ART. V.—The Chantries of Kirkby Lonsdale. By the REV. R. PERCIVAL BROWN, M.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 22nd, 1926.

I^N 1907 Mr. R. J. Whitwell communicated an interesting transcript* of the local Commission's returns (1546) upon the chantries, etc., in the Kendal and Lonsdale wards of Westmorland. At the same time he held out a hope that he might subsequently transcribe the later Survey of the same ground, and by annotation sum up the contribution made by these documents to the knowledge of local history. That hope, it seems, was not realized, and a promising field of inquiry was meanwhile closed.

A few years since, in the course of a search in the Public Record Office, I happened upon proceedings at law concerning two chantries within the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale, one of which was not previously known as such to local antiquaries. These proceedings—the only examples of the kind in these counties—appear to be of more than parochial interest. Though immediately concerned only with the crisis of the chantries' fate, they incidentally throw light upon their history, or suggest lines of research along which a constructive history may be gathered. They are now submitted for consideration in transcript, and on their basis an attempt is made to follow up Mr. Whitwell's work, so far as the Lonsdale ward is concerned.

There are at the outset one or two historical data to be borne in mind. The Court of Augmentations—of which Sir Richard Sackville, first cousin of Queen Elizabeth.

^{*} Transactions, N.S. viii, p. 124.

became Chancellor or Master in August, 1548—was established by the Act of 27 Henry VIII cap. 27 [1535]. It appears to have been modelled on the Court of Chancery as regards litigation inter partés. It is expressly authorized [Sect. 10] to issue process, as in chancery, by scirz facias, reserving for the King's Bench any issue that required to be decided by a jury On the administrative side—which includes the granting of sales and leases—it followed the "Duchy Court of Lancaster at Westminster" [Sect. 11]. All the proceedings under the Chantry Acts were within the jurisdiction of this Court: the documents are in the Public Record Office.

The Chantry Acts were:

- (i) 37 Henry VIII cap. 4 [Nov. 1545] which dealt with Free Chapels, Chantries, Hospitals, Fraternities, Guilds and other promotions.
- (ii) I Edw. VI cap. 14 [1547] which dealt with Colleges, Free Chapels, and Chantries.

On each occasion a Royal Commission was issued for a survey of the foundations described and a return of particulars. The earlier Commission for Cumberland and Westmorland was issued 14 Feb., 1545/6 to the Bishop of Carlisle, Thomas Lord Wharton, Sir John Lowther and Edward Edgore, esq. The Edwardine Commission was given to Thomas Wharton, kt., Alan Bellingham, esq., Ambrose Middleton, esq., with others on 14 Feb., 1547/8.

But the particulars returned were not identical in the two Surveys. The former Commission reported only particulars of the property (including ornaments) and the name of the incumbent: while in the latter case the schedule provides also for the history of the foundation, the use of the endowment, the number of communicants in the parish, and the distance of chapels, etc., from the parish church.

It will help to clear the ground if it be here recalled that a chantry is distinguishable from a chantry-chapel. The word properly denotes a religious function maintained by endowment—a benefice, not an edifice—and the local sense (as in college, convent, rectory, etc.) is derivative. The distinction is important, because chantries were far more commonly founded in existing buildings than provided with buildings of their own.

The three chantries in the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale in the probable order of foundation were,

- I. St. Columba's Chantry in Casterton near the eastern end of Kirkby Lonsdale bridge [now Chapelhouse farm].
- 2. St. Leonard's Chantry, commonly called the Spital, about 3 miles west of the town on the borders of Hutton Roof and Lupton [still known as the Spital].
- 3. The Middleton Chantry (dedication unknown) founded in a chapel built on to the parish church at the N.E. corner and subsequently incorporated in part into the church.

Of these (3) was surveyed under both Commissions, (2) was surveyed under the earlier Commission only, and (1) was surveyed under neither.

It will be convenient to deal with them in this the reverse order.

THE MIDDLETON CHANTRY.

This requires only a passing mention. It was founded, in a chapel specially built, on 20 Oct., 1486, according to Ware, who has given an interesting account in these *Transactions*,* of the chapel and the tomb that stood in the centre of it. Thus it was only 63 years old at the time of the suppression. No particulars of sale are found; and as there was no hitch or obstruction leading to proceedings, the only documents relating to it are the returns of the two Commissions. The former of these has been previously printed;† the latter is appended below. In this the founder's name is incomplete, which has a careless appearance, but in general the particulars in schedule are convenient and businesslike; they include the age of the

^{*} o.s. i, t93. † These Transactions, N.s. viii, 126.

incumbent, and give an independent valuation of the ornaments.

Sir Robert Dodgson—who like most of the contemporary priests in the parish bears a local name—was pensioned on his full stipend and survived to a ripe old age* He is named in two wills of 1557 as a legatee,† and as late as 1562, when he was 76 years of age, he was cited as cur[atus]‡ at the Bishop of Chester's Visitation. His burial is not on record, and must therefore be placed in 1566-9, for which period the registers are lost.

[APPENDED DOCUMENT].

[Public Record Office. Court of Augmentations: Chantry Certificates].

- II. Certificate of the commissioners appointed to survey chantries in Cumberland and Westmoreland 14 February 2 Edw. VI, delivered in to the Court by Alan Belyngham surveyor 6 December 2 Edw. VI [1548].
- No. 18. Kyrkeby Lonesdale, where are M M howselyng people. The Chauntrie in the parishe Churche there off the foundacion of [blank] Middleton to fynde a priest to celebrate Masse there for ever.

Robert Dogeson Incumbent of thage of 60 yeres hathe the clere yerely revenue of the same for his Salarie

£4 13s. 4d.

The rente and revenue belonging to the same is of the clere yerely value of £4 13s. 4d.

The goodes ornamentes and plate belonginge to the same be valued at 70s. 8d.

^{*} See Pension list among the appended documents, p. 76.

[†] Viz. Will of Robert Gibson of Barbon (preserved at Whelprigg), and Will of Sir Roger Gibson, priest, dated 11 Jan., 1557/8 (Archd. of Richmond, Lonsdale Deanery).

[‡] This description is not free from difficulty. There seems no reason to doubt that John Willinson, the vicar of the parish, was in residence from 1560 till his sequestration in 1566. Dodgson perhaps was in charge of Barbon chapel; for Robert Gibson, in the Will just referred to, speaks of him as "the priest," and Oliver Bainbrig of Borrans, who was a supervisor of that Will, himself makes a bequest in the same year to "Barbon chapple." These Transactions, vol. xxvi, p. 234.

THE CHAUNTERIE OF SEYNT LEONERDE CALLED THE SPYTTELLE

In the early part of the thirteenth century hundreds of Leper Houses, commonly known as spitals, sprang up all over the country. They were generally dedicated to St. Leonard, the patron of prisoners. At Kendal and Lancaster as well as at Kirkby Lonsdale there were Spitals of this dedication. A chantry duty was commonly annexed, as in general to charitable foundations committed for administration to priests. For example, the schoolmaster of Kendal was "to kepe a fre grammer schole in Kendall And to celebrate and praye for the soulle of the founder."*

Leper Houses, as such, are said to have become obsolete by the end of the fifteenth century. Many of them, continued in the spirit of their foundation as houses of charity, while some maintained only the chantry function. It will appear in evidence† that at Hutton Roof charitable uses were maintained till after 1528, after which only the chantry remained.

As early as 1250, if not 20 years earlier, Adam, a member of the manorial family of Hutton Roof, is named as chaplain, or priest, of Tearnside.‡ It seems probable that he was priest of the Spital. We can hardly imagine that, in addition to a parochial chapel at Hutton Roof, only three miles from the parish church (which is assumed on good evidence),§ there was another chapel-of-ease midway. On the other hand, by this date, the Spital chapel was in being, with a non-parochial history, and may well have been popularly, if not properly, regarded as in Tearnside. The site of the farm is in the extreme northeast corner of Hutton Roof (the existing dwelling-house

^{*} Return of the 2nd chantry Commission (1548), P.R.O. Chantry Certificates 11/17.

[†] Memorandum of Alan Bellingham in the Particulars of Sale appended.

[‡] Records of Kendale, ii, 344; cf. ibid., p. 308.

[§] Ware, "The ancient parish of Kirkby Lonsdale," p. 19.

being partly in Kirkby Lonsdale) only a few yards south of Lupton beck, which is the boundary of Lupton, and the lands extend eastwards. It is at some distance from the village of Hutton Roof. Lying along the highway from Kirkby Lonsdale to Milnthorpe, it would naturally be thought of in connexion with one of the nearest villages passed on the way. It is certainly described as 'in Lupton,' in a document afterwards to be referred to, and may quite as easily have been attributed to Tearnside, a name which covered a larger area than at present, and probably extended to the western boundary of Kirkby Lonsdale.*

The last incumbents of the chantry will be found to be:

1513-31 Robert Redman.

1531-5 Walter Preston.

1535-40 Edward Craven.

1540-51 Geoffrey Bainbrig.

This succession, recalled by a long memory in 1551,† can, curiously enough, be corroborated in several particulars. Robert Redman can safely be identified with the priest of St. Columba's chantry (afterwards to be referred to) who died about 20 years before 1552, having held that office for 34 years.‡ Such a plurality was common enough in fact. Adam Shepherd B.D., who, according to the Commissioners' return, was schoolmaster of Kendal in 1548§ with chantry obligations, was also priest of the Lady altar in the parish church and was pensioned as such. || At Appleby in 1518 Leonard Langhorne was allowed to hold three chantries simultaneously on condition that he

^{*} Catholes and Pellsyeat on the eastern side of Tearnside Hall (and within a mile of Kirkby Lonsdale) and Fleet on the western side, close to the Lupton border, are all described as "in Tearnside" in the eighteenth century.

[†] Deposition of William Wilson before the Commission, p 74.

[†] Deposition of William Burrey before the Commission,

[§] Cornelius Nicholson (Annals of Kendale, p. 189) says that he was appointed by letters patent; but I have not succeeded in verifying the record.

^{||} See list of Pensions appended below, p. 76.

taught a school.* As it appears that during Redman's incumbency the Spital was still working as a house of charity.† it is probable that he resided there.‡

His immediate successor, Walter Preston, is not otherwise known, but probably belonged to the local family, in which his christian name, relatively uncommon, is elsewhere found. Edward Craven, who followed next, is named in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 as holding this chantry worth £4 13s. 4d.§ He was the presentee of Richard Redman of Harewood, Yorks., who in 1532 had bought the advowson, together with the manor of Levens and other property, from his brother-in-law Marmaduke Gascoyne. The record of Craven's resignation on pension in 1540 is perfectly clear. Thus the 'chantry in Lupton' is unmistakably identified with the Spital, and it is reasonable to conclude that 'the chapel' in Lupton referred to in 1230-40** is the same building.

The next presentee was Geoffrey Bainbrig, who was in possession at the date of the Chantry Acts. This man I have elsewhere identified as a nephew of Cardinal Bainbrig, Archbishop of York, and a younger brother of George who figures in the present story.†† He was a graduate of Cambridge, and had been a Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall; but born and bred in Lunesdale, he seems to have gravitated to the scenes of his childhood.

The popular estimate of chantry priests as idle and vicious is probably a rash generalization. Mr. Page, whose judgment is entitled to special weight, characterizes

^{*} Nicolson and Burn. The Indenture is in Machell MSS., v, p. 316.

[†] Cf. Memo. in Particulars of Sale below, p. 69.

[‡] In 1517 Sir Robert Redmayn, chaplain, held Mansergh Hall (Records of Kendale, ii, 232).

[§] Mr. J. F. Curwen who has supplied this reference tells me that the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas (1292) has no record of these chantries.

^{||} Records of Kendale, ii, 132, 262, where the date is inconsistent with the regnal year.

[¶] Ibid., ii, 351.

^{**} Ibid., ii, 358.

^{††} These Transactions, N.S. XXVI, 192.

them as honest but ignorant. Some no doubt were neither and many were not both; the function was obviously consistent with stagnation and its consequences. But they commonly occupied themselves with teaching, and in many places laid the foundation of grammar-school education.

In Aug. 1543 Geoffrey Bainbrig leased the Spital lands, for the term of his own life, to his brother George at the existing rent of £4 13s. 4d. This seems a large sum at the date, even allowing for exceptional buildings, but it will appear in the sequel that the premises were worth at least 30 per cent. more. Church lands were commonly let below their true value, as the Chantry Act itself declares. In any case this long lease—for the chaplain was only 35 years of age—was a family arrangement, even if it was a business transaction.

The property was surveyed by the earlier Commission (1546) whose return has been previously transcribed.* It gives the incumbent's name and an inventory with valuation of the ornaments of the chapel. But the rental has errors; the rent days are wrongly given as Aug. 1 and Feb. 2, and Christopher Hardy—misnamed as Harding—is included among the tenants, though he was buried before the survey was made. Two years later when another survey was due under the 2nd Chantry Act, the Spital was ignored.

We may be quite sure that the suppression of these foundations did not go through—especially in the north—without comment and indignation. The elder Bainbrig, who had lived in an archdeacon's household, would find open ears as he expounded the law, by which the Spital should be safe. A benefice is a freehold for life, and his lease was within that principle. There was an idea that the Act could be resisted, and as he was by no means

^{*} These Transactions, N.S., viii, 127.

reticent—a fact of which more evidence will be found—it is not surprising if the parish soon resounded with two arguments on which the brothers hoped to stand (i) that the priest had an inviolable freehold (ii) that the establishment in question was not simply a chantry but a hospital as well.

Now it is beyond question that this pugnacious attitude was broken down by some strong influence, and the likeliest person to intervene with effect was Alan Bellingham. This young man, now the head of that important family, was the member of the 1547 Commission who was specially responsible for this part of the county—the surveyor who had omitted to survey. Having already in 1546 bought the Kendal Spital, valued in 1537 at £11 4s. 3d,* at the rate of £7 16s.,† it would not be surprising if he had ideas also concerning this property, which had been sometime attached to the manor of Levens, though, in his position as a Commissioner, he could hardly treat for it in his own name. Meanwhile the Bainbrigs were only heading for trouble by their impossible position. The priest would no doubt be pensioned, but if the property passed into strange hands, the lease would be endangered. Once convinced of this, the farmer's resolution would be shaken; and Bellingham was well placed, not only by his social and official position, but by private relations with the Bainbrig family, to be listened to. The best arrangement for all parties was for George Bainbrig himself to buy (perhaps only as a nominee) the property from the Crown. quiet negotiation through the local surveyor would naturally go through on the basis of the existing lease, and all fear of dispossession would be eliminated.

Some such counsel evidently went home, for very early in 1548 George Bainbrig came forward as a buyer, the

^{*} Records of Kendale, i, 182.

[†] Ibid., i, 88.

Transactions, N.S. XXVI, 231; cf. Records of Kendale, i, 157.

valuables of the Spital chapel being about the same time* surrendered to Alan Bellingham as the King's Surveyor. The Court of Augmentations thereupon issued a 'particular' i.e. a specification of the property with conditions of sale, and the terms were such that Bainbrig was "very desyerous to purchas."† The 'particular' was presumably based on the return of the earlier Commission.

The purchase did not go to completion, owing to the intervention of an informer. There must have been again a lack of reticence, or the negotiation would not have been locally known. The informer was Thomas Foscroft, a man easily identified in the parish register, of whom we shall hear again as a tenant in the Casterton chantry. It is hard to imagine an adequate motive for such a man to interfere, and I think it probable that he was simply a screen for Thomas Morley, lord of the Wennington manor, who had a quarrel with the Bellinghams, as will afterwards be seen, and that the action was taken to damage Alan Bellingham rather than the Bainbrigs.

This "former information" of Foscroft is not on record, and must be a matter of inference. Its formal importance was in bringing to the cognizance of the Court a chantry which had not been surveyed by the Statutory Commission—and this salient point is recited from it later in the proceedings—but this in itselfwould not necessarily invalidate the negotiation in hand. The Court wanted to turn the property into money, and it had an offer actually under consideration, presumably negotiated and recommended for acceptance by the responsible Surveyor. Foscroft no doubt recounted the defiant attitude and stout words in which the Bainbrigs had indulged. These were of little immediate importance, provided that the farmer paid the full value of the property in good money. But the volte-face was a fact to be reckoned with, and illuminated

^{*} Depositions of Oliver Middleton, p. 72.

[†] Memo, of Alan Bellingham in Particulars of Sale.

by the informer's local knowledge and colouring, made clear to the officials that a higher price could be obtained—most probably from George Bainbrig himself.

Foscroft was accepted by the Court and became the titular defender of the King's right. The Bainbrig negotiations being set aside, the talk of resistance became significant, and the vindication of title was the first thing to be considered. At this date—a century before the famous fiction of John Doe v. Richard Roe was devisedthe method of contesting a title was already by an issue in ejectment. In the present case the Court superseded the conditions of sale previously issued by new conditions fixing the price at 30 years' purchase.* These revised conditions are on record, issued "on behalf of Thomas Foscrofte a messenger of the king's treasury."† And, in assertion of the king's title in the property, a lease for 21 years was sealed, probably at the same date (8 July 1548), to this Thomas Foscroft. The train was now completely laid for the dispossession of Bainbrig, unless he should purchase the freehold at the enhanced price.

Events had moved quickly in the first three months of this year; Foscroft must have been close upon the heels of George Bainbrig. But meanwhile it is clear that the Commissioners' return of 1546 had been despatched to the North for verification and comment. It comes back with corrections—the tenancy of Christopher Hardy is now rightly ascribed to his widow, the rent-days are given as Whitsunday and Martinmas, and the existing lease is recorded; but otherwise the Latin particulars are based on the original return. Two memoranda are appended by Alan Bellingham, both helpful so far as possible to the Bainbrigs. The document has the appearance of an emergency report.

^{*} The average appears to be 23 years.

[†] See "Particulars of Sale," appended, where I read de reto re as de regesto regis.

It has been seen that by July 1548 the informer was equipped for his public service, and it might be expected that the matter would soon be brought to an issue. For some reason or other, it dragged on for nearly three years. It is not necessary to suspect collusion; the Court had its hands full of larger affairs and this could wait. But eventually, at a date to be determined, the king's messenger was brought before the Court in a formal Bill of Complaint, reciting the fact of his lease from the Crown, and praying for injunction against the two Bainbrigs, who resist his entry on the two grounds already familiar to us. The bill is endorsed by Sir Richard Sackville, the new chancellor of the Court, for process to issue, returnable at the following Michaelmas.

On the whole it seems more probable that the Special Commission which followed grew immediately out of this complaint, as in the case of St. Columba's chantry, than out of court proceedings in answer to the complaint. both cases the interrogatories, while covering generally the ground of the Statutory Commission, have special features traceable to the informations. As regards the Spital the essential point was whether it could be rightly claimed as a hospital. The Bainbrigs were said to maintain this claim, and the only report in the Court's possession went some way to confirm it. In case the defendants should enter an appearance, the Court needed a body of evidence to overwhelm the contention. Accordingly the and interrogatory does not simply ask for the history of the foundation, but, as a safeguard in case the hospital history should emerge, inquires particularly as to its use during the last ten years, the note before the Court declaring that for "almoste this xx yeres last past" the hospital uses had lapsed. The 4th Interrogatory also is special to the case, and is due to the informer's intervention. I suggest therefore that the formal application for injunction may be assigned to March-April 1551, and that the

return was delayed for six months to leave time for a Special Commission in the interval. Two other considerations have weight. It can hardly be conceived that the brothers maintained their obstruction when brought to the point. And, as a matter of fact, no further proceedings are found.

The text of the king's commission with Interrogatories, issued on May 31, 1551, together with depositions taken on July 14, is transcribed below. It will be observed that Alan Bellingham was not one of the special commissioners. The selection of witnesses was left to their discretion. Neither Geoffrey nor George Bainbrig was summoned, though Miles, their youngest brother, gave evidence against their case. The whole proceeding seems not so much an investigation as a collection of evidence in support of a definite position—which, it is said, was the general function of royal commissions at the date. No witness can depose anything as to the original purpose of the foundation; the word hospital is not breathed. One point only is consistently brought out, that the existing use as a chantry is long established, and that the chaplains have enjoyed the whole revenue of the lands. positions have quaintness in relief of tedium.

The suppression of this chantry was no doubt effective before Michaelmas, 1551. The priest was not prejudiced in the matter of pension by the trouble that he had given, and, as will appear from a document below, was enjoying the fruits of his submission at Michaelmas, 1555. Meanwhile he had been presented by the Crown to the living of Steeple Bumpstead in Essex. It seems probable that he resided there for some time,* but he ended his days in Kirkby Lonsdale.†

The disposal of the chapel gives occasion for some interesting speculation. If it was—as I have advanced

^{*} Transactions, N.S. XXVI, 193.

[†] Ibidem, p. 195.

reasons for believing—the only chapel in Tearnside, it was the building demolished (presumably as ruinous) about 1607.* Now the purchase of this property is assigned by the official indexing of the Public Record Office to Henry Parker of Barden, Essex, and Peter Gray of London. But Mr. C. F. Hardy, who has followed me in the examination of the documents, has acutely discerned in this a probable mistake. The "particulars of sale," among which this is registered are annotated at the end of each with the name of the purchaser. No such note is appended in the present case, though the page affords abundant space for the purpose. The property next particularized "on behalf of Peter Gray" is a very large one occupying four pages at the end of which is a note in the ordinary form "past in the names of Henry Parker and Peter Gray." It has been assumed in indexing that this note covers also the Spital in Hutton Roof. But is it likely that these large buyers of lands in Bedfordshire would concern themselves with a small property so remote and offering so little attraction to a speculative buyer? Moreover in another document "Particulars of Grant" no grantees are named for this chantry. Upon these observations the conclusion must be that the purchaser is not recorded.

That being so, there is nothing to forbid the natural assumption that the sale was in fact "past in the name of" George Bainbrig. He was involved in complications which, it seems, could only be cut by meeting the enhanced purchase price before Michaelmas 1551. Even if he was only the nominal buyer, it is probable that he would stipulate that the chapel should not be descrated. It may therefore have become parochial at this date. The

^{*} Ware, "Notes on the parish church of Kirkby Lonsdale," p. 8. The source of information is not given. "The reliques of an old chapell at Tearnside," are mentioned by Machellin 1692 (vol. ii, p. 225).

lands were afterwards acquired by Mr. Justice Carus* who obtained the manor of Kirkby Lonsdale in 1558.

APPENDED DOCUMENTS.

- 1. Particulars of Sale, July, 1548.
- 2. Motion on the part of Thomas Foscroft for Injunction against Geoffrey and George Bainbrig.
- 3. Royal Commission with Interrogatories to be administered, May 31, 1551.
 - 4. Depositions before Commissioners 14 July, 1551.
- 5. List of pensioned Cantarists in Westmorland as at Mich., 1555.

I. PARTICULARS OF SALE.

[P.R.O. Court of Augmentations. Misc. Books, Vol. 68, p. 474].

Com. Westmrland.

Domus lepros^m
voc le Spittell
de Kyrke
Loynesdale

Val in

Firma unius messuagij vocat le Spetell iaceā in hulton [sic] infra pochiam de Kyrkeby Lonesdayle p'dict Ac xxvj acr terræ sex acr prati cū certis vastis modo vel nuper

in tenura Georgij Baynbrygge unius Teñti ibm cū ptinen nuper in tenura sive occupac Johane Grene unius parcell terræ ibm nuper in tenura Jacobi hewitson Vnius parcell prati ibm nuper in tenura uxis Cristoferi hardy Alt'ius parcell terræ ibm tenura Ricardi newton. Alt'ius parcell ibm in tenura Ricardi Godsawfe. Dimiss Georgio Baynbrygge per Indentur gereñ dat vij^{mo} die Augusti Anno Regni Regis henrici viij xxxv^{to} habenda et tenend eidem Georgio Baynebrigge et Assignatis eius pro t'mo vite Galfri Baynbrigge modo incumbentis. Redd inde ad festam Sti m'tini in yeme et penthecostes per Equales porcones per Annū iiijli. xiijs. iiijd.

^{*} Records of Kendalc, ii, 315, 317.

Memoⁿ that the said Spittall seemeth to be An hospytall founded for the mayntenance of lepers and pore folkes and it harth ben used but not Almoste this xx yeres last past.

vij° Dic Julij Anno Sēdo r⁸ Ed v**j**^{ti} pro Thoma Foscrofte nuncio de re^t° r⁸ Item there is An other particler therof graunted forth by y' Mastershipps warrant to the said George Baynbrydg Fermo' therof who is very desyerous to purchas the same per Alan Bellyngham Supervism

The clere yerly value of the premysses iiijli. xiijs. iiijd. which rated at xxx yeres purchas Amounteth cxlli.

To be paid all in hand

The kings maiestie to dischardge the purchas of all incumbrances excepte leases and the tenementes in the same

The tenure in cheyff by Knyghts service.

The purchas^r to have thissues from ester last

The purchas^r to be bounde for the woodes.

The leadde Bealls and thad vosions to be excepted. [July, 1548].

2. Motion on behalf of Thomas Foscrofte for Injunction to issue against Geoffrey and George Bainbrig [P.R.O. Court of Augmentations Proceedings,

Bundle 4, No. 99].

To the Ryght wooreshipfull Sir Richard Sakvile knight chauncello^r of the courte of augmentacons and Reuenues of the kings maiesties Crowne.

In hys moost Humble wiese complayning Shewethe unto yor good Mrshipp your Orator Thomas Foscrofte one of the messengers of the Kings mats Chambre. Whereas upon your orators formor informacon exhibited unto yor mrshippe mencyoning therein that the Kings matie was iustly entytled by reason of the acte of chaunteryes unto a certayne chaunterye landes and a chapple therunto

belonginge comonly called the chaunterey of Saincte Leonard founden in the parishe of Kyrkby londsdale in the countye of westmerland whiche chauntery conteigning one messuag and Fyftye acres errable landes medowes lesowes woods and pastures be of the yearly valor of foure pounds xiijs. ivd. your said orator upon sight of a certificat sent unto the said cort of augmentacons by certayne gentlemen therunto appointed Commiss¹⁸ had the premisses with thappurtnances unto hym graunted by leas for xxj yeares under the kings mats seale of the said cort as by the same leas redy to be shewed more at large may and dothe appere. So it vs right woorshipfull Sr. that one sir Gefferey Baynbrygg clerck late stypendarye pryst thereof and one George Baynbryk his Fermor of theyr covetouse mynds and expresse wronge refuse to permyt yor said orator to have the possession of the premisses according to his lrs patentes but in most untrue maner sometyme do clayme the same for theyr Frehold land and some tyme do entytle the same to be an hosbytall to the manyfest dishervson of the kings matie the premisses consydered it may pleas yor mrship to dyrect the kings maiesties Iniunccon against the said deffendaunts requiring theym thereby to permyt and Suffer yo' orato' to have peaseably the privet possessyon and occupacon of the said Chauntereve according to his said Irs patents equytie and justice or ells tappere ymmedyatly upon the sight therof to make aunswere in that partye as shall appertayne And your said orator shall pray to god for the preservacon of yor mrshipp long to endure.

Campyon.

[Endorsed]

make proc. Against ye sayd geffery baynbrek and george baynbrek returnable michielis next.

Ryc Sakevyle.

3. The Royal Commission and Interrogatories. [P.R.O. Court of Augmentations. Misc. Books, vol. 128, fol. 22 foll].

Edvardus sextus dei grā Anglie Francie et hibern Rex etc. Johi midleton Johi Rygmayden & Johi Lambart armig'is ac Richardo Buck et Anthonio Dale et Oliuero Thorneton generosis Salutem.

Sciatis quod nos de fidelitatibus et providis circumspeconibus vris plenius confidentes damus vobis vel duobus vrum plenam ptatem et auctem materiam in quibusdam articlis siue Interrogatorijs huic būi annex tam per quorumcumque testiū deposicones quam omnibus alijs viis modis et mediis quibus melius sciueritis aut poteritis diligenter examinand' deposicõesque superinde sciend' recipiend' et in scriptis redigend'. Et ideo vobis vel duobus vrum mandamus quod ad certos diem et locum quos ad hoc provideritis testes quoscumque quos maxime pro testificone v^ritatis in ea parte fore videritis euocandos coram vobis euocetis ac ipos et eorum quemlbt de et super materia articlorum predictorum tact per eos prius coram vobis vel duobus vrum sacrostis dei euangelijs corporaliter prestand diligenter examinetis examinaçõesque suas recipiatis et in scriptis in pergameno redigatis. Et cum easdem sic ceperitis nos inde in Cūr āram Augmentaconū et reuenconū Corone ñre immediate sub sigillis vris vel duorum vrum distincte et aperte reddatis certiores remitten nobis articlos siue Interrogatoria predicta

Teste Rico Sakevyle milite apud westm Vltimo die Maij Anno regni nri Quint. [May 31st, 1551.]

Duke

Westm'land. *Interrogatories to be mynistered* on the kings mai^{ties} behaulf by the Commissioners appoynted for the Survey of the Chauntrye or Free Chapell of S^t Leonard wthin the parish of Kirkby Lonnesdall in the Countie of Westm'land.

- i. First whether they know the said Chauntrie or free chappell and if they do by what name it hath bene called and whether it be a Chauntrie or Free Chappell or no and what londes and possessions do belonge to the same.
- ij. Itm what was the foundacon of the same to what use the londs where geven and how the same hath been employed for these x yeres last past.
- iij. Itm what juelles plate bells goodes and ornaments be now or any tyme wthin these x yeres have been knowen to be belong to the said Chauntrie.
- iiij. Itm whether the londes and tenements belonging to the said Chauntrie be Surveyd or no and if it be by whome.
- 4. Depositions taken and Witnesses exampled before John Rygmayden John lambart Esquires Anthonye Dale and Olyuer Thorneton Commissioners auctorized by vertue of the Kings maties Comission to they me directed upon certayne Interrogatorres herunto annexed together with the said Comission concerning the Chauntrie or Chappell of seynt Leonards in the parish of Kyrkby Lonnesdall within the Countie of Westm'land xiiij° die Julij Anno Regni Rs. Edwardi sexti etc. quinto.

Olyuer Mydleton gentleman of thage of xxxvj yeres or thereabouts sworne and examyned upon the first Interrogatore sayeth that he knoweth the said Chappell of Seynt leonard by the name of Seynt Leonards Chauntrie and that about x* yeres now past or thereabout the Churchwardens and parochians of Kirkby Lonsdale beforesaid presented by theire certificat unto the Kings Ma^{ties} Commissioners then auctorized for Inquirie of Chauntries and such like things that within the said Chappell was a Chauntrie of Seynt Leonarde and that one Galfride Baynebrigg clerk was then Incumbente of the same Albeit the said chappell by some people was called

^{*} The numeral is quite clear, but the reference is to the Survey of 1546.

seynt Leonards Chappell sometyme seynt Leonards chauntrie but he neu^r knew it used but as a chauntrie And that there is londs belonging to the same but how muche or of what value he cannot depose.

- ij. To the second Interrogatorie he sayeth that he knoweth not what was the foundacon of the said Chauntrie neither to what use the londes belonging to the same were first geven but that these xx yeres now past or more he hath knowen the same londs to have been occupied where ferm and the yerlie accustomed Rents therof bestowed upon the sundry preistes one succeeding and other to pray and do devyne service whin the said Chappell.
- iij To the thirde Interrogatorre he sayeth that there is belonging to the said Chauntrie a bell one sylver Chalistwo Sutes of vestments and other ornaments now in the custodie (by delyuerie of George [sic] Baynbrigg the aforesaid Incumbent) of Alan bellingham Surveyor and delyuered to hym about iij yeres now past.
- iiij. To the iiijth Interrogatorie the said Olyuer cannot depose.

George Manser of thage of lx yeres or thereabouts sworne and examyned to the first Interrogatorie he sayeth in euerie thing as Olyuer mydleton heretofore hath deposed and further he knoweth not.

- ij. To the second Interrogatorie the said George sayeth as the said Olyuer Mydelton hath deposed Saving that he hath knowen the yerely accustomed Rents of the said londs which is by yere iiij li. xiiis. iiijd. and have bene payde by the ferm of the said londs to three sundry chauntrie preists doing devine service whin the said Chappell these xl yeres now past or more and so contynewed to this present.
- iij iiij. To the iij^d and iiij^t Interrogatorie the said George Manser sayeth in eurything as Olyuer mydelton hath deposed and further he knoweth not.

John Garnet of thage of xxxiiij^t yeres or thereabouts sworne and examyned to the first Interrogatorie sayeth that there is a chauntrie founded wthin the said Chappell called by the name of seynt leonards chauntrie and that there is londs and tenements belonging to the same but how much and where it lieth he cannot depose.

ij. he cannot tell to what other foundacon or use the said londs was geven then to a chauntrie preist to pray and do devine service wthin the said Chappell for the yerlie profitts of the same londs these xv yeres now past he harth knowen to have bene bestowed to a Chauntrie preist and further he cannot depose.

[In iij and iiij he confirms Oliver Middleton].

Edmund Boscale of thage of xxxv^t yeres or more to the first Interrogatorie sayeth in everything as Olyuer mydelton to the same heretofore hath deposed and further he knoweth not.

ii iij iiij. To the ij iij and iiij^t Interrogatories he sayeth as John Garnet and Olyuer mydleton herefore to the same have deposed and further he knoweth not.

Myles Baynebrig of thage of xl^t yeres or thereabouts to the first Interrogatorie sayeth in everything as Olyver mydleton hath to the same deposed and further he knoweth not.

- ij. To the second Interrogatorie he sayeth as Or Mydleton and George Manser have heretofore deposed. Saving that these xxx^{tie} yeres he hath knowen the clere accustomed Rents of the said londes to have bene bestowed and payde to sundry Chauntry preists for theyre Sruice doing within the said Chappell.
- iij iiij. as Olyuer mydleton to the same hath deposed and further he cannot depose.
- j. William Wilson of thage of lxx yeres or thereabouts he knoweth the said Chappell of seynt leonards but whether it be a Chauntrie or no he knoweth not albeit

he sayeth that there is londs belonging to the same but how much he knoweth not.

ij. To the second he sayeth he knoweth not the foundacon neither to what use the said londs was geven but he sayeth that one Robart Redman clerk preist of the said Chappell has his stipend or salarie of the londs belonging to the said Chappell same the space of xviijten or more after whom succeeded one Walter Preston clerk [and] in like maner had his stipend of the same londs by the space of iiij yeres and after hym one Edward Craven clerk was admytted to do service in the said Chappel and had his stipend of the same londs by the space of fower or v yeres after whome succeeded Gefferey Baynebrig clerk now Incumbent of the said Chappell which in like maner have had his stipend and liveing of the said londes these xj yeres or more and yet hath.

iij iiij. he sayeth in everything as Olyuer mydleton to the same have deposed and further he cannot depose.

John towneson and Richard Langeridge of thagies of lyeres.... sworne and examyned to the j ij iij and iiij Interrogatorres say in everything as Oliver mydleton and George Manser to the same heretofore have deposed and further they cannot depose. Per me John Lambart

Per me Anthoniū Dale Oliver Thornton.

5. British Museum. Additional MSS., 8102.

[Contains 77 schedules of names of pensioned priests, arranged according to counties, with the fees, annuities corrodies and pensions to which they were entitled at Michaelmas 1555].

F° lxxi

Cant' Colleg' fraternitat' Penc' et al' himcī in com' pdco.

Comit' Westm.

Adami Sheperde nuper incumben' cant' bte Marie in Kendall

per annū lxvis. viijd.

Robti Birse nuper incumben' cant' sancti Anthonij in Kirkbie Kendall

per annū lxiiijs. iiijd. Johnis Garnet nuper incumben' cant' sci Xpoferi in eccliā de Kirkebie Kendall

per annū liiijs. vijd.

Alani Sheperd nuper incumben' cant' ad altar' Thome Becket in Kendall per annū vjli.

Robti Dogesone nuper incumben' cant' de Kirkbie Londesdale

per annū iiijli. xiijs, iiijd.

Galfri Bainbridge nuper incumben' cant' sci Leondi voc le Spitle in Kirkebie Londesdale per annū iiijli. iiijd.

Willmi Mountfortt nuper incumben' cant' sive libe capelle de Howe.*

per ann vjli.

ST. COLUMBA'S CHANTRY IN CASTERTON.

Chapelhouse is to-day the designation of a farm in Casterton, lying near the east end of Kirkby Lonsdale bridge. The name occurs frequently from 1662 onwards in the parish register, generally in the plural form Chapelhouses,† and sometimes with the alias St. Coom's, whence Ware rightly inferred the existence here of an ancient

^{*} A mistake for Home. He was appointed by Letters Patent 24 Mar., 1510/1 to the free chapel of St. Mary-Holme, Windermere: [Records of Kendale,

[†] e.g. among the Burials of 1748. "Mr. Christopher Harling of Chapelhouses. Dec. 30" In this Christopher the succession of Harlings on this land died out.

chapel dedicated to St. Columba. It was known to the antiquary Thomas Machell who writes: "There is a place call'd Chappel-huch Close on the left hand of the Highway from Kirkby to London where A Chappel hath stoode. But the ground is now plowed And a well near unto it called St Coumes a Corruption as wee suppose of Colums and that of Columbus [sic] the [saint] in whose name it may be haue bin first of all consecrated to the service of God."* Ware does not seem to have noticed the adjacent well, the site of which is still marked on the Ordnance map as St. Columb's Well.† A dedicated well is always arresting. Some of them are known to have been the scenes of historic baptisms. Many are believed to have been established in pagan superstition, and simply restored to veneration under the patronage of saints, a movement specially fostered by St. Columba, St. Cuthbert and St. Chad. Chapels, as is well known, were often erected upon their sites with the same dedication.

But while the names of Cuthbert and Chad are often in later days found associated with holy wells, a St. Columb Well is by comparison a rarity. Apart from the present instance, there is only one known dedication in this name within these counties, viz. that of the parish church of Warcop. Our President has pointed out the significance of this in view of the fact that in the early middle ages the manors of Warcop and Casterton were in the possession of one family.‡ There seems hardly room for doubting that the Casterton chapel dates from the twelfth century. It came into being, not as a chapel-of-ease—which was plainly unnecessary so near to the parish church—but as an adjunct to the Holy Well, and was therefore a free chapel appertaining to the manor.

The chantry foundation, which is ascribed to a member of the Wennington family, is later in date; but, as no

^{*} Machell MSS., vol. ii, p. 223. †Called St. John's Well on survey of 1862. † These Transactions, N.S. XXV, p. 366. Cf. Records of Kendalc, ii, 326, 328.

licence in Mortmain is found, this may be presumed before 1279. Elias de Wenington had a moiety of the Wennington manor in 1202, and a not impossible founder is his son Adam, who gave lands to Cockersand Abbey.* It will be observed that this foundation created a second interest in the chapel—of course upon conditions.

The lowest terms conceivable for such a partnership are that Wennington should double the endowment in return for half the patronage. That might be secured either by concurrent or by alternate rights of presentation. The former method was the likelier to be conceded, and, for the same reason, was likely to lead to trouble.

In 1297 land in Casterton was in dispute between William de Wenyngton and Gilbert de Brunolvesheved and his wife Christiana.† While there is nothing to prove that this was the chapel land, it seems likely for two reasons. There is no other known contact of a Wennington with land upon the Casterton manor;‡ and the chapel was apparently on the part of the manor which Gilbert held.§

And some corroboration can be found by a careful study of the Rental taken in 1552. If It appears from that document that the smaller half of the property (then rented at two marks¶) consisted of a number of fragments cut off from larger fields so as to form a continuous holding round the chapel and the well. It can hardly be doubted that this was once a unity, created with a purpose, and, if so, that it is the original endowment of the chapel. But at some later time this tenement has been divided into two—not simply by making two equal areas, but by the artificial process of halving each constituent part. The

^{*} Record Soc. Lancashire Fines, pt. ii, p. 166n.

[†] Records of Kendale, ii, 402.

 $[\]ddagger$ Since this was written I have learnt from an Inquisition of 1347 (referred to below) that each of the parties held a carucate upon the manor.

[§] Ibid., ii, 331.

^{||} See the document transcribed below, p. 87, with map and remarks.

[¶] The Bill of Complaint is assumed to be good for this fact.

result is so obviously inconvenient that it suggests a medieval award, penal as well as judicial, in the arbitration of an irreconcileable quarrel. Superficially reminiscent of the judgment of Solomon, it goes beyond the precedent by requiring not merely the equal division, but the preliminary dismemberment, of the *corpus*. Probably Chapel-house became Chapelhouses by the same operation.

The last Gilbert de Brunolvesheved, who died in 1347. left as heir a child Margaret, aged about 2 years, who in course of time* became the wife of Robert de Bellingham. and brought him the manor of Burneside and this portion of Casterton. In the minority of Margaret it was in the king's custody (the de Coucy manors being at the time in escheat), who included it in his grant to Sir John Coupland for his doughty deeds at Nevile's Cross, and in 1355 confirmed it to him for life, and to his widow in survivorship, with reversion to the king and his heirs.† The grant included the advowson of the chapel, for in 1375 it was found by Inquisition that the widow possessed this at her death, and that thereupon it reverted with the manor to Ingelram de Coucy, earl of Bedford, and his wife the King's daughter.‡ The value of the whole manor was then ascertained to be £6. In 1390-4 Robert de Bellingham holds by a rent of £5 (formerly £6) the 'manor of Casterton '-evidently the whole-but not the advowson, which is found in 1411 to have remained with the superior lord, then Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, and afterwards with his widow Philippa till her death.§

In Jan, 1355/6, during the minority of Margaret de Brunolvesheved, the king presented John de Clapham

^{* 1358-60} acc. to Records of Kendale, i, 206.

[†] Ibid., i, 23.

[‡] Ibid., i, 64.

[§] Ibid., ii, 312, 331. This continuous history must discredit the finding at an Inquisition of 9 Mar. 1347 (Lan. and Cheshire Record Soc., vol. lxx, p. 188), that "there are no . . . advowsons belonging to the said manor of Casterton."

by letters patent to the chapel,* and this is the only chaplain certainly known before 1497; but it is possible that in William Gascoigne or John Thornour, two chaplains named with the vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale in a document of 1392, there may be a near successor.†

Owing to sub-infeudation and the escheat of the de Coucy estates, the manorial history of Casterton is somewhat involved. But it seems clear that, even when Bellingham had become the effective lord of the whole manor, the advowson of the chapel was above his head, and that the chaplaincy was at this period distinct from the chantry. The endowment of the former is given both in 1375 and in 1411 as one mark, in view of which it becomes probable that the intermediate valuation in 1392 at half this amount is simply a mistake. The conclusion will be that from 1297 till 1411 at least there were two priests officiating in the chapel by separate advowsons.

A century later, as will shortly become clear, there was again only one priest, and the advowson became a bone of contention. How this came about is not known. It is natural to surmise that the right of the superior lord of the manor was allowed to lapse. A chapel with only one mark secured by endowment might well be more worry than it was worth to a distant patron. In such case the Wennington family might regard all right in the chapel as having passed to them, and, having a family duty to discharge, would be stimulated to preserve the building and its service; while Bellingham would very probably consider himself as the rightful successor to the manorial interest. But all this is in the realm of conjecture. It is, however, in evidence that about 1407

^{*} Ibid., ii, 331. As this presentation is some months later in date than the grant to Coupland, the chaplaincy must have been void when the grant was made.

[†] See inquisition in Records of Kendale, ii, 312, 313.

Robert Redman became the sole priest, on the presentation of the heir to the Wennington estates.*

Neither of the statutory Chantry Commissions made a return upon this establishment; it was in fact derelict at the time. But a few years later, in consequence of an information laid in the Court of Augmentations, a special Commission was issued to report upon it. The documents of this proceeding are chiefly concerned with the final history of the chantry, but incidentally they throw light upon the holy well and its chapel.

The endowment for the "one priest" (evidently extremely ancient) consisted of a rental of two marks from three messuages and 46 acres of land,† together with the "oblacons of the pilgrames and other offerings unto St. Coome within the said Chapel."‡ This casual mention of pilgrims' offerings is important, because it is obviously the well, and not primarily the chapel, which is the objective of pilgrimage. Machell did not find in 1692 any tradition of healing virtue in the water here, as he did in the case of two local wells at Wakeber (or Wegboure) and at "Holmes middow," but the sanctity of the site lingered on at that time in a quaint story of longevity, which he thus records in his journals.§

"A prophesser aged 120 laid und a Table all night supposing him dead, next morning revied, got out of y^e house naked and run to an old Chapell St. Coom's aboue a mile and about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile E.S.E. of Kirkby and there was found w^h lifted up hands kneeling before the Alter and died w^{th} in 3 d[ays]." This story was told about 150 years after the chapel had been demolished.

Concerning the foundation of the chantry all the extraparochial witnesses before the Commission are definite and unanimous. It was founded by one Wennington and the

^{*} Deposition of William Burrey (p. 93).

[†] Thomas Morley's Bill of Complaint (p. 88).

[‡] Depositions of Giles Buskell (p. 93).

[§] Vol. ii, p. 225.

advowson had in time passed into the Morley family. This is quite consistent with known history. Joan daughter of Gilbert de Wennington was married to William son of John de Morley and brought him the manor in 1360.* It is, however, remarkable that, two centuries later, such history should be familiar to a large number of persons at a distance, and apparently unknown to the Casterton witnesses,† unless there were some special stimulus to keep the tradition alive.

The chantry duty was maintained till the death of Robert Redman in 1531, who, as we have already gathered, held the Spital chantry in plurality. As he had occupied the Casterton chapel for 34 years, he was presumably an old man. He had recently passed by stages under the dominion of Sir Roger Bellingham, the lord of the manor, who in his old age was building a tower in the neighbourhood. Having first allowed Sir Roger to put his horse in the chapel close, he was next persuaded to part with the chapel key "when the said Sir Roger was mynded to have his own priest! to do mass within the same." This looks like a quiet reassertion of a manorial right in the building. His "mynd" may have been continuous or intermittent: but the overture would naturally appeal to an old man who had two chapels to serve, and was probably residing at the Spital several miles away. However, after a year or two Redman died, whereupon Sir Roger Bellingham retained the key, and locked out Roger Otway§ the clerk presented

^{*} Vict. Hist. of Lancs., Vol. viii, p. 207.

[†] All the witnesses examined at the 2nd sitting are Casterton men. (See Records of Kendale, Vol. ii, p. 333).

[†] This I take to be the priest of the Lady chapel in Kendal Church which he had founded. The incumbent at this time was probably Sir Henry Halhed. The expression is reminiscent of "myn owne choir" in the will (1528) of Sir Walter Strickland (Records of Kendale, i, 152). I learn from Mr. J. F. Curwen that there was much rivalry between the Stricklands and the Bellinghams and it is not unlikely that the Bellingham chapel was a reply to the Strickland foundation in Kendal church.

[§] Probably the man who was vicar of Bolton-le-Sands 1536-61 [Vict. Hist. of Lancs., vol. viii, p. 130]. The Otways were settled in Middleton.

to the benefice by Francis Morley of Wennington. Not unnaturally "strife and variance" arose between the two, and thereafter no priest served in the chapel. What meanwhile happened to the income, there is nothing to show.*

These grotesque happenings are all that came out in evidence, but obviously it cannot be the whole story. Sir Roger Bellingham sold his manors including Casterton in 1531,† and himself died two years later, but the chapel remained derelict. The difference was therefore something more than a personal quarrel; indeed in view of the previous history it has rather the aspect of a secular dispute in which the local sentiment of Wennington was traditionally engaged. But in any case nothing further seems to have happened; no trace is found of legal process to enforce Otway's presentation, nor of forcible entry to challenge action from the other side. The result was a deadlock, in which Bellingham had the better of the manœuvrings, while the greater bitterness remained with Morley. Francis Morley died in Sept., 1542, and his son Thomas, born in 1517, succeeded to the Wennington estates.‡

Soon after the 2nd Chantry Act (1547) was passed, Alan Bellingham, one of the statutory Commissioners, took possession of the Chapel, for it is obviously as his agent, that Giles Bayley, a Casterton man of appropriate name, collected the tenants' rents for the year, and, proceeding to dismantle the building, took down the roof with its timbers, the iron and glass of the windows, etc., and conveyed the material to Bellingham's house. Some local ferment was probably caused; and as the rents were in fact not paid in the four years following, it will be inferred that the tenants refused to pay them.

^{*} I suspect that, with the ornaments of the chapel, it was applied to the service of the Lady altar at Kendal.

[†] Records of Kendale, i, 269.

[‡] Vict. Co. Hist. of Lancs., vol. viii, p. 207.

We have here strong suggestions of a vendetta. Bellingham was the responsible Surveyor in this district, and presumably was within his powers in disposing of the chapel, but his actions cannot have been unambiguously official.* The Commissioners' return (which he himself delivered in London) had no mention of this chantry or of the Spital. And by receiving money and goods belonging to the King, but not brought to the cognizance of the King's Court, he exposed himself to suspicion and possible accusation of dishonesty. The heir of Francis Morley evidently became aware of the position, and was not slow to take command of a campaign. The refusal of the tenants to pay their rents is the beginning of reprisals, and one of them, Thomas Foscroft, was put forward as an informer concerning the Spital chantry at this time.

That information was possibly a mere skirmish. When it was brought to a successful issue at Michaelmas, 1551, Thomas Morley himself came into the open as informer against Giles Bayley, for his invasion of the King's right in the Casterton chantry. The Bill of Complaint, evidently drafted in common form by an official of the Court, is transcribed below. Bellingham's name is not mentioned, nor is anything said about the destruction of the chapel. The whole grievance is the action of Giles Bayley in collecting rents belonging to the Crown, and the informer is made to pray for a Commission of Inquiry and a lease for 21 years, the latter of course in assertion of the King's title. Meanwhile it is clear that the Surveyor had rendered no account; the rents have been "wrongfullie taken and conceled" from the King.

A Royal Commission issued in February, 1551/2, and, ironically enough, the first Commissioner named is Alan

^{*} He, of course, had no property in the Casterton manor, which had belonged to the senior branch of his family and had by this time passed away by marriage. But he was now the head of the Bellingham family, and also a surveyor for the Crown and he was young.

Bellingham, esq. The informer must have carefully maintained his screen. The terms of the Commission are nearly identical with those of the Spital Commission, being in fact drafted by the same official, and in one or two places have helped to determine the text of that document. The Interrogatories to be administered to witnesses have individual features. The 3rd, which asks who have received the rents since the date of the Act, is clearly based on the information; and the 5th inquiring as to "decay or spoil made or done" in the last ten years shews that the Court was already cognizant of facts alleged in that matter.

The Commission sat in Kirkby Lonsdale on Easter Day and the following Tuesday (April 17 and 19) 1552, and received the depositions of a large number of witnesses. These are appended in transcript; they have yielded the facts and inferences already set forth. By the Commission's returns Alan Bellingham's actions are duly reported to the Court of Augmentations as done in the King's service, the qualification "for the King" appearing wherever these actions are referred to by the witnesses. Thus an innocent construction is placed on the facts alleged in Morley's information, and it would seem that the imputation of dishonesty was disposed of as a mare's nest. Was it so?

It has been already suggested that Bellingham did not exceed his powers under the Act. An extremely ancient chapel like St. Columba's, derelict for nearly 20 years, must have been in danger of ruin, and could be held to have no value for the Crown except in the salvage of its materials. The altar-vessels and other moveable ornaments had evaporated long before—for it will be observed that the administration of the 4th Interrogatory disclosed no valuables except a bell, which had since vanished. Such things of course had happened all over the country in the recent years. But the Surveyor's

neglect to survey, and his subsequent failure to collect the rents after the first year, or to account within five years for those already collected, were seriously compromising for a man in the King's service. Excuses might be made; young men are often extremely casual, and here was one much preoccupied with his own concerns whose business habits had not developed equally with his business capacities.

There is, however, another document to be reckoned with. For some reason or other, five of the six Commissioners were not content to leave the Depositions to speak for themselves, but appended a Memorandum in their joint capacity with reference to Bellingham's actions. This was evidently an afterthought, inserted on the margin of the last membrane when the Commission was closed and the return already signed. The hasty writing is difficult to decipher, the ink having perished in places, and some distortion having occurred in stretching the parchment. But the content can be determined with reasonable certainty. The Memorandum reaches its conclusion in a total of £5 12s. This is not the amount of 4 years' rent; nor, with the rental actually detailed on the page, was there any "Amounteth in toto" is a occasion to refer to this. summation of items. A new sentence must begin at "one hole yere," and this can only be completed by "remaynyth," so that "is due" falls into a subordinate clause. We know by the evidence that one year's rent was in the Surveyor's hands; this sum amounting to fr 6s. 8d. is accordingly the last item taken into the total. The first item is quite clear—the "roof and tymber" which Bellingham had not merely removed, but appropriated— "hath taken for hys owne house." But this was not the whole of the spoil according to the depositions. He had also taken the "playte glass and yron in the wyndowes." That this is the intermediate item in the reckoning is sufficiently clear if (as I think certain) v ws

(final s) is to be read; the number of the windows is specified.* The Memorandum holds together as an assessment of the sum due from Bellingham to the Crown.

The question still remains, why such a Memorandum was made at all. It seems unthinkable that it was made, in this form, at Bellingham's request or in his interest. In the alternative it was an act by which his colleagues stood apart, cleared themselves of condonance, and lent their aid to secure full restitution. In other words, he was found guilty by his peers, who had heard the witnesses and observed his conduct of the Commission at the first sitting. It is probable that his reputation was damaged. He built up a large estate in the remaining 25 years of his life, but died a plain esquire, not attaining to knighthood, as the head of this family usually did.

Thomas Morley no doubt congratulated himself upon the results of his action. He had got in the last blow in the family quarrel, and, after several years of stealthy vexation, had finally involved his enemy in an ignominious exposure. Without sharing in these satisfactions, we may recognize that we are entirely beholden to him for any knowledge of the Casterton chantry.

APPENDED DOCUMENTS.

PROCEEDINGS CONCERNING ST. COLUMBA'S CHANTRY IN CASTERTON.

[P.R.O. Court of Augmentations, Misc. Books, vol. 128, fo. 25 foll].

- I. F° 26. Bill of Complaint in the name of Thomas Morley as Informer.
- 2. F° 25. Royal Commission of 17 Feb. 6 Edw. VI [1551/2] to Alan Bellingham, John Redman of Thornton, William Redman of Twistleton, Anthony Dale, Thomas Bradeley and Christopher Mansergh.
 - 3. Fo 25. Interrogatories to be administered.

^{*}The numeral has been read as viij with some encouragement from the outline but I think that this is ruled out by measurement.

- 4. F° 27 (two sides). Depositions thereon taken at two sittings in Kirkby Lonsdale.
- 5. F° 25. Memorandum by five of the Commissioners on the margin of Rental.
- 6. F° 25. Rental of the chantry (annex to the Return) with plan and remarks.

Bill of Complaint.

To the right worshipfull S^r Richard Sakvile knyght Chauncellor of the Kings Ma^{ties} Courte of Augmentacons and to the Kings generall Surveyors of the same

Sheweth and Informeth unto your good Mastership your dailie Orator Thomas Morley

that Where there was one Chauntrie founded to have contynewance for ever wthin the towne of Casterton in the Countie of Westmrland called sevnt Coomes Chauntrie unto whiche said Chauntrie there was belonging and appertayning as the veray possessions of the same Chauntrie certayne messuages landes and tenements hereafter named and expressed that is to say one Messuage or tenement wth xii acres of arable londe medow and pasture in Kyrkby Lounesdall in the said Countie now or late in the holding of one Thomas Foscroft of the verelie Rent of viijs, viijd, and one Messuage or tenement [in] Casterton beforesaid wth xvj acres of lond belonging to the same of the verelie Rent of ixs. now in the tenor of one Robart Harling and one messuage or tenement wth xviii acres of londe belonging to the same in Casterton beforesaid of the yerelie Rent of ixs. now in the tenor of one Jenet Gibson, the Rents and proufitts of all whiche londes and tenements being the veray possessions of the said late Chauntrie was contynewallie imployed to and for the mayntence of one priste to serve and do devyne seruice in the said late Chauntrie unto the making of the late Statute made in the first yere of the Reigne of or Sovereigne lorde the King that now is for the dissolucon of Collegies Chauntries free Chappells and such like by whiche said statute all the said messuages londes and tenements be lawfullie geven and assured unto o' said Soueraigne lorde the king in actuall and reall possession as by the same acte playnelie may appere.

So it is that one Giles baylye of Casterton mynding to disherit and defraude or said Soueraigne lorde the King of the said messuages londes and tenements before rehersed did ymmediatlie after the making of the said statute wrongfullie enter into all the said messuages londes and tenements and Intruded upon the Kings lawfull possession in the same and [hath] wrongfullie taken and conceled frome or said Soueraigne lorde the King all the Rents and profitts of the said Messuages londes and tenements to the disheriting of or said Souereigne lord.

Wherfore the premises considered it may please yr m'st'ship to graunt the Kings Maties Commission to be directed to certeyne persons suche as shall seme requiset by yor mastershipps to name for to Survey and redeme the premisses unto the Kings matie. And that it may please yr good Mastershipp thereupon to graunt unto this said Informer Thomas Morley that he may have all the said Messuages londes and tenements on lease for xxj yeres paing therefor suche yerelie Rent as to your Mastershipp shalbe thought recte and convenyent to be payde for the same and your said Informer shall dailie pray unto god for hys preseruacon of yor good mastershipp in longe lief to endure.

[Endorsed]

. . . . informacon Thome Moreley pro Cant' de Casterton.

2. The Commission.

Edwardus sextus dei grā Anglie Francie et hibnie Rex fidei defensor et in terra ecclie anglicane et hibnice Supremū Caput Dilčis sibi Alano Bellingham Johi Redman de

Thorneton ac Willmo Redman de Twysselton Armigeris Anthonio Dale Thome Bradely et Xpofero Manser generos' Sciatis ad nos de fidelitatibus et prouidis circūspexcōībus vris plenius confiden' damus vob' quatuor tribus vel duob' vrum plenā ptatem et auctem materima in quadam peticõe in articulis huic bvi Annex' tam per quorumcumque testiū deposicões quam omnibus alijs vijs modis et medijs quibus melius sciueritis aut poteritis diligenter examinand' deposicõesque superinde sciend' recipiend' et in seript' redigend.' Et ideo vobis quatuor tribus vel duobus vrum mandamus qd ad certos diem et locū quos ad hoc prouideritis testes quoscumque coram vobis euocetis ac ipōs et eorū quemit de et super materia in peticõe in articulis predict' spēficat' tact' per eos prius coram vobis Sacroscis dei euangelijs corporaliter prestand' diligenter examinetis examinaçõesque suas recipiatis et in scriptis in pergamino redigatis. Et cū eas sic ceperitis nos inde et de toto facto vro in Cur nram Augmentaconu et Reuenconū Corone nre in quindena pasche prox' futur' sub sigill' vris quatuor vel triu distincte et aperte Reddatis certiores Remitten' nob' peticoem in articulis pred' una cū hoc būi. Teste Rico Sakevyle milite apud Westm. Decimo septimo die Februarij Anno Regni nri Sexto.

Duke.

3. Interrogatories

to be mynistred by the Comyssion^{rs} appoynted for thenquere and Survey of the Chauntrie of St. Combes in Casterton in the parishe of Kyrkby Lonnesdale within the Countie of Westm¹land.

First Whether there is a Chauntrie in Casterton beforesaid knowen and called by the name of S^t. Combes Chauntrie or no.

Itm. Of whose foundacon the same is and of how longe tyme the same have had contynuance.

Itm. What lands and tents belongeth to the same chauntrie and the yerely value thereof and who be

thoccupiers and tenants of the said lands and also who hath receaved the Rents and proffytts of the same sithe the Kings Ma^{tie} was entitled to the same.

Itm. What plate juells bells leade or other ornaments doth belonge unto the said Chauntrie and in whose hands and custodye the same doth nowe remayne.

Itm. What decay or spoile hathe bene made or done of the said Chauntrie or of any the tents belonginge to the same wthin these x yeres last past and by whom and at what tyme.

4. Depositions

taken at Kirkby Lonsdale the xvij* of Aprill in the vj 'o yere of the Raigne of our Souerayn lorde Edward, etc. . . afore Mr. Alan Bellingham John Redman Anthony Dale and Christopher Manserg In virtue of o' said Soueraigne lords Comission etc.

Thomas Glover of thage of lx yeres or more sworn and examyned deposeth and sayeth that there was a Chauntrye wthin the Chappell of seynt Coomes in Casterton in the parish of Kyrkby lonnesdall of the Foundacon of one Wennyngton and that one Sir Roger Bellingham knyght aboute xxiii yeres now past procured of one Robart Redman clerke [then] Chauntrie priest of the same Chauntrie licence to put his horsse wthin the Chappell yard there at suche tymes as the said Sir Roger resorted to a tower of his nyghe to same Chappell then in buylding and further had of the said Chauntrie preist the key of the said Chappell dore when the said Sr Roger was mynded to haue his own preist to do mass with the same. After which the said Robart Redman clerk dyed after whose deathe one Francis Morley heir unto the said Wennyngton gever of the said Chauntrie preferred and gave the same unto one Roger Otway clerk whome the said sir Roger bellingham wold not suffer to occupie the said Chauntrie

^{*} Sic. This was Easter Day. The 2nd sitting was on the 19th.

by reason whereof there arose great variance and strife between the said sir Roger bellingham and the said Francis morley and sith the same tyme no preist served there as Chauntrie preist neither toke any profitt of the same Chauntrie. Unto about v yeres now last past that Alan bellingham the king's Surveir entred for the King into the said Chappell and toke the roof and tymber therof with yron and glasse in the wyndowes therof and also toke the first yeres Rents of the same v yeres of the londs belonging to the said Chauntrie the other iiij yeres Rent as yet remayneth in thands of the tenants of the said londs and further he knoweth not.

Robart Redman of Clapehm of thage of lxxij yeres or thereabouts sworn and examyned.

- j To the first article he sayeth that there was a Chauntrie in Casterton beforesaid and that he hathe knowen the same to have had contynewance the space of l yeres or more.
- ij To the second this deponent sayeth to his knowledge the said Chauntrie was of the foundacon of one Wennyngton but of how long tyme the same hath had contynewance he knoweth not.
 - iij To the iij he sayeth he cannot depose.
- iiij To the iiij he cannot depose saving he sayeth there was a bell belonging to the said Chappell but in whose hands the same now remayneth he cannot depose.
 - v To the vt he cannot depose.

Thomas Dowbygging of thage of lxxv yeres or thereabouts sworn and examyned sayeth.

- j To the first he sayeth that there was a Chauntrie Founded wthin the said Chappell and harth knowen the same by the space of lx yeres.
- ij To the second he sayeth the same was of the foundacon of one Wennyngton.
- iij iiij v To the third and fuert v^t he cannot depose but as Robart Redman hathe deposed.

William Burrey of Yngleton of thage of lxx yeres or thereabouts sworn and examyned.

- j To the first he sayeth that he harth hard named a Chauntrie called seynt Coomes chauntrye in Casterton beforesaid by the space of lx yeres.
- ij To the second he sayeth that one Robart Redmayn clerk had the same Chauntre of the gift of one Morley heir unto one Wennyngton and served in the said Chappell for chauntrie preiste aboute the space of xxxiiij yeres or more and further he cannot depose.
- iij iiij v To the 3 4 5 he sayeth as Robart Redman heretofore harth deposed and further he knoweth not.

Richard Benyson of Olde Wennyngton of thage of lxvi yeres sworn and examyned.

To the first second third fowert and v^t sayeth in everything as William Burrey and Robart Redman heretofore deposed and further he cannot depose.

Thomas Glover of Wennyngton of thage of lxxvj^t yeres or thereabouts

Thomas Thorneton of Bentham of thage $lxxvj^t$ yeres or thereabouts

Gyles Benyson of Neither Wennyngton of thage of lxxvj yeres or thereabouts

Alexander Sharpe of Wennyngton of thage of lx yeres or more

John Beckett of Bentham of thage of xl yeres or thereabouts

sworn and examyned.

to the first second third fowert and v^t sayeth in everything and things as Robart Redman and willm Burrey heretofore haue deposed and further the know not.

Further Deposicons

taken at Kyrkby lonnesdall beforesaid the xix day of Aprill the sext yere of o^r Soueraign lorde king as followeth.

i ij iij Gyles Buskell of thage of l^t yeres or thereabout sworn and examyned to the first cannot depose.

To the ii and iiid he sayeth that there belongeth to seynt Coomes Chapel thre tenements wth their appurtenances in Casterton beforesaid and Kyrkby Lonnesdall in the several holdings of Robt. Harling Janet Gybson and Thomas Foscroft of the yerely Rent as appereth in the Rentall hereunto annexed with which yerely rents and also the oblacons of the pilgrames and other offerings unto sevnt Coome within the said Chappell a preist was contynewally founded and did survice within the same Chappel unto variance arose between the said Sir Roger bellingham and the said Francis Morley. Saving that about fyve veres now past that Alan bellingham the Kings surveyor entred into the said Chappel and londs for the king and toke downe the Roofe of the said Chappell and the tymber and playte glasse and yron in the wyndowes and the same conveyed to his own house and also toke and received the first yeres Rent of the said v yeres of the said tenants to the Kings use the residue remayneth in thands of the same tenants and further he cannot depose.

iiij v To the fowert and v^t he sayeth that there was a bell belonging to the said Chauntrie which said Giles bayley took down with other yron barres [illegible].

 $Edm\bar{u}d$ Dodgeson of thage of lvij yeres sworn and examyned

Giles Rigge of thage of li sworn and examyned

Olyver Dogeson of thage of xlvt yeres sworn and examyned

Edmond Garnet of Casterton of thage of xlij yeres sworn and examyned

To the first second third fowert and v^t in everything as Gyles buskell hath deposed and further they cannot depose.

5. [Memorandum

written hastily in the upper margin of the membrane containing the Rental which follows].

Memorand that Alan Bellingham the Kings Ma^{ties} Surveyo^r wthin the County of Westm^rland haith entred the Chappell [of seynt] Coomes of Casterton in the parishe of Kyrkby lonnesdell and hath spoyled and taken the roof and tymbr of the said chappell for hys owne house nygh Kendall and also received of the tennt* belonging to the same Chapell v [windo]ws [and the yron] therof to thuse of the King acco[rding as the witnesses] haue confessed and deposed to v^t comission[ers] under w^reten.† one hole yere [of the rent that]‡ is dew unto the King remaynyth in thands of the said surv^r amounteth in toto vli. xiis.

6. Rentale

siue Extract t'rarum et tentorum nuper Cantar siue Capelle scī Colum pertin in Com Westmorland Cap xix^{mo} die Aprilis A° Regni Edwardi Sexti Dei grā Anglie Frauncie et Hibnie Regis fidei Defensor et totius Ecclie Anglicane et Hibnice Sup'mi Capit Sexto.

Casterton.

Robtus Harlinge tenet ibm unū Tenement cū x^{cem} Acī terī per estimacōem vz. unam parcell terī voc le Orcheard cont per estimacōem Dī Acī terī Et unam parcell terī arī et praī voc Cleypitt[s] per estimacōem Di acī terī Et unam acī terī arabil voc Sellyet infra Campos de Casterton Necnon [di] Acī terī arī iaceñ super le Chappell predict unā Acī terī arabil iaceñ super le Brakenbutts in Campo predict unā Acā terī arabil iaceñ super le Lang[lees] Et unam acī terī arabil ibm iaceñ super le Kylniecrofte unā acī terī arabil

^{*} There seems no doubt about the reading; the expression was perhaps influenced by the terms of the 5th interrogatory.

[†] The five signatures are accounted for at the foot of the Rental (see below). Alan Bellingham apparently did not attend the 2nd sitting at which the Rental was put in.

[†] It is possible that this was originally written "one hole yere that is dew . . ." and that the words "of the rent" were afterwards written above the llne. But only fragments of letters remain, and the lines are distorted by stretching of the parchment.

iacen super Le Pynnowe una acr terr arabil iacen infra Le Crofte et Cleypitts predict Acetiam tres Rodas Terr arr infra le Wheatclose una Rodam terr arr subter le holehouse Et una Rodam terr arr iacen super le fontein sti. C[olum] Necnon una acr terr prati infra Le Keldynge Et Redd per Ann ad terminos Pent et Martini in Hyeme ixs.

Jennetta Gybson vidua tenet ibm unū Tenement cū pertin vz. unā acr terr arr et prati voc le haggs unā parcell terr arr voc le Cleypitts cont [per estimacōem] Di acr terr Et unā acr terr arr voc Sellyet infra Campos de Casterton Dī acr terr arr iacen super le Chapellyerde unā acr terr arr super Le Brakenbutts unā acr terr arr iacen super Le Langlees Necnon unā acr terr arr iacen super Le Kylnecrofte unā acr terr arr iacen super Le p[ynnowe unā] Acr terr infra Le Croft Acetiam tres Rodas terr arr infra Le Wheateclose Unā Rodā terr arr subter Le holehowse Et unā Rodam terr [super] le fontein sti Colum Necnon unā acr terr prati infra le Keldynge et Red per Annū ad terminos suprdcōs.

Kyrkby Lonesdale.

Thomas Foscrofte de Kyrkby Lonesdale tenet ibm unū Tent cū pertin vz. tres Rodas terr arriacen apud prdict et tres Rodas terr arriacen apud Le Keyshwhait Brigge una Acr terr Arr voc Le Raygarthe Necnon dī acr terr arr

Undreley Acetiam unā Rod et dī terī arī voc Le Northriddinge et dī Acī terī arī apud Grymescrofte infra modo in tenura dcī

Thome et redd per Annū ad fest predict---v

 $P_{er} nos \begin{tabular}{ll} & & & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & \\ & &$

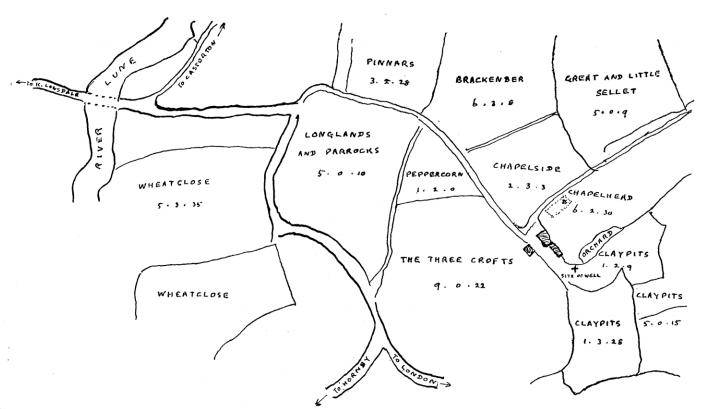
[The document was probably engrossed by Anthony

Dale. The 'Per nos' and the bracket are certainly the work of his pen and ink. Presumably a lawyer, he signs in Latin, occupying the space answering to his order in the Commission. The Commissioners named after him evidently were not content with this. The fragmentary signatures, though extremely faint, are recognisable.

REMARKS ON THE RENTAL OF 1552.

Casterton.

- I. The two tenements are identically specified after the first item. The MS. fails in a few places, but no one will hesitate to fill the gaps by symmetry. The acreage accounted for is far short of the 16 a. and 18 a. set out in the Bill of Complaint.
- 2. Certain names—Orchard, Sellet, Claypits—remain unchanged. Langlees survives as Longlands. Pinnow is no doubt one of the group of fields now known as Pinnars, naturally the one nearest home; and if so, Brackenbutts is probably the modern Brackenber. Boundaries have been moved, as is shewn by amalgamations—Great and Little Sellet—Longlands and Parrocks—The Three Crofts—the last presumably including Kilncroft. The name Peppercorn does not appear in the Rental, and the angle so named in the Tithe Map has no separate existence at the present day.
- 3. Langlees as a descriptive name fits the eastern side of the present field. A line drawn from the southern end of Longlands to the Well would cut off an area of about 4 acres to the north. The names Chapelhead and Chapelside, which suggest the site of the Chapel, are more recent than 1552: they may be assumed to incorporate Chapelyard and the Haggs of the Rental, in which the latter is the offset to Orchard. As only one acre is accounted for by Chapelyard, the modern Chapelside probably includes a slice of Brackenbutts or Sellet.



CHAPELHOUSE FARM. Plan of adjacent Fields with Acreage [From the Tithe Map 1849].

4. Keldynge has left no trace for its identification. If it was the name of the uppermost part of the later Chapelhead, the two acres below it would be continuous with Haggs and Orchard. Hole House is a fellside farm at a considerable distance; the plots there may have been valuable for peat. Wheatclose is naturally a recurrent field name; the nearest field so called would give convenient access to the river.

On the whole it seems that there were 16-18 acres of continuous lands round the chapel, divided piecemeal between the two tenements.

The expression *iacens super* . . . indicates part of a field; *infra* may describe lower ground, the general descent being from north to south.

Kirkby Lonsdale.

Very little can be made of Foscroft's holding. All the acreage specified in the Rental can be read, but only 4 a. is accounted for. Raygarth lane is marked on the Ordnance map on the left hand of the road from Kirkby Lonsdale to Keastwick, just beyond the Church Schools. The Tithe Map shows a "Little Raygarth and Keastwick Bridge" of $2\frac{1}{2}$ a. abutting on the road, and continued at its further end in "Great Raygarth" of 43 a. This site is at some distance from what is now Keastwick bridge.* North Ridding (cf. Records of Kendale, ii, 318) is shown in the Tithe Award as part of the 50 a. in Underley now known as Kirkby Fields, which stretch to the border of Keastwick. The name Grimescroft covers three fields (Great G., Long G. and Little G.), aggregating some II a., on the road to Tearnside, nearly opposite Kittygill Lane, but nearer the town on the other side of the road.

[I am greatly indebted to Mr. C. F. Hardy for some valuable collaboration in the early stages of this study.]

^{*} Kestwick Bridge was repaired in 1754-5 (Records of Kendale iii p. 285). In 1827 Kearstwick New Bridge was erected (ibid. p. 289).