

## CLITHEROE CASTLE AND ITS CHAPEL : THEIR ORIGINS.

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IT has been shown in a previous article of these *Transactions* that Pope Urban III (1185-7) confirmed a detailed endowment of the chapel of Saint Michael in Clitheroe Castle, 15 March, 1186 or 1187;<sup>1</sup> that the chaplain named in the confirmation was Waltheof,<sup>2</sup> and not Walter, Matthew or William, as variously stated; and that the grantor, Robert de Lacy, was the second of that name, 1177-94. An error which has hitherto had the effect of obscuring the true Robert and Urban of the confirmation has been the dating of the death of Henry de Lacy I as 1187, but the *Victoria History of Lancashire* says he died 25 September, 1177, and this is confirmed by the Pipe Roll for the twelve months ending Michaelmas, 1178, which shows that Robert de Lacy had begun to pay the fine of 1,000 marks for entry to his land.

In an inquisition *ad quod damnum*, 1345, the jurors found that the castle chapel of Saint Michael was never annexed to the mother church of Whalley—from the time of Robert de Lacy, lord of Blackburnshire, who was before the time of King Richard, the King's progenitor—but a gross by itself.<sup>3</sup> Evidently the jurors had before them Pope Urban's confirmation, temp. Robert de Lacy, and knew how to date it correctly. The Whalley monks a few years previously were concerned because they had no confirmation to show for the endowment, only peaceful possession by the chaplain *ab antiquo*.<sup>4</sup> It seems likely that the original or copy produced in 1345 had been in the possession of the keeper of the castle, and among the muniments of Thomas, earl of

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions*, Vol. 91, pp. 159-63; the sealing at Verona confirming other evidence.

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O., Ancient Correspondence, Vol. 42, n. 98; Dodsworth MS. 159, f. 106; in both plainly Walthevo. Cf. *Sallay Chartulary*, i, n. 227, which must now be dated c. 1185-90 (See Farrer, *Early Yorks. Charters*, iii, n. 1587).

<sup>3</sup> *L. & C. Record Soc.*, Vol. 70, pp. 63-5, where, for John Laurence, Richard Noel (?), read John, Laurence, Richard Cnol.

<sup>4</sup> *Transactions*, Vol. 91, p. 160.

Lancaster, lord of the castle; that after his forfeiture it had been with William of Tatham, steward; and either came into the hands of John of Pleasington, one of the executors of Tatham's will, or remained among the castle muniments.<sup>1</sup>

It is now necessary to examine the evidence of the *Historia Laceiorum*<sup>2</sup> as to the beginnings of the castle and its chapel. It was probably written by a Cistercian, either of Whalley or Kirkstall, c. 1470-80, and in part is based on the *Status de Blagborneshire*, c. 1350. Its compilation was perhaps necessary in view of the suit of the abbot of Whalley against Christopher Persons, to recover tithes in Slaidburn, Bolland, belonging to the Castle Chapel.<sup>3</sup>

In the *Historia Laceiorum* it is stated: "Robert Lacy succeeded his father Henry in the reign of Henry II. This Robert began to build the castle (*castrum*) of Clitheroe in Blackburnshire, in which castle he constructed a certain chapel in honour of Saint Michael the Archangel. In this chapel, by the assent and licence of Geoffrey, senior, then dean of Whalley Church, he had divine service celebrated and the Sacraments of the Church administered to his domestic tenants, shepherds and foresters, so that his tenants remaining at a distance from the said church (of Whalley) might receive the Sacraments of the Church and fulfil their parochial rights in the said chapel through the chaplain serving there, as other parishioners within the said church used to do elsewhere in various chapels. To obtain this more easily, with the consent of the dean he assigned certain lands and rents to the same chapel. . . . Geoffrey, senior, granted the chapel for life, with the lands, rents and issues, to a certain chaplain Walter (*recte* Waltheof). After Walter's death, dean Geoffrey, junior,<sup>4</sup> son, heir, and successor of Geoffrey, senior, received back the chapel and appurtenances as the right and parcel of his church and held it annexed."

The *Historia* added that because of the Fourth Lateran Council

<sup>1</sup> *L. & C. Record Soc.*, Vol. 70, p. 65, showing the whereabouts of another document concerning the chapel.

<sup>2</sup> Printed under Kirkstall Abbey in *Monasticon*, v, 533; the *Status de Blagborneshire*, *ibid.*, v, 642-4.

<sup>3</sup> John Harrington, doctor of law and advocate of the Court of Arches, was counsel to the abbot (*P.R.O., Lists and Indexes*, Vol. 20, p. 411, n. 42).

<sup>4</sup> There seems to be no contemporary trace of a second dean Geoffrey. The first had a son of the same name, inaccurately described as dean in the *Whalley Coucher* (J. E. Wallis, *The Church in Blackburnshire*, p. 76).

of 1215,<sup>1</sup> Roger, son of Geoffrey, junior, lived continent, and gave to his brother Richard (afterwards lord of Towneley) the castle chapel, with tithes, offerings and issues, and this with the consent of Roger de Lacy, whose relative he was.<sup>2</sup> The chapel however was reclaimed and held by Peter de Cestria, the long-lived rector of Whalley.

From the evidence of the *Historia*, it would seem that Robert de Lacy II built both castle and chapel, and endowed the chapel in the time of dean Geoffrey, senior, late in the reign of Henry II. To Robert de Lacy, as founder<sup>3</sup> building and endowing the chapel, would belong the *ius patronatus*, including the privilege of presenting the chaplain. To the Bishop of Lichfield belonged the *collatio* of the benefice, and the *institutio corporalis* by which the bishop or his delegate, in every case an ecclesiastic, gave canonical possession. This seems to be the significance of the phrase *tibi juste collatam* of Urban's confirmation, according to canon law. The statements about the part played by dean Geoffrey have not their foundation in Urban's confirmation, and should be accepted with caution. The first question of interest is whether from the Pope's confirmation of the chapel and endowment it can reasonably be deduced that the chapel was newly built, and the castle also. It would be natural to seek papal confirmation for a new and generous endowment, although a change of conditions of tenure might make it advisable to ask for a new confirmation, for what were "justly and peacefully possessed."

Henry, dean of Whalley, was dead by Michaelmas, 1184,<sup>4</sup> and a dean William who may have followed is only known by his son.<sup>5</sup> The parentage of Geoffrey appears from Roger de Lacy's grant of Towneley to Geoffrey son of Robert the dean, and from an Ashworth deed.<sup>6</sup> He was rector or vicar of Rochdale in 1195,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mansi, *Concilia*, Vol. 22, pp. 980 seq. See also the decrees of the Second Lateran Council (*ibid.* Vol. 21, pp. 530-2), which decreed that none could claim a benefice by hereditary right, and none was to accept a benefice from a layman's hands, as according to the decrees of the holy fathers, laymen had no power of disposing of ecclesiastical faculties.

<sup>2</sup> The deans of Whalley are discussed, with diversity of opinions, in *V.C.H. Lancs.*, vi, 355-6; Whitaker, *Whalley*; Canon J. E. Wallis, *The Church in Blackburnshire, passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Not *patronus* but *advocatus* in the confirmation. The phrase *quondam advocati ecclesie* occurs only in Dodsworth MS. 159, f. 106, and there as an interlineation within brackets. I have not been able to trace the Whalley MS. from which the confirmation was copied, f. 45 b or f. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe R.*, pp. 50, 52; dec [ennarius] in *Pipe Roll Soc.*, vol. 33. Who is the Adam dec [ennarius] of the same Roll and the Adam de Walleg' who occurs 1185-7?

<sup>5</sup> *Whalley Coucher*, i, 286.

<sup>6</sup> *V. C. H. Lancs.*, vi, 355.

<sup>7</sup> *Whalley Coucher*, i, 137; Wallis, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

and was said to have married the daughter of Roger de Lacy, though this has been doubted.<sup>1</sup> He was still dean in 1226, and perhaps until 1230.

Dr. Whitaker claimed that Clitheroe Castle was in existence long before the time of Robert de Lacy II, viz., in 1086, 1102, and c. 1122; he maintained that the castle was equivalently mentioned in Domesday and in a deed of Robert de Lacy I in 1102, and specifically mentioned, together with the castle chapel, in a confirmation of Hugh de Laval, c. 1122. The evidence in the three cases is worthy of re-examination.

Of two of the Craven manors mentioned in Domesday, it was said of Barnoldswick that "*Berenger de Todenii tenuit, set modo est in castellatu Rogerii pictaviensis*", and of Calton that "*Erneis habuit, set modo est in castellatu Rogerii*". Dr. Whitaker argued from the castellate to a *castellum*, and placed a castle at Clitheroe. The difficulty that Barnoldswick and Calton were Craven manors he tried to surmount in part by stating, but wrongly, that later there was question whether Barnoldswick was part of Blackburnshire. The question at issue was in fact the boundaries between Barnoldswick and the Forest of Blackburnshire, and these boundaries were perambulated.<sup>2</sup> Barnoldswick Church had four parochial vills—the two Martons, Bracewell and Stock.<sup>3</sup> Between 1147 and 1150, there was an award by Henry, archbishop of York, at the instance of Abbot Alexander and his monks, that the chapels of Bracewell and Marton should become parochial churches, and the mother church of Barnoldswick should be appropriated by the Cistercians.<sup>4</sup> Whitaker's surmise is thus shown to be without any foundation for Barnoldswick, and for Calton could have no force whatever. From such slender evidence in Domesday, a reference to a castle at Clitheroe was thus inferred, despite the facts that Clitheroe was not even mentioned in Domesday, that Blackburnshire was then held by Albert de Grelli and Roger de Busli, and that Roger de Poitou had ceased to hold the land between Ribble and Mersey.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In one deed of dean Geoffrey, Dr. Whitaker made havoc of the four sons of Gospatric of Samlesbury—Roger, Richard, Uctred, Alan. From the second and third he made a Richard Hutting (*Whalley*, ii, 190).

<sup>2</sup> *Monasticon*, v, 532; *L. & C. Record Soc.*, Vol. 8, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> *Monasticon*, v, 530.

<sup>4</sup> Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, iii, No. 1471. Soon after, the monks left Barnoldswick for Kirkstall.

<sup>5</sup> *V. C. H. Lancs.*, i, 278-9.

In 1102, Robert de Lacy I granted to Ralph le Rous, to hold by knight service (*inter alia*) two bovates in Clitheroe with all their appurtenances, viz., those messuages which formerly belonged to Orme le Engleis within 'le Baille' and below.<sup>1</sup> This specification of the two bovates was omitted in a confirmation of Ilbert de Lacy, 1135-41.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Whitaker assumed the existence of a bailey, and so of a castle.

The next evidence for the early existence of both castle and chapel is from a much-debated confirmation of Hugh de Laval to the monks of Pontefract, the date having been variously given as from 1120 to 1124.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Farrer was of the opinion that it was based on a more concise original, which was exploited at a subsequent date and its terms enlarged. It is one of a number of charters purporting to have been issued in favour of Pontefract, prior to 1160, which contain features that throw doubts upon their authenticity. A possible explanation was that during the anarchy of Stephen's reign, Henry de Lacy destroyed or so mutilated their title deeds that an attempt was made in Henry II's time to replace them with exemplifications of the originals.<sup>4</sup>

By the terms of the document Laval confirmed to the monks of Pontefract whatever Robert de Lacy I and he himself had given them. The gifts included the church of Slaidburn in Bolland, in "Cheshire" the church of Whalley, the chapel of the grantor's castle of Clitheroe with the demesne tithes of the castle, the church of St. Mary Magdalen at Clitheroe, also the churches of Colne and Burnley.<sup>5</sup>

Within the next forty years three archbishops of York confirmed the possessions of Pontefract Priory, and although Slaidburn Church appeared in each confirmation, the churches and castle chapel of Blackburnshire were omitted.<sup>6</sup> A sufficient reason might be that they were not in the province of York, but in that

<sup>1</sup> Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe R.*, p. 385; *V. C. H. Lancs.*, i, 314; ii, 523; Manchester Public Library, Towneley MS. HH, No. 3896, from the Great Coucher of the Duchy. Farrer corrected several errors in Whitaker's transcript from Towneley.

<sup>2</sup> *Lancs. Pipe R.*, p. 386.

<sup>3</sup> Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, iii, n. 1486; *Pontefract Chartulary*, i, n. 3; *Monasticon*, v, 12, n. 3; *V. C. H. Lancs.*, i, 315; Whitaker, *Whalley*, i, 238, 256.

<sup>4</sup> Farrer, *E. Y. C.*, iii, n. 1451.

<sup>5</sup> *et in Boolanda ecclesiam de Sleteburna cum his que ad se pertinent, et in Cestrieschira ecclesiam de Walleya et [omnia] ad eam pertinentia, et capellam castelli mei de Clitheroe cum decimis omnium rerum domini mei ejusdem castelli, et ibidem ecclesiam sancte Marie Magdalene, et ecclesiam de Calna et ecclesiam de Brunlaia.* (Farrer, *E. Y. C.*, iii, n. 1486).

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, n. 1469, 1476-7.

of Canterbury. In two papal confirmations of the same century they were likewise omitted,<sup>1</sup> in those also of Ilbert de Lacy II and Henry de Lacy I.<sup>2</sup> However, they did occur in a confirmation of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, 1153-4, with an addition; the appurtenances of the churches of Clitheroe, Colne and Burnley, omitted in Laval's confirmation, were there included.<sup>3</sup> A confirmation of Henry II, 1155-8, presumably vouched for by an *inspeximus* of 1230, had a further variation.<sup>4</sup>

The text involves contradictions, as it can be shown that before and after 1120-4, St. Mary Magdalen's, Clitheroe, was a chapel only, annexed to the mother church of Whalley. About 1160, Henry de Lacy I gave to Henry, clerk of Blackburn, *inter alia*, a certain benefice in the church of Whalley and in the chapels of the same church, the same benefice which his ancestors formerly assigned to the church of Blackburn.<sup>5</sup> The identity of the chapels is supplied in the *Whalley Coucher*—they were those of Clitheroe and Downham.<sup>6</sup> The ancestors of Henry de Lacy were Ilbert de Lacy, 1135-40, and Robert de Lacy, 1089-1121.

At Colne and Burnley also there were only chapels, and on the translation of the Cistercian monks from Stanlaw to Whalley they made no claim to parochial status, as did Altham.

Indeed, if the rest of Laval's confirmation is genuine, there is a strong presumption that the part we are considering is an interpolation of later date, subsequent to the confirmation of Urban III, 1186-7. Dr. Whitaker added a further complication by substituting *castri* for *castelli*,<sup>7</sup> the latter a form still used in the Pipe Rolls as late as 1194. On the other hand, his description of the endowment of the castle chapel is more likely to be right,<sup>8</sup> and would correspond in general with the tithes specified in detail in Urban's confirmation.

Against all the weight of evidence Dr. Whitaker supposed that the writer of the *Historia Laceyorum* had made a mistake in time

<sup>1</sup> *Pontefract Chartulary*, i, 85, 89.

<sup>2</sup> Farrer, *E. Y. C.*, iii, n. 1493, 1504.

<sup>3</sup> Farrer, *E. Y. C.*, n. 1475; et quecumque ad illas pertinent.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Chart. R.*, i, 109 (1230), iii, 406 (1318); Farrer, *E. Y. C.*, iii, n. 1451; *Pontefract Chartulary*, i, n. 73; cum terris et ceteris pertinentiis.

<sup>5</sup> *Whalley Coucher*, i, 75-6.

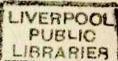
<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 91-2.

<sup>7</sup> Against all the printed texts (*Monasticon*, *Pontefract Chartulary*, Farrer's *E. Y. C.*, *Cal. Chart. R.*)

<sup>8</sup> Cum decimationibus omnium terrarum dominicarum mearum (Whitaker, *Whalley*, i, 238, 256).

but not in name, that the acts he had attributed to Robert de Lacy II were in reality those of Robert I. Dr. Farrer uttered a word of warning that many writers of history and compilers of chartularies had wrought great confusion by doing what Whitaker had proposed, mistaking the deeds of the later Ilbert and Robert for those of the Ilbert of Domesday and his son.<sup>1</sup> In the present case it would also lead to the absurdity of Robert I disposing of the tithes of Bolland, before it can be shown that he was in possession of Bolland. In the protracted suits of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries concerning the castle chapel, no document anterior to Urban's confirmation was produced by either side, and as we have seen, in both centuries that was rightly attributed to Robert II and Urban III.

In 1138 there was a battle at Clitheroe, described by John of Hexham<sup>2</sup> and St. Aelred of Rievaulx.<sup>3</sup> While King David of Scotland was besieging Norham Castle, he despatched William son of Duncan with the Picts and part of his army in an expedition against Yorkshire. The possessions of Furness Abbey and the province of Craven were in great part destroyed by sword and fire, nor did he spare grade, age, sex or condition. He had advanced as far south as Clitheroe when he was opposed by the English army in four bands, hurrying to meet him.<sup>4</sup> At the first onslaught William put them to flight, and in great part they were killed or taken prisoner. The battle was fought on Friday, 10 June, 1138, and in Aelred's account of the Battle of the Standard, the men of Galloway made great boast of how they overcame the French<sup>5</sup> at Clitheroe, in spite of all their armour. In all these accounts, while Norham Castle receives much prominence, there is no word of a castle at Clitheroe. Twenty years later, Henry de Lacy I wrote to the bailiffs at Clitheroe, who collected his farm, but that only implied an administrative centre.<sup>6</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe Rolls*, p. 385; *V. C. H. Lancs.*, i, 315 n. A later contributor fell into the same error by guessing Urban II for the confirmer of the castle chapel and its tithes, having only the text of Towneley MS. 6, f. 210 (*ibid.*, ii, 136 n). The same writer, following another error of Whitaker, stated wrongly that the endowment of half a ploughland in Clitheroe was later reduced to two oxgangs, which was the glebe belonging to St. Mary Magdalen's, Clitheroe.

<sup>2</sup> *Continuation of Simeon of Durham* (Rolls Series), ii, 291. Richard of Hexham describes the campaign but does not mention Clitheroe (*Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., iii, 156).

<sup>3</sup> *Relatio de Standardo*, *Chronicles of Stephen*, iii, 190.

<sup>4</sup> *sibi occurrentem*; and so not stationed at Clitheroe.

<sup>5</sup> *Gallos*. The French were supporters of King Stephen.

<sup>6</sup> Farrer, *E.Y.C.*, iii, n. 1500.

After the death of Robert de Lacy II his lands were in the king's hands for some months early in 1194. A small garrison was placed in Clitheroe Castle in consequence of the rebellion of King Richard's brother, John count of Mortain. During that period the sheriff paid half a mark to the recluse (*incluse*) of Clitheroe; in tithes appointed to the parson of Clitheroe, 16s. 8d.; for the repairs of the walls of Clitheroe, 40s.; in allowances of five knights residing in the castle (*castello*) of Clitheroe for eighty days, 12d. each a day, £20; to fifteen serjeants each with a horse there for forty days, 4d. each a day, £10.<sup>1</sup>

It was natural that the endowment of the castle chapel increased in value during the centuries which followed, an indication of an increase in the prosperity of the districts from which the tithes were drawn. In the fourteenth century the endowment was described as "the tithes of the demesne lands of Blackburnshire and Bolland, deputed to the chapel and assigned of old by the lords of the castle of Clitheroe, patrons of the church" (of Whalley).<sup>2</sup> According to an inquisition taken after the death of Henry de Lacy II, 1311, their annual value was £14 16s. 8d.;<sup>3</sup> by 1380 this had increased to £27 13s. 4d.<sup>4</sup> The Whalley Abbey *compotus* for 1536 has been printed in part by Dr. Farrer;<sup>5</sup> in the accounts of Laurence Forest for the chapel of the castle of Clitheroe, Bolland yielded £12 5s. 7d., Pendle £24 4s. 10d., Trawden £8 6s. 4d., Rossendale £20 16s. The total for the four Forests was thus £63 12s. 9d., less expenses for the carting of sheaves, the chaplain's salary of £4, etc. The only mills mentioned were those of Slaidburn, Grindleton, Bradford and Chipping, all under Bolland.

Another castle chapel dedicated to St. Michael was that of Shrewsbury. Between Ribble and Mersey, ancient dedications to the archangel are found at Aughton, Croston, Huyton, Altcar, Ashton-under-Lyne (Domesday), Flixton, Hoole and Great

<sup>1</sup> *Pipe Roll Society*, Vol. 5, N.S. (1194); Farrer, *E.Y.C.*, iii, 207.

<sup>2</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, i, 260.

<sup>3</sup> *Three Lancs. Documents* (Chetham Soc.), p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Manchester Central Library, Towneley MS. 6, p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> Farrer, *Court Rolls of the Honor of Clitheroe*, iii, 411-3; P.R.O., Ministers' Accounts, Hen. VIII, 1796.

Crosby.<sup>1</sup> The very old Gillkirk,<sup>2</sup> at Barnoldswick in Craven, was also of St. Michael.

The castle chapel of Clitheroe was usually described as *in castro*, or *infra castrum*. When Dr. Whitaker wrote at the beginning of last century, the exact site had been lost, but recently among the papers in the office of the Steward of the Honor of Clitheroe, a plan showing the chapel, c. 1723, has been found and published by Mr. A. Langshaw.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions*, N.S., Vol. 18, p. 19. Garston, St. Michael's, was only early 18th century; the first chapel was of St. Wilfrid.

<sup>2</sup> *Fuit autem ecclesia de Bernoldswick antiqua nimis et ab olim fundata (Monasticon*, v, 530).

<sup>3</sup> *Clitheroe Advertiser and Times*, 31 Jan., 1941.