THE LANCASHIRE LANDS OF SYON ABBEY

BY F. R. JOHNSTON, M.A.

A DETAILED study of the administration of its Lancashire possessions by the Bridgettine abbey of Syon may fill some gaps in our knowledge of monastic history in the century before the dissolution. The abbey itself was founded in 1415 by Henry V in honour of St. Bridget of Sweden. The first buildings were at Twickenham, but in 1432 the community moved to a healthier site at Isleworth and remained there until the suppression in 1539. Royal patronage, supported by the favours of the nobility and the rich London middle class merchants, soon made it one of the wealthiest abbeys in the land.[1] Great temporal possessions did not undermine the spiritual life of the community. They remained faithful to the austere Bridgettine ideal, and writers throughout the century mention them along with the Carthusians and the Observant Franciscans as honourable exceptions in the general decline of monastic fervour.

The outlines of the history of the abbey have been sketched by several writers,[2] but this paper is concerned solely with the relations between the abbey and its possessions in Lancashire. Two points about the Bridgettines must first be emphasised. They were a double order, monks and nuns having separate enclosures in the same monastery, and the head of the abbey was the abbess, who ruled with the advice of the confessor general who was in charge of the brethren. Secondly, the order was enclosed, and though the brethren sometimes left the monastery for consultations about the Rule and other spiritual problems at the mother house of the order at Vadstena in Sweden or to act as chaplains in the neighbourhood of Syon,[3] there is no evidence to show that any of the community left the abbey on secular business. The administration of the estates was carried out through agents and stewards who were often laymen, though business was discussed in the chapter-house and business documents issued under the seal of the abbess and convent.

The problem of sources is made more difficult by the loss of most of the archives of the abbey either at the dissolution or during

[1] The list of special benefactors of the abbey is in the *Martiloge*, now B.M. Add. Ms. 22,285, f.70r–72r.

[2] The earliest G. J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of the Monastery of Syon*, 1840; the latest by the Bridgettine nuns of Syon themselves, *A Royal Foundation: Syon Abbey Past and Present*, 1946.

[3] T. Höjer, *Studier i Vadstena Klösters och Birgittinordens Historia*, 1905, p. 256; *Cal. Papal Regs.*, VIII, 63.

the wanderings of the community in Western Europe.[4] Vadstena maintained both a *Book of Privileges of the Monastery*[5] and a *Chronicle*,[6] but no traces of any such works at Syon have been discovered. However, the major grants came from the crown, and therefore much information about them can be found in the public records. Among records dealing with Lancashire the most important have been gathered together by Roper in his account of Lancaster Church.[7] and by Hamilton Thompson in his edition of the *Registers of the Archdeacons of Richmond*.[8] To these may be added the notebook of Richard Burton, once vicar of Lancaster, which is now in the Lancashire Record Office.[9] A copy of the chartulary of Lancaster is now in the British Museum,[10] and the text was printed by Roper. Unfortunately there are no clues as to its provenance, and although written shortly before 1450, it contains no fifteenth-century documents. It may be conjectured that it was a copy made at the request of Syon of a similar book held at Lancaster, because so many legal questions were arising and the position was so complicated that without such a collection of documents the administration of the church would have been impossible.

The foundation charter of the abbey was issued on 3 March 1415."[11] Under its terms one thousand marks a year were to be paid from the exchequer until the permanent endowments were provided. The king was soon able to relieve the exchequer of this burden. Since January 1415, the lands of the alien priories had been in his hands due to the French war,[12] and he used part of these lands to endow the new foundation. Under a charter dated 20 April 1416,[13] lands, free from all royal and papal dues, and situated mainly in the southern counties were handed over to trustees to provide the permanent revenues of Syon. Since the men who had inspired the king to found a Bridgettine monastery were a group of Yorkshire knights and clergy headed by Sir Henry FitzHugh,[14] it is curious that the only northern endowment Syon received was a pension of £110 a year from Lancaster Priory and the lands and churches belonging to it, which had previously belonged to St. Martin des Séez. The church was to remain in the hands of the prior of Lancaster as long as he lived; after his death

[4] Syon is the only English abbey to maintain its existence right up to the present day. It spent three centuries abroad before settling in Devon.
[5] Ed. E. Nygren, 1950. This shows that the actual charters were kept in cupboards in different parts of the monastery.
[6] Printed in *Scriptores Rerum Suecicarum*, 1757, Vol. I.
[7] W. O. Roper, *Materials for the History of Lancaster Church*, Chetham Soc., 4 vols.
[8] In *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vols. 22, 30 and 35.
[9] DDCl. 1053.
[10] Harley MS. 3764.
[11] *Cal. Cl. Rolls*, V., 473; Aungier, p. 25 *seq.*
[12] *Cal. Papal Regs.*, VI, 456.
[13] Aungier, p. 31 *seq.*
[14] For the details of the foundation of the abbey *vide* M. Deanesly, *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle*, p. 91 *seq.*

Syon was to have full possession. The trustees who were to carry out the provisions of the charter included FitzHugh himself and Thomas Fishbourne who became rector of Croston, one of the dependent churches of Lancaster in 1418, though he must have resigned shortly afterwards since he became a monk at Syon and was elected confessor general in 1420.[15]

Papal confirmation of the grants was given in answer to Henry's petition by Pope Martin V in the bull *Eximie Devocionis* dated 18 August 1418, and published by the bishop of London on 18 January 1421.[16] Syon was taken under papal protection and sanction was given to the appropriation of the churches of Yeovil in Somerset, and Croston in Lancashire. The abbey was to take possession of the churches as soon as vacancies occurred and perpetual vicarages were to be established in them without the need of any licence from the ordinary. Any irregularities were to be adjusted by the bishop of London. Even before the bishop had published the bull with his own covering instructions, the bishop of Lichfield had taken steps to implement it by setting up a vicarage at Croston in 1420,[17] presumably on the resignation of Fishbourne. Syon had also begun to take control of its possessions at Lancaster since in the same year Richard of Shireburn is mentioned as holding a messuage and lands at Poulton from the abbess and convent.[18]

Soon after Henry VI came to the throne Syon petitioned for the confirmation of its charter, but when the king with the consent of the lords and commons granted it, the exemption from taxes was revoked, though additional lands from the alien priories were included as compensation. In this charter Giles Lovell is named as the prior of Lancaster whose rights were to be safeguarded until his death.[19] Henry made additional grants of land later in his reign, but no Lancashire lands were included.[20] Nevertheless the community of Syon was not altogether satisfied with its relations with Henry, since when he was seeking endowments for his new foundations of Eton and King's College, Cambridge, his eye fell on the abbey's estates, though again none of the Lancashire lands were affected.[21] Right up to the dissolution additional grants were being made to Syon, but there were no further lands in Lancashire, and the abbey's administrative arrangements in the county remained centred round the priory of Lancaster.

Full details of these lands are given in a general survey of the

[15] *V. C. H., Lancs.*, VI, p. 87, and Deanesly, p. 114.
[16] Deanesly, p. 127; Aungier, p. 37.
[17] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VI, p. 86.
[18] J. S. Roskell, *Lancaster Knights of the Shire* (1937), p. 142.
[19] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1422, p. 205; Aungier, p. 39.
[20] Aungier, p. 57–8; Deanesly, p. 97, and *Cal. Close Rolls*, VI, p. 91 for a grant of 1448 restoring freedom from tolls and fines.
[21] *e.g.* Mount St. Michael's, Cornwall, later restored by Edward IV, Aungier, p. 68 and *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1461, p. 132.

abbey's estates made in 1492.[22] They are listed as being leased to John of "Shyngleton" for £160 *per annum* and consist of:—

	£	s.	d.
Adcliff with tithes	20	0	0
Newton near Lancaster	20	0	0
Bolton	6	0	0
Lands and rents in Hersham	40	0	0

Tithes:—Overton, 20 marks; Orton, £8; Heyton, 8 marks; Midelton, £4; Asheton, £4; Bere, 40*s.*; Pulton, 4 marks; Torresholme, 4 marks; Gersyngham, £6; Newton and Balk, 4 marks; Osclif, 20*s.*; Catton, £8; Scotfield, £8; Skyrton, £10; Pulton and Cleveland, £6; Merton, 7 marks; Latton, £6; Birsham, £6; Carlton, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; Thornton, 8 marks; Pulton, 5 marks; Holmes, 4 marks; Stebelyng, 10 marks; Stalmyn, £10; Syngelton Grange, £6; Fulwood, 40*s.*; Pension of the vicar of Preston, £10; from the abbot of Furness for fishing, 10*s.*

Later surveys survive but they do not give the same amount of detail. In the valuation of 1534 the account states:—[23]

	£	s.	d.
The rents of assize, etc., in Lonsdale	100	0	0
Farm of the rectory of Pulton, with tithes	3	12	0
Pension of the vicarage of Croston	53	6	8
Pension of the rectory of Eccleston	1	0	0

Even more succinct is the survey of 1540:—[24]

	£	s.	d.
Lonsdale wapentake	100	0	0
Amounderness wapentake	30	6	8

The discrepancies in totals may be explained by the different purposes for which the surveys were made. That of 1492 only gives the lands leased to Shyngleton, whilst that of 1534 is a full valuation. By 1540 part of the lands would have been disposed of following the dissolution.

Of these possessions the most important were the advowsons of the churches of which Lancaster was the chief. We have to consider how the abbess and convent controlled these appointments and whether they tried to safeguard both their own interests and the

[22] The list is printed in Aungier, p. 76. The modern names and the authority for the grant to Lancaster, which mainly consisted of a share in the tithes or small pieces of land, are as follows:—
Aldcliffe (Roper, I, 11), Newton (Roper, I, 11), Bolton-le-Sands (Roper, I, 11 and *V.C.H.*, VIII, 134), Heysham (Roper, I, 11), Overton (Roper, I, 11) Ortner (no direct link, probably a part of the Wyresdale lands), Heaton (Roper, II, 279), Middleton (Roper, II, 282), Ashton (Roper, I, 38), Bare (Roper, I, 11), Poulton (Roper, I, 11), Torrisholme (Roper, II, 276), Gressingham (Roper, I, 21), Newton and Bulk (*V.C.H.*, VIII, 13), Oxcliffe (No direct link, but probably included with Heaton, *cf. V.C.H.*, VIII, 70–1), Caton (Roper, I, 118), ? Scotforth (Roper, II, 338), Skerton (Roper, I, 11), Poulton and ? Cleveleys (no further reference other than grant of Poulton Church), Marton (*V.C.H.*, VII, 242), Layton (Roper, II, 381), ? Bispham (Roper, I, 12), Carleton (Roper, I, 56), Thornton (Roper, II, 381), Poulton (*supra*), Holmes (near Thornton, but no separate grant), ? Staining (Roper, I, 72) or Stapleton (Roper, I, 11), Stalmine (Roper, I, 118), Singleton (Roper, I, 11), Fulwood (Roper, II, 451), Preston (Roper, II, 451).

[23] Aungier, p. 443.

[24] Aungier, p. 451.

spiritual welfare of the parishioners, and also whether they maintained friendly relations with the local ecclesiastical authorities, the bishop of Lichfield and the archdeacon of Richmond.

The details of the administration of Lancaster Priory were settled between 1428 and 1431. A dispute over the division of the tithes was settled in 1428 by John Kempe, archbishop of York, awarding the greater tithes to the archdeacon of Richmond and the lesser to Syon during the vacancy.[25] As a result Syon had to pay the archdeacon £40 6s. 8d. a year.[26] Early in 1431 the trustees transferred Lancaster to Syon[27] and on 1 March the archdeacon of Richmond established a perpetual vicarage there with the abbess and convent of Syon as the patrons.[28] The details are given in his register:—[29] Joan North and the convent of Syon have been given the priory of Lancaster and she has told the archdeacon to set up a vicarage. The rights of the abbey and vicar are defined and the revenues divided between them, the archdeacon reserving the right to alter these arrangements if necessary. The vicar must maintain six chaplains, including three for dependent chapels, and someone to collect the dues and taxes. The Syon copy of the document is dated 3 September in the same year.[30]

The first vicar appointed by Syon to Lancaster was Richard Chester, D.D., a king's chaplain.[31] He was appointed 27 August 1431, and seems to have held the position until 1466, proving during that time a thorn in the flesh of the abbess. His interest in Lancaster was mainly financial, and he had paved the way for his appointment in the previous year, when he obtained a papal licence to hold another benefice up to the annual value of £20 along with the rectory of South Willingham, which he already held in the diocese of Lincoln.[32] During the next twenty years he spent much time travelling abroad on official business. He first served in the retinue of Robert FitzHugh, bishop of London, at the Council of Basle[33] and after his return he was sent by the king on missions connected with Eton College. In 1440 he was in Rome to obtain papal ratification for the king's project, and succeeded in obtaining the "Vincula" indulgence and special faculties for confessors.[34] Before leaving England he procured letters of protection for himself as farmer of the priory of Lancaster and for all his servants and possessions.[35] On his return he was granted a pension of one

[25] Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, 1702, p. 100; Aungier, p. 51.
[26] Document preserved in the muniments of Syon Abbey.
[27] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, II, 171. Roper, III, p. 576 gives the date as 1425.
[28] Roper, III, p. 576. The monks of Séez had maintained a cell at Lancaster, but Syon could not follow this plan.
[29] A. Hamilton Thompson, *loc. cit.*, p. 216–8. Roper, *loc. cit.*, adds that the vicar was to reside.
[30] Now in the archives of Syon Abbey.
[31] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VIII, p. 28; A. Hamilton Thompson, p. 219.
[32] *Cal. Papal Regs.*, VIII, p. 172.
[33] Letters of Protection granted 7 May 1433. Rymer, *Syllabus*, II, 665.
[34] H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *History of Eton College* (1899), pp. 8 and 11.
[35] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1436, p. 493.

shilling a day for ten years for good service at Rome and about the king's person, and was pardoned for accepting and executing papal bulls granting him privileges.[36] Two years later he was given the prebend of Hombe, Dublin. In 1445 he was sent on a tour round England, France and other lands to get books and relics for Eton, and was asked to repeat the trip two years later.[37] His journey was quite adventurous, and in his claim for his salary he stated that he had been captured and held prisoner on the way.[38]

He used his stay at the Curia on the king's business to improve his own fortunes, but found that the abbess of Syon was quite prepared to defend her rights. In July 1442, the pope issued a mandate to the archbishop of York to inquire into the revenues of Lancaster.[39] Richard Chester had petitioned that the abbess and convent of Syon had made a fresh arrangement at Lancaster when the vicarage was set up, by which the vicar was to have £110 *per annum* but was to maintain the clerks necessary for the priory church and dependent chapels. Chester claimed that due to pestilence and other troubles this income was not sufficient, and he asked that the old arrangement should be restored by which the incumbent paid a fixed sum of £110 *per annum* to the abbess, but kept the tithes and demesnes of Lancaster and Poulton. The pope had granted this petition, but had received a counter-petition from Syon saying that the vicar's statements were not true, that the vicar had forty marks a a year assigned to him and that the pope's ordinance was greatly prejudicial to the abbey. The archbishop was to inquire into the matter, and if he found that the statement of the abbess was true, he was to set aside the papal decree and restore the original arrangement.[40]

It is unfortunate that no records survive of Archbishop Kempe's visitation of Lancaster in the same year.[41] but one result of it may be seen in the warning to Chester about non-residence issued by the archdeacon of Richmond in the following year.[42] The warning seems to have had little effect, since in 1447 Chester was gathering further benefices. In a papal mandate issued in September of that year he was granted the wardenship of Gretham Hospital, Durham, notwithstanding that being a canon of Dublin, he held prebends at Durham and Hereford and, by papal dispensation, St. Mary's, Lancaster, and St. Mary de Wolchyrch, London.[43] His only other definite connection with Syon was a quitclaim by the abbess and convent of all real and personal services dated 27 May 1451.[44] Chester, however, remained vicar of Lancaster, and may even have

[36] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1441, pp. 73 and 132.
[37] Maxwell-Lyte, p. 28. [38] *ibid.*, p. 25.
[39] *Cal. Papal Regs.*, IX, p. 267–9.
[40] Nothing is known of any fresh award, but in 1461 the archdeacon of Richmond made some minor adjustments in favour of the vicar. Roper, III, p. 580.
[41] *cf.* Surtees Soc., Vol. 127, p. 278 for the plan for this visitation, whilst the archdeaconry of Richmond was vacant.
[42] Hamilton Thompson, p. 81. [43] *Cal. Papal Regs.*, X, p. 338.
[44] Text given in Lancashire Record Office, DDCl. 1053.

spent some time there since in 1455 a commission was addressed to him by the archbishop to execute papal letters for obtaining indulgences as in the year of jubilee.[45]

The next appointment was that of Richard Burton who first appears as vicar in 1466. No record of his institution survives in the archidiaconal registers, so the exact date cannot be determined.[46] He too became involved in a dispute with his patrons over tithes, but this time it was settled by the archdeacon without reference to higher courts. It seems probable that he spent some time at least in Lancaster since he survived a general warning on non-residence given in 1471,[47] and there is no record of his having any licence for non-residence.

After Burton's retirement or death there is a gap in the records except for a casual reference to W. Payn[48] in 1510 until in 1525 William Green, D.D. is mentioned as the vicar. Like his predecessors he was a pluralist holding a canonry of St. Paul's and other benefices as well as Lancaster.[49] For once Syon seems to have chosen a man who was satisfied with his emoluments, and there is no record of any litigation between him and his patrons, a pleasant change for the abbess. He held his appointment throughout Henry VIII's religious changes until his death in 1540. He did, however, remember Lancaster in his will, and bequeathed £40 for the improvement of the high altar of the priory church and £20 for the repair of the bridge.[50]

The three main appointments have some features in common. All were men of good education, university clerks, but also men who were mainly interested in administration and government business rather than the cure of souls.[51] Their main work lay far from Lancaster and was centred round London and the king's court. How did they secure the appointment? There seem to be two possibilities. The brethren of Syon were learned men, many of them being Cambridge graduates, and they may have provided benefices for university friends. On the other hand the kings, especially Henry VI, may have used Syon patronage to reward their servants, and the abbess and convent may have been forced to acquiesce for fear of losing other endowments to provide for Eton and Kings.[52] Certainly the volume of litigation suggests that the candidates were thrust upon Syon rather than being the free choice of the community.

Though the vicars were absentees the spiritual life of Lancaster was not neglected, for there was the staff of six clerks to maintain

[45] Hamilton Thompson, p. 114.
[46] For his career, see *TRANSACTIONS*, Vol. 104, p. 163, *seq.*
[47] Hamilton Thompson, p. 125.
[48] Baines, *History of Lancashire* (1868), II, p. 568–9.
[49] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VIII, p. 28. [50] *ibid.*
[51] On the appointment of graduates to benefices in the later Middle Ages, see E. F. Jacob in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. I, p. 172 *seq.*
[52] A. Hamilton Thompson in *The English Clergy in the later Middle Ages.* 1947, says that many of the best livings were in the hands of king's clerks (p. 104).

the services. Occasionally reference is made to them in the registers of the archdeacons. In 1454 four of the chaplains were to attend the institution of Robert Cowell to the vicarage of Preston,[53] and again in 1469 Christopher Ley was to arrange the institution of John Oxcliff to the vicarage of Poulton.[54] Moreover during the century the priory church was rebuilt, and it is possible that Richard Burton owed his appointment to the experience he gained as clerk of works at Eton. Nor were the needs of distant parishioners neglected. A licence was granted in 1453 for a chapel in Wyresdale for the use of the inhabitants of the forest.[55] In 1510 the inhabitants of Overton petitioned for a chapel with a chaplain maintained by the vicar, complaining that their friends were dying without the rites of the church as the village was cut off by the sea, and saying that they were willing to pay part of the chaplain's salary.[56]

At least one citizen of Lancaster thought of Syon with some gratitude. John Gardiner of Bailrigg, a great benefactor of the borough, in his will dated 21 June 1472, endowed a chantry whose priest was to pray for the good estate of the abbess and convent of Syon as well as for the souls of the founder and his kin. The will was proved at York in 1483, and two years later the feofees obtained letters patent from the king and the assent of the archbishop for the work to be carried out.[57]

Though Lancaster itself was a sufficiently attractive benefice for men of good position whose careers can be traced in the public records, the other Lancashire churches held by Syon were usually given to men who could not claim such distinction. The lists of vicars and rectors can be compiled fairly completely, but little can be gleaned about many of the incumbents, though occasionally local documents show them acting as witnesses or attending inquiries and therefore probably resident in their cures and performing their parochial duties.[58] Croston seems to have been a partial exception to this rule, for it was held by graduates in divinity from 1476. None of the other benefices seem to have been given to university men except Poulton, which was held by Hugo Snede, B.D., from 1530 to 1535. Possibly as a result of this, relations between Syon and its vicars seem to have been quite harmonious and no records survive of the kind of disputes that disturbed the relations of the abbess with the vicars of Lancaster.

Syon's claims to patronage in Lancashire remained largely undisturbed. Only two cases have so far come to light of disputes in such matters. At some time during the reign of Edward IV

[53] Hamilton Thompson, in Y.A.J., p. 112. [54] *ibid.*, p. 133.

[55] *ibid.*, p. 112.—Revenue of £4 *p.a.* for the chaplain (W. D. Selby, *Lancashire Documents in the P.R.O.* (1882), p. 301.)

[56] Baines, II, p. 568–9, *V.C.H. Lancs.*, VIII, p. 64. There is no record of the granting of the petition. The fabric of the chapel is mainly Norman and during the Middle Ages was probably served by a visiting chaplain from Lancaster.

[57] F. R. Raines, *Lancashire Chantries* (1862), II, p. 221.

[58] The lists are printed in *V.C.H.* and an annotated list with some additions is given as an appendix to this article.

the abbess claimed the patronage of Eccleston in Leyland from Lord Stanley, but the courts upheld Stanley's case and allowed the abbess only a pension of twenty shillings a year.[59] The convent had more success in a lawsuit over Heysham when, in 1488, the rights of Philip Halstead, who claimed that his predecessors had been appointed by the abbess and convent of Syon, were upheld.[60] Such a peaceful tenure contrasts favourably with the disputes in other parts of England where the abbess often had great difficulty in maintaining her rights. The king himself seems to have intruded his nominees into Syon benefices at Hastings in 1450 and "Yevele" in 1453, and in 1456 Godshouse, Cambridge, appointed its nominee, Richard Burton, whom Syon later appointed to Lancaster, to Navenby, Lincolnshire, against the Syon candidate.[61]

Apart from retaining control of the advowsons, Syon seems to have leased out its Lancashire possessions, a natural procedure in view of the distances involved. The earliest surviving record is of messuage in Poulton in 1420.[62] In 1443 the fishing rights at Lancaster were leased to the abbot of Furness for sixty years,[63] an arrangement that was confirmed or renewed in 1460.[64] Two years later John Gardiner "of Ellel" leased Syon lands in Lonsdale and Amounderness of £100 *per annum*[65] and Lancaster Priory for £156 13s. 4d. a year.[66] Gardiner also leased a watermill in 1469.[67] The next reference to the Lancashire estates is in 1492 when some of the lands were leased to "John Shyngleton of Aldcliffe" for £160 a year, an arrangement that seems to have been confirmed on 3 March 1504.[68] Premises in Amounderness were leased to Edward Tyldesley in 1517[69] and in 1537 to Thurston Tyldesley.[70] In 1522 lands in Lonsdale were leased to William Tunstall at £100 a year for twenty-one years.[71]

The leasing of the lands does not seem to have meant that the abbey abandoned all control over its estates. Records remain of the abbess's court sitting at Aldcliffe in 1510,[72] "where my Lady's tenants appeared as hath been accustomed". A number of local disputes were dealt with, including the repair of the roof and the great window of the parish church and a quarrel with the townsmen over the enclosure of Whermore which had been dragging on since 1423.[73] The court was held by a steward, who charged 1s. 3d. for his services but his name cannot be deciphered. During the

[59] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VI, p. 159. [60] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VII, p. 117.
[61] *TRANSACTIONS*, Vol. 104, p. 163.
[62] Roskell, *loc. cit.* [63] Roper, III, p. 559.
[64] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VIII, p. 13. [65] *ibid.*, p. 48.
[66] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, II, p. 171. Baines, II, p. 568 gives the date as 14 August, 1466.
[67] Baines, *loc. cit.* [68] Baines, *loc. cit.* prints the agreement.
[69] Selby, p. 166. [70] Roper, III, p. 596.
[71] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VIII, p. 48.
[72] Text of the proceedings in Baines, *loc. cit.*
[73] Selby, p. 304. The case was also raised in 1489, *cf. Materials for the Reign of Henry VII*, Rolls Series, II, p. 419. Whermore is the modern Quernmore.

century additions were made to many of the churches under Syon's control, though whether this was due to the initiative of the abbess and convent is hard to determine. It may have been merely part of the general activity in church building during the period. Certainly most of Lancaster Priory was rebuilt during the fifteenth century, and the author of the *Guide* speaks with gratitude of the generosity of the abbess in the matter.[74] Negative evidence is provided by Syon's own records. None of eighty principal benefactors of the monastery listed in the *Martiloge* had any definite connection with the county. The question of recruitment is rather more difficult. None of the monks, so far as can be traced, came from Lancashire. The names of some of the sisters give a hint from Lancashire families, but there is no supporting evidence.[75]

We may sum up by saying that the evidence shows that Syon retained a close supervision of its Lancashire lands; the appointments to benefices were retained in its own hands and the estates leased to to local gentry. The loss of the central accounts of the abbey makes it impossible to show how profitable this business was, or what system was used for settling the accounts at Isleworth. In the valuation of 1534 the total of £157 18s. 8d. was far higher than any other county;[76] Middlesex was second with £115 15s. 10½d.

Historians have stressed that the fifteenth century was a time of troubles and disorders during which local institutions were breaking down.[77] In view of this it is remarkable that Syon should have kept such close and, on the whole, smooth control of their remote northern estates.[78]

[74] *Guide to Lancaster Parish Church*, n.d., p. 16; Roper, III, p. 597.

[75] Such names as: Alice Pulton, lay sister, pensioned 1539 (Aungier, p. 89); Elizabeth Strickland, sister, pensioned, 1539 (*ibid.*); Grace Wyresdale, sister, died 1485 (*Martiloge* f. 4lv.); and Clementia Hesham, sister, died 11 September no year (*Mart.* 55r).

[76] Aungier, *p.* 439 *seq.*

[77] *cf.* R. Somerville, *The Duchy and Palatinate of Lancaster*, TRANSACTIONS, Vol. 103, p. 67; A. E. Levett, *Studies in Manorial History* (1938), p. 22 and 40.

[78] I am indebted to Mr. R. Sharpe France, M.A., for his encouragement and especially for his kindness in reading this paper in typescript and suggesting several improvements. Needless to say I alone am responsible for any errors of fact or judgment.

APPENDIX

VICARS AND CHAPLAINS IN SYON CHURCHES

Abraham, William	Croston, appointed 19 May 1421.[1]
Alcock, Ralph	Executor of Gardiner, 1485. Appointed to teach at Lancaster.[2]
Aplowe, Lewis	Chaplain at Lancaster, 1454.[3]
Baxterden, William	Appointed to teach at Lancaster, 1485.[4]
Baynes, Edward	Chantry priest at Lancaster, 1535.[5]
Beconsall, Robert	Appointed to Croston January 1505. D.D. of Cambridge, president of Queen's College, canon of Lincoln and Windsor, friend of Bishop Fisher.[6]
Blacklache, Ralph	Eccleston, 1485–93.[7]
Bond, Thomas	Appointed to Croston, 1526. B.D. After 1539 paid his pension to Morres, who got some of the Syon lands in Lancashire.[8]
Bradshaw, Peter	Eccleston, 1511-41.[9]
Bradshaw, Roger	Appointed to Heysham, 1535. Survived until 1568.[10]
Bretherton, William	Appointed to Poulton, 1519. A feofee of Cuthbert Clifton. Mentioned in legal documents relating to Singleton.[11]
Broughton, Henry	Chaplain at Lancaster, 1454. Dealing in land at Lancaster, 1448.[12]
Brown, Richard	Appointed to Poulton 1443 (Baines, II, 514) and appears as a trustee of Sir John Boteler in 1464 (Lancs. I.P.M., II, p. 82).
Burton, Richard	Appointed to Lancaster, 1466.[13]
Chester, Richard	Appointed to Lancaster, 1431.[14]
Crankeshaugh, William	Appointed to Poulton, 7 June 1437.[15]
Dalton, Richard	Appointed to Croston, 1 August 1439.[16]
Green, Nicholas	Chantry priest at Lancaster 1485.[17]
Green, William	Appointed to Lancaster 1525.[18]
Halstead, Philip	Appointed to Heysham 1488 after a dispute over the patronage.[19]
Haslingden, Roger	Appointed to Croston, 1476. B.D.[20]

[1] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VI, p. 88.
[2] Roper, III, p. 583.
[3] Hamilton Thompson, p. 112.
[4] Roper, III, p. 582.
[5] Roper, III, p. 590.
[6] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VI, p. 88.
[7] *Fasti Ecclesiae Lancastrenses* in Lancashire Record Office.
[8] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VI, p. 88; Augnier, *p.* 454.
[9] *Fasti Ecclesiae Lancastrenses.*
[10] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VIII, p. 117.
[11] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VII, p. 223, Fishwick, *History of Poulton*, p. 69.
[12] Hamilton Thompson, p. 112; charter dated 6 April 1448 in the Hornby Papers in the Lancashire Record Office.
[13] *cf. supra.*
[14] *cf. supra.*
[15] Hamilton Thompson, p. 223.
[16] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VI, p. 88.
[17] Raines, II, p. 222; Roper, III, p. 584.
[18] *cf. supra.*
[19] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VIII, p. 117.
[20] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VI, p. 88.

Heghfeld, Henry	Appointed to Heysham, 1434. A deacon. On commissions set up by the archdeacon in 1450 and 1458.[21]
Holme, Christopher	Appointed to Croston, 1453. Charged with breaking free warren in Croston, 1467. Witness of lease, 1471.[22]
Huyton, Hugh	Eccleston, 1430–63.[23]
Ley, Christopher	Chaplain at Lancaster. To induct the vicar of Poulton, 1469. Executor of Gardiner, 1485.[24]
Lund, John	Chantry priest at Lancaster. Mentioned as aged 54 at inquiry in 1547.[25]
Mapleston, John	Eccleston, January–August, 1430.[26]
Masey, Edward	Eccleston, 1463–67.[27]
Mawdesley, Thomas	Appointed to Croston, January 1479. D.D. of Cambridge.[28]
Occleshaw, John	Appointed to Croston, September 1435. May be connected with Sister Joan Occleshaw who died in 1446.[29]
Oxcliffe, John	Appointed to Poulton, June 1469. Acted as attorney for the rector of Wigan, 1441. Executor of Gardiner, 1485.[30]
Payn, W.	Lancaster, 1510.[31]
Radcliffe, William	Eccleston ?1428–30. B.C.L. Of noble birth. Licenced to hold another benefice.[32]
Shirlacres, Gilbert	Eccleston, 1478–82.[33]
Singleton, Christopher	Chaplain dealing in land at Lancaster, 1448.[34]
Singleton, John	Heysham, 1522–35[35]
Singleton, Richard	Appointed to Poulton ?1500.[36]
Singleton, Thomas	Chaplain dealing in land at Lancaster, 1448.[37]
Singleton, William	Chaplain at Lancaster, 1454.[38]
Smallwood, John	Chaplain at Lancaster, 1454.[39]
Snede, Hugo	Appointed to Poulton ?1530. B.D.[40]
Standish, Roger	Eccleston, 1467–78.[41]
Stanley, James, Jr.	Eccleston 1482–85. ?Dean of St. Martin's, 1485.[42]

[21] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VIII, p. 117; Hamilton Thompson, p. 99 and 125.
[22] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VI., p. 88; Lancashire Record Office DDX/13/2.
[23] *Fasti Ecclesiae Lancastrenses.*
[24] Fishwick, p. 69; *V.C.H., Lancs.*, II, p. 562; Roper, III, p. 583.
[25] Roper, III, p. 590.
[26] *Fasti Ecclesiae Lancastrenses.*
[27] *ibid.*
[28] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VI, p. 88.
[29] *Ibid., cf. Martiloge*, f. 65r.
[30] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VII, p. 223; Lancashire Chantries, II, p. 221; Bridgeman, *History of Wigan*, I, p. 68.
[31] *cf. supra.*
[32] *Fasti Ecclesiae Lancastrenses; Cal. Papal Regs.*, VIII, p. 6.
[33] *Fasti Ecclesiae Lancastrenses.*
[34] Hornby Papers dated 6 April 1448.
[35] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VII, p. 117.
[36] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VII, p. 223.
[37] Hornby Papers, *loc. cit.*
[38] Hamilton Thompson, p. 112.
[39] *ibid.*
[40] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VII, p. 223.
[41] *Fasti Ecclesiae Lancastrenses.*
[42] *ibid.; V.C.H., London*, I., p. 565.

Stubbe, John	Chaplain at Lancaster, 1470. On commission to take criminous clerks to the archbishop's prison.[43]
Tarleton, Thomas	Appointed to Croston ?1443. Witness of the will of William Abraham (*q.v.*)[44]
Todde, John	Curate at Rufford. 1506 founded a chantry at Croston.[45]
Wall, William	Eccleston, 1493–1511.[46]
Waller, John	Appointed to Heysham, 1517[47]

[43] Lancashire Record Office, DDPt. 23/41.
[44] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VI, p. 88.
[45] Baines, II, p. 116.
[46] *Fasti Ecclesiae Lancastrenses.*
[47] *V.C.H., Lancs.*, VIII, p. 117.