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A Short Study in Valor Ecclesiasticus

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A SHORT STUDY IN VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS

by E. S. LINDLEY

COMPILING an account of Kingswood Abbey, I found that it does not appear in the printed Valor. Historians do quote valuations. Savine¹ has made a modern comprehensive study in which he notes the omission, but offers no explanation. Though I lack both Savine's competence and his opportunity, I have elicited facts of which he was unaware, which explain the strange omission. My examination and analysis of records lead also to conclusions on other points.

THE SURVEY, THE DOCUMENTS, AND THE VALOR

The General Ecclesiastical Survey of 26 Hen. VIII had as purpose the correct assessment of First Fruits and Tenths. By Royal Writs dated 30 January 1534-5 Commissions were appointed for dioceses and counties, with detailed instructions: sub-commissions with a quorum of three were to take sworn statements and make further investigation of each House and benefice: deductions allowable from gross income were fully specified. When the sub-commissions had all framed their reports, the Commission was to meet to compare these, and to certify them together into the Exchequer.

In the Exchequer these Original Returns were audited: full transcripts of them were made, and briefer Abstracts of only the data needed for fiscal use.

The Public Record Office has twenty-five items under press-mark E. 344 and, in class '*Valor Ecclesiasticus*', what has survived of these three sets of documents. Twenty of them are Original Returns: two more, known as *Liber Regis*, are an Exchequer Transcript: three more are an Abstract made at the

¹ *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution*, 1909.

time. A further set of similar Abstracts, known as *Liber Valorum* probably prepared only in the 18th century, is in the Literary Search Room under press-mark 'Index 16997'.

The full but not universal scheme of an Original Return shows a separate valuation of each property of a promotion, arriving at a gross value for the property: a schedule of allowable deductions follows, then a clear or net value of the property. The total of these net values, '*summa inde*', is next arrived at, and has generally been wrongly taken as the gross value of the promotion: after a schedule of common or general deductions, the true net value of the promotion, '*clare valet*', is given.

For its fiscal work the Exchequer needed only these clear values for First Fruits, and the Tenths based upon them: so only these were noted in the Abstracts: but revised assessments and other relevant points were added later.

When publication was decided upon, neither Originals nor Transcripts were available for six counties and for parts of two more: according to Valor, the data for these were taken from *Liber Valorum*. Savine finds that finally only Kingswood, St. Augustine Bristol, Holy Trinity and St. Andrew, York, are missing.

Caley, as the first Secretary to the newly formed Commission for the Public Records, is responsible for the first five volumes of the Valor: he seems to have prepared the sixth containing records recovered during the printing: but its printing and the writing of an introduction were left to a sub-commissioner. Caley would hardly have asserted, as the latter does, that the subject 'is not obscure': we are also deprived of explanations which Caley might have given.

Considering the difficulties, Valor is surprisingly accurate, perhaps nearly as accurate as the Originals. It is deficient in its showing of corrections: many copying errors due to wear in the Originals could have been avoided by checking with totals, as I have done: the editor does not seem to have had difficult readings referred to him for scrutiny.

THE OMISSION OF KINGSWOOD

Kingswood was a detached parish of Wiltshire, five miles within the Gloucestershire boundary: apart from the abbey and manor and one small property, all possessions lay in Gloucestershire: the abbey was under Worcester diocese. This has made some early historians locate it in one, and some in the other county.

A specific statement that 'there is no valuation of Kingswood in the G.E.S. of 26 Hen. VIII' is made in the 1817-30 edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*.¹ Caley was one of the three co-editors, and was responsible for the facts which appear as accounts prefixed to Dugdale's bare collections of documents, which roughly trebled the size of the edition: so Caley, who had edited the *Valor*, is likely to be responsible for the statement. As Caley here quotes actual values given by early historians, and knew that some Originals were missing, this was an incautious statement.

Facts which do not seem to have been noticed before are on record.² When Commissioners for Gloucestershire came to value Kingswood, they were only two: so they refused to act or to receive the certificate of value offered by the abbot: the Commission then soon intimated that the abbey was not within their commission. On the abbot's then writing to the Wiltshire commissioners, these too replied that it was not within their commission. The abbey thus escaped valuation by either of them.

It has also not been noted that there was a sequel. Among the Original Returns in the P.R.O. is one³ whose preamble shows that it was quite soon submitted by Bishop Hugh Latimer on a Royal Writ dated 7 September 1535, the very month of his installation in the Worcester see. This contains the entry

¹ v, 425 in the Ellis-Cayley edition.

² *Letters & Papers, foreign & domestic*, Hen. VIII, Rolls Series K, no. 1192.

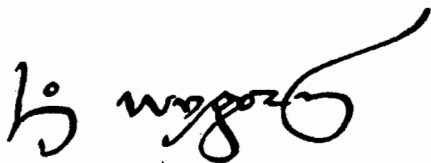
³ E.344/19/13, not printed in *Valor*. The Commissioners' report is E.344/21/2 and *Valor*, II, 409.

*Kyngeswood' Monasterium**Willelmus Bewdley abbas ibidem**Valor annuus ejusdem clare ultra reprisas ex recognicione predicti abbatis per juramentum suum in hoc prestitum*

			ccxliij.℥	xj.s	ij.d
<i>Incrementum</i>	iiij.℥	xiiij.s	viiij.d ob
<i>Decima</i>	xxiiij.℥	ix.s	j.d ob

The 'Incrementum' is the amount by which Latimer has increased the former value exhibited to him: these latter, for parishes, agree with Originals: for Houses there were small differences as the certificates shown him were pre-audit.

St. Augustine, Bristol, is also valued in this, though its omission by the Commissioners is still not accounted for. This return is signed by Latimer



The section of Abstracts covering this area has for some reason been separated from the rest.¹ In this, Commissioners' values are noted as usual, with Latimer's values in the left margin: for Kingswood there is only Latimer's value, and this has been made the normal entry: St. Augustine is however not added to this record. A clearer proof of the use of Latimer's survey is the treatment of Dursley rectory: the Commissioners have an entry for this, followed by one for the Gloucester archdeaconry to which it was appropriated: Latimer combines the two items with a comment: the Abstract tautologically copies both versions in full. Antiquaries too had access to Latimer's figures, using them to fill the gaps of Kingswood and St. Augustine.

¹ E.344/17, and 24, 25.

Caley cannot have excluded these data as of different and later origin: he prints a similar re-valuation of Cantuar by Archbishop Cranmer a year later, and two partial ones in Wells in 1551 and 1575: he prints revisions noted into the Original Returns even up to 1684. One can only conclude that the two records were lost at some time, and not recovered till after the printing was completed.

Latimer's return states only clear values and Tenths, with occasional details in narrative form: he refers to abbots' certificates on oath. In his preamble he refers to adjustments up or down 'for just and honest reasons shown before me', his 'increments'.

THE ANTIQUARIES

The historical interest which was arising soon turned to the wealth of the dissolved abbeys for a subject. Lists with values were compiled by a number of enquirers, of which some survive in published form, and a few only in MS.

Probably the oldest is the well known MS. *Cleopatra E iv* in the Cotton collection of the British Museum.¹ This is in a formal script, judged to be 16-17th century, in abstract and not tabular form, still employing Roman numerals. It deals only with abbeys, gives 'summa' values when available as well as clear values, but not Tenths. As noted below, the Bodleian has a copy of this as *MS Tanner 343*, and Stevens published it verbatim in his '*History of the Abbeys . . .*'²

The same bound volume of Cotton MSS. also contains a much briefer Abstract.³ This is in a rough cursive hand judged to be early 17th century, in tabular form, employs Arabic numerals, and gives only single values.

John Speed was the first to publish a list of abbeys⁴ with values, in 1611, with further editions in 1632 and 1650. He claims to give 'true values as in the original book thereof

¹ ff. 374-445.

² Vol. I, pp. 23-37.

³ ff. 446-57.

⁴ *History of Great Britain*, p. 1058 in 1632 edition.

taken by the Commission and given unto the King'. He gives single values only, of all promotions above parish level, in tabular form, in alphabetical order by counties.

The next publication was Dodsworth and Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* in 1655-61, with a second edition in 1682, a collection of the Latin charters of abbeys without commentary: this also contained a single-value list described as 'ex vetusto exemplari in Bibl' Cotton'.¹ Wright in 1692 produced a first translated edition which is not rated highly. A better edition was produced by Stevens in 1718, followed in 1722-3 by two volumes of supplementary material as his 'History of the Abbeys . . .' in which he printed the Cleopatra MS. In 1817-30 Caley's greatly enlarged edition appeared: this omits the Dugdale list, but the newly-added accounts of individual abbeys quote the values in it, as well as those of other authorities.

Meanwhile in 1695 Thomas Tanner had brought out a brief first edition of his 'Notitia Monastica': this was so well received that in 1715 he began preparing a fuller edition, but was unable to proceed with it: this was therefore undertaken by his brother John and appeared in 1744. In the accounts of individual abbeys, values are quoted from the above historians, and from 'my MS. Valor', and a few from a 'Sancroft MS.' John Tanner left his material to the Bodleian, and 'MS. Tanner 343' there proves to be a neat 17th century copy of MS. Cleopatra.

When James Nasmyth in 1787 brought out a third edition of Tanner, he added a list based on one said to be compiled from original sources by John Bacon, with some additions and corrections of his own.²

Fosbrooke, in his 1807 *History of Gloucestershire*, quotes a number of values from 'a Harleian MS.': these are only of parishes: I have been able to trace only *Harleian MS.* 604 in the British Museum: this is only a record of final disposal of some ex-abbey properties by James I.

¹ Vol. I, p. 1038 in 1655 and 1682 editions.

² p. 50 of his introduction.

Savine mentions the existence of some more lists, mere copies and re-copies and of no value: I have ignored these.

To provide completer and more reliable information Savine, as part of the study to which I have referred, undertook the immense task of re-compiling the true gross and net values from Originals and Valor, and distinguishing 'spiritual' from 'temporal' values.¹

I discuss accuracy and probable sources of these lists in more detail in a subsequent section below.

THE ORIGINAL VALUATIONS

I have dealt intensively with Gloucestershire, mostly in Valor, but had photostats of Originals of Llanthony II, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Westbury College, and Pershore, as well as of the whole of the Latimer survey and the Exchequer Abstract, and the two Cleopatras: moot points have been examined in Originals for me, sometimes by an agent, sometimes by the kind help of P.R.O. officers: errors could often be distinguished whether due to Valor copyists, or in the Originals. Outside the county I have dealt less intensively with Hereford, Hertford, Hunts., Essex, Kent, mainly for light on problems that had arisen in the county.

While few errors are considerable, and for a country-wide enquiry plus and minus errors probably come near balancing, there are errors which should not have escaped the meticulous audit of the time: many do matter in a more local enquiry, and they often afford important clues to the sources used by the subsequent compilers of lists.

ST. PETER'S ABBEY, Gloucester. A point revealed by the valuation: the charter of Henry I granting Ruddell (Rudhall) manor to the abbey imposed the condition that a wax candle be kept burning night and day before the High Altar, for the soul of Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy: provision of £3 6s 8d p.a. was allowed for a hundred-weight of wax for this.

¹ Op. cit., p. 270, et seq.

The Dean and Chapter still hold the manor, but the condition is no longer observed.

The property of the abbey itself is valued in detail, followed by similar valuations of its cells within and outside the county, and then a summary for the combination.¹ Latimer gives only a figure for the combination, accepting a certificate of the abbot for the same amount as the Original net figure

MDCCCXLVJ *li* V s VIIJ *d ob.*

But then one more 'C' has been interpolated above his line in a much lighter ink, making the amount £100 more: he has not calculated the Tenths, so that neither amount is confirmed. The Exchequer Abstract quotes a figure for the combination only, takes the enhanced amount, and writes it differently leaving no doubt of intention

M ^{cc}IX XLVJ *li*

but bases Tenths on the lower amount.

As subsequent lists which quote the combination, including Bacon who seems to have examined originals in detail, quoted the enhanced figure, it looks as if that had been accepted, but apparently incorrectly.

Appendix III shows some careless errors which, though small, should not have escaped the meticulous audit in a Survey which made valuations down to half-farthings.

LLANTHONY II (by Gloucester) has some minor misreadings and misprints not due to Original: the worst is where X *li.* (£10) clearly written, is rendered as XL s (40 s). In Hempsted parish some rather rubbed figures are given wrongly in Valor, though a clear total enabled me to make good the deficiencies: and of the reprises a totally wrong version is given, where the Original is so badly blotted that nothing can be read.

More serious is that the schedule gives clear values which total £737 5s 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d*, but this total is stated as only £648 19s 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d*, the figure also taken by the Abstract. Latimer refers to a

¹ See Appendices I and III.

previous value of £749. Subsequent lists differ, and there is no means of judging which was accepted (see Appendix I).

The record of ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL has led to such confusion that I set it out in Appendix IV for clarity. Study shows that the first of the three documents in Originals is an inept attempt at a certificate for the commissioners: the third is their own valuation: the second is a valuation at Surrender which was accepted retrospectively. Latimer's figures are irrelevant, except that they slightly helped the confusion. The Exchequer Abstract probably started the muddle by showing two entries, though at the same value. Subsequent historians made the hospital into two, with different values, and with errors in them. £25 11s 2d is the correct net value.

The valuation of WESTBURY COLLEGE ends with a salary-roll of the canons, which leaves little revenue for taxation, but is inadmissible: the Exchequer Abstract, after the usual two lines for the proper values, unaccountably repeats this whole list *in extenso*: but this has subsequently been disregarded. One of three related marginal figures whose relevance I cannot discover, is noted only in the Exchequer 'dot system': this seems to be based on the abacus then used: in the right-hand section the dots stand for units up to twenty: in the next, for scores up to a hundred: the rest are normal decimal: this reckoning in scores also appears sometimes in writing the Roman numerals, for example

60 would be $\overset{xx}{IIJ}$

PERSHORE is in the former diocese and not far outside the county. Its valuation being among my photostats, I audited it, and it proves a poor piece of work. Plus and minus errors nearly balance, which hides the fact that some are quite appreciable: recorded totals are incorrect, even when only three contiguous figures are involved: items are cancelled without correcting the totals involved: figures are incorrectly carried forward.

THE ANTIQUARIES LISTS

The object of this section is to report errors found in the lists as affecting their reliability, and to see what light they throw on the sources used by each compiler. A comprehensive account of the errors would be too lengthy: so it must suffice to show the more salient ones, and merely refer to further tendencies.

The most revealing set of errors occurs outside the county, in the treatment of the houses at Colchester, tabulated in Appendix V.

In MS. CLEOPATRA it is at once obvious that the eye of a compiler, after writing the first name, jumped to the value of the fourth House, skipping all between: this would not be likely in copying from a lengthy Original, but only from a compact Abstract. As the Exchequer Abstract states only net values, this cannot have been the source: so there must have been a two-value abstract compiled for antiquarian and not fiscal purposes, now lost, from which MS. Cleopatra was copied. Incidentally, the listing of both gross and net values throughout Essex and Hertford shows that the Originals for those counties, lost when Valor was printed, were available for the compilation.

The order of Houses largely follows that of Originals: there has been some re-arrangement in that daughter-houses are generally separated from their mothers and listed in the counties in which they lie: but some 'home' and some 'foreign' cells are listed in the mother's county without precedent. The MS. purports to confine itself to abbeys and priories: but it omits some, of medium size: and it lists a few friaries and hospitals, even down to Maldon (Essex) worth only 26s 8d. It brings in Kingswood with figures which seem to be approximate versions of Latimer's own and his referred valuation.

As to values, the MS. is the first to show the inverted correction of values for St. Peter's (Glos.), and accepts an extra £100 for Llanthony: for Pershore it takes values before their increase in audit, as seems also to be the case in some other Houses: the gross figure for Christchurch (Cantuar.) might be the

same error, but the net figure is in the opposite direction. St. Augustine's (Cantuar) is curious in that the net figure is precisely Cranmer's, believed not to have been accepted, while the gross figure is a version of the official net.

So MS. Cleopatra or its prototype, while mainly an antiquarian's digest of Originals, is not entirely so: some differences are accounted for by lack of care in the two successive copyings: but some indicate pre-audit or slightly later information.

In the CLEOPATRA ABSTRACT the Gloucestershire section is a bad piece of work. It lists 11 Houses but says there are 13: its values add up to £4,277, but it states a total of £5,428: St. Peter's is omitted, but its value is greater than the gap: Cirencester and Llanthony I are also omitted, and their values precisely make the total correct, and also the number of houses if we count St. Bartholomew's only once. It is also the first to be misled into showing two hospitals of St. Bartholomew at Gloucester. In Kent, Christchurch is omitted. At Colchester the correct value of the first House is given, and at the end of the county list the fourth House is added, but the second and third are still omitted. Otherwise, where MS. Cleopatra differs from Originals, it is the latter that this Abstract follows. Elsewhere there are frequent clerical errors: the worst of these is to render the 106s 10d of Royston Hospital as £106 11s 10d.

It is clearly copied from a prototype and not the Originals: this is likely to have been a one-value list, not the Exchequer Abstract, and not the same as the prototype of the MS. Cleopatra.

SPEED'S list enjoyed a high reputation, even for long after it had ceased to be the only published list: even Savine did not quite abandon that estimation in spite of finding and recording many inaccuracies in it. My study has led me to hold an even lower opinion of it: but the reputation has been held so long and so widely that it cannot be disposed of briefly.

Speed's claim to give 'true values' led to his being considered the only source for gross values as the measure of what it cost the country to support the monastic community. Short of working them out from the full Original Returns, only the

'*summa*' values were available for him to take. Of his 85 values in the area that I have studied, 33 are unmistakably net and of 19 of them the '*summa*' values were given but ignored. This does not mean that his quotations were accurate: Savine quotes a large number of errors: below I quote a few of the grosser errors, and smaller ones are numerous.

The importance attached to these '*summa*' values was also mistaken: Savine realized this and undertook the immense task of calculating the gross values: but even these are of less meaning than he thought. Gross revenues were subject to contractual obligations explicit in the original grants: such were chief rents, alms, provisions for parish incumbents, which were not part of the burden of the monks on the country. After these contractual obligations, there were other inescapable expenses such as episcopal fees, bailiff's and steward's salaries: deducting all these obligations and expenses from the gross revenue would give the net amount: but the expenses were often divided: in four cases among the ten abbeys which I have fully audited they were all charged to separate estates, so that '*summa*' was the same as net: in one case they were all charged to a general fund so that '*summa*' was the same as gross: in five cases, including the biggest houses, they were divided so that '*summa*' was really meaningless. And so Speed's values were a quite erratic mixed collection.

The supposed value of Speed's figures was further diminished by his inaccuracies. Apart from clerical or printing errors in a single digit, or rendering 'II s' as 2s, Malden (Essex) 26s 8d is rendered £26-0-8, and Acornbury (Hereford) £75-7-5 is rendered as £705-7-5; St. Guthlac (Hereford) and Ewenny (Glamorgan) and Combewell (Kent) are given quite unfounded values. St. Osyth (Essex) is entered twice, once under its name and once under the place. There are other errors which may lie in his source.

His claim, in effect to have taken his values from the '*Liber Regis*', the Exchequer Transcripts of Original Returns, does not stand up to scrutiny. It is a minor point that he lists Houses

closed by earlier dissolutions. Savine¹ is of opinion that Speed rests on Cotton's authority (stemming from Leland) and quotes letters between them.

Leland was the King's Palace Librarian: in 1535 he was commissioned under the Great Seal 'to search . . . all libraries of monasteries and colleges', and proceeded on his travels: when the King died in January 1546/47 he lost his employment then his reason, and died in 1552. His papers then came into possession of Sir John Cheek who gave four volumes of them, since published as 'Collecteana', to Mr Purefoy, while the rest were dispersed. Of the dispersed papers some were collected by Sir Robert Cotton, who left them to the British Museum. More of the dispersed papers, including what has been published as the eight volumes of the 'Itinerary', were collected by William Burton, who also bought what Purefoy had, and left his whole collection to the Bodleian Library.

Actually the Bodleian have the Itinerary and Collecteana and 'one or two other Leland items'. The British Museum has only 'some other MSS., all originals or copies of Collecteana'.²

I have tried to find valuations in Leland's works, but found nothing in the least relevant. Spelman³ had heard that Speed's list was one compiled by Burton, but this is not known in the Bodleian. Tanner quotes all the valuations he has found in different sources, and there is only one from Leland: the copious bibliographies he compiled contain nothing relevant.

Speed's claim to have taken his values from any Original records fails completely under scrutiny. For minor Houses he gives net values agreeing with Cleopatra Abstract, though for most of them Valor gives '*summa*' values: for St. Peter, Llanthony II, Pershore, Christchurch and St. Augustine (Cantuar), Langdon and Folkstone (Kent), Wormesley (Hereford) he gives net values from a Cleopatra document different from values given in Originals: for St. Bartholomew he simply copied the Cleopatra Abstract: his version of the Colchester

¹ Op. cit., p. 26.

² Private letters from the librarians.

³ *Concilia*, Vol. I, p. 215.

muddle is inexplicable, but clearly not from Originals. In fact he clearly derives from these two documents from the Cotton collection or their prototypes which may be due to Leland: and his claim is on the strength of a belief that they had been correctly compiled from Originals.

Incidentally, Savine concluded that there had been a single lost prototype: this is one of the matters that I have considered in more detail than he, and in tabular form, and I find there were probably two.

DUGDALE'S list in the original MONASTICON, in four out of the six counties which I have tabulated, agrees with the Cleopatra Abstract, both in individual values and in county totals: in a fifth, Hunts., a difference of £50 in the totals is accounted for by a clerical error in the Abstract: in Gloucestershire Dugdale has included Cirencester and Llanthony I which the Abstract had omitted but were needed to make up the total: he has also included St. Peter's which both details and total of the Abstract omitted, as well as St. Augustine and four smaller Houses within Bristol: these bring the Abstract and Dugdale's totals into agreement. So the '*vetustum exemplar*' on which he based his list must have been the prototype of the Abstract.

TANNER'S 'my MS.', that is Tanner MS. 343 in Bodleian, has been found to be a copy of MS. Cleopatra.

The SANCROFT MS. from which Tanner quotes seven values is not another copy of this as Nasmyth surmises, since these Houses are all Hospitals, not appearing in MS. Cleopatra. He is the first to clear the Colchester muddle completely: he also drops the erroneous St. Bartholomew, but gives it a gross value of the cash minus the wax instead of plus, and a net which is only the property in the city and not outside. So some care has been taken, but some bad errors made: and the loss of this, possibly a third early record, is not important.

Tanner also quotes three values from '*a MS. in bibl' regis*': all three are in Kent: two are unmistakably from Cranmer, and the third not understandable. So this MS. is likely to have been the Cranmer valuation.

BACON'S list in the Nasmyth edition of *Notitia Monastica* is distinctly the best, free of petty errors, and few others, balanced by correcting previous errors.

Outside Gloucestershire, in the five other counties that I have seen, his only errors are taking Estbridge Hospital (Kent) £1 too much and Dover Priory £5 too much, and adding the parish to Wyngam College (Kent). Gloucestershire is below his average: while valuing the combination and not merely the abbey of St. Peter (and taking the extra £100 not in Original), he also lists the cell of Stanley, St. Leonard and the foreign cells of Eweny (Glamorgan) and Bromfield (Salop) though at wrong values first found in MS. Cleopatra: he takes St. Augustine's (Bristol) from the same or from Latimer, but omits Kingswood, possibly because he finds conflicting values recorded: for Stow Hospital he picks out the value of property in the town only. He gets Colchester completely right, and avoids doubling St. Bartholomew's, though he makes his own mistake of taking the cash value without the wax. Even the errors at Wyngam, Stow, and St. Bartholomew prove studying Originals.

Further, his values are all Original's net, except only Wye College (Kent) where he takes a 'summa' to be found only in Originals: so there is no question of which value he gives.

Sancroft and Bacon are the first that do not stem from Cotton papers: but they do not detect the errors which I detect by audit.

Finding that my audit of one House gave figures which differed from Savine's, I proceeded to audit the other Houses in the county: results are shown in Appendix II.

SAVINE'S examination of the whole country was mainly in Valor: but he gives the press-marks of a fair number of original documents which he saw: he did not see Latimer's valuation and so missed the only chance of finding St. Augustine: the appropriate section of Exchequer Abstract is on his list, but he did not find Kingswood in it. He notes the early mistakes over Colchester, but does not draw conclusions from them as I do.

Savine refers frankly to the difficulty of adding long chains of figures, and does not claim to be infallible: he might well have mentioned that the original figures were in Roman numerals: and that notation varies so that for instance 190 might be written

CIC, CLXXXX, or C ^{xx} IIIJ X

that is a hundred plus four-score plus ten: and £2-1-11 may be

IJ. li I. s Xj. d or XLJ. s Xj. d or IJ. li XXIIJ. d

My computations at least should be more reliable, since I used a modern adding machine, and experience of statistical work had taught me tricks of cross-checking which sometimes even called attention to errors in original figures that I had not detected before. It can be seen that I have made considerable use of Savine's work, as was inevitable when his Study was so comprehensive: but I believe that I have got nearer the bone than he.

Where in my figures '*summa*' is the same as gross, all '*reprises*' have been in a general fund: and where it is the same as net, they have all been charged to estates.

For St. Peter's the small differences are arithmetical, the '*inverted correction*' of MS. Cleopatra not appearing here. Llanthony II shows not only arithmetical differences, but the gross error in Valor that I have noted, which Savine may be said roughly to confirm. Savine's figures for Tewkesbury are much lower than mine, and as he gives no details I cannot account for the difference: In Valor, Deerhurst as a cell is included in the valuation, while Savine shows it as a separate House, but I have added his figures. For Winchcombe I arrived at a considerably higher gross figure, till I detected that the revenue of one of the offices was received from the abbot, appearing in his revenues but also in his reprises. That Savine should have detected this shows his care: but his unduly high gross figures for Cirencester is due to his not having detected similar transactions there. Other Houses call for no comment, some showing slight errors and some not even that.

SUMMARY

Of the four omissions in the Survey, the two within my area have been made good, by discovery of unrecognized Originals.

By audit of the Gloucestershire Houses, some estimate of the accuracy of the Originals has been arrived at.

Subsequent lists by antiquaries have been examined and shown mostly to derive from records collected by Cotton, perhaps recorded by Leland. The two earliest MS. lists rest on probably two earlier prototypes, and are not of high accuracy. Speed copies these with even more errors, while Dugdale's and Tanner's are more accurate copies. Bacon's list is not such a copy, and is more valuable, granting my contention that gross and especially '*summa*' values are less important than they were considered. Savine's modern recalculation is on the same ground misdirected as far as concerns his attention to gross values: and his figures are not completely accurate, though he has avoided some pitfalls.

APPENDIX I

	Valor		Bishops Survey ¹		Exch. Abstract	MS. Cleopatra E iv		Cleopatra Abstract	Speed	Dugdale
	'summa'	clare	valuation	before		'summa'	clare			
St. Peter's, Gloucester ..	1550-3-6	1430-4-3	—	—	—	1550-4-5½	1430-4-3	—	1550-4-5½	—
Stanley St. Leonard ..	126-0-8	106-17-0	—	—	106-17-0	126-0-8	106-17-0	—	126-0-8	—
St. Guthlac (Hereford) ..	189-2-1½	169-19-6½	—	—	—	—	—	—	121-3-3½	121-3-3½
Ewenny (Glamorgan) ..	78-14-0	71-6-8½	—	—	—	—	59-4-0	—	256-11-6½	—
Bromfield (Salop) ..	78-19-4	67-18-4	—	—	—	78-19-4	77-18-3	—	78-19-4	—
Combined total ..	—	1846-5-9	1846-5-8½	1846-5-8½	1946-5-8½	—	—	—	—	1946-5-9
Llanthony-by-Gloucester ..	—	648-19-11½	753-6-7½	749-0-0	648-19-11½	—	748-19-11½	648-19-11½	748-19-11½ ³	648-19-11½
Kingswood ..	—	—	244-11-2	239-16-5½ ⁴	244-11-2	254-5-10	239-19-7½	244-11-2	254-5-10	244-11-2
St. Augustine, Bristol ..	—	—	670-13-11½	670-13-11½ ⁴	—	767-15-3½	670-13-11½	—	767-15-3	670-13-11½
Pershore ..	676-3-6	643-4-5	617-14-11½	636-2-5½	—	666-13-0	633-13-11	643-4-5	666-13-0	643-4-5
Christchurch, Canterbury ..	2493-6-2½	2349-8-5½	2289-0-17	—	—	2489-4-9	2387-13-3½	—	2489-4-9	—
St. Augustine, Canterbury ..	1548-18-2½	1413-4-11½	1274-0-10½	—	—	1412-4-7½	1274-0-10½	1413-4-11½	1412-4-7½	1413-4-11½
Dover Priory ..	232-0-17½	165-14-11½	175-17-11½	—	—	232-1-5½	170-14-11½	170-14-11½	232-1-5	170-14-11½

¹ Latimer in Wigorn, Cranmer in Cantuar.

² By Abbot's certificate; then increased £100.

³ Only in 1st edition.

⁴ By Abbott's Certificate.

APPENDIX II

	Valor		Re-calculated			Savine	
	'summa'	'clare'	gross	'summa'	net	gross	net
St. Peter's Gloucester (without cells) ..	1550-3-6	1430-4-3	1755-18-0½	1549-11-11½	1429-11-9	1744-11-0½	1419-12-4
Stanley St. Leonard ..	126-0-8	106-17-0	126-0-8	126-0-8	106-17-0	126-0-8	106-17-0
St. Oswald ..	—	90-10-2½	140-8-9	90-10-2½	90-10-2½	140-9-1	90-10-2½
Llanthony-by-Gloucester ..	—	648-19-11½	862-1-8½	737-5-6½	737-5-6½	879-7-1	723-17-11½
Winchcombe ..	—	759-11-9½	811-16-2½	792-13-5	759-5-0	812-3-2½	759-11-11½
Hayles ..	—	357-7-8½	405-5-10	358-1-10	358-1-0	407-10-7	360-5-9
Tewkesbury (including Deerhurst) ..	—	1598-1-3	1856-19-8	1651-8-7	1598-1-11	1636-10-6½	1453-14-6½
Cirencester ..	—	1051-7-1½	1175-13-6	1105-12-6	1035-16-8	1325-12-8	1045-16-4½
Flaxley ..	—	112-3-1	130-15-6	112-3-1	112-3-1	124-14-8½	112-3-1
Pershore ..	676-3-6	643-4-5	724-13-7	680-13-7	647-14-6	725-16-11	648-2-9

APPENDIX III

ST. PETER'S ABBEY, GLOUCESTER

The valuation opens with the usual inventory, arriving at the gross value, the total reprises, and the clear value of each estate: these are not totalled, but add up to

gross value	£1755-18-0½
local reprises	206-6-1
clear value	1549-11-11½

This inventory is followed by a summary of the clear values, grouped in parishes and counties: as the result of errors in it the summary adds up to
but the total given is again different

£1550-0-7
1550-3-6

General as distinct from local reprises amount to £120-0-2½, and the resulting '*clare*' is wrongly given as which is 11½*d* too much if reprises be deducted from the official figure, and even worse with the more correct figures.

£1430-4-3

The compiler of MS. Cleopatra or of its prototype noticed that the difference between these two official figures did not agree with the reprises: to put this right he wrongly increased the '*summa*' which was based on detailed inventories, instead of decreasing the '*net*' which had been wrongly calculated from it.

APPENDIX IV

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL, GLOUCESTER

The ORIGINAL RETURNS contain three separate documents, placed consecutively, but not with other city houses.

The FIRST is a wide shallow parchment, divided into columns without headings: one column specifies the four objects of the foundation with their cost,
another column states the total income without detail
another states the total cost, including the above four objects
'and so remayneth clere'
but then 'with £4 belonging to the poore folkes'
[perhaps an accumulated balance]

£80-0-0
£95-7-1
£95-7-1
nil
£20-6-2

This is in English, signed by two pairs of unknown men who do not include the Master.

The SECOND has a schedule of gross values of properties totalling (excluding 6 lbs. of wax) £95- 7- 1
 Next a schedule of reprises, totalling after disallowance of two items £69-18- 5
 giving a clear value of £25- 8- 8
 plus the wax worth 2/4d (*sic*) so net total £25-11- 2

This is, in Latin, in a neater hand, describes the hospital as '*nuper*', and is signed by an '*auditor temp' sursu' redd'*'

The THIRD, in Latin, has a briefer schedule of only net values of the same properties, totalling £33- 8- 8½
 but this has been struck out in favour of £25-11- 2
 with an English endorsement in a different hand, referring to a decree and 'annexed' certificate.

LATIMER gives a detailed net valuation of £44- 7- 2½
 and his increment implies a former net £33- 6- 8½
 This entry is correctly placed in Gloucester

In the EXCHEQUER ABSTRACT the hospital is shown in its proper place in Gloucester, net value £33- 8- 8½
 and in the left margin Latimer's £44- 7- 2½
 but both these are crossed out in favour of £25-11- 2
 in the left margin, quoting a revision.

But a fresh item is added at the end of the deanery list, in the original hand, of the same hospital '*in vill' glouc'*, by decree' £25-11- 2

AS MS. CLEOPATRA deals only with major houses, the hospital does not appear in it.

In CLEOPATRA ABSTRACT there is an entry of £44- 7- 2½
 and at the end of the county list another entry £25-11- 2

SPEED'S fuller alphabetical list put these last two items £44- 7- 2½
 consecutively £25-11- 2

DUGDALE'S list in MONASTICON repeats the Cleopatra Abstract.

TANNER'S MS., a copy of MS. Cleopatra, omits the hospital: in his text he quotes Speed's and Dugdale's pairs of values, but in a footnote queries the existence of two houses. From his SANCROFT MS. he quotes gross £25- 6- 3
 net £4-10-11½

Here the 'gross' is the Surrender net, with wax actually deducted from the cash value: and the 'net' is the value only of property within the city.

BACON ends the doubling of the hospital, but 25- 8- 8
 is only the Surrender cash value without the wax.

APPENDIX V

HOUSES IN COLCHESTER

In the printed VALOR, both Originals and Transcripts for Essex being missing, the data are taken from Liber Valorem which has only net values: the relevant houses follow consecutively:—

<i>Monastery of St John</i>	£523-16- 0½
<i>Priory of St. Botulph</i>	£113-12- 8
<i>Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene</i>	£11- 0- 0
<i>House of the Crutched Friars</i>	£7- 7- 8

In MS. CLEOPATRA we have only

<i>Monastery of St. John</i>	'summa'	£8- 1- 8
	clare	£7- 7- 8

CLEOPATRA ABSTRACT has

<i>Monastery of St. John</i>	£523-17- 0½
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and then at the end of the county list

<i>House of the Crutched Friars</i>	£7- 7- 8
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SPEED'S data are

<i>Monastery of St. John</i>	£8- 1- 8
<i>Priory of St. Botulph</i>	£113-12- 8

MONASTICON has

<i>Monastery of St. John</i>	£523-17- 0½
<i>Priory of St. Botulph</i>	£113-12- 8
<i>House of the Crutched Friars</i>	£7- 7- 8

SANCROFT is shown by a mention by Tanner, to have given the same data as the last, with the missing hospital of St. Mary Magdalene restored.

BACON has the data correct, as in Valor.