

THE ARRIVAL OF THE HOSPITALLERS IN HAMPSHIRE

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ABSTRACT

The international military order of St John of Jerusalem possessed estates throughout western Christendom, including their preceptory of Godsfield and Baddesley. This paper traces the arrival of the Hospitallers in Hampshire some time before 1153 and the creation of their estate as revealed by the surviving Godsfield cartulary. Their patrons are discussed in the context of the grants to other religious houses in the county. Some consideration is also given to how they managed their affairs. Subsequent articles will examine the Godsfield and other properties in greater details

INTRODUCTION

The Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England, brothers of St John, Hospitallers, and Knights of St John are alternative names for the same religious order. They are also referred to as ‘the brothers’ within the context of this article. Given that the order dates only from the late eleventh century and settled in England not earlier than the 1130s, the Hospitallers came unexpectedly early to Hampshire, where they directed the formation of their own modest estate. Almost all the order’s property in Hampshire came to be included in their preceptory of Godsfield and Baddesley. Although very far from the richest or most important of the Hospitaller preceptories, it is hoped through this and subsequent articles to explore the development of one of those smaller religious houses and estates which are far more numerous and ubiquitous than the major monasteries that are much better known. This paper will examine the arrival of the Hospitallers in Hampshire, their properties and their patrons. In subsequent articles it is hoped to

explore the development of the Godsfield estate, the Baddesley and other estates and the activities of the Hospitallers in late medieval Hampshire.

THE ORIGINS OF THE HOSPITALLER ORDER

The Hospitallers or Knights of St John belonged to the order of St John of Jerusalem. The order originated in a hospital attached to the monastery of St Mary of the Latins in Jerusalem. Originally, to support the increase in the number of pilgrims to the Holy Land, a convent dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, later known as St Mary the Great, was founded, probably before 1080. A hospital with its own church dedicated to either St John the Almoner or St John the Baptist, if not already in existence, must have been established shortly afterwards. It was certainly functioning before the First Crusade, which resulted in the fall of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099 (Riley-Smith 1967, 37). By 1160 militarisation had taken place. A grant in 1136 by Fulk of Jerusalem to the Hospitallers of the castle of Beit-Jibrin near the southern borders of the kingdom suggests that they were a military order by this date. In 1144 Raymond II of Tripoli assigned a series of castles, including Crac, to the Hospitallers near the eastern frontiers of his county most exposed to Muslim attack (Forey 1992, 18). Further evidence of the Hospitallers’ role as a military force can be seen in the campaign against Egypt in the autumn of 1168 (King 1967, 12–14). Riley-Smith observes that by 1206 it was possible to describe the Hospitallers as a military order and the defence of the Holy Land had become the principal reason for their existence (Riley-Smith 1967, 123).

The Hospitaller headquarters were located in Jerusalem until 1187, when Saladin captured the city. The Hospitallers later transferred their headquarters to Acre in 1191, but in 1291 the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem ceased to exist. Acre fell to the Muslims on 18 May and Tyre, Sidon and Beirut soon after (Sire 1994, 15). Only seven Hospitaller knights escaped to take refuge in Cyprus (Sire 1994, 25) until they relocated their headquarters on the island of Rhodes. In September 1307 Pope Clement V confirmed the Hospitallers in their possession of Rhodes and by the end of 1310 it was fully under their control (Sire 1994, 28). There they remained until driven out by the Turks in 1523. They retreated to Viterbo, where they remained for nearly four years, until the plague in Italy drove them to Nice. In July 1529 they were in Sicily to receive the grant of Malta from Charles V and took possession of the island in 1530 (Sire 1994, 60). Ten years later, Henry VIII suppressed the order in England.

In the early years, the order of St John consisted of a small group of brothers under the leadership of a master to whom the brothers were bound by their monastic vows. Brother Gerard was the first master of the Hospital in Jerusalem. He had been the administrator of the hospital of St John for the abbot of St Mary of the Latins before the independence of the hospital (Sire 1994, 3–4). As the number of convents increased and the brothers acquired more property, it became more difficult for a master to supervise the resources and manpower of all their subject houses. The administrative framework used by existing religious orders was not suitable. Both the Hospitallers and the Templars introduced the practice of grouping together all the convents within a district into what the Hospitallers called priories and what the Templars called provinces. A district often coincided with a political boundary (Forey 1992, 148–9). The head of a priory was known as a prior and was directly responsible to the master resident at the headquarters in the East.

A convent could be the headquarters or the humblest house where only a few brothers resided (Riley-Smith 1967, 230). Convents which were the administrative centres at local level were under the jurisdiction of a priory. They were

known as preceptories or commanderies. These terms were often used interchangeably. The official in charge was most commonly known as a preceptor or commander. Each preceptory had only a small community of brethren and therefore ideally the preceptor only held office for a short time to avoid the growth of any tension between himself and the few brethren who were subject to him. Brothers who had completed a long and commendable service expected to be rewarded with the administration of a preceptory. However at times of crises they still were called up for military duty (King 1967, 76–7). William Weston, while preceptor of North Baddesley, was among the senior knights at the siege of Rhodes in 1522 (King 1967, 90). As well as being the administrative centre, the preceptory was also a small community of brothers leading a conventual life following the Augustinian rule. By the sixteenth century, or perhaps before this, conventual life gave way to life as a country gentleman except that marriage was forbidden to the brothers (King 1967, 77).

The Hospitallers' headquarters on the eastern frontiers of Christendom controlled a federation of provincial dependencies comprising the priories and their dependencies the preceptories scattered throughout Western Europe. The master, who was chosen by a committee of thirteen, held office for life (Forey 1992, 156), and was at the head of the entire organisation. Supreme authority was in the hands of the General Chapter, who acted as a check on extreme absolutism (Rees 1947, 18). At every level of government officials were counter-balanced by chapters. This was the taking of counsel by those in authority and was a long established practice in both secular and ecclesiastical circles (Forey 1992, 159). At a local level the preceptor attended the annual general chapter held at his priory and this served to renew and confirm the formal bond between the local and central administrations (Gervers, 1982, lxxiv). The preceptor, as a representative of the central government, held his own weekly chapter when he also was governed by the communal decisions of his brothers (Riley-Smith 1967, 231). Many preceptories in England only had two brothers in residence in 1338 including Godsfield (Larking & Kemble).

In the thirteenth century, there were several

developments. Brothers were permitted to hold preceptories in plurality. Thus William Hulle was preceptor both of Baddesley in Hampshire and Templecombe in Somerset in 1397. The preceptories of Baddesley and Friar Mayne, in Dorset, were amalgamated by 1503 with Robert Peck as preceptor. These unions were a sign of the small number of Hospitallers and the modest size of the estates they managed. However Baddesley continued to be administered locally as the rentals and customals for 1404 and 1517 testify [BL Add. MS 70511 ff. 49v–54]. From 1262 commanderies of grace, free in certain ways from the jurisdiction of the prior, were bestowed on brothers for life or for a term. Also by 1262 some preceptories became the personal possession of high officials and were held in *absentia*. They were known as *camerae* and were administered by agents (Riley-Smith 1967, 350).

THE GODSFIELD CARTULARY

Virtually no accounts of the estates nor internal administrative records are extant for the order throughout the four centuries that it was established in England. However there are several surviving cartularies. One such, the principal source for this study, is the Godsfeld Cartulary, now British Library Additional Manuscript 70511, but formerly at Welbeck Abbey. It is one of two known cartularies composed by William Hulle, preceptor of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem. The other is an inventory of 106 deeds of the preceptory of Templecombe in Somerset which he composed in 1397–8; it is Winchester College MS Longload 2 (Davis 1958, no.952). The Godsfeld Cartulary, also dating from 1397–8, is 54 folios in length and contains copies of 211 documents issued between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. These were the title deeds to the Hospitallers' properties in Hampshire. At the end of the manuscript there are three rentals and customals dating from the fifteenth century. It can therefore be used to study at some length the preceptory itself, its estates, economy, patrons, landowning and land-use in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. It has been edited and calendared and is scheduled for publication in the near future in the

Hampshire Record Series. References to documents in the cartulary cited as numbers in square brackets refer to documents in the calendar. Thus [1] refers to the charter of Adam de Port to the brothers of St John.

The original archive seems to have been highly miscellaneous and incomplete. The original grant of Adam de Port of the land at Godsfeld which the Hospitallers held of his fee, the grant of the manor of Swarraton and the grant of the manor of Baddesley, are all apparently missing from the cartulary and were probably already missing from the archive when the cartulary was composed. There are 17 grants by the Hospitaller themselves, but no record of how they originally received these lands. Ten title deeds of previous holders are not accompanied by the grants of that land to the order. That there are relatively few title deeds by previous holders is partly because the grants were early, before it was common for them to be conveyed by deeds rather than word of mouth. Furthermore, the Hospitallers typically acquired parcels of larger estates that the donors retained and for which the donors therefore withheld their title deeds. Such donors warranted the Hospitallers thus ensuring that any deeds would be made available when required. It was only when they acquired a whole property that the Hospitallers acquired the deeds and, even then, these seldom carried them very far back through previous transfers of that property.

A majority of the deeds relate to small plots of land that were difficult to trace on the ground and which were often undated. Indeed their dates were not known. Such deficiencies must have made the archive almost unusable and extremely confusing. It was to impose order on them that William Hulle copied the documents and organised them into a cartulary. Charters were arranged under places, but Hulle was less successful in arranging them chronologically. By 1397, North Baddesley may have been the administrative centre and the archive, having been moved from Godsfeld, needed to be reorganised. This may have been sufficient reason for the cartulary to have been compiled by copying out the original documents. However, archaeological evidence and evidence from the cartulary supporting a move from Godsfeld to North

Baddesley, at any given time, is inconclusive. Hulles' purpose was to establish the preceptory's rights, tithes and estates. However, it is also possible that Hulles copied the twelfth and thirteenth-century deeds from an earlier cartulary and added the new deeds of the fourteenth century and the four deeds concerned with former Templar lands, which would not have been in the possession of the Hospitallers before 1313. The title states that this is a 'calendar of all the charters and muniments of Godsfield, Baddesley and Rownhams renewed by William Hulles'. Folios left for further deeds remain blank, because the Hospitallers acquired no further property in Hampshire in the fifteenth and sixteen centuries.

None of this material features in the main Hospitaller Cartulary (BL Cotton Nero E VI 1442), which is itself a revision of early cartularies. None of the Hospitallers' cartularies contain current documents of temporary significance, such as leases and appointments, and for which the correct location was in registers or letter books such as *The Register of the Common Seal* (Greatrex). It is not known whether the Hospitallers kept such records before the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when they were entering their leases in leasebooks of which three survive (BL Lansdowne 200; BL Cotton Claudius E VI; PRO LR 2/62).

Apart from the lands of the Godsfield and Baddesley preceptory, the military order of the Temple also held some property in Hampshire, which eventually passed to the Hospitallers. Templar lands in Hampshire were subject to the Oxfordshire commandery of Sandford. Their deeds were included in the Sandford Cartulary which was completed c. 1294. After the dissolution of the Templars, the bulk of their property was transferred to the Hospitallers sometime after 1313 and before 1338 (Lees, 1934, 160–3). The Hospitallers possessed and also used the Sandford Cartulary (Leys, 1938, vii). Only four of the deeds in the Godsfield Cartulary are concerned with former Templar property. Two deeds concerning a grant of land in Warnford by Henry Kipping to Henry le Notte [80] and another tenement in Winchester by Robert Scroop to William Kimer [121] dated 1285 are omitted from

the Sandford Cartulary. William de Argentein's confirmation of the gift of his father of messuage in Carisbrooke to the brothers of the Temple [191] is entered in the Sandford Cartulary (Leys, 1938, folio 70, no.269) as is the charter of Nigel de Buckland concerning the rent for the same land [208] (Leys, 1938, folio 70, no.270). There are a number of other deeds in the Sandford Cartulary concerning Templar property in Warnford, Milford and the Isle of Wight, not in the Godsfield Cartulary, which either suggests that this property did not come into the hands of the Hospitallers after 1313, that the original deeds had already been lost before this date, or that they were not stored in the same place in 1397. The Milford estate certainly passed to the Hospitallers and this preceptory as folios 46v–49 contain a rental and custumal for Milford 'renewed' in the time of brother William Hulles [10 October 1403].

THE HAMPSHIRE ESTATE (Fig. 1)

It is not known precisely when the Hospitallers first received properties in England, but they had probably acquired land in Essex by the 1130s. There Robert de Lucy confirmed a grant of Richard son of William Sorrell consisting of 80 acres of land in Chrishall to the brothers. Gervers states that there is a good possibility that Richard's grant pre-dates by a decade or more the foundation of the Hospitallers' priory at Clerkenwell, just outside the walls of London, by Jordan Bricett c. 1144 (Gervers, 1982, xxxv). Initially the English acquisitions were administered by the priory of St Gilles in Provence, the first western priory to be founded c. 1120 (Gervers, 1982, , xxxvi). The Hospitallers were granted the whole manor of Clerkenwell in 1211, which became the headquarters of the priory of England.

The Hospitallers were one of several new religious orders who arrived in Hampshire during the twelfth century. Cistercians were established at Quarr, Isle of Wight, in 1132 (Knowles 1971, 75) and their abbey at Beaulieu was founded by King John in 1204 (Knowles 1971, 73). By 1239 they were established at Netley (Knowles 1971, 75). Austin Canons were at Christchurch

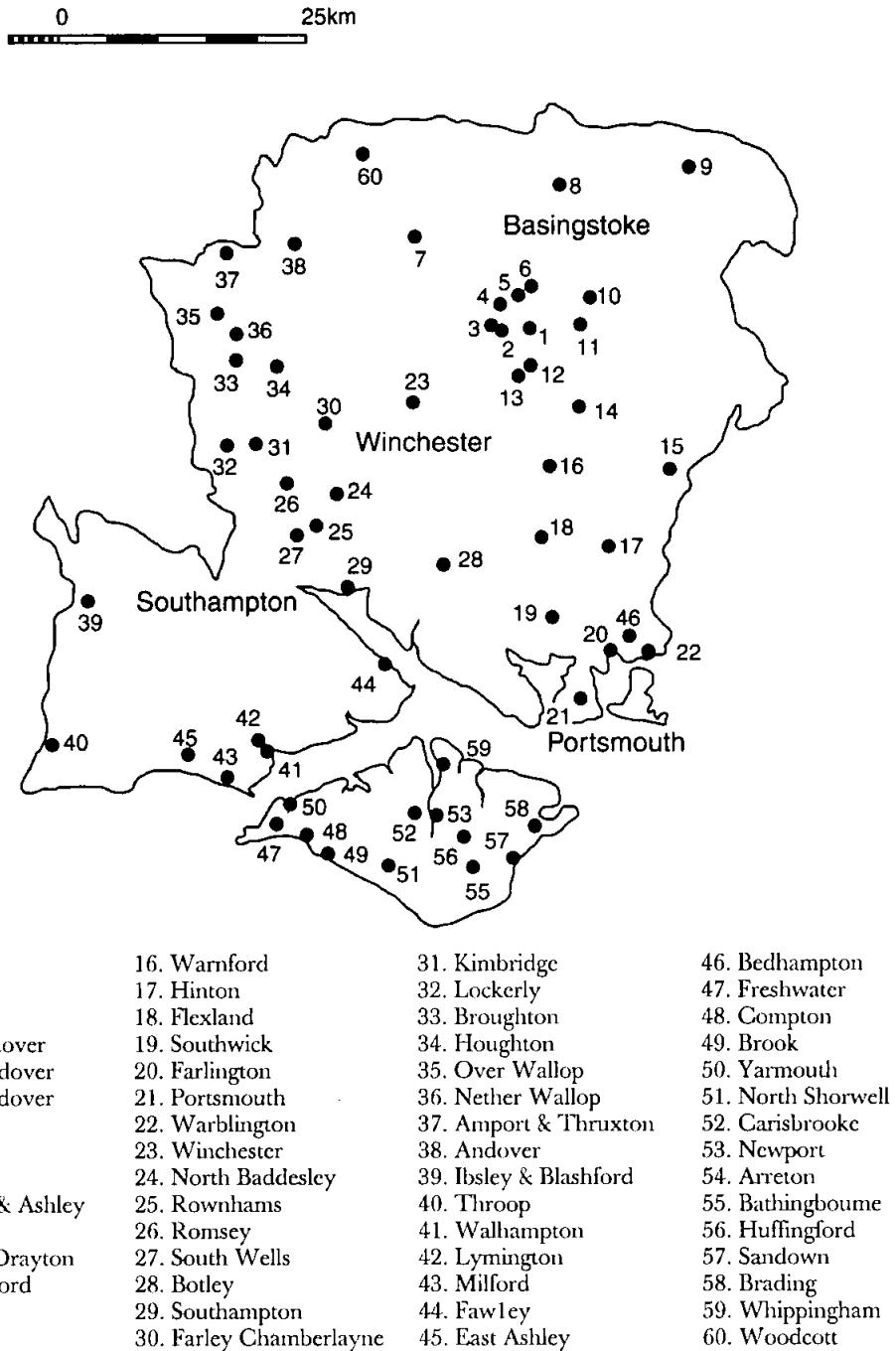


Fig. 1 Map of Hampshire lands of the Hospitaliers

Twynneham *c.* 1150 (Knowles 1971, 82) and were at St Denys *c.* 1127 (Knowles 1971, 88), Mottisfont *c.* 1201 (Knowles 1971, 86), and Selborne 1233 (Knowles 1971, 88). They were at Portchester in the 1120s, from where they moved to Southwick early in the 1150s (Hanna, 1988, xiii). The Templars were already established in the county before 1155–6 when they paid 1 mark in Hampshire and 1 mark in Winchester to the exchequer towards military operations and expeditions (Hall, 1896, 2: 662–3). The location of their holdings in Hampshire is confirmed by the inquest of Templar land in 1185, which shows them receiving rent from property in Winchester and holding land in Warnford *ex dono* John de Port (*Part*) who died in 1168 (Leys, 1934, 52). Before 1177 Adam de Port had granted them another half virgate and a cotland in Warnford (Leys, 1938, folio 70v, no.271). Premonstratensian or White Canons were established at Titchfield in 1231 (Knowles 1971, 97). In the thirteenth-century the mendicant orders arrived in Winchester: Dominicans in 1231–4, Franciscans *c.* 1235, Austin Friars *temp* Edward I and Carmelites in 1278. Franciscans were in Southampton *c.* 1237 (*VCH Hants*, 2, 105).

The pipe roll for 1160–61 indicates that the Hospitallers were holding land at this time somewhere in Hampshire for which they paid aid to the Exchequer of 2 marks (*Pipe Roll* 7 Hen II, 57) and there were Hospitallers in the neighbouring counties of Dorset and Wiltshire by 1159–60 (*Pipe Roll* 6 Hen II, 18–19, 41). The absence of the Hospitallers in Hampshire, Dorset and Wiltshire from previous pipe rolls does not prove conclusively that they were not already there. There are deeds in the cartulary that belong to the previous decade. The grant of Richard Labanc to the brothers of all his land and wood in Baddesley [122] refers to Roger Mortimer, who died in 1153, as lord of the manor. They were also granted a virgate in Houghton by Baldwin de Portsea *c.* 1150–1175 [145] and land in Chilton Candover by Walter de Andely *c.* 1154–66 [2]. This dates their arrival in Hampshire some twenty years after they had acquired land in Essex in the 1130s and only a decade after the foundation of the priory of Clerkenwell.

The Hospitallers acquired one of the two

manors in Woodcote after the Statute of Mortmain of 1279. In 1303, the prior, William de Tothale, paid a fine for a licence for the alienation in mortmain by Richard de Cardeville to the prior and brothers of the manor of Woodcote with the advowson of the church and the hamlet of Litchfield (*CPR 1301–7*, 150). The Hospitaller estate of Woodcote was a camera administered by Clerkenwell. As it was not the responsibility of the preceptors of Godsfield and Baddesley, there are no documents relating to the estate in the cartulary.

The Hospitallers acquired additional property in Hampshire when Pope Clement V ordered Edward II to deliver the property of the Templars to them after the Council of Vienne in 1311–2. The bulk of the property was eventually secured sometime after 1313 and before 1338 (Leys 1934, 160–3). The value of the property in Hampshire, considerably lower than in many other counties, amounted to £7 13s 7d per annum (Perkins 1909–10, 253). As there was no Templar preceptory in Hampshire, the lands were administered from Sandford in Oxfordshire (Leys, folios 69v–75b). Templar properties in Warnford [80], Carisbrooke [191], Winchester [121] and the manor of Milford [rental & custumal 1403, folios 46v–49] were acquired by the Hospitallers and administered by the preceptory of Godsfield and Baddesley. The Hospitallers held land in Milford before they received the Templar estate. There are no deeds in the cartulary to show that the Hospitallers gained the former Templar estate of Temple Sotherton near Selborne at grid reference SU 75 33. In 1316 this was in the hands of the Earl of Hereford who held it of the king (*Feudal Aids*, 2, 315). However, the Hospitallers had acquired the priory manor of Sotherton by 1348 when Walter, priest and Edmund de Merlawe [Merlay], clerk were attacked by unknown persons (Hockey, 1987, 2: 19). Land in Kern, Chale and the chapel at Brook on the Isle of Wight granted by William Makerel to the Templars and confirmed by his brother, Ralph *c.* 1194 (Leys, 1938, folio 72v, 286) may also have come into Hospitaller hands (Hockey 1982, 75–9).

Before the establishment of Clerkenwell as the English priory, England was still partially admin-

istered from St Gilles (now in southern France), where a chaplain named Walter was prior of all England from 1144 to 1162. Gerald de Neapol (*Naplouse*) became Prior of England in 1184 or 1185. He paid 4 marks to Walter de Andely for a charter of confirmation of Walter's father's gift of land in Chilton Candover to the brothers in 1185–90 [3]. He was combining the office of prior with the office of Grand Commander of France in 1189 or 1190 when he was appointed master of the whole order. The independence of the English priory probably dates from these years (Sire 1994, 176). The administration of the English priory established at Clerkenwell probably differed very little from the other priories on the European continent. A system of preceptories was established in England after the establishment of the priory at Clerkenwell (Gervers, 1982, liii). By 1199 there were twenty-eight preceptories in England which paid £500 towards the royal treasury of King John, which was exactly half the sum paid by the Templars (Sire 1994, 177). Unfortunately it is not possible, to tell if Godsfield or Baddesley is one of these. By 1338, after the dissolution of the Templars, there were thirty-five preceptories and eighteen camerae including Godsfield and Baddesley (Larking & Kemble).

Evidence of grants by the prior from the cartulary suggests that the Hampshire lands were still being administered by the English prior from 1204 [143] until c. 1230. The evidence must be treated with caution, however, for although the consent to grants of land or rents by the preceptor to other persons was obtained at chapter meetings, the alienation of rights normally required permission from superiors (Forey 1992, 152) and their names would therefore appear in the documents. It seems unlikely that the Hampshire properties were being administered from as far away as London. The brothers already had a house at Baddesley before the grant of Richard Labanc c. 1153 [122]. It is possible that there was already a Hampshire preceptory by the middle of the twelfth century and that it was from there that the negotiations took place with Walter de Andely for land in Chilton Candover [2], with Adam de Port for land in Abbotstone [1], and with William St Martin for land in Swarraton [7]. These acquisitions formed the body of the Godsfield estate.

The construction of the Godsfield estate involving the exchange of common rights for land implies local knowledge and a deliberate coherent policy. Godsfield was definitely a preceptory by 1265 x 72 during the priorate of Roger de Vere when a master was in residence [47]. Roger de Vere may have held his chapter at Godsfield when he exchanged land with Walter de Andely in 1267 [6] and Robert de Andely in 1270 [5] as the witnesses were local men.

An undated grant by Brother Nicholas, preceptor of Godsfield, of a parcel of land on the Isle of Wight to Estrilda [201] may be assigned to c. 1230–40. He was the first known preceptor at Godsfield. However, his grant is a chance survival and there must have been earlier grants both written and oral. He is therefore unlikely to have been the first preceptor that there was. He was possibly the Brother Nicholas of Baddesley appointed by the prior to act on his behalf in the court of Common Pleas in 1228 (*Curia Regis Rolls*, 13, no.443). Stephen de Breminghurst is the first preceptor to be assigned to a definite period: he operated during the priorate of Joseph de Chauncey 1273–80 [146] and was succeeded by Brother Hilary in January 1282 [168]. Stephen was in possession of his own seal and the seal of the bailiwick of Godsfield. He may well have been preceptor before 1273. Stephen de Breminghurst uses the various titles of custodian or preceptor of Godsfield as the Hospitallers seem to have avoided a consistent hierarchy of official titles (Riley-Smith 1967, 341). He invoked the consent of Prior Joseph de Chauncey before granting three acres in Houghton to Stephen le Bloare [146]; however this may have been a formality rather than evidence of the prior insisting on controlling his preceptor, as Stephen referred only to the consent of his brothers to his other charters [108, 112, 151]. The management of the Hampshire lands locally continued into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when three rentals were added to the cartulary, with totals for cocks, hens and rents entered in the right hand margins for accounting purposes. This indicates that William Hulle and subsequent preceptors had custody of the cartulary, which was therefore kept in Hampshire, and that during this period they were involved directly in the management of the preceptory.

There appear never to be more than three brothers, including the preceptor, at Godsfield. About 1273–81 Stephen de Breminghurst occurs with one brother, John de Bethlehem [146]. In 1312, the preceptor Robert de Cosgrove occurs with brother William de Cotes and a clerk, John de Standon, who was probably clerk at Godsfield [36]. John de Standon was a witness again in 1314 with Brother Richard St Low (*de Seinteslow*) to the charter of the preceptor Simon Launcelyn [113]. Thomas Archer occurs as preceptor in 1330 with two brothers, Robert de Somerby and Thomas de Glastonbury. Another witness, John, a clerk, may again have been John de Standon. [49]. By the thirteenth century, there were distinctions in rank which paralleled the social differences in the secular world. Brothers were either knights, sergeants at arms or chaplains. Knights were of knightly descent and sergeants and chaplains were free men (Forey 1992, 175). Knights and sergeants at arms did not differ in function and sergeants often held preceptories. The cartulary does not record whether the preceptors were knights or sergeants at arms. Chaplains were the only brothers whose rank was commonly noted in charters (Forey 1992, 174). In 1338 there were two brothers, Brother William de Multon who is designated as *s. preceptor* and Brother John Couffen, chaplain, who had formerly been a Templar and was therefore in receipt of a pension of 6 marks from the Hospitallers (Larking & Kemble, 23, 209). Larking states that the term *s. preceptor* may denote a sergeant-at-arms (Larking & Kemble, lxiv).

In 1511 Henry VIII was named protector of the order. However his protection was not particularly benevolent. After the fall of Rhodes in 1523, he tried to redirect the English knights to the task of garrisoning Calais as he maintained that they had nothing else to do. William Weston, preceptor of North Baddesley c. 1516–1526, had to pay the king £4,000 before he was able to take possession of the English priory in 1527 (Sire 1994, 186). The dissolution of the order in England soon followed that of the monasteries in 1540. William Weston died on 17 May 1540, it is said, of a broken heart, the day after this act (Suckling 1919, 12). On 26 July 1540, the commissioners, John Brydges, John Kingsmill, Charles Bulkeley, David Broke, Richard Paulet and William

Barvers, were appointed to enquire into the property of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Bristol (HRO 44M 69 B13). The court of Augmentations managed the Hospitaller estates for the crown before they were leased or sold off.

Royal ministers' accounts for 1543–4 state that no account was rendered for the lordship or preceptory of Baddesley and Mayne because it was held by Sir Thomas Seymour since the dissolution (PRO SC6/Hen VIII/7264). After Seymour's attainder in 1549, the manor of Godsfield was given in 1550 to Sir William Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire, afterwards Marquis of Winchester, in 1550 (*CPR 1549–51*, 96–7). Paulet was licensed to alienate Godsfield to Richard Knight on 18 May 1571 for £6.6d (*CPR 1569–72*, 2363). The sixteenth-century survey of the manor, which was made before the alienation occurred, shows the manor to be subject to a 2000-year lease (PRO SC12/30/33). Surviving evidence from the Hospitaller lease books show that the last prior had leased out Godsfield for the term of a life (BL Cotton Claud. EVI, folio 125v) and thus that the 2000-year lease dates from after the dissolution of the order in 1540. North Baddesley was in the hands of the king in 1551 when Edward VI granted the manor, late of St John's of Jerusalem, to Nicholas Throckmorton as a reward for being the first to bring the king news of the victory over the Scots. The manor was already leased to John Foster (*CPR 1550–3*, 104–5). Finally the manor and parsonage of Woodcott with all parcels, members, woods and appurtenances formerly belonging to the priory of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England was sold in 1544 to John Kingsmill, one of the commissioners appointed in 1540 to enquire into the properties of the Hospitallers, on payment of £243. 9s. 4d to Sir Edward North, treasurer of the Augmentations Office (HRO 19M61/588).

PATRONS

Medieval Hampshire had been dominated by great ecclesiastical landowners. These comprised the bishopric, which was the greatest ecclesiastical landholder in medieval England, and the five

Anglo-Saxon monasteries: in the order of their wealth St Swithun's cathedral priory, Hyde Abbey, and the three nunneries of Romsey, Wherwell and St Mary's, Winchester. To these were added the eleven cells of Norman and French monasteries in the aftermath of the Conquest. As a result, there were few substantial secular lords, the most significant being the Redvers Earls of Devon at Christchurch and on the Isle of Wight and the de Ports, later St Johns, of Basing in the north of the County. It was into this context that the new twelfth-century orders, the canons regular, Cistercians and military orders, arrived in Hampshire. These included the Cistercians at Quarr, Beaulieu and Netley, Premonstratensians at Titchfield and Augustinians at Breamore, Christchurch, St Denys, Mottisfont, Southwick and Selborne.

In modern studies the patrons of the military orders are often regarded as the founders of convents (Forey 1992, 105). However the substantial grants of land which enabled the brothers to establish a preceptory at Godsfield and at North Baddesley were not donated for the specific purpose of founding a house of brothers, but to support their charitable work and later their military activities in the Holy Land.

The first major donations to occur in Hampshire were during the period when the Hospitallers were becoming a military organisation. Richard Labanc's gift of the manor of North Baddesley was made before 1153 [122] and the grant by Walter de Andely from land in Chilton Candover was made c. 1154–66 [2]. Henry of Blois is often quoted as the patron of Godsfield (*VCH Hants*, 2, 187), but his involvement with Godsfield was probably limited to his consent, as overlord, to the grant of Walter de Andely. In 1338, the bishop of Winchester was included among those receiving annuities secured upon estates granted to the order (Larking & Kemble, 23). He received 12d. Richard Labanc and Walter de Andely probably took the initiative when granting their land. However, the later donations in the thirteenth century by the de Andelys [4, 5] at Godsfield may have been solicited by the brothers as they wished to enlarge and consolidate their estate.

The de Ports of Basing had been the principal resident secular magnates in North Hampshire.

They were patrons of the Templars. It is possible that Adam de Port [1] was also approached by the Hospitallers. John de Port, father of Adam, confirmed the grant of his mother, Hawise, of land in Fawley, Berkshire to the Templars before 1170 (Leys, 1938, folio 80v, 329, 330). Adam granted the Templars a virgate of land in Warnford in 1177 (Leys, 1938, folio 70v, 271). In 1173, Adam was in debt and was about to lease his fee of Abbotstone, which he held of the bishop of Winchester, to the Jews. In preference, he leased Abbotstone to the bishop, Richard of Ilchester, for seven years and received 40 marks (*English Episcopal Acta* 8, no. 139). Possibly the Hospitallers were aware that Adam was a patron of the Templars and took the opportunity to approach him as a potential donor, once his fee was returned to him in 1180, as Abbotstone lay in the vicinity of the land they had acquired from Walter de Andely in Chilton Candover [2]. Adam may have met the master of the order, Roger des Moulins, and the patriarch of Jerusalem, who were seeking military aid for the Holy Land from Henry II in 1185. Their visit to England may have made him receptive to the Hospitallers' request for land.

It is likely that some patrons donated property to the order as a substitute for participating in a crusade (Forey 1992, 101). Other patrons had been on crusade and seen the Hospitallers in action and may have been wounded and received care in the hospitals of Jerusalem or Acre. Personal and family ties also influenced the choice of the benefactor. In Hampshire, the links between crusading and donating to the order are very few. Thus Richard de Alton's grant of 9d rent to the brothers may be dated to c. 1240–55 [174]. It was therefore made well before 1270 when he was granted four years protection for going on crusade with the Lord Edward (*CPR* 1266–72, 440, 479). John de Heynouz also received protection for going on crusade (*CPR* 1266–72, 495). A member of his family, Denise daughter of Alexander de Heynouz, granted the brothers land on the Isle of Wight c. 1240. The bonds of lordship may have influenced Thomas le Wayte. He granted a messuage in Farlington to the brothers which he held of the heirs of Roger de Merlay c. 1250 [88]. The de Merlay family had links with the Hospitallers. A Master de Merlay

received correspondence in 1244 concerning the battle of La Forbie and the fall of Jerusalem from the Master of the Hospital (Lloyd 1988, Appendix 1). Later in 1284, the prior, William de Henley, appointed William de Merlay as his attorney while he was in Scotland (*CPR* 1281–92, 147).

All the principal donations and most of the lesser ones were made in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; indeed there were to be no donations after the fourteenth century, when only Templar lands were added to older benefactions. Family ties did not necessarily bring donations to the order. Hildebrand Inge was a Hospitaller and attorney, as was William Hulle, to the prior, Robert Hales in 1372 (*CPR* 1370–4, 188). He became the deputy of the prior, John Redington, in 1387 and 1392. William Inge held the manor of Kings Worthy of Hugh Despenser in 1316 (*Feudal Aids*, 2, 311). Hildebrand's niece, Joan Dore, had died by 1382 holding land in Kingsclere of the abbot of Reading (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, 15, no.754, 756). No donations were forthcoming from the Inge or Dore families. Hildebrand had been the heir of his niece, Joan, but once he became a Hospitaller seven years before her death, he could not inherit so his son, John, was her heir (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, 15, no.754, 756).

Adam de Port was not unusual in being the patron of both the Hospitallers and the Templars. Ralph Makerel granted the Hospitallers all the land on the boundary of his fee of Brook in c. 1240 [182]. In c. 1194 he had confirmed the grant, which included the chapel at Brook, of his brother, William, to the Templars (Leys, 1938, folio 72v, 286). There were other patrons who supported more than one religious foundation. Thus Richard Labanc, who granted the Hospitallers all the land and wood of Baddesley [122], also granted the nuns of Godstow Nunnery in Oxfordshire an estate in Knowle, Kingsclere and Hodcott c. 1151–4 (Clark, 1911, 178–9). The Hospitaller patrons were also benefactors of local foundations. Patrons of the Augustinian priory at Southwick included Thomas le Wayte [88] and Baldwin de Portsea [145] (Hanna, 1989, 1, 3–5; Hanna, 1988, 2: 411–12). Another patron of the Augustinians was Benedict Ace [136], or his father, who favoured the priory at St Denys

(Blake, 1981, 2: 249). On the Isle of Wight, the Cistercians at Quarr also received grants from Baldwin de Portsea [145], Robert Goldsmith [186], Thomas de Evercy [195], or his son, and William de Clamorgan [204] (Hockey, 1991, 84, 296, 516, 517, 520), all of whom feature in the Godsfield cartulary.

The Hospitallers were thus recipients of gifts from patrons who also patronised some of the other new orders of the twelfth century. They were part of their portfolio. It is however apparent that most of those who patronised the Augustinians, Premonstratensians or Cistercians in Hampshire did not also patronise the Hospitallers. Most of their donors were obscure figures who gave only small amounts of land as the Godsfield cartulary testifies. Their holdings placed them well down the list of Hampshire foundations. Moreover their donors were not particularly generous. Godsfield and Baddesley constituted a minor estate, much smaller, for example, than those of Titchfield Abbey or Southwick Priory. The North Baddesley estate was so insignificant by 1545 that it was mistakenly located under the Deanery of the Isle of Wight by the compilers of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. The gross value of the estate in 1545 was £131 14s 1d. This gave a net income of £118 16s 7d (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 2: 26). Godsfield and Baddesley would have counted as one of the lesser houses of £200– in 1536 and qualified for dissolution if it had been a monastery. This compares unfavourably with Southwick or Beaulieu or Titchfield or the great Benedictine monasteries that exceeded the £200 qualification with ease. The Hospitallers relatively low profile as well as reverses in the east may explain why they attracted no generous benefactions after 1300. The Godsfield cartulary was renewed to sort out the ancient deeds of an estate that had long ceased to grow.

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