of the abbey was further augmented by the daughters of small landowners in Essex and in Barking itself. In some cases, the nun's father was employed by the abbey in an administrative capacity. Thomas Badcock, for

1. Calendar of Wills proved in the Court of Hustings, ed. R. R. Sharpe, I, 222.
2. Ibid. II, 20.
3. Ibid. 76.
4. Ibid. 114.
instance, who was steward of the courts in the 1530's, had a daughter Elizabeth who was professed in 1534 with Gabriel Shelton and Margaret Paston. In his will, Thomas left 40s. to his daughter, and other small legacies to members of the community.

The patrons of Barking, both royal and others, not only regarded it as their right to have a voice in the internal and temporal affairs of the house. They also expected to benefit in life and in death, from the prayers and meritorious acts of the community. Prayers for the royal house always formed a marked feature of the liturgical life of English monasteries, as far back as the time of the Regularis Concordia. There is no special mention of these prayers in the ordinal, but since the nuns

1. ERO, D/DP M85 m.3.
3. PCC, 1 Cromwell.
4. Two psalms, called psalmi familiares, were said after each Hour of the Divine Office except Prime, together with a series of preces and collects. Regularis Concordia, 14.
seem to have followed the older and fuller liturgical horarium, they probably recited them daily. The psalm Deus misereatur (LVII), was said pro rege at Chapter on all feasts of Our Lady.

It was also a common practice in England, even before the Norman Conquest, for founders and benefactors of monastic houses to be received as conratre, and for their names to be inscribed in the monastery’s Book of Life. The liturgical calendar of ar’ing illustrates this practice. For instance, Robert de Ufford, the Earl of Suffolk, whose obit was kept on June 14th, is described as frater noster. The same title is given to one of the rectors of St. Margaret, Lothbury, a church in London of which Barkin held the advowson.

1. See above, p. 336.
2. Ordinale, 277.
3. VC, 476.
4. Ordinale, 6.
5. Ibid. 5.
It was especially at the hour of their death that layfolk looked to the nuns to assist them by their prayers. Apart from the foundation of chantries in the abbey church, this is made clear in nearly every will in which Barking is remembered. Sir Thomas Tyrell, who died in 1477, left £3. 6s. 8d. "to the nuns of Barking, to pray for my soul, for my wife Anne, and for my father and mother." One of his sons, Humfrey Tyrell, the grandfather of Dame Mary Tyrell, asked in his will that "every house where I am a brother and have letters, that those letters be delivered immediately after my decease to the house or houses that I had them of, that they may specially pray for my soul and all Christian souls, and every house praying may have for their labour 3s. 4d." Unfortunately the houses are not named, but a further legacy in the will, of fifty marks to any one of his daughters who was "disposed to become a religious woman", and the close connections between the family and

2. PCC, 31 Vattys.
3. Ibid. 26 Adean.
Barking make it possible that he was a frater of the house. Sir Richard Fitzlewes left 46s. in 1527, "to the abbess and convent of Barking to be divided among them by discretion of my executors, to the intent that they pray for my soul, and also cause dirige and Mass to be said for my soul and all Christian souls."

The same desire to be the recipient of the prayers of the nuns after death lies behind the request for sepulture in the abbey church or cemetery. A list of tombs of abbesses in the ordinal also mentions the name of William Dun, who was closely with the house in the thirteenth century, and who lay "in St. Peter's aisle before the altar". The mother and sister of Dame Sybil Felton, both considerable benefactors of the house, were buried beside her before the altar of the Resurrection, where they had founded a chantry.

1. PCC, 13 Jankyn.
2. His name appears frequently among witnesses of deeds, after that of the steward, e.g. ERO, D/DP 41/A653, 665, 670.
3. Ordinale, 362.
4. Ibid.
5. See above, p. 158.
One of the most interesting wills of the many benefactors of the abbey is that of Anne Brickys who died in 1331. She was the widow of Sir John Sulleyard, Justice of the King's Bench, of Flemyngs in Runwell.

Her will is worth quoting in full, for its wealth of picturesque detail. She asked that her body might be buried "within Our Lady Chapel within the monastery of Barking, as nigh my daughter fortune I may conveniently. I give to my daughter Susanna Sulleyard, nun, my second hanging in my chamber with the bed whole as it standeth and if my daughter Cresill depart at this time, as God forbid, then I will that my daughter Susanna have both the hangings of my chamber and the bed whole as it standeth, or else not. I give to the house and abbey of Barking a standing cup of gilt, the which I will to be in the keeping of my lady abbess now being, for term of her life, and after to the house, to remain without

1. Sir John himself left to his daughter Elizabeth, the child of an earlier marriage, "iam etatis unius anni et amplius", £20 "si sit monialis in sancta religione iuxta desiderium meum et uxoris mee et aliorum suorum et iuxta voluntatem Dei". PCC, 21 Milles.

2. Ibid. 3 Thower.
selling or alienation. I give to my cousin, Dame Agnes Townesend, sexton, four pairs of sheets. I give to my daughter, Dame Susanna, two pairs of sheets and my cup of parcell-gilt called 'Charity'. I give to Dame Isabel Sherborne my cross of gold with the image of Saint Antony and my new gown of chamblett. I bequeath my gowns of tawny and black satin to make two vestments to be given to the church of the monastery of Barking. To my lady Dame Dorothy Barley abbess now being my plain tablet of gold with the images of the Trinity and Saint Anne. To the Convent of Barking 40s. to pray for me."

Anniversaries of benefactors were observed with varying degrees of solemnity. Some were celebrated in the same way as those of deceased abbesses, with Mass, Dirige, Subvenite and the seven Penitential Psalms: 1 others by a Mass or a procession. Their obits were entered in the kalendar, and their names were recalled at Chapter after the Martyrology. Special pittances were

1. Ordinale, 362.
2. Ibid. 1-12.
also provided in the refectory by the cellaress and the office of pensions, on their anniversary days.

1. See above, pp. 292, 294, 303.
On November 14th 1539, Dorothy Barley surrendered her house to the king's commissioner, Dr. William Petre. The religious life of Barking, and with it a tradition stretching back more than eight hundred years, was thus swept away. If there was any resistance offered to the royal will, it is not recorded. Nor is it likely that the community was taken by surprise. For five years now, the sands of monastic life in England had been running out, and the nuns could hardly have failed to read the signs of the times. During the summer of 1534, the oath recognising the new Succession Act and acknowledging the king as "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England called Anglicana Ecclesia" was administered "in sessione in monasterio de Barking." The twelve signatures to the renunciation are those of men, one of whom is described as "vicar in the monastery of Barking". No names of nuns appear,

1. PRO, E 36, Vol. 64, 5; LP, VII, 394.
nor is there any evidence to show whether the oath was tendered to them, then or on any subsequent occasion.

The Act of Supremacy conferred upon the new supreme head and his vicar general the power to carry out a visitation of all the religious houses in the country. In thus arrogating to themselves the spiritual authority of the bishops, Henry VIII, Cromwell, apt pupil of their erstwhile master, Cardinal Wolsey, already had in mind the suppression of the monasteries and the secularisation of their property. Barking came into the group of religious houses in London which Dr. Thomas Lezh was commissioned to visit. On 30th September 1535 Sir Thomas Audley wrote to Cromwell, asking him to defer the visitation until Audley himself had spoken to the vicar general. He assured Cromwell that his request was not motivated by suspicion of Dr. Lezh. It was probably a much more practical reason that lay behind his letter,

1. The deputy Keeper's Reports, VII (1846), App. II gives a list of houses taking the oath, but no houses of nuns appear on it. The oath was tendered to the Bridgettines of Syon, but there is no clear evidence that they took it. RO, III, 221.

2. LD, IX, 487.
namely his interest in the temporalities of one of the richest nunneries in the land.

Though the exact date of Legh's arrival at Barking cannot be fixed, it is clear from an account book of the office of the treasury that he did in fact make the visitation. Under the heading, "Money paid for the visitation and to the Archdeacon", the following entry appears, "paid to Dr. Legh for his visitation 22s. 6d." Moreover, the accusation made against him elsewhere by his colleague, Ap Rice, that "he goes about in a velvet gown with a dozen men in livery", is borne out, albeit on a smaller scale, by the second entry, "item to five of his servants 10s." He was accompanied by Dr. William Petre, whose four servants received 10s. 4d. from the treasury, and by William Saye, the clerk of the registry to assess the tenth, who took a fee of 7s. 6d. In addition to the cost for the treasury, the office of pensions had to pay "unto the king's visitors £4".

1. The abbey does not appear in the itinerary worked out in RO, III, Appendix VI. Dr. Legh was at Haliwell and Westminster at the end of September, 1535.
2. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/929/2.
3. RO, III, 282.
This is the first recorded visit to the abbey in an official capacity, of Sir William Petre. He was, however, no stranger to the house. He had married, probably in 1533, Gertrude Tyrell, the youngest daughter of Sir John Tyrell, whose sister Mary, as has been mentioned above, was a nun at Barking. An even stronger tie was formed this same year 1535, when the abbess, Dorothy Barley, stood as godmother to his second child, also called Dorothy. His subsequent dealings with the community and its property, which will be described later in this chapter, may well have been influenced by these facts.

For the moment, however, the effect of so revolutionary a visitation by the overbearing and conceited young lay man, Dr. Legh, could hardly have left anything else but disquietude and anxiety. Its most valuable result for Cromwell was the detailed information it afforded him on the financial state of the house.

1. I owe the following details to the kindness of Mr. F. G. Emmison, the County Archivist of Essex, who has allowed me to read in typescript the relevant section of his biography of Sir William Petre, which is to be printed shortly.

2. See above, p. 403.
One of the most serious gaps in Barking's history at this stage is the loss of the Valor Ecclesiasticus for the county of Essex. All that remains is a meagre entry in the Liber Regis, giving the net income of the temporalities and spiritualities of the house and the value of some of its churches. The income is assessed at £862. 12s. 5½d. This figure made Barking the third richest nunnery in the land. Shaftesbury still exceeded it, as it had done in Domesday, now by more than £280, while the recently founded Bridgettine house of Syon had the even greater net income of £1735. That of Wilton, which had once surpassed it, now stood lower, at £601.

1. This digest was drawn up for the use of the Court of Firstfruits and Tenths and was based on the Commissioners' Returns. It is printed in the Record Commission's edition of the Valor Ecclesiasticus, I, 435.

2. See above, p. 38.

3. RO, III, 475.

4. Ibid.

5. See above, p. 38.

The assessment made by the royal commissioners placed the house well beyond the margin of £200 which conveniently divided virtue from vice. It belonged to the category of "divers great and honourable monasteries wherein religion is right well kept and observed."

There is no indication in any records that Barking itself received any nuns from "lesser" houses. The nunnery of Stratford-by-Bow ceased to exist in 1536, and an entry in the treasury's account book may be connected with this. It reads, "paid to Dobildaye (i.e. one of the abbey's bailiffs) for the bringing one of the ladies of Stratford to Malling for their expenses 5s." The nunnery of Malling in Kent survived until October 1538, and a member of the community at Stratford may have chosen to "be kept religiously" there rather than return to the world. Why, if this is so, an official of Barking should have accompanied her to her new home does not appear, unless it was on account of the proximity of the survivor, Barking, to Stratford.

1. PRO, E 101, 542-2. For the dating of this account book, see above, p. 20.

2. VCH, Kent, II, 148.
If, however, Barking was thus spared or the moment, the "war of nerves" was soon to commence. The statute setting in motion the commission of 1535 whose result was the Valor Ecclesiasticus, had imposed an annual tax of ten per cent on the net incomes of all spiritual benefices. The tenth at Barking amounted to £86. 5s. 3d. This sum was paid in April 1536, as the following entry in the treasury's account book shows; "Paid the 20th day of April for the tenth of the said monastery due to our said sovereign lord at Christmas anno 27, £86. 5s. 3d."

In addition to this heavy annual tax, pressure was also brought to bear on the abbey for the exchange of some of its lands. It was the policy of the Crown to build up its lands in the Home Counties, in the London area and in the Thames valley, and to extend the royal

2. Valor Ecclesiasticus, loc. cit.
parks at Hampton Court and Maryborne. The royal policy was effected by a series of exchanges with monasteries, colleges and lay landowners, transactions all motivated by the Crown and not by the other partner in the exchange.

The fall of the Benedictine priory at Hatfield Regis in Essex provided the first opportunity where Barking was concerned. The nuns were called on by the king to take over the dissolved house together with its churches of Hatfield and Manewdon, in exchange for their manor of Lidlington in Bedfordshire which passed into the king's hands. The comings and goings of William Pownsett, the abbey's steward, which the negotiations involved and the expenses which he incurred, are recorded in the statements, "Paid for Mr. Pownsett's expenses at London at Michaelmas term by the space of nine days


2. Smart Lethieullier, *op. cit.*, II, 129.

at Mr. Chancellor of the Augmentations' commandment for the house's business, 6s., for the expenses of Mr. Pownsett at London for the exchange between the king's grace and my lady by two weeks, 5s.; Paid for Mr. Pownsett's expenses at Hampton Court by five days for the same exchange, 8s; For Mr. Pownsett's expenses riding to my lord of Oxford for the house's business, 6s. 10d., paid for Mr. Pownsett's expenses riding to survey the priory of Hatfield, 2s. 8d." And

elsewhere in the same account book, "for the clerk's expenses to survey the benefice and parsonage of Canfield and Manewdon with shoeing of his horse, 2s. 11d."

The mention of "my lord of Oxford" in this transaction is rather significant. It has already been said elsewhere that the Earl held, at this time, the position of "Lord High Steward of the Liberty of Parking." Hatfield had been founded by one of his ancestors, and at the time of the exchange, John de Vere himself stood in high favour with Henry. It may have been at his suggestion that Hatfield was proposed as the exchange. It is difficult, in any case, to imagine

1. PRO, E 101,458·7, fo. 8.
2. See above, p.215.
that the nuns had any choice in the matter.

It was about this time also that the king bought from the nuns their manor of Weston in Surrey, to add to his Honour of Hampton Court. For this, Westminster Abbey and Merton Priory had also to give up land, as well as the Bishop of Winchester, the Duke of Norfolk and Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

The failure of the Pilgrimage of Grace and the execution of the abbots of the north opened the attack on the "greater monasteries", which began to fall in the winter of 1537. One after another all over the country, houses signed the act of surrender. Their property, by an Act of Parliament of April 1539, became vested in the king and his heirs.

On February 1st 1538, Sir William Petre was approached by Barking, which "for good considerations them thereunto moving" granted him a £10 annuity, charged on their estates. In this way, without doubt, the house

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1. VCH, Surrey, III, 464; Middlesex, II, 322.
4. I owe this detail to Mr. F. G. Emmison.
was able to stave off the inevitable for a few more months.

That many of the monasteries had already seen the red light and were preparing for the future is clear from the measures they took to alienate their property and grant long-term leases. In addition to manorial demesnes, a vast amount of other property was leased, tenements, messuages, closes, meadows, mills, fisheries, stock on the land, and town property, so much so that leases sealed in 1536, 1537 and 1538 came under suspicion and an enquiry into them was set up by the government. As a result, an Act of Parliament declared void all leases made during the past year, of lands which had not previously been "let to farm" or on which the "old rent" of the past twenty years had not been reserved. "Old leases" at the old rents were declared valid for twenty one years, as also were leases for life to tenants at the "old rent".

1. RO, III, 353.
Like other great landowners, had long since joined the ranks of the rentier landlord, but there is evidence to show that as the end became imminent, longer leases were contracted. By 1537, all its manors were leased. 

The Minister's Account for Barking itself and its subsidiary manors, drawn up for the Crown in 1540, gives the conditions of several of these leases. Thus, for instance, Wangey Hall and Uphall were both leased in August 1536, the first for a term of twenty one years. In the same month the wharf in Barking and two tenements attached to it were leased for thirty years. In the following year, Cockermouth, together with its rectory, was leased for thirty years. On the other hand, Westbury had already been leased in 1530 and Barking mill in 1528. Unfortunately, no dates are attached to the leases of Eastbury, Newbury, Gaysham Hall,

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1. See above, p. 251 et seq.
2. The rents paid by the lessee appear on the account books. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/929/2, 930.
3. Ibid. 964.
Dovnhall and Loxford. In every case, the lands, pastures, grazing rights and marsh were included, and the lessee undertook to repair the walls and dykes if there was marshland attached. Now, Wanney Hall, Uphall and Downhall were already leased in the fifteenth century, as is shown by the records of the cellarer's office, and the other subsidiary manors may well have been leased also. But it is clear that in the years immediately preceding the dissolution, the nuns were trying to safeguard their future by new and longer leases.

More revealing still is the rapidity with which they were leasing their marshland in Barking and Dagenham. Here again, the rental of 1456 shows that some of this land had already been leased in the fifteenth century, but now the movement was on a much larger scale. About forty leases in all are recorded

1. E.g. the Charter of the Celeresse, R.O. I, 443; PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/927/2.

2. E.g. "Robert Crouchman for lease of 6½ acres of land in the marsh of John Rande, 6s. 8d. per annum; John Smythe of Ripole for lease of 7 acres in the marsh of John Rande, 9s. 4d. per annum." BM, Add. 13. 45,387, fo. 7b.
Excluding eleven for which no date is given, their number begins slowly in the years 1728 to 1734 with one a year, and then mounts steeply from four in 1735 to eleven in 1736. In the following year, 1737, there were eight leases, in 1738 there were five, and in the next year there was one. It is impossible to calculate how many acres of land were thus leased, as the areas are not often given, but the rent-roll of £78 per annum which they would have brought in shows that the greater part of the 1,070 acres which the house possessed must, by the end, have been leased. The rent which an individual lessee was prepared to pay shows that large areas were being leased. Thus, for instance, Longmarsh, whose acreage is unspecified but was estimated at 100 acres in 1763 was leased for £18. 16s. 0d. per annum, and Le Fleetmouth for £6. 13s. 4d. None of the leases were for a

1. PRO, S.C. 6 964. Forty nine leases appear on the account, but a few were of arable land.

2. This is the total acreage in the Marsh Ledger, drawn up in 1763. ERO, D/SH 7.

3. Ibid.

4. PRO, S.C. 6 964, fo. 28.

5. Ibid. fo. 102.
term shorter than twenty one years, at least in the peak-period, and several were for forty or sixty years.

Most of the lessees of the marshland, as of meadow and arable land and of tenements in Barking, were local people, though names such as George Stonard, Gentleman, of Longton, and Lady Juliana Norwich, the widow of Robert Amydas the London goldsmith, appear. It is also clear that stewards and bailiffs of the house, men therefore well acquainted with its affairs, were busy accumulating small estates for themselves. Miles Bowdysh, for instance, a familiar figure on the household accounts of the time, leased marsh land and arable land, as well as Uphall. It is also obvious that the steward, William Pownsett, was feathering his own nest. The "demesne of Barking Abbey, the farm of Loxford, the marsh in Ripple Marsh called Shuldhams and the marsh called Highland Hills mentioned in his will," had all

1. E.g. "Paid to Miles Bowdysh for his expenses at divers times riding on my lady's errands, 7s. 10d." PRO, E 101,542.2, fo. 7. "For my lady's expenses at Dagenham by the hands of Miles Bowdysh, 3s. 8d; for Miles Bowdysh's expenses in my lady's business at divers times, 7s. 4d." Ibid. 458.7, fo. 8.

2. PCC, 1 More.
been taken out, mostly on sixty years leases, in 1536 to 1537.

The general impression created by this accumulation of leases is that the nuns were hastily leasing valuable land in Barking in the *sauve qui peut* of the last months. If there was any enquiry into their action by the Crown, it has not survived.

Apart from the manor of Barking, further light is thrown on the policy being adopted by the nuns, by the lease of their manors of Lidlington and Ingatestone. In neither case was it the first time that the nuns had leased the manor. Lidlington appears in this condition in the *Charthe of the Celeresse*, and it has already been seen that the first lease of Ingatestone took place in the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, both are so near the dissolution and so similar to the general trend of religious houses at the time, as to be more than a mere continuation of earlier policy. Lidlington

1. "And also of the farmer of Lidlington at the said two feasts [i.e. Easter and St. Michael] by even portions, £16." *Mon. I*, 443.

2. See above, p.241.
was leased on February 6th 1535 to William Cartwright for a period of twenty eight years. No further details have survived. For the manor of Ingatestone, however, the lease is still extant. The most significant point about it is not the fact of the lease—indeed the manor was already leased at the time to a Thomas Breynwood and his wife, but the person to whom it was leased, Dr. William Petre. Following so soon the annuity which Petre had already received from the house, there can be no doubt that this was a further attempt on the part of the nuns to obtain the help of one who by now had become an important court official. Petre himself, as the visitor of 1535, would have first hand information on the income and potential value of Ingatestone.

The lease is dated May 1st, 1538. By it "William Peter of London Gentilman" is granted "all that their manor of Ging Abbess called Abbess Hall set and lying in Ging Abbess in the County of Essex and all their lands,

1. *LP, XIV, i, 594, 1355 (73).*
2. *ERO, D/DP T2.*
meadows, pastures and feedings to the said manor appertaining and belonging. Except and always reserved to the said abbess and convent the a vowson of the parish church of Ging Abbess aforesaid, the windmill and the warren there and all rents, woods, underwoods, wards, marriages, reliefs, escheats, profits of courts and leets there to be holden, deodands and all other regalities and liberties to the said manor appertaining... unto the end and term of forty years, paying therefore yearly to the said abbess £15 of good and lawful money of England." Thus began the connection, so soon to be changed into ownership, between the Petre family and Ingatestone Hall, which has continued down to the present day.

The deed also recited that Sir William was to lease the manor in "as ample and large manner as Thomas Reynwood and Margaret his wife held the same for term of their lives and the longer liver of them which he now agreed with for their term." What arrangement was made with the former lessee does not appear, but presumably Petre simply took over the lease, and compensated him.
In all the abbey's leases, whether of land in Barking or of other manors, there is no indication that the nuns were tying up their estates in their own families by leasing them to relatives, though it has been implied by Baskerville that this was commonly done. With the exception of Mucking which was leased to Humfrey Tyrell, the family names of no other nuns occur. The greater number of the lessees were local men.

Besides alienating their property and granting leases, monasteries also resorted to the sale of their timber. There is no very clear evidence that Barking did this. The sale of wood already formed a valuable item of income, for instance from Ingatestone, and there is no evidence of a sudden increase of sale in the last months before the dissolution. Large quantities

2. E.g. one account book has the entry "Mucking, received of Mr. Humfrey Tyrell farmer there anno xxvij in part payment "15."
3. See above, p. 97.
of wood were brought from the forest land in Barking itself to the monastery, and "carriage of wood" formed a heavy item of expense, but this was presumably for home consumption. The account book of William Pownsett for the year 1536-37 has the entry, "Received of William Burn in part payment for a woodsale made this year, £7. 16s. 8d." with reference to the manor of Lidlington. This, however, is the extent of the evidence on this subject.

The act of surrender to which the abbey's seal was affixed in the chapter house on that 14th November, 1539, was an already prepared formula, presented to the nuns by Sir illiam Petre. How far, therefore, it really represented the "unanimous assent and consent and voluntary will" of the whole convent.

1. E.g. under the heading, "payments for carriage of wood, hay and other necessaries", the following entries occur: "To John Doucett for carriage of 45 loads of wood from the forest to the abbey at 8d. the load, 30s; paid to Richard Priour for carriage of 523 loads of wood from the forest and groves to the monastery at 8d. the load, £17. 8s. 8d." PRO, E 101, 458.7, fo. 7.

2. Ibid. S.C. 6 H VIII/930.

3. The act of surrender is given in LP, XV, 547.
will never be known. All through the year, rumours must surely have been coming in of the fall of other houses, but no hint of their effect on the community remains. In any case, the women's houses would be much less able to stand up to the storm than the men's, and on the whole it seems not unjust to say that the religious of the time were not of the stuff from which martyrs are made. It is however the considered judgment of the greatest authority on the monasteries that "save for a relatively few small and unhappy families, the religious women of England desired to spend and end their lives in the monasteries where they had taken their vows."

At the time of the dissolution, there were thirty one nuns in the community at Barking. Dorothy Barley, who had been abbess since 1527, was forty nine years of age and twenty one years professed. Nearly half of her community must have been middle-aged women. Twelve of them, namely Thomasina Jenney, Margaret Scrope, Agnes

1. RO, III, 311.
Townsend, Dorothy Fitzlewis, Margery Ballard, Martha Fabyan, Ursula Wentworth, Joan Drury, Elizabeth Wyott, Agnes Horsey, Susan Sulyard and Margaret Cotton, had taken part in her election. Of these, the first four were already professed, and the last a novice in 1499. Gabriel Shelton, Margery Paston and Elizabeth Badcock were novices at the time of her election and were professed, together with Anne Snowe, Agnes Bucknam, Margaret Braunston, Elizabeth Bainbridge and Catherine Pollard in 1534. Mary Tyrell had also been a novice in 1527, but she must have been professed earlier than the rest. In addition, there were eight others who probably formed the younger element of the community. They were Elizabeth Prist, Audrey and Winifred Mordaunt, Margaret Kempe, Alice Hyde, Lucy Long, Matilda Gravell and Margaret Greenhill. The name of Joan Fyncham also appears at the dissolution but not in any other earlier list of the community. It is impossible to say whether she

2. Vicar General's Bo'k, Reg. Foxford, fo. 227.

There were three other novices in 1527, Susanna Brown, Ursula [blank] and Joan Breygandyne. There is no further mention anywhere of the first two. The last was professed in 1534.
was a newcomer from another community. Joan Breygandyne, who was professed in 1534, is not mentioned later. Whether she had taken the opportunity of the visitation of 1535 to seek a dispensation from her vows, it is equally impossible to say.

Twelve days after the surrender, the nuns were given pensions and sent away. The abbess received £133. 6s. 8d., one of the highest given to a nun. It is possible that she was also given a house, since her will speaks of "my house". Her prioress, Thomasina Jenney, received £16. 13s. 4d. Margaret Scrope, the sub-prioress, received £8, while Dorothy Fitzlewisi, Ursula Wentworth and Agnes Townsend, the last one of the officers of the pensions, received £6. 13s. 4d. The other senior members of the community received £6 or £5, and the younger ones 53s. 4d. Alice Hyde was given only 33s. 4d.

2. PRO, E 315, 234/73-79.
3. See Appendix III.
Sir William Petre, as the commissioner taking the surrender, would have been free to allot the amount of the pensions. It was usual to take into account the wealth of the house, especially in regard to the head and the senior officials, and to give the older members a slightly higher pension than the younger ones. No doubt also, his previous relations with Dorothy Barley help to explain the unusually high pension she received. Again, if her pension is excluded, the average granted to the other nuns was just over £5, a more generous allowance than in many nunneries where the average was £3. This may also be accounted for by Petre's earlier unofficial connections with the house.

The marked difference between the pension of the head of the house and those of members of the community was common. Thus, for instance, the abbess of Wilton's pension amounted to £100 together with a house, orchard,

1. RO, III, 406.
2. Ibid. 407.
gardens and meadows and a weekly load of wood. Her prioress received £10 and the thirty one nuns amounts varying from £7. 6s. 8d. to £2. The same variation is found at Godstow, where the abbess received £50, the prioress £4 and the nuns £3 or less. The average pension of the nuns in Hampshire was £3, whereas the abbess of St. Mary's, Winchester, retired on £26. 13s. 4d., and the abbess of Wherwell, who owed her position to the Crown, received £40.

The question of the adequacy of the pensions of the ex-religious has been treated by Professor A. G. Dickens, with more judgment and fairness than it has sometimes received in the past. He has demonstrated

1. VCH, Wilts, III, 240.
2. RCH, III, 356.
4. Ibid. 245.
5. 'The Edwardian Arrears in Augmentations Payments', in EHR, LV (1940), 384-418.
6. The two extremes are, of course, represented by Gasquet's Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (London, 1906) and the studies of G. M. Baskerville, e.g. 'The Dispossessed Religious after the Suppression of the monasteries' in Essays in History presented to R. L. Poole (Oxford, 1937).
that a pension of £7 was not equal to the wages earned by an unskilled labourer in the 1530's, and has pointed out that whereas the wages of a skilled labourer rose sharply in the next ten years or so, the amounts paid to pensioners remained the same. Moreover, it is necessary to take into account the heavy deductions for tax which the ex-religious had to pay. The clerical subsidy of 1540 granted ten per cent per annum upon all religious pensions and the amounts were deducted, even on pensions of £2, by the Court of Augmentations. The subsidy of 1543 granted ten per cent for three years, and that of 1545, 3s. in the pound for the next two years. This heavy rate of taxation continued as long as pensions were being paid. In addition, the pensioner had to pay a regulation fee of 4d. in the pound to the official making out the pension and another 4d. for making out the acquittance. Even if the nuns received their pensions with "fair regularity", the amount allocated to them in 1539 was never in fact paid.

1. RO, III, 407.
It was, then, on this meagre income that the rank and file of the community of Barking must, for the most part, have been obliged to live, some for a number of years. Twenty one of them, as well as the abbess, were still living at the time of Cardinal Pole's survey in 1556, and were then said to be in receipt of their pensions. Among them were five of the oldest members of the community, namely, Margery Ballard, Martha Fabyan, Ursula Wentworth, Agnes Horsey and Susan Sulyard, three of whom were still alive in 1559.

It is obvious that the lot of the ex-monks, many of whom obtained "capacities" to serve as secular priests in parishes, would have been an easier one than that of the ex-nuns. For these, bound as they were both legally and by desire, by their vow of chastity, there

1. Dugdale prints a Roll of Pensions of 1555-6, non. I, 438, n. b.
2. See above, p. 438.
3. See below, p. 447.
4. Monks and nuns were bound to their vow of chastity by the Six Articles, but the Act was repealed early in the reign of Edward VI. Statutes of the Realm (23 Ed. VI, C.21). Not many women took advantage of the repeal.
could be only one alternative, that of returning, if it was possible, to their own homes. Some at least of the nuns of Barking did this. Sixteen years after the dissolution, Margery Paston was living at home with her father, Sir William Paston, at Paston Hall near North Walsham. She was receiving a pension of eight marks according to The Book of Pensions of the diocese of Norwich. She is described there as having "no other living and is reputed a Catholic woman." In his will which was proved in 1554, her father left her an annual rent of £20 from his manor of Matlaske. Gabriel Shelton also returned home to her father, Sir John Shelton, who had bought the nunnery of Carrow near Norwich.

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2. PCC, 15 More.
in 1538. One cannot imagine that she remained entirely unmoved in the new, yet familiar, surroundings.

The evidence from wills provides further information about several other nuns. Mary Tyrell probably returned home to Little Warley, where her father, Sir John Tyrell, bequeathed in 1540 "to Mary my daughter sometime a nun of Barking, a ring with a sapphire that my wife hath in keeping, and a counterpoint, a feather bed, a bolster, a pillow, a pair of blankets and five marks in money."

It is probable that Dame Margaret Scrope went to live with her sister Elizabeth, the widow of Sir John Pechâ of Lullingstone in Kent, for in her will, proved in 1544, Elizabeth left "to my sister Dame Margaret Scrope sometime nun at Barking five pounds sterling." Margaret


2. PCC, 25 Alenger.

3. Ibid. 12 Pynning.
was able to take away with her from Barking the book called "the cleansing of men's soul" which she gave later to Agnes Goldwell, apparently a servant woman of her sister's.

Dame Agnes Horsey was remembered in the will of her uncle, William Horsey, a canon of Exeter Cathedral. In it, he bequeathed to her "to pray for me, my black noot /Sign/ of silver and gilt with the cover and twenty shillings in money." The will was proved in 1543. It gives no indication of the whereabouts of Dame Agnes, merely describing her as "late religious woman in the monastery of Barking beside London, my brother's daughter".

There is some evidence, mostly revealed in wills, that small groups of ex-religious from one or two

1. Elizabeth Pech's will mentions Agnes but does not give her position. She was left several household effects, "as my sister Anne shall appoint" and her children were left sums of money, the boys "to find them to school". PCC, 12 Pynning.

2. Ibid. 25 Spert.
nunneries, remained together, usually with the ex-
superior, in an endeavour to carry out their religious vocation. The will of the last abbess of Barking, proved in 1559, shows that she was at least in touch with three members of her former community, and it is not improbable that they were in fact living with her. They were the oldest survivors of Barking, Susan Sulyard, Margery Ballard, and Dorothy Barley's cousin, Ursula Wentworth. Though the will does not explicitly say so, advanced age and family connections may have made the three older women look to her for material support, and make their home with her.

The ex-abbess's will throws some light on the state in which Dorothy Barley lived after the dissolution. She made her home at South eald near Brentwood, in the county where the estates of her house once lay, and where

1. RO, III, 412, where two examples are given, one of the nuns of Denney in Cambridgeshire, and the other of Kirklees in Yorkshire. Some nuns of St. Mary's, Winchester, and of Wherwell continued to live with their abbesses. Kennedy, op. cit., 249, n.5.

2. See Appendix III.

3. Her will speaks of "my house at "eald".
families whom she knew still resided. That she continued to enjoy a certain amount of prestige is shown by the number of godchildren mentioned in her will, some of them, like Dorothy and Thomasyn Tyrell, belonging to prominent county families. Her nephew, William Barley, who acted as her executor, together with his wife and children, were recipients of bequests from her.

The pension she received from the Court of Augmentations enabled her to live in considerable comfort. She was attended by four women servants, including a "gentlewoman", and six men servants. Two of the latter may have followed her from Barking, William Bowdysh, a relative, probably of a former servant, Miles Bowdysh, and Richard Tilwright, who in 1555 was receiving an annuity of 40s. from the Court of Augmentations.

1. Five are mentioned by name, but "all the rest of my godchildren" received 2s. each.
2. See above, p. 431.
The former abbess seems also to have had a well-stocked wardrobe and a variety of household goods which she bequeathed to her relatives and servants. She also possessed sacred objects which had probably belonged to her days as abbess. They included a chalice and paten of parcel gilt - saved perhaps when all the other sacred vessels were collected by the royal officers - two gold rings, a gold cross set with pearls and stones, and a tablet of mother of pearl enclosing two images of silver and gilt. Ursula Wentworth, her cousin, received this last, together with a sum of money, while household linen went to her two companions.

If Dorothy Barley had conformed to the new religion under Edward VI, her desire for Trentals of Masses to be said for the repose of her soul shows that she had not completely adopted it. Besides those in her parish church, she asks in her will that others shall be said or sung by the newly restored Friars Observant of Greenwich and at the refounded Savoy Hospital.

1. There is no trace of her in the registers of the church of Southwark, although they exist for that period.
In addition to the pensions paid to the ex-religious, the Crown would also have a number of fees, annuities and correories to pay to laymen and women connected with the house. Two lists of such recipients have survived, one drawn up at the dissolution and the other dated 1555. The first gives a sum of £50. 13s. 4d. paid out by the Court of Augmentations. It represents the largest amount out of the total of £191. 13s. 4d. paid for all the religious houses of Essex. The second divides the recipients into two categories, (a) fee-holders, (b) annuitants. Two fee-holders are mentioned. The first is John Earl of Oxford, who received 100s., his emolument as chief steward. The second is John Pygot, auditor, who received £4. 6s. 8d., the salary paid to him under the conventual seal.

1. PRO, E 101, 533/4.
3. See above, p. 216.
The annuitants number eleven in the list of 1555, and the names of seven others appear on the earlier list. It is impossible to recognise who some of them were. Margaret Brice and Anne Faunterlercye, who received 53s. 4d. and 40s. respectively may, like Richard Tilwright, have been servants before the dissolution. Others can be easily identified, men like Sir Richard Rich and Francis Berkley who were paid £6. 13s. 4d., or Sir Thomas Noyle who received 40s. All were Augmentations officers, employed by the Crown. Sir Ralph Sadler held an annuity worth £6. 13s. 4d. This went back to the year 1535, when it was entered on the account book of the treasury. Like the larger sum granted to Sir William Petre it may well represent an attempt on the part of the nuns to make friends in high places. A book of receipts of Sir William Petre enters regularly between 1539 and 1544, "Item of Mr. Pownsett for my annuity of Barking for one whole year ending at Michaelmas last past £10."

1. See above, p.448.
2. PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/529/2.
3. ERO, D/DP Al.
Though she does not appear on either list, possibly because she was no longer alive, the widow of the lessee of Lidlington, Katherine Cartwright, was granted an annuity of £12. 1 Her husband had leased the manor from Barking in 1535 for twenty eight years, 2 and as has been seen, it was taken by the Crown shortly afterwards.

It is easier to trace the fate of the conventual buildings and estates than it is that of the nuns. Not only did the landed property of the monasteries fall into the king's hands, but an enormous sum of money from the sale of buildings and stock, from the valuables, plate, lead and bells also went into the royal treasury. The inventories of these for Barking have been lost, but an account of Francis Jobson, the Receiver of the Court of Augmentations, drawn up in 1540, gives some details. 4 £182. 2s. 10d. was obtained from

1. LP, XIV, i, 594, 1355 (73).
2. See above, p. 433.
3. See above, p. 424.
the sale of goods, grain and cattle. The lead which was stripped from the buildings was cast into 186 fodders, which brought in another £744. The eleven bells of the abbey gave 12,912 lbs. of metal, worth £122. 13s. Jewels and silver vessels amounted to 3,586 ounces, of which 2,695 were silver gilt, 471 parcel gilt, and 420 pure silver. There were also a "monstraunc" weighing 65 ounces and enriched with a beryl, and a number of vestments, all of which would have belonged to the sacristy.

The fate of the monastic buildings is quickly told. As elsewhere, the church and cloisters were deemed "superfluous" and therefore reserved to the king's use. The demolition of these buildings began on June 19th 1540, and was completed by December 10th in the following year. The accounts,\(^1\) which have survived, were kept month by month, first by a clerk named Thomas Forest and later by Richard Hudson. Carpenters, "miners" and "common labourers" were requisitioned to "undermine and cast down" the church with its "two round towers and

\(^1\) Bodl MS Rawlinson, D 782.
steeple", and to "break up the boards and take up the benches in the cloisters." All the material worth keeping, "the fair cornerstones", was shipped down the Thames from Barking Creek, to be used at the king's manor of Dartford. About thirty five workmen, some of them former tenants of the house, were employed on the work. Their wages, together with the clerk's fees, cost "Mr. James Needham his Lord Grace's Surveyor General" nearly £226. Thus did Barking contribute towards the lavish programme of extending and improving the royal residences which cost nearly £60,000.

The beneficiaries from the disposal of the Barking lands fall, as they do elsewhere, into three main categories: (a) Augmentations officials and even Cromwell himself, (b) lesser government agents and local landowners making smaller purchases, (c) London merchants and syndicates.


2. E.g. see Joyce A. Youings, 'The Terms of the Disposal of the Devon Monastic Lands, 1536-58' in *EHR* LXIX (1954), 18-38; *RE*, III, 397 et seq.
Sir William Petre, as might be expected, was the first on the scene, within a month of the dissolution, and on the day after Cromwell and Sir Richard Rich, the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, had been authorised to sell Crown lands at twenty years' purchase. On December 15th 1539, he was granted by letter patent "the manor of Ingatestone, the advowson of the rectory, and all the messuages and lands in Ingatestone, Mountnessing and Fryerning belonging to the late abbey."

His acquisition was not a free gift, but was affected by the Statute of 1539, whereby any lands disposed of by the king were to be held by knight service in capite and were therefore subject to all feudal incidents. Moreover he had to pay "the good price" of twenty years' purchase, which was the standard rate for the sale of land at the time. Ingatestone therefore cost him £849. 12s. 6d. In addition he paid a yearly rent of

1. _IP_, XIV, ii, 780 (26).

2. _Statutes of the Realm_ (31 H VIII, C.13, par. 3).
£4. 14s. 6d., i.e. a tenth part of the annual value, which was exacted by the Statute to offset the loss of the clerical tenth by the Crown. Petre was allowed to spread the purchase money over four years. £400 was paid on December 16th, £100 in November 1540, 1541 and 1542, and the balance of £149. 12s. 6d. on October 31st 1543. In February 1540, he made the further purchase of Handley for £133. 6s. 8d.

The next important disposal of Barking property took place in March 1540, when Cromwell exchanged land in Kent for Great Wiborough, Tollesbury and Hockley, including Clamfleet Marsh. After the minister's fall, these manors reverted to the Crown and were assigned to the maintenance of Anne of Cleves. Queen Mary made over the manor of Hockley to Sir Richard Rich in 1557 for the sum of £1066. 13s. 4d. Its yearly value was then

1. I owe this detail and the following one to Mr. F. G. Emmison.
2. LP, XV, 284, 611 (8).
3. Ibid. XVI, 242, 503 (32).
4. CPR, 1557-1558, 222.
£53. 6s. 8d. In 1563 Elizabeth granted Tollesbury and Great Wigborough to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Sir Thomas Audley, the Chancellor, was granted two subsidiary estates in the manor of Barking, Fulks and Withifields, both of which he had been renting before the dissolution.

In addition to these greater men, lesser officials made more modest purchases, usually of only one manor. On February 10th 1540, a naval officer, named William Conson, purchased Great Warley and the abbey's lands in Stifford. The price he paid is not given, but a Minister's account of 1542-43 shows an annual rent of

1. CPR, 1560-1563, 564, 565.
2. LP, XIV, ii, 619.
3. The Minister’s account of 1540 has the entries, "6s. 8d. rent from the Lord Chancellor for land and a house belonging to Thomas Sampkins in Barking; 12s. 11½d. for a tenement called Wyfield lately Sampkins in the tenancy of Thomas Lord Audeley and Lord Chancellor". PRO, S.C.6 964, fos. 8, 39.
£4. 2s. Od. coming from the manor. This would give a purchase price of £820 as the "standard good price" of twenty years' purchase. Gonson died in possession of the manor in 1544. He was succeeded by his son, and the family remained on the estate until the seventeenth century.

In the same way, another family became established on the manor of Bulohan, when Edward Bury, a J.P. of the county, purchased it for £664. 4s. 2d. and an annual rent of £3. 5s. 5d. The court rolls of the manor show that he still owned it in 1566, and the family retained it until the early eighteenth century.

Before the demolition of the abbey buildings was completed, the site and some thirty acres of meadow and pasture land surrounding it had already been leased to Sir Thomas Dennis, the new owner of the site of Buckfast.

1. The court rolls continue under his name till this year. ERO, D/DK M2.
3. LP, XV, 408, 831 (63).
4. ERO, D/DSg M6 m.8.
5. Morant, op. cit., I, 222.
Abbey, Devon. 1 Dennis paid an annual rent of £7. 15s. 4d., 2 but the length of the lease is not given. In 1551, they were leased by Edward VI to Edward, Lord Clinton, 3 but the ownership of the manor was retained by the Crown until the reign of James I. 4 It has already been seen that several subsidiary manors of Barking had been leased before 1539 to stewards and bailiffs of the house. These men continued to hold their lease, as indeed they held their position as receivers and bailiffs. It was this care on the part of the Crown to preserve existing "vested interests" in the monastic lands, that ensured the ease of the dissolution. Moreover, the rents did not rise as a result of the exchange of ownership, nor were the lessees displaced by a new sale of the property by the Crown. In

2. PRO, S.C. 6 964, fo. 1.
3. VCH, Essex, II, 120.
4. See above, p. 431.
5. A comparison between the account book of the treasury, dated 1738, and the Minister's Accounts of 1740 and 1742 shows the same lessees and rents in each. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/930, 964; Mon. I, 446.
1545, for instance, Sir William Denham, the London Merchant Stapler, bought for £1126. 18s. 8d. Stonehall, Westbury, Eastbury and Gaysham Hall, all of which were leased by men who had held them from Barking. Similarly, Sir Richard Gresham, "the largest single grantee of monastic lands in the country" bought Newbury and Downhall which were already leased before 1539.

The lifting of the obligation of military tenure in March 1544 opened up a much wider market for the sale of monastic property. Syndicates of speculative buyers began to purchase small properties, separated into small parcels, each worth not more than 40s. per annum, which could be bought with a tenure in burgage, not for the burdensome knight service. Many of these speculators were London tradesmen and merchants, and the proximity of the Barking estates to the capital would make them convenient of access. Thus, for instance, a

1. LP, XX, ij, 227.
3. LP, XXI, i, 574.
group of twenty citizens paid £1,773. 6s. 8d. for land belonging to the abbey, though the purchase also included other properties belonging to Hagnaby and St. Katherine's Lincoln. Similarly, Abbess Roding was split in 1546 between Robert Chertsey and several other men.

Whereas land was sold at twenty times its annual value, the standard price of town property was fifteen years' purchase, or ten years' if no land was attached. At the time of the dissolution, Barking possessed a number of tenements in London, given to the house in 1398 by the mother of the abbess, Sybil Felton. Twelve of them, worth £18 a year, were situated in the parish of St. Olaf in Old Jewry, one, worth £2, was in St. Mary Staining in Silver Street, another worth £4, lay in St. Lawrence in Old Jewry. On June 22nd 1541, the Court of Augmentations leased eight in the parish of St. Olaf to Clement Cornewall, a London ironmonger, for twenty one years at a rent of £7. 15s. a year.

1. LP, XIX, i, g. 166 (57).
2. Ibid. XXI, i, 77, 149 (40).
3. See above, p. 123.
4. PRO, E 315, 213/92d. I owe this and the following references to Mr. M. C. Rosenfield.
The following year, another tenement in St. Olaf in Old Jewry was leased to John Osborne for twenty one years at a rent of £2 a year. In 1544 they were all sold, together with the remaining four in St. Olaf's parish, to Sir William Denham, the Merchant Stapler.

The property, which was worth a total of £20 a year, was rated at ten years' purchase and so sold for £200. In his will, Sir William left it to the Company of Ironmongers. The will contains the clause that they shall hold them "charged with the annual payment to him during his life time of the sum of £20." If this clause did take effect from the time of the execution of the will in 1544, and not from the time of Sir William's death in 1557, it would seem to be merely another, if unusual, way of leasing the property.

1. Mr. Rosenfield has suggested to me that he may have belonged to the family of Osborne which lived in the city and included a John who was an auditor of the Court of Augmentations and a landholder in Essex.

2. PRO, E 315, 191/97.

3. LP, XIX, i 812 (112). PRO, E 318, 361/1, 2, 3.

4. Calendar of Wills enrolled in the Court of Hustings, II, 662.
The property in St. Lawrence in Old Jewry was purchased in 1543 by Sir Michael Dormer, alderman of London. There are no particulars of this grant.

Though the disposal of the Barking lands cannot be traced as fully as could be desired, such evidence as research has brought to light shows how soon they were split up among a varied class of owners and lessees.

It has already been seen that Barking received papal permission in 1415 to farm its appropriated rectories. The account rolls of the office of pensions show that this was done in the case of Hockley, Tollesbury and Lidlington. The rectory of Dagenham was leased for thirty years in 1538, for a rent of £8 per annum, to Nicholas Howe, who leased at the same time the manor of

1. LP, XVIII, ii, 529 (10).
2. See above, p. 157.
Cockermouth. Hence there would be nothing strange in a layman leasing or purchasing a rectory once appropriated to the abbey, after the dissolution.

In 1540, St. Margaret's, the parish church of Barking, was leased to Mary Blackenall of London, who paid an annual rent of £10. The vicar, John Gregyll, remained and was still there in 1559, when he was remembered in Dorothy Barley's will. He died holding the position in 1560. By that time, however, the ownership of the rectory had passed through several hands. In 1550, it was sold to Thomas Baron, who in his turn sold it three years later to Sir William Petre, William Cook and Edward Napper. In 1557, it was presented by them to the Warden of All Souls, Oxford.

1. PRO, S.C. 6 964, fo. 1.
2. In 1540 he was paying a rent of 6s. 6d. "for a tenement in Shoprowe". Ibid. fo. 19.
3. See below, Appendix III. William Pownsett left him a legacy of £5. PCC, 1 More.
5. Ibid. 34.
Sir William Petre also obtained the advowson of Ingatestone church in 1539. Henry Gould, the incumbent, died four days before the dissolution of Barking. The next rector, John Green, was therefore presented by William Pownsett, and after his death in 1556, Sir William Petre presented his successor.

The presentation to several other Barking churches remained in the hands of the Crown after the dissolution at least until Elizabeth's reign. The church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Dagenham and St. Margaret Lothbury were both retained in this way. The churches of Tollesbury, Great Wigborough and Hockley, which had been included in the grants made to Thomas Cromwell in 1540 all reverted to the Crown with his attainder. The presentation of Tollesbury and Great Wigborough remained in the patronage of the Crown until they were granted by Elizabeth to Thomas Duke of Norfolk in 1563.

1. *LP*, LIV, i, 780 (26).
5. *LP*, XV, 284, 611 (8).
The abbey, as has been already mentioned, was obliged to exchange its manor of Lidlington for Hatfield Priory. After the dissolution, the lands of the priory were dispersed, and the fabric of the conventual church was destroyed. The domestic buildings were sold to Thomas Noke for £234. They remained in the Noke family until 1565, when they were sold to Sir Thomas Barrington. His descendants remained in possession until the seventeenth century. Barking never presented to the living, and the tithes of the parish were given by Henry VIII to his new foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The advowson of Bulphan church was granted with the manor to Edward Bury, and the presentation remained in his family until the late seventeenth century.

The priests in all the abbey's churches remained as incumbents throughout the change. It is impossible to say what happened to the chaplains residing at Barking

1. See above, p. 424.
3. Ibid. 106.
at the time of the dissolution, or what benefits they obtained. There is no mention of them in the dissolution records, and except for two chantry priests, Master Grey and James Marshall, their names are not known.

How far, it may be asked, did the nuns of Barking deserve their fate? Such a question may be examined from the economic, and from the deeper spiritual level. From the economic point of view, the house was financially stable. It ranked, as has been said, as the third richest nunnery in England, having a net income of more than £862. The loss of the Valor Ecclesiasticus for the County of Essex makes it impossible to know the details whereby this figure was reached, but since the Valor was meant to be a valuation of property, it would have been arrived at by an assessment of the abbey’s temporal revenues from manors, farms and rents, and of its spiritual revenues from rectories, tithes and oblations. To this, however,


2. See above, p. 421.
must be added the fixed assets of the house, which
the commissioners ignored, the monastic buildings and
their equipment, the jewels and plate of the house, as well
as the standing crops, the stores in grain and kind,
and possibly also the livestock and woodland. Here
again, we are thwarted by the loss of the inventories
at the moment of the dissolution, but in so far as the
Minister's account for 1540 is complete, another
£948. 15s. 10d. can be added to the total income
from the sale of grain and stock, and from lead and bell
metal. The jewels and plate are not assessed in money.

There are no figures on the eve of the dissolution
showing the complete expenditure and receipts of the house.
Two account books of the treasury give an average
expenditure of about £150 a year. The cellarer's
average yearly expenditure over the years 1535-1539 was
£98, and that of the office of pensions £78. Though

1. See above, p. 452.
2. See above, p. 453.
4. Ibid. S.C.6 H VIII/929.
5. Ibid. H VIII/928.
they were the heaviest spending departments their total of £326 could not be taken as that of the whole house; but even so, it is not very likely that expenditure exceeded income.

The treasury's account book for 1535-6 shows that the house was borrowing money that year, possibly because ready money was needed to meet the royal tenth. £26 was borrowed from George Stonard of Loughton, Essex, the lessee of the extensive marsh called Longmarsh. The negotiation of this loan seems to have been undertaken by the abbess herself, if one may judge by an entry in another account book of the treasury "For my lady's expenses when she rode to Master Broke with rewards given at Master Stonard's, 5s. 8d." In addition, £8. 10s. 10d. was borrowed from William Powissett, though this, as will be shown, was part of a much larger

1. PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/929/2.
2. See above, p. 423.
3. See above, p. 430.
4. PRO, E 101,458.7, fo. 7d. Elsewhere on this account, the entry occurs, "Paid to Master Broke of London for his counsel". Ibid. fo. 8d.
5. See below, p. 471.
debt owing to him. Thus, in 1535-6, the house borrowed £34. 10s. 10d., an insignificant sum in comparison with its total revenues. Moreover, both loans were of the kind, to quote the words of Knowles, "which were serviced by some agreed consideration such as a stewardship or tenancy."

A list of debts which "be owing to divers persons for the whole house" has survived. It bears no date in the heading, but must have been drawn up later than 1537, and presumably after the dissolution. The list contains the names of four creditors of the house. The first is Sir Robert Dimmock, to whom the house owed £16. 13s. 4d. He may have given legal service to the nuns in the recent past, since the document adds, "over and beside £11 paid to him in the debt of his service for 3 years ending 1531 and over and beside 45s. 8d. paid the last year." £8. 6s. 8d. was also owing

1. RO, III, 314.
3. This is the last date mentioned in it.
to a priest, Henry Crosse, in addition to £5 paid to him in 1532. What his connections with the house were does not appear. He was not a chaplain as far as can be seen, nor a vicar of one of the appropriated churches.

The names of the next two creditors are more familiar. One is Thomas Badoock, who held the position of steward of the courts in the 1730's and whose daughter, Elizabeth, was a member of the community. The house owed him £9, which was borrowed in 1529, over and beside £3. 6s. 8d. which he had been paid in 1537. The other, and by far the largest creditor is the ubiquitous William Pownsett. To him, the nuns owed the sum of £101. 1s. 11¾d. "borrowed in divers years past as it appeareth in the titles of creditors in the same years." He was also credited with a sum of £40. 10s. 8d., the balance of his account for the year in which the list was drawn up.

These sums of money add up in all to £176. 12. 6¾d. If they represent the complete debt of the house in 1539, as presumably they do, it cannot be said that they were

1. See above, p. 410.
overwhelming when offset against the total aggregate income. Hence, there is no reason to suppose that Barking could not have continued to exist financially, or that its suppression was desirable on financial grounds.

On the deeper level, how far, it may be asked, had the nuns ceased to fulfil the purpose of their institution? To mediaeval man, the primary purpose of the religious house was intercessory prayer. Now, the fulfilment of such an obligation can hardly be assessed, least of all by the weights and measures of this world. Nevertheless, there is the evidence of the ordinal to show that, at least exteriorly, the nuns of Barking Abbey had not ceased to fulfil this obligation. It may be true that the ordinal represents only what should have been done, and not in fact what was being done. It may also be true that the nuns fulfilled their obligations through mere routine, and without any understanding of their true meaning. Such a judgement, however, hardly lies within the competence of the historian. Moreover, thirty years before the dissolution, Bishop Fitzjames of London and his vicar general both made visitations of the house. The

1. Reg. Fitzjames, fo. 13d.
injunctions they left were purely liturgical in character. New feasts were added to the liturgical kalendar at the request of the abbess and convent. If there was any negligence in the performance of choral duties, it was passed over in silence. There was nothing resembling the criticisms made two hundred years earlier by Archbishop Pecham. Hence, one is justified in believing that the nuns of Barking were fulfilling their obligation of intercessory prayer by a dignified and regular liturgical life. One's general impression is that they were over-burdened in this respect, rather than slack.

Still less is there any hint, in 1507, or at any other point in the later history of the house, of that favourite accusation of the 1535 comperta, immorality. Here again, even if omnia bene would not always be an accurate description of its moral standards, Barking as one of the greater nunneries of the land, was probably free from the taint of scandal in this respect.

1. E.g. that of the Visitation of Our Lady (2nd July) and a Proper Office for the Barking saints, Hildelitha and Wulfhildis.

2. See above, p. 335.
More symptomatic than occasional moral lapses, if such there were, are the indications of a breakdown in the common life. Two abuses attacked this essential aspect of monasticism, and they were widespread among the religious houses in the later Middle Ages. One was the abandonment of the refectory and the setting up of private households; and the other, its counterpart, what has been described as "the wage system". Both abuses existed at Barking.

The desertion of the monastic refectory was closely connected with the vexed question of meat eating, which was forbidden by the Rule, except for the sick and at the superior's table. The prohibition of the Rule was evaded by the building of a special dining hall, called the misericord, which by the fourteenth century was accepted even by the strictest reformers. Here, meat was eaten, sometimes on certain days of the week, and sometimes by groups going there in rotation. There is no mention of a misericord among the Barking records, but

1. RO, II, 240.
the ordinal makes it clear that, at least from the beginning of the fifteenth century such a room existed. Thus, on the fourth Sunday of Advent, the nuns were to dine in the refectory, and presumably on other Sundays at least they were not doing this.

The extent to which meat was being eaten by the community in the sixteenth century is shown by the elaborate schedule of "messes" worked out each week by the cellaress. Their consumption on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, except in Advent and Lent and on Vigils, is a further indication of the days when the misericord was used.

The first member of the community to leave the refectory was the abbess. This indeed was foreseen by the Rule, and would become a necessity in a large monastic establishment where the entertainment of guests was incumbent upon the house. It was accepted by Archbishop Pecham at his visitation in 1298, when he left directions that the abbess should dine with the community on the five great feasts of the year. Apart from these occasions,

1. Ordinale, 21.
2. See above, p. 295.
3. See above, p. 266.
however, the abbess lived in her own apartments with her household, and one wonders how much the ordinary rank and file of the community saw of her whom they had elected as "their mother and shepherdess".

It is not easy to judge, however, how far the abbess's example had been followed by other members of the community. It is quite true that as far back as 1298, Archbishop Pecham had forbidden the nuns to eat and drink or sleep "in cameri suis." On the other hand, a certain number of servants, both male and female, would be needed for the efficient organisation of an obedientiary's office, especially in a large establishment. Thus, the cellaress had several servants working under her. Other obedientiaries also had maid servants working for them. In 1510, Dame Thomasina Jenny, who held the offices of sacrist and of pensions had an "ancilla" named Margaret Pygott, while Dame Anne Scrope had another named Matilda Williams. Both these

1. See above, p. 266.
2. Loc. cit.
4. She held these two offices from 1508 until 1528 when she became prioress. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/928.
5. She was cellaress in 1527, at the election of Dorothy Barley. Reg. Tunstall, fo. 109.
girls were left 3s. 4d. each in the will of a chaplain of the house.  

The loss of the detailed figures of the Valor for Essex makes it impossible to give the number of servants employed by Barking on the eve of the dissolution. Professor Knowles has estimated the ratio of employers to domestics in the smaller and medium sized nunneries as 1:0.4. In a greater house like Barking, it would probably be somewhat higher. His balanced conclusion, that redundancy and waste in staff, caused by careless and slovenly administration rather than by luxury or display, which characterised the monastic houses of the time, may well sum up the position at Barking. More than this cannot be said.

The other evil, that of the "wage system", also struck at the common life by encouraging the spirit of proprietas. It was the duty of the obedientiaries to provide all that the community needed, from the revenues allocated to them for this purpose. But by the fifteenth

1. CCL, Reg. Palmer, fo. 41.
2. RO, III, 262.
3. Ibid. 264.
century, it was a widespread practice among monks and nuns, to grant to individuals a sum of money, drawn from a number of different sources, which they might spend "both for necessities and comforts." The earliest of these payments was clothes-money. This was customary at Barking by 1410, for in that year, the nuns were given a licence to appropriate their church at Lidlington because, on account of the heavy floods, "none of them possess more than 14s. yearly for her habit and vesture." This was evidently regarded by the nuns as too small an amount, though there is nothing to show what it had been before or whether it was subsequently raised. In comparison with some of the monks' houses, where twice this amount was given, it was perhaps small. But the possession of clothes-money was a subject of endless complaints on the part of episcopal visitors. It probably helps to explain the coral trinket and golden brooch worn by Chaucer's Ladame Eglentyne. Unless the

2. CPR, 1408-1413, 211.
3. E.g. at Ely, the monks received £1. 2s. 6d., at Eysham, £1. 6s. 4d., and at Bardney in 1437, £2. RO, II, 241.
nuns of Barking were very different from their sisters in other houses - which is not very likely - they were no doubt subject to the same womanly foibles. Otherwise, one wonders to what use a gold clasp would be put, or "a violet gown furred with black lamb", or "a cross of gold with the image of St. Anthony and my new gown of chamblett," when left to individual nuns in wills.

At Barking, the allowance known in most of the monasteries as "spice-money" seems to have been issued under various names, from the offices of the cellaress, of pensions, and of the treasury. The cellaress was responsible for paying the community what her sixteenth century account books call "rysshewsilver", instead of such delicacies as "rissoles, crisps and crumcakes".

At Shrove-tide, she gave each nun 2d. "for their crispis and crumcakes." Sixteen times a year, she paid "to every lady ½d", with double that amount to the prioress, to herself and to her assistants, the undercellaress and

1. In 1515, one of the chaplains, John Llendaff, left "a tache [i.e. a clasp] of gold" and a gold ring to the abbess, and the violet gown to another nun. PCC, 18 Holder.

2. Ibid. 3 Thower.

3. PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/929.
kitchener. "Eysilver" for eggs cost her 1½d. a week for each member of the community.

The office of pensions also paid the community quite substantial sums of money. On a dozen anniversaries, of former abbesses or benefactors of the house, each nun received about 2s. "wnesi1ver". "Bloodlet sylver" was paid four times a year, on the feasts of St. John the Baptist, the Nativity of Our Lady (September 8th), the Conception of Our Lady (December 8th) and Candelmas Day (February 2nd). At these seasons of the year, when the mediaeval medical practice of bloodletting grew into periods of relaxation and recreation in the monasteries, each nun was given 6d., the prioress double, and the abbess 3s. 4d. In all, "bloodlet sylver" cost the office of the pensions £5. 9s. a year.

The office of the treasury was similarly responsible for payments of "wine silver" and "ale silver", several times a year, "every lady taking 2s. 2d." Entries on an account book just before the dissolution show these amounts:

1. PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/928.
2. Ibid. 929/2.
being paid at midsummer, on dedication day, in Rogation week and at Christmas.

In all, each nun must have been receiving in this way, at least £1. 13s. a year, while the principal obedientiaries were given what were called "doubles" and the abbess a still larger amount. In addition, the prioress was paid by the treasury 26s. twice a year, at midsummer and All Hallows, for her "kitchen silver", and another 3s. every week "for her week silver and eyesilver" by the cellareress.

The obedientiaries entered on their account rolls the amounts they paid to themselves under some such heading as "offerings and wages", or "fees of the ladies".

1. PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/929/2.
2. Ibid. 929.
3. E.g. on the cellareress's account roll, "in offerings to the two cellaresses by year, 12d". Ibid.
4. The officials of the pensions entered what they called their "rewards" under this heading, but the sum they thus allocated is missing. Ibid. 928.
Besides these various sums of money which the nuns received from the revenues of the house "both for necessities and comforts", a fairly substantial amount came to them, either as a community or as individuals, in the shape of legacies from relations or benefactors. A large number of wills show how often they were recipients of money in this way. For instance, the priest who left the "violet gown furred with black lamb" to Dame Ellen Aslake, also left 40s. to the whole convent "to be spent the day of my burying, in money, bread and drink, and at my month's mind 26s. 8d." Several obedientiaries received from him 10s. or 20s. each, and these same individuals benefited from similar bequests made by another of the abbey's chaplains a few years earlier. Indeed, this distinction between "a lady of the household" and "a lady of the choir" is not uncommon in later wills.

No doubt, the nuns repaid their benefactors in the way they expected, by prayer. Thus, another priest,

1. See above, p. 479.
2. CCL, Reg. Palmer, fo. 41.
Thomas Everad, left in 1518, "to the abbess and convent of Barking that they keep or cause to be kept one obit solemnly by note in their convent church for my soul and the souls of all my benefactors and all Christian souls after my decease, 40s." At the same time, the whole system of private ownership of money did much to bring about the internal decay which was sapping away the strength of the monastic body from within.

Hospitality and almsgiving were regarded by mediaeval man as one of the fundamental duties of the religious house, and indeed, in this he was merely echoing the words and spirit of St. Benedict himself. The loss of the Valor and the absence of any account rolls for the office of the almonry make it impossible to calculate the percentage of their total revenues which the nuns of Barking assigned to alms. Even if these sources of information existed, however, they would not tell the whole story, since the almoners' revenues did not represent the

1. CCL, Reg. Palmer, fo. 23d.
2. Eleemosinarie are mentioned among the obedientiaries in the Ordinale, p. 68.
total almsgiving of any house, while the commissioners of 1535 only recorded alms free of taxation. Moreover, indiscriminate food doles at the abbey gate could not be easily calculated.

There are one or two indications of the kind of charity practised by Barking. The leper hospital at Ilford was built and endowed by a twelfth century abbess, at a time when monastic charity was at its best. Its revenues were assessed in 1535 at £16. 13s. 4d. The cellaress also had in her care - a proof that all the almsgiving of the house was not covered by the almoner's accounts - a hospital or almshouse for poor women in Barking. It was dedicated to St. Laurence, and was situated in East Street, near the abbey. One cellaress's account has the entry, "paid to the sisters of the hospital of St. Laurence in Barking to each of them 9d." but no total is given, nor anything to indicate how numerous "the sisters" were. The cellaress also


2. Valor, I, 435 b.

3. PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/929.
supplied them with food, and she entered in her account book the various items sent to them, side by side with those consumed by the nuns. In 1539, Dame Mary Winham, the last cellaress, provided butter, eggs to the number of 1,472, herrings and eels, as well as three "messes" of beef a week. It is difficult to arrive at an accurate calculation of her expenditure on the hospital, but about 8% of the money spent in the commodities just mentioned went in this way, and about 2% of her total expenses.

The office of the treasury paid sums of money "to the sisters of the hospital" at the seasons of the year when the nuns received "wine silver and ale silver". The account roll containing the entries is, unfortunately, defective at this point, so that the amounts cannot be calculated. On the whole, however, it looks as if the inmates of the "hospital" were well cared for on the eve of the dissolution. What happened to them afterwards is not known.

1. PRO, S.C.6 110 VIII/929/2.
"Alms to poor people" also appear on obedientiaries' account rolls. Food and money were given to the poor on the anniversaries of former abbesses and of benefactors by the cellaress. So, for instance, on the obit day of the thirteenth century abbess, Dame Alice Merton, the last cellaress entered in her account book, "in alms to poor people 4s. 2d." Money was also given to the poor by the office of the treasury, acting in the name of the lady abbess, as is shown by the following items:

"Paid to thirteen poor men at Midsummer, 28s. 2d,
Paid to thirteen poor men at Hallowtide, 28s. 2d,

    Summa, 56s. 4d.

Money given in alms.
Paid for alms money on Maundy Thursday, 6s. 9d.
In alms given to poor people from the Annunciation of Our Lady unto Christmas by my lady, 35s.
Given in alms to poor people by my lady from Christmas unto the first day of Larch, 5s.

    Summa, 46s. 9d."

1. PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/929.
2. Ibid. 929/2.
The office of the chambress provided the money which
the nuns in the community gave to the poor when they
washed their feet on Maundy Thursday.

Apart from this indiscriminate almsgiving, the
house must also have offered hospitality to guests.
The corrodians and royal clerks for whom the king
expected provision have already been mentioned, and
there were probably others who have gone unrecorded.

All in all, it may be said of the nuns of Barking
Abbey that they were practising a not ungenerous charity
at the time of their suppression, even though they
themselves were not living a particularly austere life.
The money "for the poor of Barking" which the last abbess
left in her will may be taken as an indication that
twenty years later they were still remembered.

It would be unfair to mediaeval monastic life for
women, to regard the nunneries as if they were a modern
active Congregation in the Church. The life of a mediaeval

1. See above, p. 302.
2. See above, p. 383 et seq.
3. See Appendix III.
Benedictine nun was essentially liturgical, her work, before which nothing was to be preferred, the *Opus Dei* of the Divine Office. Lack of evidence makes it impossible to judge how the rest of the day was spent by those holding no obedience. It may have been frittered away in idleness, or spent in the hidden devotedness which is passed by unnoticed. The greatest fault of the nun of the later Middle Ages was not usually viciousness. It was rather a falling away from the high ideals of monastic perfection into mediocrity; and on this indictment the whole monastic body in England would seem to stand accused. What was chiefly lacking, and indeed had long been lacking, was sanctity to a heroic degree. The nunneries may have been producing unseen holiness, but there is no figure in them comparable to the great Anglo-Saxon women saints. Monasticism had to pass through the purification which persecution brings, before it could shine forth once more before the world.

There is, however, one indication that by 1539 the tide was already on the turn. It has been shown recently that the numbers of religious in the sixteenth century monasteries were not as low as has sometimes been
stated, but that on the contrary, a slow but steady recovery from the falling off of the fourteenth century had set in. 1

A certain amount of scattered evidence gives statistics of the monastic population of Bark in over the last hundred years of its existence, though there is nothing near enough to the middle of the fourteenth century to show how far numbers were depleted by the Black Death. This evidence is to be found chiefly in the records of professions and the elections of abbesses, in the registers of the Bishops of London. In 1386, Bishop Braybrook professed fifteen novices. 2 The fifteenth century shows a decline in numbers from fifty at its beginning to twenty two at the election of Elizabeth Lexham in 1473. This was probably the low-water mark. Twenty years later, thirty four pro-

1. RO, II, 257.
3. The ordinal speaks of "sinquante Dames" in the time of Sybil Felton. Ordinale, 360.
4. Reg. Kemp, fo. 7d.
5. Ibid. fo. 17.
fessed nuns and three novices took part in the election of Elizabeth Green. At the opening of the new century, the numbers had risen to forty, but in 1527 when the last abbess was elected, they had dropped to twenty three professed nuns and seven novices. Of the seven novices, three must have been professed shortly afterwards, since their names appear among the recipients of pensions in 1539. The other four were professed in 1534, together with five new recruits who also received pensions at the end. Hence the community was still receiving new members until the last troubled years.

What would have happened to Barking had no dissolution taken place, it is impossible to say. Put the history of the Nonastic Order, because it is the history of human beings, must know its ups and downs, and there seems no reason to suppose that the nunneries would

1. The account rolls of the office of pensions have this number. PRO, S.C.6 H VIII/923.
not have recovered their original vitality, especially since the whole Catholic Church was so soon to feel the revivifying effects of the Counter-Reformation.
The nature of the original sources used in this thesis has made the choice of appendices a difficult one. The more interesting material has already appeared in print, while that relating to the abbey's manors is too scattered or too stereotyped to be included here. The first two documents selected have been chosen because they help to illustrate the administration of the house. The third throws light on the life of the last abbess after the dissolution.
APPENDIX I

ACCOUNT BOOK OF WILLIAM POWNSETT, RECEIVER OF THE ABBEY.


The aounte of Master William Pownsett Receyvor of the monastery there from the XXth daye of marche in the XXVIIIth yere of the Reign of oure sovereign lorde heny the Eighth by the grace of god kyng of Englund and of fraunce deffender of the fayest lorde of yrelond and in therth supreme hede of the cherch of Englund unto the XXth daye of marche in the XXIXth yere of oure saide sovereign lorde

Berkyng

Arreragis

Off the arreres dependencyng in the fote of the last accompte as it appereth in the same accompte. } iiij li.

Summa iii li.
Berkyng
Collector

Receivid of Richard Prior Deputie to Master Pownsett{)
Collector ther of thissuz of his Office for one
hole yere endyd at the ffeast of seint Michell
Tharchaungell in the seid XXIX yere as by a bill
indented of the parcels therof maid bytwyxt the
seid Receiver and the seid de utie examined more
at large it may appere

Cxxxiiijli. xijs. xd.

Off the same Richard in diverse Necessaris to thesse
of the seid monastery as in the cariage of CXXXIII
loddes of wodd owt of the fforest to the seid
monastery after the rate of viijd. the lode, the
Carriage of I lodes of hey owt of the meadowes to the
monastery at viid. the lode, the Carriage of fyve lodes
iiis.iiid.
of hey owt of the said meadowe to hantynes barne
at viid. the lode, the Carriage of ii lodes of
xvid.
Rye from Cokermouth to the monastery hired by
the day for xvid. and for the Carriage of the Tythe
viiis.xd.
of Dagenham with xviiid. in the price of one kylderkyn
vs. viiid.
of Bere and for diverse other Necessaries and provisions
done by the said accowntant as by his particuli accompte
appon diverse talies therof shoid and indited within
the tyme of this accompte more playnly doth appere.

Summa cliiiii li. xis. viiid.

Estbury Receyvyde of Nycholas Stodard the xvith daye of
Aprell in partye payment of the halff yeres ferm
there due at thanuncyacion of our ladye anno xxviii.
Receyvyd of the said Nycholas fermor there the last daye of decembre anno xxix.

Receyvyde of Nicholas Stodard apone his acompte

Summa xi li. iiiis. iiiid.

Westbury Receyvid of Thomas ffuller ffermor there the xxviiith daye of maye in partye payment of the halff yeres ferm there due at the Annuncyacion of our ladye with iii li. payd at Cristmas.

Receyvid of the sayde Thomas the Saterdave after mydsomer daye.

Receyvid of the same Thomas the (blank) daye of decembre in partye payement of the halff yeres fferm there due at mygelmas anno xxix.

Receyvid of the said Thomas the viiith daye of January xxs.
Receyvid of the said Thomas as in the price of
Cii dishnies of butter at iid. ob. the disshe xxxis.
viiid. in the price of x gallons of creme iiiis.
iidiid. and li galons of mylke iiiis. vid. with
iiiiis. for cariage of viii lodes haye from
wetyngs marssh to the monasterye for the carige
of xx lodes of woode from the forest to the
monasterye xiiiis. iiiid. and xviiss. to hym allowed
for halff the graynes of the brewhouse and lxs.
for a horse of hym bought. And for cariage of
have to the stak by ii dayes iiiis. iiiid. and for
reparacions don there as apereth by a bill iis.
iiid.

Summa xxvii ii. vi. vd.
Loxford

Receyvyd of William Pownsett ffermor ther for the hole yere fferme dwe at Michelmas anno xxix xijli. xiijs. iiijd.

Summa xii li. xiiijs. iiiid.

Cokermouth.

Receyvid of John Yve the xviiith daye of Aprell in partye payment of the halff yeres ferm there due at thanunciacyon ofoure ladys ix li.

Receyvid of the saide John on mydsomer daye iii li. xs.

Receyvid of the said John the xth daye of Decembre in partye payment of the halff yeres ferm due at myghelmas anno xxix xii li. ijs. viijd.

Collector

Receyvid of Richard Dobildaye Collector there on seynt Thomas daye in partye payment of the lxs.

rents of assise ther due at myghelmas

Receyvyd of the said John Yve in the cariage of vijs. iiiijd.

xi lodes of woode from the forest to the monasterye
Receiveyd of Richard Dobildaye apon his acompt
with xxxis. viid. for a bill of allowance by
hym demandond as particularly by the same bill
apereth

Summa xxx li. iis. xd. ob.

Neillery
Receiveyd of laurence Graye fermor there the xxth
daye of June for the halff yeres ferm there due
at thannunciacyon of our ladye anno xxvii
Receiveyd of the saide laurence the xxth daye
of Decembre in partye payment of the halff yeres
ferm there due at myghelmas anno xxix
Receiveyd of laurence Graye in the price of
three quarters ottes delyvered to the use of the
house viis. in the cariage of xvii lodes of
wode xis. iiiiid. and in reparacions doon by the
said laurence apon the kechen the last yere xviiis. viijd.

Summa vi li, xis. iiiiid.
Berkyng

Receyvid of Thomas Walleys the xxviiith dasy of
mylls

marche for the rent of the said mylls due for
oon quarter endyd at thannuncyacyon of oure ladye.

Receyvid of the said Thomas for a quarter rent
of the said mylls due at mydsomer cs.

Receyvid of the said Thomas for a quarter rent
tue at myghelmas ciiis. iiiijd.

Receyvid of the said Thomas Walleys at Cristmas vi li. vs.

Summa xxii li. xis. viiid.

Coteland rent

Receuyd of Master William Powesett Collector

ther for the issues and profitts ther for one

hole yere ended at the ffest of seynt Michell xlviijli. xxjd.

tharchaungell in the xxixth yere of the reigne

do our soveraigne lorde kyng henry the viiith

Summa xlvii li. xxid.
The celeres rent Receyvyd of the said offyce for quyte
rent due to the Tresaury for a hole yere
endyd at myghelmas

Summa iii li. vis. id.ob.qu.

Gayshams Receyvid of Raff Tracye fermo there for the halff)
yeres fferm due at thanunciacyon of oure ladye
anno xxviiii and for the halffe yere due at myghelmas
anno xxix over and besyde xls. xid. ob. to hym
allowed for a superplusage to hym due the last
yere

Receyvid of the saide Raffe for the ffyne of his fferm
xvi quarters of whete at vis. viiid. the quarter
xx wethers at iis. the pece

Summa xvi li. xiiiis. viiid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dagenham marsh</td>
<td>Receyvid of Richard Prior Collector there for a hole yere ended at myghelmas anno xxix Summa xi li. xs. ixd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lytlyngton</td>
<td>Receyvyd of Kateren Cartwryk the xvi daye of maye for the halff yeres ferm of the berye there due at thannunciacyon ofoure ladye anno xxviii Receyvid of William Burn Baylye there the said daye in partye payment of the rents of assise of lytlyngton and Slapton due the said terme over and besyde xii li. paide to the celeres and xs. to the priores Receyvid of Kateren Cartwryk the xth daye of Decembre for the halff yeres ferm there due at myghelmas v li. xs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Recevvid of William Burn in partye payment
of the rents of assise of lytlyngton and Slapton
due the said terme over and besyde xii li. paid
to the celeres offysse and xs. to the
priors
Recevvid of William Burn in partie payment
for a wodesale made this yere
Recevvid of William Burne apon his acomte with
xxxiiis. ixd. for reparacions don at lyttlyngton
in makyng of a pynde folde and mendyng of a bregge
at Slapton
   Summa xlvi li. xvs. vd. ob.

Slapton Recevvd of Dame Elizabeth Torney wedow for the
halff yeres ferm of Slapton due at thannunciacyon
of our ladye anno xxviii

xii li. xs.
vii li. xvjs. viijd.
xlviis. ixd. ob.
cs.
Receyvd of mastres Brokys for a sutfyne  
Receyvd for a straye shepe  
Receyvd of Dame Elizabeth Turney wedowe for 
the halff yeres ferm of Slapton ferm due at 
myghelmas with lxvis. viiid. to her allowed 
for reparacions don apon the bern there as 
apereth by a bill 
    Summa  ix. li. xviis.  

Gyng Abbes Receyvid of Thomas Braynwode fermor there  
the xxviiith daye of maye for the halff yeres 
ferm there due at the annuncyacion of oure 
ladye with thallowance of lxxiiiis. viid.  
for my ladyes expences beyng there as apereth 
by the saide bill  
Receyvid of the tenaunts there for ther comen 
ffyne  
Receyvid of John Caz for the halff yeres
rent of the wyndmelle due the said terme  
Rceyvid of Thomas Radley for the halff yeres 
ferm of hanley hall deu the same terme  
Rceyvid of the teneants for ther custom monye 
due then  
Rceyvid of Master henry Wentworth for the 
halff yeres ferm of wodebernes due the said terme  
Rceyvid of Stephen humfrey collector there 
in partie payment of the rents of assise there 
due the said terme over and bysde liis. iiiid. 
aid to my ladyes chambre xxiiiis. to the celeres 
office and iiis. vid. to the sexten  
Rceyvid of Thomas Braynwood fermor there for 
the halff yeres ferm due at myghelmas with 
xis. viid. for reparacions don apon the said 
manor as apereth by a bill  
Rceyvid of William Caz for the halff yeres 
ferm of the mylle ther due the said terme  
xis. iiid.
Receyvid of Thomas Radley for the halff yeres rent of hanleyhall due the said terme with xxiiiis. to hym allowed for reparicions don there as apereth by the said bill xlvis. viijd.
Receyvid of the tenaunts for ther custom monye xxxs. vd.
Receyvid of Stephen humfrey collector there } in partye payment of the rents of assise due }
the said terme over and besyde liis. iiid. } vj li. ijd.
paid to my ladye xxiiiis. unto the celeres office and iis. vid. to the sexten
Receyvid of the saide collector apon his acounte xxvis. vd. ob.
Receyvid of Master Wentworth for the halff yeres ferm of woodbernes due at myghelmas lxs.
    Summa xliii li. xviiiis. iiid. ob.
Warley

Receyvید of Robart Pake fémor there the viiiith
days of June for the halff yeres rent of the said
ferm due at the feast of thannuncyacyon of
oure ladye

Receyvید of the teneants there for ther comen
fyne

Receyvید of John Crowe for the fyne of a
cottage and xv acres of land

Receyvید of John Nicholl collector there
by thand of Richard Bryght in partye payement
of the rents of assise due at the feast above
wreten over and besyde ls. paid to the celeres
office

Receyvید of Robart Pake the xiiith days of
novembre for the halff yeres rent of the said
ferm due at myghelmas

xiii li. vjs. viijd.

vs.

xiiis. iiijd.

lxiiis. iiijd.

xiii li. vjs. viijd.
Rceyvid of Master Badbye for his sutefyne iiii id.
Rceyvid of John Nicholl collector ther by
thands of Richard bryght in partie payment of
the rents of assise due the said terme over.
and besyde ls. paid to the celeres office lxvi. viijd. ob. qu.
Summa xxx iiii li. iis. ob. qu.

Bullefan
Rceyvid of Thomas Strangman for the halff
yeres rent of the said ferm due at thannunciacyon vi li. xs.
Rceyvid of the tenaunts there for ther comen fyne vs
Rceyvid of William Veer for the halff yeres
rent of cowlis due the said terme over and besyde iis. paid to the fermor for Custom and viis.
viid. to the collector and over and besyde xxxiis
iidi. paid to Saunders wyffe for her thyrd and
xxxs. for reparaciones don ther apon a fluddych
Receyvid of the collector there for the rents of assise due the said terme over and besyde ls. to the celeres xvs vjd.
Receyvid the xiiith daye of novembre for the halff yeres fferm there due at myghelmas with xiid. allowed for vi Sparres leyde apon the whete bern vi li.
Receyvid of Master Rowlett for his sute fyne iiiid.
Receyvid of William Veer for the halff yeres rent of Coles due the saide terme over and besyde iiis. and to the ferrar for custom to the collector viis. ixd. for the rent and xiid. for reparacions and to Saunders wyffe xxxiiis. iiiid. for her thyrd. lxxxvs. xjd.
Receyvid of the wiffe late of John hurte for the fyne of certen lands duryng the nonage of her chyldern xxs.
Rceyvid of Richard Prior collector ther for
my ladye for coles in partye payment of the
rents of assise due at the said terme over
and byde ls. paide to the celeres office
Rceyvid of John hurts wyffe for v herryottes
that is to saie for iii kene at xiis. the pece
and i horse at xiiiis. iiiid. the pece
Rceyvid of Master Berye in partie payment for
his fyne of the manor there
Rceyvid of the collector for the custum of coles
and over and byde vs. for rent paid to collector
Rceyvid of the collector there apon his acompte

Summa xxxiiii li. xs. ixd.

[The remainder of the account is lost]
APPENDIX II

(PRO, S.C. 6 H VIII/928)

hyre Ensythy all and syngguler receyts off money belonging unto
the office off the pensions Receyvyd by the hands off dame
Tomasyn Jeney priys Dame Anne Hore Suppriorys and Dame
Margaret Scrope ladyes of the pension ended thanmunciacion
of our blyssyd lady in the xxvii yere off the Reign off our
soverayne lorde kyng henry the viiith unto the same fest nexte
Ensuynng

Yggstone
Receyvyd off the parson off ygg there for hys pencion
due at thanmunciacion of our lady in anno xxvii
Receyvyd off the sayde parson for hys pencion due at
the fest off sainte myghell tharchangell

Summa xxs.
Wygberow  
Receyvyd off the parson there for hys pencion due at the fest above wryten  
Receyvyd off the sayde parson for hys pencion due at the fest of saynte myghell tharchangell  
Summa xiiis. viiid.

Bulfan  
Receyvyd off the parson there for hys pencion due at the fest above wryten  
Receyvyd off the sayde parson for hys pencion due at the fest of sainte myghell tharchangell  
Summa xiiiis. iiiid.

Tollesbury  
Receyvyd off John Wytylock fermor there for halfe a yeres rents off the sayde parsonage due at the annunciation off our lady in anno xxvii  
Receyvyd off the sayde John for halfe a yeres rent endyd at the fest of saint myghell tharchangell  
Summa ix li. iis.
Hockley
Receyvyd off nycolas legat fermor there for halfe
a yeres rente off the sayde parsonage due at
thannunciacion off our lady in anno xxvii o
Receyvyd off the sayde nycolas the v day off
novembre for half a yeres rente off ye parsonage
there due at the fest off sainte myghell in anno
xxviii o over and besyde iis. to hym alowed
for ryyshes for the chyrche
Summa xii li. xvid. v li. xixs. viiid. 319

Horndon
Receyvyd off master umfrey fermor there for a hole
Parsonage yeres rente off the sayde parsonage due at the
fest off sainte myghell in anno xxviii o
Summa vi. li. xiiis. iiiid. vi li. xiiis. iiiid.
Warley
Receyvyd off the parson there for hys pencion off
Parsonage
a hole yere endyd at the feet off sainte myghell
last past xiiiis. iiiid
Summa xiiiis. iiiid.

Summa pagine xxviii li. xviiiis.

Lytlyngton
Receyvyd off greffyth Thomas fermor there the fyrst
Parsonage
day of June in partey off payment off hys halfe
yers rente off the sayde parsonage due at the
annunciacion off our lady in anno xxvii
Receyvyd off the sayde greffyth Thomas for hys
halfe yerly rente due at the feet off sainte myghell
in anno xxviii over and besyde liis. alowed in
Reparacions, to the kyngs visitors (crossed out)
and the byshop as it appereth by bylles and acquietans
off the same

Summa vii li. xiiiis.
Dunmow (No entry)
foxherd (No entry)

Summa pagine vii li. xiiis. id.

berkyng and dagenham
rentes belongyng to the ladies of the pencyons

Receyvyd of Wylyam pownsett collector there for the rentes of assise belonging unto the sayde office for one hole yere Endyd at the fest of saint Meghell in anno xxvii as it appereth by severall byllys Endendyt bytwene the ladys off the penciouns and the sayde Wylyam over and besyde xii li. viis. iid. paid for divers reparacions by the same Wylyam as more playenly it dothe appere in is accompte xii li.

Summa xiii li.

Rents in london

Receyvyd of Master gye Greyford collector there in partey off payment off the rents of assise for one hole yere Endyd at the fest of saint Meghell
in anno xxviii
Summa iii li.

Berkyng chyrche Receyvyd off Sir John naylor vyker there for
in london hys pencion due at Ester in anno xxvii xiii li. xiiis. iiijd.
Summa xiii li. xiiis. iiijd.

Receyvyd of my lady in partie of payment of cxiiis.
iiijd. owyng unto the said Office of pensions in
anno xxvii as appereth by the Creditors Rolle lxs.
Summa lxs.
Summa pagine xxxiiii li. xiiiiis. iiidi.

Arreragiis Off thararegii of the last accomplte as it appereth in
the fote of the same xxii li. xiiis. id. ob.
Summa xx li. xiiis. id. ob.
Summa totall off the Recept with tharreragiis

xx
iii xiiii li. iiis. iid. ob.
hyre Ensuyth the payments made by the ladies off the
pencions from thannunciacion of our lady in anno xxvii unto the
same fest in anno xxviii

The anniversary off dame kateryne Sutton
Paid to ix prists every off them iiiid. iiis.
Paid for iii knyllys xiid.
Paid for bred and ale for the prists iiiid.
Paid to my lady abbes iiis. iiiid.
Paid unto xxx ladies off the covent every
off them xxd. ls.
Paid unto one noves xd. xd.

Summa lviii. vid.

The anniversary off Sir Thomas felton knyght
Paid unto ix prists every off them iiiid. iiis.
Paid for iii knyllys xiid.
Paid for bred and ale for the prists iiiid.
Paid to my lady abbes iiis.
Paid to xxx ladys off the covent every
off them iis. iiii li.
Paid unto one noves xiid.

Summa lxxixs. iiiid.
Summa pagine vi. li. viiiis. xd.

The anniversary
off dame Jone
felton
Paid to ix prists every of them iiid. iis.
Paid for iii knyllys xiid.
Paid for bred and ale for the prists iiiid.
Paid to my lady abbes iiiis.
Paid to xxx ladys off the covent every
of them iis. iiii li.
Paid to one novyes xiid.

Summa lxxixs. iiiid.
The anniversary of Dame Margaret Saxam

Paid to ix prists every off them iiiid. iiii.
Paid for iii knyllys xiid.
Paid for Bred and ale for the prists iiiid.
Paid to my lady abbes iiiis.
Paid to xxx ladys off the covent Every of them iis.
Paid to one noves xiid.
Summa lixixs iiiid.

The anniversary of Dame Crystyan Valans

Paid to ix prists Every off them iiiid iiis.
Paid for iii knyllys xiid.
Paid for bred and ale for the prists iiiid.
Paid to my lady abbes xxxs.
Paid to xxx off the covent every off them xxd. ls.
Paid unto one noves xd.
Summa lxxvs. iid.
Summa pagine x li. xiiiis. xd.
The anniversary off
Sir Edwarde Montegew

Paid to ix pristys every of them iiiid. iis.
Paid for iii knyllys xlid.
Paid for bred and ale for the prists iiiid.
Paid to my lady abbes vis. viiid.
Paid to XXX ladys off the covent
every off them iis. iiiid. v li.
Paid to iiii nayes every off them xxd. vis. viiid.

Summa cxviis. viiid.

The anniversary off
dame Maltide Montegew
the fyrist

Paid to ix pristys every of them iiiid. iis.
Paid for iii knyllys xlid.
Paid for bred and ale for the prists iiiid.
Paid to my lady abbes vis. viiid.
Paid to XXX ladys off the covent every
off them iis. iiiid. v li.
Paid to iiii novyes every of them xxd. vis. viiid.

Summa cxviis. viiid.
Paid to ix prists every of them iiiid.    iis.
Paid for iii knylyss                      xiid.
Paid for bred and ale for the prists     iiiid.
Paid to my lady abbes                    iis. iiiid.
Paid unto xxx ladys off the covent every
off them xxid.                           ls.
Paid to iiii noves every off them xd.    iis. iiiid.

Summa lxis.
Summa pagine xiii i li xvii. iiiid.

(There are similar entries for the anniversaries of
Dame Anne Veer, Dame Alice Montacute, Dame Isabel
Montacute, Dame Yolande Sutton and Dame Sybil Felton).
The Petans
of Dame Sebell
ffelton on
trinyte
Sunday

Paid for iii busshellys of whete at iis. 
the bussell
Paid for the bakyng off the same Whete
Paid to my lady for Wyne
Paid to xxxi ladys off the covent
Every of them iid. and the priorys dobull iid. vs. iiiid.

Summa xiis. vid.

The petans of
dame sybell felton
given in the Lent

Paid for ii Bussheullys off Whete price
the bussheell xxiid.
Paid for the bakyng off the same Whete
Paid to my lady for Wyne
Paid for one galent off Wyne for the covent

Summa ivs. xd.

The petans off
dame Margaret Saxham

Paid for iii busshellys of Whete at
xxi iid. the busshelle
Paid for the Bakyng off the same Whete

vs. vid.

vis.
vid.
viid. 
vs. iiiid.
Paid to my lady abbes for Wyne viiid.
Paid to xxxiiiii ladys off the covent every of them iid. vs. viiid.
Paid to the ii chalentry prists for there Wyne Sylver viiid.
Summa xiiis.
Summa pagine xxxis. iiiiid.

Paid unto Master grey for hys wages at Easter xxxiiis. iiiiid.
Paid to sir James marshall the same tyme xxxiiis. iiiiid.
Paid unto Master grey at mydsomer xxxiiis. iiiiid.
Paid unto sir James the same tyme xxxiiis. iiiiid.
Paid to Master grey at the fest of sainte myghell xxxiiis. iiiiid.
Paid unto sir James the same tyme xxxiiis. iiiiid.
Paid to master grey at Crystymas xxxiiis. iiiiid.
Paid unto sir James the same tyme xxxiiis. iiiiid.

Summa xiii li. vis. viiid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rentys Resolute</th>
<th>Paid unto my lorde mordaunte</th>
<th>xis.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summa xls.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foren payments</td>
<td>Paid unto master audytor for hys fee</td>
<td>iis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paid to the ladys off the pencions for there wagys every of them iis. iiiid.</td>
<td>xs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paid in Rewards thys yere</td>
<td>iis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summa xiiiis.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summa xvi. li. viiid.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blody sylver</td>
<td>Paid unto my lady at mydsomer</td>
<td>iis. iiiid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paid unto xxxiiii ladys off the covent every of them vid. the priorys dobull</td>
<td>xviis. vid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paid to my lady at the nativite off our lady</td>
<td>iis. iiiid.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Paid to xxxiii ladys off the covent every off
them vid. and the priorys dobull xviis. vid.
Paid to my lady abbes at the Conception
off our lady iis. iiiid.
Paid unto xxxiii ladys off the covent
every of them vid. and the priorys dobull xviis. vid.
Paid unto my lady abbes at the puryfycacon
off our lady iis. iiiid.
Paid unto xxxiii ladys off the covent every
off them vid. and the priores dobull xviis. vid.

Summa  iii li. iis. iiiid.

Summa Totall of thallowaunces and payments aforesaid for one
hole yere endyd at Thannunciacion of our lady in the xxviiiith yere
of the Reign of our said Soveran lorde henry theeight
lxxii li. vis. iiiid.
And so remayneth in the hands of the said ladys this yere with xxil li. xiiis. id. ob. of Tharrerages of the last yere As appereth in the foote of thaccompt of the same yere xxil li. xviis. xd.

Memorandum that there is owyn for the pencio[n off Barkynchurche in london Dew in the tyme of Master patent for iiii quarters of a yere endyd at thannunciacion of our lady the xvith yere of thesaid kyng x li. vd.

Item there is owyn for the pencio[n of Barkyng Churche aforesaid dew in the tyme of Master Carter for iiii yeres and endyd at Thannunciacion of our lady the xxith yere of the same kyng over and besyde xiii li. paid the said xxith yere and iiii li. xiiiis. iiiiid. paid the xixth yere of our said sovereign lorde the kyng xxx li. iiiiis. iiiiid.

Item there is owyn for the said pencio[n in the tyme of Sir John Nailor That is to say the xxiiith yere vis. viiid. the xxiiith yere x li. vis. viiid. and the xxiiith yere xiii li. xiiiis. iiiiid. xxiiiis li. vis. viiid.
Item there is owyn for a pencion in Dymno dew at the ffeast of Seynt Michell tharchangell the xxviiith yere of our said sovereign lorde xx s.

Item there is owyn for a pencion goyng owte of the parsonage of ffoxherd dew att thannunciacion of our lady the said xxviiith yere xiiiis. iiiid.
APPENDIX III

(PCC, 24 Chaynay).

In the name of the father, the Sonne, and the holly ghoste, thre persons and one God in Trynitie, I Dorothe Barlee being hooll and parfait of mynde, Lawde and prayse be to Allmightie god, make and ordayne this my Testament and last will, in manner and forme followinge, the xxth day of August in the yeare of our Lord god a thousand fyve hundreth fyftie and six. Item first I Bequeth my Soull to Allmightie god my Creator and redemer, and my boddy to Christian buriall in that parish Church, in the which ytt shall please allmightie god that I shall from this lyefe departe, And to the same Church I bequeath xxs. for part of the reparacions of the same. Item I will that att such tyme as myne executors shall see or know that I shall lye in the extreme paynes of death lyke to departe this worlde, that then they shall cause the great Bell of that parish that I lye syk yn,
to towlle tyll I am departid this world, to the
intent that the people may pray for me, and Immedyately
after my decease to ringer owte. And I will that he that
tolleth or ringeth the same bell, whethar ytt be by day
or by night, shall have for every houre so tollyng or
ryngyng iiiid. Item I gyve to four men that shall carry
me to the Church iiiis. Item I will also that vii pore
maydens or vii pore widdowes shall sytt aboute the
hearse in the Service tyme att my buryall to pray for me,
and every of them to have therfore xiid. Item I will
or that there shalbe sayd after my decease iii i Trentalles
of Masses for my Soulle, that ys to say, ii trentalles
of them to be sayd or songe at the parish Church
whear I shalbe buryed, and att the day of my buryall
so many of them to be sayd, as ther can be gotten Priestes,
and the rest of them to be sayd or songe within one
moneth next after following the sayd day. The third
Trentall of masses to be sayd or songe amonc the ffreers
att Grenewych within one moneth next after the said day
of my buryall, and the fourth to be sayd or songe att the
Savoy in London within one moneth next after the said day
of my buryall. Item I will also that on the sayd day
of my buryall be gyven to poore people in Bread ale and chese and so in money foure poundes and vs. And yf I dy nott in the parish of Weeld, then I will to the said parish of Weeld other xxs. for reparacions, and to the poore people of the said parish xxvis. viiid. and I will that ther shalbe bestowyd att my monethes day amonge the poore people in the parish that I shalbe buryed in fourtie shillinges in in (sic) money. And att my twelvemonethes day to be bestowyd to Prestes Clarkes and to pore people to say Dirige Masse, and to pray for me, iii li. vis. viiid. Item I bequeath to the pore people of the parish of Barkyng, twentie shillinges. Item I gyve to my Nephew Wylliam Barlee esquier a Challes with a Patenett of parcell gylt, a ring of goold with the bores head, my best fetherbed with a boulster, a payre of fustyans, one payre of fyne shetes and my best Counter-poynt, one blak shypchest bound with Iron with ii lokes, one fyne Tablecloth of damask worke with trewloves, and a double towell of the same work, one longe Cusshyn of Crymson velvett, one dossyn of napkins of daaper and a Cipres Chayer. Item I gyve to my Nece his wief a cofer of Ivory with the lok and the key therof of sylinder.
Item I gyve to my Nece dorothe Barlee a Crosse of goold sett with Pearls and stone. Item I gyve to my Nece Anne Barlee one sylver spone. Item I gyve to my Nece Margaret Barlee one of my gowns and xls. in money. Item I bequeath to my Nephew Anthony Barlee a Counterpoynt of sylk embroythred with lyons of goold, with a long Cusshyn of Crymson velvett. Item I gyve to Mistris Thomasyn a Ringe of goold having deathes head uppon ytt. Item I bequeath to my Coussin Ursula wentworth somtymes a Nonne of Barking a tablet of mother of Pearle enclosing ii Images of sylver and gylt. Item I bequeath to Mistris Suzan Sulyard somtyme Nun of Barking a towell of diaper and vis. viiid. in money. Item I bequeath to Mistris Margery Ballarde somtyme Nun of Barking one payre of shetes of flex with a diaper towell, a fyne Raylle and vis. viiid. in money. Item I gyve to Mistris Elizabeth Lee a lyttle Cofer of Stele and vis. viiid. in money. Item I gyve to my Cousyn Genyns wyefe a grene hangyng with a border that was her Susters and vis. viiid. in money. Item I bequeath to my goddaughter Dorothe Stonard vis. viiid. in money. Item I bequeath to my goddaughter
Dorothe Tyrrell a sylver spone and vis. viiid. in money.
Item I gyve to all the rest of my godchildren iiis. a pece.
Item I gyve to doctor Edmond Bryckett a Pycktoth of goold
and one of my best counterpointes. Item I gyve to
Master Rawlyns one payre of shetes. Item I gyve to
Mistris Nyghtingale a diaper Towell and a fyne Rayle.
Item I gyve to Master John Gregyll vicar of Barking one
payre of flaxen shetes of ii brethes and an hauflf with a
towell. Item I bequeath to Sir Thomas wood vycar of
weeld a Spone with a knopp having ii letters D. B.
Item I gyve to Sir John Reyly of Brentwood vis. viiid.
in money. Item I gyve to the parson of ffarncham vis.
viiid. in money. Item I gyve to Lower Dartnall my gentill-
woman my best gown a fyne double Raylle and iii li. in
money. Item I gyve to John Welch my Servaunt one payre
of flaxen Shetes and xls. in money. Item I gyve to
Richard Tyllwright my servaunt a trussing of Satten
of Brydges with testar and Curtins a fetherbed a boulstar
a blew Coverlett with xls. in money. And I gyve to his
wiefe one payre of flaxen Shetes a playne table cloth
and a single rayle. Item I gyve to William Bovdysh my
Servaunt a fetherbed a boulster a payre of shetes a coverlett and his hooll yeares wages. Item I gyve to William Astall my Servaunt a trussing bed with a testor of yellow and red say with curtyns of the same a fetherbed a boulster a payre of shetes a blew Coverleyt ii Cusshins of verder work and a rounde ringe of goold wyth his hooll yeares wages. Item I gyve to George Peake somtyme my Servaunt tenne shillinges to by hym a cote and to his wief a fyne playne towell and a single raylle. Item I gyve to William Phillipp iii. iiiid. and to hys wyefe a playne tablecloth and a towell. Item I gyve to Eme my woman att my house att weylde a Pettycote a smock and vis. viiid. in money. Item I gyve to Ales Buk my maiden my second best gowne. Item I gyve to my godson Phillipp Gunter a sylver Spone and vis. viiid. in money. Item I gyve to my goddaughter Thomasyn Tirrell iiiis. iiiid. in money. Item I gyve to Mistris Bryges a tablecloth of Dyaper. Item I gyve to Richard Lyon his wief a fyne raille. Item I gyve to mother Tayller a smock and a kercheyfe. Item I gyve to Trenhams wyefe my worst gowne and a smock. Item I gyve to Rust his wief a smock. Item I gyve to George Monk somtyme my
Servaunt a playne tablecloth and to his wifhe a fyne raylle. Item I gyue to John Petty my Systers servaunt vis. viid. Item I gyve to William Clere iiis. iiiid. Item I gyve to Anne Collyn my Sisters mayde a fyne Rayle and iiis. iiiid. in money. Item I gyve to all my Nephewes Servauntes xls. in money to be equally devyded amongst them. Item I gyve to John Shawcok one payre of flaxen shetes and to his wyefe a rayle and a kerchefe. Item I gyve to Dorothe Shawcok my goddaughter a kerchefe and iiis. in money. And to thintent that this my last will and Testament may be truly observyd and fullfylled, I Ordayne and make to be my full executour, my Nephew William Barlee esquier to do for me, to performe and to execut this my present will and Testament in manner and forme before rehersed as my trust is reposed in hym and he in thus doinge to have for his travayle and paynes taken therabouts tenne shillinges. And all the rest of my goodes movable and unmovable nott bequeathed, my dettes payd, and my Legacyes performed, I frely gyve to my sayd Nephew to have ytt for his owne proper use and to pray for me. Provyyded allwayes that yf any person or persons whose names are conteyned in this will, do dye or
depart from this vorlde before my decease, that then
this my gyfte and will, to stand to all and every such
as voyde and in none effect and to all others as shall
overlyve me, to stande in his full strength and power.
In vytnesse wherof I have subscribed my name and sette
my Sealle, to this my last will and testament, the
day and yeare abovewrytton

Dorothe barlee

Probatum vi Junii Anno 1559 iuramento
Richardi Grene litterati procurator willelmi
Barlee executoris.
A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

CAMBRIDGE

Trinity College Library
Ms. O. 3. 54 - Hymnal.

CHELMSFORD

Essex Record Office
D/DM ML - 2 - Court Rolls of Great Warley.
D/DP ML-54 - Court Rolls of Ingatestone.
D/DP M55-89 - Court Rolls of Abbess Roding, Great Warley, Great Wigmorugh, Hockley, Ingatestone, Mucking, Salcot, Stifford, Tollesbury.
D/DP M150 - Domesdaye of Ingatestone.
D/DP ML75 - Custumal of Ingatestone.
D/DP ML87 - Court Rolls of Barking.
D/DP Al - Book of Receipts paid to Sir William Petre.
D/DP Tl, 2, Z - Deeds referring to Ingatestone.
D/DSg Ml-6, 16 - Court Rolls of Bulphan.
D/SH 7 - Marsh Ledger (18th C. copy).
LONDON

British Museum.

Add. Ms. 45387 - Rental of the manor of Barking, 1456.


County Council Record Office.

Registers of Wills proved in the Consistory Court of London.


Guildhall Library.

Registers of Institutions and Memoranda of the Bishops of London.

SR 34.8, 9531/3 - Robert Braybrooke.

" 9531/4 - Roger Walden, Richard Clifford John Kempe, Robert Fitzhugh.

SR 97.1, 9531/5 - William Grey.

" 9531/6 - Robert Gilbert.

" 9531/7 - Thomas Kempe.

" 9531/8 - Richard Hill.

" 9531/9 - Richard Fitzjames.

" 9531/10 - Cuthbert Tunstall.

" 9531/11 - John Stokesley.
Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House.

Registers of Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

Public Record Office.

Augmentations Office Miscellaneous Books.

E 315, 191/, 95, 97  ) Leases of property
" 213/92d.  ) in London.
" 214/85d.  )
" 234/73-79  - Pensions of nuns.

E 318, 361/1-3  - Sales of London property.
" 2288  - Lease of Cockermouth and Dagenham.

Ministers' Accounts

S.C. 6 849/4  - Bulphan, Great Warley, Great Wigborough, Hockley, Ingatestone, Mucking.
" 849/11, 12  - Dagenham and Westbury.
" H VIII/927  - Visus compoti of cellaress's rent collector.
" H VIII/928  - Office of pensions.
" H VIII/929  - Cellaress.
" H VIII/929/2  - Receiver.
" 964.  - post dissolution account for Barking.
" 3542  - list of debts of late abbey.

E 101, 458.7, 542.2  - Receiver's accounts.
OXFORD

Bodleian Library

Ms. Univ. Coll. 169 - Ordinal.


Ms. Bodl. 923 - Clensyng of man's soul.

Ms. Laud Lat. 19 - Canticles and Lamentations Twelfth Century.

Ms. Rawlinson D.782 - Accounts for demolition of abbey buildings.

Magdalen College Library

Ms. Lat. 41 - Religious Tracts in French given to Barking by Elizabeth de Vere, Countess of Oxford.

In ownership of Sir William Hulse of Breamore, Fordingbridge, Hants. (photostat in Dagenham Public Library) - History of Barking and the Abbey - Smart Lethieullier.

B. PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES


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Great Roll of the Pipe (Pipe Roll Society 1883-4).

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