

of his possession of the “barony” of Wahull) in 1613.<sup>95</sup> The first Walter of Wahull likewise appears from Domesday to have possessed two younger brothers: (a) Hugh le Fleming, who held *in capite* in Podington, Hinwick, and Sharnbrook, co. Bedford, and also held of Walter of Wahull in Thurleigh, Turvey, Astwick, Henlow, etc.,<sup>96</sup> and (b) Rainer, the holder from Walter of Wahull of half a hide in Thurleigh and two hides in Milton Ernest. It seems to me highly possible that the latter was the father of Rainer le Fleming and Michael le Fleming of Aldingham.

The origin of the lords of Wahull has never been ascertained. But Domesday shows that Walter “Flandrensis” (of 1086) had succeeded a certain Saier in the Bedfordshire manor of Southill prior to the date of the General Survey; and, as this unusual christian name was afterwards borne by Walter’s great-grandson, Saier de Wahull, there seems good reason for regarding the original Saier of Southill as Walter’s father. A “Walter brother of Saier” was the Domesday lord of Segenhoe, Beds.: and, since Hugh le Fleming held of him (in Silsoe) and Segenhoe itself was later treated as part of the Wahull barony, “Walter brother of Saier” was evidently Walter of Wahull’s uncle. Now it is a remarkable circumstance that the arms as well as the christian names of the early lords of Wahull were identical with those of the powerful Flemish family of d’Oisy, castellans of Cambrai, who claimed descent from the ancient Counts of Lens. Not only do the *three crescent* arms of Wahull closely resemble the *one crescent* coat borne by d’Oisy,<sup>97</sup> but Walter, castellan of Cambrai, who was assassinated in 1041, had a brother named Saier, who aspired unsuccessfully to the bishopric of Cambrai in 1054. Still more curious, Hugh I d’Oisy, castellan of Cambrai—who was the grandson and heir of the Walter of 1041, and whose grandson Simon d’Oisy succeeded to the *chatellenie* of Cambrai

<sup>95</sup> Sir Richard’s claim was rejected on the grounds that none of his ancestors were ever summoned as barons by writ. For the later lords of Wahull, see *Victoria County History of Bedfordshire*, vol. III, pp. 69–73.

<sup>96</sup> He was most likely grandfather of the Hugh “de la Leye” (*i.e.* de Thurleigh) who held ten fees of the honour of Wahull in 1166, and whose son Stephen founded the priory of Canons Ashby, Northants. (*ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 104–5).

<sup>97</sup> I ought to add that the seal of Michael III le Fleming of Aldingham (for whom see p. 72), appended to a charter of 1227, shows the device of two bars and a canton (cf. *Coucher Book of Furness* [Chetham Soc.], vol. II, pt. iii, p. 784). This must have represented a variant of the arms of the de Lancasters, from whom the Flemings of Aldingham held the manor of Stainton (see also footnotes nos. 3 and 75). The coat borne by the descendants of Rainer le Fleming of Beckermest, and which is still borne by the Flemings of Rydal, was *Gules a fret silver*, and clearly must have had a common origin with that of the neighbouring Cumberland families of Boyville, Huddleston, Harrington, and Curwen, all of whom bore the *fret* with slight changes in the tinctures.

in 1131—was in his youth under the guardianship of his kinsman (*propinquus*) Anselm de Ribemont, Count of Ostrevant, whose christian name recalls that of Anselm le Fleming, the father of Eleanor d'Eyncourt! We may therefore conclude that Walter, the Doomsday lord of Wahull, was a cadet of this distinguished house; and most probably his (presumed) father, Saier of Southill, was a younger brother of Hugh I. d'Oisy, castellan of Cambrai, and of Walter de Cambrai, castellan of Douai.<sup>98</sup>

Meanwhile, we must return to Michael le Fleming, the feoffee of Aldingham *temp.* Henry I, and to his brother Rainer le Fleming, lord of Beckermet. Rainer's grandson and namesake founded Kirklees Priory, Yorks., in the reign of Henry II, and became the ancestor of the Flemings, baronets, of Rydal Hall, who erroneously trace descent from the Flemings of Aldingham.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>98</sup> An excellent account of the castellans of Cambrai, from the Continental point of view, is given by M. Léon Vanderkindere in *La Formation Territoriale des Principautés Belges au Moyen Age*, II, pp. 56-59. Walter, castellan of Lens, was made castellan of Cambrai between 972 and 979, and left two sons, Walter II and Saier, the latter of whom has already been mentioned as an unsuccessful candidate for the bishopric of Cambrai. The elder son, Walter II, was assassinated in 1041; and upon his death his next heir was an infant grandson Hugh d'Oisy, son of his only daughter, Adela, by her marriage to Hugh, castellan of Douai. During the latter's minority the *châtellenie* of Cambrai was usurped by John, hereditary Advocate of Arras, the second husband of Walter II's widow, Ermentrude. But *circa* 1057 Bishop Liebert of Cambrai restored the heir to his rights and placed him under the guardianship of his relative, Anselm I de Ribemont, Count of Ostrevant, who, besides the *comté* of Ostrevant in Flanders, possessed the fief of Ribemont in the Vermandois (Vanderkindere, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 135-137). Hugh d'Oisy, who eventually succeeded as castellan of Cambrai, had a brother Walter (who inherited the *châtellenie* of Douai), as well, probably, as another brother, Saier, the original feoffee of Southill and Segenhoe. Hence, I would further suggest that "Walter brother of Saier" of the Bedfordshire Doomsday was identical with Walter d'Oisy, castellan of Douai, and that Hugh le Fleming, the Doomsday tenant of Poddington (who also held lands in 1086 of the Wahull barony), was identical with Hugh d'Oisy, castellan of Cambrai. Both Hugh and Walter d'Oisy are known to have been alive in 1086.

<sup>99</sup> According to Burke and other authorities the Flemings of Rydal descend from "Sir Michael Fleming, lord of Beckermet", although Michael le Fleming never possessed the manor of Beckermet, the earliest recorded holder being his contemporary (and brother?), Rainer. The error appears to have originated with Sir Daniel Fleming, the seventeenth century historian of the house, who placed Richard le Fleming (husband of Elizabeth de Urswick, the heiress of Coniston), living in 1275 and the undoubted ancestor of the Rydal family, as a son of a Sir John le Fleming, stated to be the grandson of Michael, living apparently in the reign of the Conqueror! On the contrary, the descent of the manor of Beckermet shows that Richard le Fleming, who held Beckermet as well as Coniston (cf. Kuerden MSS., vol. II, f<sup>o</sup> 221 d.), was identical with Richard, brother of Rainer le Fleming, lord of Beckermet and Wath upon Dearne, mentioned in a charter of 1342 (Dodsworth MSS., vol. 8, f<sup>o</sup> 21, 71; and cf. De Banco Roll, no. 9, m. 27 d.). This Rainer appears to have been the son of another Rainer le Fleming, who gave Lindale to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in 1191 (*V. C. H. Lancs.*, VIII, p. 269), and grandson of a third Rainer, the founder of Kirklees priory. It should be added that the Richard le Fleming of 1275 was father of a son called Rainer, whose son John le Fleming (no doubt identical with the "Sir John le Fleming" whom Sir Daniel Fleming transformed into the father of Richard!) died in 1352, when his son and heir, Richard (second of the name), was aged thirty (*Inq. P. M.*, 28 Edward III, no. 37). The latter settled Beckermet in 1373 on the marriage of his son Thomas with Margaret, daughter of William de Bardsey (Kuerden MSS., vol. II, f<sup>o</sup> 211 d.). In 1418 Thomas, son of Sir Thomas Fleming, made a feoffment of the manor of Coniston, as well as the reversion of the manor of Beckermet (then held as dower by Dame Isabel, his mother). Thomas,

As for Michael, the founder of the Aldingham branch, he appears to have married a daughter of Robert de Stuteville by his wife Erneburga, and thus to have obtained the Cumberland manor of Drigg, which was held under the Stutevilles by the Flemings during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries;<sup>100</sup> and, moreover, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of his grandson Anselm le Fleming bore the rare christian name of "Erneburga", which affords additional indication of a Stuteville connection.<sup>101</sup> A later Michael le Fleming, who died about 1186, granted the manor of Fordbottle (a "member" of the lordship of Aldingham) to Furness abbey in 1153, which was confirmed *circa* 1216 by Michael (son of William) le Fleming, who is described in the charter of confirmation as the grantor's "grandson" (*Dep. Keeper's Rep.*, XXVI, Appendix, p. 162; *Coucher Book of Furness* [Chetham Soc.], pt. II, p. 455). This Michael of 1153, etc., was presumably the son of the first Michael of 1127, who probably died about the year 1150. Michael II in 1157-8 obtained Little Urswick and Foss in Coupland from the Abbot of Furness, besides Bardsea, co. Lancs., in exchange for the vills of Roose and Crivelton (Duchy of Lancs. Anc. Deeds, L. 342; Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe Rolls*, pp. 307-8). He was a juror on the division of the Furness Fells *circa* 1160 (Farrer, *op. cit.*, p. 311); and his name occurs in the Lancashire Pipe Rolls between 1168 and 1176 (*ibid.*, pp. 13, 23, 29, 34),—while *circa* 1180, along with his son Anselm, he attested a grant made by William II de Lancaster of the manor of Sockbridge (*ante*, p. 60).<sup>102</sup> He married a lady called Chris-

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Junior, acquired Rydal, co. Westmorland, in marriage with one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir John de Lancaster; and both Rydal and Coniston were in possession of his descendant, the late M. G. Hughes Le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal Hall.

<sup>100</sup> Canon Wilson suggested the possibility of a connection between the Flemings and Turgis Brundas, who had preceded the Stutevilles in the ownership of the Cumbrian barony of Lydal (cf. Wilson, *St. Bees*, pp. 456-7). But there is no evidence that Turgis Brundas, who was lord of Rosedale in Yorkshire, was ever connected with Drigg, which was a member not of the barony of Lydal (as Canon Wilson asserts) but of the barony of Coupland.

<sup>101</sup> For the early descent of the Stutevilles see the able article by G. Andrews Moriarty in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October, 1925, pp. 373-378. Robert de Stuteville, the *caput* of whose barony was at Cottingham, Yorks., had been one of the northern lords at the battle of the Standard in 1138, and was son of Robert "Fronte-boeuf", governor in 1085 of the castle of Ambrières in Normandy, who was taken prisoner after the battle of Tinchebrai in 1107 and died in captivity. This elder Robert, who apparently took his surname from Estouteville-sur-mer in the Pays de Caux, is said to have married Joan, daughter of Hugh Talbot, lord of Cleuville by his wife Mary, sister of Waleran, Count of Meulan (*Dict. de la Noblesse*, VII, p. 558). Erneburga, the wife of his son Robert, was probably the daughter and heiress of Hugh fitz Baldric, the Doomsday lord of Cottingham. They were the parents of a third Robert, who married Heléwise, daughter and co-heiress of Geoffrey Murdac, and left issue (Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*).

<sup>102</sup> See *Trans. Cumb. and Westd. Antiq. Soc.*, New Series, vol. X.

tian (cf. *Cockersand Chartulary* [Chetham Soc.], pt. I, p. 765); and from a later charter, in which his son Anselm refers to "my uncle (*avunculus*) Bernard de Staynton" (*vide infra*), it is evident that she was the sister and heiress of Bernard fitz Gilbert and daughter of Gilbert, lord of Stainton in Kendal. The latter may possibly have been identical with Gilbert, younger brother of William I de Lancaster, lord of Kendal, and son of Ketel (son of Eldred) of Workington and Christian, his wife.<sup>103</sup>

Michael II and Christian (de Stainton) had several children. William, the eldest son, attested several of his father's charters as "William son of Michael de Furness", and in 1186 paid twenty marks to the Crown *pro fine terre*, doubtless upon succeeding to the paternal estates (*Lancs. Pipe Rolls*, ed. Farrer, p. 60). *Circa* 1190 he obtained a grant of various liberties in his lordship of Aldingham, including the right of gallows and judgment by iron, water, and duel (*Rot. Chart.* [Rec. Com.], p. xl); and in 1193 he was amongst those fined for having taken part in the rebellion of King John, then Count of Mortain, against Richard I (Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe Rolls*, p. 78). He apparently died about 1203, leaving a widow, Eleanor (who married, secondly, William le Butler, lord of Warrington),<sup>104</sup> a son and heir, Michael III, who was six years old at his father's death (*Ancient Deeds*, A. 13453; Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe Rolls*, pp. 180, 191; *Lancs. Inqs. and Extents* [Lancs. and Cheshire Rec. Soc.], pt. I, p. 82).<sup>105</sup> Other sons of Michael II by his wife Christian were Anselm (of whom hereafter), Marsilius, Jordan, and Dan-

<sup>103</sup> It has been assumed that the Michael of 1127 survived until 1176-7, after which there is no further mention of his name in the Lancashire Pipe Rolls, and that the William "de Furness" who paid his relief in 1186 did so upon attaining his majority, being accordingly born in 1164-5 (cf. *Trans. Cumb. and Westd. Antiq. Society*, New Series, vol. XXXI, pp. 30-32). But, on chronological grounds, we must conclude that there were at least two Michaels during this long interval; while the assumption that William became his father's heir in 1176-7, but did not pay his relief until 1186 on account of being under age, is scarcely warranted by the other facts in the case. From a consideration of all the evidence, it seems probable that William's father died in 1185-6 and that he himself was born *circa* 1150.

<sup>104</sup> She was daughter of Thomas son of Gospatric, lord of Workington, co. Cumberland, son of Orm (younger brother of Gilbert son of Ketel, ancestor of the de Lancasters) and his wife Gunhilda, daughter of Gospatric I, Earl of Dunbar.

<sup>105</sup> Michael III married Ada, daughter of Henry fitz Hervey, lord of Ravensworth (ancestor of the Lords Fitzhugh), and by her, who married secondly Marmaduke Darell of Sesay, Yorks. (De Banco Roll, no. 54, m. 67), had issue a son William, who left two sons and two daughters: (a) Michael IV, who died without issue in March 1169, having been drowned whilst returning to Aldingham after dining with the Prior of Cartmel (*Chronicles of Stephen, etc.* [Rolls Ser.], II, p. 555). (b) William, Rector of Aldingham. (a) Eleanor, who eventually succeeded as lady of Aldingham, married Sir Richard de Cantsfield, through whom she became ancestress of the Lords Harrington of Aldingham. (b) Margery, wife of Henry de Clifton.

iel, Rector of Aldingham and Little Urswick, where his son, Daniel, Junior, was a benefactor of the priory of St. Bees (*Coucher Book of Furness* [Chetham Soc.], pt. II, pp. 452–7; Wilson, *St. Bees* [Surtees Soc.], pp. 98–9, 382, 541). There was also a daughter Godith, who became the second wife *circa* 1163 of William de Esseby, or Esseville (the latter's first wife, Uctreda, was widow of Ranulf de Lindsay, and daughter of Waldeve son of Earl Gospatric), and subsequently seems to have married Ulf son of Eward, lord of Hyton, co. Cumb. (Wilson, *St. Bees*, pp. 57, 381–2; Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 386; *Trans. Cumb. and Westd. Antiq. Soc.*, New Series, vol. XXVI, pp. 39–40).<sup>106</sup>

This brings us to Anselm le Fleming, apparently the second son of Michael II and Christian de Stainton, from whom he inherited the manor of Stainton in Kendal (most of which afterwards passed to the d'Eyncourts), as well as the paternal lands at Drigg. Like his father and elder brother, Anselm is usually styled “de Furness” in charters of the period, though he attests a grant made by William II de Lancaster to Walter “Cocus” shortly before 1184 as Anselm “de Staynton” (Levens MSS., f<sup>o</sup> 247). It appears from a later charter that Anselm built and endowed a chapel on his Stainton property: for *circa* 1280 William de Strickland (the husband of his great-granddaughter, Elizabeth d'Eyncourt) confirmed to the priory of Cartmel the perpetual cure and custody of the chapel of Croscrake, formerly founded by Anselm son of Michael de Furness in the grantor's territory of Stainton in Kendal, with a proviso that “when the prior and convent appoint a priest in the said chapel to celebrate divine service for the grantor's ancestors and successors, none of his heirs shall distrain the prior or his chaplain to give refuge to any lepers or infirm in the said chapel nor to render hospitality to such against their will” (Sizergh MSS.; cf. Hornyold-Strickland, *Strickland of Sizergh*, p. 18). In 1198 a day was given to Anselm de Furness and Uctred son of Osulf [of Preston Richard, co. Westmorland] to hear their record and judgment of a plea of perambulation and division of lands on the Octaves of St. John the Baptist (*Cal. Curia Regis Rolls*, I, p. 51). Anselm was still living in 1210, when he was amerced sixty marks for trespass

<sup>106</sup> There is no proof that Godith was ever the wife of a de Coupland, as stated in *Trans. Cumb. and Westd. Antiq. Soc.*, New Series, vol. XXVI.

(*Pipe Rolls Cumb. and Westd.*, ed. Parker, p. 194). However, he had died prior to 1217, in which year Richard de Preston and Adam son of Patrick de Borwick undertook to render yearly to the abbey and monks of Furness one stone's weight of wax which Anselm son of Michael de Furness had given to the monks there during his lifetime (*Coucher Book of Furness* [Chetham Soc.], II, p. 92).

Amongst the unpublished documents at Rydal Hall is a charter of *circa* 1180, by which Edgar [of Dunbar] and his wife Alice, daughter of Ivo [de Greystoke], settled upon Agnes their daughter, in free marriage with Anselm son of Michael de Furness, half their land of "Euenwit" [Yanwath], co. Westmorland (Ry-dal MSS.). By an earlier charter, of 1156–62, Walter son of Ivo de Greystoke confirmed to Alice his sister, on her marriage to Edgar son of Earl Gospatric, "Euenwit" and "Chonoc Salchild" [Knock Salcock], co. Westmorland, as well as other property in Cumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire (*Newminster Chartulary*, [Surtees Soc.], p. 117).<sup>107</sup> Alice was the sister of Walter and daughter of Ivo, lords of Greystoke in Cumberland; while her husband, Edgar, was the son of Gospatric II, Earl of Dunbar in Scotland, the great-great-nephew of the "gracious" King Duncan of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. The records make it clear that Anselm and his wife Agnes of Dunbar left four daughters and co-heiresses: (a) Eleanor, wife of Ralph d'Eyncourt of Sizergh, who acquired lands at Yanwath and Drigg and the manor of Stainton in Kendal *jure uxoris*. (b) Erneburga, wife of Richard de Preston (Feet of Fines, Westmorland, 10 John, no. 30; *Coucher Book of Furness* [Chetham Soc.], pt. II, p. 94). Their son Richard married Amabel de Strickland, and was ancestor of the Preston of Preston Richard, co. Westmorland. (c) Isabel, wife of Thomas fitz John (Wilson, *St. Bees* [Surtees Soc.], pp. 538–9). She probably married, secondly, Robert de Yanwath, who owned land at Drigg (Cumb.) and Yanwath (Westd.), and was living in 1241 (Feet of Fines, Westd., 26 Henry III, no. 10; Wilson, *St. Bees* [Surtees Soc.], pp. 458–9). (d) daughter (christian name unknown), wife of Patrick de Borwick, of Borwick in Warton, co. Lancs., and mother of Adam de Borwick, from whom descended the Borwicks and the Whittingtons of Borwick Hall

<sup>107</sup> For this important document, whose authenticity was questioned by Dr. William Farrer, see below.

(*Cal. Ings.*, V, p. 118; *Lancs. Pipe Rolls*, ed. Farrer, p. 420; *V. C. H. Lancs.*, vol. VIII, pp. 170-1).<sup>108</sup>

The Greystokes, through whom Anselm le Fleming (or de Furness) and his wife succeeded to half of the Westmorland manor of Yanwath, long remained among the great families of the Border. Unlike the Flemings and d'Eyncourts, they were of native English blood,—their founder, Forne son of Sigulf, being by descent lord of Greystoke, co. Cumb., one of those northern baronies that had continued after the Norman invasion to be held by its original pre-Conquest tenure. Besides their Cumbrian fief, which owed simply a fixed rent of £4 and “cornage” services, the Greystokes in 1166 also held 3½ fees *in capite* in Yorkshire and Northumberland (*Red Book* [Rec. Com.], p. 434; *Pipe Roll*, 14 Henry II, p. 89); and Forne son of Sigulf was a trusted minister of the Crown in Yorks. during the second part of the reign of Henry I (*Early Yorks. Charters*, ed. Farrer, vol. II, pp. 505-6). Indeed, Edith, Forne’s daughter, is memorable as having been one of King Henry’s mistresses and the mother by him of Robert fitz Edith (or fitz Roy), who was at the siege of Winchester in 1141 (cf. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 94, 434). The antiquary Leland has preserved the legend of the “chattering magpies” whose clatter so disturbed the fair Edith that, believing they were conveying to her some supernatural warning about her licentious life, she hastily founded the abbey of Oseney as atonement for her sins! Forne son of Sigulf was one of the witnesses to Earl Ranulf “le Meschin’s” foundation charter of the priory of Wetheral (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 4); and *circa* 1120 he attested a grant made by Alexander, King of Scots to the priory of Scone (*Symeon Dunelm.* [Surtees Soc.], vol. II, p. 261; Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 30). Until the famous charter of Earl Gorpatic was discovered at Lowther Castle, it had been believed that Forne and the other tenants-in-chief in Cumberland had been enfeoffed of their estates by Henry I. But it is now evident that Henry had simply confirmed them in possession of their fiefs, all of which were held by “cornage” (the names of the lords themselves show them all to have been of native descent), and that Forne’s father, Sigulf,

<sup>108</sup> Jane, daughter of Miles Whittington of Borwick Hall (the heir-general of the de Borwicks), married *circa* 1475-1480, as his second wife, Robert Washington of Warton, Lancs., grandfather of the first Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave.

must have been lord of Greystoke prior to the conquest of Cumberland by William Rufus.<sup>109</sup>

Many years ago, Horace Round suggested in *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (p. 434) that Sigulf himself might be identical with Ligulf, the Durham thegn murdered with Bishop Walcher in 1080,—an affiliation that, if true, would carry back the Greystoke pedigree at one bound to Edulf of Bamburgh and the ancient Northumbrian kings. But the names Sigulf and Ligulf are clearly distinct, nor is there any valid reason for supposing the Greystokes to be connected with Ligulf's house. The fact that Cumberland and the other Border counties were excluded from Domesday Book makes it extremely difficult to trace the early Greystoke descent. But among the Yorkshire lands held by Sigulf of Greystoke's son Forne *temp.* Henry I was the manor of Nunburholme in the East Riding (*Early Yorks. Charters*, ed. Farrer, vol. II, p. 509). "Brurham", *i.e.* Nunburholme, was in 1086 in the possession of Forne, the King's Thegn; and it seems to the writer very likely that we have here the grandfather of Forne of Greystoke (son of Sigulf), who flourished *circa* 1120–30. The Domesday Forne had succeeded three Yorkshire thegns, Morcar, Turuet, and Turchil, the joint holders of Nunburholme *temp.* Edward the Confessor; and it is necessary to distinguish him from the Forne who in 1086 held Skirpenbeck, Yorks., where his successor was an Ulf "Fornesson" (cf. *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1300–26, p. 114).<sup>110</sup>

The later Forne, son of Sigulf, died in 1130–1 (*Pipe Roll*, 31 Henry I, p. 25); whereupon King Henry I confirmed to his son and successor, Ivo son of Forne, the lands in Yorkshire, Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmorland that his father had held in chief (*Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer, pp. 509–10). This Ivo, lord of Greystoke was among the northern magnates who supported David, King of Scots and his son, Earl Henry, during the Scottish occupation of the Border counties in the reign of Stephen. In conjunction with his wife, Agnes, he

<sup>109</sup> See Canon Wilson's article, "An English Letter of Gospatric," in the *Scottish Historical Review* for October 1903.

<sup>110</sup> It seems not impossible that Forne of Nunburholme (and of Greystoke?) was the son of yet another Sigulf, living apparently about 1030, who is named by Earl Gospatric in his charter preserved at Lowther Castle (which was issued before 1074 and addressed to his men of Cumbria) as one of the Cumbrian magnates "in Eadred's days" (this was Aldred, or Eadred, Earl of Northumberland 1018–38). The Sigulf of Gospatric's charter has been erroneously identified by historians with the Sigulf father of Forne who flourished *temp.* Henry I.

granted a carucate and two messuages in Stainton, in the parish of Dacre, co. Cumb., to the church of St. Mary, Carlisle; and Henry son of Robert son of Ivo lately recovered his right to the advowson of Dacre church against Ranulf son of Walter (de Greystoke), Ivo's grandson (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. VI, p. 144; *V.C.H. Cumb.*, vol. I, p. 358). Ivo died in 1156, shortly after the accession of Henry II, when Cumberland and the other northern shires were recovered from the Scottish Crown: and in the Pipe Roll of 1157 there is an entry stating that Henry d'Oyley (his nephew and the son of his sister Edith, the king's mistress)<sup>111</sup> was pardoned 20s. "Danegeld" in Yorks., apparently in respect of the Greystoke fee in that county, which may indicate a favour obtained by d'Oyley for Walter, Ivo's heir (*Pipe Roll*, 2 Henry II, p. 127).

Ivo himself was the maternal grandfather of Agnes of Dunbar, wife of Anselm le Fleming, and thus the great-grandfather of Eleanor (le Fleming), wife of Ralph d'Eyncourt of Sizergh; for, as has been seen, it was Ivo's daughter Alice de Greystoke who married Edgar of Dunbar, the son of Earl Gospatric (*vide supra*, p. 74). Walter son of Ivo, the heir of the Greystoke family, apparently only survived until 1162; since in the Pipe Roll of 1162-3 the sheriff of Northumberland accounted for one mark for a knight's fee held by Walter son of Ivo (de Greystoke) in that county, while the sheriff of Yorkshire similarly accounted for one mark for a knight's fee held by Ranulf son of Walter (son of Ivo) and showed the king's writ excusing the payment of one mark to Henry d'Oyley,—this being, no doubt, the knight's fee which the latter held in Huggate and Millington (Yorks.) of the Greystoke fief (*Pipe Roll*, 8 Henry II, p. 11; *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer, vol. II, p. 506).<sup>112</sup> This would seem to indicate that Walter son of Ivo had died during the fiscal year, and that the sheriff of Northumberland had neglected to alter his account in conformity with the event. Walter's son Ranulf (died *circa* 1190), the next lord of Greystoke,<sup>113</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Edith had been married by Henry I to Robert d'Oyley, and *circa* 1145, as his widow, granted land in Huggate to St. Peter's, York (*Early Yorks. Charters*, ed. Farrer, vol. II, p. 510). Henry d'Oyley, the son of Robert and Edith, held a knight's fee at Huggate and Millington, Yorks., under the lords of Greystoke, which passed at his death in 1164 to his nephew Arnulf de Mandeville (*Red Book* [Rec. Com.], p. 434).

<sup>112</sup> Cf. footnote no. 111.

<sup>113</sup> Ranulf's mother (the wife of Walter son of Ivo) was named Beatrice (*Early Yorks. Charters*, ed. Farrer, vol. II, p. 515), and he himself married Amabel, who after his death espoused Roger fitz Hugh (de Balliol), lord of Cowpen, Northumb. (*Rot. Litt. Claus.* [Rec. Com.], vol. I, p. 174; *Chartul. Brinkburn*, pp. 159-60).

left an heir William (died 1209) who married Helewise de Stuteville, the relict of William de Lancaster II and of Hugh de Morville, by whom he became the father of a son Thomas, the ancestor of the Lords Greystoke (*The Ancestor*, vol. VI, pp. 121–34; Clay, *Extinct and Dormant Peerages of the Northern Counties*, pp. 94–5). Ranulf's daughter Alice married Henry Fitz Hervey, lord of Ravensworth, co. Yorks. (Gale, *Reg. hon. de Richmond*, Appendix, pp. 57–8), and had *inter alia* a daughter, Ada, the wife of Michael III le Fleming of Aldingham.

We must now consider the question of the lands granted by Ivo son of Forne to his daughter Alice de Greystoke (the ancestress of the Flemings and d'Eyncourts) in marriage with Edgar of Dunbar. These possessions, as we learn from Walter son of Ivo's confirmation to his sister and her husband (*supra*), consisted of Knock Salcock and Yanwath, co. Westmorland; Blencowe, co. Cumberland; Caistron, Trew hitt, Great and Little Tosson, and Flotterton, all in the parish of Rothbury, co. Northumberland; and Ulnetby and Thornton-juxta-Tees (now known as Thornton Hall), in the parish of Coniscliffe, co. Durham. Dr. Farrer threw doubts on the authenticity of Ivo's enfeoffment, on the grounds that "Little more than Caistron descended in the line of Edgar [the husband of Ivo's daughter, Alice] and his son Patrick" (cf. Farrer, *Early Yorks. Charters*, vol. II, pp. 506, 512): but a closer examination proves such objections to be baseless. For it seems certain from the Northumbrian records that not only Caistron, but Trew hitt, the two Tossons, Flotterton, and the Coniscliffe lands as well, were held by Alice and Edgar and their immediate posterity (*vide infra*, pages 86–87); while evidence as to Alice and Edgar's tenure of the Westmorland estates is afforded by the grant of half Yanwath to their daughter Agnes and her husband Anselm le Fleming, whose descendants, the d'Eyncourts and Stricklands, had possessions there (cf. pages 39, 63, and 74). In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Greystokes held Yanwath and their other Westmorland estates (Brampton, Dufton, and Bolton) under the Cliffords, lords of Appleby (*Trans. Cumb. and Westd. Antiq. Soc.*, New Series, vol. VIII, p. 281), but they were held of the king *in capite* prior to the grant of Appleby to Hugh de Morville.<sup>114</sup> Like the Greystokes' Northumbrian

<sup>114</sup> Cf. King Henry I's confirmation of the Greystoke fief to Ivo son of Forne in 1131 (*supra*, page 76). For the barony of Appleby, see footnote no. 6.

domains (Castron, Trew hitt, etc.), these lands owed "cornage" services, and from ancient times they must have been attached to the Greystoke barony.<sup>115</sup> Evidently the holdings in the parish of Coniscliffe, co. Durham, formed part of the Greystoke possessions held in knight's service. Walter son of Ivo had one knight's fee in Northumberland at his death in 1162 (see above). This was undoubtedly the manor of Coniscliffe, afterwards held as one fee by the Greystokes of the bishops of Durham (Surtees, *Hist. Durham*, vol. I, Appendix, p. 128). Coniscliffe is in the wapentake of Sadberge, which was purchased of King Richard I by Hugh du Puiset, Bishop of Durham in 1189; but before that date it was not included in the county of Durham, being in a district that was still regarded as lying in the county of Northumberland. Originally, Coniscliffe would appear to have belonged to the lords of Bolam; since soon after his accession Henry II confirmed Walter son of Ivo in his tenure of Coniscliffe, which the Greystokes had apparently acquired at some previous date from the Bolams, in exchange for the three Northumbrian villis of Aydon, Thornburgh, and Little Whittington in the parish of Corbridge (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. III, p. 313). The Greystokes' tenure of Coniscliffe would account for one out of the three and a third knights' fees that they held in 1166 (*supra*, page 75), the remaining two and a third fees comprehending Huggate, Nunburholme, and the other estates in Yorkshire.

In Yorks., also, the lords of Greystoke had possessed from early times an extensive fief in the Honour of Richmond (cf. *V.C.H. Yorks.* [North Riding] vol. II, pp. 120-3). The lands in question consisted of Mickleton, Lonton, Thringarth, and Crossthaite in the parish of Romalkirk: and William son of Thomas de Greystoke, when summoned to prove his right to free chase at Crossthaite *temp.* Edward I, alleged, with pardonable exaggeration, that his ancestors had held it "since the Conquest"

<sup>115</sup> At the end of the twelfth century the manor of Brampton, co. Westmorland, was held of the Greystoke fief by Ranulf de "Brankestone" [Brampton], who may have been a younger son of Ranulf son of Walter of Greystoke, who died 1190. For it is suggestive that in 1202 Theobald de Scotton granted (as trustee) to Alexander, son of Ranulf de "Brankestone", one bovate in Coniscliffe and half a carucate in Thornton, co. Durham (*Yorks. Fines* [Yorks. Rec. Soc.], no. 196): and about the same date a settlement of the manor of Brampton, co. West., with land at Coniscliffe, co. Durham, and Castron, co. Northumb., was made on the marriage of Alexander (son of Ranulf) de Brampton and his wife Margery, sister of William and aunt of another Ranulf de Brampton, who was presumably a cousin (cf. *Newminster Chartul.* [Surtees Soc.] pp. 133-5). Alexander and Margery had a daughter Elizabeth, who received land in Castron as her marriage portion, and married Henry de Roddam, the ancestor of the Roddams of Roddam, co. Northumberland (*vide Northumb. Co. Hist.*, vol. XV, p. 391).

(*Plac. de Quo Waranto* [Rec. Com.], p. 192). According to a fifteenth century genealogy of the Fitzhughs, lords of Ravensworth, preserved in the Cotton Library, Ranulf son of Walter de Greystoke before 1190 granted "toute Mikelton et les demesnes avec le service de Guidon de Bovencourt [*i.e.* Rimbeaucourt] et les services de Lonton et Thirngarth avec la forest de Loun et franc chase" to Henry fitz Hervey, lord of Ravensworth, in marriage with Alice his daughter (Gale, *Reg. hon. de Richmund*, Appendix, pp. 57-8). In 1235 Ranulf fitz Henry of Ravensworth had a Final Concord regarding Crossthwaite (which had originally been included in Thringarth) with Thomas son of William de Greystoke (*Yorks. Fines* [Yorks. Rec. Soc.]): and a generation later (1262), Henry fitz Ranulf of Ravensworth was confirmed by William son of Thomas de Greystoke in his possession of the manors of Mickleton, Thringarth, and Lonton (*ibid.*). All of these lands had belonged at the time of Doomsday to Bodin, the younger brother of Alan the Red, Earl of Richmond and Count of Penthievre in Brittany; and I would suggest that they had been brought to the Greystokes by marriage with a daughter of Bodin's family. It is noteworthy that Bodin's fief in 1086 comprised not only the lands afterwards held by the lords of Ravensworth, but also all those later included in the fee of the Fitzalans, lords of Bedale. According to the fifteenth century genealogy already referred to, Bodin gave the Ravensworth half of his fee in his old age to his brother Bardulf and thereupon, in company with another brother Ribaud, the 1st lord of Middleham, retired to the abbey of St. Mary, York.: and Bardulf, at Bodin's request, gave to the abbey the church of Patrick Brompton with a carucate of land and the church of Ravensworth with a carucate of land in pure alms (Gale, *Reg. Hon. de Richmund*, Appendix, p. 57). The truth of this assertion, as regards the gifts of Bardulf, is precisely verified by the confirmation charter granted to St. Mary's, York, by Henry II (cf. Farrer's *Early Yorks. Charters*, ed. Clay, vol. V, p. 199). Ribaud and Bardulf are described as "brothers of the Count" in a charter issued by Count Alan the Red; while Bodin is called "brother" of Bardulf in a charter of Odo the Chamberlain (*ibid.*, pp. 178, 199). The Ravensworth lands were inherited by Bardulf's son Acaris, who flourished 1125-40, and whose grandson was the Henry fitz Hervey previously mentioned.

However, the second half of Bodin's fief, *i.e.* the lands of Bedale, did not pass to Bardulf, but descended after Bodin's death to Scolland, the Earl of Richmond's *dapifer*. There seems no doubt, from the evidences printed by Mr. Clay in the latest volume of Farrer's *Early Yorkshire Charters* (*ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 199–202), that this Scolland was the ancestor in the male line of the Fitzalans of Bedale, hitherto credited with deriving from Brian, a younger son of Alan of Penthièvre, 4th Earl of Richmond, three quarters of a century later. Scolland's origin is not mentioned in any existing document; but it may be suggested that he was either Bodin's son or son-in-law,—more probably the latter. We may therefore conclude that Bodin had partitioned his fief between his brother Bardulf, who received the Ravensworth share, and his only daughter and her husband Scolland, who received the Bedale portion. Towards the end of the twelfth century, as we have seen, Henry fitz Hervey—Bardulf's great-grandson—regained some of the original land (Mickleton, Thringarth, etc.) in marriage with a daughter of Ranulf son of Walter, lord of Greystoke, who must himself have descended from either Bardulf or Bodin on the distaff side. It may perhaps be hazarded that this connection of the Greystokes with Bodin's family had actually arisen through Ivo son of Forne, who was at all events associated with the Honour of Richmond (*Early Yorks. Charters*, ed. Farrer, vol. II, pp. 505–6), and whose wife Agnes (the mother of the Alice de Greystoke who married Edgar of Dunbar) may well have been a daughter either of Acaris son of Bardulf or of Scolland of Bedale.<sup>116</sup>

In conclusion, we must glance briefly at the ancestry of Edgar of Dunbar, the husband of Alice de Greystoke (the heiress of Yanwath) and the father of Anselm le Fleming's wife, Agnes. For Edgar was a scion of the illustrious Scottish house of Dunbar which, boasting a great Celtic origin, derived in the male line from the family of the kings of Scotland and in the female line from the royal stock of Wessex.

The founder of the race, Maldred, lord of the land of Carlisle and of Allerdale in Cumberland *circa* 1045–50, was the younger

<sup>116</sup> Bardulf and his brothers Bodin (the presumed father-in-law of Scolland) and Ribaud (of Middleham) are usually called natural brothers of Count Alan the Red, the 1st Earl of Richmond; but there seems no reason to doubt their legitimacy. They were sons of Eudes, Count of Penthièvre, of a younger branch of the ducal house of Brittany.

brother of Duncan I, King of Scots, slain in 1040 by Macbeth (*Scots Peerage*, ed. Paul, vol. III, pp. 239–41; also *Scottish Hist. Rev.* for October, 1903). Maldred's wife Edith was the daughter of Uctred, Earl of Northumbria (murdered in 1016 while on his way south to do homage to King Canute), by his third wife Edith (Aelfgifu), daughter of King Ethelred of England (the Unready) and half-sister of Edward the Confessor. Gospatric, the son and successor of Maldred and Edith and a "noble youth" (*Lives Edw. the Confessor* [Rolls Ser.], ed. Luard, p. 411), accompanied Aldred, the new Archbishop of York, to Rome in 1061, along with his kinsman Earl Tostig, the brother of King Harold (*ibid.*). He inherited from his father, Maldred, Allerdale and Carlisle (his charter at Lowther Castle, to which reference has already been made, specifies "all things that are mine in Alnerdale"): and at Christmas 1067, after King William's conquest of the North, he compounded with that monarch for a large sum of money in order to be recognized as Earl of Northumberland,—having an hereditary claim (through his maternal grandfather, Earl Uctred) to the earldom, which was just then vacant on account of the murder of his mother's nephew, Earl Osulf. But his relationship to the old English royal house inevitably made him an object of suspicion to the Norman conquerors: he was implicated in the rebellion of Earls Edwin and Morcar in 1068, and in 1072 was deprived of his earldom and retired to Scotland to the court of his cousin, King Malcolm III. It is generally stated that the latter then "created" him Earl of Dunbar, in recompense for the lost earldom of Northumberland (cf. *Scots Peerage*, *loc. cit.*). But Dunbar, *i.e.* Lothian, was simply the northern half of the old earldom of Northumbria, which had been wrested in 1018 from Earl Edulf "Cutel" (the brother and successor of Earl Uctred) by King Malcolm II, Gospatric's great-grandfather on his father's side: and it may be suggested that Gospatric himself, instead of being granted Dunbar (Lothian) afresh after 1072, had merely inherited it from his father Maldred.<sup>117</sup> According to Hoveden, he died in 1074 and was buried at Norham (*Chron. Roger de Hovenden*, ed. Stubbs, vol. I, p. 59): and his second son Dolfin became lord of Cariisle, whilst his third son Waldeve (or

<sup>117</sup> Lothian was actually regained under William Rufus (cf. Moore, *Lands of the Scottish Kings in England*, pp. xi and 2), and probably continued to be ruled as part of Northumberland until the cession of the northern counties to Scotland in the reign of Stephen.

Waltheof) became lord of Allerdale.<sup>118</sup> (Both Allerdale and Carlisle were under Scottish rule until the conquest of Cumbria by William Rufus in 1092).

Meanwhile, his eldest son, Gospatric II, succeeded to the earldom of Dunbar: and, although neither the latter nor any of his descendants ever regained the earldom of Northumberland, Gospatric II subsequently received a charter of the Northumbrian barony of Beanley from Henry I, which, as we shall see, he had probably inherited from his wife's brother. King Henry's charter assured to him, as "[Earl] Gospatric brother of Dolfin," all the land [unspecified] previously held in chief by his (Gospatric's) "uncle" Edmund, who must have been a brother of Gospatric I. The charter further stipulated that the grantee was to have "the land of Winnoc", viz. Beanley with the appurtenant manors of Brandon, Branton, Titlington, Hedgley, and Harehope, co. Northumberland, "with all the men and goods which were on that land when the King gave the aforesaid manor to Hamo" (cf. *Priory of Hexham*, vol. I, p. xiii).<sup>119</sup> Other Northumbrian property is also mentioned in a second confirmation to the Earl issued in 1135-6 by King Stephen, which recites the terms of the earlier charter and adds that King Henry gave him, in addition, the service of Ligulf son of Uctred [of Ilderton] for Roddam, Horseley, and the three Middletons, as well as that of a certain Gospatric (doubtless a kinsman) for Long Witton, Nether Witton, Ritton, Stanton, and Windegate (*ibid.*).<sup>120</sup> King Stephen's charter (which, as has been said, recapitulates the earlier grant made by King Henry) is well known and has been several times reprinted (*vide Northumb. Co. Hist.*, vol. VII, pp. 30-1), since Beanley and its dependant manors (therein specified) represented the "baronia de Benelegh", which was held by the subsequent Earls of Dunbar in grand serjeanty of being "inborwe" and "outborwe" between the kingdoms of England and Scotland. This unusual

<sup>118</sup> Historians have invariably reversed the order of Gospatric's children, having been misled by the order in which they are mentioned by Symeon (*Symeon Dunelm.*, vol. II, pp. 199-200). But the confirmations issued to Gospatric II by Henry I and Stephen clearly show that the latter was his father's heir (*vide infra*, page 74),—which thus obviates the difficulty as to why Gospatric II should have inherited his father's earldom.

<sup>119</sup> Who Hamo was is unknown. He might possibly have been a son of Winnoc who died without issue, or else have gained a temporary interest in Beanley through marriage with Winnoc's widow.

<sup>120</sup> Part of these additional lands were held by knights' service; and Earl Gospatric III is recorded as having held six knights' fees in Northumberland in 1161 (*Pipe Roll*, 11 Henry II, p. 30).

and interesting service was that of acting as in-surety and out-surety for the peaceful intentions of all those passing across the Border, who had first to obtain the master of Beanley's permission to do so,—a position that corresponded closely to the later office of Lord Warden of the Marches. But the full significance of the grants issued by Kings Henry and Stephen to Gospatric II have not hitherto been realized. For the manors of Bewick and Eglingham, co. Northumb., which were held of the abbey of St. Albans, can be shown to have passed from Winnoc to Gospatric II and thence to his son Edgar (the husband of Alice de Grey-stoke); and there can be no doubt that this is the same Winnoc who preceded Gospatric II in the lordship of Beanley. A series of charters, preserved in the chartulary of Tynemouth priory (cf. *Northumb. Co. Hist.*, vol. VII, pp. 31-2), reveal that, soon after Henry I's accession in 1101, Winnoc made an agreement with Richard (d'Aubigny), Abbot of St. Albans, regarding his tenure of Bewick and Eglingham, which had previously been held under the abbey by a certain Arkil Morel: and a precisely similar agreement was afterwards made with the same Abbot Richard before 1119 by Gospatric II and his younger son Adam. Moreover, yet another agreement was made, 1119-46, between Gospatric II's son, Edgar, and Abbot Richard's successor, Abbot Geoffrey de Gorham. These various confirmations support the conclusion that Gospatric II became possessed of Bewick and Eglingham, as well as of the barony of Beanley, as successor to Winnoc; and very possibly Gospatric's wife, who was named Sybil (*Liber Vitae* [Surtees Soc.], p. 102; *Liber de Calchou* [Bannatyne Club], p. 234), was Winnoc's sister and heiress. Indeed, the contemporary case of Cumberland warns us of the danger of misconstruing Henry I's "grants" of baronies to native owners as grants *de novo*, instead of merely as confirmations of existing titles: and certainly in the instance of Beanley we must conclude that King Henry's charter did no more than *confirm* Gospatric's right to the barony upon Winnoc's death. It should also be observed that Winnoc was the successor at Bewick and Eglingham of Arkil Morel, who was doubtless his predecessor at Beanley also. Bewick and Eglingham are described as "the land of Arkil Morel" in the St. Albans charters, above quoted: and Arkil Morel himself can be none other than the personage of that name who was the lieutenant of Robert de Mowbray, the Norman Earl of North-

umberland, in his rebellion against William Rufus in 1095. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ed. Thorpe, vol. I, p. 360), Arkil Morel had been the "gossip" (foster brother) of King Malcolm III: but, despite his native descent, he could evidently boast a Norman grandfather *ex parte materna*, since Orderic expressly informs us that he was the "nephew" (presumably sister's son) of Earl Robert de Mowbray (*Ordericus Vitalis*, cols. 620, 623). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* adds that it was he who slew King Malcolm with an arrow beneath the walls of Alnwick castle during the Scottish invasion of 1093: and two years later (1095), when his master Earl Robert rebelled against Rufus, he and the Earl's wife, Maud, were besieged in the fortress of Bamburgh by the Red King's army. He is further described as being the Earl's steward, or *dapifer*: but after Earl Robert's death and the suppression of the rebellion he made his peace with Rufus, and became the means by which many of the Earl's followers were brought to justice (*Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, *ibid.*, p. 362). Orderic says that he died shortly afterwards, during a journey to the Continent (*Ordericus Vitalis*, cols. 624-5); whereupon Winnoc succeeded to his estates. It may not be too fantastic to suppose that Arkil Morel was the father of Winnoc, as well as of Sybil, the wife of Gospatric II, Earl of Dunbar.

This second Earl Gospatric, although a great subject both of the kings of Scotland and of England, left comparatively little impress on the history of his time. He supported his cousin King David of Scotland in the wars of the reign of Stephen, and was slain at the battle of the Standard, 23 August 1138 (Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1027). Two of his sisters made alliances that deserve mention, viz., Gunnilda, who married Orm son of Ketel, lord of Workington, co. Cumb. (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 384); and Ethreda, who married her kinsman Duncan II, King of Scots, and was the mother of the well known William fitz Duncan, lord of Coupland and Skipton. For from Gunnilda and her husband, Orm, descended the ancient family of Curwen, whose representative is still the owner of Workington Hall; while Ethreda was the ancestress, in the female line, of the powerful Cumbrian houses of Lucy and Dacre. Christian de Dacre, the great-great-great-granddaughter of Ethreda's son and heir, William fitz Duncan, became the wife of John de Washington of

Warton, younger son of Robert de Washington and Joan de Strickland; and this Christian's mother, Isabel wife of Sir Edmund de Dacre, was a direct descendant of Earl Gospatric II's niece, Uctreda of Dunbar, by the latter's first marriage with Ranulf de Lindsay (cf. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XCVI, pp. 93-4).<sup>121</sup>

But we must pass on to Earl Gospatric II's son, Edgar. He was apparently the second child of Gospatric and Sybil (being thus next brother to the heir, Gospatric III, who succeeded as Earl of Dunbar at his father's death in 1138), and inherited a considerable share of his family's Northumbrian estates, including the manors of Bewick and Eglingham (see page 74).<sup>122</sup> Moreover, his marriage to Alice de Greystoke, already described, still further increased his possessions. He is frequently mentioned in the annals of the day, and on account of his bravery in battle received the nickname of *Unnithing*, "the dauntless" (cf. *Newminster Chartul.* [Surtees Soc.], p. 301; and *Pipe Roll*, 20 Henry II, p. 107). Richard of Hexham calls him *nothus* ("bastard"): but this must have been merely an opprobrious term, for Edgar was certainly not illegitimate,<sup>123</sup> and Richard of Hexham clearly had reason to dislike him, since he goes on to say that during the Scottish invasion of 1138 Edgar and other "miscreants" plundered certain villis in Northumberland belonging to Hexham priory (*vide Priory of Hexham*, vol. I, p. 95). To one of Edgar's charters to Tynemouth a very fine impression of his seal is attached, the device consisting of a winged monster with a lion's head reversed and griffin's paws, and the legend: *Hoc est sigillum Edgari filii Gospatricii Comitis* (see Gibson, *Mon. of Tynemouth*, vol. I, p. 50). Edgar joined with King William the Lion and the other northern magnates in the revolt of the "young Henry" (afterwards Henry III) against Henry II in 1174, and forfeited all his paternal possessions (Bewick, Eglingham, etc.) as a consequence (*Abbrev. Placit.* [Rec. Com.], pp. 67-8; *Curia Regis Rolls*, 11 John, no. 21, m. 9 d.; *Northumb. Co. Hist.*, vol. VII, p. 39). But the lands of his wife Alice de Greystoke,—Caistron, Flotterton, Ulnetby, etc.,—were retained and inherited in turn by his sons Alexander and Gospatric; while the property

<sup>121</sup> Uctreda's second husband was William de Esseby, for whom see page 73.

<sup>122</sup> He was also given the three Middletons, Horsley, etc.

<sup>123</sup> In John of Hexham's chronicle he is simply described as *filius Comitis* (*Priory of Hexham*, vol. I, p. 121).

at Yanwath was settled, as has been mentioned, upon his daughter Agnes and her husband Anselm le Fleming.

Edgar and Alice's second son, Gospatric (or Patric), became his parent's eventual heir, and was father of a son, John, who assumed the surname of "de Kestern," *i.e.* Caistron, from his possession of the (Greystoke) manor of Caistron, on the river Coquet above Rothbury (*Northumb. Co. Hist.*, vol. XV, pp. 390–2). The latter's son and grandson, John II and John III de Caistron, granted Caistron about the middle of the thirteenth century to the abbey of Newminster (*ibid.*).<sup>124</sup> The third John de Caistron appears to have married Agnes, one of the sisters and co-heirs of Ranulf de Haughton (of Haughton, co. Northumb.), and to have left an only daughter and heiress, Joan de Dunbar, *alias* de Caistron, who carried the remaining Greystoke manors (Trehitt, Great and Little Tosson, and Flotterton) in marriage to Richard de Chartenay of Hepple (*Northumb. and Durham Deeds* [Newcastle Rec. Soc.], pp. 169–70, and 245; *Northumb. Co. Hist.*, vol. XV, pp. 382, 396–7, 399, and 404). From Edgar's elder brother, Gospatric III, descended the subsequent Earls of Dunbar, lords of Beanley, who, both as the holders of vast estates and as a branch of the old royal line, continued to rank as the greatest family in Scotland until the fifteenth century, when their power was finally undermined by the rise of the house of Douglas.

And so we may leave the Stricklands,—already established by the beginning of the fourteenth century as knights of influence and repute, and as lords of the fair inheritance of Sizergh. Starting out without possessions or patrimony, as scions of a junior branch of the Norman family of Vaux, in that wild territory of Gilsland in northeast Cumberland, they had first acquired Great Strickland (from which they took their surname) and then added possessions at Melcanthorpe, Yanwath, and Lowther, with other lands—Sizergh, Natland, Heversham, and Carnforth—in the rich country round Kendal to the southwest. Along with this gradual aggregation of property had come alliances with the descendants of the original feoffees of William de Lancaster and Hugh de Morville. Sir Walter de Strickland of Sizergh—the head of the house *temp.* Edward II—

<sup>124</sup> Shortly after 1154, John III de "Kestern" quitclaimed the service of William de Somerville in Ulnetby (in Coniscliffe, co. Durham) to the overlord, William son of Thomas de Greystoke (*Newminster Chartul.* [Surtees Soc.], p. 147).

boasted the blood of the d'Eyncourts, Flemings, Thursbys, Genellestanes, Cotesfords, Staintons, Stutevilles, and Grey-stokes; while, more remotely, as we have seen, he could claim descent from the old lords of the district,—Earl Gospatric, Maldred, and Earl Uctred. Sir Walter was the direct ancestor of the existing house of Strickland of Sizergh and, through a sixteenth century marriage, of Edward Carleton, the founder of Rowley, Massachusetts: and from his only sister Joan, whom he endowed with the estate of Carnforth in Warton and other property near Kendal, descended the Washingtons of Carnforth and Tewitfield in the parish of Warton, Lancs., where Lawrence Washington, the grantee of Sulgrave Manor, Northants., was born some two centuries later.

It is often stated that not a family in England, with one or two recognized exceptions, derives in the male line from an ancestor named in Doomsday Book. This is contradicted by the history of the Stricklands, who descend, as there seems good reason to believe, from Robert de Vaux, the Doomsday lord of Pentney. Nor must it be forgotten that the present owner of Sizergh Castle is the lineal heir of Gervase d'Eyncourt, the original feoffee in the twelfth century, and that the Stricklands themselves have lived there uninterruptedly for seven hundred years.

THE END

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