

ART. IV.—*Allerdale*. By T. H. B. GRAHAM, M.A., F.S.A.

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THE long stretch of sea-coast facing the Isle of Man and the *hinterland* of that coast were from time out of mind known as "Alnerdal," that is to say the dale or plain country abutting upon the river Aln (now called the Ellen) which flows into the sea at Maryport. Aln is said to be a native British name, and the suffix -er is the mark of the genitive case in the dialect spoken by immigrants of Norse extraction (Collingwood, *Lake District*, p. 97).

The whole tract was divided into two "wards," namely Allerdale below (*i.e.* north of) Derwent, and Allerdale above (*i.e.* south of) Derwent.

The *boundaries* of those wards are clearly marked by coloured lines on the map of the county, published by F. Jollie of Carlisle and contained in the first volume of Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*.

This division of the tract into wards is suggestive of Anglian influence, and it is evident that at an early period Angles from Northumbria had by means of peaceful penetration obtained a footing in that tract and in its immediate neighbourhood (for example Inglewood, the Angles' wood) and formed a considerable element of the population.

Without the aid of a map, it is difficult to follow the history of Allerdale. The accompanying one was made by Thomas Kitchin in 1777 to illustrate Nicolson and Burn's history of the county.

#### A. ALLERDALE BELOW DERWENT.

Before the advent of the Normans, the famous Gospatric held sway over the "land of Carlisle" (*Chærleolium* of



MAP OF ALLERDALE BY B. H. KITCHIN, 1777.

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Henry I's pipe roll) extending from the tip of the Solway to the river Wampool; and sway over Allerdale below Derwent, extending from the Wampool to the river Derwent.

Both those items had, once upon a time, belonged to the ancient Kingdom of Cumbria, but had, *circ.* 1031, been annexed by King Cnut to the province of English Northumbria, ruled by an "earl" who was consequently Gospatric's overlord (*Trans.*, N.S. xxvi, p. 278).

After the decisive battle of Hastings, Gospatric, in 1067, astutely purchased the over-riding earldom of Northumbria from William the Conqueror. That greatly increased his importance and influence.

But he soon fell into disgrace, for by indolence or treachery he allowed Malcolm III, king of Scots, to occupy the land of Carlisle and, presumably, Allerdale below Derwent as well.

So in 1072 William I invaded Scotland, and insisted that Malcolm should rule the territory, which he had thus impudently occupied, merely as feudal tenant and viceroy of the king of England. Malcolm assented.

William thereupon deprived Gospatric of his earldom of Northumbria and of his original domains, the land of Carlisle and Allerdale below Derwent.

Gospatric fired one parting shot, a bombastic "charter," or writ, addressed to *his men* of Caldbeck and elsewhere in "Alnerdal" below Derwent,\* warning them of the impending re-imposition by the Conqueror of the ancient tax known as noutgeld or cornage (see *Trans.*, N.S. xxv, at p. 88).

Malcolm appointed Dolfin son of Gospatric vice-regent of the land of Carlisle; and (as subsequent events indicate) Waldeve son of Gospatric vice-regent of Allerdale below Derwent!

\* The language of "Gospatric's charter" seems to imply that, at that early period, Cardew and Cumdivock were deemed to lie in Allerdale.

The territory adjacent to the Anglo-Scottish border line was from first to last a hot-bed of intrigue, so one must not look for good faith among its denizens.

The land of Carlisle and Allerdale below Derwent were not included by William Rufus in the Domesday Survey of 1086, because they were held for homage only by the king of Scotland, and consequently did not produce anything to swell his own royal revenue (*Trans.*, N.S. xxviii, p. 85).

William Rufus came to the conclusion that the existing situation was fraught with danger, so in 1092 he forcibly seized the land of Carlisle and Allerdale below Derwent, and they remained thenceforth *in manu regis*.

In Henry I's reign Allerdale below Derwent re-appears as a "barony," or group of manors, vested in a tenant *in capite* by express grant of that king.

Information to that effect is furnished by an authoritative document of John's reign, the Sheriff's Return of 1212 (*Victoria Hist. Cumb.*, i, p. 421).

Alice de Rumilly holds her land in Alredale of the king by rendering annually of cornage £15. 13s. 4d. King Henry I gave the said land to Waldeve son of Gospatric, predecessor of the said Alice, by the same service.

It is almost startling to meet with the name of Waldeve son of Gospatric as *persona grata*. He apparently did not share his brother Dolfin's downfall in 1092, and his occupation of Allerdale below Derwent was not disturbed by either William Rufus or Henry I. According to a much later document, the *Chronicon Cumbrie* (see Appendix) the Crown committed "all the county of Cumbria" to Ranulf Meschin, and the latter enfeoffed Waldeve, as his own undertenant, of the barony of Allerdale below Derwent.

But in 1122 Ranulf Meschin had succeeded to the earldom of Chester, and surrendered the "county of Cumbria" to Henry I, with the stipulation that his own

immediate feoffees (including Waldeve) should become tenants *in capite* of the Crown. That later version of the affair is therefore consistent with the brief statement of the Sheriff's Return of 1212 that Henry I gave Allerdale below Derwent to Waldeve.

The last-named king subsequently, in 1133, welded together the land of Carlisle, Allerdale below Derwent and the adjacent barony of Appleby (now part of the county of Westmorland) in order to form the area of his new diocese of Carlisle, a fragment torn, according to Scottish views, from the see of Glasgow (Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, edit. Hearne, vol. iii, p. 862).

The ecclesiastical situation has been summed up by Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, vol. ii, pp. 12-26).

At the Council of Windsor, in 1072, it was agreed between Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas I archbishop of York, that the latter should exercise supreme spiritual jurisdiction from the boundaries of the diocese of Lichfield and the river Humber northward to the utmost limits of Scotia.

In 1100-7, Henry I assigned to the diocese of York all *English Cumbria*, then ineffectually claimed by Ranulf, bishop of Durham.

In 1109-14, Thomas II, archbishop of York, consecrated a bishop of Glasgow; and about 1117 the Pope consecrated John to the same see.

Until the formation of the see of Carlisle, the bishops of Glasgow had constantly asserted that all territory, formerly parcel of the ancient Kingdom of Cumbria, lay within their diocese. That claim did not harmonize with changed political circumstances and was consequently a hopeless one.

In 1133, Turstin, archbishop of York, consecrated "Adulf" as first bishop of Carlisle, and gave to him all the churches which were comprised in the newly-formed area above defined; while all the churches which lay

outside that area, in Allerdale *above* Derwent and the barony of Kendal in Westmorland, continued as formerly to pertain to the archdeaconry of Richmond in the diocese of York.

### B. ALLERDALE ABOVE DERWENT.

This ward consisted, for the most part, of a wilderness of forest and moor, and had no connection except in name with Allerdale below Derwent. It lay originally in Yorkshire (as, by the way, did the adjacent barony of Kendal, now part of the county of Westmorland). Its more convenient appellation is *Copeland*, which is said to signify the "bought land" (Collingwood, *op. cit.*, p. 51). William Rufus included it, or at any rate its southern extremity in his Domesday Survey.

Henry I expressly conferred it upon a new tenant *in capite*, for the above-mentioned Sheriff's Return of 1212 records that

Richard de Lucy holds Copeland of the king by service of one knight; and he shall go at the king's precept in the army of Wales and Scotland. King Henry I gave this land to William Meschin, predecessor of the said Richard de Lucy, by the same service.

Then occurred an event, which made a lasting impression upon the history of Cumberland, for the *Chronicon Cumbrie* (see Appendix) relates how the said William Meschin *sub-granted* a thin strip of Copeland, abutting northward on the river Derwent, to his neighbour Waldeve son of Gospatric, to be held of himself, the grantor, as superior lord.

That thin strip crystallized as the Honour of Cockermouth. From the *ecclesiastical* point of view the same thin strip, containing the five vills of 1. Brigham, 2. Eaglesfield, 3. Dean *cum* Branthwaite, 4. Greysouthen and 5. the two Cliftons *cum* Stainburn lay, like its parent barony of Copeland, within the diocese of York (see *Trans.*, N.S. xxix, p. 70).

William Meschin tenant *in capite* fixed his residence at Egremont and consequently preferred to describe his own fee of Copeland as the "barony of Egremont."

The Sheriff's Return of 1212 is an *official document* and affords a reliable foundation upon which to base the history of the *South-Western District* of Cumberland (comprising 1. the barony of Allerdale below Derwent, 2. the barony of Egremont and 3. the latter's offspring, the Honour of Cockermouth), from the reign of Henry I onward.

The *general* history of the *South Western District* has already been outlined by the present writer in an article entitled the "Honour of Cockermouth," and printed in the 29th volume of our *Transactions*. The family pedigree annexed to it at p. 80 shows how, in the year 1323, the barony of Allerdale below Derwent *plus* the honour of Cockermouth had, after extraordinary vicissitudes, become vested in a single individual, to wit, Anthony de Lucy\* lineal descendant of the above-named Richard de Lucy; and shows incidentally how at the same date the barony of Allerdale above Derwent otherwise Egremont (whose early records are extremely meagre) had become vested in the infant heir of Thomas de Multon of Egremont, another lineal descendant of the same Richard de Lucy. Here is a convenient point at which to bring this short sketch of events to a conclusion.

But when the historian attempts to deal with the *particular* history of the manors and parishes comprised in the *South Western District*, he is embarrassed by an apparent dearth of reliable information concerning the matter.

The old historians relied upon two copies of an abstract of title which have been casually preserved among the monastic records of Wetheral and St. Bees respectively

\* The same Anthony de Lucy is said to have married Elizabeth daughter of Robert de Tilliol of Scaleby, and was dead in 1343 (*Complete Peerage*).

under the high-sounding titles *Distributio Cumberlandie* and *Chronicon Cumbrie*, and have quoted them without precise reference or comment.

Those copies are not official documents but *ex parte* statements, made for the purpose of a famous lawsuit concerning the so-called "earl's share" or disputed moieties of Allerdale below Derwent and Cockermouth respectively and lasting from 1275 until 1316 (see *Trans.*, N.S. xxix, p. 73) so their evidence must be accepted with some degree of caution.

Nicolson and Burn's neglect to furnish exact references in support of their allegations concerning the two wards of Allerdale in early times is a flaw in their generally careful outline of county history.

It would greatly enhance our interest in the *South-Western District*, if some of our members, who are personally acquainted with the locality, could find leisure to extract and collect from monastic records and other collateral sources the scattered allusions to its component manors and parishes, as they existed in *early* times, and arrange the same allusions *seriatum*. That is a definite task, with which our Society, possessing an unrivalled store of local tradition, can readily deal.

As a step towards such suggested revision of early local history, there has been added, in the Appendix to this article, an English translation of Canon James Wilson's admirable collation of the *Distributio Cumberlandie* (A.D. 1307) and its replica, the *Chronicon Cumbrie* (A.D. 1316).

That collation is printed in the *Register of St. Bees*, Surtees Society's Publications, vol. 126, p. 491, and a careful perusal of its contents inspires a hope that those twin documents will prove to be more reliable than they seem to be at first sight. For their conjectured dates, see *Trans.*, N.S. xxix, p. 77.

## APPENDIX.

## CHRONICON CUMBRIE.\*

King William,† surnamed the bastard, duke of Normandy, conqueror of England, gave all the land of the county of Cumbria to Ranulf Meschin‡ and all the land of Copeland between the rivers Duddon and Derwent to William Meschin, brother of the same.

Ranulf Meschin enfeoffed Waldeve son of Gospatric of the whole barony of Allerdale between the rivers Wampool and Derwent.§

William Meschin, lord of Copeland, enfeoffed Waldeve son of Gospatric of all the land between the rivers Cocker and Derwent, with five vills, namely Brigham, Eaglesfield, Dean *cum* Branthwaite, Greysouthen and the two Cliftons *cum* Stainburn. And he enfeoffed Odard the clerk of one-quarter of Crosthwaite,|| for keeping his hawks.

Geoffrey Meschin,¶ earl of Chester, died without heir of his body, and Ranulf Meschin became earl of Chester, and surrendered to the king all the county of Cumbria, on condition that each of his own feoffees should hold their land of the king *in capite*.

The said WALDEVE, son of Gospatric, enfeoffed Odard de Logis\*\* of the barony of Wigton including Dundraw, Waverton, Blencogo and Kirkbride; and the said Odard founded the church of Wigton.††

\* This collation of the twin documents is in the present Appendix compared with the earlier *Memorandum concerning the sons of Waldeve* (A.D. 1275) contained in the *Tower Miscellaneous Rolls* and printed in Wilson, *St. Bees*, p. 530.

† This curious exordium is explained, *Trans.*, n.s. xxix, p. 79.

‡ *The Memorandum*, 1275, reads "All the land from the place called rerecross-upon-Stainmore to the stream in the direction of Scotland called Solway at bounds there fixed between England and Scotland."

§ *The Memorandum*, 1275, reads "All the barony of Allerdale from the place called Wampool to the Derwent, reserving his right of hunting only."

|| Crosthwaite was in Allerdale *below* Derwent.

¶ Perhaps a clerical error for Richard d'Avranches (see *Complete Peerage*, *sub. voce* Chester).

\*\* Identical with Odard the Sheriff, mentioned in Henry I's Pipe Roll, 1130. For the pedigree of de Wigton see *Trans.*, n.s. xxvii, p. 41.

†† *The Memorandum*, 1275, reads "Waldeve gave to Odard de Legys, who

WALDEVE gave to Odard son of Liulf Tallentire and Castlerigg, with the forest lying between the rivers Calder and Greta; and to the prior and convent of Gisburn Appleton and Bridekirk with the advowson of Bridekirk.

And he gave to Adam son of Liulf Uldale and Gilcrux: and he gave to Gamel son of Brun Bothel: and he gave to Waldeve son of Gilemin with Etheldreda\* his sister Broughton, Ribton, Little Broughton and Bewaldeth for one habitation (*ad unam logeam*): and he gave to Orm son of Ketel Seaton, Cammerton, Flimby and Greysouthen with Gunilda his sister: and to Dolfin son of Aylward with Matilda his sister Appleshwaite, Little Crosby [Crosscanonby] Langrigg and Brigham with the advowson of Brigham: and he gave to Melbeth his physician the vill of Bromfield, reserving to himself the advowson of Bromfield.†

ALAN son and heir of the same Waldeve gave to Ranulf de Lindsey Blennerhasset and Uckmanby with Etheldreda his sister; and he gave to Uctred son of Fergus lord of Galloway with his sister Gunilda Torpenhow with the advowson of its church; and he gave to Ketel the steward (*dispensator*) Threapland; and gave to Herbert the vill of Thursby for one-third part of one vill;‡ and gave to Gospatric son of Orm High Ireby for one-third part of one vill; and gave to Gamel le Brun Ruthwaite for one-third part of one vill; and gave to Ranulf Engayne Isel with its pertinents and Blindcrake with the service of Newton.

The same ALAN had a bastard brother named Gospatric, to whom he gave Bolton Bassenthwaite and Eastholm.§

was Ranulf Meschin's steward (*senescallus*) the vassalage (*vavassorem*) of Wigton, with its villates and their pertinents, for cornage-service, forinsec-service and pannage. And the same Odard founded the church of Wigton in the said (*sic.*) forest.

\* The Christian names Etheldreda and Gunilda are presently stated to have recurred in the following generation. That is not unlikely.

† *The Memorandum*, 1275, is to the same effect.

‡ There is a strong presumption that the remaining two-thirds of Thursby were parcel of the adjoining barony of Burgh.

§ *The Memorandum*, 1275, reads "the villate of Bolton in the forest and Bassenthwaite outside the forest and Hestholm in Derwentwater."

And he gave to Odard [West] Newton with its pertinents; and gave to his three hunters, namely Sleth and his associates Hayton; and gave to Uctred one carucate in Aspatria that he might be summoner in Allerdale; and gave to Dolfin 6 bovates in High Crosby that he might be king's serjeant in Allerdale.

And ALAN gave to Simon de Scheftelynges half of Dearham; and to Dolfin son of Gospatric the other half of Dearham; and gave to Waldeve son of Dolfin Bracken-thwaite; and gave to the priory of St. Bees Stainburn; and gave to the priory of Carlisle, with the body of Waldeve his son, the holy cross, which it still possesses, and Crosby [Crosscannonby] with the advowson of Crosby, and the service of Uctred; also the advowson of the church of Aspatria, with the service of Alan de Brayton; also the advowson of the church of Ireby, with the service of Waldeve de Langthwaite.\*

The same ALAN son of Waldeve gave to King Henry† land of the forest of Allerdale, together with rights of hunting (*una cum venatione*) when he stayed as a guest (*hospitavit*) at Holm Cultram.

\* The *Memorandum*, 1275, reads "The same Alan gave, together with the "corpse-present" (mortuary) of his son, the holy cross of Carlisle: and the church of Aspatria, with the service of the predecessors of John de Brayton in the same forest: and the church of Crosby, with a quarter of the vill of Crosby, which Uctred formerly held inside and outside the forest: Also the church of Ireby, with the service of the predecessors of Isaac de Ireby in Isaacby. The same Alan further enfeoffed (*superfeofavit*) his knight, Uctred son of Liulf, of the vill of Aylewardby (Allerby), which Thomas de Lowther and Peter de Dayncurt now (*modo*) hold.

† The same king, Henry II, annexed it to and incorporated it in his royal forest of Inglewood. Hence it became known as the *West Ward* of that forest. Its boundary is set out by Nicolson and Burn, vol. ii, p. 138.