

ART. X. – *The Medieval Hospitals of Cumbria*

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IN 1888, Dr Henry Barnes drew the attention of this Society to the existence of leprosy and leper hospitals in Cumberland and Westmorland in former times.¹ The object of this paper is to extend the work done by Dr Barnes, to widen the subject and to examine the changing status of those charitable institutions generally referred to as medieval hospitals, insofar as the area covered by the present day Cumbria is concerned.

The medieval hospital was essentially an ecclesiastical, not a medical institution and it is clear that, through its excellent services, considerable relief was afforded to the population in respect of the pressing social problems of the time.

The role of the medieval monastery and the work of the Orders of the Temple and St John in relation to the care of the needy is relatively well known. Infirmaries were integral features of the monastery and corrodians, in their old age, enjoyed the hospitality guaranteed by the monastic annuity; but the hospitals to be examined here were extramural institutions, usually with a distinct constitution and a separate dedication. Many were staffed by regular brothers and sisters, frequently following the Rule of St Augustine, although secular masters were occasionally appointed. The buildings were similar to those found in a monastery and the inmates were subjected to a modified form of the rule and generally wore a distinctive dress.² In Cumbria, generally, they were not large or wealthy institutions and the buildings would be of a simple type.

The 13th century witnessed the greatest proliferation of such hospitals, but they began to dwindle rapidly after 1350. The reasons for the decline may be varied, but the decimation of the population as a result of the two plagues which ravaged Cumbria in 1348-9 and 1361-2 were undoubtedly a very significant factor – the weak, aged and infirm would clearly be the first to perish.

There were, in the main, three types of foundation. Firstly there was the hospice or *hospitium* established to “entertain the pilgrim or wayfarer”, to “protect him from the hands of prowling free-booters”³ and to “preserve him from being devoured by the wolves and other voracious forest beasts”.⁴ They were simply houses of refuge and hospitality for travellers, mainly found along the principal lines of communication and a common feature of pilgrim routes. Secondly there was the almshouse, *bede-house* or *Maison Dieu*, for the temporary relief of needy persons, the sick, aged or insane. Thirdly there was the leper or lazar house, specifically to deal with that group of diseases referred to as leprosy, but which is now thought to have included venereal diseases. Public awareness of the problems caused by lack of hygiene and improper sanitation was minimal, although in 1345, in a commission to the Bishop of Carlisle and Thomas de Lucy it is reported that the King understood “that in the city of Carlisle the air is so corrupted and tainted by dung and manure heaps and much other filth put in the streets and lanes that the men dwelling there and coming to the city for its defence are stricken with a dreadful horror, the benefit of purer air is prevented, the state of the men is grievously injured and many dangers result from the corruption . . .”.⁵ One cannot

escape the thought that if they noticed it then it must indeed have been bad – the spread of disease generally was unhindered.

The status of an individual house could change to meet new demands and over a period of time could embrace all three types. Most of the hospitals included a chantry chapel and these chapels often survived long after the hospital had ceased to function. Some became schools, others farms and one, Conishead, was elevated to the status of a Priory.

The eleemosynary or charitable support given was essential; most of the houses were founded with endowments of lands and rents; grants of money were frequent and gifts of food and drink not unknown. Indeed, an early statute⁶ enacted that if any deer were found dead, the flesh should be sent to the “spital house” and if there were no such house, it should be given to the poor and lame. But dependence upon charity renders an institution vulnerable and corruption was occasionally identified as we shall see when discussing the houses at Gilswath and St Nicholas, Carlisle. Also, the corporate charitable will was not always to be relied upon, as witness a clause in a Sizergh deed⁷ of 1275, which exempted the prior and chaplain of Cartmel from receiving or supporting lepers or other infirm persons. Adam, rector of Castlecarrock in 1356, was a leper and the people were afraid to go to church.⁸

The medical facilities available to deal with the sick were very limited and surgery, although very primitive, was carried out at the larger hospitals. The primary function was to provide the spiritual strength, through religious observance, to come to terms with the affliction.

Information relating to the hospitals, particularly the smaller houses, is scant and occasionally evidence for the existence of a foundation depends on a single document. The following is a list of details of institutions which have, during their lifetime, been referred to as “hospital”.

Carlisle – St Nicholas

Compared with the other medieval hospitals of Cumbria, St Nicholas was the largest and probably the richest. More documentary information exists in relation to it than for any of the others and it is hoped to publish a more detailed account in a future volume. What follows here is a brief outline of the status and history of the house.

*Monasticon*⁹ gives the origin as of royal foundation, for thirteen lepers, men and women, before 1180. This date is based upon the grant of tithes of Little Bampton to the hospital by Adam, son of Robert, on condition that two almsmen from Bampton were maintained in perpetuity – but this grant is reported to have been made in the time of Bishop Bernard and the date of his episcopate, if it existed at all, is a still unresolved problem.¹⁰

There is a reference, *c.* 1200, relating to a grant of land in which William, chaplain of St Nicholas appears as a witness and Victoria County History gives details of a letter of protection granted to the lepers of Carlisle and further land endowments of a similar date,¹¹ but the first certain reference, *c.* 1240,¹² records the fact that the hospital of St Nicholas of Carlisle held land in Cumwhitton.

The main hospital stood outwith the walls, in the area of the present St Nicholas Street, Carlisle, but it did own land and buildings in the *vico Bochardi*.¹³

The early muniments and memoranda of foundation were reported to have been burnt, presumably in Scots raids, but new constitutions were established *c.* 1292, details of which are preserved.¹⁴

The original *raison d'être* was for the care of lepers, but in the course of time its remit extended to include the poor and the sick; corrodians being of increasing importance by the 14th century.

The hospital suffered as a result of frequent raids by the Scots and was completely destroyed on at least one occasion.¹⁵ In 1345 it is reported to be greatly decayed by misrule¹⁶ and it is clear that corrupt and/or ineffective masters were not uncommon. Thomas de Goldington, who was appointed in 1333 and who held in plurality, the wardenship of St Leonard, Derby was suspect and as said "to exercise his office of surgery of the commonalty, neglect his duty as warden, consume the goods and alienate the lands".¹⁷ In 1393 a commission reported that the master had been careless and negligent and that defects existed in the buildings, books and vestments.¹⁸

In 1477, the hospital and its revenues were given to the Prior and Convent of St Mary, Carlisle¹⁹ and in 1645, the hospital was destroyed during the seige of Carlisle.²⁰

Carlisle – St Sepulchre

The position of the hospital of St Sepulchre, in the history of the city, has been overshadowed by the much larger and more vigorous house of St Nicholas. Documentary evidence is scant, but the existence of the hospital is not in doubt.

In 1231, a charter²¹ in favour of the church of St Mary, Carlisle and the bishop, includes the clause, "all the tithes of Birkscagh except Scal of the hospital of St Sepulchre for 44s." In 1246, a writ to the sheriff of Cumberland to inquire into the alienation of demesne lands records that five acres were alienated by Sir Robert de Veteriponte and that the "hospital of St Sepulchre now holds them value 5s."²² These five acres were evidently leased to John Boulton, citizen of Carlisle, were located in the "suburbs of Carlisle" and by 1250 were worth 12d. each.²³

This land may well be that referred to under "New Offerings" in the Pipe Roll of 1251-2²⁴ and again in a petition dated *c.* 1320, sent to the King by John de Crosseby, master of St Nicholas, on behalf of his own house, the brothers of St Sepulchre and others, about arrears due to the Crown from lands leased to them in the suburbs of Carlisle.²⁵

No further information is forthcoming and it is possible that the hospital ceased to function shortly afterwards, possibly as a result of depredations by the Scots or the effects of the Great Plague.

Wigton – St Leonards

The leper hospital of St Leonard appears, mainly on place name evidence, to have been situated on or near the present day Spital farm, approximately one mile north-west of Wigton (map reference NY 264495).²⁶

Probably founded by one of the Lucy family in the twelfth century, it is first specifically mentioned in the 1369 Inquest²⁷ of Joan, daughter and heir of Anthony de Lucy, 3rd Lord Lucy. Joan died, aged two years and her estate, including the advowson of a

“decayed *debile* hospital so called near Wigton, founded for lepers”, passed to her aunt Maud, later to become the second wife of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

In 1383²⁸ there is a mention of the advowson of the “chapel” of St Leonard at Wigton and again in 1384/5²⁹ – presumably references to the usual chantry chapel which had been attached to the defunct hospital. Both entries relate to the settlement in which the childless Maud made provision for her estate to be left to her stepson Sir Henry Percy (Hotspur), after her death and on condition that the Lucy arms were incorporated into those of the Percy family.

In 1531, the then Earl of Northumberland appointed his chaplain, Sir George Lancaster, to the hermitage of Warkworth. The Court of Augmentations verified the grant in 1537, but stipulated that instead of the twenty marks which derived annually from the hermitage, ten marks would be paid, together with the profits of the Rood Chapel and of St Leonard’s “hospital” at Wigton.³⁰

*Valor Ecclesiasticus*³¹ confirms George Lancaster as incumbent of the hospital called “the Spytelle of Wigton, valued at 40s.” and the 1546 Chantry Survey refers to the “free chapel called Seynte Leonard Hospitall within the parish of Wigton”, but reports it to be decayed.³²

In 1549, the free chapel, or more probably, the lands relating to it and on which it had formerly stood, were granted to Thomas Dalston and William Denton after being valued at 40s. per annum.³³

Dugdale recites the “legend” that the chapel of Kirkland ($\frac{3}{4}$ mile south of Spital) had belonged to the hospital, but this has not been confirmed.³⁴

Holmcultram – Bedehouse

Although the abbey of St Mary discharged its customary obligations with regard to hospitality and the general care of the poor, it appears that there was an extra-mural hospital referred to in the rental of 1538 as the “bede-house”. The dedication of St Thomas has been attributed to this house by some observers, but in both the rental and the 1649 manor roll the chapel of St Thomas and the “bede-house” are dealt with as two distinct entries. It is likely that the chapel was in fact the chapel of the abbey Infirmary, rather than a separate institution, but it is clear that the “bede-house” was dependant upon the abbey.

Whellan suggested that “while men were admitted to the precincts of the abbey, women were received into a private and separate building without the walls which for a considerable time after the Dissolution was called the Womans House, but it is not now in existence”.³⁵

According to Grainger,³⁶ St Thomas or the “bede-house” may have lain on the right of the road to Abbey House, and in 1653 an incroachment rent of 3s. was received by a James Jackson for St Thomas chapel.³⁷

Caldbeck

The status of the hospice or *hospitium* is clearly demonstrated in the house at Caldbeck. Whellan³⁸ describes the parish of Caldbeck, “long after the Conquest” as a “wild forest

and desolate waste". It was crossed by a highway which "lay under the imputation of being the resort of dangerous outlaws who frequently assaulted travellers".

To provide a refuge, Ranulph Engayne, lord of the Manor of Isel and chief forester of Inglewood, granted a licence to the prior of St Mary, Carlisle to build a hospital, near to where the present church of St Kentigern stands.³⁹ Engayne was known to be dead by 1158, therefore the date of foundation must be earlier.⁴⁰

*Monasticon*⁴¹ records that the hospital and church of Caldbeck, together with appurtenances, were granted to the Priory of St Mary by Gospatrick (died 1179) son of Orme. According to Nicolson and Burn,⁴² the hospital was dissolved during the time of King John and the church endowed with the hospital lands.

Collingwood⁴³ suggested that Friar Hall might be the site of the hospital, but I can find no evidence to substantiate that. The development of the village of Caldbeck would probably have been the reason for the decline of the hospice – the site would no longer have been isolated.

Papcastle – St Leonard?

East of Papcastle village is a field called Spital Ing, adjacent to what is now called Spital Ing Lane and Blackfriars Bridge. This is said to be the site of a leper hospital founded by the Dominicans of Carlisle.⁴⁴ The Dominicans first arrived in Carlisle in 1233⁴⁵ and the references to the presence of "Spitel" associated place names in this part of Papcastle date from 1281⁴⁶ suggesting, albeit on flimsy evidence, a mid-13th century date of foundation.

No specific reference to a hospital can be traced and confusion has arisen because of the fact that a chapel of St Leonard has been identified and assigned to Cockermouth.⁴⁷ Certainly references to St Leonard's chapel date from *c.* 1270, but there is insufficient evidence to isolate it completely from the hospital.

Further difficulty is created by a Cockermouth Castle Court Roll, dated 1517-8,⁴⁸ in which a healthy and strong woman is presented, who "does not work and comes in the manner of a vagabond harboured in the Hermitage of St Leonard therefore let her be removed under the penalty of being birched". The Hermitage (*sic*) was obviously being used as a poor house and this is not an unusual change of status for an ex-leper hospital.

Ravenglass

Given the status of Ravenglass as a port of considerable importance in Roman times and its continuing though diminishing role through the medieval period, it is not surprising that there should be a facility for providing accommodation for travellers.

The only specific reference to a "hospice" occurs in a charter⁴⁹ from the Rydal Muniments which has been dated to *c.* 1180 –

Know . . . that I Edward son of Ulf, grant for the sake of the souls of my father and mother, my children and ancestors, a piece of land in Rengles between two becks, bounded on one side by the Esk and on the other by a head furrow, also three acres of land in Rengles, altogether twenty acres, to a hospital I have made in Rengles for the accommodation of poor travellers and for the bridge I have made over the Esk. As warden of that hospital I have appointed Brother Gamell for as long as he manages the business of the hospital suitably, honourably and

in the fear of God. Witnesses – Roger the Dean, Waldof of Brigham, Thomas de Dene, Robert de Whitbeck and the Chapter of Copeland, Hugh son of Edmond and his brothers, Benedict son of Gamel, Hanketon son of Durant, Robert of Lamplugh, R. Corbet and many others.

Suggestions have been made that the hospice was in the ruins of the Roman bath house, but I can find no evidence to support this notion.

St John's in the Vale

In a grant of land by Randulf, son of Ivo de Threlkeld, to Fountains Abbey, *c.* 1220-30, there is a reference to the "house of St John" in the Threlkeld area.⁵⁰ This has been used as the sole basis for the supposition that a hospice existed in St John's in the Vale, staffed by a hermit priest and for the relief of poor wayfarers.⁵¹

The existence of a hospice in that area is not surprising, given the routes over Dunmail and through Threlkeld, but its exact location cannot be traced.

The will of Lady Alice Radcliffe,⁵² dated 1554, provides 40s. for the maintenance of the chapel of St John, but the idea of any link between this and the hospice must remain mere speculation.

Appleby – St Nicholas

The leper hospital of St Nicholas, Appleby was probably founded *c.* 1200 by the Veteripont family and occupied a site on St Nicholas Holme, in a loop of the River Eden, west of the town. (Map reference NY 680203).

In 1240, shortly before his death, John de Veteripont gave the hospital to the abbey of Shap and this grant was confirmed by Bishop Walter Mauclerk, with the condition that the abbey should maintain three lepers at the hospital for ever.⁵³

An award dated 1256, between St Mary's of York and Walter Scaldwelle, vicar of St Michael's church in Appleby, indicates that the vicar and his successors held a tenth of the income of the hospital of St Nicholas.⁵⁴

When John de Veteripont's son Robert died in 1261 the lands passed to his daughter Isabel and Idonea. Isabel married Roger de Clifford and that half of the Honour of Appleby which included St Nicholas therefore passed to the Clifford family. In 1381/2, the then Roger de Clifford, 2nd Baron, gave licence to the abbey of Shap to include a piece of land in the fields of St Nicholas.⁵⁵

I can find no further reference to the hospital until in 1541, the Augmentation Office Roll records it, under the Shap Abbey possessions, and values it at £4.⁵⁶ In 1544 it was granted to Thomas, Lord Wharton, with all its possessions and revenues. A survey conducted in 1599-1600 of the "farm" of St Nicholas records that –

The dwelling house clean destroyed

The chapel heretofore a lazar house now made into a dwelling house

An orchard much destroyed

Two closes of arable land adjoining to the house – 8 acres

St Nicholas Holme now ploughed – 20 acres

The middle holme some meadows some arable – 3 acres

.....

So by this account
there is but 130
acres of all the ground⁵⁷

In 1614, Philip, Lord Wharton and Sir Thomas Wharton sold the property to Israel Fielding for £700. In 1652, the Countess of Pembroke bought it for £900 and used the revenue from the St Nicholas lands to support her new hospital of St Annes which was opened in 1653.⁵⁸

Sandford or Coupmanbeck

There would appear to have been a small hospital, possibly a hospice for travellers using the route over Stainmoor, near to Coupland Bridge, two miles south-east of Appleby (map reference NY 711189).

Little is known of this house, but it is thought to have been founded by the Veteriponte family. When Robert de Veteriponte died in 1261 he left two infant daughters Isabel and Idonea. When they came of age Isabel married Roger de Clifford and Idonea married Roger de Leyburne and at the Partition of Fees of Westmorland, made at Great Asby church in 1286, that portion allotted to Isabel included the advowson of the hospital of Coupmanbeck.⁵⁹

In a slightly later gift, *c.* 1290, the hospital is referred to in boundary details and would appear to have been situated at the confluence of Coupmanbeck and Creskeldbeck,⁶⁰ but no trace can be found today.

Brough – St Mary and St Gabriel

In 1506 John Brunskill founded a hospital on land called Gibgarth at Market Brough. The land was endowed by Thomas Blenkinsop⁶¹ of Hillbeck on condition that a chapel and hospital were built thereon. The chantry chapel, dedicated to St Mary the Blessed Virgin⁶² and St Gabriel, employed two priests to sing and pray for the souls of the dead benefactors and for the welfare of the living. In addition, one of the priests was to teach grammar and the other was to help children willing to learn to sing.⁶³

The hospital had two beds and was a hospice for travellers using the route from the east over Stainmore, as well as for “poor people”.⁶⁴ A similar hospice had existed near the Rerecross on Stainmoor since at least 1171.⁶⁵

Confirmation of the foundation was made by both Bishop Layburn and Thomas, archbishop of York, but was opposed by Mr Rasebeck, vicar of Church Brough. He “set up the cross and lighted up candles in the church at mid time of the day, caused the bell to be rung and cursed with bell, book and candle all those that should receive any oblations of them that resorted to the said chapel or should give any encouragement to the same”. The dispute was heard at the archbishop’s court in York and Mr Rasebeck received “a sharp citation against him censuring him as an abandoned wretch and inflated with diabolical venom for opposing to such good work”. The appeal went to the Pope and an agreement was made whereby John Brunskill paid annual compensation of 20s. to Mr Rasebeck and his successor vicars.⁶⁶

Richard, abbot of Shap supervised payment of the compensation together with a payment of 2d. yearly to the Bishop of Carlisle and appointed a man and his wife as caretakers of the chapel ornaments and hospital beds. Wages were paid from the oblations and any surplus was kept in a chest at Shap Abbey.⁶⁷

*Valor Ecclesiasticus*⁶⁸ gives entries for the grammar school, valued at £7 19s. and the singing school (*Scola Cantator*), valued at £5.

After the Dissolution the grammar school continued for some time, supported by a pension which had been provided for the schoolmaster. In 1822, a Charity Commissioner's Survey reported that there was a schoolhouse and a master's residence, but it had not been inhabited for thirty or forty years.⁶⁹ The hospice may have continued until its function was overtaken by the more commercially based inns in the village.

Bampton – (Gilswath) (Gilduswad)

Evidence for the existence of the leper hospital of St Mary and St Thomas Martyr, at Gilswath in the Bampton area, is centred mainly on two sources.

About 1255, the Master of the hospital of St Thomas de Gilduswad and his tenant, appear as defendants in a suit brought against them by Alan de Caberg and his wife Alice, together with Gilbert de Wyteby and his wife Christiana. The dispute related to a small parcel of land in Lowther, into which the Master had ingress only through Ralf de Ayncurt who had demised this while Alice and Christiana were in his custody.⁷⁰

Before 1292,⁷¹ Robert, son of John de Morville, made a grant⁷² of peat to "John, priest of the hospital of Gilduswad and the fraternity there, whole as well as leprous". Twenty wagon loads of peat were to be "dug at their own costs in his turbarry of Helton Flechan where his men in common dug every year; to be dried and carried away by a fit way within his bounds which led to the water of the Lowther from the same moor". Ten wagon loads were to be given to the Master and ten to the brothers and lepers who were dwelling there, staying there or staying as guests. The grant includes a specific provision that "the brothers and lepers should at no time in the future be deprived of that which would reasonably fall to their shares of the lesser fire which should be shared according to the spirit of fraternity and charity of the hospital". The implication would seem to be that charitable gifts in the past had not always been used to the benefit of the poor inmates. It is worthy of note that both Alan de Caberg and Gilbert de Wyteby are included in the list of witnesses to the grant.

Further possible references to the hospital include a grant of lands between Bampton and Spitel made by Robert Mustell to his son Richard in or about 1200.⁷³ A will proved at Rose on 10 September 1362, made by John de Askeby, vicar of Bampton, directed that his body should be buried in the choir of the church of St Patrick, Bampton and that the sum of 2s. was to be left to the chapel of St Thomas of the church of Bampton.⁷⁴ In 1367 there is a mention of a chapelry "near the bridge in Gildonswath".⁷⁵

Clearly a leper hospital did exist in the area, probably near to the river Lowther and probably north of the present day Bampton, but I am unable to offer an exact location.

Kendal (Scalthwaiterigg) – St Leonard

The hospital of St Leonard, founded by the Lancaster family, barons of Kendal, was primarily a leper hospital and occupied a site in Scalthwaiterigg, north-east of the town, now known as Spital farm (map reference SD 527943).

About 1222, William de Lancaster III, in a grant of privileges and liberties to the burgesses of Kendal, refers to the hospital of St Leonard.⁷⁶ In 1246, William gave the

advowson of the hospital to John, Prior of Conishead and to the canons.⁷⁷ At that time the Hospital was described as being for the support of three lepers and two chaplains, who were to be appointed by the Prior. To assist with their support, William gave 44 quarters of oatmeal from his mill in Patton⁷⁸ and there is evidence that further revenue may have come from a fulling mill, which in 1274 was said to have been owned by the hospital and worth 60s. annually.⁷⁹

When William died without issue in 1246, the Barony was divided and that portion, which later became the Marquis Fee and included the hospital, passed via his sister Helwise and her husband Peter de Brus, to their son Peter. This Peter, also without issue, died in 1279 and the lands fell to his sister Margaret, wife of Robert de Ros, Lord of Wark-on-Tweed.⁸⁰

Conishead was still involved in the affairs of St Leonards, for in 1278, Margaret de Ros was the defendant in a suit brought by Prior Thomas.⁸¹ He alleged that he held the advowson of the hospital in *frankalmoign*⁸² and according to the original agreement had control over appointments. Margaret had usurped this control and he had, as a result, suffered loss amounting to twenty pounds. The outcome of the suit is not recorded, but Margaret apparently won – in 1297 she divided her estate between her son William and her nephew Marmaduke de Tweng. William's portion included the advowson of the hospital and Kendal Castle⁸³ and at his inquest in 1310 it is recorded that he had been Master, maintaining four lepers and two chaplains. The value of the hospital was given as £8 13s. 4d.⁸⁴

As William's son was a minor, the estate was escheated to the Crown and in 1316 a king's clerk, Roger de Kendale was given custody of the hospital.⁸⁵ Restoration was made to the Ros family and in 1390 Sir Thomas died, seized of the advowson which was then valued at 40s.⁸⁶

Sir Thomas's heir, his grand-daughter Elizabeth, had married Sir William Parr in 1383 and the hospital therefore passed into the Parr family. When Sir William died in 1404, the advowson he held was still worth 40s.⁸⁷ and was passed on to his son John who retained it until he died in 1408.⁸⁸

A Papal Mandate, issued in 1427, directed John Kemp, archbishop of York, to ordain a twenty year old deacon, John Wright and to grant him the administration of the "poor hospital of Kendal".⁸⁹ As the incidence of leprosy was by this time much reduced, the status of the hospital was changing to include care for the poor. At this date patronage was held by John Parr's son, Thomas and it was noted, in the mandate, that according to the foundation charter the master must either be an ordained priest or be a person of such age that he could be ordained within a year of receiving office.

In 1433, there is evidence of gifts of vestments being provided for the altar of the hospital chapel, through the will of Nicholas James, a citizen and ironmonger of London.⁹⁰

Further dispute with Conishead arose in 1440,⁹¹ when Sir Thomas Parr quit claimed to the Prior his right in the hospital and all the lands, tenements etc. annexed or belonging to it, which the Prior had recently recovered by Assize of Novel Disseisin.

After Sir Thomas died in 1464, the hospital passed to his son William, who in turn died leaving his heir, Thomas, a minor. A further escheatment resulted and in 1484, Thomas still being under age, the King appointed William Duket as chaplain in place of Thomas Fell who had lately resigned.⁹²

In 1535, *Valor Ecclesiasticus*⁹³ records the value of the hospital, in the custody of William Harrington, with its buildings and plough-lands, as £2 7s. 4d., with a further £8 16s. 11d. derived from the rents of land held. Five pounds is declared to be the amount paid out annually for the sustenance of the poor and leprous people daily existing in the hospital.

Harrington completed a return for the Rent Roll⁹⁴ in 1537 and included details of the various tenants, together with the value of the fulling mill (5s. per year). He reported that the corn mill had been decayed for the past thirty-four years. Allowance was still being paid for the support of one chaplain and three “lepers”. Alms amounting to £5 were still being distributed annually. However, the upheavals of the time resulted in problems relating to the tenure of the lands and in 1536 there had been a suit taken by Robert Garnett, on behalf of the King, against a tenant, Thomas Sleddall, claiming tortious possession.⁹⁵ This was followed by a counter suit in 1548 by Sleddall and certain other tenants,⁹⁶ but the final outcome is not recorded.

In 1546, the King ordered Sir Thomas Leyburne to set up a commission to “view the state of the late dissolved hospital”, with special reference to the “ornaments, vestments and other things for divine service or mass”. A return was to be made showing the state of repair of the chapel, the water mill and details of the rent paid to Sir William Harrington, late master, who occupied the mill and lands and purchased some of the ornaments of the chapel.⁹⁷ Nicolson noted⁹⁸ that the estate belonged, in his time, to Sir James Lowther.

An interesting note appears in the *Annals of Kendal*,⁹⁹ describing a find made by workmen digging the foundations of the present farmhouse. They uncovered a quantity of human bones and skulls, apparently belonging to some six or eight corpses, together with a sandstone slab, not a grave slab, bearing a rude cross. The nature of the inhumations appeared to be haphazard and the suggestion was made that they may have been the “victims” of the events following the Pilgrimage of Grace – a supposition based no doubt on the long connections between Conishead Priory and St Leonards. It has also been suggested that the vineyards known to have been located in the area of the present day Vine Street, in Far Cross, Kendal may have belonged to the hospital.¹⁰⁰

St Leonards undoubtedly enjoyed a long history as a hospital, both specifically for lepers and later for the poor. It was never a large house, but it had reasonable endowments, particularly of land and their associated rents. Its long history indicates that it maintained its response to a continuing social need.

Ladyholme – Windermere

This cell, dedicated to St Mary, was located on the small island of Ladyholm in Lake Windermere (map reference SD 398975). It has been variously described as a chapel, chantry, hospital and hermitage and it is likely that, during its lifetime, it did include all four – the chantry chapel probably survived after the hospital had ceased to function as such.

The island was included in the Richmond Fee of the barony of Kendal and its history reflects the descent of that line.¹⁰¹ When William de Lancaster III died without issue in 1246, that portion of his barony, which became the Richmond Fee, passed to his sister Alice, wife of William de Lindsay and subsequently to Walter, their son.

An Assize Roll of 1256 makes reference to a chaplain, Patrick of Man and it has been suggested¹⁰² that he was a chaplain of Ladyholme, but there is no clear evidence available to support this view.

The first definite reference appears to be the 1272 Inquest of William de Lindsay,¹⁰³ citing a charter of his son Walter, which required the sum of 10 marks to be paid yearly to the brethren of the "hermitage of St Mary's island of Wynandermere for ever". This money was evidently derived from the rent of a watermill at Applethwaite.

The Barons of Lindsay owned considerable land and property in Berwickshire, Roxburgh, Peebles and Dumfries¹⁰⁴ and they are thought to have been the founders of the small hospital of Segden. This house, staffed by Augustinian friars, had formerly stood near Lamberton, the Lindsay seat, about two miles north of Berwick, but at a later date the site was changed and by 1367 there is evidence to indicate that it was located in Berwick itself.¹⁰⁵ The Lindsay link is undoubtedly the reason for the staffing of Ladyholme by friars from Segden,¹⁰⁶ a situation which was probably maintained until Edward III ordered the Provincial to remove all Scottish friars from Berwick and replace them with English born members in 1333.¹⁰⁷

Walter de Lindsay's son, a second William, died in 1282 and the lands, including the hospital were escheated by the Crown,¹⁰⁸ probably because of the minority of his heir and daughter Christiana. The lands were later restored and Christiana married a Frenchman, Ingelram de Ghisnes (Guynes), Lord of Courcy. In 1323, after his death, an inquisition revealed that the island "le Holme" and presumably the hospital, was worth nothing and in need of great repair because of destruction by the Scots.¹⁰⁹

Christiana died in December 1333¹¹⁰ and as her son William had been declared an alien, the lands were again escheated by the Crown. In March 1334, the King made a grant, for life, of the "hospital of St Mary, Seyntemarieholm in Wynandermere", to William de Baumbergh, king's clerk;¹¹¹ the master and brethren of Segden having forfeited their control.¹¹² By July 1334, Christiana's grandson, William, although a Frenchman by birth, had done homage to the King and had the lands restored to him.¹¹³ In 1335 it was confirmed that the advowson of the hospital of Segden was his, together with the remainder of the Barony of Lindsay¹¹⁴ and in 1340, by letter patent, the advowson of the "chapel" of Marieholm followed.¹¹⁵

William died some time before 1344 and the lands were escheated. In that same year a writ was issued, on behalf of the master and brethren of "Marieholm", relating to the 10 marks rent from Applethwaite watermill granted to them by Walter de Lindsay. The mill was said to be in the hands of the Countess of Pembroke and she was summoned to show cause why she should not pay the rent.¹¹⁶

In 1348, William's widow Joan, having married John de Coupland, the estate was restored to him, but the hospital appeared to be in difficulty. The following year there was only one chaplain on Ladyholme and he finally died of the plague; the watermill was reported to have decayed.¹¹⁷ An Inquisition was set up in Kendal to consider re-staffing the chapel in 1354¹¹⁸ but when Joan died in 1375 the advowson was said to be worth nothing.¹¹⁹

William had a brother, Ingleram, married to Catherine, daughter of the Duke of Austria and they had a son, born in France, also named Ingleram (or Eguerrand). This son, in 1365, married Isabel, daughter of King Edward III. He was made Earl of Bedford, admitted to the Order of the Garter and the family estates restored to him, but

he did not settle in England. Shortly after the death of King Edward in 1377 he returned to his native France and sent his wife and daughter Phillipa back to England – the estate reverted once again to the Crown.

In 1381, Nicholas Reynes, escheator, together with Walter Strickland and Thomas Musgrave, were appointed to “inquire into the lands and possessions of Seinte Marie Holme annexed to the chapel of Segden”.¹²⁰

Phillipa married Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford and Duke of Ireland. The estate was obviously restored to her, for in 1390, a rental¹²¹ of her lands shows that the chapel of Marieholme had a tenement and eight acres of land tenanted by William Patterdale and worth 5s., the herbage of a close called “Monkbergh”, worth 16d. per annum, a farm called “Friarfield” and a fishery in Windermere together worth 23s. 4d. Richard Clifford, the chaplain, received 2 marks yearly.

Phillipa died without issue in 1412 and the estate was granted to John, Duke of Bedford and son of King Henry IV. When John died in 1436, it passed to John de Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. He died the same year leaving his daughter Margaret as heiress. Within the terms of Margaret’s holding, the “chantry of St Maryholme” with its lands, tenements, fisheries, etc. and 10 marks from the lordship of Kendal had, in 1439, been granted to William Biggins.¹²² The chapel appears to have remained with the Biggins family, through Reynold¹²³ to William, who died before 1453, leaving John Bowden as chaplain.¹²⁴ In 1454 a rental of the lands held by Margaret’s husband, Edmund, Earl of Richmond, showed Robert Dickinson occupying the messuage belonging to the chapel and valued at 8s.¹²⁵

When Margaret died in 1509 the estate reverted to her son King Henry VII and by 1510 William Mountfort was shown as chaplain of the chapel with a stipend of ten marks and two tenements.¹²⁶

The Chantry Survey of 1546 shows Mountfort still as chaplain, with an annual stipend of £6 13s. 4d., paid from lands in the possession of Christopher Philipson and the rental from two tenements in the tenure of Roland and Thomas Dickson.¹²⁷

The story from this point on need not concern us, certainly the hospital had long since ceased to function as such. The island is now owned by the National Trust, but there are no visible remains left of hospital or chapel.

Kirkby Lonsdale (Tearnside) – St Leonard

The leper hospital of St Leonard’s, Tearnside, (Teneleshed – Teyneshed), occasionally referred to as the hospital or chantry of St Leonard, Kirkby Lonsdale, occupied a site on or near the present day Spital farm, between Lupton and Kirkby Lonsdale (map reference SD 577799).

The earliest reference to the hospital is found in a grant,¹²⁸ c. 1240, by the widow Godit Prihince, of four acres of land in Newbiggin near Hutton Roof, to the abbot and convent of Cockersand. Adam, priest of Teneleshed is named as a witness. In a further grant,¹²⁹ of a similar date, Adam chaplain of Telneshead received from Matilda, late wife of Robert Long and daughter of Gilbert de Newbiggin, “one rood of land in the vill of Newbiggin with her right in the vill to hold by rendering 2d. yearly to the abbot of Cockersand”. A short time later, c. 1250-70, Adam, chaplain of Teneleshed, gives presumably the same plot of land, but now valued at a yearly rental of 6d. to Roger,

son of his sister Christiana.¹³⁰ The suggestion has been made that Adam was a member of the Newbiggin family, but his exact identity must remain rather obscure.

Further evidence, again relating to land, is revealed in a charter dated c. 1300. Alice, widow of Adam de Melling made a grant to John de Hodelston of one acre of land, together with appurtenances, in Hutton Roof and one part of the advowson of the “hospitalis sancti leonardi de Teneleshend”, together with other liberties.¹³¹

The hospital was clearly still in operation in 1467 when Robert Kirkby, warden of the hospital of St Leonard of Teyneshed, is named as a member of the inquisition enquiring into the right of patronage of the parish church of Thornton in Lonsdale.¹³²

In 1551, during depositions taken in relation to the work of the Court of Augmentations, a witness William Wilson, from his memory recited the names of the chantry priests as follows:

1513-31 Robert Redman
 1531-5 Walter Preston
 1535-40 Edward Craven
 1540-51 Geoffrey Bainbridge¹³³

Certainly Craven is recorded as incumbent in the 1535 *Valor Ecclesiasticus*,¹³⁴ when the chantry was valued at £4 13s. 4d and he is recorded as retiring in 1540 when Bainbridge succeeded him.

In 1546, during the Chantry Survey, details of the holdings and the chantry vestments, ornaments and plate are recorded and one year later Bainbridge leased the lands to his brother George.¹³⁵

By 1548, the Court of Augmentations announced particulars of the sale of the Spital and lands, making the comment that it “seemeth to be An hospytall founded for the mayntenance of lepers and pore folkes and it harth ben used not Almoste this xx yeres last past”. Bainbridge expressed an interest in purchasing the property which had been surrendered to the King’s Surveyor, Allan Bellingham.¹³⁶

A lengthy legal dispute followed in which the lands of the Spital were said to have been occupied by farms – a situation which pertains today. In 1555 Bainbridge was granted a pension and in 1558 the property was sold to Mr Thomas Carus, Justice of the Queen’s Bench and owner of an estate at Asthwaite.¹³⁷

Conishead – Blessed Virgin Mary

Conishead was originally founded *temp.* Henry II by Gamel de Pennington, with encouragement from William de Lancaster I.¹³⁸ It has been suggested that an earlier hospital of St John of Jerusalem at Bardsea, founded by William de Lancaster, was moved to the Conishead site and developed from there.¹³⁹ The evidence is slight, but the story is logical – the route across the Sands makes the presence of a hospice at Bardsea and/or Conishead credible and could provide the starting point for a house which, as a result of rich endowments, flourished to become the Priory of Conishead.

It is not known when the first Augustinian Canons arrived at Conishead or when the house was elevated to the status of Priory, but it is likely that its function as a hospital expanded and took in the general care for the poor, indigent and lepers for some time

after. In 1247, William de Skelmerskerth left 6d. for the lepers *juxta* Conishead – possibly lepers in the care of the Canons.¹⁴⁰

There was a further connection with lepers, for in 1246, William de Lancaster III gave the advowson of St Leonard's hospital, Kendal, to John, prior of Conishead and the Canons.¹⁴¹ St Leonard's was a leper hospital and as the Prior was responsible for appointing the two chaplains it is possible that they were despatched from Conishead.

Ulverston – Pennington

In 1247, William de Skelmerskerth in his will, left 6d. for the lepers *juxta* Ulverston, making a clear distinction between them and the lepers *juxta* Conishead.¹⁴²

Place-name evidence points to Loppergarth, Pennington (map reference SD 254774) as being the possible site of a leper hospital near to Ulverston.¹⁴³ The ancient dedication of Pennington Church to St Leonard is a dedication which is found in other Cumbrian leper hospitals (see Kendal, Wigton, Kirkby Lonsdale).

Harper Gaythorne in his paper on the runic tympanum found at Pennington, suggests that Loppergarth is the traditional site of the hospital and that a field near the Ragged Gill, some three-quarters of a mile further north and which is called "hospital" may have been part of its endowment.¹⁴⁴ Alfred Fell however, attributes that field to Conishead Priory.¹⁴⁵

The earliest mention I can find of the place-name Loppergarth at Pennington is in the case *Mills v. Lord Muncaster* 1610.¹⁴⁶ By 1849 it is said to be the site of the Pennington Work House or Poor House,¹⁴⁷ a not uncommon change of status for a hospital.

Doubtful Foundations

Bewcastle

The Victoria County History,¹⁴⁸ citing the Register of Holm Cultram, indicates that there was a hospital dedicated to St Leonard in Bewcastle – the "hospitale de Lennh in Bothecastre". I can find no other reference which would substantiate such a claim, although the position of Bewcastle in relation to the Maiden Way does not rule out the possibility of there being a hospice in the area.

What is more probable however, is that the Hospital of St Leonard in York owned land in Bewcastle. In a memorandum dated 1294, from the Register of Holm Cultram,¹⁴⁹ the abbot and convent, collectors of the tenth used as a subsidy by King Edward I in respect of the war in the Holy Land, asked for an allowance for the tithe of St Leonard's hospital from Bewcastle. It was claimed that payments from a field in Bewcastle, owned by the hospital, had not been received since the concession of the tithe. It is therefore likely that the existence of "hospital land" in Bewcastle has been mistaken for the existence of a hospital.

Carlisle – St Catherine

Rotha Mary Clay records that there was a hospital of St Catherine in Castlegate, Carlisle, but no further evidence to such a house can be traced.¹⁵⁰

There was a chantry chapel dedicated to St Catherine in the Priory church of St Mary which is said to have been founded by John de Capella, citizen of Carlisle and endowed with rents, lands and burgage houses. This chapel exists today in the present cathedral.

Wathsudden

The “infirmery chapel of Wathsudden” is referred to in the foundation charter of Shap Abbey.¹⁵¹ I am satisfied that this was the infirmery for the Preston Patrick house of Premonstratensian Canons which moved to Shap, c. 1200, and became the abbey of St Mary Magdalen.

Wath Sutton can be identified today as a farm in Preston Richard (map reference SD 530827), but there is no evidence to suggest that it ever enjoyed the status of a hospital.

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Notes and References

- ¹ CW1, x, 95-123.
- ² Rotha Mary Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals of England* (London, 1909), (quoted henceforth as R.M.C.), provides an excellent account of medieval hospitals generally.
- ³ Whellan, 222.
- ⁴ R.M.C., 2.
- ⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1343-1345*, 507-8.
- ⁶ *Statutes of the Realm*, i, 244.
- ⁷ W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, CW Record Series (quoted henceforth as R. of K.), ii, 192.
- ⁸ CW2, xix, 103.
- ⁹ *Monasticon Anglicanum of Dugdale*, eds. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (1817-30) (henceforth quoted as *Monasticon*), vi, 757.
- ¹⁰ *Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (Oxford, 1854), iii, 230-1 and C. M. L. Bouch, *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties* (Kendal, 1948), 13-4.
- ¹¹ J. E. Prescott, *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, CW Record Series (1897), 114, and V.C.H. Cumberland, ii, 199.
- ¹² J. E. Prescott *op. cit.*, 158.
- ¹³ CW2, lxxvi, 88.
- ¹⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340-1343*, 120.
- ¹⁵ *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, 355.
- ¹⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1343-1345*, 575.
- ¹⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1348-1350*, 176.
- ¹⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391-1396*, 294.
- ¹⁹ *Monasticon*, vi, 757.
- ²⁰ *VCH Cumberland*, ii, 203.

- ²¹ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii, 364.
- ²² *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, 10.
- ²³ *Cal. Docs. Relating to Scotland*, i, 319, 331.
- ²⁴ F. H. M. Parker (ed.), *The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland 1222-60*, CW Extra Series, xii, 146, 151.
- ²⁵ *VCH Cumberland*, ii, 203.
- ²⁶ See also Lyson's *Cumberland*, 171.
- ²⁷ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, xii, 360.
- ²⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381-1385*, 392.
- ²⁹ *Feet of Fines for Cumberland* cited in CW2, vii, 244.
- ³⁰ Rotha Mary Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London, 1914), 48, 190.
- ³¹ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 286.
- ³² CW2, lx, 86.
- ³³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1548-1549*, 22.
- ³⁴ *Monasticon*, vi, 758.
- ³⁵ Whellan, 234.
- ³⁶ CW2, ii, 346.
- ³⁷ CW2, xxi, 105.
- ³⁸ Whellan, 222.
- ³⁹ N and B., ii, 134.
- ⁴⁰ CW2, xxxii, 3.
- ⁴¹ *Monasticon*, vi, 144.
- ⁴² N and B., ii, 134.
- ⁴³ CW2, xxiii, 241.
- ⁴⁴ D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *The Medieval Religious Houses of England and Wales* (London, 1971), 384.
- ⁴⁵ W. A. Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Rome, 1951), 104.
- ⁴⁶ *Place Names of Cumberland* (Place Name Society Vol. XXI), Pt. 2, 309.
- ⁴⁷ CW2, lxxxvi, 117, 119.
- ⁴⁸ C.R.O. (Carlisle), D/Lec/
- ⁴⁹ CW2, xxix, 39.
- ⁵⁰ *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, 47.
- ⁵¹ R.M.C., 284.
- ⁵² CW2, iv, 308-9.
- ⁵³ Brougham Deeds, C.R.O. (Kendal), WDEC/2. Box 2.
- ⁵⁴ J. E. Prescott, *op. cit.*, 62 and *Monasticon*, iii, 587.
- ⁵⁵ N and B., i, 343.
- ⁵⁶ *Monasticon*, vi, 870.
- ⁵⁷ C.R.O. (Kendal), WDEC/2. Box 2.
- ⁵⁸ CW2, ix, 194-6.
- ⁵⁹ N and B., i, 610.
- ⁶⁰ Hilton Deeds, C.R.O. (Carlisle), D/Wyb/2/119. I am indebted to Mr Archibald H. Wybergh for drawing this to my attention.
- ⁶¹ A Thomas Blenkinsop of Hillbeck died in May 1503. His heir, also Thomas, was aged 17 years. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, ii (New Series), 514. For the early history of the Blenkinsop family see CW2, xviii, 157-9.
- ⁶² A chapel dedicated to St Mary had existed in Brough since at least 1300, CW2, xviii, 156.
- ⁶³ N and B., i, 573-4 and Whellan, 731.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ *Monasticon*, iv, 244.
- ⁶⁶ N and B., i, 573-4.
- ⁶⁷ J. F. Curwen, *The Later Records relating to North Westmorland or the Barony of Appleby*, CW Record Series, viii, 97-8 and *Monasticon*, vi, 778.
- ⁶⁸ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 297.
- ⁶⁹ John F. Curwen, *op. cit.*, 98-9.
- ⁷⁰ CW2, xvi, 123 (citing Assize Roll 979).

- ⁷¹ Robert was dead by 1292, CW2, xvi, 125 (citing Assize Roll 136).
- ⁷² C.R.O. (Carlisle), D/Lons.L/AS6.
- ⁷³ C.R.O. (Carlisle), D/Lons.L/BM8.
- ⁷⁴ *Testamenta Karleolensia*, CW Extra Series, ix, 68.
- ⁷⁵ CW2, xvi, 126.
- ⁷⁶ R. S. Ferguson, *The boke off record of the burgh of Kirkbie Kendal*, CW Extra Series, viii, 127.
- ⁷⁷ *Monasticon*, vi, 557, 778.
- ⁷⁸ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, i, 27 and CW2, x, 441.
- ⁷⁹ R. of K., i, 133.
- ⁸⁰ An excellent pedigree showing the descent of the Barony of Kendal into the Marquis, Lumley and Richmond Fees can be found in CW2, viii, 84.
- ⁸¹ CW2, xviii, 240 (citing Assize Roll 981).
- ⁸² *Frankalmoign* was an ecclesiastical or spiritual tenure, where service was given by prayer rather than by arms.
- ⁸³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 304.
- ⁸⁴ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, v, 118.
- ⁸⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327-1330*, 204.
- ⁸⁶ R. of K., i, 180.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁹ *Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters*, vii (1417-1431), 499.
- ⁹⁰ CW2, xvii, 255 (citing *North Country Wills*)
- ⁹¹ R. of K., i, 181.
- ⁹² *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1476-1485*, 409.
- ⁹³ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 268.
- ⁹⁴ R. of K., i, 71.
- ⁹⁵ *Cal. to Pleadings Duchy of Lancaster*, 205.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 229.
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 90.
- ⁹⁸ N and B., i, 75.
- ⁹⁹ Cornelius Nicholson, *Annals of Kendal* (Kendal, 1832), 81-2.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* and CW2, xvii, 255.
- ¹⁰¹ CW2, viii, 84 demonstrates the descent of the Barony of Kendal.
- ¹⁰² CW2, xiii, 68 (citing Assize Roll 979).
- ¹⁰³ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, i, 283.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Cal. Docs. relating to Scotland*, iii, 210.
- ¹⁰⁵ For a full account of the hospital of Segden see Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses Scotland* (London, 1976), 191-2.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, iii, 167.
- ¹⁰⁷ F. Roth O.S.A., *History of the English Austin Friars*, 487.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-1292*, item dated 24.11.1282.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Cal. Docs. Relating to Scotland*, iii, 154.
- ¹¹⁰ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, vii, 396.
- ¹¹¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-1334*, 524. He may well be the same William Baumbergh who was warden of St. Mary Magdalen Hospital, Bamburgh (1340) and Wooler Hospital (1342). A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, (Oxford, 1957), i, 102.
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*, 561.
- ¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 560-1.
- ¹¹⁴ *Cal. Docs Relating to Scotland*, iii, 210.
- ¹¹⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340-1343*, 69-70.
- ¹¹⁶ *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, ii, 468.
- ¹¹⁷ CW2, xx, 119-20.
- ¹¹⁸ *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, iii, 167.
- ¹¹⁹ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, xiv, 107.
- ¹²⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1377-1381*, 629.

- ¹²¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-1389*, 89-90.
- ¹²² *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-1441*, 345.
- ¹²³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1441-1446*, 308.
- ¹²⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-1461*, 39.
- ¹²⁵ R. of K., ii, 72.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.
- ¹²⁷ CW2, viii, 134-5 and CW2, xxvii, 76.
- ¹²⁸ R. of K., ii, 344.
- ¹²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹³¹ Bodleian Library, MS Ch. Yorks a.2 (No. 160a). I am indebted to Julian Munby for his efforts in locating this elusive document.
- ¹³² *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Journal*, xxxii, "The Register of the Archdeacons of Richmond, 1442-1477", 118.
- ¹³³ CW2, xxvii, 59.
- ¹³⁴ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 259-60.
- ¹³⁵ CW2, viii, 127.
- ¹³⁶ CW2, xxvii, 69.
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 67-8.
- ¹³⁸ *Monasticon*, vi, 555.
- ¹³⁹ CW2, vi, 176-7.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Furness Coucher Book*, ii, Pt. 2, 411.
- ¹⁴¹ *Monasticon*, vi, 557, 778.
- ¹⁴² *Furness Coucher Book*, ii, Pt. 2, 411.
- ¹⁴³ I am indebted to John Garbutt for bringing this to my attention.
- ¹⁴⁴ CW2, iii, 377.
- ¹⁴⁵ Alfred Fell, *A Furness Manor: Pennington and its Church* (1929), 32.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Mills v. Lord Muncaster 1610*, Barrow Library, Vol. IV, item 42.
- ¹⁴⁷ CW2, xlii, 137.
- ¹⁴⁸ *VCH Cumberland*, ii, 204.
- ¹⁴⁹ F. Grainger and W. G. Collingwood, *The Registers and Records of Holm Cultram*, CW Extra Series (1929), 102-3.
- ¹⁵⁰ R.M.C., 284.
- ¹⁵¹ *Monasticon*, vi, 869.