

THE OLD APPROACH TO AMBLESIDE FROM LOW FOLD:
BY W. COLLINGWOOD, R.W.S., 1841.

TO FACE P. I.

ART. I.—*Ambleside Town and Chapel*: Some Contributions towards their History. By MARY L. ARMITT.*

Read at Carlisle, April 27th, 1905.

IF some mighty *Hamel* of old did actually with a few followers make his *sate* or *sæter* at Ambleside (thus giving his name for all time to the place), it must have been then but a tiny clearing in a great forest. Below, amid the marshes of the lake-head, lay the ruins of that once busy Roman camp—or city, as Camden called it—silent and desolate, the haunt of bittern and harrier. From it ran diverging paths, already getting sunk in bog, one of which, rising to the ancient track over Kirkstone, crossed the Stock Beck on the first rocky ground by a ford known to tradition as Halicar. It was here the settlers made their homesteads, with perhaps the huts of a few Celtic herdsmen clustering round. Above them was the flowery field protected for the summer hay, with the open summer pasture for cattle beyond. Below them in the deeper soil of valley flat, lay their single ploughland. And—since it is probable that the colony was built above Stock, where the later Ambleside Hall and the majority of the older houses stood—in front of them ran the noisy beck, bounding down the gill and slackening for its side-way, encircling loop, alike a check to foe and a motive power for the wheel that ground their corn.

Little heed would the far-off governing forces of early England pay to such a settlement. Warfare and anarchy consumed the energies of Northumbria for some hundreds

* The facts found in the following paper rest on the authority of early deeds existing in the Public Record Office and in two private collections, along with a mass of later material found at Rydal Hall. For full use of the latter the writer is indebted to Mr. le Fleming; and for assistance in procuring the former to Mr. W. Farrer. Mr. G. Browne has also furnished important additions from his MSS. Helpers on stray questions have been almost too numerous for mention.

of years; this her border-land to the west, of mountain and forest, was left a desolation, and the life hidden within its fastnesses was unknown.

I.—THE LAND AND ITS TENURE.

Early Norman documents give no place-names within the twin valleys of Rothay and Brathay, which meet at the great lake. It is only forest, and park, and deer that we read of hereabouts. We learn by later deeds that Ambleside lay in the forest of Troutbeck, nigh to the forest of Rydal, and that it belonged to the manor of Windermere and consequently to the Barony of Kendal. When that wide Barony was divided between the two sisters de Lancaster—their brother William, the third of that name, having died without children, in 1246—Ambleside, with Troutbeck, Applethwaite, Windermere, Crosthwaite, and parts of Grasmere, Langdale, and Loughrigg, fell to the share of Alice, who had married William de Lindesey. Barring a life-long grant to John and Joan de Coupland from the Crown, it remained with her descendants, Lindeseys and Coucys, till they died out in a granddaughter of Edward the Third. By grants from the Crown it became successively the great Duke of Bedford's, the Duke of Somerset's, and the Earl of Richmond's, who married the last Duke's daughter. Edward IV. alienated it from them in order to reward his adherent in the wars, Sir William Parre, whose family already owned by long descent another portion of the old Barony of Kendal, and were seated at the Castle. When Henry Richmond brought the fortunes of the Lancastrians again uppermost, this estate of his mother's was naturally restored to her; and it was from that time called the Richmond Fee. It was granted by Henry VIII. to his son, the Duke of Richmond; by James I. to his son Charles; by Charles II. to his wife, Catharine of Braganza; and was subsequently sold to the Lowther family, who yet possess the lordship of it in the person of the Earl of

Lonsdale. The name Ambleside first appears, as far as I know, in that interesting charter of 1275, by which Lady Margaret de Brus (niece of Alice) endowed Roger de Lancaster with the forest of Rydal, part of her mother Helwise's inheritance (Charter Rolls, 3 Edw. I., No. 68, m. 4, No. 11). The boundaries of that forest are therein declared to descend "from the Swythene by a certain path that is called the Weythesty, unto the park of Amelsate, and so following outside the park unto Scandalebec, and so following Scandalebec unto Routha." Margaret in addition gives Roger "the whole of my part of Amelsate and Loghrigg, with all the appurtenances, by their right bounds, without any retention, with common of pasture within the bounds of Gressemer, for all manner of his beasts." Part of Loughrigg remains to the lords of Rydal, as representatives of this Roger, to this day; but there is no trace of their holding any portion of Ambleside after the date of this deed.

When William (or Walter) de Lindesay died in 1272, no mention is made of places hereabouts in the enumeration of his property. Only after mention of the Manor house of Windermere, of the hamlet of Applethwaite, the deed goes on to say, "He also held the forest of Trutebeck, worth 40*l.* yearly, which used to be rendered at the term of St. Michael, and a certain park there with a certain plough of the valley" (is this Ambleside?) "which might be yearly worth 10 marks in all issues if let to farm. He also held there 3 acres of meadow worth 3*s.* yearly and the pannage of Appelthwayt and Trutebeckes with the outlying herbage 50*s.* yearly" (Mr. Farrer's Lancashire Inquests, &c.)

When in 1283 the next William de Lindesey died, the Inquest takes full note of "Gresmer" and "Langeden," without any mention still of Ambleside or Loughrigg. The deed, however, follows up the recital of "Trutebek, Appilthwayt and Wyandermer" by "There is a certain forest there called Skamdal, whereof the herbage is worth

17*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly, and the pannage 5*s.* yearly." This, doubtless, is Scandale; and we must remember in connection with the variations of spelling of names to be found in early deeds, that they were set down phonetically by Court officials, generally strangers, who wrote them as they heard them from the mouths of the sworn men of the district, acting as jurors.*

In 1324, when Ingelram de Gynes died we first hear definitely of the status of Ambleside (*Inq. p.m.*, No. 60, 17 Edw. II.).

The property of this Frenchman, Lord of Coucy, to whom the heiress Christian de Lindsey had been married, is declared to have included "The hamlet of Hamelsate, part of the said Manor" (Windermere), "in which are 11 tenants at will rendering yearly 12*li.* 4*s.* 3½*d.* A mill there worth 8*s.* yearly,"—which is the first mention of a corn-mill. All these parts were suffering from the devastations of the Scots, as the deed tells us. In Loughrigg were 10 empty tenements, and "In the said hamlet of Hamelsete was 1 tenement which ought to render 13*s.* 4*d.* and now nothing, because in the hands of the lord for default of a tenant."

The Inquisition of Christiana de Gynes (*Inq. p.m.*, No. 74 (1. Nos.), 8 Edw. III.) his widow, in 1335 runs:—"Item in the hamlet of Hamelsate are 11 tenants at will, rendering yearly 12*li.* 4*s.* 3½*d.*, at the said terms;" (St. Martin in winter and Pentecost) "one water corn mill, worth 8*s.*" William, her son, was declared to be her heir; and his *Inq. p.m.*, 17 Ed. III., gives his brother Ingelram as his heir. Edward III., however, in 1346, alienated the lordship to reward a man who had fought well for him, and had taken the King of Scots alive at the battle of Neville's Cross.

* Mr. Farrer is kind enough to write, in connection with Skamdal in this deed, "I believe that during the 12th century many townships were created as it were by purpresture or encroachment in the forest. Hence the great change between Domesday Book and the first inquests and extents."

A deed of 1375 (*Inq. p.m.*, No. 29, 49 Edw. III., pt. I.) states that the Manor of Wynandermer with its members, Hamelsate one of them, had been granted to John de Coupland and his wife, with reversion to Ingelram de Coucy (created Earl of Bedford), and Isabella his wife, daughter of the king, Edward the third. Their only daughter died without heirs.

Again, in 1436, John, Duke of Bedford, is declared (*Inq. p.m.*, 14 Hen. VI., No. 36) to have been possessed of "the Forest of Trowtbek, with a certain parcel of land there called Amylses." Further, "And there is at Wynandermere aforesaid one court held twice yearly." The King (Henry VI.) his nephew, inherited.

In a document (Min. Acc', Bdle. 1044, n. 4) of the year 1438, "Amelsett" pays into the Treasury, by the hands of its reeves" (or graves, as they were called here), "John Mackereth and Henry Mackereth, and through the Receiver of the Lordship, Walter Strikeland, Esq., the sum of £16 5s. 10½d." For "gressum" or fines paid at change of owners, several of the Ambleside folk are said to be in arrears.

In 1444 (*Inq. p.m.*, 22 Hen. VI., No. 19) John, Duke of Somerset, is declared to have been possessed of "two parts of the lordship or manor of Hamelset, worth 16li. 5s. 9½d." by grant of the King (the third part was in the hands of the Duchess of Bedford as dower). His little heiress Margaret is stated to be two years old.

An undated document at Levens probably comes before the last two Inquisitions, as from internal evidence it seems to have been written between 1379 and 1403. It is a Rental, and gives full particulars of "Amylsyde" * as of other places in the Richmond Fee. It then held as many as 28 customary tenants—a great increase from the

* It is to be noticed that the final *sate*, *sett*, or (later) *sed*, here swings for the first time to *side*. In like manner, the last syllable of Hawkshead fluctuated before the 17th century between *set* and *side* before it settled finally into *head*, the equivalent of *sed*.

11 of 1324 and 1335—whose names and payments reaching altogether to £28, are written down. The full-sized holding (later called estate) seems to have consisted of a messuage, two houses, 6 acres (or thereabouts), and meadow, paying to the lord 26s. 8d. yearly. There are eleven of these, and in three cases we find that two men share at one—possibly a relic of the ancient custom West speaks of, which ensured the tillage of the ground, should a man be called off to war, by his neighbour and partner. There are likewise five holdings of less acreage paying 13s. 4d., which probably represent the original full-sized ones divided. Finally there are some of irregular amounts; two full-sized holdings at 20s., three “tofts” with 3 acres and meadow each, at 20s., 16s. 4d., and 13s. 4d. respectively; and one other holding in the possession of two men, which carries the large rent of 33s. 4d. Of this we shall hear more.

The 13s. 4d. holding was later described as “of five cattells,” or carrying the right to pasture five beasts on the common. The full-sized one then would be of ten cattle. An attempt to check the tendency to sub-division of the original holding is shown by an Order of the Manor Court of the time of Henry VIII.—“It is ordered from henceforth that no Tenement pertaining to this Lordshipp or within this Lordshipp shall be divyded or parted.”

But splitting, by inheritance and sale, was inevitable; and we find in a Rental of 1675 (Browne MSS.) as many as 43 estatesmen represented, who some of them pay so low a rent as 1s. 8d. Only four holdings of the original 26s. 8d. remain.

Now all these men—even the few who rented a toft or worked the corn-mill—were agriculturists. They held their land by customary tenure (that is, by unwritten law that was rooted in the past) inheriting from father to son, but paying to the lord besides rent certain small dues or taxes, as well as fines or gressums and heriots at the death respectively of lord or tenant, or upon the sale of the

holding. Customs in the various village and hamlet communities differed, and those of Ambleside seem, by the time we gain evidence of them, peculiarly free. That the usual green-hew rent was paid we know from the accounts of the Ambleside Hall estate in 1705. This "for Ambleside" is set down as 2s. 6d.; but it was usually 2d. on each holding, and represented an acknowledgment to the lord of his superior claim to the woodland, though the tenant likewise had personal claims upon it. But the absence of a private lord saved the Ambleside men from the trying boon services exacted of the tenant, who often had to work for his superior several days at the hay harvest and sheep-shearing; nor did they give the boon hens that were claimed from those neighbouring parts of the Barony of Kendal that were in the Marquis Fee. They came off peculiarly well, too, in their fines. When in 1574 Queen Elizabeth caused a sworn jury, drawn from the district, to state the ancient customs of the Richmond Fee, it was declared that the gressum or fine for old tenants was fixed at a sum representing two years' rental of the estate, and new tenants at three years'; except for the men of Ambleside, who paid but the equivalent of one year's rent. It is stated a little differently in an old MS. copy (possessed by Mr. F. Pollitt), of the composition of the tenants with James I., where, after the recital of the usual fine, the exception is noted of Ambleside and Troutbeck—"Two Hamletts of the Richmond Fee whoe payed but One year's rent upon change of Lord and Two yeares rent upon change of Tenn' for the Fine." The more favourable statement seems, however, to have been generally acted upon, for we find Edward Forrest, when he succeeded to the family estate in 1626, paying but the amount of his yearly rental. The fixing of the gressum was a matter of the first importance to the tenant, since the payment of a lump sum of money, if large, or frequently paid (through untimely death) was a great burden on the little estate. Private lords raised the fine when they

could; and the happy fortune of an Ambleside man may be inferred from the fact that while he paid in the seventeenth century £1 6s. 8d. on entering a full-sized holding, his neighbour of Rydal paid (unless by special arrangement) £26 8s. Nay even, on the death of the lord in 1806, the amount rose to £52 16s.

King James I's attempt to upset the whole land-tenure of these parts, on the excuse that the old obligation on the tenants' part of military service at the Border was void by the union of Scotland and England, as well as the energetic way in which it was met by the statesmen, has been often narrated. In this the Ambleside men took a foremost part. Mr. Gawen Brathwaite and George Jackson were two of the six principal men who undertook on behalf of Prince Charles' customary tenants of the whole Richmond Fee, to pay to him the sum of £2,700, in order that he would confirm to them their ancient rights. They apparently evaded the persistent demand that they should give up the titles to their property, and finally secured victory against their crowned antagonist, at the expense of the fine, which they undertook to pay in three instalments, viz., £700 on November 11th, 1619; £1000 on November 11th, 1620; and £1000 on November 11th, 1621. A bond exists among Mr. Browne's MSS., in which eleven men of Ambleside and eleven of Troutbeck make themselves responsible for the share of the two townships in the second instalment of £1000, which is £203 16s. 9d.

Another attempt was made by the Stuarts to ignore the ancient customary rights of their tenants. Charles II. proposed, as Lord of the Manor, to dispose of all the woods of the Barony of Kendal that were not fit for the navy, and appointed seven commissioners to view and mark the trees. The survey showed to how large an extent Ambleside was forest yet, for it contained 321 trees large enough for ship-building, valued at £19 6s. od., as well as other timber granted to the purchaser (Col. Richard

Kirkby) that was valued at £181 14s. 8d. But again the statesmen sprang to a defence of their rights, which included that of timber in the forest. Their petition stated their grievances, and recited their payment to the King's father of £2,700; while Mr. Thomas Braithwaite with Mr. George Browne and Mr. Wilson travelled to London to state their case before the Surveyor General, and secured a verdict (1665) in their favour.

Of the ancient customs of Ambleside, and the past which was rooted in a communal holding of land by a close body of villagers, we gain some glimpses from the Orders of the Court Baron of the Manor of Windermere. To this Court the men of Ambleside were bound to hie twice in the year, along with those of Troutbeck, Applethwaite and Undermillbeck, to pay their dues, to present offenders against the common law, and (by a selected sworn jury) to judge and decide all matters of dispute in connection with the land and forest rights, or the more personal ones that endangered the peace of the hamlet. The hamlet's customs and bye-laws they knew, as their fathers had known them aforetime, for it was their constant duty to testify to the same. But the lord's steward, whose duty it was to preside at the Court (though he had no power either to present offenders or to judge them) was often in ignorance, and for his convenience the laws of the Manor were written down. The copy preserved at Troutbeck is of a code written out in the 17th century, but it carefully embodies those of earlier times. The earliest dated entries run:—

Itm. It was ordered the xij Day of March in the Seventeenth yeare of King Edward the fourth. What Man or Woman dwelling within the Forest that felleth any wood for Fewell in the Wood Assigned to his Neighbour for Cropping but Ellers and Birks forfeits 3s. 4d.

Itm. Whosoe felleth any Wands or Spelks in the Dale of his neighbour without leave, or any green wood forfeits 6s. 8d.

The common right in wood and timber possessed by

every member of the village community was productive later of endless disputes and lawsuits. It was in early days controlled by two men called Bier-law men, and by the House-lookers and Hedge-lookers, all of which offices were probably (like that of the Frithmen of Rydal, who controlled the common pasturage in summer) held in rotation by the statesmen themselves.

Itm. It is ordered by the Assent of the Tenants of Troutbecke and George Birkett Bayliffe that whosoever makes not their part of the Close of Hayfitt Ing yearly Sufficiently by the first of Aprill at the Sight of the Bayliffe forfeits 4d.

Itm. The same paine for the Old Feild in Ambleside.

This recalls the time when the hay ground was enclosed from the open common land in spring by a temporary and doubtless wattle fence, or *floak*, easily removed in autumn. The site of the Old Field is unknown.

Itm. What Tenant as Fines another tenant of the Lords but in his own Court Baron or Byer law forfeits to the Lord 6s. 8d.

Itm. That none make any Coal Pitts in the Forrest under the Paine of 6s. 8d.

Whoso maketh any Hubleshow within this Lordship forfeits 6s. 8d.

This expression seems to have been generally used in the district for disturbance, as in Mr. Bellingham's Court, at Levens, in 1564, a man was fined 2s. od. for making "two hubbleshowes upon" another.

Itm. If any Tenent of Ambleside or Troutbecke sett more Grass of Chattell then p'taines to his Tenement forfeits 6s. 8d.

After some other and more indefinite orders come—

Orders for Troutbecke and Ambleside consented and agreed unto by Mr. Christopher Philipson, Depty Steward, and the Tenents of the said Lordship the 30th Day of Novemb^{er}, 1630.

Itm. Whosoe breaks any Garth or Hedge or takes any Peates in other Men's Mosse forfeits for every Default 6s. 8d.

Itm. Whosoever doth cutt down or breake any other Men's Ash Leaves forfeits 1s.

This interesting bye-law shows that in ancient days here, as still in Auvergne, the leaves of the ash-tree were carefully harvested as winter food for cattle.

Itm. It is ordered by the Consent as abovesaid that noe Tenant in Troutbecke or Ambleside Shall have any Timber Delivered to his building but upon his own Tenement, without the Consent of the Owners of the Ground, and the same to be Assigned by the House-lookers, and Delivered by the Bayliffe according to the Custome, upon paine of every Default 6s. 8d.

This was to check abuse of the ancient common law, that every tenant had a right to sufficient timber to keep his farmstead in order (house-bote, plough-bote, cart-bote, and hedge-bote as it was called), and that if it could not be found on ground assigned to himself, he could take it from elsewhere.

Itm. It is ordered thatt noe Tenant in Ambleside shall suffer their Kine or Chattell to bee or remaine amongst their Houses or Doors beneath their Fineable yeats from Mid May till Michaelmas by the space of one day at one time upon paine of 6s. 8d.

Where the homesteads were crowded together, as they seemed to be in the centre of Ambleside, such an order was important.

Itm. That none shall sheare any Grass in other men's ground 6s. 8d.

Itm. That none shall Rive any Hedge or Fence at any time Sub poena 6s. 8d.

That none Angle nor Fish by the Waterside in the meadow betwixt the first of June and the first of August without Licence of the owners of the Ground forfeits 6s. 8d.

It. That the High fell Yeats that are painable, Vizt. Scandall Yeat, the Steal Yeat and the Wall Yeat are to be made by the Tenants above Stock, And Kirkstone Yeat and Water garth Yeat by the Tenants of beneath Stocke, and whosoever shall not make and Hing them before the 24th Day of Aprill perticularly Every year forfeits 6s. 8d.

This shows that the barriers that kept the cattle on the fellside in summer were the care of all. The *Wall* gate is

significant, as suggestive of a stone wall as unusual. The line of these ancient barriers cannot now be determined, only their general direction.

Itm. That noe Tenant put any Goods upon the Com'on above their Stint upon pain of 6s. 8d.

Itm. That noe Tenant keep any Swine unringed after they have notice given him by any of his Neighbours upon paine of 6s. 8d.

The neighbourhood of the Forest gave importance to the swine, and in the charge to the jury we find—

Whosoe dwelleth out of the Forrest and putteth any Swine into the Forest, butt only when itt is Mast and these to be Scored, forfeits 3s. 4d.

An interesting point is presented in another charge to the jury.

Itm. Of them that Drives their Chattell at wrong Rakes or att their neighbours Rakes without leave against paine.

The old use of the word *rake* lingers in The Lady's Rake, Keswick; Rake Lane, Troutbeck, and Scots Rake, which Mr. Browne says is still applied to part of the old Roman road over High Street. In 1717 the Jury of the Court fined a Troutbeck man 3s. 4d. for driving his cattle from his ancient *out Rake* through the Middle Hundred and the Lowest to Skelgill Close "to the great disturbance" of several of his neighbours. The driving of cattle to the distant common, over unenclosed ground, or over ground allotted to another dalesman, must have been a serious matter; and each no doubt had his established or customary route or rake. Probably these came, in later times, to be walled in, and the wall-foundations of narrow ways, which Mr. Herbert Bell has found on the lower slopes of Wansfell, may possibly represent some of the old rakes.

The difficulties arising in later times from the driving of cattle, and the breakdown of the village jury, is exemplified by a paper, undated, of Sir Daniel Fleming's time, which sets forth the grievances of widow Fisher, regarding the

“drift way” for his cattle demanded across her land by John Mackereth :—

Upon the Contraver^{er} sye depending betweene John Mackereth on the one p'tys, and Widdow Fisher on the other ; for Motions to peace of Reasonable tearmes Shee would accept If Mackereth speake to her which as yet is not done for Shee is not willing as she conceives to be wronged, to follow them for an Agreem^t, but if they come to her : motions may be considered Shee is not pleased to accept of an Ambleside Jury for severall reasonable causes of Exception Shee conceives that a Customary Jury cannot be obtained without great charge, and when obtained, shee is a little dubious whether they will prove such as be competent Judges in the case ; Shee upon these considerations cannot imagine how to refer the matter without a Jury of Freeholds.

This Matter is not very triviall because the way claimed is the lenth of sixty three pearches all along her ploweing and moweing ground ; and a drift way for Chattell therein at all times.

Besides the making of two or three Gates to open, and to fall in of themselves, otherwise they will not shut any, which being left open ; it lyes her ground to the com'on way to the yearely value of eight pound, to be eaten up by any p'sons Goods that comes.

The Con^{ble} would not serve the warr^t till shee gave him one Shilling for executing Still alledging and sayeing that S^r Daniel could not com'and him as Con^{ble} to execute any Warr^t without pay. But as Con^{ble} he could com'and S^r Daniell, for if he were carrying a man to the Stockes he had power to com'and a justice to sett him in.

Widow Fisher proffered that if Mackereth would reimburse to her the charges they have already put her too ; and soe start equally ; shee is then willing to referre it to two, foure, sixe or more men mutually chosen by consent of both p'ties, but she is not willing any Bayliffs should appoint them.

The matter was not indeed trivial, since it came to violence. A Writ exists, signed by Sir Daniel, calling upon James Mackereth, mercer, Matthew Mackereth, Edward Harrison and John Tenter, husbandmen, to appear before a magistrate, as well as at the next Quarter Sessions at Kendal, and to keep till then of Good Behaviour, especially towards William Fisher, yeoman, Thomas Newton, jun., husbandman, and Elizabeth Fisher, spinster ; these last having declared upon their oath before the

Magistrate that the former, on Wednesday last, entered "forceably & Riotously wth divers Horses into a Close called Taylors-Skelding," in the possession of the mother of William and Elizabeth, "making a way through y^e same threatning to bind y^e said William Fisher and Thomas Newton, and assaulting & casting down y^e said Elizabeth Fisher in such sort as she was thereby much bruised and her arms made Bloody."

This valiant defence of her mother's rights by maid Elizabeth, backed only by two men, against four men with horses, shows the spirit and strength of the women of old. When Reginald Holme, of Loughrigg, defied the law, in 1684, and two officers were despatched to enter his premises and seize his goods, they were met not only by his three sons, but by his daughter Dorothy, who all together "did riotously fall upon them, beat, and abuse them."

An old man of Grasmere, recently dead, when speaking of the past, commented upon the size of the people he remembered in his childhood, and specially mentioned a woman of Ambleside, a blacksmith's wife, wonderful in stature and strength.

A difficulty about the ancient Common of Stock Moss was settled in August, 1699, by a conclave of thirteen men of the place (practically a jury, though they seem to have sat without a Court) who declared, on the testimony of six others—no doubt old and trusted men—that the holders of the Common had by ancient custom crossed it either in the portion of moss assigned to themselves or another, in any way most convenient for leading peats, according to season and weather; and moreover that, as it had been anciently village common for pasture, beasts and horses had still a right to move freely over it.

Beside this paper we find two others that concern the old common lands, which lingered longest in the peat-mosses that supplied the households with fuel. These are rough plans, drawn out as late as 1764, and given on the next two pages, as nearly in facsimile as type will allow.

Ambleside 1764

North.

The Plan of Snake How Moss as devided & now marked out.

1	Markett Stead qr		
2	Side.	Lowest qr	Patts
3	Saate	How Head qr	Edge
4	Nook End qr		
West	<p style="text-align: right;">High</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Markett Stead qr</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">This belongs to ye highest dalt</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Moss</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Lowest qr</p> <p style="text-align: center;">2</p> <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">This to ye highest. except one</p>	East
	pinch cragg Wall	<p style="text-align: center;">How Head qr</p> <p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Low Moss</p>	Snake pike
	<p style="text-align: center;">Nook End qr.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p>Lane reead South</p>		

A plan of ye Backstones
as divided and now marked out
adjoining to patterdale Lordship

Ambleside
peat Moss
1764
North

A plan of Sandall &
Sandall Bottom as it is
divided & now marked out

	Lowest	qr		Lawson	Stone Moss	Heart Cragg	
2 ^d	43 yds Broad Markett Stead	qr 3 rd 14 yds B		4 th	a Tarn		East side of ye River
	How Head	qr					
West	Nook End	qr					
1 st	B 24 yd Markett Stead qr	The runner		Markett Stead qr	Lowest qr	Nook End qr	How Head qr
	Lowest qr						East
	Nook End qr						
	How Head qr						
	Backstones point						
			South		Scandall Folds		
					Scandall Bottom		
						Scandall Yeat	

II.—AMBLESIDE INDUSTRIES.

The immemorial village customs lingered on, the ancient land-tenure held its own, though with weaker grip, till the 18th century. But far back in the past can be traced the first trickle of the ever-growing stream of home manufacture and trade that was to lift the pastoral hamlet to a thriving village and then to a town, with the weekly market so long coveted by its neighbour, Grasmere, with two Fairs in the year, and their attendant Court of Pie-Powder.

Perhaps some peculiarity of custom favoured the growth of Ambleside more than the hamlets around, or some cunning in her men.

No fulling-mill—no corn-mill even, previous to 1324—is mentioned in the earlier Inquisitions and Rentals. Possibly the community was too small, like the adjacent one of Loughrigg, for it to be worth while for the Lord at first to establish the usual corn mill, which was let out to one tenant, and at which all the rest were bound to grind their corn. The usual fulling or walk mill, where the villagers carried their home-spun cloths to be dressed for their home-made garments, which was provided for Grasmere as early as 1324, may also have been an erection of the lord's, let out as a monopoly; though this is not certainly known.

What is certain, however, is that the hamlets of Loughrigg and Ambleside, for which alone no fulling mills are accounted at first to the lord, paid to him a peculiar tax calling Walking-silver. In the Levens rental it is stated:

The same tenants (of Ambleside) hold by the custom of Walkyn-Sylver and pay per annum 6s. 8d.

Possibly this tax carried with it the right, since no walk mill was provided by the lord, to full their cloth where and how they would, either at a neighbouring mill beyond

C

their boundaries, or else to institute private or home-mills* without a monopoly.

It is in a document of 1453 (Min. Acc^t; Bdle. 644, No. 10,444), when Henry VI. grants this lordship to his half-brother Edmund, Earl of Richmond, who had married Margaret, the little heiress of the Duke of Somerset, that we first hear of a fulling mill at Ambleside. The widow of the Duke of Bedford still held a third of the property as her dower.

Amelsette.

Jhan Newton reeve there

Of 24. 7. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ of two parts of rents and farms of all tenants there at 16. 5. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ p. an. at terms aforesaid, whereof farm of water corn mill 13s. 4d, farm of Walkyngsilver 6s. 8d, farm of the fulling mill there constructed anew 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ d, of farm of the herbage of Trowtbeke brigge 6s. 8d, to wit of 3 terms, and 40s. farm of two parts of a tenement called Maist^r forster place at 26s. 8d. as above.

Sum 26. 7. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$

Gressum'e. Of 7li. of two parts of admissions of tenants there at 4. 13. 4. p. a. payable with farms abovesaid at said terms.

Sum t. 33. 7. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$

In 1473 the death of the Duchess of Bedford released her claim (which Edward IV. seems to have allowed to stand) upon the lordship. He now hastened to confer (*Inq. p.m.*, 12 Edw. IV., No. 47) " $\frac{1}{3}$ of the lordship or township of Hamylsed" upon Sir William Parr, to whom he had already alienated the rest, and his heirs. The Inquisition states "Hamelsed and Troutebek" to have been worth £16 yearly to the Duchess.

It is twenty-one years later that we have our next glimpse of the place, given by a most valuable Rental

* The Lord of Rydal possessed a mill on Scandale-beck (which formed the boundary of Ambleside) as late as the early 17th century, which may have been the fulling mill for his villagers. Their corn mill was on Rydal-beck. Such a mill would be conveniently accessible for both Ambleside and Loughrigg folk. Since writing the above, an enquiry sent to *Notes and Queries* on the subject of "Walking-silver" has been ably and fully answered by Mr. W. Farrer (see 10th series, 170). His first suggestion differs little from the one offered here, except in detail.

preserved at Sizergh Castle, of the date 1494.* The pendulum of Kingship had swung again, and for the last time, in the Wars of the Roses. Henry VII. had snatched the Crown from the Yorkists, and had naturally robbed the Parrs of the Richmond Fee, which had been his mother's by right. But the Parrs, seated by inheritance at Kendal Castle, and doubtless greatly concerned in the manufacture and export of woollen cloth, which had already begun to enrich their little town in Westmorland, had exercised apparently a strong progressive influence over the alienated lordship (stretching round about their *caput*, and therefore bound up by interest with it) even in the short time they held it. The Sizergh MS., which is too long to print *in extenso*, expressly connects new fulling mills both at Grasmere and Ambleside with the name of Sir William Parr. Concerning "Amelset," besides the dues of the water mill and of "Walkyngsilver" (which are stated to be included in the general rents), we are told of a "tenement called Maister fosters place with 30 cattle [*places*]," now occupied by three holders. Also

of the farm of the fulling mill in the tenure of Thomas Brathwayte 14½d; of the farm of another fulling mill, in the tenure of Robert Jackson 14½d.

There is even a third fulling mill, described at the close as newly constructed in the time of William Parre knight late occupier of this lordship, as demised to Thomas Robynson Jacson by the year.

Ambleside had, it is clear, started well on her career of commercial prosperity. The market, indeed, which was to crowd her streets every Wednesday with wool-growers from the fell-sides and with clothiers and chapmen from Kendal, was yet 200 years ahead; but with three fulling

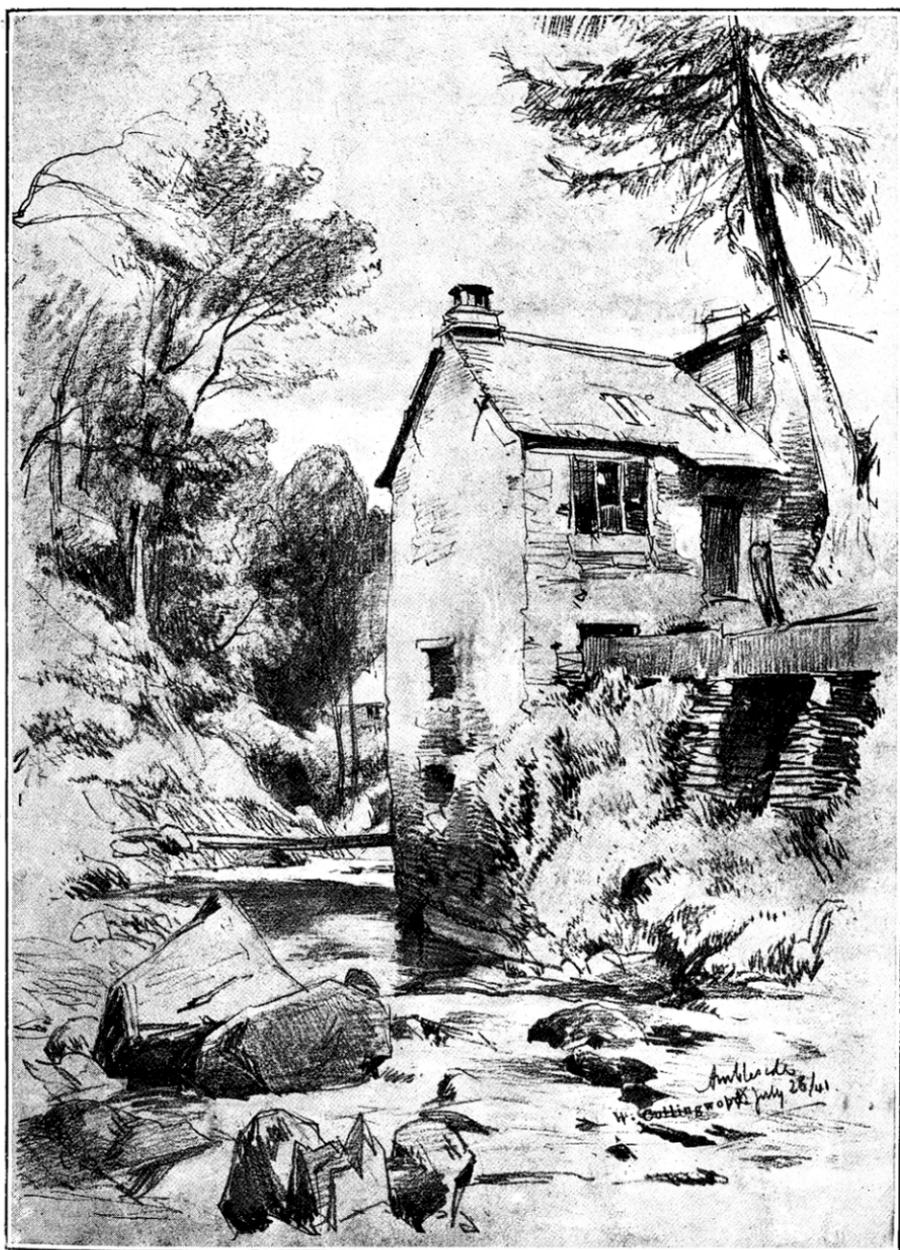
* Thanks are due to Sir Gerald Strickland for allowing a search for the MS. to be made and a copy to be taken.

mills at work in the fifteenth century she must already have begun to supply the neighbouring woollen centre with some of that cloth which was exported to the south, and was well known to the citizens of Tudor London as Kendal Green.

How busy must have been the little Stock Beck—now valued chiefly for the romantic beauty of its glen and waterfall—in turning those mediæval wheels of commerce, and all in its short course below the fall, through the tiny town! It is difficult to understand where the mills could have stood. There were five of them at the least—three fulling mills and two corn mills—even supposing the later bark mill to have taken the place of one of the fulling mills, and the paper mill to have been turned by Scandale Beck.

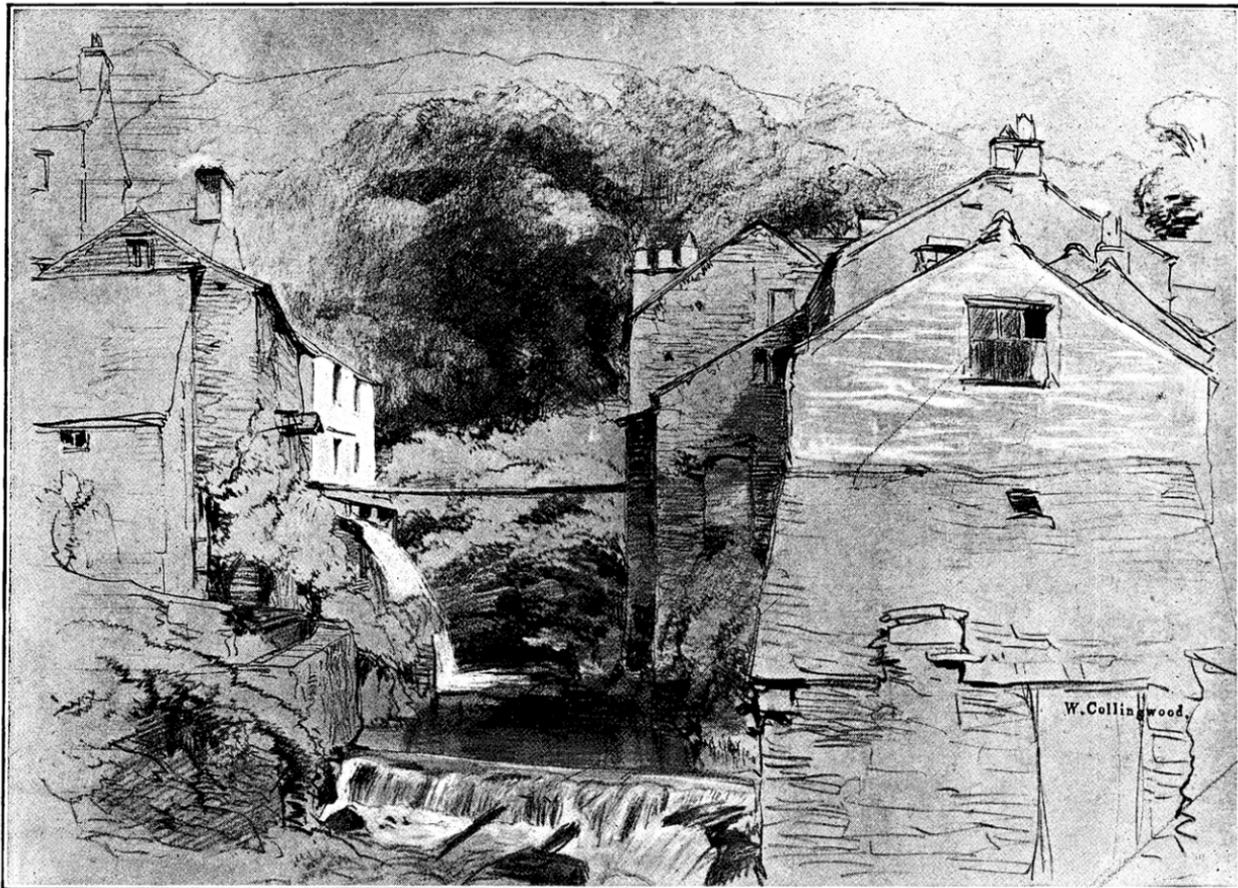
The mystery of the two corn mills must be first considered. The customs of the place with regard to the tenants grinding their household corn (mostly havers or oats) would seem to have been singular. It might be supposed, from the statement (contained in the Inquisitions of 1324 and 1335) of the corn mill being worth 5s. yearly to the lord, that the mill was the usual lord's monopoly, let out. But in the Levens MS. this statement drops out, and we are expressly told "all the tenants of the same [hamlet] hold the water corn mill, 20s. od." And later the Sizergh MS. says that the dues of corn mill and walking-silver were included in the tenants' rent, and therefore were collected from all. Had the tenants compounded with the lord to break the monopoly? He was largely the gainer by the change, it is clear; and so perhaps were they.

Of the two corn mills the old one was perhaps derelict in 1639, when its holders, Elizabeth Jackson, widow, and her son William, make over all their rights in it by deed to Mr. Gawen Brathwaite, holder of the new mill, provided he will pay the 4½d. mill rent due to the lord for



OLD MILL, NOW DESTROYED, ABOVE STOCK BRIDGE, AMBLESIDE :
BY W. COLLINGWOOD, R.W.S., 1841.

TO FACE P. 20.



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THE CORN-MILL (BRATHWAITE'S) AND BARK-MILL, AMBLESIDE :

BY W. COLLINGWOOD, R.W.S., 1841.

TO FACE P. 21.

the same, and grind the corn of the Jacksons for ever in his mill.

This interesting deed (see Appendix I.), found lately by Mr. George Browne, expressly declares the old mill to have stood on *Sleddall-becke*, while Mr. Gawen Brathwaite's mill stood at the Stockbridge. The name *Sleddall* has entirely vanished from memory, and like *Ellis Beck* cannot be certainly placed.

It is probable that in ancient times the small rivulets or runners that feed the becks were fuller and of more persistent flow than now. The deep, wide mosses, lying in the basins of the fells that formed their source, were not drained as now; the abundant forests, too, that clothed the slopes gave them additional supplies. We know, indeed, that rills that barely trickle now in drought, like that of Fox Gill in Loughrigg, once turned a mill; and some are wholly lost, except in short-lived spates.

Six streams belong to Ambleside—Scandale Beck, Las-gill, Stock-gill or beck, Fisher-beck, Steucher-beck, and Helbeck—all flowing west to join the Rothay or the great lake. The first and last form the township's boundaries. Las-gill, running as it now does largely underground, by *cundreths*, is known only to the old. Yet where the high road crossed it, by the present Technical Schools, it was called within living memory a ford, though unfortunately the name of the ford cannot be recovered. It was also a favourite fishing ground some sixty years ago. Formerly, it is stated, salmon-trout ran freely up its quiet waters, fringed by meadows, whence Mr. Hills believes its name to be derived (Lachs=salmon, or salmon-trout).

Now besides these (unless Cross Sykes betokens a hidden runner) there is but one other named stream, and that is Blake Sykes, a tributary of the Stock, that falls into it above the ford. Where then was Sleddall-beck?

A tradition exists in the Mackereth family that the old corn mill was planted high on Stock Beck, above the present bobbin mill. An old building is remem-

bered, also, to have stood where the mill dam is. This, with the names Mill Doors and Long Coats (suggestive of sheds or wooden shelters), given by the Ordnance map for the wooded bank below the falls, seems to substantiate the tradition. If so, the stream changed its name above the town. Now it is singular, but certain, that it did so just below the town; for where it curves upon the meadow-flat, close to Stony Lane (the spot where Green took his view "from the Butts"), it is declared from several sources to have been called Butts Beck—probably from the practice of archery in ancient times in the meadow beyond. ("A stone bowe and a greate old crosbowe," valued at 3s. 9d., were among Mr. Gawen Brathwaite's effects in 1653.) It is likewise said, though without supporting evidence, that the name *Ellis Beck* was applied to that section of the stream which lies between the bobbin mill and Stock Bridge. Could this be confirmed, we should have to accept the curious fact that the name Sleddall, Ellis, Stock, and Butts were all applied to the same beck in a course of three-quarters of a mile. A fifth name supplied, Hellicer Beck, may be dismissed as a confusion with the undoubted Hallicar Ford, mentioned by Nicholson (*Annals of Kendal*), who was a native of the place. The change of names of the united Rothay and Brathay to Birdhouse Mouth is nothing to this, if it be true.*

If we look for the sites of the mediæval fulling mills, we may possibly find them in some cases transformed to other uses. The bobbin mill may represent one. Another may have been the later bark mill, which stood on the other side of the beck in Rattle Gill (yet another bank-side name!) and was turned by the same current as supplied the corn mill, so picturesquely shown both in Green's

* Mr. Hills draws attention to the conjunction of Sleddall and Stock in a neighbouring valley. This bears the general name of Long Sleddale, while its main stream is called the Sprint, and a side valley is Stockdale.

etching and in the plate opposite, crossing the beck by a wooden conduit.

The third may likewise have stood on the left bank, where the present saw-mill stands, near the old Bridge-house of the Brathwaites. The great change made hereabouts by the cutting of the modern highway, with its bridge across Stock Beck, can hardly be realized. The only route through Ambleside, after the first fording days, led by the now upper bridge and the narrow lane called North Road, and down again by Smithy Brow. The Smithy Brow descent must always have led, by the bridle path of Stony Lane, across the valley to the ford and steps at Miller Bridge ; but it is doubtful if it carried much traffic else. The usual pack-horse route to Keswick kept along the slope by Nook and Nook End. It is even possible that the lower route to Rydal first descended to the level of the present road somewhere on the line of the Scale-how drive. Anyway Rattle Gill, now a mean, squalid quarter above the main road, was then a mill-precinct, lying below the main street of the town, and backed close up by beautiful broken ground of sudden knolls and trees, preserved fortunately in two of Green's etchings. This ground, too rough and rocky for agriculture, seems to have been used in early days for stretching and drying the cloth that was dressed in the adjacent mills, for it was known as Old Mill Lands. The closest of its knolls to the town must have been blasted for the short-cut of the high-road between the Salutation and Low Nook, which was made about 1833 (*Directory of Westmorland*, 1849), while the opening out of Cumpstone Road, with the approach to the new church and schools, prepared the way for the existing line of shops and houses. But the razing and levelling of the farther knolls so finely clothed with oak, we have witnessed in these last years, for the creation of the suburb called Millans Park.

The cloth trade continued till the last century. *The Cumberland and Westmorland Directory*, 1829, speaks of a

mill for the making of linseys and coarse goods having been established near to the corn-mill and tannery in 1797 by a Mr. Cooper; and his brother, who travelled for him, is remembered by the late Mrs. Bell to have lived in the house shown in Green's etching as standing on the site of the Queen's Hotel.

The importance of the cloth trade to the district in old days is told in the protest of the men who petitioned King James in May, 1621, for a confirmation of their rights, which he still delayed, though they had already given him £1,700, and were to pay £1,000 more at Martinmas. They have 200 miles to travel, they complain, and have paid besides fees to both Houses of Parliament and other great charges which many of them are unable to support. "having but smale Estat^{es} and if trading in Cloth were not, the greater part of them could not maintayne themselves and families, their tenements being verie barren."

Long after the decline of the fulling mills, the bobbin mill industry sprang up, beautifying the country by the spread of the oak and hazel coppices (russet in winter) over the lower fells. That declined too; but the Ambleside bobbin mill, that has long been in the family of Horrocks, has kept up, and is now busy with an order from Bombay. Thus the Stock Beck, while delighting hundreds of summer trippers by its beauty, still turns the wheel of commerce.

III.—THE BRATHWAITES OF AMBLESIDE HALL.

If evidence were wanted of the growth of the town in the 16th century, it could probably be furnished by that collection of coins made by the family of Brathwaites, who owned the Borrans,—as the site of the Roman Camp at Waterhead is called. Thomas is said, by Nicolson and Burn, to have begun it; and when his brother Gawen died in 1653 he bequeathed to his son Thomas, to be preserved as family heirlooms, "mine

ancient coynes of gold, silver, and brasse." Thomas, in his turn, dying childless, bequeathed to the University of Oxford, through the Provost of Queen's College, his "ancient medals and Roman Antiquities." The coins, which were seen by the antiquary Machel, are described as being 6 of gold, 66 of silver, and 250 of baser metal. A letter written from Queen's College to Sir Daniel Fleming three years after the legacy, shows that they had not then been delivered, as a request is made that the executors of the will shall be reminded of their duty. Indeed it is probable that they never were delivered, for no trace of them in Oxford can be found, as Mr. C. L. Stainer has obligingly sent word. Probably they were sold; and Clarke's statement (1789) that they were then in possession of the Countess of Lichfield, may be correct. Could they be traced, they would form an interesting illustration of the history of Ambleside.

Now, when Camden described the Borrans, at the end of the 16th century, it showed as the "carcase of an ancient city," and about it were to be distinguished paved approaches, ramparts, and ditches; the whole being covered with such a débris of bricks, mortar, glass, and pottery as showed clearly its origin. Probably it was but a short time after his visit that the Brathwaites began to clear the place, using it as a quarry and "trailing" off the stones to add to the thriving little town on the hill. It is true that no Roman fragments have hitherto been observed in the Ambleside houses, but all that was remarkable, in sculpture or inscription, would be saved for the collection; while the local method of building, by coating the masonry with rough-cast, tends to conceal the material.*

* Some thirty years ago a flat meadow between the present Broadlands drive and Milligan's Nursery was broken up and trenched for the planting of strawberries and potatoes. The soil for a depth of 12 to 18 inches below the sod was found to be thickly strewn with Roman remains. Thousands of potsherds were turned up, some of coarse red pottery, others of a yellowish ware, adorned with handles and having raised figures of animals (elephants, &c.) upon them. There

That the Brathwaites did actually build houses we have also indirect evidence. Sir William Fleming, in his correspondence (1726) with the then owner of the Ambleside Hall property, who was selling it in lots, speaks of its value being considerably lessened by the sale of the peat moss at Brathay which had supplied the houses with fuel. He further says:—"It is pretended that onely 4 tenements below Stock in Ambleside are sold off, but some say more." Now, the fact that some of the houses owned by the Brathwaites got peat from so far off as Brathay (where the family had acquired property) supports the idea that they were of their erection, and were no part of the true village community, every tenement of which had an ancient right to peat from the three common mosses of Snake How, Scandale Bottom, and the Backstones. If this were so, the Brathwaites introduced a new system of tenure into Ambleside (new, at least, on a considerable scale—for hinds and smaller artizans had long rented the cots that stood adjacent to the larger homesteads), and became landlords in the modern sense. That is to say, they built to let, and the occupiers of their houses were probably their workmen and artizans—a class produced by trade—who had no hold whatever on the land.†

Yet the Brathwaites themselves, though they were the leading family of Ambleside for possibly 200 years, had no exceptional position there. They were not freeholders. They held their land as the other statesmen of the place

were also red glazed floor tiles, said to have been some 9 inches square and 2 inches thick, ornamented with a diagonal pattern. The remains of fires were found, on which pieces of charred wood (oak) and bones were still left. These things were described to me by an intelligent eye-witness, who kept pieces of the pottery for years, until, he says, they crumbled away. As this site lies N.N.E. of the camp, and the two Roman jugs recently discovered (see Mr. H. S. Cowper's paper, N.S. v.) were turned out respectively near half-a-mile E. and N., it seems as if an extensive colony stretched outside the military station towards the steamer pier and Low Fold.

† Their number (few, no doubt) cannot be determined by the entry made by Mr. Robert Brathwaite in the executive account-book, December, 1674—"payed to sister Sandys that she payed to the Millwrits 4^{lb} 0^s . od."

held it, and paid suit and service, rent and gressum to the lord of the manor. The rental of their whole property amounted in 1675 to £3 16s. 8d., besides £1 on the Nook End estate, lately acquired from the Forrests, and an additional 17s. 8d., which perhaps represented stray dues such as the "Kirkston fell Grasses" and the Green-hew of the 1706 Account Book; though it was called, by Sir William, "free Braken Rents."

Originally, no doubt, the men of Ambleside were free, if joint holders of the soil they tilled. But gradually obligations to the lord of the manor sprang up, and they were called by the usual Norman phrase, "tenants at his will," though incorrectly, for he had no power to turn them out. The few "free tenants" that lingered on in some of these parts were apt to disappear (as was the case in Grasmere) when death without heirs or alienation gave the lord opportunity; and he exacted, instead of the small "free" rent, a larger one, with the highly valuable gressum and heriot, which were features of the customary tenancy. That old "Maister Forster" was perhaps a freeholder, whose place was so long known by his name, and whose holding was broken up into two or three during the 15th century. But from the time that we have any particulars of the village, its land holders were all of one status. Though they possessed their lands, governed their community, built and endowed their church (besides supporting the mother church), and organised the school for their children, they were yet debarred from voting for the knight of the shire or Member of Parliament who represented them.

The Brathwaites may have been descended from the Thomas who held the fulling mill in 1494. Almost certainly they acquired their wealth by trade, united with successful agriculture. Already, in the reign of Elizabeth, they were rich enough to extend their possessions beyond the town. A deed at Rydal Hall shows that James Brathwaite, towards the end of that reign, bought from

John Benson the freehold property or "Manor" of Bayesbrowne in Langdale, with a messuage and tenement called Elterwater and another called Dykehowe. Land was also acquired, probably after this time, at Brathay and at Pull Beck, across which Gawen later built apparently the first stone bridge.

With this James and his brother Thomas, sons of a certain Robert, the illustrious era of the family may be said to have begun. James married a cloth merchant's daughter, Joyce Benson, of Miller Bridge. Her father, Bernard, was one of three Benson partners, described as clothiers, who purchased, along with the freehold of their homesteads, almost half Loughrigg from William Fleming, Esq., of Coniston and Rydal (Deed at Rydal Hall.) Thomas's marriage was more ambitious. With Dorothy Bindlosse—sister of the Agnes who was the second wife of William Fleming, and who as widow became the redoubtable squires of Rydal—he appears to have obtained property in Staveley.* He became seated at Burneside Hall, which (according to Nicolson and Burn) was bought for him by his father, and there his clever son Richard ("Dapper Dick") was born. He became a knight, and in 1591 applied for license to bear arms. His nephew Thomas, successor to James of Ambleside, did the same in 1602-3. For the odd circumstance that the two coats of arms, though purporting in each case to be those borne by the family, were different, see these *Transactions*, vol. vi., p. 106. Thomas of Ambleside (whose sister Isabel married Daniel Fleming, second son of William and Agnes of Rydal, and owner of Skirwith) was followed by his brother Gawen, who played a prominent part, not only in town's matters, but in those of the whole Richmond Fee.

The will of Gawen, with the inventory of his possessions

* For this information I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Martindale.

made at his death in 1653,* gives an interesting picture of the prosperity of the family at this time. His barns at Ambleside—the New, the Low, at the Gale, at the Borrans, at Barka-sike—loaded with hay, with wool, with malt, with grain—his hog-houses and byres at Ambleside, at Baisbrowne, at Braythay, at Pull-becke, at the High-house, with the sheep, the horses, the kine and the oxen that filled them; his households effects, his clothing, and every kitchen utensil are all enumerated. Though it was the end of winter, when stock was at the lowest, he had 357 sheep eating away at hay in the great hog-house at the Rigge besides over 200 at Baisbrowne and Pull. His unsold wool amounted to 80 stone. He had 114 bushels of bigg or barley malt, besides some haver or oat malt; and, in various garner, 80 bushels of barley, 80 of oats, and even some wheat, besides oatmeal. This large store points to a considerable brewery industry—a conjecture which is confirmed by a subsequent description of the property. The quantity of tanned leather, too, suggests that there was a tanyard on the premises. The list shows that Ambleside Hall was a house of some thirteen rooms, besides outhouses, brewhouses, larders, and the like; and that it was furnished with great comfort if not luxury for those times, as its leathern chairs, its “carpett cloths,” its fire-irons, its wrought happings, and its quishions wrought with silk and gold attest. There was plate in it to the value of £40; while the “latt maistere’s apparell in generall” was valued at £26 13s. 4d. Outwardly, too, the place must have shown state. There is an item in the estates’ accounts in 1705 paid to George Birkett, carpenter, “A Day worke at y^e Canopy over y^e hall-Door 6^d.”

But its position was not important, for it belonged, there is no doubt, to the little huddle of houses on the hill that made the town. Originally it was but a larger

* See Appendix II.

village holding, with its mill adjacent, and would be dubbed Hall when it and the family rose in importance. (The house of Kelsick in Church Street, now occupied by Mrs. Gibson, grocer, was locally known as Kelsick Hall.) It stood in a triangular plot, the apex of which is yet formed by the two rising town streets, North Road and Smithy Brow, with the loop of the Stock flowing at its base. Probably the house faced on Smithy Brow, just below the Golden Rule Inn, where a cottage stands that is reputed to contain one of its staircases, and where an abutting barn has been converted to a house; and the "fronts before Kitchen and Hall doors" that we hear of at the sale, perhaps opened upon this lane. But on the other side, the house would face into the great Court-yard—whose memory seems preserved by an old yew tree left there still—dotted round with the hall itself, and its byres and its storehouses, with "miln and kiln" and separate millhouse on the beck. The gate-house, with room above, which closed this large and wealthy precinct, probably stood among the houses of North Road, upon which it opened, and where still is an entrance to a timberyard, giving access to the centre of the triangle. Under the gate-house would pass out the homestead's train of five packhorses; also the full four teams of oxen (the eight great beasts were away at Baisbrowne when the ploughing was over) to be hitched to the plough in the field; the more unusual horse-team too; the foot-team (for what light implement could this be used?), and the two dog-teams that were used, perhaps, for small sleds. And in would roll the coups* laden with hay and grain, the sleds burdened with bracken for bedding and peats for the fires. Through it, too, would pass a constant stream of villagers, bringing their oats to be ground, and their bigg, perhaps, to be dried for their home-brewed ale. It

* Cowp-cart, tip-cart, from *cowp*, to upset (see Prevost's *Dickinson*). Coup also means a wooden enclosure, as in fish and hen-coop. Hence possibly a coup or box-cart as opposed to the older sled.

was no wonder that, hemmed in by streets as the homestead was, Gawen had a care for their cleanliness and left the interest of £5 to be used "for opening and cleansing of the watercourses of the highway, especially in Ambleside town street." This shows that in old days here, as now in French towns, a flow of fresh water was kept through the open gutters; and it would be quite easy, from the spot where Blake-sike touches the street by the chapel, to lead off ducts down the hill. No doubt folk threw out their garbage into the gutters, as they still do into the rivers. The principal of Gawen's bequest seems to have been held by the family, for we find entered in February, 1675,

paid the use of 5^{li} for the high ways in Amblesid between Scandel bridge & holbeck bridge in all oli 6^s 0^d

But if the place was pressed in above by the town, below it was open, except for the beautiful beck. And this was spanned by a cunning and picturesque bridge-house still standing, that led from the garden and orchard within the precinct to the "Shaw wife" orchard beyond; while perhaps a wooden bridge gave access to the knolls of the old mill lands. Pleasant orchards, too, stretched across the lane where Low Nook now stands.

Of Gawen's large family, Thomas, the eldest, succeeded him. He had interests outside Ambleside, was Recorder of Kendal, and possessed a second home. He died, in 1674, a richer man than his father, his assets standing at £1041 os. 10d., against the latter's £662 13s. 2d. But his increase was all in money except for wool, which was valued at the high figure of £90. Besides his brother Robert's amusing entry in the executor's accounts of "There was Ith S^creet Counter upon opening of it 6^{li} 15^s 0^d," there was gold at Ambleside Hall amounting to £102, besides bonds. In stock he was less rich, and no doubt husbandry and the brewery and the corn mill were not so foremost a business with him as with his father.

That he sometimes resided at Ambleside Hall, and kept it up, is probable from the bequests left to his servants there. (For his will, see *The Boke of Record of Kirkby Kendal*.) He died childless, and his complicated will led to litigation. To his sister Dorothy, widow of Samuel Sandys, of Gray's Inn and Esthwaite, the Ambleside property was left, under certain conditions of trust. She died three years later, not at the Hall nor at Esthwaite, but at her daughter Mrs. Brooks' house in Ambleside. Two years later again the remaining executors, Robert Brathwaite and his niece Dorothy Brathwaite, sold the furniture of the Hall, as we know from the entry in Sir Daniel Fleming's account book for 1679, which shows that he spent £6 1s. 3d. there. The property was valued at this time at £426 19s. 6d.; the "Sayles at Ambleside" realized, according to Robert Brathwaite's accounts, £369 5s. 7d. altogether. The estate, which now belonged to Lady Otway, niece of Thomas and daughter of John Brathwaite, was let out in portions, and managed by Mr. Benjamin Browne of Troutbeck. The Hall was rented, with the farm lands apparently, by one Michael Tyson for £30. The Borrans and Newlands brought in £13 yearly, the Gale £6 10s., Wansfell Close sometimes £3 and sometimes £4, Waterhead £1 12s.; besides Pull, which was rented by a Rowland and Agnes Brathwaite; the whole income for the year 1705 standing at £88 19s. 3d.

But the letting of the corn mill was clearly a difficulty. Mr. Browne writes, in 1704, after Ann Lowes (formerly a servant of the Brathwaites, as the bequest shows) had given it up—"To tell the truth Mad^m, it is of much less Value yⁿ it has been by reason of a Horse Miln now at Clappersgate." However, extensive repairs to Lowther and Out-wheel were executed, and in 1704 William Atkinson "of Cunnigston" made agreement to take "all that the Water Corn Miln, Kiln and Malt House" for £7 10s., with the privilege of forty loads of wood to be furnished him annually from the estate. In 1713-14

Thomas Mackereth was paying £8 10s. for it. In 1715 Joseph Gradus* was holding it at £9, but two years later his goods were sold to make up his arrears of rent. In 1707 the agent reports that several houses in Ambleside were standing empty, and the income in 1711 had dropped to £71 13s. By 1718 it was clear that Lady Otway and her son were anxious to get rid of the whole property, and to conclude a bargain struck with a Mr. Dummer for the purchase of the Ambleside and Pull estate for £1750. (B.MSS.) It was not immediately concluded, however, for the sale of the lady's goods at the Ambleside mill house, which appears to have been furnished, and at Pull beck and Waterhead, where the barns were fitted up with bedsteads and tables (no doubt for the hinds) did not take place till 1720.

Mr. Thomas Dummer, described variously as of Sargent's Inn, Fleet Street, and the Inner Temple, London, was apparently a stranger, who bought the property as a speculation. At any rate, it was soon afterwards broken up by him into small lots; as deeds at Rydal Hall show. To John Kelsick he sold in 1722, for £19, the pasture called Bellstone-brow, with rights of common, turbary, &c.; and in the same year, to William Tyson, the elder, for £76, the pasture called Wansfell Close, below Stock, with one cattle gate in the forest of Ambleside, carrying a proportionate fell rent, the lord's rent of the pasture being 2s. 6d. In 1726 he sold to George Cumpstone the closes called Horse Coppice and Sweden End, with the orchard called Field Yate Orchard—where, no doubt, Cumpstone Lodge (later Low Nook) was afterwards built. He then attempted to sell by auction the remainder, which now carried, it is stated in the conditions, a lord's rent of £2 11s., a free rent of 4s. 4d., prescription money 12s. 6d., and a chapel salary of £1 3s. 5d.; the total of which,

* As Jos. Gardhouse, miller, had a child baptised in 1723, his difficulties must have been temporary.

£4 11s. 3d., is to be divided, along with the chapel pews and fell grasses, among the purchasers, if there should be several. He reserved, however, the two front pews in the chapel for himself, carrying 8s., "And alsoe he Excepts the Houses, Shaw Wife Orchard and the Waist ground about the Houses . . . and who Ever Buys the Mill and Kill must pay 13^s 4^d Free Rent in Ambleside and 4^s 8^d to Loughrigg." Two fell-grasses are reserved for the houses and mill, also "3 woodmeers, one i'th' Roughsides, One in a Close called Plant Grass, belonging to Arthur Mackereth and One in Seathwaite to goe with the Houses and Mill." Should the whole be sold together he makes no exception but the front chapel seats; while if sold in lots the purchasers are to agree among themselves to pay Dr. Fleming (then rector of Grasmere) and his successors 20lbs. of wool and 14d. yearly, besides the prescription money above mentioned.

Now the final items in this confusing account probably stand for a computation of tithes made at some earlier time by the Brathwaites with the mother church, but the "Free Rent" is not quite easy to understand, unless it represents a part of that ancient bargain by which the tenants bought out the monopoly of the lord's corn mill. The 4s. 8d. paid to Loughrigg (doubtless to the grave) clearly carries with it the license to grind the corn of the men of the neighbouring township. And that they used it is certain, else the Clappersgate "Horse Miln" would have proved no rival.

Thomas Dummer's reservation applied, no doubt, to the original Ambleside Hall, with its appurtenances, which were not sold with the rest. For we find him, in 1723, selling to John Benson for £200 "All that his Fire-house," called Ambleside Hall, with houses adjoining called Brew-house and Brighthouse, his close called Shaw Wife Orchard, with two orchards below the Hall, the fronts before kitchen and Hall doors, his fold below barn, also one fell grass with common of pasture and turbarry, &c., &c.

But before Mr. Dummer completed his sales Sir William Fleming, of Rydal, stepped in, alarmed at the breakup which threatened old rights, and desirous to secure some flotsam of the wreck. He explained by letter to Mr. Dummer that Ambleside Hall had possessed an ancient right of two boats upon Windermere, along with a tribute of twenty char from the fishermen, or their equivalent in money. This right, for want of attention from the owner, was not only in danger of lapsing but of being summarily closed. The Windermere ferry passage, near the middle of the water (the description seems to imply other ferries), had recently been purchased, along with the ferry boats, by a man who had raised the "Antient Rates," both for passengers and for luggage, up and down, and who wished now to secure the sole right of transport on the lake. He had induced Mr. Chambre, steward of Lord Lonsdale, who presided at the Lord's Court at Ambleside, to call together a number of the customary tenants to meet on rent day and impanel a jury, apparently with a view to securing a monopoly on the water. This was done with so little notice that some of the men were only called the day before, when no evidence could be accumulated. Sir William, hearing of it in time, induced "a sensible man" to appear at Court to caution the jury and to induce them to press for time for evidence. One old man was accordingly found who remembered the launching of Mr. Brathwaite's last boat; another who had crossed often to the Pull with Mr. Brathwaite's servants; and a third, a carpenter, who had several times borrowed the luggage-boat to bring wood for his trade up the water. Sir William now proposed to buy the boat-right, since no one else was likely to do so, and as Mr. Cumpstone (evidently now the foremost man of Ambleside) was unwilling; and this accordingly was arranged (see Appendix III).

This matter has been gone into fully because it shows that the Lord's Court, representative of the ancient village moot that settled all local matters by a jury of sworn

inhabitants, was still in 1726 acting, though acting feebly; and that the lord had no power to deal arbitrarily with any question without consent of the people.

Of the Brathwaite's corn mill we hear later in a deed of 1772. This appears to show that the monopoly secured by Gawen in 1639, when he purchased the older mill from the Jacksons (agreeing to pay for ever their $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. rent to the lord), was broken again by a new mill, and that this was again closed, by the earlier mill-owners' purchase of it. For Thomas Towlson, deceased, is declared to have been possessed of two water corn mills, occupied by himself and his tenant, which formerly belonged respectively to John Wilson and Solomon Gridale. Each had a dwelling-house attached; while one answers to the description of the older mill, having a malt kiln and malt house, an orchard and garden, and common rights of peat from the moss. Besides a "quit rent" of 10s., a customary rent of $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. is mentioned. This is probably the Jacksons' old rent; and it is doubtless the rights over the Jacksons' long defunct mill that is meant in the deed's recapitulation of Towlson's possessions, which include "three Water Corn Grist Mills," &c., &c. The property (to which were attached two closes to be mentioned later) was bought by James Longmire of Waterhead, in Ambleside, maltster, for £382 15s.

The Brathwaites' mill still holds its own as a corn mill, and now belongs to Mrs. Gibson.* When bought by the late Mr. Gibson, the twin mill for bark across the beck was part of the property; but he sold it off, with the stipulation that its wheel should cease.

IV.—THE CHAPEL.

It is necessary to hark back again if we would trace the known beginning of an institution dear to the hearts of

* Thanks are due to her for loan of the deeds.

Ambleside men, and for long their intimate concern and care. An old paper at Rydal Hall shows that already in 1597 a chapel existed in Ambleside, though when it was built, or how the cost of it was supported by the few townsmen, is not known. The paper merely shows that at that date forty-five landholders, besides fifteen landless house-occupiers, determined that their chapel should be served by an ordained minister, a scholar capable of teaching and preaching, and not a lay-reader; and that they ratified their promise of yearly contributions to "curate waiges" by solemnly pledging certain portions of their lands. This joint and unanimous action recalls the old village community that controlled its lands and dispensed justice. And it is possible that at an earlier date than this the townfolk may have bestirred themselves to supply a keenly-felt need. For in ecclesiastical matters they were awkwardly placed. The ancient church boundary, fixed probably before the manorial one, while the place was but a clearing in the forest, ran along Stock-beck, and through their very midst. The householders above Stock had to turn their steps for worship, to carry their babes for baptism and their dead for burial three or four miles up the valley to Grasmere Churchyard, by the high track under Nab Scar. At various stations on the way, according to tradition, it was the custom to rest the coffins on large stones while the bearers were changed. The Howe stone on the south side of White Moss has disappeared. But one on the north side still lies by the road under a tree, and is used now by the carrier for the dropping of parcels for adjacent houses. The Ambleside families below Stock (possibly the fewer) faced the other way for church, taking a less mountainous but longer path for Windermere. Each division of the town had to continue its support of the mother church after a chapel for the place had been built. The accounts of the Ambleside Hall estate for 1705 and 1706 show the calls made by the

two churches at that time. For the first year we find "For y^e repair of Grasmire and Ambleside Churches" 5s. 6d., and "For the repair of Windermere Church" 2s. 0½d. Next year comes "An Assessm^t for y^e repair of Grasm^e Church and for prisoner money at 7^d A Tenem^t" 5s., and "For y^e repair of Ambleside and Windermere Churches" 14s. 9½d. The coupling of Ambleside chapel with first one church and then the other suggests that the older foundations alternately paid back, for the support of the new, some proportion of the dues collected in the place. Each year, too, the estate pays the pledged amount for the support of its own chapel, which is called "Chappell Stock," £2 2s. 1d.; and there was likewise in 1706 a special call, which stands "For Bookes and Ornaments and repairs of Ambleside Church by Way of Assessm^t at 1^s A Tenement" 10s. 9d. A "Feild Tythe" to the rector of Windermere is 3s. 3½d.

Some of the Windermere Tithe or Easter Books, showing what was collected from the houses below Stock in the eighteenth century are preserved at Rydal Hall. The "Tyth according to the Custom of Windermere" has among the items "for a Garden 1^d. Oblations for every Person above the age of 16 years 1½^d. For Milk from every Nuckold Cow 1½^d. For every Strip Milkt ½^d.* For every five calves 1^s. 6^d., and every sixth calf 3^s. 0^d. For every plough 1^d. For every single Cast of Bees 1^d., and for five casts 1^s. 6^d. For every single Hen two eggs, and a pullet 1 egg; or for those who pay no eggs 1^d. For every fishing according to Composition 4^d. For every Wedding if the Woman live in the parish 1^s. 4^d. For every Woman Churched 4^d. For the night wake of every Burial 8^d." The valuable tithes of wool, reckoned on the sale of sheep, were accounted for in a separate book; they were due on the first Monday after St. Peter's Day. The

* Nuckelt, newkelt: newly calved. A strip-milked cow, or stripper, is one that is nearly dry.

tithe on corn is said to have been one stouke* in every ten. The holders' houses above Stock paid very similar tithes to Grasmere, and were represented in the governing body of the parish by a churchwarden.

The claims of mother-churches are hard to shake off, and it is evident that the Ambleside men had all to do for themselves when they determined on a chapel of their own. They clearly found it difficult to approach clerics in high places across obstructive patrons and rectors. No ecclesiastical mandate has been found of so early a date as this old worn paper of pledges, which guarantees an income of £6 12s. 10d. to the minister.† But in 1620 another list was drawn up, entitled "A Note of the P'ticular salary, that every p'ticular man doth paye yearely to the Chaple, and for w^{ch} there is this 21th of December 1620 good securitye put into the Townshippe, by the p'ticular p'sons that doe paye the same." The number of them was only forty-two, but headed by Mr. Gawen Brathwaite's £2 6s. 6d., the amount reached £10 16s. 10d. The two responsible men chosen as "feoffees" to regulate the affairs of the chapel are named for the years 1619 and 1620. A third list, which gives no date, but from internal evidence was probably written between 1679 and 1704, gives the contributions of thirty-eight townsmen, which amount to £14 7s. 11d.‡ The 1620 document was apparently laid before the authorities with a petition, which obtained recognition, for a Commission was granted by the Archdeacon of Richmond for the division of the chapel into pews or seats, according to an accompanying plan or "plott" submitted to him. This plan was doubtless the same as some later ones which exist, showing the structure to be 24 yards long and 7 yards wide, having two entrances on the south side, and fifty-one

* Stook—*i. e.*, twelve sheaves.

† Appendix IV.

‡ These three chapel lists will be referred to later as I., II., III.

benches and four pews disposed on either side the aisle. The communion table is flanked by seats; the pulpit is placed almost half way down the chapel, and the reading desk between that and the communion table. The only irregularity of outline was at the N.E. corner, where an enlargement extended the pews of Ambleside Hall, which we shall hear of later. Another pew belonging to it faced the pulpit.

Primitive and rude the chapel must have been, with no doubt an earthen floor yearly strewn with rushes. The plate at first was of pewter, since gone (see *Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle*). Thomas Brathwaite in 1674 left, besides £10 to the chapel stock, another £10 for the purchase of two silver chalices to be used on communion days. This bequest, however, seems to have remained unfulfilled, and as if to make it up Mr. James Newton (no doubt another townsman) gave in 1684 a beautiful silver chalice, that is yet in existence. Yet this simple structure already engaged the affections of the people. The personal allotment of seats allowed by the Commission in return for contributions and land pledges must have been at that time something of a novelty, but it served the purposes of fixing an income, as the seats were treated as real property, either to be passed on with the land in pledge, or to be sold with all the dignity of deeds and witnesses. The Brathwaites, as the largest contributors, held seats in different parts of the chapel, and when the Ambleside Hall property was broken up its seats, as we have seen, were apportioned to the various purchasers, carrying a proportionate share in the minister's salary. William Tyson, in buying Wansfell Close, took over with it pews or seats "proportionable" to the salary of 1s. 4d. to the minister. Kelsick with Bellstone-brow took seats proportionable to 4d., and George Cumpstone likewise with his various plots of ground accepted seats, and promised salary to an amount left blank in the draft deed. Sir William Fleming, when buying the boat-right

and the char, desired to purchase also a certain pew by the chancel which the late Mr. Brathwaite's father had enlarged by "an Out Cast made in the Wall" in order, it was believed, that his numerous family might sit with him. The agreement shows that he secured "two front pews" along with the right to two boats on the lake and the twenty char, for £6 4s. In 1730 William Tyson received 5s. 6d. from John Benson, "and for the said sume John Benson is to have One Seat in the Back Seat adjoining to S^r W^m Pews and One Seat in the Second Fourme belong (*sic*) the Quire door, and the s^d W^m Tyson is only to have one Seat in the Second Fourme belonging lately to Ambleside Hall in the Low End of the Chapel."

This Commission of 1620 for the allotment of seats was granted, it was expressly stated, with the consent of the holders of the advowsons of Grasmere and Windermere, and of the two rectors, who were all interested in the tithes. They signed it—John Fleming, Esq., and the Rev. John Wilson for Grasmere, Christopher and Robert Philipson, Esqs., and the Rev. Thomas Bousfield for Windermere.

It was fifty-six years later that the Ambleside folk succeeded in their efforts to procure the privilege of baptism, marriage, and burial in their chapel. It is curious to find that they were opposed in this by one patron at least. In July, 1674, the petition for the right, which a deputation of the inhabitants appears to have presented to the bishop in person at Kendal, was subscribed to by him, provided no objection was raised by the rectors of Ambleside and Windermere; and in October, the bishop having received no reply from the rectors, confirmed the petition. In November, however, Squire Daniel Fleming wrote to the bishop, strongly objecting to Ambleside Chapel being made parochial, on the grounds that it would be prejudicial to Grasmere Church, "in Burialls, Christenings, marryages, Churchings, Publishing of y^e Banns of matrimony, Keeping of a Register, Nominating of y^e Readers at

Ambleside, Ingrossing of Wills & Inventories, & in other Customary Dues & paym^{ts}." He declares that even if the inhabitants promised to continue these to the mother church, he felt no security that they would carry it out, as they were so lax that they had taken no pains to recover a considerable legacy left by Mr. Robert Jackson, son-in-law of Mr. Tho. Sands of Kendall "to their owne Chappel & Poor." He argues, about burial, that Grasmere church is not above three miles from Ambleside, and that there are no waters to cross, but where there are good stone bridges over them. He writes in the absence of Mr. John Ambrose, rector, now in residence at St. John's, Cambridge, as Fellow; and concludes with the hope that his lordship "by gratifying of a few busy Fellowes" will not wrong any other person. This naturally put some check to the proceedings, and the actual mandate of the Bishop, empowering the rites of the church to be solemnized in the chapel (paying dues still to the mother churches) is dated two years later, in 1676. In 1678 Mr. Thomas Sandes the lawyer was paid a bill of 20s. od. for the legal business in the matter, by Mrs. Jane Brathwaite of Troutbeck.

The following is the document from the Rydal Hall MSS. with some abbreviations extended:—

To all Xtian people to whom these Presents shall come, be seen; or may in any wise appertain John by Divine Permission Lord Bishop of Chester sendeth greeting. Whereas a Petition was formerly exhibited to us from the Inhabitants of the Chapelry of Ambleside within the parishes of Grasmeregh & Windermeregh in the County of Westmerland & Diocese of Chester, Intimating that the said Chapelry is far distant from the said Parish Churches in respect of which & also by reason of the heat in summer & the great snowes & sudden inundations of water in winter it is very difficult & dangerous to carry their dead thither for buriall; did earnestly request that they might be permitted to bury their dead and baptize their children within the said Chappelry promising to pay all ancient & accustomed dues to the Parishes of Grasmeregh & Windermeregh aforesaid: Wee the said Bishop of Chester doe hereby certify that in consideration of the promise & in regard that the Rectors of Grasmeregh & Winder-

mergh had given their Consent to the said petition, An order was issued forth by us empowering the said Inhabitants of Ambleside to bury their dead and baptize their children within the said Chappelry Provided they continued to pay all antient & accustomed dues whatsoever to the Parishes of Grasmersgh & Windermersgh as before & not otherwise: Given under our hand and seall the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord 1676 And in the fourth year of our Consecration.

(Sealed by)

John Cestricus.

V.—CURATES AND SCHOOLMASTERS.

It was no doubt intended from the first that the curate of Ambleside should teach the village children, as was the custom of the district; and probably the inhabitants hoped that in paying his salary, they had secured his election to themselves. And in all probability they did at first elect him, while the young chapel excited little notice in high quarters. Certainly they would enjoy the privilege during the interregnum. It was in 1643 that the Long Parliament swept away the old order of church government by ecclesiastics, and established a new order. A lay committee in each county, of 15 to 30 gentlemen, with local committees under it, controlled the church; and these, after seeing that fit ministers (according to their persuasion) were appointed, left each congregation to please itself as to the style of its worship—whether Presbyterian, Independent, or Baptist. In 1645 a committee was formed at Kendal, with the Mayor at its head, and of the four Elders appointed for the control of Grasmere parish, Mr. Thomas Brathwaite was one. This proves that the family was Parliamentary in politics, and Puritan in religion.*

Naturally therefore the registers of the diocese of Chester record no ordination of a curate for Ambleside during that period. But a study in the old chapel registers yields the name of one who may prove to be the first of

* For information about the Kendal Committee and the local Elders I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Martindale.

its known ministers. The registers themselves are curious enough for mention. They begin, for baptisms, as early as 1642; while the burials start in 1675—almost before the Bishop's licence was dated; and the marriages (of which we hear somewhat in Sir Daniel Fleming's account-book, in items of 2s. 6d., sent occasionally as a wedding "Offering") in 1680. They were written on oblong pieces of parchment, 15 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$; and when each piece was filled, with the baptisms on one side, and burials and marriages on another,—the burials of a whole year being sometimes contained in this small space—another of the same size was well stitched to the lower edge, and the record proceeded. Thus a long, ribbon-like roll was formed; and when this became bulky, another was started. There are three of these rolls, that uncoil respectively to the bewildering length of $7\frac{1}{2}$, 7, and 12 yards. In the last roll the stitched pieces, still only $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, are 24 inches long.

Within this narrow limit the early entries are written in a fine, legible hand, perfectly clear, except where the ink has got rubbed off, as it is liable to be in a roll. And in apparently the same hand, but in larger script and dignified by the use of Latin, we come across the following:—

Henricus, filius Henrici Turner Clerici baptizatus vicesimo quarto die Februarij, 1647.

As another child was baptized in 1658 we can only conclude that the Rev. Henry Turner was resident, and serving as the duly accredited curate and schoolmaster for a period of eleven years at least. This conjecture is confirmed by a letter existing among the Rydal Hall Papers.* Though it belongs rather to the history of Grasmere church than to Ambleside, the portion of it that relates to the Ambleside

* It was one of those sorted by the Historical MSS. Commission, and is numbered in the volume 284. The epitome of it given there, however, describes the unnamed church as Rydal.

curate may be quoted. It was written by John Banks, the faithful servant and factotum of young Squire Daniel Fleming, who had just wrested from the Commonwealth and his relatives the long disputed ownership of Rydal Hall, and had now sent John forward to put matters a little straight before his own home-coming.

The graphic narrative sets the whole scene before us: the passive minister, who obeys Mr. Brathwaite, and then awaits the result of the contest between clerk and bailiff: the waiting congregation, silent as to the side they individually took, whether for "Wallas" or the accredited curate. It will be noticed that no established form of service was attempted, for in this year the use of the Prayer Book had been prohibited.

Honoured Sir,

I praise God I got saffe to Rydale wth the oxen on Saturday at night where I was forced to staye all night it was soe late I acquainted the P'isho^{rs} that you had sent them word to get a minister every Lord's daye till such tyme as you presented one, and that the might paye them out off the tythes, but none would meddle unless I would goe to the Church and appear wth them soe I was forced either to neglect it or send to Mr. Turner off Amblesyd to procure him to goe to preach w^{ch} I did And he went to yo^{ur} Cousin Bratwhait to aske his advice and leave that he might goe, soe he gaue him leave and advised him to goe, soe he came to Rydale and I went along wth him But Wallas seeing us cum almost at the Church went quite away to Langdale Chapple whether he intended to goe beffore or noe I knowe not, But he lefft the Clarke to oppose us who would not suffer Mr. Turner to read in the usuall place soe I wished Mr. Turner to goe into the pulpit and officiate But the Clark begun to read a Chapter and I bid him giue over but he would not, soe I shutt the booke soe Mr. Turner read a Chappter and sung a psalme and begune to preach and when the sermon was done I spoke to some off the P'ishone^{rs} to procure every Lords Daye a minister & pay them off their tithes."

Conyston this 11 Feb. 1655. Yo^{ur} obedient servant,

John Bankes.

Thus did the young squire, whose family had been staunch loyalists and churchmen, begin to restore order in

the parish church with a strong hand; and when Church and King were once more established, he soon let it be seen that, as patron of Grasmere, the affairs of Ambleside chapel too must be ordered after his liking. In 1669 some friction seems to have arisen over the nomination of a minister for the place between himself and his cousin, Mr. Robert Brathwaite, and the draft of a letter written by him to the Archbishop of York on the occasion is extant. He prays the Archbishop that the bearer of the letter, Mr. John Pearson, may be ordained deacon, and licensed to read prayers in Ambleside chapel (which has a stipend of about £12) and to teach the young children of the place: and this he asks on behalf of himself, patron of Grasmere, Mr. John Ambrose, incumbent, and almost all the inhabitants of Ambleside. Mr. John Pearson, he goes on to say, had been—although he held a licence from Mr. Mayer, Sir Joseph Cradock's surrogate, lately inhibited from reading prayers in the chapel by the Archbishop's officers, and that "through the great importunity" of Mr. Thomas Brathwaite,—the only person in the town against him, and who (the writer assures his Grace) has no more power in Ambleside—though a Justice of the Peace throughout the late Rebellion—than any other of the King's customary tenants there. Had the writer known that Mr. Brathwaite had been to Kendal, he himself would have taken pains to set the matter right with Dr. Burwell; for, even if Ambleside were partly in Windermere, the Philipsons could not claim the sole nomination to a chapel that was situated in another parish. (Thus was the position of the building, above Stock, used to gain the whip hand in the over-driven church coach). He would not trouble his Grace, but he knows of no ordination in the province—the Bishops of Chester, Durham, or Carlisle being out of the country—till September, which is too long to leave the chapel unserved. He is confident the bearer will "read y^e Com'onprayer punctually according to y^e Rubricks & catechise y^e young ones in y^e

Towne, wh. I presume will be much better, than to have some Geneva-Blade brought in upon them,"—a sentence which clearly points to the puritan leanings of the Brathwaites.

This appeal to the highest church authority of the north is interesting, as showing the confused ecclesiastical status of this part of Westmorland at that time, which belonged to the archdeaconry of Richmondshire, while it was (and had been since the time of Henry VIII.) in the diocese of Chester. Whether the acting archdeacon and the bishop would be pleased with it is not certain, but it was at anyrate successful; and John Pearson was ordained deacon on the 14th of June, and priest on September 21, as the registers of Chester show.

Moreover, it formed a precedent that became the rule. Not only the claims of Windermere patron and rector were brushed aside, but those of the rector of Grasmere, to whom the right of nomination belonged, (according to Dr. Burn), if the townsfolk and builders failed to secure it; and the patronage remains to this day with the owners of Rydal.

Discontent there may have been in some quarters, for it seems that by 1674 several of the inhabitants were in arrears with their pledged payments to the minister's salary, and it needed an appeal to the Bishop to set matters right. Accordingly there came down, on lordly parchment, with great seal attached, an order setting forth the negligence of those who, having money for the chapel left in their care, refuse to pay their dues, though the present curate was brought in to officiate with the general consent of the inhabitants (except two or three); and commanding them forthwith to pay. The Bishop likewise commands that the papers and deeds of the chapel, now in the hands of Thomas Brathwaite, Esq., should be deposited with such a person and in such a place as shall be decided on by a majority of the inhabitants.

The tone of the Bishop's mandate implies that all the sums, wanting were interest on chapel-endowment or capital. But this is hardly likely. What small endowment there was, reached in 1692 only £45 10s. 2d., and this was placed out among the statesmen. There would be no difficulty in securing the interest of it by secular law. It is probable that he mistook the nature of those land-pledges put in by the towns-folk, which were only guarantees of what had been a voluntary tax, and which some of them may now in dudgeon have refused to pay. But whatever the friction caused by the appointment, it must have presently died away. So loyal were the Ambleside people to their little house of worship that not even the strong attraction of George Fox, who found many followers in neighbouring valleys at this time, could draw them from it. And we find by the Subsidy Rolls of 1675, as in that of 1661, that one Roger Borwick was the only non-communicant in the town, and therefore liable to a tax of 1s. 4d.

The Rev. John Pearson's is the first name of an officiating minister that the Ambleside Church authorities have been able to procure officially for the list they intend to set up in the church. The second is the Rev. Richard Wright, who in 1682 bore a petition to the Bishop, again in the name of the patron, the vicar, and curate of Grasmere, as well as of the inhabitants of Ambleside, that he may be licensed to serve Ambleside Chapel and to teach the children, the post being "now voyd."

But from Sir Daniel Fleming's great account book we hear of another schoolmaster who preceded him, and who (if not taking the chapel duty also) was possibly acting as a substitute in the school for the Rev. John Pearson. The Rydal squire's three eldest sons, William, Henry, and Daniel had all been educated at the Kendal Grammar School, whither George, next in age, had followed them. The latter had had half a year alone there, after Daniel left; but in 1681, when in his fourteenth year, his father,

possibly drawn by the reputation of the Ambleside teacher or for some reason of convenience, removed him, and with his three next brothers (who had been hitherto taught at the Rydal village school) placed him at the neighbouring town. Under January 26, 1680, an entry runs :—

Sent by George to give Mr. Thwaites at Ambleside for entering Pennies for himself, Michael, Rich. & Roger my sons 00^{lb} 05^s 00^d

Next we hear of the schoolmaster's perquisites at Candlemas :—

Feb. 13. Paid by Geo. Michael, Rich. & Roger to buy Candles for their schoolmaster at Ambleside 00 00 04

Then comes the great school festival of the cock-fight on Shrove Tuesday, and further perquisites.

Feb. 14. Given to Geo. Mich. Rich. & Roger for their Cockpennies 00 04 00
And to James & Fletcher theirs 00 01 00

It is clear from this that the complimentary payment of the cock-penny varied in amount according to the status of the school, and the age (and probably the rank) of the pupil ; for the two youngest boys were yet conning their horn-books on the benches of Rydal school. Next comes the startling entry :—

Given George to bett upon his cock at Ambleside 00^{lb} 00^s 06^d

Thus was the future Bishop of Carlisle encouraged to the sports of the time among the youths of Ambleside school ! On April 25 comes :—

to Jo. Newton of A. in part for my 4 sons Dinners 1^{lb} 10^s 0^d

Five shillings more concludes the half-year's dinner account "in full." And under July 26 we read :—

Paid unto M^r. Thwaites for my 4 Boyes for halfe a yeares teaching (with y^e 10^s. Alice paid him) y^e Sum' of 01^{lb} 00^s 00^d

E

The trial had not apparently proved successful, and on August 17 the four youngsters were packed off with a present for Mr. Sadler, the master, to Hawkshead Grammar School, where their cock-pennies rose from the 6d. of Rydal and the 1s. of Ambleside to 2s. 6d. each.

Four years later Mr. Thwaites seems to have departed, for an entry occurs under October 20, 1685 :—

Given at Ambleside Chapell to a Collection for M^r Thwaites
00^{lb} 05^s 00^d

These collections were not unusual for the clergy, and on June 29, 1684, an entry runs :—

Given at Ambleside Chappell to Mr. Curwen a poor Preacher
00^{lb} 02^s 00^d

A donation to a "Running Preacher" (not in church) is 6d. only.

Of the Rev. Roger Fleming, who (according to the list published in the *Ambleside Parish Magazine* for August, 1904) in 1686 followed the Rev. Richard Wright (nominated 1682), no record has been found at Rydal Hall, except what an exhaustive study of the agist-books of the demesne has furnished. From these books we get a glimpse of the clergyman's farming proclivities, which—as he was no statesman—had to be indulged beyond the limits of the township. Thus in 1688, "Roger Fleming, minister of Ambleside," has one cow to grass "in the Lowhow by the week, at 6^d in the week, 3 weeks 1^s 6^d."*

Two years later he joins with Richard Forrest, tailor of Ambleside, in renting the Low How altogether for the summer grazing, at £1 12s. 6d. Two years later still, he takes the whole without a partner. In 1695 "Mr. Roger Fleming's widow, late of Ambleside," puts a heifer to grass in Rydal.

* This fine piece of rocky land lies across the Scandale Beck from Ambleside. As part of the Rydal Low Park (as distinguished from the High Park), its name of Low Park How became contracted, and later corrupted to Crow How.

On September 11th, 1694, the Rev. Thomas Knott was licensed to Ambleside Chapel. It is probable that he was one of the Knotts of Grasmere, who migrated about this time to Rydal, and remained in close connection with the hall, as stewards and neighbours, for almost a century. In his time we gain another glimpse (through the chance discovery of a bill in the Browne MSS.) of the village school, which not only included Greek in its curriculum, but drew boys to board in Ambleside in order to attend it. To be sure this boy had peculiar ties to the place. His mother was Dorothy, daughter of Robert Brathwaite, brother of the last resident of Ambleside Hall, and oddly enough, he was boarded at first in the home of his ancestors, for the Michael Tyson of the bill was the farmer who rented the hall and the lands at that time from the family. But he was soon moved to Thomas Mackereth, as the bill shows. The mixture of items in it is amusing. No doubt Latin and other school books, as well as the school fees, would come along with him from the home just broken up by the death of his father; as was the case with Sir Daniel Fleming's sons. His wear upon stockings seems to have been heavy, and clearly his shirts ran out, as was likely with a motherless boy.*

June ye 25 Anno Dom'j 1698

Money laid out for Thomas Atkinson Second Sone of Miles Atkinson by Benjamin Browne and John Rigg And by ye order of Robert Atkinson his Elder Brother ut sequit^r.

y ^e 25	for a Greek Gram ^r	...	...	...	0	0	8
August 24	A pair of Gloves	...	...	...	0	0	3½
9 ^{br} ye 5	for A Paper Booke	...	...	...	0	0	6
y ^e 7	A winchest ^r Phrases	...	...	...	0	2	6
	Two Long Cravatts	...	...	...	0	2	8
Decemb ^r	To Michaell Tyson for half a year Table	...	...	...	2	0	0
y ^e 21	A New Hatt for him	...	...	...	0	2	6

* "Mr. Myles Atkinson" was buried at Kendal, June 11th, 1698. High House, Hugill, which had come to him from the Brathwaites with his wife, was sold by his executors, Dec. 17th, 1698. (Mr. J. A. Martindale).

	To Oliver partridge shooes & mending	...	0	3	0
Jan: y ^e 14	4 y ^{rds} & 1 q ^{tr} for 2 shirts at 1 ^s 2 ^d	...	0	4	11½
	for makeing 2 shirts and Thred	...	0	0	5
	2 pair of stockings at Kendall	...	0	1	0
Feb.					
y ^e 23	A pair of Stockinns	...	0	0	8
Ap: y ^e 8	5 y ^{rds} of Harden* at 1 ^s	...	0	5	0
99	makeing 2 shirts and Thred	...	0	0	6
May y ^e 9	To Oliver partridge for mending Shooes	...	0	1	3
y ^e 23	To Tho: Mackereth for A q ^{tr} (quarter) Table	1	2	6	
	A pair of Buckles...	...	0	0	4
			4	8	9

Another hand:—

May y^e 23, 1699

All the Disbursments aforesaid laid out for my Brother Thomas were by my Order and according to my Fathers desire and I doe further order my two Guardians Ben: Brown, and John Rigg, to furnish him with meat Drink Cloths and Learning with Books, and I will allow the same out of my Estate Wittnesse my hand

Rob^t Atkinson

Test

Thomas Mackereth

It was the Rev. Thomas Knott whom John Kelsick called in to make his will, when he was dying at the age of twenty-four. John was the son of George Kelsick, as the chapel registers show, and was baptised on March 14th, 1699. Whether George was the son of that John Kelsick, who from the year 1660 onwards was a provision dealer on a large scale, is not yet proved. It is extremely likely, however. Kelsick appears as a new name in Amble-side towards the middle of the seventeenth century, and the "Rental" of 1675 shows John Kelsick to be in possession of a holding that paid a lord's rent of 16s. 8d. Property, such as young John left behind in 1723, was only at that time acquired with rapidity by some sort of trade or commerce. Moreover, James Fisher left in 1681

* Harden, coarse hempen cloth.

a small property in trust to four trustees—of whom John Kelsick was one—and their heirs; and the deed by which the trust was wound up in 1637 shows the signature of George.* The chapel list, iii. (see Appendix IV.) gives George as the only contributor of the name of Kelsick.

The letter written by the curate of Ambleside to the rector of Grasmere (then residing at his other living), on the death of John, is worth reading in full.

Ambleside Jan: y^e 24th day 1723.

Rev^d Dr

Yours I received for w^{ch} I thank you and I send the enclosed as directed. Jn^o Kelsick's will, you may be sure was made both hastily and without much advice or consideration, for he liv'd but about four days after he begun. He was not to be advised but what his inclination and will led him too. When I found I could not have the advantage of the Schole I was troubled tho' he and I were very gracious, yet when he prov'd so adverse after I had considered that it would quitt me of a great deal of Slavery w^{ch} I have been confined too these many years without any great gain or satisfaction I was rather satisfied and thought pity to slip so good an opportunity it may do good to some. It will be no great loss to y^e minister for 6^d per quarter will not amount to much yearly. He was for having the Schole built upon his own ground below the bridge yet he was persuaded to let us build itt as near the Chapel as we could. Those that live may see the Church and Schole Joyned together w^{ch} will make a good place tho' not in my time I shall have nothing by itt but trouble. The Schole will be worth, I believe, 20^{lb} per Annum after his Debts, Legacies and Funeral Expences are paid w^{ch} will amount to 400^{lb} and upwards. I have here inclosed sent you a Copy of that part of his Will, it is very long there are several small Legacies given to his relations but if you have a mind to have a Copy of the whole will, you shall have itt when you come over. I desire you to consider of itt and to let us have your Advice and Assistance in the managem^t of the great Trust for the publick Good and credit of the Donor and I do not question but the Chapel Salary be advanced considerably after a little time, we have some good men yet. Pray, wink att small faults and let us have a kind

* If this link were certain, the interesting fact would be assured that Mr. Gibson's shop in Church Street—still a part of the Kelsick Trust property, once called Kelsick Hall, and, no doubt, the original holding of the family—has been used for the same trade for 245 years at least.

Answer the next opportunity w^{ch} will be a great Encouragem^t to us in the managem^t of itt. My humble Service to you and yours. I am

Rev^d Dr

Your humble Servant
whilst

Tho: Knott

Not one person knew anything of his will but I till after his death.

To

The Rev^d Dr Fleming att
the Parsonage in Ashby
this carefully & with speed
Westmoreland.

The recital of the will shows that John Kelsick left the bulk of his property in Ambleside, paying a yearly lord's rent of £1 3s. 11½d. to three trustees—John Mackereth and George Cumpstone, yeomen, and Thomas Knott, clerk—for the foundation of a free school. A portion of it was to be sold for erecting the school, and the rest secured for the schoolmaster's salary. He cut out the curate (at least, for the time being) from the post, which hurt the Rev. Thomas at first, declaring that the election should be made by the three trustees and their survivors, along with the feoffees of the chapel salary:—"nevertheless it is my will and mind That Thomas Newton Son of Barbara Walker Shall be first Elected and Chosen Scholemaster to teach a Free Schole there by my said Trustees and the Feoffees for the time being." The executors were to receive £1 each.

Two years later the trustees succeeded in purchasing from Gawen Brathwaite, jun., of Brathay, a rood of ground near the chapel called the Parracks, joining Mr. Dummer's Chapel Close on the north and the highway on the south; and on this the Free Grammar School was built. When it was moved to its present site near the new church, the old building was turned into cottages. In 1800 the rents accruing from the Kelsick property reached £51 8s.

The Rev. Thomas Knott's successor, Jonathan Myles,

again joined the two offices of curate and schoolmaster. He had been elected master of the Free School in 1738, and on Mr. Knott's death in December, 1744, took the cure, having been ordained in 1742 (*Ambleside Parish Magazine*). It was when the Rev. J. Myles died, in 1753, that Mr. Thomas Knott, successor to his father as trustee, wrote from his distant home to complain of the action of the Ambleside people, who had elected a schoolmaster on the very day (Sunday) after the last one's death, and without himself knowing of the matter. The descent of the trusteeship, in fact, proved a difficulty, and by 1778 a readjustment was necessary. Sir Michael le Fleming was asked to serve as one of the trustees, and he wished to add to himself the rectors of Windermere and Grasmere. This was wisely opposed, and two landowners of Ambleside, Mr. James Wilson and Mr. William Jackson, were appointed.

The Rev. Mr. Myles had, it seemed, during an interregnum at the Hall, been nominated by Mr. Craike, then rector of Grasmere. This created a precedent, and Sir William Fleming had in 1753 some difficulty in reasserting his title to nomination, which the bishop believed to be lodged with the rector. He was induced, after another choice, to nominate the Rev. Isaac Knipe, who was the man so precipitately elected by the Ambleside men as schoolmaster. Of him we hear much in the Rydal Hall papers, both by letters of his own and others. A period of decadence had, indeed, come over the ministers of the church, if not over the body of it. To the earnest religious feeling of the seventeenth century had succeeded a general carelessness of living, and a habit of using the endowments of the church for purely personal ends. The Rev. Jonathan Myles had not been above sitting in the ale-house with boon companions, where his extraordinary action one day in "bullocking the constable" entailed serious consequences, gave business to the Quarter Sessions, and set the whole town by the ears.

The Rev. Isaac Knipe was a man of another stamp. Son of John Knipe, "pleb.," and born at Flodder in Westmorland, he gained entrance to Queen's College, Oxford, as batler in 1735. In 1741 he took his B.A. degree, and his M.A. three years later. He was elected fellow of his college in 1752.* In 1742 he was appointed to the curacy of Staveley Chapel, near Kendal; and when in 1753 nominated for Ambleside, he was found to be likewise in possession of Ings (Hugill) Chapel, a mile and a half from Staveley. As this cure also had a school attached, he had hired an assistant to do his duty there. The bishop on discovering this wrote by his secretary that, as he already held two chapelries (licensed thereto by the late bishop), each of which received the royal bounty, and which therefore ought to be served by a separate curate, he could by no means be allowed to absorb a third. Ambleside being apparently the better portion, Isaac Knipe relinquished Staveley, though apparently not till the following year. The bishop then discovered (what he seems not to have understood) that the wily minister was keeping Hugill along with Ambleside, and commanded him to relinquish it, or to pay to his substitute, Thomas Scales, the whole of the chapel salary. Some feeling, indeed, was excited against Isaac Knipe in Ings, and the inhabitants tried to secure the nomination of Mr. Bateman of Crook to serve their cure. Thomas Scales seems to have written to the bishop about this, for in a reply that exists, telling him his decision with regard to the Rev. Isaac, the strong sentence occurs :—

I know nothing of Mr. Bateman's Pretensions to succeed you; but as you were in Possession I think you had a right to the offer of the augmentation. He who had served the Cure for the mean and Scandalous Salary of eight Pounds had best Pretence for the whole. Let me know what is done in consequence of this Letter.

I am, Sir, Y^r affectionate Serv^t.

Edmund Chester.

* For particulars of the Knipes, I am entitled to the Provost of Queen's College.

But Knipe, learning all this, bestirred himself. From various influential quarters he sought help in influencing the bishop. A reply of Mr. Speed, the Proctor, from Chester, assures him he can do nothing to alter his superior's sentiments. He significantly adds that he has not seen "the Gentleman who you said wo^d pay me for the Certificate. I mention this only because you hinted to me that such person wo^d call on mee."

Sir William Fleming, however, was more amenable, and wrote to the Bishop, whose reply is certainly worth reading.—

1754.

Ry. H. Papers.

Sir, I have received your Favour which I should have acknowledged sooner, if my removal from Chester, and some Continuance in London had not prevented its coming to hand in due Time. It is very true that I have called upon Mr. Knipe to resign Hugill, or else which will be pretty much the same, to allow the whole income of the Chapelry to his assistant. The holding of two Chapels, and allowing a pitifull Stipend to a Curate of one of them is an evil growing in my Diocese which I am determined to prevent. It is contrary to Law, it defeats the Intention of the royal Bounty, and leaves the Chapels as mean as if no such good had hapned to them. The Method is to find a Schoolmaster with a small income and then to add 7 or 8 p^{ds}. a Year to him for the care of the Parish, whereas I consider the School as totally separate from the Curacy, and shall assign to the Person so employed as much as if he had no such School. Mr. Knipe, I am well informed, does not receive less than £70 a Year from his Fellowship and has no pretence for any further Indulgence. I have publickly declared my resolution of securing the inferior Clergy from oppression, and tho' this may displease some persons who will put less money into their pockets, yet I hope the Laity will approve of my Conduct in this respect whose sole view is to rescue the lower Clergy from that contempt which the narrowness of their income must necessarily bring upon them. When Sir you have considered matters in this Light I persuade myself I shall have your concurrence in this Measure what is resolved or not out of personal Deslike to M^r Knipe, but merely on principle and duty in the discharge of my pastoral offic^e.

I am Sir

your most obed^t Serv^t

Edm : Chester

Camb : Oct^r 4. 1754

It is disappointing to find, after this, that the bishop yielded, at least to the extent of allowing Mr. Knipe to keep Hugill, if he granted his substitute £15 annually. He appears to have lived in Ambleside, and to have actually taught the school himself with credit. His gossiping letters to his patron give us news of the place, and he is not above recording the shortcomings of his reverend brother of Troutbeck chapel, who twice recently had drunk too much on Saturday to be able to perform service on Sunday, to the dismay of the churchwarden, who had secured the key of the church by way of reprisal. Long afterwards, in 1781, we find this able pluralist again working his patron, now Sir Michael le Fleming. The latter wrote in that year in his behalf to the newly created Bishop of Winchester, begging that the Ambleside minister might retain Niton in the Isle of Wight, of which he had been rector eighteen years, without residence there, as he had done by the indulgence of the late bishop; averring that the Rev. Isaac's loss would be felt "in this Country where he has taught school with great reputation for near forty years." The outcome of this letter we do not know; but five years later he was laid to his rest here, having apparently had assistance for some time in the school from one Mr. John Cookson. In his time the endowment of the chapel was increased. Small gifts of unrecorded donors had, as early as 1664, been placed out on mortgage among the landowners, and these in 1755 amounted to £40 10s. An attempt was made then to raise the sum to £100, to meet the £100 conditionally left for that intent by Dr. Stratford, who had likewise left in the previous year four theological works for the use of the curate of Ambleside. The *Ambleside Parish Magazine* states the minister's salary to have been £14 in 1753, when Isaac Knipe took it, and £30 at his death.

The same paper gives the name of Christopher Roberts as assistant curate in the year 1786, when the Rev. John Wilson was nominated by Sir Michael. The latter had

previously taught the school at Blackburn, an arduous post which he longed to be free of, and which he had held with the curacy of Tockholes in Lancashire. This last, in the sad fashion of the time, he desired still to retain. He employed an assistant here for the school, as is apparent on his death in 1791, when John Dawes (once pupil of the Rev. Isaac Knipe) supplicated that he may keep the school he is already teaching, though he will not aspire to the curacy. The bishop seems not to have considered him yet fit for orders, but he kept the school under the next curate. This was John Knipe, son of Isaac, who, when offered the post of curate and schoolmaster by Sir Michael, wrote fearing that the school would prove too confining for him. But he could reside for two or three months in the summer without the least inconvenience, he says, if that would suffice, "as it would be the occasion of an annual visit to my friends in Westmörland." As he has no particular engagement in college (Queen's, Oxford, of which he was later Fellow) next month, he could come over and confer about it. His mother at the same time wrote from Ambleside to beg a little time for her son's decision. He accepted, but his absenteeism evidently proved too much. An undated letter to his patron states that it had been his intention to return to Ambleside to reside there, but as Sir Michael is so desirous that Mr. Crakelt should have the chapel he will resign, and hopes some employment will be found for Mr. Dawes. Later, he says he will resign the school in November, but hopes Sir Michael will not object to his keeping the curacy till he had in some degree reimbursed himself for expenses in building, and until he sees how his situation in Hamburg may be agreeable to him. From Hamburg, where he is established with his sister, he finally writes to resign in favour of Mr. Crakelt on March 21, 1795, only requiring that the money from the school and chapel shall, after deducting Mr. Dawes' salary, be given to him.

When Mr. Crakelt resigned in 1811, John Dawes' reward seems at last to have come, for one of that name was presented to the curacy, and held it till his death in 1845. He had apparently been long infirm, for the Cumberland and Westmorland *Directory* of 1829 states that he was then assisted by the Rev. Owen Lloyd, and that the Rev. William Sewell, incumbent of Troutbeck, was teaching the Free School. The Rev. Owen Lloyd, son of Charles Lloyd of Old Brathay, was at that time living with his friend, Mrs. Luff, at Fox Ghyll. The rush-bearing hymn which he wrote for the annual church festival is still in use. In his pastoral care Ambleside was happy, and seems to have been no less so under his successor, the Rev. Thomas Troughton; for when the old curate at last died, Lady le Fleming received a petition signed by 181 inhabitants, headed by Mr. Benson Harrison, praying that in place of "our late venerable & respected Incumbent" "our present Curate" Mr. Troughton, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, who with the greatest piety and zeal has performed "his sacred duties without any stipend" may be appointed. It is disappointing to find that Mr. Troughton deserted his ardent admirers next year, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Irton Fell.

This date brings us to comparatively modern times. The old chapel, decayed and damp and almost past using, was re-built by subscription during the Rev. John Dawes' time (in 1812), and this later edifice is still used for additional services. It is called St. Anne's, though it is doubtful whether it was ever formally consecrated. The new St. Mary's, built after Sir Gilbert Scott's design, was consecrated on June 14th, 1854.

One name has yet to be mentioned, however, that should probably have come first of the curates.

In Nicolson and Burn's account of Rydal we read:—
 "In the highway, at the end of the old orchard, was a causeway, which was charitably made by John Bell,

curate and schoolmaster of Ambleside; every Thursday and Saturday in the afternoon causing his scholars to gather stones for the paving thereof, and he did then pave the same himself."

Search in the registers of Grasmere and Ambleside* through the early years of the eighteenth century failed to find any trace of the Rev. John Bell. If the story—which reminds one of Ruskin and his undergraduate roadmakers—be not a myth, the tradition of it must have been (in 1770) an old one. A John Bell was one of the six deponents of the ancient customs of the common peat-mosses in 1699; but he must have been an old and trusted townsman. Another John Bell, "Old," witnessed a deed of the Forrests in 1589, but he could not write his name. A deed of Squire John Fleming's, dated 1617, was, however, witnessed by three men of Rydal and by John Bell, "curate." This, then, may have been the man whose act of good citizenship proves not only that he was a true leader of youth, but that he must have drawn some of his pupils from Rydal, if not from Grasmere. In mending the miry bottom of the short cut between Scandale and Old Hall Hills, he gave them good footing for their winter journeys to and fro.

VI.—THE TOWN.

Ambleside had secured her wool market and two fairs in the year in 1650. That this coveted privilege was better suited to her than to the older township of Grasmere is clear from the public rating papers of the seventeenth century, which show how she had outstripped the

* For which I am greatly indebted to the Revs. C. Jennings and H. B. M. Lafone. For permission for later search, I have to thank the Revs. J. Heywood and J. Hawksorth. Since the above was in type, Mr. Browne has found in the registers of Windermere the burial of Henry Turner, "minister of Ambleside," on January 3rd, 1668. Also of Thomas Mayson, "minister of Ambleside," on November 9th, 1647. As the Troutbeck registers show that "M^r Hen: Turner of Ambleside" had a daughter buried on May 17th, 1648, he must have followed Mayson immediately.

villages round. For 1636 her valuation in rents is set down as £24; while Grasmere is £13 6s. 8d., and Rydal and Loughrigg £9. The same valuation was made for the rates in 1664, after the Restoration. The poll-tax of 1690 gives some insight into her population. She then paid £12 7s., while the whole of Langdale, Grasmere, Rydal, and Loughrigg paid a total only of £10 10s. The place, too insignificant to be named in 1283, was now used as a centre of the district, where the representatives of the ancient Hundred Court could meet. In May, 1675, a special Quarter Sessions was convened by the Justices in Ambleside to decide about cases connected with the hearth-tax. This hated tax was farmed out by the Crown to a high bidder, whose agents levied it often in so unjustifiable and harsh a manner that the magistrates had sometimes to step in and protect the people. Complaints were endless; and we find that the May sitting had to be adjourned till October, when the indefatigable lord of Rydal sat again, with his cousin Philipson (of Windermere), to conclude the matter.

There was already a resident surgeon in the place, Charles Brooke, who had married Bridget Sandys, granddaughter of Gawen and niece of Thomas Brathwaite. Sir Daniel speaks several times of his cousin Brooke, with whom he had convivial meetings (costing him as much as 4s. on one occasion) with other cousins.

The enterprising folk had likewise added to their industries a paper mill, which was quite a novelty. In the account book we read:—

Nov. 10. 81. Rec. of Rich. Compston of Ambleside for an oak tree
for an Axletree for his Paper Mill (besides 2^s given him back) y^e sum
of 02^{lb} 08^s 00^d

and later “to Compston for brown Paper 6^d.”

Possibly the new mill was placed on Scandale Beck, above Low Sweden Bridge, for a piece of ground adjacent is still called Paper-mill Coppice, and there is a ruined

building near. This position would make a tree from the adjacent Rydal demesne convenient. A Richard Cumpston, "papermaker," was buried in the chapel-yard June 2nd, 1693. He may have been related to the later prominent George, builder of the lodge on the orchard he had bought from the Ambleside Hall property, who married a granddaughter of Sir Daniel Fleming, daughter of Richard.

Other glimpses of Ambleside folk do we get from the account book. We learn slowly from this that the system of freight by pack-horses, which moved in gangs at that time over the country roads, was almost as convenient a medium for shopping as the present parcel-post. For there was not a town in the neighbouring counties (except Lancashire beyond the Sands) in which Sir Daniel did not buy provisions, clothes, or books, besides occasional purchases made in Newcastle and London, and he did business with the Ambleside tradesmen at times. Before he got large supplies of wine from the shippers of Newcastle or Cocker-mouth, he would send for a few quarts of sack or wine at a time from Gawen Mackereth. Gawen was probably the precursor of George Mackereth, who (as the licensing papers show) kept, along with five other men, ale-houses in Ambleside in 1691. In 1791 there were five altogether—the Salutation, White Lion, Unicorn, Fox and Goose, and a signless one.

Wheaten bread, which was bought in small quantities for the upper table in Rydal Hall, was got in Ambleside, if the horses were not going to Kendal. An early entry stands:—

April 3. 57. Paid unto ye bread-woman at Amb : beeing all
00^{lb} 01^s 02^d

Kelsick, the grocer, was occasionally patronised too :—

June 7. 1660. Paid by Jo. Bankes unto Kelsicke for sugar &c., against my wife's falling sicke, being in full of all Reckonings, &c &c.
02^{lb} 04^s 00^d

Kelsick would seem to have had some connection with Hawkshead, possibly going to the market there each week. Under February 8th, 1672-3, comes:—

For a syde of mutton at Ambleside February 5, 1672, 2^s 10^d. A quarter of veal 1^s 4^d. paid Kelsick for veal at Hawkeshead 3^s 1^d.

Again:—

Paid by John Banckes unto John Kelsick February 13th 1677, for a syde of veal at H. Munday before 3^s 2^d, cockles and muscles 6^d, wheat-bread 6^d.

Then on February 20th, 1681-2:—

Sent by John Kelsick's wife unto my four sons at Hawkeshead for their cock-pennies 00^{lb} 10^s 00^d

William Benson, the draper, is often dealt with. He supplies "lin-cloth" for the boys' shirts, "kerseys" for various uses—one to make George and Richard's "gam'aiches," and "brown friezed cloth," at 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. a yard (a very low price), to make a coat for the young Miss Fleming's music master, who, besides a present of clothes, had an occasional small sum of money given him.

Lancelot Benson is a very trusted sadler. He is paid in 1676 "for a new male, mending of an old one," with all owing, 12s. In 1680 he receives for "a new large Portmanto" the enormous sum of 16s. When the knight goes to take his seat in Parliament in 1685, "Lanty" is paid "for making of a Portmantle, which I carried to London, 6^s." This seems small in proportion to the occasion, but the leather had been supplied, and is entered elsewhere.

In 1662, two cups of butter are bought in Ambleside at 10d.; and in 1674, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. at 6s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Two "cases" of mutton, 7s. 6d., are paid for on December 2nd, 1674, to which entry is incidentally added "y^e day of y^e Bureall of Tho. Brathwait, esq." Thus are great events (for that funeral must have made a great impression in the town,

and furnished a notable sight as it wound slowly from the Hall along the rocky hillside to Grasmere) linked on to little ones! But it is by the quaint connection of them in the account book that we learn so much.

The accounts kept by Mr. Robert Brathwaite for his brother's executors are wanting in the fulness of the Rydal book, though these yield a few further items of interest for Ambleside. The first item runs:—

	lb	s	d
payed to seuerall messengers were sent for buying things to the fuenerall and inuiting to yt	...	0	4
payed for looking to the yeates	...	0	0
payed the Ringers at Amblesid Chappell	...	0	2

After other items connected with the will:—

I did Giue to the new year lads at Ambleside	...	0	0
payed for giting sayle noats published	...	0	2
payed Ro: feild Cryer for 3 days	...	0	8
January the 8 th payed to John Kelsicke in full from the 24 th of October last as by Acquittance	...	0	9
payed lanty fleming for deuiding the Clothes	...	0	0

It was the honest Rydal tailor to whom this nice office was entrusted.

payed Row ^d Towneson Cryer in full	...	0	17
Feb. 2. 74 payed John Kelsick as by Acquittance in full with 4 ^d then sent for brande	...	4	0

This large item may have stood for food at the funeral feast.

Item for three Cakes in hawkeshead	...	0	0
------------------------------------	-----	---	---

which shows the town was already celebrated for its cakes.

second of Feb: 74 payed for brandy to James Dixon	o	o	6
payed sister Sandys she had upon p'ouiding all things	...	0	11
21 st of Decem ^r 75 payed George Mackereth of Cassay as it maye appeare by Acquit ^e	...	1	12

F

This heavy item is to the innkeeper, and further down we read :—

spynt upon bargoning the woole at George Mac-
kereth of Caussas with Ather newby 1^{lb} & toane
half I payed 0 . 10 . 0

What an amount of chaffering at the inn this sum must represent before the Ambleside Hall wool was sold !

payed M^r patter the Remainder of 3^{lb} 10^s for wine for
My brother funerall as by Acquittance in full ... 0 . 10 . 0

Was this Potter the publican of Kendal, whose wife made char pies ? Further expenses show that the Commission appointed to settle disputes arising from the will sat at Lanty Benson's, the sadler.

Finally we have :—

2nd of february 78 Allow M^r Fleming of Rydale as by
his owne noat onwards legacy forgiuen by my
brother 6 . 1 . 3

The legacy had run, " Item I give unto my worthy cousin M^{rs} Barbara Fleming of Rydall £10 to bestow if she please in plate," and the Rydal squire noted in his account book the £6 1s. 3d. received "in part" of the legacy to his late wife. As this was the exact sum that the goods he bought at the sale amounted to, no money was exchanged.

Among the receipts of the executors we find :—

Received of John kelsick for a silver spoon ... 0 . 4 . 0
Received of Cosan parson wilson (of Windermere)
for playt, he had 0 . 9 . 8
Received of parson wilson for the leser boat ... 1 . 18 . 0
Received of M^r Sadaler (the schoolmaster) of
hawkeshead for bookes 3 . 19 . 0

From the Rydal account book we learn something of

the fairs, to which the squire and later his sons resorted for pastime and purchases.

June 10. 1674. Spent at Ambleside Fair with Mr
Stanford &c 00 . 06 . 00

Trade in cattle was done.

May 26. 1675. At Amb. Fair for 2 Runts for beef ... 5 . 14 . 02

There is an old man still alive in Ambleside who remembers the old order of the fairs, when the cattle stood in the streets as they do in Ireland to this day; when there were still stalls for clothiers, sweets, and eatables; sellers of ballads and pedlars of all kinds assembled. The humours of the fair, the practical joke paid by James Backhouse, the auctioneer, on the "I-talian" who sold looking-glasses, are told too.

But the wool market was already a thing of the past. It was closed about 1825, and Green tells of the cessation of its cheerful bell that had been wont to announce the opening of business. With Kendal's loss of her woollen trade, with the introduction of machinery, which destroyed the home manufactures of spinning and weaving and stopped the fulling mills, the little town on the Stock had suffered grievously. While growing distress prevailed over the district in the last years of the eighteenth century, it shrank visibly. Green hastened to draw some of the older houses becoming dilapidated in his time, and many of them had been already cleared away.

The tide of prosperity has set again into Ambleside, and its builders are busy. But it is no longer the place of mills and of cloth workers, but the little centre for the moneyed classes who have flocked from all parts to the beautiful mountain scenery that surrounds it. It is now the place of tourists, and the individuality of its past is lost.

APPENDIX I.

THE MILL DEED (PP. 20-21).

Know all men by these p^{re}sents that wee Will^m Jackson of Loughrigg in the county of Westmo^rland husbandman and Elizabeth Jackson of the same county Widdowe & Mother of the said Will^m For and in consideration that Gawen Brathwaite of Ambleside in the county aforesaid esq. hath p^{ro}missed that wee the said Will^m & Elizabeth Jackson our heires and ass^{ns} shall from time to time and all times hereafter haue our and euery of ou^r corne and Graine ground at the milne of the said Gawen Brathwaite standing at the stockbridge in Ambleside aforesaid as alsoe that hee the said Gawen Brathwaite will pay to the Prince his assig^s or to the Grave that gathers the same, the yearely rent of iiijd. ob. milne rent now belonging to the tenam^t of us the said Will^m and Elizabeth Jackson and paid forth of the same for the Old milne in Ambleside standing upon Sleddall becke. Now know ye that wee the said Will^m & Eliz: Jackson for the considerac^on aforesaid haue giuen granted aliened bargained and sould assigned passed ou^{er} and confirmed, and doe by these presents for us ou^r heires ex^{ors} administ^{rs} & Asig^s & eue^y of us giue Grant Alien Bargaine sell assigne pass ou^{er} & confirme. And alsoe remise release & confirme unto the foresaid Gawen Brathwaite his heires & ass^s for eue^r All ou^r & either of ou^r estate tytle interest Tenantright and Customary estate in the water-corne Milnes in Ambleside aforesaid both old and new and either of them standing upon Sleddallbecke & Stockgill aforesaid And in all p^{ro}fitts moulters waters & water courses with all benefitts p^{ro}fitts app^{ro}tennnces to the said water corne Milnes and either of them belonging or in any wise app^{ro}taining To have and to hold the said water corne Milnes both old and new and either of them wth all their app^{ro}tennnces Unto the said Gawen Brathwaite his heires & ass^s according to custome lately confirmed unde^r the great Seale of England for eue^r yealding and paying to the Prince his highness his heires & successors the forsaid yearly rent of iiijd. ob. and doing such other dewties as belongs thereto. And wee the said Will^m & Eliz: Jackson doe hereby further p^{ro}mise & couenut to & wth the said Gawen Brathwaite his heires & ass^s that wee the said Will^m

Jackson & Eliz: Jackson ou^r heires & ass^s shall & will from time to time and at all times hereafter wthin the space of seauen years next make and seale such further estate & securtie of the Tenantright & Customarie estate of the p[']mises as the said Gawen Brathwaite his heires & ass^s shall reasonably demand And that he the said Gawen Brathwaite his heires & ass^s shall and may peacably and quietly have hold occupie and Enjoy the aforesaid Milnes & p[']mises wth th'app[']tennces according to the Custome for euer without the stopp, let, sute, hinderance or trouble of us the foresaid Will^m Jackson & Elizabeth Jackson or either of us ou^r heires ex^{rs} Admⁱⁿtrato^{rs} or ass^s or any of us or any p[']son or p[']sons clayming the same by from or under us or anie of us.

In wittenes whereof wee the said Will^m Jackson & Elizabeth Jackson have here unto sett our hands and seales the sixt day of May in the fifteenth yeare of the Raigne of ou^r Most Gracious soueraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God king of England Scotland France & Ireland defender of the faith &c. Anno Domⁱ 1639

William Jackson mark x O
Elizabeth^h

Sealed and deliuered in
the p[']sen^{ts} of us

John Horne
Ralph Robinson
Tho. Mason

APPENDIX II.

(a) GAWEN BRATHWAITE'S INVENTORY, 1653 (P. 29).

[Mr. G. Browne's MSS., vol viii. The inventory up to "In the Studie" is copied from a fragment which may be older than the complete one bound in Mr. Browne's volume. Where the two materially differ, the alternate version is inserted in brackets.]

The Inuentere of the goods and Chattells of Gawen Brathwaite of Amblesid^e
Esqr latt deceased apprized by George Brown Thomas Mackerith Gawen
Mackerith and Chris: Willson the xiiijth of March Anno Dom 1653

IN THE PARLOUR

	li	s	d
Imp ^r Three Tables one of them a drawer att booth endes	..	01	. 00 . 00
It fower wooden Chaires 00 . 16 . 00
It fve letheren Chaires 00 . 15 . 00

	l	s	d
It two little greane stoles	00	01	00
It Quishions xi of wh one is haire	00	11	00
It two Buffett Stooles	00	01	00
It three Carpett clothes	00	01	06
It one greane Carppatt cloth	00	16	00
It two window curtians and roods of Ieron	00	01	00
It a Boxe w th drawers in it for antiqities	00	01	00
It a Cabinatt for hott watteres	00	2	00
It a paire of Standage [Standishes in later copy.]	00	00	06
It two paire of table Bordes	00	01	00
It a darke Lantherne	00	00	10
It a stone Bowe and a crosbow [A greate old crosbowe.]	00	03	4
It a paire of tongues, showel and a pore	00	01	06

IN THE 'NEW CHAMBER

Imp ^r two stooles	00	01	00
It a letheren Chaire	00	01	06
It two Trunkes	00	06	00
It a fether Beed boalster two pillows a p' of Blankettes and greane Rugge	01	13	04
It a square table [a Rounder*] w th two greane clothes	00	16	00
It sixe sett quishans	00	09	00
It a p' of Brand Ierons † a Showell and a p' of tongues	00	01	06
It two windowe Curtians	00	02	09

IN THE LITTLE CHAMBER

Imps. one Beedstokes	00	10	00
It a fetherbeed a boalster a p' of Blankettes a Rugge Curtians and Vallance	01	10	00
It two quishons	00	04	00
It two Chaires	00	06	00
It a wainescott chest a rounder* and a cloth upon it	00	07	00
It a paire of tongues	00	00	06
It the latt maisteres Apparell in generall	26	13	4
It sheetes Tableclothes & nappkins Toweles & Cubertt clothes	06	13	04
It in platte	40	00	00

IN THE STUDIE

Imp ^r a Chaire and a Table	00	03	04
---	----	----	----

IN THE CHAMBR OUR THE LITTLE CHAMBR

Imp ^r a Feather bed a Boulster a p of Blancketts a Covercloath a Rugge and a pillow	01	00	00
It a litle Stoole	00	00	06
It a p' of Curtians	00	01	06

* "Rounder," *qy.* roundel; *i.e.*, anything round, as a trencher. "A roundell to set dishes on from soiling the table-cloth," Baret, 1580 (Halliwell). The rounder in the little chamber seems to be a small round table.

† "Brand-irons," rests for logs of wood on the hearth.

AT THE HEAD OF THE STAIRES

	li	s	d
Imp ^r two Bedsteades in the topp lofte & one att the head of the Staires	00	. 04 . 06
It a wainscott Chest	00	. 06 . 00

IN THE BUTTRIE CHAMBR

Imp ^r One Trunell bed* .. .. .	..	00	. 01 . 06
It two Feather bedds, two Blancketts two Ruggs, one Boulster, and in the litle bed a Feather bed, and a boulster, two blancketts a Covercloath & a wrought Happin† .. .. .	..	01	. 10 . 00
It a Chaire a Cupboard and Cou ^r inge for it a p ^r of tonges & a showell .. .. .	..	00	. 07 . 00
It a window Curtain & and Iron Rodd.. .. .	..	00	. 00 . 06
It a wrought Quishion with silke and silver or golde .. .. .	..	00	. 01 . 06

IN THE NEARER OUT LOFTE

Imp ^r One Bedstead and trunnell Bedd .. .. .	..	00	. 15 . 00
It a Feather bedd a Boulster one Cou ^r cloth a Rugee, Curtaines & vales .. .. .	..	01	. 06 . 08
It in the litle bedd, a feather bedd, two Cou ^r clothes and one Boulster .. .. .	..	00	. 13 . 04
It two Trunkes, one Counter † a chaire, a p ^e of Brand Irons and a p ^e of Tonges .. .. .	..	00	. 12 . 00

IN THE FARRE ROOME

Imp ^r One Trunnell bed .. .. .	..	00	. 01 . 06
It a feather bedd a boulster a p ^e of Blancketts and two Covercloathes .. .. .	..	00	. 06 . 08
It two Formes & a greate chest .. .. .	..	00	. 05 . 00
It a greate Curtaine & some green silk vallews.. .. .	..	00	. 06 . 00
It a Sayle for a boate .. .. .	..	00	. 00 . 06

IN THE NURSERIE

Imp ^r a Bedstead and a Trunnell Bedd .. .. .	..	00	. 04 . 00
It a feather bedd a boulster a p ^e of Blancketts & two Couercloathes .. .. .	..	00	. 10 . 00
It in the litle bedd a chaff bedd a boulster & two Cou ^r cloathes .. .. .	..	00	. 03 . 00
It two Chestes .. .. .	..	00	. 06 . 00
It a white Happin last made and some yarne .. .. .	..	00	. 14 . 00
It a girdle, § brandreth, spitte, brand Iron, a still, a weigh-baulks scales and weights .. .. .	..	00	. 13 . 90

* A small bed that will roll or trundle under another. Beds seem to have been stowed everywhere, as is shown by the previous entries.

† Happin, a coverlet.

‡ Counter, though said to be a table for counting money upon, seems here to mean only a table—perhaps of long shape like the shopman's counter. The secret drawer in one counter contained money (see page 31).

§ "Girdle," plate for baking oat-cakes; "brandreth," the tripod to support the girdle; "still," a vessel for distillation; "weigh-baulk," the beam of scales.

IN THE INNER BACK CHAMBR

	li	s	d
Imp ^r three bedsteads, four bedd posts, two in the topp Loft & two in the back chamb ^r	00	02	00
It a Chaffe bedd a ffeather boulster two cou ^r cloathes and a fforme	00	05	00

IN THE WAINSCOTT CHAMBR *

Imp ^r One Bedstead & a Trunnell bedd	01	00	00
It a ffeather-bedd a bouls ^r two pillowes a p ^e of Blancketts a Rugge with Curtaines & vallevs in the greate Bedd, & in the litle Bedd, a feather-bed, a boulster, a p ^e of Blancketts a Coveringe, and a Covercloath	02	13	04
It three yellow Curtaines	00	10	00
It Window Curtaines two rodds of Iron the square table and the Coverings	00	01	00
It a Leatheren chaire a painted chaire two buffets stooles a p ^r of tonges & a shouell	00	07	00

IN THE INNR ROOM NEXT TO THE WAINSCOTT CHAMBR

Imp ^r One Bedstead	00	03	00
It a ffeatherbed a boulster a Covercloath a Rugge a p ^r of Blancketts & Curtaines	01	06	08
It a Litle Table with a Coveringe one stoole & a Quishion	00	03	00

IN THE CHAMBR OUR THE BUTTERY LOFTE

Imp ^r One Bedsteade	00	01	06
It a ffeatherbed a boulster a p ^r of Blancketts and a Covercloath	00	13	04
It two Trunkes and one chaire	00	07	00

IN THE FARR PANTRIE

Imp ^r two chestes and one table	00	07	00
It in the Nearer Pantry a litle square table & a forme	00	02	00
It in Pewther there	01	00	00

IN THE KITCHEN

Imp ^r potts Panns one Porring ^{er} one chafindish two scumm ^{ers} a skellet [†] and a Grater	01	13	00
It Drippinge Panns speetes rackes a brand Iron a p ^r of tonges & an Iron Peele [‡]	01	11	00
It two Brasse Morters, two Pestelles, three recken-crookes a cockle pann a Cressett & an Iron before the fire	00	13	00
It one chaire in the kithen	00	02	06

* The wainscott chamber, with its yellow curtains and window curtains, leather chair and painted chair, was clearly a room of state.

† "Scummer," fire-shovel; "skellet," long-handled pan.

‡ "Peel," baker's shovel; "rackon-crook," an adjustable hook hanging from the chimney to hold pots over the fire; "cockle-pan," to boil cockles, frequently mentioned in Sir Daniel Fleming's account book, and apparently brought from Morecambe Bay; "cresset," an open lamp.

IN THE BREWHOUSE

	li	s	d
Imp ^r a Mashfatt* a cowler & a Guilfatt†	01	00	00
It vij barrells & two Hoggeshheads	00	16	06
It a litle knoppe‡ with other wooden vessel with a litle stoole ..	00	06	08
It a thinn plate of Iron a Peele & two old peeces of Iron ..	00	03	00
It wooden vessell in the farr topp Lofte	00	05	00
It two old Trunkes in thother topp Lofte	00	02	00
It tallow in the farr Larder-house	00	05	00
It a sowce-tubb§ a fleshfatt w th other wooden vessell in the said Larder-house	00	06	00

IN THE NEARER LARDER-HOUSE

Imp ^r two fflishtubbs, an old Cupboard	00	10	00
It in the Milkhouse, Gallews,|| Bowles, Cheesefatte and other wooden vessels	00	10	00
It Tanned Leather	02	10	00
It woole about ffourescore stone vj ^s viij ^d a stone & the skinnes in att all	26	13	04
It three Tables with fframes alsoe fformes two chaires Buffetts & loose wainscott in the Hall	02	00	00
It Malt in the kitchen Lofte forty-five bushelles or thereabouts ..	06	00	00
It Oaten Meale six bushells or thereabouts	01	00	00
It Chests Arkes Barrells tubbs and other bursten vessell in the said Lofte	03	03	00
It in the Garner & Corne barne ffifty-nine bushells of Malt, castinge seaven bushells of the bad Malt in att all ..	07	00	00
It in the Garner forty fiue bushells of Oates	03	07	06
It in the Garner viij ^t bushells of Bigge at 2 ^s 8 ^d the bushell, & all the Bigge in the Barne att the same price unthresh ^d being as is supposed about 60 ^{tie} bushells	08	00	00
It all the unthreshed Oates in the barne being as is supposed aboute 75 bushells in all	05	12	06
It Hay in the New barne the Low Barne in the Rigge-hogg-house, the Barne in the Borwaines, Barkasike Barne, and att the Gayle	12	00	00
It nine threave¶ of wheate att xvj ^d the peck	00	12	00
It the Arke in the new Barne	01	00	00
It Eight Hiues of Bees	02	00	00
It a Chest in the old Malt-house lofte with some hauer malt in pt	00	10	00

* "Mash-vat," for brewing; "cooler," a large open tub.

† "Guile-vat," a wort tub.

‡ "Knop," a tub.

§ "Souce tub," to hold brine or sour whey for pickling.

|| "Gallases," suspenders.

¶ "Threave," or thrave: twenty-four sheaves of corn; a stook of corn, or twelve battens of straw; a batten, two sheaves of straw. The stook was also called *haddock* in these parts.

	li	s	d
It Ploughs, Harrowes, hotts,* Crookes a sledd a p ^e of Cowpe wheeles and some Cowp-woode with other odd peeces of woode	01	00	00
It five packe sadles with garthes Wantoos† and halters..	00	12	00
It five swyne togeth ^r with geese & oth' poultry	01	13	04

IN THE GATEHOUSE LOFTE

Imp ^r three Gavelockes †	00	09	00
It Mells, § Wedges	00	06	08
It two dogg-teams two shackles|| a Mattocke a hack, iii ^r sickles & two Bry ^{er} crookes	00	03	08
It Hames¶ and traces ropes and other implem ^{ts}	00	08	00
It Hempseed**	00	01	00
It Eightscore Loade of Peate	01	06	00
It one Plough & Plough-gear, foure teames, foure yokes, a foote-teame & a horse-teame	00	16	00

ATT THE RIGGE-HOGGE-HOUSE ††

Imp ^r Weather sheepe threescore & tenn at five shillings a pece	17	10	00
It Ewes fivescore & tenn	27	10	00
It Twinters threescore & Eighteen at iij ^s x ^d a piece	15	07	00
It Hoggs ffouer score & nineteen att iij ^s x ^d a peice	18	19	06

* "Hott," a basket or panier for carrying manure.

† "Wanty," a strap of leather used for binding a load upon the back of a beast (Webster). "Wanto-bottoms" appear several times in Sir Daniel Fleming's account book, and were 4d. apiece.

‡ "Gavelock," an iron crowbar or lever.

§ "Mell," a great hammer.

|| "Shackles," cow-chains.

¶ "Hames," pieces of wood on the collar of the horse to which the traces are fixed (Hall).

** "Hempseed." This, no doubt, represents the winter store of seed for sowing the little plot of hemp customary on every holding, which supplied the household with linen. The store of peat is large, as the winter was almost over.

†† Sheep, with their wool, were the main source of wealth to the statesman. As it was the law of the district that no more should be put on the common in summer than could be fed through the winter, the greatest economy of fodder prevailed to make it feed the greatest possible number of animals throughout the winter. Various auxiliaries to hay were used, such as ash leaves, pease straw, and even corn straw. West, so recently as 1774, mentions the use of holly leaves; and Mr. H. S. Cowper tells me that "in a copy of West, annotated by T. A. Beck, author of *Annales Furnesienses*, there is a marginal note that within his (Beck's) memory sheep were so browsed at Heald Brow, Coniston (but that the hollies had been since all destroyed), and also at Stott Park." In the winter the hogs, and perhaps the twinters (sheep of the first and second years), were housed in the hog house that stood on every holding, a detached building often placed at a distance from the homestead. Here they fed on hay, &c., placed in racks all round, and never went out except to water at the adjacent beck. The hog houses, after standing useless for a long time, are being fast cleared away. The prices shown in the inventory are valuable—5s. a piece for wethers, tupps, and ewes; 3s. 10d. each or £3 16s. 8d. a score for twinters and hogs. It should be noticed that the High House and Pull Beck prices are less than the Ambleside and Baisbrown ones.

ATT AMBLESIDE

	li	s	d
Imp ^r xxj ^o Kyne and a Bull	55	00	00
It fue Spayynge Calues att x ^s a peice of a fortnight old ..	02	10	00
It a stoned Horse	10	00	00
It the yonge gray nagge	03	00	00
It the yonge gray Mare	03	00	00
It the old gray Mare	03	00	00
It the litle gray Mare	03	00	00
It the old gray geldinge	02	00	00
It the black Galloway	01	00	00
It the litle white galloway	01	00	00
It the litle bay Mare att the Rigge together with the ffoale ..	03	00	00

ATT BAISBROWNE

Imp ^r four Kyne att one ponde sixteen shillings eight pence apeece	07	06	08
It viij ^o Oxen at three pounds a beast	24	00	00
It ten Heiffers att the new barne	20	00	00
It Nine other yonge beasts att the same Barne att ojl ^{li} 13 ^s 04 ^d a peice	15	00	00
It three Heiffers att the house att one pound ten shillings a beast	04	10	00
It xiiij ^o yonge beasts att the house att ojl ^{li} 06 ^s 08 ^d a beast ..	17	16	08
It nine stirkes att the house att xvj ^s a beast	07	04	00
It One Calfe newly weaned	00	06	08
It One bay horse of three yeares old	03	00	00
It One gray mare of the same age	03	10	00
It one black horse att the same age	02	10	00
It one Colte of two yeares old	02	00	00
It one Mare & a ffoale	04	00	00
Sheepe Eightscore & thirteen			
Imp ^r Weathers and tups xx ^{tie} at 5 ^s a peece	05	00	00
It Ewes 73 att 5 ^s a peece.. .. .	18	05	00
It twinters 40 att 03 ^{li} 16 ^s 08 ^d a score	07	13	04
It Hoggs 40 att 03 ^{li} 16 ^s 08 ^d a score	07	13	04
It Hay fferty Trusse	01	10	00
It xij bushells of Bigge or thereabouts att ij ^s vj ^d the bushell ..	01	10	00
It Oates xxxiiij bushells or thereabouts att j ^s iiij ^d the bushell ..	02	05	00
It two bedsteades	00	11	00
It two old Arkes one chaire one stande and an old spinning wheele	00	02	00
It one gauelocke one twigge* of Iron two Lymestons, Hamm ^{ers} three spades one hack, two Axes, two Iron wedges two wimbles & One Iron shackle	00	08	00
It One plough & plough-geare, foure teames, foure yokes, a foote- teame and a horse teame	00	16	00
It Nine ropes	00	02	00
It Oxen ffett ^{ers} att	00	01	00
It two Arkes in the new barne	00	05	00
It One Hiue of Bees att	00	05	00

* "Twig," gy. pincers ; "lymestone," gy. whetstone ; "wimbles," augers.

PULL-BECKE

	li	s	d
Imp ^r foure Kyne att 01 ^{li} 16 ^s 08 ^d a beast	07	06	08
It vj Steares att one pound ten shillings a beast	09	00	00
It foure Heiffers	04	00	00
It viij ^o calues at viij ^o Markes	05	06	08
It a flatt Stott	02	00	00
It two Bulls	02	00	00
It xvj ^o Ewes att iiiij ^s vj ^d a peice	03	12	00
It three weathers at iiiij ^s vi a peice	00	13	06
It One Tuppe	00	04	06
It Hoggs xxiiij ^o att iij ^s x ^d a peice	04	08	00
It Bigge being Eight bushells att two shillings six pence a bushell	01	00	00
It Oates, ffiftie foure bushells att one shilling four pence a bushell	03	12	00
It Hay xxiiij ^o Trusse	00	18	00

ATT BRATHEY

Imp ^r viij ^o bushells of Oates att j ^s iiiij ^d the Bushell	00	10	00
It Hay ten Trusse	00	01	06
It Cowp woode	00	06	08

ATT THE HIGH-HOUSE

Imp ^r Eight Oxen att vj ^{li} iij ^s iiiij ^d a paire	24	13	04
It two kine	05	00	00
It three kine att 01 ^{li} 18 ^s a peece	05	14	00
It one Bull	02	10	00
It weathers xxxvj ^o att iiiij ^{li} x ^s a score	08	02	00
It Ewes forty three att iiiij ^{li} x ^s a score	09	13	00
It Twinters xxxiiij att 03 ^{li} 13 ^s 04 ^d a score	06	04	06
It Hoggs twenty-nine att 03 ^{li} 13 ^s 04 ^d a score	05	06	06
Moneyes lyinge with Hugh Jackson of Nookend	21	00	00
The Sum'e Total is	662	13	02

[At the back.]

These Goods & Chattells within menc'oned were apprized the day and yeare within written by us whose names are here under written
 vizt. George Browne Thomas Mackereth
 Gawin Mackereth
 chr. Willson

(b) THOMAS BRATHWAITE'S INVENTORY, 1674.

[The inventory of Thomas Brathwaite is not so valuable as the preceding, because of its want of detail. The price of cattle seems

to have risen in the forty-one years. Kine are valued from £1 16s. 8d. to £2 10s. in 1633, and at £3 2s. 6d. in 1674. The plough oxen are put down at £3 in 1633; in 1674, a fat ox at £5 15s. The three pairs of young oxen or steers, however, that presumably completed the plough team, are only valued at £10 10. From the tables in the hall, it is clear that the household still dined all together there.]

A true and perfect Inventory of y^e Goods and Chattells Cattells & Credits moueable & imoueable wh did belong unto Thomas Rawlwaite, of Ambleside in y^e County of Westmerl^d Esq^{re} Late deceased viewed & Apprized the 17th & 18th day of December 1674 by George Browne John Rawlison Reginald Brathwaite & John Newton.

	li	s	d
Imprim ^s all his apparell
Item fower oxen & three stears at Borwens	21	10 . 00
Item fwe heiffers & one bull Calfe	10	00 . 00
It three Calves	02	08 . 00
It one black Mare & one Gelding	06	13 . 04
It hay	03	00 . 00
It thirty fwe boards	00	07 . 06
It thre Kine at Low Wreay	08	00 . 00
One Gray Mare & two fillies	08	00 . 00
Twenty Sheepe	03	13 . 04
It bigg	03	06 . 08
It Hay	01	10 . 00
It two fatt Oxen at Pulbeck	11	10 . 00
It thre paire of Steares	10	10 . 00
It Eleuen heiffers & one Steare	16	05 . 00
It Oates twenty Stookes	00	10 . 00
It hay	03	06 . 08
Yeates	00	02 . 00
It hay at Rigg hogg house	01	10 . 00
It forty Stookes of faulty bigg..	00	10 . 00
It thirty fower Loose boards	00	09 . 06
It one filly	01	10 . 00
It hay at Sweden hogg house	00	10 . 00
It hay at Low barne	03	00 . 00
It twelve Stookes of Bigg	00	04 . 00
It brackens	00	03 . 04
It twelve Kine	37	10 . 00
It eight ash planks att fforest barn	00	06 . 8
It Hay att Cowehouse	00	06 . 0
It Bigge in y ^e Corne barne att Home	03	04 . 0
It Oates there	03	06 . 8
It Hay in the Hay Barne	04	00 . 0
It Thirty nine boardes	01	00 . 0
It Two greate Garners	01	15 . 0
It ffoure teames & one doge teame	00	09 . 0
It Two Weyboakes Scales and weights	00	10 . 0
It eight yoakes & a iron harrow	00	06 . 8

	li	s	d
It 7 Plowes & Plow irons	00 . 03 .	4
It a Maule 3 axes 2 hacks & a gaulocke	00 . 05 .	0
It eight p' of roopes heim's & traces	00 . 08 .	0
It Windows planks &c in y ^e workehouse	00 . 05 .	0
It Corne & one Chest in y ^e Gardner	00 . 13 .	4
It Iron Geare & old Millstonnes	01 . 03 .	0
It one gray Geldinge	08 . 00 .	0
It three Geldings & one Galloway	11 . 00 .	0
It two horses	02 . 00 .	0
the Sables & Bridles	00 . 10 .	0
It all the Pewther	05 . 00 .	0
It all the sheepe younge & old	44 . 00 .	0
It all the Goods in the Oute Lofte	04 . 10 .	0
It all the Goods in the Nursery	00 . 13 .	4
It all the Goods in the Backe chamber	00 . 10 .	0
It all the Goods in the Milke house	00 . 08 .	4
It all y ^e goods in y ^e two Larder houses	01 . 00 .	0
It all y ^e Goods in y ^e buttery Chamb ^r	05 . 00 .	0
It all y ^e Goods in y ^e Maids Chamb ^r	01 . 10 .	0
It all y ^e Goods in y ^e pasidge	03 . 13 .	4
It all y ^e Goods in y ^e Kitchin Loft	01 . 16 .	8
It all y ^e Goods in y ^e Wainscot Chamb ^r	04 . 10 .	0
It all y ^e Goods in y ^e Matit Chamb ^r	02 . 00 .	0
It all y ^e Goods in y ^e new Chamb ^r & Closset	00 . 10 .	0
It all y ^e Goods in y ^e Garret	00 . 02 .	6
It all the Goods in the toppe lofte	01 . 00 .	0
It all the goods in y ^e two pantheries	00 . 06 .	8
It all the goods in y ^e Clositt	00 . 05 .	0
It all the goods in y ^e Sellar & Buttery	01 . 00 .	0
It all y ^e Wood vessell in the Kitchen	03 . 01 .	8
It all y ^e Brasse there	03 . 00 .	0
It all y ^e Iron instruemnts there	01 . 10 .	0
It Tables & other Goods in the Hall	02 . 10 .	0
It an old Clocke	00 . 15 .	0
It Tables carpitts & other goods in y ^e Parlour	02 . 05 .	0
It goodes over y ^e Gate	00 . 05 .	0
It in plaite	20 . 00 .	0
It All the Woolle	90 . 00 .	0
It six Gold rings & braceletts & scutchions	02 . 00 .	0
It Hay & 30 boards att Barkecosike	00 . 14 .	0
It Maule & Wedges	00 . 03 .	0
a Gunne & five Sythes	00 . 12 .	6
It two Boates	05 . 00 .	0
It five Swine	01 . 10 .	0
It dunge	00 . 06 .	8
		<hr/>	
Sum'a bonoru'	426 .	19 .	6
Sum'a bonoru' apud Brimham P'ke	198 .	1 .	4
		<hr/>	
Sum'a totali ^s	625 .	00 .	10

Debts due to the p ^{te} deceased vizt.	li	s	d
Itim in Gold & money in his house at Ambleside halle	102 . 00	. 00
Itim in Bondes	300 . 00	. 00
Itim in other small debtes	014 . 00	. 00
		<hr/>	
Sum'a debet		416 . 00	. 00
		<hr/>	
Sum'a totalis		1041 . 00	. 10

APPENDIX III.

SIR W. FLEMING'S LETTERS ON THE BOAT RIGHT
(PP. 34-35).

To Thomas Dummer Esq
at his house in Great Queen Street
London

Sep. 13, 1726.

S^r

I should not give you the trouble of a Letter but for my wishes to have a privilege preserved belonging to the Owner of Ambleside hall of keeping Boats upon Windermere Water for the good of the Owner and Neighbourhood in danger now of being lost by Non Usage for a considerable Number of Years, and other designes now on foot.

Hearing many complaints against a Man that but a few years since purchased the ferry passage cross Windermere Water near the Middle of it, and Ferry Boats thereunto belonging for raiseing the Antient Rates for Passengers, and for carrying goods up and down the said Water in the ferry Boat, to of late near double; And that he was labouring to Ingress to himselfe the sole prevaledge of carrying Goods upon the said Water to advance the price of it as much as he pleased. And hearing by Accident the 9. of May last that he had influenced M^r Chambre (Stuard of the L^d Lonsdales Courts) to order by a (*illegible*) not to be presidedent Warrent A Number of Customary Tenants to be summon^d to meet him the rent day at the Instance of the said Boatman to be impaneled as a Jury, tho they were but Generally Summoned the day before.

I concluded that by such short notice and unusuall proceedings something Extrordinary designed to be got don towarde assisting the said Boatman in his ingrossing Designe to the great damage of the Country: therefore I encouraged a sensible man to goe the next day to the designed Court, and caution som of the Jury to consider the ill consequence of the designe to the Country, to demur to giving a

hasty Verdict and press for time to hear Evidence on booth sides and to consider of a Verdict, Which they did and got the Court adjourned to the 17 of June.

And then having Cause to know that Thomas Brathwaite of Ambleside, Esq. who dyed about 40 years since (under whom the Lady Otwey (his Neece) had her Tytle) did keep two Boats upon Windermere water that is a Large one for heavy Carryages and a less one for pleasure, as it was Generally allowed his Father had don before him: I wished You^r Farmer an honest Sensible Man to give you notice, And I then sent for som of the oldest Neighbours I could think of to Inquire what they could remember of the matter. One said he was at the Lanching of M^r Brathwait's Last build Boat, and remembered severall perticulers relating thereto. A Second said he had gon often over the said Water to the Pull with M^r Brathwates servants. And the Third (a turner by trade) said he had often Borrowed of M^r Brathwaite his boat and brought Wood from severall places up the said Water for the Use of his Trade. And I looke up[on] the last to be the most Materall Evidence: I wished them all three to goe to the adjournment of the Court the 17 of June, and I wished your Farmer to Carry these 3 old men, and told him If you were unwill[ing] to allow the Charge I would doe it rather then not have outlay to such a privilege kept on foot at this time for the good of the Contry.

Your Farmer shewed me your Letter to the Jury but before it came, upon som applycation made to the L^d Lonsdale the meeting of the Jury was directed to be put off to a longer Day and Whether he will suffer it to meet again I something Query.

But I conclude if the privalidge be not Claimed Effectually before the Old Men before pointed at dye more perticulerly by the last, it will be in danger to be intirely lost, tho it is said there is a Mill-Stone in Ambleside brought up in the Lady Otwey's time. If you could Ether set it, or Sell it, to one that would be at the Charge of Building a new Boat and Stand a dispute if it happened about the privalidge It might be a virtew to the Neighbourhood at this time, but where to find a Right Customer for ether I will know not: I was telling M^r Cumstone of Ambleside of bying it, but whether he would ingage in such a Matter I am something doubtfull because of the prospect of Charge: tho I understand you have 20 Charrs or 5 shilling paid you yearly by som of the fishers as an Acknowledgement of som Right, tho what is not now well known.

S^r

Your humble servant

W. F.

In a letter, dated December 22nd, 1726, Sir William further writes:—

“ You mentioned your unwillingness to lose the privalidge of keeping two Boats upon Windermere Water. But to my concerne for the good of the Country I now look upon that privileige likely to be lost to yourselfe or the purchasers of what you have to sell at Ambleside; Because of the long nonusage but more because of your haveing Sold all your Land at Ambleside adjoyneing to or Bordering upon Windermere Water (Which I did not know when I writ before) without reserveing a Way to that Water or to or for Landing a boat or Boats, And in truth the best land you had at Ambleside was where the Boats had been usually kept. . . . ”

Sir William eventually, however, bought not only the privilege of the boats, with the char-fish and the pews in the chapel he desired, but probably, though no absolute proof is forthcoming, some of the cottages that had been part of the property.

APPENDIX IV.

THE CHAPEL DEED (P. 39).

[MS. at Rydal Hall, written on paper, at the back of an old agreement between William Mackereth and his son Nicholas. The figures prefixed to the names are for convenience of reference in the following notes on old Ambleside families.]

A note taken what everie Tenante put in for his pledge for the yearlie paiement of Curat wagies 1597

- (1) M^r Brathwat xliiij^s ij^d more xvj^d pledge the Borrance
- (2) Robert Brathwat xij^s pledge a close at howe-agrettes & twoe p[ar]cells of grounde upon Seathat
- (3) Edwin Jackson viij^s viij^d pledge bradehowes
- (4) George Jackson x^s pledge Jopson close
- (5) Willm P[ar]trige above stocke xij^d pledge parke at brade-myre
- (6) Robert Newton of hill viij^d pledge half a rude at old holmes
- (7) Bryan Brathwat ij^s viij^d pledge a litle close above chappell
- (8) Willm Mackereth of casey viij^d pledge a rude at white flate
- (9) Thomas Ellis xx^d pledge half an acre at watles Rigge
- (10) Richard Newton viij^d pledge halfe a rude at high Seatwhat
- (11) John Forrest vij^d pledge a Rude at high of Seathat

G

- (12) George Mackereth viij^d pledge a
 (13) Robert Newton de greene viij^d pledge a rude at reedhowe
 (14) David Eraye ij^s pledge a rude at swedle buske
 (15) Wiffe of Richard Forrest viij^d pledge a rude at Killhowe
 (16) John Ellis xvj^d pledge Mradmyre
 (17) Christofer Newton xvj^d pledge brode myre
 (18) Willm P[ar]trige iij^s iiiij^d pledge half a acree at longdale
 (19) Richard Ellis ij^s pledge Brodemyre
 (20) Thomas P[ar]trige iij^s iiiij^d pledge hugh akes
 (21) Robert P[ar]trig iiiij^d
 (22) Willm Mackereth iiiij^d pledg a rude at cotehowe
 (23) Thomas Brathwat sone of mathewe xij^d pledge a rude at rigge
 (24) wiffe of John Atkinson iiiij^d pledge a rude of land at bradehowe
 (25) Christofer Atkinson iiiij^d pledge half a acree at howes
 (26) George Jackson elder and Robert his sone xii^d pledge a rude of mosse
 above white plate
 (27) Henry Mackereth x^d pledge chermyre
 (28) Robert Mackereth of crabtree viij^d pledge a rude of ground at cotehowe.
 (29) Robert Ellis iiiij^d pledge a rude of meadowe over the dike at brade Inge
 (30) Willm Fisher yong^r iiiij^d pledge halfe a rude at moulding forde
 (31) Rannold Mackereth iiiij^d pledge a rude at fisher Inge
 (32) Christofer Fisher viij^d pledge a rude at Birdas
 (33) Robert P[ar]trige viij^d pledge a rude of ground lying at dykes
 (34) Thomas Jackson of watterhead xx^d pledge a rude upon the langdales
 (35) Thomas Mackereth iiiij^d pledge a rude of meadowe at Bullwhaie
 (36) Willm Fisher elder iiiij^d pledge a rude of ground at gowsehowe
 (37) Edward Forrest viij^d pledge a close above grove
 (38) Henry Jackson viij^d pledge half a rude at sascalehowe
 (39) Robert Newton of noke viij^d pledge half a rude at bradgate
 (40) Rowland P[ar]trige viij^d pledge a rude at horsebrige
 (41) Thomas Brathwat vj^d pledge a rude of ground in Bowthwaite
 (42) Barnard Brathwat xii^d pledge half an acree above grove
 (43) Edwine Jackson of Clapp'sgate v^s iiiij^d pledge hudestcroft
 (44) Bryam Mackereth ij^s iiiij^d pledge a Rude of meadowe at crag inge
 (45) More Edwine Jackson xxvij^d
 (46) George Mackereth iiiij^d pledge a rude at Drumble myre
 Nycholus Mackereth ij^s x^d
 Anthonye Forresti iiiij^d
 John mackereth viij^d
 wiff of willm Brockebancke iiiij^d
 wiff of Cuthbert Jackson iiiij^d
 Oliver Brathwat iiiij^d
 Milles Barwicke iiiij^d
 John Fisher iiiij^d
 Rannold Fisher iiiij^d
 wiff of Thomas Atkinson iiiij^d
 wiff of James Mackereth iiiij^d
 John Jackson pedler iiiij^d
 Rowland Atkinson, ij
 Christopher Jackson viij^d
 Robert Jackson of Watterhead viij^d

(1)—BRATHWAITE OF AMBLESIDE.

The Mr. Braithwaite of 1597 must have been Thomas, whose brother Gawen shortly afterwards succeeded him. The baptism of Robert, son of "Gawen Brathwaite of Ambleside, esquier," is entered in the Grasmere registers for 1612.

The first Ambleside man of the name (hitherto found) was an Edward Brathwayte, who was reeve in 1486, and paid his arrears of 14s. 8½d. eight years after; while a Thomas held a fulling mill in 1494. In the Levens rental (1379-1403) the name does not occur among the tenants of Grasmere, Loughrigg, or Ambleside. In Langdale, however, it appears three times—though in a shortened form, and clearly misunderstood by the copyist. "Wm brathwt" holds with a partner a messuage with appurtenances; a "Jhon de brathwt," a toft; another (or the same) "Jhon," a messuage with appurtenances. The clan throve and spread, and by the close of the seventeenth century its members were numerous all over the countryside. Besides several in Ambleside, there were George and James at High and Low Wray, a Rowland at Pullbeck, a Reginald at Clappersgate, a George "o'th' Bridg-end," who kept the inn on Brathay Bridge often mentioned by Sir Daniel Fleming (there he spent 6d. "in y^e contest betwixt Jos. Penny and my Cosin Ambrose," and 1s. on November 18th, 1671, "for troubleing his house in examining of Tho. Lancasters* poysoning of his wife, & 6 others, 00^{li} 01^s 00^d"), and a Mr. Brathwaite, curate of Grasmere.

In the chapel list ii., Mr. Gawen Brathwaite contributes £2 6s. 6d.; and in list iii., Lady Otway £2 3s. 4d.

A rental of the property (1713-1714) shows among receipts:—

Highborrans & Newlands	..	..	..	..	..	5 . 12 . 0
Low Borrans Ley	..	..	..	..	..	2 . 10 . 0
Low Borrans Meadow	..	..	..	..	..	4 . 10 . 0
y ^e Waterhead	..	..	..	..	..	1 . 12 . 0
Low borrans fogg & Wintergate†	..	..	..	..	..	6 . 0

Other outlying pieces belonging to the Ambleside Hall, given in a paper dated 1684, are:—

aboue stock a wood near in roughside
 chaple close
 high Omes
 near High parrocks
 far high parrocks
 dimidells

* See Mr. H. S. Cowper's *Hawkshead, its History, &c.*, pp. 225, 226.

† Winter pasturage of cattle; fogg is the second crop of hay.

close a steell
 high Lane, Newton Lane
 Suttle Hows
 thrang Head } the grassing at 5^s a gate
 flesh crage }
 pinch crags } at 4^s a gate
 Scandle }
 tow hors—copys
 Sweeden end
 y^e rigg & a hoghous
 Little feild let to y^e miller
 old Helms
 half a rood dub brow
 3 roods at miller bridge steps
 tom wife orchard
 46 gates for sheep in scandle 3 cattle gates on Kirkston fell 2^s 6^d a gate

(2)—BRATHWAITES OF HOW HEAD.

The Robert who stands second in the list was probably a holder of How Head. This picturesque and ancient homestead stands still intact, though portioned off into several dwellings, near the old church, crowning the village. Is it possible that it was the Master Forster Place? Though dilapidated, its old timber in finely panelled doors and winding staircase, cut in solid oaken blocks, its metal-work on door knob, dated 1693, and long hinges, patterned rudely with "herring-bone" lines, are well worth inspection. (The carved cupboard of 1603 must, from its initials, have been placed in the house at a later time.) Already in the seventeenth century it was divided between members or branches of the same family. The John who stands third of the 1620 list, contributing 13s. 4d., was no doubt the successor of Robert; his name stands fourth of the eleven of Ambleside who signed the bond of the second instalment of the township's fine to the Prince in the same year. In 1649, a John "of Howhead" had a child baptized, and so had, in 1651, a Robert "of Howhead." Robert paid a lord's rent of 15s. 10d. on Howhead in 1675, and was buried in 1682. In 1684 a John "of Low howhead" was buried. Chapel List III. (undated) shows that Howhead John gave 11s. 10d., while a widow Brathwaite of the same gave 12s. 0d.—both substantial sums. The remaining Brathwaites of the three lists cannot be identified, but all the land-pledges put in by them appear to be on high ground, adjacent to Stock-beck. *Howe-agrettes* may possibly be a part of the How of the Ordnance Survey, which is behind the Gale and "below" Stock; the rood at *rigge*, pledged by Thomas, son of Matthew (23), is said to be near Sweden How. The *Rigge* with its hog-house are often mentioned as belonging to the Ambleside Hall Brathwaites, after 1653. In 1707 the wall

between it and Thomas Newton's estate of Brow was repaired. *Seathwaite* is "above" Stock, as, of course, was the close "above chapel" pledged by Bryam (7). *Bowihwaite*, where a rood was pledged by another Thomas (41), is near High Grove below Stock. Barnard puts in half an acre *above Grove*. Mr. W. H. Hills, who has kindly assisted in the derivation of place-names, says "The Grove seems to have extended from Ambleside to the head of the Stock valley. The names of High, Middle, and Low Grove designate three farm-houses within it, two of which have been in ruins for many years. Formerly, and probably down to the time of the enclosure of Wansfell, the inhabitants of Ambleside had the right of cutting fuel wood in the Grove."

(3)—JACKSON.

Johnsons occur in the Levens Rental, but no Jackson. John Jakson was grave in 1493 (S.M.S.). Possibly it was he who then held, along with a William Jackson and another man, Master Foster's Place. At the same time a Robert Jackson worked the second fulling mill.

By 1597 there were two very substantial statesmen of the name. The George who contributes 10s. is probably the same who stands second as "Bayliffe" in List II. with 8s. 4d., and who signed the bond second of the eleven. The Subsidy Roll of 1626-7 shows him to be the only inhabitant, besides Mr. G. Brathwaite, rich enough to be taxed in that year. He pays 8s. on property in goods assessed at £3, being doubtless a tradesman.

In List II. a Samuel (possibly Edwin's successor) is fourth, giving 13s. 4d. He died in 1639, and his Inventory, written in the fashion of the time on a narrow strip of parchment, is preserved at Rydal Hall. The Elizabeth, wife of Robert, contributing 1s., is probably she who, with her son, made over their property in the old corn mill to Mr. G. Brathwaite in 1639. Then Robert (who signed the bond ninth) gives 3s., a Hugh and William together 9s., and an Edwin 8d.

List III. shows but one Robert of the name, giving 18s. 6d. In the 1675 Rental a Mrs. Jane pays, besides 5s. for brigg grasses and 8d. for wood rent, a rental of £1 6s. 8d.; Thomas of Whitehaven, 6s. 8d.; another Thomas, 6s. 8d.; and a Hugh, 11s. 2d.

The following is the inventory of Samuel Jackson's estate, 1639:—

Aprilis decimo octauo die 1639

The true and p'fect Inventorie off all the goods and Chattells moueable and Immoueable of Samuel Jackson of Ambleside in the p'rish of Windermere lately deceased, prised by these 4 sworne men Edwin Jackson, Henrie Jackson, Anth. Fisher and Christopher Cowp'thwaite.

Imp ^r his apparell	03 . 06 . 8
It Curtaines and Linnen	02 . 18 . 0
It bedding and Cushions	04 . 13 . 4
It bedstocks and a Cubbord	02 . 04 . 0
It tables & buffet stoules	02 . 13 . 0
It Chests and Arks	03 . 00 . 0
It three Cubbords	01 . 10 . 0
It three siluer spoones	00 . 08 . 0
It pewther pots and panns gridiron & brand iron	04 . 13 . 4
It wooden Vessel	01 . 13 . 0
It woollen yarne	00 . 12 . 0
It timber, fatts, spars and other implements	03 . 06 . 0
It eight kine & 4 other beasts	28 . 00 . 0
It younge stirks	05 . 00 . 0
It plough & ploughgear and other implements	01 . 00 . 0
It Corne sowne and unsown	09 . 00 . 0
It hay	01 . 00 . 0
It Horse and Mares	06 . 00 . 0
It Meale & Malt	03 . 00 . 0
It Manure	01 . 10 . 0
It biess (?) bacon and poultrie	01 . 00 . 0
It speet racks and iron implements	00 . 06 . 0
It sheep, 257	71 . 08 . 0
It a grind-stone	00 . 01 . 0
It sacks and other things	01 . 06 . 0
It a Bible	00 . 05 . 0
It Saddles & other implements	00 . 08 . 0
Sum' a bonoru'	160 . 02 . 0

Debts due to the partie deceased

Imp ^r by William Sowery	10 . 10 . 0
--	-------------

Debts due by the party deceased

Imp ^r to John Fleming, Esq ^r	10 . 00 . 0
It to Richard Harrison	02 x 00 . 0
It to Thomas Ayrey	08 . 02 . 0
It to James Dixon of Orrest	06 . 03 . 0
It to John Thompson	04 ⁰ . 00 . 0
It to Christopher Berket	02 ⁰ x 10 . 0
It to Elibabeth Bateman	05 . 00 . 0
It to Ann Jackson	02 . 00 . 0
It to Robert Jackson	20 ⁰ . 00 . 0
It to Elizabeth Robinson de Troutbecke	15 . 00 . 0
It to Jennet Braithwait	07 . 10 . 0
It Dionise Graue	03 . 00 . 0
It to William Brown	00 . 07 . 0
It to Reinald Fisher	00 . 07 . 0
It to Margaret Raisbecke	00 . 04 . 0
It to Gawin Braithwaite Esquire	01 . 05 . 0
It to the Executors of John Braithwait	02 . 10 . 0
(Figures of total crossed out)	
It to Thomas Hutton for a mare	4 x 6 . 8

Several of the Jackson land-pledges stand high and below Stock, to which division Samuel of the Inventory belonged. *Brade* or *Broadhowes* (3) is said to be part of the Grove estate. *Jopson Close* (4) (record of a family who held land by Pelter Bridge in Elizabeth's reign) is near the Hospital, on the right of the lane going up to the Grove. Within recent times it was joined to two other fields called Moss and Rampsgill. The *Langdales* (34), of which Waterhead Thomas pledges a rood, is a name still applied to a field on the Wansfell side of the high road to Waterhead, which may once have been common plough lands. The *Whiteplate* (26), where a rood of moss was pledged by elder George and Robert his son (who signed the bond "ninth") is near St Mary's Church, adjoining Millerfield. White Platt belonged in later times to the Kelsick estate, and in 1800 Miss Pritchard rented it for £12 12s. od. Next it is another field, still *White-flatt* (8). The preservation of the twin names is singular.

In the interesting *Sascalehowe*, where half a rood was pledged by Henry (38), we have a problem. Naturally one supposes it to be the site of the modern Scale How, once Green Bank and the home of the Harrisons. The first letter of the old pledge-paper is distinctly S, and the later copy makes it S also. In the corn mill deed of 1772, however, Towlson is stated to have held two detached parcels of arable land, containing about one acre and half a rood, "situate in that part of Ambleside called Lascalehow," spelt further on Laskal How. Are we to suppose there were two such similar words? The Lasgill flows in a gentle hollow between the fertile mounds crowned by the modern houses Lesketh How and Scale How. It is important to note that the deed, recapitulating, states the parcels to be "situate in that part of Ambleside Feild in Ambleside aforesaid called Lascale How," as this fixes the position of one at least of the ancient communal meadows, whether the "Old Feild" or not.

(4)—PARTRIDGE.

Five Partridges pledge land in this deed, besides a Robert (21), whose pledge is not entered. Their contributions are not large. Thomas (20) and William (18) each furnish 3s. 4d., the others less. One William (5) is described, to identify him from the other, as "above stocke." The name of his land, *Broadmire*, is still found on the ordnance map above Ambleside on the Kirkstone road. The *parke* suggests that here on the Stock was anciently an enclosure for deer, in addition to the "park of Amelsate" in Scandale, of which we read in 1275. The other William's pledge of *half a acree at longdale* (18) is doubtless on the same ground as Thomas

Jackson's (note 3). The *heigh akes* of Thomas (20) is not to be certainly located. There is the present farm *Oaks*, above Ambleside. There is also a fine field, whose rocky knolls bear big oak trees, and which is called *Oaks*, on lower ground towards the lake. This last likewise joins *dykes*, a field near Broadlands, where a rood was pledged by Robert (33), on Borrans Lane. For *Horsebrige*, where a rood was pledged by Rowland (40) see *Newton*.

List II., of 1620, gives four Partridges: Thomas contributing 7s. 8d., Robert 3s. 4d., Rowland 2s. 4d., and James conspicuously "nil." Robert and Rowland signed the bond in the same year last of the eleven. Two Thomases only appear in the third Chapel List (after 1677) contributing 5s. od. and 4s. 6d; and the rents paid by them in 1675 for their holdings were respectively 10s. 10d. and 6s. 8d.

(5)—NEWTON.

As early as 1453 we find a John Newton holding office as "reeve" in Ambleside. The Chapel Deed of 1597 shows there were then five land-holders of the name. Robert of Hill (6) had probably his homestead at the present Hill Top. His half rood pledge at *old holmes* is no doubt—since holm is the ancient name for the wych elm—to be found in the large field adjoining Meadow Bank, where hockey is played, now known as Old Helems. Later it belonged to Ambleside Hall, and the Account Book of November, 1704, gives "for making a new yeat for y^e old helm 8d." From about 1730 to 1748 Old Helmes was part of the Salutation Inn property, then held by Lancelot Dobson. The relatively high price of land to house property at that time is shown in the valuation, which fixes the Inn with its outhouses and orchards at £6, and this single field at £8. *High seathwaite*, where Richard pledged half a rood (10), is known as Seathwaite Rayne. Christopher (17) at *broadmire* is close below. Robert *de greene* (13) may have dwelt at the present Green. *Reed-howe*, where he pledged a rood, may possibly be a present field called *How* by the lake where reeds grow. The pledge of Robert of *Nooke* (39) can be more definitely placed. For, by a deed of 1669, endorsed "Edward Forrest deed of the Broadgate to save John Newton harmlesse" (R. H. MSS.), John Newton, of Nook-end, having been bound for a sum of money for his neighbour Edward Forrest, of Nook-end, is indemnified therefor by a field "known as Broadgate and Ranke roods," part of Edward's estate. As both had property called Broadgate, it was probably ancient common land adjoining the highway to Rydal—made first by the Romans—the Broadgate, as distinguished from the narrow packhorse lane above. The pledge at *Horsebrig* (40) next to this, suggests a com-

paratively new bridge for the Broadgate over Scandal Beck, where had been a ford and perhaps a footbridge before.

In List II. Robert and Miles contribute 6s. ; the wife of Lancelot with John Dixon, 1s. ; and Thomas Newton, 3s. Thomas signed the bond of the Ambleside men in that year as sixth.

In the third list two Johns contribute respectively 3s. 3d. and 3s. 6d. ; Thomas 3s. 3d. and Edward 3s. The 1675 Rental shows John to pay 14s. 2d. lord's rent ; the other John, 7s. 6d. ; and Jane, widow, 6s. 8d. In 1707 a Thomas lived at "Brow."

A James Newton, in 1684, gave the silver chalice to the chapel that still exists.

In 1778 the Misses J. and A. Newton were concerned in the appointment of new trustees for the Kelsick Trust, and their correspondence on the subject exists. They rented a house and a garden from the Trust in 1800 and paid £2 2s.

(6)—MACKERETH.

In the Mackereths we have one of the earliest and certainly the largest and most persistent family of the Ambleside statesmen. The Levens Rental (1379-1403) shows that five out of the twenty-eight holders were Mackereths—William paying 16s. 4d. for a toft, three acres and meadow ; John £1 6s. 8d. for a messuage, six acres and meadow ; Sibeth, widow of Henry, £1 6s. 8d. for the like ; another William 13s. 4d. ; and a Thomas, who held both a full messuage at £1 6s. 8d. and a toft at 13s. 4d.

In 1438 John and Henry were graves, and in 1489 Thomas served the same office, paying his arrears of 10s. 4d. four years later.

In 1597 nine Mackereths put in land pledges, besides three landless ones who contributed to the chapel. List II. gives eight contributors of the name, List III. seven. The 1675 Rental shows there were seven of them then holding lands. Only a few of these can be discriminated. They were variously seated at Crabtree (Robert in 1597) ; at Green ; at Spout (both Thomas and John, who in 1692 held money of the chapel and paid interest on it) ; at Kills Sike (Margaret, widow, buried 1723) ; at Buske (John, in 1771, who buys Miller Bridge property) ; and the Causeway.

Besides estatesmen, there were innkeepers, mercers, smiths, and brewers among them. The last is shown by the Ambleside Hall Accounts of 1675—"payed Tho Mackereth of the spout for Malt had of him 1^{ll} 0^s 0^d." Of the inn on the Causey we have already given some particulars. Whether the William "of Casey" kept it in 1597 there is nothing to show. He may have been the William who is discriminated as "Smith" in List II. giving 1s. 6d. ; while a William "of the Causey" in 1682 sold the property he had recently acquired

of Housesteads at Miller Bridge.* Gawen, who supplied wine to Rydal Hall about 1660, no doubt kept the Causeway Inn, where he was succeeded by George, whose house the Brathwaite accounts show to have been very popular about 1675, and who held a license in 1691, along with five other innkeepers. If he were the George senior, of the 1675 Rental, his 6s. 8d. rent would only cover his inn; but if the junior, his payment of £1 6s. 8d. makes him a large statesman. In List III. a George contributes the large amount of 19s. 6d.

But the Subsidy Rolls show a richer line than the innkeepers. In 1641 James was the only man taxed, except Mr. Gawen Brathwaite, and he paid 16s. 6d. on goods valued at £3. He is probably the James who gave 9s. in List II., and in the same year signed the bond eighth of the eleven. Again, in 1661 and 1675, John, possibly his successor, enjoys the same pre-eminence. A John in the latter year pays for a full-sized holding £1 6s. 8d., with an additional 3s. 4d., and in List III. stands at 14s. 4d. One wonders if the James, mercer, who figures in the Widow Fisher quarrel, were of this rich stock, and the wealth acquired in trade.

If we look to the land pledges of the family we find that all capable of being now identified lay below Stock, except William's rood at *white flate* (8) (see Jackson). *Cote howe*, where a William (22) and Robert of Crabtree (28) respectively pledged a rood, is totally forgotten, but Green fortunately took two views from it, which shows it to have been a mound south-west of the town, somewhere near the Roman Catholic Chapel. The origin of the name is yet unexplained. *Bullwhaie*, where Thomas pledged a rood (35), is said to be an intake on the south end of Wansfell. The rest appear to lie more in the bottom. *Chermyre* pledge of Henry (27) is not known. *Fisher Inge*, Rannold's pledge (31) was no doubt an outlying strip that adjoined Fisher Beck; it shows how the lands of Mackereth and Fisher joined, if they did not intermingle. *Craginge*, Bryan's rood (44) was perhaps another outlying meadow by the Crag at Clappersgate, for the *Hudestcroft* it follows, put in by a Clappersgate man (43) may be identified as the present Croft. *Drumble-myre*, George's pledge (46) is known to be the low meadow crossed by the footpath from the Borrans Lane to the high-road near Rothay Bank. The name recalls the time when the bittern—the "Myre Dromble" haunted the swamps that surrounded the Roman Camp. The Buske, home of one branch, is now the name of a cottage that stands on the Wansfell side of the lane leading from Blue Hill to Low Fold. The Buske field adjoins the high-

* For loan of the Miller Bridge deeds I am indebted to Mr. Clay.

standing Gale Lodge, which may have been built upon a old homestead.

It is singular that the old Causeway has been forgotten. It is natural to think that it led up from the Camp somewhere near Cross Sykes, and by the line of Back Cumpstone up to the present narrow lane that debouches on the old Market Square through an archway. This makes a direct line for Halicar Ford. But, though there is one smithy (doubtless an old one) on this incomplete line of street portions, there is no inn—unless the Black Cock that stood immediately to the left of the archway, where the jeweller's shop now is, may be said to have been upon the Causeway. Green shows the Black Cock in several of his etchings. It was here, in 1799, when it was kept by Christopher Forrest, that John Hodgson, "Yarn dealer" or "Linsy-Weaver," of Ambleside above Stock, sold his Miller Bridge property, which he had bought from John Mackereth of the Busk in 1785.

If the Causeway was the main street between Ambleside and Waterhead, the Mackereth's inn may have been the present White Lion, which is a very old inn. Sir William Fleming, with Mr. Cumpston and others, formed a club for recreation about 1740-45, which met regularly at the "White Lyon." The Mackereth smithy may have stood there too. Sketches of the old smithy yet exist, that is said to have been next the White Lion and the last house of the town on the left when leaving it for Waterhead. Beyond stretched the row of Gale firs, where now a row of high-pitched shops back up against the steep hill side.

(7)—FOREST.

In the Forests we have one of the oldest and most influential families of Ambleside. The name occurs twice in the early rental (1379-1403) and its origin is shown there. *Robert de le Forest* pays a lord's rent of £1 6s. 8d. on a messuage and appurtenances with eight acres; *Ryc* (Richard) *de le Forrest* £1 for a toft and three acres.

Edward Foreste was "reeve" or grave for the year between Michaelmas 1493 and 1494.

In 1585 Marion Forrester, "of the Haye," granted by a good parchment deed her farmhold "above the stocke" to John Forrest for £40; and two years later he paid a gressum to the lord for admission to the holdings of the late Henry Forrest "of five cattells" being 13s. 4d. His receipts were signed by Mr. Myles Phillipson, of Crook, deputy steward. In 1597 another John was admitted to holdings of a rental of £1 6s. 8d., paying a gressum of that amount. He several times acted as grave, and the receipts

of his payments to the steward exist for 1601, 1623, and 1624; the half-yearly payments of the tenants that passed through his hands amounting to £13 8s. 6d. He apparently had no children, and in 1625 executed a very quaintly-worded deed, by which he made over to Edward Forrest, oldest son of Richard, all his property, "Beasts Sheepe and Cattels implem^{ts} houshoulstuffe p'sonall mouvable as unmouvable quick or dead whatsoever^t excepting the bed and bedclothes w^{ch} Jane now Wiffe of the forsaid John Forrest doth lye in, and such wearieing app'ell as usually are worne or belonging unto here owne body And in token thereof; the said John Forrest hath with his owne hand deliuv^d unto the said Edward Forrest one silver spoone in the name of all the p'misses." In return Edward is to provide John and Jane with meat, attendance, and lodging in "the chamber they now lye in," and £10 a year; while Jane, if she survives John, is to have the option of departing with bed, bedding and apparel, and £6 a year.

In the following year the land and holdings are made over by indenture to Edward, because of the love and affection John bears him for his faithful services of twenty-two years, when old age and loss of sight have made John dependent. The property is stated to consist of three messuages, tenements, or customary estates, rental £1, held by ancient custom lately confirmed by His Highness. Edward undertakes to carry out the will of John with its bequests, and to maintain the aged couple in comfort, and gives a bond of £200 to the "supervisors" of the will—Mr. Christophor Philipson and Mr. Gawen Brathwaite.

It is this rich old John, apparently, whom we find contributing only 7d. to the chapel in 1597, for which he pledged a rood at *highe of Seathat* (11). The wife of Richard (and no doubt mother of the good Edward) gave 8d. and pledged a rood at *Killhow* (15)—a name not now to be identified in Ambleside, but which is usual in every hamlet hereabouts, showing probably where the old lord's brewery stood. Old John signed the bond of 1620 next after Mr. Gawen Brathwaite and the lord's grave, and in the same year contributed 9s. to the chapel fund; while a Robert gave 3s., an Edward 6s., a Thomas 1s. 6d., and a Richard 3s. John died apparently soon after. The will of Edward, his heir, is dated 1637; and in 1641, Ann, his widow, began to pay off numerous legacies under John's will to various Forrests described as *below stock*, and one to John Newton of Nookend.

Perhaps these legacies crippled the estate, or the new Edward "of Nook-end" was not equal to his forefathers. We presently find him sinking deep under an accumulation of mortgages. He was not only indebted to his neighbour, John Newton, but to the

Chapel Fund, to Reginald Brathwaite of Cappersgate (to whom he mortgaged a close called *Sweathen* or *Sweeten-head*, clearly at the top of the Scandale valley), and Mr. Thomas Brathwaite, of Ambleside Hall. When the crash came the latter bought the other mortgagees out, and took over the "Forrest" estate, which he left with certain reservations of trust to his relatives. The rental of 1675 shows that his sister, Mrs. Sands, was then paying a lord's rent of £1 on "Edward Forrest's estate"; while a Richard Forrest and a Thomas were each paying 6s. 8d., no doubt on holdings below stock. Edward's is the only name of the clan on the third Chapel List contributing 12s.

(8)—ELLIS.

Four Ellises are represented in the 1597 list:—Thomas (9), 1s. 8d. who pledges half an acre at *Wattles Rigge* (unknown); Richard, (19), 2s. at *Brademyre*; John (16), 1s. 4d. at *Mradmyre* (probably a mistake for the last); and Robert (29), who for his 4d. pledged a rood of meadow over the dike at *brade Inge*. As the dyke is the cut and probably diverted channel of Fisher Beck as it approaches the lake, the Broad Ing was doubtless near it. In the 1620 list we find again four of the name:—the wife of Thomas, giving 2s. 4d.; Thomas, younger, 1s. 4d.; another Thomas, carpenter, 3s.; and a George, 1s. 8d. The undated list shows two (spelled Ellize)—wife of Robert, giving 1s. 6d., and Thomas 3s. The rental of 1675 shows that Thomas Elliz paid a lord's rent of 6s. 8d., and a widow Agnes also 6s. 8d. In 1676 Thomas Ellis willed his property of 6s. 8d. rental, stated to lie at *Ellis-becke*. Ellis Beck is, I am told, a name applied to the reach of Stock Beck between the Bobbin Mill and Stock Bridge. There was a William Ellise of *Spout*, cooper, in 1699, to whom Eleanor Mackereth, also of *Spout*, made over by a quaint deed drawn up by the Rev. Thomas Knott, all her household goods, her sheep and her corn, on the condition that he would keep her in her last sickness and bury her.

(9)—FISHER.

This family, which has left its name to a well-known beck, is represented in the early rental (1379-1403) by a Jhōes Fysher, who heads the list—probably because his lands lay first of the township when approaching from Waterhead—as holding one messuage, one close, and two acres of land, paying 13s. 4d. There are three of the name in the 1597 list:—William, younger, (30) 4d., who pledges half a rood at *mollding forde*; Christofer (32), 7d., a rood at *Birdas*; and William, elder, (36) 4d., a rood at *Gowsehowe*. Mollding ford is quite lost; it may have been the ancient crossing of

Fisher Beck, which now, cabined in a *cundreth*, runs under the high road between Waterhead and Ambleside unnoticed. The ancient home of the Fishers is doubtless represented by the present Fisher Beck House. Birdas is the meadow that stretches along the last reach of the Rothay; and the joint streams of Rothay and Brathay are for their brief course called Birdhouse Mouth. "Burdass" belonged to the Salutation lands in 1720, and was valued at £1. In 1800 Edward Partridge rented from the School Lands (Kelsick's) "2 Roods in Bird-house and Belstone Brow, a Pasture" for £3. Two more Fishers—John, 4d., and Rannold, 4d.—are given in the list without land pledges. In 1620 a George Fisher contributed 3s. to the chapel, while a John, who had clearly promised 3s., is crossed out with "nil." The undated list gives only a wife of James contributing 12s. 4d.

In the 1675 rental James Fisher pays £1 6s. 8d., showing that his holding was one of the old important ones; and Mabel, widow, 1s. 8d. The will of James, "of Fisherbeck," dated October 13, 1681, is at Rydal Hall. He left a tenement called "the Waterhead," which he had purchased from John Atkinson, rent 6s. 8d., in trust to be sold and divided among his children. The trustees, of whom Sir Daniel Fleming was one, divided the £82 and received acquittances in 1697. There is a Fisher field still at Waterhead. Widow Fisher, of the Mackereth quarrel, was probably James' widow. The inventory of her goods, found among the Browne MSS., shows her to have been a flourishing stateswoman, rich in stock.

"An Inventory of the Goods and Chattels which were Elizabeth Fishers of Fisherbecke in Ambleside in the County of Westm^rland Widdow deceased, viewed and Aprized the first day of July Anno Dom'i 1697 by Christopher Birkett of Troutbeck, Thomas Mackereth of the Greene in Ambleside, Gawen Brathwait of Brathey in Furness Fels, and Michael Tyson of Ambleside in the County of Westm^rland Aprizors equally apointed by the Executo^rs in the Last Will and Testm^t of the said Elizabeth Fisher, as Followeth

	li	s	d
Imp ^r her Apparrell and one Spooone	01	05	06
Itn Bedding	02	15	00
Itn Brasse vessell	02	09	00
Itn Pewder vessell	01	18	06
Itn Wooden vessell	01	02	06
Itn Iron geare, earthen and Glasse Botles	01	13	04
Itn Tables, Chaires, Formes and Stooles	01	15	06
Itn Chists, and Arks, and Bedsteades.. .. .	03	01	06
Itn Husbandry geare and plow-geare	01	10	06
Itn Bigg, Meale & Malt	04	01	06
Itn Beife and Bacon	00	03	04

	li	s	d
Itn Wooll	03	10	06
Itn Corne, as Bigg & Oates groweing	25	00	00
Itn Chattell young & old	55	10	00
Itn One Mare	02	00	00
Itn Shepe young & old	35	00	00
Suma total Bonar	142	16	08

Owed by the deceased

Imp ^r to her sonne George Fisher	03	00	00
Itn to Michael Tyson	02	05	00
Itn to Robt Atkinson	03	06	00
Itn to Thomas Mackereth	00	10	00
Itn to sev ^r all p ^s ons upon fun ^r all Acc ^t	00	00	00
Itn to Willm Udall	01	00	05
Itn to Richard Forrest	00	16	03
Itn to W ^m Pearson & Willm Elliz	00	04	03
Itn to James Mackereth	12	10	05
Itn to Ellinor Watson	10	10	00
Itn to sev ^r l other p ^s ons about	02	00	00
Itn to her son Willm Fisher	02	06	00
Itn to Christopher Birkett for making 3 Wills	00	07	06
Itn to (sic) for smith work	00	12	00
Itn to Elizabeth Benson	01	08	06
Itn to Agnes Benson	00	07	00
Itn for a Sesse to the poor	00	04	01
Itn to her Daughter Agnes	01	00	00
Itn to James Lancaster	00	13	00
Sum debitor.. .. .	43	00	05
Suma declaro	99	16	03

Witnesse our hands

Christo: Birkett
 Gawen Brathwaite
 Thomas Mackereth
 Michael M^{mark} Tyson

(10)—AIREY, ATKINSON, AND BROCKBANK.

Only these three names remain to be dealt with, and the last was a landless man. In the earliest rental a *Ryc. de brockebanke* appears to join with a William Johnson at one messuage, two houses, and eight acres, for which they paid 33s. 4d.

David Eraye (14) gave 2s. with his pledge at *Swedlebuske*, a name perhaps corrupted from *Sweden* (Scandale), while busk was the old word for coppice. In 1620 a Barnard Erey gave 6s. In the undated list a David Arey gave 6s. The rental of 1675 shows there were two statesmen then of the name, George and Daniel Ayrey, both paying 6s. 8d. rent.

Atkinson is represented in the early rental by Thomas, who held one toft, three acres and meadow, paying 13s. 4d. rent. In 1597 the wife of John Atkinson (24), 4d., pledges a rood at *Bradehowe*, while Christopher (25), 4d., pledges half an acre at *Howes*. *Howes* is said to be the high ground opposite Stock Ghyll Waterfall. It was part of the Salutation land in 1720, and valued at £3. Two landless Atkinsons also contribute.

In the 1620 list John Atkinson, elder, contributed 8d. In the undated list a Robert gives 6s., but no statesman of the name appears in the rental of 1675.

Amongst the landholders of the early rental the names Carūs (Carrodus), Harreson, Jhonson, Dicson (Dixon) appear, and though later unrepresented among the statesmen these names are still usual in the place. Two or three new names appear in the 1675 rental:—John Kelsick, the shopman, 16s. 8d.; Frances Cowperthwaite, widow, 6s. 8d.; Christopher Dawes, 6s. 8d.; William Browne, 10s.; Jane Studdert, 6s. 8d.; John Lowes, 5s. 4d.

Other old field names, preserved in the account book of Lancelot Dobson of the Salutation in 1720, are Nelly Close, valued at £1; Old Folds and Runing Sikes, £2 10s.; Redbanke, £2; Meacans, £1; Styeriggs, £1 15s.; Bridge Holme, 15s. *Brigg Holme Dub* was a pool in the Rothay above Rothay Bridge, near Cross Syke. An old inhabitant bathed in it as a boy. *Redbank* is on the side of *Wansfell*. *Nelly Close* is now a wood on the left bank of the Stock.