

CHAPTER TWELVE

JOHN DE LUMLEY DE PESHALE

Sixteenth in Ancestry

Section 1, 16. John de Lumley de Peshale—Section 2, Ancestry of Fitz Alan, wife of John de Peshale—Section 3, The Priory of Stone—Section 4, The Northumbrian branch of the family of Ligulph.

SECTION I.

16. JOHN DE LUMLEY DE PESHALE, son of Robert de Peshale, Chapter 11, Section 1, married a daughter of Robert Fitz Alan of Swynnerton, Chapter 12, Section 2, Children:—

1. Robert de Swynnerton de Suggenhull, Chapter 13, Section 3.
2. *15 WILLIAM DE PESHALE, Chapter 13, Section 1.
3. Ralph de Peshale, Chapter 13, Section 5.
4. John de Peshale, tenant of the Bishop of Chester's Manor of Peshale, Chapter 13, Section 4.

It will be recalled that in the deed for lands at Lumley made by Robert de Peshale to John, he calls him his son and heir. For the sake of convenience of examination, the record is repeated at this place. It reads: In the Collectanea Genealogica ex Cartis Antiques, collected by R. Holmes, Harleian MSS. No. 1985, at British Museum the following deed appears: 'Robertus de Peshale dedit Johanni filio et haeridi suo totam terram illam de Lumley, quam habuit in Maritagio cum Ormunda filia Osberti de Lumleya matra euisdem Johannis, sicut ius haereditarium suum. Testibus: Willmo de Lumleya, Matheo de Lumleya, Robert de Clifford, etc.'

Translation: 'Robert de Peshale gave to John his son and heir all that land of Lumley which he had received through his marriage with Ormunda, daughter of Osbert de Lumley, the mother of this same John, and also the hereditary rights. Witnessed by William de Lumley, Mathew de Lumley, Robert de Clifford, etc.'

The evident purpose of this deed was to give their son and heir John such an estate as would enable him to marry a lady of the rank of the heiress of Swynnerton. The Peshale fortunes in Staffordshire seem to have grown markedly in this generation, and John was later able to endow his sons with large estates. The most careful research has failed to disclose what became of the Lumley holdings. These were probably passed out of the family as the marriage portions of the daughters of John, for it is a well known genealogical fact that Great Lumley very early passed through female heirs into other families; or possibly his son Ralph may have acquired this property. It is not in the line of our ancestry, hence the problem will have to await other more personally interested investigators.

It will be recalled that Henry I married Edith, the daughter of King Malcolm of Scotland, and that she was great granddaughter of Earl Siward and his wife Ealdgyth. She changed her name to Matilda, and was a much beloved queen of England. In 1135, Henry I of England died, having long before that arranged that the crown should come to his daughter Matilda, whose first husband was Henry V, the emperor of Germany. This resolve had been confirmed at a council held in London, January, 1127, when Stephen of Blois, along with the other dignitaries of the land, lay and ecclesiastical, took the oath of fealty to his daughter Matilda or Maud, the name she was known by in English history. Maud unfortunately was an exasperating individual who was suspected of having murdered her first husband, and who quarreled with her second husband, Geoffrey Plantagenet, and altogether she was a fiery, insolent, unwise and irritating person who really prepared the way for her own downfall. On the death of Henry I, December 1, 1135, Stephen of Blois, who was nephew of the deceased king, seized the English throne and was crowned at Westminster. This precipitated a sanguinary civil war, says the Saxon Chronicle. In this king's time, all was dissension, evil and rapine. Thou mightest go a whole day's journey and yet not find a man sitting in a town, nor an acre of land tilled. The poor died of hunger and those who had been men well-to-do begged for bread. Never was more mischief done by evil invaders. To till the ground was to plough the sands of the sea. This lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king and it grew constantly worse.

It may be questioned whether the confused and bloody drama was ever enacted amid circumstances of greater barbarity than during the nineteen long years that succeeded to the usurpation of Stephen. During that dark and unhappy period, England was literally in a state of anarchy. The ferocious Anglo-Norman nobility, unrestrained by any considerations, gave full vent to their implacable rage against each other; or, sallying from their turretted dens of infamy, trampled down, without remorse, the Saxons whom they detested. Cruelty, robbery, and lust, were the order of the day, for the punishment of which no power existed in the disjointed realm. Towns and villages were burned, the fields remained unploughed, and the rude implements of our forefathers' industry were destroyed, or turned to purposes of self-defence by an oppressed and dejected peasantry. The cattle, being neglected, died; and, as the inevitable result of all this sanguinary confusion, gaunt famine combined with crimson war to decimate the miserable inhabitants.

In 1146 the death of the Earl of Gloucester forced Maud to take refuge in Normandy, but a conspiracy of nobles headed by Ranulph, Earl of Chester, and a quarrel with the church, kept Stephen's hands full of warfare and in 1153 Maud's son Henry appeared at the head of an army to support his claim to the throne. A compromise was effected by Stephen's agreeing that Henry should succeed and the next year Stephen died. It seems remarkable that in the midst of all this civil warfare and its consequent distress and suffering, the fortunes of the Peshale family greatly increased and so far as we can gather after the long lapse of time, this section of Staffordshire was comparatively peaceful. This war did not unfavorably affect the fortunes of our ancestor in any way. By this time

the Northumbrians had become well settled in Staffordshire and Shropshire. It will always be a question as to the names of all those who made up this colony. Time and patient investigation will alone reveal their names and identity, for here they nearly all changed their names to the place name of the manors they occupied. Among the local people they were known as Scots. There seem to have also been other similar Northumbrian colonies in other parts of England. With these, however, our family history does not seem to be concerned. The distinguished editor of the Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 1307-1335, reprinted in the Staffordshire Historical Collections, says:—

In the admirable indexes of the calendars are embodied a vast amount of valuable identification work on the part of the compilers. Here we find collected the old English words used, from which a long glossary might be compiled. It will be remembered that in the old theyn-lands in north Staffordshire, Audley, Tunstall, etc, two ancient customary payments survived in 1307, and were still to be found in the seventeenth century. This was the triennial payment kilgh or stuth. We may note the existence of some payment called kilgh, kylgh, helf, hilw, kyltol, during those years at Tintern (Co. Mon.), Ewyas Lacy (Co. Hereford), Wemme (Co. Salop), at Tyrley, and at Haverfordwest; while stoth, or stuth, is paid at Thorney (Co. Notts.), at Bolingbroke (Co. Linc.), and at Denstone, Stramshall, Fenton, Biddulph, and Bucknall in So. Stafford. It may be observed that all these places where kilw or stoth was paid in Staffordshire, were described in Domesday Book under the head Terrae Tainorum Regis—theyn-lands. Stock or stot is easily confounded with Scot, "c" and "t" being undistinguishable in old writing; but the letters are distinct in the seventeenth century and then the word is unmistakably stoth.

The original meaning however seems unmistakable that it was a Scot, that is to say, a Northumbrian, who paid the Stoth or Scots charge. Here then we have the beginning of a list of places of which the Northumbrians were owners prior to the Conquest and which were not forfeited by the Conqueror. It is interesting therefore to see that Audley, the descendant of Adam the son of Ligulph, Pantulf Baron of Wem, the descendant of the brother of Ligulph, and Orm le Gulden the descendant of Aetheltryth, the sister of Ealdgyth the wife of Ligulph, were among the old native owners in Staffordshire and Shropshire.

The sudden and tragic death of Waltheof II changed the fortunes of our family just as it appeared that we were on the high road to riches, prosperity and honor. The Conqueror, with one of those sudden changes of friendship which was one of his marked characteristics, turned upon Waltheof and never ceased until the latter was beheaded and the last English earl was in his tomb.

On his death bed the Conqueror confessed that he never trusted any of the family of those whom he had injured. So perhaps it was a lucky incident in our family history that our ancestor was located way out of the Conqueror's sight, in the midst of the great woods of Staffordshire and near the Welsh border. Out of sight, out of mind, perhaps he could survive until the great destroyer had passed away. Fortunately also others occupied the attention of the Norman-English king and he had no time to harrow and destroy the Northumbrian colony in Staffordshire although they were all related to Waltheof. Under such circum-

stances it was the part of wisdom to be contented with the lot wherewith they were blessed and to avoid seeking any greater honors, profits, or estates. This may account for the fact that the Northumbrian colony, including Robert de Stafford the overlord of Peshale, seem to have effaced themselves during this generation. They were all rich and powerful, but they seemed to have avoided association with the royal court, and contact or connection with general English politics. It was this incident which made their rise in subsequent generations to great eminence seem almost like the work of a magician's magic. As a further result the history of our family, and of the other Northumbrians as well, is hidden in the records of their private chartularies, and until these have been published, or we are permitted to have a personal glimpse therein, we must rest contented with the few public records that have been disclosed concerning our family history. It is a peculiarity of our family that not only the oldest male line has maintained its position in the history of Staffordshire-Shropshire families, but practically every branch has at one time or the other risen to more than passing eminence. In fact the history of this part of England revolves around the lives and acts of the Peshales and their connections, beginning with their cousins of the old Northumbrian colony. This is a misfortune, so far as a perfectly connected historical recital of the whole family history is concerned, as it had made many, very many, sources from which information might be gathered. And since nearly all the lines have long since ceased to have male representatives, and hence are no longer Peshales in name, it has made it impossible for the ordinary searcher to find and get access to these chartularies.

A student of the charts of the Marshals, made at the visitation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, can easily see that as early as then the Peshale family records had been so widely distributed that no one could present a clear and connected genealogy of their ancestry. It is very fortunate, therefore, that we have been able to prove from other existing records, mostly public, the generations of our family. The reader will therefore not have to wonder at the sudden change from such full historical description to the meagre entries of the court records, when he appreciates the loss of the family chartulary, and that for several generations our family was situated in the great woods which was a country almost as wild and unsettled as the wilderness settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia or New York at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

We are descended from the oldest male line and it continued in England until July 3, 1706, when it ceased by the death of Sir Thomas Pershall, who was succeeded by his granddaughter Arabella, the wife of the Right Hon. I. Campbell Glenorchy, who was later Earl of Breadalbane in Scotland. Whatever family records they had were lost at this time, as is shown by the following:

John Peshale, the eldest son of the Rev. John Pershall, the month that his father died, wrote to the Earl of Breadalbane, the husband of Arabella Pershall, for an attested copy of "A true copy of the Register of Horsley Family in Eccleshall containing all the names therein mentioned of the Family of Pershall, Persall & C." to which he received the following reply:—I am very much afraid it will not be in my power to procure you an attested copy of the Register of the Pershall (Peshall) Family. After my son's marriage I gave him his mother's estate,

which was afterwards sold, and I suppose the papers were given with the land to the purchaser, who was a land broker, and I've been told has since sold the whole in parcels to several persons, by which he made a considerable profit. As the paper you want could be of no use to any of those buyers, it has probably not been preserved. All my papers are in the country, where they cannot be come at in my absence; when I am there next summer I will make a strict search amongst them, and if unexpectedly this paper is there I will have the pleasure of sending you a copy of it properly attested. Old age and the infirmities naturally attending it make my being in London this winter very doubtful. I am, Sir, Your very humble servant, Breadalbane. Edinburgh, 11th Decr., 1778.

SECTION 2.

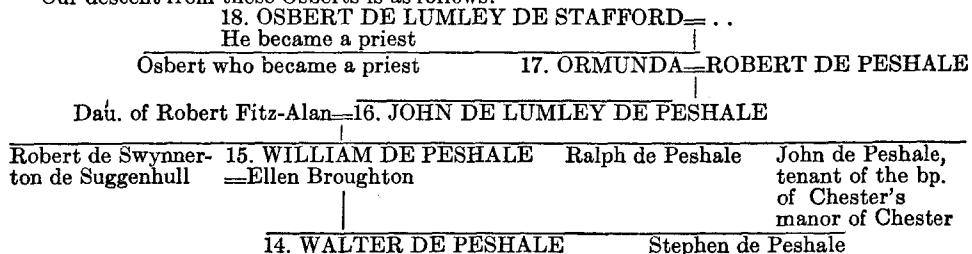
The Ancestry of FITZ ALAN, the wife of John de Peshale. Domesday Book tells us that in 1086 two adjoining fees of Robert de Stafford in North Staffordshire, namely Standon and Swynnerton, were held by two tenants named Brien (Brian) and Aslen (Alan). It further tells us that these same tenants held also adjoining portions of the manor of Rauceby in Lincolnshire, under the same overlord, Robert de Stafford. A careful examination of the genealogy of the Northumbrian families connected with Stone Priory fails to disclose the name of any person who could possibly have been the parent of Alan and his brother Brian. They were undoubtedly new comers. The names of these tenants, Brian and Alan (or Aelen) both suggest descent from a family hailing from Brittany. [Staffordshire Historical Collections.]

Robert de Stafford I. died in 1088, in the cowl of a monk, at Kenilworth Abbey. None of his extant charters in the Kenilworth Chartulary are witnessed by either of these two tenants. The charters of his immediate successors are, however, generally witnessed by their successors, and invariably their names occur close together in the test clause, fitz-Brian first, and fitz-Alan ("Aelen") next in order, which is evidence that in 1086, the date of the Domesday Survey, these two tenants had been only newly enfeoffed, and that they were probably brothers. This family must not be confused with "Alanus" who with some other surviving Domesday tenants, witnessed a charter of Ernaldus filius Vitalis in the Stone Chartulary bearing date 1136. This is a Hilderston charter, and Hilderstone is quite near Swynnerton, and all the lay witnesses are local magnates. Those still surviving from Domesday were, besides "Alanus," Ulviet, the lord of Maer (Uviet, or Huviet), Ormus the thane of Darlaston, Siwardus tenant at Longton and Goderick of Stoke near Stone. This Alan was the son of Waltheof of Alendale, who was the son of Cospatric Earl of Northumberland, who was the son of Ealdgyth by Maldred a noble theyn, which Ealdgyth was daughter of Aelgifu Algiva, daughter of King Ethelred II., married to Uhtred Earl of Northumberland. Ormus or Orm was the son of Ecgfritha, the daughter of Aetheltryth, who married Orm the son of Gamel, which Aethelthryth was the daughter of Earl Ealdred of Northumberland. Siwardus was the son or grandson of Siward the Earl of Northumberland, by Godifu his second wife. [Deed of Alina de Darlaston, Hist. MSS. Commission, 10th Report, Part IV, 1885. Staffordshire Collections, VI, Part L, page 22-23.]

As to Brian the brother of Alan, Walter Chetwynd in his history of Pirehill Hundred says, concerning the Manor and parish of Standon (vulg. Stawne) which contains Bowers, Rugge, Walford and Weston, all which were at ye time of ye General Survey held by Brian, of Rob. de Stafford, there being a church there, and a mill valued at 5s. Another account says, Standon and Rigge (The Ridge in Standon) coupled in the Survey, and formerly Siward's estate, were in 1086 A.D. owned by a Breton from St. Donan, named Brian (v. deed in Bodleian Library). Besides Dickford Rigge, Weston, Standon, and Levedale in Staffs; all which continued with his descendants in 1166 A.D.—making them then the most important family in the county under Baronial rank. Brian is found attesting Robert de Stafford's grant of Wrottesley to Evesham Abbey in 1088 A.D.; as Ralph Fitz Brien witnesses that from Nicholas de Stafford of Idlicote (Warwickshire) to Kenilworth (c. 1122-5), etc., surviving till 1156 A.D.; his son Robert fitz Ralph, in 1166, held six knight fees of the Stafford Barony, including Mytton, Bere Sardon, and Norton-on-the-Moors (fees of Mortain); Robert paid a merk "pro recognitione de morte partris sui," but died before 31 Henry II. [Staffordshire Historical Collections, vol. 1, page 163. Pipe Roll 1180.]

Brian was the progenitor of the family of ye Standons who residing here, assumed that for their surname. They succeeded him in all his inheritance in this county and were also anciently possessed of Ditchford in the county of Warwick, which was likewise held by Brian in the time of the Conqueror of Robert de Stafford. Brian had displaced Siward, grandson of Siward who was brother of Ligulph, who was father of one Osbert and grandfather to the other. Alan, Brian's brother, must have obtained part of the same holdings, hence we can understand why there was a serious controversy with Osbert and his son who no doubt held under their uncle Siward, Ligulph brother of Siward, father of one and grandfather of the other Osbert, having been murdered, as we have seen, in 1080. This controversy was only finally settled by the marriage with the daughter of Robert Fitz Alan by John de Peshale, who was grandson of Osbert senior and nephew of Osbert junior. [Staffordshire Historical Collections, vol. 1914, page 7.]

Our descent from these Osberts is as follows:—



Domesday Book makes no mention of any Church of Swynnerton in 1086. It did not form a separate parish at all; even so late as 1154 it was parochially but a portion of the great parish of Stone. Nevertheless a church had been built there, probably before 1100, portions of which still remain, and practically it had been constituted a parish, but it remained always dependent, to the extent of two marks yearly to the mother-parish of Stone.

In the annotated account of Liber Niger Scacearii it appears as follows:—

Robertus filius Aelen $1\frac{1}{3}$ f. m. This fee is Swinnerton in Staffordshire and a portion of north Rancely in Lincolnshire. Domesday names Sulverton amongst Robert de Stafford's lands held of him at that date by Aslen. The Lincolnshire Domesday names North Rancely, Rosbi and Roscebi amongst Robert de Stafford's lands, the latter held by Brian the ancestor of the Standons. Robert fitz Eelen is styled Lord of the ville of Silverton, in a certificate of Helias, Archdeacon of Stafford, concerning the concession of the Church of Swynnerton to the Priory of Stones (or Stanes), which passed between 1155 and 1159. This Robert is the same person who is recorded above as holding Silverton and Rancely. Robert fitz-Eelen was not himself present at the settlement of the rights of the priory of Stone in Swinnerton Church, as his name nowhere appears among the witnesses. It is probable that when old and infirm, he had been induced to waive his rights, and to assent to the arrangements of his two chaplains, Osbert and Osbert, for this concession being allowed to remain in their possession. [Staffordshire Historical Collections.]

An interesting question is as to the wives of this first Alan. He probably married as his first wife a daughter of the Lord of Tittensor, who brought him Beech. Tittensor adjoins Swynnerton. In 1086, and ever after, Beech was a hamlet in Swynnerton. Beech, however, formed no part of the fee of Swynnerton, it being shown by an inquisition ad quod damnum of 2 Edward III. that it formed a portion of the fief of Tittensor. It had been acquired by Alan in marriage. She was the mother of Robert Fitz-Alan. While the Alans were Normans, having come into England with the Conqueror, they were likewise Northumbrian folks in that they made their home in England in Yorkshire, where they were the founders of the town of Richmond, and the new district of Richmondshire. [Staffordshire Historical Collection, vol. VII, part II, page 1.]

After the Conquest Yorkshire was divided among several Norman Earls, including Alan, where the marriage of Alan to the daughter of Tittensor is remembered by a local couplet that is repeated to this day. Alan, they say,

Came out of Brittany
With his wife Tiffany
And his maid Manfras
And his dog Hardigras.

He built Richmond Castle on the bank of the Swale. Many towns owe their origin to the presence of a castle. Numerous workmen were required to build and maintain a castle; tradesmen were needed to supply provisions, and in days of insecurity many liked to erect their dwellings beneath the sheltering walls, as the lord, though often making heavy exactions upon them, would not suffer them to be despoiled by others. So Richmond grew into a town, and the district around was called Richmond. Middleham Castle was built by Robert Fitz-Ranulph, younger brother of Allan of Brittany, who owned all of Wensleydale. [The Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 1, pages 51 and 52.]

There are some who suppose that Alan of Silverton also had a son Alan, which is a clear error as he would have been Alan Fitz-Alan, at least he would have been Fitz-Alan during the lifetime of his father. This would therefore indicate

that Alan of Silverton married for his second wife the daughter of Enisan de Walton, who is called the founder of Stone Priory as appears by the following synopsis of his charters in the Stone Chartulary.

In a charter of Enisan de Walton and Ernald his son and heir, concerning additional land which they had been induced to part with and in which Elina's gift is confirmed, dated c. 1130, the transaction is thus referred to: And in my manor of Walton we concede to the Canons of the aforesaid church, likewise in alms, and with the same liberty, all the land, with the men, and its appurtenances, which Alan my son-in-law, and my daughter his wife, sold to them, namely, one wara and two cotlands, with demesne, and the meadow-land which Enican had given in marriage to his daughter aforesaid. [Staffordshire Historical Collection, vol. II, pages 201, 204, and 206.]

In the confirmation of the suzerain, Nicholas de Stafford, c. 1130, the donation is thus referred to: We concede also in alms and in similar liberty in Waleton manor all the land which Alan, the son-in-law of Enisan, and his wife, the daughter of the same Enisan, sold to the aforesaid Geoffrey (de Clinton) similarly for the work of the aforesaid Church, namely, one wara and two cotlands with demesne, and the meadowland, which Enisan had given in marriage to his daughter aforesaid.

In Ernald de Walton's acknowledgment of these gifts, dated c. 1135-1140, we have: And in Walaton (my father) conceded to the same Canons in alms the whole land with the men, and its appurtenances, which Alan, my brother-in-law, and his wife, my sister, sold to them, namely, one wara and two cotlands, with the desmesne and the pratum, which he had given to her as patrimony, the half also of the whole wood which pertains to Walaton.

In another confirmation made by Robert de Stafford, the suzerain, much later in the century, we read: Ivo de Walton and Robert his heir have conceded and confirmed all the donations and sales which their predecessors, namely, Ernald, and Enisan, and Eylina, daughter of the said Enisan, made to the Church and Canons of Stone. [Staffordshire Historical Collections, vol. II, page 206, vol. VI, part I, page 16, and vol. 1916, page 265.]

Thus we see that Enisan de Walton had a son-in-law named Alan, and the evidence of the Charter goes to prove that he was dead before 1130, because his name does not appear therein, in the character of either principal or witness, nor yet his wife's. Eyline would appear to be the feminine for Eylin, Eelen, Esluen, Aslen, or Alan. The Domesday A(s)len was identical with Enisan de Walton's son-in-law Alan.

That Alan of the four Charters above quoted died without issue by his wife Eylina may be safely assumed, because the fact that her father Enisan, and his heir Ernald, to whom her land should have reverted, and their direct descendants (not hers), confirmed her gift, shows it. Nay, the very circumstance of her parting with her patrimony to the monks of Stone at all, proves it. Women have always been far more pious than men, and it was not at all uncommon for childless women, owning property in their own right, to alienate it to religion before they died. On the other hand, we do not find that any lord of Swynnerton confirmed the gift of Eylina. It would have been surprising if they had, seeing

that the land in question was in no sense of their inheritance, nor could be, as Eylina left no children.

The clause concerning them in the Charter which Eyton dates c. 1130, points unmistakably to a transaction which was long past and over. It shows more. It proves that Alan and Eylina had been dead for some time, since Robert fitz-Alan was in possession of Swynnerton so far back as 1122-5.

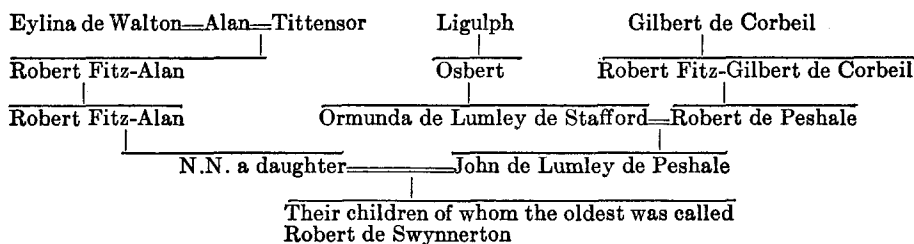
Adjoining Swynnerton lay the great parish of Stone, famous for its Priory refounded at the instance of Henry I.'s powerful finance minister, Geoffrey de Clinton. The great parish church of Stone was also the mother church of the church of Swynnerton.

At this time this church was suffering a period of religious depression, owing to the strictness of the seclusion practised by its monks. Many of the moral dangers that sapped the usefulness of the monastic orders, both at this time and at later periods, arose from the fact that it was very difficult for them to keep in touch with the world in which they lived. Thus they became self-centered, and exercised little spiritual influence on those around. An attempt was made by the Augustinian or Austin Canons to avoid this danger. The Austin Canons were secular priests, not laymen like many of the regular monks, who lived together in religious houses or colleges, but served the churches around. Their special church was called a Collegiate church. The Austin Canons kept closely in touch with those among whom they lived. The nave of the church in an Austin Priory was often used by the people in the parish, and the canon also served churches in the neighborhood. The old Northumbrians never lost their love for the Celtic Church upon which they had built their Christianity. Hence they were among the first who accepted the change to a secular clergy. It was not long before Stone and its dependent churches came under the Augustinians. Notably, so far as our history was concerned, was this the case with regard to the church at Swynnerton. When the Priory of Stone was changed into an Augustinian Monastery, the actual refounder was Enisan De Walton, for it had been originally founded by King Wulfhere in 670, and was in existence at the time it was changed from a place for monks and nuns to a place for monks alone. Walton was a manor in the parish of Stone. Enisan de Walton had a son and heir, Ernald. But he had also a daughter named Eylina, and Eylina de Walton had married one Alan. [The Story of Staffordshire, by Mark Hughes, B.A., page 106-107.]

Robert fitz Ehelen, one of the witnesses to the Charter of Nicholas de Stafford to Kenilworth Priory between 1122 and 1125, or thereabouts, was the son of the Domesday tenant. From the record of a dispute which raged in the reign of King John we learn that "Robert fitz-Eelen" left a son and successor named Robert, who as "Robertus filius Alani" attests a deed of Robert de Stafford, which Eyton proves to have passed between 1158 and 1165. In the Liber Niger of 1166 we meet with him again, where "Robert fitz-Aelen" is returned as holding a knight's fee at Swynnerton, Co. Stafford, and one half a knight's fee at Rauceby, Co. Lincoln, under the barons of Stafford. Towards the end of his life he would appear to have been involved in controversy with the monks of Stone regarding the advowson of the church. There was a vacancy in the living; there was a dispute as to the patronage; the Bishop had again to interfere; Robert fitz-Aelan

was induced to confirm his father's concession, and the Prior and Canons carried the day by presenting their own man, "Adam the Chaplain." The Plea Rolls of 2 Henry III. (1217) show that this Robert confirmed his father's concession in the time of Bishop Hugh, and Bishop Hugh of Lichfield was elected in 1185. "Robert fitz-Aelen" therefore was living after 1185. He was dead before 1190. This Robert Fitz-Alan was father of the wife of John de Peshale.

This gives the following interesting genealogical chart showing the marriages of four prominent families of the parish of Stone Priory.



SECTION 3.

THE PRIORY OF STONE. Here it may be well to call attention again to the Northumbrian nobility who came into Staffordshire with Robert de Toesni, who subsequently was known as Robert de Stafford. They, so far as the Peshale, Suggenhull and Swynnerton alliances are concerned, gathered into this Priory of Stone which we have seen was refounded by Enisan de Walton, whose daughter married Alan de Silverton as has just been related. We have already pointed out that King Peada of Mercia located a temporary encampment in what is now Staffordshire, near the present Eccleshale; that subsequently, after Peada's untimely death, his brother, King Wulfhere, built a castle upon a rock near by, and that later Wulfhere founded the Priory of Stone, all this occurring in the latter end of the seventh century. That this temporary encampment was called Peada's shield or shelter, which in process of time came to be corrupted into Peshale.

Staffordshire was part of the kingdom of Mercia but Lichfield was a well known place long before the shire had any place in the local geography. Among the early kings of Mercia was Offa, whose reign is remarkable for the fact that, from 788 to 803, Lichfield was an arch-episcopal see, sharing the glories of Canterbury. This fact was commemorated by the cross in the center of the historical crosier designed for the bishops of Lichfield some twenty-five years ago. The two Archbishops of Lichfield were Higbert and Aldulf, and, when Offa's successor failed to maintain the dignity of the principal see in his dominions, the Bishop of Lichfield still signed documents next after Canterbury. [The Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 1, page 213.]

The kings of Mercia, including Peada, whose encampment is remembered in the name of Peshale, all had a liking for this county. Here much of the history of their kingdom was made and here they loved to dwell. Whilst the complete unification of all England was yet far off, a glorious light settled down upon the

district now known as Staffordshire, though as yet neither Stafford nor its shire had any organized existence. That light came from Lichfield; and we should indeed be blind to the facts of history if, whilst we recognized the establishment of the archiepiscopate of Lichfield, we took no note of the fact that Peada, and later Wulfhere, sons of Penda, and their families, appear to have lived much in the Trent Valley between Stoke and Lichfield. Here, indeed, are some wonderful earthworks; that at Bury Bank, near Stoke, being anciently called Wulfhere-caster; Bury Ring, at Billington Bank,—a great circle with a deep foss—is near Stafford; and another equally remarkable ancient camp is Castle Hills, near Rugeley; Peshale or Peada's Shield near Eccleshale and the ruins of his brother Wulfhere's Castle, situate between Peshale and Stone, being two miles from the former and one mile from the latter. At Stone, Wulfhere, in 670, founded a monastery which later became the center around which settled the Northumbrians who came there about 1070; and St. Werburga, Wulfhere's daughter, founded others at Hanchurch—the old church—of Trentham, and at Hanbury on Needwood. To this date, perhaps, we owe the origin of the Five Royal Minsters, which are noted features of the county. And as the Mercian royal family faded into insignificance, and its kings dwindled down into earls, the district of the Trent Valley became the property of the See of Lichfield, and Eccleshall one of the bishop's castles; as if the bishops were the only potentates fit to succeed the kings. [Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 1, page 214.]

The Priory of Stone is perhaps one of the most interesting places in our family history. It is the oldest monastic institution in Mercia, hence in eastern England. Peada, its real founder, was the king from whom the name of Peshale is derived and recalls his temporary encampment in this locality. Peada was the first Christian king of Mercia. He died before his plans could be carried out, so that the work of actually erecting this monastery devolved upon his brother Wulfhere who founded a religious house at Stone for nuns and priests, circa 670, in expiation of the barbarous murder of his two sons Wolfade and Rufin, who, before Wulfhere's conversion, he had put to death, in consequence of their having embraced the Christian faith. Wulfhere's hermitage or nunnery was converted in the reign of Henry I. into a priory, under circumstances very characteristic of the age, and which are thus described in an old rhyming chronicle in black letter which hung on a tablet in the refectory of the monks at the date of the suppression of the Priory in 29 Henry VIII.:—

In the time of the Conquest was the Lord of Stafford
 Baron Robert, which here was chief Lord,
 And in his life time befel such a rase
 That two nuns and one priest lived in this place,
 The which were slayne by one Enysan,
 That come over with William Conqueror than.
 This Enysan slew the nuns and preest alsoe.
 Because his sister should have this church thoe;
 But for that offence he did to Saint Wolfade
 His sister soon died, and himself great vengeance had.
 And when Enisan this cruel deed had doone.
 The blessed Baron Robert bethought himself soone

To Killingworth anon that he would goe,
 And tell Geoffrey of Clinton there of his woe,
 Which was in the Castle of Killingworth then dwelling,
 And was Chamberlain to first King Henry the King,
 And founder of that Castle and Abbey alsoe;
 Which counselled this blessed Baron Robert tho'
 To restore and helpe Saint Wolfad's house again
 And make canons there in steed of the nuns that
 Enysan had slayne, . . .

This old legendary account of the foundation of the Priory, temp. Henry I., appears to be confirmed to some extent by the deeds relating to Stone which were printed in Vol. II. "Staffordshire Collections," and by the following extract from the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I. [Staffordshire Historical Collections, vol. 1914, page 1-4.]

"Ernaldus filius Enisand debet x. marcas ut habeat pacem de hominibus quos interfecit." [Ernaldus son of Enisand owes 10 marks that he may have peace from the man which he killed.] Eyton however is of opinion that this entry on the Pipe Roll of A. D. 1130 has no connection with the re-founding of the Priory temp. Henry I. He writes at page 200 of Vol. II of these collections:—

"One form of the monastic legend says that Stone Priory was founded by Enisan de Walton, at the dictation of Geoffrey de Clinton and Robert de Stafford, and as an expiation for the said Enisan having murdered two nuns and a priest at the Hermitage of St. Wulfade. Doubtless the original Church and Hermitage of St. Wulfade of Stone were founded in expiation of a murder, but that murder was committed some centuries before Enisan de Walton's time. Doubtless also, there was a second murder, and murder of men, not of women, at or near Stone, but it was perpetuated not by Enisan, but by his son Ernald, before the latter had succeeded to Walton, but after the Church of Stone was purchased from Enisan and given to Kenilworth. It was expiated, moreover, not by any foundation of a priory, but by a round fine, payable to the Crown, and very possibly inflicted by the Justiciar Clinton."

The other historians are inclined, however, to attach more weight to the tradition than Eyton, and to think it very probable that Geoffrey de Clinton the Justiciary, Chamberlain and the powerful favorite of Henry I., had taken advantage of a homicide committed by Ernald de Walton to extract from Enisan the father of Ernald grants of land in Walton, and Stone, in order to benefit his newly founded Priory of Kenilworth. It is true that Ernald was fined 10 marks for his offence, but the reader will fail to recall that for another homicide committed by Liulph de Audley, the amercement recorded on the same Plea Roll amounted to more than 200 marks. [Staffordshire Historical Collections, vol. 1914, page 1-4.]

The following synopsis of the property of the Priory is taken from the "Valor Ecclesiasticus," temp. Henry VIII. In Stone they held rents of assize from tenants, and rents of burgages and cottages, and perquisites of Court. Here the Canons evidently had a Manor Court. In Aston, Stoke and Darlaston (in Stone), and Burston, they possessed rents from tenants. They also possessed rents in Meyford (Meaford), Hildreston (Hilderston), Stafford, Shebridge (Seabridge), and Fulford. In Walton they possessed rents of assize, i.e. commuted rents from

customary tenants and others. These tenants doubtless and others performed suit and service to the Manor Court at Stone. At Stallington and Tittensor they possessed manors which were at farm; and they appear also to have had another manor at Burston at farm. The most valuable portion of their possessions were their Rectories. That of Stone was valued at £39 annually, and they held in addition those of Tysoe in Warwickshire, and Madeley and Milwich in Staffordshire, an annual pension of £2 from the Rector of Swynnerton, and another of £1 from the Rector of Checkley. When a religious house possessed a Rectory it appropriated the great tythes to itself, and placed a vicar at a small stipend to perform the duties of the Church. On the dissolution of the religious houses these Rectories passed into the hands of laymen, either by purchase or by gift from the Crown, and it is owing to this circumstance that the great tithes of so many parishes are now in lay appropriation. [Historical Collections of Staffordshire, vol. 1914, page 1-4.]

The deeds conveying all the above property to the House will be found in the Chartulary now printed, or in the Cottonian Charter, XIII., 6. This latter document is one of great interest. Its description is a misnomer, as it is really a roll of parchment which formed originally a part of the archives of the Priory and is of much earlier date than the Chartulary. All the deeds of most importance from this old Roll have been printed and annotated by Eyton in Vol. II of the Staffordshire Collections, pages 201, 210-217, and 233-238, and in these notes the reader will find the best and most authoritative account of the foundation and early history of Stone Priory. No further lands were occupied by the Convent subsequent to the date of the deeds in this Chartulary. The religious zeal which founded these houses seems to have evaporated before the Statues of Mortmain of the reign of Edward I., and the latter proved a permanent obstacle to further acquisitions. The Chartulary is an octavo of forty-three pages of vellum, written in a character of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; a note on the first page states it was given to Sir Robert Cotton by Christopher, Baron Hatton. Its official designation at the British Museum is Cottonian Ms. Vespasian E. XXIV.

The legend concerning the acquisition of the name is also very interesting. The story goes that Trent having passed Darlaston makes its approach to Stone, anciently memorable for ye death of Wulfade and Rufine, sons of Wulfere, brother of Peada, from whom the name Peshale is derived; who, residing with their father at Wulferecestre, embraced ye Christian religion and received baptism from the holy Chadde (who then lived an hermetical life in the neighboring woods) for which they suffered martyrdom by the sword of their incensed father, being slain by him in St. Chadde's cell, which place soon after becoming famous for miracles, their mother Erminilde, daughter of Egbert, King of Kent, a Christian princess, raised a church there, being assisted therein by Wulfere, now become a convent to their memory; many devout, diseased, and impotent persons who resorted thither, bringing and procuring stones for its building. From whence it was first called Stanes, or more probably from an heap of stones raised upon the place of their burial; an usual custom in those times. This Ermenilde is also said to have founded a house of Black Canons there (others say of nuns) which continued till the time of the Norman invasion, when they were dispossessed by

one Enisan de Walton who came over into England with the Conqueror, which Enisan did grant the said house with all its appurtenances, and therewith a ware and a half of land lying in Stone, and a cotland; and two cotlands in his manor of Walton (by Stone) together with half of his woods there, to Bernard, Prior of Kenilworth, all which were confirmed by Nicholas the son of Robert de Stafford, in whose fee it lay; from which time it became a Priory of Canons regular of St. Augustine's order though subordinate to Kenilworth till exempted from it.

There was no manor of Stone in 1086; it was a parcel of dedicated ground containing a church, possibly a hermitage and a nunnery. The Canons had been dispersed during the Danish war; but Tanner notices "that some few nuns were apparently in possession of the place at the date of the Conquest, survivors of a former nunnery." The principal Benefactors to this Priory were the family of the Staffords, whose burying place it continued for many generations. [Staffordshire Historical Collections, vol. 12, page 100-103.]

John Leland, father of British topographers, in 1542, made a trip through Staffordshire, making notes of all collegiate, monastic and minster libraries; he records that at this time there were divers tombs of the Lords of Stafford in Stone Priory made of Alabaster. The images that lay on them were after the suppression of the House carried to the Augustine Friars in Frodebridge, alias Stafford Green. [The Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 1, page 228.]

By the gift of the Staffords the priory of Stone also had a part of Horton and Gretton, lands in Tresho and Brancote, a mill in Wotton, certain houses in Stafford, and some lands near the castle, and St. Nicholas church of Madeley, co. Staff. And of Wolford, and Tysho, co. Warwick, in which last place they had also three yard-land, and a mill. The Pantulfs gave them lands in Cublesdon and the tithes there. From Robert de Sugghenhull, son of Robert, and Petronilla his wife, they had a messuage in Darlaston; Adeline de Beauchamp, widow of William Malbanc, granted them ten acres of land in Little Sandon. They had Frodeswall given them by Nic. de Mulewich, and Stallington by Nich. Malvoisin. Nich. fil. Nigelli de Langford, and Margaret his wife, gave them the Hermitage of Calwich, and the church of Adalacheston (vulgo. "Elaston") adjoining to it. Will. Giffard, and Roger his brother, granted them lands in Hardwick, and Walter de Caverswall gave them a moiety of the church of Stokes.

Enriched with plentiful possessions and protected by the power of their great patrons, the Staffords, they began to slack of their obedience to those at Kenilworth, first disputing their jurisdiction in the time of King Henry III. when the differences growing high betwixt them, Roger de Mewland, then bishop of Cov. and Lichfield, interposed, and by consent of both parties did then decree that from thenceforth the Prior of Stone might receive Canons to that habit and profession, and freely dispose of everything, both spiritual and temporal, appertaining to them, without the allowance of the Prior of Kenilworth, and that the said Prior of Stone and every of the Canons there serving God, with their successors, should be free and exempt from any future subjection to the Prior and convent of Kenilworth forever, except in these particulars, viz., that the Prior of Kenilworth for the time being ought once every year to visit the Priory of Stone, with ten horses, staying only two days, and performing his office here, as of custom, not removing

any canon of that house, nor sending any canon to the house of Stone there to continue, and when the Priory of Stone should happen to be void, two of the Canons of Kenilworth, together with those of Stone, to be at the election. That such election be made by license first required of the Prior of Kenilworth, in case he be within the kingdom, or his substitute, if he were absent, and within eight days following the two canons of Kenilworth to repair thither, to see that all things be carried uprightly, at the said election; but if they come not within that time, the Canons of Stone to proceed without them, and, moreover, that during that vacancy, the Prior and Convent of Kenilworth, as Patron, should have ye custody thereof by one of their Canons, who till the new Prior were elected, was to have fitting diet there, (not) meddling with any of the goods at Stone, movable or immovable. [Staffordshire Historical Collections, vol. 12, pages 100-103.]

SECTION 4.

The family of Ligulph had not, however, all come to Staffordshire and Shropshire from Northumberland. The children of his son Uhtred continued to reside there where the oldest, William, became the ancestor of the Lumleys in Durham. By the series of deaths in the ruling branch of the old Bernician royalty, the line of the first Ligulph had become the male line. The descendants of his grandson Eadulf still remained in Bernicia where they enjoyed certain offices by reason of their claim as the hereditary descendants of the ancient kings and earls. Their

Kilvert, Son of Ligulph, son of Oswulf I.

EDWULF=

mentioned in a charter of David I. king of Scots. living at the time of the Conquest.

LIGULF DE BABBANBURCH, 'filius Eadulfi'. Witness to a charter of King Edgar to Coldingham (1097-1107)=

ODARD DE BAMBURGH (or Vicecomes')=

sheriff of the Northumbrians in 1121; witness to the foundation charter of Selkirk abbey (1119-1124); sheriff of Northumberland in 1130. died circa 1132.

WILLIAM, son of Odard the sheriff; also styled 'William de Bamburgh'. Received confirmation of his father's lands in 1133.	ADAM, sheriff of Northumberland; heir of William; witness to a charter of Eustace Fitz John to Alnwick abbey. Dodsworth MSS. vol. 49, fol. 11.	JOHN VISCOUNT, (or John, son of Odard): received the barony of Embleton from Henry I.; consenting party to the charter of Adam. living in 1168.	ERNALD, consenting party to the charter of Adam.
JOHN VISCOUNT, son of=Alice, John Viscount; gave 30 marks for three knights' fees in 1203. Pipe Roll.		Rot. Cart. 35 Ed.I. 25 & Duchy of Lancaster Great Cowcher, fol. 156 b, No. 43.	ROBERT, son of John Viscount; witness to a deed. Rot. Col. 35 Ed I. 25

John Viscount; paid £100 for his relief= in 1219. Pipe Roll. Styled 'John Viscount tercius' Died in 1244. Inq. p.m. 29 Henry III. 45.

EVERARD TEUTONICUS=RAMETTA 'LE VESCUNTESSE' paid or 'le Tyeis', who died about 1248. Assize Roll, Surtees Soc. p. 67. (1st husband)	100 marks for licence to marry on death of Everard Teutonicus. Gave the barony of Embleton to Simon de Montfort, in 1255, in exchange for other lands.	Hereward de Marisco (2nd husband)
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line of descent will be shown more plainly by the preceding chart. They are known as the Northumbrian branch of the family of Ligulph, son of Oswulf I., Earl of Northumberland.

This family trace through

EDWULF, son of Kilvert, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 7.

The connection between the descendants of Edwulf and our family is so early and as there is no evidence that the two families ever intermarried subsequently, it would seem that this pedigree might have been omitted. It is included within the scope of our inquiry because of the very interesting side light it throws upon our family history.

In feudal countries rank and station is inherited along with the land. When therefore one removes himself and parts with his landed estate his heirs no longer succeed to the titles and privileges enjoyed in the old home community; but the fact that one has so removed will not interfere with the rights of those who remain and who continue to own the land. They enjoy the old rank and station in society with all its inherited rights and privileges. This makes the genealogy of Edwulf, son of Kilvert, very interesting, as this branch of the family was represented in the county of Northumberland for many generations after the Conquest, where, as their historians say, the descendants of Edwulf were the hereditary Sheriffs of Bamborough.

They were of the family of Ligulph (or Liulf) and they are so referred to in many of the old charters and writs of the crown. A charter of Henry I. to the Priory and convent of Earsdon confirming certain titles granted by Robert de Mowbray reads as follows: *Henricus, rex Angliae, Ranulfo episcopo Dunelm' et Alfrico et Liulfo vice-comitibus, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et dedisse Deo et Sante Marie et sancto Oswino et abbati de sancto Albano decimas quas Hubertus de la Vall ante dederat monachis de Tinemutha, scilicet de Setona, de Calverdon et de Discingtona. Et volto ac precipio ut bene et integra in mea pace teneant eas, et quod nullus super eis injuriam faciat. Teste Nigello de Albeneo. Apud Wyntoniam. St. Alban's Register, fol. 116, from Dodsworth's transcripts. Translation: Henry, King of the Angles, Ranulf bishop of Dunelm', and Alfric and Liulph, vice-counts, greeting. Know ye that I have given and ceded to God and the Holy Mary and Saint Oswin and the abbot of Saint Albans the tenth which Hubert de la Vall first gave to the monks of Tynemouth, to wit from Seton, from Calverdon, and from Discington. Also I wish and decree that they hold them well and that none over them shall harm them. Witness: Nigel de Albeni, at Wytonia. [History of Northumberland, vol. 2, by Edward Bateson.]*

Another charter by the same king reads: *Henricus, rex Anglie, Ranulfo, Dunelmensi episcopo, et Alurico et Ligulfo, vicecomitibus, et omnibus baronibus suis Francis et Anglis de Northumbreland, salutem. Sciatis me dedisse Deo et sancto Alabno et Oswino et Ricardo abbati totam terram, et servicium Graffardi, videlicet Setonam et Wyteleyam et Seyhalam, et unum toftum in Novo Castello. Et volo et precipio ut ipsi sancti et abbas et monachi ita bene honorifice et libere teneant, com soca et saca, et tol et team et infangeneteof, et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus, sicut melius et honorabilius tenent alias terras suas. Testibus Roberto*

episcopo Lincolniensi, et Ranulpho cancellario, et Nigello de Alben'. Apud Brantonam. Translation: Henry, King of the Angles, to Ranulf, bishop of Dunelmensis, and Aluric and Ligulf the Vicecount, and all his French and English barons, greeting. Know ye that I have given to God and Saint Albans and Oswin and Richard the abbot all the land and service of Graffardus, to wit, Setona and Wyteleya and Seyhala and one toft in Nova Castella. Also I wish and decree that the saints themselves and the abbot and the monks may keep it thus well in honor and freedom with socage and sacage and tol and team and infangtheft and all the other customs, just as they hold their other lands better and more honorably. Witnesses: Robert the Bishop of Lincolniensis and Ranulphus the chancellor and Nigel de Albini at Branton.

It will be noticed that these appear in St. Alban's Register, and that Nigel Albini is witness to both instruments, as to the following also from St. Alban's Chartulary:—

Fol. 117 b. Henricus, rex Anglie, vicecomitibus et cunctis ministris suis de Northumberland, salutem. Sciatis quod retineo in manu mea domum de Tyne-mouth' et monachos, et nolo quod abbas de Sancto Albano neque prior Dunhelmensis de ipsis se amplius intromittant, sed monachi de Tynemutha priorem sibi eligant, et ille prior clericos ad habitum et professionem ibidem recipiat. Et volo et precipio quod ecclesiam de Tynemutha ab omni injuria defenatis et manuteneatis, qua mea propria elemosina est. Teste Nigello de Albini, apud Dunelmun. Date, Autumn, 1122. Ex placitis de quo warranto. Translation: Henry the King of the Angles to the viscounts and all their officers in Northumberland, greeting. Know ye that I have retained in my hand the home of Tynemouth and the monks and I wish that the abbot of St. Albans nor the prior of the Dunhelmensi themselves interfere more but that the monks of Tynemouth choose a prior for themselves and this prior shall receive priests for the habit and profession. Also, I will and decree that you shall defend and keep the church by your strength from all harm which (the church) is my particular eleemosynary. Witness: Nigel de Albini at Dunelmus, date, autumn 1122, with the pleasures of this warrant.

Fol. 115 b. Henricus, rex Anglie, Rogero Picot, salutem. Sciatis quod (tibi firmi) ter precipio ut facias habere Sancto Albano et Sancto Oswino et (monachis Sancti) Albani omnes consuetudines suas in terra et in aqua (et in) wreke, scilicet socam et sacam, et tol et team, et omnes (libertates) in omnibus rebus suis, sicut unquam melius habuit Robertus comes tem (pore frat) is mei, et fac eis plenam justiciam de omnibus qui terram suam intraverunt et supra x libras foris facere. Testibus W. de Werelwast de Nigello de (Al)ben', apud Wyncestriam in pascha. Probable year, 1108. Translation: Henry, King of the Angles, to Roger Picot, greeting. Know ye that I confirm to you land, I decree that you shall have it with (or from) Saint Albans and Saint Oswin and the monks of Saint Albans, to keep all their customs on land and on sea and in wreke, to wit socage and sacage and tol and team and all liberties in all their affairs as Robert the Count during the time of my brother has every kept it and given open justice in these things which came within his land and put out over 10 pounds. Witnesses: W. de Werelwast de Nigel de Albini at Wyncestri at Easter.

Fol. 117b. Grant to St. Mary, St. Alban, St. Oswin, and the monks of Tyne-mouth of all their property, in lands and waters, tithes and churches, wood and plain, with soc, sac, tol, tem, infangenetheof and wreck. Order to defend and maintain the church of St. Mary and of St. Oswin, the monks and the men and the property of the said church. (Cf. William II.'s charter); witness, Nigel de Albino; dated at Windsor (at Pentecost); probable year 1110 (1122). [*Ibid.*] [At. Alban's Register, fols. 115, b and 117, from Dodsworth's and St. George's transcripts, and compare *Gesta Abbatum*, Rolls Series, vol. i, page 63.]

The ancient barony to which the township of Embleton gives its name included also the adjoining townships of Stamford, Craster, and Dunstan in Embleton parish, and the townships of Burton and Warenton in the parish of Bamburgh. The barony was given by Henry I. to John, son of Odard, or John Viscount, as he was also called from the connection of his ancestors with the shrievalty of Northumberland. The family sprang from Bamburgh, the ancient seat of Northumbrian sovereignty, and its pedigree may be traced through Eadwulf, whose son, Liulf, held lands at Bamburgh and discharged the duties of sheriff in the time of Henry I. The early pedigree of the Viscounts has been investigated by Mr. J. Horace Round. [*Genealogist*, vol. v, p. 25.] David, king of Scots, 1124-1153, granted the manor of Swinton in Berwickshire 'Arnolfo . . . meo militi sicut Vdardus Vicecomes eam tenuit.' To Arnolf . . . my soldier just as Vdardus the Viscount has held it. [Raine, *North Durham*, app. xiii.] In a variant manner is granted 'meo militi Arnulfo . . . per easdem consuetudines per quas Liulfus filius Edulfi et Vdardus filius suus tenuerunt.' To my soldier Arnulf . . . by those same customs by which Ligulph son of Edulf and Vdardus his son have held it. Liulf was sheriff temp. Henry I. [*History of Northumberland*, by Edward Bateson, vol. 2. *Ibid.*, vol. 10.]

The name of Liulf de Bebbanburch occurs among the witnesses who attested the charter by which Edgar, 1097-1107, gave to Coldingham 'all the vill of Swinton with the divisions as Liulf held it.' Odard, son of Liulf, was the first member of the family who bore the name of Viscount. In 1121 he was sheriff of the Northumbrians, and his name occurs among the witnesses who subscribed the foundation charter of Earl David to Selkirk abbey (1119-1124). In 1130 he was acting as sheriff of Northumberland and was making payments in that capacity at Bamburgh. He is also mentioned by Richard of Hexham in connection with the history of Hexham priory.

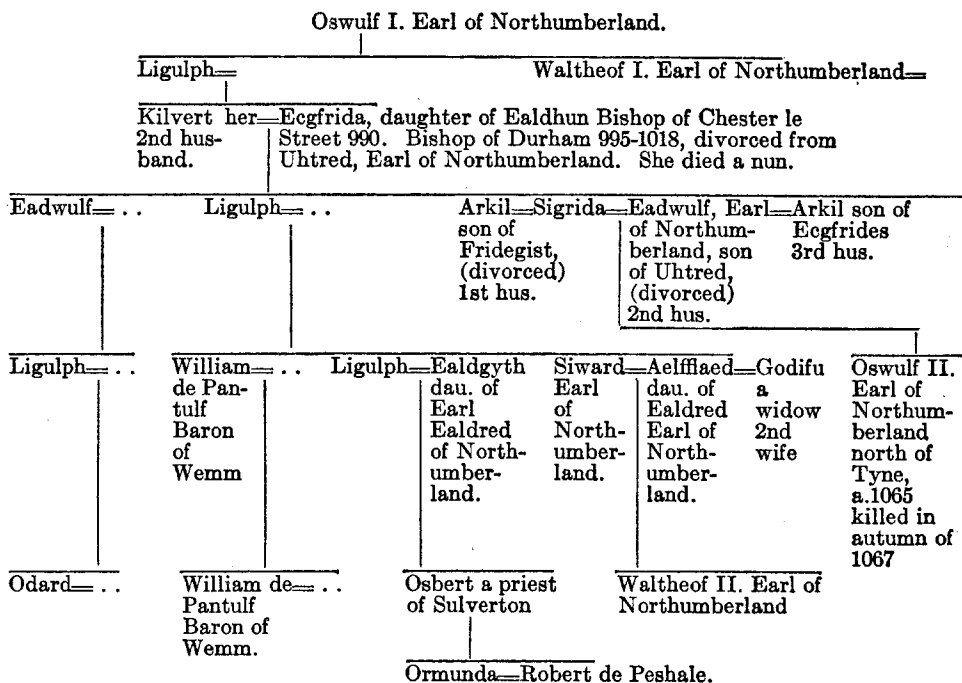
Northward of the Tweed, the shire is distinctly traceable in its earlier and original aspect. When Edgar made over the shire of Coldingham to the monks of Durham he bestowed upon them the township of Coldingham, with ten other townships, and, at the dedication of the church of St. Mary, completed his grant by offering upon the altar the township of Swinton, as Liulf had held it, or twelve townships in all. Alexander II., in the thirteenth year of his reign, released the monks of Coldingham from the aid and utware (*auxilium et exercitum*) which had originally been due from the twelfth township of the shire of Coldingham, that is, the town in which the church stands, thus incidentally confirming the fact that the shire was, as usual, made up of twelve lesser villis. Swinton was subsequently conferred by David upon Arnulf, his knight, to hold of the king

and St. Cuthbert of Durham, with all the rights and customs enjoyed by Liulf and his son, Odoard the vicecomes, paying annually to the brotherhood 40 sol. in lieu of all service, the tenure by which Odoard had held it. Thus Swinton represented the township allotted to the Reeve of the shire, Coldingham was the kirktown; a grant of the former conveyed the rights attaching to the Gerefa, a grant of the latter those belonging to the kirktown, whilst a donation of both centred the ecclesiastical and temporal rights over the whole shire in the same person or community. [Robertson's Historical Essays, page 126.]

The sheriff, whose shrievalty may be dated approximately 1118-1132, is not only styled Odard of Bamburgh, but appears in the foundation charter of Selkirk abbey (1119-1124) as Odard of Bamburgh the sheriff (Odardus vicecomes de Babenburch). His father, Ligulf son of Eadwulf, who had been sheriff before him, attests a grant to Coldingham priory made by King Edgar (1097-1107) as Ligulf of Bebbanburch (i.e. Bamburgh); and, since Roger Picot was then in charge of the county and Ligulf as yet filled no independent position as sheriff, it follows that his connection with the royal borough of Bamburgh was independent of the shrievalty. Similarly, after the shrievalty had ceased to be hereditary in Ligulf's family, his grandson, John, son of Odard, seems to have retained the administration of certain royal estates attached to Bamburgh.

The nature and origin of the office is found in a title used by Osulf, the first of the official earls of Northumberland. To charters falling between the years 946 and 949, Osulf appends his name with the appellations *Haehgerefa*, and *ad Bebb hehgr*, in other words 'high reeve or prince of Bamburgh.' From Osulf prince of Bamburgh to Odard the sheriff of Bamburgh there is but a short step; and it is noteworthy that, when the Anglo-Norman poet Gaimar had to translate the old English title of *Haehgerefa*, the word by which he renders it is *vesconte*. The line of descent from Oswulf I. Earl of Northumberland to Edwulf is as follows: Oswulf I.—Ligulph—Kilvert—Edwulf. It was at first a junior line and they did not become entitled to the privileges of the first line until by death of all the descendants of Waltheof I., the brother of Liulph, and the removal of Ligulph the grandfather of Ormunda, whereby the line from Edwulf became the oldest male line of descent from Oswulf I. residing in Bamborough. Liulf was high reeve of the royal borough from which he took his name and there is at least a presumption that his partner, Aluric, was the last of a line of high reeves of Corbridge. Partners in the shrievalty they certainly came to be. There are eight writs in chronological order addressed to the sheriffs Ligulf and Aluric. These writs are: (1) Notification by Queen Matilda of her grant of the church of Carham to Durham priory, printed in Raine, North Durham, appendix No. DCCLXXXV.; (2) Precept of Henry I. to do right to Ranulf, bishop of Durham, respecting lands in Ross, printed in Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. 1774, vol. ii, p. 389; (3) Notification of grant of Graffard's land to Tynemouth priory, printed in vol. IX of this work, p. 54; (4) Notification of confirmation to Tynemouth priory of the tithes granted to that monastery by Hubert Delaval, printed in vol. LX, of this work, p. 136; (5) Notification of grant to Tynemouth priory of the manor of Eglingham, printed in Gibson, Tynemouth, vol. ii, appendix xvi; (6) Writ ordering that the monks of Tynemouth shall hold Archil Morel's land, see vol. viii of

this work, p. 55; (7) Precept to free the monks of Tynemouth from work upon the New Castle; (8) Notification of confirmation to Durham priory of Copsi's lands in Cleveland, Leland loc. cit. In this last writ Aluric is addressed as Aluric de Coleburgh. The names of Liulph and Aluric do not occur apart from each other, so that it is not possible to say whether either of them survived to be sole sheriff. The writs addressed to them cannot be accurately dated, but may all be placed as about 1118, when Odard is first met with as sheriff. This would make Odard the same generation as Waltheof II., which quite agrees with the story told in the preceding chapter of the death of that nobleman, whereby the line of Bernician earls of the old royal line was brought to an end, as is most clearly shown by the following chart:—



Thus we see that there was nevertheless some sort of a limited continuance in the right of the male line of Ida, then resident in Northumberland, of the old authority to rule Bernicia, notwithstanding there had been a conquest of England and the complete elimination of all the English earls.

Since the king's writs were sent down for publication in the shire moot, it follows, from the fact that Liulf and Aluric are on each occasion addressed jointly, that both magistrates presided over the same assembly. The available evidence does not point therefore to a partition of Northumberland by Henry I. into two distinct counties, each with its sheriff and shire moot, but suggests that the shrievalty was put into commission and entrusted to the high reeves of the two chief royal boroughs. In like manner the Scottish sheriffs of David I. all take their title from some royal borough—Stirling, Scone, Berwick, and Roxborough—

which they presumably administered. It must not be forgotten either that there is evidence, during the reign of Henry I., for the existence of more than one sheriff within the county in Yorkshire as well as in Northumberland. Yet though Ligulph and Aluric were joint sheriffs of the whole county, the selection of the high reeves of Bamburgh and Corbridge to fill a single office may have been prompted by an existing division of Northumberland into two administrative districts. It cannot be wholly fortuitous that the name of Ligulf usually stands first in those writs that relate to the northern part of the county or Bernicia, and that of Aluric in the writs that concern southern Northumberland or Durham. Evidence is not wanting to show that at one time the district between the Tweed and the Coquet, and that between the Coquet and the Tyne, each formed a separate administrative unit. At the time of the earliest recorded assize of the county (1254) the districts *ultra* Coquet and *citra* Coquet formed separate wards; but the tenurers of the Bamburgh and Byker serjeanties, as recorded in the Great Inquest of Service taken in 1212, carry the division back to an earlier epoch. Both serjeanties carried with them the duty of distraining for the king's debts and bearing the king's writs, the one between Tweed and Coquet, the other between Coquet and Tyne. The Bamburgh serjeanty is expressly stated to have been so held since the reign of William Rufus, and the existence of the Coquet as a boundary must therefore be of equally early date. Symeon's narrative of the foundation of Durham, though composed with an ecclesiastical bias, contains a hint that the division may have been in existence already in the Northumbrian earldom. The site of Durham is there stated to have been prepared for habitation by men from between the Coquet and Tees, a curiously definite detail to which a precise meaning must attach, and which can be best explained by assuming that the work described was a definite civil obligation, namely *burh-bot*, to which one or more districts within the earldom were liable. If this were so, it follows that in 995 the Coquet was already the boundary of an inheritable administrative area.

If anything can be predicted of the internal arrangements of Northumberland at the close of the earldom, it appears that the era comprised in the modern county was divided, both for ecclesiastical and for civil purposes, into two administrative districts or shires, that the Coquet formed the boundary between the two, and that their respective centers were the royal boroughs of Bamburgh and Corbridge. Aluric of Corbridge and Ligulf of Bamburgh may therefore be taken to be king's officers, each administering a portion of the county attached to a royal borough, and appointed by Henry I. because of their hereditary right thereto, to act jointly as sheriff in both provinces. They disappear from history together, and the office of sheriff became hereditary in Ligulf's family. It seems that the official estates of the two co-sheriffs descended to their successor, since Odard, who first occurs as sheriff in 1118, was possessed of carucates of land both in Bamburgh and Corbridge. Yet Aluric's descendants retained their connection with the Corbridge district, and his son, Richard, received from Henry I., a grant of Dilston, which was thereby detached from the royal manor of Corbridge, and erected into a little barony held of the crown by knight's service. Richard died some time before 1128, and, on his death the King confirmed his grant of the

barony to Richard's brother, William son of Aluric, from whom the later lords of Dilston derive their origin.

In Northumberland Ross was until recently a part of the county of Durham for civil purposes; but from an ecclesiastical point of view it has from ancient times formed a part of the chapelry of Belford in the parish of Bamburgh. The Township appears in the list of places which paid tithe to the priory of Nostell, to which the church of Bamburgh belonged. During the episcopacy of Ralph Flambard (1099-1128), Robert de Muschamp, lord of the barony of Wooler, took possession of the land of Ross, and attempted to deprive St. Cuthbert's church of its rightful possession. Henry I. thereupon issued a writ to Liulf and Aluric, the sheriffs, directing them to see justice done to the bishop.

Breve regis Henrici. Henricus rex, Liulfo et Alurico vicecomitibus salutem. Precipio et rectitudinem faciat Ranulfo episcopo Dunelmensi de terra de Ros, quam Robertus de Muschamis preoccupatus est super ecclesiam S. Cuthberti, etc. Testi, Ranulpho cancellario. Translation: Brief of King Henry. Henry the King to Liulf and Aluric, viscounts, greeting. I decree that you shall make straight to Ranulf, Bishop of Dunelmensu in the matter of the land of Ros, of which Robert de Muschamp has taken possession over the church of Saint Cuthbert, &c. Witness Ranulf the chancellor.

Queen Matilda also issued a writ in similar terms, which alludes to other encroachments on the part of Robert de Muschamp, and to a previous agreement on the subject between William of St. Calais, bishop of Durham, and Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland. It is possible that Flambard made a private compromise with Muschamp by which the ecclesiastical rights of Durham over Ross were ceded, whilst the civil rights were retained. The anomalous position of the township in after times would seem to point to some such compromise. [The History of Northumberland, by Edward Bateson, vol. 1.]

Carta regine Matildis de terra de Ross. Matildis, Anglie regina, Nigello de Albineo salutem. Precipio tibi ut facias Ranulpho, episcopo Dunelmensi, habere plenum rectum de Roberto de Muscamps de terris quas occupavit super S. Cuthbertum et super eam de Ros et aliis terris quas ipse Robertus occupabit post concordiam, que facta fuit inter Willielmum episcopum et comitem Robertum Northumberlandie, sicut Ranulphus episcopus monstrare poterit. Translation: The Paper of Queen Matilda concerning the land of Ross. Matilda, Queen of England, to Nigel de Albini, greeting. I decree to you that you give a full right to Ranulf, the Bishop of Dunelmensus, from Robert de Muschamp in the matter of the lands which he occupied above S. Cuthbert and above that of de Ross and other lands which Robert himself occupied after the agreement which had been made between William the Bishop and Count Robert (de) Northumberland, as Ranulf the Bishop can show.

One other possible survival of the early burghal life of Corbridge requires to be mentioned. A borough, whether detached from the jurisdiction of the hundred or forming its jurisdictional center, was distinguished from purely agricultural villages by the possession of a moot or court of justice. In later times Corbridge had its borough court, held, it seems, in the tolbooth by the market place; but a terrier of demesne land drawn up in the reign of Henry VIII. contains an allu-

sion to a more primitive assembly. Ground lying to the south of Howden Dene, east of the village, is there described as the waste place where the assembly is upon Easter day. Rising up from it to the north-east is a large hillock still known as Gallow-hill and doubtless actually crowned by a gallows in the middle ages. At the foot of the hill was the place of judgment, and on its summit was the place of execution.

By a writ dated 24th June, 1107, Henry I. ratified a grant made to his chaplain, Richard d'Orival, for life, of the churches of four of his Northumbrian manors, namely, Warkworth, Corbridge, Whittingham and Rothbury, and ordered Roger Picot, Aluric of Corbridge, Hamo Balistarius the reeve, and Ernewin the reeve to give seisin. Hamo and Ernewyn were doubtless borough reeves or provosts. Roger Pico, to whom five extant writs were addressed, had been put in charge of the earldom of Northumbria upon its forfeiture by Robert de Mowbray, and, since he is on no occasion styled sheriff of the county, may have filled the more independent office of justiciar and have acted as king's vicegerent in the earldom prior to the absorption of Northumbria in the county system. The position held by Aluric of Corbridge may be determined by reference to that of his contemporary, Ligulf of Bamburgh, with whom he was afterwards closely associated.

When Henry I. came to the throne, that sovereign confirmed to the monks of St. Oswin their possessions, court and customs in Tynemouth Priory in Northumberland, to hold as freely as Earl Robert held them before his forfeiture. He also definitely specified in his charters their right to fisheries in the Tyne, as well as to wreck, and accorded them free warren in all their lands in Northumberland. He added to their endowment two small lordships, namely, Winnoc the hunter's manor of Eglingham, and Graffard's land, which comprised Seghill, Monkseaton and Whitley. His queen, Matilda, was likewise a benefactress to the monks. She gave them the lordship of Archil Morel, which comprised Bewick and Lilburn, for the sake of her father, King Malcolm, who lay buried in their church.

No fewer than seventeen royal charters and writs of the time of Henry I. relating to Tynemouth priory, have been copied into the St. Alban's Register, among which the following relate to Liulph. Fol. 124. Writ addressed to Ligulph and Aluric, sheriffs, reciting grant to St. Alban, St. Oswin, and Abbot Richard of the manor of Eglingham; witness, Urso de Abetot; given at Winchester; probable date, 1106-1116. Fol. 124. The same for quiet possession of Archil Morel's land; witness and date as before. Fol. 116. Writ addressed to Ranulph, bishop of Durham, and to Aluric and Ligulph, sheriffs, confirming to the abbot of St. Alban's the tithes granted by Hubert de la Val to the monks of Tynemouth; witness, Nigel d'Albini; given at Winchester; probable date, 1106-1116. Fol. 118. *Henricus, rex Anglie, Alurico et Ligulfo, salutem. Precipio ut elemosinam meam de Tynemutha manuteneatis et custodiatis et de operatione de Novo Catello ita sit quietum sicut erat tempore fratris mei. T. Willelmo episcopo Exoniensi, apud Westmonasterium.* Probable date, 1107-1120. Translation: Henry, King of England, to Aluric and Ligulf, greeting. I decree that you hold by force and guard my eleemosynary of Tynemouth and let it be quiet from the action of Novus Castellus as it was in the time of my brother. Witness William the Bishop of Exoinsus, at Westminster. Fol. 115 b. and fol. 117. Writ addressed

to Ranulph, bishop of Durham, and to Aluric and Ligulph, sheriffs, reciting grant to St. Alban and to St. Oswin and to Abbot Richard of Graffard's land; witnesses, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, and Nigel d'Albini; given at Branton; probable date 1106-1116. Fol. 116. Writ addressed to Ranulph, bishop of Durham, confirming to St. Mary and to St. Oswin, to the abbot of St. Alban's and to the monks of Tynemouth, the tithes given them by Earl Robert and his men; witness, Nigel d'Albini; given at Branton; probable date, 1106-1116; printed above and in Dugdale, *Monasticun*.

The township of Little Houghton, occupying the north-western corner of the parish of Long Houghton, in the county of Northumberland, is bounded by Howick on the east, and Rennington on the west. The first recorded owner of the township of Little Houghton is Gilbert de St. Clare, probably a Norman knight. Nothing is known of his parentage or place of birth, but an early transcript of a deed drawn up in his name is preserved amongst the Duke of Northumberland's muniments. By this deed, which is addressed to all men, French and English, Gilbert de St. Clare gave to Magister Liulph, for his homage and service, a bovate of land in Little Houghton, consisting of twelve acres. The twelve acres were composed of various small parcels of land, namely, a toft and croft consisting of an acre (which had been in the tenure of Liulph), one acre at the garden, three rood which had also been in Liulph's tenure, half an acre at Belhc, four acres in Water-rig, two acres in Svelhc, one acre and three roods of demesne land, and one acre of meadow at Stanibrigg. Gilbert de St. Clare at the same time gave to Liulph pasture for one hundred sheep in the vill of Houghton, and freedom from multure. The deed of gift may be assigned to the later part of the twelfth century. It reads as follows: *Omnibus hominibus, Francis et Anglicis, has litteras visuris vel audituris, Gilebertus de Sancto Claro salutem. Sciatis me dedisse, etc., Magistro Liulpho pro homagio et servicio suo unam bovatom terre xij acrarum in parva Hothtun (sic) scilicet toftum et croftum unius acre que fuerunt Liulph', et ad gardinum unam acram, et tres rodas que fuerunt eiusdem Liulphi, in Belhc (sic) dimidiam acram, de dominio meo in Waterrig iiij acras; scilicet duas et dimidiam que fuerunt predicti Lyulphi, unam et dimidiam de dominio meo in Wildotiflat; duas acras que fuerunt eiusdem Liulphi in Svelhc (sic), unam acram et dimidiam, et unam rodam de dominio meo, et unam acram prati ad Stanibrigg de dominio meo, illi et heredibus suis, tenenda, etc., reddendo mihi, etc., tantum annuatim xij, etc. Do eciam et concedo et hac carta mea confirmo predicto Liulpho et heredibus suis pasturam ad centum oves in predicta villa de Hochtun (sic.) Et sciendum est quod ipsi erunt quieti de multura ad molendinum meum de Hochtun. Quod, si forte ego vel heredes mei non poterimus warantizare predictam et aysiamenta predicta Magistro Liulpho et heredibus suis, debimus eis ad escambia ad valenciam predicte terre et aysiamentorum. Hiis testibus: Johanne filio Johannis Vicecomitis, Nicholao de Morwic et aliis. (Duke of Northumberland's MSS.) Translation—To all men, the French and English, who shall see or hear these letters, Gilebert de Saint Clair sends greeting. Know ye that I have deeded &c. to Master Liulph in return for his homage and service, one bovate and 12 acres of land in Parva Hothun (thus) to wit a toft and a lot of one acre which has been Liulph's and*

one acre for a garden and three rods which have been the same Liulph's in Belhc (thus) a half acre, from my overlord in Waterrig, 4 acres; to wit two and a half which have been the aforesaid Liulph's, and a half from my overlord in Wildotiflat; 2 acres which were the same Liulph's in Svelhc (thus) one acre and a half and one rod from my overlord and one acre of meadowland at Stanibrigg from my overlord, to be held by him and his heirs &c. by paying to me &c. I give also and I cede and I confirm this my paper to the aforesaid Liulph and his heirs pasture for a hundred sheep in the aforesaid village of Hochtun (thus). Also be it known that they themselves will be quiet from grinding at my mill-house in Hochtun. That if perchance I or my heirs can not warranty the aforesaid (land) and the aforesaid parts to Master Liulph and his heirs, we owe them in exchange for the strength of the aforesaid land and aysiamenta. Witnesses: John son of John the Viscount, Nicholas de Morwic and others.