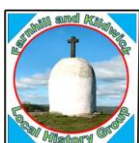


Chapter 3 – Famine, War and Pestilence (c.1300 – 1350)

1. Famine

The two centuries which followed the Norman Conquest witnessed a steady warming of the climate which in turn generated a considerable rise in the total population. Argument rages about how many people there were in 1086. Earlier historians, using the Domesday Book, guessed at around a million to a million and a half. More recent estimates suggest that it might have been as much as three or four million but there is general agreement that whatever the starting figure it had doubled by the last quarter of the thirteenth century. It was this increase which led to the expansion of the area under cultivation already noted. The monastic orders, like the Augustinians at Bolton priory, led the drive to accommodate the growing numbers by bringing the upper dales into the country's economy. In 1379 the taxable population of Kildwick parish was about 1,000.¹ If its development followed the same pattern as nearby Haworth it would have been around 1,500 in 1300, a figure it was not to achieve again until the mid sixteenth century. By the early fourteenth century England had reached the maximum population which could be sustained by the agricultural methods in use at the time. A poor harvest could already cause severe hardship for people living on limited or sub-standard land, so the appearance of signs that the long warming had come to an end was ominous.

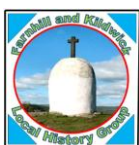
By the accounting year of 1297² when the existing detailed priory accounts begin the good times were almost over. The pattern of events can be reconstructed by following the quantities of oats supplied to the priory by the parish of Kildwick. A rough rule of thumb seems to be that tithe payments of 600 quarters or more denotes a good year, less than 500 a poor one. The first year for which we have comparable figures is 1303 which with 622 quarters was the best of the whole series. The following year's contribution was only 506 but this was the first of a number where there were no figures for the manor of Kildwick itself, because it had been leased to the vicar of Long Preston, so it was not as bad as it seemed. However the 459 of 1305 was well down, even after the absence of any oats from the Kildwick manor is taken into account. The problem was flooding. The £40 worth of damage to the Bradley and Farnhill mills has already been noted and the following year saw the beginning of work on the new Kildwick Bridge, which suggests that its predecessor had been swept away at the same time as the damage sustained by the mills. The problems appear to have been country wide. Holm Cultram priory near Carlisle for example lost practically all the land it had in from the sea in massive storms. The next four years produced good harvests but there was a bad one in the accounting year for 1310 and the next one was only a little better at 510 because the manor of Kildwick was now contributing once more. The cycle then repeated itself, with the priory collecting over 600 quarters in each of the next three years. This was followed by a slump to the barely adequate 519 in 1315 and two catastrophic years 314 quarters in 1316 and 250 in 1317.



This famine was caused by heavy and continuous rain. The *Anonimale Chronicle*, whose author appears to have lived in York, recounted how around Pentecost 1315 'there were great floods in England so that the walls of the Greyfriars in York collapsed because of this water about the feast of St. Margaret [20 July].' After detailing the vain attempts of the Privy Council to hold prices down he returned to the subject, writing that '... the crops failed throughout the whole of England and this was because of the heavy rain which fell continually from Pentecost through to the next Easter following. On account of this there was great loss of life among the people and the high price of wheat lasted continuously for three years...' ³

The results were serious for the priory because the oats from the parishes of Skipton and Kildwick were used to feed the animals at Bolton, so the successive failures forced the sale of 118 cattle during the period covered by the 1317 accounts.⁴ There were consequences for Kildwick parish too. The 1316 account lists 28 oxen at Kildwick and 14 at Cononley. The following year there were two more at Kildwick but none at all at Cononley⁵. This may be because Kildwick was on higher ground. An indication that this was an element in the equation was provided by the entries which record decayed farms at Cononley and Eastburn, both of which were on the valley bottom.⁶ Another indication of distress was the scutage return of 1316. Bolton was charged 6s-9d for the two carucates and three bovates it owned at Cononley but the accounts show that 1s-1¹/₂d was still unpaid and that the tenants of the four bovates at Farnhill had none of them paid the 4d a bovate demanded.⁷

Accounts do not list those who died of starvation or disease but there must have been a considerable number of them. The vicar of Kildwick of the time, John de Walkyngton, died in 1316 and might have been one of the victims. His successor was William de Gargrave whose promotion may have been due to the loans he made to the priory. The 1316 accounts show that he lent them £28-7s-4d in that year.⁸ By the end of the accounting year of 1317 the debt had risen to £42-14s-0d⁹ so it is little wonder that among the purchases at St. Botolph's Fair, Boston in 1316, there was 'un roba cum furura ad opus W. de Gargrave 16s' which he may have worn at his induction. They had great need to keep him sweet. The 1325 accounts, the last available, show that £37-19s-0d was still outstanding. He resigned the Kildwick living in 1326 so whether he got his money back must be very doubtful. The reason for the priory's inability to liquidate its debts was that a second disaster struck the north of England in the years after 1314 which directly affected Kildwick in 1318 and 1319.

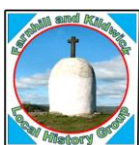


2. War

The period from the withdrawal of the Scots in 1157 to the death of Edward I in 1307 had been generally peaceful in the north of England but this was now to change. In 1286 the Scottish king, Alexander III, had died without an obvious successor and during the later years of his reign Edward repeatedly invaded Scotland in an attempt to impose his nominee, John de Balliol, as king, on a reluctant people. Edward II continued his father's policy but he lacked his skill as a soldier. The English were defeated in 1314 at Bannockburn by the Scots led by Balliol's rival, Robert Bruce, and driven out of the country. Robert de Clifford, lord of the honour of Skipton, was among the slain. The bad weather made campaigning with large armies very difficult, so Bruce shrewdly resorted to a combination of a scorched earth policy in the borders with raids into northern England in search of food and plunder which would make the English disperse their forces. In 1316 the Scots plundered their way deep into Lancashire and in 1318 they took advantage of dissensions at the English court to attack and capture the town of Berwick on Tweed. This success was followed by an incursion of the Scots into Yorkshire in May of that year which reached as far as the Aire and Wharfe valleys.

Stung into action the English raised a large army which laid siege to Berwick in the summer of 1319. Bruce stuck to his strategy of avoiding battle and pinned his hopes of holding the port on creating a diversion large enough to force the English to abandon the siege. In his efforts to create an army strong enough to retake Berwick Edward had denuded the north of England of practically all its knights and their retainers. Kildwick is typical of what happened. Sir John de Styveton and his brother Robert were both present at the siege.¹⁰ John died there in 1319, though whether he died of disease or perished in the fighting is not clear. Another local magnate Sir John de Boyville, who died that year, may also have been involved in the siege¹¹.

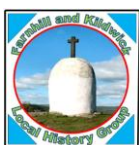
The opportunity was too good to miss and in September 1319 a second and even more devastating raid was mounted by the Scots on the unprotected northern parts of the country. A scratch army was raised by the Archbishop of York but four years were to elapse before his treasurer, Master Adam de Ayremyan was able to catch up with assessment defaulters. Typical was the £10 owed by a list of ten people including Robert Buck of Bradley, Robert de Farnhill and Robert Crockbayn of Cononley.¹² If this was representative of the general unwillingness to pay it was hardly surprising that the force was easily defeated at Myton on Swale after which the Scots divided in two. One half of their army continued plundering and burning down the Vale of York as far as Castleford; the other turned aside and Ripon only saved itself by buying the attackers off. From there the Scots proceeded up Wharfedale, as in the previous year, and the Bolton priory estates were badly hit. The Prior himself fled into Blackburnshire¹³ and the other monks took refuge in Skipton castle. The Scots' next target was Airedale once again. They plundered the valley as far as Bradford before turning for home and ravaging their way through the upper Aire and Ribble valleys to Sedbergh.



The effect of these invasions on the parish of Kildwick can be reconstructed using a number of sources. The Scots by and large did not slaughter the civilian population unless they were resisted. The Comptus accounts only list one man, William de Farnhill, as killed by them from Kildwick parish.¹⁴ There were certainly more but most of the deaths were probably the result of disease or starvation. What the Scots were after was once again plunder particularly food which was still in very short supply. They stripped the parish bare. The 1318 accounts show that all the priory's Airedale barns were plundered in the first raid, Cowling and Kildwick Grange being particularly badly hit.¹⁵ Farnhill mill also sustained considerable damage. During the second wave of attacks Eastburn barn was a major target. Repairs were also needed for Kildwick mill but the indications are that it was flooding rather than war which made them necessary.¹⁶ For the rest the Scots concentrated on the farms themselves and many of them were badly damaged if the list of repairs is anything to go by, with Cononley suffering the worst. Many of the farm buildings were still not completely restored when the accounts end in 1325, which goes a long way towards explaining why the tithe payments to Bolton were generally only half what they had been before the raids. Kildwick's oxen seem to have survived the first raid but not the second. The 1321 account which lists the damage done, records that just one of the 30 was left¹⁷ and that the vaccary had ceased to exist. By 1323 there were 14 again plus one cow¹⁸ but no effort was being made to revive the vaccary.

Concentrating on the Bolton estates can be misleading. The priory owned the entire manor at Kildwick and roughly half of Cononley but only isolated properties in the other townships. Taxation records enable us to fill the gaps in the picture. In 1318 in response to complaints about the damage caused by the famine and the Scottish invasions Archbishop Melton revalued the livings over a wide area of Yorkshire. In 1291 Kildwick had been valued at £38; this was now reduced to £12. The following year a large number of villages were exempted from the lay subsidy on the grounds of poverty. Among them were both Kildwick and Silsden which shows that Silsden suffered badly despite the accounts listing just one small house in need of repairs. It was the only one that Bolton owned in the township! The way that Cononley had been badly hit is confirmed by its being listed among the parts of the Bolton estate which failed to pay all its rents.¹⁹

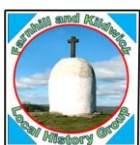
The chaos did not end with the Scottish withdrawal. Edward II was faced with a major rebellion led by his cousin, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. How far Lancaster was in league with the Scots is not clear but his defeat and capture at Boroughbridge in 1322, followed by his trial and execution at Pontefract, led to yet another damaging raid by them into Lancashire which penetrated as far south as Chorley. Its shock waves were felt on the other side of the Pennines. In an effort to save what they could both from the Scots and from the vengeance of the King, Lancaster's supporters in the Forest of Pendle fled with everything they could lay their hands on into the neighbouring parts of Yorkshire. The following year the King himself visited Skipton to conduct an investigation 'concerning certain beasts and other goods that belonged to Thomas, earl of Lancaster, a late rebel, which were taken at Igthenhill, co. Lancaster and were taken to Skipton aforesaid.'



The raid had been led by Nicolas Mauleverer, the constable of Skipton castle, and among those who were distrained in order to force them to come before the subsequent inquisition were John de Farnhill, Thomas de Farnhill, John son of Robert de Farnhill and Robert Croykbein of Cononley. The list contains others who also hailed from Kildwick parish. The Bucks, Robert and Elias, lived at Bradley and Hugh del Hospital probably lived on Hospitallers' land either at Cononley or Eastby.²⁰ In 1305 the Pendle vaccaries had 848 cattle; in 1323 there were only 47 left. In subsequent years the Pendle vaccaries were restocked but the 551 animals listed in 1342 was still far below the 1305 figure.

The Scottish war continued with periodic raids into northern England until a truce was concluded in 1329, contributing to the general lawlessness of the early years of Edward III's reign. A gang of over 50 men including William of Silsden and his sons Robert and William were involved in attacks on merchants in the Vale of York.²¹ None of the later Scottish raids reached Airedale but disputes over the position of the forests and chases in eastern Lancashire and north Yorkshire continued to poison relations between the local inhabitants and the crown. After the murder of Edward II in 1327 the forests of Pendle, Trawden and Bowland became part of the dower of his queen, Isabella, and then of Edward III's queen, Philippa of Hainault. Both appear in the rolls complaining of depredations in the northern forests. On 1 June 1337 a commission of oyer and terminer was granted on the complaint of Queen Isabella against a long list of individuals including John son of Robert Croykbain of Cononley, Thomas de Yelesom (Carleton), John, son of Robert de Farnhill and a newcomer to the parish, Robert de Copley who lived in Sutton, 'that they entered the free chases of Penhill, Rossendale and Trawden and broke her park at Musbury, co.Lancaster, hunted in them, felled her trees, carried away trees and deer and assaulted her men and servants.'²² Although it cannot be established definitely it seems likely that it was for forest law offences that John Croykbein was hanged for felony in 1338.²³ He was not the first member of the family to get himself into hot water. In 1275 a Henry Crekebayn of Knot Hill, then a forester of the Countess of Aumale was arrested for a felony and was only released from prison when he paid a fine of 100s.²⁴ Ten years later in 1347 it was the turn of Queen Philippa to prosecute a list of 30 named people, including William son of Robert de Farnhill who 'entered her free chases at Knaresborough and Killinghall, hunted therein and felled the trees, carried away the trees and other of her goods and assaulted her servant Gilbert de Beaulieu at Ripley, so that his life was despaired of, whereby she lost his service for a great time.'²⁵

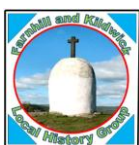
These cases demonstrate the latent hostility of the local population to what they saw as the iniquities of forest law. Two in particular stand out. The first was the creation of what was called the 'forest of defence' or sometimes the 'purlieu'. This was village land which ringed the forest. It was not properly forest at all but was nonetheless subjected to surveillance by the foresters to prevent the removal of animals or other goods from the forest proper. The other was the question of common of pasture.



During the most rapid period of population expansion in the early thirteenth century encroachments had taken place in the forests as everywhere else but during the reigns of Edward I and Edward II strenuous attempts were made to regain the rights which the crown had lost causing considerable friction. A noticeable feature of many of the cases was the participation of the clergy. Henry of Skipton chaplain was among those arraigned in 1323.²⁶ The vicar of Hampsthwaite and William de Friston chaplain were involved in the Knaresborough prosecution. Locally the crown stirred up the prior of Bolton by trying to claim that Carleton was not a chapelry of Skipton but a separate parish not appropriated to Bolton.

A long dispute took place over the manor of Barnoldswick between Queen Isabella and the abbot of Kirkstall in which Nicolas Mauleverer, Robert Croykbein, Robert de Farnhill, Robert Buck and Richard de Bradley figured among the jurors. The abbot claimed that Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, had seized the manor from the abbey and added it to his Forest of Pendle, depriving the abbey grange of its rights of common and pasture. When de Lacy died in 1311 his daughter, Alice, married Thomas, earl of Lancaster, who inherited all his property. When Lancaster in turn was executed Barnoldswick fell in to the crown. The king's officials refused to attend the original inquisition, because they did not recognise the authority of the sheriff but after the king himself intervened judgment was given that half of the 840 acres of the manor claimed, fell within the county of Lancashire and was therefore part of the Forest of Pendle but the other half was in the county of Yorkshire and was returned to Kirkstall.²⁷

One of the reasons for the support which Thomas, earl of Lancaster's rebellion received in Pendle and Trawden was the recognition of his more liberal attitude to the enforcement of forest law and it is noticeable that after the jurisdiction of the Lancashire forests was given to Henry, earl of Derby, when he was created earl of Lancaster in 1361, that forest law cases tended to die away. Nevertheless local knights who stood on what they conceived to be their rights could still invite the ire of the inhabitants, as William, son of Ralph Neville of Raby found to his cost. His park at Cottingley was broken into by a group of named men from practically every surrounding community who 'hunted therein, took his deer and trees and depastured his grass.' Once again there was a noticeable clerical presence, those indicted including William Beaufyn of Kildwick, chaplain, John de Biry of Halifax, chaplain, John Chernok of York, clerk, Richard de Ledes, vicar of the church at Bingley and Thomas de Saxton of Bingley, chaplain.²⁸

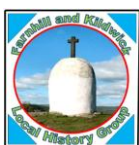


3. A New Church

The oldest parts of the existing church at Kildwick are in the decorated style of gothic and appear to date from the early fourteenth century but more precise information is lacking. Later alterations make it difficult to picture what the original building was like. The base of the tower, the four westerly quatrefoil pillars with their double chamfered arches and the parallel aisle windows represent all that is left of the nave and nothing remains of the chancel. When the rev. John Fawcett began restoring the east end in 1849 a considerable deposit of human remains was reported to have been found which were then reburied in the churchyard. This was the source of the story that the subsidence of the east end of the church, which led to the rebuilding of a large part of it in 1901-3, was caused by its being built on top of an old graveyard. This interpretation is supported by the discovery of the end stones of the 14th century church in the north and south walls just beyond the present chancel screen.²⁹ Inset into the south aisle wall is a piscina which dates from the 14th century. Beside it can be seen the outline of an entrance, blocked up in 1870. This may have been the priest's door into the chancel, which provides some support for the hypothesis that it was much shorter than at present. The door's lintel is an old memorial slab displaying the Cross of St. Andrew in corded strand flanked by two Maltese crosses, the symbol of the Knights Templar, but the slab may have been removed from a tomb and placed there at a later date.

The tribulations experienced by the population in the 14th century do not make it an auspicious time for the building of new churches and the lack of precise dating has led to a number of theories as to how it came about. There is no evidence at all for the most popular explanation that the Scots burnt the old church to the ground. The extensive damage done to Embsay church is recorded in the priory accounts but there is no mention of Kildwick at all, which throws considerable doubt on this theory. Another more plausible possibility is that the church was rebuilt in stages earlier than 1319 when times were better. There is no architectural obstacle to this idea because the early 14th century comes at the very end of the vogue for the decorated style. The chief problem is that just as there is no evidence for the destruction of the church in 1319, so there is none for the building of a new one either. All we get are stray references to repairs. The 1311 account list stones for the repair of the window shafts and water tabling and the following year for glass for windows in the chancel³⁰

While the accounts have no direct references to the rebuilding of the church an examination of the one for 1303 reveals an intriguingly ambiguous entry. It lists a payment of £27-2s-10d for making a new 'camera' at Kildwick and for repairing other houses there. The word 'camera' has come to mean a room often associated with trials. To have a hearing 'in camera' means in the judge's own private room not in open court. It was also used in the Middle Ages to refer to treasuries particularly episcopal ones and at least one other reference in the accounts to a camera is clearly to the prior's own private room. None of these uses fit the Kildwick case. The following year, 1304, the accounts record the building of new houses at Kildwick at a cost of £5-12s-3 1/2d³¹ so the repairs to 'other houses' associated with the 'camera' entry cannot have consumed more than a couple of pounds of the £27-2s-10d. This means that we are dealing with a big building costing the large sum for those days of around £25. What could it have been?

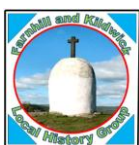


The original meaning of 'camera' seems simply to have been a one roomed building, usually a large one, a small one being referred to as a 'cella'. One dictionary describes it as a room with an arched roof and the nave of a church is a large one roomed building with an arched roof. It is quite possible that it was the work of Thomas, the priory mason, who appears many times in the accounts. He is recorded as working on the church at Skipton and he was in charge of the construction of Kildwick Bridge, which began the following year, whose piers have double chamfers just like the ones in the church.³² The construction by a local bridge builder would explain the unornamented appearance of the church piers that the Rev. John Rhodes comments on in his 1914 booklet.

The identification of the new 'camera' at Kildwick as the west end of the present church's nave might explain two other puzzling entries in the 1304 accounts. The first runs 'For the feast at Kildwick pigs, geese, hens and sheep 26s. In wine bought at various times 16s.' Then a couple of leaves later under the heading 'Wheat expended in making bread' is the entry 'In bread for the great feast at Kildwick 4 quarters.' The editors footnote the first entry 'It is unclear whether these feasts were religious, or connected with building works there, compare below for the provision of bread for the great feast of Kildwick.'³³ Perhaps they were both, the celebration by the congregation of the opening of their new church which had just been completed by the construction of its nave.

The chief obstacle to this hypothesis is that by tradition the priory was responsible for the chancel of the church but not the nave which was financed by the congregation. Consequently we would not expect details of the construction of the nave to appear in the priory accounts. The most likely alternative explanation is that the building was to accommodate the prior when he came on visitation. This usually happened once every three years and later accounts also mention the addition of a kitchen.

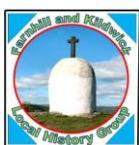
What about the alternative then that it was built later than 1319? Pevsner's *Yorkshire West Riding* does not venture on a date in its Kildwick entry but the contributor of the notes on Holy Trinity, Skipton, also a Bolton priory church, comments that its west end also has straight headed windows with reticulated tracery similar to the ones at Kildwick with quatrefoil piers with double chamfers in an almost identical style and gives the date of c1350 for them.³⁴ So perhaps a more profitable line of inquiry would be to ask who might have been willing to finance the nave part of a new church. An examination of what we know about the parish during this period suggests two possible sources. When William de Gargrave resigned in 1326 he was succeeded as vicar by Robert son of Alexander Eastburn. He died after only two years to be succeeded by Robert de Hospital in 1328. He is described as 'chaplain' not 'vicar' and remained at Kildwick for the next 20 years. Reference has already been made to the existence of a chaplaincy of the Knights Hospitallers at Cononley and what seems to have happened is that the two were combined. If the existing west end was erected after 1319 then the odds are that it was during his incumbency, so the Hospitallers are one possible source of finance.



Kildwick church contains the stone statue of a recumbent medieval knight positioned at the time of writing in its north-west corner. The statue is labelled 'Sir Robert de Stiverton obiit 1307.' The label was put on it by the Rev. John Fawcett when he moved it from its former position under the fourth arch of the north aisle in 1865 and had it mounted on a Victorian altar tomb. He was also responsible for commissioning the stained glass window to mark its original siting which bears the de Stiverton arms in the centre light, the broom plant, Plantegenista, the badge of the Plantagenet kings of England on one side and the golden rose of Edward I on the other.³⁵ The 3rd edition of T. D. Whitaker's *History and Antiquities of Craven* of 1878 is more cautious in its dating and describes it as follows - 'At the west end of the north aisle is an effigy said to be that of Sir Robert de Steverton, who died in 1307. It is well preserved and interesting, as showing very distinctly the armour of a knight of about that period, though rather later than the date given. He is represented as lying with his head upon two cushions, the upper one being placed diagonally. His legs are crossed and his feet rest upon a dog. He wears a hauberk, or shirt of interlaced mail, under which the lower part of the hauketon is seen, and over it the cyclas, cut open in front for convenience in riding, and fastened round his waist by a narrow belt. Upon his arms are brassarts and vambraces, his hands are protected by gauntlets of plate. Upon his legs are greaves or jambs of plate strapped over his chausses of mail and there are genouilleres on his knees. His feet have sollerets of overlapping plates, and his spurs large rowels. He wears upon his head a bascinet with camail attached, his sword is suspended from a broad belt resting on his right hip, and a heater-shaped shield charged with three fusils conjoined in fess vair is suspended from his shoulder by a narrow guige.'³⁶

Fawcett may well have thought that it was the Sir Robert de Stiverton who died in 1307 for two reasons. Firstly because he is wearing the arms of Steeton - 'Or, three fusils conjoined in fess vary arg. and gu'; secondly because he may have been aware of two entries in the 1308 priory accounts. Among the kitchen expenses is an item for 'salmon, fish and fish pickle for the funeral of Sir Robert de Styveton £2-0s-7d.' A few pages later under money spent on grain we find 'For bread provided for the funeral of Sir Robert de Styveton 1¹/₂ quarters.'³⁷

Yet it cannot be him. William l'Anson's exhaustive study of medieval knightly statues in Yorkshire churches - has confirmed what Whitaker's editor thought.³⁸ The Kildwick statue is included in those he attributes to the years 1335-48. He thinks it is the latest of his collection and a remarkably good example of what a knight would have worn if he had taken part in either the battle of Crecy or the battle of Neville's Cross, both fought in 1346, during the reign of Edward III, not Edward I. It seems likely then that Fawcett's Sir Robert de Stiverton was buried at Bolton not at Kildwick. So who is the statue in Kildwick church? He is obviously a de Stiverton because he is wearing the family coat-of-arms but which one? The Sir Robert de Stiverton who died in 1307 had two sons called John and Robert. Both fought at Bannockburn and took part in the siege of Berwick. It cannot be John because, as we have seen, he died at Berwick in 1319. It could be Robert who is usually referred to as Robert de Warter but John himself had a son called Robert, who succeeded him as lord of Steeton. He fits exactly because he appears to have died in or a little before 1353 leaving only a daughter.³⁹ If it is this Robert, which I am nearly certain it is, why is he the only member of his family remembered in this way? Could it be that he paid for the new nave?

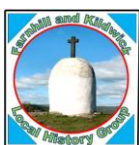


There was a very pertinent motive for such an investment. Between 1348 and 1351 Europe was struck by the plague outbreak known as the Black Death which was probably at its worst in Airedale in 1350. We have no precise evidence for the casualty rate in Kildwick parish but at nearby Stanbury the tenants of six of the thirteen holdings there died within the same year, a casualty rate of 46%, which fits well with what we know about other parts of the country. The threat of deaths from plague reminded medieval people of their mortality and always led to increased benefactions to the church. In 1353 for instance John de Lile, lord of Rougemont appropriated to Bolton priory the church at Harewood in return for the setting up of a chantry there to be staffed by six chaplains chosen by the prior of Bolton, two of whom always had to be canons of the priory itself. They were to say prayers for the souls of himself and his family and there are specific clauses about what was to be done if the pestilence returned.⁴⁰ Robert de Stiverton must have known what Rougemont was doing, because in the same year his daughter is recorded as selling land that the family owned at Harewood. Perhaps Sir Robert de Stiverton financed the nave from similar motives and to provide a final resting place for himself.

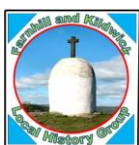
It is worth noting too that the decorated part of the nave at Skipton is also dated to this period and that extensive alterations appear to have been taking place at Bolton priory itself at around this time as well. Again the evidence is of the negative variety. Substantial rebuilding took place at the priory in the decorated style, of which the huge east window, now ruined and without its tracery, is the most striking part. This time we would expect references to the work in the priory accounts but there are none so the alterations must have taken place after 1325. When the monks returned to Bolton after the Scottish raids is not recorded but a fragmentary account for 1340 suggests that the priory was in full working order again at that time, so a mid century date seems to be our best guess as with Kildwick⁴¹

Footnotes

1. YAJ vii, pp144-68.
2. Compotus p65.
3. Anonimale Chronicle pp90-1
4. Compotus p421.
5. Ibid pp416 and 436.
6. Ibid p403.
7. Ibid
8. Ibid p390.
9. Ibid p428.
- 10.



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12. C. Close Rolls (CCR) 1318-23 p722 1 July 1323.
13. Compotus p445.
14. Ibid p465.
15. Ibid p444.
16. Ibid pp463 and 483
17. Ibid p493.
18. Ibid p523.
19. Kershaw I.: Note on the Scots in the West Riding 1318-9 *NH xvii* pp231-9.
20. CCR 1323-7 p27. .
22. *Cal. Patent Rolls (CPR)* 1334-8 p452.
23. CCR 1339-41 p317]
24. *Yorkshire Hundred Rolls (778)* p52-3.
25. CPR 1345-8 pp393 and 398.
26. CPR 1327-30 pp83 and 281 for Commissions of Oyer and Terminer issued on 22 March1327/8 and 21 Feb.1328/9
27. CPR 1338-40 p534-8.
28. CPR 1377-81 p414
29. *Wood A: History and Description of the Church of St. Andrew in Craven, 1986* 2nd ed. 1996 p6
30. Compotus pp292 and 315
31. Ibid pp147 for the camera and 165 for the houses.
32. Pevsner p284
33. Compotus pp165 note and p172.
34. Pevsner, West Riding pp485-6
35. Wood, pp12-3
36. *Whitaker, Rev. T. D. : History of Craven, 3rd ed. 1878* p214



37. Compotus pp232 and 240.

38. *l'Anson, William M. - The Medieval Military Effigies of Yorkshire Part II YAJ* xxix pp57-8.

39. *Baldon, W.P. (ed.) Feet of Fines 1347-77 YASRS* vol.lii 1915 p38.

40. CCR 1349-50 pp520-2

41. Pevsner, West Riding pp112-3; Compotus, introduction p21.

