ART. II.—Annals of Liddel. By T. H. B. GRAHAM.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 11th, 1912.

NICHOL Forest of the olden days, like the elfin grove of fancy, is hidden by a mist, which allows only an occasional glimpse of what is passing within. The sheriff's return of 1212, comprised in the "Testa de Nevill" (Victoria History of Cumberland, vol. i., p. 421), is explicit.

Nicholas de Stutevill holds his land of the King by cornage, by rendering annually for cornage 56s. Earl Ranulf of Chester, formerly lord of Cumberland, gave the aforesaid land to Turgis Brundas, predecessor of the aforesaid Nicholas, by the aforesaid service.

But Turgis Brundas, or Brundos, was not the immediate predecessor of Nicholas de Stutevill. The lapse of a century separated Turgis, enfeoffed by Ranulf Meschin early in Henry I.'s reign, from Nicholas, living late in that of King John. During the interval two important changes occurred. In 1136 Stephen granted Cumberland to David I. of Scotland, and in 1157 Malcolm IV., the latter's youthful successor, re-granted the same territory to Henry II. Immediately before that re-grant the veil of mist shrouding the banks of the Liddel is lifted for a moment—

Malcolm, King of Scots [1153-65], confirms to the hospital of St. Peter of York the grant to it, by Ranulf de Soulis, his butler, of a plenary carucate in his land of the vale of Liddel, as the charter of David, the King's grandfather [1124-53], attests. Also the land called Greshoppa [Kershope], which William de Russendale and Godeheuld, his wife, gave in alms. (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. ii., p. 423).

The original grant to the hospital by William, therein styled de Rossedale, is instructive, and is assented to and attested by Turgis his son, who is doubtless Turgis Brundas:—

William de Rossedale grants his land of Cresope by these bounds: The fosse of the Galwegians, and the rivulet running from thence into Lydel, and on the other side of the fosse straight to the high moor, and so by the watershed of the moor, as far as the old way of Roxburgh, and as the said way falls into Cresope from above the shealings which were Eadulf's. If their pasture therein is insufficient, they shall have it in his *forest*, and wood for building, and their swine free of *padnage* (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 423).

Among the witnesses to the royal confirmation were Hugh de Morvill,* Richard his son, Ranulf de Soulis, and Turgis de Russendale. The sequel appears to connect the family of the last-named witness with Rosedale in Yorkshire, and not with Rossendale in Lancashire. A document of much later date states that Turgis de Russedale (as the name is there spelt) was lord of the manor of Liddel, and gave the advowson of Arthuret church to the abbot and convent of Geddeworth or Jedburgh (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. iii., p. 175).

The two following records throw a sidelight upon the early history of the locality:—

In 1126 David I. confirmed a charter granted by Turgot de Rossendale of lands situate in Canobie, including the church of Kirkandrews on Esk, which he had conveyed to the monks of Jedburgh. And in 1165 William the Lion confirmed a charter of Guido de Rossendale giving additional lands, and a right of fishing in the Liddel, to the same monastery (Paper of Mr. T. J. Carlyle, read to the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 1868).

^{*} Not the Hugh de Morvill who married Helewisa de Stutevill and had no son.

Turgis de Russedale, in company with Hugh de Morvill and Robert de Stutevill, was also witness to the grant by Henry II. to Hubert de Vallibus of Gilsland about the year 1158, and it would thus appear that he had meanwhile become the vassal of the English King. Chancellor Prescott has pointed out (Wetherhal, p. 389) that Turgis de Russedale can scarcely be identical with Turgis Brundas, enfeoffed by Ranulf Meschin in Henry I.'s reign (not later than 1120, when Ranulf's connection with the county ceased), and he suggests that Turgis de Russedale may have been the son of Turgis Brundas.

But that is not the only problem involved in the early history of the English barony of Liddel. How did that land become vested in Nicholas de Stutevill? I cannot find a trace of any marriage between a de Stutevill and the heiress of Turgis de Russedale, and I am inclined to think that the latter died without an heir, and that his lands were re-granted by Henry II. to Nicholas de Stutevill the elder. It is certain that Robert, son of Nicholas de Stutevill the younger, founded a nunnery in the reign of Richard I. at Russedale (now Rosedale, near Pickering) in Yorkshire (Dugdale, Monasticon, Edition 1823, vol. iv., p. 316), and it is possible that the nunnery stood upon land which gave Turgis de Russedale his territorial surname, and afterwards came into the possession of the de Stutevills.

The pedigree of that family, given by Dugdale (Baronage, vol. 1., p. 455), is at variance with the public records, and I therefore submit a new pedigree which is in harmony with those records. It is based upon a genealogy contained in the Chronicle of Melsa or Meaux Abbey, Yorkshire. That Abbey was situate four miles north-west of Cottingham, near Hull, the principal seat of its benefactors the de Stutevills, and the compiler of the Chronicle, writing about the end of the fourteenth century, has left the following account of the family:—

Pedigree of de Stutebill.

ROBERT DE STUTEVILL. 1st baron, surnamed "Grundebeof," imprisoned for life by Hen. I., 1106. ROBERT DE SIUTEVILL, 2nd baron, a commander at the battle of the Standard in Stephen's reign, 1138. ROBERT DE STUTEVILL, 3rd baron, = ERNEBURGA. justice itinerant in Cumberland, 1169-70, a commander at the battle of Alnwick, 1174. NICHOLAS DE STUTEVILL=GUNNORA. EUSTACE DE STUTEVILL ROBERT DE STUTEVILL=HELEWISA. WILLIAM DE STUTEVILL, = BERTA. 4th baron, Sheriff of the elder, had Liddel the elder, dead in 1218. benefactor of Rievaulx Cumberland, 1198. d. Castle in 1174, and all Abbey, Yorkshire. his brother William's land 1203. in 1205-6, died circ, 1206. NICHOLAS DE STUTEVILL=DEVORGOIL, ROBERT DE STUTEVILL. ROBERT DE STUTEVILL=SIBILLA DE ROBERT. WILLIAM. in the wardship of had the honours of Liddel the younger, obtained Lid-VALOINES. survived born beyond mentioned Hugh, Archbishop of and Rosedale, founder del, and leased it to his had her the sea. in the Canterbury, 1204, died of Rosedale Nunnery. Torpenhow, nephew Eustace until his husband. alive in Register of an infant without issue dead in 1213. majority, d. 1233. d. 1222-3. Rievaulx. 1233. 1205. EUSTACE DE STUTEVILL (1) HUGH DE WAKE = JOHANNA DE STUTEVILL = (2) HUGH DE BIGOT MARGARET DE STUTEVILL the younger, in the m. circ. 1229, obtained in 1241 seisin m. before 1246, in the wardship of William wardship of William de of Liddel, then lately d. 1241. d. circ. 1265. de Mastac, d. 1235. Valoines, and in possesin the possession of sion of Liddel by lease Eustace de Stutevill, d. from Nicholas de Stute-1275-6. vill the younger, died without issue 1241. BALDWIN DE WAKE d. 1281-2.

Robert de Stutevill, formerly lord of Cottingham, Knight, begat William, Nicholas, Eustace, and Robert. William, Eustace, and Robert died without children. William is buried with us. But Nicholas left two sons—Robert and Nicholas. Robert begat Eustace, and is buried with us. And, since the said Eustace died without issue, the inheritance devolved upon his uncle Nicholas. The said Nicholas begat Johanna, of whom Lord Hugh de Wake begat Baldwin de Wake (Chronicle of Melsa, Rolls Edition, vol. i., p. 99).

Another pedigree of the same family occurs in the Register of Rievaulx, or Rievall, Abbey near Helmsley, Yorkshire, to which land was given by a certain Robert de Stutevill, for the health of the souls of Robert his grandfather, Robert his father, Erneburga his mother, and also for the souls of Helewyse his wife and William his son (Dugdale, *Baronage*, vol. i., p. 455). The words of the grant imply that William the son was dead, so he cannot have been, as Dugdale alleges, the famous William de Stutevill, sheriff of Cumberland in 1198, because the last-named William certainly succeeded his father in the barony. But I submit that he was the son of the Robert de Stutevill, who is stated by the *Chronicle of Melsa* to have died without children.

In order to prove the pedigree, it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the family history, and to refer occasionally to the records of counties other than Cumberland. The first baron was Robert de Stutevill, surnamed "Grundebeof," imprisoned for life in 1106 by Henry I., because he was an adherent of Robert, Duke of Normandy (Roger de Hoveden, Rolls Edition, vol. iv., p. 118). The second baron was Robert de Stutevill, one of the commanders on Stephen's side at the battle of the Standard in 1138 (De Gestis Stephani, Rolls Edition, p. 160). The de Stutevills were evidently not as yet connected with Cumberland, for it is stated that the men of that county fought at that battle as subjects of David the Scottish King (Victoria History,

vol. ii., p. 242). The second baron must have been born before the date of his father's imprisonment in 1106. and so he is not, as Dugdale says, identical with the Robert de Stutevill who was in his prime in 1174. The third baron was Robert de Stutevill, who, in 1160-70. was justice itinerant in Cumberland, in company with Hugh de Morvill. and in 1170-71 sole justice itinerant in the same county (Madox, Exchequer, 2nd edition, vol. i., pp. 143-6). He was possibly brother of Roger de Stutevill, sheriff of Northumberland in 1176-7 (Ibid., vol. i., p. 130). Robert de Stutevill and "his sons and brothers" supported Henry II. against his rebellious sons in 1173 (Benedict of Peterborough, Rolls Edition. vol. i., p. 51), and in 1174 Robert de Stutevill and William his son were among the leaders of the Yorkshire army (Ibid., p. 65). It is important to note the date, because the same historian states that Liddel Castle belonged to Nicholas de Stutevill in 1174, that is to say in the lifetime of his father and elder brother, and so he cannot have inherited Liddel from his mother, who was presumably Erneburga mentioned in the Rievaulx Register. Robert the 3rd baron was succeeded by his eldest son William. who was sheriff of Cumberland in 1198, and, upon the accession of King John in the following year, was entrusted with the custody of that county and of the castles therein (Hoveden, vol. iv., p. 91). In 1201 he entertained King John at his manor of Cottingham (Ibid., vol. iv., p. 156). He had the ferm of Carlisle, Penrith, Langwathby, Salkeld, and Scotby in 1201-2 (Madox, vol. i., p. 516), and laid claim to land which had been forfeited by his great-grandfather (proavus) Grundebeof (Hoveden, vol. iv., p. 117). He died in 1203 (Annales Monastici. Rolls Edition, vol. ii., p. 255).

Dugdale states that William married Berta, niece of Ranulf de Glanville (Rot. Fin., 7 John, m. 5), but nephew and niece in old parlance signified also grandson and granddaughter (Cf. Lat. nepos and neptis).

Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained, on July 28th, 1204, the wardship of Robert, son and heir of William de Stutevill, and the custody of all his lands in England and Normandy (Madox, vol. i., p. 324, and Calendar of Close Rolls, 6 John, p. 4). The infant heir died almost immediately afterwards, as did the Archbishop, for on August 6th, 1205, Nicholas de Stutevill paid a fine of 10,000 marks for the inheritance of all the lands of which his brother William was seised, upon the day on which he died (Ibid., 7 John, p. 45).

Of Nicholas the elder, from whom Nichol forest derives its name, little is recorded. His interest in Leventon (that is to say Randolf-Levington, member of Liddel) is referred to in 1188 (*Pipe Rolls*, V.H., vol. i., p. 364).

According to Dugdale he married Gunnora, widow of Robert de Gant (*Pipe Rolls*, 2 John, London, Middlesex) and niece or, in his pedigree, daughter, of Hugh de Gornay, and he appears to have died in 1206, leaving two sons, Robert and Nicholas the younger.

On January 4th, 1206-7, King John writes to the sheriff of Norfolk, "We have restored to Nicholas de Stutevill, nephew or grandson (nepos) of Hugo de Gornac, the land of Burlingham, of which Nicholas his father was disseised, on the occasion of the Norman disseisin" (Calendar of Close Rolls, 8 John, p. 75).

Robert the elder son married Sibilla, sister or daughter of Philip de Valoines, who brought him Torpenhow in Cumberland. He died before 1213, leaving an infant son, Eustace, and the inheritance of Liddel devolved (though the reason is not obvious) upon Nicholas the younger.

There follows a curious record, which definitely connects Nicholas de Stutevill the elder with Russedale *alias* Rosedale.

June 22nd, 1213. Sibilla de Valoines, by her attorney, claims versus Nicholas de Stutevill [the younger] her terce of the honour

of Liddel in Cumberland, and of the whole honour of Russedale in Yorkshire, as the dower wherein her late husband Robert endowed her by grant and will of *Nicholas his father*. Nicholas defends by his attorney, and produces the King's letters of protection, that he should be free of all plaints, as long as his son was in the King's service at Poitou (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. i., p. 101).

The said Robert, son of Nicholas de Stutevill, is mentioned in 1210-12 as a tenant in capite (Red book of the Exchequer, Rolls Edition, part ii., p. 491). It was he who, in Richard I.'s reign, founded the nunnery of Rosedale among the Yorkshire moors, because the said Sibilla de Valoines gave to that nunnery the church of Torpenhow, and the said Eustace, son of Robert, afterwards confirmed the gift (Dugdale, Monasticon, vol. iv., p. 316).

Nicholas the younger was one of the confederated barons. who assembled at Stamford in 1215, the year of Magna Charta (Matthew de Paris, Rolls Edition, vol. ii., p. 585), and he was, at the instance of King John, excommunicated nominatim by the Pope in 1216 (Ibid., p. 643). On March 25th, 1216, King John commanded the sheriff of "Carlisle" to give William de Ireby seisin of the land which was Nicholas de Stutevill's in the valley of Liddel (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. i., p. 113). Next year Nicholas was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln (March 19th, 1217) and agreed to pay a heavy ransom (see Cal. Close Rolls, 8 Hen. III., 1224, p. 600), and in June, 1217, the sheriff of Cumberland was ordered to give Philip de Albiniaco seisin of all the land that belonged to Nicholas de Stutevill (Cal. Close Rolls, I Hen. III., p. 313), but was told, later in the year, that Nicholas had returned to the King's fealty and service (Ibid., 2 Hen. III., p. 373). Again, on December 18th, 1217, the King directed the sheriff to take into the King's hand the castle and vill of Liddel, and guard it till further instructions. The

reason of this order* may be that Nicholas had, as will be presently mentioned, granted a lease of Liddel to his infant nephew Eustace.

The next entry refers to Eustace de Stutevill the elder, whose name occurs in the Chronicle of Melsa.

March 30th, 1218. The King commands the sheriff of Warwick to give Nicholas de Stutevill seisin of the manor of Brinklow, which Eustace de Stutevill held, because it appears, by inspection of the charter of the said Nicholas, that Eustace only had that land by lease (de baillo) of Nicholas de Stutevill, father of the said Nicholas, which land had now come to the said Nicholas, son of Nicholas (Cal. Close Rolls, 2 Hen. III., p. 357).

The next two passages relate only to the said *leasehold* title to Liddel—

June 21st, 1219. Robert de Veteripont [sheriff] is commanded to give Saher earl of Winchester, or his messenger the bearer, seisin of the land of Liddel, assigned by Nicholas de Stutevill to Eustace son of his brother Robert till his majority, the ward of which land William de Valoines, who held it, bequeathed on his death to the said earl (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. i., p. 127).

July 29th, 1220. The King hearing that Robert de Veteripont has, on account of the reported death of Saher earl of Winchester, disseised Roger de Quinci, his son and heir, of the said land of Liddel (which the deceased earl gave to Roger till the said term) commands him to restore Roger therein (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 137).

In 1220-I Nicholas still owed the King 1,000 marks for his ransom, and had covenanted that, if he did not make punctual payment of any instalment, he was to forfeit £50 rent of his manor of Liddel and other lands. Robert de Stutevill (probably his first cousin) became a surety (manucaptor) for the fine. Nicholas was, by the King's writ, discharged from paying the same in 1222-3 (Madox, vol. ii., pp. 198, 221). At that time Nicholas

^{*} Mr. J. F. Curwen has given another explanation (these Transactions, N.S. x., p. 92).

had only a reversionary interest in Liddel, expectant on the determination of the lease which he had granted to Eustace, until he came of age. Upon the death of Nicholas in 1233 Eustace may have obtained a grant of the inheritance of Liddel from the King, because it is certain that Johanna, heiress of Nicholas, did not obtain possession of Liddel Castle until after Eustace's death in 1241.

The aforesaid Sibilla de Stutevill appears to have died before Candlemas, 1222-3, when the King, for a fine of 50 marks, delivered to Roger de Quinci the ward of the land of Sibilla de Valoines in Torpenhow, which she held *in capite*, the custody of which land pertained to Roger in consequence of the fact that Eustace, her son and heir, was in his ward (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. i., p. 150).

Nicholas the younger had by his wife Devorgoil two daughters, Johanna and Margaret. He gave the elder in marriage to Hugh de Wake without the King's licence, and both father and son-in-law incurred forfeiture of their lands in consequence. Nicholas also attempted to give Margaret in marriage. The King was very angry at these infractions of his right, but, on June 25th, 1229, he pardoned Nicholas, and directed that his lands should be restored to him (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. i., p. 191).

On April 21st, 1230, Nicholas paid a fine that he should not cross the sea with the King at that his first crossing (Cal. Close Rolls, 14 Hen. III., p. 337).

The following extract proves the accuracy of the Chronicle of Melsa:—

1233. Sept. 8th. It pleases the King that Nicholas de Stutevill restore the land, which belonged to Eustace de Stutevill his uncle, to Robert, son and heir of the said Eustace, and that the same Robert shall thereupon become Nicholas's man, saving fealty to the King, notwithstanding the fact that Robert was born and brought up in parts beyond the sea (Cal. Close Rolls, 17 Hen. III., p. 260).

It is the last that is heard of Nicholas de Stutevill. His interest in Liddel had, through his many defaults, been a precarious one.

On November 20th, 1233, Brian de Insula (sheriff of Yorkshire) is commanded to receive from Devorgoil, widow of Nicholas de Stutevill, Margaret his younger daughter, and to deliver her to William de Mastac, to whom the King has given her marriage, and thereafter to assign dower of Nicholas's lands to the said Devorgoil (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. i., p. 220), and at the same time Nicholas's land in Yorkshire was granted in equal shares to Hugh de Wake, in right of Johanna his wife, and to William de Mastac, kinsman of the King, who had obtained the marriage of Margaret, preserving to the former the esnechia (elder daughter's privileges) in the inheritance (Cal. Close Rolls, 18 Hen. III., p. 340).

In 1233-4 Eustace the younger, who had come of age, gave the King £1,000 to have the like seisin of Cottingham as Nicholas had in his lifetime, as his right by inheritance (Pipe Rolls, 18 Hen. III., York), and subsequent events make it evident that he obtained from the King a similar grant of Liddel.

On November 13th, 1235, Margaret, whose ward and marriage the King granted to William de Mastac, being dead, the sheriff of York is commanded to give to Hugh de Wake and Johanna seisin of the land in the said William's custody (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. i., p. 227).

The last-mentioned orders are only cited in order to elucidate the family history. They did not apply to Liddel, for that manor appears to have continued meanwhile in the possession of Eustace de Stutevill. Matthew de Paris says (vol. iv., p. 174) that Hugh de Wake and Eustace de Stutevill migraverunt ad Dominum in 1241; and on November 2nd of the same year the King writes to the sheriff of Cumberland:—

Johanna, wife of Hugh Wake, has made a fine of £100 to have seisin of the lands of Eustace de Stutevill her cousin, which fell to her in heritage, and has secured the King in £50 thereof for her relief (if she ought to give no more) and in £50 which she has offered beyond the same, and the King enjoins him to give her seisin of Eustace's lands with the castle of Liddel (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. i., p. 283).

Johanna married, secondly, Hugh de Bigot, afterwards Justiciar of England. At the inquisition bost mortem of Peter de Tilliol of Scaleby, in 1246, the jury found that the said Peter held Solpert of the barony of Liddel of Sir Hugh Bigot (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. i., p. 313). In 1251 Hugh de Bigot and Johanna his wife appeared by attorney at Westminster, versus John de Boulton and Master Peter le Legat, in a plea to keep a convention made between them concerning the manor of Liddel (Ibid... p. 337). Sir Hugh was in the royal army at the battle of Lewes in 1264, but fled from the field. He was dead in 1266, for, on January 20th of that year, the executors of his will appeared by attorney at Westminster versus Robert de Mulcastre, in a plea that he should pay them 1,040 marks due from him, and deliver an account for the time when he was Hugh's bailiff at Liddel (Ibid., p. 480).

On Nov. 12th, 1266, an assize enquires who presented the last parson deceased to the church of Arthuret, vacant, which Johanna de Stutevill claims versus the abbot of Gedeworth [Jedburgh]. Her attorney says that Robert her ancestor presented Robert his clerk in King John's time, and he was duly instituted and died last as parson. From Robert the right of presentation came to Eustace, his son and heir. He dying without heir of his body, it reverted to Nicholas,* brother of Robert, as his uncle and heir. From him to Johanna as his daughter and heir. The abbot by attorney says he should not answer to the writ, that the church is not vacant, nay is full, for he and his convent hold and have held it in proprios usus for twenty years past and more, as of their own patronage (Ibid., vol. i., p. 478).

^{*}The thread of title is being deduced. Nicholas did not actually survive Eustace.

July 18th, 1267. The King grants to Johanna de Stutevill and her heirs a weekly market on Tuesday at her manor of Liddel, and a yearly fair there for eight days, namely the vigil and the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Rood and six days following. Also free warren in all her demesne lands of "Lidel, Arturet, Leveneton, Carwindelawe, Stubhulle, and Eston," except within the bounds of the King's forest, and that none enter the same to hunt without Johanna or her heirs' permission, under forfeiture of f to to the King (Ibid., vol. i., p. 482).

On May 26th, 1272, Johanna was about to set out on a journey to Scotland, and obtained leave to appoint attorneys until the following Pentecost and a full year after (*Ibid.*, p. 544).

Johanna died in 1275-6, and the inquisition held after her death reveals the structure of the barony. There was only one manor with four principal divisions, namely, Liddel, Arthuret, Stubhill, and Randolf Levington, and a "ward" at Brackenhill. The lord's mansion was at Liddel, but he had demesne land in every division. The forest contained several assarts, that is to say, tracts of waste land, which had been brought into cultivation and surrounded by hedges. The names given to some of these enclosures, Haythwaite, Katkledy (Catlowdy), Stangarthside, Baily, Raeburn, and Gressehope (Kershope) still survive. The last was applied to land formerly given by William de Russedale to the hospital of St. Peter of York.

April 18th, 1276. Inquisition at Carlisle, regarding the lands held by Johanna de Stutevill, made by Adam de Levington and others, before Sir Robert de Hampton, sheriff and escheator, who say that the said Johanna held the barony of Lydel of the King in capite. The capital messuage there is worth 5s. 1d. In demesne there are $74\frac{1}{2}$ acres and a rood of land each worth 1od. There is a claustura (close) of herbage worth one mark. Eight bovates of land each worth 4s. 6d. Also forlandes and assarts outside the forest worth £8 15 0½. Likewise cottars paying

13s. 6d. The bakery and brewery are worth 12s. The fishing is worth a mark. Also the mill is worth £13 6 8. The advowson of the church of Eston is worth 10 marks. The freeholders pay 2s. 4½d. Likewise from *plough services* 4s.

At Arthureth there is no capital messuage. There are 70 acres and half a rood of land in demesne, each worth 12d. The farmers there hold 31 bovates of land each worth 3s. 6½d. The forlandes there are worth 61s. 2d. The cottars pay 52s. 6d. There are 6½ acres of meadow worth 18s. Also freeholders who pay 9s. 5d. The brewery is worth 7s. Plough services 5s. The mill is worth £13 6 8.

At Stubhille there is no capital messuage. There are 27 acres in demesne each worth 8d. There are 24 bovates each worth $28.8\frac{1}{2}d$. The cottars there pay 138.2d. There is a meadow paying 68.16d and forlandes worth 158.16d Also the services of free men 28.16d

At Randolf Levington there is no capital messuage. There are in demesne $33\frac{1}{2}$ acres $1\frac{1}{2}$ rood of land each worth 12d. There are $30\frac{1}{2}$ bovates each worth 2s. 6d. The forlandes return 10s. $0\frac{1}{2}$ d. The cottars pay 15s. 3d. The brewery returns 8s. 2d. The carriages are worth 6s. 8d. The freeholders pay 3s. 3d. The marsh is worth 12d., and the mill £9.

There is a Ward there in Bracanhille, in demesne 14 acres worth 20s., and $10\frac{1}{2}$ bovates each worth 2s. The cottars pay 4s. 8d., and the freeholders 5s. 8d.

There is a *forest* at Lydel, wherein is an assart with herbage called "Haytwayt" worth 24s. 11d. There is another assart with herbage, enclosed within a hedge, called "Mortwayt" worth 34s. 6d., and another called "Crosefeld" worth £4 13 $5\frac{1}{2}$; another with herbage within a hedge called "Katkledy," worth £4 2 6; also another enclosure within a hedge called "Standgarthesyde" worth 72s. $5\frac{1}{2}$ d.; also another called "Langland" within a hedge worth 33s. 2d. A free man holds an assart called "Brundscale" worth half a mark.

There is also in the forest an assart with herbage called "Gressehope" worth £4 10 4; a close called "Baylli" worth 63s. 2d.; another called "Quelpedale" worth 35s. 7d.; another called "Nethyrbaylli" worth £6 9 $3\frac{1}{2}$; another called "Catgarthe" worth 50s.; another called "Raburne" worth 62s. 6d.; and another called "Wygarthetwayt" worth £4 7 2.

A fulling mill worth 8s., and a water mill worth £9 6 8.

Sir Baldewyn de Wake, son of the said Lady Johanna, is her nearest heir and is of full age and more. (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. ii., p. 18.)

The "forland" was a small plot of demesne land leased to a farmer or settler. It was not subject to the regulations of the common field, but was managed in severalty by the tenant (Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, p. 330).

The "assart," reclaimed from the waste, was an encroachment on the tenants' right of common pasture, and its mode of tenure and cultivation was a matter of agreement rather than custom.

The "cottar" (cottarius) had no share in the common field, but held a cottage and small croft (Vinogradoff, Villainage in England, p. 148). The valuation of the neighbouring manor of Scaleby, made in 1246, mentions six cottars holding 6 cottages and 14 acres (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. i., p. 313).

Baldwin de Wake survived his mother only six years, and died 1281-2, when another inquisition post mortem was held. It is none the less interesting because it follows so closely upon the heels of the former one, and it furnishes a good example of the mode in which a manor was "extended," or valued, at that day. In both inquisitions occur curious terms, unnoticed or insufficiently explained by the Law Dictionaries.

March 18th, 1281-2. Extent of the manor of Lydel, in Cumberland, of which Baldwin Wake was seised in demesne as of fee at his death, with its members Stubbille, Arthuret, and Levington, made at Lydel, before Master Henry de Bray, by oath of Hugh de Levington and others, who say that there is at Lydel the site of a castle containing these domiciles, namely, a wooden hall with two solars and cellars, a chapel, a kitchen, a byre, a grange, and a wooden granary, which threaten ruin; but might now be repaired for 5 marks: not extended, as they need more yearly keeping up than they can be let for. There are 65% acres and one rood of land in demesne, by the perch of eighteen feet, rendering yearly 32 skeps and 121 wyndells of oat meal, namely each one half a skep, each skep worth, one year with another, 6s. 8d. Note that each skep contains 16 windells, and sixteen windells make the quarter of a lond and a half. Total f10 18 6. There are 2½ acres of meadow in demesne, the acres worth 10d. and the half acre 12d.

There is a park, containing half a league in precinct, wherein 60 oxen or cows may be kept in grazing time, the pasture of each worth 6d., total 30s. There are no deer there, it being only enclosed for oxen and cows.

There is a forest called "Nichole foreste" seven leagues in length, whereof four are of three leagues breadth, and the remaining three of one league's breadth by estimate. The pannage of the forest and park is worth 30s., and cannot be extended to more, as there are few oaks. The forest is let as appears below. The grazing is not extended, for the tenants dwelling therein feed it with their avers, under their right of common pasture. There may be sold in the forest of dead wood yearly, without destruction or waste, 100s. Forty nine free farmers pay £11 14 2., and in the forest 139 free farmers pay £87 9 6. There are three neifs, whose rent is 16s. 6d. All these, both farmers and neifs, must come to the lord's court whenever warned, and thrice by custom. And they of the forest must preserve the nests of sparrow-hawks and eagles.

There is a *bakery* in the vill of Lydel, extended to 2s. and no more, for no one hires it. There are two water mills, not here extended but below, also a fulling mill extended to 4s. and no more, for it has no wheel.

There are some breweresses, who give *de suo* for licence to brew, extended to 8s., and in the forest likewise, who give 8d. There is a fishery there extended to 13s. 4d.

There are certain freeholders holding a land called *Kaerwyndlo*, and they must plough and reap; such service extended to 4s. 11d.

The pleas, profits, vassalages, and grassums of Lydel are extended to 26s. 8d. There are some paupers there called Selfodes, who give de suo to be housed, extended to 3s. 4d.

There are some gresmen in the forest, who give de suo for grazing, extended to 12s. $3\frac{1}{2}d$. There are some who give vassalage extended to 11s. 6d. The grassums of the forest tenants are extended at £8. Mortuaries, marchetes, pleas, and profits, are extended at £7.

Freeholders of Lydel. Geoffrey de Tyllyol, Robert de la Ferete, Walter de Mulcastre, Simon de Lyndesey, Richard de Crakenthorpe, Geoffry de Brantingham, Robert de Arturet, Isabella Ryote, Thomas de Crofel, Matillidis fitz Stephen, Richard de Kirkebride, John de Eston, Robert de Eston, William de Scalebosk, Robert fitz Herbert, the heirs of Alicia de Netherby, William son of Adam de Karewandelowe, John de Creshope, William Sturion, Agnes de la More, John de Hardegile, Emma

fitz Vivian, the Prior of Carlisle, and Richard de Brakenhile all hold by cornage, and make suit at the lord's mills and at the court of Stubhille from three weeks to three weeks.

Note that each of their tenants must plough once a year, and reap for a day in autumn, which works are elsewhere extended, except the tenants of the Prior of Carlisle and John de Eston.

There are 4 mills in the said forest extended to £16, and another to 8s. There are also in Lydel, Stubbil, Arturet, and Levington 5 water mills extended to £50.

Note that the forest tenants shall keep up the mills within the forest, at their own charges, with the lord's timber, and in like manner the tenants of Lydel, Stubhil, Arturet, and Levington, the mills in the bounds of these several townships, except the mill on Eske, which the lord shall keep up at his own charges.

The chase of the forest and sparrowhawks are extended to 45s. yearly. There is the advowson of the church of Eston worth 10 marks yearly.

There are at Stubhill, a member of Lydel, $22\frac{1}{2}$ acres of arable land, each paying half a skep of oatmeal, the half-skep extended to 3s. 4d. Walter de Mulcastre pays yearly 15s., Emma daughter of Vivian pays yearly 12d. There are 23 free farmers, paying yearly £8 and fifteen pence.

From autumn services there 13d. There are two neyfs, paying yearly 20s. A house in the lord's hand is extended to 4s. Some breweresses there give for licence yearly 12d. Wreck there is extended to 2s. There are some paupers there called selfodes, who give de suo for having shelter, extended to 4d. Grassums, gresmen, fines, pleas and profits, extended to 4os.

There are in Arthuret in demesne $111\frac{1}{2}$ acres and $1\frac{1}{2}$ rood of arable land, each acre returning half a skep, price ut supra, total £18 12 11. There are 51 free farmers, whose rents are extended to £19 2 10. There are four neyfs paying yearly 61s. 2d. Autumn services there extended to 9s. 2d. There are 5 acres of meadow in demesne called "Halle Enge" extended to 24s. Breweresses ut supra paying yearly for licence 7s.

At Carlisle six tenants hold burgages of the lord paying yearly 40s.

The liberty of the men of Roceland and Salom in Scotland of free pasture in the fields of Arthuret is extended to 7s. The liberty of fowling there is extended to 18d. The prestation (payment) of selfodes there is extended to 8d. Grassums, gresmen, mortuaries, marchets, fines, pleas, and perquisites, there are extended to 100s.

There are at Levington, a member of Lydel, $33\frac{1}{2}$ acres and $1\frac{1}{2}$ rood in demesne, each paying half a skep, value ut supra, worth yearly 112s. 11d. There are 32 free farmers, whose rents are extended to £12 19 2. Autumn services there are extended to 3s. 2d. Prestation of breweresses there for leave to brew is extended to 8s. 2d., of selfodes to 4d. Grassums, merchets, gresmen, fines, pleas, and perquisites, 40s.

There are in Brakenhulle two tenants holding three bovates of land, who pay 17s. Note that 11 bovates of land in Lydel, 11 in Carwendelowe, 24 in Stubhille, 8 in Speresels, 40 in Arthuret, 40 in Levington, 16 in Eston, 8 in North Eston, 4 in Brakenhull, and 4 in Little Brakenhulle, are held of the lord by cornage, and the freeholders of those lands pay yearly to the lord instead of the said cornage 56s., and the lord shall answer to the sheriff of Cumberland for the King's use. And they make suit to the lord's court of Stubhill from three weeks to three weeks, and suit to the mills, and owe ward, and relief, and aid to make the lord's eldest son a knight, and to marry his daughter. The jury append their seals. Total extent £295 16 2. (Cat. Doc. Scot., vol. ii., p. 63.)

List of knights' fees and serjeanties belonging to the manor of Lydel (Endorsed upon the foregoing inquisition, 10 Edw. I., 1281-2):—

William son of Thomas de Craystok holds half a knight's fee in Dreg' (Drigg) in Couplonde. The lady of Aldingham in Furneys holds half a fee in Dreg'.

Holders by Cornage.

Robert de Mulcastre holds the manor of Torpennou, except the part of the same, worth yearly £20. Richard le Brun holds the part of the same manor worth yearly 5 marks. Robert de la Ferte holds the manor of Brunestache worth £20 yearly. Geoffry de Tillol holds the manor of Solporte worth yearly £20. John de Eston holds Eston, worth yearly 6 marks. Walter de Mulcastre holds North Eston, worth yearly 100s. The same holds a tenement in Arthuret and Stubhille, worth 60s. yearly. Richard de Kirkebride holds in Randulves Levington, worth 40s. yearly. Benedict de Mulcastre's heir holds a tenement in Brakenhulle worth 60s. yearly. Robert de Arthuret holds a tenement in Arthuret worth 10s. yearly. Robert de Crawendelowe and his parceners hold Karwendelowe, worth yearly 10

marks. The heir of Hugh de Folom (? Solom) holds land in Arthuret worth 40s. yearly. Emma Vivien holds land in Stubhille worth 10s. yearly. John Hardegille holds land in Eston worth 20s. yearly. Walter de Cormesby holds a tenement in Slamede worth 20s. yearly. Walter Sturion holds a tenement in Lidel worth 30s. yearly. Agnes de la More holds land in the same worth 13s. 4d. yearly. The Church of Eston is worth 10 marks yearly and belongs to the manor of Lidel. Value of goods and chattels found at Lidel £46 13 3. (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. ii., p. 65.)

The following comments may assist the perusal of the above-abstracted inquisition. It will be recollected that Helewisa de Levington's mansion at Kirklinton was valued in 1272 at 5s. only, and her park was let for grazing at 40s, a year (these Transactions, N.S. xii., p. 62). The equations, 18 feet=1 perch, and 1 skep=16 windells= 1½ lond=1 quarter=6s. 8d., are instructive. According to Wright (English Dialect Dictionary), the windle was usually a bushel, but, at the present day, the standard quarter contains only 8 bushels. The dimensions of the forest indicate that the league at that time and place was equivalent to an English mile. Avers (averia) were beasts of draught or burden (Spelman), and averus signified a farm horse (Glossary in Hoveden, iv., p. 193). Neifs were villains—usually female villains (nativæ). appear to be here contrasted with the free farmers.

There is hardly any direct allusion in this document to servile tenure, but the above-cited inquisition of 1246, relating to Scaleby, mentions twenty bondi, who there held 31 oxgangs, worth 4s. each, in bondage. Murray treats the terms grassum and gressome as variants of gersum, which he defines as "a premium or fine paid to a feudal superior on entering upon a holding." For a local instance of such payment by the tenant see these Transactions, N.S. xi., p. 246. Gresman had an analogous meaning, for, according to Jamieson, grassman, or gerseman, is the tenant of a cottage with no land attached

to it, who pays *gersum* at his entry upon the lease. Such a tenant, in mediæval times, would obtain little in return for his gersum but grazing on the common pasture, and the spelling "grassum" and "grassman" seems to originate from a very ancient confusion of ideas.

Mortuary was a fine payable in general to the parish priest, but sometimes, as here, to the lord of the manor as well (Glossary in Kenneth's *Antiquities*).

Merchet was a fine paid by the villain to his lord for leave to give his daughter in marriage: (Vinogradoff, Villainage, p. 153).

The men of Roceland and Solom "in Scotland," who had free pasture in the fields of Arthuret, were probably dwellers in what was afterwards called the "Debateable land." The mention of "wreck" implies that the lord's rights extended to the sea-shore. At an inquisition held in 1280 concerning ancient customs, the jury found that it was the duty of everybody who had been robbed to go, within the day or night after the robbery, to Brunscavthe on the English side, and to Rocheland on the Scottish side, and there publish the fact (Cal. Doc. Scot... vol. ii., p. 59). Brunscaythe is perhaps the same as the manor of Brunstache, held of Baldwin de Wake by Robert de la Feretate, alias Robert le Brun of Drumburgh. A certain Hugh de Solum was one of the jury at the above-mentioned inquisition of 1246 concerning Scaleby. and the heir of Hugh de Folom (sic) held land at Arthuret of Baldwin de Wake. The chapel of Sollum is referred to in 1343 (these Transactions, N.S. xii., p. 54), and Solway moss is sometimes called "Sollum moss." Our Editor suggests the etymology Sol-holme; compare Solport.

The list of knights' fees is interesting, on account of its frequent allusions to old localities. Here occurs early mention of Netherby. The map in Hutchinson's *Cumberland* shows that the road between Longtown and Netherby used to run nearer to the river than at present. There

is, by the way, a reference in 1557 to "Netherby citadel" (State Papers, Dom. Add. Mary, p. 451). It can hardly have been an ancient work like Liddel Mote, and a letter of Lord Wharton, written nine years previously, may explain the puzzling expression—"Lord Dacre has said it would be convenient to make a fortress at Netherby, where Richard Graham dwells" (Ibid., Dom. Add., Edw. VI., p. 385). The manorial court was held at Stubhill. It is surprising therefore that its site should be forgotten. Its name is coupled in 1528 with Stubleholm and Stublepath, so I have placed it conjecturally in the immediate vicinity of Peth, near Longtown (these Transactions, N.S. xii., p. 41). Peth, a Scotch expression for a steep narrow way, occurs also in "Clattering peth" at Glinger-burn foot.

The name Arthuret was believed by some to be derived from that of King Arthur, and, in connection with that belief, one may note the term "Arthur's Seat," applied by the Ordnance Survey to a hill in the uttermost part of Bewcastle parish; also "Arthur's Cross," placed by Donald's Map upon the right bank of the Carwinley stream, five miles south-west of Arthur's Seat.

The occupier of the cottage called "Arthurseat House" tells me that the adjacent common was formerly known as "Arthurseat," because King Arthur once took his seat there. I have heard the name pronounced "Arthurside."

At the 13th milestone on the road to Penton a small stream traverses a meadow and enters a pasture field. In the south-east corner of the latter there were formerly two thatched dwellings, and in the same pasture field "a stone which no one might lift," known as "Arthur's cross," though it bore no resemblance to a cross. The stone was, however, lifted and the site ploughed. My informant is Mr. Lawson of Dykehead.

It is very doubtful whether the two last-mentioned

localities derive their names from the mythic hero of Celtic lore. But Dr. Barnes, in a fascinating article contributed to these *Transactions*, N.s. viii., p. 236, has supported the theory* that Arthuret is *Ardderyd*, where, about the year 573, the adherents of Rhydderch the Christian gained a great victory over Gwenddolau the Pagan, and that Carwinley is Caer-Wenddolau, the stronghold of the said Gwenddolau.

In the above-abstracted inquisition of 1281-2 it is spelt *Kaerwyndlo*, and a family took its surname from the place. When Nicholas de Stutevill made a benefaction to the Nunnery of Keldholm, founded by one of his ancestors near Pickering, Robert de Karwindelaw was a witness to the deed of gift (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. v., p. 665).

Liddel, so far as I have observed, is first styled a barony in the aforesaid inquisition of 1246 relating to Scaleby, though it consisted of but one manor, then and later in Richard II.'s reign, when it is described as "the barony with its members [not manors], vills, hamlets, and parcels," and still continued to be held *in capite* by the ancient service of 56s. yearly of cornage, at the Carlisle exchequer, at the Assumption of the Blessed Mary (Cal. Doc. Scot., vol. iv., p. 63).

^{*} The equation of Arthuret with Ardderyd comes from Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, from which Sir John Rhys quotes in Celtic Britain (1882), p. 143.