VII

"A true man minded to justice" Robert Collingwood (c.1490–1556) of Eslington, Northumberland

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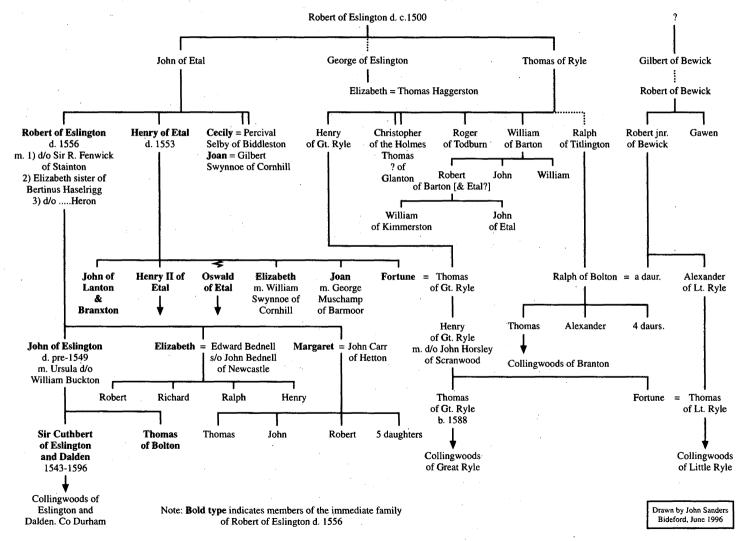
THE life of Robert Collingwood of Esling-L ton¹ spanned the reigns of four monarchs-Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary (and Philip of Spain). Fighting against the Scots was a constant feature of his life. Flodden Field in 1513 could have been his first major engagement. The dissolution of the monasteries, the abolition of chantry endowments and the whole question of papal authority in the politics of Britain, faced him, like all his peers, with crucial decisions affecting his personal fortunes as well as his spiritual welfare. Throughout, he seems to have sought both to do his duty to his sovereign, and to lay solid foundations for the future of his family, by investing in property and making astute marriages. His will and ipm, of which transcriptions/translations appear in Part II of this article—together with an outline family tree contain interesting features, including the suppression, in the context of the ipm, of a passage in the will endowing a chantry priest at Whittingham Church, which was his parish church.

Robert came from a family of professional soldiers. His father, John, was resident at Etal Castle in 1509 according to a border survey of that year, in the service of the Manners family, probably in the office of Constable, in which his younger son Henry followed him. Robert was probably born c.1490, for the same 1509^4 survey reports that he was then in occupation of Eslington, and presumably adult or nearly so.

Robert began his public career early. He seems to have been nominated Sheriff of Northumberland in 1513 and 1514.⁵ In the roll for the following year, his was again one of three nominations, all of which were struck

through and a single name inserted in Wolsey's hand.6 It was not long, however, before he came once more to the King's notice. In 1522, Sir Anthony Browne, reporting to the King on the state and ability of the gentlemen of the county for the royal service. described him as "a wise borderer, a true man minded to justice".7 Perhaps this explains the King's grant to him of an annuity of 20 marks in 1523.8 The same year he was "named in despatches" for his part in Lord Dacre's raid into Teviotdale.9 By 1525 he had become deputy to Sir William Eure and member of the "Counsell in Household with therle of Northumberland". In 1525 also, his name appears on the Commission of the Peace for the first time, 11 and he was already being employed in a diplomatic capacity.¹² He had a seat in the 1529 Parliament as one of the Knights of the Shire, although there is no evidence to show that he was ever knighted. 13 The following year he was appointed Keeper of Wark Castle with the grant of Wark manor, including land called Castlewards,14 an office he held until December 1538, when he handed it over to his son-in-law, John Carr of Hetton.15 He seems to have served the King well. In 1536 he was an escheator for Northumberland¹⁶ and was once more on the Commission of the peace.¹⁷ Politically significant was his membership of the four-man commission appointed to close Hexham Abbey, and other such monastic houses in Northumberland. On 28 September 1536, while the members of the commission from Yorkshire held back in the face of the resistance of the canons and people of Hexham, Robert, and his colleague Lionel Grey, pressed on and only withdrew when the leading canon, the Master of Ovingham,

Tentative outline pedigree of Collingwood of Eslington, Ryle & Bewick



expressed open defiance—for which the Prior himself, who had gone to London to seek exemption, later narrowly missed a hanging.¹⁸

In October the same year, Robert was amongst those who attended a meeting called by Sir Ingram Percy at Alnwick Castle following the outbreak of the Pilgrimage of Grace revolt. The agenda Robert drew up for the meeting is still extant. It called on "all ye gentlemen of Northumberland ... to take a order by all their advices and consents, what is best for them to do that may be pleasure to Almighty God and most acceptable service to the king's Highness, and for the commonweal of this country and the safeguard of the Marches"; it stressed the need for them "to take one way in the King's service" by the choice of lieutenants of the Marches whose immediate task would be to "stop the Redesdale and Tyndale men harrying the King's subjects". Whatever was agreed "should be written in a fair book and every gentleman set his hand to it". 19 The "Redesdale and Tyndale men" had taken advantage of the Pilgrimage of Grace revolt to indulge their favourite sport of raiding their neighbours, under the guise of "protecting" Hexham Priory, but the real issue was whether the strength of Northumberland should, or should not, be aligned with the rebels. Sir Ingram is said to have brushed the proposed agenda aside. Those present, some under protest-including Robert ? -, were virtually coerced into taking the Pilgrim oath. What Robert actually did during the revolt which followed is unclear, but he is not to be found taking any active part. It may be significant that he was still a member of the Council of the Marches²⁰ in February 1537, when he was at a meeting of the Council which discussed orders from the King on dealing with the revolt, and put his name to recommendations which disputed those orders.²¹ Nevertheless, his career as a King's man in positions of trust and confidence continued without interruption. Much the same, it could be argued, can be said for others whose part in the revolt was unquestionable. In their case, however, the King used them to do his dirty work in suppressing the revolt, including the arrest and

prosecution of kinsmen and close associates, a deliberate manoeuvre to punish them and to widen the breach between the Northern gentry and the rebels of "the poorer sort", while still retaining the services of men experienced in border affairs.

In 1537/8, Robert was a member of a commission appointed to examine the state of the Royal castles in Northumberland, which now included Alnwick and Warkworth, the sixth Earl of Northumberland, having been "persuaded" in 1535 to surrender his estates to the King in exchange for an annuity of £1000.22 Right through the 1530s and 40s he was a commissioner on several inquisitions post mortem and the like. He was made a member of a Special Commission for the Peace of the Northern Circuit established in 1540, and of another commission set up in September 1541 to enforce the laws on the expulsion of aliens.²³ His attitude to the Pilgrimage of Grace revolt is clearly revealed in the terms and spirit of his 1536 "agenda", but is confirmed by the evident confidence which Norfolk (sent up by the King to deal with the revolt and get the new Council in the North established) had in him. In April 1537, Norfolk seems to have been staying at Eslington Tower, and in two letters written in July the same year, he makes explicit his regard for Robert. In one he says he has "trusted him [Lionel Grey, porter of Berwick] most of all men next [to] Robert Collingwood"; and in recommending John Horsley to Cromwell a day or two later he writes that "where he [Horsley] and Robert à Collingwood dwell there has been no hurt done in all the time of this business with Lyddersdale".24 We can conclude that Robert owed little to the Percies, and much to his status as the King's fee'd man. This does not seem to have made him subservient: we have seen him joining in advice which Henry must have found unpalatable; he also joined with Sir William Eure, Sir John Widdrington, and Sir Cuthbert Radcliff in rebutting Henry's criticism of their alleged tardiness in securing the release of Sir Reginald Carnaby. This much disliked figure²⁵ had been Cromwell's agent in recovering title to the Percy lands for the King and was later made Keeper of Tynedale. The inhabitants of that district kidnapped him and held him for some months as a hostage while the fate of Hexham Priory was negotiated.²⁶

Robert is said to have held the office of High Sheriff of the County in 1538, 1544 and 1553.27 During the 1540s he was active as a military leader in the wars with Scotland,28 and was prominent amongst the small group of Northern men consulted on military matters by successive Lords President and Wardens General.²⁹ In 1544 his eldest son was captured by the Scots, and Robert successfully pressed the Warden of the Middle March and the Earl of Shrewsbury to seek the King's agreement to exchanging him for the Laird of Mow, then in English hands. Shrewsbury recommended "It would be a good exchange, as Mowe is a mean man in substance and reputation, and the other a forward man, who will be of honest revenue after his father's decease", advice which the King readily accepted.³⁰ He was still active on the border in 1545. If he was present at the disaster at Ancrum Moor that summer, he evaded capture, and set on the Scots going home with their plunder. His brother Henry was amongst those captured with Sir George Bowes. The last report about Robert in Henry VIII's reign concerns a raid he led into Teviotdale in March 1546.31 Whatever his role in Border affairs under Edward VI, it is now that the improvement of his and his family's fortunes became as, if not more, important to him than serving his King.

The family once held property in Fowberry (East of Wooler), which they sold in 1450,³² acquiring five years later a lease of Eslington, and moieties of Whittingham, Thrunton, and Barton, from Thomas Heselrigg.³³ Robert married, as his second wife, perhaps c.1515, Elizabeth Heselrigg,³⁴ the sister of Bartholomew Heselrigg, his then landlord. This alliance was doubtless designed to consolidate the family's tenure of Eslington, but Elizabeth seems to have died after bearing only one daughter.³⁵ Robert next married a daughter of the Heron familly of Ford³⁶ and, perhaps through this connection, had, by 1532, secured the freehold of the Heron moiety of Whittingham.³⁷ Ten

years later, Bartholomew Haselrigg sold him the freehold of the lands previously held under lease.³⁸ By these moves, Robert gained a substantial and lasting foothold for his family, the core of which was the manors of Eslington and Whittingham which together contained a solid defence capability.

Robert was not yet finished, however. Together with his "cousin", Alexander Collingwood (possibly the son of Robert Collingwood, jnr., of Bewick), he acquired from the King in 1553 lands formerly owned by Kirkham Priory, in Titlington, Bolton, Ellingham and Branxton. The deal also included lands in Little Ryle formerly the property of Brinkburn Priory, and 9 acres of arable land in Buston (near Warkworth). The purchase price was £766.13s.4d, a sizeable sum for those days. Of these lands, Alexander's share was the estate of Little Ryle, where he founded a line of Collingwoods which survived into the 19th century.³⁹

Robert clearly tried to use his children's marriages to advance the family interest and wealth. His elder daughter, Elizabeth, married Edward Bednell of Lammaton (now Lemmington). The latter's father, John Bednell, was a man of some prominence. Edward seems to have been Robert's man of business. A William Bednell, perhaps John's nephew, was, in 1569, a burgess of Alnwick where he held considerable property.⁴⁰

Robert's choice of wife for his son John, was Ursula, daughter and heiress of William Buckton of Buckton, Yorks. She was born in 1526 and was only 17 when their eldest son, Cuthbert, was born in 1543.41 Robert's evident hopes for this marriage were dashed when John died while still a young man probably c.1548/9.42 Certainly by 1550, Ursula had married again to John Carr of Hetton, Captain of Wark. 43 John Carr had taken as his first wife the younger of Robert's daughters, Margaret, who had died.44 The second son of this marriage, Thomas, became (c.1550) the husband of Elizabeth, granddaughter and heiress general of Sir William Heron of Ford, who was probably also the father of Robert's third wife. There thus appeared to be ample motives on

all sides for a marriage which would seal vet again the relations between Carrs, Herons and Collingwoods. Unfortunately, it did not turn out well. In 1557, the year after Robert died. they were all embroiled in a violent dispute over the title to Ford which saw the Carrs isolated against the rest of the county gentry with only the Collingwoods supporting them.⁴⁵ In 1551, John Carr had also died, 46 and Ursula married as her third husband Henry Brandling, a leading Newcastle merchant, who became man of business to Sir Cuthbert Collingwood. They had four children: two sons, of whom Richard inherited the Lordship of Buckton, and two daughters, one of whom, Ursula, married William Carr of Ford (greatgrandson of Robert Collingwood of Eslington), and the other, Anne, a Shaftoe. Ursula senior's will dated 11 August 1593 is preserved, leaving to Sir Cuthbert an evidently magnificent "nest of three gilt bowls with cover"—they are also mentioned in his own inventory—and to her youngest Collingwood grandson, Trevanion, "my two draughtes of oxen being sixteen in number ... and so much corn of every kinde as will sowe all the arable grounds at Weetslaid". She was buried less than a month later.47

The marital future of Robert's heir was settled in 1550, when Robert was able to purchase the wardship and marriage of Dorothy, daughter and co-heiress of Sir George Bowes of Dalden, Co. Durham.⁴⁸ Her inheritance consisted of large properties in Dalden, Eppleton and Seaham whose acquisition marked a peak in the family's fortunes. When they married is uncertain, but it could have been c.1564 when Cuthbert attained his majority. They had numerous children, and the dispersal and eventual total loss of the family estates began with Cuthbert's death in 1596.⁴⁹

Edited and annotated transcriptions and translation of Robert Collingwood's will and inquisition post mortem (ipm) are published below. He made his will on 12 June 1556 and died 12 days later. He was presumably buried in Whittingham Church, in accordance with his wishes, but no trace of his resting place remains. Three versions of his will survive.

Two can be found in the Library of Durham University, one on vellum and the other on paper, the latter, it is believed, being of earlier date than the former. These are probate copies of the original full text of the will.⁵⁰ A third version was written into the record of his ipm. which did not take place until 23 April 1561.51 It is identical with the Durham version, except that it omits a passage endowing in perpetuity a chantry priest to serve in Whittingham Church. The ipm records only the grant, made by Robert during his lifetime, of an annuity for life to Richard Loncaster, the incumbent of that living at the time of Robert's death, whom he also named as his principal executor. The perpetual endowment has been expunged from the record.

We can only speculate about how and by whom this apparently irregular proceeding was carried out. The inclusion of copies of the will in the Durham Probate Registry implies that it was proven there, presumably long before the ipm took place, for, at the time, a provision of this kind was perfectly lawful. Chantry assets had been seized in 1547 under a statute of Edward VI.52 But Queen Mary, not being able to undo the earlier seizures, used the assets remaining in Crown hands to re-create some of the institutions abolished in 1547, or to create new ones; and her action evidently encouraged others, of whom Robert was obviously one, to do the same. It was because of these actions that a new Act was passed in 1558, the first year of Oueen Elizabeth's reign,53 which annexed to the Crown the assets of all religious institutions, including chantries, established since the death of Edward VI. Robert's endowment was clearly forfeit under this act, but there is no evidence as to whether or not it was seized.

It should be noted that the will refers to a "writing", dated 2 & 3 Philip & Mary, which provided, besides granting title to a cottage etc in Whittingham, for a perpetual annuity for a chantry priest out of lands etc at Titlington. The deed in favour of Sir Richard Loncaster produced to the inquisition created a life annuity for Loncaster personally out of lands at Netherton. They were, therefore, separate

documents. And only the second was declared to the commissioners. As for the passage in the will, this simply reaffirmed actions already taken and did not create any new grant. It was therefore almost irrelevant to the work of the commission, though the latter, if they saw the passage, must be presumed to have enquired into the existence and status of the permanent annuity deed and demise of the cottage at Whittingham. We cannot know exactly what happened, but the two most likely possibilities appear to be first, that Loncaster, as Robert's legal adviser, when asked for a copy of the will, suppressed the passage as well as the foundation deed (which he, presumably held), to which, probably, no effect had yet been given, pending an ipm; and second, that the commission, receiving a true copy of the will, found that the permanent annuity deed could not be traced and had not been executed; and accordingly themselves omitted the otiose passage in the will from their report on the "least said soonest mended" principle. Some significance may be read into the fact that, despite his prominence in the arrangements for the execution of the will, and the reading into the record of his personal annuity deed, Loncaster's name is omitted from the list of sworn iurors.

Robert's motives in granting the chantry endowment are not clear. His attitude to the religious question seems to have been flexible. He had no trouble with the Dissolution, and what flowed from that. His intervention at Hexham, perhaps more as a leading Northumbrian than as the King's commissioner, may well have been aimed at persuading those in control there of the futility of their intended action, knowing, as he must have, what the result of defiance would be. He evidently was not a supporter of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and was quite prepared to take advantage of the sale of ex-monastic lands. He held his lands direct from the Crown, or from the Grays, who were also King's men and no lovers of the Percies. He would have been amongst the many rising public men of that time in accepting easily enough the King's Supremacy, while remaining otherwise a loyal son of the Church. This was, after all, King Henry's own position, and also Edward VI's. Mary's accession, however, inaugurated what bade fair—at the time—to be a lasting reversion to Catholicism. This called for a change in Robert's position, reflected in his endowment of a chantry⁵⁴ priest, perhaps as recompense to the Church for his support of his King's actions against papal authority. Perhaps too, the idea of masses for his soul being said long after he was dead appealed to a mind still influenced by his Catholic upbringing.

The will and ipm together contain much of interest to family historians. First of all, they help to clarify the Collingwood of Northumberland pedigrees. Many individuals, including another grandson, Thomas of Bolton (not otherwise mentioned in the sources), are named in ways which strengthen the evidence for their place in the pedigrees. In addition, Robert died seized of a number of properties some of which reappear in later pedigrees, notably the mention of lands in Netherton. It seems very probable that these were the lands in that township which were subsequently held by the ancestors of Admiral Lord Collingwood. This is not the place to discuss the implications of this for the completion of the Admiral's pedigree, which has hitherto been taken no further back than Cuthbert Collingwood of East Ditchburn (ob. 1628), but the assumption that the Admiral's line derived from the Eslington branch does seem strengthened.55

It is worth noting also that both the references to the regnal years of the previous monarchs are in the form "King Philip and Queen Mary". This seems still to have been the practice even in Elizabeth's time. In an Act of 1559 restoring "First Fruits and Tenths" the parliamentary draftsmen used this form several times, though later Acts drop the reference to Philip in favour of "our late Sovereign Lady Queen Mary", or more simply "the late Queen Mary, your Majesty's sister". This can be taken as no more than formal language, Parliament having made provision, at the time of Mary's marriage, to limit Philip's constitutional position. ⁵⁶

The English text of Robert's will describes his heir as "nephew" more than once, a possible source of confusion. At that time, it seems, the English terms "cousin" and "nephew" were loosely used, the former in the more general meaning of "relative" (though it could be used precisely too), and the latter where we would today say "grandson". The Latin text of the ipm is conclusive: "Et quod Cuthbertus Collingwood est nepos et heres dicti Roberti proximus videlicet filius Johannis Collingwood filius dicti Roberti ...". 57

INQUISITION POST MORTEM OF ROBERT COLLINGWOOD OF ESLINGTON⁵⁸

[Marginated]⁵⁹ Northumbr'

Inquest indented and taken at Morpeth in the County of Northumberland on the 23rd day of April in the third year [1561] of our lady Elizabeth, by God's grace queen of England, France & Ireland, defender of the faith etc., before Robert Ellarker knight,60 Cuthbert Horseley⁶¹ and John Bednell, esquires, by virtue of the same lady queen's commission adjoined to these presents, directed to the same commissioners after the death of Robert Collingwood of Eslington in the county of Northumberland, esquire, deceased, by the sworn testimony of [Nicholas Ridley,63 Albany Fetherstonehawghe, 64 Ralph Whitfeilde, 65 John Carre, 66 esquires, John Ogle, 67 Anthony Fenwicke,68 Thomas Ogle,69 Ralph Collingwood70 of [Titlington], John Hall, 71 John Wydrendin, 72 Thomas [? Hall],73 [and] John Horseley of Milborne, ⁷⁴ gentlemen]. ⁷⁵ Who say upon their oath that the said Robert Collingwood before his death, by his deed bearing date the thirteenth of July in the first and second regnal years [respectively] of king Philip and queen Mary [1554] and shown to the said jurors, gave and granted to Gavin Collingwood⁷⁶ for his lifetime one annual rent or annuity of twenty six shillings and eight pence proceeding from all and singular of his lands and tenements in Bolton; and by other of his deeds mentioned above, shown to the said jurors and bearing the above date, he gave and granted to Thomas Collingwood of Glanton⁷⁷ [repetitive phrases omitted] ... twenty six shillings and eight pence; to Oswald Collingwood of Etal⁷⁸ ... twenty shillings; to George Armstrong⁷⁹ ... twenty shillings; to Roger Bylton⁸⁰ ... ten shillings; and to Roger Browne⁸¹ ... six shillings and eight pence, issuing from all and singular lands and tenements of the said Robert Collingwood in Bolton aforesaid. And moreover the said jurors say that the said Robert Collingwood, before his death in his deed bearing the above date and shown to the said jurors, gave and granted to Christopher Collingwood⁸²... twenty six shillings and eight pence issuing from ... his [Robert's] lands and tenements in Glanton. And finally the above jurors say that Robert Collingwood made during his lifetime his last and certain will and testament, the sense of which follows in these words:

In Dei Nomine Amen. I, Robert Collingwood of Elsington [Eslington] in the County of Northumberland, Esquire, calling to remembrance the short continuance of this transitory life of man here upon the earth and, as I remain thereto most deeply bound, rendering most humble thanks unto God for his holy hand of visitation with sickness of body most mercifully extended unto me, thereby the rather to endure me to the contempt of this miserable transitory world, and to long for the fruition of his everlasting mercy and joy prepared for his elected and chosen in heaven, do make my last Will and Testament this twelfth day of June in the year of our Lord God a thousand five hundred fifty and six in manner and form following:

First, I commit and commend my soul unto the everlasting tuition and defence of Almighty God our eternal mentor and redeemer of all mankind for whose mercy the rather to be extended unto me I most humbly beseech, and trust to have the assistance of our blessed Lady Saint Mary the Virgin and all the holy company of heaven; and my body to be buried or engraved in the parish church of Whittingham or at such place elsewhere as God shall otherwise provide for the same, with convenient obsequies and funeral void of worldly pomp, with my mortuary due and accustomed in that behalf. Also I will that my lands and hereditaments within the said County of Northumberland shall be divided into three equal several

parts, whereof one to be and remain to my wife83 for her dowry, another part to go and remain to my executors of this said last will and testament for the payment and satisfaction of my debts wherewith. I will that the said third part of my lands shall be only chargeable and no part of my goods charged therewith; and the other third part to descend and remain to my heir. Also concerning the said third part of lands appointed to the payment of my debts, I will that Sir Richard Loncaster,84 priest, shall be the only receiver of the vearly and other revenues, issues and profits thereof unto such time all my debts be lawfully paid and satisfied, and the payment and satisfaction of my said debts to pass his hands at the sight of my executors and my heir. Also I will that the said Sir Richard Loncaster shall with all convenient speed of time after my decease deliver and satisfy all such legacies as I shall make of any of my goods and chattels to any person or persons, and of his doings therein to render account to my executors and his executors whom I will also shall be privy and participant to his doings therein if they will take the pains thereof to them and not to go about to hinder the performance and satisfaction of my said legacies. Also I will that all mine executors or so many of them that will take the pains thereof shall yearly during all such time as any legacies or debts shall remain unsatisfied twice in the year meet at my house at Eslington that is to say at Candlemas and Lammas and there as well take account of the said Sir Richard Loncaster what part or portion of my debts he shall then have satisfied upon the revenues and profits of the third part of my lands appointed to that use and behoof and what legacies he shall have paid of my goods and chattels as also to foresee and consider the due and speedy satisfaction of the rest of my debts and legacies. Also I will that unto such time as my nephew Cuthbert Collingwood85 shall accomplish his age of xxi years he shall be under the order and governance of mine executors, and if the wardship of his lands can be obtained as I have thereto promise of the Master of the Wards, I will that my executors shall have the order and rule of the same during his nonage. Also I will that all and singular such leases for years as I have made to any [of] my tenants or farmers by writing thereof sealed with mine own seal of any [of] my lands and tenements shall continue and remain in full force and effect according to the purpose and meaning of the said several leases. Also as concerning all such lands tenements and hereditaments as my

cousin Alexander Collingwood86 and I late purchased of King Edward the Sixth the said Alexander hath for him and his heirs released unto me and my heirs for ever all such right interest and title as he and his heirs have or might have into all and singular the said lands tenements and hereditaments by him and me jointly purchased except the lands tenements and hereditaments in Little Ryle by us jointly purchased wherein I have for me and mine heirs released unto the said Alexander and his heirs for ever all the right title and interest of me and mine heirs into the said lands tenements and hereditaments in Little Ryle. Also such ward and order as I have of the body lands and leases for years yet to come of my nephew John Collingwood, 87 my brother Henry's son, I give the same unto himself, he to have and enjoy the same so soon as he cometh to his full age of xxi years, and in the meantime of his minority and nonage under xxi years my cousin Thomas Collingwood of Ryle⁸⁸ and Robert Collingwood of Etal⁸⁹ to have and enjoy the same to the use and behoof of my nephew and upon account to be rendered unto him thereof, so always nevertheless as my said nephew himself shall and may marry at his own pleasure and take the profits coming thereby to his own behoof. Also I will that my cousin Rauffe Collingwood⁹⁰ and Thomas Collingwood91 shall have and enjoy such leases as I have promised them of the towns of Titlington and Ryle for terms of 60 years to them and their assigns. Also I will that my cousin Alexander Collingwood⁹² shall have and during his life enjoy one annuity of 53s. 4d. which I have granted unto him by writing according to the meaning of the said grant. Also I bequeath and give all my leases of the tithe corn of Whittingham parish and the town of Fenwick after my decease unto my nephew Cuthbert Collingwood which shall be heir God willing unto such time as he shall come unto the full age of xxi years and during his minority my executors to have the guiding and rule of the same. Also I give and bequeath all my leases that I have of the towns of Fawdon, Burnton [Brunton], and Burton [Barton], Dennington, Wetsled with others and the manor of Ingram and Lowick and the Cleugh [Clench] within the County of Northumberland unto my said nephew Cuthbert during his years provided that my executors shall have guiding and rule of the same until he come to the full age of xxi years and then to enter into the same in the like manner and strength as I do now enjoy the same evermore.

[provisions on endowment of chantry at Whittingham Church in probate copies omitted- see transcription of the text below].

Of this my last will and testament I do make and constitute Robert Collingwood of Bewick. Alexander Collingwood of Ryle, Edward Bednell⁹³ Rauffe Collingwood of Titlington⁹⁴ and Sir Richard Loncaster, priest, supervisors. Of this my will and testament I do make my brother in law Percival Selby, 95 Thomas Carr of Ford, 96 John Carr his brother, Robert Horseley,97 John Bednell,98 Thomas Carlell99 and Anthony Fenwyke of Langshawes¹⁰⁰ [executors] to whom I hereby give authority and will that they shall from time to time as they shall think meet displace and sequester from meddling with execution of this my last will and testament any one or [more] such of my executors as to their opinion or judgment shall not [serve] or mis-serve the trust I heartily commit unto them. In Witness whereof I have to this present writing of my last Will and Testament caused my name to be subscribed and my seal to be set, these being witnesses John Bednell, Richard Loncaster, clerk.

Also the aforesaid jurors say that the said Robert Collingwood before his death, in his deed—which has been shown to the said jurors, gave and granted to Cuthbert Horseley101 of Horseley for the period of his life an annuity or annual rent of forty shillings issuing from all and singular the lands & tenements of the said Robert in Eslington, and similarly gave and granted in another of his deeds to John Bednell¹⁰² of Lamaton, to Edward Bednell, son of the same John, to Robert, Richard, Ralph and Henry Bednell, sons of the said Edward Bednell, for the terms of their lives and certainly for the life of which of them is the longer liver, a single annuity or annual payment of 53s, 4d, issuing from all and singular his lands and tenements in Bolton aforesaid. And moreover [the jurors say] that the said Robert Collingwood in another of his documents shown to the jurors gave and granted to Richard Loncaster, clerk, an annuity or annual rent of four pounds for the term of the life of the said Richard, issuing from [Robert's] lands and tenements in Netherton. 103 And furthermore [they say] that the said Robert Collingwood in another of his deeds shown to the said jurors gave and granted to Alexander Collingwood of Ryle for the term of his life an annuity ... of 53s. 4d. 104 issuing from ... lands ... in Barton & Little Ryle; and he gave and granted, by his deed shown to the said jurors, to Thomas Collingwood of Bolton, his grandson¹⁰⁵ and his deputy, for the term of the said Thomas's life, the office of Bailiff of Bolton aforesaid and its appurtenances, and custody of the woods of Bolton Estwood with the fee for cutting timber from the same, sixteen shillings, coming from all and singular his [Robert's] lands and tenements in Bolton. Also the aforesaid jurors say that the said Robert Collingwood died possessed, as of fee, in his demesne land, of ten messuages and one water mill with their appurtenances in Eslington, of annual rent or value £14; as regards the manor of Whittingham, sixteen messuages with their appurtenances, of annual rent or value £18. 16s. 8d; [also] four messuages with appurtenances in Great Ryle of annual value £10; [also] four messuages in Barton of annual rent ... £3. 16s.; eight messuages in Thronton [Thrunton] of annual value £8.2s.8d; and of one messuage in Little Ryle of annual rent ... 6s. 8d. And [they say] that the said lands and tenements in Eslington, Whittingham, and Great & Little Ryle [have] an annual rent or value of 6s. 8d. 106 And that the said lands & tenements in Eslington, Whittingham, Great Ryle, Little Ryle, Barton and Thrunton were held of the said lady queen's castle of Bamburgh by service of drengage. 107 Also the above mentioned jurors say that the said Robert Collingwood died seized in his demesne land as of fee as and in one messuage with appurtenances in Glanton of annual rent 20s.; of one free rent of 6s. 8d. from lands and tenements formerly held by Edward Rutter in Glanton aforesaid: of one free rent of 6s. 8d. from lands & tenements formerly held by Edward Payninge in Glanton aforesaid; of one free rent of 2s. 6d from lands of Robert Glanton in Glanton; of one free rent of 13s, 4d from lands of the late Robert Hopton¹⁰⁸ in the aforesaidsaid Glanton; from five messuages with appurtenances in Netherton [comes] an annual rent ... of five pounds; from two messuages ... with appurtenances in Hartside in tranquil time of peace with the Scots an annual rent of 40s. is due but [it is] of no profit lately; from 16 messuages with appurtenances in Bolton [comes] an annual return or value of £17.6s.6d.; from two messuages with appurtenances in Broome Park [comes] an annual rent or value of £3.6s.8d.; from five messuages with appurtenances in Titlington [comes] an annual return or value of £5. 13s. 4d. And [the jurors say] that the said lands and tenements in Glanton are held of Ralph Gray, knight 109 as of his manor of Wark in Glendale in return for knight service. And [they say] that the said lands in Bolton and Titlington are held from [our] lady queen in chief in return for the service of one fortieth of a knight's fee. And that the said lands and tenements in Netherton and Hartside are held from the said lady queen as of her manor of Hartside aforesaid... by what service the above-mentioned jurors do not know. And furthermore the above jurors say that the said Robert Collingwood died on the twenty fourth day of June in the fourth and fifth regnal years of king Philip and queen Mary. And that Cuthbert Collingwood is grandson and next heir of the said Robert, and is clearly the son of John Collingwood son of the said Robert Collingwood, and is now eighteen years of age. And that the said Robert Collingwood had no other or more lands or tenements, neither did he hold them in possession or reversion on the day when he died. In testimony whereof etc on one part in the possession of the said commissioners the said jurors have set their seal, on the other part in the possession of the said jurors the said commissioners have [also] set their seal, on the day and in the year aforesaid [month omitted]. Subscribed: fourteen signatures mostly incomplete with seals missing. The legible signatures:- Albany Fetherstonhawghe, John Wvddrendon. Raff [Ralph] Collyngwood. Anthony Fynwick[Fenwick], Thomas? Ogle]. 110

TRANSCRIPT OF PROVISIONS IN THE WILL OF ROBERT COLLINGWOOD OF ESLINGTON¹¹¹ DATED 12.6.1556 CONCERNING THE ENDOWMENT OF A CHANTRY AT WHITTINGHAM PARISH CHURCH, OMITTED FROM THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE WILL INCLUDED IN HIS IPM

"... Also where[as] I have demised the erection and continued ... for a chantry priest to celebrate in the parish church of Whittingham at the altar of St. Peter I will that all and singular the priests hereafter thereto nominated and appointed by me or mine heirs [to serve] in the said chantry shall during the time of their serving in the same have and enjoy as well one cottage house and garth in Whittingham now in the holding of Edward Steanson as also one annuity or annual rent of four pounds out of all my lands and tenements in Titlington in the county of Northumber-

land aforesaid, the said annuity or annual rent of four pounds payable yearly at the feast of our blessed Lady and St. Peter Ad Vincula called Lamass by even and equal portions. And if it shall at any time happen the said annuity or annual rent of iiii li to be behind unpaid in part or in all [at the] time of the said feast at which it ought to be paid thereat then it shall be lawful unto the said chantry priest as for that time shall chance to be nominated to and serve in the said chantry aforesaid [? to enter] all and singular the said lands and tenements in Titlington aforesaid and there to distrain and lead with him [carry?] away and hold unto such time as he the said [chantry] priest shall be satisfied and paid the said annuity or annual rent of iiii li with the arrears thereof if any be. And for the said establishment and continuance of payment of the said annuity or annual rent of iiij li for and unto all and singular the said chantry priest for the time, I have to that end granted one annuity or annual rent of iiii li going out of the said lands in Titlington ... of the same and his heirs forever, with [clause?] of distress, by writing thereof, being dated the ijd and iijd year of our [sovereign?] lord and lady, king Philip and queen Mary..."

LATIN TEXT OF THE IPM OF ROBERT COLLINGWOOD OF ESLINGTON

Robertus Collingwood 88 Ex[aminata] per Halley Northumbr' [158 Deliberata fuit xv die Julii anno subscripto per manum magistri Rokesby gent.]^a

Inquisicio indentata capta apud Morepeth in comitatu Northumbr" vicesimo tercio die Aprilis anno regni domine nostre Elizabethe dei gracia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regine defensoris et cetera coram Roberto Ellarker milite Cuthberto Horeselev et Johanne Bednell armigeris virtute commissionis de dicta domina Regina presentibus annexis Commissionariis directis post mortem Roberti Collingwood de Eslyngton in comitatu Northumbriense armigeri defuncti sacramentum et cetera [Nicholas Ridley Albany Fetherstonhawghe Radulphus Whitfeilde Johannis Carr armigeris Johannis Ogle, Anthony Fenwick Thome Ogle Radulphus Collingwood de [Tytlyngton ?] Johannis Wydrendin Johannis

Horseley de Milborne generosorum]^b. Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod dictus Robertus Collyngwood ante obitum suum per scriptum suum gerentem datum decime tercio die [? Augusti] anno regnorum Philipi regis et Marie regina primo et secundo et dictis juratoribus ostensis dedit et concessit Gawino Collyngwood pro termino vite sue unam annualem redditum sive annuitatem viginti sex solidorum et octo denariorum exeuntes de omnibus et singulis terris et tenementis suis in Bolton ac per alia scripta sua [? sequentia] dictis juratoribus ostensa ac gerentia data predicta dedit et concessit Thome Collyngwood de Glanton pro termino vite sue unam annuitatem sive annualem redditum viginti sex solidorum et octo denariorum Oswaldo Collingwood de Etall pro termino vite sue unam annuitatem sive annualem redditum viginti sollidorum Georgio Armstrong pro termino vite sue unam annuitatem sive annualem redditum viginti solidorum Rogero Bylton pro termino vite sue unam annuitatem sive annualem redditum decem solidos et Rogero Browne pro termino vite sue unam annuitatem sive annualem redditum sex solidorum octo denariorum exeuntes de omnibus et singulis terris et tenementis dicti Roberti Collyngwood in Bolton supradicto Et insuper dicti juratores dicunt quod dictus Robertus Collingwood ante obitum suum per scriptum suum gerentem datum predictum dictis juratoribus ostensum dedit et concessit Christofero Collyngwood pro termino vite sue unam annuitatem sive annualem redditum viginti sex solidorum octo denariorum exeuntes de omnibus et singulis terris et tenementis suis in Glanton. Et ulterius juratores supradicti dicunt quod Robertus Collingwood fecit in vita sua testamentum et ultimam quandam voluntatem suam in scripto redactam cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba. In Dei nomine amen I Robart Collingwood of Eslington in the county... etc

[there follows the English text of the will of Robert Collingwood transcribed above]

Item juratores supradicti dicunt quod dictus Robertus Collingwood ante obitum suum per scriptum suum dictis juratoribus ostensum dedit et concessit Cuthberto Horseley de Horseley pro termino vite sue unam annuitatem sive annualem redditum quadraginta solidorum exeuntes de omnibus et singulis terris et tenementis dicti Roberti in Eslyngton deditque et concessit similiter per aliud scriptum suum Johanni Bednell

de Lamaton Edwardo Bednell filio dicti Johannis Roberto Bednell Ricardo Badnelle Radulfo Bednell et Henrico Bednell filiis dicti Edwardi Bednell pro terminis vitarum suarum et vite scilicet eorum diutius viventis unam annuitatem sive annualem redditum liijs iiiid exeuntes de omnibus et singulis terris et tenementis suis in Bolton predicto. Et insuper quod dictus Robertus Collingwood per alium scriptum suum [dictis]^d juratoribus ostensum dedit et concessit Ricardo Loncaster clerico unam annuitatem annualem redditum quatuor librarum pro termino vite ipsius Ricardi exeuntes de terris [et] tenementis suis in Netherton. Et ulterius quod dictus Robertus Collingwood per alium scriptum suum dictis juratoribus ostensum dedit et concessit Alexandro Collingwood de Ryle pro termino vite sue unam annuitatem sive annualem redditum lijis jijid exeuntes de omnibus et singulis terris et tenementis suis in Barton et Parva Ryle deditque et concessit per scriptum suum dictis juratoribus ostensum Thome Collingwood de Bolton nepote suo et deputato suo pro termino vite ipsius Thome Collingwood officium ballivi de Bolton predicto cum suis pertinenciis ac custodiam silvarum de Bolton Estwood cum feodo pro exercitatione eiusdem sexdecem solidorum exeuntes de omnibus et singulis terris et tenementis suis in Bolton. Item juratores predicti dicunt quod dictus Robertus Collingwood obiit seisitus in domanico suo ut de feodo de decem messuagiis et uno molendino aquatico cum pertinenciis in Eslyngton annualis redditus sive valoris xiiij li, de manorio de sexdecem Whittyngham messuagiis pertinenciis ibidem annualis redditus seu valoris xviij li xvi s viij d, quattuor messuagiis cum pertineciis in Magna Ryle annualis valoris xl s, quattuor messuagiis in Barton annualis redditus sive valoris iii li xvi s, octo messuagiis in Thorneton [Thrunton] annualis valoris viij li ij s viij d, de uno messuagio in Parva Ryle annualis redditus seu valoris vi s viij d. Et quod dicte terre & tenementa in Eslyngton, Whittingham, Magna Ryle, Parva Ryle annualis redditus seu valoris vi s viii d. Et quod dicte terre & tenementa in Eslyngton, Whittyngham, Magna Ryle, Parva Ryle, Barton et Thronton tenta de castro domine regine de Bamborough pro servicio dringagii. Item juratores predicti dicunt quod dictus Robertus Collingwood obiit seisitus in domanico suo ut de feodo de et in uno messuagio cum pertenenciis in Glanton annualis redditus xx s, de uno libero redditu vi s viii d ex terris et

tenementis nuper Edwardi Rutter in Glanton predicta, de uno libero redditu vi s viii d, ex terris et tenementis nuper Edwardi [? Payninge] in Glanton predicta, de uno libero redditu ij s vj d, ex terris Roberti Glanton in Glanton, de uno libero redditu xiii s iiii d, de terris nuper Roberti Hopton in Glanton predicta, de quinque messuagiis cum pertenenciis in Netherton annualis redditus seu valoris quinque librarum, duobus messuagiis cum pertenenciis in Hartsted [Hartside] tempore tranquille pacis cum Scotis annualis redditus debitus xl s modo nullius proficui, de xvi messuagiis cum pertenenciis in Bolton annualis redditus seu valoris xvij li xvj s vj d, de duobus messuagiis cum pertenenciis in Brome Parke annualis redditus seu valoris iij li vj s vii d, de quinque messuagiis cum pertenenciis in Tillington [Titlington] annualis redditus seu valoris v li xiij s iiij d. Et quod dicte terre et tenementa in Glanton tenentur [de]Radulphi Gray militis ut de manerio suo de Warke in Glendall [Glendale] per servitio militare. Et quod dicte terre et tenementa in Bolton & Titlyngton tenentur de domina regina in capite pro servicio quadragesime parte unius feodi militis. Et quod dicte terre et tenementa in Netherton et Hartesed tenentur de dicta domina regina ut de manerio suo de Hartesed predicto pro servicio juratores predicti ignorant. Et ulterius juratores predicti dicunt quod dictus Robertus Collingwood obiit mortem vicesimo quarto die Junii anno quarto et quinto regnorum Philipi et Marie regis et regine. Et quod Cuthbertus Collingwood est nepos et heres dicti Roberti proximus videlicet filius Collingwood filii dicti Johannis Collingwood et est modo etatis octo decem annorum et quod dictus Robertus Collingwood nulla alia vel plura terras seu tenementa habuit vel tenuit in possessione vel revercione die que obiit. In cuius rei testimonio etc. [uni... parti penes dictos commissionarios remanenti dicti juratores sigilla sua apposuerunt et alteri eiusdem parti penes dictos juratores remanenti dicti commissionarii sigilla sua apposuerunt die et anno predictis]e. [Fourteen signatures, mostly incomplete, with seals missing, including ... Albany Fetherstonhawghe, John Wyddrendon, Raff[Ralph] Collyngwood, Anthony Fynwick [Fenwick], Thomas [?Ogle]]f.

^c This name written twice in Court of Wards copy, but only once in Chancery copy.

^d From Chancery copy—omitted in Court of Wards copy.

^e Appears in Chancery copy after testimonium.

f Subscribed in Chancery copy

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Crown Copyright material in the Public Record Office is reproduced by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, and the material from Durham probate records appears with the permission of Durham University Library. Mrs. Lucy Roe M.A., of Winchester, helped to transcribe the will, and undertook the greater part of the transcription and translation of the Latin text.

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Abbreviations	
NCH	Northumberland County History
	Committee—
	A History of Northumberland, 15
	vols, Newcastle, 1893–1940
Hist. of N'land	History of Northumberland, ed. J.
	Hodgson,in three parts, Newcastle,
	1820–1858
L&P Hen VIII	Public Record Office: Letters and
	Papers of Henry VIII, 21 vols,
	London, 1864–1932
AA^{I}	Archaeologia Aeliana, 1st (original)
_	series
AA^2	Archaeologia Aeliana, 2nd (new)
_	series
AA^3	Archaeologia Aeliana, 3rd series
AA^4	Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th series
AA^5	Archaeologia Aeliana, 5th series
SS	Surtees Society publications
Bates	Cadwaller J. Bates: Border Holds
	of N'land, Vol. I, AA ² , Vol. 14,
	1891

NOTES

¹ See the attached pedigree. Eslington is on the River Aln, west of Whittingham (grid ref. NU 040120). Many, but not all, of the places mentioned in this paper are within a few miles. Grid refs. for the principal ones are given below. Almost all are to be found on O.S. Landranger sheets 74, 75, 81 and 88.

² Northumberland County History (NCH) XI pp. 115-6; Bates, pp. 23-4.

^a Additional superscript in Chancery copy. ^b The Court of Wards copy omits the full list of the jurors given in the Chancery copy.

³ NCH XI p. 461 says he was Constable from 1541 to his death in 1553. W. P. Hedley's papers, NRO 3635/68, say from 1535, relying on NCH XI p 141, Collingwoods of Lanton. Hedley also reports that Henry Collingwood's son (Henry (2)) claimed the Constableship as hereditary. The Privy Council looked into this claim in 1556 with what result is not clear—Acts of the Privy Council, HMSO 1890, Vol. V p. 313, Vol. VI, pp. 64–5, 98. The Castle had been returned to the Crown in 1547, but the office of Constable was only granted to Sir William Selby in 1601, Henry (2) retaining the Bailiff-ship. Henry(2) died c.1603. His brother Oswald still held the Bailiff-ship in 1604– NCH XI p. 452. Etal lies not far south of the Tweed (grid ref. NT 925393).

⁴ AA³ Vol. VI, p. 20, citing Bates, p. 24.

⁵ L&P Hen VIII Vol. 1 Pt 2 items 2484 (9) and 3499 (12). Both these nominations were made in November of the year in question, and so probably apply to the following year. His is not the first name listed, so was possibly not "pricked". The calendar report reads "Robert Colyngwode, haeres..." without naming the parent, in both years. None of the other known 16 C Roberts fit this date, so this must, I think, despite his relative youth, be Robert of Eslington. The "haeres" suggests that his father, John, was recently deceased—perhaps killed when the Scots overran Etal Castle in 1513. In that event, the John Collingwood reported as in charge of Etal in 1522 (NCH XI pp. 115–16) must have some other origin.

⁶L&P Hen VIII Vol. 2 Pt 1, item 1120.

⁷ Hist of N'land (Hodgson) Vol. 2, pp. 67–8, citing Cottonian Library no. Calig BN vi 244 fol. 432.

⁸ Welford, Hist of Newcastle & Gateshead Vol. 2, p. 70. This was funded from the "customs of Newcastle and issues of lands assigned for payment of Berwick garrison" which may indicate that Robert was employed as part of Berwick garrison.

⁹ G. Tate: History of the Borough, Castle and Barony of Alnwick, Alnwick 1866, Vol. I, p. 226. Dorset's report on this raid mentions "Robert Collingwood with all his servants and kinsmen".

¹⁰ L&P Hen VIII Vol. 4 Pt 2, item 5085 and Pt 1, item 1469; Eure was Northumberland's lieutenant as Warden of the East and Middle Marches, advised by a council which had originally been the Earl's personal council based on Alnwick, but had become a state body, with its members paid a fee from the Exchequer. Item 5085 reveals that Robert's fee was £10 a year for this work, presumably in addition to his annuity.

¹¹ L&P Hen VIII Vol. 4 Pt 1, item 1610.

12 L&P Hen VIII Vol. 4 Pt 1, item 2035; the con-

text was negotiations with the Scottish Warden.

13 L&P Hen VIII Vol. 4 Pt 3, item 6043.

¹⁴ NCH XI p. 59; L& P Henry VIII Vol. 4 Pt. 3, p. 2830. This Gray fief was in Crown hands during the minority of Sir Ralph Gray, jnr. The grassy mound which is all that is left of the castle lies on the south bank of the Tweed, a scant mile across the river from Coldstream grid ref. NT 823387.

15 L&P Vol. 13, Pt. 2, item 1182 (17).

16 L&P Hen VIII Vol. X (1536) item 1260.

¹⁷ L & P Hen VIII Vol. XI (1536) item 1417.

¹⁸ Welford, op. cit. Vol. 1, p. 149; L&P Hen VIII Vol. XI item 504, which also gives the gist of the commission's report on the incident at Hexham.

¹⁹ L&P Hen VIII Vol. XI item 736

²⁰ See note 10 above. This Council should not be confused with the King's Council in the North, a subordinate body of the Privy Council, which was re-formed in January 1537 in the wake of the Pilgrimage of Grace revolt, which its members present in the North at the time had supported. An abortive attempt to extend the jurisdiction of the reformed Council to the Marches in addition to Yorkshire was to be made, but had apparently not yet occured. The history of the machinery of government in the northern shires is complex, but is comprehensively described in Rachel R. Reid: "The King's Council in the North", Longman's reprint of the 1921 edition, London 1975, and more briefly in F.W. Brooks: "The Council in the North", Historical Assoc. 1953.

²¹ L&P Hen VIII Vol. XII (1537) Pt. I, item 421. There is a brief account of the Hexham incident in Welford op. cit, and a fuller version in Dodds, R & E.: The Pilgrimage of Grace 1536–1537, Oxford, 1915, Vol. 1, pp. 194–9 and Vol. 2, p. 232. The commission's own report is in L&P Hen VIII Vol. XI(1536) item 504.

²² Hartshorne, C. H.: Feudal and Military Antiquities of Northumberland and the Scottish Borders, London 1858, pp. 57–9 and 174. But see Reid, op. cit. pp. 117–8, where she argues that, though necessary for effective central control of the North, this disinheritance of a rightful heir, achieved by Henry VIII's chief minister, Cromwell, by the use of high handed and dubious tactics, was a main cause amongst several others of the Northumberland gentry joining the commoners' revolt in 1536.

²³ L&P Vol. 15 item 612 (14); L&P Vol. 16 items 1205, 1263, 1326, 1399—this commission is also

reported in Bates, p. xvi.

²⁴ L&P Hen VIII Vol. XII (1537) Pt.1 item 804; ibid Pt. 2 items 203 and 226.

²⁵ Cf. the letter Sir Thomas Clifford wrote to the

King, Norfolk and Cromwell 30 July 1535 complaining about the mischief Carnaby was doing—L&P Hen VIII Vol. 8 item 1143.

²⁶ L&P Vol. 14, Pt. 1, item 1303.

²⁷ Lists and Indexes Vol. LX, cited in NCH XIV p. 525. Mackenzie, E.: Historical etc View of Northumberland, Newcastle, 1825, p. 494 asserts that the 1544 Sheriff was John Collingwood—presumably his son—and gives Robert another year of office in 1550–51. He gives no source. There is no trace in the calendar of the relevant grants. The 1538 appointment was made in November of that year and was clearly to run for 1539.

²⁸ See Raines, J.: "North Durham" London 1852 pp. xviii et seq. L&P Hen VIII passim provide

ample details.

²⁹ They acted as a military staff, responsible for logistic and tactical, as well as strategic planning. Besides Robert, the group included Sir William (afterwards Lord) Eure, his son Sir Ralph Eure (when a warden), Brian Layton the Captain of Berwick, John Horsley and, sometimes, John Carr the Captain of Wark. Sir Robert Ellerker was another. Judging by the frequency with which their advice was quoted, particularly when arguing against some hairbrained proposal from London, these names carried weight. See L&P Hen VIII Vols 17–19 passim, e.g. Vol. 18 item 236, and Vol. 19 item 223. Robert and John Horsley were "noted to be the men of best conduct"—Lisle to Hen. VIII of 19 December 1542.

³⁰ L&P Hen VIII Vol. 19 Part II item 468.

³¹ L&P Hen VIII Vol. 21 item 1279 of which another account appears in Raines J.: "North Durham", London, 1852, p. xx. The SP series in the PRO for the reigns of Edward VI and Mary may contain further material concerning Robert, but I have had no opportunity to consult it.

³² Laing ed. Anderson p. 34, cited in Hodgson "Medieval Owners of Eslington", AA³ Vol. VI,

p. 27.

³³ Hodgson, op. cit. p. 19. These properties lie in the valley of the Aln east of Whittingham. The grid refs are NU 108088 for Thrunton and NU 081128 for Middle Barton—this property probably included Low Barton, NU 088127.

³⁴ NCH XIV p. 525, note 2 citing AA^2 Vol. VI, p. 25. She was the daughter of Thomas Haselrigg of Noseley, co. Leics, Lord of Eslington— AA^4 Vol. XII p. 123.

³⁵ The chronology of Robert's marriages is not easy to reconstruct, dates being scarce. The firmest is the birth of Robert's grandson in 1543—see the last line of Robert's ipm where Cuthbert is reported

as aged 18 (in 1561). His mother's marriage to John was probably in 1542—see note 41 below. His father was still "young Collingwood" in 1544 when he was a Scots' prisoner—see note 30 supra—so he may have been born c.1522–4, and Elizabeth could have died c.1520

³⁶ The Vis of 1615, cited in NCH XIV p. 525, does not reveal her name (possibly Margaret ?), but she may have been a daughter of Sir William Heron of Ford. The same source records a fourth wife, but

does not name even her family.

³⁷ There were two towers at Whittingham, one in each moiety, One already belonged to Robert in 1541—NCH XIV p. 503 citing Bates: Border Holds pp. 17, 24, 42. This was presumably part of the ex-Heron moiety which Robert seems to have acquired via his brother Henry in 1532—NCH XIV p. 514. The second tower came with the ex-Heselrigg moiety acquired in 1542.

38 Feet of Fines N'land Easter Term 34 Henry

VIII, cited in Hodgson, op. cit., p. 20.

³⁹ Cal Pat R Edw VI vol. v. p. 40 cited in NCH XIV p. 525 ped of C'wd of Eslington, and NCH VII p. 217—see also NCH XIV p. 550 re Little Ryle lands being ex Brinkburn and NCH XIV p. 451 re-Titlington etc being ex Kirkham Priory. Titlington and Bolton lie some miles east of Whittingham (grid refs NU 100153 and NU 106137). Great and Little Ryle are about 3 miles west of Whittingham (grid refs NU 020127 and NU 020112).

⁴⁰ Tate, G.: "History of Alnwick", Vol. 1, pp. 261—4. His family were "of Lemmington" (grid ref NU 123114) at least since 1497. John served with Robert on the Commission on Tenths of Spiritualities, January 1535—L&P Hen VIII, Vol. 8 item 149 (73). His name appears on a list of candidates for appointment—perhaps to the reformed Council in the North—in 1537—L&P Hen VIII, Vol. IX, Part II item 193. He was named in the Commissions of Peace in 1536 and 1538—L&P Hen VIII, Vol. XI item 1417 and Vol. XIII item 646(27). He must have died before 1568, when his son Edward was in possession of Lemmington—Tate, op. cit. p. 29.

⁴¹ NCH XIV p. 525 and SS Vol. 122, p. 49 recording the Vis of 1552 ped. of Buckton of Buckton. Their marriage probably took place in 1542, for the grant giving livery of Ursula's inheritance is dated 10 Feb 1543—L & P Hen VIII Vol. 18 Part I item

226 (31).

⁴² NCH XIV p. 525 says "v.p. before Michaelmas 1549". He may well have been a victim of the Border fighting, perhaps connected with his capture by the Scots in 1544—see note 30

⁴³ SS Vol. 122, p. 31 records the Vis of 1552 entry

about John Carr, including the names of the 3 sons, John, Robert and Thomas, and 5 daughters he had by Margaret Collingwood, mentions a second wife, Isabel, daughter of Humphrey Carr, by whom he had a son and a daughter, and confirms his marriage to Ursula "after Michaelmas 1549, when she was described as widow of John Collingwood (Yorkshire Fines Pt. 1/145)" Hetton lies nearly 3 miles east of Wooler (grid ref. NU 042296).

⁴⁴ Date unknown, but allowing for second marriage bearing two children it must be c.1545.

45 This tangled, tragic story, in which the ebb and flow of support for the return of the Percy family as Earls of Northumberland played a significant part, is ably described in M. M. Meikle: "Northumberland divided: Anatomy of the 16C Bloodfeud", AA⁵ Vol. XX pp. 79-89. Elizabeth herself died in 1555; Thomas was murdered in 1558—an Ogle of Choppington was hanged for it in 1562-and his son William also died aged 37 in 1589 worn out by his unending struggle against Heron trickery. Though vindicated by the highest courts, and by the Privy Council, and though William's sons became accepted as members of the social élite of the county, recognition of their title to Ford was still witheld. See also Hedley, W.P.: "Northumberland Families", Newcastle 1970 Vol. 2, p. 52 et seq., and p. 169; and Raines op. cit. pp xxviii-xxx. Ford Castle lies a couple of miles south east of Etal (grid ref. NT 944375).

⁴⁶ NCH XIV p. 525 and SS. Vol. 2, p. 138—will dated in August 1551. There was no issue.

⁴⁷ Welford: Hist of Newcastle & Gateshead Vol. 2 p. 503 and SS Vol. 38, p.234. record both wills.

⁴⁸ Sir Cuthbert Sharpe: "Memorials of the 1569 Rebellion", London, 1840, p. 370. The price was 450 marks

⁴⁹ His will and inventory, of which an extensive abstract appears in SS Vol. 38, pp. 267–72, is dated 24 December 1596. He died at Eppleton, Co. Durham, and was buried (probably there) on 29 December 1596—see NCH XIV p. 525. Eppleton is some 4 miles west of Seaham, on the edge of Hetton le Hole (grid ref. NZ 367468). Dalden was a township in the parish of Dalton-le-Dale and the ruined Dalden Tower (grid ref. NZ 424487), surrounded by the southern outskirts of Seaham known as Dawdon, marks its location.

⁵⁰ Abstracts of the will appear in SS Vol. 2, p. 147, and D. D. Dixon: "Whittingham Vale", fac. ed. Ilkley, 1979, pp. 83–4. The latter mentions the chantry passage. The surviving probate copies are at Durham University Library—the ref. is in note 111 below.

⁵¹ PRO C 142 131 (158). This, the original, was

the Lord Chancellor's copy. The Court of Wards' copy is filed at PRO ref: Ward 7/8/28 It lacks the full list of the jurors, and contains many abbreviations. The Exchequer copy has not been traced.

52 "Act for the Dissolution of the Chantries, 1547" in J. R. Tanner: "Tudor Constitutional Documents 1485–1603" CUP 1922, reprint Bath 1971, pp. 103–7. According to Tanner, 2374 chantries or small foundations endowing priests to say masses for the repose of the founders' souls were seized.

⁵³ I Eliz. Cap. XXIV in G. W. Prothero (ed): "Select statutes and other constitutional documents illustrative of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I",

Oxford, 4th ed., 1934, pp. 37-8.

54 There seems to have been a chantry chapel at St. Bartholomew's Church, Whittingham since the latter half of the 13th century, probably founded by one of the Eslingtons of Eslington: Anon. pamphlet: "A Short History of St. Bart's Whittingham", undated but in issue 1995.

⁵⁵ See Hodgson, J. C.: "The Ancestry of Admiral Lord Collingwood" in AA³ Vol. II, p. 150 et seq. The exact link to the Collingwood of Eslington pedigree has yet to be demonstrated.

⁵⁶ For the "First Fruits" Act and later practice, see Prothero op. cit p. 22 as compared with p. 37; Mackie, J.D.: "The Earlier Tudors 1485–1558" OUP, 1987, pp. 540–1 describes the restrictions

placed upon Philip's constitutional role.

57 "And that Cuthbert Collingwood is the grandson and nearest heir of the said Robert and clearly the son of John son of the said Robert". Sir Cuthbert Sharpe seems to have been misled also—a note in his "Memorials" op. cit p. 370, about Robert's purchase of the wardship and marriage of Dorothy Bowes of Dalden refers to Cuthbert as Robert's nephew.

⁵⁸ PRO. refs: PRO C 142 131 (158) and Ward 7/8/28. This translation is based on the Court of Wards copy, but is a marriage of the two, since both are damaged on the righthand side, luckily with the layout differing so that what is missing in one is often legible in the other.

⁵⁹ Editorial insertions are indicated by square brackets without footnote. Insertions from the Chancery copy are in square brackets, footnoted.

⁶⁰ Probably the son of Sir Ralph Ellarker who was a member with Robert Collingwood of Eslington of the commission which conducted a Survey of the Border in 1541—see Bates, p. xvi. After the Dissolution, the Ellerkers were granted a lease of Alnwick Abbey for 21 years. Sir Robert E, presumably son of Sir Ralph jun., made a close arable on the west side of the priory—G. Tate: "Hist ... of

Alnwick", Vol. 2, pp. 49-50, 57. Sir Ralph jnr. was a member of the Council of the North, and played a somewhat ignominious role in the Pilgrimage of Grace, first going along with the rebels, then representing them before Henry VIII, by whom he was ultimately obliged to act as the executioner of many of those he represented: R. Reid: "The King's Council of the North", Longmans (reprint), 1975, pp. 137-51. He died in 1544: idem, Appendix II, p. 491.

61 Presumably the same as the recipient of an annuity-see below-and so "of Horsley", near Otterburn in Redesdale. Possibly a son of Sir John Horsley who was a member of the commission mentioned in note 3 above. The family held Screnwood, where Sir John built a tower and barmekin-it lies only 3 miles or so south west of Eslington (grid ref.

NT 991096).

⁶² See note 40 above.

63 ? of Wilmoteswick

64 Not yet identified

65 Not yet identified

66 Probably the brother of Thomas s/o John Carr of Hetton, another of Robert's grandsons, see note 43 above.

⁶⁷ The Ogles were later to be connected by marriage to the Collingwoods of Eslington via the Greys of Chillingham.

⁶⁸ He was an executor of Robert's will, possibly of the family of Robert's first wife

69 See note 67 above.

⁷⁰ His will of 3.2.1570 (abstract in SS Vol. 2, pp. 322-4) mentions his brother "Herri". In 1553 he settled lands in Nesbit on the sons of William, his brother (NCH XII p. 323). This combination of relationships locates him firmly as another son of Robert's uncle Thomas, somehow omitted from the pedigree in NCH XIV p. 545.

71 Not certainly identified.

⁷² A distortion of Widdrington. Perhaps the, later Sir, John Widdrington, who became a Warden of the Middle Marches-see A. L. Rowse: "The Expansion of Elizabethan England", London, 1957, p. 37 n.

73 Not certainly identified.

⁷⁴ Not certainly identified.

75 From the Chancery copy.

⁷⁶ Probably the brother of Robert Collingwood, inr., of Bewick, a supervisor of Robert's will-see below, note 90. The latter's descent is obscure. His grandfather may have been the Gilbert Collingwood who held Bewick Tower in 1509—see Bates, op. cit. p. 310. Robert's father became Bailiff of Bewick in 1534 and took a lease of it for 61 years in 1536, just before the Dissolution. Robert jnr's will is dated 7.12.1591 Some details of his family, including Gavin, are set out in the Forster papers NRO 1954/29, p. 524, which includes an abstract of Gavin's will dated 18.8.1597 (Raines: Test Dun I 153). For Bewick see grid ref. NU 066215.

The may have been one of the sons of Thomas of Ryle, Robert's uncle—Glanton reappears in this branch in the 17C.—see ped. of Collingwood of Great Ryle in NCH XIV p. 545. For Glanton see

grid ref. NU 071145.

78 His provenance is not clear. An Oswald was Bailiff of Etal in 1549 (NCH XI p. 452) and Elizabeth, daughter of Oswald of Etal married John Burrell of Howtel at a date which is uncertain, but probably in the latter part of the 16 C (NCH XI p. 199 pedigree of Burrell). Henry of Etal, Robert's brother, had a younger son called Oswald, who was commissioned in 1596 to hold Etal with his brother Henry (NCH XI p. 462 citing Survey of the Border 1604, p. vii), and remained Bailiff of Etal in 1604, after the Collingwoods lost the Constableship to Sir William Selby in 1601 (idem). Another Oswald was granted a pardon almost certainly for involvement in the violent outbreak of the Carr/Heron feud in 1557] by Queen Elizabeth in 1559—Pardon Roll of 1559, Part II, Cal. Pat. Roll Elizabeth 1558-60, p. 245-in which he is described as "bastard son" without a parental name. His entry follows two others concerning the issue (William of Kimmerston and John of Etal-also implicated in the fracas at Ford in 1557) of a Robert Collingwood of Crokehouse and Barton. Robert Collingwood of Crokehouse (? Crookhouse, near Milfield, which was perhaps in Ford parish then) and Barton may be the son of William Collingwood of Barton, a witness to the will of Ralph Collingwood of Titlington (ob. 1570), who was a younger son of Thomas Collingwood of Ryle, Robert of Eslington's uncle see NCH XIV p. 545. While the possibility that that Oswald may have been half brother to William and John cannot be ruled out, the difference in designation in the Pardon Roll is quite likely to indicate the contrary. If so, it seems probable that all these Oswalds are one and the same person. This would be in line with the Collingwoods' practice (perhaps the social norm of their day) of giving illegitimate issue names markedly different from those in the family tradition.

⁷⁹ Not identified—possibly a personal retainer.

80 -do-

81 Not certainly identified, but could be connected with Sir Anthony Browne, esquire of the body to Henry VIII, who played an influential role in Border affairs and in Robert's early life—see note 7 above; and DNB, OUP 1973 Vol. III p. 38. Sir Anthony was the father of the first Viscount Montague (of Battle Abbey and, later, Cowdray) of whom the later descent is sketched in A.R.J.S. Adolph: "The Last Viscountess Montague" in "Catholic Ancestor" Vol. 6. No. 2 (June 1996). Catherine Browne, a daughter of the 5th Viscount, married George Collingwood of Eslington, who, taken under arms in the 1715 Rebellion, was hanged at Liverpool in 1716.

82 He was one of the sons of Thomas Collingwood of Ryle, Robert's uncle, and known as "of the Holmes"—see ped. of Collingwood of Great Ryle

in NCH XIV p. 545.

83 It is reported that Robert married four, even five times (NCH XIV p. 525 ped. of Collingwood of Eslington, and Forster papers NRO 1954/26 p. 314) so it is quite uncertain who benefitted from this pro-

84 The priest appointed by the Earl of Northumberland in 1531 to keep the Hermitage of Warkworth was Sir George Lancaster—see Hartshorne: Feudal & Military Antiquities of N'land and the Scottish Borders, London 1858, p. 227. Sir Richard may have been a relative. This charge supports the hypothesis that Loncaster was Robert's legal adviser and drafter of his original will.

85 In fact his grandson; "nephew" is used both precisely with ref. to his brother Henry's heir, and

loosely here. See note 57 above.

86 He is said to have been the son of a Collingwood of Bewick (Maugham: "Collingwood", unpub paper 1963 in Soc Gen Library and NCH XIV p. 550). This is likely to have been the Robert, inr., of Bewick named as a supervisor of Robert's will. His will is dated 7.12.1591, of which the only surviving record is that in Raines MS Testa Dunelmensis Vol. I (capital letter), p. 127 which provides only the most sketchy abstract, in which there is no mention of Alexander, who is likely to have been a younger son. See also note 39.

87 He really was Robert's nephew. Robert had three known siblings; a sister Ceciley, who married Percival Selby of Biddleston; a sister Joan who married Gilbert Swynnoe of Cornhill; and Henry who became hereditary Constable of Etal and died in 1553. Henry had three daughters and two sons. Of the latter John was the elder (his father's ipm-PRO: C 142, 103/50—cited in NCH XIV, p. 525 presumably establishes this). His father also entailed lands in Lanton and Branxton (next to the site of the Battle of Flodden) on him in May 1553. However, his brother Henry claimed whatever

rights there were in the Constable-ship on his father's death—NCH XI p. 461—and retained it until 1601 (NCH XI p, 462). John was still living in 1584 when he held Lanton Tower (NCH X, p. 141 citing Bates, p. 73 relying on the Report of a Commission of 1584, and p. 245). Henry of Etal (probably the third of that name) sold Lanton to Luke Collingwood (origin uncertain, but possibly of the Bewick family) in 1630—AA1, Vol. II, p. 325. For Lanton see grid ref. NT 926312. For Branxton see grid ref. NT 895376.

88 Possibly Thomas of Thrunton, one of the sons of Robert's uncle Thomas of Ryle, but, if this Thomas and the one mentioned later (see note 91) are the same person he is more likely to be Thomas of Great Ryle, grandson of Robert's uncle who married Fortune, daughter of Robert's brother Henry-NCH XIV p. 545.

89 Possibly the same person as Robert of Crookhouse and Barton—see note 78 above. The Pardon Roll also names him as "of Ford", but note that his sons are "of Etal". He was a professional soldier based at Ford Castle in the 1540s—see Raine's: "North Durham", London, 1852, pp. xviii and xxi who took part in the 1569 Northern Rebellion, fled to Scotland, was attainted and is heard of no more. The names of those who accompanied the Countess of Northumberland when she took ship at Aberdeen for France were not fully reported. Robert of Etal had been in attendance on her in Scotland, and is probably one of those not named. He presumably died in France. See Sir Cuthbert Sharpe: "Memorials of the 1569 Rebellion", London 1840, p. 272.

90 Probably Ralph Collingwood of Titlington—see note 70 above—but it could be his son, Ralph of Bolton. His family did not hold Titlington for the full term of the lease. At some point the lease was terminated—Sir Cuthbert Collingwood's son John was "of Titlington" in 1587 (he was buried at St Nicholas, Newcastle in 1588-NCH XIV, p. 525) and the property remained in the Eslington family until its sale in 1618 (NCH XIV p. 451). The former Titlington family appear to have acquired Branton instead.

⁹¹ See note 88

⁹² See note 86.

⁹³ Robert's son-in-law, married to his daughter Elizabeth—NCH XIV p. 525

 $^{^{94}}$ See notes 70 and 90 above.

⁹⁵ of Biddleston, married to Robert's sister Cecily.

⁹⁶ Probably the Thomas Carr whose marriage c.1551 to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress general to Sir William Heron of Ford, deceased (the father of

Robert's third wife?), and claim to own Ford in the right of his wife, precipitated a calamitous feud between the Carr and Heron families—see note 45 above. He and brother John were Robert's grandsons by his daughter Margaret. Both she and their father, John Carr of Hetton, were already dead at this time. Unlike the Bednell grandchildren, the Carrs received no annuities, perhaps because the family had already benefitted by retaining Margaret's dowry on her death (she predeceased her husband).

97 of the Screnwood family?

98 Father of Edward, see the descent in the second

part of the ipm below and note 40.

99 Identity uncertain, but he could be the son of Elizabeth, daughter of George Collingwood of Eslington—see outline pedigree. There is no proof that George was a brother of John of Etal and Thomas of Ryle, but he certainly existed about that time; and his daughter, Elizabeth, married Thomas Haggerston, one of whose trustees, and executor to his will, was John of Etal. The subsequent run of Georges in the Collingwood of Eslington pedigree, adds weight to this identification. Apart from Elizabeth, his issue are unknown. See Hedley papers, NRO ref. 3635/68 citing "Wills and Inventories" Vol. 1, pp. 104-5. After the death of her first husband Elizabeth is said to have married a Carlisle see Raines: North Durham, p. 224, ped. of Haggerston.

¹⁰⁰ A sworn witness before the ipm commission—

see note 68 above.

101 Presumably the member of the commission of

this name conducting the ipm.

¹⁰² Can only be the commissioner. The descent which follows is noteworthy; these were Robert's son-in-law, and grandsons.

¹⁰³ This passage is clearly not the record of the "writing" mentioned in the suppressed provisions endowing a chantry at Whittingham Church; see transcript below.

¹⁰⁴ This is the grant mentioned in the will.

105 The only evidence so far found for the exis-

tence of a brother to Cuthbert. The NCH XIV ped. of Collingwood of Eslington does not mention him, though the compiler had had access to this ipm (see NCH XIV, p. 525 note 6). He presumably died before Cuthbert did—he is not mentioned in his mother's will of 1593 (note 47 above)—and without issue.

¹⁰⁶ Payable by the feofee to the Crown? as an aid. ¹⁰⁷ A form of feudal tenure, part military, part servile (SOED p. 606). The Testa de Nevill (c.1326) records that the then John of Eslington held Eslington in drengage, and owed truncage (provision of timber to Bamburgh Castle) as well as heriot (a tax on inheritance) and merchet (a fee payable for the liberty to give a daughter in marriage)—see Hodgson: "Hist. of N'land" Part III Vol. 1, London 1820, p. 223. Some of these obligations seem to have fallen away in the interval!

108 None of the individuals named as tenants have

been identified.

¹⁰⁹ Probably Sir Ralph Grey, of Chillingham. Robert surrendered his appointment as Keeper of Wark Castle—see note 14 above—to his son-in-law. John Carr of Hetton in December 1538 (L&P Hen VIII Vol. 13 Pt. II item 1182(17). After John's death in 1551, the manor, which had been in Crown hands during Sir Ralph's minority, returned to Grey tenure; it is therefore likely that it was this Sir Ralph who leased these Glanton lands to Robert. This is the only feudal connection lower than the Crown by which Robert was bound—significantly to a house which held the Percys in low esteem. One of Sir Ralph's family, Anne, later married as her first husband, Thomas, eldest surviving son of Robert's grandson and heir, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood of Eslington and Dalden.

110 The final clause and the signatures appear only

in the Chancery copy.

111 From the probate copies in Durham University Library under ref. DUL ASC:DPR Robert Collingwood 1556. The texts of both these are otherwise virtually identical with the transcription in the ipm.