6 The Church in Rural Society: Endowment, Ownership and the Concept of the Parish

The last chapter tried to establish a chronology for local churches; this will attempt to set them in the context of contemporary religious attitudes and pastoral organisation. Here the sources are indirect and seldom explicit; such evidence as tithe-portions, grants to religious houses and relationships of dependence between one church and another cannot be understood without some knowledge of local circumstances. Within the confines of one county we can at least hope to view individual transactions in their immediate setting, even if much that we would wish to know about the day-to-day relationships of lords, clergy and peasants remains forever lost.

The aim here is to examine the Church's position in the society of Norman and early Angevin Surrey. Churches were private property in the sense that their 'owners' founded and endowed them, and might give them to religious houses. Also, however, they were public institutions with public functions, and this aspect became ever more marked as the 12th century progressed. Distinct from both ownership and function was the growth of parochial jurisdiction, one of the most dramatic changes in the institutional history of the medieval Church. It is the development from estate church to parish church that gives the two centuries following the Norman Conquest their particular importance for a study of the Church in English society. The central theme is the complex structure of rights and interests which crystallised into the stable parochial system of later medieval England.

The building and its topographical setting

The proprietary nature of late Saxon and Norman churches is reflected in their small scale and frequent proximity to manor-house sites. The structural evidence described above makes it clear that churches in Surrey were usually stone-built by c1100. Before c1150, most were fairly uniform in both size and shape, being two-cell, aisleless and varying little from a norm of some fifty by twenty feet overall. Exceptional features such as the single-cell plans at Ashtead and Little Bookham, and the apsidal chancel at Caterham, are evidently unrelated to status and probably reflect no more than the whims of patrons and the practice of local builders.

The minute size of a few early Norman churches, as at Chaldon and Headley (figs 34 and 36), deserves comment. These little naves, only twenty-six by seventeen feet, were not built to accommodate numerous households, and at Chaldon indeed no Domesday population is recorded.[1] We may suspect that some of the humbler private churches resulting from the Norman settlement (above, pp122, 124–6) were built purely for household use. Architecturally, no clear distinction was made between such essentially private buildings, chapels-of-ease for subsidiary settlements (as at West Humble, fig 36), and the majority which served both pastoral and proprietary functions. Their original appearance was plain and unimpressive, their only advantage over domestic buildings that of durability.

Some distinctions are, however, suggested by the relationship of churches to manor-houses, parsonages and settlements. The quality of the evidence is not satisfactory. Surviving remains of associated secular buildings are uncommon from the 13th and 14th centuries and very rare indeed from the 11th and 12th, while useful written evidence is hard to find. For general purposes we are forced to rely on early editions of the Ordnance Survey maps, and it clearly cannot be claimed that any individual arrangement recorded there necessarily dates back to the 12th century.

Nonetheless, the picture is consistent with other evidence about the origin of churches to an extent which suggests that it is broadly accurate. It seems *prima facie* unlikely that the classic church/manor-house grouping is frequently a late development. At the same time, the interpretation of settlement nucleation proposed in ch 2 would suggest that villages are not necessarily older than the churches serving them: population may have been attracted to an existing nucleus, or settlement and church may have come into existence together.

The largest single group of churches, those near manor-houses (figs 40 & 42), are almost all of lay origin. As well as numerous pre-Domesday foundations (for instance Stoke D'Abernon), they include a majority of those identified above as products of subinfeudation (as at Ashtead, Chaldon, Farleigh and Hambledon). Abinger, with its church and castle mound of *c*1100, is a particularly good illustration.[2] Characteristically these church/manor groups stand apart from both village and parsonage, though in the same general area of the parish. Late medieval desertion is not a factor here, for the churches usually lie within half a mile of an established nucleated settlement (as in the dip-slope parishes, fig 15). Less frequently, as at Buckland (fig 40) and Compton, the village lies at the same nucleus as the church and manor-house. Churches of proprietary origin with adjacent parsonage houses are notably rare; one instance is Burstow, where the rectory moat was occupied from at least the 13th century,[3] though this may owe something to the early donation of this church to Lewes Priory (below, p147).

The other main group comprises churches sited in villages (fig 41), often adjacent to parsonages but only rarely to manorial sites. Some are of lay origin, but it is significant that in almost all such cases other evidence is consistent with foundation by a non-resident lord for the use of his tenants. As pointed out above (pp56–8), the Clare churches of Blechingley and Leatherhead stand on estate boundaries and were evidently foci for settlement formation after the unification of each pair of manors. At Walton-on-the-Hill, where the village divides the manor house and Norman motte from the church and rectory, the church was probably built by the Dammartin family who had several other Surrey manors (above, p126). Other examples include churches built by lay lords on the Wealden denns of their manors, as at Alfold (fig 42), Cranleigh (fig 41), Ewhurst and Leigh.[4] But most striking is the preponderance of ecclesiastical foundations in this category, comprising not only pre-Conquest churches of Chertsey Abbey and Christ Church Canterbury such as Great Bookham (fig 18), Ewell (fig 41), Sutton and Cheam,[5] but also most of the 12th-century chapels-of-ease. The group includes chapels on the Bagshot sands, as at Chobham (fig 18), Weybridge and Horsell, as well as Wealden ones such as Charlwood, Newdigate (fig 41), Capel and Chiddingfold.[6]

The minor Norman (and probably late Saxon) resident landowner would, as a matter of course, build his own church next to his own house. If convenience or the availability of material suggested a new site (cf above, p111), he might build church and house together. His tenants would use the church and give its priest their tithes, but even if they did not already have a nucleated settlement elsewhere, the establishment of one around it was incidental. But in other cases a lord might build a church for different motives, specifically for the benefit of tenants on a manor or outlying portion of a manor. Nor surprisingly, the churches founded on monastic property both before and after the Conquest belong to this second group, for the motives in foundation were the same. The common factor among these churches is that proximity to peasant settlement, not proximity to the founder's dwelling, seems to have dictated the choice of site.

The glebe and parsonage

Priests needed land to support them, and inadequate church endowments by founders was, in theory at least, a matter for episcopal correction. As early as 1102 Anselm's canons forbade the
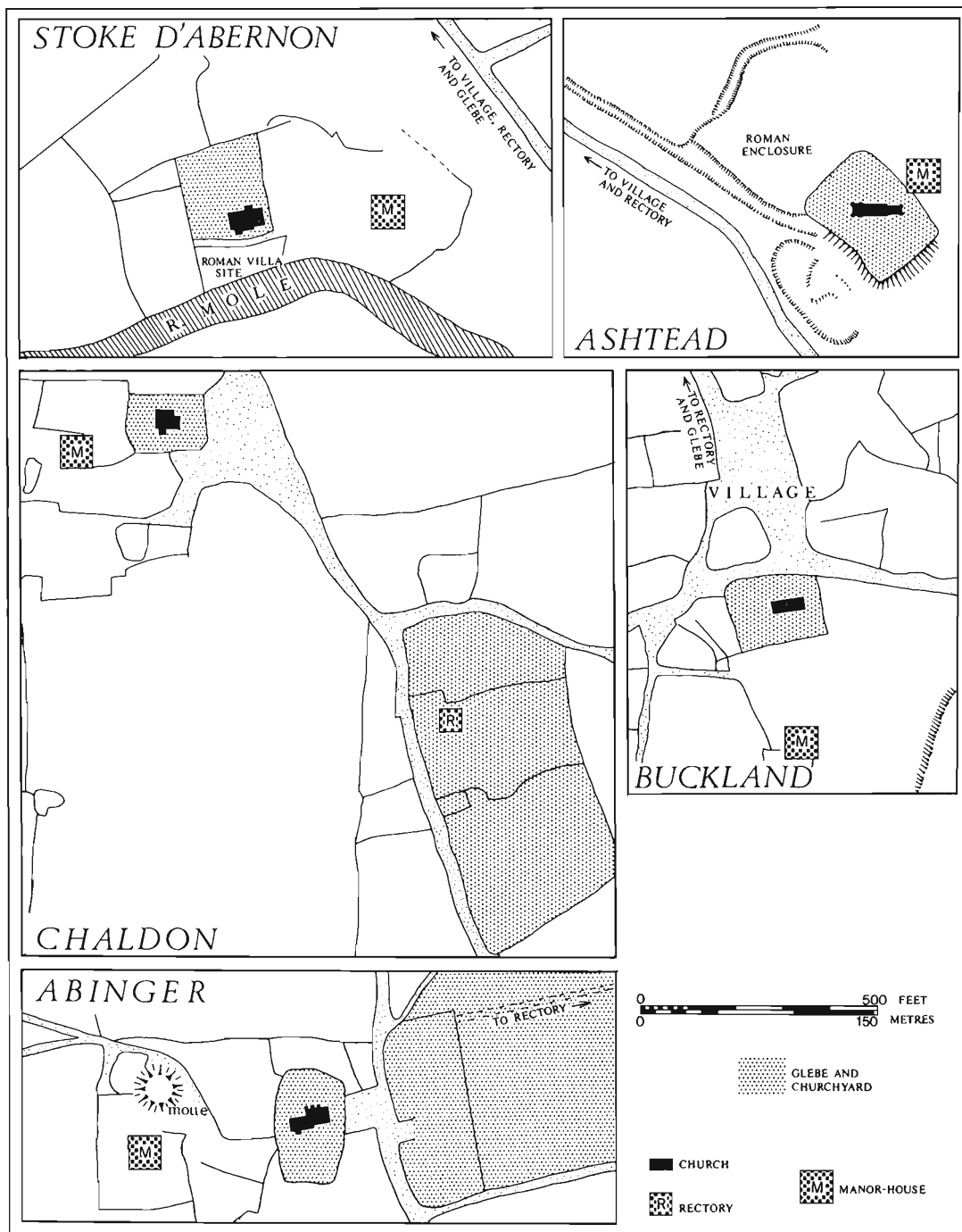
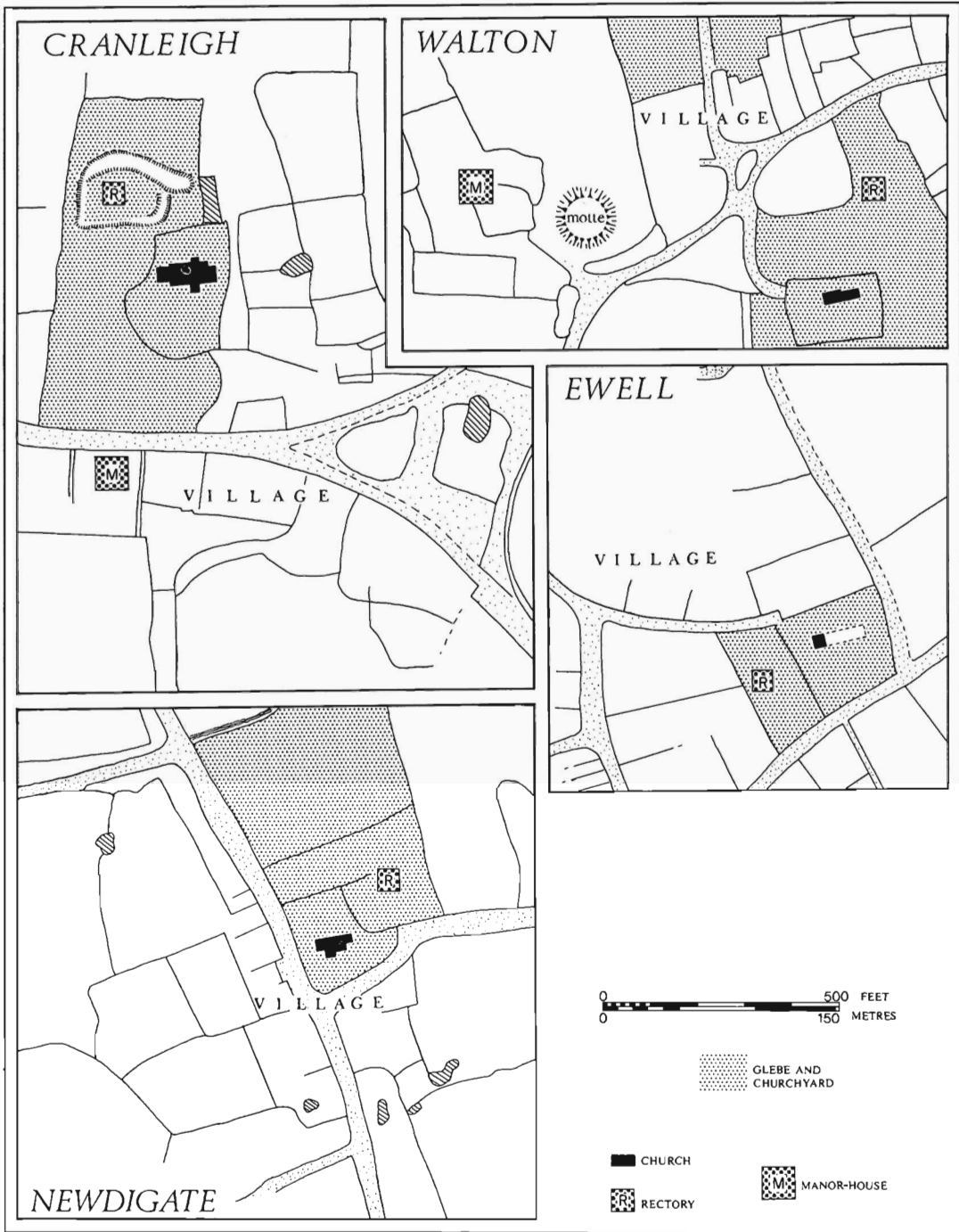Fig 40   Churches by manor-houses. (Based on OS Surrey 25″ 1 edn sheets)

Fig 41   Churches by villages and rectories. (Ewell based on reconstructed map of Ewell in *c*1400 reproduced *Fitznells cartulary*, opp cxxix; the others based on OS Surrey 25″ 1 edn sheets)
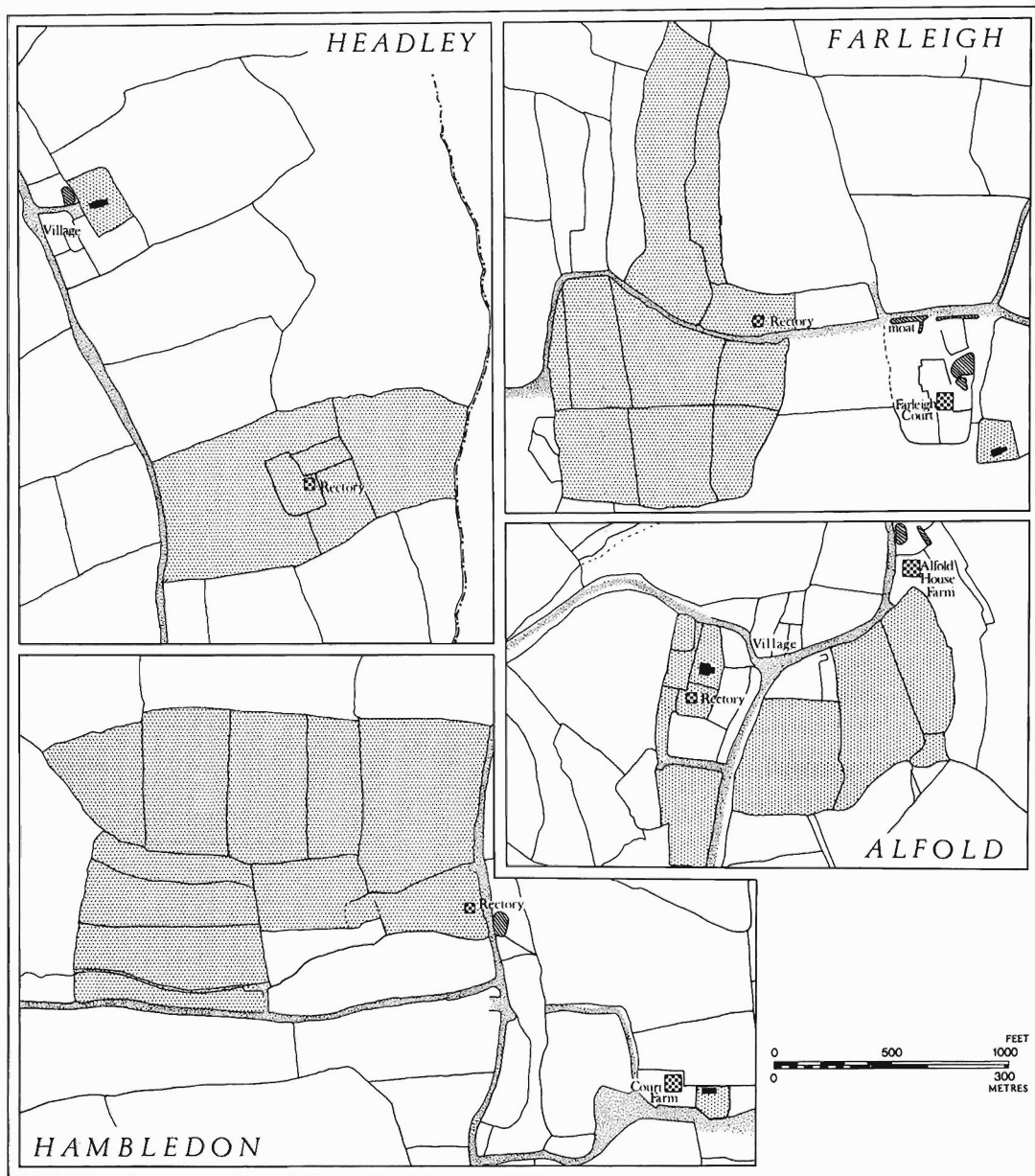
Fig 42 Compact glebes. (Based on OS Surrey 25″ 1 edn sheets, with additional information from the following sources: Headley: terrier, 1616 (GLRO, DW/S/58b), tithe-map, 1840; Farleigh: estate map, 1768 (Merton College Muniments); Alfold: terrier, 1764 (GLRO, DW/S/2), tithe-map, 1839; Hambledon: terrier, 1764 (GLRO, DW/S/56), tithe-map, 1845)

founding of new churches without sufficient glebe endowments, and Bishop Gilbert of Limerick suggested one ploughland as an acceptable minimum.[7] There is no evidence that the original glebe of any Surrey church was provided by anyone other than the lord of the estate, whether monastic or lay, and the two cases with contemporary documentation are clear on this point. Bishop William Giffard dedicated Laurence de Rouen's early 12th-century chapel at Ashtead 'cum una virgata terre quam Laurentius in dedicatione ei dedit, et cum omnibus decimis de dominio et de rusticis'.[8] When Bartholomew de Chesney gave Addington church to Southwark Priory in c1180, it was 'cum 24 acris terre quas avus meus et pater meus ecclesie illi in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam dederunt, quarum 12 assignate sunt ad inveniendum in ea luminare perpetuo singulis noctibus anni'.[9]

In discussing Danelaw churches, Stenton argued that the impression of unitary origin given by most 12th-century charter texts often conceals a corporate endowment.[10] This pattern seems particularly appropriate to eastern England with its communities of independent sokemen; at all events 'the churches which are characteristic of this region, those in which a plurality of lords possessed an interest'[11] (and where this points to a communal origin), fail to appear in Surrey. The odd case of divided rights results from nothing more than a partition of the founding lord's estate. Thus in the 13th century the lords of the neighbouring manors of Abinger and Paddington presented to separate half-shares in Abinger church;[12] yet the two estates had been held by the same man both TRE and in 1086.[13] Similarly, when Reynold de Lucy gave half of Godstone manor as his daughter's dowry in the late 12th century he included half the church, later giving the other half to Lesnes Abbey.[14] To all appearances, manorial churches in Surrey were endowed by lords of manors.

Sometimes, however, an existing glebe might receive small additions. Recorded Surrey cases all concern churches in monastic ownership. In the late 12th century Lewes Priory held both the Domesday church of Dorking, acquired in the 1140s from Isabel countess Warenne, and the 'terra que fuit Aeilaui quam Ysabel comitissa Warenn' donavit prenominate ecclesie Sancte Marie de Dorking'.[15] Sometimes the grant was made to the church and its monastic proprietor jointly, or to the latter on behalf of the former. In c1190 Gilbert de Puttenden gave ten acres in Woodmansterne, adjoining the existing glebe, 'deo et ecclesie Sancte Marie de Sutwerch' et canonicis ibidem deo servientibus et ecclesie eorum de Wudemaresth'.[16] Land at Mitcham was granted to Southwark Priory in the early 12th century for finding candles in St Peter's church there,[17] and at Addington half of the 24-acre glebe was assigned to maintaining a nighly lamp in the church (above). Although the absence of such grants to lay-owned churches may merely reflect the bias of the sources, there is no real evidence for a general practice of granting land piecemeal to local churches.[18]

An overall view of Surrey glebes is not provided by any contemporary source, or indeed by any source before the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1535 and glebe terriers of the 17th and 18th centuries. The *Valor* often seems to under-estimate,[19] and even accurate figures from this period are obviously not reliable evidence for the extent of the glebes when first created. On the other hand, there is no particular reason why glebes of lay-owned churches[20] should have changed greatly in size between the 12th and 17th centuries, and of all kinds of small land-unit these are the most predictably stable. At all events, these late sources are not inconsistent with the fragments of early evidence, and they probably give a broadly accurate picture.

Some exceptionllly large glebes, as at Godalming[21] and Leatherhead,[22] represent the remains of Anglo-Saxon minster endowments and may be regarded as *sui generis*. As mentioned above, (p113), however, late Saxon royal churches in the Weald were also characterised by extensive endowments, and most of the other large glebes were attached to churches on the Weald clay or greensand: Compton with $54\frac{1}{2}$ acres,[23] Blechingley with 60, Ockley with 95,[24] and Cranleigh with $170\frac{1}{2}$.[25] At Godstone, the 30 acres which Reynold de Lucy gave to Lesnes Abbey with half the

church in 1193 suggest an entire glebe of 60 acres.[26] It is argued above (p74) that the abnormally big virgates of Wealden peasants reflect abundance of assart land in an under-developed terrain, and it is significant that large glebes also occur in the other main area of colonisation on infertile ground, the Bagshot sands of north-west Surrey. The late sources list endowments of 72 acres at Chobham,[27] and 50 at Egham,[28] approximating in both cases to the position in c1330.[29] Clearly these glebes were either generous from the outset, or augmented by intakes of heathland like the peasant holdings around them during the late 12th and 13th centuries.

Elsewhere in Surrey, glebes generally contained between ten and 50 acres. In and around the dip-slope parishes, acreages often correspond closely to the standard open-field smallholdings of c24–32 and c12–16 acres (above, pp71–2). Ashtead church, originally endowed with one virgate (above, p139), had 30 acres in 1535.[30] The glebes comprised 31 and 37 acres at Fetcham and Sutton,[31] 25 and 26 acres at Beddington and West Clandon.[32] Apparent instances of 'half-size' units are Great Bookham (fourteen acres),[33] Epsom (eighteeen acres),[34] and perhaps Barnes (ten acres in 1181).[35] On the Downland few glebes exceed 30 acres and most were smaller: the fifteen acres at Headley (fig 42),[36] twelve at Tatsfield and fourteen at Mickleham[37] seem to be typical, and in the 12th century Addington church had a basic and probably primary glebe of twelve acres.[38] The glebe of Farleigh church, reckoned as 22 acres in 1290,[39] remained of much the same size when it was mapped in 1768 (fig 42).

The character and size-range of these glebes seems much in accordance with the Suffolk data for 1086: 'in general similar to that of the peasant holdings of Domesday, at least in this respect – that it combined a large range of difference, and a great number of individual irregularities, with a marked tendency for most of the holdings to fall into definite classes'.[40] The Surrey evidence, blurred and distorted though it is by the passage of time, seems to preserve both the general early pattern and the range of geographical variation. Most Surrey glebes can be defined quite simply as typical local peasant holdings corresponding to the virgates and half-virgates of smallholders. This does not of course mean that the economic position of the average Surrey priest was no higher than that of his parishioners, for he received tithe and a range of financial benefits. But often he can only have avoided hardship by exploiting these to the full. The rector of Headley who incurred episcopal anger in 1308 by refusing to bury a parishioner when no mortuary was forthcoming[41] may have been prompted by necessity rather than greed; he and his unrecorded predecessors can scarcely have lived in luxury on their fifteen acres of chalk and clay.

Topographically, too, the glebes seem essentially similar to other smallholdings. Generally they comprised a collection of field strips and small closes, though a recurring pattern (as at Chaldon, fig 34) is for the parsonage house to stand in a compact enclosure of a few acres. At Chobham, where the vicarage moat still remains, the vicar in 1331 had 'unam mansionem honestam bene et honorifice constructam et domibus edificatam, cum una placea clausa adiacente continente sex acras bosci et terre, in qua quidem mansione omnes vicarii . . . dicte ecclesie habitare consueverunt'.[42] At Fetcham the only large enclosure in the post-medieval glebe, nine acres called Clerks Closes, may be identified with the 'croftam persone de Feccham que vocatur Clerekescroft' in a deed of c1230–50.[43] In c1190 the Downland church of Woodmansterne had land in large enclosed blocks.[44]

Although appropriation involved a partition of revenues from monastically-owned glebes to provide a vicar's portion, this need not normally have involved physical rearrangement. Often the old parsonage might continue to house the vicar,[45] though a monastic patron with substantial property in the parish might build a separate grange or curial building, as Southwark Priory did in several cases.[46] Chapels-of-ease such as those on the Chertsey estates may never have had rectories: it was an easy transition of status from chaplain appointed by the founding monastery to vicar of an appropriated living.[47]

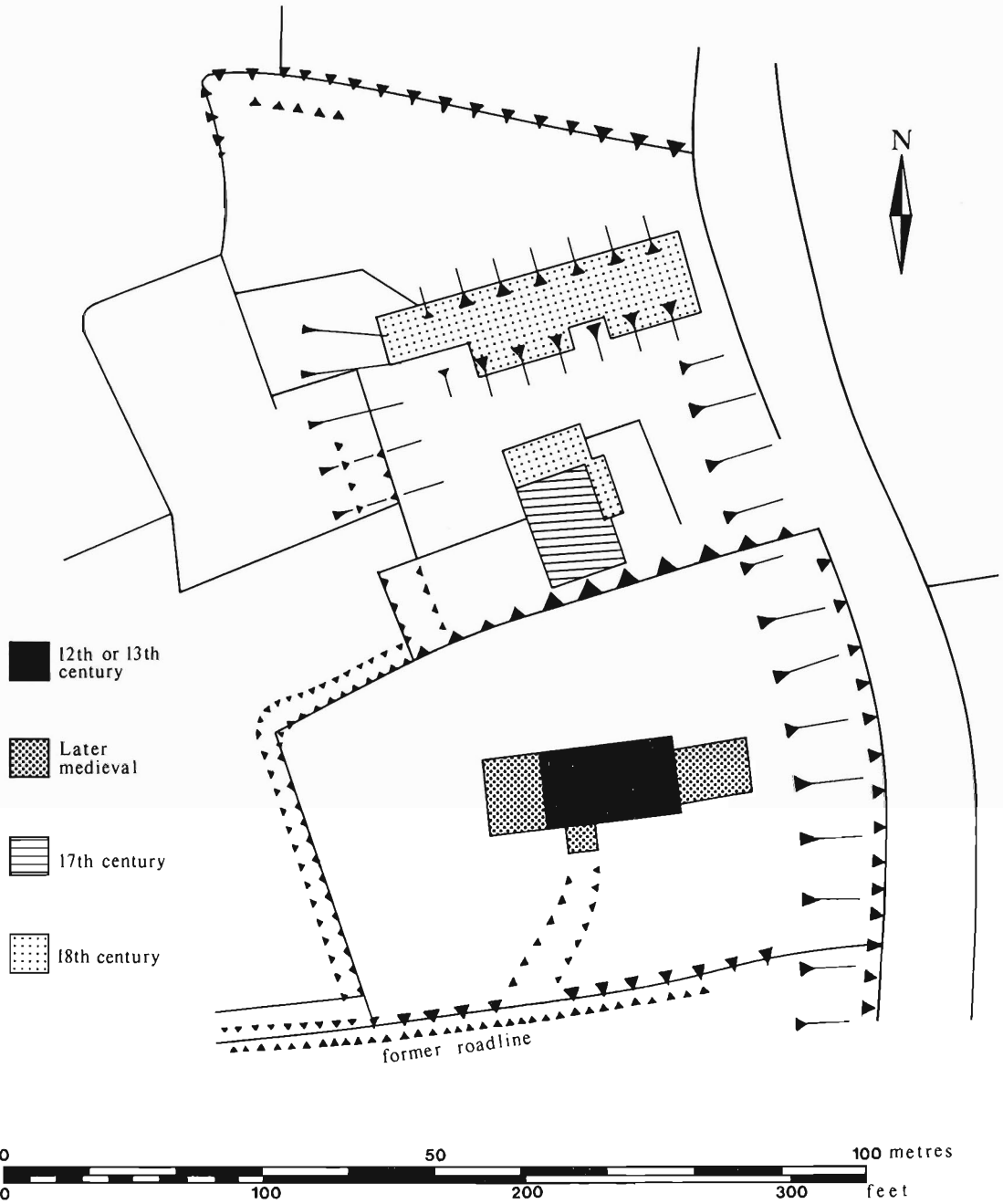Small churches of purely pastoral character, at least in the Weald, may often have originated as

Fig 43   The church and Church Farm, Horne. (From W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, fig 10)

simple 'field chapels', with a chaplain's house and some tithe, but little or no glebe. At Newdigate only two acres in addition to the parsonage (which adjoins the churchyard) were noted in 1535,[48] while the land of Horley church seems to have been confined to a 'mansionem . . . cum grangio, curtillagio et quodam crofto terre adiacente sicut fossatis et sepibus decenter includitur' which housed the vicar.[49] Horne church, isolated except for a ditched farmstead on its northern side (fig 43), was granted to Lewes Priory by its owner in c1160 with no more than 'terram de Impaghe que iacet iuxta ecclesiam ad partem aquilonis, et omnes domus in terra illa, et totam decimam totius feni mei'.[50]

Once again, function is reflected in the topographical evidence. Where churches adjoin manor-houses the priests' houses are characteristically set apart, typical farmsteads on typical smallholdings.[51] But with churches founded primarily for the benefit of tenants the most constant relationship is between church and parsonage, whether isolated, in a village or surrounded by a unitary glebe. Fig 42 points this contrast clearly, between Farleigh and Hambledon on the one hand and Alfold on the other. The widely varying circumstances which surrounded church foundation and endowment in 11th- and 12th-century Surrey remain more clearly visible in the countryside than in any written document.

Monastic Patronage, 1086–1200

The 12th century saw fundamental change in the English Church, locally as much as nationally. One process is especially conspicuous; the flood of churches and other possessions from the hands of laymen into those of religious houses.[52] Patterns of endowment vary among the religious orders, a fact less evident from the gifts of noble founders and protectors than from those of humbler men. A baron's relationship with the house which he patronised, whether by adoption or family tradition, was one of mutual temporal advantage, and he would have a natural tendency to endow it in proportion to his means.[53] The generosity of lesser benefactors, operating in an elusive context of personal relationships, is harder to analyse. Churches were one among several sources of revenue, and the problem may usefully be approached by examining all types of monastic patronage within one limited region; the implications of church grants for the formation of the parochial system will be discussed in a later section.

Pious grants of churches, whether individually or as components of manors, were sometimes made to the great Benedictine houses before 1100. Henley (Ash) church presumably accompanied the manor when the Englishman Azur gave it to Chertsey Abbey for his soul in King William's day, and Colchester Abbey acquired the valuable church of Leatherhead from Eudes Dapifer.[54] But during the century after Domesday Book the new orders reaped the main benefits. In the 12th and 13th centuries Chertsey Abbey seems to have made virtually no acquisitions outside the area of its pre-Conquest estate, and scarcely a single Surrey church passed after 1100 to an old Benedictine community.

Even among the new houses there are gaps, either through failure to acquire or through loss of the record. The Cistercian order avoided acquiring churches as a matter of general principle: hence the very restricted endowments of even a house so celebrated as Waverley Abbey.[55] In its early years the Cluniac priory of Bermondsey was endowed mainly from outside the county, and though it did acquire four churches in north-eastern Surrey[56] it was not much patronised by Surrey men. The Austin canons of Merton possessed an abundance of churches and land there by c1200, but it is impossible on the evidence available to recover the background to these acquisitions.[57] However, two well-documented houses, the Cluniac priory of Lewes and the Augustinian priory of Southwark, serve to define similarities and contrasts between the patronage of different orders.

Lewes Priory, founded by William de Warenne in 1077, quickly attained the status of a great house through the support of numerous benefactors. While its endowments lay in several counties, the bulk were in Sussex within convenient range of the Priory.[58] The Surrey properties (fig 44, table 14) lay on the fringe of this main group, a fact which explains their concentration in the south-east of the county. The importance here of aristocratic patronage is obvious: a high proportion of the Surrey endowments, probably the bulk in terms of revenue, stemmed from the generosity of the Warennes and the Clares. In choosing their gifts great landowners could afford to take some account of future convenience, and it seems likely that the valuable churches of Dorking and Blechingley were selected for Lewes specifically because they lay near Burstow church, acquired earlier, and the Sussex border. Lewes's gains in Surrey may be characterised as few but substantial, the minor gifts being in general related to, or stemming from, the large ones.

Very different were Southwark Priory's acquisitions in the county (fig 45, table 15). A numerical comparison would be invalid since these, unlike the Lewes endowments just discussed, formed the main core of an estate which spread out into surrounding counties.[59] But they are also notable for the numerous grants by minor gentry families and for a strong tendency to concentrate in groups. Nearly all lie within three-mile radii of either Southwark, Mitcham, Banstead, Addington or Reigate. In the second of these groups, for instance, the acquisition of Mitcham church (within a few years of the Priory's foundation at the beginning of the 12th century) was followed quickly by two tithe-portions from demesnes of local landowners, at least three handsome grants of land, and a church with further land and tithe in the adjoining vill of Tooting. The aristocratic element is certainly present; but Southwark, much more than Lewes, owed its prosperity to the accretion of modest grants from to a wide range of the land-holding class.

TABLE 14   Lewes Priory acquisitions in Surrey before 1200

Date	Property	Donor
1086–1121	Gatton: church and land	Herfrid
1086–1121	Gatton: half-virgate	Odo de Dammartin
c1090–1121	Southwark: St Olave's church	William de Warenne I or II
c1105–17	Shalford: tithe	Gilbert de Clare
1114–21	Burstow: church	Walter de Burstow
1115–35	Sutton in Woking: tithe	Stephen count of Mortain
1121–36	Blechingley: land called Gruteners	Richard de Clare
1121–45	Godstone: land at Felbridge	William de Dammartin
c1130–45	Blechingley: tithe	Gilbert de Curtuna
1138–47	Dorking: church (with Capel)	Isabel de Warenne
1138–52	Blechingley: church, croft, pannage	Gilbert de Clare
1147	Reigate, Betchworth, Shere, Fetcham: tithe	William de Warenne III
?	'Baldwin's land': tithe	?
1148–59?	Stoke-by-Guildford: church	William de Warenne IV
1148–59	'Burchard's land', for a hospice	William de Warenne IV
c1150–75	Horne: church, land called Impaghe	Peter de Tolworth
c1150–70	Lingfield: land at Chartham	William de Dammartin
	Chipstead: half-virgate	
	Mickleham: tithe	

Sources: See W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 115
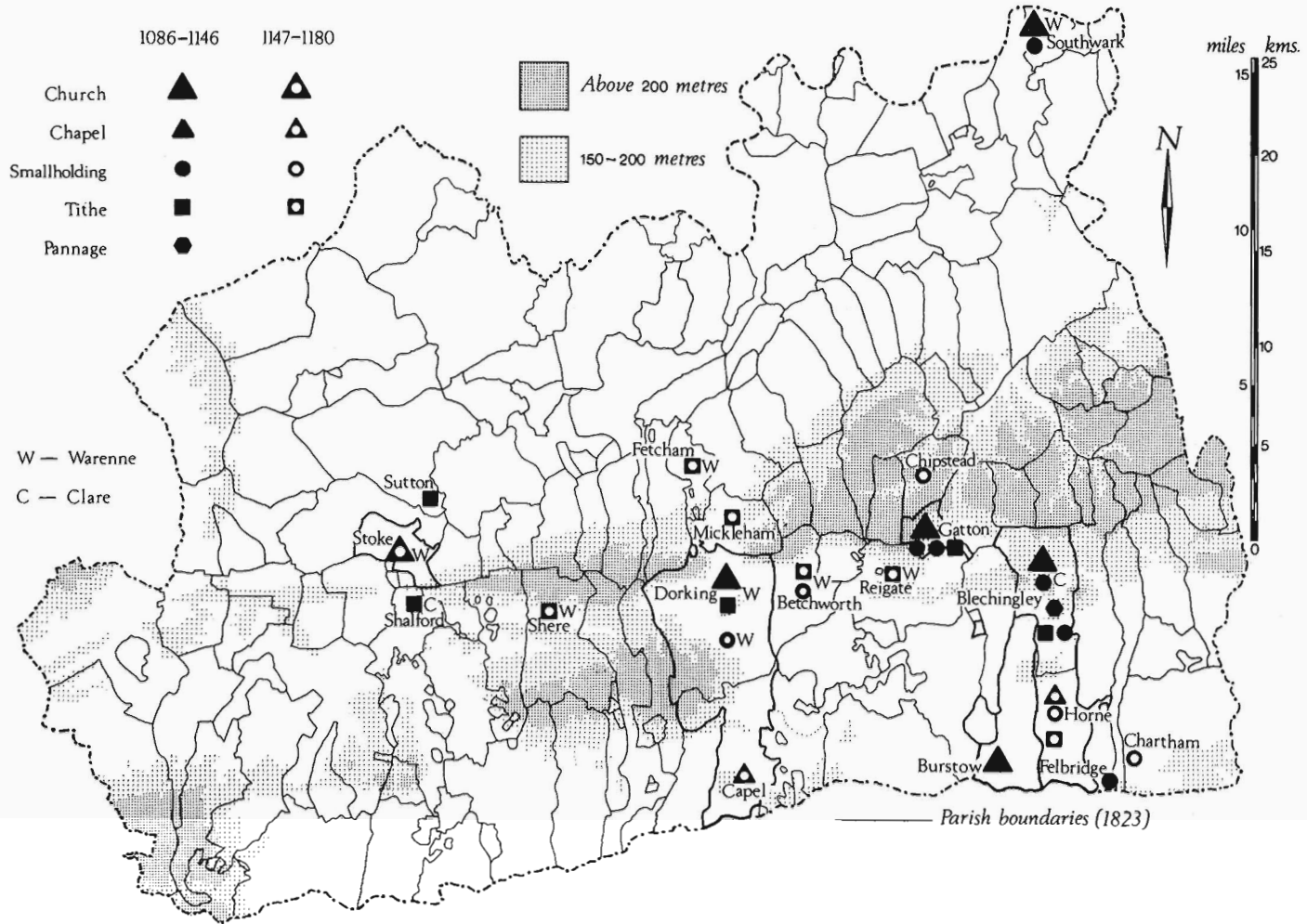
Fig 44   Churches, land and tithe acquired by Lewes Priory

Legend (map key):

	1106–1140	1141–1180
Church	▲	△
Chapel	▲	△
Important land holding	●	◉
Smallholding	•	◌
Tithe	■	▣
Pasture	⬢	⬡

Above 200 metres

150–200 metres

Priory

Southwark

Tooting Streatham

Mitcham

Carshalton

Wallington Addington

Woodmansterne

Burgh

Banstead

Betchworth

Reigate

Leigh

Newdigate

N

miles kms.

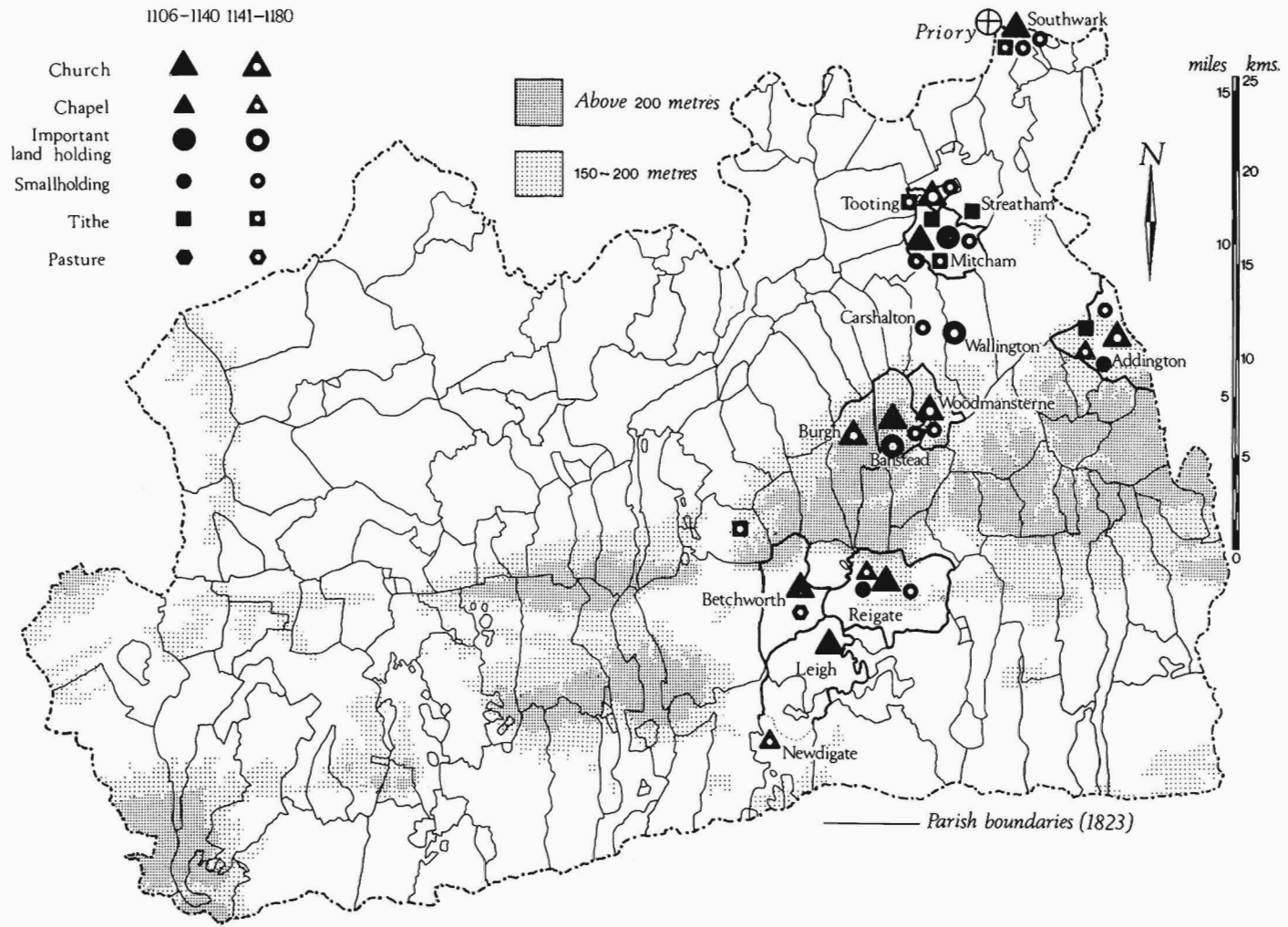——— Parish boundaries (1823)

Fig 45 Churches, land and tithe acquired by Southwark Priory

TABLE 15   Southwark Priory acquisitions in Surrey before 1200

Date	Property	Donor	Source (see below)
1106?	Reigate: church	William de Warenne II	Vincent, p113
1107–29	Banstead: church	Tirel de Manières	Vincent, p115
1107–29	Southwark: St Margaret's church	Bishop William Giffard	Inspex (6)
c1110–30	Mitcham: church	?	H; Add 6040(1)
c1110–30	Mitcham: Wihtrichescrofte etc	Richard de Whitford	Add 6040(1)
c1110–40	Streatham and Mitcham: tithe	William de Abinger	Add 6040(17)
1118–35	Betchworth and Leigh: churches	William de Warenne II	Vincent, p114
c1130–50	Addington: tithe	Gervase de Cornhill	H
1139–52	Southwark: tithe of farm	King Stephen	Inspex (1)
1146–55	Southwark: 3s rent	Cristine Gos	BL MS Cotton Nero C. iii f 200b
c1150–70	Mickleham(?): tithe of Polesden	John de Whitford	Add 6040(2)
c1150–70	Mitcham: tithe of Whitford	John de Whitford	Add 6040(2)
c1150–80	Burgh (Banstead): church and land	John de Burgh	R; Vincent, p125
c1150–80	Woodmansterne: church	Geoffrey de Delce	Vincent, p126
c1150–80	Carshalton: 12 acres	Felicia de Cantelowe	SRO, 2609/11/5/22; Vincent, p127
c1150–80?	Mitcham: various parcels	De Rouen family	Vincent, p129
1164–86	Newdigate: chapel	Hamelin de Warenne (confirmation)	BL MS Cotton Nero C. iii f 188
c1164–86	Banstead: orchard and 5 acres	Nigel de Mowbray	Bod Lib MS Eng Hist A II no 38
c1164–90	Banstead: 3 acres	Nigel de Mowbray	Vincent, p117
1164–1202	Reigate: 10 acres	Hamelin de Warenne	Inspex (13)
c1164–80	Tooting: church	Hamo de Gravenel	R
c1164–80	Tooting: tithe	Hamo de Gravenel	Add 6040(9)
c1164–80	Tooting: 1 acre meadow	Hamo de Gravenel	Add 6040(10–11)
By 1171	Mitcham: virgate at 'Bukingrave'	?	H
By 1171	Betchworth: virgate	?	H
By 1171	Reigate: castle chapel	?	H
By 1171	Mitcham: land where their houses are	Whole parish	H
By 1171	Banstead(?): tithe of 'Nutebrake'	?	H
c1170–89	Wallington: all his land	Alexander fitz Gerald	Vincent, p122
1172–90	Banstead: 2 virgates	Ralph Viniton	BL Cotton Ch xvi.41
1173–88	Addington: church and chapel, with glebe and common of pasture	Bartholomew de Chesney	SRO, 2609/11/5/1
1173–1200	Southwark: 12d rent in Westrate	Alwin de Tandridge	BL Harl Ch 46.H.40
c1190–1200	Woodmansterne: 10 acres	Gilbert de Puttenden	BL Harl Ch 55.A.30
1199	Banstead: 2 virgates	Sewal son of Robert	BL MS Cotton Nero C. iii f 197

Sources:

Add 6040   British Library Add MS 6040: leaves from Southwark Priory Cartulary. The transcripts of deeds are cited by number.

H   Confirmation by Henry bishop of Winchester, c1150–71 (Add 6040(16))

Inspex   Inspeximus of Southwark Priory charters on Patent Roll 13 Richard II pt i (PRO C66/328 *mm* 14–13). Transcipts of deeds are cited by number.

R   Confirmation by Richard bishop of Winchester, c1177–88 (printed Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 6, 172–3).

Vincent   Transcripts and notes from lost Southwark Priory Cartulary in College of Arms, MS Vincent 46

Other references are to original deeds

Why did such men patronise one house rather than another? A covert motivating factor is the influence of magnates on their feudal dependents. Thus Lewes was patronised not only by the Clares but also by Odo and William de Dammartin, tenants on Surrey manors which had been held in 1086 by Richard de Clare.[60] The Southwark material provides a clearer case. Early 12th-century grants of land and tithe at Mitcham and Whitford, by Richard de Whitford and William de Abinger, share with Hugh de Stoke's grant of Stoke Poges church (Buckinghamshire) at about the same date the common factor that all three manors had been held in 1086 by William fitz Ansculf. Although neither fitz Ansculf nor his successor Fulk Paynel is recorded as an early benefactor of the Priory, it must be concluded that one or the other of them patronised it vicariously by encouraging his knights to offer donations.[61]

A lord who was also a great ecclesiastic was especially well-placed to augment monastic endowments in this way. Burstow church, founded on a Wealden fief of the great archiepiscopal estate (above, pp53–4), provides an early instance. A writ of Archbishop Ralph (1114–22), addressed to the local tenant Walter de Burstow, recounts how the church had been pledged to Lewes during Anselm's reign:[62]

Scias quia venerabilis predecessor noster dominus Anselmus archiepiscopus, et ego postea, ecclesiam de Burestou secundum petitionem patris tui cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus R fratri tuo concessimus. Nunc itaque, quia idem frater tuus deo inspirante apud S Pancratium monacus factus est, eandem ecclesiam eisdem monacis S Pancratii liberam et quietam concedimus, secundum devotionem patris tui et matris, qui eundem filium suum cum predicta ecclesia apud eundem locum Sancti Pancratii quondam devotissime deo voluerunt offerre, sicut ipse bene nosti.

The original motivation here may well have come from Anselm: he apparently expressed his affection for Lewes by encouraging a tenant to offer his infant son as an oblate monk there, with Burstow church for dowry.[63] In ratifying and enforcing the donation, Ralph was able to combine support for monastic life and the freeing of a church from lay control with enhancement of his own prestige, and when he confirmed Lewes's endowments in 1121 he recorded Burstow church as his own gift.[64]

Except where such tenurial links can be demonstrated, the influence of personal contacts on the pattern of benefactions is elusive. But only a few of the numerous small grants to Southwark Priory suggest lord-tenant relationships; other motives must be sought for what must often have been free, genuinely pious offerings made under no duress. Surely we trace here the strong popular appeal of the Augustinian Canons, in close touch with everyday life and attractive objects of spiritual investment for those of limited means. 'The secret of their success was the modesty of their needs, their proximity to a flourishing town, and the services they performed for benefactors who were by no means rich by the standards of ancient feudal greatness'.[65] The benefits of confraternity, or burial within the canons' cloister, were powerful incentives to generosity.[66] Above all, the pastoral interests of the Austin Canons made them especially fitting recipients of parish churches.

The close grouping of their Surrey properties suggests that the canons of Southwark tended to win local support once an initial grant of a church or land had given them a foothold in an area. It

is hard to tell how far a deliberate policy of purchase was operating, but virtually all the extant deeds are phrased in the language of free elemosinary grants for the welfare of souls. The most frequent patrons were minor local gentry such as the de Whitfords and the de Gravenels, with an occasional London citizen holding Surrey property like Gervase de Cornhill. One exceptional acquisition, among their Mitcham holdings, was the land 'in qua domus eorum fundate sunt in eadem parochia, quam ex concessione et donatione totius parochie habent et possident'.[67] Though its nature eludes us, we should clearly envisage frequent personal contact between the canons and their humbler patrons.

The alienability of tithe

In the normal course of events (as at Ashtead, p139 above), a manorial church would be dedicated with the whole tithes, both demesne and peasant, of the estate which it was destined to serve. If it then passed to a religious house, its glebe and tithe rights would accompany it automatically. But by the end of the 11th century the practice of granting tithe-portions on their own, widespread on the Continent, was firmly established in England. It is obvious that these grants were detrimental to the interests of local churches, and insofar as they cut across a church's ecclesiastical supremacy over its parish they ran counter to the whole concept of parochialisation. This was certainly a matter over which bishops claimed authority, and the ways in which they permitted, restricted and defined such grants help to illuminate 12th-century conceptions of parochial jurisdiction.[68]

Only demesne tithes, and tithes of seigneurial revenues,[69] were regarded by the Normans as separable: the alienation of peasant tithes from their local destination seems virtually unknown in this period.[70] Even of demesne tithes, it was common practice to divert only two parts out of three from the uses of the local church. Demesne tithe grants were made frequently before c1160, and often form a significant proportion of a monastery's recorded endowment (tables 14 & 15). Freedom to alienate was apparently enjoyed by great and lesser landowners alike. Despite frequent claims to the contrary,[71] tenants-in-chief do not seem to have been barred from alienating the tithe of subinfeudated manors: at Shalford, where Gilbert de Clare granted the demesne tithe to Lewes Priory in c1105-17, his father had enfeoffed Robert de Wateville with the manor by 1086.[72] Perhaps more surprisingly, tithe grants could apparently override existing monastic interests. In 1147 William de Warenne III gave to Lewes Priory the tithe of all his demesnes, and this was applied to Reigate and Betchworth despite the fact that his father had given both churches to Southwark Priory.[73] In such cases a landowner could doubtless accomplish much if the diocesan bishop favoured the object of his generosity.

The two-thirds demesne tithe-portion was a very common type of grant during the first half-century of Norman rule.[74] A great lord might make a series of such donations: in the early 1080s Richard fitz Gilbert gave to Bec Abbey two-thirds of the tithes from all his significant demesnes in Surrey, with a villan (presumably to collect them) at Blechingley.[75] Slightly later, Chertsey Abbey was acquiring two-thirds portions from the demesnes of lesser men: Walter fitz Other at Horsley, Robert Oil de Larrun at Chipstead, and Robert Albus at Fetcham.[76]

The origin of this ubiquitous fraction lies in the law of Eadgar, which had allowed a thegn owning a church with a graveyard to endow it with a third of his demesne tithe.[77] Two-thirds remained due to the old minster, but in the 11th century these portions suffered the general fate of minster rights: as Stenton wrote, 'the Norman lord of a village, unlike the thegn of Edgar's laws, was free to give two-thirds of his demesne tithes to any religious object which pleased him, without regard to the vested interests of any ancient minster'.[78] In a sense the ancient principle had been inverted: the third with which the 10th-century thegn had been allowed to endow his

local church was now, by custom, considered that church's due. We cannot be confident that a church existed on every demesne from which a Norman lord alienated only two-thirds of the tithe, though in Surrey this does generally seem to be the case.[79] But it is implicit in these limited grants that they safeguard, either actually or potentially, the interests of an estate church.

Not all grants were of this kind: a monastery might sometimes receive the *whole* tithe from a patron's demesne. Occasionally this happened in disregard of an existing church, as when Walter fitz Other, who had held Compton and its church in 1086, gave to Chertsey Abbey tithes there later defined as 'omnes decimas eiusdem ville'.[80] But after *c*1100, the Surrey evidence suggests that normally such grants were only made from demesnes with no churches of their own to support. Thus on the Clare manor of Shalford the only church was one serving a Wealden outlier (above, p122) and this was probably supported by the surrounding assart smallholdings, not by the main demesne; in the early 12th century Gilbert de Clare was therefore able to endow Lewes Priory with 'rectam decimam de Escaldeford, scilicet in annona, in porcellis, in agnis, in vitulis, in pasnagio, et decimam de molendino et de lana, et in ceteris rebus unde decima datur'.[81] Similar grants to Lewes were made by the future King Stephen from Sutton near Woking and by Gilbert de Curtuna from land near Blechingley (table 14), for no church had been founded on either property.

The distinction suggested here between full demesne tithe grants and those merely involving two-thirds is supported by Bishop Henry of Blois's confirmation of Lewes Priory's spiritualities in his diocese, issued between 1153 and 1167.[82] This describes two of the three donations just cited as 'decimam de dominio Roberti de Dunest' apud Scaldef'' and 'decimam Roberti de Hech apud Suttonam'. By contrast, portions resulting from a general grant made in 1147 of the full tithe from all Warenne demesnes[83] are described in the same document as 'duas partes decime de Reigata et de Bechew', scilicet de dominio comitis', and 'duas partes decime de Sira de dominio Rogeri de Clera'. The reason for this must be sought in the fact that the Warenne manors of Reigate, Betchworth and Shere all had churches. Thus the confirmation brings out a distinction which the original grants lack. By the mid-century it was evidently unacceptable to alienate from an estate church the share of demesne tithe which custom assigned to it, and the limitation is introduced according to circumstances, regardless of the original wording. Through the confirmation the bishop makes his authority felt: in confirming he defines, and in defining he limits.

The principle thus expressed is less one of respect for parochial authority than of responsibility towards churches which the prospective tithe-donors or their ancestors had built. Just as a founder must endow a new church adequately from the resources of his estate, so he is restricted in later reducing that endowment. This is consistent both with the concern (expressed by bishops from Anselm onwards) that local churches should remain economically viable,[84] and with Henry of Blois's known character as a defender of the Church's status. But it also suggests a governing concept which was still one of property rather than of parish, of a balance of rights between church and *dominus fundi* rather than between church and parishioner. No landowner, apparently, was restrained from alienating the full tithe of his demesne on the grounds that it lay within the parish of a church founded on another man's estate.

The Southwark Priory material includes several full demesne tithe grants from small manors and individual farms, continuing into the second half of the century (table 15). Thus in its early years the Priory acquired from William de Abinger, tenant of the small fitz Ansculf manor at Mitcham, 'omnem decimam terrarum quas teneo apud Stratham et Micham . . . ex omni re unde decima dari debet'.[85] John de Whitford subsequently granted tithe from two holdings of the same barony, 'decimam de Polesdene et omnes decimas meas de Wichford',[86] and of these the former was an outlier, probably identifiable with two hides valued at £1 pa in 1086, now contained within Mickleham parish.[87] Indeed, the four tithe-portions listed when Henry of Blois confirmed

Southwark's endowments in *c*1150–71, 'decimam de Wichford, et decimam de Polesdene, et decimam de Nutebrake, et decimam de dominio Gervasii de Corenella totam apud Edintune',[88] all derived from what are now mere localities within larger parishes.

This apparent freedom for laymen to tamper with parochial rights is not easily compatible with a fully-fledged parochial system. Henry's encouragement of tithe-grants to religious corporations suggests that the reduction of parochial resources was, in his view, outweighed by the advantages of transferring units of revenue from lay to ecclesiastical hands. The rather sudden cessation of such grants in the third quarter of the century,[89] perhaps associated with the advent of a new bishop in 1173, seems symptomatic of new attitudes and new concepts.

Patrons, bishops and monastic possession

The term 'proprietary church' encourages the view that all founding lords sought, and then jealously guarded, autonomy of control over their churches. This was not inevitably the case: there is no rigid correlation between the jurisdictional status of a church, and its function for the local lord and his tenants. Churches which seem to have been built for the use of founders' tenants rather than the founders themselves (above, p135) include several, such as Alfold and Walton-on-the-Hill, which were jurisdictionally 'free' and 'private'. On the other hand Ashtead church, dedicated as a subordinate chapel with a priest answerable to the priest of Leatherhead (below, p153), is in function a classic proprietary case, situated away from the village and beside the manor-house where its founder Laurence de Rouen probably resided (fig 40).[90] Like the late 11th-century Hampshire lord who built, for his own use, a church to be served by a minster-priest from Christchurch,[91] Laurence's concern was not to create an independent parish, but simply to hear mass in a convenient place. It may be that co-operation between mother church and founding lord was widespread, though it is clear that many 11th-century lords did in fact have a high degree of freedom in the control of their churches.

The foundation of so many monasteries during *c*1100–60 introduced a new factor. On the one hand, local churches now had more powerful rivals for patronage: the lay lord who would formerly have expressed his pious instincts or concern for his soul by founding a church might now patronise a monastery instead. On the other hand, local churches might themselves be given to monasteries as part of such patronage, and might indeed be founded with this purpose in mind. As the 12th century passed, canon law limited more and more the lay patron's rights. This limitation is seen in the increasingly cautious language of charters: where an early Norman knight would have confidently granted 'his' church, Bartholomew de Chesney gave Addington church to Southwark Priory in *c*1180 'quantum ad advocatum et dominum fundi pertinet'.[92] Thus by 1150 a lay church transferred to a monastery was useful to its recipient, but cost relatively little to give away.[93]

Monastic acquisition of churches gathered momentum from itself, as what had once been anomalous became normal. By 1180 local churches in religious hands were no longer the minority that they had been a century before. It has been estimated that a quarter of all English churches were in religious hands before 1200.[94] Detailed examination of the Surrey evidence suggests a much higher proportion: of 138 recorded churches and chapels by *c*1180, 47 had been founded on ecclesiastical manors, 44 had passed from lay to religious hands, and 47 were still in lay patronage (fig 46). Thus the proportion of monastically-owned churches in this county had risen from roughly one-third to roughly two-thirds during the century after Domesday Book. In north-eastern Surrey, the area near London and the major religious houses, scarcely a single lay church remained. Equally important, patronage of the church had now become divorced in a large number of cases from ownership of the land: rural churches could now be regarded as

Churches acquired
1087–1140   1141–80

Lewes

Southwark

Merton

Other

Still in lay
hands 1180

Founded on
ecclesiastical
estate by 1180

Above 200 metres

150–200 metres
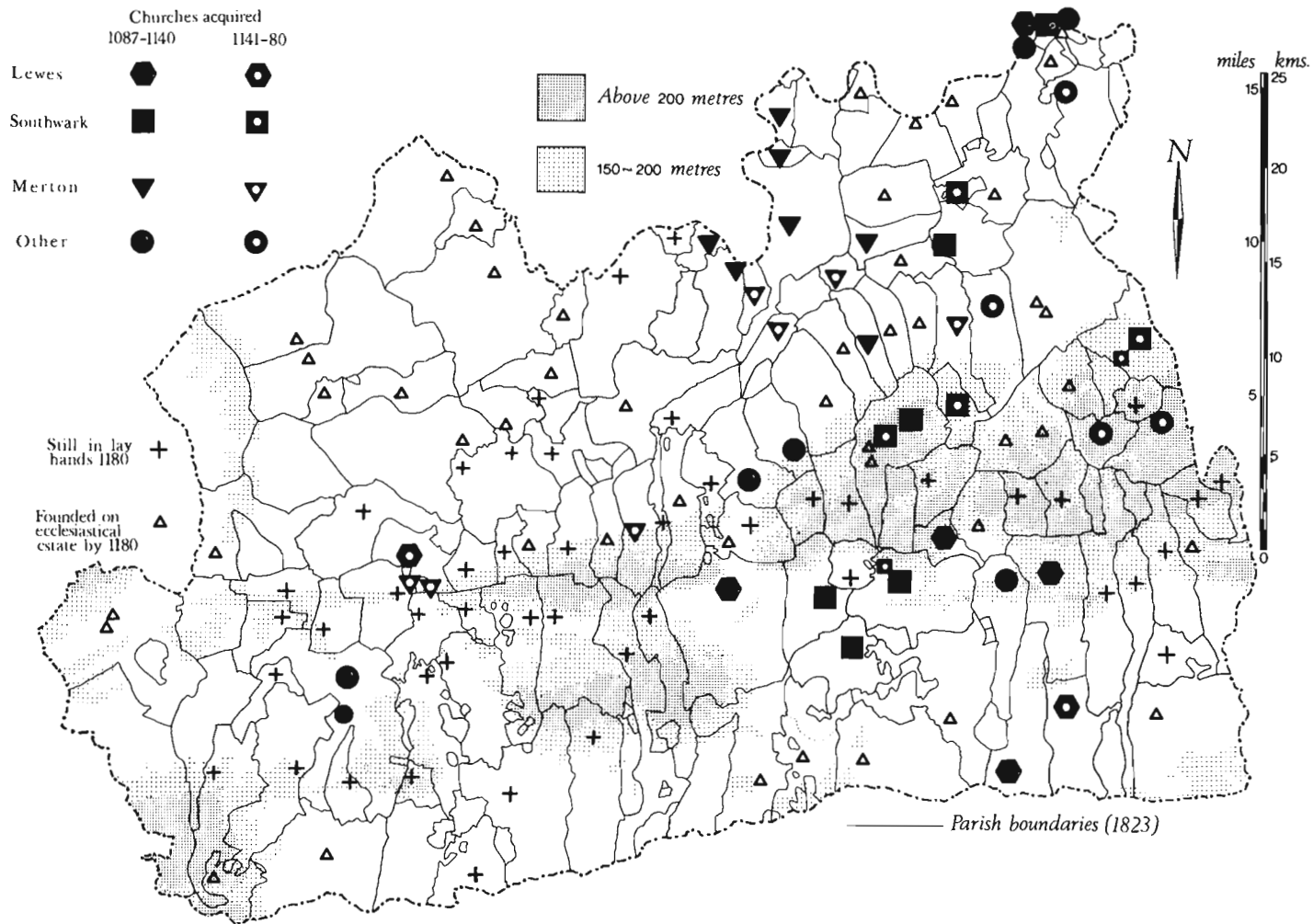
N

miles kms.

Parish boundaries (1823)

Fig 46   Monastic acquisitions of churches, 1087–1180

independent entities, not merely as pieces of property subject in certain specific ways to outside control.

Thus when the flood of donations subsided towards the end of the 12th century, it left a powerful new church-owning interest and a powerful tool in the cause of reform. And reform was now much in evidence, as the canonists multiplied their definitions. Throughout Christendom, their activities were extending the Church's authority into many new areas, restricting the rights of lay patrons and formalising what had once been fluid: 'the canon law laid its cold hand on the parishes of Europe, and froze the pattern which has in many parts subsisted ever since'.[95] The key figures in putting the new ideas into practice were of course the bishops, in the case of Surrey the two great men who successively ruled Winchester diocese during the formative years: Henry of Blois (1129–71), and Richard of Ilchester (1173–88).

One of the most powerful Englishmen of his day, Henry was known as a papalist, an admirer of Cluny and a strong protector of the Church's interests. As bishop he frequently introduced a new precision into ecclesiastical relationships.[96] On the other hand his *acta*, which reveal him as so careful a definer of individual monastic rights, have little to say on relationships between local churches, and his apparent attitude to tithe-portions (above, p149) seems distinctly old-fashioned. In at least one Surrey advowson dispute, his behaviour would have commended itself little to the reformers. In the 1150s John of Salisbury complained to Adrian IV on behalf of Merton Priory that their church of Effingham, 'quam eis petente domino fundi donavit dominus Wintoniensis, . . . in iniuriam apostolicae maiestatis et confusionem sanctorum canonum contulit memoratus episcopus cuidam publicano fere laico, filio sacerdotis qui in ea ecclesia ministraverat'.[97] Here, as with Archbishop Ralph's intervention for Lewes Priory in the case of Burstow church some forty years earlier (above, p147), the bishop seems motivated less by general principles than by antipathy or affection for a particular house.

Richard of Ilchester stands much more clearly for the new order. Whereas Henry had been a great noble, Richard was a curial with long experience in the royal service. To his high reputation as an administrator can apparently be added a significant role in the development of canon law: several canonical rulings which passed into the permanent corpus were made at his instance, in one case concerning the status of a church which its lay patron had granted to a monastery without episcopal licence.[98] The Church's policy was now to prefer patronage of churches in ecclesiastical hands,[99] and Richard followed it: when in *c*1180 Bartholomew de Chesney gave Addington church to Southwark Priory, it was 'amore dei et petitione domini Ricardi Wintoniensis episcopi'.[100] In the aftermath of Becket's murder the Church's position was strong, and the climate favourable to a consolidation of gains.[101] At such a time, such a man as Richard might well have taken an active interest in moulding the emergent parochial structure. It seems, at all events, to have been in his episcopate that the Surrey parishes crystallised: territorial units comprising all land-holdings, jurisdictional units comprising all tithes and dues, and pastoral units comprising the whole population.

The consolidation of the parish in 12th-century Surrey

The parish was, of course, a familiar concept to all 11th- and 12th-century ecclesiastics. The territorial structure of the church had developed by a process of subdivision, and the creation of smaller units within minster parishes was a logical sequel to the creation of minster parishes within dioceses. In Europe of the central Middle Ages, it was implicit in both secular and canon law that all churches functioned within a territorial framework of jurisdiction. Explicit statements on the subject invariably place restraints on the independence of new churches and condemn their uncontrolled foundation.[102]

Practice in early Norman England bore little resemblance to this theory. The apparent failure of the Surrey minsters to maintain their control over lesser churches during this period has already been noted (above, p108). But it was not merely a matter of small units replacing large ones: the decay of the minsters left a vacuum which the multitude of estate churches founded by the beginning of the 12th century did not necessarily fill. Writers on the growth of the English parochial system have tended to equate it with the proliferation of local churches. The bias of research towards regions in which vill, parish and manor tend to be coterminous has perhaps obscured the necessity of distinguishing between these two developments. Where parish and lordship are identical, the historian is not forced to an independent definition of the former; where manorial geography is fragmented the problems become more evident.

It is hard to see in what sense we can speak of a parochial system in Domesday Surrey. Most churches belonged to manors smaller than their later parishes; conversely, most parishes include the area of more than one Domesday manor. If a Norman landowner built himself a church, it seems hardly likely that he would thereby establish authority over his neighbours' lands. Neither could he restrain them from building churches of their own, and during the first half-century of Norman rule, foundation seems to have proceeded without reference to neighbouring local churches which already existed.[103] Clear parochial divisions still lay in the future, and when they came they were to be imposed from above.

Perhaps they often stabilised existing arrangements of a private and informal character. It may have been normal for the tenants of two or three manors to worship by mutual agreement in one lord's church, especially if existing economic links gave the 'parish' a unity in terms of farming and settlement. But well into the 12th century the rights of local churches remained linked to territorial lordship; hence the freedom enjoyed by owners of churchless demesnes to apply their resources as they pleased. We should probably imagine a long period of variation and flux, with many gaps left in the unstable balance between declining minster and emergent local church. It would be unrealistic to assume that every peasant had ready access to a functioning church; the abuses attacked so regularly by reformers – an ignorant and servile priesthood, lack of pastoral care, the diversion of tithes to lay uses – can hardly have failed to flourish in such a context. In 1100 the raw materials of a parochial system existed, but they had yet to acquire form and stability.[104]

Early 12th-century bishops did occasionally place restrictions on new foundations, but most if not all of these were for the benefit of former minsters rather than of estate churches.[105] Thus when Bishop William Giffard dedicated Ashtead church 'sicut capellam subiectam, cum omnibus consuetudinibus que ad eam pertinent, ecclesie de Liered', forbidding any priest to sing mass there except by permission of the priest of Leatherhead',[106] he was reaffirming the minster rights which Thorncroft church had inherited from the old mother church of Leatherhead (above, p101). It is thus far from clear that Henry I's bishops would, as a matter of course, recognise and enforce parochial rights of estate churches extending outside the estate boundaries, or indeed have any precise conception of such rights, though it may be wrong to argue too strongly *ex silentio* when so little evidence has survived.[107]

As the 12th century progressed, one sign of change was the sharpening of the distinction between *ecclesia* and *capella*. Domesday references to chapels, confined almost entirely to the south-eastern circuit, occur even there very rarely, often in cases where two churches are listed on one manor.[108] In Surrey a broad class of sub-parochial chapels is slow to appear, and the meaning of the term is somewhat equivocal. The *capellae* listed on several of the Chertsey Abbey demesnes in 1176 are so described not because they were subordinate to parish churches but because they were subordinate to the Abbey itself (above, p129).

An illuminating example is the relationship of Blechingley and Horne, two parishes comprising a broad north-south strip in the Surrey Weald (fig 11G). In the 11th century they had

almost certainly formed a single unit, but by *c*1150 Horne was subinfeudated and possessed an estate church of its own (above, p126). Lewes Priory's acquisition of Blechingley church in the 1140s was followed in *c*1160 by a release from Peter de Tolworth, tenant of Horne, of 'ecclesiam de Horne que est in territorio meo'.[109] This effectively placed Horne church in subjection to that of Blechingley, and the deed, phrased in the language of a release rather than of a grant, implies recognition of pre-existing rights on the part of Lewes. This transaction, perhaps the result of litigation, suggests an unusual instance of mother-church rights enforced retrospectively, the monks claiming patronage of a layman's church at Horne on the grounds that the would-be mother church of Blechingley was already in their hands. When this relationship came to be stated explicitly, as 'ecclesiam de Blachingelea cum capella sua de Horne',[110] it was in a charter of Bishop Richard of Ilchester. It was also Richard who confirmed to Southwark Priory their separately-acquired churches of Woodmansterne and Burgh as 'ecclesiam de Wudemarestorne et ecclesiam de Berghes, pertinentes ad ecclesiam de Benstede', creating an artificial relationship between a 'mother' church and two 'daughter' churches which was tenurially and topographically convenient but lacked historical justification.[111] At Addington, where the canons of Southwark had previously possessed tithe-rights perhaps associated with a chapel there (above, p129), Richard first secured for them the parish church, and then firmly established its jurisdiction over the chapel in a carefully-worded confirmation which emphasises the lay lord's public subjection.[112]

Whether the initiative in these cases came from the recipients or from the bishop, it is in his *acta* that the new order of things becomes plainly evident. From the end of the 12th century the divisions are clear-cut: an ecclesiastical building must either be a parish church, or a chapel subordinate to such a church. The alienation of tithe ceased, and parishes took on a more cohesive form. Parish boundaries became fixed and remained so until the Victorian changes, preserving in the process many far older features which had survived until the critical years of parochial formation.

Ecclesia and *capella*

By 1200, therefore, the parochial geography of Surrey was well-defined, its network of parish churches largely complete and firmly distinguished from the lower stratum of dependent chapels. But this distinction was essentially a jurisdictional one, based on the priests' status of tenure and the destination of tithes rather than on relative importance in local religious life. *Capella* was not necessarily smaller or less important pastorally than *ecclesia*; it merely occupied an inferior position. This is implicit in the phrase 'dedicavi ecclesiam de Essestede sicut capellam' of William Giffard's charter,[113] while it would be absurd to assume that when Horne church became a chapel of Blechingley, or Waddington church a chapel of Coulsdon, their devotional functions were suddenly diminished.[114]

A chapel could not have a parson in its own right, but was controlled by the rector of the mother church. Generally this merely meant that the rector could farm the chapel at a profit. Thus in the 1180s the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury demised Godalming mother church and its chapel of Chiddingfold to Richard de Chiddingfold, a local cleric, as two separate perpetual vicarages, rendering a total of £6 6s 8d pa and 1 lb wax. In 1220 the same man was in office, but his duties were carried out by a chaplain named Alan who paid him £5 pa for the revenues of the vicarages.[115] In such cases the formal relationship of dependence was probably irrelevant to the nature and quality of the ministry. Nonetheless, chapels were in theory subject to limitations of function, notably in the practice of baptism and burial, which were designed to protect the dignity and fiscal rights of their mother churches. The extent to which these attributes were restricted in practice is a useful measure of the effective differences between churches and chapels-of-ease.

In early medieval Europe, baptismal rights were the clearest mark of mother-church status. English sources of the 10th century and after place more emphasis on the right to take corpses for burial, but baptism still remained important. The frequency with which crude early fonts were preserved when churches were rebuilt around them testifies to the reverence in which they were held throughout the Middle Ages, not only as sacred objects but also, perhaps, as symbols of ancient baptismal status with its connotations of freedom. Tub fonts predictably occur in churches of early Norman lay foundation, as at Hambledon and Little Bookham. At Walton-on-the-Hill the magnificent lead font of c1150 is the only evidence for a church here before the late 13th century.

Other cases fit the expected pattern of baptismal churches less neatly. Eleventh- or early 12th-century fonts remain in the Wealden denn churches of Thursley, Wonersh, Alfold and Ewhurst, and of these the first two were respectively daughter churches of Witley and Shalford (above, pp115, 119). Thames Ditton, one of the chapels of Kingston upon Thames, retains a particularly fine carved font of the same period.[116] Early Norman landowners in Surrey were evidently willing for baptism to be performed in satellite and daughter churches. Nor do restrictions seem to have grown as parochial authority tightened. In the late 12th and early 13th centuries many churches acquired a standard type of font consisting of a square bowl supported on shafts,[117] and examples (or fragments) of these occur at Seale, Frensham, Chessington and Capel, chapels of relatively late appearance. Discounting the unlikely possibility that several fonts have been brought to their present locations from elsewhere, it seems indubitable that 12th-century patrons of churches frequently provided subordinate chapels with baptismal facilities. Practice would probably have varied between owners: it may, for instance, be significant that none of the 12th-century chapels on the main Chertsey Abbey estate is known to have had an early font.

More important, in view of the substantial value of mortuaries, was the right of burial. As far back as Eadgar's reign, possession of a graveyard invested a thegn's church with some degree of public status, and it was this privilege that mother churches guarded most jealously.[118] As late as 1217 Chertsey Abbey disputed with the vicar of Chobham his right to a cemetery, the monks claiming that this might lead to a cessation of their ancient dues from Chobham chapel, 'iam quasi matricem ecclesiam factam', and the vicar complaining of the problems which his flock encountered in transporting corpses along the bad roads to Chertsey. The monks permitted the cemetery in return for an annual pension, but the detailed agreement, defining the chapel's status and guaranteeing to inhabitants of Chobham the free choice of burial at Chertsey, emphasises the delicate and contentious nature of the issue.[119] The frequency of chapel graveyards at this date cannot even be guessed at. The 12th-century burials around a small private chapel at Banstead (below, p156) are an isolated but perhaps revealing piece of archaeological evidence, and in 1220 the Godalming survey mentions a 'cymeterium et baptisterium' at Chiddingfold chapel.[120] At all events, reforming bishops of Henry III's reign were more concerned with the utility of chapels than with the vested interests of mother churches. The Winchester statutes of the 1260s order the preparation of cemeteries for all chapels not already possessing them and lying more than two miles from their mother churches, though a graveyard around Haslemere chapel remained unconsecrated until 1363.[121]

It seems not unlikely that the chapels which played a full pastoral role in the mid 13th century had often done so since their foundation in the 12th, notwithstanding their dependent status. But the problem does not end here, for though the foundation of churches and public chapels-of-ease was slowing to a halt by the end of the 12th century, the number of functioning religious buildings continued to rise in an unobtrusive but not unimportant way.[122]

From the late 12th century there are scattered references to the building of new private chapels, sited within manor-house precincts and unequivocally subject to their parish churches.

Partly at least, they reflect a growing desire to hear mass in more private and convenient places. Thus in *c*1200 Southwark Priory licensed Robert Mauduit to have a chapel in his *curia* at Mitcham, while at about the same date the bishop of Exeter guaranteed to the archbishop of Canterbury, lord of the manor of East Horsley, 'quod ecclesie Beati Petri de Horsleg' nullum fiet preiudicium nullum ve detrimentum in posterum occasione capelle nostre quam ereximus in curia nostra de Horsleg' ad divinorum celebrationem in eadem audiendam'.[123] A deed of *c*1220 records that Gilbert son of William archdeacon of Caux built a chapel of St Katherine in his messuage at Southwark, in which mass could be said either by his own or by another chaplain, saving oblations and 1 lb of incense yearly to St Olave's church.[124] A century later, in 1313, William de Westone received episcopal licence to have chapels or oratories at his manor-houses in Albury and West Clandon parishes, cum propter loci distantiam et viarum incomoda prefatas ecclesias sine difficultate et gravamine frequenter adire non valeant, possit . . . per sacerdotem ydoneum divina facere celebrari et ea ibidem audire horis et temporibus oportunis, salvo iure in omnibus ecclesiarum parochialium predictarum'.[125]

For the 13th century the distinction between chapels-of-ease and these newer private chapels might at first seem obvious. The former existed for the benefit of parishioners: in the words of the 1247 Winchester synodal statutes, they were 'capelle, intra parochias nostras contemplatione parochianorum a matrice ecclesia nimis distantium antiquitus erecte, que quandoque bis vel ter in ebdomada sacerdotis gaudebant obsequiis'.[126] The latter have been seen as aristocratic 'status symbols which drew the more affluent parishioners away from regular attendance at the mother church',[127] marks of a lack of concern for corporate parochial life on the part of the wealthy. Yet it is doubtful whether they were so new and exclusive a phenomenon, or so divorced from the mainstream of the Church's work. D M Owen's work in Lincolnshire has shown that the continuing foundation of manorial or demesne chapels was influenced by local settlement conditions, especially the growth of communities in areas of recent and dispersed settlement.[128] There are strong suggestions that the same was true in Surrey.

Manorial chapels of the 13th century belonged to the same tradition as manorial churches of the 11th; what they lacked in relation to their predecessors was the independent capacity to exact obedience from the peasant populace. Considered functionally rather than jurisdictionally, the line drawn between use by the lord's family and use by his dependents and tenants can scarcely be very clear.[129] Even if exclusive family use became increasingly the norm as time passed,[130] the state of affairs in *c*1200 must still have been very fluid. How, for instance, should we classify the chapel excavated in the manorial complex at Preston Hawe, Banstead? A rectangular late 12th-century enclosure contained a succession of halls (the earliest pre-dating the earthwork) with ancillary buildings. The chapel, of the usual small two-cell type, lay alongside the hall, with several burials in an adjacent walled area. The sequence of buildings on the site apparently ended in *c*1300.[131] Here, then, a manorial chapel, sub-parochial and otherwise unknown, was serving a community and receiving its members for burial as late as the second half of the 12th century.

Secondly, we can have virtually no idea of the number of such chapels which once existed, beyond being confident that only a small minority are recorded. In contrast to parish churches, their fiscal subservience rarely made it necessary to record their existence, and their appearance in written sources is rare and incidental. Chapel licences were entered in bishops' registers, but those for Winchester diocese only begin in the late 13th century. Field-names sometimes suggest memories of lost chapels: for instance Church Field on the Wadden estate map (fig 22), or Chapel Plat in South Park, Blechingley, where foundations have been excavated.[132] The buildings themselves rarely remain, for in the later Middle Ages they tended to succumb to social and demographic changes. Parish churches, with enforceable rights over a clearly-defined area, usually survived: throughout England the isolated church is a familiar sight. In Surrey at least,

the chapels usually vanished when the houses to which they were attached were rebuilt or abandoned, and as many lost as surviving examples are recorded.

Such evidence as we have does not suggest that chapel ownership was confined to the aristocracy or even to the wealthier gentry. A Wealden yeoman farmer who possessed one was Jordan de Yniggefeld, whose moated homestead is identifiable with Moat Farm in Tandridge parish.[133] In c1230 he granted the chapel there to the Augustinian canons of Tandridge, with the new *curia* around it, a garden with buildings, and a long list of parcels from his own demesne. The gift included a silver chalice, books, vestments and ornaments, and the object of the transaction was a chantry there for Jordan and his family.[134] Did this chapel have wider functions? Moat Farm lies deep in the Weald, four miles south of Tandridge church and village and at the meeting-point of three parishes; for inhabitants of surrounding farms it would have been much easier to travel here than northwards along the often near-impassable clay lanes. A parallel case, the Wealden chapel of Oakwood where a private chantry existed by 1290,[135] does not lie near any manorial site and seems likely to have been founded for pastoral convenience.

Usually this sub-stratum of private chapels is only visible in isolated glimpses, but in the case of Godalming parish the detailed survey compiled in 1220 enables us to view it as a whole (fig 47).[136] Dependent on the mother church were Chiddingfold chapel, with a chapel of its own at Haslemere, and the former old minster at Tuesley. In addition, two of the three private estates within the old royal manor[137] possessed their own chapels. At Hurtmore was a timber chapel dedicated to All Saints, granted two years previously by T de Hurtmore to the summoner of the Guildford chapter who rendered 6s 8d pa for it to the mother church. A chapel of St Nicholas, owing three days' weekly service (presumably of one tenant), stood in the manorial *curia* of Catteshall. But for the survival of this one exceptional source, it would have been impossible to guess at so complex a structure.

Below the parish churches, a large, ill-recorded and now largely vanished class of chapels may be dimly perceived. While they spanned a wide spectrum, some doubtless serving no more than a single family, it seems impossible to draw a firm distinction between the public and private in function, at any rate before the later 13th century. Among the scattered farms of Wealden Surrey, the overall pastoral importance of manorial chapels was probably much greater than among the nucleated villages of open-field country. If Jordan de Yniggefeld's homestead was at all typical, the contribution made by private chapels to the Church's ministry in the countryside may have been far from negligible.

Conclusion

After 1200, changes in the Church's institutional and fiscal structure seem less relevant to its role as a living force in the community. While bishops were taking a greater interest than ever in such matters, the links between churches and the recipients of ecclesiastical revenue were growing ever more distant and formalised. The preoccupations of monastic proprietors lay more and more with tithe and pension rights, less and less with the interests of parishioners.[138]

The Surrey evidence has little to add here to a well-established general picture.[139] The farming of monastic churches at fixed pensions, popular in the years around 1200, was practised systematically by the monks of Lewes, who established pensions of £3 from Blechingley church in 1175–88, £6 from Dorking church in 1191–8, and £1 10s from Gatton church by the 1220s; at St Olave's Southwark a vicarage had briefly been established and the rectory appropriated for the support of guests, but the Priory's interest was quickly commuted here also to a £4 pension.[140]

Twelfth-century pension-paying vicars, such as Richard de Chiddingfold at Godalming (above, p154) and his two contemporaries who held the Merton Priory churches in Guildford for
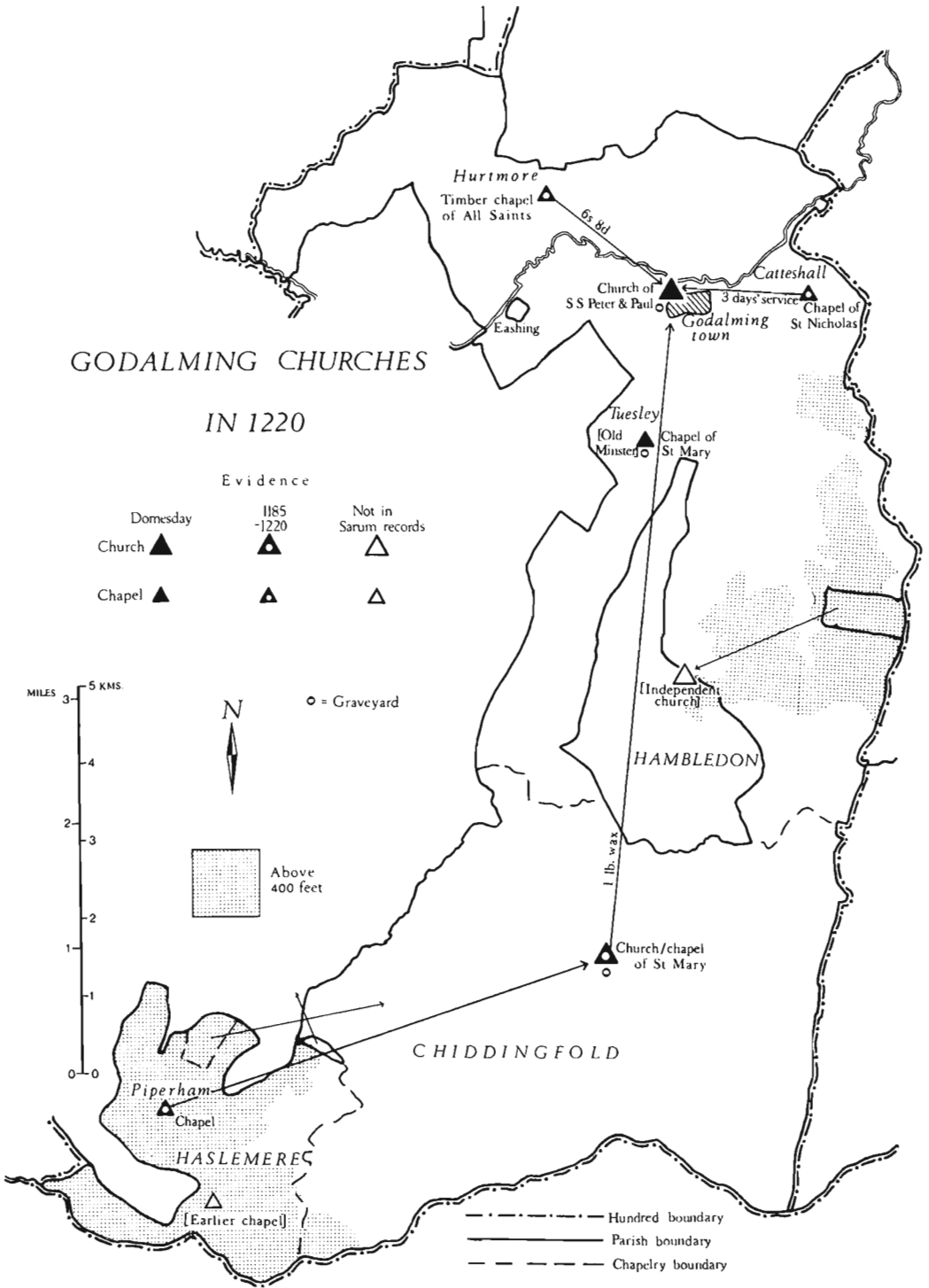
Hurtmore
Timber chapel
of All Saints

6s 8d

Catteshall

Church of
S S Peter & Paul
Eashing

3 days' service
Chapel of
St Nicholas

*Godalming
town*

GODALMING CHURCHES

IN 1220

Tuesley
[Old
Minster]
Chapel of
St Mary

Evidence

Domesday	1185 -1220	Not in Sarum records
Church ▲	◬	△
Chapel ▲	◬	△

[Independent
church]

MILES 5 KMS.
3

HAMBLEDON

○ = Graveyard

N

4

2 3

Above
400 feet

2

1 1

Church/chapel
of St Mary

CHIDDINGFOLD

0 0

Piperham
Chapel

HASLEMERE

[Earlier chapel]

— · — · — · — Hundred boundary

———————— Parish boundary

— — — — — Chapelry boundary

Fig 47   Godalming parish church and its dependent chapels, according to the Salisbury survey of 1220

3 marks each,[141] must be distinguished from vicars in the normal later medieval sense on account of their higher economic status.[142] Full appropriation, as effected by the monks of Westminster in 1174–88 at Battersea and Wandsworth,[143] was rarer, varying with the success of the proprietor houses in pleading their cases to their bishops. No constant policy can be discerned among the Surrey monasteries; in 1291, for instance, churches in the patronage of Southwark and Merton Priories display a mixture of vicarages, pensions and unappropriated livings.[144] The presence or absence of vicarages in later centuries springs not from the local contexts of churches or the circumstances of their acquisition, but from the means and opportunities of their individual monastic owners in individual cases.

The parochial system of 13th-century Surrey is interesting less for its framework than for its elusive infrastructure of miscellaneous chapels. This suggests something not wholly dissimilar to the groups of chapelries in, for instance, a typical large northern English parish, a similarity obscured by later changes and lost to any superficial examination. The records impose a misleading uniformity on a pattern which, despite the consolidation of its main lines during the 12th century, still had its complexities.