

**THE ABBOTS OF WARDON, *ST MARY DE SARTIS*
1135-1537**

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Abbreviations

AN	Anglo-Norman
BARS	Bedfordshire Archives
Beds	County of Bedfordshire
BL	British Library
BHRS	Bedfordshire Historical Record Society publication
BRUO	<i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1500 to 1540</i> , ed. A.B. Emden (Oxford, 1974)
<i>Cal. Close R.</i>	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> (London, 1902-)
<i>Cal. Papal R.</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland</i> (London, 1893-)
<i>Cal. Pat. R.</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</i> (London, 1903-)
Cambs	County of Cambridgeshire
<i>Cambs. Fines</i>	<i>Pedes Finium: Or, Fines, Relating to the County of Cambridge</i> , ed. W. Rye (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1891)
<i>Cartul. Col.</i>	<i>Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria</i> , ed. S.A. Moore (London, 1897)
<i>Cartul. Rievaulx</i>	<i>Cartularium Abbatiae de Rievaille</i> , ed. J. C. Atkinson (Surtees Society, 1889)
CCEd	Clergy of the Church of England Database
<i>Chron. Mailros</i>	<i>Chronica de Mailros</i> , ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1835)
CRR	<i>Curia Regis Rolls of the reigns of Richard I and John [Richard I-2 John]</i> , ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte (London, 1922)
Derbys	County of Derbyshire
Hants	County of Hampshire
HE	Historic England
<i>Heads, I</i>	D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke, and V.C.M. London (eds.), <i>The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, I, 940–1216</i> , second edn. (Cambridge University Press, 2001)
<i>Heads, II</i>	D.M. Smith and V.C.M. London (eds.), <i>The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, II, 1216-1377</i> (Cambridge University Press, 2001)
<i>Heads, III</i>	D.M. Smith (ed.), <i>The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, III, 1377-1540</i> (Cambridge University Press, 2011)
Herts	County of Hertfordshire
Hunts	Huntingdonshire (Historic county of England)
LAO	Lincolnshire Archives Office
Leics	County of Leicestershire
<i>Letters</i>	<i>Letters from the English Abbots to Citeaux</i> , ed. C.H. Talbot, Camden Soc., 4 th Ser. No. 4 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1967)
<i>Letters of Pope Innocent III</i>	<i>The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and Wales. A Calendar with an appendix of texts</i> , ed. C.R. Cheney and M.G. Cheney (Clarendon Press, 1967)
<i>Linc. Epis. Reg.</i>	Register of the Bishop of Lincoln

Lincs	County of Lincolnshire
<i>LP</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII</i> (London, 1902-)
<i>LRS</i>	Lincoln Record Society publication
<i>Mon.</i>	W. Dugdale, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1817-49)
Northants	County of Northamptonshire
Northants. RO	Northamptonshire Archives and Heritage Service
<i>NRS</i>	Northamptonshire Record Society publication
N. Yorks	County of North Yorkshire
Notts	County of Nottinghamshire
Oxon	County of Oxfordshire
PRO	The Public Record Office (amalgamated with The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts to form The National Archives)
<i>SCR</i>	<i>Sibton Abbey Cartularies and Charters</i> , ed. P. Brown (Boydell Press, 1985-88)
<i>Statuta</i>	<i>Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786</i> , ed. J-M. Canivez, 8 vols. (Louvain, 1933-1941)
TNA	The National Archives
<i>Tudor Cist.</i>	D.H. Williams, <i>The Tudor Cistercians</i> (Gracewing, 2014)
<i>VE</i>	<i>Valor Ecclesiasticus, temp. Henry VIII</i> , ed. J. Caley et al., (London, 1810-1834)
<i>VCH Beds</i>	<i>Victoria County History: A History of the County of Bedford</i> (London, 1904-)
Warwicks	County of Warwickshire

1 Timeline

Introduction

It was common practice to reference heads of religious houses by appointment rather than by name, which presents a challenge when attempting to compile an exact and agreed chronological list of Wardon's abbots. The following names and dates, spanning 400 years from the foundation of the monastery in 1135 until its suppression in 1537, are found in reliable sources, but details are often limited to when someone 'occurs' rather than the exact dates of tenure. Where information has been derived from early (undated) charters, dates can sometimes only be placed in context by looking at other contemporary events and an element of doubt may remain. Dates in italics remain open to challenge.

The timeline is intended as an overview of key dates / events during the abbey's history. In sections 1 to 5 each abbot is assigned to the century in which he was elected, and notes with citations provided as evidence. The traditional spelling of 'Wardon' is used throughout, unless included as part of a quotation in which an alternative was applied. All placenames refer to settlements in the county of Bedfordshire unless otherwise stated.

Date	Remarks
1100-35	King Henry I
1135	Walter Espec, lord of the manor of <i>Wardone</i> , founds Wardon Abbey for the Cistercian Order (the White Monks). ¹ Espec granted the advowson of the parish church to the monastery between 1135 and 1154. ²
1135, occurs c.1160/70	Abbot Simon
1135-54	King Stephen
1154-89	Henry II
? -c.1186	Abbot Hugh
c.1186-c.1198	Abbot Pagan
1189-99	Richard I
c.1198-c.1200	Abbot Warin I
1199-1216	King John
Occurs 1200	Abbot Roger I
c.1200, occurs 1205	Abbot Warin II

¹ Wardon Abbey occurs in a charter of Henry I (died 1 December 1135) in which he granted protection to the monks of Wardon. The charter was reissued by Henry II and recited by Henry VII on 14 December 1508. *Cal. Pat. R., Henry VII*, vol. 2, p. 613 (7).

² **advowson**: right to nominate the parish priest. The original charter has been lost, but a dispute over ownership in 1199 is documented in the *Rotuli Curiae Regis*, ed. F. Palgrave (London, 1835), vol. 1, pp. 242 and 326; *CRR*, pp. 251-52.

Date	Remarks
Occurs 1208, 1209/10	Abbot Laurence I
After 1209/10-1215	Abbot Henry I
1215-1224	Abbot Roger II
1216-72	Henry III
1224-c. 1233	Abbot William I
Occurs 1234-1242	Abbot Adam
1242-c. 1258	Abbot Geoffrey
Occurs 1259, 1271	Abbot Alexander Reynes
Occurs 1272, 1276	Abbot Elias
1272-1307	Edward I
c. 1278, occurs 1290	Abbot John de Dallinger
1290s	Work begins on rebuilding and extending the abbey church
Occurs 1302, died 1304	Abbot Laurence II
1304-1313	Abbot Ralf de Harrold
1307-27	Edward II
1313-c. 1317	Abbot Geoffrey de Stanford
1315-17	Great Famine in England (sometimes dated to 1315-22). Wardon Abbey falls into debt ³ and almost certainly suspends all work on an extension to the abbey church
c. 1317, occurs 1320	Abbot Thomas
1320s	Wardon Abbey compounds its debts, possibly in an attempt to revitalise the construction work on the church ⁴
c. 1320, occurs 1324	Abbot Robert of Odell
1327-77	Edward III
Occurs 1330, 1346	Abbot William de Helmsley

³ In November 1317 a £430 loan by Banquino Bruneschi of Florence was shared between Sawtry, Wardon and the Gilbertine house of Chicksands. A.R. Bell, C. Brooks and P.R. Dryburgh, *The English Wool Market c1230-1327* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 103.

⁴ On 26 July 1320 John de Triple [Tripoli] loaned 500 marks to the abbot, and on 3 April 1323 merchants of the society of the Peruzzi loaned a further £1,330 6s 8d. *Cal. Close R., Edward II*, vol. 3, pp. 317 and 705.

Date	Remarks
1330s	Likely completion of the abbey church extension
1337-1453	The Hundred Years' War
1349	The pestilence reaches Wardon Abbey ⁵
After 1356, occurs 1365	Abbot William III?
Occurs 1377, 1379	Abbot Walter Clifton
12 November 1376	Wardon Abbey appropriates the parish church ⁶
1377-99	Richard II
1378-1417	Great Schism in the Catholic Church
Occurs 1397, 1399	Abbot John I
1399-1413	Henry IV
Occurs 1404	Abbot William IV
1413-1422	Henry V
Occurs 1415	Abbot John II
1422-61	Henry VI
Occurs 1428, 1431	Abbot William V
Occurs 1437	Abbot John Alcumbury
1441, occurs 1472	Abbot John Fraunceys
1455-85	Wars of the Roses
1461-70	Edward IV
1470-71	Henry VI
1471-83	Edward IV
?-1479	Abbot William Huby
1479-91	Abbot not known
1483-85	Richard III

⁵ *BHRS*, 13, 14 (7).

⁶ On 12 November 1376 the abbot of Wardon paid 40 marks at Westminster to obtain a licence from Edward III to appropriate the parish church, thereby taking over both income and responsibility for paying various dues. *Cal. Pat. R., Edward III*, vol. 16, p. 37.

Date	Remarks
1485-1509	Henry VII
1491, occurs 1492	Abbot John Bright
By 1500, retired 1535	Abbot Augustine London
1509-47	Henry VIII
1535, deposed July 1537	Abbot Henry Emery
July/August 1537	Thomas London
Reinstated August 1537	Abbot Henry Emery
4 December 1537	Wardon Abbey surrenders to Henry VIII ⁷

⁷ Wardon Abbey Deed of Surrender (4 December 1537), TNA, E 322/253; Transcription of the Deed of Surrender, BARS, CRT 100/5.

2 TWELFTH-CENTURY ABBOTS OF WARDON

SIMON

Previous experience

Simon served as the first novicemaster of Rievaulx Abbey, an office suitable only for an experienced monk with exceptional personal qualities. It is probable that in common with William, the first abbot of the North Yorkshire monastery, Simon joined the Cistercian order in France before moving to Rievaulx on its foundation in 1132.⁸ The future St Aelred, who entered the novitiate at Rievaulx in 1134, proved to be Simon's most noteworthy and best documented charge, with the novicemaster unquestionably having played a crucial role in Aelred's spiritual development.⁹

- 1135/43** Abbot Simon was mentioned in the privilege of Pope Innocent II when Wardon Abbey was taken under the protection of the Holy See.¹⁰
- 1147/53** 'Simon Abbas de Sartis' occurs on the list of witnesses to the foundation charter of Chicksands Priory. Documented in order of seniority, Simon appears second only to Henry [Murdac], archbishop of York.¹¹
- 1151** 'Simone Abbate de Sartis' and others witnessed the charter of Richard, son of Nigel, concerning grants made by Nigel to the church of Lanthony in Henlow.¹² Abbot Simon also witnessed the associated confirmation charter issued by overlord Robert de Albin, which occurs later on the same page of the cartulary of Llanthony Priory. Undated, it is likely to have been issued at the same time.
- 1154/72** Hugh de Beauchamp confirmed to Abbot Simon some additional land, which had been granted to the monastery by Walter Espec.¹³ The grant probably dates to the time of Walter's retirement, not long before his death c.1154.
- ?c.1160/70** Agreement between Robert, the parson of Southill church, and Simon, abbot of Wardon, that the abbey would pay one mark [13s 4d] yearly for the tithe on produce and stock from all of the land which it owned in the parish.¹⁴

⁸ Educated in York, William was a native Yorkshireman who rose to become secretary to (the future saint) Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux. After fifteen years of monastic experience in France, William was chosen to lead the new settlement at Rievaulx, and arrived in England bearing a letter to King Henry I in which Bernard sought support for the venture. The letter is generally considered by historians as the starting point for negotiations to establish the first Cistercian house in the north of England, but in the absence of details or names, any suggestion that Simon was amongst those chosen to accompany William remains conjecture. P. Fergusson, G. Coppack and S. Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey, English Heritage Guidebook*, 2nd edn (English Heritage, 2016,) p. 14; E.M. Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Environment, 1132-1300* (The University of Leeds, 2001), pp. 28-29.

⁹ P. Diemer, *Saint Aelred of Rievaulx* (Gracewing, 1997), p. 5. In P-A. Burton, *Aelred of Rievaulx (1110-1167). An Existential and Spiritual Biography* (Paris, 2010), trans. C. Coski (Liturgical Press, 2020) pp. 3 and 134, the author comments on Aelred's ascetic efforts in his monastic life. In particular, Aelred promoted the ideology of Colossians 3:5 by shunning 'sexual immorality, impurity, passion, evil desire, and covetousness'.

¹⁰ Add. MS. 24465, f. 25 recited in *BHRS*, 13, 16 (12).

¹¹ G.H. Fowler (ed.), 'Early charters of the priory of Chicksand' [*sic*], *BHRS*, 1 (1913), 101-128 (104). Henry Murdac was formerly abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Fountains (N. Yorks).

¹² *Cartulary of Llanthony Priory*, vol. 1, part X (No. 4). TNA, C115/77.

¹³ *BHRS*, 13, 242-43 (324).

¹⁴ *BHRS*, 13, 15 (10). The arrangement to pay cash in lieu of tithes was administratively simpler and flattened out inconsistencies in the harvest. It suggests an average yield from the abbey's lands in Southill of ten marks [£6 13s 4d] annually.

Death There is no clear date for the end of Simon's abbacy, but it is likely that he died sometime during the early 1160s when he would have been in his late fifties or early sixties.

HUGH

Experience 'Hugone, de Sartis' was one of twenty-four witnesses to a charter by which Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham (1153-95), conceded lands in Cowton to Rievaulx Abbey.¹⁵ It is conceivable that 'Hugone, de Sartis', deputising for Abbot Simon towards the end of his life, may have been the prior and it is equally possible that he was the man elected as Simon's successor.

Elected There is no obvious start date for Hugh, whose abbacy overlapped with Abbot Walter Walensis of Colchester Abbey (c. 1164-1179).¹⁶ It is probable, however, that he was elected early in the 1160s.

1173 Agreement made at the Benedictine abbey of Ramsey between Payn, abbot of Saltery [*sic*] and Herbert, prior of the Benedictine house at St Neots concerning the mills of Paxton. Witnessed by William, abbot of Ramsey and Hugh, abbot of Wardon.¹⁷ The agreement appears to relate to the abbey of Sawtry, founded in 1147 as the eldest daughter of Wardon.

1174/79 Transcript of a charter concerning land held by the abbey at [Great] Paxton (Hunts).¹⁸

1174x81 'Gift by William, son of Humphrey de Bolton to Rievaulx abbey, for the soul of Gamel his uncle, of 8 acres and 3 roods of land in [East] Bolton; and of his interest in all the pasture which Acaris his lord had given in the same vill'. Charter witnessed by 'Hugone abbate de Sartis, Adam de Karrum canonico, Alexandro monacho de Sartis, Hugone filio Willelmi dapifero Everardi de Ros, Willelmo Filio Briani de Helmes[eia], Edmundo Berechil, Ricardo de Wanc'ugh' Serlone de Mart[ona]'. See the corresponding entry below.¹⁹

Before 1185 The cartulary of Rievaulx Abbey documents 'Hugonis, Abbate de Sartis' as the most senior of eight witnesses to a charter by which 'William Fitz-Unfrid de Bolton granted eight acres and three perches in Bolton, with assent to the grant

¹⁵ *Cartul. Rievaulx*, p. 29 (No. IX).

¹⁶ *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria*, ed. S.A. Moore (London, 1897) pt. 2, p. 529.

¹⁷ G.C. Gorham, *A Supplement to the history and antiquities of Eynesbury and St Neot's in Huntingdonshire*, 2 vols. (London, 1824). Vol. 2 contains an abstract of the two cartularies of St Neots Priory contained in MSS. Brit. Mus. Cotton, Faustina A. IV., and in MSS. Stowe, Press III. No. 88 together with a catalogue of autograph charters. Page xi (52) refers. cf. *BM Cott. MS Faust. A. iv*, f. 38r-v – Wednesday, 18 Aug cited in *Heads, I*, p. 146.

¹⁸ The transcript concerns '(a) Notification by H[ugh], abbot of Wardon, of a composition with Berengar, chaplain [or rector] of [Great] Paxton (Hunts.), rel. compensation for sheaves which he had customarily received from the lands of their cultivation (*de laboribus eorum*), c. 1174x9 [Lincoln Dean & Chapter Archive, Register A/1/6, R 308]'. Lincoln Dean & Chapter Archive, Register A/1/6, nos. 308 and 310 cited by 'Monastic Archives, monarc.archive.04212'. (UCL library services), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/library/digital-collections>.

¹⁹ *The Early Yorkshire Charters, vol. IV. The Honour of Richmond Part 1*, ed. C.T. Clay (The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1935), Record Series, Extra Series, vol. 1, p. 126 (95).

of pasture made by Acharius de Tunstal'. The second witness was 'Adam de Karrum, Canonico', followed by 'Alexandro, Monacho de Sartis'.²⁰

Death Resigned or died in or before 1186 when his successor first occurs.

PAGAN (Payn, Payen, and Payne)

Elected Abbot Pagan occurs in 1186. It is conceivable that he was the abbot of Sawtry before election / promotion to the abbacy of the mother house. Above entry for Abbot Hugh dated 1173 refers.

1185x95 'P., *abbate de Ward[ona]*' was the senior of the many individuals who witnessed a charter confirming that Abbot Garin of St Albans (Benedictine), together with the Cistercian abbots of Revesby and Garendon, had resolved a dispute between the monks of St Serge, Angers, and those of Savigny concerning the tithes of the demesne of Bennington (Lincs) belonging to the priory of Swavesey (an alien house in Cambs).²¹

1186 Abbot Pagan was commissioned by Pope Urban III, together with G. the prior of Chicksands and Prior Osbert of Cauldwell, to resolve a dispute between the prior of St Neots and Matthew the priest of Thurning (Northants).²² The seals of the abbot of Wardon and the prior of Caldwell were made in white wax. ✠ SIGILLVM ABBATIS DE SARTIS GARDONI, round an abbot with his staff and book.²³ A second document describes the seal as 'small, oval: an Abbot'.

1192 **4th April.** The nuns of Harrold Priory had asked Pope Celestine III for three judges to be delegated to resolve the illegal occupancy of Stevington church by clergyman, Baldwin of Guines. The pope issued a mandate on 4th April nominating 'Payen, abbot of Wardon (O. Cist.)' as the senior judge, the others being the abbot of Chicksands and the archdeacon of Huntingdon.²⁴

1196 **6th December.** Robert, son of Olimpias de Clifton quitclaimed land in Chicksands to Payn, Abbot of Wardon who was represented in court at Westminster by Warin, the cellarer.²⁵

²⁰ *Cartul. Rievaulx*, p. 90 (No. **CXLIV**).

²¹ *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, volume 1 AD 918-1206*, ed. J. Horace Round, (London, 1899), p. 296 (**817**).

²² At issue were tithes on 24 acres in the parish of Hemington, and a settlement was reached whereby the priest restored a share of the tithes to the prior, who in turn granted the remaining portion of the income to Matthew for the rest of his life. Text available in *NRS*, 4, 76-77, and at <http://monasterium.net/mom/DEEDS/00670027/charter>.

²³ *Supplement to the history and antiquities of Eynesbury and St Neot's in Huntingdonshire*, pp. xl (**494**) and lxxiv (**56**) cite Autograph, Buccleugh Evidences, Pyx xxv and *Cott. Cartul. Hist. St. Neot's*, n. 494.

²⁴ The delegates were to force Baldwin or anyone holding the church on his behalf to either restore it to the nuns or take whatever action they considered fair. It appears that the delegates judged in favour of the nuns, but Baldwin held out and the process dragged on until 1198-99, by which time Abbot Payne had retired and mislaid some of the relevant documents. C.R. Cheney, 'Harrold priory: a twelfth century dispute,' *BHRS*, 32 (1952), 4-6.

²⁵ 'A Calendar for the Feet of Fines for Bedfordshire for the reigns of Richard I, King John and Henry III 1192-1272', ed. G.H. Fowler, *BHRS*, 6 (1919), 10 (**11**).

1197 **22nd April.** Simon de Holewell quitclaimed land in Southill to the abbot of Wardon who was again represented in court at Westminster by Warin, the cellarer.²⁶

Resigned Having retired by late 1198/early 1199, Pagan was replaced by Warin I.

WARIN I

Experience Warin the cellarer occurs in December 1196 and April 1197,²⁷ suggesting that this *may* be the same man. If so, he would have followed a common career path within the Cistercian Order, having previously gained experience by acting as Abbot Pagan's attorney in legal matters.²⁸

Elected Warin I succeeded Pagan after April/May 1197.

?1198x9 ? Jan. 8, 1198 x Dec 1199. 'To Warin abbot of Warden, W(alter?) prior of Chicksands, and H(ugh?) prior of Caldwell. Mandate to hear and decide case about tithes of two sheaves of the demesne of W. son of R. and of the demesne of the *curia* called *Werehaule* [?Odell], claimed by the monks of Stoke'.²⁹

1199 Warin, the abbot of Wardon occurs in a composition between the abbey and Newnham Priory, in which he agreed to pay 4 marks annually in lieu of tithes for land held by the abbey in the parishes belonging to the priory. The agreement was also documented in the cartulary of Newnham Priory.³⁰

1199 (Bedford) The abbot [unnamed] was represented in court by his monks, Henry and Warin³¹ in case against Hugh Wake, John de Builli and their wives.³²

Undated ? late 12th-early 13th century. Eleven witnesses to a charter granting land in Croxton to Sibton Abbey, chief among them 'Sir Warin, Abbot of Wardon'.³³

1200 (Bedford) The abbot [unnamed] was represented by monks, Henry and Warin, this time in a case concerning the advowson of the parish church at Eyeworth.³⁴

?1199 x Dec. 1208

'To Warin abbot of Warden, Ralph prior of Newnham, and Geoffrey archdeacon of Bedford. Papal mandate to hear and decide case, on complaint of William abbot and the monks of Pipewell against Richard abbot and convent of Cirencester and Mr. Ralph of Ford, their vicar, about Flithill in Braybrooke,

²⁶ *BHRS*, 6, 22 (14).

²⁷ *BHRS*, 13, 112 (148); *BHRS*, 6, 22 (14).

²⁸ *BHRS*, 6, 22 (14).

²⁹ *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and Wales*, ed. C.R. and M.G. Cheney (Oxford, 1967), p. 31, (176). The priory of Stoke Courcy was an alien priory in Somerset, an offshoot of the Benedictine Abbey of Lonlay in Normandy.

³⁰ *BHRS*, 13, 107-109 (143); 'The Cartulary of Newnham Priory', 2 vols., ed. J. Godber, *BHRS*, 43, vol. 1, 75-76 (126).

³¹ Given the level of responsibility, this may be the monk who was later elected abbot, Warin II.

³² *CRR*, p. 76.

³³ TNA, HD 1538/345/1/28.

³⁴ *CRR*, p. 270.

which the monks of Pipewell claim to hold of the church of Oxendon'. See below for details, which occur in the cartulary of Cirencester Abbey.³⁵

1198-c. 1200 'Agreement made before Warin, abbot of Wardon, Ralph, prior of Newenham, and Geoffrey, archdeacon of Bedford, as papal judges-delegate, between the abbot and monks of Pipewell and the abbot and canons of Cirencester and their vicar, touching the land of Fleethill in Braybrooke. The abbot and canons granted to the monks of Pipewell a moiety of the land, for a yearly render of 2s'.³⁶

Death Resigned or died late summer or early autumn 1200.³⁷

ROGER I

Elected In or shortly before autumn 1200.³⁸

1200 **13th October.** (Westminster) John de Meppershall confirmed a gift of land in Meppershall, which had been given to the abbey in free alms by his father, Gilbert. Roger, the abbot of Wardon was represented in court by Geoffrey, the cellarer.³⁹

Death Resigned or died between the close of 1200 and April 1205.

WARIN II

Elected No earlier than late autumn 1200.⁴⁰

c.1200 Warin, abbot of Wardon, witnessed a confirmation charter granting land and associated common grazing rights to Sibton Abbey, Suffolk.⁴¹ The charter is dated to c.1200, suggesting that the abbot *may* have been Warin I. However, the timing is only approximate and, given that Warin I may not have been sprightly enough to make the journey to Sibton, it has been placed in the abbacy of Warin II.

³⁵ Mentioned only, in notification of by the judges of an amicable composition, B.M. ms. Add. 37022 (Pipewell cartulary) fo. 16^v; B.M. ms. Cotton Calig. A. xii (Pipewell cartulary) fo. 101^v; *Cirencester cartulary*, ii, 590 (715). The final date is determined by the appearance of Abbot Warin (II) of Wardon and of archdeacon Geoffrey in the *Letters of Pope Innocent III*, p. 135 (818).

³⁶ The *Feet of F.* (Rec. Com.), 18, 73 is cited in *VCH Beds*, vol. 1, p. 381 (fn. 4) evidencing Ralph as prior of the Augustinian house of Newenham, Bedfordshire, in 1198 and 1205. Warin occurs as abbot of the Cistercian house of Wardon in 1199, but had been succeeded by Roger in 1200/1. 'Harl. MS. 3656, f. 60; and Add. MS. 24465, f. 26b (duplicates of the same charter)' and 'Hunter, *Feet of F.* 2 John (Rec. Com.), 27' are cited in *VCH Beds*, vol. 1, p. 365 (fn. 11 and 12). The coronation of Innocent III as pope in February 1198 provides an earlier limit of date according to *The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, Gloucestershire*, ed. C.D. Ross (Oxford University Press, 1964), vol. 2, p. 591 (715).

³⁷ *BHRS*, 6, 20 (67).

³⁸ *BHRS*, 13 (1930), 107-109 (143).

³⁹ *BHRS*, 6 (1919), 20 (67).

⁴⁰ *BHRS*, 6, 355 (Notes 342 g and h).

⁴¹ *SCR*, pt. 4, 13 (956).

- c.1200/10** Robert de Broy granted half a virgate in Dilwick to the abbey and in turn Abbot Warin granted it to Robert Pertesoyl.⁴² Again, this *may* be Warin I but given the date range, it is more likely to be Warin II.
- 1202** **6th June.** 'To (P.) abbot of Woburn and (W.) abbot of Warden [Warin II], of diocese Lincoln. Mandate to hear and decide case on complaint of (H.) prior and convent of Longueville against F. priest (of Moulsoe) and the nuns of Goring, about tithes of the demesne of Moulsoe. The commission follows a judgement by other judges delegate (see no. 358), who had refused to admit the proctors of the prior and convent and against whom the proctors had appealed'.⁴³
- 1205** **24th April.** (The Old Temple, Holborn) Wiscard Leidet and wife Margery granted Warin, the abbot of Wardon, 20 acres of land, and pasture for 200 sheep at West Wardon (Northants).⁴⁴
- 1205** **24th April.** (The Old Temple) Peter Cokerel granted a hide of land in Clifton and another in Southill to Warin, the abbot of Wardon.⁴⁵
- In or before May 1208** Elected to the abbacy of Rievaulx where he died in 1211.⁴⁶

⁴² *BHRS*, 13, 279 (342h).

⁴³ *Letters of Pope Innocent III*, pp. 68-69 (423).

⁴⁴ *BHRS*, 6, 32 (134). 'The land lying between Pesehill and the brook nearest to the road from Ferendun [Farndon] to Wardon, abutting on le sike [AN: streamlet or watercourse] and on the road from the Abbot's grange towards Bifeld [Byfield]'; *BHRS*, 13, 86-88 (113).

⁴⁵ *BHRS*, 6, 32 (135).

⁴⁶ 'A Calendar for the Feet of Fines: Part III. For the reign of Edward I with some Earlier Fines', ed. G.H. Fowler, *BHRS*, 12 (1928), 77 (270); 'Houses of Cistercian monks: Rievaulx', in *A History of the County of York*, vol. 3, ed. W. Page (London, 1974), pp. 149-153; *Chron. Mailros*, p. 111.

3 THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ABBOTS OF WARDON

LAURENCE I

- Experience** Laurence the prior occurs in 1196⁴⁷ and *may* be the same man.
- Elected** Between 1205 and May 1208.⁴⁸
- 1208** **By 28th May**, and following a mandate by the General Chapter, Abbot Laurence of Wardon together with the abbots of Fountains and Boxley, brought about an amicable settlement between the Cistercian abbeys of Margam and Neath concerning some disputed pasture. The seal of the abbot of Wardon, depicting the abbot standing on a corbel with pastoral staff in his right hand and a book in the left, proved similar in style to the seal of Fountains.⁴⁹
- 1208** **8th June**. Abbot Laurence granted rents in Stratton, Holme, and Sutton to Wiskard Leidet and wife Margery. The couple paid one mark to the abbot for the pasture of sheep at West Wardon (Northants).⁵⁰
- 1209/10** Abbot Laurence occurs.⁵¹
- 1212x13** Abbot Laurence occurs.⁵²
- Death** Resigned or died c. 1213.

HENRY I

- Elected** c. 1213.
- 1214** ? April. 'To (Henry) abbot of Warden, (Richard) prior of Dunstable and (Richard) dean of Salisbury. Mandate to investigate the election of Hugh of Northwold as abbot of St. Edmunds and, if it is valid, to confirm it and to seek the royal assent'.⁵³ Case concerns the Benedictine abbey of [Bury] St Edmunds in Suffolk.
- 1215** **26th January**. 'To (Henry) abbot of Warden, (Richard) prior of Dunstable, of diocese Lincoln, and (Richard) dean of Salisbury. Mandate to hasten the examination of Hugh abbot elect of St Edmunds, despite the impediments opposed by (Peter) bishop of Winchester and the cavils of the sacrist and other monks'.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ *BHRS*, 13, 112 (148).

⁴⁸ *BHRS*, 12, 77 (270).

⁴⁹ W.de G. Birch, *A history of Margam abbey* (London, 1897), p. 181; *Cartæ Et Alia Munimenta, Vol. 3: 441-1300, Quæ Ad Dominium De Glamorgan Pertinent; 441-1300*, ed. G.T. Clark (Cardiff, 1891), pp. 284-86 (DCCCI).

⁵⁰ *BHRS*, 12, 77 (270); *BHRS*, 13, 88-89 (114).

⁵¹ Add. MS. 24465, f. 25 cited by *VCH Beds*, vol. 1, p. 365 (fn. 14).

⁵² The fines for unknown counties occurring during the reign of King John, which are held by the TNA, CP 25/1/282/4 and CP 25/1/282/5 cited in *Heads*, I, p. 146; <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C650535> <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C650536>

⁵³ *Letters of Pope Innocent III*, p. 161 (970).

⁵⁴ *Letters of Pope Innocent III*, p. 165 (990).

- 1215** **16th March.** ‘To (Henry) abbot of Warden, (Richard) prior of Dunstable, and the prior of Warden. Mandate to enforce a letter issued to (William) abbot and the monks of Westminster at the petition of Mr. Thomas Foliot, rector of Ashwell, who complains that the abbot and convent refuse to appear before judges delegate to answer his claim for tithe, on the grounds that they need not appear before judges unless summoned by a special papal letter. In the event of non-compliance, they are to hear and decide the case’.⁵⁵
- 1215** **8th April.** Elected to the abbacy of Rievaulx.⁵⁶
- 1215** **10th April.** ‘To (Henry) abbot of Warden, the prior of Newnham, and the prior of Warden, of diocese Lincoln. Mandate to hear and decide case, on complaint of the prior and canons of Caldwell against the canons of Dunmow, about the vicarage of Tolleshunt and other property’.⁵⁷

ROGER II

- Experience** Novicemaster at Wardon Abbey.⁵⁸
- Elected** **29th May 1215**⁵⁹
- 1219** **25th June.** (Westminster) Abbot Roger was represented in court by Brother William, in a case against Walter de Traily concerning land in Southill.⁶⁰
- 1221** Abbot Roger occurs.⁶¹
- 1222** ‘**Tuesday after Epiphany**’ (Church of Steppingley) ‘R[ogerus] abbot of Wardun and the priors of Wardun and Bello Loco’ arbitrated in a dispute over arrears due Dunstable Priory from one of its tenants.⁶² The argument involved the Benedictine priory of Beadlow and the Augustinian priory of Dunstable.
- 1223** Abbot Roger of Wardon and the priors of Wardon and Beadlow arbitrated in a dispute between Robert, cleric of Bradbourne (Derbys), and the prior of Dunstable, concerning monies owed to the priory.⁶³
- 1223** Agreement between Roger, abbot of Wardon, and Henry de Braybrooke concerning land and common of pasture in West Wardon (Northants).⁶⁴

⁵⁵ Westminster Abbey Mun. Domesday book fo. 452^r (=B), in notification by the judges of a settlement. Also *ibid*, fo. 228^r (=A), with the marginal note: ‘Prima cista titulo ecclesie de Asshewell’ cum decimis de Whethampstede’. See *Letters of Pope Innocent III*, p. 166 (999).

⁵⁶ Henry died during summer 1216 and was buried at the Cistercian abbey of Rufford (Notts). See *Chron. Mailros*, pp. 117 and 124.

⁵⁷ *Letters of Pope Innocent III*, p. 168 (1006).

⁵⁸ *Chron. Mailros*, p. 117.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*.

⁶⁰ *BHRS*, 6, 53 (227).

⁶¹ ‘Robertus’: *Cartul. Col.*, pt. 2, p. 534 cited in *Heads*, I, p. 147.

⁶² G.H. Fowler (ed.), ‘Digest of the charters preserved in the cartulary of the Priory of Dunstable’, *BHRS*, 10 (1926), 134 (405).

⁶³ *BHRS*, 10, 234 (937).

⁶⁴ *BHRS*, 13, 82-84 (109).

See also acknowledgement by Abbot Roger of an obligation to pay rent on certain lands belonging to Newnham Priory.⁶⁵

1223/24 Elected to the abbacy of Rievaulx after the death of Abbot William.⁶⁶ Resigned as abbot of Rievaulx in 1239.⁶⁷

WILLIAM I

Experience Prior of Wardon.⁶⁸

Elected 1224

1224/25 A fine between William Patrik and William Abbot of Wardon of half a virgate of land in Bugheton' was levied in the 9th year of the reign of Henry III.⁶⁹

1225 Agreement between '*W. abbatem et conventum Wardon*' and H. the prior of Newnham by which Wardon would pay 5s for specified tithes in Southill.⁷⁰

1225 **8th June.** (Westminster) Abbot William was represented by Brother Henry, his monk. The case concerned a gift of land in Ravensden by Alice, widow of Geoffrey Rufus in return for an annuity. 4s annually to be paid to her at the abbey gate.⁷¹

1229 Occurs Hilary Term [January to March]. (Bedford) William, abbot of Wardon, appointed his monk, John of St Albans, to represent him in the case against John de Trailli.⁷²

1229 Hilary Term. (Bedford) Reference to a dispute previously raised in the court of Henry III between Roger, the former abbot, and Walter de Trailly. The matter was resolved with a hedge and ditch being conceded to the abbot together with ditch-bote.⁷³

1229 **10th December.** (Hertford) William, abbot of Wardon represented by one of his monks, Brother Gregory of Sandy [in the case] against Andrew de Goyz for

⁶⁵ 'The Cartulary of Newnham Priory', 2 vols., ed. J. Godber, *BHRS*, 43, vol. 1, 82-83 (134).

⁶⁶ Roger resigned the abbacy of Rievaulx in 1239. *Cartul. Rievaulx*, lxxxvii and xcv-xcvi; 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', in *Annales Monastici*, II, ed. H.R. Luard (London, 1865), p. 299 (No. **MXCCXXIV**).

⁶⁷ 'The abbots of Rievaulx'. *The Cistercians in Yorkshire* (University of Sheffield), <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/cistercians/>.

⁶⁸ *Chron. Mailros*, p. 140.

⁶⁹ *A calendar of the feet of fines relating to the county of Huntingdon levied in the King's court from the 5th year of Richard I to the end of the reign of Elizabeth : 1194-1603*, ed. G.J. Turner (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1913), p. 10 (48). Bugheton / Boudon is a version of Boughton, a hamlet in the parishes of Diddington and Southoe, placing the land in the vicinity of Midloe Grange.

⁷⁰ *BHRS*, 43, vol. 1, 79 (129).

⁷¹ *BHRS*, 6, 70 (270).

⁷² *Curia Regis Rolls of the reign of Henry III, Vol. XIII, 11 to 14 Henry III (1227-1230)*, ed. C. Flower (London, 1959), p. 278 (1244).

⁷³ *Curia Regis Rolls Henry III (1227-1230)*, p. 286 (1305).

customs and services, which the abbot exacted from the aforementioned Andrew for the free tenement, which he held in Hodenho.⁷⁴

- 1231** **6th April.** (Westminster) Abbot William was represented by Gregory, his monk. The case concerned land in Beeston granted by Richard de Tyvill, the abbey being liable for forinsec.⁷⁵
- 1232** **22nd July.** A case is noted concerning 'William Abbot of Waredon v Wydo de Bresci in Moredon'.⁷⁶
- 1232** **30th September.** (Bedford) Abbot William attended a hearing when Richard de Tyvill granted land in Beeston to the abbey free of all secular services.⁷⁷
- Death** Resigned or died no later than January 1234.⁷⁸

ADAM

- Elected** Possibly before the end of 1233 and no later than the end of January 1234.⁷⁹
- 1232/40** Abbot Adam leased a messuage and crofts at Clifton to John le Fort 'hereditarily as a free tenement' for the annual rent of 9d. On succession, the best beast was to be paid as heriot to the abbey.⁸⁰
- 1234** **3rd February.** (Westminster) Adam appeared in a dispute with Andrew le Goiz [Goyz] over rent arrears for a holding at Hodenho.⁸¹ See entry above dated 1229.
- 1234/35** Agreement with Newnham Priory that Wardon shall pay 5s for specified tithes in Southill and make good arrears.⁸²
- 1236** **25th September.** (Bedford) Adam was represented by Henry, his monk, when Ralf de Sancto Amando and others granted land at Cotes to the abbey.⁸³
- 1236** **6th October.** (Bedford) Adam was again represented by Brother Henry when Nigel, son of William granted land in Sandy to the abbey.⁸⁴

⁷⁴ Date noted in *Heads, II*, p. 320. *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, vol. 1. 1227-1231*, ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte (London, 1902), p. 386. Recorded in the Domesday Book but now lost, Hodenhoe was a settlement in the parish of Therfield, Hertfordshire.

⁷⁵ **forinsec:** (feudal) service due to some person other than the tenant's immediate lord. *BHRS*, 6, 88 (327).

⁷⁶ *Cambs. Fines*, p. 15 (16th Hen III (2)); *Heads, II*, p. 319 offers 22 July 1232, citing PRO, *Cambs. F.*, CP25/1/24/14, no. 12; <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C647666>.

⁷⁷ *BHRS*, 6, 90-91 (335).

⁷⁸ Adam occurs as abbot of Wardon on 3 February 1234. *BHRS*, 6, 96-97 (359).

⁷⁹ Abbot A[dam] occurs in 1234/35 in *BHRS*, 43, vol. 1, 78 (128) and 79-80 (130).

⁸⁰ **heriot:** (feudal) payment made to the lord of the manor on the death of the tenant. Later became a money payment by the heir or successor to the property. *BHRS*, 13, 195-96 (249).

⁸¹ *BHRS*, 6, 96-97 (359).

⁸² *BHRS*, 43, vol. 1, 78-79 (128). See also 79-80 (130), which suggests that this was a long-running dispute.

⁸³ The location of Cotes is unclear, but may refer to the present-day settlement of Caulcott in the vicinity of the abbey's grange at Millbrook, Bedfordshire. *BHRS*, 6, 99-100 (369).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 104 (387).

- 1238** **3rd February.** (Westminster) Adam appeared in person when Miles de Stanford granted land at Stanford to the abbey.⁸⁵
- 1238** **20th October.** (Westminster) Adam was represented by Roger de Blakemore, his monk, when Godfrey de Lonhond granted land in Maulden to the abbey.⁸⁶
- 1239** **29th May.** (St Bride, London) Brother Roger de Blakemore represented Abbot Adam in a dispute with Ralf de Meppershall over land held by tenant services in Maulden.⁸⁷
- 1240** **18th November.** (Bedford) Abbot Adam appeared in person when Laurence de Bosco granted land at Maulden to the abbey.⁸⁸
- 1240** **Occurs 26th July.**⁸⁹
- 1240** **2nd December.** (Bedford) Abbot Adam appeared when Laurence de Bosco granted land at Maulden to the abbey in return for services.⁹⁰
- 1242** Elected bishop of Connor, County Antrim.⁹¹

GEOFFREY

- Elected** Probably early in 1242.⁹²
- 1244** **29th June.** (Geddington) King Henry II confirmed the gift of lands at Meppershall made by Gilbert de Meppershall, his son Ralf, and others; these belonged to a royal serjeanty and had been alienated without licence.⁹³
- 1246** **10th February.** Agreement concerning rights in the common pasture at Houghton [Conquest], and a grant of land and woodland there by William le Blund. The charter set out the terms settled between the abbot and Geoffrey Conquest concerning rent payable by the abbot for a house, and services due to Geoffrey Conquest on 7½ fiscal acres in Houghton [Conquest].⁹⁴

⁸⁵ Ibid., 6, 108 (401).

⁸⁶ BHRS, 6, 108-109 (403).

⁸⁷ Ibid., 110 (407).

⁸⁸ Ibid., 120 (445).

⁸⁹ PRO, Herts F., CP25/1/85/18, no. 254 cited in *Heads*, II, p. 320. The catalogue description is available at <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C648485>. *The Hertfordshire Feet of Fines, 1190-1272*, ed. D. Johnson and J. Reid is a future publication planned by the Hertfordshire Record Society <http://www.hrsociety.org.uk/> accessed 11 April 2021.

⁹⁰ BHRS, 6, 120 (443).

⁹¹ Adam received possession of the temporalities on 27 January 1242 and was consecrated in September. In 1243 he came close to becoming the second English pope, but political manoeuvrings intervened. He died at Wardon on 7 November 1244 and was buried there. *Matthew Paris's English history, from 1235 to 1273*, trans. J.A. Giles, (London, 1852) vol. 1, p. 434 and vol. 2, p. 32; *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus britannicis collectanea*, 4 vols., ed. T. Hearne (edition altera, 1770), vol. 1, p. 266.

⁹² BHRS, 13, 358 notes that 'Dr H.R. Luard assigned "William of Sheldwick" as Abbot during this period [c.1244-1258], in footnotes without quotation of any authority'. As no supporting evidence was provided at the time of publication, nor come to light since then, William of Sheldwick has been excluded from the list.

⁹³ *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, 6 vols., ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte (London, 1903), vol. 1, p. 279; BHRS, 13, 296-97 (348).

⁹⁴ BARS, RO5/6. Date of 1246 confirmed by *Heads*, II, p. 320.

- 1246** **12th November.** (Westminster) Abbot Geoffrey was represented by Robert Tysun, his monk, when Robert de Paris and wife Mabel granted land and rent in Maulden to the abbey in return for the benefactions and prayers of the monks.⁹⁵
- 1247** **14th April.** (Westminster) Abbot Geoffrey was represented by Brother Simon de Wodeford his attorney, when Henry de Hunykod and Roese his wife granted land in Milton Ernest to the abbey in return for the benefactions and prayers of the monks.⁹⁶
- 1252** **18th November.** (Westminster) Abbot Geoffrey was represented by Roger de Blakemore, his monk in a dispute with William de Beauchamp of Eaton [Socon] over services due on land held by the abbey in Caldecote.⁹⁷
- 1253** **17th April.** Abbot Geoffrey was represented by Brother Roger de Bygrave in two cases. The first concerned land held by 'Robert fil William Mener' in Swaffham [Bulbeck] (Cambs), the second involving 'Warin fil Gerold' and land in Broom, Southill and Stanford.⁹⁸
- 1253** **11th May.** (Westminster) Abbot Geoffrey appeared in person to resolve a dispute with William de Estwyk [Astwick] over services due to the abbot on land in Astwick.⁹⁹
- 1254** **26th April.** (Westminster) Abbot Geoffrey was represented by Brother Roger Blakemore in a dispute with Walter de Stanford over services due to William de Beauchamp, the baron of Bedford, on a tenement in Stanford. Walter had defaulted and the baron was demanding that the abbot make recompense. A settlement was reached in court.¹⁰⁰
- 1254** **18th November.** (Bedford) Abbot Geoffrey appeared in person when Robert de Beeston and Mary his wife granted a messuage and land in Beeston to the abbey in return for the benefactions and prayers of the monks.¹⁰¹
- 1254** **7th December.** (Dunstable) Abbot Geoffrey appeared in person with Geoffrey de Burdelys over services for land held in Stagsden.¹⁰²
- 1254** Final concord between Abbot Geoffrey and Geoffrey Burdelys concerning services due to William de Beauchamp of Eaton [Socon] on land in Stagsden.¹⁰³
- 1255** **Occurs 6th June.**¹⁰⁴

⁹⁵ *BHRS*, 6, 133 (475).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 133-34 (477).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 152 (544).

⁹⁸ *Cambs. Fines*, 34-35 (37 Henry III, 24 and 43); PRO Cambs., F, CP25/1/24/26, no. 24 cited in *Heads*, II; <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C647678>

⁹⁹ *BHRS*, 6, 150-51 (538).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 154-55 (550).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 155 (552).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 158 (563).

¹⁰³ *BHRS*, 13, 280 (342k).

¹⁰⁴ PRO, *Glos. F.*, CP25/1/74/20, no. 424 cited in *Heads*, II.

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C648332>. Copy online at

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25\(1\)/CP25_1_74_17-29/IMG_0117.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25(1)/CP25_1_74_17-29/IMG_0117.htm). The reference is not included in the 'Excerpts from the Feet of Fines for the County of Gloucester from 7th John to the 57th

- 1255** **25th June.** (Gloucester) Abbot Geoffrey was represented by Brother Roger Blakemore in a dispute with William de Beauchamp of Bedford over services for land held in Stagsden, Dilwick, Southill, and Stanford.¹⁰⁵
- 1256** **Occurs 26th May.**¹⁰⁶
- 1258** **3rd February.** (Westminster) Abbot Geoffrey was represented by Brother Roger Blakemore in a dispute with Robert Picot over services for land held in Tilwick.¹⁰⁷
- Death** Resigned or died between February 1258 and 1259.

ALEXANDER REYNES

- Elected** After February 1258. A statute issued by the Cistercian General Chapter in [September] 1244 shows that Brother Alexander had originally been elected to succeed Abbot Adam in 1242 even though it was less than a year since his profession. Having taken into account the character and qualities of Alexander, the abbot of Clairvaux determined that a delay of three years should be imposed before his eligibility for election to the abbacy. Hence it was deferred until Geoffrey either retired or died.¹⁰⁸
- 1259** An undated memorandum records 'Sibilla de Reynes senior, Lady of Langford' granting a messuage at Clifton to her servant Laurence gardener. The property lay between the rectory and the land of her brother [-in-law] Alexander, abbot of Wardon.¹⁰⁹
- 1259/71** Ralf, son of Laurence gardener, takes over the messuage in Clifton.¹¹⁰
- 1262** Abbot Alexander occurs.¹¹¹
- 1266/71** Reginald de Grey grants his manor of Henlow to Alexander, abbot of Wardon, free of all secular services except for castle guard at Rockingham (Northants), and scutage.¹¹²
- 1269** **Occurs 8th July.**¹¹³

Henry III', ed. J. Maclean, *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 16 183-95.

¹⁰⁵ *BHRS*, 6, 155 (551).

¹⁰⁶ PRO, *F. Unknown Cos.*, CF25/1/282/7, nos. 125-6 cited in *Heads*, II, p. 320,

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C650538>

¹⁰⁷ *BHRS*, 6, 166-67 (590).

¹⁰⁸ *Statuta* (No. 1244/23).

¹⁰⁹ *BHRS*, 13, 200-201 (255-256), 203 (262), and 339 (N/258).

¹¹⁰ *BHRS*, 13, 201-202 (258).

¹¹¹ Add. MS. 24465, ff. 35b, 62b cited in *VCH Beds*, vol. 1, p. 365 (fn. 19).

¹¹² *BHRS*, 13, 206-207 (265).

¹¹³ PRO, *Herts F.* CP25/1/86/32, no. 615 cited in *Heads*, II, p. 320,

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C648499>

1271 **8th July.** (Westminster) Abbot Alexander appeared in person when Robert le Turner granted a messuage and land in Ravensden and land in Bolnhurst to the abbey.¹¹⁴

Death Resigned or died between July 1271 and August 1272.

ELIAS

Elected After July 1271.

1272 **August.** Brother H. [Helyas], abbot of Wardon, occurs in the cartulary of Newnham Priory in connection an agreement over lands in Southill, Goldington, and Ravensden.¹¹⁵

1275/87 Elias, abbot of Wardon, granted a lease to John de Salne and wife Margery of an acre in Croydon [cum Clopton] (Cams).¹¹⁶

1276 Abbot Elias occurs.¹¹⁷

1276 **6th October.** (Westminster) Abbot Elias was represented by his monk, Nicholas de Hytche [Hitchin] when Bartholomew le Neweman and his wife Cecilia granted land, meadow, and woodland in Wilden to the abbey in return for the benefactions and prayers of the monks.¹¹⁸

Death Resigned or died between late autumn 1276 and 1287, but probably in 1277/78.

JOHN DE DALLINGER¹¹⁹

Elected John de Dallinger appears to have been elected in 1277/78. Records dated to c. 1278 find the abbot of Wardon petitioning the king, 'that due to the murrain of his animals he [the abbot] may have six years to pay the merchant of Florence who purchased 25 sacks of the abbey's wool from his predecessor, or one year in which to return his money'.¹²⁰

1288 **Occurs July.**¹²¹

1290 **12th July.** (Westminster) Letter from the king nominating attorneys to act for John [de Dallinger], abbot of Wardon, during his absence at the General

¹¹⁴ *BHRS*, 6, 188 (672).

¹¹⁵ *Heads*, II, p. 320 notes the month. *BHRS*, 43, vol. 1, 83 (135).

¹¹⁶ *BHRS*, 13, 193-94 (247) and 339 (N/247).

¹¹⁷ PRO, C115/Li/6689, f. 73v cited in *Heads*, II, p. 320.

¹¹⁸ *BHRS*, 12, 10 (20).

¹¹⁹ The locative name 'Dallinger' relates to the village of Dallinghoo near Woodbridge in Suffolk. By inference, Abbot John he may have spent time at Wardon's middle daughter house at Sibton, but there is no evidence in the Sibton cartulary.

¹²⁰ TNA, SC 8/309/15413; <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C9529010>. *Cal. Close R., Edward I*, vol. 1, p. 465.

¹²¹ PRO, JUST 1/1276, m. 20: *Assize roll of Roger Leicester for Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Suffolk, including essoins* cited in *Heads*, II, p. 320; <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C4294251>.

Chapter meeting. David de Euston, his fellow monk, and Robert de Grantdene were permitted to act on his behalf until Christmas.¹²²

Death Resigned or died between summer 1290 and 1302.

LAURENCE II

Elected Between summer 1290 and 1302.¹²³

1302 **19th October.** Laurence, abbot of Wardon sold a rent at Aspley [Guise] to Ralf de Kimble and his wife Emma.¹²⁴

Died **1 May 1304**¹²⁵

¹²² *Cal. Pat. R., Edward I, 1272-1307*, ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte, 4 vols. (London, 1901), vol. 2, p. 371.

¹²³ *VCH Beds*, vol. 1, p. 365 (fn. 28) notes that Laurence occurs in Add. MS. 24465, f. 28b, dated 30 Edw. I [1302].

¹²⁴ *Heads, II*, p. 320 notes the day and month; *BHRS*, 13, 104-105 (139).

¹²⁵ *Heads, II*, p. 320 notes the date, citing (PRO, C85/6/74): Chancery: Significations of Excommunication. Canterbury Province; <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C4061125>.

4 FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ABBOTS OF WARDON

RALF DE HARROLD (HAREWOLD)

- Elected** 1304¹²⁶
- 1305** **11th April.** Blessed and professed obedience.¹²⁷
- 1306** **25th November.** Confirmation of land granted to the abbey from the manor of Henlow by William, lord of Holwell (Herts).¹²⁸
- 1312** Described as former abbot.¹²⁹
- Died** **By 7 October 1313** when indulgence offered for prayers for his soul.¹³⁰

GEOFFREY DE STANFORD (Staneford)¹³¹

- Elected** By 1312¹³²
- 1314** **3rd March.** After the newly elected abbot had sworn his oath of canonical obedience to the diocesan, Geoffrey Stanford was granted episcopal benediction by Walter Jorz (formerly archbishop of Armagh) on behalf of John Dalderby, bishop of Lincoln.¹³³
- 1316** Acknowledgment by Geoffrey, abbot of Wardon, that he did homage to Sir Roger Grey for the fee of half knight at Henlow.¹³⁴
- Died** Resigned or died between 1316 and summer 1318.

THOMAS

- Elected** Between 1316 and 1318.
- 1318** **29th July.** (Northampton) Thomas, abbot of Wardon, complained to the court that Walter Wygeyn of Cople and Alice his wife, and John Hodyn, with others, assaulted him at Cople, carried away his goods, and assaulted his men.¹³⁵

¹²⁶ The years of election and death are recorded in the registers of John Dalderby, bishop of Lincoln. *Linc. Epis. Reg., Memo. Dalderby*, 255 cited by *VCH Beds.*, vol. 1, p. 365.

¹²⁷ *Linc. Epis. Reg.* III, f. 81r cited in *Heads*, II, p. 320.

¹²⁸ *Heads*, II, p. 320 notes the day and month; *BHRS*, 13, 209-211 (268).

¹²⁹ *Year Books of Edward II*, vol. XII, 5 *Edward II*, A.D. 1312, ed. W.C. Bolland (Selden Society 33, 1916), p. 132.

¹³⁰ *Heads*, II, p. 320 notes the day, month, and detail, citing *Linc. Epis. Reg.*, III, f. 284v; *Linc. Epis. Reg., Memo. Dalderby*, 255.

¹³¹ *Heads*, II, p. 320 incorrectly records the name as 'Geoffrey of Stamford'.

¹³² The date of election was proposed as 1313 by *VCH Beds*, vol. 1, p. 365 citing *Linc. Epis. Reg., Memo. Dalderby*, 83. The more complete account provided by *Heads*, II, p. 320 contradicts the assertion and is likely to be the more reliable source.

¹³³ *Heads*, II, p. 320 notes the day and month, citing *Linc. Epis. Reg.*, III, f. 292v; *Linc. Epis. Reg., Memo. Dalderby*, ff. 292, 389 cited in C. Clubley, *John de Dalderby, bishop of Lincoln 1300-1320* (University of Hull [Thesis], 1965), 35.

¹³⁴ *BHRS*, 13, 207 (266).

¹³⁵ *Cal. Pat. R., Edward II*, vol. 3, p. 275.

- 1318** **1st November.** Blessed by the ex-archbishop of Armagh and professed obedience.¹³⁶
- 1320** **6th July.** A memorandum found amongst Sibton's charters recorded that Edmund, abbot of Sibton, with the counsel and consent of Thomas, abbot of Wardon during his visitation in 1320, had been involved in complex arrangements concerning a 2½-acre parcel of land in Heveningham, Suffolk.¹³⁷
- Died** Resigned or died in or after summer 1320.

ROBERT OF ODELL (Wodhulle)

- Elected** In or after 1320.¹³⁸
- 1324** 'From the description of the seal once attached to *Harl. Ch. 45, A 27*, but now lost, it is probable that the abbot alluded to in this charter was Robert of Odell. It is dated 'the seventeenth year of the king'—probably Edward II. 'Dominus Robertus de Wodhulle' is named as the predecessor of the next abbot in *Add. MS. 24465, f. 30b*.¹³⁹
- Died** Resigned or died in or after 1324.

WILLIAM DE HELMSLEY (Helmeslee)

- Elected** In or after 1324.
- 1327** **21st December.** William de Helmsley was one of several witnesses to the ordination of a chantry in a chapel at Silsoe established for the Fitzgerald family.¹⁴⁰
- 1327/28** Occurs between Easter 1327 and Michaelmas 1328.¹⁴¹
- 1330** **18th July.** Sir Walter of Holwell grants land and meadow at Henlow to Abbot William.¹⁴²
- 1334** *BHRS*, 13, 358 cites 'Rolls from the Office of the Sheriff of Beds and Bucks, 1332-1334', ed. G.H. Fowler *BHRS* (1929), Quarto memoir, vol. 3, saepe (1334).¹⁴³

¹³⁶ *Linc. Epis. Reg.*, III, f. 399v cited in *Heads*, II, p. 320.

¹³⁷ *SCR*, pt .4, 21-22 (967).

¹³⁸ *BHRS*, 13, 141 (204g).

¹³⁹ See *VCH Beds*, vol. 1, p. 365 (fn. 23). In 1345/46 Robert de Wodhulle was referred to as the predecessor of William de Helmsley.

¹⁴⁰ 'The Registers of Henry Burghersh 1320-1342. Vol. 2. Institutions to benefices in the Archdeaconries of Northampton, Oxford, Bedford, Buckingham and Huntingdon and collations of cathedral dignities and prebends', ed. N. Bennett, *LRS*, 90 (2003), 119-20 (2120).

¹⁴¹ *Index to Placita de Banco*, p. 1 cited in *Heads*, II, p. 320. The entry has not been identified in the *Index of Placita de Banco, A.D. 1327-1328*, ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte (London, 1909) and the reference to an abbot on p. 1 concerns the Benedictine abbey of Ramsey.

¹⁴² *Heads*, II, p. 320 notes the day and month; *BHRS*, 13, 137 (199).

¹⁴³ G.H. Fowler (ed.), *Rolls from the Office of the Sheriff of Beds and Bucks, 1332-1334*. *BHRS*, Quarto memoirs (Aspley Guise, 1929), vol. 3, p. 17 §22(c) and p. 34 (43). Neither paragraph in the cited

- 1337** **Occurs Michaelmas** (29th September).¹⁴⁴
- 1338** **18th April.** (Havering atte Bower) (London) 'Robert Peltebem acknowledged that he owed £40 to William, abbot of Wardon, 40l.; to be levied, etc. in the county of Kent'.¹⁴⁵
- 1338** **30th October.** (Kennington) (London) William, abbot of Wardon, nominated Roger de Lameleye, clerk, as his deputy 'to prosecute the execution of a recognisance for £40 made to him in chancery by Robert Peltebem'.¹⁴⁶
- 1340** **6th October.** (Andover) (Hants) 'Brother William, abbot of the monastery of St. Mary, Warden, of the Cistercian order, diocese of Lincoln, acknowledges for himself and the convent of the monastery that they owe to Nicholas Marini and John Blanchard of Florence, £500; to be levied, in default of payment, of their lands and chattels and ecclesiastical goods in co. Bedford. Cancelled on payment; acknowledged by John'.¹⁴⁷
- 1345/46** Between January 1345 and January 1346. Henry of Steppingley paid homage to the abbot in respect of land in the manor of Steppingley. Abbot William's predecessor, 'Robert de Wodhulle' [Robert of Odell] is mentioned.¹⁴⁸
- 1346** **11th June.** 'Indults to the underwritten persons to choose confessors, who shall give them, being penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death, with the usual safeguards' included William, abbot of Wardon.¹⁴⁹
- 1356** **1st November.** (Westminster) The abbot [unnamed] had been described as 'weak, aged and almost blind' and the monastery 'situate in a desert and wooded place, whereby it is not a safe depository for the king's money'. John Gynwell, bishop of Lincoln disagreed and notified William, bishop of Winchester that the abbot 'is sufficient to collect and receive the said tenth, that his monastery is sufficient and in a fit and safe place and notoriously well situated in regard to other places for the king and those who owe the tenth, the king by these presents accepts the abbot for collecting and receiving that tenth'.¹⁵⁰

It is clear from the above reference that after being in post for around 30 years, the health of William Helmsley had declined, and it is possible that he died during the first half of 1357. This suggestion is supported by the following reference, confirming that the prior, rather than the abbot, issued a lease in June 1357.

reference mentions the abbot of Wardon by name. It is therefore concluded that the name is contained in the original rolls from the office of the sheriff of Beds and Bucks for 1334.

¹⁴⁴ An entry in the Chief Justice's roll, 9 Edw II, Hilary term from the Court of Common Pleas, PRO, CP40/213, m. 351 is cited in *Heads*, II, p. 320;

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C317849>

¹⁴⁵ *Cal. Close R., Edward III*, vol. 4, p. 405.

¹⁴⁶ *Cal. Close R., Edward III*, vol. 4, 610.

¹⁴⁷ *Cal. Close R., Edward III*, vol. 5, 638.

¹⁴⁸ *Heads*, II, p. 320 notes the days and months; *BHRS*, 13, 140 (204f).

¹⁴⁹ 'Regesta 174: 1346-1347', in *CPL*, vol. 3, p. 222; Add. MS. 24465, f. 30b (William, abbot of 'Helmesle,' abbot of Warden in the 'twentieth year of King Edward') cited in *VCH Beds*, vol. 1, p. 365 (fn. 24).

¹⁵⁰ *Cal. Close R., Edward III*, vol. 10, pp. 282-83.

1357 **3rd June.** Geoffrey the prior of Wardon rented land in Ravensden to Walter Rolt.¹⁵¹

WILLIAM III?

The abbot of Wardon undertook annual visitations to the daughter house at Sibton in 1362/63 and 1363/64,¹⁵² but had William de Helmsley still been alive, it seems unlikely that he would have been fit for such a journey. Moreover, the next time that 'Abbot William' occurs is 1365, and it is questionable whether William de Helmsley would have survived for nine years after having been described as 'weak and aged'. It is therefore proposed that the Abbot William documented in 1365 is not the same person.

1365 **9th September.** (Bedford) William, abbot of Wardon, and Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex acted as executors for the late John Moubray.¹⁵³

Died Resigned or died in or after autumn 1365.

WALTER CLIFTON

Elected In or after autumn 1365.

1377 **7th February.** (Holbourne in the suburb of London) 'Writing of Walter de Clyfton abbot of Wardon co. Bedford, being a bond to John Giffard of Cotherstok clerk of Northamptonshire in 100 marks received as a loan to the profit of the monastery, payable at the Annunciation next'. Memorandum of acknowledgement dated 7th February.¹⁵⁴

1377 **12th February.** 'Writing of John Giffard of Cotherstoke clerk of Northamptonshire, being a general release to Sir Walter de Clifton abbot of Wardon co. Bedford, Nicholas Westerdale, William Wodhill and John de Sancto Neoto of all actions for debt or account'. Memorandum of acknowledgment dated 20th April.¹⁵⁵

1379 Clerical Poll Tax. Based on its income of over 220 but less than 300 marks the abbey paid a lump sum of 30s. Twenty pence per head was payable in respect of Abbot Walter and twenty-three named monks, with a further twenty pence per person for five of the six lay brothers (it is possible that the sixth man was exempt if he were a novice). The bill came to £3 18s 4d.¹⁵⁶

1380/81 An image of Walter Clifton appears in a window at Old Warden parish church, and is dated to the 4th year of the reign of Richard II. The inscription does not

¹⁵¹ TNA, R 6/62/12/149; BARS, R6/46/2/1.

¹⁵² The accounts of John de Merton, bursar of Sibton Abbey from 1362 to 1372, Add. MS. 34560, fols. 65-137 cited in *VCH Suffolk*, vol. 2, p. 89 (fn 9); J. Ridgard and R. Norton, *Food & Ale, Farming & Worship. Daily life at Sibton Abbey* (Leiston Press, 2011), p. 31.

¹⁵³ *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)*, ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte, 8 vols., (London, 1916), vol. 3, p. 220 (593).

¹⁵⁴ *CCR 1374-77*, p. 513.

¹⁵⁵ *CCR 1374-77*, p. 531.

¹⁵⁶ 'Clerical Poll Taxes of the Diocese of Lincoln 1377-1381', ed. A.K. McHardy, *LRS*, 81 (1992), 79-80 (995).

begin with a bidding prayer for the donor, and was, in all probability, installed during the abbot's lifetime.¹⁵⁷

Died Resigned or died by 1397.

JOHN I

Elected In or after 1381.

1397 **20th May.** (Westminster) John de Wardon acted as one of seven abbots charged with investigating the claims of two rival candidates for the abbacy of the Cistercian monastery at Beaulieu (Hants). All of the investigators appeared before Richard II at Windsor castle when he formally accepted John Gloucester as the rightful abbot.¹⁵⁸

1399 **12th November.** (St. Peter's, Rome) John, abbot of Wardon, was documented as the 'visitor and reformer of all monasteries of the order in the province of Canterbury, subject to schismatic father-abbots'.¹⁵⁹

Died Resigned or died after late 1399.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ R. Marks, 'Cistercian Window Glass in England and Wales', in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. C. Norton and D. Park (Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 211-27 (p. 227).

¹⁵⁸ R. Graham, 'Two Records of Plate and Vestments Removed from Beaulieu Abbey in 1399', *Archaeological Journal*, 83 (2nd Series, 33), 1926, 86-90; *Cal. Pat. R., Richard II*, vol. 6, pp. 139-40.

¹⁵⁹ 'Lateran Regesta 81: 1399-1401', in *Cal. Papal R.*, vol. 5, f.256.

¹⁶⁰ J.E. Brown (ed.), 'Clerical Subsidies in the Archdeaconry of Bedford, 1390-2 and 1400-1', *BHRS*, 1, 27-62 (pp. 48-49) documents Abbot Walter and twenty-three monks in 1400/1401. The monks of Wardon were listed by name on a slip of parchment sewn to the membrane. They were, however, identical to those declared in the Clerical Poll Tax twenty years earlier, the author having mistakenly attributed the primary source to the second year of the reign of Henry IV rather than Richard II.

5 FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ABBOTS OF WARDON

WILLIAM IV

Before Oct 1404 Letter of Pope Boniface IX to William de Wardon, abbot, granting him licence to convoke the Cistercian order.¹⁶¹

1406 **6th July.** (Westminster). 'Commission of oyer and terminer touching an appeal against William, abbot of Wardon, and William, prior of Newenham. John Oke of Newent, now deceased, later approver in the gaol of Huntyngdon before John Bevyull, one of the coroners in the county of Huntingdon, and Payn Tiptoft, then sheriff of the county, appealed that John Dunhed the younger of divers treasons committed in the said county and the said abbot and prior of divers treasons committed in the county of Bedford and afterwards the said approver and John Dunhed appeared before the said John Cokayn and his fellows, justices appointed to deliver the said gaol, and the approver acknowledged his appeal to be false and judgement was given that he should be drawn from the bridge of the town to the gallows without the town and there hanged'.¹⁶²

JOHN II

1415 **Occurs 20th April.**¹⁶³

1427 **20th November.** (Westminster) Husbandman John Gunneld of Buckden (Hunts) was pardoned by the king's justices for failing to appear at court in Bedford in connection with the sum of £40 owed to John, abbot of Wardon.¹⁶⁴

Died Resigned or died between late 1427 and summer 1428.

WILLIAM V

Elected Before summer 1428.

1428 **Occurs 25th June.**¹⁶⁵

1429 **26th April.** (Rome) Some 12 years after the end of the schism, Pope Martin V issued a bull granting Abbot William of Wardon the right to wear the mitre, ring, and other pontifical *insignia*, which accorded him status equivalent to the most important abbots in England. The abbot was permitted to give solemn benediction after mass, Vespers and Matins in the monastery, in its daughter houses of Sawtry, Sibton and Tilty, and in the parish church at Wardon provided no bishop or papal legate was present.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Early sixteenth-century transcript of a late fourteenth/early fifteenth century letter from Pope Boniface IX to William de Wardon. 'Exchequer, Augmentation Office, Miscellanea', E 314/76. Pope Boniface IX, bishop of Rome (2 November 1389-1 October 1404). See monarc.archive.03560.

¹⁶² *CPR 1405-8*, p. 236.

¹⁶³ 'Occ. 20 Apr. 1415 (TNA, C67/37, m. 43); [1415] (TNA, E101/214/5B, m. 24)' noted in *Heads*, III, p. 346.

¹⁶⁴ *Cal. Pat. R., Henry VI*, vol. 1, p. 431.

¹⁶⁵ *CCR 1429-35*, p. 131 cited in *Heads*, III, p. 346.

¹⁶⁶ 'Lateran Regesta 292: 1428-1430', in *Cal. Papal R.*, vol. 8, pp. 137-146. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-papal-registers/brit-ie/vol8/pp137-146>.

1431 On **21 June 1431** Abbot William took out a loan of £200 from John Brockley (citizen and alderman of London), John Carpenter (citizen and clerk of the mayor and commonality of London) and Sir William Bingham (rector of St John Zachary London). On the same day, he took out a loan of £120 from John Brockley and John Carpenter, both sums to be repaid on 20 June 1432 in the parish church of St Swithun, London Stone. A short-term loan of £200 was also taken from John Brockley, John Carpenter and Sir William Bingham, to be repaid on 1st August. Witnessed by the abbot of Woburn and sealed in the chapter house at Wardon, the bonds were confirmed at Westminster on 20 July 1431.¹⁶⁷

Died Resigned or died before 1437.

JOHN ALCUMBURY

1437 Occurs **28th July**.¹⁶⁸

JOHN FRAUNCEYS (Frauncys)¹⁶⁹

Elected 1441¹⁷⁰

1446 Occurs **20th July**.¹⁷¹

1446 Occurs **4th December**.¹⁷²

1448 **3rd June**. The Abbot General at Cîteaux appointed abbots William of Waverley (Surrey), John Fraunceys of Wardon and Robert of St Mary Graces (London) as commissioners and reformers of the monasteries in the Canterbury province. Abbots John of Furness (Cumbria) and William of Byland (N. Yorks) were chosen to represent York.¹⁷³

1449 **28th December**. The abbots of Fountains (N. Yorks), Waverley, Furness, Byland, Wardon, and St Mary Graces were mentioned by name in one of a series of documents concerning the expulsion of Brother William Downam from Fountains for conspiracy and various criminal acts. Twenty abbatial seals were described, including the seal of John Fraunceys, abbot of Wardon. This showed the words *Sigillum Iohannis ffrances abbatis de Wardona* with the image of the abbot in the centre, two other images (one either side), and a shield beneath the abbot's foot.¹⁷⁴

1453 **25th May**. (St Peter's, Rome) By the 1450s Wardon Abbey was hosting over 2,000 annual visitors, putting the abbey's finances under intolerable pressure. Abbot John Fraunceys responded by requesting papal dispensation to take on a paid, ecclesiastical position with any stipend, tithes, altar and burial dues used to reduce the abbey's debts. These, he said, had been caused by 'divers sinister events and hospitality and the reception of wayfarers' since the

¹⁶⁷ *Cal. Close R., Henry VI*, vol. 2, p. 131.

¹⁶⁸ 'Occ. 28 July 1437 (TNA, C67/38, m. 6). Occ. in n.d. (TNA, C1/75/66)' noted in *Heads*, III, p. 346.

¹⁶⁹ The church guidebook assumes that John Fraunceys was vicar of Old Warden from 1452 to 1488, but without supporting evidence.

¹⁷⁰ Commn to bl. 22 Dec. 1441 (*Lincoln, Ep. Reg. XVIII*, f. 76r) cited in *Heads*, III, p. 346.

¹⁷¹ Occ. 20 July 1446 (TNA, C67/39, m. 38) cited in *Heads*, III, p. 346.

¹⁷² 4 Dec. 1446 (TNA, C81/1788/61) cited in *Heads*, III, p. 346.

¹⁷³ *Letters*, p. 19 (1).

¹⁷⁴ *Letters*, pp. 22-40 (pp. 29 and 39) (2).

monastery was situated 'near the highway'. Approval was granted for the abbot 'to hold for life any secular benefice with cure, even if a parish church or a perpetual vicarage' on the grounds that the monastery was in debt.¹⁷⁵

- 1454** **25th July.** Presented by the prior and convent of Bernewell [Barnwell] (Cams) and admitted to Crawden [Croydon] (Cams) (Ely diocese).¹⁷⁶ In 1445 the church was too poor to support a resident vicar and the abbot held the church *in commendam* (a form of transferring an ecclesiastical benefice *in trust* to the *custody* of a patron) between 1454 and 1460.¹⁷⁷
- 1457** **Occurs 9th May.**¹⁷⁸
- 1464** **Occurs 31st October.**¹⁷⁹
- 1464** **Occurs 4th December.**¹⁸⁰
- 1468** **Occurs 29th November.**¹⁸¹
- 1472** **Occurs 27th January.**¹⁸²
- Died** Resigned or died after 1472.

WILLIAM HUBY

- Experience** Abbot of Stoneleigh (Warwicks): occurs 19 October 1453; between 4 March 1465 and 3 March 1466; and on 20 June 1468.¹⁸³ Occ. 20 Nov. 1466 (*CPR* 1461-67, p. 532); 6 May 1467 (*CPR* 1467-77, p. 11) 20 Feb. 1468 (*ibid.*, p. 64); 29 Oct. 1473 (*ibid.*, p. 410).¹⁸⁴
- Elected** After October 1473.
- 1477** **18th March.** Thomas Hampton, abbot of Stoneleigh, granted 'William Huby, abbot of Warden' a corrody of 'twenty-four loaves of white bread, fifteen flagons [gallons] of ale and two 'fercula' [dishes] of meat or fish etc. for life'.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁵ 'Vatican Regesta 400: 1452-1453', in *Cal. Papal R.*, vol. 10, pp. 124-41.

¹⁷⁶ The abbey had acquired and let at fee farm some small properties in Crauden [now Croydon cum Clopton] in the thirteenth century. See *BHRS*, 13, pp. 192-94 (**245-247**).

¹⁷⁷ A.P. Baggs, S.M. Keeling and C.A.F. Meekings, 'Parishes: Croydon cum Clopton', in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 8*, ed. A.P.M. Wright (London, 1982) cites *Ely Diocesan Records* (1902), 122; (1903), 139; (1905), 21; Ely, G/1/4, f. 43r cited in *Heads*, III, p. 346.

¹⁷⁸ *Beds PCC Wills*, p. 17, no. 13 cited by *Heads*, III, p. 346.

¹⁷⁹ *Quarr Chts.*, p. 14, no. 54 cited in *Heads*, III, p. 346.

¹⁸⁰ TNA, C81/1788/61 cited in *Heads*, III, p. 346.

¹⁸¹ Northants RO, Spencer mun. 394 cited in *Heads*, III, p. 346.

¹⁸² TNA, C67/48, m. 8 cited in *Heads*, III, p. 346.

¹⁸³ TNA, DR10/1062; TNA, E 210/2661; TNA, DR10/1189.

¹⁸⁴ *Heads*, III, p. 333.

¹⁸⁵ TNA, DR18/1/718; *Tudor Cist.*, pp. 119 and 148 (Note 176) cites *Stoneleigh Abbey*, ed. R. Bearman (Stoneleigh Abbey Ltd in association with the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2004), p. 212 as his source, but erroneously places William Huby as abbot of Woburn. Andrew Watkins (author of the chapter in Bearman) cites TNA, DR19/1/716 and TNA, DR18/1/718 as his sources, noting that the weekly allowance for the 'recently retired' abbot of Warden included 'meat and fish' rather than one or the other as given in TNA catalogue description.

It is unclear whether the following reference pertains to William Huby or to an unnamed successor, but it is suggested that William Huby, by then an elderly abbot, was determined to attend the General Chapter despite his frailties and against the advice of his opposite number at Woburn.

1479 'Abb. of Woburn accused of deposing the abb. of Wardon *contra patris abbatis voluntatem* 1479'.¹⁸⁶

Died **18 August 1479.** A letter from the abbot of Woburn to Cîteaux reported that the abbot of Wardon had recently died at Pontigny (*iuxta pontiniacum moriebatur*).¹⁸⁷ The timing suggests that he had been en route to the Cistercian General Chapter meeting, the Order's annual five-day conference held in Cîteaux around 14th September (Holy Cross Day).¹⁸⁸

NO DETAILS

The abbacy between the death [of William Huby] in 1479, and the election of John Bright in 1491 remains uncertain, and neither *Heads*, III nor *Tudor Cist.* provides any evidence to suggest how the gap was filled. The following entry in *VCH Beds* is unhelpful.

c. 1479-91 Citing Add. MS. 5827, f. 174b, *VCH Beds.*, vol. 1, p. 365 (fn. 27) gives the dates 1488 and 1509 for Augustine London, explaining that 'The second is from the will of John Fisher, a judge, who was to be buried at Warden; but the earlier date, which comes from Browne Willis without reference, seems almost impossible, as Augustine was certainly still alive in 1537' (*LP*, vol. 13, pt. 1, p. 361 (981)).¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ *Cîteaux Letters*, p. 55, no. 11.

¹⁸⁷ *Letters*, pp. 70-71 (19).

¹⁸⁸ The Cistercian abbey of Pontigny lay 112 miles north-west of Cîteaux and lay on the route taken by the English abbots to the General Chapter meeting.

¹⁸⁹ T. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica* (London, 1695), XLV (II) shows the arms of Wardon, the three pears, but accepts in his accompanying notes that the drawing is not an accurate representation. As editor of the revised edition of Tanner's work, Browne Willis penned a covering letter to his amendments dated 19 October 1743 (appended without pagination after the index), observing that 'The noble family of Grey earl of Kent and baron Grey of Wilton, mostly buried in this abby, of which John Franceys occurs abbat 1452, and Augustine London 1488, and 1509'.

JOHN BRIGHT

- Elected** Ratified September 1491.¹⁹⁰
- 1491** **30th June.** Abbot John Coke of Vaudey (Lincs) wrote to Cîteaux asking that he and the abbot of Wardon be formally tasked with collecting the annual subsidy from Cistercian monasteries. He promised that they would deliver the contributions for the whole of England at the next General Chapter meeting and would continue to do so until told otherwise. This letter was complemented by one from the newly elected Abbot John Bright of Wardon dated 3rd July.¹⁹¹
- 1492** **19th June.** *'ffrater Johannes abbas de Wardona vester in omnibus ad mandata paratus'* wrote to the head of the Order at Cîteaux declaring that although he had done everything within his power to manage the abbey judiciously since his election a year earlier, things were not going well. He reported that a monk named Barsey from Wardon's daughter house at Tilty (Essex) had stolen £100-worth of vestments, linens and other items belonging to Wardon's altar, thereby causing serious damage to the monastery. However, the more pressing matter concerned one of Wardon's own monks, Brother John Ivinge, who had been tried and found guilty by the abbots of Stratford Langthorne and Fountains of conspiracy to poison the abbot of Wardon.¹⁹²
- 1492 26th September. During a visitation by the Cistercian abbots of Stratford Langthorne (Essex) and St Mary Graces (London), depositions were taken from the monks concerning the situation at Wardon. Amongst numerous complaints, it was said that the abbot, a poor administrator, had been elected under suspicious circumstances and a long list of recommendations made by the visiting abbots that the same day.¹⁹³ A follow-up report dated 10 May 1493 was despatched by the visiting abbots to Cîteaux but again Abbot John was not mentioned by name.¹⁹⁴
- 1493 28th January. *Heads*, III, notes 'The abbots of Stratford and Woburn give their acct of the attempted poisoning of the abb. of Wardon 28 Jan. 1493 (ibid., pp. 162-5, no. 81)'.
- Died** Resigned or died before 1500.

¹⁹⁰ The General Chapter ratified the election, promotion, institution, and appointment of Brother John Bright to the post of abbot at Wardon in the diocese of Lincoln, by Wardon's father immediate, the abbot of Rievaulx. *Statuta*, vol. 6, p. 22 (**1491: 51**).

¹⁹¹ *Letters*, p. 140 (**68**); pp. 140-41 (**69**).

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 154-56 (**78**).

¹⁹³ On this occasion the abbot was not mentioned by name in the printed sources, although it is clear from the evidence that John Bright was the subject of their enquiries. *Letters*, pp. 156-58 (**79**); and 159-62 (**80**).

¹⁹⁴ *Letters*, pp. 165-66 (**82**).

AUGUSTINE LONDON

- Elected** In or before **8 April 1500** when a lease for land in Haynes, Houghton [Conquest] and Maulden was agreed between ‘Austen abbot of the monastery of Warden’ and Sir Reynold Bray, William Smyth the bishop of Lincoln, Richard Emson, and William Cooper.¹⁹⁵
- 1502** **9th May.** (Northampton) Record of assize of novel disseisin between (1) Augustine, abbot of Warden, and (2) Sir Edward Sutton of Dudley and John Dudley, relating to lands in West Warden and Aston le Walls (both in Northants).¹⁹⁶
- 1507** **1st December.** (Westminster) Licence granted to permit Sir John Fisher JP to give land in Southill, Stanford, and Broom to ‘Augustin the abbot and convent of St. Mary, Warden’.¹⁹⁷
- 1508** **14th December.** (Westminster) *Inspeximus* and confirmation to Augustine the abbot and the convent of Warden of sixteen charters and letters.¹⁹⁸
- 1509** **22nd October.** Hundreds of general pardons were issued to mark the coronation of Henry VIII with Abbot Augustine London and the convent of Warden among the recipients.¹⁹⁹
- 1515x1518** Case brought by John Barley and William Lecheworthe [Letchworth] against ‘Austen, abbot of Warden, and William Sewster’. At issue was the lease of a messuage and land, called ‘Odyssey’ ie Odsey Grange (Cambs), which Sewster rented from the abbot. The plaintiffs objected to the tenant converting the land from tillage to pasture ‘as he has two parsonages in farm besides’.²⁰⁰
- 1515x1518** Case brought by Thomas Carter against ‘Austin, abbot of Warden’ concerning ‘Ejection from land at Langlake, in defendant’s manor of Beeston [in Sandy]. Bedfordshire’.²⁰¹
- 1517** **21st February.** Covenant between i) Lord Rich, earl of Kent, ii) Austen, abbot of the monastery of Our Blessed Lady of Warden, and iii) Henry Grey., esq, brother to Lord Rich.²⁰²
- 1519** **2nd October.** Augustine abbot of Warden granted Rowney Warren to Michael (later Sir Michael Fyssher) and John his son.²⁰³

¹⁹⁵ BARS, RO5/208. Seal attached.

¹⁹⁶ **assize of novel disseisin:** process set in place by Henry II, whereby someone could swiftly recover land recently taken from him ‘unjustly and without judgement’. BL, Add Cht. 6121 cited in *Heads*, III, p. 347. The same document is cited by monarc.archive.03848 as Add. Roll 6121.

¹⁹⁷ *Cal. Pat. R., Henry VII*, vol. 2, p. 556 (**563**). The **Statute of Mortmain (1279)** required religious houses to obtain a licence for the acquisition of property thereby offsetting losses incurred by the Crown once the asset was no longer subject to royal taxes and obligations.

¹⁹⁸ **Inspeximus:** charter or letters patent beginning with the Latin word *Inspeximus* in which the grantor confirms and recites a former charter. *Cal. Pat. R., Henry VII*, vol. 2, pp. 613-18 (p. 613).

¹⁹⁹ *LP*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 232 (**438 (2)**).

²⁰⁰ n.d. (1515 x 1518) TNA, C1/391/55 cited in *Heads*, III, p. 347.

²⁰¹ n.d. (1515 x 1518) TNA, C1/393/14 cited in *Heads*, III, p. 347; *Lists and Indexes. List of early Chancery proceedings preserved in the Public Record Office, No. XXXVIII*, ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte (London, 1963), vol. 5, p. 41 (**14**).

²⁰² BARS, LJeayes24.

²⁰³ *LP*, vol. 19 pt. 2, p. 413 (**30**).

- 1520** **20th September.** Abbot Augustine leased Midloe Grange (Hunts) to Robert Hatley, yeoman, and his son William.²⁰⁴
- 1521** **29th July.** Augsten [London], abbot, and the convent of Wardon granted Orcheyarde Grange to George Barnardiston, gent.²⁰⁵
- 1522** **14th September.** Abbot Augustine leased lands called Tulwyke, in the parish of Ravensden to Robert Bulkeley.²⁰⁶
- 1525** **20th August.** Abbot Augustine leased the manor or grange of Ravensden to William More.²⁰⁷
- 1526** **8th April.** Reference to ‘Austey late Abbot of the late Monastery of Warden’ leasing the coney warren at Old Warden to Edward Peke.²⁰⁸
- 1526** **7th November.** Lease by ‘Austin, Abbot, and the convent of Wardon to Gerard Carleton, of Dunton, of a grange in Dunton with lands appertaining, and a parcel of land in Eyworth [*sic*], for a term of 26 years at a rent of 51sh’.²⁰⁹
- 1529** ‘Augustine abbot of Warden’ was summoned to the Convocation of the province of Canterbury.²¹⁰
- 1529** **6th December.** Abbot Augustine leased Castle Mills in Bedford to Stephen Lawpache [Lawpage].²¹¹
- 1532** **26th April.** The abbots of Woburn, St Mary Graces (London), and Garendon (Leics) had been appointed by the Cistercian General Chapter in Cîteaux to examine complaints against John Chaffcombe, the abbot of Bruern (Oxon). The hearing took place in the chapter house at Bruern, where the three commissioners sat alongside ‘assessors appointed by the king’, namely the abbot of Wardon, Dr Henry Morgan and master John Barbour’. Robert Warmington, LL.B., notary public, served as their clerk. Chaffcombe refused to cooperate, and further proceedings were delayed until 12th March 1533.²¹²
- 1532** **Occurs 29th September.**²¹³
- 1533** **Occurs 1st September.**²¹⁴

²⁰⁴ *LP*, vol. 13, pt. 1, p. 328 (grant no. **887 (23)**).

²⁰⁵ TNA, E 326/7157; *BHRS*, 63, 81 (**108**).

²⁰⁶ *LP*, vol. 13, pt. 1, p. 240 (grant no. **646(2)**).

²⁰⁷ *LP*, vol. 13, pt. 1, p. 240 (grant no. **646(1)**).

²⁰⁸ BARS, Z268/23/9 (PRO Augmentation Proceedings 17/20).

²⁰⁹ Northants RO, Spencer muniment 579. *BHRS*, 63, 104 (**137**) transcribes the name as ‘Carnedon’.

²¹⁰ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, p. 2700 (**6047**).

²¹¹ *LP*, vol. 13, pt. 1, p. 240 (grant no. **646(3)**).

²¹² Abbot Augustine is not mentioned by name in the printed sources, but he evidently occurs in the manuscripts. LAO, DIOC/BOX 92/5: ‘Proceedings at an inquiry into the conduct of the Abbot of Bruerne’ [Bruern, Oxon] cited in *Heads*, III, p. 347. The allegations are detailed in *Tudor Cist.*, pp. 116-17. An account of the hearing is provided in ‘Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln 1517-1531’, ed. A.H. Thompson, *LRS*, 35 (1944), 215-16.

²¹³ TNA, E303/1/7, the ‘Court of Augmentations: Conventual leases’ subdivided by county in *Heads*, III, p. 347; <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C6553131>

²¹⁴ TNA, E315/92, f. 43v [‘Volume II. A Decree and Order Book of the Court of Augmentations dated 22 April 1537-21 April 1539’] cited in *Heads*, III, p. 347.

- 1533** **17th October.** 'Augustin Abbot of the monastery of Our Blessed Lady of Warden, and the convent of the same place' leased all of the abbey's tenements in the parish of St John Zachary in London, to widow Joanne Stolpar and Thomas Hargrave, citizen and haberdasher of London.²¹⁵
- 1534** Abbot Augustine was accused by William Norreche [?Norwich] of Bassingborne (Cambs) of receiving 116 sheep, which had been stolen from Norreche by a third party on 11 April 1532. The abbot's persistent refusal to return them resulted in Norreche petitioning Thomas Cromwell in the hope that he would order the abbot to pay compensation, not only for the sheep, but also for the costs incurred during his 2-year legal battle.²¹⁶
- Retired** Early 1535. Augustine London retired to the Cistercian abbey at Woburn where he remained until the monastery there surrendered to Henry VIII on 8 May 1538.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ BARS, AD3731.

²¹⁶ *LP*, vol. 7, p. 611 (1650).

²¹⁷ *LP*, vol. 13, pt. 1, p. 361 (981).

6 SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ABBOTS OF WARDON

HENRY EMERY (Emerey, Emeri, Emerye)

- Experience** Abbot of Sibton from 1522 until at least 8 December 1534.²¹⁸ Possibly cellarer at Sibton before election to the abbacy.²¹⁹
- Elected** Early 1535 having been preferred (submitted for consideration) by the duke of Norfolk.
- 1535** 'Henricus Emery, abbot of Wardon', documented in the *VE*.²²⁰
- 1535** After 16th October.²²¹ After the 1535 visitation, life at Wardon became intolerable for Abbot Henry and he made a futile attempt to resign. He gave detailed reasons in a letter, although it is unclear precisely when this was submitted or to whom.²²²
- 1536** **8th December.** Henry Emery awarded an annuity of £6 13s 4d to the duke of Norfolk's treasurer, Anthony Rous for 'good counsel'. After the dissolution of the monastery the pension was disallowed by the Court of Augmentations on the grounds that the claim was 'void and of none effect' and had 'no vigour in law'.²²³
- 1536** **Occurs 27th December.**²²⁴
- 1537** **16th July.** Henry Emery wrote from Wardon to Anthony Rous, reminding him that he had asked Rous to make arrangements with the earl of Rutland, that would see a bursar brought in while Emery himself remained at the abbey 'with a stipend for his living'.²²⁵ It appears that Henry Emery handed over the responsibility to Thomas London, one of his experienced monks, in late July. However, the terms agreed between them proved unacceptable to the new incumbent who considered himself to be the new abbot, although this was not Emery's understanding of the situation. Emery travelled to North Yorkshire for discussions with his patron, the duke of Norfolk.
- 1537** **5th August.** The duke of Norfolk wrote to Cromwell from his castle at Sheriff Hutton (N. Yorks): 'the bearer, the abbot of Wardon, having promised to the earl of Rutland to resign the abbey to one whom he should appoint has accordingly done so in favour of Thomas London of his house on certain conditions agreed between them; but London was in breach of his agreement. The duke begs favour for the abbot [Henry Emery] who was by Norfolk's means preferred to the abbey'.²²⁶

²¹⁸ SBC vol. 4, p. 67 (**1120**) cited in *Tudor Cist.*, p. 454.

²¹⁹ Accounts of Brother Henry, the Cellarer or Keeper of the Office of Baker, are dated to c.1519-20 in J. Ridgard and R. Norton, *Food & Ale, Farming & Worship. Daily life at Sibton Abbey* (Leiston Press, 2011), pp. 45-49.

²²⁰ *VE*, vol. 4, p. 199.

²²¹ On 16 October 1535 commissioners, Dr Thomas Legh and John ap Rice visited Wardon Abbey, from where both men each sent a letter to Thomas Cromwell. *LP*, vol. 9, pp. 210-211 (**621**) and (**622**).

²²² T. Wright (ed.), *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries* (London, The Camden Society, 1843), pp. 53-55.

²²³ TNA, E315/102, f.183r. cited in *Tudor Cist.*, pp. 291 and 335, and *Heads, III*, p. 347.

²²⁴ BL, Add. Cht. 3849 cited in *Heads, III*, p. 347.

²²⁵ *LP*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 112 (**264**).

²²⁶ *LP*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 180 (**452**).

THOMAS LONDON

- Experience** Subdeacon and deacon 1518; priest 1520. He may be the monk of this name who supplicated for BD (Oxon) in 1530.²²⁷
- 1535** In his resignation letter written after the visitation by the commissioners on 16th October,²²⁸ Abbot Henry Emery pronounced Thomas London a 'common drunkard'. The abbot also claimed to have assigned Father Thomas to read the Divinity lecture, but unbeknown to him, the priest read from the *Eccius' Homilies* instead.²²⁹ Abbot Henry claimed that the books were 'all carnal and of a brutal understanding, and entreat of many things clean against the determination of the Church of England' and when he discovered what Father Thomas had done, he confiscated the book, and sent it to Dr. Legh, one of Cromwell's commissioners in London. The abbot appointed his own brother²³⁰ to read instead, but few or none of the monks would attend.²³¹ From this we must infer that Thomas London, a priest of 15 years' experience, refused to accept the 'new learning' of the Reformation and was prepared to rebel against the abbot for the sake of his Catholic faith.
- Abbacy** Probably for about 4 weeks during July/August 1537 before Emery was reinstated following intervention by the duke of Norfolk.
- 1537** **23rd August.** Letter from Thomas London to Cromwell: 'The late deposed abbot of Wardon, father Emery, on Tuesday last [17th August] coming from the Court [then at Windsor], declared to me it was your pleasure I should give place to him, and demanded the keys of the abbacy of Wardon. I refused as he showed no authority. I beg, as I am occupied with the affairs of the abbey and cannot attend upon you, to know your pleasure by the bearer, a brother of the house, to whom give credence'.²³²
- Resigned** Thomas London was not present when the abbey surrendered to Henry VIII on 4 December 1537, apparently having left Wardon Abbey immediately after the debacle. A letter from John Gostwick to Thomas Cromwell, possibly dated 25th August, thanks Cromwell for his 'goodness to the poor monk of Warden', which suggests that Cromwell had used his influence to procure an alternative position for the ousted abbot. This can by no means be taken as the definitive interpretation of the text, but it is a reasonable supposition given the circumstances.²³³

²²⁷ See *BRUO*, p. 361 for Thomas London.

²²⁸ Letter from commissioner, John ap Rice to Cromwell sent from Wardon on 16 October 1535. *LP*, vol. 9, pp. 210-211 (**621**) and (**622**).

²²⁹ The sermons of Johann Eck (Eckius, Eccius), a German theologian and defender of Catholicism during the Reformation. For biographical details, refer to J.P. Kirsch, 'Johann Eck (Eckius)'. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909), www.newadvent.org/cathen/05271b.htm.

²³⁰ Edmund Emery, deposed abbot of Wardon's daughter house of Tilty (Essex), had retired to the Bedfordshire abbey in 1533.

²³¹ *LP*, vol. 9, p. 397 (**1167**).

²³² *LP*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 215 (**572**).

²³³ *LP*, vol. 12, pt. 2, pp. 215-16 (**576**).

After 1537 Thomas London

The use of aliases and patronymics can cause confusion, something that may have occurred in this instance. According to the *VE*, a 'Thomas Cordall' acted as the abbey's receiver in 1535 for a fee of £3 6s 4d.²³⁴

Tudor Cist. proposes that Thomas London was probably Thomas Cordell *alias* Warden, who held two livings in plurality: vicar of Welwyn, Hertfordshire (Lincoln diocese), 1540-1563 and rector of Cranford, Middlesex (London diocese), 1542-1563.²³⁵ The Clergy of the Church of England database (CCEd) documents Thomas Cordall as rector (not vicar) of Welwyn from 21 October 1540 to 1563 but does not yet incorporate the relevant period for the London diocese.²³⁶

BRUO suggests that Thomas London possibly supplicated for 'B. Th., adm. 26 May 1540'. He became rector of Welwyn in 1540 and rector of Cranford on 21 January 1542. He had died by September 1564.²³⁷

HENRY EMERY returns

1537 Norfolk's request for Emery's reinstatement was agreed and Emery arrived back at Warden on Tuesday 17 August 1537, although the matter was not resolved for a further week (see letter from Thomas London to Cromwell dated 23rd August).

1537 4th October. The duke of Norfolk wrote to Cromwell, thanking him for favouring the abbot of Warden [Henry Emery].²³⁸

1537 Warden was among the first of the greater abbeys to surrender voluntarily to the Crown.²³⁹ **4th December.** (Old Warden) The signature of Henry Emeri [*sic*] appears on the Deed of Surrender.²⁴⁰

After 1537 The annual pension awarded by the Court of Augmentations to the head of a religious house was commensurate with the value of that house, and the Cistercian abbots of Rievaulx and Fountains received 100 marks and £100 respectively.²⁴¹ In his introductory survey of the dissolution of the monasteries in Bedfordshire, Marks observed that 'The abbot of Warden seems to have received £60', but fails to provide a source for this suggestion in his notes.²⁴² Moreover, neither *Heads*, III nor *Tudor Cist.* mentions a pension for the abbot of Warden, leaving the position unclear.

²³⁴ *Mon.*, vol. 5, p. 374.

²³⁵ W.H. Stevenson and H.E. Salter, *The Early History of St John's College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1939), p. 47 cited in *Tudor Cist.*, p. 487.

²³⁶ CCEd Person ID: 142580; *LA, Register XXVII (Register)*. Database records for the parish church of Cranford (Diocese of London) (CCEd Location ID: 11740) currently begin in 1575 with the presentation of Thomas Hyde as rector. See <https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/>.

²³⁷ *BRUO*, p. 361.

²³⁸ *LP*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 291 (**828**).

²³⁹ Furness was the first of the greater abbeys to surrender voluntarily to the Crown (9 April 1537). TNA, E322/91 cited in *Heads*, III, p. 296; *LP*, vol. 12, pt. 1, p. 395 (no. 880); cf. *ibid.*, p. 413, no. 903; *DKR* 8, app. ii, p. 21; *Ann. Furness*, pp. 350-1; and report of surrender 5 Apr. in Wright, *Suppression*, pp. 153-4, no. 74; *Ann. Furness*, pp. 346-7; Cook, pp. 128-9, no. lxxviii).

²⁴⁰ *LP*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 414 (**1171**).

²⁴¹ *LP*, vol. 15, p. 544 (**298**) and p. 552 (**283**).

²⁴² R.C. Marks, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries in Bedfordshire (An Introductory Survey)*, (1968) [paper prepared for a seminar held at King's College, London University], p. 21 and Note 111.

TWELFTH-CENTURY SEAL FROM WARDON ABBEY

Cistercian policy on seals

All sealed documents issued from a Cistercian monastery had to come from the abbot who was the guardian and sole user of the only official seal matrix. In 1200 the General Chapter reminded abbots that the two approved patterns for their seals were an abbot with a pastoral staff, and a hand holding the staff to signify the abbot's pastoral role. The seal was not to bear the abbot's personal name.²⁴³

Official seal from Wardon Abbey

An example of one such seal was attached to the document detailing the terms under which the dispute between the prior of St Neots and Matthew the priest of Thurning had been settled in 1186/87. The seal of green wax was 48mm by 35mm and depicted the abbot standing in mass vestments with a crozier in his right hand and a book in left. A long maniple hangs from his right wrist and the seal bears the legend SIGILLVM ABBA[IS DJE SARTIS G[ARD]ONI.²⁴⁴ Rudge published a drawing of the seal in 1839 and a cast is held by The Higgins Museum.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ T.A. Heslop, 'Cistercian seals in England and Wales', in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. C. Norton and D. Park (Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 266-83 (p. 266 and Pl.139).

²⁴⁴ Stenton, *NRS*, 4.

²⁴⁵ *Lithographed Drawings of Warden Abbey. By B. Rudge, Bedford* (Bedford, 1839). Museum catalogue references: BEDFM 1963, 526 and BEDFM 1963/530.

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