

COCWUDU STUDIES 4:
THE NORTHUMBRIAN LANDHOLDINGS
OF THE HOUSE OF COSPATRIC



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THE NORTHUMBRIAN LANDHOLDINGS OF THE HOUSE OF COSPATRIC

INTRODUCTION: ORIGINS AND SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

The core of the BSG's *Cocwudu* study area comprises six townships lying between the south bank of the River Coquet and the north bank of the Hart Burn. From early in the 12th century until 1335, this land was held by the House of Cospatric. But this was just one part of the family's more widespread lands in Northumberland and in southern Scotland. This document sets the Cospatric *Cocwudu* townships within the context of the whole of their Northumberland estate. It traces the estate's geography and structuring; it tracks the evolution over some two centuries, with three new maps as snapshots at the beginning, middle and end of this span; and it develops an argument for tracing landholding structures back before the reign of Henry I.

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1: THE HOUSE OF COSPATRIC IN NORTHUMBERLAND (FIG 1)

Cospatric I was well connected. His father Maldred was brother of Duncan I King of Scots, both descending through their mother Bethoc from King Malcolm II (1005-1034). This made him first cousin to Malcolm III (1058-1093), king during Cospatric's active career. Maldred's father Crinan was the hereditary lay abbot of Dunkeld, the monastery established by monks of Iona. In his maternal line, Cospatric descended from the English king Æthelred II (978-1013) through the king's daughter Elfgifa and her daughter Alghitha, Cospatric's mother. His maternal grandfather was Uchtred, Earl of Northumberland (1006-1016), and this placed Cospatric in the lineage of this earldom that had ruled from Bamburgh. He was not, however, in the main line of succession, for his grandmother was Uchtred's third wife; the earldom passed by Uchtred's first marriage to Ecfrida, daughter of bishop Aldhun of Durham, to their son Ealdred II (1018-1038).¹

Cospatric I was appointed Earl of Northumberland by William the Conqueror in 1067, and although he was involved in the rebellion of 1068 on behalf of Edgar the Ætheling and the incursion of 1069 by King Sweyn of Denmark, he remained in post and was active on William's behalf in Cumberland when his cousin Malcolm III invaded the north of England. Nevertheless, his position seems to have been on sufferance for, on returning from taking Malcolm's submission at Abernethy in 1092, William deprived Cospatric of the earldom. Cospatric withdrew to Scotland where Malcolm granted him a lordship at Dunbar, with lands in Lothian and the Merse; his descendants held the titles of Earls of Lothian and Earls of Dunbar and the March.

It is not known what lands Cospatric I held in Northumberland before 1072. But he was also lord of Allerdale, with large landholdings in the north of Cumberland, probably at the gift of his cousin King Malcolm. It could well be that he retained these lands and that when the English king Henry I granted the Allerdale lordship and lands to Cospatric's son Waldeve, this was simply confirming a present reality.²

Cospatric I died in 1074 or 1075 at Norham in Northumberland, where he was said to be buried in the porch of the church. He is known to have had three sons, Dolfin, Cospatric II and Waldeve, and four daughters, Etheldreda who married Duncan I King of Scots, her second cousin, Octreda, Gunnilda and Matilla; the identity of his wife or wives is not

¹ The most detailed account of the history of the House of Cospatric is that written by Canon Greenwell and included in Volume 7 of the *History of Northumberland* (NCH 7, 14-106); the genealogies are reviewed in Volume 1 of Percy Hedley's *Northumbrian Families* (Hedley 1968, 235-248). I have taken genealogical information from these studies. For spelling of names, I have followed Hedley except that I have preferred *Cospatric* over *Gospatric*; both are used in modern scholarship, and both occur in medieval sources. On Crinan of Dunkeld, Hedley notes that the post of lay abbot was hereditary, normally within descendants of the monastic founder. If so, this would make Crinan a kinsman (at many generations remove) of St. Columcille who was himself of the kin group of Connail who held kingship in Ireland. Hedley muses (1968, 236) that this would give Cospatric I the 'unique distinction' of being descended from kings in three countries.

² See Greenwell 1904, 24-5.

known.³ Dolfin, the eldest, held a lordship in Carlisle before William II deposed him in 1092.⁴ The Allerdale lordship passed to Waldeve and three of his sisters received portions out of that lordship. The main Scottish lands passed to Cospatric II, who at some time after 1134 gained the title Earl of Lothian.

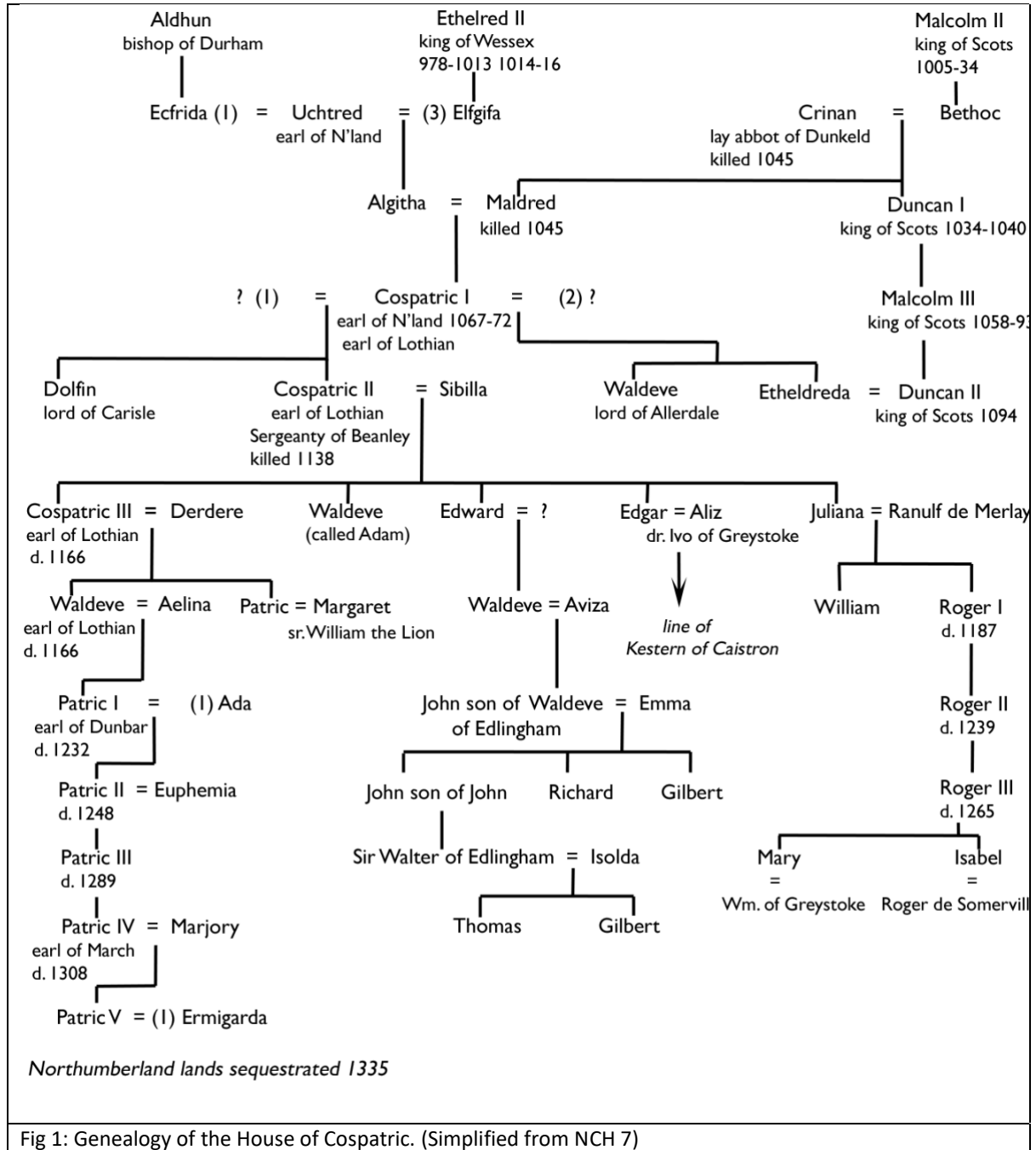


Fig 1: Genealogy of the House of Cospatric. (Simplified from NCH 7)

In England, King Henry I (1100-1135) appointed Cospatric II to a sergeanty centred at Beanley in Northumberland, with a grant of lands in the county attached to the office. This

³ A 13th-century source suggests that the two eldest sons, Dolfin and Cospatric II, were illegitimate (Greenwell 1094, 26 fn2).

⁴ There is, however, a doubt that Dolfin of Carlisle was Dolfin son of Cospatric I. See Kapelle 1979, 151.

is the beginning in recorded history of House of Cospatric landholdings in Northumberland and the beginnings of a prominent cross-border lordship. The sergeanty and its lands passed through eight generations of the family until Patric, the fifth of that name, Earl of March, after some wavering, threw in his lot with David II of Scotland against Edward III of England. Thereupon, his Northumberland lands were taken from him and in 1335 granted to Henry Percy, lord of Alnwick. This was the end of the family as Northumberland officeholders and landholders. In this document, I now trace the main outlines of the Northumbrian landholdings from the time of Cospatric II down to their absorption into the Percy estates.⁵

Four documents summarise the state of the Cospatric family landholdings in Northumberland, allowing for snapshots at three points in time capturing the original structure of the estate, how it developed with divisions between heirs and devolved rights to third parties, and the eventual loss of the lands. These are:

- **the charter of confirmation issued by King Stephen.**⁶

Issued close together in time, and so effectively a single point of reference:

- **A kingdom-wide enquiry of 1242 into landholdings and their subinfeudations.**⁷
- **An enquiry of 1247 into the Beanley sergeanty and alienations made from it.**⁸

Finally:

- **King Edward III's grant in 1335 of the Cospatric lands to Henry Percy.**⁹

Numerous other documents referring to particular vills or people at particular times and cited by the county historians allow for a more fully developed picture; they are referenced here as appropriate.

⁵ More detailed studies, township by township and with information on sub-tenants, can be found in Volumes 7 (1904) and 14 (1935) in the *History of Northumberland* volumes of the Northumberland County History Committee and in Part 2 Volume 1 (1827) and Part 2 Volume 2 (1832) of Rev John Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*.

⁶ The date is not known; possibly 1136 or 1138 when he was in the north of England. A copy of this is printed in the Percy Charters, Percy Charts no. 811, p. 333.

⁷ *Lib Feud* 2, 1122.

⁸ *Cal Inquis Misc* No. 47, pp. 12-13.

⁹ Percy Charts No. 777, p. 302-3.

2: THE LANDS GRANTED BY KING HENRY I (FIG 2)

Henry I's charter granting lands to Cospatric II has not survived. Evidence of the original grant comes from a confirmation charter issued by King Stephen at York, as transcribed into the Percy charters. It is a geographically fragmented estate in five blocks of land of various sizes scattered over 40 kilometres from the edge of the Cheviot hills in the north-west to the River Wansbeck's tributaries of Hartburn and Font in the south-east. It is also a composite estate in the sense that it is built up from a set of pre-existing land units.¹⁰ These are as follows:

1: The lands of Cospatric's uncle Edmund. Edmund is thought to have been a brother of Cospatric's mother, but this is not firmly established.¹¹ The villas are not specified, but it can be deduced from other listings of the Cospatric holdings that these were Edlingham and Lemington, adjacent villas around one of the south-bank tributaries of the River Aln, and Shipley, three and a half kilometres further north-east, on the north side of the Aln.

2: The lands of Winnoc (elsewhere called the Hunter), which Henry had given to Hamo, that is Beanley, Brandon, Branton, Harehop, Hedgeley and Titlington. This is a block of six villas, around both sides of the River Breamish after it has emerged out of the Ingram valley and the east edge of the Cheviot massif, and reaching south-east towards, but not as far as, the River Aln.

3: The Lands of Liulf son of Uchtred, that is the three Middletons and Roddam. This is just south of Wooler, taking in part of the eastern edge of the Cheviot hills on to lower ground beyond. The three Middletons, now called Middleton Hall, Middleton North and Middleton South,¹² lie in a row north - south, with Roddam, a subsidiary unit of Middleton Hall,¹³ two kilometres further south. This was a thanage holding.¹⁴

¹⁰ Medieval documents on land tenure refer to *villae* (vills). These are the base-level geographical and administrative units, broadly equivalent to the townships of the post-medieval era in Northumberland or the civil parishes of English counties further south. In Stephen's confirmation charter, the six items of Winnoc's land are called manors. Strictly speaking, a manor is a unit of estate management, but in Northumberland the vill is the main unit for administrative record.

¹¹ Greenwell 1904, 31. The identity of Cospatric's mother is also unknown.

¹² In the medieval period, the present-day Middleton Hall was known as North Middleton and the present-day North Middleton was Middle Middleton; the name of South Middleton is unchanged.

¹³ Earl Patric I was said in 1236 to hold North Middleton and Roddam 'as one vill' (*Lib Feud* Vol. 1, 598).

¹⁴ A thanage is the tenure of a thane, who was an office-holder of a king. In post-Conquest England, this was an archaic status, surviving from before 1066. For a wide-ranging discussion of thanage and its survival post-Conquest, see Barrow 1973. In documents spanning 200 years and more, there is inconsistency in the use of terms, as survivals from pre-Norman times, unfamiliar to Anglo-Norman administrators, caused confusion. For example, in the inquisition into knight fees carried out between 1210 and 1212 Earl Patric is said to hold three knight fees in thanage (*Lib Rub* 2, 562). The fee was correctly called a thanage in 1212 (*Lib Feud* 1, 200), but a drengage in 1236 (*Lib Feud* 1, 598).

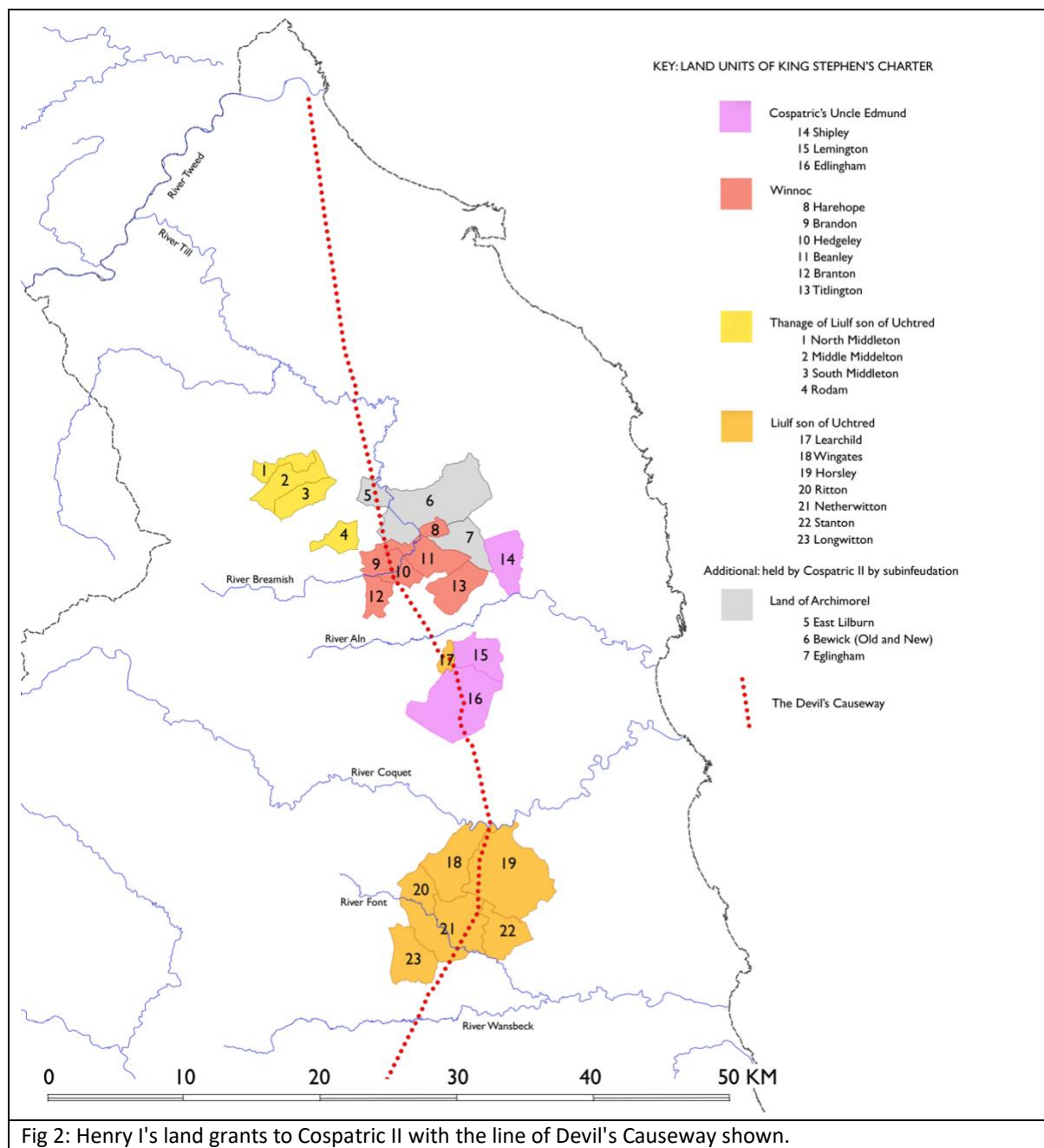


Fig 2: Henry I's land grants to Cospatric II with the line of Devil's Causeway shown.

4: The Horsley estate comprising Horsley, Stanton, Ritton, Wingates, Witton and Wotton.¹⁵ The way the listing is written suggests that these six villas were also holdings of Liulf son of Uchtred. But if so, they were some 25 kilometres away from the Middletons and they were not part of his thanage, and so it makes sense to think of them as a separate land unit. They form a single block of land between the south bank of the River Coquet down to the north

¹⁵ The term 'Horsley estate' does not occur in medieval documents; I am using it for convenience to refer to the group of six villas lying between the rivers Coquet and Hart. Horsley is now called Longhorsley; Longwitton is the modern name for medieval Wotton; Netherwitton the modern name for medieval Witton.

bank of the Hart Burn. It is known from other documents that Stanton had as a subsidiary the vill of Learchild, a small unit on the west edge of Edlingham and Lemington.¹⁶

This is a landholding on a scale with some of the baronies of Northumberland, but it was not a barony in the strict sense that it was held by military service. It was a sergeanty, with Beanley as its centre, that is it was an estate granted to one who carried out special duties for the king.¹⁷ In this case, the duty was *inborhe et hutborhe*¹⁸ between England and Scotland. This seems to mean that the holder should act as surety for the peaceful and honest intent of people travelling to and fro between the two countries.¹⁹ As a holder of lands and lordships in both countries, Cospatric was well placed to exercise this cross-border function.²⁰ On the English side, Cospatric was well placed also in a more immediate sense. Bridget Gubbins of BSG made the acute observation that the Devil's Causeway, the old Roman road, ran through three of the Cospatric land units,²¹ meaning that his people could keep travellers under direct observation, with three river crossings also under their watch: the Font, Coquet and Breamish. This insight prompts a chicken-and-egg question: did King Henry appointed Cospatric to this office because he already held these lands, or did the lands followed on from the office? It also suggests that in the early years of the 12th century this was a recognised and well-used route between England and Scotland, perhaps more so than the Great North Road, which became (and, as the A1, remains so to the present day) the main east-coast route. Devil's Causeway no longer survives as a through route and it is fair to question whether it was still used in the medieval era. In a recent study for BSG, Deborah Haycock answered this question by showing evidence from itineraries of the kings John and Edward I and of baron Merlay of Morpeth for the use of Devil's Causeway.²²

The sergeanty, however, did not apply to the three Middletons and Roddam, the thanage lands of Liulf son of Uchtred; he held these on different terms, by the service of waiting.²³ Cospatric also held a block of land immediately north of the land of Winnoc comprising the

¹⁶ The earliest evidence for this comes in the marriage charters of Cospatric II's daughter Juliana (probably in 1113). King Henry's licence for the marriage refers to 'a certain vill beyond the moors', and the confirmation charter of Juliana's brother Edgar names this as Learchild (Newminst Charts 268-9).

¹⁷ Again, there is confusion in the records. In 1212 'Earl Patric holds the barony of Beanley' (*Lib Feud* 1, 200); this seems to be a straightforward mistake.

¹⁸ Thus in 1212, but the spellings vary: in 1242, *inborwe et utborwe*.

¹⁹ JC Hodgson (1922, 62) suggested that this office was the beginnings of what developed into the office of Warden of the Marches; we might think of it as akin to the present-day Borders Agency.

²⁰ Greenwell 1904, 30-1.

²¹ Gubbins 2016, 52. Devil's Causeway diverged from Dere Street a little north of Hadrian's Wall, taking a course to the River Tweed at Spital.

²² Haycock 2021, 12-15.

²³ 'Waiting' means providing food and hospitality for the lord and his retainers. This is a survival from early times when the king and his court travelled around their estates on an annual circuit. In an exchequer record of 1201, the obligation is four waitings and a payment in money of 30 shillings (Pipe Roll 3 John; Hodgson, 3.3, 7. (Greenwell 1904, 41).

three vills of East Lilburn, Bewick and Eglingham, which had belonged to Archimorel. Cospatric held this not as tenant-in-chief²⁴ but as tenant of St Alban's Abbey and its daughter house Tynemouth Priory.

Cospatric II was killed in 1138. The main inheritance, with both the Scottish and English titles, went to his son Cospatric III. He had three other sons and one daughter by his wife Sibilla.

Juliana wed Ranulf de Merlay, baron of Morpeth, with a licence from King Henry I and a charter of confirmation from her brother Edgar²⁵ specifying the terms whereby her dowry of five vills within the lands south of the Coquet was brought to the marriage: Horsley, Stanton (with its dependent vill of Learchild north of the Coquet), Witton, Ritton and, Wingates. The Merlay interests here were as subsidiary lords, with the Cospatric lords retaining ultimate responsibility as tenants-in-chief, as witnessed by the inquisition of 1242.²⁶

Waldeve (also called Alan) is thought to have entered the church and he was associated with his father in the Bewick and Eglingham tenancy.

Edgar wed Aliz, daughter of Ivo, lord of Greystoke, who had extensive landholdings in Cumberland and Yorkshire and a small group of vills in Northumberland. Through this marriage he gained an estate which included the Northumberland vills of Trewitt, Castron, Great and Little Tosson and Flotterton in Coquetdale, above Rothbury. From this marriage descended the family of Kestern of Castron.²⁷ These lands were part of the Greystoke estate and are not treated in this study. At some time before 1146, Edgar received from St Alban's Abbey the tenancy of Bewick and Eglingham, transferred from the earlier grant to his father Cospatric II and his brother Waldeve, but he lost this land after his involvement in the rebellion of 1173 of young King Henry. Whether he inherited any of the Northumberland lands from his father is not altogether clear, but it does seem that he had held the thanage lands of the Middletons and Roddam before 1173 and that these too were taken from him.²⁸

Edward inherited an estate which included some of the lands of Winnoc: Beanley, Brandon, Branton, Harehope, Hedgeley and Shipley from Winnoc's lands; from Edmund's lands, Edlingham and Lemington; and Longwitton, the one vill south of the Coquet not in Juliana's dowry. His branch of the family, who in the next generation took Edlingham as the family name,²⁹ represented the direct interests of the Cospatric family in Northumberland throughout the 13th century.

²⁴ A tenant-in-chief held land *in capite*, that is from the king directly; he could devolve portions of this land to subsidiary landholders who became his tenants in a pyramid structure.

²⁵ Brink Charters, 268-9. The date of the marriage is not given, but Bridget Gubbins (2016, 71) calculated this as 1113 or thereabouts. This dowry land comprises the whole of what I have here called the Horsley estate, minus the vill of Longwitton which Cospatric retained within his holdings.

²⁶ *Lib Feud* 2, 1122.

²⁷ Hedley 1968, 244-246.

²⁸ The evidence here is that in 1204/5 his great-nephew, Earl Patric I sought legal clarification on this point. (Greenwell 1904, 42).

²⁹ Hedley 1968, 246-248.

3: THE ESTATE IN 1242 (FIG 3)

Evidence of the trajectory of these lands and the subinfeudations established vill by vill is patchy, coming from such sources as: enquiries into lordships made nationally and an enquiry into the Beanley sergeanty in 1247; payments made to the exchequer and recorded in the pipe rolls; accounts drawn up on the deaths of tenants in chief; charters held by religious houses. These are presented fully in the county histories³⁰; here I summarise the main outlines in an Appendix.

The 1242 investigation is particularly useful, itemising as it does not only the lands held *in capite*, but also the holdings devolved down to the next layer of hierarchy. From this document we have a snapshot of the tenurial structure of the sergeanty and the thanage at the time when Cospatric II's great-great grandson, Patric II, was tenant-in-chief, a century after his ancestor's death.³¹ At this time, there were four core holdings, corresponding partly, but not entirely, to the sub-divisions of the original grant, with other vills by then let to tenants or granted elsewhere.

1: John son of Waldeve

The grandson of Edward, who inherited from Cospatric II, now represented the family's interests in an estate centred at Edlingham. At this time, it consisted of 6 vills, formed from three sub-units of the original grant, in three separate blocks of land:

- i) **Edlingham** and **Lemington** from among those that, at the time of the original foundation grant, had belonged to Cospatric II's uncle Edmund. Lemington was originally held as a drengage, but John son of Waltheof had converted it into a standard feudal holding.³² Edmund's third vill, **Shipley**, was by 1242 held separately from John's estate, by John le Viscount within the barony of Embleton.
- ii) **Brandon**, **Branton** and **Hedgeley** from the lands that had belonged to Winnoc the Hunter.
- iii) **Longwitton**, from the block of six that constituted the Horsley estate, the only one of these not in Juliana's dowry. This also had been a drengage holding until John son of Waltheof changed it.³³

Of the six vills in John's holding, he appears to have retained Edlingham and Hedgeley as his demesne, for the inquest of 1247 into the sergeanty and alienations made from it, held soon after John's death, records that Earl Patric II was holding these in hand himself; the other four were occupied by tenants.³⁴

³⁰ See fn. 5 above.

³¹ *Lib Feud* 2, 1122.

³² *Cal Inquis Misc* No. 47, pp. 12-13.

³³ *Cal Inquis Misc* No. 47, pp. 12-13.

³⁴ *Cal Inquis Misc* No. 47, pp. 12-13.

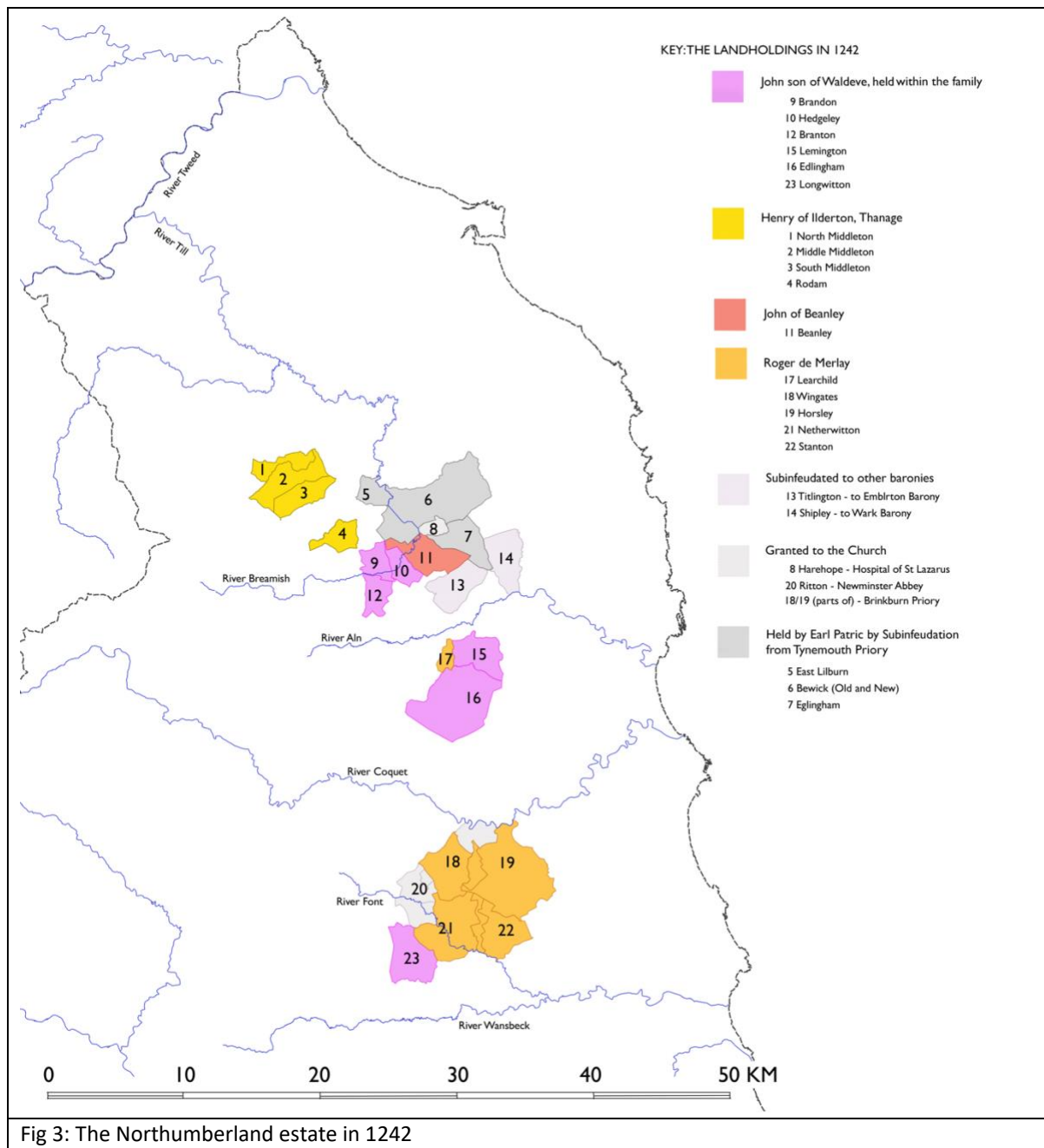


Fig 3: The Northumberland estate in 1242

The rationale for this particular grouping of six villis, cutting across the original structure of the estate, is nowhere explained. In the light of the suggestion made above, namely that the line of Devil's Causeway and the duties of the sergeanty in respect of travel between England and Scotland are to be taken together, then it is worth noting that the road runs through the demesne lands of Edlingham and that it forms the boundary between Hedgeley (the other vill in demesne) and Brandon from the point at which it crosses the river Breamish; it also runs along the edge of Longwiton. Edlingham and Lemington together is a classic case of a core terrain. Eglingham is roughly rectangular in outline, 7 kilometres long by 4 kilometres wide. It has as its central feature Eglingham Burn formed from headwaters draining the north side of Rimside Moor and flowing on a more-or-less straight course directly north towards its confluence with the River Aln. Thus, the territory is the river basin,

extending laterally towards the watershed on the east side and to a parallel burn, Coe Burn on the west. It is likely that it had long been a centre of lordship. If terrain and access to natural resources were key considerations, the grouping offers a good spread. The Edlingham-Lemington basin has both moorland and valley floor and access to exposures of sandstone for building or other purposes. The three villas around the river Breamish crossing offer a wide valley floor with readily cultivable soils on river terrace deposits. Longwitton, the outlier to the south, is within a zone of extensive woodland and it might well be the case that this villa was excluded from Juliana's dowry deliberately to retain some woodland within the family's main estate. William the forester, named in the taxation record of 1296,³⁵ lends support to this suggestion.

2: The Three Middletons and Roddam

The thanage that had belonged to Liulf son of Uchtred remained intact as a single unit in the tenancy of Henry of Ilderton. This terrain takes in moorlands on the east side of the Cheviot massif, up to 400 metres OD and down into the drainage basin of the north-flowing Wooler Water as far east as the line of the Powburn-Wooler road and the now-abandoned railway line of later years, a natural routeway.

3: The Merlay Lands

i) **Horsley, Netherwitton, Wingates and Stanton with Learchild** from the villas of Juliana's dowry were in the hands of her great-grandson Roger III de Merlay.

ii) **Ritton**, originally one of the dowry villas, along with some of Netherwitton's woodland, had, by a grant of Juliana and Ranulf de Merlay in 1138, been given to Newminster Abbey at its foundation and remained in the abbey's possession.³⁶

The set of villas centred on Horsely is a topographically coherent unit occupying the land between the rivers Coquet and Font and, in Netherwitton, a small area of the south-side catchment of the Font. Its west side is strongly defined by the Maglin Burn, a south-side tributary of the Coquet, with the higher ground of Rothbury Forest beyond; eastwards it comes towards the lower-lying ground of the Northumberland coastal plain. The villa at the extreme south, Longwitton, was not part of the dowry land (as noted above).

4: Winnoc's lands

The three villas of Winnoc's lands not retained in John's estate had been split up by 1242.

i) **Beanley**, though it was the title holding for the sergeanty, was not held by the family directly, but by John of Beanley by a subinfeudation whose origin is not known. It was

³⁵ Lay Subsidy, No. 204, p. 86.

³⁶ Newminst Charters 1. From early in the 13th century, documents distinguish between West and East Ritton (the post-medieval townships of Ritton Whitehouse and Ritton Coltpark respectively). I have made the argument elsewhere that the Ritton of Juliana's dowry was East Ritton alone and that West Ritton was originally part of Rothbury forest, achieving its own identity as a villa only as a result of encroachment by Newminster Abbey (O'Brien 2020).

originally a drengage holding but Earl Patric I changed it to a standard feudal service, held by an annual payment of 12 marks.³⁷ This is a large vill taking in a stretch of the river Breamish and rising east on to the high ground (up to 200 metres OD) of the extensive moor of Beanley.

ii) **Titlington** was by now considered to be a holding of the barony of Wark on Tweed and it was not listed in 1242 as being among those that Patric held in chief. The topographical rationale here is similar, though on a smaller scale, to Edlingham, that is a basin around the north-east flowing Titlington Burn. The high moorland with exposed crags on the north-west side adjoins Beanley Moor.

iii) **Harehope** had been a part of the inheritance of Edward son of Cospatric II, but this had not come though into John's estate of 1242 for his father Waldeve had granted it to the brethren of St Lazarus of Burton in Leicestershire. This is a small, oval-shaped area of land stretching from the east bank of the river Breamish. From its outline, it looks as though it might have been a settlement carved out of Eglingham and Old Bewick.

4: St Alban's lands from Archimorel

Patric II continued to hold **Eglingham, Bewick and East Lilburn** as tenant of St Alban's Abbey and Tynemouth Priory. This large area folds around the north side of Winnoc's lands. Its largest element is the extensive moorland of Old Bewick. New Bewick (defined as a vill in its own right after the 13th century) takes this land west across the Breamish. East Lilburn is a small vill at the north-west edge. Eglingham is a core territory and parish centre. This too is a basin around the east-flowing Eglingham Burn and hemmed in by Beanley Moor on the south side and Bewick Moor north.

³⁷ *Cal Inquis Misc* No. 47, pp. 12-13. A mark had the value of 13 shillings and 4 pence (two thirds of one pound).

4: THE CONFISCATION OF THE ESTATE IN 1335

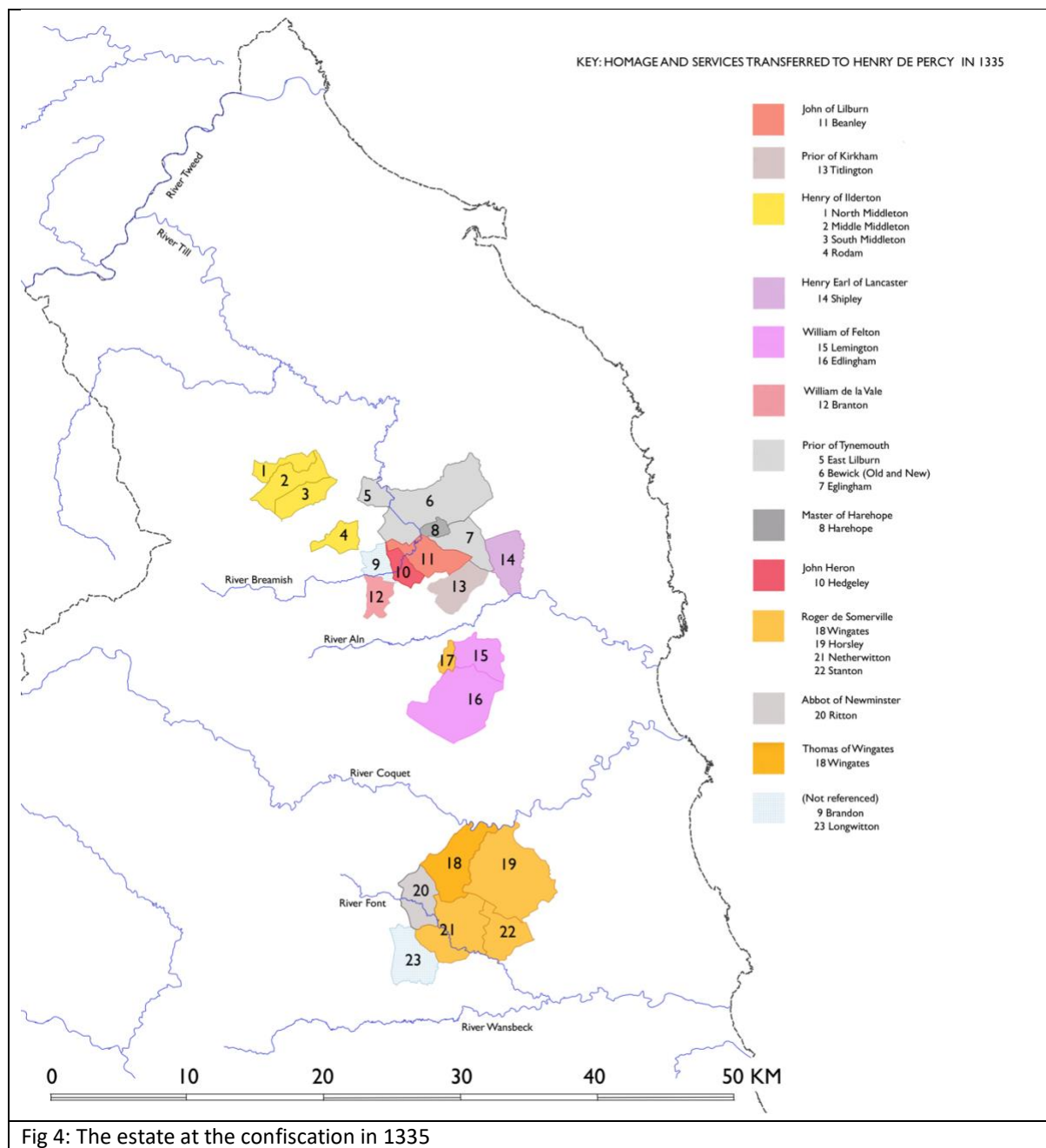


Fig 4: The estate at the confiscation in 1335

In 1333, Patric V, eighth in the line of Cospatric II, was commanding a garrison from Berwick on Tweed on behalf of the English king Edward III. He was active in the events surrounding the battle of Homildon Hill and the taking of Berwick, for which he received favours from the king in that year and in the year following. But after King Edward's 1334 harrying of the Lothians, where Patric as Earl of Lothian held lands, he, Patric, withdrew his allegiance, renouncing his homage and fealty and throwing in his lot with the Scottish king. King Edward took swift action, taking the Beanley lands into his own hands. On 19 February 1335 he issued a writ in favour of Henry de Percy, who by then had possession of the former Vesci barony of Alnwick, assigning to him the homage and service of those holding land

under Patric in the Beanley sergeanty. This, after some 200 years, brought to an end the Gospatric family's Northumberland holdings from the grant of Henry I.³⁸

By this time, the Northumberland estate was very much fragmented and devolved by subinfeudation to others. The family themselves no longer had any direct interests in their Northumberland lands. The Edlingham-centred estate, held originally by Gospatric II's son Edward, had come through five generations of the family until Sir Walter of Edlingham finally broke it up when in 1296 he granted Edlingham and its appurtenances to Sir William of Felton and his wife Eustacia. Lands which had at different times been gifted to religious houses remained so attached. Two blocks of land traceable back into the time of Gospatric II retained some integrity. The dowry lands of Juliana, except for Ritton which she and Ranulf had granted to Newminster Abbey, came through to her great-grandson Roger III de Merlay. When he died in 1165, they were divided between his two daughters, Mary and Isabel, with Isabel's successor Roger de Somerville answering to Henry de Percy in 1335. The most stable unit of all was Liulf son of Uchtred's original thanage holding of the three Middleton and Roddam, still intact and, under Henry of Ilderton, still in the hands of Liulf's descendants.

³⁸ Greenwell 1904, 82-86. Percy Charters No. 777, pp. 302-3. The act of homage is a tenant's formal recognition of the authority of the overlord to whom he owes service; by the 12th and 13th centuries many services were commuted to a payment in cash.

5: DID COSPATRIC II HOLD LANDS IN NORTHUMBERLAND BEFORE THE GRANT FROM HENRY I? (FIGS 5 and 6)

Canon Greenwell observed that there is no evidence that Cospatric II possessed any lands in Northumberland before those which Henry I granted him when he established the Beanley sergeanty, though he allowed the possibility that Cospatric had hereditary rights in his uncle Edmund's lands, while expressing uncertainty on Edmund's identity.³⁹ This seems still to be the default view on the matter, that Cospatric's lands go back to Henry I and no further. The problem with this position is that there is no primary written evidence on landholdings in Northumberland, except for those of St Cuthbert's Church,⁴⁰ before the reign of Henry I and so the absence of evidence is not a reliable guide to the position before AD1200. Cospatric II's descent from the native earls of Northumberland must at least invite this question: was Henry I was in fact restoring to Cospatric II land which his father had held and had lost when he lost the earldom in AD1072? It is likely that Cospatric I had held lands in Northumberland during the time of his earldom and probably before that,⁴¹ and it is unlikely that in AD1067 William I of England, when he appointed Cospatric I earl, could determine landholding structures in Northumberland; even in 1086, at the time of the Domesday survey, the four northernmost counties were beyond the reach of the king's administrators.

Was there a rationale underlying that particular dispersed set of lands allocated to the Beanley barony? Were Cospatric II's lands a survival from the native earldom, adapted to fit into the feudal structures of the Norman kings? With no direct evidence, there can be no certain answer. But the questions are worth pursuing and the problem becomes one of method: how to investigate. Historians have long recognised that, in the north of England in particular, pre-Norman patterns of landholding survived, showing through in places. J E A Jolliffe expressed it thus: 'in many instances [Norman feudalism] was obliged to incorporate Saxon institutions with little modification... many of the Norman tenures reveal themselves as feudal in no more than name.'⁴² Jolliffe drew on a method which the legal historian Frederick Maitland had developed in his study of the Domesday survey when he used the evidence from 1086 as a window into pre-Conquest arrangements: 'I have followed the retrogressive method, from the known to the unknown'.⁴³ That is, working backwards through time. In this way, in his Northumberland study, Jolliffe was able to show how pre-Conquest tenures such as thanage and drengage survived to become incorporated into feudal arrangements and he elucidated the service obligations incumbent upon them. He showed that the geographical unit of the vill was the basis of both pre-Conquest tenures

³⁹ 1904, 29.

⁴⁰ These texts are not without their own problems of interpretation. See, eg. O'Brien, Adams, Whaley 2018.

⁴¹ Such was Greenwell's supposition: lands 'which he no doubt forfeited when King William deprived him of the earldom.' (1904, 24).

⁴² 1926, 1.

⁴³ 1897, v.

and the Norman baronies.⁴⁴ He showed also that the vills were organised into wide estates known as shires dependent on a central lordly holding where tenants gave service and rendered produce.⁴⁵

Applying the methods and the insights developed in historical scholarship, we can see that fragments of the landholding structures of the Bamburgh earldom were still evident in the feudal landholdings of Northumberland in the 12th century, and we can now bring a geographical approach to bear on the matter. None of the Northumberland baronies had all its lands in a single block; all were to greater or lesser extents scattered holdings, and in many cases, it is difficult to see what, if anything, is the rationale behind this. If we map the two largest of the baronies with lands north of the River Coquet (Fig. 5), the Alnwick barony (fawn colour) and the Wark barony (red colour), we see them arranged in a horseshoe shape, with a hole in the middle. The south edge of the hole is closed by the lands of Rothbury and the Felton section of the Mitford barony.⁴⁶ In this case, the hole does have a rationale: it precisely delineates the four ecclesiastical parishes of Ilderton, Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham. The two large baronies are excluded from these parishes. This is such a marked feature of the geography that there must surely be some explanation. It is to be found in the 8th century, four hundred years before the creation of the baronies.

Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham are elements of one of two extensive land grants given to the monastery of Lindisfarne by Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria 729–737, before resigning the kingship and entering the monastery as a monk.⁴⁷ These churches and lands did not come through into the Durham holdings in the post-Conquest era,⁴⁸ but when, how and why the Lindisfarne people or their successors lost touch is not known. Warkworth and its dependencies, one of Ceolwulf's other grants to Lindisfarne, is said to have been taken from them by King Osberht, who died in 867. This places the loss in the context of the disruption caused by the arrival of a Danish army, the subsequent collapse of the old

⁴⁴ These matters tended to confuse clerks in the legal and fiscal departments of state and so the vill tended to be equated with the Norman unit of the manor. The post-medieval unit of the township (equivalent to the civil parish further south in England) developed from the medieval vill and so, with exercise of due diligence in testing for changes post-1600 (see fn. 31 in O'Brien, Adams and Whaley 2018 on this point), the townships as shown on the first Ordnance Survey maps of the mid-19th century, and which give the structure for the county histories, provide the base-level units for analysis.

⁴⁵ These small shires, as they are sometimes called, are not to be confused with the shires of medieval and modern England. There are three local cases of exceptionally long survival in Northumberland, Islandshire and Bedlingtonshire, holdings of St Cuthbert's Church, which retained status as administrative units into the 19th century. Understanding of the shire was further developed by Geoffrey Barrow (1973) and Glanville Jones (1971) in particular.

⁴⁶ Rothbury and Felton lands are not shown on the map fig 5. This mapping also shows some small units on the coastal strip not here discussed.

⁴⁷ See Part 1 of O'Brien, Adams and Whaley 2018 on these land grants and Johnson South 2002 for the text (with English translation and commentary) of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, the principal source of information.

⁴⁸ Islandshire and Northumberland, Lindisfarne holdings in Northumberland from the 7th and 8th centuries respectively, did survive, as did Bedlingtonshire, purchased by bishop Cuthbert early in the 10th century.

kingdom of Northumbria and the abandonment of the island monastery.⁴⁹ It is likely that Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham were lost at around the same time and in similar circumstances. The writers of the history of the Lindisfarne monastery and its successors have nothing to say on what happened thereafter for the pastoral care of the people or for the administration of the lands. It is probable that the latter function devolved back to where it began, to those exercising the authority once held by the Northumbrian kings, that is to the people who emerged from the confusion of the time as the Bamburgh-based earls of Northumberland.

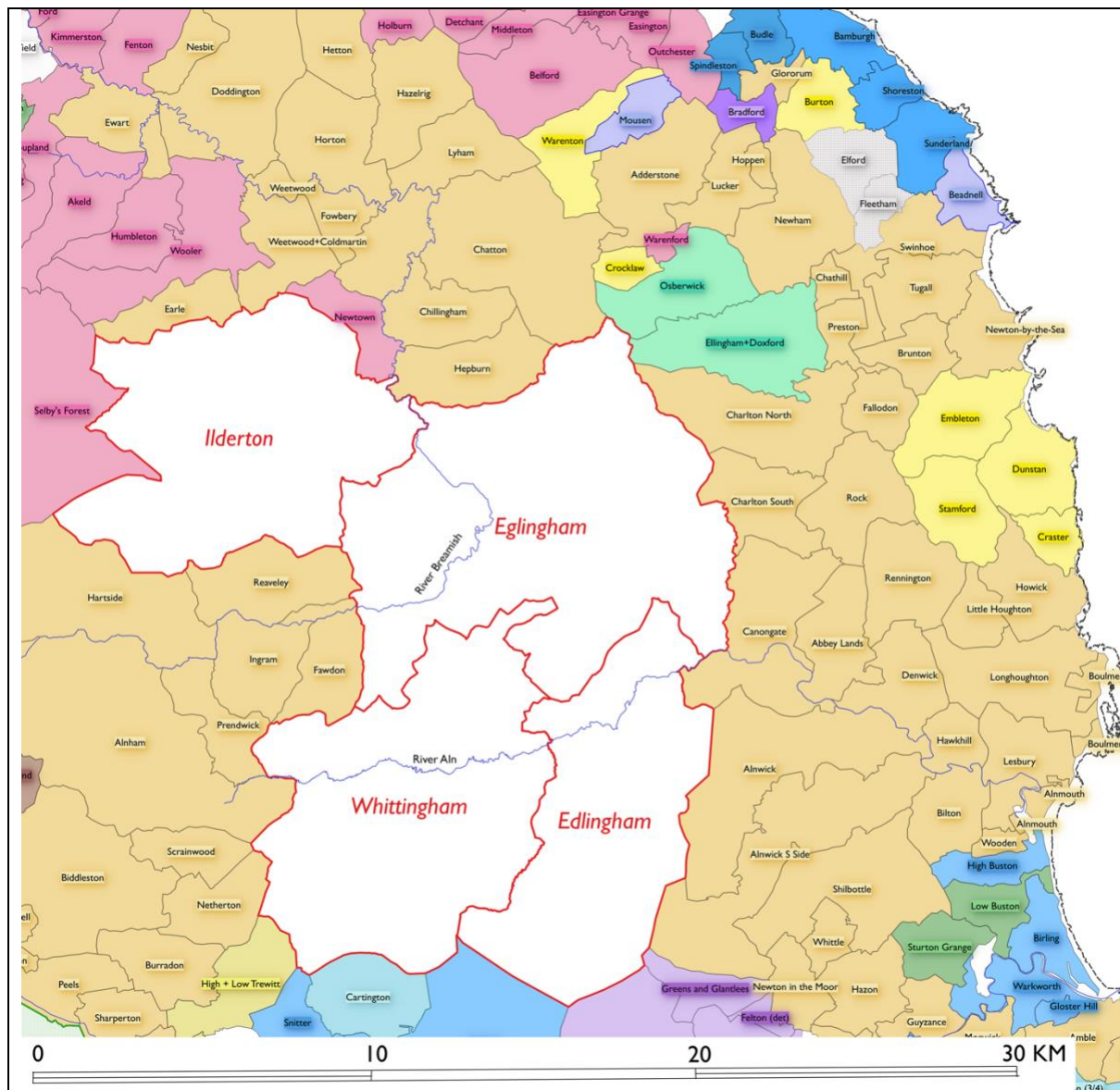
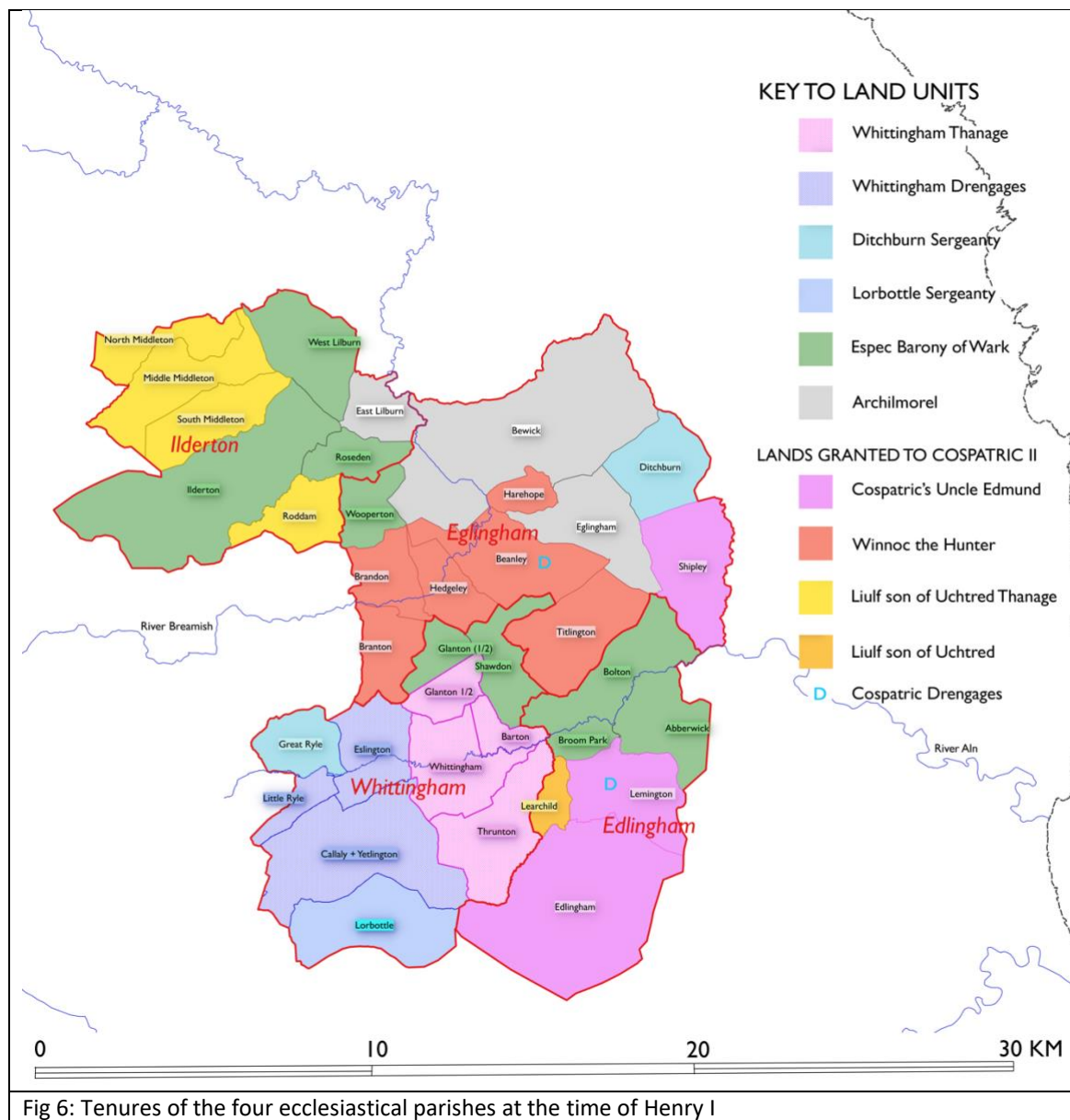


Fig 5: Baronial Exclusion from four Ecclesiastical Parishes: The Vesci barony of Alnwick (fawn colour) and the Muschamp barony of Wooler (red colour) are excluded.

⁴⁹ Part 2 of O'Brien, Adams and Whaley 2018 for these circumstances.

These places fell out of the historical record until the 12th century, by which time there was a complex and fragmented pattern of tenure and landholdings within the four ecclesiastical parishes, with no fewer than 16 units in place (Fig 6).



- First, there were two thanages:
 - 1: one in Whittingham parish comprising the vills of Whittingham, Thrunton, Barton and half of Glanton.
 - 2: the second in Ilderton, comprising the three Middletons, with Roddam as a dependent vill of North Middleton.
- Then, there were four drengages:
 - 3: In Whittingham parish, Callaly and Yetlington, together constituting a single holding;
 - 4: Eslington, also in Whittingham parish;

5: Beanley in Eglington parish;

6: Lemington in Edlington parish.

These last two became incorporated into the lands of the Beanley sergeanty.

- Henry I established two sergeancies here:

7: The sergeanty of Ditchburn which comprised the vill of Ditchburn in Eglington parish and Great Ryle in Whittingham (and also three-quarters of Togston, south of Warkworth). This was the holding of the King's Forester for Northumberland.

8: Lorbottle, which was an outlier of the sergeanty of Matfen and Nafferton in the south of the county.⁵⁰

- A large area of land which had belonged to Archimorel.

9: East Lilburn, Old and New Bewick and Eglington in Eglington parish. This passed by grant of Queen Matilda to At Alban's Abbey and its daughter house of Tynemouth Priory.

- Then, from Henry I's grant to Cospatric II, three divisions of his estate, and with a small element of the fourth.

10: The thanage of the Middletons and Roddam, held by Luilf son of Uchtred came into the Cospatric holding. It retained thanage status and was not part of the lands of the sergeanty.

11: The six vill in Eglington parish which had belonged to Winnock the Hunter: the Beanley drengage, Brandon, Branton, Hedgeley, Harehope and Titlington.

12: The lands of Cospatric's uncle Edmund comprising Edlington and the Lemington drengage in Edlington parish and Shipley in Eglington.

13: Learchild in Edlington parish was held as a dependency of Stanton in Longhorsley parish.

- Finally, two baronies were allocated lands in these parishes:

14: The barony held by Walter Espec at Wark on Tweed held the inter-connected vill of Ilderton and Roseden in Ilderton parish and West Lilburn and Wooperton in Eglington.

15: Separated from these was a group of five, Shawdon and half of Glanton in Whittingham parish, linking with Bolton, Broom Park and Abberwick in Edlington, also in the Wark barony.

16: The barony of Gilbert of Umfraville held the small vill of Little Ryle.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Lorbottle was a late addition to the sergeanty, from about 1178. Its status before this is unknown. The roles of this sergeanty were distraint of the king's debtors and carrying the king's messages between Tyne and Tweed.

⁵¹ There is, however, some uncertainty over tenures here. In 1236 Gilbert of Ryle was recorded as holding Little Ryle as tenant-in-chief of the king, but an enquiry in 1294, referring back to Gilbert, found that he had also rendered service to the Umfraville lord (*Lib Feud* 1, 598; NCH 14, 548). At a guess, we might suggest that

In the particular case of Edlingham, Canon Greenwell acknowledged the possibility that the House of Cospatric might have had an earlier connection than that given by Henry I. His argument was to place Eadwulf, after whom Edlingham was named, within the family holding the earldom in Bamburgh who claimed royal descent and who retained the name of Eadwulf in the family down the generations. The House of Cospatric, he suggested, may have been related to the family descended from Eardwulf.⁵² If so, the connecting link to Cospatric II must surely be his uncle Edmund, whose lands of Edlingham, Lemington and Shipley formed one part of the composite estate set up through King Henry's grant.

The Three Middletons and Roddam was undoubtedly a land unit and a tenure already in place, under the lordship of Liulf son of Uchtred, when Henry I assigned this thanage to Cospatric II. If the suggestion made in the County History is correct,⁵³ namely that Liulf's father Uchtred was the same Uchtred son of Maldred who was nephew of Cospatric I, this would put Liulf the thane in the same line of kinship as his new overlord, Cospatric II; they were first cousins at two generations removed. In Northumberland, two other thanages survived at Halton and Hepple,⁵⁴ and it may well be that other thanage holdings lay hidden within the structures of the new baronies created by Henry I.⁵⁵ The Middleton thanage, though an integral part of Cospatric II's estate, was not part of the Beanley sergeanty lands which suggests that the king acknowledged and accepted its special status.

Also archaic was the service of four waitings per year owed to the overlord on Liulf's thanage land.⁵⁶ This is the obligation laid on a vill to wait on, that is provide food and drink for, the lord and his retinue on certain days in the year. It derives from a time when tenants' services were due not to the land they farmed, as was the case in post-Conquest England, but to the lord personally within the nexus of service and patronage that bound lord and tenant together through mutual support and obligation.⁵⁷ The thane's tenants also had the obligation of truncage, that is carting of wood, to Bamburgh Castle each year.⁵⁸ This is a

Little Ryle emerged as an offshoot of a vill of Ryle and that its status was not clear at the time that the larger part of Ryle, Great Ryle, came to form an element in the Ditchburn sergeanty.

⁵² Greenwell 1904, 15. The earliest recorded form of the name Edlingham, in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, is Eadwulfincham.

⁵³ NCH 14, 267.

⁵⁴ Hedley 1968, 258-60; 260-1. The names of the first-recorded holders of these thanages, Liulf and Uchtred, proclaim their English ancestry.

⁵⁵ As Richard Lomas (1996, 22-5) suggested in the case of a three-vill sub-infeudation of Yeavering, Coupland and Akeld within the Muschamp barony. Geoffrey Barrow commented (1969, 11, fn. 470 'It is probable that most of the baronies of Northumberland were created out of land previously held in thanage, but it is only rarely that evidence for the change survives'..

⁵⁶ Earl Patric I sought recognition in 1201 that Edgar, uncle of his father Waldeve, received the service of Liulf son of Liulf, namely four waitings (Pipe Roll 3 John (Hodgson 3.3, 77); Greenwell 1904, 41). Elsewhere, in Latin, the word for this service is a *convivium* (*Lib Feud* 2, 1122).

⁵⁷ NCH 14, 292-3 for an expression of this idea, and in a wider discussion, Barrow 1973, 7-18.

⁵⁸ *Lib Feud* 1, 598.

straight-line distance of 20 kilometres from the eastern boundary of the Middletons. They shared this obligation with king's drengs in Callaly and Yetlington, Eslington, Mousen and Beadnall, and the service of waiting survived also in Beadnell and Mousen.⁵⁹ The thanages and drengages and the archaic services incumbent upon them are fragments surviving into the post-Conquest era of networks focused on Bamburgh, the seat of the earls and, before them, the kings of Northumbria. This connection to the line of earls draws in the figure of Archimorel, known as Morel of Bamburgh, holder of that large block of land, Bewick, Eglingham and East Lilburn.

The six villis south of the Coquet (the Horsley estate, as I have called it) appear as something of an outlier and do not fit into this analysis: there is no evidence of any Lindisfarne connection here. In ecclesiastical terms, they comprise the parish of Longhorsley and the chapelry of Netherwitton within Hartburn parish. And yet, there are connections to the rest of Cospatric's estate. First is that these too were part of Luilf's holdings, although not part of the thanage. Second is the status of Learchild as a vill dependent on Stanton. Learchild was the location of a Roman fort at the point where the Roman road from High Rochester meets the Devil's Causeway and this might be why this small vill of only 195 hectares should have been established here. But to describe how these connections worked within any estate structure is probably beyond reach.

A geographical approach is more fruitful. The six form a geographically coherent block whose outer boundaries, and also some of the boundaries within, are to a great extent defined by prominent rivers within that terrain: Coquet; Maglin Burn; Todd Burn; Font; Hart Burn; Fence Burn; Mere Burn. The northern half occupies a south-bank draining basin of the Coquet, extending to the Coquet-Font watershed. This sense of embeddedness in landscape invites the thought that these are old and long-enduring land units; that there are six of them gives a hint that this was half of a shire.⁶⁰ John Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, made a great insight into this matter. When the Merlay estate was divided in 1265 between the two daughter heiresses of Roger III, Mary, the elder, received Horsley (Longhorsley) and Stanton, while Isabel received Witton (Netherwitton) and Wingates. The villis of Stanton, Witton and Wingates made an annual payment at Horsley. Hodgson realised that this had nothing to do with the division of the Merlay inheritance, but was a survival from the Cospatric lordship before five of the villis came to Ranulf de Merlay as Juliana's marriage portion.⁶¹ With the understanding of shire organisation developed since Hodgson's day, we can see this as a residue of service obligations to the shire centre incumbent on tenants in outlying villis. That is to say, that Henry I passed over to Cospatric II half of a shire

⁵⁹ O'Brien 2002, 56-9.

⁶⁰ For the idea of a shire as a unit of 12 villis, see Johnson South 2002, 125-9. If this was half a shire, where was the other half? At a guess, we might look to the rest of the villis of the ecclesiastical parish of Hartburn lying north of the Hart Burn.

⁶¹ Hodgson 2.2, 94-5.

which, in some respects at least, was still a functioning entity, with Horsley as the shire centre.

An explanatory model for the transmission of these lands and lordships from the 8th century to the 12th is now possible, along the following lines: In the eighth century, St Cuthbert's monastery of Lindisfarne received an endowment of lands from King Ceolwulf. Here the churchmen set up churches at Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham. They provided pastoral care within an area that, in time, gained formal geographical definition as the three parishes; and they exercised shire lordship within these territories, receiving the services of thanes, drengs and other tenants and their renders of produce, the wealth of the land. In the mid-9th century, in circumstances we see only in blurred outline, Cuthbert's people lost this lordship and withdrew from pastoral duties. Thereafter, this territory is lost to historical record until the 12th century, but it is likely that the Lindisfarne lordship reverted to the earls of Bamburgh, the successors of the Northumbrian kings after the mid-9th century collapse of the old kingdom. After Mowbray's rebellion in 1095, the earldom lands were forfeit to the English king and placed under the administration of his sheriff. Thus, the land of these three parishes came to Henry I, along with Bamburgh, Rothbury, Corbridge and Newburn. Henry was circumspect in his treatment of the former Lindisfarne lands, where drengages were still operating within a Bamburgh-centred service nexus, as was the Middleton thanage. He allowed the Whittingham thanages and drengages to continue, imposing no intermediate lordship upon them, and by a grant from his queen, Matilda, he placed the lands of Archimorel in church hands. He drew on these lands to support sergeancies whose holders exercised functions on his behalf. And when he needed a grand sergeanty (as it is sometimes called) to manage cross-border matters, he turned to Cospatric II, a man whose ancestry linked him both to the earldom of Northumberland and to the Scottish kings, and he provided an estate formed as a composite: from within the Lindisfarne-earldom lands; from a thanage held by Liulf, a cousin of Cospatric; and from a half shire also in Liulf's holdings.

In conclusion, it is impossible to know what lands Cospatric I had held in Northumberland before he was removed from the earldom, and so it is impossible to know if Henry I's grant to Cospatric II was a restoration, in whole or in part, of his father's inheritance, though we do know that he gained lands once held by his uncle Edmund. But in these lands, from which the Vesci and Muschamp barons were excluded, fragments of pre-Conquest tenures and services remained visible into the time of Henry I and the link to the Bamburgh earls is secure. The Cospatric lands were part of the inheritance of the line of earls descending from Waltheof in the 10th century, though in which branch or branches of that extended family they passed down we cannot know.

APPENDIX: OUTLINE SUMMARY OF LORDSHIPS AND TENANCIES

A1: THE THANAGE OF LIULF SON OF UCHTRED

The thanage lands of the Three Middletons and Roddam⁶² in Ilderton parish remained stable as a single unit of lordship down through all the generations of the Cospatric family until the loss of the lands to Henry Percy in 1335. At the time of Henry I's grant, Liulf son of Uchtred was the holder with lordship here and he remained in possession, now under Cospatric over-lordship. His descendants, who in time adopted Ilderton as the family name, were still in place in 1335 when the services of Henry of Ilderton passed to Henry Percy.⁶³

The status of the Cospatric family as tenants-in-chief of the Three Middletons and Roddam was thrown in doubt in 1174. It appears that Edgar, son of Cospatric II had inherited this land,⁶⁴ but after his involvement in the 1173 rebellion of young King Henry and subsequent flight to Scotland, he lost possession of Bewick and Eglingham and in 1174 Henry II restored them to St Alban's Abbey and Tynemouth Priory. There is no record from that time concerning the Middletons and Roddam, but in 1201 Earl Patric I, Edgar's great-nephew, took to the courts to seek to establish that Edgar had been seized of the service of Liulf, the son of Liulf son of Uchtred, that is to establish that Edgar had been the tenant-in-chief to whom Liulf owed service. He sought to establish that he himself was Waldeve's heir. Again, in 1204/5 Earl Patric was in the courts to enquire what service Liulf had owed Edgar before he (Edgar) lost his lands in 1174. He was concerned to establish the point that Liulf's son Thomas was not the tenant-in-chief, holding the land directly from the king, since he (Patric) was required by the king to render to him the service that his predecessors had given to the king's predecessors, that is that Thomas should do homage to Patric for the land. Even later, in 1210, Patric was driven to bring an action for trespass against the abbot of St Albans and the Prior of Tynemouth for trespass in Bewick, Eglingham and East Lilburn, and bundled in with this claim, he pleaded for service from the Middletons and Roddam.⁶⁵ Liulf and his son Thomas seem to have been persistent over ten years at least in using Edgar's forfeiture as leverage to try and gain for themselves the status of tenant-in-chief, against the interests of the Cospatric house. But they failed. All the national inquisitions into lordship launched by the kings, recognised Earl Patric (that is Patric I and II) as holding the land in chief by thanage.

In the sub-infeudations below the level of the Ilderton family lords, this estate also seems to have been stable over long periods of time. In Middleton Hall (medieval North Middleton) a family descending from Constantine, a son of Waldeve son of Cospatric III, can be traced

⁶² NCH 14, 276-300.

⁶³ See NCH 14, 268-9 for a pedigree of the Ildertons of Ilderton.

⁶⁴ He also received from St Alban's Abbey the tenancy of their lands of Bewick, Eglingham and East Lilburn. See pp. 8-9 above.

⁶⁵ Greenwell 1904, 41-2, with sources quoted.

into the early years of the 14th century.⁶⁶ In North Middleton (medieval Middlemost Middleton) another family, who also took Middleton as a name, can be traced from 1171 as holding Middleton along with Wooperton until the inheritance was divided between two sisters, Idonea, who received Middleton, and Isabel whose portion was Wooperton; Idonea died in 1344.⁶⁷ South Middleton was held by John of South Middleton between 1223 and 1234, by Nicholas between 1241 and 1257. In 1266 Nicholas's widow Maud sued John Middleton for dower.⁶⁸

A2: THE LANDS OF COSPATRIC'S UNCLE EDMUND

Edlingham and Lemington in Edlingham parish⁶⁹

Edlingham came to form the centre of the land held by the Cospatric family directly through Cospatric III's grant to his brother Edward and then through the next five generations of his descendants, who eventually took Edlingham as a family name.

It seems that Edward's entry on to this land had involved some negotiations within the family, for the exchequer records of 1176 note that Edward son of Cospatric and his son Waldeve owe 90 marks to the crown for having sought a court ruling in respect of their heirship, in a claim against Edward's brother Edgar. The family dynamics lying behind are unknown.⁷⁰ Waldeve's son John was holder of Edlingham and Lemington in 1242,⁷¹ and it seems that he died just a few years after this, for at the time of the enquiry of 1247 into the Beanley sergeanty, Edlingham and Hedgeley (one of Winnoc's villas at the time of Henry I's grant) were in the hands of the tenant-in-chief Earl Patric III as demesne of the estate before the succession to John's son, also called John, had been secured.⁷² John son of John made provision within his holdings for his children. His eldest son and heir was Sir Walter, who took Edlingham as a family name, and in 1256 the father entered into an agreement with Walter and his wife Isolda; he granted lands in Edlingham and Newtown (which had by now emerged as a sub-division of Edlingham)⁷³ to the heirs of his daughter Joanna and her husband John of Eslington; at some time between 1261 and 1264 he gave three farms in Edlingham and Newtown to his son Richard; Another son, Gilbert, received lands in Edlingham from within the family.⁷⁴ Gilbert was assessed as a taxpayer in Edlingham in 1296; he died before November 1304 having made provision for his daughters Floria and Christina and their heirs.⁷⁵

⁶⁶ NCH 14, 293.

⁶⁷ NCH 14, 299-300.

⁶⁸ NCH 14, 300.

⁶⁹ NCH 7, 106-114, 163-166.

⁷⁰ They had discharged the debt by 1179. Pipe Roll 22 Henry II (Hodgson 3.3, 25) and 25 Henry II (Hodgson 3.3, 30). See below concerning Edgar's claims on Bewick and Eglingham.

⁷¹ *Lib Feud* 2, 1122.

⁷² *Cal Inquis Misc No. 47*, pp.1 2-13.

⁷³ NCH 7, 163-6.

⁷⁴ Hedley 1968, 246.

⁷⁵ 1296 tax: Lay Subsidy, No. 391; Feet of Fines No. 133.

Sir Walter effected the disposal of the lands which had been held within the family for five generations. In or about 1295 he transferred a messuage, some lands in the field and in the meadow to Sir William of Felton and his wife Eustancia. He followed this in 1296 by granting the whole of Edlingham with its appurtenances and other rights to William and Eustancia. Sir Walter's son John confirmed this in the same year by means of a quitclaim.⁷⁶ This completed the break-up of the demesne held in the family, following Sir Walter's leasing of Hedgeley to Thomas of Dilston and his wife Lucia in 1286. Edlingham was in the hands of Sir William of Felton in 1335.

Lemington⁷⁷ had originally been held in drengage tenure, but by 1247 John son of Waldeve had converted this to a free tenure and it was then held under Cospatric lordship by Adam of Lemington.⁷⁸ The Lemington family name occurs as holders throughout the period of Cospatric lordship. One Siward de Lemetun is recorded as early as 1158; it could be that he held the drengage, but there is no surviving evidence on this point.⁷⁹ Adam of Lemington made a payment into the exchequer in 1191;⁸⁰ William was defendant in a lawsuit brought by the master of Bolton concerning tenements in Bolton⁸¹ and he paid off a debt in or before 1233 and he made a payment to the exchequer⁸²; Margaret, daughter of Adam defended a lawsuit at the Northumberland assize court in 1256 brought by others in the family in connection with a toft and twenty acres of land in Lemington;⁸³ in the assize of 1279, the vills of Lemington, Edlingham, Thrunton and Abberwick were fined in connection with an incident in which Richard, son of Alexander of Lemington had been crushed to death.⁸⁴

Shipley in Eglingham parish⁸⁵

Although the Cospatric earls enjoyed the status of tenants-in-chief at Shipley right down to 1335, the vill at that date was held by Henry, Earl of Lancaster. Cospatric III had granted it to John Viscount, son of Odard, who held the lordship of Embleton; a descendant, also called John, held it in 1242; by 1247 it had passed to Rametta as heiress, who in 1255 granted the Embleton barony to Simon de Montford. After his rebellion and his death in 1265, King Henry III granted Shipley and the Embleton barony to his younger brother, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster. The Embleton lords appear to have divided the vill between two sub-tenants,

⁷⁶ Greenwell 1904, 103-5. The charter by which this transfer was effected does not survive, but it is evidenced by John's confirmation charter, which Canon Greenwell quotes.

⁷⁷ NCH 7, 163-166.

⁷⁸ *Cal Inquis Misc* Vol 1 (1916), p. 37, pp. 12-13.

⁷⁹ Pipe Rolls 4 Henry II (Hodgson 3. 3, 3).

⁸⁰ Pipe Rolls 2 Richard I (Hodgson 3. 3, 52).

⁸¹ Pat Rolls 1225 - 1232, pp. 290, 367.

⁸² Pipe Rolls 17 Henry III (Hodgson 3. 3, 166)

⁸³ Assize Rolls 40 Henry III, p. 55.

⁸⁴ Assize Rolls 7 Edward I, p. 320.

⁸⁵ NCH 14, 440-6.

with John of Ellington and Richard Frebern occupying in 1247. The vill had woodland resources. Poles cut in Shipley woods were used in roofing the constable's lodgings and granary in Dunstanburgh, and in 1256 Simon de Montford gained a licence to enclose the wood and make a deer park within what had been king's forest.⁸⁶

A3: THE LANDS OF WINNOC THE HUNTER

The six-vill holding of Winnoc, that is Beanley, Brandon, Branton, Hareope, Hedgeley and Titlington, all in Eglington parish, had been split up by 1247. Brandon, Branton and Hedgeley were amongst the vills granted to Cospatric II's brother Edward and had passed down to his grandson John son of Waldeve, then recently deceased; Hedgeley was in demesne. The remaining three vills had separate trajectories.

Hedgeley⁸⁷

As already noted (see Edlington above), the demesne remained intact and passed down through the family until 1286 when Sir Walter of Edlington leased then Hedgeley to Thomas of Dilston and his wife Lucia. She was a daughter of Sir William Heron of Ford and it is probably through her that Hedgeley passed into the Ford family.⁸⁸ In 1335 it was in the hands of John Heron.

A detailed description of the of the landholdings in Hedgeley survives from 1290-91.⁸⁹ The parcels of Lucia's demesne lands are enumerated, as are four husbandlands, six cottage holders, the brewhouse, the payments made by the bailiff and the income from the mill. There were also people described as 'selflodes', each with the service obligation of providing three meals or else three pence. This suggests a former drengage holdings.

Brandon and Branton, one each side of the River Breamish can be treated together. Edward had granted lands here to Robert of Biddleston. in 1247, Brandon was held by Ralph de Feritate and Henry Deleval, husbands of Roberts's two daughters, Eva and Margery. In Branton, however, they were not the principal holders, but tenants of John of Branton who was also holder of Branton in 1247. He is thought to be John of Edlington, as more commonly known, grandson of Edward in the Edlington branch of the Cospatric family. It seems that his direct descendants continued to hold the lands here, for another John of Branton is known from later in the century. This John was involved in litigation in 1281, and

⁸⁶ *Lib Feud* 2, 1122; *Cal Inquis Misc* No. 47, pp. 12-13; *Perc Chart* No. 777, pp. 302-3. Hodgson J C 1923a, 2.

⁸⁷ NCH 14, 422-4.

⁸⁸ Greenwell (1904, 102) thought that Lucia was probably sister or daughter of Sir Walter of Edlington, but I have here followed NCH 14, 422 and Hedley (1968, 144, Dyveliston pedigree) who make her daughter of William Heron of Ford.

⁸⁹ Greenwell 1904, 102-3 quotes it in full.

again in 1293, 1301 and 1336, with descendants of Eva and Margery over rentals and payments of dower. William Deleval is named as the holder of Branton in 1335.⁹⁰

Beanley,⁹¹ although the centre Henry I's sergeanty, was not held in demesne. It had originally been a drengage holding, but Earl Patric I changed it into a normal feudal tenure held by John son of Alexander on an annual payment.⁹² This John had Beanley as a family name and his holding is traced through the family line until 1320 when William of Beanley granted land on the moor to Sir John Lilburn,⁹³ who was the holder of Beanley at the time of the transfer to Henry Percy in 1335. The Lilburn family retained their interest until John Lilburn sold to his overlord, Henry Earl of Northumberland in 1497 or 1498.⁹⁴ Beanley had an extensive common on Beanley Moor,⁹⁵ bounding on the commons of Eglingham and Titlington. This appears to have been a shire moor, for in negotiations leading to the enclosure of the moor in 1781, tenants not only of Beanley, but also of Crawley, Titlington and Eglingham claimed rights here.⁹⁶

Titlington⁹⁷ is not listed in 1242 as being among those that Patric held in chief. At a very early stage it had been transferred to Walter Espec, holder of the barony at Wark on Tweed; he had included it in 1121 in his founder's endowment to Kirkham Priory⁹⁸ and they still held it in 1335.

Harehope,⁹⁹ though originally within the lands granted to Edward, brother of Cospatric II, was granted by his son Waldeve to the brethren of St Lazarus and it was recorded in the enquiry of 1247 as an alienation made from the sergeanty. One of the hospital's founders was Roger de Mowbray, brother of Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland until 1095.¹⁰⁰

A4: THE HORSLEY ESTATE

As noted above, the way in which the vills of Horsley, Longwitton, Netherwitton, Ritton, Stanton and Wingates are listed in King Stephen's charter of confirmation implies that they

⁹⁰ There is no reference in the Percy charter on 1335 to any holder in Brandon.

⁹¹ NCH 14, 398-401.

⁹² The Inquest of 1247 gives the payment as 12 marks per year but in a Percy charter (no. 1097) dated to 1235 (NCH 14, 400) it is 20 marks.

⁹³ Craster 1909, 48.

⁹⁴ Hodgson J C 1922a 64.

⁹⁵ Surveyed, with boundary description in 1612. Hodgson J C 1922a, 68-70.

⁹⁶ Hodgson J C 1922b.

⁹⁷ NCH 14, 447-52.

⁹⁸ NCH 14, 447-452; Hodgson J C 1924; Cal Chart Rolls 1327-41, 361-2.

⁹⁹ NCH 14, 417-22.

¹⁰⁰ NCH 14, 417-422; Hodgson JC 1922b

were among the lands of Winnoc the Hunter, although they were distant from and not part of the thanage of the Middletons and Roddam; they were part of the sergeanty.

All but Longwitton were settled on Juliana, daughter of Cospatric II, on the occasion of her marriage to baron Ranulph de Merlay of Morpeth.¹⁰¹ The identity of 'a certain vill beyond the moors', as referenced in the king's charter for the marriage, is revealed as Learchild, a dependent vill of Stanton, in the confirmation charter of Juliana's brother Edgar.¹⁰² In 1138, Ranulph and Juliana were founding benefactors of the Cistercian monastery of Newminster, near Morpeth, with a grant to the house of the vill of Ritton and part of the woods of Witton, from Juliana's dowry lands.¹⁰³ At some time in the late 11th or early 12th century, their grandson Roger II made a series of grants to the house of Canons at Brinkburn concerning land 'on the south side of the Coquet'.¹⁰⁴ This can be identified as Brinkburn South Ward, which emerged as a township in its own right post-Dissolution.¹⁰⁵ It is unlikely to have been a vill in the medieval period: there is no named vill here. More likely is that it was formed by taking part of the lands of Horsley and Wingates. Horsley, Stanton with Learchild, Netherwitton and Wingates remained in the Merlay estates until the death in 1265 of Roger III, great-grandson of Ranulph and Juliana when the land was divided between his two surviving daughters. Mary, the elder, married to William de Greystoke, received Horsley and Stanton and Isabel, the younger, married to Roger de Somerville received Netherwitton and Wingates.

Horsley¹⁰⁶

Longhorsley, as it is now known, is the largest of the vills. In modern times it was divided into three sections, each having the status of a township, Linden Quarter (sometimes called Bigge's Quarter), Riddell's Quarter and Freeholders' Quarter. There was also an area of common moor at the south-east edge. This three-part division of modern times reflects the tenurial structure of the vill during the Merlay lordship. Linden Quarter is the portion held directly by the Merlays in demesne, and it remained with their descendants until the Earl of Carlisle sold it under an Act of Parliament of 1765 to Charles William Bigge and Ralph Carr, the latter selling his portion to Bigge soon afterwards.¹⁰⁷ The Riddells, holders of Riddell's Quarter,¹⁰⁸ descended from the family named Horsley. The tower house in the village belonged in the reign of Henry VIII to Sir John Horsley whose ancestors had held lands here from probably before the time of Henry III, a substantial freehold estate under Merlay lordship. Roger III de Merlay (active 1239 - 1265) is known to have set up other tenants'

¹⁰¹ Probably in 1113. See Gubbins 2016.

¹⁰² Newminst Charts 268-9.

¹⁰³ Newminst Charts 1.

¹⁰⁴ Brink Charts Nos. 118-121, pp. 100-103. Gubbins 2018, 44-5.

¹⁰⁵ NCH 7, 493-7.

¹⁰⁶ Hodgson 2, 2, 87-106.

¹⁰⁷ Hodgson 2.2, 91-95.

¹⁰⁸ Hodgson 2. 2, 100-5.

holdings within Horsley; in the 1247 enquiry, Hugh Gubeon and William de Horsley are said to have held Horsley. Roger was accused of having given land to William Gubeon without licence from the Crown, and Roger de Horsley was witness to a charter by which he gave land in Horsley, 'Sheles' and Todburn to Adam de Plessy and his heirs. Though the full history of the emergence of small freeholders is not known, it is a point of some landscape interest that, even now, the field pattern of the Freeholders' Quarter¹⁰⁹ is distinctive in its long, narrow plots with curving sides within the farms of Blackpool and Muckley, in contrast to the farms on Linden and Riddell's Quarter in which straight-sided, rectangular fields predominate, the result of systematic enclosure.¹¹⁰ Freeholders' Quarter also includes the moorland intake of West Moor farm in the south-west part of the township. Todburn,¹¹¹ a narrow strip of land along the east side of the burn of that name, and a post-medieval township, was originally part of Horsley, within the Merlay possessions eventually sold in 1765. The name is known from as early as the time of Roger III's grant to Adam de Plessey. Todburn Moor Farm at the southern part of the township is moorland intake, alongside the West Moor of the Freeholders' Quarter; perhaps this was the area of the 'sheles' of the time of Roger III. Evidence suggests that the moorland at the south-east edge of the township (still open moorland today) is a fragment of what was once a more extensive area of moor, shared with the neighbouring vill of Fenrother, which was part of the barony of Bothal. A record of 1517 shows that Fenrother tenants paid 13 shillings and 4 pence to keep beasts in Horsley Forest and in 1765, the Duke of Portland (then proprietor of the Bothal lands) paid the same sum to have his Fenrother tenants graze their cattle on Horsley Moor.¹¹²

Stanton with Learchild¹¹³

The main lordship of Stanton with Learchild remained in the Merlay holdings and at the division of the estate following the death of Roger III in 1265 it passed, along with Horsley, to Mary's portion and thus to the Greystoke inheritance. In 1247, Walter son of William and Joanna his wife held the tenancy under the Merlays and did so for much of the rest of the century.¹¹⁴ This Walter son of William was Sir Walter Corbet; Joanna's lineage is not known for certain. John Hodgson suspected that she was an heiress in her own right on the grounds that a grant of common of pasture and other privileges from Roger III de Merlay to Walter Corbet and Joanna his wife was to pass to Joanna's heirs, without reference to heirs of her husband; Corbet came into the estate by marriage.¹¹⁵ Ralph Hedley took the speculation further in suggesting that Joanna was a Merlay heiress. His reasoning is that a certain Roger de Merlay of Stanton granted Newminster Abbey an annual rent of 20 shillings from the mill

¹⁰⁹ Hodgson 2.2 105-6.

¹¹⁰ O'Donnell 2015.

¹¹¹ Hodgson 2.2 106-7.

¹¹² O'Brien, Adams and Whaley 2018, fn. 70.

¹¹³ Hodgson 2.2, 108-11; NCH 7, 180-2.

¹¹⁴ Walter had died by 1293 and Joanna settled Stanton on her son Roger Corbet in 1289 (Hedley 1968, 242).

¹¹⁵ Hodgson 2.2, 109.

at Stanton; Roger III de Merlay then confirmed this.¹¹⁶ 'The designation 'of Stanton', he suggested, implies that this Roger was not Roger III's father, Roger II, but that he was of a cadet branch of the Merlays, holding land here in Stanton; Joanna might have been his heir.¹¹⁷ If so, this holding was part of a more complex interest of the Merlay family in Stanton, for in 1266, and again in 1271, Isabel, widow of Roger III, claimed as dower one third of 120 acres in Stanton.¹¹⁸ Joanna's husband, sir Walter, took his name from his mother Christina, who was a Corbet heiress. His father William was of the house of Cospatric, younger brother of Patric II Earl of Dunbar. In this way, sir Walter, a Cospatric descendant, succeeded through marriage to a tenancy under his third cousin once removed, Roger III de Merlay, great-grandson of Juliana daughter of Cospatric II, while Roger's overlord, Patric III Earl of Dunbar, the king's tenant-in-chief, was first cousin to sir Walter.¹¹⁹ The link between Stanton and Learchild was broken in the next generation, when Joanna divided her estate between her older son Willam who received Learchild, along with other Corbet lands in Glendale, and Roger, the younger son, who received Stanton.¹²⁰

How the small vill of Learchild came to be a dependent vill of Stanton is not known. There are other cases of linked vills, in which a subsidiary vill is listed as an appurtenance or a member of the main vill: Ellington with dependencies Cresswell and Hayden; Woodhorn with Lynemouth and Hirst; Widdrington with Druridge and Linton are cases in point. Some linkages preserve a large element of shire structure, as in the case of Warkworth with its dependants Gloster Hill, Aklington, Togston, Birling and High Buston, or Felton's dependencies of Longframlington, Glantlees, Swarland and Overgrass, and Old Felton.¹²¹ Mostly they are geographically close together, while Learchild to Stanton is a distance of 20 kilometres, centre to centre.¹²²

Netherwitton¹²³

Netherwitton, along with Wingates, passed to Isabel, the younger daughter of Roger III de Merlay after his death, and thus into the estate of her husband Roger de Somerville. The enquiry of 1247 records that there were several holders of feoffs in these vills but gives no details. Ranulf de Merlay and Juliana had given part of the woods of Witton to Newminster Abbey along with the vill of Rtton on its foundation and this gives some insight into the nature of the place whose name was written in 1308 as *Wodeton*.¹²⁴ Roger de Merlay II

¹¹⁶ Newminst Charts pp. 16-17.

¹¹⁷ Hedley 1968, 242. He refers to this evidence as being 'rather unsatisfactory'. Although it is not conclusive, it does chime with John Hodgson's speculation.

¹¹⁸ Hedley 1968, 242; Pleas No. 747, pp. 255-6.

¹¹⁹ See Hedley 1968, pedigrees on pp. 239-40 and 243.

¹²⁰ Feet of Fines No. 57; Hedley 1968, 242.

¹²¹ See Figs. 1, 2, 3 in O'Brien, Adams and Whaley 2018.

¹²² Learchild's Roman fort at the junction of Dere Street and the Roman road to High Rochester is noted above, p.22.

¹²³ Hodgson 2.1, 319-21.

¹²⁴ IPM Ed II No. 80 p. 40.

granted to John of Plessey the right to cut timber in the woods of Witton and Horsley to make and repair the mills of Stannington and Plessey and in 1214 King John granted a licence to make a park in the woods at Witton.¹²⁵ In 1530, Nicholas Thornton, the lord of Witton, appointed Ralph Atkinson as forester for his West Wood from Kayme Ford to Mere Burn.¹²⁶ This suggests that the boundary of the vill of Witton south of the Font was further west than the post-medieval boundary of Netherwitton township, taking in the land of Healey and Combhill township. Perhaps this was the part of Witton Wood given to Newminster Abbey, which is known to have held half of Healey at the time of its dissolution.¹²⁷ Roger III de Merlay had ambitions for Witton and in 1257 he received from King Henry III a grant to establish a weekly market on Mondays here and a six-day fair from 8 to 13 August.¹²⁸ Roger de Somerville, who had succeeded to the estate by 1290, had his claim to the right of the market and fair upheld, but he was found to be at fault for keeping beasts within a park.¹²⁹

Witton Shield¹³⁰

Witton Shield emerged as a township in its own right, as a narrow strip of land in between Netherwitton and Stanton; the 'Shield' element of its name suggests that it developed from an area of seasonal grazing lands. It first comes to light as 'sheles' in a document of Roger III de Merlay in which he set up reciprocal rights of common of pasture in Witton for the men of Stanton and in Stanton for 'my men of Witton and Scheles'.¹³¹ The name associates this strip of land with Witton rather than Stanton, but John Hodgson found ambiguity on this point from early-14th century evidence for a 'Stanton sheles near Witton-on-the-Water' which he took to be the same place.¹³² The land of the township keeps to the west side of the Cowclose Burn-Trewitley Burn tributary of the Font which suggests that it is an offshoot of Witton, as does the fact that the Thorntons of Netherwitton were the landholders here.¹³³

Wingates¹³⁴

The north-westernmost of this set of vills, Wingates includes high ground above the 200-metre contour; the medieval form of the name, *Wyndegates*, seems appropriate.¹³⁵ The

¹²⁵ Hodgson 2.1, 315.

¹²⁶ Hodgson 2.1, 318. Hodgson quotes (p. 319) a villager in his own day (*circa* 1830) as calling the place 'quite wood proud'.

¹²⁷ Hodgson 2.1, 322.

¹²⁸ Hodgson 2.1, 315. Cal Chart Rolls 1226-1257, 468.

¹²⁹ Hodgson 3. 1, 183-5.

¹³⁰ Hodgson 2.2, 108.

¹³¹ Hodgson 2.2, 118. The document is undated; Hodgson attributes it to 'the latter end of the reign of Henry III, that would be about 1270.

¹³² Hodgson 2.2, 108.

¹³³ Thomas ap Griffith, lord of Witton, descendant of Idabel de Somerville, released his rights in Witton to Roger Thornton in 1405 (Hodgson 2.1, 315).

¹³⁴ Hodgson 2.2 107-8. For an archaeological survey see *The Archaeological Practice* 2007, 37-41.

¹³⁵ There is now a windfarm immediately beyond the western boundary of the township.

1247 enquiry shows that there are several holders of feoffs under Roger de Merlay in Witton and Wingates but gives no details. It is likely that one such is the family which took Wingates as a surname. Roger of Wyndegates was awarded grazing rights in a legal agreement of 1208 over boundaries negotiated between Roger II de Merlay and Robert son of Roger, lord of Rothbury;¹³⁶ Thomas de Wyndegates held a tenancy in Wingates in 1335. In 1356 Gilbert of Wyndegates (possibly Thomas's heir) held two carucates of land and paid a rental of one third part of 3 shillings. Philip de Somerville, Isabelle's descendant, held one third of the township. This gives insight into the tenurial structure at a level below the main Merlay-descended lordship, with a demesne holding for the Merlay heirs and a substantial freeholder. Walter the Reeve, listed in the 1296 taxation record,¹³⁷ is likely to have managed the demesne holding. The third part of the estate is not referenced in 1356, but very possibly this was Garrettle, a farmstead north of the village core, which had emerged as a sub-unit by 1296 when, for the tax record, the vill was named as *Wyndegat cum Gerardisley*.¹³⁸ The post-enclosure arrangement of farms appears to reflect this three-part division, with East Farm and South Farm centred at the village core and Garrettle north-east of here. The farm named Wholme is known from about 1600, with the farms of Wingates Moor and The Chirm (formerly North Farm) emerging from post-medieval moorland intake.

Ritton¹³⁹

Ritton was part of the founders' grant to Newminster Abbey in 1138. The modern name is East Ritton, and earlier Ritton Coltpark. Coatyards and Nunnykirk, small post-medieval townships, have been separated out from the larger unit of Ritton. In Juliana's marriage documents, which are the earliest sources for the name Ritton, there is no distinction drawn between West Ritton (later called Ritton White House) and East Ritton. The earliest reference to a West Ritton (*Westington*) is in the 1208 agreement mentioned above. This raises a question over the extent of Juliana's Ritton: whether it encompassed both of the later villis or just one. In a recent discussion,¹⁴⁰ it is argued that Juliana's was East Ritton alone and that West Ritton emerged as an assart and encroachment into Rothbury Forest on the part of the monks of Newminster. At the Newcastle Assize of 1294, the abbot of Newminster claimed free warren¹⁴¹ in West and East Ritton but the Greystoke and Somerville heirs of the Merlay estates proved that he did not have this right and the court found against him. The abbot was also ordered to pull down the fences of a very large wood which he had enclosed in East Ritton and of a great park he had made there for holding

¹³⁶ Percy Charters No. 755.

¹³⁷ Lay Subsidy, No. 204, p.86.

¹³⁸ *Gerardisley*, Gerard's Clearing, likely to be won from moorland or woodland clearance.

¹³⁹ Hodgson 2.2, 322.

¹⁴⁰ O'Brien 2020.

¹⁴¹ The right to hunt small game.

beasts.¹⁴² The present-day Coltpark Wood, on the north side of the Font, is possibly a survival from the woodland of this period.

From 1568, some years after the dissolution of the monastery of Newminster, there is a list of places being held in the king's hands: White-house, East Ritton, Colt-park, Highbirkhead, Cote-yard, Nunnykirk and half of Healey.¹⁴³ White House is West Ritton (discussed above) and Healey is on the south side of the Font (discussed above under Netherwitton). All the others are sub-units within the vill of East Ritton (two of them, as already noted, later having township status). Coat Yards (modern spelling) and Highbirkhead (understood as the now deserted farmstead of Birkheadsmoor) are on high moorland above 200 metres OD. This list is evidence of the abbey developing its 1138 estate with more intensive land use, though the chronology of this is unknown.

Longwitton¹⁴⁴

Longwitton is the one vill in the Horsley group that did not come to the Merlays through Juliana's dowry. It passed from Cospatric II to Edward, one of his younger sons, and in 1247 Edward's grandson John held the lordship as one member of his six-vill estate, with John de Wutton and others holding sub-tenancies. It had originally been a drengage holding but John commuted this to a standard feudal holding in free service. There is little other information on tenancies during the 12th and 13th centuries, though there is a more than averagely long list of taxpayers in 1296.¹⁴⁵ One of these is William the Forester whose name gives a hint as to why this vill, distant from the estate centre at Edlingham, should have been retained. There is no mention of it in the 1335 transfer to Henry Percy. In 1360 it is described as a manor belonging to the Ogles of Ogle and held in by them 1372 along with Middleton-Morell.¹⁴⁶

A5: ARCHIMOREL'S LAND

Winnoc was the holder also of the land of Archimorel, that is East Lilburn, Bewick (now Old and New) and Eglingham.¹⁴⁷ This holding first comes to notice in Winnoc's grant, confirmed by Queen Matilda, to St Alban's Abbey, the mother house of the Priory of Tynemouth. King Henry I granted to St Alban's and its abbot Richard (who died in 1119) the manor of Eglingham as well as the portion that Winnoc had given. By a writ issued to Abbot Gerard (1101-1109), the Archbishop of York gave notice that he has granted Archimorel's land to St Albans and abbot Richard. With the land securely in the hands of the monastery, Abbot Richard granted the lands of Archimorel to Gospatric II and his son Waldeve (also called

¹⁴² Hodgson 2.1, 322; 3.1, 139-41.

¹⁴³ Hodgson 2.1, 322.

¹⁴⁴ Hodgson 2.1, 307-13.

¹⁴⁵ Lay Subsidy, No. 204, p.86.

¹⁴⁶ Hodgson 2.1, 308.

¹⁴⁷ NCH 14, 394-401; 422-432.

Adam) as tenants of the abbey. Richard's successor, Abbot Geoffrey, renewed the agreement with Gospatric II and Waldeve for the land of Archimorel, that is 'Bewick and all the lands pertaining to it, and the land of Eglingham which Winnoc the Hunter gave to St Alban and to St Oswin'¹⁴⁸. They were to pay 20 shillings per year or, in default of cash, seven oxen, each valued at 3 shillings.¹⁴⁹ The payment in oxen is a survival of a pre-money era render of produce to the lord of the estate.

Tenancy of this land then passed to Edgar, son of Gospatric II, by lease from Abbot Geoffrey; this was no later than 1146, the year of Geoffrey's death. But Edgar took part in the rebellion of 1173 by the young Henry against his father Henry II and on its failure he fled to Scotland. The king took away the land and then in 1174 restored it to St. Albans. It seems that Edgar never regained his lost rights in Bewick and Eglingham, but in 1201 his great-nephew, Patric I, Earl of Dunbar, pursued a claim to these lands against St Alban's. The dispute surfaced again in 1210 when Patric I claimed trespass against St Alban's and Tynemouth in Bewick, Eglingham and East Lilburn (*Parva Lilleburn*). In due course, his case was lost but that seems not to have been the end of the matter, for in 1237 Patric's son and successor, Patric II, made a complaint against the Abbot of St Alban's concerning Bewick.¹⁵⁰ Eventually Earl Patric decided that he had been in the wrong. In 1248 he joined the crusade,¹⁵¹ for which, according to Matthew Paris, his motivation was that he should be reconciled to God and St. Oswin whose house of Tynemouth he had unjustly harassed and injured.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Oswine, sub-king in Deira under the Northumbrian king Oswiu, was killed in 651. He came to be regarded as a martyr and was believed to be buried at the priory of Tynemouth.

¹⁴⁹ Summarised from Greenwell 1904, 3-5, where sources are quoted.

¹⁵⁰ Greenwell, 1904, 40-3; 57.

¹⁵¹ He never reached the Holy Land, but he died en route later that year.

¹⁵² Greenwell 1904. 61.

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The Bernician Studies Group (BSG) is an educational charity dedicated to investigating the early historic kingdom of Bernicia in north-east England within its wider chronological and geographical setting through archaeological and historical landscape studies. The group has developed from its beginnings in university and community lifelong learning. Through its partner organisation the Inishowen Studies Group it is engaged in archaeological fieldwork in north-west Ireland.			
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Cocwudu Studies is a set of reports arising from the BSG's Cocwudu Historic Landscape Project which involves studies carried out by the group and associated collaborators in the field, in archives, through texts and maps of a zone in central Northumberland between the valleys of the River Coquet and the Hart-Wansbeck. The name <i>Cocwudu</i> occurs in the 10th/11th century text entitled <i>Historia de Sancto Cuthberto</i> and Professor Brian Roberts has applied this name to this zone which he has identified as an ancient woodland between tribal lands to the north and south in the Late Prehistoric era and which survived into the Early Medieval era.

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