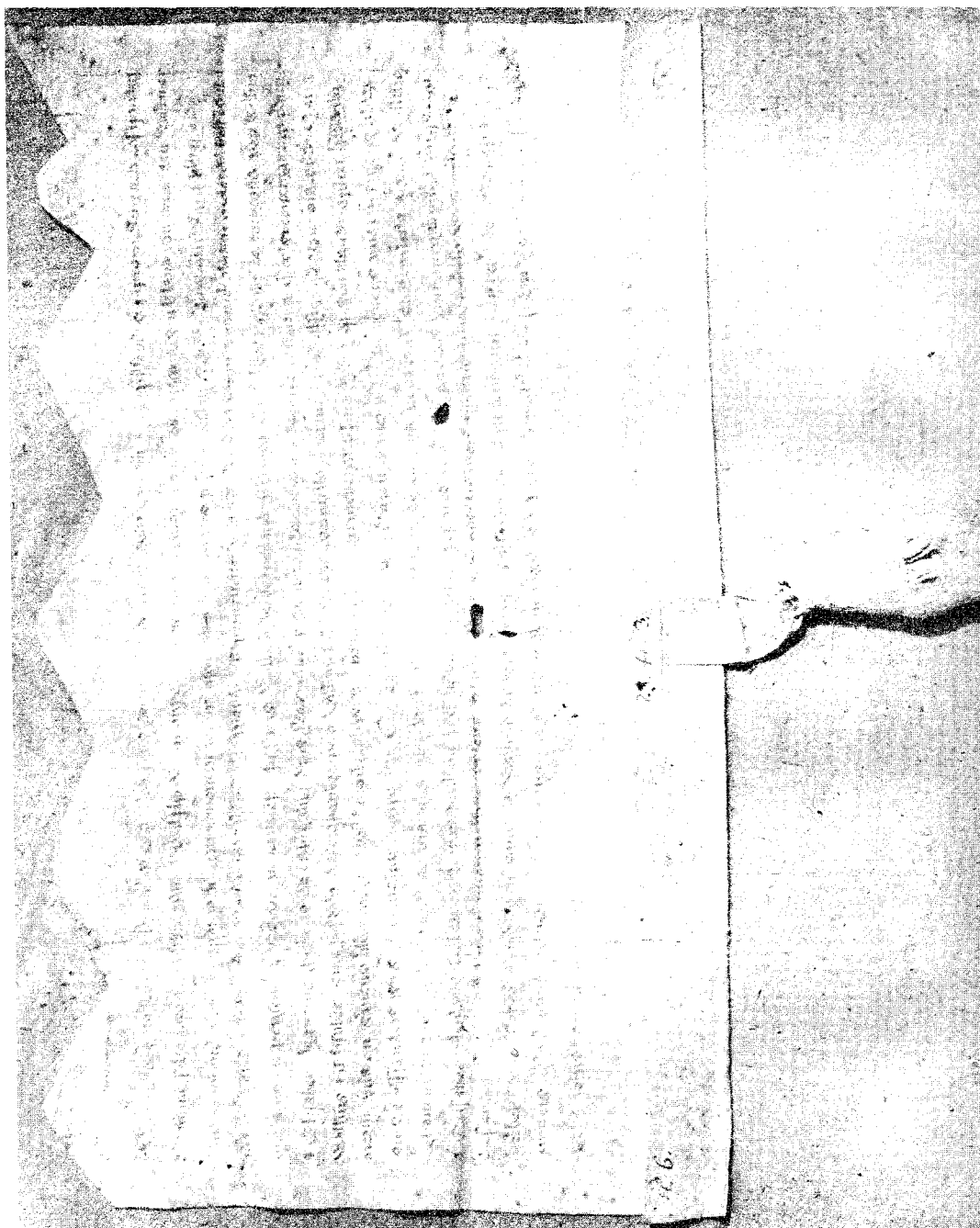


THE EARLY HISTORY
OF THE STRICKLANDS
OF SIZERGH



MARRIAGE SETTLEMENT OF WILLIAM DE STRICKLAND AND ELIZABETH D'EYNCOURT, 1239.

From the original at Sizergh Castle.

The
EARLY HISTORY
of the
STRICKLANDS
OF SIZERGH

*Together with some account of the allied families
of d'Eyncourt, Fleming, Greystoke, and Dunbar*

By S. H. LEE WASHINGTON, M.A.

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To H. L. K. and A. N. K.

Ὅποῦ ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν ἌΝΔΡΕΣ,
... ἐνταῦθα τείχη καὶ πόλεις.
—ARISTIDES

“Genealogical enquiries and local topography, so far from being unworthy the attention of the philosophical enquirer, are amongst the best materials which he can use; and the fortunes and changes of one family, or the events of one upland township, may explain the darkest and most dubious portions of the annals of a realm.”

—SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE

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FOREWORD

By G. ANDREWS MORIARTY, F.S.A.

The following study by a very able Anglo-American historian and antiquary upon the early generations of the ancient Westmorland house of Strickland of Sizergh is of more than passing interest to both American and English readers. The Stricklands are one of the comparatively few English families still flourishing in their ancestral home which possess a proved pedigree reaching back into the twelfth century. Their present seat, Sizergh Castle, came into their possession in the thirteenth century by the marriage of the heiress of d'Eyncourt of Sizergh with a Strickland, and their muniment room contains charters and other family documents dating from the twelfth century. Such families are rare in the England of the twentieth century. To Americans the story of their origin has an absorbing interest. Not only were the Virginia Washingtons, the ancestors of the great George, directly descended from the earlier members of the house, but Edward Carleton, the early settler of Rowley, Mass., as has been shown by Professor Hazen, was a great-grand-

son of Walter Strickland of Sizergh (died in 1569), the head of the house in the middle of the sixteenth century (*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, January 1939).

No less than four accounts of the family are in print, the latest and best being that of Mr. Horn-yold-Strickland, who married a daughter of the late Lord Strickland and resides at Sizergh. Mr. Horn-yold-Strickland's excellent account of the family is based largely upon the rich collections of charters in the muniment room at Sizergh, and he has cleared up several obscure points in the long descent in his critical history of the family. However, his book does not show sufficient research, especially as regards the earlier generations, in the public records, with the result that the descent in the early thirteenth century is a bit uncertain and not as fully proven as one could wish. This is especially true of the parentage of the William Strickland who in 1239 married Elizabeth d'Eyncourt, the heiress of Sizergh, and brought Sizergh to the Stricklands. This point has now happily been cleared up by Mr. Washington, who also shows the probability of the Stricklands being sprung from a cadet of the great Norman house of Vaux, so prominent in the North in the twelfth century. It may be of interest to readers to know that these points were also consid-

ered by the writer of this foreword and that, quite independently of Mr. Washington, he arrived at identical conclusions with him both as to the parentage of William of Sizergh and also as to the descent of the family from that of Vaux. In addition to these discoveries in which Mr. Washington and I are agreed the former has, thanks to his opportunity to examine the documents contained in the local muniment rooms of Cumberland and Westmorland, discovered for the first time the maiden name of Christian, the wife of Sir Walter de Strickland, first of the name (died 1236-1239), the son of Adam de Castle Carrock, the first *proved* ancestor of the family, and who was undoubtedly a cadet of the Vaux family. This discovery of Mr. Washington has disproved the conjectures of previous writers that Christian was the daughter of the Westmorland magnate Gilbert fitz Renfrid, ancestor of the baronial house of de Lancaster. In addition to this, Mr. Washington has discovered much new material regarding the other wives of early members of the Strickland family, has also corrected the question of the eldest son of the house at the end of the thirteenth century, and has added much new information regarding the early cadets of the house and the descent of the Washingtons from the Stricklands.

Mr. Washington has also made some new and

startling discoveries regarding the descent of the d'Eyncourts, correcting the erroneous descent of that family printed by the late Rev. F. W. Ragg in the Cumberland and Westmorland A. & A. Society Transactions (*Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. & Arch. Soc. Trans.*, New Series, vol. XVI, p. 168). Among other things, he has shown that Elizabeth d'Eyncourt descended maternally from the great house of Dunbar, cadets of the Scottish kings, and from the Uchtred, Earldorman of Northumberland and his third wife Aelfgifu, daughter of King Aethelred the Unready.

PREFACE

Despite their remarkable pedigree and their Transatlantic connections, it is only with hesitation that I am venturing to present a fresh study of the Stricklands' family origins. The Stricklands of Sizergh have already received more than their due share of scholarly attention; and my chief excuse is that local historians have perforce neglected the resources of the London Public Record Office, on account of the extraordinarily rich collection of family archives which is preserved at Sizergh Castle. I thus hope that my own researches amongst the Plea Rolls and other unpublished sources at the Record Office may serve to open up a new vein of hitherto untapped material; since, despite the existing information, there is much in the early generations that has remained obscure, whilst the descent of the original lords of Sizergh — the d'Eyncourts — has never so far been properly investigated. In addition, I have at various times enjoyed access to the Sizergh muniments (not all of which have been previously made use of), as well as to the great mass of private charters and evidences at Levens Hall, Rydal Hall, and Lowther Castle. In the first half of this study an at-

tempt will therefore be made to contribute some account of the history of the Stricklands of Sizergh prior to the accession of Edward III: and the second section will be devoted to the origin of Elizabeth d'Eyncourt, the heiress who brought Sizergh in marriage to Sir William de Strickland in the thirteenth century, and who traced descent not only from the Flemings of Aldingham (who, as will be shown, were probably cadets of the barons of Wahull) and from such illustrious feudal houses as Greystoke and Stuteville, but even from the great Earl Gospatric (the progenitor of the Earls of Dunbar), who was overlord of all Westmorland after the Norman Conquest. Important new light is also shed on the early pedigree of the lords of Greystoke, and on the Earls of Dunbar and their connection with the barony of Beanley.

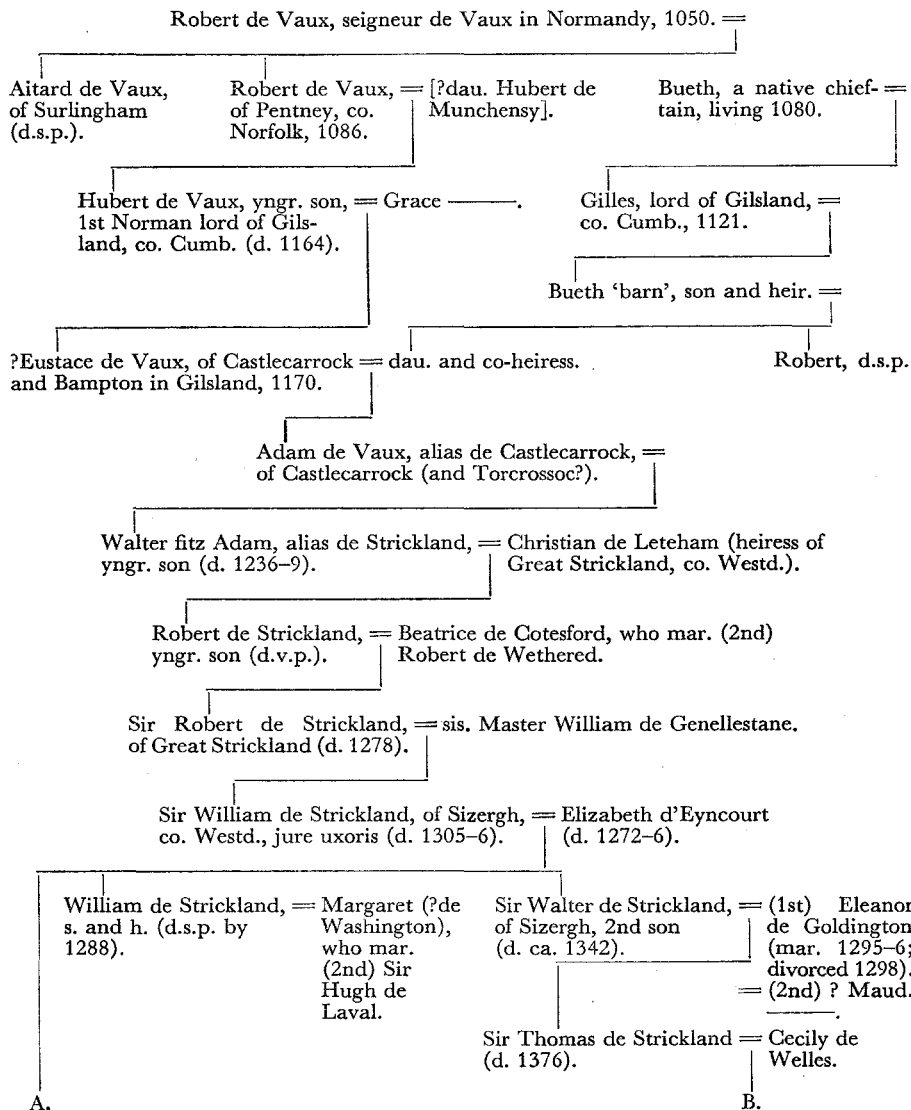
Most of the present study has already appeared in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for April and October, 1942, and in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, New Series, volume XLII. I wish to record my indebtedness to the following for their advice and unfailing kindness in forwarding my researches: the late Lord Strickland, Mr. Henry Hornyold-Strickland, Mr. W. T. McIntire, Mr. Harold Clarke Durrell, the late Mr. John F. Curwen,

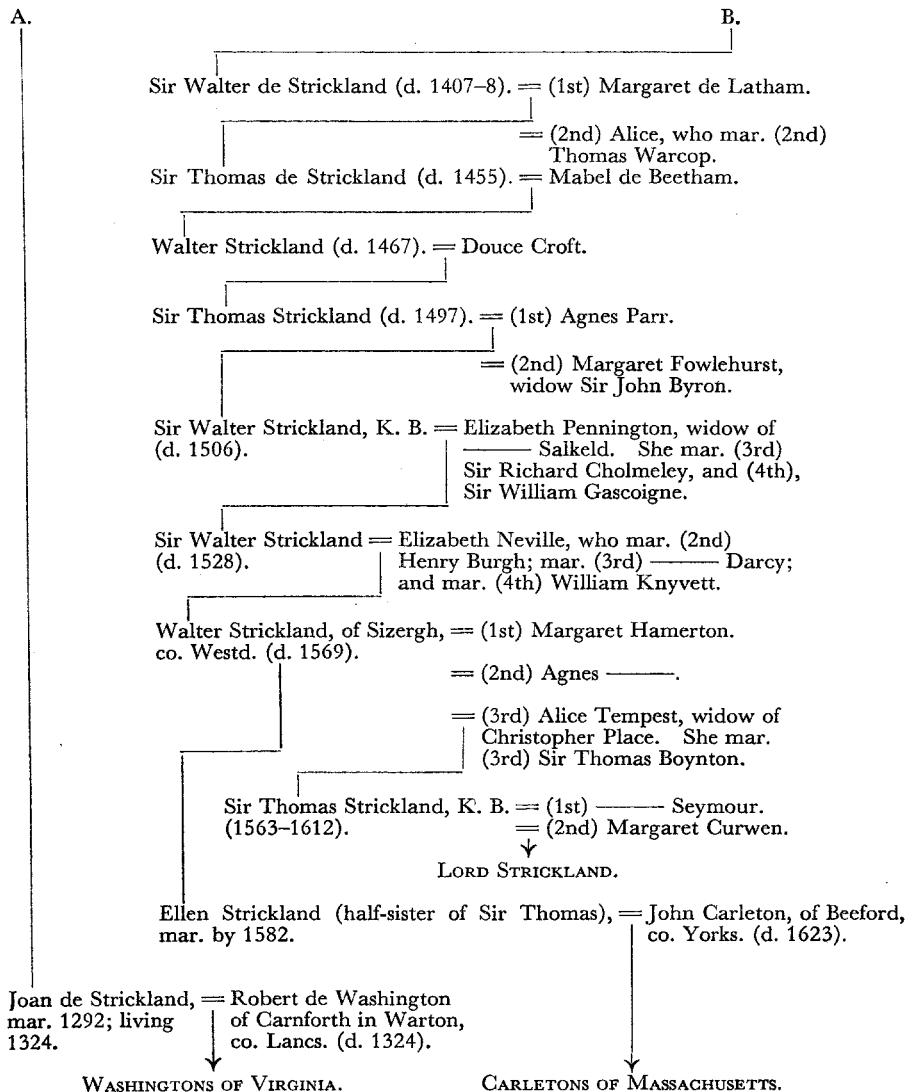
the late Mr. M. G. Hughes Le Fleming, Col. Anthony Lowther and the Trustees of the Lowther Estates, and the late Col. John Parker. My special gratitude is also due to Mr. G. Andrews Moriarty for writing the Foreword and for placing his great knowledge of feudal genealogy at my disposal.

S. H. L. W.

Harvard University
October 23, 1942

THE CONNECTION OF THE FAMILIES OF STRICKLAND, WASHINGTON, AND CARLETON





PART I

PART I

THE STRICKLANDS

THE history of the time-honoured English house of Strickland of Sizergh is one of very special interest; for not only do the Stricklands still boast a male representative, but Sizergh, co. Westmorland, which they acquired by marriage with a d'Eyncourt heiress in the thirteenth century, continues to this day to be the seat of the family of the late Lord Strickland, Count della Catena, a former Governor of New South Wales. Since the time of Simon de Montfort, Sizergh has known no other masters than the Stricklands themselves, whose shield quartered with d'Eyncourt still adorns the grey pele tower of Sizergh Castle, with its view westward to the North Sea and northward across the dales of Kendal towards the blue mountains of Ullswater. Moreover, through intermarriage with the Washingtons and the Carletons, the Stricklands were forbears alike of the Washingtons of Virginia and the Carletons of Rowley, Massachusetts (cf. Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1940 edition, pp. 2959–2963; also Prof. Tracy Elliot Hazen's article, "The English Ancestry of Edward Carlton of Rowley, Mass.," in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for January 1939):¹ and we may well pause at the fact of a great English family numbering such diverse descendants as a nobleman who was both a peer of Great Britain and a Count of Malta, the Puritan Edward Carleton of New England, and George Washington, the First President of the United States! Another descendant was Queen Katherine Parr, the last wife of Henry VIII: while it was Queen Kath-

¹ Curiously enough, the Stricklands were omitted from all the Visitations: and the first coherent account of them is that contained in Nicolson and Burn's *History of Westmorland and Cumberland* (1777), vol. I, pp. 87 *et seq.*, which is based almost entirely on the MS. pedigree and abstracts of Sizergh documents prepared *circa* 1770, at the request of Mrs. Cecilia Strickland, by the Rev. Thomas West, S.J. In 1887 an elaborate article, entitled "Genealogy of the Stricklands of Sizergh," was contributed by Edward Bellasis, of the College of Arms, to the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, Old Series, vol. X, pp. 75 *et seq.* More recently, two separate publications dealing in detail with the family descent have appeared elsewhere, viz., Daniel Scott's *The Stricklands of Sizergh Castle* (1908), and H. Hornyold-Strickland's *Strickland of Sizergh* (1928). Plantagenet-Harrison's *History of Yorkshire* (1878) includes a partial genealogy (*ibid.*, p. 375), which, like the other products of its learned but misguided author, is a curious blend of fact and fiction: and shorter references will also be found in Archdeacon Prescott's *Register of the Priory of Wetherhal* (1897) and in Canon Wilson's *Register of the Priory of St. Bees* (Surtees Society, 1915).

erine's uncle, Sir William Parr, the "cheif ruler of alle the said country," that so "greatly alyed and befrendyd" his young kinsman Lawrence Washington, who subsequently as Sir William's Agent removed south to Northamptonshire, where he made a fortune and acquired Sulgrave Manor (cf. S. H. Lee Washington, "The Washingtons of Sulgrave," in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica* for March 1937). This Lawrence Washington was actually born at Warton, eight miles southwest of Sizergh, on lands that had descended to the Washingtons from their Strickland ancestors.

Like Thackeray's hero, that dashing adventurer Redmond Barry, who attained fame and fortune by winning the hand of the Countess of Lyndon, the founder of the Stricklands owed his success, and even his name, to a lucky alliance. For, three generations before the marriage of Sir William de Strickland with Elizabeth d'Eyncourt, the heiress of Sizergh, a certain Walter fitz Adam, a "landless knight", married Christian, the heiress of the manor of Great Strickland near Appleby, co. Westmorland, and upon becoming possessed of his wife's inheritance adopted "Strickland" as a surname, by which his posterity have ever since been known.² This Walter fitz Adam, though without property, was, however—like Redmond Barry—not without birth; since there can be no question that he was a younger son of Adam, lord of Castlecarrack in Gilsland, co. Cumberland, close to the Scottish Border. For Adam's eldest son and successor, Robert of Castlecarrack, is called "brother" of Walter fitz Adam, *alias* de Strickland, in the latter's charter to the monks of Wetheral (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 327); which disposes of the absurd legend, fostered by Agnes Strickland, the historian, that the Stricklands derived from an imaginary Sir Adam "Stryke-land", so-called from being the first Norman to reach the English shore at the time of William the Conqueror's invasion of 1066!

Such an indentification of Walter's parentage leads to a still more interesting possibility; since there seems a reasonable presumption that Adam's father was none other than Eustace de Vaux, who had been enfeoffed of Castlecarrack *circa* 1160 by Hubert de Vaux, baron of Gilsland,—in which case the Stricklands themselves can claim direct male descent from Robert de Vaux, the Domesday tenant of Pentney under Roger Bigod.

² Scott, *Stricklands of Sizergh Castle*, p. 10. See a Final Concord of 1208, quoted *infra*, p. 26.

The family of Vaux derived their surname from the *terram et feodum de Vallibus* in Normandy, which King John, on 14 July 1199, confirmed to the abbey of St. Jean de Falaise (*Rot. Chart.* [Record Com.], p. 5). Robert de Vaux (of Pentney) and Aitard de Vaux (of Surlingham), who were apparently brothers and sons of Robert, seigneur de Vaux, living 1050, appear in the Domesday Survey as holding of the fee of Bigod extensive lands in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. In 1246 Maud, daughter and heiress of the last Hubert de Vaux of Gilsland, claimed Aitard de Vaux as her "ancestor" (Assize Roll, Norfolk and Suffolk, no. 818, *m.* 19 *d.*); but he was presumably only a collateral progenitor, since the direct descent was unquestionably from his brother, Robert de Vaux of Pentney (see R. S. Ferguson, "The Barony of Gilsland and its Owners," in *Transactions of the Cumb. and Westd. Antiq. Soc.*, Old Series, vol. IV, pp. 446 *et seq.*). This Robert also held in Suffolk of the fee of William "de Ecohies" (from Écouis, near Les Andelys), and in 1086 gave part of his tithes of Bernières in Normandy to St. Évrout. He left issue four sons (cp. R. S. Ferguson, *ibid.*): (1) Robert, the founder of Pentney priory and a benefactor of the monks of Castle Acre, Norfolk (Dugdale, *Monasticon* [1st edit.], vol. I, p. 628b; *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 19). He rendered the sum of £4 6s. 8d. in 1131 for having the inheritance of his wife (Agnes) at "Hocton" [Houghton], co. Norfolk (*Pipe Roll*, 31 Henry I [Rec. Com.], p. 92); (2) Robert, surnamed *pinguis* ("the fat"); (3) Gilbert; (4) Hubert, afterwards the 1st Norman lord of Gilsland. A fifth son, called Ranulf de Vaux, is traditionally stated to have been enfeoffed by Ranulf "le Meschin," lord of Carlisle and subsequently Earl of Chester, of the three Cumberland townships of Castle Sowerby, Upperby, and Carlatton (Wilson, *St. Bees* [Surtees Soc.], p. 492). But the second Robert de Vaux (the founder of Pentney), in his charter to Castle Acre, gives the names of his brothers as Robert *pinguis*, Gilbert, and Hubert, without any mention of Ranulf (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. I, p. 628b): and not improbably there is simply a confusion here with Hubert de Vaux's younger son, Ranulf (afterwards 3rd lord of Gilsland)—especially as Hubert's eldest son, Robert (2nd lord of Gilsland), was undoubtedly in possession of Castle Sowerby in 1186. Hubert de Vaux himself was at the Court of the Empress Maud before the accession of Henry II (Round, *Cal. Docs. Preserved in France*, pp. 72, 208), and received the barony of Gilsland, co. Cumb., from the latter monarch in

November 1158 (*Victoria County History of Cumberland*, vol. I, p. 306). The story that he and his brother Robert [Robert *pinguis*?] had been in possession respectively of Gilsland and Dalton some thirty years earlier, as feoffees of Earl Ranulf "le Meschin" (Wilson, *St. Bees*, p. 492), is probably apochryphal. Hubert died in 1165, leaving by Grace, his wife, at least two sons:—Robert, who *d. s.p.* in 1195, and Ranulf, who became his brother's successor and from whom the later lords of Gilsland derived (see G. E. C.'s *Complete Peerage* [ed. Gibbs], vol. IX, p. 397). Very likely Eustace de Vaux, who held Castlecarrock and Hayton of the fee of Gilsland (Denton, *Accompt*, pp. 103, 139), was a third son of Hubert: he, at all events, must have been a near relative. Incidentally, it is interesting to observe that the Vauxes of Gilsland continued to maintain their East Anglian associations, despite their acquisition of a Cumbrian barony; since Hubert II de Vaux (died 1234) was in possession of Surlingham, co. Norfolk, and Denham, co. Suffolk, both of which had belonged to Aitard de Vaux in 1086 (Assize Roll, Norfolk and Suffolk, no. 818, *m.* 19 d.). The christian name "Hubert" perhaps points to some ancestral connection of the Vauxes in East Anglia with the neighbouring families of Walter and Munchensy. Archbishop Hubert Walter was the guardian of Robert son of Ranulf de Vaux (grandson of the first Hubert of Gilsland) in 1199 (*Pipe Roll*, I John [1199–1200]); and *circa* 1150 Hubert III de Munchensy confirmed to William de Vaux land in Stratford, co. Essex, which the latter's father, William de Vaux, Senior, had formerly held (*Cal. Ancient Deeds*, C. 2421). The original Hubert de Munchensy was a tenant-in-chief in East Anglia at the time of Domesday Book. Eustace de Vaux is duly mentioned by Mr. Hornyold-Strickland (*op. cit.*, p. 6), who does not, however, definitely affiliate him to Adam of Castlecarrock; but that the christian name "Adam" was in use amongst the Vauxes at this period is evidenced by the occurrence of an Adam de Vaux as mesne-lord of Torcrossoc in Gilsland *circa* 1200.³

³ It seems not altogether impossible that this Adam de Vaux and Adam of Castlecarrock were identical. Nothing is known of Adam de Vaux's connection with Torcrossoc, beyond the statement of Denton (*Accompt*, p. 163) that he alienated the property to Robert son of William [de Corby], by a charter issued in the presence of Archbishop Hubert Walter and Robert de "Vallibus" (evidently Robert, son of Ranulf de Vaux of Gilsland). The names of these two witnesses date the charter itself as having been granted between 1199 and 1205.

It should also be observed that the Strickland arms, *Sable three escallops silver*, as well as their ancient crest of a holly tree, closely resemble the crest and arms borne by the Dacres of Gilsland, the Vauxes' heirs-general.⁴ Moreover, if this view of Adam of Castlecarrock's parentage be accepted (and there can be no question that, at least territorially speaking, he was Eustace de Vaux's successor), an equally noteworthy descent would be involved on the maternal side: since, according to the antiquary Denton,⁵ Eustace had married one of the two sisters and co-heiresses of Robert son of Bueth, who was the last direct male descendant of a native chieftain, Gilles son of Bueth, the original owner of Gilsland (Gilles-land) in the days of Henry I. Eustace de Vaux's posterity could thus boast the blood of both the native and the Norman lords of Gilsland—a circumstance made more romantic by the fact that a fierce rivalry long existed between them (cf. *Victoria County History of Cumberland*, vol. I, pp. 306, 310). Gilles son of Bueth only actually occurs twice in contemporary records—first, amongst the *judices Cumbrenses* who officiated at David of Scotland's inquest concerning the lands of the See of Glasgow circa 1124 (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 46), and, second, as a witness to the perambulation of the bounds of Stobo, co. Galloway, circa 1150 (*Scottish Antiquary*, vol. XVII, pp. 105–11). There are other indications, however, that he and his family long remained a thorn in the side of the Norman invaders (*Victoria County History of Cumberland*, loc. cit.; *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, Old Series, vol. IV, p. 450). By one means or another, he himself seems to have retained possession of Gilsland right up till the date of Henry II's recovery of the northern counties from Scottish domination in 1156: and, though his death is expressly referred to in Henry's transfer of Gilsland to Hubert de Vaux two years later, his son, Bueth *barn* (i.e. "the younger"), and grandson, Robert son of Bueth, evidently made desperate attempts to recover their

⁴ In the Parliamentary Roll of Arms, of circa 1310–15, it is recorded that "Sire Wauter de Striklande" bore "de argent a ij barres e un quarter de goulles," which evidently represent a newer and alternative coat based on that of the de Lancasters, lords of Kendal, of whom the manor of Great Strickland was held (cf. the parallel instance of the d'Eyncourts, cited in footnote no. 75). The de Lancaster arms were *Silver two bars gules, on a canton gules a leopard guardant or*, and derived, like those of Multon, from William fitz Duncan, lord of Coupland (see S. H. Lee Washington, "The Arms of the de Lancasters, Lords of Kendal," in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XCVI, pp. 93–4).

⁵ *Accompt*, pp. 195–6.

lost inheritance (cf. *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, New Series, vol. XXVI, pp. 285 *et seq.*). This last mentioned Robert son of Bueth was an adherent of King William the Lion of Scotland in his invasion of England in 1174, but in 1177 procured a pardon from the English Crown on payment of a fine (*Pipe Roll*). He appears to have died without issue, and to have left two sisters as his co-heirs (cf. Denton, *Accompt*, pp. 103, 195–6), married respectively to Eustace de Vaux of Castlecarrock and to Robert son of Asketill of Over Denton. (The latter's son, John de Denton, confirmed in 1214 to the monks of Wetheral a gift previously made to them by "Robert son of Bueth, my uncle").

The outstanding problem in the early Strickland pedigree, however, is not so much the descent of Walter de Strickland (the son of Adam de Castlecarrock) as that of his wife Christian, about whose origin nothing definite has ever been ascertained, beyond the fact that, as already stated, she was actually the heiress of the manor of Great Strickland, co. Westmorland, from which the family surname was derived. Two rival theories as to Christian's identity have, it is true, long held the field: but neither of them appears to rest on a sufficiently substantial foundation.

Thus, theory number one is based on the circumstance that Great Strickland itself, although situated in the parish of Morland a few miles from Appleby, was a "member" not of the barony of Appleby but of the barony of Kendal, being held by the service of one-fourth of a knight's fee: ⁶ and hence it has been argued that Christian was a sister of the contemporary baron of Kendal, Gilbert fitz Renfrid, and that she received the manor of Great Strickland as her *maritagium* (Hornyold-Strickland, *Strick-*

⁶ *Cal. Inqs.*, vol. VIII, p. 202; *ibid.*, vol. X, pp. 467–8; and see footnotes nos. 18 and 68. From the middle of the twelfth century onwards, Westmorland (the northern half of which had been wrested from the Scots, along with Cumberland, by King William Rufus in 1092) was divided into two great fiefs: (a) the barony of Appleby (the northern portion, originally known as "Westmarieland" and included in ancient Cumbria), which passed from Hugh de Morville to his descendants, the Vieuxponts (de Veteripontes) and Cliffords; and (b) the barony of Kendal (the southern portion, originally called "Kenddale" and included in Yorkshire), which, after being for a short time in the hands of Ivo Taillebois, *circa* 1092–97, was granted to the Mowbrays, who enfeoffed a knight of native descent named William de Lancaster (see footnote no. 8; also S. H. Lee Washington, "The Arms of the de Lancasters, Lords of Kendal," in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XCVI, pp. 93–4). This William's granddaughter and heiress, Helewise, married Gilbert fitz Renfrid (son of Henry II's *dapifer*, Roger fitz Renfrid), who became 3rd lord of Kendal *jure uxoris*, and was endowed with full baronial status throughout his domains by King Richard I in 1189.

land of Sizergh, pp. 10–12).⁷ This hypothesis, however, appears entirely inadmissible. For, quite apart from there being no vestige of proof of any such relationship between Christian and Gilbert, we must remember that Gilbert's own title to the barony of Kendal was merely derived through his marriage to Helewise de Lancaster, so that he would be unlikely to enfeoff his sister and her descendants of land which he himself could only claim to hold *jure uxoris*.⁸

⁷ It seems worthwhile to point out that Mr. Hornyold-Strickland, in his remarks upon the early history of Great Strickland (*op. cit.*, p. 15), has been misled into confusing it with the manor of Strickland in south Westmorland, which was afterwards represented by the two townships of Strickland Roger and Strickland Ketel. Worse still, he has identified a native thegn called Gillemichael, who is mentioned in Domesday as having held this same manor of Strickland under Edward the Confessor, with the Gilles son of Bueth who was lord of Gilsland *circa* 1150 (*ibid.*, p. 4). The latter statement has since found its way into Burke's *Peerage* and other publications, although Gilles and Gillemichael not only lived in different centuries but were wholly unconnected with each other! Moreover, Great Strickland near Appleby (*i.e.* in north Westmorland)—with which we are concerned in the present study—is not even so much as mentioned in the Domesday Survey, being at that period part of the district of Cumbria which was still under the control of the Scottish kings.

⁸ Helewise was the daughter and heiress of the second William de Lancaster, lord of Kendal (died 1184), and granddaughter of the first William de Lancaster (who died 1170). Mr. Hornyold-Strickland devotes considerable space to the ancestry of Helewise's husband, Gilbert fitz Renfrid, whom he represents (*op. cit.*, pp. 2–3) as son of Roger fitz Renfrid by Rohese, widow of Gilbert de Gant, Earl of Lincoln, and daughter and heiress of William de "Romare," Earl of Lincoln, son of Roger fitz Gerald (de "Romare") by Lucy, daughter and heiress of Ivo de [sic] Taillebois by Lucy, sister of Earls Edwin and Morcar and granddaughter of no less a personage than the celebrated Lady Godiva. The real object of this pedigree—apart from the splendour of the actual descent involved—is apparently to affiliate Gilbert fitz Renfrid, the alleged brother of Christian wife of Walter de Strickland, with Ivo Taillebois [his surname of "Taillebois" was not territorial, but simply a nickname], who is known to have received a grant of the manor of Strickland *circa* 1092. Unfortunately, however, it can be demonstrated that Ivo's estate was not Great Strickland near Appleby, but the south Westmorland Strickland previously owned by Gillemichael (see footnote no. 6); and, moreover, Gilbert fitz Renfrid was not even descended from Ivo Taillebois at all. Indeed, the actual marriage of his father, Roger fitz Renfrid, with Earl Gilbert de Gant's widow, Rohese, has still to be established: and, apart from that, it has long ago been proved that Rohese, so far from being the daughter of William de Roumare, Earl of Lincoln, was in reality the daughter of the latter's maternal cousin, Richard de Clare. True, in either case she would have derived from Lucy, the wife of Ivo Taillebois and the grandchild (as Mr. Hornyold-Strickland has it) of the immortal Maid of Coventry (*vide infra*). But it can be shown that Lucy and Ivo's marriage was childless and, furthermore, that there were not two Lucys (mother and daughter) but only one (cf. G. E. C.'s *Complete Peerage* [ed. Gibbs], vol. IX). In other words, Lucy herself was married thrice: first to Ivo Taillebois (by whom she had no issue), secondly to Roger fitz Gerald (by whom she became the mother of William de Roumare, Earl of Lincoln), and thirdly to Ranulf "le Meschin," Earl of Chester (by whom she left *inter alia* a daughter, Alice, wife of Richard de Clare and mother of the Rohese who espoused Earl Gilbert de Gant). Not the least astounding feature of Mr. Hornyold-Strickland's pedigree is the resurrection of the long-exploded theory which places Lucy as the sister of Earls Edwin and Morcar. On the contrary, nothing whatever can be proved about Lucy's parentage except that she was, maternally, the niece of Robert Malet of Eye. After a prolonged study of the question, however, the present writer has become convinced of the soundness of the hypothesis which identifies her father with Turolde the Sheriff (of Lincoln). But Turolde's own origin and ancestry remain wrapped in mystery; and certainly neither he nor Robert Malet could boast the faintest relationship to Lady Godiva!

In all this I do not mean to cavil unduly at Mr. Hornyold-Strickland's statements, my principal aim being merely to demonstrate once and for all that Gilbert fitz Renfrid was not a descendant of Ivo Taillebois and that Ivo himself was totally unconnected with the manor of Great Strickland.

The second, and rival, theory,—which was originally propounded by the late Dr. William Farrer,⁹—seeks to identify Christian as the daughter and co-heiress of a certain Uctred:¹⁰ but here, too, the arguments fall to the ground for lack of proof, nor, indeed, did Dr. Farrer ever intend this supposition as anything save an interesting possibility. He founded his conjecture solely and simply on a Westmorland Final Concord of 1208, which records that Walter de “Stircland” and Christian his wife made an agreement with “Sigrid daughter of Uctred” regarding a carucate of land in “Stircland” [Great Strickland], whereby Walter and Christian acknowledged the said property to be the right of Sigrid, to hold of them and of the heirs of Christian by the free service of a two shilling render yearly.¹¹ Thereupon, Sigrid granted to them all her land “from Aspelgile to Groshousic and from Groshousic to Bounwath,” with remainder to Christian and her issue; and it was specified that Sigrid and her heirs were not to be amerced in the Court of the said Walter and Christian above an amercement of two shillings (Feet of Fines, Westmorland, 10 John [1208–1209], no. 28). On the basis of the above document, Dr. Farrer proceeded to infer that Christian wife of Walter de Strickland and Sigrid daughter of Uctred were sisters, and that Uctred must have been mesne-lord of Great Strickland under the barons of Kendal. But such a supposition is scarcely warranted by the language of the Fine. In the first place, Christian is nowhere described, either in the Fine or in any other record, as Uctred’s daughter; and, in the second place, there is nothing to show that this Uctred had ever possessed the *manor* of Great Strickland at all. That his daughter Sigrid (who was probably his sole heiress) did succeed him in the tenure of a carucate or ploughland there, is apparent from the Fine itself; but this assuredly

⁹ Quoted in Scott, *Stricklands of Sizergh Castle*, pp. 12–13.

¹⁰ “This Ughtred had two daughters—the writer supposes—Christiana, married to Walter de Stirkland, and Siegrid, a widow or unmarried in 1208” (cf. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 12). Dr. Farrer also placed Robert of Castlecarrack as brother of Sigrid and son of Uctred, which is unquestionably at variance with the facts (see *ante*, p. 20).

¹¹ As a matter of interest, I might mention that a Final Concord of 1200 shows that Sigrid had married a certain Maldred, who is described as *quondam viri sui* in a claim which she then brought against Walter son of Durand [of Great Asby] for dower in her deceased husband’s property at “Werfton,” co. Westmorland (Feet of Fines, Westmorland, 2 John [1200–1201]). Another Fine of the year 1208 refers to an agreement touching two bovates of land in “Stirkeland,” made between “Sigrith” daughter of Uctred and Gilbert de Lancaster (*ibid.*, 10 John [1208–1209]). Incidentally, the names “Maldred” and “Uctred” are curiously reminiscent of those borne by the early paternal ancestors of the historic house of Neville.

does not imply that Uctred's own status had been anything more than that of a freeholder or an under-tenant of Christian's actual father. Indeed, a somewhat analogous position would seem to have been occupied by another native landowner named Dolfin, whose daughter Eve occurs in 1246 as claiming various lands in "Stirkland" against Adam, son of the said Christian and Walter, —the lands in question having previously been held by the plaintiff's father (Dolfin) "*in dominico ut de feodo et jure tempore domini Johannis regis, patris domini regis qui nunc est*" (Assize Roll, Westmorland, 31 Henry III [1246–1247], no. 454).¹²

Meanwhile, although far from being able myself to provide a complete solution to Christian's origin, I can at least, I believe, offer a partial key to the mystery. For in the following hitherto undiscovered extract from the Westmorland Assize Rolls, Sir William de Strickland—who is known to have been Walter and Christian's great-grandson—explicitly refers to the latter as his "great-grandmother, Christian *de Leteham*:"

Michaelmas Term, 1291: "Alan son of Thomas son of Bernard de Midelton seeks against William de Burgh of Lonesdale one messuage and eight acres of land and three acres of meadow in Midelton in Lonesdale [in the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale, co. Westmorland], which he claims by a grant from Ralph de Berburne. And William de Stirklaund [Strickland] seeks against the said William de Burgh one messuage and sixteen acres of land, which his great-grandmother Christian de Leteham (*Cristiana de Leteham proavia predicti Willelmi de Stirklaund*), whose heir he is, held on the day of her death. And William de Burgh comes and calls to warrant Matthew de Burgh and Avice his wife, who come and say that they hold the said land in right of the said Avice—along with Gregory de Thorneton and Agnes his wife, John de Bolton and Eve his wife, and Gilbert de Burnolfsheued [Burneside] and Christian his wife—of the inheritance of Ralph de Berburne, father of the aforesaid Avice, Agnes, Eve, and Christian. But all the above-named lands and tenements are now in the King's hands for felony, owing to the imprisonment of the said Gilbert (de Burnolfsheued); wherefore the said Alan (de Midelton) and William (de Stirklaund) are without a day," etc. (Assize Roll, Westmorland, no. 985, m. 23).¹³

¹² A further example may be cited in the case of the "Thomas Long of Stirkland" who was evidently a landowner in Great Strickland at about the same period (see p. 49).

¹³ In February 1292/3 Sir William confirmed to the monks of Wetheral the charter previously granted them by Walter de Strickland, *proavi sui* (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, pp. 326–327; Hornyold-Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 18). There is also recorded a release from John de Reygate, curate of Morland, to Sir William de Stirkelande of an annual rent of four pounds of wax for having a chantry in his chapel of Stirkelande, etc., the said chantry having been originally founded by Walter de Stirkelande, "great-grandfather of the said Sir William" (*Hist. MSS. Com., Various Collections* 1903], vol. II, p. 339).

This record is incidentally of value as establishing for the first time the identity of the wife of Gilbert de Burneside, or Burneshead (a prominent figure in Westmorland *temp.* Edward I), as one of the four daughters and co-heiresses of Ralph de Berburne; and we further learn that another daughter had married Sir Gregory de Thornton, who served as Knight of the Shire for Yorkshire on no less than eleven different occasions between 1313 and 1333. The Berburnes had had possessions at Middleton-in-Lonsdale from a very early period. In 1280 Ralph de Berburne, above named, was defendant in an assize of novel disseisin regarding a tenement in "Midelton" brought by Adam del Eskes (*Dep. Keeper's Report*, XLIX, Appendix, p. 119); and about the same date, as "Ralph son of Gilbert de Berebrun," he acquired property there from William son of Gilbert de Layfite (Farrer MSS.). Moreover, nearly a century beforehand, Richard de Berburne, lord of Berburne (*alias* Barbon in Kendal), granted land at Middleton in frank-almoign to the canons of Cockersand (*Cockersand Chartulary* [Chetham Society], p. 927).¹⁴

But our interest naturally centres chiefly in Christian "de Leteham," wife of Walter de Strickland and great-grandmother of Sir William de Strickland, the claimant in the above suit against William de Burgh: and it thus becomes apparent that her own inheritance—in addition to the manor of Great Strickland near Appleby—had likewise included considerable holdings in South Westmorland at Middleton-in-Lonsdale, where her great-grandson still retained interests in 1291. Nevertheless, in spite of this fresh information and of the vital new fact regarding Christian's previous surname, we are not even yet in a position to identify with certainty the family to which she belonged.

The very name "de Leteham," for instance, presents difficulty; for there are no place-names in Westmorland which furnish any corresponding equivalents, though there is a Leatham in northern Northumberland and a Kirkleatham in the Northeast Riding of Yorkshire,—not to mention Lytham in the Hundred of

¹⁴ Ralph de Berburne, father of the four co-heiresses, held Whitwell and Godwinscales (in Kendal), co. Westmorland, of William de Lindsay in 1283 (*Cal. Inqs.*, vol. II, p. 269). He was the son and heir of Gilbert de Berburne by his wife Joan, the eldest of the three daughters and co-heiresses of Roland de Reagill (Levens Hall MSS.; *Excerpt. e Rot. Fin.*, vol. II, p. 278). This Gilbert was apparently the son of Gilbert, younger brother of Richard, lord of Berburne (already mentioned), whose daughter and heiress, Sybil, married Robert Fossard and became the ancestress of the family of Lascelles of Escrick (*Cockersand Chartulary* [Chetham Soc.], pp. 927–928; *Plac. de quo Warranto* [Record Com.] p. 787).

Amoundness, co. Lancaster, which was not infrequently written "Liteham" or "Letham" in records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (cf. Baines, *History of Lancashire*, ed. Harland [1870], vol. II, p. 503). It seems impossible, however, to connect Christian herself with any of the families associated with those three localities:¹⁵ and at present the most that one dare say is that it would appear probable that she was the daughter and heiress of ——— de Leteham [first name unknown], who held the manor of Great Strickland and property at Middleton-in-Lonsdale of the barony of Kendal.¹⁶

In the meantime, besides younger sons Robert and William and a daughter Amabel, wife of Sir Richard de Preston,¹⁷ Walter and Christian de Strickland also left an elder son, Adam (who

¹⁵ Cf. Hodgson-Hinde, *History of Northumberland*, pt. II; *Victoria County History of Yorks.* [North Riding], vol. II, pp. 103–105; and *Victoria County History of Lancashire*, vol. VII, pp. 214, 285–287. The early Lancashire lords of Lytham—the descendants of Roger son of Ravenkil, thegn of Woodplumpton—had lands (at Whittington, etc.) near Middleton-in-Lonsdale, where part of Christian's own inheritance was situated: and no less than three of the daughters and co-heiresses of the last thegn of Woodplumpton, Richard fitz Roger (who died in 1200 without male issue), married into families possessing Westmorland or Cumberland affiliations (e.g. one daughter, Margaret, became the wife of Hugh de Multon of co. Westmorland; another, Avice, married William de Millum of Millum, co. Cumberland; and a third, Amice, married Thomas de Beetham of Beetham in Kendal, great-great-grandfather of the Sir Thomas de Beetham who was M.P. for Westmorland in 1302). But, unluckily, none of Richard fitz Roger's daughters was called "Christian" (cf. George Ormerod, *Parentalia*, p. 7); and, moreover, they did not even inherit the manor of Lytham, which their father had granted to the Benedictine priory of Durham by charter issued between 1189 and 1194 (Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe Rolls and Early Charters*, p. 346; *Reginald of Durham* [Surtees Society, vol. I], pp. 280–4).

¹⁶ Conceivably some ancestral relationship with the Berburnes (for whom see footnote no. 14) lay behind the Middleton-in-Lonsdale lawsuit of 1291; and, moreover, in the twelfth century the Berburnes held considerable property at Lowther, which adjoins Great Strickland (*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, New Series, vol. XVI, p. 114). But, in the absence of more concrete evidence, it is profitless to indulge in further speculations.

¹⁷ For the son Robert (who was living in 1220 and from whom the later generations of the family descended), see page 34. The son William occurs in a Westmorland Fine of 1246, when William son of Walter [de Strickland] and Amabel his wife were the defendants in a claim for property at "Stirkeland" brought by Roger son of Jordan [de Lancaster] (Feet of Fines, Westmorland, 31 Henry III [1246–1247], no. 4). The daughter Amabel (who must not be confused with her sister-in-law Amabel, wife of William son of Walter) can be identified from a charter granted by Walter de Strickland to the priory of St. Bees, in which he confirms a gift made by Richard de Preston and the said Richard's wife Amabel, *filia mea* (Wilson, *St. Bees* [Surtees Soc.], p. 414). The early Preston pedigree has not hitherto been worked out; but the above Richard de Preston, who was of Preston Richard in Kendal, co. Westmorland, appears to have died before 1256, leaving by Amabel de Strickland (who survived him [cf. Wilson, *St. Bees*, pp. 414–415]), a son and heir, Sir Richard, whose wife was named Alice (Feet of Fines, Westmorland, 40 Henry III [1255–1256], no. 30). The latter was father of a third Sir Richard, who married Amabel [de Burton] and was M. P. for Westmorland in 1290, dying shortly before the year 1315 (see S. H. Lee Washington, *The Early Parliamentary Representation of Westmorland*). Thanks to this Strickland alliance the Prestons acquired property at Great Strickland (cf. Wilson, *St. Bees*, pp. 412–415), which was considerably increased by later generations. It is interesting to note that the first Richard, husband of Amabel de Strickland, was a cousin-german of Sir Ralph d'Eyncourt ofSizergh (see Part II).

was presumably called after his paternal grandfather, Adam of Castlecarrock). There seems no doubt that this Adam son of Walter was indeed his father's heir, since—along with Robert of Castlecarrock, the grantor's brother—he was witness as a consenting party to Walter de Strickland's well-known charter to the priory of Wetheral (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, pp. 326–327; Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Hornyold-Strickland, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11). But, apart from that, practically nothing has been learned about him; and the available evidence is both scanty and conflicting. In the first place, it is generally assumed that Adam died *vita patris* “about 1230” (cf. Hornyold-Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 12), on the grounds that Walter de Strickland (Adam's father) was still living in September, 1238, when he officiated as a justice at Appleby, and that Sir Robert de Strickland—who is known to have been Walter's grandson—made a settlement of the manor of Great Strickland in the year 1239. We shall return to the difficulties raised by the last-mentioned settlement in a moment; but in the meantime it also should be noticed that four separate documents demonstrate that Adam himself—far from dying “about 1230,” as alleged—was still alive at least twenty years afterwards. The earliest of these records consists of an entry on the Westmorland Pipe Roll of 26 Henry III [1242–1243], showing that Adam son of Walter paid 40s. “quia retraxit se,” and that Roger [[?] *recte*, Robert de Stirkland] and Hugh le Despenser paid the sum of one mark by pledge of the same Adam (Parker, *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland*, p. 206). Next, in 1246 we have the claim (*ante*, p. 27) brought by Eve daughter of Dolfin against Adam son of Walter for a bovate and two acres of land in “Stirkland,” and against Robert son of Robert de Stirkland for another bovate and thirteen acres there “with the appurtenances” (Assize Roll, Westmorland, no. 454). Moreover, yet a third document vouchsafes us details of a Final Concord levied at Appleby on the morrow of St. Martin, 31 Henry III [12 November 1246], by which Adam son of Walter agreed that a moiety of the manor of “Stirkeland” was the right of Robert son of Robert de Stirkland, in return for which the latter gave Adam eight bovates thereof for life and undertook to provide him with seven and a half quarters of oatmeal *per annum*. The aforesaid lands were to revert to Robert son of Robert de Stirkland at Adam's decease; and we also meet with the names,

as interim feoffees, of Ralph d'Eyncourt (of Sizergh) and Roland de Reagill (Feet of Fines, Westmorland, 31 Henry III [1246-1247], no. 14).¹⁸ Finally, in 1250 Robert son of Robert de Stirkeland was impleaded by Adam son of Walter for dower at "Stirkeland,"—a claim which was clearly an echo of the Final Concord of four years before (Assize Roll, Westmorland, 35 Henry III [1250-1251]).¹⁹

There can thus be no question, in the light of the above records, that Adam son of Walter died, not "about 1230," but some time after the year 1250: and the problem which next confronts us is how to reconcile such a fact with Sir Robert de Strickland's settlement of the manor of Great Strickland as early as 1239. The writer should explain that the settlement itself had been made by Sir Robert upon the occasion of the marriage of his young son William (the Sir William de Strickland of 1291, etc.) with Elizabeth d'Eyncourt of Sizergh,—a marriage which, owing to the broad acres that the bride afterwards inherited, was to have a far-reaching effect upon the future destinies of the race. But, although every writer on the Strickland pedigree from Nicolson and Burn onwards has duly mentioned this famous document, not one of them has quoted it *verbatim*; and that eminent authority, the late Archdeacon Prescott, even doubted whether 1239 were really the correct date of the settlement at all (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 326, note 3). However, the clarity of the original charter effectually excludes the possibility of errors. Moreover, apart from its value in confirming the charter's date as 1239, the context reveals other illuminating details; and consequently I venture to append a full transcription:

Sciant omnes presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus de Stirkland, miles, dedi, concessi, et hoc presenti scripto indentato confirmaui Willelmo filio meo et Elisabete filie Radulpho [sic] Daincourt militis totum manerium meum de Magna Stirkland in comitatu Westmerland existente una cum seruicio liberorum tenencium ibidem molendo, boscis, pratis, pascuis, pasturis, et omnibus pasturis et omnibus aliis qualitercumquibus et ubique eisdem manerio spectantibus, tenendum et habendum predictum manerium cum pertinentiis una cum seruiciis

¹⁸ The document adds that, in the case of the vill of "Stirkeland," sixteen carucates comprised a single knight's fee. Therefore, as the vill itself owed the service of a quarter of a knight's fee, it must accordingly have been rated at four carucates. Now one carucate equals eight bovates; from which it is evident that Robert son of Robert de Stirkland was allowing Adam one-fourth of the manor (*i.e.* half of the moiety).

¹⁹ The last-mentioned entry was known to Plantagenet-Harrison (see his *History of Yorkshire*, p. 373): but, unluckily, he translated the *Adae* of the original record not as "Adam" but as "Ada" and promptly identified this mythical lady as Adam's widow—a piece of carelessness that has served, not unnaturally, still further to mislead those dealing with the family genealogy (cf. Hornyard-Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 12).

liberorum tenencium ibidem, molendo, boscis, et omnibus aliis cum pertinenciis predictis ut predictum est prefatis Willelmo de Stirkland filio meo [et] Elisabete et heredibus de corporibus ipsorum Willelmi et Elisabete legitime procreatis, de capitalibus dominis feodis illius per seruicium inde debita et de inde consueta. Et si contingat quod predicti Willelmus et Elisabeta sine heredibus de corporibus ipsorum Willelmi et Elisabete exeuntibus obierint, quod absit quod tunc omnia predicta manerium una cum seruiciis liberorum [tenencium] molendo, boscis, et omnibus aliis ut predictum est cum pertinenciis prefato Roberto de Stirkland, militi, heredibus suis et assignatis suis remaneant imperpetuum. Et ego vero Robertus predictum manerium cum pertinenciis una cum seruiciis liberorum tenencium ibidem molendo, boscis, ac omnia alia ut predictum est dicto manerio de Magna Stirkland spectantibus predictis Willelmo et Elisabete et heredibus de corporibus ipsorum Willelmo et Elisabete et heredibus de corporibus ipsorum Willelmi et Elisabete legitime procreatis contra omnes gentes warrantizabim et imperpetuum defendem. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti scripto [inden-] tato sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: domino Thoma de Helbek, domino Roberto de Enewyth, militibus, Willelmo de Warthcopp, Galfrido de Brantingham, Henrico de Tyrer, et aliis multis. Datum apud manerium meum in Magna Stirkland in vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptisti [23 June], anno regni regis Henrici filii domini regis Johannis vicesimo tercio. [Seal missing.]

Of the witnesses, Sir Thomas de "Helbek" (of Hillbeck in Brough) was the predecessor of a second Sir Thomas, deputy-sheriff of Westmorland 1292-1295; Henry de "Tyrer" held the township of Tirergh (now Tirrell) in the parish of Barton; and William de "Warcopp"²⁰ became the grandfather of Henry de Warcop, M.P. for Westmorland 1315 and 1316, from whom descended the Warcops of Warcop and Smardale. But the really significant clauses to observe are those dealing with the manor of Great Strickland: for here we see Sir Robert de Strickland already a knight,²¹ and in possession of the entire Great Strickland estate (*totum manerium meum de Magna Stirkland*), less than three years after Walter de Strickland's death and over eleven years prior to the death of Walter's son, Adam.²² What, then, is the explanation?

Clearly, I think, there is only one,—and that is, that Adam,

²⁰ The mention of this William de Warcop in 1239 supplies us with a missing generation in the early Warcop pedigree, of which a very inaccurate account was given by the late Canon Ragg in *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, New Series, vol. XVI, p. 168. William himself seems to have been still living on 13 September 1265, when he occurs in company with Henry de Tirergh (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1265, p. 131). Sir Thomas de Helbeck, Sir Robert de Yanwath, and Henry de Tirergh all attested a grant to Thomas Black made by Gilbert Engaine of Clifton, near Appleby, which, from its reference to Ralph de Nottingham as "then sheriff of Westmorland," must have been issued *circa* 1247-1248 (*vide* Nicolson and Burn, *History of Westmorland and Cumberland*, vol. I, p. 416).

²¹ He is again given the designation of *miles* when attesting (*circa* 1250-1260) a charter of John son of William de Thrimby to the priory of Wetheral (Prescott, *Wetheral*, p. 332).

²² As has previously been shown, Adam son of Walter was alive at least as late as the year 1250 (*ante*, p. 31).

in spite of being Walter's eldest son, never actually succeeded to the Great Strickland heritage. (That Adam—like his younger brother, William, and his sister, Amabel—had certain holdings at Great Strickland is, of course, beside the point.)²³ Moreover, we must remember that the manor of Great Strickland was actually the inheritance of Adam's mother, Christian; and such maternal possessions were frequently entailed on the second son, whilst the eldest son fell heir to the paternal property.²⁴ It should also be noted that Adam himself, unlike his father Walter, is never once styled "de Stirkland" in contemporary records, but invariably appears simply as *Adam' filius Walteri*. But in that case, who was Sir Robert de Strickland, the lord of Great Strickland in 1239 and the father of the (Sir) William who married Elizabeth d'Eyncourt? From this last-named Sir William's specific references to Walter and Christian de Strickland as his great-grandparents (*ante*, page 27), we at any rate learn that Sir Robert de Strickland was Walter and Christian's *grandson*: and Mr. Hornyold-Strickland (following Bellasis and Nicolson and Burn) concludes that he must have been Adam's son and heir (*op. cit.*, p. 12),—an argument based (*a*) on the fallacious premise that Adam died *vita patris* and (*b*) on a charter amongst the muniments at Sizergh which has "Robert son of Adam de Stirkeland" as one of its witnesses. But internal evidence would date the charter in question as *circa* 1280–1290;²⁵ and nothing

²³ Cf. footnote no. 17.

²⁴ Some hint that Walter de Strickland did have lands of his own (apart from what he had obtained *jure uxoris*) is contained in one of his charters to St. Bees, in which he bestows upon that house two acres of arable land *de dominico meo in Crosrig* (Wilson, *St. Bees* [Surtees Soc.], pp. 413–4).

²⁵ The deed itself, which no one (including Mr. Hornyold-Strickland) has thus far quoted, records a release by "Alice del Howes, late the wife of Thomass, son of Thomas de Levenes," of the two moieties of "Le Howes" [*i.e.*, The Hawes in Helsington, co. Westmorland],—one moiety of which she settled upon her son, Thomas, and the second moiety of which she divided between her two younger sons, Benedict and John. The witnesses, in addition to Robert son of Adam de Strickland, included Sir Roger de Burton and Sir Richard de Preston (Sizergh MSS.). As has been said, this release is *sans date*; but it should be compared with three other documents at Sizergh, which obviously form part of a single series and of which the substance is as follows:—(I) General release [undated] from Alice del Howes to "William son of Robert de Stirkeland, knight," of both moieties of Le Howes (previously settled upon her sons Thomas, Benedict, and John). Attested by Sir Roger de Burton, Sir Richard de Preston, etc. (II) Quitclaim [undated] to the aforesaid Sir William son of Sir Robert de Strickland by John son of Thomas de Levenes, confirming "all my [*i.e.* the grantor's] land in Le Howes which the said [Sir] William has by gift of Alice, my mother." Attested by Sir Roger de Burton, Sir Richard de Preston, etc. (III) Grant from Sir William son of Sir Robert de Strickland to John "de Camera" and Sybil, his wife, of all the land of Le Howys, etc., "which Alice del Howys holds for life." Dated "at Great Stirkeland in Westmorland" on the Sunday after Michaelmas, 1288; and witnessed, *inter alia*, by Sir Roger de Burton, Sir Richard de Preston, William de Windsor, and Gilbert de Burneside (Sizergh MSS., *ibid.*). Now although in only one of the above documents is the actual date given, yet all of them are clearly of the same period, since not only do

indicates that the "Robert son of Adam de Stirkland," there mentioned, was identical with Sir Robert de Strickland of 1239 or that he was more than a stray cadet of the main family.²⁶ On the contrary, all the accumulated evidence tends to identify Sir Robert himself with the "Robert son of Robert de Stirkland" who made an allowance of land and oatmeal²⁷ to Adam son of Walter in 1246,²⁸ and from whom the said Adam claimed his endowment at Great Strickland in 1250 (*vide supra*, page 31). Such an identification, moreover, is the only one which provides a solution that is both reasonable and in harmony with all the known facts. A Robert de Strickland served as a juror at Appleby in 1220 (Assize Roll, Westmorland, no. 312, m. 27): and doubtless the latter was Sir Robert de Strickland's father, and in consequence a younger son of Walter de Strickland and Christian de Leteham. We may further assume that this Robert de Strickland (Senior) died during Walter and Christian's lifetime; for, judging by the dates, his son, Sir Robert, succeeded to Great Strickland immediately following the said Walter and Christian's decease.²⁹

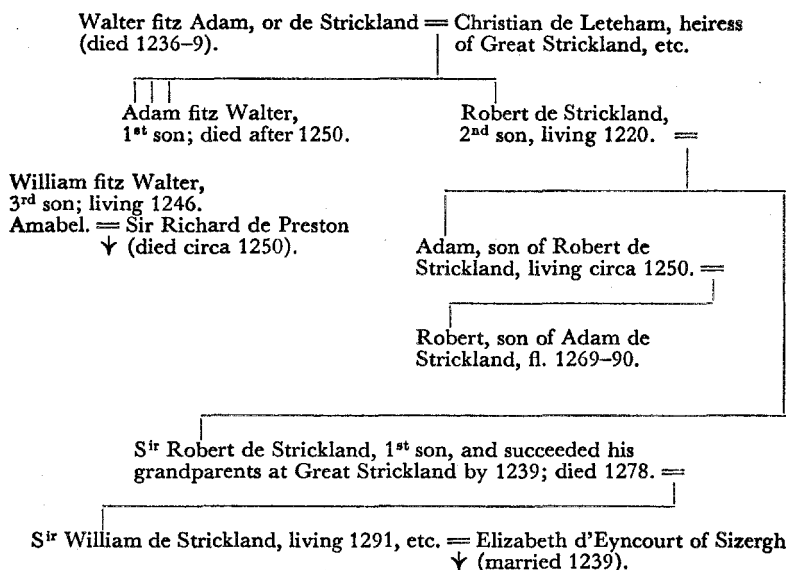
they relate to the same set of transactions, but they even have virtually the same group of witnesses. Moreover, Sir Roger de Burton did not succeed his elder brother (Sir John) until shortly before 1278 (cf. *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1270, p. 500; De Banco Roll, no. 27, m. 119): he was M.P. for Westmorland in 1298, and died in 1302 or 1303 (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, I, p. 480; *Cal. Inqs.*, IV, p. 86).

²⁶ Very possibly he was the son of an "Adam son of Robert de Stirkland" who attested, *circa* 1245-1255, a grant by William de "Schelmergh" to Roger son of Simon of land at "Schelmergh" [Skelsmergh], co. Westmorland (*Cal. Ancient Deeds*, A. 9342). For the probable place of this Adam son of Robert in the Strickland pedigree, see the illustrative chart on page 35. Robert son of Alan [*recte*, Adam] de Stirkland obtained a pardon from the Crown at the instance of Sir Roger de Clifford (of Appleby) for the death of Alan son of William Mustel, 25 October 1269 (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1269, p. 372).

²⁷ It is significant that one of the interim feoffees named in this transaction was Sir Ralph d'Eyncourt of Sizergh, whose daughter had already married Sir Robert de Strickland's son, William.

²⁸ See also footnote no. 18. Perhaps the agreement had been designed to compromise some claim brought by Adam son of Walter as heir male. Incidentally, this Final Concord of 1246 did not escape the vigilant eye of Dr. Farrer, who wrote that "Robert son of Robert de Stirkland, dealing with the manor in 1246, makes it highly improbable, even impossible . . . that Adam [son of Walter] had a son Robert in the line of the lords of Strickland" (cited in Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 13). Dr. Farrer, however, was not aware of the full circumstances of the case, and interpreted the Final Concord as meaning that Adam son of Walter was actually lord of Great Strickland at the time. In addition, he avoided the *chimera* of Sir Robert de Strickland's settlement of some seven years earlier by assuming, like Archdeacon Prescott, that the date "1239" was erroneous (*vide supra*, p. 108).

²⁹ Or rather, to speak more accurately, following the decease of Christian; since it was she, and not Walter, who possessed the Great Strickland estate. Indeed, I have come across a charter amongst the muniments at Lowther which records a grant from Thomas de Hastings to the Hospital of St. Peter's at York of certain privileges at Crosby Ravensworth, co. Westmorland, for the use of their grange at Garthorne; the witnesses to which included Walter de Stirkland and Gilbert de Kirketon, "then sheriff of Appleby" [*i.e.* of Westmorland]. Gilbert de Kirketon was certainly sheriff



From the period of Sir Robert de Strickland onwards we are, happily, upon firmer ground: but there are, none the less, still problems connected with Sir Robert's own career that merit attention. For example, the name of his wife is usually given as "Alice del Howes", while Adam son of Walter is credited with having espoused a certain "Alice de Levens" (Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 13).³⁰ In point of fact, however, both these ladies are imaginary—or rather, each of them has been evolved out of a single Alice del Howes (or Hawes), *alias* de Levens, who was the heiress of property called The Hawes in Helsington (in the parish of Kendal) and occurs with her husband, Thomas son of Thomas de Levens, in several deeds between 1270 and 1285.³¹ Needless

of the county in 26 Henry III (cf. Parker, *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland*, p. 201), which would date the charter itself as *circa* 1242-1243; but of course it is always possible that he had been (deputy) sheriff under the Vieuxponts (the hereditary sheriffs) at some earlier period.

³⁰ Adam son of Walter has, in addition, been supplied (by Plantagenet-Harrison) with an equally fictitious wife named Ada. *Vide* footnote no. 19.

³¹ See footnote no. 25, where abstracts of the deeds are given. In view of Canon Ragg's wild suggestion that Alice was identical with the daughter of an "Adam son of Howe", named in a Westmorland document of *circa* 1220 (*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, New Series, vol. XVI), it should perhaps be added that the Sizergh muniments make it clear that Alice's father was Thomas del Howes, who (along with Thomas de Levens and Ralph de Nottingham, "then sheriff") witnessed a charter from Robert de Kendal to Sir Ralph d'Eyncourt *circa* 1247 (Sizergh MSS.) and is further mentioned in a division of the lands of Peter de Brus and Walter de Lindsay in 1256 (*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, New Series, vol. XIII, p. 69).

to say, however, this real Alice never became the wife of a Strickland at all;³² and probably Adam son of Walter died unmarried. In the case of Sir Robert de Strickland, an entry on the Westmorland Assize Roll of 1256 suggests that his mother may have been a co-heiress of the manor of Melcanthorpe: for in that year Robert de "Styrkeland" was defendant in a claim for dower in a moiety of the manor of "Melkinthorp" at the suit of Beatrice, widow of Robert de "Wythehered" (Assize Roll, 41 Henry III [1256-1257], no. 979),³³ and the same moiety reappears as in the possession of William de "Stirkeland" (Robert's son and heir) in the Assize Roll of 1291-1292 (*ibid.*, 20 Edward I [1291-1292], no. 987). Who Beatrice herself was, is not clear; but this moiety of the manor of Melcanthorpe had shortly beforehand been in the hands of Geoffrey de "Cotesford" [Coatsforth] of Asby Coatsforth, co. Westmorland, who died *circa* 1230 without male issue. His Asby lands were afterwards held by William l'Engleys and Christian his wife, who was Geoffrey's daughter; and it seems to me not unlikely that there was another daughter [? Beatrice, later married to Robert de Wethered] who brought the Melcanthorpe property in marriage to Sir Robert de Strickland's father. A somewhat confused account of the Cotesfords of Asby Coatsforth and Melcanthorpe was printed by Canon Ragg in *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, New Series, vol. XX, pp. 66-94. Evidently Geoffrey de Cotesford was the nephew of Hugh de Cotesford (*fl.* 1180-1210), and grandnephew of Richard de Cotesford who was among those fined for the treacherous surrender of Appleby castle to the King of Scots in 1174 and who had originally held his lands of Melcanthorpe and Asby under Hugh de Morville. Perhaps Geoffrey's father was an elder Geoffrey (of Melcanthorpe), who is called "brother" of Hugh de Cotesford in a Lowther charter of *circa* 1200. At all events, the younger Geoffrey de Cotesford was granted "half my manor of Melkinthorpe" *circa* 1190 by his uncle, Hugh, who seems to have di-

³² The deeds cited in footnote no. 25 will show how easy it was for previous writers to be misled regarding Alice's matrimonial career. For example, the third deed records a quitclaim from John son of Thomas de Levens to Sir William son of Sir Robert de Strickland of lands at Le Howes in possession of Alice, his mother (*ibid.*). A careless reading of this passage (as given in the Rev. Thomas West's transcripts), without reference to the original, might well lead one to infer that Alice was the mother of the grantee and not of the grantor.

³³ *i.e.* Wethered. Before 1226 a William de "Wythehered" witnessed a grant made by Ivo de Vieuxpont of the manor of Garthorne, co. Westmorland, to St. Peter's, York (Lowther MSS.).

vided both the Asby and Melcanthorpe estates between this same Geoffrey and the latter's brother, Robert. One moiety of Melcanthorpe (together with property in Asby) was inherited by Robert's son, Peter, and grandson, Richard de Cotesford as late as 1362 (*Cal. Inqs.*, vol. XI, no. 312). The second moiety of Melcanthorpe passed to Geoffrey; but Canon Ragg observed (*ibid.*, p. 73) that "It does not appear that the Lengleys family succeeded" to it—although William l'Engleys certainly succeeded *jure uxoris* to Geoffrey's Asby possessions. All of this lends support to the hypothesis that Geoffrey himself must have left two daughters and co-heirs: (1) Christian (of Asby), wife of William l'Engleys, and (2) Beatrice (of Melcanthorpe), the mother of Sir Robert de Strickland.³⁴

The identity of Sir Robert de Strickland's wife can be virtually established by a deed in the muniment room at Balliol College, Oxford, dated at "Burgh" [Brough, near Appleby] on the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady [25 August], 1271. This document, which is in Norman-French, records an agreement then made between "Sire Johan de Balyels" [*i.e.* Sir John de Balliol, of Barnard Castle, co. Durham] and "Sire Thomas de Musgrave" [of Great Musgrave, co. Westmorland] concerning the imprisonment at Appleby by the said Sir Thomas of Master William de Genellestane and of "la Dame de Stirkeland, sa sore." Sir Thomas agreed to reimburse Master William and his sister, the Lady of Strickland, for the losses which their imprisonment had cost them in money and goods, as well as to present five hundred shillings and two tuns of good wine to Sir John de "Balyels:" and he further secured as pledges Sir John de Morville, Sir Thomas de Helbeck, Sir Henry de Staveley, and Sir Thomas de Hastings, and as mainpernors Sir Peter de Brus and Sir Roger de Lancaster. No reasons for the imprisonment are given; but it should be noted that in 1270–1271 Sir Thomas de Musgrave was under-sheriff of Westmorland and constable of Appleby castle, so that he had doubtless been acting in his official capacity.³⁵ Moreover, the chronology leaves little room for doubt

³⁴ Sir Robert l'Engleys (grandson and heir of William l'Engleys and Christian) was M.P. for Westmorland in 1295, etc., and was a contemporary and companion in arms of Sir William Strickland (the grandson, if this theory be correct, of Christian's sister Beatrice).

³⁵ Another of the Balliol College deeds records the acknowledgment of a debt of 123 marks owed by Sir Thomas de Musgrave to Sir John de Balliol, and payable at Barnard Castle in specified instalments during the years 1265 and 1266.

that "la Dame de Stirkelaund" was wife of the contemporary head of the family, Sir Robert de Strickland, who survived till 1278; and the latter's son, Sir William de Strickland, was not improbably named for Master William de Genellestane, who would thus have been his maternal uncle.

Entries in the early Close and Patent Rolls shows that in August 1257 Robert de "Stirkeland" was removed from the position of coroner in co. Westmorland, since the King by letters patent had specially exempted the said Robert from acting as sheriff, coroner, or in any other office unless he so desired (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1257, pp. 85-6; *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1257, p. 574). The interesting fact is added that the above exemption had been granted at the instance of Alexander, King of Scotland (*ibid.*). Evidently, however, Sir Robert subsequently consented to be reappointed; for he was again serving as coroner in 1278, at the time of his decease (Hornyard-Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 13). But the most memorable event in Sir Robert's career was undoubtedly his election as one of the four knights to represent Westmorland in the Michaelmas Parliament of 1258; his other colleagues being Sir John de Morville (of Helton Flecket), Sir Robert de Asby (of Great Asby), and Sir Patrick fitz Thomas (of Preston Patrick), ancestor of the Curwens of Workington (See S. H. Lee Washington, *The Early Parliamentary Representation of Westmorland*). Curiously enough, this important episode has been ignored without exception by all authorities, although it was to prove the precursor of a notable series of Parliamentary services performed by virtually every generation of Stricklands up until the close of the seventeenth century.

Meanwhile, of Sir William de Strickland—who succeeded his father, Sir Robert, in 1278—there is little further that need be said. I have already sufficiently enlarged upon the arrangements for his marriage to Elizabeth d'Eyncourt in 1239; and it only remains to add that at the last-named date Sir William himself must have been scarcely more than nine or ten years old—very possibly less.³⁶ For a Coram Rege Roll of 4 Edward I

³⁶ Aside from the settlement of 1239, Sir William's initial appearance is in 1265, when he received letters of protection (dated September 17th) as being one of the followers of Roger de Clifford (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1265, p. 452). So far as I can discover, Sir William first occurs as a knight in a charter of 1281, which recites a mortgage from Sir Roger de Burton to "Willelmus de Stirkeland, miles", of £10 worth of land at Hincaster (Sizergh MSS.).

proves that his eldest son by Elizabeth was still under age as late as 1276:—"The King *versus* William de Stirkeland concerning the manor of Strosdermod [Tristermont, co. Westmorland], which is alleged to belong to the Crown as having been an escheat *de terris Normannorum*. But the said William de Stirkeland declares that he holds it by the courtesy of England of the inheritance of Elizabeth, formerly his wife, by whom he has begotten William, his son, without whom he cannot answer. And he [*i.e.* William, the son] appears in Court, and is a minor (*de qua suscitavit Willelmum filium suum, sinequo non potest respondere, qui visus [est] in Curia et est infra etate*). Therefore, the King," etc. (Coram Rege Roll, Westmorland, Michaelmas, 4 Edward I [1276], m. 1). Moreover, Sir William de Strickland's only daughter, Joan—the sister of the young William de Strickland of 1276—did not marry till 1292, while another son, Sir John, survived until 1352 (*vide postea*). Consequently, Sir William's children by Elizabeth d'Eyncourt cannot have been born before 1256 at the earliest; whilst several of them—including the daughter Joan—doubtless made their appearance at an even later period.

Elizabeth d'Eyncourt herself died between 1272 and 1276, having succeeded in or before 1271 to the manors of Sizergh, Natland, Stainton, Routhworth, and Tristermont, with lands at Lowther,³⁷ Hackthorpe, Barton, Sockbridge, Windergh, Whelpside, and Yanwath, co. Westmorland, half the manor of Blencarn and property at Drigg, co. Cumberland, and half the manor of Carnforth in Warton, co. Lancashire. But her husband, Sir William de Strickland, outlived her for over thirty years, and was still alive on 1 May 1305, when he entered into a covenant regarding waste and destruction in the lands of his late wife's inheritance at Barton, Hackthorpe, and Heversham (Hornyold-Stirckland, *op. cit.*, p. 19). Along with his cousin Sir Richard de Preston, Sir William de Strickland represented Westmorland in the Easter Parliament of July 1290; and amongst some miscellaneous Sheriffs' Accounts at the Public Record Office is preserved a highly interesting return of the revenues of the Strickland estates made in 1295 by the deputy-sheriff of Westmorland, Sir Thomas de Helbeck, who was then apparently

³⁷ This included part of the advowson of Lowther church (see footnote no. 79); for in 1278 the three patrons of the church were stated to be the Prior of Watton, William de Strickland, and Alice, wife of Robert de Morville (Assize Roll, Westmorland, no. 982, m. 11 d.).

at Sizergh for the purpose of levying the King's Fifteenth (Exchequer Q. R., Miscellaneous, Sheriffs' Accounts, bdle. 46, m. 2). Like his father Sir Robert, Sir William de Strickland obtained in 1267 a life exemption from serving as sheriff, coroner, etc. (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1267, p. 64): but he, too, subsequently relented, since he acted as deputy-sheriff of Westmorland in 1275 and as coroner until 25 November 1303, at which date he was removed from office as incapacitated by age and infirmity (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1303, p. 113).

By his marriage with the heiress of Sizergh, Sir William left several children. It has hitherto been supposed that his eldest son was the Sir Walter de Strickland who succeeded him shortly after 1305: but the entry from the Assize Roll of 1276 concerning the manor of Tristermont (*passim*) implies that the young William de "Stirkeland", there mentioned, was then his father's actual heir-presumptive. Fortunately, satisfactory confirmation on this point is supplied by a De Banco Roll of 5 Edward II [1311-1312], which specifically states that Elizabeth d'Eyncourt, wife of Sir William de Strickland, had an elder son, William (Junior), who deceased without issue, when his next brother, (Sir) Walter, became his successor (*vide infra*). Therefore, it may be confidently asserted that William de Strickland, Junior, was the first-born son of the family, and heir to his mother (although still a minor) in 1276. He is again mentioned in a grant made by Margaret de Ros in November 1281, which speaks of various lands of his mother's inheritance at Stainton-in-Kendal, co. Westmorland, that his father, Sir William de Strickland, had recently given him (Nichols, *Topographer*, vol. II, p. 187; and cf. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1281, pp. 90, 106). Presumably, however, he died *vita patris* prior to 1292, in which year Sir William de Strickland made fresh settlements of the d'Eyncourt properties upon (Sir) Walter de Strickland, William's younger brother (Hornyard-Strickland, *ibid.*, p. 18).³⁸ But, despite the fact that

³⁸ Walter de Strickland seems actually to have been in possession of the d'Eyncourt holdings at Natland as early as October 1290, when he brought suit against Sir Roger de Burton, Sir Richard de Preston, and others for having lately entered his land of "Nate-lond", carried away his goods and those of Nicholas de Crakehall, his bondman, abducted the latter, and assaulted his men (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1290, p. 408): and in 1294 Walter impleaded Nicholas de Crakehall to render account of the time when he (Nicholas) was the said Walter's bailiff at Natland, co. Westmorland (De Banco Roll, no. 103, m. 72). *Vide supra*, where evidence is produced to show that William de Strickland, Junior, was already dead by 1288.

he thus deceased at an early age and left no descendants,³⁹ young William de Strickland had evidently found time to marry. For one of the Sizergh deeds quoted by Nicolson and Burn (*History of Westmorland and Cumberland*, vol. I, p. 89) shows that in 1303 Margaret, "late the wife of Hugh de la Vale," quitclaimed in her widowhood to (Sir) Walter de Strickland (young William's brother and heir) her rights in the property at Stainton-in-Kendal "which William de Stirkeland (Senior) formerly gave to her in free marriage with William de Stirkeland (Junior), her first husband." Margaret's own origin is elusive, though certain evidences in my possession indicate that she may have been born a Washington.⁴⁰ But her second husband, Sir Hugh "de la Vale," *i.e.* de Laval (died 1302), was a well known man in Northumberland, who had acquired large territorial interests through his previous wife, Maud (died 1281), one of the three co-heiresses to the barony of Bolbec.⁴¹ By his second marriage to young William de Strickland's widow Margaret, Sir Hugh left three children:—Sir Robert,⁴² Walter, and Katherine, wife of the notorious rebel, Sir Walter de Selby. We also learn from an inquisition that Margaret's eldest son, Sir Robert de Laval, was born 5 August 1289—a fact which demonstrates that young William de Strickland must have been dead at least by the year 1288 (*Cal. Inqs.*, vol. V, p. 202).

Sir Walter de Strickland—who thereupon succeeded the latter as heir-presumptive to the family estates—was hence the *second* son of Sir William de Strickland and Elizabeth d'Eyncourt. He is alleged to have been already knighted by 1276–1277, on the strength of one of Father West's abstracts at Sizergh, which professes to be dated "5 Edward I [1276–1277]" and records a re-

³⁹ John, son of William de Stirkeland, "an idiot", died in 1310 leaving property in Strickland Ketel, and was succeeded by a brother and heir, Thomas son of William de Stirkeland, then aged thirty-five (Roberts, *Cal. Geneal.*, no. 5; *Abbrev. Rot. Original.* [Record Com.], vol. I, p. 175b). But it is plain that he derived his surname from Strickland Ketel itself, and not from Great Strickland, and that he was totally unconnected with the Sizergh family. Indeed, his brother Thomas is specifically described as "son of William de Stirkeland Kettle" in a charter of *circa* 1311 (Add. MS. 32106, fo 141b; and cf. *ibid.*, 32109, fo 14b).

⁴⁰ See S. H. Lee Washington, *The English Washingtons* (now in press).

⁴¹ *Northumberland County History*, vol. VIII. The name of Sir Hugh de Laval's second wife has not heretofore been known.

⁴² This Sir Robert—the ancestor of the Delavals of Seaton Delaval (now represented by Lord Hastings)—was father *inter alia* of a son Sir William de Laval, who in 1322 espoused Eleanor, daughter of Sir Robert de Leybourne (M.P. for Westmorland in 1315) by Sarah, sister of Andrew de "Harcla," Earl of Carlisle (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1322, pp. 552–553; *ibid.*, 1328, pp. 364, 404).

lease to "Sir Walter de Stirkland, Knight," from Adam Warde of Kendal. The witnesses were "Sir Nicholas de Leyburn, Roger de Kernetby [Carnaby], Vicar of Kyrkeby in Kendale, John de Wessington [Washington], Thomas d'Aunay, Roland de Patton, Richard de Derley, Thomas de Stirkland, and Alan de Elmed, clerk" (cf. Hornyold-Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 26): but these names alone prove that the date "5 Edward I" is impossible. For, to take only two instances, Sir Nicholas de Leybourne (who was M.P. for Westmorland in 1305, 1307, 1313, and 1314) was not knighted till after 1303, while Roger de Carnaby (M.P. for Westmorland in 1318) did not even become Vicar of Kendal until 1307 (see Lee Washington, *The Early Parliamentary Representation of Westmorland*, *ibid.*): and an inspection of the original charter shows that "5 Edward I" is simply a textual misreading for "5 Edward II"—so that the release would in reality have been issued not in 1276–1277 but in 1311. Indeed, Sir Walter de Strickland himself only actually took up knighthood in 1306 (when he occurs amongst the numerous company knighted on May 22nd with Edward, Prince of Wales)⁴³: and, remembering that his elder brother William was still a minor in 1276, we shall probably not go far wrong in placing his own birth at *circa* 1260.

Sir Walter is supposed to have married Eleanor de Goldington (Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Hornyold-Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 33); but up to the present the sole basis for this belief has been the unsupported assertion of that eccentric antiquary, General Plantagenet-Harrison (*History of Yorkshire*, p. 375). I have, however, found full proof of the Goldington alliance in the Westmorland Assize Rolls; and the following unpublished record hence becomes of unusual importance:

The Friday within Whitsun week, 1301: "The Assize came to enquire if Walter son of William de Stirklaund, Robert de Wessington [Washington] and Joan, his wife,⁴⁴ and John Gretason unjustly disseised Eleanor, daughter of William de Goldington, of her free tenement in Natelond and Stanton [Stainton-in-Kendal, co. Westmorland], and whereof she complains that they disseised her of twenty-two messuages, fourteen oxgangs, and fifty acres of land, ten acres of meadow, forty acres of wood, and one water-mill. . . . The jurors say that there was talk of a marriage to take place between the said Walter, son of William de Stirklaund, and the said Eleanor, daughter of

⁴³ The story, which apparently originated with Shaw (*Knights of England*, p. 115) that Sir Walter was made a Knight of the Bath on this occasion—or, as one writer puts it, "was created K.C.B." (!)—is, of course, a palpable absurdity.

⁴⁴ Sister of Walter de "Stirklaund" and daughter of Sir William (see pages 52–3).

William de Goldington, and that William de Stirklaund (father of Walter) should enfeof them with the above-named property. The marriage was duly solemnized, whereupon William de Stirklaund enfeofed them and the heirs of their bodies for ever. And they were accordingly seised thereof during the space of two and a half years, until the said Walter withdrew himself from the society of the said Eleanor, and brought a plea into an Ecclesiastical Court for a divorce between them on the grounds of consanguinity. The divorce was granted in the Archbishop's Court at York three years before [1298]. Therefore, the said Eleanor has no right in the aforesaid lands" (Assize Roll, Westmorland, no. 989, m. 2).

It is thus evident that Eleanor de Goldington married Sir Walter de Strickland in 1295–1296, and that he obtained a divorce from her in 1298 on the grounds that the marriage was within the prohibited degrees. This plea of consanguinity is extremely interesting, although it is not clear just in what way the relationship arose. However, Eleanor de Goldington's mother was Christian, daughter and eventually co-heiress of Sir Thomas de Hastings (of Crosby Ravensworth, co. Westmorland) by Christian his wife;⁴⁵ and the latter (whose surname is unknown) may well have been a daughter—or, more probably, a grand-daughter—of the original Walter de Strickland and Christian de Leteham.⁴⁶

As for Eleanor herself, we are expressly told that she and her husband Sir Walter lived together for less than three years, from which it follows that she cannot by any means have been the mother of all of Sir Walter's issue. An entail of 1323 (cf. Scott,

⁴⁵ In 1292 Thomas, son of Sir Thomas de Hastings, and his sisters, Amice wife of Thomas de Goldington and Christian wife of William de Goldington, petitioned at Appleby against the murderers of Nicholas de Hastings, their brother, who had been slain in a ditch at Crosby Ravensworth six years before (Assize Roll, Westmorland, no. 987, m. 34 d., etc.). The above suit was printed by Canon Ragg in *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, New Series, vol. XI, p. 237, where a certain passage is misquoted as referring to "William de Goldington, and Christian [de Hastings] wife of John de Goldington" (*ibid.*). However, an examination of the original Assize Roll shows that this phrase actually translates "William de Goldington and Christian [de Hastings] his wife, and John de Goldington,"—a correction which obviates the difficulty that would otherwise arise as regards the name of Christian's husband.

⁴⁶ She was most likely a sister of Sir Robert de Strickland who died in 1278 (see illustrative chart, p. 35). Sir Thomas de Hastings was a younger brother of Nicholas de Hastings, lord of Alverston, co. Yorks., ancestor of the Earls of Huntingdon. By his marriage with Christian [? de Strickland], Sir Thomas de Hastings had three sons—Thomas, Nicholas (murdered at Crosby Ravensworth in 1286), and William, all of whom died *sine prole*. He also appears to have left four daughters, who ultimately became his co-heiresses, viz., Isabel, wife of William de Threlkeld (and mother of Sir Henry de Threlkeld of Yanwath); Amice, wife of Thomas de Goldington; Christian, wife of William de Goldington (and mother *inter alia* of Christian, wife of Sir Walter de Strickland); and ? Emma, wife of Gilbert de Wharton. In 1300 Henry de Threlkeld, William de Goldington and Christian his wife, and Gilbert de Querton [Wharton] and Emma, his wife, succeeded to property in Crosby Ravensworth, co. Westmorland, as the next heirs of William de Hastings, deceased (Assize Roll, Westmorland, 29 Edward I [1300–1301], no. 990).

op. cit., p. 30) proves that Sir Walter left at least three children,—Thomas (his heir), John, and Ralph; and of these it seems probable that Thomas alone was a son of the Goldington marriage—if, indeed, the whole of Sir Walter's issue were not by a later wife.⁴⁷ For in truth it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the divorce itself had been instigated by something more than purely religious scruples, and that sterility—rather than the artificial excuse of consanguinity—was the real cause that lay behind Sir Walter's premature desire to get rid of the unhappy Eleanor.

Be that as it may, the immediate results of such a drastic step were, not unnaturally, to provoke a feud between the Strickland and Goldington families. Not only did the Goldingtons (as we have seen) sue the Stricklands to recover Eleanor's dower, but in 1296 Sir William de Strickland (Sir Walter's father) brought a writ of *scire facias* against Eleanor's father, William de Goldington (Coram Rege Roll, Westmorland, no. 149, *m.* 24d.), while in 1297 he claimed damages against the said William in the sum of twenty marks and was still continuing to prosecute in 1304 (Coram Rege Roll, Westmoreland, no. 150, *m.* 10d.; *ibid.*, no. 178, *m.* 41d.). Incidentally, during these proceedings William de Goldington is referred to as "late Mayor of Appleby", a borough which he represented in Parliament both in 1302 and in 1305.⁴⁸ In 1307, moreover, he was twice returned as Knight of the Shire for Westmorland, his colleague on the second occasion being none other than Sir Walter de Strickland, his erstwhile son-in-law.

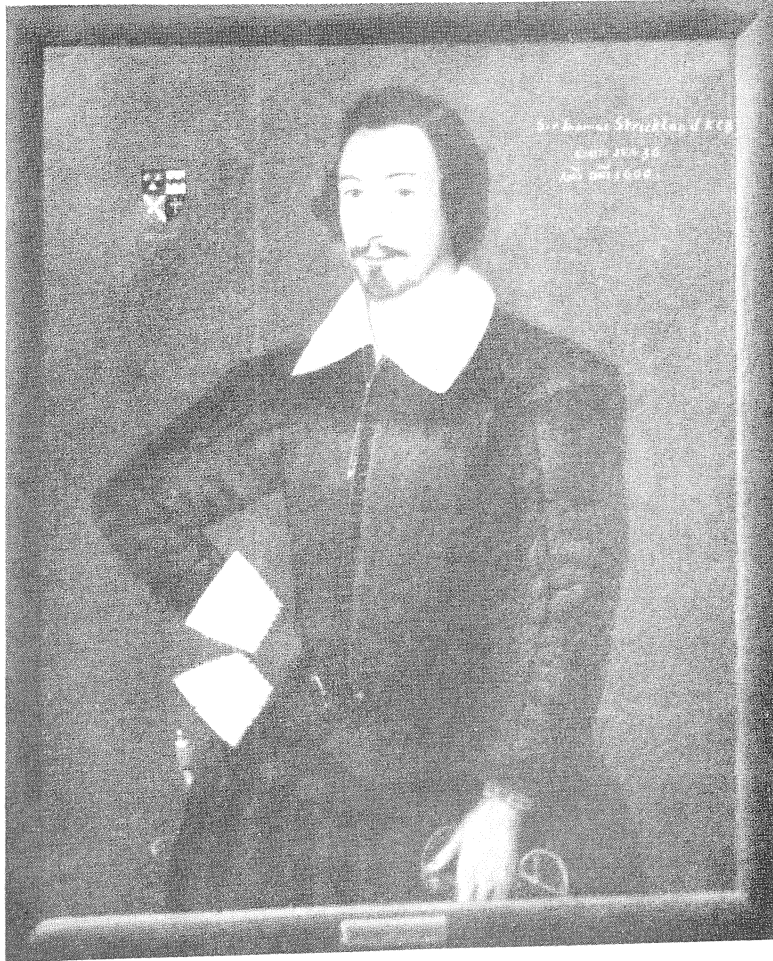
It might be added that Sir Walter de Strickland's own career was a long and active one.⁴⁹ He served as M.P. for his native county in 1307, 1312, 1313,⁵⁰ 1322 (May and November), 1324,

⁴⁷ Plantagenet-Harrison states, although without quoting his authority, that Sir Walter married secondly a lady named "Matilda" or Maud (*History of Yorkshire*, p. 373).

⁴⁸ The Goldingtons (who possibly were a junior branch of the knightly family of Goldington in Bedfordshire) were prominent merchants at Appleby, having become established there towards the middle of the twelfth century as officials and clerics under the baronial house of Vieuxpont (Lee Washington, *Early Parliamentary Representation of Westmorland*, *ibid.*). William de Goldington, Junior—son of William, above-mentioned, and brother of Eleanor de Strickland—was M.P. for Appleby in 1322 along with his kinsman, William son of John de Goldington: and a Cuthbert de Goldington served as M.P. for the same borough in 1313, as did Robert de Goldington in 1295 and 1315 (cf. Lee Washington, *op. cit.*).

⁴⁹ For details, cf. Lee Washington, *Early Parliamentary Representation of Westmorland* (*ibid.*).

⁵⁰ Sir Walter de Strickland and Sir Thomas de Beetham were actually elected to the Parliament of July, 1313; but the enrolment of the writ *de expensis* gives the names of Sir Mathew de Redman and Sir Nicholas de Leybourne. Doubtless the two former became unable to serve at the last moment owing to absence in the Scottish wars.



PORTRAIT OF SIR THOMAS STRICKLAND, K.B. (1563-1612),
HALF-BROTHER OF ELLEN (STRICKLAND) CARLETON.

From the original at Sizergh Castle.

and 1332: and on 10 February, 1321/2 he succeeded Sir Hugh de Lowther (the younger) as sheriff of Westmorland, being further entrusted nine months later (October 31st) with the custody of Appleby castle (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1322, pp. 95, 193; cf. also Ministers' Accounts, file 1044, m. 1).⁵¹ However, on December 30th of the same year Sir Hugh de Lowther again replaced him as sheriff, whilst the castle of Appleby was at the same time transferred to Sir Anthony de Lucy (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1322, pp. 192–193).⁵² Local historians have invariably been misled as to the nature of these appointments, and have inferred that Sir Walter himself was simply serving in 1322 as deputy-sheriff under the Cliffords (cf. Sir George Duckett, "The Sheriffs of Westmorland, with the Early Sheriffs of Cumberland," in *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, Old Series, vol. IV, pp. 285 *et seq.*; Hornyold-Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 30, etc.). It is true that the Cliffords were the hereditary sheriffs, and normally nominated deputies to act for them.⁵³ But at the period of Sir Walter de Strickland's tenure of the shrievalty, the county was temporarily in the king's hands, following the attainder of Roger de Clifford (one of the leaders in the Earl of Lancaster's rebellion during the previous autumn);⁵⁴ and Sir Walter, and his immediate successors and predecessors in office, were thus ministers interposed by the Crown, who occupied positions closely analogous to that of *custos*.

⁵¹ These rewards make it clear that Sir Walter, unlike most of his family and friends, had escaped being implicated in the Earl of Lancaster's rebellion in the summer of 1321 and the spring of 1322. He had, however, been actively engaged in the Earl's previous rising (Palgrave, *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. II, pt. ii, p. 243); and, although he had already obtained a pardon from the Crown in 1318, his former adherence to the Earl was again raked up against him in 1323 (see the next footnote).

⁵² It is conceivable that Sir Walter was the victim of some intrigue—or possibly the fact that his brother, Sir John de Strickland, and another kinsman, Hugh de Strickland, both fought with Roger de Clifford under the Earl of Lancaster's banner at Boroughbridge in March 1322 (*postea*, pp. 47, 52), may have made him an object of suspicion. At all events, at the beginning of 1323 he was suddenly charged with his old adherence to the Earl five years before, and his previous pardon of 1318 was rescinded (Palgrave, *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. II, pt. ii, p. 243). Presumably, however, he succeeded in clearing himself; for later in 1323 we find him acting as commissioner of array in Westmorland and Cumberland, and on 5 Feb. 1323/4 he was empowered to receive into the king's peace the rebel followers of the ill-fated Andrew de "Harcla," Earl of Carlisle (Palgrave, *ibid.*, p. 244). He was still living 1341 (*Cal. Inqs.*, VIII, p. 202), and probably died about 1342. From his eldest son, Sir Thomas de Strickland, who married Cecily, daughter of Sir Robert de Welles, the late Lord Strickland of Sizergh was directly descended.

⁵³ The Cliffords were the heirs of the Vieuxponts (de Veteriponts), barons of Appleby, who held the hereditary shrievalty by grant of King John.

⁵⁴ Roger de Clifford (Lord Clifford of Appleby) was subsequently captured at the battle of Boroughbridge (16 March 1321/2), and executed a week afterwards. (His half-sister, Cecily de Welles, was married in 1322–1323 to Thomas, son and heir of Sir Walter de Strickland, which may have been another factor that contributed to the latter's temporary fall from favour. Cf. footnote no. 51).

The third son of Sir William de Strickland and Elizabeth d'Eyncourt was Sir John de Strickland, about whom very little appears to be known.⁵⁵ Sir William Betham (*Baronetage*, vol. I, p. 412) cited a record that purported to mention an Alice de Strickland as Sir John's widow in 1318; and later writers have accordingly assumed that Sir John's death must have occurred prior to that year (see Hornyold-Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 24). In reality, however, it can be shown that the Alice in question did not even marry Sir John until 1319, and that the latter, so far from having died "before 1318," actually lived until 1352! Indeed, Sir John's career was quite as long and distinguished as that of Sir Walter, his elder brother: and, although there is not space to consider it fully here, yet, in view of the general dearth of information, some details may perhaps prove of interest. At the Assize at Appleby in 1301, Sir William de "Stirkeland" and John de "Stirkeland," his son, were impleaded by John de la Chamber ("de Camera") for four marks' rent from land which the latter occupied as tenant of the defendants. In the course of his reply, Sir William de "Stirkeland" declared that he then held the whole manor of "Stirkeland" [Great Strickland] of Margaret de Ros (one of the co-heirs to the barony of Kendal),⁵⁶ and that another of his sons, Walter, held the townships of Natland and Sizergh, as well as possessions in Stainton worth £20 *per annum*. He added that he himself also held £20 worth of land in Whinfell, Windergh, and Tristermont as tenant of his son Walter, to whom the said land belonged—but that the manor of "Stirkeland" was his (Sir William's) own paternal inheritance (Assize Roll, Westmorland, 29 Edward I [1300–1301], no. 990). In 1302 Sir William formally settled the Great Strickland estate on his son, John de Strickland, and his heirs (Feet of Fines, Westmorland, case 249, file 5, no. 41): and the above records give us a valuable insight into the arrangements that had been effected

⁵⁵ For some reason it is claimed that Robert de Strickland (for whom see p. 50) was the third son, and Sir John de Strickland the fourth son (Hornyold-Strickland, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24); but the fact that Sir John received the paternal estate of Great Strickland (*vide infra*) is evidence that he was older than Robert, and next brother to Sir Walter.

⁵⁶ She was widow of Robert de Ros of Wark (died 1274), and granddaughter and co-heiress of Gilbert fitz Renfrid, baron of Kendal, and his wife Helewise de Lancaster (*vide* footnote no. 8). She died in 1307 (*Cal. Ings.*, vol. IV, p. 284), having transferred a considerable portion of her share of the barony to her nephew, Sir Marmaduke de Thweng (1st Lord Thweng, of Thwing and Kilton), between 1297 and 1301 (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1297, p. 304; Feet of Fines, Westmorland, 29 Edward I [1300–1301], no. 62). Included in the transfer of 1301 was the manor of Great Strickland (Levens MSS., vol. II, f^o 12), of which the Thwengs henceforth became the overlords.

regarding the distribution of the various ancestral properties. Like the rest of his family at this period, Sir John de Strickland took an active part in the Scottish wars: and in March 1312 he was granted remission of a debt to the Crown of £100 (originally incurred by Sir William de Strickland many years before) "in consideration of his good service in Scotland both to the King [Edward II] and to the King's late father" (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1312, p. 408). Sir John was amongst those pardoned, on the testimony of Roger de Clifford, for having been implicated in the Earl of Lancaster's rising in 1321 (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1321, p. 20): and he no doubt fought with Clifford at the disastrous battle of Boroughbridge on 16 March 1321/2,—since on 3 August 1322 he received restoration of his lands and goods which had been forfeited for his adherence to Roger de Clifford, a rebel (Palgrave, *Parliamentary Writs*).⁵⁷ He acted as commissioner of array in Westmorland in 1326, represented the county in Parliament in 1326 and 1327, and is described as (deputy) sheriff of Westmorland on 9 July 1337,⁵⁸ when attesting a settlement made by John le Franceys of the manor of Cliburn (cf. Assize Roll, Westmorland, 14 Edward III [1340–1341], no. 1426b). His wife Alice seems to have been previously married to Sir John de Byron of Clayton in Droylsden, Lancs. (ancestor of Lord Byron, the poet), who died shortly before Easter 1318, leaving Alice as his widow (De Banco Roll, no. 222, m. 229). The latter⁵⁹ first appears as the wife of Sir John de Strickland in 1319 (Assize Roll, Lancashire, no. 424, m. 9);⁶⁰ and in 1321 and later Sir John and Alice were prosecuting claims for dower out of the Byron estates against Sir Richard de Byron, Alice's step-son (De Banco Roll, no. 240, m. 192; *ibid.*, no. 276, m. 159). In 1329 Sir John de Strickland settled the manor of Great Strickland on his wife, Alice, and their issue (Feet of Fines, Westmorland, 3 Edward III). But evidently the marriage was childless; for in 1340 Sir John made a fresh entail with remainder to his nephew

⁵⁷ This act of clemency was doubtless facilitated by Sir John's elder brother, Sir Walter de Strickland, who (as we know) had been placed in Roger de Clifford's shoes as sheriff of Westmorland and constable of Appleby castle (*ante*, p. 45).

⁵⁸ He was appointed 12 Oct. 1335 (MS. List of Sheriffs in the Public Record Office).

⁵⁹ She is alleged to have been one of the heirs of Robert Banaster of Hindley, Lancs. (Betham, *Baronetage*, vol. I, p. 412). Plantagenet-Harrison (*History of Yorkshire*, p. 373) calls her "daughter and co-heir of William de Stopham, lord of Baildon in Ayr-dale."

⁶⁰ When Henry de Trafford impleaded John la Warre and his wife, Joan (Grelley), and Sir John de Stirkeland and his wife, Alice, concerning lands in Chorlton, co. Lancs. (Assize Roll, *ut supra*).

John son of Robert de Strickland, Joan his wife, and their heirs, Sir Edmund de Neville and John de Lowther, clerk, being named as the interim feoffees (*ibid.*, 14 Edward III). In 1341 Sir John is recorded as holding Great Strickland of the heir of William de Thweng (*Cal. Inqs.*, vol. VIII, p. 202): and in 1342 Richard Warde of Walesby, Lincs., obtained pardon of his outlawry "in the county [Court] of Westmorland for failing to answer the plea of Sir John de Stirkeland, knight, that he [Richard] render an account of the time when he acted as the said Sir John's receiver of monies" (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1342, p. 468). In 1348, we find mention of Sir John and his wife, Alice, as defendants in a claim for property in Lancashire at the suit of Robert de Fallowfield (De Banco Roll, no. 356, m. 140); and four years after this (1352) Sir John was gathered to his fathers, being probably at least eighty at the date of his death.

The *inquisitio post mortem* (which has hitherto been ignored by all authorities) was taken at Appleby on Monday after the Feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist, 34 Edward III [1361] pursuant to a writ addressed to the escheator of Westmorland on the 16th of May. The document itself recites that Sir John de Stirkeland had died on the Thursday following the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, 25 Edward III [1352], holding Great Stirkeland manor of Sir John de Thweng by the service of 16s. "cornage" yearly,⁶¹ and that his heir was his kinsman (*consanguineus*) Robert de Stirkeland, "now [*i.e.* in 1361] aged sixteen years and upwards." During his own lifetime, the said Sir John de Stirkeland had settled the aforesaid manor, etc., upon his heirs by his wife Alice, with remainder to John son of Robert de Stirkeland, Joan his wife, and their issue [cf. the Final Concords already quoted in the text]. John, son of Robert de Stirkeland died, leaving Robert de Stirkeland (above-named) and other sons and daughters; and his wife, Joan, survived him and married, secondly, Thomas de Berewys. And, since Sir John de Stirkeland and his wife Alice died childless, the said Thomas de Berewys and Joan entered into possession of the manor and enjoyed the profits thereof from the time of the decease of Sir John and Alice until the manor was taken by the

⁶¹ The tenure was actually by knight service (see footnotes nos. 6 and 18; also *infra*, page 49).

escheator into the king's hands (Chanc. Inq. P.M.'s, Edward III, file 150, no. 6; *Cal. Inqs.*, vol. X, pp. 467-468).

Along with this same inquisition are included the following writ and inquest, which disclose further interesting particulars:—

(I) Writ of *plenius certiorari* to the escheator in Westmorland, dated 3 December, 33 Edward III [1359]: The said escheator had previously answered to a writ of *certiorari super causa capcionis*, regarding the title of Thomas de Berewys and Joan his wife to the manor of Great Stirkeland, that he had found by an inquisition taken *ex officio* that Margaret de Ros, tenant-in-chief, alienated an annual rent of 50s. from divers tenements in Stirkeland and two quarters and two bushels of oatmeal from the mill there to Richard de Preston and Amabel, his wife,⁶² who thereupon enfeoffed (Sir) John de Stirkeland, who included the same in his settlement upon his wife, Alice; after whose death without heirs the said rent—along with the manor of Stirkeland which (Sir) John de Stirkeland held of Thomas de Thweng by knight's service—was seized into the king's hands by the customary royal prerogative. "But now Thomas de Berewys and Joan his wife petition that the king's hand be removed, since they assert that they hold a messuage, sixty acres of land, and six acres of meadow in [Great] Stirkeland from which the aforesaid rent used to come, and have informed the king that the above premises are held of Thomas de Thweng and not of the king *in capite*." (II) Inquest taken at Appleby on the Monday after Palm Sunday, 33 Edward III [1359/60]: One Richard de Laton was seised in demesne as of fee of a messuage, sixty acres, and six acres of meadow in Stirkeland, from which the rent, etc., mentioned in the above writ used to come, and held them of one Thomas Long of Stirkeland, as of a third part of the manor of Stirkeland, by the service of 2s. yearly for "cornage;"⁶³ and he alienated the said tene-

⁶² In 1315 Amabel, widow of Sir Richard de Preston, obtained a pardon for having, in conjunction with her late husband, acquired 50s. rent in "Stirkeland" from Margaret de Ros without licence of the Crown (*Abbrev. Rot. Original*, vol. I, p. 214; *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1315, p. 302). Sir Richard de Preston (he was the M.P. of 1290, for whom see footnote no. 17) was still living in 1310, when he witnessed a release to Sir Walter de Strickland from John son of Sir Roger de Burton (Sizergh MSS.). But Margaret de Ros had died in 1307 (cf. footnote no. 56), so that her grant of the rent to Sir Richard and Amabel must have actually occurred prior to that year.

⁶³ Thomas Long seems to have a freeholder at Great Strickland *temp.* Henry III (cf. *ante*, p. 27, and footnote no. 12); while Richard de Laton was possibly some cadet of the Yorkshire Laytons, who from early times held land at East and West Layton of the honour of Richmond. A deed of *circa* 1290 mentions the sale from John Gudeberd to (Sir) Richard de Preston and Amabel his wife of a messuage "lying between 'Latuneland and Richards land' in Great Stirkeland" (Sizergh MSS.); and "Latuneland in Great Stirkeland" is again referred to in a record of the year 1335 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1335, p. 378).

ments to Robert de Stirkeland [*i.e.* Sir Robert de Strickland, died 1278], to hold of the chief lords of the fee by the rent aforesaid. Robert de Stirkeland died in possession; and upon his death his son William de Stirkeland [Sir William de Strickland, husband of Elizabeth d'Eyncourt] entered as his heir and afterwards gave the lands to Sir John de Stirkeland and the heirs of his body. But the above-named Richard de Laton, having retained the actual rent by a special reservation, granted it to Margaret de Ros, who gave it to Richard de Preston and his wife Amabel, who in turn enfeoffed Sir John de Stirkeland, who was already in possession of the tenements on which the rent was charged. Amabel de Preston, after the death of her husband, released to Sir John de Stirkeland all claims, etc., by virtue of which deeds the rent itself became totally extinguished. Consequently, neither Margaret de Ros nor Sir John de Stirkeland nor any other ever held the said rent of the king *in capite*; nor are the tenements from which the rent came held in chief, but of Thomas de Thweng by the service of 2s. yearly for "cornage" and by homage (Chanc. Inq. P.M.'s, *ibid.*).

From the records just quoted, it is apparent that Sir John de Strickland's eventual successor in the Great Strickland property was Robert de Strickland, a minor, who was aged sixteen in 1361 and was hence born about 1345; and we are further informed that the latter was the eldest son ⁶⁴ of the "John, son of Robert de Stirkeland" upon whom Sir John de Strickland had entailed his possessions in 1340. This John son of Robert was himself born *circa* 1293; for he is described as "aged forty" in 1337, when he volunteered the curious piece of information that a bastard son of his had been killed by mischance "at the schools at Oxford" eighteen years before (*Cal. Inqs.*, vol. IX, pp. 34-5). ⁶⁵ Between 1348 and 1350 he served as a collector of the subsidy in Westmorland and Cumberland (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1348-1350), and was a juror on an inquisition at Kendal in 1354 (Dodsworth MSS., vol. 70, f^o 148b). But he was evidently dead before the year 1361, by which date his widow Joan had become the wife of Thomas de "Berewys"—probably the Thomas de Barwise (of Barwise in Appleby) who was M.P. for Westmorland in 1360.

⁶⁴ The inquisition itself speaks of "other sons and daughters" (*ibid.*), without, however, referring to them by name.

⁶⁵ This bastard son was likewise named Robert (*Cal. Inqs.*, *loc. cit.*); but as he died in youth there is no risk of confusing him with the legitimate heir.

From 1320 onwards, John son of Robert de Strickland's name is frequently associated with that of Sir John de Strickland in attesting charters, etc.;⁶⁶ and it is reasonable to suppose that his father, Robert, was yet another of Sir John de Strickland's brothers—a supposition which is supported by the mention of "Robert de Stirkland" as "brother" of (Sir) John de Stirkland and "son" of (Sir) William de Stirkland in a Westmorland Coram Rege Roll of 1302 (*ibid.*, no. 168, m. 45).⁶⁷

It only remains to add that by the beginning of the fifteenth century Great Strickland manor had passed to Nicholas de Fallowfield, against whom Sir Thomas de Strickland—the then head of the Sizergh branch—appears to have claimed the estate as heir male (Sizergh MSS.).⁶⁸ Nicholas, however, continued to retain possession, as did his descendants up to the close of the seventeenth century (cf. Nicolson and Burn, *History of Westmorland and Cumberland*, vol. I, p. 360): and, since the later Fallowfield arms, *Sable three escallops or*, are similar to those of Strickland save for a change of tincture, it would seem highly probable that the Fallowfields themselves succeeded to Great Strickland by marriage with the heiress of the young Robert de Strickland who was born in 1345.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ e.g. in 1330 Sir John de Stirkeland and John son of Robert de Stirkeland witnessed a settlement of the manor of Sockbridge (*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, New Series, vol. X, pp. 456–460); and in 1339 they both witnessed two grants of land in Crosby Ravensworth made to William son of Sir Henry de Threlkeld (Lowther MSS). A deed enrolled on the Westmorland Assize Roll of 14 Edward III [1340], and dated at "Clibrun" (Cliburn) 9 July 1337, was attested by Sir John de Stirkeland, (deputy) sheriff of Westmorland, John son of Robert de Stirkeland, and Sir Thomas de Stirkeland (eldest son of Sir Walter de Strickland of Sizergh).

⁶⁷ Mr. Hornyold-Strickland follows Bellasis and others in making this Robert the third son of Sir William de Strickland, but gives no proof of his parentage (*op. cit.*, p. 23). There seems little doubt that Robert was really the *fourth* son, and that Sir John de Strickland was his older brother (cf. footnote no. 55).

⁶⁸ This claim is dated by the Rev. Thomas West (in his MS. abstracts of Sizergh deeds) as *temp.* Edward III, but it quite obviously belongs to a later period. For Sir Thomas de Strickland is expressly described as "son of Walter, son of Thomas, son of Walter, son and heir of William de Stirkeland, to whom his father Sir Robert de Stirkeland gave the said manor (of Great Stirkeland) with remainder to his heirs by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Ralph Daincurt" (Sizergh MSS.). The claimant was therefore the second Sir Thomas de Strickland, who succeeded to Sizergh in 1407/8, was knighted in 1425, and died in 1455: and the claim itself may thus be assigned to *circa* 1430.

⁶⁹ The latter was plaintiff in a plea concerning property in Great Strickland against Sir Thomas de Strickland (the husband of Cecily de Welles) in 1375 (Assize Roll, Westmorland, 49 Edward III); and on 14 Mar. 1378/9 he was pardoned for having acquired without licence a tenement called Ravewyk in Applethwaite (near Great Strickland), co. Westmorland, which Ingram de Coucy, Earl of Bedford had granted him for life (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1379, p. 334). No doubt he was the same Robert de Stirkeland who served as escheator of Northumberland in 1391 (Bain, *Cal. Docs. Scots.*, IV).

Meanwhile, besides the children whom we have already enumerated (William, Sir Walter, Sir John, and Robert), Sir William de Strickland and Elizabeth d'Eyncourt are also alleged to have left two additional sons, named Hugh and Roger (Bellasis, "Genealogy of the Stricklands of Sizergh," *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, Old Series, vol. X, p. 75; Hornyold-Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 24). The name of a Hugh de Stirkland does indeed appear in a list of the northern knights (who included Sir John de Strickland) captured at the battle of Boroughbridge in 1322 (Palgrave, *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. II, p. 201); but I have been unable to find any further reference to him and his exact relationship remains unproven, although there is little doubt that he belonged to the same stock.⁷⁰ On the other hand, Roger de Strickland, so far from having been a son or relative of Sir William de Strickland, in all probability possessed no connection with the Sizergh family whatever. The only mention of him which Mr. Hornyold-Strickland adduces (*ibid.*, p. 24) is Plantagenet-Harrison's assertion (unsupported as usual) that in 1311-12 Roger de Stirkeland "was defendant in a suit by Sir Richard de Bermingham . . . for hunting without license on his lands at Berborne," *i.e.* Barbon in Kendal. But this Roger de Stirkeland of Barbon was almost certainly the same man who occurs in Kendal records of the period as Roger "de Stirkeland Ketell," *alias* Roger "de Kendale" (cf. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1296, pp. 509-510; De Banco Roll, no. 108, m. 23; *ibid.*, no. 109, m. 21d.): and he would thus have derived his surname from Strickland Ketel in Kendal, and not (like the Sizergh Stricklands) from Great Strickland near Appleby.⁷¹

One genuine member of the Sizergh line does, however, yet require to be noticed, viz., Joan de Strickland, who was Sir William de Strickland's only known daughter by his marriage with the Sizergh heiress. She espoused Robert de Washington, who, thanks to the powerful Strickland influence, was returned as M.P. for Westmorland to the Parliament of May 1300 (Lee

⁷⁰ Presumably another kinsman was the Thomas de "Sterkland" who occurs with Sir William de Strickland in 1299 as witness to a grant of lands in Newby, co. Westmorland, and who attested a release from Adam Warde to Sir Walter de Strickland in 1311 (Sizergh MSS.). A Duchy of Lancaster Assize Roll of the year 1292 mentions that during the sittings of the justices at Lancaster "Richard Tothay, serjeant, chattered in the hall and made a great tumult which impeded the Court, and Thomas de Stirkland was also in mercy for the same" (Assize Roll, Lancs., no. 416, m. 28).

⁷¹ He was most probably identical with Roger de Carnaby, Vicar of Kendal 1307—*circa* 1333, and M.P. for Westmorland in 1318 (*vide supra*, page 42). Cf. also the case of John, son of William de Strickland (Ketel), cited in footnote no. 39.

Washington, *Early Parliamentary of Westmorland*). This Strickland-Washington alliance took place (as the Sizergh muniments show) in 1292, when (Sir) Walter de Strickland, by a grant dated "on the Wednesday next after the Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle 24 September, 20 Edward I [1292]", settled upon his sister, Joan, and Robert de "Wessington," her husband, nine messuages, five bovates, a hundred and fifteen and a half acres, and one rod of land in Natland, also a meadow called Le Quaghe and the land of John Gretason, and a moiety of the land of "Lowkerig" [Loughrigg in Natland], all in co. Westmorland (Sizergh MSS.). Sir Walter further endowed Joan and her heirs with the manor of Routhworth in Helsington, co. Westmorland (Lee Washington, *Early Parliamentary Representation of Westmorland*)—as well as with a moiety of the manor of Carnforth in the parish of Warton, co. Lancs., part of the Lancashire fee of the barons of Kendal, which Robert de Washington was holding *jure uxoris* at the time of his decease in 1324 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1324, p. 249; *Cal. Inqs.*, vol. VI, p. 357). A curious feature about the tenure of the Carnforth moiety—and one which, incidentally, entirely escaped the attention of the learned editors of the *Victoria County History*⁷² is that, although Robert de Washington was plainly holding it in 1301 under Sir Marmaduke de Thweng, one of the co-heirs to the barony of Kendal (*Lancs. Final Concords* [Rec. Soc. Lancs. and Cheshire], vol. I, p. 214), yet before Robert's death this Thweng overlordship had been eliminated: for in 1324 it is recorded that the property had then lately been held by "Robert de Wessington, tenant-in-chief, deceased," directly of the king *in capite* as of the earldom of Lancaster (*Cal. Inqs.*, vol. VI, p. 357). Possibly the explanation lies in the fact that Robert (as my own researches prove) was closely associated throughout his life with Sir Marmaduke de Thweng, whom he attended with great gallantry as personal Esquire in the Scottish campaigns:⁷³ and Sir Marmaduke may well have released Robert and his descendants from the feudal obligations due from the manor of Carnforth, as a partial reward for these long and faithful services.

⁷² See V. C. H. *Lancs.*, vol. VIII, pp. 168–9.

⁷³ Cf. Lee Washington, *op. cit.*, and the new *History of Parliament*, vol. III (to which the writer has contributed).

PART II

PART II

THE ANCESTRY OF ELIZABETH D'EYNCOURT

SO MUCH for the Stricklands; and it now becomes necessary to turn to the pedigree of Elizabeth d'Eyncourt and to the illustrious descent which she was the means of introducing into the Strickland family. Elizabeth's earliest ancestor in Westmorland is known to have been a certain Gervase d'Eyncourt, who was granted Sizergh towards the end of the twelfth century by William de Lancaster II, lord of Kendal; but the intervening generations have never been correctly worked out, and the printed information on the subject is too fragmentary to be of much assistance. A tentative chart of the Westmorland d'Eyncourts (though without any supporting proofs) was, indeed, published some years ago by the late Canon Ragg (*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, New Series, vol. XVI, pp. 167-8), which made Elizabeth the sister and heiress of Ralph d'Eyncourt and daughter of another Ralph by Helen (or Eleanor) de Furness—the last-named Ralph (Elizabeth's father) being given as son of Peter d'Eyncourt by Avice de "Apelthwayt", and grandson of Gervase d'Eyncourt, the Sizergh grantee. This genealogy, however, is contradicted by the Sizergh evidences (*vide infra*), which show clearly that Elizabeth's brother was named not Ralph but Richard, and that she herself was the granddaughter (instead of being the daughter) of the Ralph d'Eyncourt who married Eleanor de Furness (*alias* le Fleming); and, moreover, there is ample evidence that Peter d'Eyncourt, the husband of Avice de Applethwaite, was not in the direct line at all, but, on the contrary, was the progenitor of a younger branch seated at Applethwaite, co. Westmoreland, which preserved a male succession until the fourteenth century.

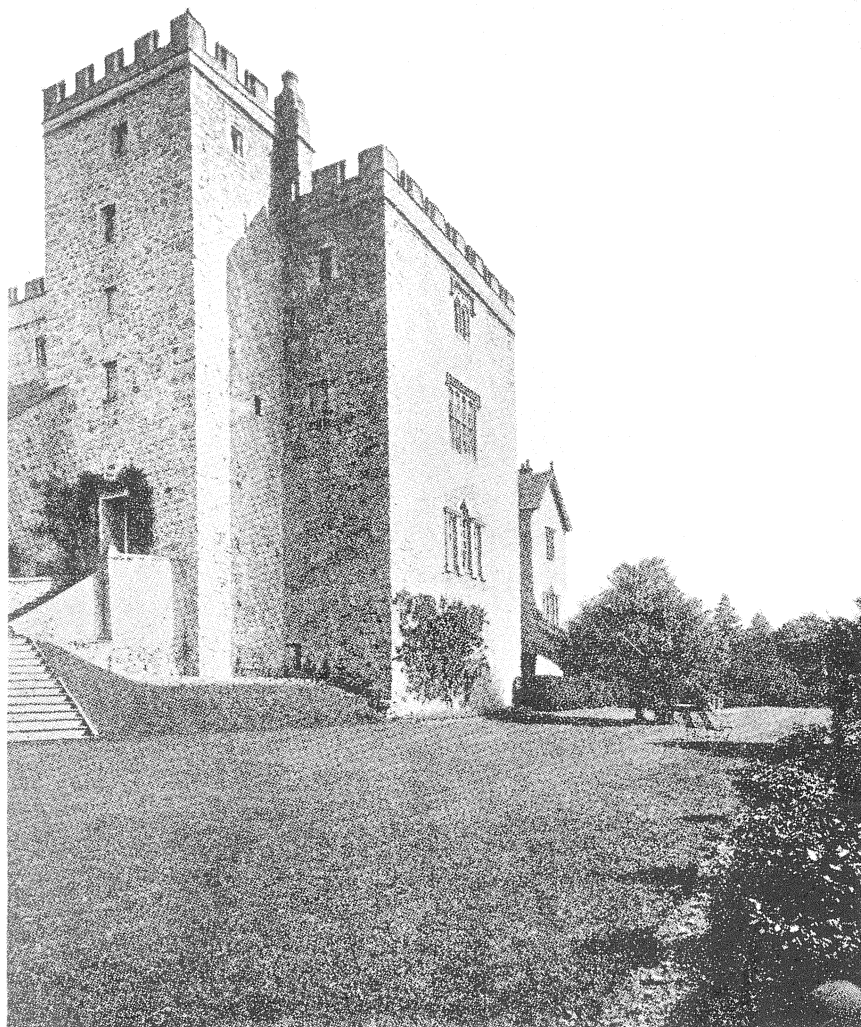
What clinches the matter is an entry on a Westmoreland De Banco Roll of 1312, where the entire d'Eyncourt descent is appended during the course of some proceedings between Sir Walter de Strickland and John, son of Sir Roger de Lancaster of

Sockbridge. This valuable entry states that in the Easter Term of the year 1312 "John son of Roger de Lancaster was summoned to answer Walter de Stirkeland regarding common of pasture in the vill of Barton. And the said Walter, by Adam de Burton, his attorney,⁷⁴ claimed common of pasture in two thousand acres of moor and pasture and three hundred acres of wood in Barton for all manner of cattle throughout the year, of which his ancestor Gervase [d'Eyncourt] was seised in the time of King Henry, grandfather of the King [Edward II] that now is. And from Gervase the right descended to a certain Ralph as son and heir, and from Ralph to Ralph [the second] as son and heir, and from Ralph [the second] to Gervase as son and heir; and from Gervase, because he died without any heirs of his body, the right went to Richard as brother and heir. And, Richard similarly dying childless, the right went to Elizabeth, as sister and heir of Richard and Gervase; and from Elizabeth the right descended to William (de Stirkeland), as her son and heir. And, because William died without issue, the right descended to his brother and heir, Walter (de Stirkeland), the present claimant" (De Banco Roll, Westmorland, Easter, 5 Edward II [1312], no. 192, m. 158 d. There is a further reference to the case on the same Roll, m. 171 d., where Sir Walter de Strickland's mother is specifically called "Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph de Ayncourt"). Bearing the foregoing pedigree in mind, we can accordingly turn to consider such illustrative and corroborative material as is afforded by the Sizergh muniments and other contemporary sources.

Gervase d'Eyncourt, the Sizergh grantee, was undoubtedly some cadet of the great baronial house of d'Eyncourt of Thurgarton, co. Nottingham, and Blankney, co. Lincs.; for the arms of the two families differed only in tincture, the Sizergh branch bearing *Silver a fesse dancetté between six billets sable*, while the d'Eyncourts of Blankney bore *Azure a fesse dancetté between six billets or*.⁷⁵ It is not impossible that Gervase's father was Ralph,

⁷⁴According to the Westmorland Assize Rolls, Adam de Burton had married Sigrid, widow of Ralph de Berburne (for whom see footnote no. 14), and mother of Christian, wife of Gilbert de Burneside, whose daughter Elizabeth de Burneside married *circa* 1310 (as his second wife) John de Washington, brother of Robert de Washington, the husband of Walter de Strickland's sister Joan (cf. Assize Rolls, Westmorland, no. 985, m. 23).

⁷⁵The quarterly arms of d'Eyncourt and Strickland (those of d'Eyncourt being given precedence and placed in the left quarter) are still to be seen on the fourteenth century



THE OLD TOWER, SIZERGH CASTLE

third and youngest son of the first Ralph d'Eyncourt, lord of Blankney and Thurgarton.⁷⁶ The latter in turn was the eldest surviving son of the Domesday tenant, Walter d'Eyncourt or d'Aincourt, one of the leading Norman magnates in the North Midlands *temp.* William the Conqueror. Walter derived his surname from Aincourt in the French Vexin, between Mantes and Magny. He appears as a tenant in chief in Domesday, holding over sixty manors, Blankney being the *caput* of his barony. In 1670 an inscription was discovered in Lincoln Cathedral, commemorating Walter's son, William, who died in his father's lifetime. William is described as *filius Walteri Aiencuriensis consanguinei Remigii episcopi Lincolniensis* [Remigius of Fécamp, Bishop of Lincoln] *qui hanc ecclesiam fecit*. How William was connected with Bishop Remigius (who also seems to have been a kinsman of the Amundevilles of Kingerby)⁷⁷ is not apparent; but his royal blood presumably came through his mother, the wife of Walter d'Aincourt, who was no doubt some relative of the Dukes of Normandy.

Gervase himself makes his initial appearance in Westmorland as a knight of the household of the second William de Lancaster (lord of Kendal between 1170 and 1184); and it is interesting to observe that Gervase witnessed the aforesaid William's confirmation of the manor of Docker to the hospital of St. Peter's, York, simply as *Geruasio milite* (cf. Charter Roll, 22 Edward I [1293-94], no. 80, m. 9). Gervase's name does not occur as attesting any of the grants of the earlier William de Lancaster (died 1170)—with the solitary exception of this William's conveyance of the manors of Heversham, Morland, and Grayrigg to Alexander de Windsor, his son-in-law. The last-named charter was printed by Sir George Duckett (*Duchetiana*, p. 15), and purports to have been given in the presence of Geoffrey, Earl of Richmond, Hubert de

tower of Sizergh Castle, which is believed to have been built by Elizabeth d'Eyncourt's son, Sir Walter de Strickland. It is an interesting fact, however, that the seal of Sir Ralph d'Eyncourt (Elizabeth's father), appended to one of his charters to John Gernet, bears the coat: *Two bars, in chief a canton* (Dodsworth MSS., vol. 149, fo 136). These arms are a variant of those of Sir Ralph's overlord, William III de Lancaster, lord of Kendal: (*Silver*) *two bars (gules)*, on a *canton (gules)* a *leopard (or)*; and another variation of the de Lancaster coat had evidently occasionally been used by the Stricklands, who like the d'Eyncourts, held of the Kendal barony (see footnote no. 4).

⁷⁶ Ralph I, who married a lady named Basile, founded the priory of Thurgarton between 1114 and 1140, and was ancestor of the Barons d'Eyncourt.

⁷⁷ For the Amundevilles, whose original shield gave rise to the Washingtons' stars and bars, and from whom the Washingtons themselves were most probably descended, see S. H. Lee Washington, "The Arms of Washington," in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October, 1941.

Vaux, William de Lancaster, Junior (eldest son of the grantor), Gervase "de Aencurt", Gilbert son of William (de Lancaster), and Jordan his brother. But clearly the text must be corrupt, since, although Hubert de Vaux (of Gilsland) died in 1165, Geoffrey (Plantagenet) did not become Earl of Richmond until 1181, while both Gilbert and Jordan were illegitimate sons of the *second* William de Lancaster who died in 1184. The most likely explanation is that the document in its existing form represents a combination of two separate charters issued by successive lords of Kendal, and that the witnesses to both charters have been accidentally combined by the mediaeval transcriber.

In the meantime, further documents illustrate Gervase d'Eyncourt's position as one of the second William de Lancaster's *familia*. Thus, along with William's second wife Helewise (de Stuteville), Gervase attested a grant of half the land of Crook (in Strickland Ketel, co. Westmorland) made by William to his cook, Walter, and another grant of the remaining portion of Crook to William fitz Geoffrey (Levens MSS.). He also attested William de Lancaster's conveyance bestowing half of Sockbridge in Kendal upon his natural son, Gilbert—among the other witnesses on that occasion being Walter, Abbot of Furness, Norman (de Redman) the Sewer, and "Michael le Fleming of Furness and Anselm his son" (Lowther MSS.). Moreover, *circa* 1175–1180 Gervase was formally enfeoffed of fifteen "librates" in Westmorland, including the lands of Sizergh, to hold by the service of three-fourths of a knight's fee: and the charter of feoffment, which is the first in the long series of family muniments preserved at Sizergh Castle, would seem to be of sufficient importance to warrant its being quoted *in toto*:

Notum sit tam futuris quam presentibus quod ego Willelmus de Lancastre dedi et concessi Geruasio de Aencurt pro homagio suo et seruicio suo XV libratas terre [scilicet tres partes feodi] unius militis [in Nataunda et Bothelford . . . us] que ad rivulum de furcis et sic totum campum in sursum usque ad viam de Hotun . . . emus et de . . . illa usque ad diuisam de Hotun et de Stainton, et Sigaritherge cum pertinentiis suis et Winderge cum pertinentiis suis et alteram Windergam cum pertinentiis suis et meam partem de Louder, et illam partem de Socabret que fuit Walteui. Has predictas terras dedi ei pro XII libratibus terre et dimidia librata terre et de L. solidatis terre que retro sunt tradidi ei seruicium de Hacatorp in vagium pro L. solidatis donec sibi perficiam XV libratas terre, in feodo et hereditate sibi et heredibus suis de me et de meis heredibus tenere libere et quiete et honorifice in bosco, in plano, in aquis, in pratis, in pascuis, et in omnibus libertatibus. Testibus: Normanno dapifero, Jordano filio domini, Gilberto filio domini, Grumbaldo,

Roberto de Heriez, Anselmo, ⁷⁸ Ormo filio Tore, Rogero de Croft, Rogero filio Ade, Ormo filio Bernulfi, Roberto Mustel, Willelmo persona de Warton, Johanne clerico, Ricardo camerario, Willelmo [de Pultyngton]. Vale. [mutilated; seals missing].

About the same date, for the witnesses are similar, William de Lancaster granted Gervase an additional twelve and a half "librates" in Whelpside and Whinfell (which lie adjacent to Sizergh), for which he was to render the service of one-fourth of a fee (Sizergh MSS.); and another Sizergh charter (in Norman-French) records that the said William de Lancaster afterwards released him from all services due from his lands in Westmorland, in exchange for a rent of 50s:

Sachent presens et advenir q je Gillem de Lancastre garaunte et quite ay clayme a Gervase de Haencurt et ses heiers de moy et mes heiers et a cest ma present chartre ay conferme au dit Gervase tous maniers de rentes et services a il et ces heiers dount fair a moy et mes heiers pour aucun de ces maniers, terres, ou tenements dedans la counte de Westmerland, en la exchainge pour la repte de sinc quant souvs en Westmerland, les que anoc le dit Gervase et ces heiers avaunt dellesse a moy et mes heiers a toue jours. Tesmoignes: Norman dapifer, Robert de Heriic, Anselme, Orme fitz Rober le Chamurleyn, Gillem de Croft, Gillem le Person de Warton, Johan le Clerk, Ricardyn le Chamburleyn, Gillem de Pultyngton, et autres.

Gervase thus became the holder of a considerable fief in the Kendal district, including Sizergh, Natland, Hutton, Routhworth, High and Low Windergh, Whinfell, and Whelpside, besides other holdings in north Westmorland at Sockbridge, Hackthorpe, Barton, and Lowther.⁷⁹ After the death of William de Lancaster in 1184, William Marshale (afterwards Earl of Pembroke), the guardian of de Lancaster's young daughter and heirless Helewise, confirmed Gervase in these possessions (Sizergh MSS.): and a few years later the latter received a fresh confirmation from Gilbert fitz Renfrid (Levens MSS.), who had become lord of Kendal through his marriage to Helewise in 1189. Gilbert fitz Renfrid likewise gave Gervase quittance from the ancient tribute of "noutgeld",⁸⁰ for which release Gervase paid twenty marks in silver (Sizergh MSS.); and in the Dodsworth MSS. are two charters of property in Levens, co. Westmorland,

⁷⁸ Anselm le Fleming, whose daughter Eleanor became the wife of Gervase's son Ralph (*vide infra*).

⁷⁹ It is apparent from the Assize Rolls that the d'Eyncourts also possessed rights in the presentation to Lowther church, which passed from them to the Stricklands (cf. Assize Roll, Westmorland, no. 980, m. 6 d.; and footnote no. 72).

⁸⁰ "Noutgeld", or "geld of cows", was a survival of pre-Conquest days, being a rent incumbent on the land and paid in kind, i.e. in cattle. The assessment was reckoned "by head" or "by horn" on the animals kept by the tenant.

granted to Gervase de "Aencurt" by Ketel de Levens and Orm de Ninezergh (*ibid.*, vol. 149, f^{os} 134 d., 135 d.). Gervase himself was still living as late as 1210, when he served on two inquisitions at Carlisle (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 339); but he probably died before May 1211, when the name of his son and successor, Ralph d'Eyncourt, replaces his own as witness to a grant made by Robert de Vieuxpont to the abbey of Shap (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1st edit., II, p. 595).

Ralph d'Eyncourt the son of Gervase,⁸¹ was one of the two knights in attendance on Gilbert fitz Renfrid who were taken prisoner, along with their suzerain, at the capture of Rochester castle, 30 Nov. 1215. On 22 Jan. 1215/16, Gilbert fitz Renfrid became obliged to pay King John the enormous sum of twelve thousand marks to purchase a pardon for his "confederacy with the king's enemies and that his son William de Lancastre⁸² and his knights, Ralph de Aencurt and Lambert de Bussay,⁸³ might be delivered from the king's prison, having been taken at the castle of Rochester in arms against the king", etc. (*Rot. Fin.* [Rec. Com.], p. 570). The unfortunate Gilbert was further required to furnish hostages from amongst the sons or daughters of his principal mesne-tenants in the barony of Kendal; and we learn that among those selected were "the heir (son or daughter) of Ralph de Aencurt" and "the heir of Walter de Stirkeland", the husband of Christian de Leteham and the founder of the Stricklands of Sizergh (*Rot. Chart.* [Rec. Com.], p. 221 b).⁸⁴ Nor was it until 1217, after King John's death, that Ralph d'Eyncourt received a pardon from the young Henry III, and was allowed to leave his place of confinement at Corfe castle and return to his allegiance (*Rot. Litt. Claus.* [Rec. Com.], I, p. 376). The fact that the new king was then under the regency of William Marshal, the quondam guardian of Gilbert fitz Renfrid's wife Helewise, had doubtless helped to expedite Ralph's release. About the year 1220, the latter demised five acres of land in Lev-

⁸¹ De Banco Roll, Westmorland, no. 192, m. 158 d. The names of Gervase and Ralph occur together in several earlier charters. Together they witnessed Gilbert fitz Renfrid's grant of Lambrigg, co. Westmorland, to Lambert de Bussy (*Northamptonshire Charters* [Northants. Rec. Soc.] and his confirmation to Henry de Redman of the manors of Levens and Selside (Levens MSS., f^o 95).

⁸² He was the heir of his mother Helewise, the daughter and heiress of William II de Lancaster, and assumed the de Lancaster arms and surname (*vide* footnote no. 8).

⁸³ The grantee of Lambrigg.

⁸⁴ *Vide supra*, pp. 20, 28.

ens, which he "had from Roger de Lancastre of the fee of Orm de Niandsherg" [Ninezergh], to Gilbert de Osmotherley, the witnesses including Matthew de Sizergh and Robert d'Eyncourt (probably the grantor's younger brother),⁸⁵ and by another charter, of *circa* 1224–6, he transferred the holding to a certain Roger Abbot (Dodsworth MSS., vol. 149, f^o 135). Ralph was dead by 1228–1233, when Eleanor his widow, for the souls of her "lord, Ralph de Haynecurth, and of Helewise de Lancastre", confirmed a rent of 2s. 6d. for one moiety of the vill of "Siggeswich" [Sedgwick in Kendal], formerly held by Herbert de Ellet, to the canons of Cockersand (*Cockersand Chartulary* [Chetham Soc.], p. 10 44). The Sizergh muniments make it clear that Eleanor herself was one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Anselm le Fleming, *alias* de Furness, from whom she inherited the manor of Stainton in Kendal, with lands at Yanwath, co. Westmorland, and Drigg, co. Cumberland. For by a charter of *circa* 1210–1215 Anselm de "Furnesia" gave to Ralph de "Aiencurt", in further increase of the property which the said Ralph held in free marriage with Eleanor, the grantor's daughter, "the hall of Stayneton, with its precincts, garden, and vivary"—the witnesses comprising William, Prior of Cartmel, Robert d'Eyncourt, Richard fitz Alard, Thomas de Esseby, and Thomas de Linacre (Sizergh MSS.). As will presently appear, Anselm was the younger son of Michael le Fleming, lord of Aldingham, co. Lancs.; while his wife Alice was a niece, maternally, of Walter de Greystoke and a daughter of the great Scottish house of Dunbar.

Ralph d'Eyncourt and his wife Eleanor (le Fleming) seem to have left at least two sons, viz., Sir Ralph of Sizergh—who is called "son of Ralph (Senior) and grandson of Gervase" in a charter of *circa* 1245 (*vide infra*)—and Peter, who married Avice, daughter and co-heiress of William de Applethwaite,⁸⁶ by whom he was father of another Sir Ralph d'Eyncourt (of Applethwaite and Arcleby, co. Cumb.), who served as coroner of Cumberland

⁸⁵ Robert attested the grant to Ralph made by Anselm le Fleming *circa* 1210–1215 (*vide infra*).

⁸⁶ In 1246 Thomas de Lowther and Beatrice, his wife, had a Final Concord with Peter d'Eyncourt and Avice, his wife, regarding the manor of Crosthwaite, co. Cumb. (Feet of Fines, Cumberland, 30 Henry III [1245–1246]). The manors of Crosthwaite and Applethwaite descended to Beatrice and Avice from William de Applethwaite, their father.

in 1300 and a commissioner to assess the Subsidy there in 1301.⁸⁷ An Adam d'Eyncourt, chaplain, occurs in a Final Concord with John de "Hotonrofe" and Eleanor his wife concerning the manor of Hutton Roof, co. Westmorland, as late as 1327 (De Banco Roll, Easter, 12 Edward II [1319], m. 121 d.; *ibid.*, Trinity, 12 Edward II [1319], m. 35).

But it is Sir Ralph d'Eyncourt of Sizergh—the eldest grandson of Gervase, the knight of William de Lancaster—who chiefly concerns us here: and Sir Ralph's name appears as witness to numerous Westmorland charters during the second quarter of the thirteenth century. His parentage is proven by a quitclaim of *circa* 1233–1235, by which Roger Abbot released to Ralph "son of Ralph de Aynecurt" property at Levens, co. Westmorland, the witnesses including Walter de Strickland, Gervase d'Eyncourt,⁸⁸ and Richard de Preston (Dodsworth MSS., vol. 149, f° 135 d.); while Thomas de Levens granted him further holdings there, as well as the land which Ketel de Levens gave to "Gervase de Aynecurt, the said Ralph's grandfather" (Sizergh MSS.). In 1235 Ralph d'Eyncourt and Patrick fitz Thomas (de Curwen)⁸⁹ are mentioned as holding one knight's fee of the barony of Kendal (*Rot. Chart.* [Rec. Com.], I, p. 412); and in 1240 the former, having not yet become a knight, was granted a respite until the next Feast of Pentecost (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1240, p. 343). But, although holding a whole knight's fee, Ralph had still not taken up knighthood by the following year—since on 24 April 1241 the king ordered the sheriff of Westmorland to distrain Roger de Burton, Ralph d'Eyncourt, and Guy de Boyville for their failure in this respect (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1241, p. 352). On 7 Dec. 1237 Ralph d'Eyncourt and Richard de Denton, clerk, were appointed to collect the Subsidy in co. Westmorland, in place of Thomas fitz John, deceased (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1237, p. 206); and the King issued a writ on 13 Feb. 1239/40 commanding that Ralph be reimbursed with the sum of 100s. for his expenses as collector (*Cal. Liberate Rolls*, 1240, p. 450). In 1242 the latter was again in official employment, when we find that Sir Ralph d'Eyncourt (now evidently a knight) and Sir Robert de Asby received appointments in Westmorland as conservators of the peace (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1242, p. 484): and

⁸⁷ He held Applethwaite of Thomas de Lucy in 1305 (*Cal. Inqs.*).

⁸⁸ This was, of course, a second Gervase, for whom see below.

⁸⁹ Ancestor of the Curwens of Workington.

in 1243, during a suit in the Court of King's Bench between Matthew de Redman and William de Lancaster (the son of Gilbert fitz Renfrid), William was "attached" by Ralph de "Ayncurt" and Richard de Higham (*Curia Regis Rolls*, no. 128, m. 2 d.). In 1246 Sir Ralph impleaded William de Lancaster at Appleby for the right of having "estovers" (*i.e.* taking wood from an estate for reasonable purposes) in the manor of Barton (Assize Roll, Westmorland, no. 1045, m. 55 d.): and in the same year he officiated as a juror at Lancaster (*Lancs. Inqs.* [Lancs. and Cheshire Rec. Soc.], pt. I, p. 166),⁹⁰ while in 1247 he was amerced half a mark for a default (*Pipe Rolls of Cumb. and Westd.*, ed. Parker, p. 204). In addition to his paternal lands of Sizergh, etc., and the property which he inherited from his mother Eleanor le Fleming at Stainton, Yanwath, and Drigg, Sir Ralph purchased the manor of Tristermont, on Ullswater, from Hugh de la Chamber (cf. *Coram Rege Rolls*, Westmorland, Michaelmas, 4 Edward I [1276], m. 1), and also acquired *jure uxoris* lands at Blencarn and Carnforth (*vide infra*). Moreover, Roger Pepin, Rector of the mediety of the church of Kendal (subsequently sub-Dean of York), granted to him and his heirs the privilege of having a private chapel in their "court at Natelond for the celebration of divine service" (Feet of Fines, Westmorland, 31 Henry III [1246-47], file 4, no. 15), which suggests that Sir Ralph made his chief seat at Natland, rather than at Sizergh; and, indeed, the oldest existing portion of Sizergh Castle only dates from the time of Sir Walter de Strickland, his grandson. Sir Ralph likewise served as steward of the barony of Kendal under William de Lancaster, third and last of the name; and he was amongst those present at William's death-bed on 29 November 1246 (*Cal. Inqs.*, Henry III, p. 28; cf. *Trans. Cumb. and Westd. Antiq. Soc.*, New Series, vol. X, pp. 440-442). Shortly afterwards, William son of Henry [de Wrayton] was summoned to answer the Abbot of Cockersand in a plea to acquit him of the service that Ralph de "Aynecurt" demanded of the Abbot for the free tenement which he held of William (the defendant) in "Quinnefell" [Whinfell], co. Westmorland, viz. "thirty acres of land in that vill held in free alms by the Abbot by the gift of Adam fitz Orm, uncle of the said William, and for which, by

⁹⁰ In 1246, also, he was named as one of the interim feoffees in a grant made by (Sir) Robert son of Robert de Strickland to Adam son of Walter, his uncle (*vide footnote no. 27*).

reason of William's default, Ralph de Ayencurt distrained him (the Abbot) to do suit at his court [? at Natland] in Strickland Ketel" (Assize Roll, Westmorland, no. 454, *m.* 12). Sir Ralph was still living in 1251, when he was sued for entering the Abbot of Byland's demesne at Bannisdale, co. Westmorland, with force and arms (*ibid.*, no. 1046, *m.* 1; no. 1048, *m.* 4 d.). But he must have died soon afterwards, leaving a widow, Dame Alice de "Aynecurt", who *circa* 1260 was demised property at Sizergh by Robert son of Matthew de "Syzittsergh" which Sir Ralph de "Aynecurt", her late husband, had granted to the said Robert in exchange for land called "Ewode" (Dodsworth MSS., vol. 149, *f*^o 137 d.). It appears probable that it was this Dame Alice who brought to the d'Eyncourts as her *maritagium* half the manor of Blencarn, co. Cumberland, as well as half the manor of Carnforth in Warton, co. Lancs.,—both of which holdings were later in possession of her grandson, Sir Walter de Strickland, as part of his maternal inheritance (*Cal. Inqs.*, 5 Edward II [1311–1312], p. 183).⁹¹ For in a claim regarding a moiety of Blencarn, initiated by Juliana widow of Adam de Ireby against William de Thursby, it is stated that the said moiety was then held by Alice de "Eincurt" (*Abbrev. Placit.* [Rec. Com.], p. 78). The other moiety belonged to William de Thursby, whose daughter and heiress married Guy de Boyville (Denton, *Accompt*, p. 57); and in 1261 their son William de Boyville, together with his wife Alice, sued Walter de Lindsay (one of the co-heirs of the third William de Lancaster, last lord of Kendal) that he keep the agreement which he had with them concerning a messuage, two bovates, and fifty acres of land in Carnforth (Curia Regis Rolls, Michaelmas, 45 Henry III [1260–61], no. 171, *m.* 44 d.). The paternity of Alice, wife of Sir Ralph d'Eyncourt, is difficult to determine; but it seems possible that she, too, was an heiress of the de Thursby family.⁹²

⁹¹ Nothing has heretofore been ascertained regarding the manorial history of Carnforth prior to the reign of Edward I (*vide V. C. H. Lancs.*, vol. VIII, pp. 168–9). Carnforth was, however, included in the property settled by Sir Walter de Strickland upon his sister Joan (de Washington) in 1292 (*Cal. Inqs.*, vol. VI, p. 357; and see also page 125); and it is evident that all the property thus granted was part of Sir Walter's maternal inheritance, since he himself had not yet succeeded to the paternal estates (*ante*, pp. 41, 46).

⁹² The Thursbys, lords of Blencarn, Ainstable, and Thursby, co. Cumb., descended from a certain Herbert who had been granted "Thoresby" towards the middle of the twelfth century by Alan son of Waldeve, lord of Allerdale (Wilson, *St. Bees* [Surtees Soc.], p. 493). A Robert de Thursby witnessed a deed of *circa* 1163 relating to Culgaith, near Ainstable (Prescott, *Weiherhal*, p. 308), and occurs in the Cumberland Pipe Roll of 1182.

According to the entry on the De Banco Roll quoted at the commencement of this section, Sir Ralph d'Eyncourt was the father of three children: Gervase, his heir (who died *sine prole*), Richard (who also died without issue), and Elizabeth (the mother of Sir Walter de Strickland). Of Gervase, named for his great-grandfather, we know nothing beyond the fact that he witnessed Roger Abbot's quitclaim to his father of property at Levens (*vide supra*). Richard, the second son, occurs in two Sizergh charters, both of which are *sans date* but must have been issued at some period between 1251 and 1271.⁹³ By the first of these, William son of Patrick de Sedgwick released to Richard de "Ayncurt" the land at Sedgwick in Kendal which Sir Ralph de "Ayncurt" held at his death of the said William's fee; whilst by a further charter Hugh de "Sockebrede" quitclaimed to him all the holdings in Stainton which he had from "Sir Ralph de Eyncurt, father of the said Richard", in exchange for his own property at "Sockebrede" [Sockbridge, near Penrith].

As to Elizabeth, the sister of Richard and Gervase, we have already seen that she was married at a tender age (June 1239) to William, the young son and heir of Sir Robert de Strickland of Great Strickland, co. Westmorland; and she must have succeeded as heiress of the d'Eyncourt family in or before 1271. For Peter de Brus (nephew and one of the co-heirs of William de Lancaster III), who was dead by October 30th of that year (*Cal. Inqs.*, II, pp. 189-90), confirmed to William de Strickland and Elizabeth his wife their lands of Natland, Sizergh, Hackthorpe, etc., free from "pulture" of his master-forester and from service in the baronial court (Sizergh MSS.). Elizabeth is named as wife of William de "Stirkeland" in a Westmorland Final Concord of 1272 (*Excerpt. e Rot. Fin.* [Rec. Com.], II, p. 567): but she died between that date and 1276, when she is referred to as "deceased" in the course of a plea concerning the manor of Tristermont (Coram Rege Roll, Westmorland, Michaelmas, 4 Edward I [1276], m. I).

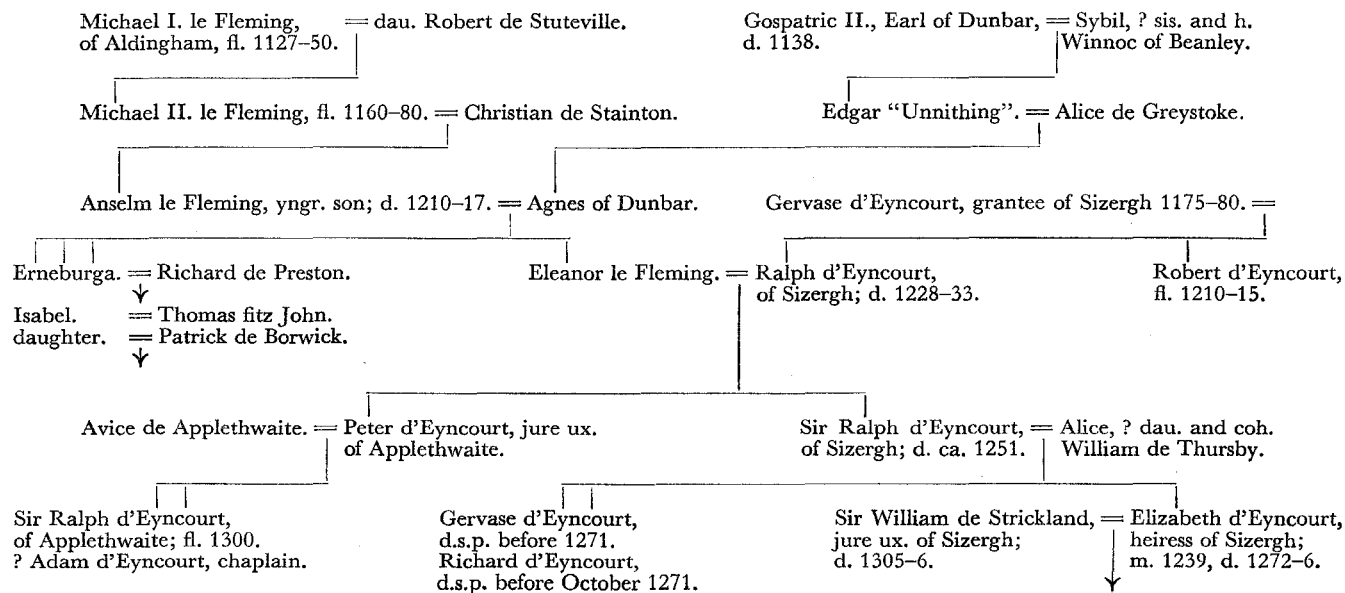
Let us now consider briefly the ancestry of Eleanor le Fleming, Elizabeth d'Eyncourt's grandmother; since not only are there problems in the Fleming pedigree that still await solution, but

⁹³ Sir Ralph d'Eyncourt was a defendant in 1251, and his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Sir William de Strickland, had succeeded as sole heiress of the family before 30 October 1271 (*vide infra*).

it was Eleanor herself who brought to the d'Eyncourts, and ultimately to the Stricklands and the Washingtons, descent from the great feudal families of Stuteville, Greystoke, and Dunbar. The early Fleming descent has never been cleared up; but Michael le Fleming and Rainer le Fleming were both landowners in Cumberland during the first quarter of the twelfth century. Rainer, who was the father of sons named William, Walter, and Hugh, was the original feoffee of Beckermest in Coupland, co. Cumberland, under William "le Meschin", lord of Coupland and Skipton, to whom he acted as *dapifer* and whose foundation charter of the priory of St. Bees he witnessed in 1120-25 (Wilson, *St. Bees* [Surtees Soc.], pp. 28-40, 107). He also appears to have been enfeoffed of the manor of Wath upon Dearne in Yorkshire, since his grandson, Rainer II, held two knights' fees of the Honour of Skipton in that county in 1166. Michael, who was the immediate progenitor of Anselm (the father of Eleanor le Fleming, wife of Ralph d'Eyncourt), acquired the Cumberland manor of Drigg in Coupland, and was also lord of Aldingham in Furness, co. Lancs., in the year 1127, having evidently been enfeoffed of his Lancashire estates by Henry I.⁹⁴ The parentage of neither Michael nor Rainer is known, but they were probably brothers: and I would suggest that they very likely belonged to the family of le Fleming, barons of Wahull (now Odell) in Bedfordshire, amongst whom the names Michael, Rainer, Hugh, and Walter were common at this period. At the date of the compilation of Domesday Book in 1086, Walter "Flandrensis" (*i.e.* le Fleming) was one of the principal tenants-in-chief in co. Bedford, besides holding estates in Northants.,—his fief in the twelfth century owing the service of no less than thirty knights' fees. His eldest son, Walter II, was father of Simon le Fleming, or de Wahull, who had a son named Michael (Assize Roll, Bedfordshire, 46 Henry III, *m.* 4), and whose heir-general, Sir Richard Chetwode, claimed to be "Lord Wahull" (by virtue

⁹⁴ In 1127 Stephen of Blois (afterwards King Stephen), lord of the Honour of Lancaster, specially excepted the lands of Michael le Fleming from his charter of endowment of the abbey of Furness. Michael held a moiety of the original lordship of Furness, comprising twenty and a half carucates situated in the villis of Aldingham, Leece, Hart, Gleaston, Dendron, Sunton, Bolton, Stainton in Urswick (which must be distinguished from Stainton in Kendal), and Fordbottle (*Lancs. Pipe Rolls*, ed. Farrer, pp. 302-317; *V.C.H. Lancs.*, II, pp. 114-120; *ibid.*, VIII, pp. 286-301). Michael's moiety, formerly called Aldingham from its principal seat, became later known as Muchland, *i.e.* "Michael's land". For his acquisition of Drigg, see below.

PEDIGREE OF D'EYNCOURT AND LE FLEMING



of his possession of the "barony" of Wahull) in 1613.⁹⁵ 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.,⁹⁶ 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,⁹⁷ 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

⁹⁵ 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.

⁹⁶ 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).

⁹⁷ 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.⁹⁸

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.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ 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.

⁹⁹ 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^o 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^o 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^o 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;¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹ 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).¹⁰² He married a lady called Chris-

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.

¹⁰⁰ 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.

¹⁰¹ 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 Helewise, daughter and co-heiress of Geoffrey Murdac, and left issue (Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*).

¹⁰² 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 (*auunculus*) 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.¹⁰³

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),¹⁰⁴ 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).¹⁰⁵ Other sons of Michael II by his wife Christian were Anselm (of whom hereafter), Marsilius, Jordan, and Dan-

¹⁰³ 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.

¹⁰⁴ 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.

¹⁰⁵ 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).¹⁰⁶

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^o 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

¹⁰⁶ 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 (Rydal 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).¹⁰⁷ 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

¹⁰⁷ 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).¹⁰⁸

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 $3\frac{1}{3}$ 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,

¹⁰⁸ 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.¹⁰⁹

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).¹¹⁰

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

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

¹¹⁰ 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)¹¹¹ 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).¹¹² 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,¹¹³

¹¹¹ 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).

¹¹² Cf. footnote no. 111.

¹¹³ 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 Tossion, 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 Tossions, 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.¹¹⁴ Like the Greystokes' Northumbrian

¹¹⁴ 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 (Caistron, Trew hitt, etc.), these lands owed "cornage" services, and from ancient times they must have been attached to the Greystoke barony.¹¹⁵ 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 vills 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 Crosssthaite in the parish of Romalkirk: and William son of Thomas de Greystoke, when summoned to prove his right to free chase at Crosssthaite *temp.* Edward I, alleged, with pardonable exaggeration, that his ancestors had held it "since the Conquest"

¹¹⁵ 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. Westd., with land at Coniscliffe, co. Durham, and Caistron, 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 Caistron 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 Crosssthaite (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 Domesday 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 Penthievre, 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.¹¹⁶

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

¹¹⁶ 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 Penthievre, 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.¹¹⁷ 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 Carlisle, whilst his third son Waldeve (or

¹¹⁷ 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.¹¹⁸ (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).¹¹⁹ 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.*).¹²⁰ 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

¹¹⁸ 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.

¹¹⁹ 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.

¹²⁰ 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).¹²¹

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).¹²² 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,¹²³ 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 Comititis* (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

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

¹²² He was also given the three Middletons, Horsley, etc.

¹²³ In John of Hexham's chronicle he is simply described as *filius Comititis* (*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.*).¹²⁴ 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 (Trew hitt, 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—

¹²⁴ Shortly after 1154, John III de "Kestern" quitclaimed the service of William de Somerville in Ulnethby (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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