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Fleet church in the Castle Acre cartulary

Fo.76v Grant (=confirmation) by Josce (or Jocelin) of Fleet.

Josce son of Fulk of Fleet confirms the original grant of the church of St Mary Magdalene to the monks of CA, with all its possessions, by his father.

In another charter, Josce himself says he is granting the church, with its priest and all its possessions.

In a third, separate charter, Josce grants 5 marks p.a. to the monks, to be taken for now from the revenue (censu) of Geoffrey the monk, until he makes a final arrangement for this payment to CA when he returns from Jerusalem, or if he doesn't, his wife and heirs shall make arrangements for the exchange to permanent source for this grant.

Josce's grant is confirmed by Adam de Montbegon, his lord, on fo.77v. For the Montbegon family, tenants of Warenne, see *Early Yorks Charters* iii, 318; *VCH Lancashire* i, 319ff; Lloyd and Stenton, eds., *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, no 149. Adam first occurs 1154-58, was still alive at Michaelmas 1171 but dead by Michaelmas 1172.

The grant of the church is also confirmed by Bishop Robert de Chesney of Lincoln, fo.122r=pd in *English Episcopal Acta* I, no 94; date=19 Dec.1148-18 Apr.1161; also confirmed by Archbishop Theobald, fo.119v=pd in A Saltman, *Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury*, no.65, dated c1150-1161.

So, the church has definitely been granted to CA by 1161; but the original grant by Josce's father is surely quite a bit earlier. As for Josce's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, it must be possible (but by no means certain) that this was on the Second Crusade preached 1146, departure 1147. Must be conjecture, but dates fit.

TROUBLE breaks out after Josce's death and comes to attention of both ecclesiastical and royal courts. There is a dispute between CA and Josce's son Richard. For Richard son of Josce, see *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals* no 185; he first appears as a witness in a Sixle priory charter 1153-62; occurs in a Pipe Roll in 1170, again in 1175-7; in 1195 he paid 100 marks, which he had owed for some years, so that his daughter might be delivered from Ralph de Chandos, who claimed that he had espoused her. At some time before 1185 he gave 50 acres at Fleet to the Templars (and this is pure conjecture, but this, added to the fact that his hospital ends up in the hands of the Hospitallers, may mean that as a young man he preferred the military orders to the Cluniacs – although in the end he wishes to be buried at CA – see below).

The dispute: fo.122r=pd.*EEA* i no 95. Notification by Bishop Robert of Lincoln that in his presence, by judgement of the diocesan synod, Prior Jordan of CA had

established his right to the church of Fleet against Richard son of Josce 3 June 1162-October 1164.

That he initially was not happy with this decision is indicated by a writ of Henry II, same date limits, directed to him, ordering that monks of CA are to have Fleet church (fo.112v)

We now have the charters of Richard son of Josce.

fo.76v

i. Confirmation to monks of CA for their own maintenance of the church of Fleet, with all its appurtenances as on the day when Walter the clerk was alive and dead. He has also granted to them himself ten acres in the marsh by "Satdudigh" (?reading), in free and perpetual alms.

This obviously precedes the charter of Walter of Coutances, bishop of Lincoln, (datable 3 July 1183-3 March 1185) on fo.122r-v=pd.EEA i no 300 – having inspected the charters of Josce and Richard of Fleet, he has confirmed to CA the church of Fleet at their presentation and by the grant of bishop Robert his predecessor. He grants that they should in perpetuity have the church *in proprios usus* (i.e. appropriated) with all its fruits and offerings and appurtenances.

ii. Grant to CA of a plot of two acres next to the plot of Josce the carpenter, given for the soul of Juliana his wife and of his kindred. The salt which is produced there is to be put to the use of the monks' kitchen.

iii. He grants to CA 5 acres in the furlong of "Westneuuelan" (?reading) adjoining the chapel of St Thomas to the west (so after 1173 when Becket canonised); he does this that the monks and the church of Fleet should incur no loss or damage because they have conceded that he may have a chapel in his house. It is agreed that the chaplain who shall minister there shall take an oath to the monks and the church of Fleet that he will retain for himself or the household chapel nothing which pertains to the mother church of the parish, except the offerings of Richard's household; and indeed, if Richard, his wife or any of his household make any offering to the parish church, it shall remain there without the chaplain objecting to this.

fo.77r

Grant by Hugh prior of CA and the convent to the lord Richard of Fleet and Juliana his wife and their heirs that they may have a chapel and chaplain at the hospital of St John the Baptist which they have built at Fleet, and may have divine office celebrated there. He grants that those dwelling in the hospital may in perpetuity have the offerings made there, saving the parochial rights of the church of Fleet; that is to say, the residents shall have nothing of the tithes or offerings of the parish church, but rather the tithes of the lands which they cultivate in the parish and of assarts (*incrementis*) shall go to the parish church. (Prior Hugh's dates are July 1182-1200) [handwritten note: ref to hospital in DM Owen, *Church & Society in Medieval Lincs* pp10-11]

Richard of Fleet grants to the church of St Mary Magdalene of Fleet and Walter the parson twenty acres of his land in free alms, free from all secular service, for the souls of his father and mother, his ancestors, himself and his wife, in the land of Baldwin of Gedney between "Brimbledic" and the new embankment, in exchange for the hermitage (I think – the photo is blurred) of "Cukedis" (that this grant is to Fleet church rather than monks, I suspect, means it is early 1160s, before CA's right established).

Grant by Richard of Fleet to CA of Roger of Brechlond with all his holding in the vill of Fleet, paying a rent of 6s p.a. in exchange for 5s which his father granted them from Geoffrey the monk in the same vill.

Richard of Fleet, hoping to earn pardon for his sins by the increase of alms, grants to all the widows of Fleet, present and future, by the entreaty and counsel of Juliana his wife, for their souls and those of their kindred, relaxation of that relief, called in English, "erethed" which used to be paid to him by them on the death of their husbands. He has conceded also to the widows that they may hold, well and in peace, their lands and houses after the deaths of their husbands, as long as they can discharge the customs and services relating to these lands and houses. Ends with a **very old fashioned anathema** (more like 1080s than 1180s): any infringers of this concession shall suffer perpetual anathema, and with Judas the traitor and the devil and his ministers shall be condemned to the torture of eternal death. (**THIS IS A FASCINATING CHARTER**)

fo.77v

Confirmation of Adam de Montbegon, as above.

Richard of Fleet has left his body at his death to CA, together with all his chattels. He grants to them all improvements which he may have made in the tenement which he holds of them, without any contradiction after his death; this he did when he received their charter. (Witnessed by Bartholomew dean of Walsingham, who occurs in 1190s; I think Richard feels death coming on here).

Grant by Robert de Scales to CA of Roger de Brechlande and Alan his son and all legitimate children of their wives, Agnes and Helewise, with their chattels (see grant by Richard above – presumably Robert de Scales is his lord in respect of this grant).

Agreement between Richard of Fleet and Walter clerk of Fleet, whereby Walter has remitted to Richard and his heirs all debts and all claims which he has against him, by this concord and perpetual peace; and Richard has likewise remitted to Walter all claims which he has against him; and Richard surrenders to the church of Fleet all liberties which he had, as well as he ever had them, specifically in the common pasture of the vill wherever the men of the vill have it. They swore to observe this at Northampton, on the feast of St John when the king's justices were there, and in the same year when by common consent they came to Lincoln when Earl Aubrey received the oaths of the sheriff and the other (royal) officers of Lincolnshire in the cathedral chapter.

(Probably the visit of the justices following the assize of Clarendon, so 1166-67; which would fit with a resolution of matters left over from Richard's recognition of the rights of CA to Fleet church a few years earlier).

See also

Fo 119r (*EEA* ii, no 98) The archbishop of Canterbury, Richard of Dover, issues notification that Richard son of Josce of Fleet has confirmed in the archbishop's presence his father's gift of the church of Fleet to monks of CA, and presented one of the monks to the archbishop to receive perpetual possession. May 1177-Sept 1181. Fo.122v=pd.*Acta of Hugh de Welles* no 187 The bishop grants to CA all the tithe of sheaves (the great tithe) and of vegetables of the whole parish, except of sheaves from the demesne land of the church itself and of grain and vegetables from the gardens within the parish, and on that account six measures of salt which of old they have been accustomed to receive from the parson, with the manse sited to the west of the church, as a perpetual benefice *in proprios usus*. The remainder, that is the altarage, with all the land pertaining to the church and the tithe thereof, rents, tithe of hay and salt, and in general all other revenues of the church, with an appropriate manse, they shall grant for the use of the parson of the church for the time being, to be presented by the monks and admitted by the bishop. The parson shall bear all the ordinary burdens of the church, and each party shall contribute to extraordinary burdens in proportion to their share of the revenues; saving in all things the dignity and rights of the church of Lincoln. 15 August 1222.

On fo.76r there is a grant which is not part of this sequence, but is interesting: Grant by Thomas son of Lambert of Moulton to CA, for salvation of his soul and those of his successors, of six acres of land in his marsh at Fleet, on which to build a barn in which their tithe of sheaves from Fleet may be stored, with right of free entry and exit for their carts and ploughs, and without there being any common right of pasture there. They may not sell or alienate this land to anyone, religious or secular. (Presumably the Thomas of Moulton who was sheriff of Lincs 1205-7 and a royal justice under Henry III till death in 1240)

Refs also in *A Terrier of Fleet* (ed. N Neilson Brit. Acad. 1920) pplxxiv, 42, 75, 80, 96, 117 lands of CA.

JW comments in bold type; references are in square brackets, details listed at end

CA Cartulary: Josce son of Fulk of Fleet confirms the original grant of the church of St Mary Magdalene to the monks of CA, with all its possessions, by his father.

This confirmation by Josce (also called Jocelin) of the original grant to Castle Acre priory (Norfolk) by his father, Fulk of Fleet, indicates that the gift of Fleet church to the Cluniac monks was probably made when Castle Acre was built. The Cluniac order was favoured by William de Warenne, first Earl of Surrey, and his wife, who accompanied the Conqueror to Britain: "*when men thought of religion they thought of Cluny*" [Southern p157]. Begun in 1089 and

dedicated about 1095, Castle Acre was richly endowed with many churches and tithes for its upkeep by their son, William de Warenne II [CA handbook]. No doubt tenants and sub-tenants of the Warennes were persuaded to endow equally generously. Their grandson, William de Warenne III, died on crusade in 1147/48 at Laodicea [Golding pp68-77].

The identity of Fulk of Fleet is obscure. Fulk was a popular name with the house of Anjou, with Geoffrey, Baldwin and Fulk often occurring through the decades and as Kings of Jerusalem [Runciman v1]. In 1120 Fulk V made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and became patron of the Knights Templar [Lees plx]. The same Christian names also occur frequently in the d'Oyry family at Gedney, possibly a minor branch. Other spellings occur in Kathleen Major: *The D'Oyrys of South Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Holderness 1130-1275*. See p41 R Kathleen Major: *The D'Oyrys of South Lincs, Norfolk and Holderness 1130-1275* p41 Robert de Oily occurs. D'Oyry was possibly spelt D'Oily elsewhere, with variants].

In a third, separate charter, Josce grants 5 marks p.a. to the monks, to be taken for now from the revenue (censu) of Geoffrey the monk, until he makes a final arrangement for this payment to CA when he returns from Jerusalem, or if he doesn't, his wife and heirs shall make arrangements for the exchange to permanent source for this grant.

In the tradition of the time, Geoffrey the monk may well have been related to Josce. The church offered a comfortable living to younger sons of land-holders when the firstborn usually inherited most of the estates. At a time of unquestioned male dominance it is significant that Josce trusted his wife (albeit with heirs) with financial responsibilities in the event of his death.

Josce's grant is confirmed by Adam de Montbegon, his lord, on fo.77v. For the Montbegon family, tenants of Warenne, see *Early Yorks Charters* iii, 318; *VCH Lancashire* i, 319ff; Lloyd and Stenton, eds., *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, no 149. Adam first occurs 1154-58, was still alive at Michaelmas 1171 but dead by Michaelmas 1172.

As for Josce's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, it must be possible (but by no means certain) that this was on the Second Crusade preached 1146, departure 1147. Must be conjecture, but dates fit.

A pilgrimage to Jerusalem was a sacred obligation, ignored on pain of eternal damnation [Runciman v1p100]; full absolution was the prize to anyone killed in battle [Runciman v1p89]. This was very important when most people believed firmly in the existence of Heaven and Hell; any route to expiation was extremely significant, worth risking life and at least a year's absence. There were also material reasons to support such a costly venture. Owing to the general rule of primogeniture, land throughout Europe was scarce, causing strife among family members [*ibid*]; the Holy Land offered new opportunities to the land-less [*ibid*]. The church saw the "just war" against Islam as a unifying force in Christendom [*ibid*]. Offered spiritual redemption, material privileges such as land, exemption from taxes and debts held over [Read p74], the pilgrimage

became identified with the crusade. Thousands were attracted to the cause throughout the western world [Runciman v1 p100]. Church and flock were thus fully justified, united in a common cause: to win back Jerusalem from the Infidel.

Former monk of Cluny in Burgundy, “*the keepers of the conscience of western Christendom*” [Runciman v1 p45] and the largest religious organisation of its day [*ibid*], Pope Urban II preached the first Crusade in 1095 after an April meteorite shower combined with famine and pestilence to raise feverish expectations of the Second Coming in Jerusalem [*ibid* p100]. The Pope directed that a red cross be worn on each surcoat [Runciman v1 p100], a reminder of the Emperor Constantine’s vision of the Cross on every Christian shield and the proclamation: *In this sign conquer!* [Read *Intro*] Traditionally providers of shelter along the pilgrim routes [Runciman v1 p46], the Cluniacs urged protection against Saracen marauders before recommending full scale retribution for the seizure of Jerusalem by the Turks in 1071 [*ibid* p86] . The ‘just war’ transformed pilgrims into crusaders and crusaders into the familiar images of the Knights Templar recognised in stained glass and statuary for centuries afterwards [*The Times* 01.17.01]. Even St George became a Templar [*ibid* 09.30.00].

The Knights of the Hospital of St John at Jerusalem also owed much to the Cluniac order [Runciman v2 p154]. Robed in black with a white cross, the Hospitallers were charged with the protection and succour of pilgrims some years before the Jerusalem Temple became the home of the Templars in 1118 [*ibid* p48]. Both orders adhered strictly to priestly rules of obedience, chastity and poverty; both answered directly to the Pope [Read p114]. Followers of the Cluniacs made generous, direct payments to the mother house in France, incurring the displeasure of English patriots [Cutts p179].

Married Templars were obliged to ask their wives’ permission before undertaking vows or before embarking on pilgrimages [Read p74]. They were not to wear white, nor to kiss anyone, nor look at women, but to sleep in lit dormitories in shirt, breeches, shoes and belt [*ibid* p103]. Rules allowed beards but required short hair, no pointed shoes, no laces, no fur, no gold or silver on bridles, no idle chat, no levity or boasting, meals to be eaten in silence, meat three times a week, Friday fasts and fasting from November to Easter; one-tenth of food to be given to the poor [*ibid* p104] .

No gifts could be received or given without permission; no money to be found on live or dead on pain of excommunication and burial in unhallowed ground. Gloves to be worn by chaplains administering the Host and masons at work. Prayers could only be missed if a horse needed shoeing [*ibid* p105].

The daily routine was monkish, military, and rigorous:

4am Matins, and horses tended; back to bed
Prime, Terce and Sext before breakfast in silence with Bible reading
2.30 Nones
6.00 Vespers and meal, food carefully measured

Compline and bed [*ibid* p133]

In battle the Templar banner was held by a marshal and guarded by 10 knights; when held aloft in battle no knight could leave the field [*ibid*].

On such a stringent regime the Templars and Hospitallers had developed into forces to be reckoned with. Their reputation for honesty and judgement made them '*trusted counsellors of popes and kings*' [*ibid* p112]. Known as "*magistri*", ("*masters*", see fol 23b Neilson Fleet Terrier), like the Hospitallers, often "*presbyters*" (*ibid* fol 64 "*Iohannes filius presbyteri*") the Templars' financial acumen made them seneschals (*ibid* ppix,xi), procurators, and advisers [Read p112], the '*bankers of Christendom*' [*ibid* p183]. Kings borrowed at 10%, two percent less than the maximum allowed to Christians, half the Jewish rate [*ibid* p183], possibly one reason for their popularity with King John [Read p184]. The Templars paid pensions and annuities [*ibid*]. They lived as groups in preceptories [Lees plxi] or individually in a "*domus*" [*ibid* plxii] (Fleet Terrier fol20 "*ad domum Reginaldi*"), and were found in great numbers throughout Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. The title "*magister*" occurs regularly in the lists of witnesses to ancient charters [JW] .

According to Lees an annual Templars' fair was held at Fleet alone in East Elloe, supporting Fleet's claim to local supremacy in salt [Hallam LAAR]. [*"There had been Sunday markets at Burton Stather, Fleet and Edenham before King John's reign"* Owen p110]; The Templars exercised their own form of "*free trade*" [Read p184]. A marketplace still existed in 1316 near the present site of the Bull [Fleet Terrier].

It is not known if Richard of Fleet's father, Josce, accompanied his lord, Adam de Montbegon, to the Holy Land as part of the retinue of Adam's lord, William de Warenne. In view of the military circumstances, it seems very probable. De Warenne took the Cross on Palm Sunday 1145/46, binding fellow "*palmifers*" to keep the conditions of a new foundation charter in the event of his death [Golding p68/77]. His son died on crusade but it is unknown if the father of Richard of Fleet died with him.

TROUBLE breaks out after Josce's death and comes to attention of both ecclesiastical and royal courts. There is a dispute between CA and Josce's son Richard. For Richard son of Josce, see *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals* no 185; he first appears as a witness in a Sixle priory charter 1153-62; occurs in a Pipe Roll in 1170, again in 1175-7; in 1195 he paid 100 marks, which he had owed for some years, so that his daughter might be delivered from Ralph de Chandos, who claimed that he had espoused her. At some time before 1185 he gave 50 acres at Fleet to the Templars (and this is pure conjecture, but this, added to the fact that his hospital ends up in the hands of the Hospitallers, may mean that as a young man he preferred the military orders to the Cluniacs – although in the end he wishes to be buried at CA – see below).

Richard's debt to de Chandos suggests that his (unnamed) daughter may have been the victim of an unsatisfactory ward arrangement. That payment took "*some years*" indicates the state of Richard's finances, possibly, but less

likely, disregard for his daughter's wishes. The Chandos line came with the Conqueror and became "a great English family" [Everyman], presumably without issue from this doubtful "espousal".

The dispute: fo.122r=pd.EEA i no 95. Notification by Bishop Robert of Lincoln that in his presence, by judgement of the diocesan synod, Prior Jordan of CA had established his right to the church of Fleet against Richard son of Josce 3 June 1162-October 1164.

That he initially was not happy with this decision is indicated by a writ of Henry II, same date limits, directed to him, ordering that monks of CA are to have Fleet church (fo.112v)

Professor Harper-Bill suggests the date of Josce's pilgrimage as 1147, the time of the Second Crusade. Such a quest could take years. Many suffered in the heat [Runciman v2 p6/7]. Josce may have returned to Fleet in poor health and died soon afterwards. Richard's appearance as a witness to charters raises the question of his majority. Although a young man could achieve knighthood as young as twelve [Rothwell EHD v3 p371, Weir p187], it was common for a lord to take wardship of children of another [as in Moulton/de Lucy case below]. The instigation of legal proceedings by an heir challenging the terms of an inheritance would suggest both the death of a parent and that the heir had come of age, i.e. 21 years.

Josce's son, Richard, tried to claim back Fleet church some time in the mid-twelfth century. Prior Jordan of Castle Acre had established the Priory's right to the church between 1162 and 1164. Richard's persistence in continuing his claim against the prior's refusal to admit it tells of the great cost borne by the family in their ancestor's generosity to the monks of Castle Acre and the sacrifices made in the name of Christian pilgrimage; it also says something of Richard's intransigence, perhaps desperation, that the king should be drawn into the argument. At Gedney, Fulk D'Oyry unsuccessfully claimed back the advowsons of Gedney and Whaplode churches [Major p12,13]. These attempts to claim back lost inheritances suggest belt-tightening by local lords whose parents or grandparents may have been pressed, as sub-tenants, into expressions of faith or loyalty they could ill afford. Less well-heeled crusaders could be rendered penniless, returning home as broken men [Runciman v1,p100,Owen p122]. Further evidence of Richard's lack of funds appears in the Chandos case above.

fo.76v

i. Confirmation to monks of CA for their own maintenance of the church of Fleet, with all its appurtenances as on the day when Walter the clerk was alive and dead. He has also granted to them himself ten acres in the marsh by "Satdudigh" (?reading), in free and perpetual alms.

This obviously precedes the charter of Walter of Coutances, bishop of Lincoln, (datable 3 July 1183-3 March 1185) on fo.122r-v=pd.EEA i no 300 – having inspected the charters of

Josce and Richard of Fleet, he has confirmed to CA the church of Fleet at their presentation and by the grant of bishop Robert his predecessor. He grants that they should in perpetuity have the church *in proprios usus* (i.e. appropriated) with all its fruits and offerings and appurtenances.

“Satdudigh” is probably a variant of Saturdaydyke, now known as Ravensdyke, a large water course, reputedly Roman, six miles south of Fleet church. Spellings include: Saterdaidyk [Fleet Terrier], Saterdagdyke [ibid], Saturdaydyke [ibid], Sattirdaydyke [ibid]. Much depended on local accent and the clerk’s interpretation of it. Saturday Bridge, possibly a corruption of St Anthony’s Bridge, is in Holbeach.

1316 Terrier has frequent references to “Custaunce” family, possibly a misspelling/mis-hearing of “Coutances”, fol.10, William, Hugh; fol.12, Godfrey; 12b etc.

ii. Grant to CA of a plot of two acres next to the plot of Josce the carpenter, given for the soul of Juliana his wife and of his kindred. The salt which is produced there is to be put to the use of the monks’ kitchen.

1316 Terrier fol.36b has “terra locei Carpenterii” (land of Josce Carpenter) in final section of Fleet Fen south. Domesday recorded: “Fleet Manor of the King 2 salt-pans rendering two shillings”. By 1316 Fleet supplied salt to more than a dozen religious houses and had 74 pans [Hallam LAAR]. Fleet was the centre of an important salt industry. In 1316 a saltern consisted of “hoge et area” [Terrier] later “hill and yard” [MacDonald]. Salt was essential for many vital purposes including the preservation of food and curing of leather [Hallam *op cit*]. Crowland Cartulary (formerly Wrest Park) has Thomas son of Thomas of Moulton granting a peck of salt yearly for the monks’ refectory for the souls of his parents, Thomas and Eleanor, his wife Sarah, and her parents, Richard and Juliana, from the saltpan of Walter son of Athelstan at Flete. Richard of Fleet’s wife was Juliana; his daughter, Sarah, was married to Thomas of Moulton by 1189. Note: Eleanor was also the name of a later Thomas de Moulton wife.

iii. He grants to CA 5 acres in the furlong of “Westneuelan” (?reading) adjoining the chapel of St Thomas to the west (so after 1173 when Becket canonised); he does this that the monks and the church of Fleet should incur no loss or damage because they have conceded that he may have a chapel in his house. It is agreed that the chaplain who shall minister there shall take an oath to the monks and the church of Fleet that he will retain for himself or the household chapel nothing which pertains to the mother church of the parish, except the offerings of Richard’s household; and indeed, if Richard, his wife or any of his household make any offering to the parish church, it shall remain there without the chaplain objecting to this.

The 1316 Terrier has “Westneulond” near the site of today’s “Winslowgate” which adjoins the A17 on the north: fol.17 “Dominus in Westneulond xlvij acras”. The Terrier indicates the position of a “Chapel of Wynstowe” nearby; also called “Wystow”, it belonged to Skirbeck Hospitallers (Boston) from c1230 [Owen p10]. A 1731 Terrier has Winslowgate in its present position. It is

possible that the name “Winstow” became “Winslow”. Chapels were often built on newly-reclaimed land [Owen p6]. “Winslow” may even be a corruption of “Westnew(land)”.

fo.77r

Grant by Hugh prior of CA and the convent to the lord Richard of Fleet and Juliana his wife and their heirs that they may have a chapel and chaplain at the hospital of St John the Baptist which they have built at Fleet, and may have divine office celebrated there. He grants that those dwelling in the hospital may in perpetuity have the offerings made there, saving the parochial rights of the church of Fleet; that is to say, the residents shall have nothing of the tithes or offerings of the parish church, but rather the tithes of the lands which they cultivate in the parish and of assarts (*incrementis*) shall go to the parish church. (Prior Hugh's dates are July 1182-1200) [handwritten note: ref to hospital in DM Owen, *Church & Society in Medieval Lincs* pp10-11]

The site of this hospital and chapel are uncertain but the 1316 Terrier has a “spitel” near the present Willow Tearoom, formerly “*The Angel Inn*”. In nearby Holbeach a similar hospital became “*The Chequers Inn*”. That Richard was a generous giver to the military orders is demonstrated by his gift of 50 acres to the Templars, the largest acreage in one gift recorded in the Templars' Feodary [pclxxiii]. The Hospitallers took over Templar possessions upon their suppression in 1308.

Richard of Fleet grants to the church of St Mary Magdalene of Fleet and Walter the parson twenty acres of his land in free alms, free from all secular service, for the souls of his father and mother, his ancestors, himself and his wife, in the land of Baldwin of Gedney between “Brimbledic” and the new embankment, in exchange for the hermitage (I think – the photo is blurred) of “Cukedis” (that this grant is to Fleet church rather than monks, I suspect, means it is early 1160s, before CA's right established).

“*Brimbledyke*” occurs in 1316 as a fen boundary in Fleet, now Mill Bank. The “*new embankment*” (1316 *New Dyke*) is now part of Strongs Bank. “*Cukedis*” may be a variant of “*Kokedich*”, “*a messuage*” and “*hermitage*” at Gedney, said to be in the dower of Ida, widow of Geoffrey D'Oyry, from her first husband c1240 [Major p25]. See “*Cockesditch*” in Gedney in 1227 [*ibid* p27]; also “*Cokedik*” [*ibid* p38]. “*Kokesquarterio*” (Coke or Cook's quarter) occurs in the Fleet Terrier, fol. 69b, possibly relating to “*Iohannes Cocus*” in fol.69.

Grant by Richard of Fleet to CA of Roger of Brechlond with all his holding in the vill of Fleet, paying a rent of 6s p.a. in exchange for 5s which his father granted them from Geoffrey the monk in the same vill.

A charter of Josce, Richard's father, before leaving on pilgrimage (see above), refers to 5 marks to be paid to the priory monks from the revenue of Geoffrey the monk until the matter can be settled properly, either by Josce on his return, or by his widow and heirs. The gift of Roger of Brechlond and his Fleet holding may be that settlement, although the medieval rate of inflation appears to have

devalued the mark to the same value as a shilling within a generation. Although the giving away of a serf and his family smacks of feudalism at its worst, Richard's circumstances may have been such that Roger would enjoy a less burdensome old age, and his dependants a less uncertain future, at the hands of the monks whose welfare was, after all, guaranteed by Richard and his ancestors.

Richard of Fleet, hoping to earn pardon for his sins by the increase of alms, grants to all the widows of Fleet, present and future, by the entreaty and counsel of Juliana his wife, for their souls and those of their kindred, relaxation of that relief, called in English, "erethed" which used to be paid to him by them on the death of their husbands. He has conceded also to the widows that they may hold, well and in peace, their lands and houses after the deaths of their husbands, as long as they can discharge the customs and services relating to these lands and houses. Ends with a **very old fashioned anathema** (more like 1080s than 1180s): any infringers of this concession shall suffer perpetual anathema, and with Judas the traitor and the devil and his ministers shall be condemned to the torture of eternal death. **(THIS IS A FASCINATING CHARTER)**

Urged by his wife to relax a duty paid to him by widows, Richard rather touchingly succumbs to Juliana's entreaties. This seems particularly humane in view of his own straightened circumstances. There were a great many taxes inflicted on the population generally [Owen p16]. The use of "a very old fashioned anathema" by Richard may not have been unique in South Lincolnshire; the advowsons of Gedney and Whaplode churches were similarly 'protected' [Major p50].

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Confirmation of Adam de Montbegon, as above.

Richard of Fleet has left his body at his death to CA, together with all his chattels. He grants to them all improvements which he may have made in the tenement which he holds of them, without any contradiction after his death; this he did when he received their charter. (Witnessed by Bartholomew dean of Walsingham, who occurs in 1190s; I think Richard feels death coming on here).

Richard paid 100 marks to Ralph de Chandos to regain his daughter in 1195 (see above). Therefore his death must have occurred some time after 1195. However, late Henry II, i.e.1189, Thomas de Moulton, as husband of Richard's daughter, Sarah, confirmed a grant of Richard's of a new saltern to Tydd church. Between 1175 and 1193 Abbot Solomon gave it to Thomas son of Alger of Fleet [Hallam p94]. This might indicate that Richard was no longer alive. There is at least one anomaly here. In 1189 Richard and Walter of Fleet, Gerard de Camville, Fulk D'Oyry, Thomas de Moulton and Conan son of Ellis, with others, attacked Crowland [Major p16]. Richard was therefore capable of action most of that year. It is possible that he became incapable as the year drew to a close and therefore gave his son-in-law, Thomas de Moulton, the power to

confirm his earlier grant. But there remains the question of Richard's payment to Ralph de Chandos for the return of his daughter in 1195. If Sarah was married by 1189, Richard must have had two daughters, unless such payment was retrospective and de Moulton exceptionally liberal for his time.

Grant by Robert de Scales to CA of Roger de Brechlande and Alan his son and all legitimate children of their wives, Agnes and Helewise, with their chattels (see grant by Richard above – presumably Robert de Scales is his lord in respect of this grant).

There was a Scaelles Bridge at Fleet [Court of Sewers 1563; cf Count Alan de Scales].

Agreement between Richard of Fleet and Walter clerk of Fleet, whereby Walter has remitted to Richard and his heirs all debts and all claims which he has against him, by this concord and perpetual peace; and Richard has likewise remitted to Walter all claims which he has against him; and Richard surrenders to the church of Fleet all liberties which he had, as well as he ever had them, specifically in the common pasture of the vill wherever the men of the vill have it. They swore to observe this at Northampton, on the feast of St John [June 21] when the king's justices were there, and in the same year when by common consent they came to Lincoln when Earl Aubrey received the oaths of the sheriff and the other (royal) officers of Lincolnshire in the cathedral chapter.

(Probably the visit of the justices following the assize of Clarendon, so 1166-67; which would fit with a resolution of matters left over from Richard's recognition of the rights of CA to Fleet church a few years earlier).

See also

Fo 119r (EEA ii, no 98) The archbishop of Canterbury, Richard of Dover, issues notification that Richard son of Josce of Fleet has confirmed in the archbishop's presence his father's gift of the church of Fleet to monks of CA, and presented one of the monks to the archbishop to receive perpetual possession. May 1177-Sept 1181.

Fo.122v=pd. *Acta of Hugh de Welles* no 187 The bishop grants to CA all the tithe of sheaves (the great tithe) and of vegetables of the whole parish, except of sheaves from the demesne land of the church itself and of grain and vegetables from the gardens within the parish, and on that account six measures of salt which of old they have been accustomed to receive from the parson, with the manse sited to the west of the church, as a perpetual benefice *in proprios usus*. The remainder, that is the altarage, with all the land pertaining to the church and the tithe thereof, rents, tithe of hay and salt, and in general all other revenues of the church, with an appropriate manse, they shall grant for the use of the parson of the church for the time being, to be presented by the monks and admitted by the bishop. The parson shall bear all the ordinary burdens of the church, and each party shall contribute to extraordinary burdens in proportion to their share of the revenues; saving in all things the dignity and rights of the church of Lincoln. 15 August 1222.

Parsonages near the site are well-documented [Lincolnshire Archives]

On fo.76r there is a grant which is not part of this sequence, but it interesting:
Grant by Thomas son of Lambert of Moulton to CA, for salvation of his soul and those of his successors, of six acres of land in his marsh at Fleet, on which to build a barn in which their tithe of sheaves from Fleet may be stored, with right of free entry and exit for their carts and ploughs, and without there being any common right of pasture there. They may not sell or alienate this land to anyone, religious or secular.
(Presumably the Thomas of Moulton who was sheriff of Lincs 1205-7 and a royal justice under Henry III till death in 1240)

Refs also in *A Terrier of Fleet* (ed. N Neilson Brit. Acad. 1920) pp1xxiv, 42, 75, 80, 96, 117 lands of CA.

According to references, the six acre site of the tithe barn was in the southern end of the Fen on the Holbeach side (W) [*Fleet Terrier* p75 fo36]. It should be noted that the word “fen” today applies to land south of Fleet church; northward (seaward) it is “marsh”: in 1316 “marisci” (fen) covered both. There were so many *Thomas de Moultons* in the same family, identification is difficult. Neilson (plxxxix) states: “..a certain Thomas de Multone who died in 1240 – a man of some reputation in his day, sheriff, forester, itinerant justice, justice at Westminster.” Then follows a contemporary description by Matthew Paris. This Thomas was married first to Sarah, daughter of Richard of Fleet, then to Ada de Morville, widow of Richard de Lucy, royal (and loyal) justiciar. His sons by Sarah, Lambert and Alan, were married to Ada’s two daughters, Amabel and Alice, his wards. Lambert’s son, Thomas, referred to above, was therefore his grandson. Alan also had a son, Thomas, whose family later took the name “de Lucy.” Dates of deaths and marriages are confusing and conflicting, but the firmest reference has the death of Richard de Lucy in 1179 at Lesnes in Kent.

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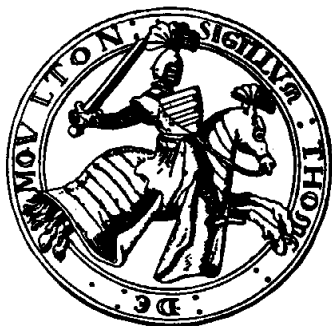
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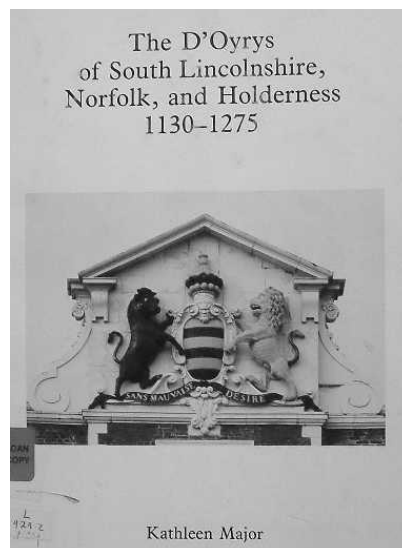
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Note the shield is barred in similar style to that of the D'Oyrys and to that above the old Butter Market in Holbeach (below).



Seal of Thomas of Moulton, Baron of Egremont (Cumberland) whose family were influential lords in Elloe wapentake during the thirteenth century



Extras

Rev Grant Macdonald: *Historical Notices of the Parish of Holbeach Foster, King's Lynn 1890*

p22 Pat Roll 1205 T de Multon granted Flete market 1205; Fulk D'Oyri Gedney market but had to change day as it clashed with Flete [so presumably was subservient to TdeM]

p24 Holbeach market and annual fair granted 1252 to T de Muletone and Maud (Matill) his wife and heirs with free warren in their demesne lands in Cumberland, York, Norfolk and Suffolk, Westmoreland and Lincs and market in manor of Braunton, Cumberland and 'for ever a weekly market on Thursday at their manor of Holbeach' and a fair for 2 days on eve and day of S Michael unless interfering with others. Witnesses inc. 2 bros of the King, William de Vallenge and Geoff de Lezingun at Windsor. **JW: Holbeach still has a Thursday market.**

Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals

No 185 Charter of Richard lord of Fleet giving St Michael's Priory, Stamford, 6 acres 1 rood arable in Fleet, Lincs (Henry II 1154-89); Latin has Fulk and Juliane, (prob R's wife) witnessess Reiner presb., (see Reiner in a previous charter in Sir C H) fratre Elia; hugo diacono; Rbt Buche; William clerico, Alger of Flet and his bro Walter; Rbt Bliton and his bro Jacob; Gerard; Roger; Hugo; Wm son of Ricardi. Seal is A lion passant to sinister. Note below says Ric of Fleet a witness in Sixle priory charter re E Rasen land of his fee 1153-62 in Gilbertine Charters, Stenton LRS21; first on Pipe Roll 1170 and 1175-7.

Alger of FI in Pipe Roll from 1165-1186. Walter of Fleet 1188 and CRR 1194 PRS xiv 35

JW: Could Juliana have been a daughter of Nicolaa de la Haye? (two dtrs, Juliana and Isabel)

Beatrice Lees: *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century OUP 1935*

Index has refs: clxxiii n7, 85 n3, 96 n8, p96, n9, 85

P85 Robert de Flet (note 3 says Elloe) in Metheringham (Langoe): "Robertus de Flet xijd de humagio suo" previous name in text Walteri Winterharde (n1 says a Scand. Name) Does this mean Robert paid homage to WW? Homage as part of rent was not so common as Templars preferred cash payment. Possibly an old established custom, like many others. WW held in 1086 at M'ham of d'Aincourt.

p96 Ricardus de Flet 'In Flet Auger pro L (L=50) acris de dono Ricardi de Flet dim. marc.' Note 7 says R de F witness in Lincs in 12th cent., Stenton, Gilb.Chs.21,30. Here he is given as the donor of land rented by Auger (prob Alger).

RW Southern: *The Making of the Middle Ages Cresset/Hutchinson 1953/87*

No ref to Templars or Hospitallers but intriguing ref to Masters, like Loyn (see below) P88 "Slowly the ruling households of Europe, at all levels from the Papal Court to the household of a minor baron, were penetrated by men calling themselves 'Masters'"

HR Loyn: *The English Church 940-1154, Pearson Ed. 2000* in thrall to "magistri" also, but no mention of Templars or Hospitallers.