

ART. VII. – *An Early Cockermouth Charter*. By RICHARD HALL.

Read at Kendal, April 2nd, 1977.

HUTCHINSON described Cockermouth as “a very ancient borough” (II, 111), but it must have been considerably older than he supposed. The charter below provides clear evidence of borough status at the very beginning of the 13th century, at much the same time as Egremont. It is endorsed¹ on the Cockermouth section of an extent of the lands of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albermarle, who died in 1259-60² and is a grant by Alice de Rumilly to her free men of Cockermouth. William Earl of Albemarle’s lands were principally in the Skipton and Holderness areas of Yorkshire,³ but he also held a moiety of the barony of Allerdale and honour of Cockermouth which had descended from his grandmother, Hawise, the daughter of Cecily de Rumilly whose sister Alice was the grantor of this charter. Alice had been assigned Allerdale and Cockermouth by Henry II after her mother’s death, a gift which thereby constituted Cockermouth as a separate tenement in chief, it hitherto having been a manor held of the barony of Copeland.⁴ On her death without issue in 1215, these lands were divided between the representatives of her elder sister, Cecily (the Albemarle-Skipton line) and Mabel (the Lucy/Multon-Egremont line). This occasioned a good deal of litigation which continued long after William de Fortibus II, Earl of Albemarle, obtained Cockermouth with the castle in 1224.⁵

If this grant by Alice de Rumilly does not constitute a borough charter in the manner of most English boroughs of this period,⁶ it has features which can only be explained by the fact of borough status. There was no clear cut distinction between a vill which was also a borough and a vill which remained a mere rural township,⁷ but although the charter refers to the “villa” and “villata” of Cockermouth and to its inhabitants as “liberi homines”, not “burgenses”, there is little doubt about the burghal nature of it in other respects. There is no reference to a borough court or to the jurisdictional range of the borough, but there would be no need to grant the right to hold a court as this would have existed already in the form of a manorial court to which all tenants were obliged to be suitors. Here the free men are quit of all services which are held to be prejudicial to their liberty. Burgage tenure is the most important feature of the borough⁸ and here the free men held one whole toft for an annual rent of 4d., but there is no liberty specifically granted for them to sell or devise their property as there was in Egremont and Carlisle.⁹ Other clauses do correspond with those in the Egremont custumal of c. 1202: the grant of the assize of bread, wine and ale (in Egremont anyone breaking the assize was to give 12d. to the lord); the limitation of fines with the distinction between drawing blood or not (the scale of penalties at Egremont varied according to the nature of the offence: a burgess who struck his neighbour without drawing blood was fined 3s. if convicted, 6s. if drawing blood and 18s. if drawing blood by weapons); and the limitation of the lord’s credit.

The main difficulty that the charter poses is in connection with this latter clause,

chiefly the sentence preceding "De Cibis vero et potibus" and the word "concautia" in particular whose meaning is not certain. It is possible that the copyist has unwittingly omitted a line. As it stands the best sense favours some general sort of obligation or guarantee by the lord. This is supported by a similar clause in the Egremont custumal, whereby the burgesses were to give the lord credit for apparel, food and other goods for 40 days and if the lord did not pay the debt within that time they were not obliged to lend any more until the debt was fully paid. ("In ceteris vero pannos et cibos et aliud mercatorium michi accredent per dies quadraginta, et si eis debitum suum infra terminum non persolvero, non teneantur michi alia mercatoria sua accredere, donec debitum suum reddidero").¹⁰ In the Ulverston borough charter of c. 1200 of Gilbert son of Richard fitz Reinfred, the lord's credit is subject to the same conditions.¹¹ In the case of Cockermouth this is expressed in a rather general sense at first and then particularised in the instance of food and drink, but the rest of the clause follows the Egremont case fairly closely.

In other respects the Cockermouth charter lacks much detail in comparison with the Egremont custumal. The Egremont burgesses were the only ones in England known to be liable for agricultural services, which are specified in considerable detail; they had to provide twelve armed men in time of war to defend the castle for 40 days at their own expense; they were liable to be summoned to accompany the lord or his steward when they took a distress or levied an exaction in the district of Copeland;¹² they were liable to find watches for the borough and also for the three feudal aids of the lord's ransom, the knighthood of his eldest son and the marriage of his eldest daughter. The Cockermouth burgesses seem to have been considerably freer, but the whole confirmatory nature of Alice's charter suggests that more detail may have occurred in an earlier grant.

The date of the charter must be before Alice's death in 1215¹³ as the manor of Cockermouth was ordered to be delivered to William de Fortibus II, Earl of Albemarle, on 18 March 1215.¹⁴ Alice was married twice, first to Gilbert Pipard who died in 1192 and then in 1195 to Robert de Curtenay who died c. 1209.¹⁵ Although there is no mention of her widowhood as there is in many of her charters, this charter is probably of her second widowhood. The witnesses appear jointly and severally in many of her charters at this time. Adam, parson of Crosthwaite, first appears as such as a witness to a deed concerning his son Udard c. 1210¹⁶ and he also witnessed Alice's confirmation of the grant of fourteen salmon to the monks of St. Bees,¹⁷ but he did not witness any of her grants to Fountains Abbey during her first widowhood 1192-95, including her first grant of the advowson of Crosthwaite church.¹⁸ He may well have acted as Alice's chief clerk during her second widowhood. He was still alive in 1246.¹⁹ Alan of Caldbeck witnessed most of Alice's charters to Fountains Abbey and her gifts to tenants in Crosthwaite and Braithwaite,²⁰ including one as Steward of Allerdale and also her grant of Borrowdale to Furness Abbey;²¹ he occurs frequently in the Pipe Rolls between 1201 and 1238.²² A William de Boyvill witnessed most of Alice's charters to Fountains, but as there was a William in both the Millom and Kirksanton branches of the Boyvill family his identity cannot be certain.²³ Adam of Carlisle occurs in the Pipe Rolls from 1191 and witnessed some of Alice's grants in Crosthwaite to Fountains, as did Thomas of Ireby, Thomas son of Thomas, and William de Camera. The latter also witnessed her grant of Bridekirk church to Guisborough Priory in her second widowhood²⁴ and her confirmation of Brackenthwaite to Hugh de Moriceby.²⁵

The earliest known list of the inhabitants of Cockermouth is printed below the charter and occurs in the main section of the extent of lands of c. 1260.²⁶ There is a large number of burgages, 174 in all, with Henry de Brakenthwayt as the most substantial burgess with 12½ tofts.²⁷ The list of names reveals five tailors, four fullers, three skinners, two clerks, carpenters, tanners, dyers, smiths and goldsmiths and one weaver, mason, butcher, worker in horn and merchant. There was also a chaplain and a monk. One burgage was a half toft given to the service of St. Mary and is probably that one granted by Alice to the monks of St. Mary's, Furness.²⁸ The burgage rents, together with the farm of three furnaces, one house and the road to the mill, totalled £3. 8s. 6½d. The profits from the borough court were worth £6. The borough also accounted for two water mills and one fulling mill, a dye works, a furnace, eight corn measures, toll jurisdiction and a fishery below the castle, totalling £46. 3s. 4d., and also for one stone of wax (4s.), an annual rent for their liberties which occurs in all the surviving accounts for the borough of Cockermouth from 1266 to 1318.²⁹ Clearly by the time of the extent of 1260 Cockermouth was a well established borough with a considerable degree of economic activity.³⁰

Appendix

Alicia de Rumeli filia Willemi filii Dunecani omnibus visuris et audituris hanc cartam salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse liberis hominibus meis qui manent in villa de Cokermuth et omnibus heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis imperpetuum ut sint quieti de omnibus servagiis. De solvo videlicet testimonio perhibendo servientibus et de omni secatione et de omnibus servitutibus et rebus que auferunt libertatem et liberam consuetudinem que ad liberos homines spectare tenentur. Concedo eciam eis atque confirmo assysam Carleoli de pane et vino scilicet et cervisia. Et si aliquis eorum deliquerit usque ad effusionem sanguinis forisfactura mea vel heredum meorum non excedit numero duorum solidorum. Et si sine effusione sanguinis aliquis eorum eliquerit dabit duodecim denarios ex forisfactura. Quotiens vero opus fuerit aliqua concautia certumque rei certumque concautie non excedit xl dies. De cibis vero et potibus non excedit concautia precium dimidie marce et hoc usque ad prefatum terminum scilicet xl dierum si vero intra hunc terminum huius vel illius rei debitum creditori persolutum non fuerit ille a quo creditum fuerit non tenetur plus acredere donec quod creditum est fuerit persolutum. Quotiens vero commode auxilium concessum fuerit in Baronia mea de Allerdalia et Couplandia non exigetur ab eis plus quam centum solidos. Concedo etiam eis omnia asyamenta et consuetas libertates et communiones suas in bosco et plano in villa et extra villam intra rectas et plenarias divisas suas. Reddendo annuatim michi et heredibus meis pro quolibet integro tofto quattuor denarios dimidium ad Pentecostam et dimidium ad festum sancti Martini pro omni servicio exceptit forinseco et consueto pannagio et consueta multura. Hec omnia eis concedimus warantizabimus ego et heredes mei eis et heredibus suis in perpetuum. Et pro hac concessione harum predictarum libertatium dabit michi villata de Cokermuth ad recognitionem octo libras cere annuatim in assumptionem beate Marie. Hiis testibus Thoma filio Thome, Ada filio Willelmi, Ada de Carliolo, Willelmo de Boyvill, Alano de Caudebeck, Thoma de Ireby, Ada parsona de Crostewait, Willelmo de Camera, Bernardo serviente, Nicholi de Lond.

Translation

Alice de Rumeli daughter of William Fitz Duncan to all who shall see and hear this charter, greeting. Know that I have granted and by this my charter confirmed to my free men who reside in the vill of Cockermouth and to all their heirs that they are quit of all services of me and my heirs for ever. That is I free them from bearing witness with serfs and from all suit and from all servitude and things which are prejudicial to the liberty and free custom which are held to belong to the free men. I also grant and confirm to them the assize of Carlisle of bread and wine and ale. And if anyone of them transgresses to shed blood the forfeiture to me and my heirs does not exceed two shillings. And if anyone of them transgresses without shedding blood he will give twelve pence as a forfeiture. However often there is a need for any guarantee of a certain matter or certain obligation it does not exceed 40 days. Indeed the obligation in food and drink does not exceed the value of half a mark and this to the said term, namely of 40 days; if the debt of this or that matter has not been fully paid to the creditor within this time, he (the creditor) is not bound to lend any more until it has been fully paid. However often an aid is rightly granted in my barony of Allerdale and Coupland not more than one hundred shillings is to be demanded of them. I also grant to them all their easements and customary liberties and commons in wood and plain, in the vill and outside it within their right and proper boundaries. Rendering annually to me and my heirs for each whole toft four pence, half at Pentecost and half at Martinmas for all service except foreign service and customary pannage and mill toll. All these things I and my heirs grant and will warrant to them and their heirs for ever. And for the grant of these liberties the vill of Cockermouth will give me in acknowledgement eight pounds of wax annually at the Assumption of the Virgin Mary [15 August]. These witnesses: Thomas son of Thomas, Adam son of William, Adam of Carlisle, William de Boyvill, Alan of Caldbeck, Thomas of Ireby, Adam parson of Crosthwaite, William de Camera, Bernard servant and Nicholas de Lond.

Burgus

Sunt ibidem duo molendina aquatica. Et reddunt per annum	£13. 6s. 8d.
Esti ibidem quoddam molendinum ad fullandum. Et valet communibus annis	£11. 6s. 8d.
Tinctorie de Cokermue valet communibus annis	20s.
Furnum de villa valet communibus annis	£6
Sunt in eadem villa viii mensurie ad mensurandum bladum et valet per annum	50s.
Tolnetum fori valet per annum	£6. 13s. 4d.
Piscaria sub castro valet communibus annis	106s. 8d.
Summa £46. 3s. 4d.	

Redditi Burgensium

Adam Cissor tenet tres partes unius tofti et reddit per annum

	3 denarios			
Isabella Scot	1	4d	Rogerus Cissor	2
Ricardus del Fyt	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Willelmus Pelliparius	$\frac{1}{2}$
Emma Uskesforstre	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Petrus de Rokingham	$\frac{1}{2}$
Henricus Egle	1	4d	Adam le Estorur	1
Willelmus de Man	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d	Ricardus Fullo	$\frac{1}{4}$
Willelmus Aurifaber	$3\frac{1}{4}$	13d	Margareta de Wyndem	$\frac{1}{4}$
Walterus Piscator	1	4d	Henricus de Brakenthwayt	$12\frac{1}{4}$ 4s. $1\frac{1}{4}$ d

Walterus Hardheved	$1\frac{1}{2}$	6d	Duo Sorores de Brockton	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Alicia Hardheved	4	16d	Robertus Capellanus	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Willelmus Broun	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Johannes Tannator	1	1d
Michael filius Lucae	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Robertus del Midding	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Petrus filius Agnetis	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Beatrix filia Hilde	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Mungon	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Henricus filius Feril	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d
Alexander filius Emme	$1\frac{1}{2}$	6d	Emmot Tirri	$2\frac{3}{4}$	11d
Adam filius Imayn	1	4d	Willelmus Wyge	1	4d
Reginaldus Lenge	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Johannes Cokyn	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Henricus de la Vale	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Robertus de Blyton	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d
Juliana Fyler	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Godytha de Bowaldef	1	4d
Thomas de Britheskirk	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Radulfus Pistor	2	8d
Bernardus de Monte	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Ivo filius Gundy	1	4d
Thomas Engeman	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Hugo Marescallus	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Henricus Strye	1	4d	Magister Petrus de Craven	$2\frac{1}{2}$	10d
Willelmus Pelliparius	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Henricus filius Ricardi	$6\frac{3}{4}$	28. 3d.
Billy	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Walterus filius Jordane	4	16d
Ricardus filius Asceloti	2	8d	Thomas filius Gamell	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Willelmus filius Ricardi	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Thomas le Marescal	1	4d
Ricardus de Monte	$1\frac{1}{2}$	6d	Adam de la Haya	$1\frac{1}{4}$	5d
Robertus de Monte	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d	Henricus de Haya	$1\frac{1}{2}$	6d
Adam de Brigham	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Nicholas Sampson	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d
Adam filius Emme	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Walterus de Horpur	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Nicholas Pette	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Gundryth de Galewayth	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Elias Faber	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Johannes de Kirkeby	$1\frac{1}{4}$	5d
Adam Collan & Tunnok vidua	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Walterus Fullo	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Hugo Collan	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Ricardus le Blound	1	4d
Ricardus Pamer	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Radulfus Sector	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Ricardus de Haya	2	8d	Jordanus Upperut	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Tyoc vidua	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Martinus Carpenterius	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d
Adam Pygun	3	13d	Adam de Papecastr	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Thomas de Weston clericus	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d.	Willelmus de Ovenrygg	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Emma La Tayllur	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d	Adam de Hembelton	4	16d
Ricardus Marescallus	1	4d	Willelmus Spyking	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Alexander le Mercer	$1\frac{1}{2}$	6d	Henricus de Hesham	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Johannes de Okesholm	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Walterus Monachus	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Simon filius Ricardi	2	8d	Hugo le Vyllur	$1\frac{1}{2}$	6d
Henricus clericus	$2\frac{1}{2}$	10d	Alanus filius Wydonis	$1\frac{1}{2}$	6d
Rogerus Parleton	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Adam Tannator	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Alexander Bruneberd	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Godytha Beyhhou	$1\frac{1}{4}$	5d
Frater de Bricekirke	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Gilbertus Cornarius	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Robertus Faber	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Godytha la Barker	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Willelmus filius Serlonis	$1\frac{1}{4}$	5d	Ricardus Carnifex	$1\frac{1}{2}$	6d
Bernardus Tinctor	$6\frac{3}{4}$	28. 3d.	Willelmus filius Imayne	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d
Lyolfus Textor	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Wydo filius Thome	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Thomas Tirri	$1\frac{1}{4}$	5d	Radulfus Carpenterius	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Willelmus Balingburgh	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Alanus de Dene	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Bernadus de Cokermue	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d	Thomas le Harpur	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Rogerus Lambe	$2\frac{1}{4}$	9d	Adam Pelliparius	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Johannes Cissor	1	4d	Thomas de Hothwayt	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d

Isabella filia Gothith	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d	Johannes de Trouburgh	$1\frac{1}{2}$	6d
Jacobus de Ferbigging	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d	Alexander le Porter	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Thomas le Foriler	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d	Ricardus de Mora	$2\frac{1}{2}$	10d
Robertus Longus	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Thomas filius Agnetis	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Henricus filius Radulfi	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d			

De quarteria parte 1 tofti data ad servicium Beate

Marie Virginis		1d	Galfridus Fullo	$1\frac{3}{4}$	7d
Michael Scote	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Alanus Fullo	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Radulfus del Bank	$3\frac{3}{4}$	15d	Adam filius Gamell	$1\frac{1}{4}$	5d
Willelmus Cissor	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d	Waldevus de Kirkeby	$1\frac{3}{4}$	7d
Hugo de Briceskirke	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Alexander Parlelen	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Davidus Mercator	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Arneburgh de Wylton	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Odo Tinctor	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Robertus Cody	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Ricardus Beri	2	8d	Catarina vidua	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Hugo Spere	1	4d	Simon Collan	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Robertus Redhed	$3\frac{1}{4}$	13d	Johannes de Hothweyt	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d
Nicholas filius parsonae de Dene	1	4d	Lyolfus Sutor	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Adam de Sinundscale	2	8d	Thomas Cementarius	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d
Thomas Rudde	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d	Henricus Aurifer	$2\frac{1}{2}$	10d
Brunghing Melling	$\frac{1}{4}?$	3d	Johanna de Ponte	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d
Trute	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Johannes Cathelan	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d
Robertus Rugebagg	$2\frac{3}{4}$	11d	Mariota de Haya	$\frac{3}{4}$	3d
Ricardus de Pistrina	$\frac{1}{4}$	1d	Thomas de Staynburne	1	4d
Ricardus filius Alicie	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Adam Burel	$5\frac{1}{2}$	22d
Robertus Hardheved	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d	Willelmus Sclater	$\frac{1}{2}$	2d

Robertus faber tenet unam fabricam et reddit per annum	3s.
Hugo faber tenet unam fabricam et reddit per annum	2s. 6d.
Elyas faber tenet unam fabricam et reddit per annum	2s.
Willelmus Pictor tenet unam domum et reddit per annum	2od.
Via versus molendinum reddit per annum	12d.
Summar redditus predictorum Burgensium una cum firmis fabricarum ville	68s. $6\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Et scientum quod predicti Burgenses reddunt per annum ad festum assumptionis Beate Marie pro libertatibus suis habendis 1 petrum cere precium <i>iiii</i> solidos	
Placita et perquisita Curie Burgi valent communibus annis	£6
Summa tocius valoris Burgi de Cokermue	£55 15s. $10\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Notes

¹ Public Record Office, Rental S.C. 11/730, m.14.

² *Cal. Inq. P.M.* I, no. 471

³ *Early Yorkshire Charters, VII, The Honour of Skipton*, Yorks Archaeol. Soc., Record Ser. (1947) 22.

⁴ T. H. B. Graham, CW2 xxix 72. The earliest reference to Cockermouth as a place-name occurs c. 1150 as *Cokyrmoth* in a charter of Alan son of Waldeve (J. Wilson (ed.), *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, Surtees Soc., (1915) Vol. 126, 451). Waldeve, Lord of Allerdale, had been enfeoffed by William Meschin, Lord of Coupland, "de tota terra inter Cocar et Darwent" with the five towns of Brigham, Eaglesfield, Dean, Greysouthen and both Cliftons and also Branthwaite and Stainburn according to the *Chronicon Cumbrie* (*Ibid.*, 492). This is corroborated by the record of Waldeve's gift of Stainburn church to St. Bees

which was confirmed by William Meschin in c. 1130-35 (*Ibid.*, 29). It is therefore safe to assume that the civil settlement at Cockermouth originated about this time, probably when Waldeve moved the Lord's residence from Papcastle to Cockermouth where there was a more easily defensible site to build a castle. So the town must have grown quite rapidly during the time of Alan and Alice de Rumilly I (d. c. 1187); some interest in Allerdale and Cockermouth must have passed from Alan to his nephew William fitz Duncan and thereby to the latter's daughter Alice II (*Ibid.*, Sheriff's Inquest of 1212, 528). What Norman Castle there may have been must have been destroyed on Henry III's orders in 1221 after William de Fortibus II's rebellion (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, 474). This charter occurring about 60 years after the first mention of Cockermouth shows that burgality antedated the grant of a market in 1227 by at least a dozen years (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, i, 58). Cockermouth was separately represented as a vill at the eyre in 1278 (P.R.O., Assize Rolls, JUST. 1/132, m. 30d).

⁵ *Curia Regis Rolls*, XII, 324-325

⁶ A Ballard, *British Borough Charters 1042-1216* (1913), lxxxviii-xcv.

⁷ Pollock & Maitland, *History of English Law*, 2nd ed. (1911) I, 635.

⁸ Burgage tenure did occur in rural manors that were not boroughs, *ibid.*, 640.

⁹ Egremont Custumal, CW1 282-285; *Royal Charters of City of Carlisle* (1894), 21.

¹⁰ C.R.O., D/Lons/L/WH1A.

¹¹ A. Ballard & J. Tait (eds.), *British Borough Charters 1216-1307* (1923), 381-382.

¹² The reference to any aid granted in her barony of Allerdale and Copeland not to exceed 100s. must refer to Allerdale and Cockermouth as the barony of Copeland was held by her nephew, Richard de Lucy (*Rot. Obl. & Fin.*, 45).

¹³ Alice's obit evidently was observed at Guisborough Priory on 6 March (*B.M.*, Add. MS 35, 285, f. 169).

¹⁴ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, 191a, 255b. There is a strange entry in *Ibid.*, 194b where the Sheriff of Cornwall was ordered on 14 April 1215 to deliver seisin to William Earl of Albemarle of all lands in his bailiwick which had belonged to Alice "domine de Kokeringe"; this is likely an error for sheriff of Cumberland as Alice is not known to have held any lands in Cornwall.

¹⁵ For details of her husbands, see *E.Y.C.*, VII, 16-17.

¹⁶ J. Wilson (ed.) *Register of St. Bees*, (1915) Illus. Doc. LXIX, 571.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 14, p. 43.

¹⁸ W. T. Lancaster (ed.) *Fountains Chartulary*, (1915) 199.

¹⁹ W. G. Collingwood, CW2 xxi 160-162.

²⁰ *Fountains Chartulary*, 45, 49, 54.

²¹ J. Brownbill (ed.) *Furness Coucer Book*, Chetham Soc. (1916), II, part 2, 571. This grant should be dated in her first widowhood 1192-1195, not her second, because Henry de Millom, a witness, was dead by 1202.

²² V.C.H., *Cumberland*, I, 388-418; F. H. M. Parker (ed.), *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland 1222-1260* (1905), *passim*.

²³ William, son of Henry de Millum, generally occurs as William de Millum and witnesses one charter (*St. Bees Reg.*, No. 372) along with a William de Boyvill. This William is probably the Kirksanton one and witnessed many grants to Furness Abbey including one as Alice's steward (*Furness Coucer Book*, I, part 2, 597). For differences in the Boyvill pedigree, see W. S. Sykes, CW2 xli 24 and *E.Y.C.* VII, 277-279.

²⁴ *Guisborough Cartulary*, Surtees Society., 89 (1891), II, 319.

²⁵ *St. Bees Register*, Illus. Doc. XV, 537-538.

²⁶ P.R.O., S.C. 11/730, mm. 9d, 10d.

²⁷ M. W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, (1967), 414, quotes 178 burgages and presumably included those who held furnaces. There is, however, a discrepancy of 2½d. between the number of tofts and the total rent due from them.

²⁸ *Furness Coucer Book*, II, part I, 581.

²⁹ P.R.O., Minister's Accounts, S.C. 6/824/6-18 and Sheriffs' Administrative Accounts, E. 199/7/3.

³⁰ I am indebted to Mr B. C. Jones for some valuable suggestions.

