

Middlesbrough and the coast, from all parts of Yorkshire and from beyond. Two buses came from Workington with Fr Laurence Bévenot, who played the harmonium at Mass. Fr Antony Spiller brought a party from Knaresborough. All these and others made the pilgrimage of more than local interest.

The clergy, secular and regular, assembled outside the Abbey Inn, which was in the meantime serving as an excellent sacristy. Promptly at midday His Lordship the Bishop with his assistants came forth and the procession entered the grounds of the Abbey, and then the Abbey itself by the central west door. The sun shone, the sky was delicate blue, there was a gentle breeze. The procession advanced up the nave through a dense crowd. A temporary altar, raised and covered, had been set up on the site of the ancient high altar. It was splendidly decorated with flowers and the steps were carpeted. The fine medieval tiling of the sanctuary provided again the setting for the liturgy for which it had been originally intended.

The Mass was served by boys from the College, the monastic choir sang the proper, and the congregation, about four thousand in number, conducted by Fr Austin Rennick, sang the common. The sermon was preached by the Abbot of Mount St Bernard's. He recalled the past glories of Byland and exhorted his hearers to thank God for His Blessings, especially for such an occasion as the present. He then set forth the place of Our Lady in the Christian life.

It was a moving thought that after four centuries the liturgy was again being celebrated and a monk of the order was preaching the word of God in a church where these had once so often happened.

When Mass was finished the procession was re-formed, and as it moved down the church 'Faith of Our Fathers' was sung. Then rapidly the great crowd dispersed to begin a picnic lunch and then to set off for Ampleforth Abbey. Here all through the afternoon hundreds of pilgrims were shown round in groups of about thirty, their coaches filling the Square, the Top Walk and the Drive. The weather was brilliantly warm and the visitors stayed until darkness was falling. It had been a wonderful day, long to be remembered, and the first, it is hoped, of many. Afterwards one heard stories of various incidents, of the local church that was too small to hold the returning pilgrims that crowded it and made it and its neighbourhood resound with their hymns; of the woman who walked fasting from York on the morning of the pilgrimage; and of the man who walked all the way from Tyneside during the preceding days.

Among the places represented were the following:—

Ampleforth, Oswaldkirk, Gilling, Stonegrave, Coxwold, Helmsley, Harome, Kirbymoorside, Nawton (St Martin's School), Pickering, Easingwold, Stillington, Malton, Thirsk, York, Middlesbrough, Thornton-on-Tees, Richmond, Saltburn, Redcar, Egton Bridge, Whitby, Scarborough, Hull, Harrogate, Knaresborough and Workington.

## THE MONKS OF BYLAND ABBEY AFTER THE DISSOLUTION

WE know a good deal about the first threequarters of a century of the life of the Cistercian community at Byland. But its history from then onwards has never been studied.

A modern expert has judged, from the extent of the monastic buildings, that the house was meant to hold some thirty-six choir monks and a hundred conversi. In 1381, after the catastrophe of the Black Death, Byland had only twelve monks and three conversi. In the same year, Rievaulx had fifteen monks and three conversi, Kirkstall seventeen monks and six conversi. During the fifteenth century, and on into the first decades of the sixteenth, there was a general and notable increase in numbers in all English religious houses. By 1525 Byland had twenty-five to thirty monks and no conversi, Rievaulx practically the same number, and Kirkstall some thirty-five monks.<sup>1</sup> The Byland choir stalls were therefore fairly well filled in the years before the dissolution, while the conversi's lodgings had been made over to other uses for many years. The Byland monks, as we shall see, were recruited locally, from Gilling, Kirby Moorside, Pickering, Helmsley, Nawton, and even further afield, from Thornton, Yarm and Leeds.

Of the spiritual state of the house we know very little. There are no printed visitation records, apart from the brief and uninformative comperta of Cromwell's visitors of 1535. The Chapter Acts of the Order rarely mention conditions in England. There are many references to Byland in the wills of the local laity during the three decades before the dissolution. In January 1521 William Chamfer of Newstead, Kilburn leaves his body to be buried 'in ecclesia beate marie de bellalanda' with ten shillings to the Abbot for his absolutions, fourpence to each monk of the house and ten shillings to be divided amongst the monks for the saying of two trentals of Masses for his soul.<sup>2</sup> So similarly, in those years, other laymen wished to be buried 'before our Lady' in the conventual church at Newburgh, or before the 'altar defunctorum' or image of Our Lady of Pity in the church at Rievaulx. In October 1520 John Symondson of Helmsley leaves his son Robert (as a ward) to the 'house of Ryvax' and his son Richard to 'the house of Biland' with 'his porcion'.<sup>3</sup> In February 1526 Alan Story, a butcher of Coxwold

<sup>1</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*. Introduction and pp. 106, 110, 114.

<sup>2</sup> *York Probate Registry*. MS. Wills, ix/f.134v.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 145f.

desired the abbot and convent of Byland to admit himself as a brother, and his wife as sister of 'their chapitor'.<sup>4</sup> William Davell, gentleman, of Coxwold, in March 1524-5, left a silver cup and cover to the Abbot and convent and five marks to each monk to pray for him.<sup>5</sup> There are fairly numerous bequests, down to the very eve of the dissolution, for dirges and requiems.

A house of studies for English Cistercians had been begun at Oxford in the late fifteenth century. In 1400 Byland was assessed at a tax of 26s. 8d. a year for its building. In 1480 a General Chapter at Cîteaux decreed that one in every twelve of all English Cistercians should be sent to Oxford.<sup>6</sup> The extant Oxford registers hardly give an impression that Byland obeyed this order fully. But, in 1506, there was a 'student of Byland Abbey', William Wright, staying at the English hostel in Rome, and there was a monk of Byland at Oxford in the 1520s.<sup>7</sup> The mere dozen books from the Byland library which have survived give us little or no idea of its extent.

In former times Byland had distributed its *conversi* round the house's sixteen granges, which were then the centres of a thriving trade in wool, so that Byland wool was well known to Florentine merchants.<sup>8</sup> Although the 'Register' of Byland—its collection of land deeds—remains still, though extant, unprinted, it is clear that by the sixteenth century, the monastery retained only fifty acres in closes round the monastery, and had let out the rest, granges and all, to lay farmers. Byland had a lay steward, Roger Lascelles. In 1528 there was a case in the Star Chamber, initiated by a tenant, who had recently had his 'gressom' or rent put up.<sup>9</sup>

In the following list, we attempt to account for the careers of the community after the Dissolution.<sup>10</sup>

#### I. THE ABBOT. JOHN ALANBRIDGE ALIAS LEEDS

He came from a family whose name often occurs round Leeds and Pudsey at that period. As a monk of Byland, he was ordained acolyte in York in April, 1503, subdeacon the following June, deacon

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 340.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 363.

<sup>6</sup> Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cist.*

<sup>7</sup> Foley, *Pilgrim Book of the English College, Rome*; L. and P. Henry VIII, 1538, ii/403.

<sup>8</sup> *Thoresby Soc. Miscellanea*, Vol. XXXIII, H. E. Wroot, Yorkshire Abbeys and the Wool Trade. In 1315 Fountains produced the best quality wool, 76 sacks a year; Rievaulx 60; Jervaulx 50; Byland 40.

<sup>9</sup> E. H. R. April, 1936, T. A. M. Bishop, *Monastic Granges in Yorkshire*.

<sup>10</sup> The basis of this list is the suppression pension list in L. and P. 1539 and Dugdale. *Monasticon*, Vol. V.

in June 1505 and priest in June 1506.<sup>11</sup> He was cellarer of the house in 1522 and was blessed as Abbot by the suffragan bishop of Caledon, acting on a commission from the archbishop of York, Wolsey, sometime soon after 19th March 1525.<sup>12</sup>

During the fifteen years of his abbacy, Abbot Alanbridge played some part in the internal politics of the Order. Reform had been in the air for almost a century. Pressure had been exerted on the English houses from two quarters. The General Chapter at Cîteaux had succeeded in getting the house of Studies at Oxford going—though it was still not all built when it was dissolved. Successive English kings had also brought pressure to bear. The English houses seem to have been suspicious of Chapter's policy. They complained that their contributions to the Oxford house had to go to it by way of Cîteaux, and that the 'Oxford brethren' brought back to their rustic communities tastes and ambitions which were alien to the traditions and peace of English houses. It was easy for the English abbots to turn to the king and English anti-French feeling as allies to enable them to wrest from Chapter power to conduct their own visitations. Chapter was conscious of a similar nationalism working all over Europe and fought back by seeking alliance with the king also. Either way, the Crown was the profiteer. Thus, by the time of Abbot Alanbridge's election, few English abbots attended General Chapter.<sup>13</sup>

In 1519, by legatine authority, Wolsey called the Cistercian abbots to meet him and there followed a full legatine visitation and injunctions. We may suspect that Wolsey's reforming policy was, in many things, the exemplar of that used twenty years later by his servant Cromwell. This would involve the suppression of small houses, concentration of communities in larger houses, 'capacities' (dispensations to take a benefice and leave conventual life) for those who were misfits or professed very young, the handing over of the economic administration to laymen, the increase of studies. It is significant that Chapter besought Wolsey to dismiss back to their monasteries the notable number of English Cistercians who hung about his court seeking capacities.<sup>14</sup> It is interesting also that a Cistercian house, Hayles, had several monks out serving benefices during the decade before the dissolution crisis.<sup>15</sup> There are hints that the English abbots regarded with dismay their subjection to one overriding authority, forcing on them a way of life which, when

<sup>11</sup> For all the details of ordinations in this article see *York Episcopal Registers*, passim.

<sup>12</sup> L. and P., 1519-23, 2535 (2); Reg. Wolsey, York.

<sup>13</sup> See Canivez, *op. cit.*, VI, passim.

<sup>14</sup> Canivez, VI/557.

<sup>15</sup> *Worcester Episcopal Registers*. Reg. Bell.

all allowance is made for human frailty, was still peculiarly alien to Cistercian tradition.

But Wolsey fell before his reforms could take effect, and Henry VIII seems to have reverted to the older policy. He thus asked Chapter to send over a special visitor to hasten on reform. A French abbot crossed to England, and Chapter commented with pleasure that the royal alliance would now reduce the English houses to obedience to Chapter's policy of reform. But, in 1532, Henry's outlook changed, following his general policy towards the Church. That April, on his own authority, he commissioned the abbots of Byland, Fountains, Woburn, St Mary Grace and Neath to visit all Cistercian houses. The answer of Chapter was to issue its own commission to the same abbots, making its validity depend on their reporting to Chapter every three years. But these compromises were too late. Henry had broken with Rome. In May 1533, an agent of Cromwell was at Byland collecting signatures to a manifesto supporting the King, and in the following year the community was lined up to take the oath of Supremacy. Abbot Alanbridge and the abbot of Fountains were active as Cromwell's visitors of Cistercian houses in the north. They were used to depose Edward Cowper, Abbot of Rievaulx. Then, in 1535, came Cromwell's own full-scale visitation and the first dissolutions.

Cistercian houses in the north were much affected by the Pilgrimage of Grace and its aftermath. Abbot Alanbridge's fellow-visitor, the abbot of Fountains, was implicated and executed. The quondam of Rievaulx was also out with the rebels, but somehow secured a pardon. There was unrest at Jervaulx and the monk George Lazenby was executed. Alanbridge seems to have acted with great caution. He confined his outward support of the rising to sending a subscription of forty shillings.<sup>16</sup>

After the dissolution, he retired to his home country, and lived on his pension of £50 a year. During Edward VI's reign he had reason to complain that the Court of Augmentations tended to stop payments for as much as a year on end.<sup>17</sup> He died in 1563, a lodger in Calverley Hall, as his will shows.

'Be it known unto all men that be present John Allanbridge off Calverley . . . clerke doe give to the parish church of Calverley on vestment of red clothe of tussore wrought with golde . . . to the towne sicke of Pudsay, Calverley and Idle 30s. . . . to William Allanbridge of Pudsay on redd cowe . . . to my servant Thomas Perle my beste fether bedde, blanketts, coverlet, bolster, pare of shetes and £5 . . .

<sup>16</sup> L. and P. xii (1)/369. George Lumley, at (as he said) the suggestion of Sir Nicholas Fairfax of Gilling, went to Newburgh, Byland, Rievaulx, Whitby, Malton and Kirkham to invite the communities to join the rising. The abbots of Byland, Newburgh and Whitby gave 40/- each.

<sup>17</sup> P.R.O. E101/76/24.

to Isabell Coulson my made on fether bedd . . . (to various people in Leeds £6) . . . and whereas I did pledge on cup of Sylver with cover to Thomas Bankes of Wetherbe for £4 I give it to Sir William Calverley knt. he paying the same £4 . . . whereas Mr Christopher Lassels dothe owe me a summe of money I give halfe to John Gibson and halfe to the poore . . . whereas John Fayrfax my godson owes me xls. I will he pay halfe to the poore and the rest I forgive him . . . I forgive George Bell £4 of the £7 he owes . . . the 20s. owed by Mr Gascoigne of Galthrop to the poore . . . the residue to the use of the poore . . . Nov. 3rd 1563.

Codicil. Nov. 4th. William Calverley of Ekkleshall . . . gent. upon just occasion did aske the saide John Alanbridge wether it was his will that he should be factor with the executors and the saide Alanbridge preist saide yea and saying further Sir I desier yow for godsake so to be. Item the saide 4th daye the said John Alanbrig being sore sicke in a chamber of Calverley Hall called the porche chamber there laye upon his owne bedde and in his sighte a sylver (?) with cover parcell gilte and William Calverley demanded what his pleasure was . . . who then turning him on his dethe bedde toward him saide openlie take yow yt . . . upon this condicon that yow will promise me . . . If I lyve that ye will gyve it me again.' Proved Jan. 28th 1563-4.<sup>18</sup>

It is odd that the Abbot should have left a chasuble to Calverley church four years after such vestments were disused. The will seems to show that he was chaplain in the Hall, saying Mass early in Elizabeth's reign.

## 2. THE PRIOR. ROBERT BARKER ALIAS YARM.

He went with his abbot to Rievaulx to witness the abbatial election of 1533.<sup>19</sup> It is quite possible that he retired to live in the house of Thomas Butler at Nunnington—witness Butler's will, made on 28th June 1539 and proved on 7th August.

'I will that Sir Thomas Watson saye masse for me by the space of iij yeres and he to have his mett and drinke in my house with my wife and my childer so long as he and they can agre and xliiij. iiijd. for his wages by yere. I will that Sir Robert Barker have meyt and drinke withe my wif and my children so long as he is contented to have and take it. Item I geve hym xxs. to praye for me . . .'<sup>20</sup>

Robert was most likely dead by 1552, since his name is omitted from the pension returns for that year.

<sup>18</sup> York Wills, 17/310.

<sup>19</sup> Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record, Series xli/49.

<sup>20</sup> Yorks. Wills, 11/37.

## 3. MARMADUKE CHRISTALOWE

He was probably of very local origin, since the will of William Christalowe of Coxwold, dated 23rd August 1523, says—

'lego abbati de mon' de bellalanda iijs. iiijd. et conventui iijs. iiijd. et lego fratri meo marmaduco monacho dicti mon meum optimum equum soluto mortuario meo . . .'<sup>21</sup>

Marmaduke did not survive the dissolution long. The administration of his goods, as late of the monastery of Byland, is dated 14th April 1540.<sup>22</sup>

## 4. RICHARD LEITHELEY

He survived the dissolution by even less time. His administration—again as late of Byland—is dated 29th December 1539.

## 5. THOMAS BOLTON (POULTON)

This monk may have acquired a benefice, since although he is not mentioned in the pension survey of 1552, an administration of his goods—late of Byland—was granted in July 1558.

## 6. RICHARD PEERSON (ALIAS HELMESLEY)

This is fairly certainly the Richard Helmesley, monk of Byland, who was ordained priest at York in September 1502, and mentioned in the will of Robert Symondson of Helmsley in April 1506—

'lego domino Rico. Person monacho in Biland xs . . .'<sup>23</sup>

He would be a very old man by sixteenth century reckoning at the dissolution, and it is not surprising that it was noted in the 1552 pension return that 'he apper not'.

## 7. JOHN MOYSER

He was most likely a member of the Kilburn Moiser family. The will of William Parker of the Lounde beside Kilburn, dated 3rd January 1541, leaves—

'to Sir John Moyser to sing for my soul at Kilburn a holl yere iiij li'.<sup>24</sup>

Moiser's name occurs in the 1552 pension list—he appeared with his patent and complained that he had not been paid for a year. The York diocesan registers and Act Books seem to contain no reference to his having obtained a benefice.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 9/250.

<sup>22</sup> This and all later administrations quoted are in *York Probate Registry, Admin. Books*.

<sup>23</sup> *Yorks. Wills*, 6/162.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 11/680.

## 8. WILLIAM BAKSTER

This was perhaps the William Kilburn, monk of Byland, who was ordained acolyte in York on 1st April 1503. There is no evidence that he ever had a benefice in the York diocese, and his name does not come into the 1553 pension returns.

## 9. HENRY TOPPING ALIAS THORNTON

He was ordained acolyte, as monk of Byland, on 1st April 1503 with John Alanbridge, and received all the other orders with him, save the priesthood, which he received in March 1508–09. He was mentioned in the Byland comperta of Cromwell's visitation of 1535 as accused of immorality. The 1552 pension returns do not mention him. A Henry Topping was vicar of Hockerton in 1560, and later prebendary of Southwell, subscribing to the thirty-nine Articles in 1571.<sup>25</sup> Since the monk—to judge from the dates of his ordinations—was hardly born after 1486, it is just possible that he was the holder of these benefices.

## 10. THOMAS METCALFE

He was possibly the Thomas York, monk of Byland, who was ordained priest at York on 22nd September 1515. There is no sign that he ever held a benefice in the diocese of York. The 1552 pension return says that he appeared with his patent. He died in Kilburn in 1558—

'In dei nomine Amen. xiiij die mensis Aprilis Anno dom. 1558.

I, Thomas Metcalf prest laite member of the laite dissolved monasterie of byland in the parish of Kilburn, hole of mynde, give my soule to God, our ladie and all the saintes . . . my bodie to be buried in the churche of our ladie of kilburn . . . to the churche of kilburn vjs. viijd . . . to Agnes Metcalfe my brother John daughter a yonge sowe my beste gowne xxs. and my bygger pann . . . to every towne within this parish of kilburn xld . . . to Sir Christopher Raner my beste tippet . . . to Rafe Thompson iis. . . . to peter frankland wyfe my solden sylver spoon and a cheste . . . to jane frankland a cupborde . . . to Sir William Edward vjs. viijd. to prairie for me . . . to Sir John Alanbridge my beste sylver spoone . . . to my cosyn? Metcalf yf she be livinge xs. . . . to Isabell the made that kepeth me a pare of shetes . . . to old mystres Eggilfield either vjs. viijd. or els the fethers in my fether bed . . . To Robert Eggilfield a pressor and a band in his custodie . . . sole executoe Peter Frankland xs.' Proved June 16th 1558.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *York Diocesan Records, Act Books 1 and 2*.

<sup>26</sup> *York Wills*, 15/334.

## 11. THOMAS HOGGARD

It is possible that he was the 'Sir Thomas Hogarde my brother' mentioned in the will of John Hoggard of Warmsworth in June 1540.<sup>27</sup> A Thomas Hoggard was a chantry priest in Beverley in 1548.<sup>28</sup> We have been unable to find any evidence that Hoggard held any other benefice in the diocese. His name does not occur in the 1552 pension return.

## 12. ROBERT BAYNTON

He was ordained priest, as monk of Byland, at York on 19th May 1518. Since he was given the large pension of £10, it is very likely that he was the 'Mr Byland' who was a student at the Cistercian house, St Bernard's, in Oxford, in the 1520s.<sup>29</sup> The Oxford registers contain no record of his proceeding to a degree, but they are incomplete for this period.

Two facts about his later career are certain. He was summoned to the 1552 pension commission, but 'apperd not'. He was still alive and in receipt of his pension in 1573 (then being at least seventy-six years old) when he had to contribute to a clerical subsidy.<sup>30</sup>

There are other details which very probably relate to him. A Robert Baynton was chantry priest in 1548 in Twothorpe, Wharram Percy.<sup>31</sup> In April, May and June 1545, John Reves, in the parish of Wharram Percy, went about saying that Baynton was evil-living and would behave in the parish 'as he did where he dwelt before' whence 'he was fayn to flee and runne awaye'. Baynton brought a diffamation case against Reves in the bishop's court, and proved to the satisfaction of the judges that he was of good repute in Wharram Percy and that the allegations were false.<sup>32</sup> He does not seem to have held the vicarage of that parish, but was possibly the Robert Baynton who was instituted to Hinderskelf in 1571, and later to Hutton-on-the-Hill, where he died in 1577-8—

'15 Jan. 20 Eliz. Robert Bainton priest of Hoton on Hill . . . xijd. to the poor . . . to the righte worshipfull Barbara Gower wife to Mr Thomas gower esquire of hoton xiijs. iiijd. . . . to Thomas gower esquire xxvjs. viijd supervisor. Proved April 9th 1578.'<sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 11/519.

<sup>28</sup> *Surtees Soc. Yorks Chantry Certificates* ii/538.

<sup>29</sup> *L. and P.*, 1538 (ii) 403.

<sup>30</sup> *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, 19/100ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Surtees Soc. Yorks. Chantry Certs.* i/135.

<sup>32</sup> *York Diocesan Records*, R. VII, 9, 338.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, Act Book 2; *Yorks. Wills*, 21/107.

## 13. ROBERT WEBSTER

Three monks of Byland: Robert Foston, Robert Thirsk and Robert Farlington, were ordained acolytes in York in May 1521. These are clearly Webster, Wilkinson (14) and Leef (Lease. 15) but it is impossible to identify their places of origin further than this.

Webster was not called to the pension enquiry of 1552 nor does there seem to be any evidence that he held a benefice in the diocese. It is possible that he was the priest of the same name who was a chantry priest at Beverley in 1548.<sup>34</sup>

## 14. ROBERT WILKINSON

He was perhaps the Robert Wilkinson who was chantry priest at Gilling West in 1548. In 1552 he 'apperd with his patent' and was still receiving his pension in 1573.

## 15. ROBERT LEEFF (LEASE ?)

The only evidence for his later career is contained in the report recorded by the pension commissioners in 1552, that (he) 'died the sexte day of May and is behind for half a yere at the feste of Saint Mertyn in anno quinto which was paid to William Davell.' The Davell family lived at Coxwold.

## 16. PETER JACKSON. ALIAS NORTON

## 17. JOHN CLEVELAND ALIAS JORVALLE (JORVAX)

## 18. CHRISTOPHER CROMBOCK

One of these monks—and very possibly, all three—falls in a class apart from the rest of the Byland community. Crombock was originally a Cistercian of Whalley Abbey. He was ordained priest at York on 20th February 1535. His name comes directly after those of some Byland monks, with the note—'Christopherus Crammoke de Whalley per litteras dimissorias'. We have no means of knowing why he transferred his stability to Byland. Whalley was suppressed in 1537, two years before Byland, because the community was heavily implicated in the Pilgrimage of Grace. But Crombock left Whalley for Byland at least two years before the rising. He died at Monk Fryston in 1561.<sup>35</sup> He had also appeared with his pension patent in 1552 in the North Riding, so that it seems unlikely that he ever returned to Lancashire for any major part of his life after the dissolution of Byland. Yet there is no extant evidence that he ever held a Yorkshire benefice.

<sup>34</sup> *Surtees Soc. Yorks. Chantry Certs.*, ii/531.

<sup>35</sup> *Yorks. Parish Register Soc.*

The York ordination registers seem to imply that Jackson and Cleveland were also migrants to Byland in the early 1530s—in this case from Roche Abbey. They were both ordained subdeacons at York on 30th March 1532 as monks of Byland, but were ordained deacons on the following 29th December as monks of Roche, and priests in February 1535, again as monks of Byland. Jackson then disappears from view. Cleveland certainly appeared in the North Riding with his patent in 1552 and was possibly the priest of the same name who was chantry priest in the church of Our Lady, Halifax, in 1548, and vicar of Tunstall in 1552.<sup>36</sup>

## 19. WILLIAM HYRDE

It is possible that this was William Watson, monk of Byland, who was ordained priest at York on 29th December 1532. A William Watson, rector of Levisham, was instituted at Heslerton in June 1554.<sup>37</sup> No monk of either name occurs in the 1552 pension enquiry.

## 20. THOMAS MURTON ?

A monk of Byland of this name was ordained priest at York in 1532 with Watson. No such name occurs on any Byland pension list, nor (assuming that Murton is a place name) does it seem possible to identify him with any other in the pension lists.

## 21 WILLIAM OLDFIELD ?

A 'fr. William Oldfield' is included with Byland monks ordained subdeacons on 21st December 1521. There is no other trace of the name, and it may only be an error on the part of the writer who copied the list into the episcopal register. On the other hand, it is not impossible that there was such a monk of Byland, who was transferred to another house, or who received a 'capacity' from Wolsey.

## 22. WILLIAM WEDERALL ALIAS GILLING

He first appears in the York register as 'William Wederall de Gilling' made acolyte in February 1533. This may be merely an error, or may mean that he was not yet a monk. The latter hypothesis seems to be borne out by the fact that two years elapsed before he was ordained subdeacon on 1st April 1536, in the church of the Carmelite Convent, York, and then he was entered as 'fr. Willielmus gilling, monachus de byland'. There are no extant ordination records at York between February 1537 and March 1539. This may well be simply because

<sup>36</sup> *Surtees Soc. Yorks. Chantry Certs.*, ii/300; *York Act Books*.

<sup>37</sup> *Act Book* 2/f. 4.

ordinations were very few in that year. During the preceding thirty years, the vast majority of York ordinands had been either religious or seculars ordained to titles supplied by religious houses—since so many benefices were 'appropriated' to religious houses. The many dissolutions during that year and the consequent unsettlement in the surviving houses must have gravely upset ordinations.

Wedderall was ordained deacon in York Minster, at the altar of St Mary, on 20th March 1539, some months after the dissolution of Byland 'ad titulum promiss' quinqu' librarum in Gilling ex donac' nich' farefax de eadem militis'. A fortnight later, on Holy Saturday, 5th April, he was ordained priest to the same title. Presumably he served for a time as curate to the vicar of Gilling or chaplain at Gilling castle. He appeared with his patent for the meagre pension of £4 (corresponding to his status at Byland) in 1552. In May 1554 a William Wedderall resigned the living of Eperston, and someone of the same name died in 1566 vicar of Lanham Co. Notts.<sup>38</sup>

## 23. WILLIAM WAULTON (WALTAM) ALIAS KIRKEBY

William Kirkeby, monk of Byland, was ordained subdeacon in the church of the Augustinians, York, on 24th February 1537. This must be the William Waulton of the Byland pension list at the dissolution. William Waltam, 'nuper monachus de bylande', was ordained deacon with others from the archdeaconry of Richmond on 20th March 1539. On 20th September of the same year, at a special ordination 'in monasterio de Guisborn' he was ordained priest, simply as 'William Walton'. There are numbers of references to a William Walton in the York diocesan archives, and some day it may be possible to disentangle them and to discover which refer to the monk of Byland.

## 24. HENRY PEERSON ALIAS RICHMOND

A Henry Peerson occurs in the Byland first pension list, amongst the most junior members of the community. A Henry Richmond, monk of Byland, was ordained subdeacon at York in February 1537. He is not mentioned in the ordination lists of 1539–40, which may mean that he proceeded to the other orders during the year 1538–9 for which there are no records remaining. He was not called to the pension enquiry of 1552 and there seems to be no trace of his holding a benefice in the diocese.

## 25. RICHARD JUDSON ALIAS BAXBAY

Richard Baxbie, monk of Byland, was ordained subdeacon in February 1537. The list of ordinations to the diaconate in March 1539

<sup>38</sup> *York Act Book*, 1/f. 208v.

has 'Richardus Judson nuper monachus de bilande ad titulum'. [sic.] He was ordained priest in York Minster on 8th December 1540 to the title of his monastic pension. It is possible that he was the Richard Judson who was chantry priest and schoolmaster at Pickering in 1548, and perhaps also the man of that name who was vicar of Kirby Moorside from 1548 to 1592.<sup>39</sup>

## 26. JOHN HERRISON

The Byland suppression pension list says that this monk was to have no pension because he had received the vicarage of Old Byland. It is practically impossible to trace his later career for a variety of reasons. There seems to be no reference to incumbents of this parish in the York archives. There are many references to John Harrisons—more than for any other name. But there were several ex-religious of that name.

## 27. BARNARD BRADLEY ?

The suppression commissioners put this name in the first Byland pension list, but later struck it out. Otherwise there seems to be no trace of such a monk in ordination lists, institutions or Act Books. We have no means of knowing whether this was an error, or whether there was such a monk.

The attempt to compile the lists of monks of Byland and Rievaulx and to trace their careers after the dissolution has sufficed to show the many difficulties which hamper generalizations. Ex-religious were very numerous in Yorkshire—it has been calculated that there were some 438, not counting friars.<sup>40</sup> Also it will never be possible to make full lists of the incumbents of many parishes, partly because of missing records, partly because of the multiplicity of 'peculiar' jurisdictions in the diocese. Again, although there are hundreds of extant clerical wills dating from the sixteenth century, none seem to survive in the case of the great majority of ex-religious.

## NOTE

Since the printing of *The Rievaulx Community after the Dissolution*, the following extra details have been noticed—

8. WILLIAM STORER was the son of John Storer of Hawnbly, whose will, dated 4th August 1506 leaves—

'Abbati de Ryvax pro absolucionem xls . . . prioriss' et conventui de Arden . . . dompno Willmo. filio meo pro uno trentale xs.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Surtees Soc. Yorks. Chantry Certificates* ii/vii, 57; *York Act Books* 1 and 2.

<sup>40</sup> E. H. R. July 1940, A. G. Dickens, 'The Edwardian Arrears in Augmentations Payments and the Problem of the Ex-Religious'.

<sup>41</sup> *Yorks. Wills*, 6/159v.

9. RICHARD BLITH ALIAS SCARBOROUGH is mentioned in the will of his brother, Thomas Blythe, priest, dated 18th November 1545—

' . . . to be buried in the parish church of Scarborough in the Corpus Christi yle soo neye my fader as I maye convenientlie . . . a preist to singe a yere for my soule and my families . . . to Richard Blithe sonne to Sir Peter Blithe . . . to Robert Blithe my broder my virginalles . . . to my broder Sir Richarde Blethe iijli . . . to my broder Sir Peter Blithe my sarcenett tippet.<sup>42</sup>

11. RICHARD LYNGE ALIAS ALLERTON was the son of John Leyng of Griff, Helmesley, yeoman, whose will, dated 9th December 1531, leaves—

'to my lorde abbat of Ryvall for absolucion iijs. iiijd. . . to every on of the brethren of Ryvalle iiijd. . . to the monasterie of biland for absolucion xxd. . . to the freres of Allerton . . . to the prior his broder for saying of on trentall of masses for my soule vx. . . my grandams pare of bedes and my mothers yf my broder and sister make no demand for them (go to maintain a light to our Lady) . . . supervisors . . . my sone dane Richard Alerton monke of Ryveall.<sup>43</sup>

21. HENRY CAWTON ALIAS THIRSK was the brother of Robert Cawton of Thirsk, whose will, dated 24th June 1529, leaves—

'to Sir Roger Cawton my broder vjs. viijd. to hys offering when he syngs his first messe . . . to the three maries in Thriske church and Sanct ? 2 lb. wax . . . a trentall of masses by the freres of Richmond and Allerton . . . to the house of Arden . . . to my broder dan henry cawton iijs. iiijd.<sup>44</sup>

## 22. THOMAS CAPRONE ALIAS SKEGBY

He was a monk of Rufford Abbey and, as such, was ordained subdeacon in March 1535 at York. Presumably his coming to Rievaulx was connected with the fact that the last abbot (from 1537) had previously been abbot of Rufford.

H.A.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 13/118.

<sup>43</sup> *Yorks. Wills*, 11/164.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 9/457.