

Staffordshire Record Society

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COLLECTIONS

FOR A

HISTORY

OF

STAFFORDSHIRE

EDITED BY

The William Salt Archaeological Society.

1916

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"And in this undertaking, the Reader may see what Furniture (though it lie disperst) our Publick Records will afford for History: and how plentifully our own may be supplied and improved, if pains were taken therein: for what is hitherto made publick, hath been collected chiefly out of old Annals, and they filled with few things but such as were very obvious, nay the Annalists themselves (for the most part residing in Monasteries) too oftend byass'd with Interest, and Attention, to Times and Persons: But on the contrary, in our publick Records lye matter of Fact, in full Truth, and therewith the Chronological part, carried on, even to days of the Month. So that an industrious Searcher may thence collect considerable matter for new History, rectifie many mistakes in our old and in both gratifie the world with unshadowed verity."—(ASHMOLE'S *History of the Garter*.)

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1918.

Staffordshire County Studies

The William Salt Archaeological Society.

1916.

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The William Salt Archaeological Society.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER 6TH, 1915.

THE 37th Annual Meeting of members and friends of the William Salt Archaeological Society was held in the William Salt Library, Stafford, on November 6th, 1915. The Earl of Dartmouth presided, and there were also present Lord Hatherton, C.M.G.; Lord Charnwood; Commander J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P. (Hon. Secretary); the Revs. E. K. O. Bridgeman, S. W. Hutchinson, F. Parker, and C. T. Royds; the Mayor of Stafford (Mr. H. J. Bostock); and Messrs. P. W. L. Adams, F. T. Beck, W. Brown, J. T. Homer, Eustace Jay, W. N. Landor, John Parkes, W. Morton Philips, A. Scrivener, W. Smith, C. H. Wright, and J. W. Bradley (Assistant Secretary).

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The Editorial Committee report that the volume for 1914 of the Staffordshire Collections was issued to the Subscribers in May last. The volume for 1915 is in the press, and will be issued shortly. Its contents, which have been contributed by Mr. W. N. Landor, deal with the Staffordshire incumbents and various ecclesiastical and parochial records in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and include a map of Staffordshire showing the boundaries of the parishes in the time of Elizabeth, and the position of the churches, chapels, etc. The Committee recommend that 325 copies be ordered.

The volume of 1916 will contain "A Critique of the Burton Abbey

Survey," by C. G. O. Bridgeman; "Notes on the Bagot Family" (supplementary to Vol. XI., New Series), by the Rev. D. S. Murray; "Extracts and Abstracts from the Early Chancery Proceedings down to 1550," by Lieut.-Commander J. C. Wedgwood.

Circulars indicating the contents of the 1915 volume and the general work of the Society have been sent to members and to the clergy of the diocese, with the result that twenty-five additional copies have been ordered by members, and twelve new members enrolled.

During the past year five members have died, seven members have withdrawn, and twelve new members have joined, giving a total at the end of the year of 235 Subscribers.

The Committee are anxious that the heroic achievements of Staffordshire men and of Staffordshire regiments in the present war shall be adequately recorded. They therefore recommend that the Secretary be requested to communicate with the proper officers of the Staffordshire regiments with a view to obtaining authentic accounts, where possible, from eye-witnesses.

The Committee desire to place on record their deep regret and sense of loss in the death of Mr. W. H. Duignan, of Walsall, for many years Honorary Solicitor of the Society, a most accomplished antiquary and archæologist, and a very learned philologist. His valuable and instructive work, *Notes on Staffordshire Place-Names*, has contributed materially to the identification of the actual sites of battles and other historic incidents recorded in ancient chronicles, and to the elucidation of many archaic terms and phrases.

The adoption of the Report was moved by Commander WEDGWOOD, who said it was very unfortunate that, owing to the war, the production of the 1914 and 1915 volumes was much later than usual. He expressed his personal regret at the death of his friend, Mr. Duignan, and of Mr. Holland, who was a regular attendant at their meetings. He himself had an admirable colleague in Mr. Homer, who was temporarily discharging the duties of Honorary Secretary. The fact that they had secured twelve new members to replace those who had died or withdrawn spoke volumes for the energy with which Mr. Homer conducted the affairs of the Society.

Mr. HOMER seconded the motion, and expressed the hope that, in view of the great interest of the 1915 volume to the clergy of the

diocese, an extra copy would be purchased by each member and presented to their parish church, to be kept with the parish registers. He trusted that anyone coming across letters relating to Staffordshire men and Staffordshire regiments at the Front would send them to the Secretary at the Salt Library, where they would be taken care of and made use of at the close of the war.

The CHAIRMAN said they would all wish to see full recognition made of the Staffordshire regiments, which, whether they were the old regiments of the Line, the Territorial Battalions, or the new forces, had all suffered heavily. They were glad to know, however, that in every case they had maintained the old traditions and the credit of the county.

The Report was adopted.

The Accounts, which were presented by Mr. HERBERT OWEN, showed a balance at the bank of £223 5s. 1d., and there were outstanding subscriptions amounting to £77 14s.

The Balance Sheet was passed on the motion of Mr. HOMER, seconded by Lord HATHERTON.

On the recommendation of the Council, Mr. Eustace Joy was appointed Honorary Solicitor to the Society, in the place of the late Mr. W. H. Duignan.

The following were added to the Editorial Committee—The Rev. E. R. O. Bridgeman, and Messrs. W. N. Landor and J. T. Homer.

Mr. LANDOR said it was hoped that the 1916 volume of the Society would contain a few more valuable reviews of the Calendars and Rolls Series publications, which Commander Wedgwood had promised to contribute, and which he was sure they would all very much appreciate.

On the motion of Lord HATHERTON, seconded by Commander WEDGWOOD, a vote of condolence was passed with the relatives of the late Mr. W. H. Duignan, Mr. W. R. Holland, and Colonel F. D. Mort.

Lord HATHERTON proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Dartmouth for presiding, and to the other officers of the Society. This was seconded by the Rev. E. R. O. BRIDGEMAN.

Mr. HOMER, in supporting, expressed the gratification of the members at the recovery of Commander Wedgwood from a dangerous wound sustained whilst serving at the Dardanelles, and said they were all very glad to see him in renewed health and strength, and yearning for a further opportunity of distinguishing himself.

Staffordshire County Studies
Sample

WULFRIC SPOT'S WILL.

THE importance for antiquarian purposes of the Will of Wulfric Spot, the founder of Burton Abbey, lies in the fact that we have here an unquestionably authentic document, dated more than eighty years before the great Domesday Survey, which deals with lands in various parts of England including the district between the Ribble and the Mersey in Lancashire, the adjoining district of Wirral in Cheshire, and a large number of manors in Derbyshire and Staffordshire and the adjacent parts of Yorkshire, Leicestershire and Warwickshire, and also a few places in Gloucestershire and Shropshire and (possibly) Worcestershire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire as well. Frequent references have been made to this will by county historians and others, but so far as I am aware there is no published work in which the will taken as a whole has been discussed at any length. Hunter indeed in his *History of South Yorkshire* (i. 307) refers to an "elaborate dissertation" on the will by S. P. Wolferstan, the learned Staffordshire antiquary who died nearly a century ago, but I have not succeeded in finding any published work by him on the subject except two letters in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1816 (vol. 86, pt. 6, pp. 18, 133) signed "S. P. W.," and I am disposed to think that if it was not to these letters, it must have been to the valuable MS. notes made by Wolferstan in his own copy of Shaw's *Staffordshire*, now at the British Museum, that Hunter's reference is made. Having had occasion lately to look up this subject in connection with a paper on the Burton Abbey Surveys, which was to have been printed in this volume of the William Salt Society's *Staffordshire Historical Collections*,¹ I have been asked by the Honorary Secretary to supplement that paper by some critical notes on,

¹ This paper, which left the writer's hands more than a year ago, has unfortunately been mislaid and has not yet been found, so that its printing has had to be deferred for the present.

with a transcript of, Wulfric Spot's will; and I do so with pleasure, though with some diffidence arising from the fact that I am not myself an Anglo-Saxon scholar nor even (except to a very limited extent and, I fear, in rather a superficial way) a student of Anglo-Saxon history; nor have I that wide local knowledge of the counties concerned which is almost essential for anyone who attempts to identify, or even to choose between rival identifications of, places scattered over so extended an area.

Before discussing the Will itself it would perhaps be convenient to deal first with the personality and parentage of the testator. Not very much is really known about Wulfric Spot. There is a short article under his name in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, at the end of which most of the authorities are enumerated, but the best account of him that I have seen is in a Note to Freeman's *Norman Conquest* (3rd ed., i. 671, Note oo). For authoritative information about the founder of an abbey one naturally turns to the monastic records, and here the main source of information besides the will itself must, I think, always be (1) the brief statement contained in the *Annales Monasterii Burtonensis*, now at the British Museum (MS. Cotton., Vesp. E. III, fo 1) from which extracts are given in Dugdale's *Monasticon Angliæ* (ed. 1655, p. 265; ed. 1817, iii. 43), and which are printed in full among the *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Ser. No. 36, i. 183; ii. 171), and (2) the more detailed account given in the *Historia Fundatorum*, which is extracted from the *Chronica Abbatum* and printed in the *Monasticon* from the original then (and presumably still) at Beaudesert.

In the *Annales* he is called "quidam nobilis nomine Wulfricus cognomento Spot;" in the *Chronica* he is described as "illustris et praepotens consul ac comes Merciorum dominus Wulfricus Spott regali propinquus prosapia." Both the *Annales* and the *Chronica* state that he founded Burton Abbey in 1004, which is certainly the year of king Æthelred's confirmatory charter, though the date of this foundation assigned by Matthew of Paris is 1003 (Rolls Ser., No. 57, i. 480) and that by John Brompton 1002 (Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, col. 885).¹

¹ The building appears to have been completed before the date of the will; it may have been begun a year or two earlier.

From the *Chronica* we get the further information that his wife Elswitha (Ealhswith) was buried in the cloister of the monastery under a stone arch near the door of the lower church [nave?], and that he himself was mortally wounded six years later fighting against the Danes at the battle near Ipswich and, dying on Monday, xi Kal. Nov. [22 Oct.] 1010, was buried in the cloister of the monastery under a stone arch near the door of the upper church [chancel?], his brother duke Alwin and earl Morcar and his other relatives and friends "largas terrarum tributibus possessiones" (which I understand to refer to the fruits of the soil rather than the land itself). The writer of an account so precise and circumstantial as this must surely have had some authority for his statements, and it seems to me that, unless they can be shewn to be unwarranted or extremely improbable, they ought to be accepted. In point of fact we have corroboration for the statement about the manner of his death in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle itself (*sub anno* 1010), from which we learn that this battle near Ipswich was fought between the East Anglians under Ulfcytel and the Danes under Thurkill on the day "Prima Ascensio Iordanii" [18 May], and that among the notable men who fell in that battle was *Wulfric the son of Leofwine*; and this has been generally accepted as referring to Wulfric Spot.¹ Florence of Worcester (ed. Thorpe, i. 162) gives the date of the battle as "tertio Nonas Maii" [5 May] 1010, and says that it was fought at Ringmere near Ipswich. A certain amount of suspicion has, I think, been entertained unnecessarily as to the accuracy of some of the statements in the *Chronica Abbatum* owing to what I cannot but think is a misapprehension of the meaning of the title "comes Merciorum" as there used.² Shaw in his *History of Staffordshire* (i. 2) propounded the theory that Wulfric Spot might perhaps be identical with "Wulfric Ulfric or Alfric, Earl

¹ For a different view, however, see Sir James Ramsay's *Foundations of England*, i. 357, 364, and the Appendix by Mr. W. H. Stevenson to an article by the late Mr. W. H. Duignan and himself on Anglo-Saxon charters relating to Shropshire, in the *Shropshire Archaeological Society's Transactions*, 4th ser., i. 20-22, as to which cf. my Supplementary Note at the end of this paper.

² In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 27 Henry VIII (1536) Wulfric Spot is also styled "*comes Marcie*." (See vol. iii, p. 146.)

mortally wounded in the battle ("in bello letaliter contusus"),—a phrase which to my mind rather pointedly suggests that he did not die of his wounds immediately: besides, if the monks were taking the date of the battle from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, they could hardly have supposed that Ascension Day fell on some date in October! As regards the other arguments, if Wulfric had given up all his great worldly possessions and retired to the monastery which he had founded, it is not to be expected that his name would any longer be found among the witnesses attesting royal charters at the king's court; while we know that archbishop Ælfric had other lands at Dumbleton to which his will would refer, even if he had derived none at all from Wulfric. Lastly, if the (so-called) will of Wulfric did take effect in his lifetime (as I have supposed), the fact of its confirmation by the king would not necessarily imply his previous death. Mr. Stevenson explains the allusion to the presence at Wulfric's funeral of his brother "dux Arwinus" as a mistake for Ælfhelm. But explanations based upon the supposition of mistakes or inventions are to my mind never satisfactory, and should only be resorted to when all other explanations fail. If mistake there was, is it not just as likely that the name should have been Leofwine, who was certainly living in 1010, as Ælfhelm, who was equally certainly then dead—a fact which must have been known to the compiler of the *Chronica Abbatum*, if he was (as suggested) a student of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle? It is however right that I should add that Mr. Stevenson's view of Wulfric's parentage has the weighty support of Sir James Ramsey in his *Foundations of England* (1898, i. 357, 364, 364) though the latter does not mention the adverse evidence afforded by the statement in the *Chronica Abbatum*.

Although I cannot see any discrepancy between the two accounts on the ground that the date assigned by the compiler of the *Chronica Abbatum* for Wulfric's death is different from the date of the battle of Ringmere as stated by Florence of Worcester, I am bound to say that I do find inherent difficulties in the date itself as given by the monastic record. The date of death there given is "die Lunæ xi. Kal. Novembris anno domini MX et regni Ethelredi prædicti XXXI." Now October 22nd, 1010, was not a Monday but a Sunday, and the month of

October 1010 could not on any hypothesis have fallen within the 31st year of the reign of Æthelred, who was crowned in the month of April 978 (or 979). But these difficulties are not solved by supposing a mistake in the year, for the only year between 994 and 1011 in which October 22nd fell upon a Monday was 1005, while the month of October in the 31st year of Æthelred's reign, whether reckoned from the murder of his predecessor or from his own coronation, must have been either 1008 or 1009; and none of these years is consistent with the hypothesis that Wulfric was dead (as suggested) in 1004. They do however tend to some extent to discredit the statements of the monastic chronicler unless some explanation is forthcoming, and I must confess that I have no solution to offer. I do not myself attach much importance to the discrepancy between the "anno domini" and the "anno regni," because the date of the foundation of the monastery is in the same document given as "A.D. MIV" and "anno regni Ethelredi XXV," so that it is clear that throughout the mistake must have been as to the date of Æthelred's accession. But it is difficult to see how the mistake as to the day of the week can have arisen, unless indeed there was a prevalent error in the chronological computations of that period. Whatever the true explanation of these difficulties may be, the discrepancy between the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester as to the date of the battle presents difficulties quite as great. The Chronicle expressly states that it took place on the day "Prima Ascensio Domini" (which I suppose must mean Ascension Day,—and so Henry of Huntingdon understood it, for he calls it "die Dominice Ascensionis"), the date of which in the year 1010 would be May 18th. But the date assigned by Florence is "tertio Nonas Maii," *i.e.* May 5th, a date which does not correspond with Ascension Day in any year between 1000 and 1017, the nearest to it being May 6th in the year 1003.

Even if the view taken by Mr. Stevenson and Sir James Ramsay as to Wulfric's parentage be the true one, it is quite consistent with my suggestion (founded mainly on the connection with the old royal borough of Tamworth) that he was descended from the Lady of the Mercians, but in that case the pedigree which I have sketched above would require some modification.]

Staffordshire County Studies

STAFFORDSHIRE PRE-CONQUEST
CHARTERS

STAFFORDSHIRE PRE-CONQUEST CHARTERS.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

IN some of the earlier Volumes of these Collections (especially Vols. II and III) and in the Volume for 1911, will be found under the name of "The Staffordshire Chartulary," a series, or rather several series, of Staffordshire charters dating from the reign of William the Conqueror onwards, but no attempt has been made to collect together and edit for the Society the earlier ones belonging to the days before the Norman Conquest. It has been felt that this gap ought to be made good, and I have been asked to undertake the work. No one can be more conscious than I am myself how badly equipped I am for such a task, which needs the learning of an Anglo-Saxon as well as a classical scholar, and I could have wished that it had been entrusted to more competent hands. But, as no person with the necessary qualifications appeared to be forthcoming, I felt bound to comply with the request to the best of my ability.

The documents comprised in the following series are all, or very nearly all, to be found either in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, or in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, and many in both. Birch unfortunately does not go beyond the end of Eadgar's reign, but for the period covered by him his collection is the most accurate as well as the most complete, each document having (as he states in the Introduction to his first volume) been collated by him with the MS. from which it was taken. In the following pages I have given at the head of each charter the references to both these standard works as well as to the ultimate source or sources from which it purports to have been taken, but I have not except in one or two cases consulted the original MSS. myself. If I had followed my own inclination, I should have printed the charters as they stood in the original

language, that is, in most cases, Latin, except as regards boundary descriptions, which, if given at all, were usually given in Anglo-Saxon. But it was thought by those who should know best that an English translation would be more generally useful : so I have adopted that form instead, endeavouring to make my translations as literal as seemed to me compatible with intelligibility rather than aiming at grace of style or idiomatic expression, and I have added the actual words where I did not feel sure of the meaning. The references which I have supplied will, I hope, make it easy for any competent scholar who may be interested in any particular document to have recourse to the original. The printed versions are often full of grammatical inaccuracies, and the punctuation, especially in the boundary descriptions, is occasionally so misplaced as to be positively misleading ; but, not being an Anglo-Saxon scholar, I must confess my inability to suggest the proper emendations or in some places to make even a plausible rendering of the words as they stand. I have felt some difficulty in determining which charters to select, as there are several which relate to lands, bearing some common name which may be in Staffordshire but are quite as likely (if not more likely) to lie elsewhere. For instance Heantun or Hamtun may mean Southampton or Northampton, Great Hampton in Worcestershire, Hampton-in-Arden in Warwickshire, or Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, or (it may be) some other Hampton : and for a similar reason it is impossible to identify an Eaton, a Norton, or a Newton, unless the boundaries are given or the context supplies some other clue. But I have thought it best to set out a full translation in all cases where I consider the identification fairly certain or even probable, which includes over twenty documents, and merely to give the references, with some short notes, as to those which I regard as only possibly relating to Staffordshire.

The collections made by Kemble and Birch were of course compiled from various sources, but a considerable number of charters, which may relate to Staffordshire places, but which Kemble had not seen, were taken by Birch from a MS. volume lent him for that purpose by the late Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, near Towyn in North Wales, and usually known as the Hengwrt MS. No. 150 ; and before I begin to set out the charters it may

be convenient that I should explain what this MS. is. The Hengwrt collection was originally formed by Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, the Welsh antiquary, who died in 1667, and it was inherited in 1859 by William Watkin Edward Wynne of Peniarth under the will of his distant kinsman, Sir Robert Williames Vaughan of Nannan, and removed by him to Peniarth. Mr. Wynne died in 1880, and was succeeded by his son, the late Mr. W. P. M. Wynne of Peniarth, Lord Lieutenant of Merioneth, who died without issue in 1909. (See *Dict. of Nat. Biog.: sub nominibus*.) In the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (3rd ser., vol. xv, and 4th ser., vols. i and ii) there is an elaborate catalogue of this collection of MSS., where MS. No. 150 is thus described:—“150. The contents of this MS. are thus given by Mr. William Maurice of Llansilin, in the catalogue of the Hengwrt MSS., made in 1658, and Mr. Aurelin Owen has copied him: ‘A very fair ancient Book in vellum, containing the charters of Burton-upon-Trent; Item the Laws of Glanvill; Item, Literæ de summa Bernardi. Item, a number of old State-letters, betwixt the Pope, Emperour and Kings and Bishops of England.’ Almost throughout the volume, which is a closely and beautifully written one of the thirteenth century, are letters or charters amounting to a very large number, relating to the Monastery of Burton-upon-Trent. It contains several documents of the same sort which appear but *ferms*. Towards the end is a collection of letters or charters of the Saxon Kings of England. 4to.” (*Arch. Camb.*, 3rd ser., xv. 361.) It would be very interesting to see this MS. volume, which may contain important materials for a Staffordshire antiquary; indeed it may well be that the mere fact of a charter being copied or abstracted there may be regarded as some evidence that it related to the neighbourhood of Burton Abbey.

Incidentally I think I may claim to have established—to my own satisfaction at any rate, and I hope it will be thought to that of others also—the identity of two Domesday villis, *viz.* Cote and Iltone, the exact position of which was left in doubt by Eyton (see Charters, Nos. XIX and XX, *inf.*).

Before concluding this Preliminary Note I should like to acknowledge with gratitude the very great help which I have derived, in the identification of the witnesses, and especially

Glossarium suggests *polyandrio*], in order that for him men serving Holy Church there may pray faithfully with constant prayers to God the rewarder of all good men: and concerning this therefore he has decreed that it be publicly affirmed with such a covenant, that if by chance any violator of Holy Church, imbued with deadly lust at the instigation of the Devil, should ever wish to take anything away from it, he together with Dathan and Abiram, whom the earth swallowed up alive, may suffer detestable condemnation, and be for ever accursed. But whosoever shall be zealous to increase or preserve the aforesaid benefaction (*stipendium*), may he obtain a blessing in the churches together with St. Remigius where he shall be glorified with Christ,—which may the compassion of the Saviour, who lives, grant. And this indeed, that it may be the more surely believed, he has established under suitable witnesses, whose names are inscribed in order. For the first truth-speaking witness was Edward by the grace of God king of the English, then Edgith the queen, from whose stock he had drawn his origin and Stigand archpresident (*archipræsul*), and also Aldred and Heremann bishop, and Aluuald bishop, and Leuine bishop, and Willerm [*qu. Wilhelm*] bishop, and Walter bishop, and Gisa president (*præsul*), and moreover Harotons [*qu. Haroldus*] duke, Tostin Gird and Luine, Waltef also, together with many very powerful princes. This writing is held divided in two charters, one of which written in the English tongue the same earl Algar has kept in his own possession, and the other worded in the Latin language he has dutifully transmitted to St. Remigius.

NOTES.

This charter, which is one of the few that are not to be found either in the *Cartularium Saxonicum* or the *Codex Diplomaticus*, purports to be taken from the original at St. Remigius abbey at Rheims, but the reference in it to “the aforesaid burial place” and the unusual form of the attestation clause rather suggest that it was really taken from a copy entered in a cartulary of that abbey. Its date can from the names of the grantor and the witnesses and other internal evidence be assigned with some confidence to about the year 1061. It was in this year that Ealdred, bishop of Worcester, on his election to the archbishopric of York, went to Rome to obtain his pall, and that Walter and Gisa also went there to be consecrated on their appointment to the bishoprics of Hereford and Wells respectively, Earls Tosti and Gyrth being also at Rome at the same time. From the deed itself one would conjecture that they were accompanied by Burheard, the grantor’s son, and that the latter died on his arrival at Rheims on the journey back from Rome

and was buried there, the benefaction being made or confirmed by his father in his memory on the return of the party to England. The story of the foundation of Lepley Priory is told by Eyton in his *Staffordshire Domesday Studies* (p. 42) on the authority of the French annalist, and it bears out exactly what would be inferred from this foundation charter. Ælfgar the grantor, the son of Leofric and father of Edwin and Morcar, became earl of Mercia on his father's death in 1057, and died about 1062. Of the witnesses, king Eadward the Confessor died in 1066; and his queen Eadgyth or Edith, who was the daughter of earl Godwine and sister of Harold, died in 1075. Stigand was appointed bishop of Elmham in 1043 and of Winchester in 1047, and was archbishop of Canterbury from 1052 to 1070. Aldred or Ealdred, abbot of Tavistock *c.* 1027, was bishop of Worcester from 1046 to 1062, and archbishop of York from 1061 to 1069. Heremann was bishop of Ramsbury from 1045 to 1078; Alwald or Elfweald was bishop of Sherborne from 1045 to *c.* 1058, and from this deed I conclude that he was still bishop in 1061; Leofwine was bishop of Lichfield from 1053 to 1067. William, one of the king's chaplains and a Norman, was bishop of London from 1051 to 1075; Walter, the queen's chaplain and a native of Lorraine, was bishop of Hereford from 1061 to 1079; and Gisa, another king's chaplain and from the diocese of Liège, was bishop of Wells from 1061 to 1088. The lay witnesses were Harold, *dux* or ealdorman of Wessex from his father's death in 1053 to 1066 and then for nine months king of England, his three brothers, Tosti, Gyrth, and Leofwine, and Waltheof the young son of Siward earl of Northumbria. (It is easy to see how the last four letters of the name "Haroldus" might come to be mistaken for "tens," if the top of the letter "d" reached back to the letter "l.") Tosti was appointed to succeed Siward as earl of Northumbria on the death of the latter in 1055, Siward's son Waltheof being then a boy; he was banished in 1065 and died in 1066. Gyrth was made earl of East Anglia, or at any rate of part of it, in 1057, and Leofwine earl of Kent, Surrey, Essex, Middlesex (except London), Hertfordshire, and perhaps Buckinghamshire about the same time: they both fell with their brother Harold at the battle of Hastings in 1066. Waltheof, Siward's son, was afterwards

appointed earl of Northumbria by the Conqueror in 1072, and died in 1076.

The only difficulty that requires notice is the statement in the attestation clause that the grantor Ælfgar was sprung from the same stock as the queen. The queen's parents were Godwine, earl of Wessex, and Gytha, the daughter of Thurgills Sprakaleg the Dane; Ælfgar's were Leofric, earl of Mercia, and the celebrated Lady Godiva or Godgifu, who was a sister of Thorold of Bucknall, sheriff of Lincolnshire; and it is difficult to see how the relationship between the two comes in. Ælfgar is described in the charter as "*quondam [qu. quemdam] Anglorum comitem.*" Ælfgar, the son of Leofric, was earl of East Anglia during earl Harold's banishment in 1051-2 and again in 1053, before either of them had succeeded to his father's earldom, but it is not clear why the word "Anglorum" is used here instead of "Merciorum." Ælfgar was outlawed in 1058, and the exact date of his restoration to the Mercian earldom is uncertain. But the word "Anglorum" may perhaps have been used in the more general sense, just as the king is called "*rex Anglorum*" in the same deed.

The grantees were the Black Monks of the Abbey of St. Remigius or St. Remy in Rheims, who continued in possession of Lapley till the reign of Edward III., and subsequently held it under lease from the Crown until the suppression of alien cells in the reign of Henry V., when it was given to the college of Tong in Shropshire founded by Isabel de Pembrugg. After the surrender by the last warden of Tong College in the time of Henry VIII. Lapley, with most of the other possessions of Tong College, was granted to Sir Richard Manners kt. (*Rot. Par.*, 1 Ed. VI., pt. 6). In the Domesday Survey Lapley (Lepelie) together with Marston (Mersetone), which also belonged to the abbey of St. Remy, is erroneously entered under Northamptonshire, the name of the hundred being given as Codwestan,—evidently Cuttlestone hundred, co. Stafford, as there was no hundred bearing any such name in Northamptonshire.

No. XXVIII.

[*Cod. Dip.*, iv. 201, No. 842, and *Mon. Ang.*, ed. 1830, i. 300 (from MS. Cotton. Faust, A. iii, f. 109b). *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.* (Ordnance Survey), part II, Westminster, Nos. 11 and 12 (from original in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster), with translation by W. Basset Sanders. See also Shaw's *Staffordshire*, ii. 206.]

Letters Patent from king Eadward the Confessor, addressed to the Bishop, the Earl, and the Staffordshire king's thegns, granting Pertune to St. Peter's, Westminster. A.D. 1062-1066.

✠ [I] EADWARD king greet LEOWINE, bishop, and EADWINE, earl, and all my thegns in Staffordshire kindly. And I make known to you that I have given to Christ and ST. PETER of WESTMINSTER the land at Pertune and all the things that thereto belong, in wood and in field, with sac and with soc, as full and as free as it stood to myself in hand, in all things to feed the abbot and the brotherhood that dwell within the monastery. And I will not permit any man to oust there any of the things that thereto belong. [God keep you all.]

NOTES

These letters patent are in duplicate, to one of which was attached a portion of a seal, which Sanders says is the Great Seal. In the latter document the last four words are absent. The combination of king Eadward, bishop Leofwine and earl Eadwine fixes the approximate date of these letters patent as between 1062 and 1066.

Perton was still in the possession of the abbey of St. Peter of Westminster at the time of Domesday: it was assessed at three hides.

This completes the list of Staffordshire pre-Conquest Charters so far as they are known to me. There are two charters in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (Nos. 80, 1134) which mention the forest of Kinver in giving the boundaries of lands just over the Worcestershire border; one, dated in 736, speaks of "silva

Staffordshire equalled Cumberland, Lancashire and Cornwall in insignificance of taxable value, population and rent. Most of the county was indeed far below the margin of cultivation. The settlers followed on the heels of the conquistadors and by the same routes up the river valleys. If we may assume that the original hide was the "manse" of a family, then some hundred families came from the east, spreading from Hanbury and Sudbury on the north to Wednesbury and Handsworth on the south. Other four hundred, if four hundred it was, came in from south and west.

Besides the evidence from Domesday dealt with later, there is some slight evidence as to the direction from which the settlers came to be gathered from place-names. I take the distant, original counties of Dorset and Norfolk for comparison: one was the origin of the West Saxons, the other of the Angles; and count the "-hams," "-tons," and "-leys." Norfolk is twice the size of Dorset, so I double the number in the latter county for the comparison, and multiply the others correspondingly.

	Norfolk.	Dorset.	Offlow.	Pirehill.	Cuttlestone.	Seisdon.
		× 2	× $\frac{1}{2}$	× 6	× 12	× 12
-ham ...	147	30	7	5	30	60
-ton ...	131	204	211	510	732	468
-ley ...	12	38	112	210	120	432

It will be seen that in -tons and -leys Cuttlestone, Seisdon and Pirehill are most prolific, and that their -hams are too few to be in any case much of a guide, but so far as they go they correspond with Dorset rather than with Norfolk.

The settlement of Offlow from the east is historical. We may suppose that Tamworth existed, at least in name, in the time of Penda (626-655); Burton, also on the border and near Repton, may be very early. It was about 670 that Chad, being made Bishop of the Mercians, put up in the wilderness near "Letocetum" a wattle mission church for the savage Celt, and called it Lichfield. It too was near Tamworth, the capital (if a nomad monarch could have a capital) of the kings of Mercia; so that it conveniently qualified for the seat of the

Mercian Church. So few were the buildings other than the church, so insignificant their value, that, on the ground of its being an obscure village even after four centuries, the bishopric was changed to Chester in 1075. The Saxon bishops themselves, we may suppose, were accustomed to follow the King's Court. No Charter has survived that was signed at Lichfield in Saxon times.

It is remarkable that one may hunt through Kemble's *Codex* and through Birch's *Cartularium* and find few certain references to Staffordshire lands or churches. Besides Lichfield and Tamworth there are only two places in Staffordshire that are mentioned even in the Chronicles before the coming of the Dane. They are doubtful—Willenhall and Wednesbury. About 738 or 747 Ethelbald, king of the Mercians (716-757), tests two Charters at "Willanhalch" (*Cart. Sax.* 149, 150); this place Duignan believes to be Willenhall in Staffordshire, though there is another Willenhall in Coventry. I think the testing was more likely to have been done at a Willenhall near Coventry. But Duignan seems to me to be on surer ground when he places the site of Cealwin's defeat by the Britons in 592 at Wednesbury. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says: "There was a great slaughter in Britain at Woddesbeorge (another version says Wodensbeorge) and Cealwin was driven out." Again, under 715, the *Chronicle* tells us that Ina (king of Wessex) and Ceolred (king of Mercia) fought at Woddesbeorge (or Wodnesbeorge)." For exhaustive reasons given by Duignan both these battles seem more likely to have taken place at Wednesbury than at Wanborough, Wilts, which was "Wenbeorg" in three charters of the ninth century. (Duignan, *Staffordshire Place Names*, Preface.)

The County Hidage (c. 1016) assesses Staffordshire at 500 hides. Maitland relates the hide to the manse, to the holding of one family, in its original conception. Even if we assume that each hide meant a separate Saxon household, that "dummying" was unknown, that hide-assessments were not made to half-breed descendants of the early trappers and outlaws, the vortrekkers of Saxon culture, even then we can see how few were the Saxons that came to Staffordshire, how small is the admixture of German blood. There were, in theory, 500 settler units, who

brought that sparse proportion of women that settlers ever bring ; and they came among Celts who were not killed because they were wanted alive to work. The thousands of Celts, whatever their numbers, 5,000, 10,000, or 15,000, had nowhere to flee to, for the Saxons were all around them. It is idle to speculate what of the 500 were Angle and what Saxon, for Prof. Chadwick has shown that, whether they came up from Dorset or from Norfolk in the east, they were one and the same race—a Saxon people with an Angle aristocracy that came from Schleswig.

At first sight it would seem strange that, with so large a Celtic predominance, no trace should be left in language and so little in nomenclature. But the isolated coloured race that inhabits St. Helena, and the almost equally isolated Cape Boys of Cape Colony, speak English or Dutch and have forgotten their original tongue in less than two centuries. The conqueror despises and drops the language of the slave ; the slaves imitate the conqueror. Yet just as you still find in South Africa the Tugela, the Komati, the Limpopo, the Marico, so the Dove, the Trent, the Churnet, the Sour, the Tean, the Tern, the Tame, the Dane, and many others still perpetuate the language of a subject people. Though, on maps now, the Gariep has become the Orange River, and the Quathlanja range the Drakensberg, yet Majuba Hill is likely to be permanently on the map, and so are the Matoppoos and the Magaliesbergen. Just so the hills of Gun and Talk, and forests of Cannock and Leek preserve the Celtic name. It is doubtful whether Lichfield and Keele are not themselves Celtic. Other Staffordshire place-names, that Duignan calls Celtic, are : Brewood, Heighley, Monmore, Monway, Morfe, Onn, Penkrudge, and Seisdon. But place-names in the old language are few, even though we remember that Duignan knew little Celtic and always preferred to work round to an Anglo-Saxon derivation. We may add that just in the same way few place-names in Kafir survive the expatriation of the native chief. The little "tuns" took their respective names from their varying owners, till at last a name stuck.

THE DANISH SETTLEMENT.

So far we have set down all that is known of the Saxon Settlement prior to the coming of the Danes. The Saxon Settlement, 650-850, was not allowed long to rest in even the doubtful peace of occasional Welsh raids. With the coming of the Dane the gradual settlement of the district ceased. But for two reasons Staffordshire must have suffered less from Danish raids than other parts of the Kingdom. It lies furthest from any coast; and it was the poorest part of the country, without a town of any consequence unless it be Tamworth, with hardly a Religious House till 994, always just an outspan on the road to somewhere else.

But Tamworth was a Mercian capital. Burhred, the Mercian under-king who had been married to Ethelswyth, the sister of Kings Ethelred I. and Alfred, called first for help against the Danes in 869; and with his two Royal brothers-in-law Burhred went out and took Nottingham from the raiders. The Danes came down again the following year, and before 874 they had overrun Mercia and annexed the country, putting up a dummy king. King Alfred's struggles further south ended for a time in the Peace of Wedmore, 878; and by a further Treaty in 884 the Watling Street became the boundary between Saxon and Dane. It is doubtful from the terms of the Treaty how far Watling Street was intended to be a boundary so far northwards as Staffordshire, but what little one can gather from place-names, from the appearance of "carucates," from the situation of Ethelfleda's Burghs, it seems not unlikely that the Street was the actual boundary throughout its whole length as far as Worcester and Shrewsbury. Dr. Reid urges that through such a wild debatable country as Staffordshire there was nothing more suitable than this Street to be found for a boundary.

In any case the boundary did not last long. Of that part of Mercia that he still held, King Alfred made Ethelred, of the Mercian Royal House, ealdorman; and married him, about 880, to his eldest daughter Ethelfleda, the Lady of the Mercians. At that time even the English portion of Mercia was subject to constant raids, by the Danes from the north-east, by Danes and Norsemen from the Dee and Mersey, and by Welsh from the west. There is

subsequently dismembered, following the divisions of the Hundreds.

I would add next that Broom, Clent, Dudley and Rowley Regis were not in the deanery of Lapley and Trysull, and therefore presumably not in the archdeaconry of Stafford, nor in the original county of Stafford when that county, at some date prior to the Conquest, was taken as the ecclesiastical unit. The whole of the Bridgnorth area, shown in Staffordshire in Domesday, was by the same reasoning included in the original county. This is important in dealing with the original hidation of the Hundreds when the county was created about A.D. 920-60.

The two hundred years that followed the Conquest saw the number of churches and parishes in Staffordshire doubled. That is not remarkable seeing we hold that the Church had on mankind during those years. It was during those two centuries that three-quarters of the religious houses were founded, and private chapels, chantries and village churches followed only just behind. Moreover I think it probable that the period 1154-1348 saw the population of Staffordshire double and even treble itself. One can judge of this in some degree by watching the growth of suits on the Plea Rolls, and the growth of the rentals of the landed estates. The reign of Henry II. saw an extraordinary development in this respect—the settlement or colonisation of the moorlands, the increase of boundary disputes, the essarting of the wastes.

With this in mind let us go through the Papal Return of 1291 as before, Hundred by Hundred. In each case I give the value of the tithes and glebe as set down in the Return, a value that had no doubt become conventional, and I omit the value of abbey lands in the parish which is shown in the Return attached to many of the parishes. In the last column is given the Domesday parish, from which I think the new ones had probably been severed. Wherever the great tithe had been impropriated by a religious house, the name of that house is given as in the Return.

Hundred of Pirehill.

Deanery of Newcastle :—

		£	s.	d.	
Wolstanton with chapels		26	13	4	
Biddulph		5	0	0	Wolstanton
Audley		13	6	8	Wolstanton
Maley		6	13	4	Wolstanton
Stole-on Trent w. chapels		40	0	0	
Trentham	Trentham Pr.	13	6	8	
Mucclstone		13	6	8	
Maer	St. Thomas's Pr.	2	13	4	Mucclstone

Archdeaconry of Stafford :—

Stone	Stone Pr.	40	0	0	
Draycote (Hundred of Totmonslow)		13	6	8	Stone
Milwich	Stone Pr.	5	6	8	Stone
Sandon	Chumbermere Ab.	8	0	0	Stone
Swynnerton		10	0	0	Stone
Standon		6	13	4	
Chebsey		13	6	8	
Eccleshall	Prebend	66	13	4	
Cheswardine	Haughmond Ab.	6	13	4	Eccleshall
Adbaston or High Offley		13	6	8	Eccleshall
Abbots Bromley	Burton Ab.	2	13	4	
Blithfield		10	0	0	
Colwich	Prebend	26	13	4	
Stowe	St. Thomas's Pr.	10	0	0	
Weston by Sandon		6	13	4	Stowe
Stafford, St. Mary's	Collegiate	58	17	0	
Seighford	Ronton Pr.	13	6	8	Stafford

Hundred of Cuttlestone.

Archdeaconry of Stafford :—

Penkridge, with the prebends of Coppenhall, Stretton, Shareshill, Dunston, Penkridge, Congreve and Longridge	Collegiate Ch.	44	13	4	
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Deanery of Lapley and Trysull :—

Norbury		6	13	4	
Forton		6	13	4	Norbury
Gnosall	Collegiate Ch.	21	6	8	
Church Eaton		20	0	0	
Haughton		6	13	4	Church Eaton
Bradley		26	13	4	Church Eaton

Deanery of Lapley and Trysull—*contd.*

		£	s.	d.	
Baswich	Prebend	20	0	0	
Sherrif Hales	Ware Pr.	13	6	8	
Blymhill		8	0	0	Gnosall
Weston-under-Lyzeard		6	13	4	Brewood
Lapley	Lapley Cell	13	6	8	Church Eaton
Brewood	Prebend	40	0	0	

Hundred of Seisdon.

Deanery of Lapley and Trysull :—

Pattingham		18	13	4	
Tettenhall with members	Collegiate Ch.	29	6	8	
Bushbury		10	13	4	Wolverhampton
Wolverhampton, collegiate church, with prebends of Fetherston, Hatherton, Willenhall, "Wybaston," Hilton, Kinvaston, Monmore and the deanery		54	13	4	
Sedgley	Dudley Pr.	8	0	0	
Wombourne	Dudley Pr.	10	13	4	
Penne		8	0	0	Sedgley or Wombourne
Tipton		4	0	0	Sedgley
Kings Swinford		10	0	0	Sedgley
Kinver		8	0	0	
Enville		8	0	0	Kinver
Arley		10	0	0	Kinver
Worfield		33	6	8	
Bridgnorth with members		54	13	4	
Quat		6	13	4	In place of W. veley

Diocese of Worcester ; Deanery of Kidderminster :—

Clent with Rowley Chapel		18	13	4	
Dudley		6	13	4	

Hundred of Offlow.

Deanery of Tutbury and Tamworth :—

Hanbury with chapels		33	6	8	
Tutbury	Tutbury Pr.	7	13	4	Rolleston
Rolleston		13	6	8	
Burton-on-Trent	Abbey Church	10	0	0	
Tatenhill with chapel		16	13	4	Burton-on-Trent
Yoxall		13	6	8	Hanbury

Deanery of Tutbury and Tamworth—*contd.*

		£	s.	d.	
Hamstall Ridware		5	6	8	Hanbury
Alrewas	Prebend	20	0	0	
Lichfield, with prebends of					
Weeford, Freford, Long-					
de, Handsacre, the					
Bain Lit. Pipe and					
" Bishop's Hill "		103	0	0	
Statfold	Prebend	10	0	0	Tamworth
Clifton Cammin with chapels		16	13	4	
Elford		5	6	8	Clifton Cam.
Tamworth, St. Edith's	Collegiate Ch.	36	13	4	
Shenstone	Oseney Ab.	16	13	4	Walsall
Aldridge with chapels		6	13	4	Walsall
Walsall	Hales Ab.	12	0	0	
Wednesbury		5	13	4	Walsall
West Bromwich	Sandwell Pr.	4	0	0	Handsworth- Lichfield
Handsworth		14	0	0	

Handled of Totmonlow.

Deanery of Alton :—

Leek with chapels	Deulkroft Ab.	28	0	0	
Cheddleton		8	0	0	Leek
Ilam	Burton Ab.	8	0	0	
Grendon		6	13	4	Ilam
Alstonefield	Cumbermere Ab.	13	6	8	Ilam
Mayfield	Tutbury Pr.	10	0	0	
Rocester	Rocester Ab.	13	6	8	Mayfield
Alton	Croxden Ab. ¹	12	0	0	Mayfield
Ellaston	Calwich Pr.	9	6	8	Mayfield
Uttoxeter		12	0	0	
Leigh	Burton Ab.	13	6	8	[Uttoxeter]
Checkley		10	13	4	Uttoxeter
Kingston and Gratwich		6	13	4	Uttoxeter
Cheadle		7	6	8	
Kingsley		6	13	4	Cheadle
Dilhorn	Dean and Chap- ter of Lich- field	6	6	8	Cheadle
Caverswall	St. Thomas's Pr.	6	6	8	Cheadle

¹ Croxden Abbey Church was dedicated in 1253 (*Croxden Chronicle*).

SURVEY B—*contd.*

inuenit .i. hominem in Augusto ad secandum & qui a Pentecoste usque ad Augustum uadit ad lucum pro .i. quadriga debet reddere .ij. denarios . Rauechetus tenet .i. bouatam & operatur .i. die & uadit ubi mittitur . Alwinus similiter . homo mortalis similiter. Cotseti sunt Godricus, Aluricus, alter Godricus, Seietus, Leuietus, Bristoaldus, Vliotus, Lefleda, Aluena, Doue, Willelmus sutor, quisque habet .i. ortilagium & operatur .i. die; Bouarii .ij. quisque tenet .i. bouatam. ¶ Censarii sunt isti; Willelmus de Sobehalle tenet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis, & debet ne ubicumque mittitur, aut cum abbate aut sine abbate. Tintor habet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis & .vi. denarij & debet bis in anno prestare anatum suum & ter in Augusto secunde duabus vicibus cum .i. homine, Tercia cum omnibus suis ad cibum domini, & uxor Adelon .i. die. Stevulfus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis . Vctebrend similiter debet prestare quadrigam suam ad quadrigandum fenum dominicum. Aluricus cocus, Aluricus pistor, Ulwinus cementarius, quisque tenet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis, & debet facere easdem consuetudines. Lepsi pistor, Alsius cocus, Vlsi

SURVEY A—*contd.*

sunt ad malam tenet Wardebois .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Ailricus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Gladewinus .ij. bouatas pro .xxxvi. denariis. Steynulfus .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Aluricus .ij. bouatas & .i. croftam & .i. domum pro .iiij. solidis. Vctebrend .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Lepsi .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis. Alsi .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis. Godricus carpentarius .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis. Item Terricus tenet .i. domum. Odardus .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis. Droet .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis. Willelmus cocus .i. domum pro .xviij. denariis. Gilebertus .i. domum pro .xviij. denariis. Aluricus .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis. Acelinus .i. domum & .i. acram terre pro .xij. denariis. Ælmer .i. domum pro .xviij. denariis. Godwinus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Ieflet .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Sacrel .i. domum pro .vi. denariis. Fraxinus .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis.

Item Lepsi tenet .iiij. molendina pro .xxxi. solidis. Summa hanc est

Preter hæc tenet Vlsi in Scopenhalla .i. domum & .iiij. acras terre & .i. acram prati pro .xij. denariis. Engelrannus in Burtona .i.

even of the grammatical construction of the passage. It may be that the next word, which Shaw and I have both transcribed as "domi," should be "domo"; if not, I suppose that "falda" must be the noun (understood) with which "unaquaque" agrees.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

gardiner, Godricus carpentarius, quisque .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis & debet predictas consuetudines. Wardebois .ij. bouate & .iij. acras prati pro solidatis suis; scilicet duobus solidis. Eteua soror Bruningi .i. cortillagium & .ij. acram de Inlanda super quam manet. Hardwinus dimidiam acram pro .i. vano & .i. cana. Ricardus filius Godit .i. mansuram. Gilebertus .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis. Cacerl .i. domum pro .vi. denariis. Acelin .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Item Recelbertus .iij. acras de inlanda & hospitacionem suam desuper & dimidium altaris parochi exceptis candelis quas non habet sed inveniuntur sibi ad seruendum; et habet .ij. mergites decime dominicorum aratorum & in Burtona & in Brontiston & in Stapenhulla, & in Wineshull, & in Wismere, & de Villanis Burtone & Stapenhull & Wineshull .i. trauiam de unoquoque & decimam pecorum eorum & percitracionem .i. monachi in curia. Item Gilebertus .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis. Godwinus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Willelmus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Mater Steinulfi .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Acelinus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Item Mater Ricardi monachi manet super inlanda. Aluricus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Fromundus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Iepsi tenet .ij. Molendina pro .i. solidis

SURVEY A—*contd.*

domum pro .xij. denariis. Item Aluricus tenet in Burtona .iij. acras terre & in Withmera .vij. de Inlanda & .i. acram prati pro .xviiij. denariis. Item Ælmer & Herlus & Semer quisque eorum in Sobenhalla tenet .i. domum & .iij. acras terre & vnam acram prati pro .xij. denariis. Item in Burtona habet Wardebois .vi. acras de Inlanda pro .xviiij. denariis. Godwinus .i. bouatam pro .xviiij. denariis quam prius tenuit filius Ravecheli. Alfred .i. domum & .v. acras de inlanda & .i. prati pro .xij. denariis. Ernwi gardenarius domum & cortillagium pro .xij. denariis. Heort .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Ailward copro .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Ernwi uenator .i. domum ad opus. Hugo magnus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Rasulfus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Item in Sobenhalla habet Elmer filius Alci .iij. acras de Inlanda pro .xij. denariis.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

a festo omnium sanctorum primi anni Galfridi abbatis usque ad .iiij. annos, & debet gratis molere frumentum & brasium dominicum & reddere pisces qui ibi capiuntur & Molendina tam bona restituere cum nouis molis quando deseret sicut erant quum accepit. Alured .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis. Walt .i. domum pro .vi. denariis. Widsi .i. domum & .i. acram pro .xij. denariis, & quamquam de Inlanda est, debet gildare Abbati & facere ceteras consuetudines. Godwinus .i. domum pro .iiij. ebdomadarum opere scilicet .i. in estate & .ij. in quadragesima. Durandus .i. domum pro .xiiij. denariis. Summa est .xl.

Brantistona

IN Brantistona est inlande dimidia hida, ubi possunt esse aratra .iiij. Nunc sunt .ij. de .xvi. bobus. Equa .i. vacce .xxiv. Taurus .i. vituli .xiiij. animalia ociosa .vij. Terra hominum se defendit pro hida & dimidia . villani sunt Vlsi, Siricus, Vluricus, Alwinus, Edwinus, Bront, Osbernus, Redwi. Quisque horum tenet .ij. bouatas & facit omnes consuetudines quas faciunt villani Burtoni, nisi quia isti plus arant in quadragesima acram dimidiam quam illi. Id est .i. acram arant isti in quadragesima, Illi dimidiam, & non dant isti .ii. denarios pro quadrigis in lucum euntibus quod faciunt illi sicut predictum est. Godricus, Edricus

SURVEY A—*contd.*

Brantistona

IN Brantistona est tantum Inlande quantum satis est ad .ij. aratra in dominis. Terra hominum se defendit pro hida & dimidia. In terra Warlanda sunt .xi. bouate ad opus & .xv. ad malam, id est simul .xxvi. bouate. De hiis que sunt ad opus tenet Osbernus bouarius .i. bouatam. Ceteras id est .x. tenent quinque villani, id est vnus quisque .ij. bouatas. Preter istas tenet Brunning prepositus .ij. bouatas de Inlanda ad opus & Gildat Abbati. Item Gildenehele cotsetus habet .i. domum super inlandam & operatur .i. die. Edwinus bouarius .i. domum super inlandam. Walleus habet .xiiij. acras de Inlanda & .i. acram & dimidiam prati pro

SURVEY B—*contd.*

bouarii *quisque* habet .ij. bouatas. Osbernus bouarius .i. bouatam. Toli .i. bouatam pro .xv. denariis. Godricus colebras tenet .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis.

¶ Censarii sunt isti. Willelmus de Tatenhulla tenet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Aluredus parmentarius .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Vlwinus .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & debent facere *con detudines* quas faciunt censarii *burgoe*. Ormus tenet de Warlanda .vii. bouatas & habet sub se .vij. homines terram tenentes, vnusquisque eorum .i. bouatam & septimus .ij. bouatas. Item tenet de inlanda .x. iiij. acras terre & .xvi. prati. Debet ire ad placita & ad comitatus & ad Wapentas & in exercitus & ubi unque missus fuerit uel cum Abbate uel sine Abbate & debet iiij. perticas ad curiam & .ij. ad lucum & vadit ad cazas quando precipitur, & bis in anno prestat aratrum suum, & ter in Augusto secat cum omnibus suis. Tracemusca .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Godwinus flauus .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Alured, wasta terra est, .ij. bouatas pro .ij. oris. Aschetillus Wardebois habet de Inlanda .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis & pro seruicio suo. In luco sunt iiij. Wodecokeres in dominio. Summa est

SURVEY A—*contd.*

.xviiij. denariis & hoc est ultra firmam. Item preter hec tenet Ormus .viiij. bouatas de Warlanda & .iiij. de Inlanda.

Porro de hiis que sunt ad malam tenet Godwinus flauus .ij. bouatas de Warlanda, & .i. acram de Inlanda pro .iiij. solidis. Tracemusca .ij. bouatas de Warlanda & .iiij. acras terre & .i. prati de Inlanda pro .iiij. solidis. Vlsi .ij. bouatas de Warlanda & .i. acram de Inlanda pro .iiij. solidis. Vlwinus .ij. bouatas de Warlanda & .i. Cortilagium pro .iiij. solidis. Calebras .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Alured .ij. bouatas pro .xxxij. denariis. Willelmus de Tatenhulla .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Aschetillus .i. bouatam pro .xviiij. denariis. Toli .i. bouatam de Inlanda pro .xv. denariis. Wardebois .i. bouatam de inlanda sine crota pro .xij. denariis. Summa est .xxiiij. solidi & .v. denarii. In luco sunt .iiij. vdecokeres in dominio. Item partem luci pertinentis ad Bratisham tenet Robertus de ferrers pro .xx. solidis, & pro exclusagio in Eginton habente .xxiiij. pedes de certa terra quod debebat nobis in conuencionem, reddidit in dominium nostrum post mortem Arfasti quietam & solutam Tichenhalam quam tenebat de nobis pro .x. solidis.

¶ Terram huius manerii preter lucum & haias & preter terram que fuit Tracemusche, que omnia retin-

Unfortunately, nearly all the above-mentioned documents are without date, so that it is impossible to say at what precise dates these Priors entered upon their office, but still it is of some use to know that the documents attested by Swegn must have been earlier than those attested by Edwin, while those attested by Edwin come before those attested by Jordan. And I think we are able to get a step nearer to ascertaining their approximate dates in the following way:—Survey A speaks of Darlaston as being then in farm to Orm for 60s., and a deed referring to this fee farm is set out in the Cartulary (p. 35): it was a grant for the lives of Orm and his son Robert, and the next deed set out (p. 36) is a similar convention with Robert, this latter deed being attested by Prior Swegn. This shews that Swegn was still Prior after the date of Survey A. Again, we know from the Cartulary (p. 34) that Andrew became tenant of Field in 1116, and he still held it at the date of Survey A: as we have already seen, he afterwards gave up Field and received from the Abbot a part of Leigh instead, the date of this exchange being apparently 1129 while the deed evidencing the transaction (p. 34) was also witnessed by Prior Swegn. It follows that Swegn must have held the office of Prior at any rate as late as the year 1129. The only definite date that we have in connection with Prior Edwin's period of office, so far as I am aware, is derived from the three Wolston deeds set out on pp. 32, 33, the first of which is dated 1132 and the third 1133: the second deed, which is not dated but is certainly subsequent to the one dated 1132 and was probably placed in its proper order before that dated 1133, was attested by Prior Edwin; and so in fact was also the deed of 1133, though his name is omitted in the Cartulary as printed.¹ After Abbot Robert's

¹ The date (*circa* 1114) attributed by General Wrottesley (p. 31, note) to the grant by Abbot Geoffrey to Orm and his heir of six bovates at Streton (by Burton), which was also witnessed by Prior Edwin, must certainly be too early; for it is clear that Swegn continued Prior for a considerable time after Geoffrey become Abbot; moreover, Andrew of Leigh, another of the witnesses to this deed, did not obtain his holding at Leigh until he gave up Field, which he only received in 1116 and which he still held at the time of Survey A and apparently until 1129 or 1130 (*Staff. Coll.*, vol. i, pp. 1-2, 7). This Orm of Streton must, I think, have been a different person from Orm of Darlaston, as the latter had been succeeded in his Darlaston holding by his son Robert while Swegn was still Prior (*Burton Cartulary*, p. 36).

time it does not appear to have been usual for the Priors to witness the Abbey deeds, though one deed of Abbot Richard's time (1182-1188) relating to Stapenhill was attested by William as Prior.

III. HAMPTON AND THE NEWTON TITHES.

In the *Burton Cartulary* (as printed in *Staff. Coll.*, Vol. V, part 1) the exchange between the Abbot of Burton and Ralph Fitz Urno¹ (or Urvoi) of the Hampton land for the Newton tithes is referred to in three places, twice in the surveys (pp. 21, 27) and once in the deed itself in the Cartulary proper (p. 32): and in the three passages, as there transcribed, there appear various discrepancies, which have caused some difficulty. Thus in Survey B (p. 27) the Hampton land is described as containing two carucates, in Survey A (p. 21) as containing only one, whilst the amount of the tithe modus is given as xii s. in Survey A, but as viii s. in the Cartulary (p. 32). The greater particularity of the description in Survey A and its substantial agreement with the deed in the Cartulary, coupled with the difficulty or ambiguity of the grammatical construction of the statement in Survey B, led me to suspect some mistake in the latter, and I found on referring to the Cartulary itself at Bead desert that my suspicions were well founded. In point of fact the apparent discrepancies do not really exist. The quantity of land as given in both surveys is really one carucate (not two), while the amount of the tithe modus, as given both in Survey A and in the deed itself, proves to be vij s. instead of either xii s. or viii s. The mention in Survey B in this connection of the sum of vi s. as being included in the lxx s. rent paid by the "farmers" is not inconsistent with this, as the sum paid by the farmers would not necessarily, or even probably, be identical with the sum received by them from the tithe payer: some allowance would naturally be made to the farmers for expenses of collection, etc.² I would take this opportunity of correcting another little

¹ It is easy to see how the mistake arose. The word is given in figures with (as usual) a dot on each side, but in this case one of the dots is elongated, and at first sight the figure looks more like ii than i.

² In the same way Edda's rent of 20s. for Dodsleigh is reckoned in the farm of Leigh to Godric and Ulric as 18s. (Survey A).

mistake in the passages above referred to. Meriet, to whom the Abbey was indebted for the gift of Hampton, is really described both in Survey A and in the deed not as "presbyter noster" but as "*pater noster*," the word being in the case of the Survey written in full without any abbreviation. Does this mean that Meriet was actually and literally the father of Abbot Geoffrey?

Ralph Fitz Urnoi (or Urvoi)¹ is the earliest known ancestor of the de Weston lords of Weston-under-Lizard and Newton (*Staff. Coll.*, N.S., Vol. II, p. 12), and his son Robert Fitz Ralph appears as the owner of that fee in the *Liber Niger* (1166) and again in 1167 (*Staff. Coll.*, Vol. I, pp. 47, 214). Newton and Hampton are both in the parish of Blithfield and not far from Abbots Bromley. General Wrottesley has told us that the name Urnoi or Erneis is of Scandinavian origin and was in use among the Normans at the time of the Conquest. I do not know whether the name is a common one, but it does occur twice among the names of cottager tenants at Burton in Survey A as "Ernwi gard" [*qu. gardenarius*] and "Ernwi venator," once among the names of the *villani* at Stretton in Survey B as "Erneisus," and once among the names of the *cenarii* at Winhill in the same survey as "Arnwi"; it also occurs in the deed of 1116 relating to Field (*Burton Cartulary*, p. 34) as "Ernewius," the previous freehold tenant there before Andrew at a rent of 20s. My suggestion is that Urnoi, if that be the true form of the name of the father of Ralph lord of Weston and Newton, is the same person as Ernewius, the freehold tenant of Field, who was succeeded there by Andrew in the year 1116 and had in all probability then recently died: it is likely enough that his son Ralph, having by this time in some way acquired the fee of Weston and Newton, would not care to renew the tenancy of Field. This suggestion is little more than a conjecture, but it fits in so well with all the known facts and dates that it appears to me to be a highly probable one and worth notice. Ralph Fitz Urnoi's name occurs among the witnesses to a deed by R. [*qu. Robert or Roger*] bishop of

¹ Mr Round writes the name as Urvoi, and I am bound to say that this is the form which it appeared to me to take in the *Burton Cartulary*, but the difficulty of distinguishing between the letters "n" and "u" is a commonplace.

included in Edda's holding can be supplied from the deed in the Cartulary (p. 34), which gives the number 20 and sets out the boundaries beginning from the river Blyth.

In DARLASTON (*Derlavestona*), according to both Surveys, there was inland sufficient for two ploughs, and the men's land was in defence for 3 virgates, in which were 9 *waræ*, 6 inhabited and 3 waste. Survey B states that the six inhabited *waræ* were occupied by 11 *cenarii* and one other R. (probably Racchenistus) for his service: 3 *cotseti* working one day a week and one blacksmith are mentioned, also a mill; and Darlaston is stated to be in defence for half a hide and one virgate, which Survey A equates with three virgates,—the whole held by Orm, whose rent is given in Survey B as xls., but in Survey A and in the deed itself (Cartulary, p. 35) as lxs. The meaning of the term *wara* has already been discussed. No names except Orm are available for comparison.

In WHISTON by Penkridge (*Witestona*) both Surveys give 8 bovates of inland, and the warland in defence for one hide: 6 *waræ*, 3 in demesne where there was land for two ploughs, the other 3 occupied by 6 men *ad opus*, each holding half a *wara*, working two days a week and paying 3*d.* a year. Survey B mentions also a jester and a tailor, 95 (?) mares, 10 cows, a plough-team¹ and a half (*i.e.* 12 oxen) and 50 sheep. Whiston was in defence for one hide, and was held in farm for 10*s.* by Nablus (Survey B), doubtless the same person as Naveau (Survey A), for Navven was the abbot's tenant at Whiston in the Domesday Survey.

BEDINGTON (*Bedintona*) and PILLATONHALL (*Pillat halle*) were in defence for half a hide. At the time of Survey B Pillatonhall was waste, and the tenant Edwin paid a reduced rent for it in consequence, *viz.* 4*s.* instead of 5 *oræ* (6*s.* 8*d.*): for Bedington he paid 6 *oræ* (8*s.*). Survey A gives rather fuller particulars, *viz.* 8 bovates of inland at Bedington and 8 bovates of warland at Pillatonhall, altogether 16 bovates, for which Edwin now pays 20*s.*, so that all the land had presumably been brought back into cultivation. No names except Edwin's are

¹ The word is "carr", which might stand for "carrucam" or for "carrucatum," but the context suggests animals rather than land.

mentioned in either Survey. The name Bedington does not now survive, but the two places evidently adjoined one another. Pope Lucius's Confirmation to Burton Abbey in 1185 mentions only Pillatonhall and not Bedington, so in all probability both places were included under the name Pillatonhall even as far back as the end of the twelfth century.

This completes the Staffordshire part of the Surveys, for Staperhill and Winshill, now in that county, then lay in Derbyshire, the river Trent having until quite recently formed the county boundary here.

In Derbyshire, at MICKLEOVER (*Oufra Major, Oufra Magna*), Survey B mentions inland sufficient for three and four ploughs in alternate years, four plough-teams of 32 oxen then in use, and one mare: the men's land in defence for four carucates. In Survey A the inland is described as sufficient for three strong ploughs in demesne. In Survey B 18 *villani* are named, each holding 2 bovates of land and their customary services being fully described, a smith also holding 2 bovates *ad opus*, and 2 *bovarii* each holding 1 bovate: among the *censarii*, holding altogether 37 bovates, 11 tenants are named (3 of whom were reeves and 1 a *presbyter*) and 4 more *bovarii* are also mentioned, the latter holding a bovate each *pro officio suo*, bringing the total number of bovates up to 77. In Survey A the warland is put at 52 bovates *ad opus* and 24 *ad malam*, 4 being quit as belonging to the church, total 76 bovates. Those holding *ad opus* are Aluric the reeve, Alfac the smith, and also 5 *bovarii* and 19 *villani* whose names are not given, each of them holding 2 bovates: the tenants *ad malam* are a *presbyter* and 8 others all named, holding amongst them 24 bovates. Then follow 8 more *censarii*, beginning with Hugh le Sele, whose names must have been added later, holding altogether 17 bovates. Excluding this later addition, 10 names are the same as in Survey B, while 5 changes of name have occurred.

At LITTLEOVER (*Oufra minor, Parva Oufra*) Survey B states that there is inland sufficient for four ploughs, and four full plough-teams of 32 oxen actually in existence, also 1 mare: the men's land in defence for 3 carucates. Survey A gives the inland as sufficient for three very strong ploughs in demesne. In Survey B 19 *villani* are named, each holding 2 bovates, and

their customary services being the same as at Mickleover, 4 *bovarii* each holding 5 acres of inland (as well apparently as 1 bovate), a smith holding 1 bovate for work on three ploughs, a *cotsetus* holding 1 bovate, and (including the tenants in Derby) 12 *censarii* holding amongst them 18 bovates (besides 2 of inland), 4 *mansuræ*, 2 of which are waste, a mill, a small island, a church and 3 wicks. In Survey A the warland is put at 37 bovates *ad opus* and 19 *ad malam*, total 56. Of those holding *ad opus* 4 *bovarii* and 14 *villani* (names not given) held 2 bovates each, and 2 *cotseti* are mentioned by name. Then among those holding *ad malam* (again including Derby) 14 persons are named, holding amongst them 18 bovates (besides 2 of inland), 5 *mansuræ*, 2 of which are waste, a mill, a small island, a church, and 2 wicks in Waldewick Street. Of the names of which a comparison can be made 9 seem to be the same in the two Surveys and 5 have changed. Here the later additions appear to begin with the words "Item Otto de Derbeia."

At FINDERN (*Finderna*) Survey B puts the inland as enough for three ploughs, though there were only two there in use; there was one horse, and the men's land in defence for 2 carucates. Survey A puts the inland as enough for two very strong ploughs in demesne. Survey B names 12 *censarii*, holding amongst them 24 bovates, besides mentioning (without giving the names of) 4 *bovarii*, each of whom apparently held 5 acres of inland and 1 bovate, and 3 *cotseti*. Survey A states that there were 32 bovates of warland, one held *ad opus* by Brandwin the *bovarius* and all the rest *ad malam* by tenants whose names are given: 3 *cotseti* are mentioned, or more probably 5, *i.e.* if we include a *daia* (dairy maid) and another householder, Tedeve, who is not expressly called a *cotsetus*. Here 8 names are the same as in Survey B and 3 have changed. Part, if not the whole, of the concluding paragraph beginning "Item pars grange" is evidently a later addition.

POTLOCK (*Pothlac, Potlac*) was at the date of Survey B held by Nigel de Repton (*Rependona*) for 4s., and no details are given. In Survey A it is stated that there was no inland, and that the land was in defence for one carucate; also that there were 16 bovates altogether, of which 7 were in demesne and 9 held by tenants, whose names are given and who all held

for money payments. The "farmer" of the manor is now Geoffrey [de Potlock] instead of Nigel de Repton, but except in his case no comparison of names is possible.

At WILLINGTON (*Wilentona*) both Surveys state that there was no inland, and that the land was in defence for 3 carucates. Survey B names 13 tenants besides the smith, holding amongst them 22 bovates, and all being rent-paying tenants except the smith who held for his office, and Umfrid, who held rent free. One *cistern* is mentioned, and a mill of the value of 20s., while the "farmer" of the manor is Alured de Cumbrai for a rent of 30s. and tithes. In Survey A it is stated that there were 32 bovates, 7 in demesne and sufficient for 2 ploughs, and the other 25 held by Georic the *presbyter* and 14 rent-paying tenants whose names are given. The manor is now held in farm with the mill by Umfrid for a term of 16 years for a rent of 100s. and tithes. Of the names mentioned in Survey B 8 occur again in Survey A, while 6 have been replaced by others. In his Introduction to the Cartulary (p. 3), General Wrottesley, while successfully defending the monks against Eyton's charge of having procured the suppression in Domesday of the whole of their home estate at Burton, makes a new charge against them of having obtained the suppression there of the two important manors of Anslow and Willington. To me it seems that this new charge is equally baseless. Anslow, it is true, does not occur in Domesday, but it does not occur in the Burton Abbey Surveys either; and it is fairly clear that either it was not acquired by the monks until after the date of these Surveys, or else it was included both in them and in Domesday under the name of some adjoining vill. The first mention of it in the deeds is in Abbot Roger's time, 1178-1182 (Cartulary, p. 41). As regards Willington the disproof of the charge is still more conclusive. Though not entered in Domesday under the possessions of the Abbey, it is not omitted altogether, but appears under the lands of Ralph FitzHubert, where it is stated that in Willetune (Willington) *Leuric* had 3 carucates assessed to the geld. Now this Leuric was almost certainly none other than the Leuric who was Abbot of Burton (and several other abbeys) at the time of the Conquest and died in 1085, and who (as Florence of Worcester tells us) was a nephew of Leuric or Leofric the

which comparison is possible. Taking 30 years as representing a generation (which I believe to be usually considered a fair average, and therefore the period during which all the tenants might be expected to change), and assuming that the comparison extends over a field sufficiently wide for the purposes of generalisation, we arrive at the result that Survey A was probably made some 12 years after Survey B. If then I am right in thinking that Survey B was made in 1114 or early in 1115, the date of Survey A would be about 1126: and this agrees with and corroborates the conclusion at which Mr. Round (and I too) had arrived, by an independent line of reasoning and by rather different routes, as to the latest possible date for Survey A.

As stated at the beginning of this paper, I have endeavoured as far as possible to avoid a repetition of what has been explained already by Mr. Round infinitely better than I could explain it, and I must refer to his Notes for particulars of the various obligations and services exacted by the abbots from the different classes of their tenants: *e.g.*, in the case of free tenants sepulture, escort service, entertainment, aid, relief, suit of court, and tithes; in the case of *censarii* occasional services usually of an agricultural nature, such as harvest labour, lending plough or a horse for harrowing or a man for weeding, attending the hunt, and doing fence work; in the case of *villani* similar services, and also regular team labour for two days a week; in the case of *bordarii* and *cotseti* regular labour for one day a week. But, as it is in Survey B only that these details are to be found and a considerable part of this Survey was omitted in the edition previously printed, fresh illustrations of the nature of these services can now be drawn from it, which were not available when Mr. Round's Notes were written.

THE WATLING STREET IN STAFFORDSHIRE.

THE course of the Roman roads in Britain and the identity of the stations of the Antonine Itinerary have for centuries past been the subject of much learned discussion, and I cannot hope to throw any fresh light on the numerous puzzles which they present, but it may be useful in these Collections for a History of Staffordshire to relate the difficulties and to summarise the diverse views that have been expressed as to the course of the Watling Street so far as it affects this county.

Watling Street is the name by which the great road from the south-east to the north-west of England has been known for at least ten centuries, and in all probability for several more. It is mentioned by name in the treaty between king Alfred and Guthrum the Dane, king of the East Angles, shortly after the Peace of Wedmore in A.D. 878, as the termination (if not a part) of the agreed boundary between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes. This treaty is given in Anglo-Saxon in Bich's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (No. 856, Vol. ii, App. p. xix), and the first clause may be translated as follows:—

1. First about our land-boundaries. Up the Thames, and thence up the Lea, along the Lea to its source, thence straight to Bedford, thence up the Ouse as far as Watling Street.

(The Watling Street crosses the Ouse at Stony Stratford, where that river now forms the county boundary between Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire.) It is named again as a

national boundary in the treaty *c.* 943 between king Eadmund and Onlaf the Danish king of Deira, as thus recorded by Simeon of Durham (under the year 939) :—

Pace itaque facta, terminus utriusque regni erat Wetlingastrete : Edmundus ad australem partem, Onlaf ad aquilonem regnum tenuerunt.

where the references to the north and south sides of the road, as well as the circumstances of the case generally, shew that the boundary ran east and west, and therefore must have included the Staffordshire part of the Watling Street.

In the fourth year after the Conquest an inquisition was made by the king with the advice of his barons into the laws and customs of England, and the return to this inquisition, which is known as *Leges Edoardi Regis*, or the Laws of the Confessor, is generally supposed to represent laws which were in force before the Danish invasion, and which had been revived by the Confessor. Under *cap.* 12, "*De pace Regis*," we read :—

Pax Regis multiplex est alia quam habent quatuor chemini, Watlingstrete, Fosse, Hikenildstrete, and Ermingstrete, quorum duo in longitudinem regni, alii duo in latitudinem distenduntur.

To a breach of the king's peace on these four great roads special penalties were attached, and they were called (*cap.* 13) *chemini Regis*, or king's highways, while the branch roads leading from city to city and from borough to borough were called *chemini minores* and were subject to the jurisdiction of the county court. Under the year 1013, Florence of Worcester, who died in 1118, speaks of

omnis populus qui habitabat in septentrionali plaga Weatlingastreate, id est strata quem filii Weatlæ regis ab Orientali mare usque ad Occidentale per Angliam straverunt.

Referring to about the same period (1016), Geoffrey Gaimar, the Norman rhyming chronicler of the twelfth century, in his *L'Estorie des Engles*, thus describes the agreement between Eadmund Ironside and Cnut :—

Li dui rei vindrent a lur gent ;
 Lendemain fu fait l'acordement.
 Car la terre fu departie,
 Par l'esguard de la barunie :
 Si com curt l'ewe de Tamise,
 Unt esguardé dreite devise,
 E de la liu u ele surt,
 Tresk' en Fosse ; d'iloc recurt,
 E alt tut dreit tresk' *al chemin*
Ke fist faire li reis Belin
Wathelingstrete ; iloc en dreit,
 Tristut le west devise seit.

Without attempting to give an exact translation of this passage, I shall be safe in saying that the boundary here assigned followed the course of the river Thames up to its source (near Cirencester in Gloucestershire), and so across to the Fossway, thence back along the Fossway to its junction with the Watling Street (near High Cross, on the borders of Leicestershire and Warwickshire), and then along the Watling Street right on to the west. The statement as to the construction of the Watling Street by king Belin, as is the case with most of Geoffrey Gaimar's chronicles, was doubtless based upon Geoffrey of Monmouth (1100?–1154), who describes, without giving names to, the four great roads said to have been constructed and made places of sanctuary by that king (who is supposed to have lived in the fourth or fifth century B.C., and to have been the son of Dyfnwal Moelmyd or Duvallus Molmutius). Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose *Historia Regum Britannia*, written before 1130 though its final form is assigned to the year 1147, was based upon a certain "liber vetustissimus Britannici sermonis quem Gualterus archidiaconus ex Britannia eduxit," after describing how king Belinus established himself as acknowledged ruler over the whole island from sea to sea, and confirmed the laws of his father Duvallus Molmutius, proceeds (*lib.* III, *cap.* v) as follows :—

Sed de viis orta est discordia quia nesciebatur quibus terminis diffinita essent. Rex ergo omne ambiguum legi suæ auferre volens, convocavit omnes operarios totius insulæ :

jussitque viam ex cæmento et lapidibus fabricari : quæ insulæ longitudinem a Cornubico mari usque ad Cathenesium littus secaret, et ad civitates quæ intra eam erant, recto limite duceret. Jussit etiam aliam fieri in latitudinem regni quæ a Menevia, quæ super Demeticum mare sita est, usque ad portum Hamonis extensa ad urbes intra positas ducatum ostenderet. *Alias quoque duas ab obliquo insulæ*, quæ ad cætes civitates ducatum præstarent. Deinde sancivit eas omni honore, omni dignitate, jurisque sui esse præcepit, quod de illata super eos violentia vindicta sumeretur. Si quis autem scire voluerit omnia quæ de eis statuerit, legat Molmutinus leges, quas Gildas historicus de Britannico in Latinum, Ræx vero Alueredus in Anglicum sermonem transtulit.

Of these four roads the first, extending from the Cornish sea to Caithness, would mean the Fosseway, the second, from St. Davids to Southampton, would be Geoffrey's notion of the Icenild Street, and there can be no doubt that by one of the two others "ab obliquo insulæ" would be meant the Watling Street. The translations of the Molmutian laws by Gildas from the British language into Latin and by king Ælfred from Latin into English are unfortunately not now extant.

Henry of Huntingdon, who died in 1155, also describes the four principal British roads (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 69.) thus:—

Tantæ autem gratiæ inhabitantibus fuit Britannia, quod quatuor in ea calles a fine in finem construerent regia sublimatos auctoritate, ne aliquis in eis inimicum invadere auderet. Primus est ab Oriente in Occidentalem, et vocatur Ichenild : secundus est ab Austro in Aquilonem, et vocatur Erningestrete : *tertius est ex transverso a Dorobernia in Cestriam, scilicet ab Euro austro in Zephyrum Septentrionalem, et vocatur Watlingestrate* : quartus, major ceteris, incipit in Catenes et desinit in Totenes, scilicet a principio Cornu-galliæ in finem Scotiæ ; et hic callis vadit ex transverso a Zephyro Australi in Eurum Septentrionalem, et vocatur Fossa, tenditque per Lincolnum. Hi sunt quatuor principales calles Angliæ, multum quidem spatiosi, sed nec minus speciosi, sanciti edictis regum, scriptisque verendis legum.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of "The Staffordshire Historical Collections."

DEAR SIR,

Since the publication of the Society's Vol. XI. N.S. some further information with respect to the Bagot Family has come to light, which seems to call for a few corrections in the late General Wrottesley's History contained in that volume; and since some of the Corrigenda on pp. 222, 223 arose out of communications which I made to him, I feel it incumbent on me, if I may be allowed to correct any errors there for which I am in any measure responsible.

I am,

yours faithfully,

D. S. MURRAY.

(1) In regard to pp. 17, 18 and 222 it may be convenient, for the sake of clearness, to repeat some of the information there given. The will of Sir Lewis Bagot who died in 1534 has recently been found at the Lichfield Probate Registry, and there is also at the Public Record Office an inquisition taken on the death of his son Thomas. These two documents, neither of which is referred to by General Wrottesley, are printed below. It appears from them that Sir Lewis had *four* (not *three*) sons by his (third) wife Anne (Montgomery), viz. Thomas, who succeeded him, Edward, Geoffrey, and Stephen; and further that, besides the daughters named in the Visitation Pedigree of 1583, but not mentioned in his will, he had living at the date of his will three other daughters, viz. Maud and Anne, both then unmarried, and Alice who had married an Alablasour (Arblaster). The monument in Blithfield Church to the memory of Sir Lewis Bagot, as it now exists, is the westernmost of three "Altar-Tombs" placed end to end along the northern wall of the Sanctuary, but it is clear that two of these three tombs, viz. those of Sir Lewis and his son Thomas, are not now in their original form, the slabs having evidently been considerably

reduced in size to enable the third "Altar-Tomb," that of Sir Lewis's grandson Richard, to be placed next and to the east of them and reaching up to, and indeed into, the east wall of the Chancel. It is probable that originally the monuments of Sir Lewis and Thomas were simply slabs placed on the floor of the Chancel, similar to several others in the Church of about the same date, and that they were raised to their present position by the addition of bases when the third monument was erected in memory of Richard after his death in 1597, the inscriptions round the (new) bevelled edge of Sir Lewis's monument and on the two ends of Thomas's monument, and the shields in the arched recesses behind them and on the south sides of the bases, being added at the same time. Sir Lewis is depicted on his monument as lying between two wives, while the head of a third female (without a coif) is introduced on his right side between him and one of the full-length female figures. In a compartment at the foot of the slab on his right side are depicted eleven children, five sons and six daughters; while in the corresponding compartment on his left side are the figures of eight children, four sons and four daughters, three of the former being grouped round what appears to be the representation of the eldest. The ermine edging to the robe of this latter figure, which may be seen also on that of one of the sons in the southern compartment, seems to distinguish them from the rest. Of the four daughters the two smaller, and presumably youngest, figures are represented with coifs on their heads. The inscription round the now bevelled edge is as follows:—

"Hic : Jacent : Corpora : Lodowici : Bagott : Militis : & : Anne .
 Uxoris : ei' : qui quidem : Lodowic' : obiit : ultimo : die :
 Mēsis : Maii : A° : dni : M° : d°xxxiv°- : que : vero : A° :
 obiit : qto : die : Mensis Septembris : A° : dni : M :
 cccc : xiiij : quōr Aiab' ppiciat' deus : Amen :"

On the south side of the base of the monument are four shields commemorating his children, or some of them, viz. : (1) Bagot impaling Astley, (2) Bagot impaled with the following coat, *or*, three stags' heads coupéd *gules*, on a canton of the second a fleur-de-lys of the first. (This dexter side of the shield is painted only, not carved in relief as are all the rest.) (3) Bagot

impaled with Meverell, and (4) Bagot impaled with a coat apparently once painted but afterwards defaced, traces of an argent field being all that now remains of it. On the wall in an arched recess above the monument, in their position and style similar to those above the other two monuments, are three shields, viz.: (1) Bagot impaling Curzon (for Sir Lewis's father and mother), (2) Bagot impaling Montgomery (for himself and his third wife, the mother of his heir), and (3) Montgomery impaling Delves (for his wife's parents).

There can hardly be any doubt that the two full-length female figures represent his second wife Emma (Kniveton), and his third wife Anne (Montgomery), and that the third smaller head represents his first wife Lucy (Kniveton), to whom he was married in 1475 when only about 14 years of age, and who was probably sister of his second wife, and must have died in early youth. There was formerly in the glass of one of the North Clerestory windows figures of Sir Lewis and the same three wives, with the following inscription:—

“Orate pro felici statu Lodowic Bagot militis et dnæ Annæ uxoris suæ et pro animis magistræ Luciæ et dnæ Emmæ uxōr.”

The figures of these three wives and part of the original inscription, are now in the two-light window at the west side of the Tower, but the figure of the knight himself no longer exists. This window contains also a shield, which probably formerly had a place in the Clerestory in connection with the same figures, bearing quarterly (1) Bagot, (2) Montgomery, (3) Kniveton, and (4) Malory, a curious combination if it represents (as apparently it does) the arms of Sir Lewis and two of his wives (neither of whom were heiresses), and one of the early Bagot quarterings.

It seems now to be clear that the eleven children figured on the right side of Sir Lewis must include his eldest son John, who lived to grow up and marry, but died without issue in his father's life-time (1512), and the four daughters mentioned in the Visitation Pedigree of 1583, viz. Jane Thirkeld, Elena Meverell, Elizabeth East, and Anne (?) Biddulph; all his other children by his second wife dying without issue before him. It would then

"And further the jurors aforesaid say upon their oath that the aforesaid Lewis Bagott, knight, in his life by his deed dated Hen. VIII. gave and granted to *Edward Bagott* his son one tenement and certain lands lying and being in Bagotts Bromley in the county aforesaid in which Thomas Crosse dwells and occupies for a term of years of the annual value of 4 marks to hold to the said Edward for the term of his life."

Further findings that the said Thomas Bagott, esquire, by deed dated 18 Jan. 29 Hen. VIII. [1537-8], granted to Walter Blunt, gentleman an annuity of 20s. 8d. issuing out of all his lands for good counsel and also for executing the office of steward for keeping his manorial courts, such annuity to be held for his life, that the said Lewis Bagott, knight, by deed dated 14 Oct. 13 Hen. VIII. [1521] granted to William Sherrard a piece of land in Bagotts Park called le Queche to hold for his life, and by the same deed granted to the said William Sherrard the office of keeping his deer in Bagotts Park, with sufficient pasture for one horse and six cows within Bagotts Park and windfall wood to hold for his life, that by deed dated 20 May 10 Hen. VIII. [1518] he granted to Thomas Lethom of Bagotts Bromley an annuity of 20s. issuing out of a tenement at Dunstall lately in the tenure of Geoffrey Rede *alias* Sukey and now in the tenure of the said Thomas Lethom to hold for his life, and that Thomas Bagott, esquire, granted to the said William Sherrard an annuity of 10s. issuing out of the manor of Felde *pro tolleto* rent of his manor of Felde such annuity to be held for his life.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

p. 16, l. 3: "*æt there syhl.*" This should, I think, have been translated "at the plough" instead of "miry place." The plough land was to be the bishop's, but not the movable chattels upon it. Cf. *Laws of king Æthelstan*, I., 16 (Record ed., pp. 88, 549), where the same expression is used.

p. 306, l. 10: In the compilation of Welsh laws known as the Laws of Howel dda, of which the earliest MS. that now exists is attributed to the twelfth century, mention is made of Dyfnwal Moel mawr as a British king who reigned over the whole island and was the first establisher of good laws there, the only note given of his date being that it was before the supremacy was seized by the Saxons (*Venedotian Code*, II, xvii). He is here described as the son of Clydno, earl of Cernyw (Cornwall), by a daughter of the king of Lloegyr (England), and it is stated that he obtained the kingdom by the distaff on the extinction of the male line, and that his laws continued in force until the time of Howel dda (died 950). The measurements, which he took in order that he might know the tribute of the island, the number of miles, and the journeys in days, are said to have been continued by Howel dda as they were left by Dyfnwal, "because he was the best measurer." His measurements are given thus:—

"He measured this island from the promontory of Blathäon in Prydain to the promontory of Penwæd in Cernyw; and that is 900 miles, the length of this island: and from Crigyll in Mon to Soram on the shore of the Mor Udd, which is 500 miles; and that is the breadth of this island."

And this is followed by a table of linear measurement, under which 3 barley corns make 1 inch, 3 inches 1 palm's breadth,

3 palms' breadths 1 foot, 3 feet 1 pace, 3 paces 1 leap, 3 leaps 1 land, and 1000 lands 1 mile. It is, I think, clear that there must be some mistake here, for it would make a mile many times too large. It will be noticed that all the steps of the table except the last follow the threefold division, which seems to have been so dear to the Welsh minds of that day, the result being that, while the first two steps agree with the modern English measures, a foot then consisted of 9 instead of 12 inches, so that a pace would be equivalent to $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet of English measure. But I am unable to offer any useful suggestion as to how the table should be corrected: 1000 leaps would still be too large, 1000 paces too small, for a mile, nor would 1000 double paces (the Roman *passus*) give the required result. However, it is clear that the breadth of the island was measured from somewhere on the north-west coast of Mona or Anglesey to somewhere on the south-east coast of Kent, the actual distance of which would be about 330 English miles as compared with the 500 British miles of Dyfnwal's measurement, *i.e.*, approximately 2 English to 3 British miles. If a corresponding reduction is made in the length measurement, the length of the island from "the promontory of Blathæon in Prydain to the promontory of Penwaed in Cernyw" would be about 600 English miles. Now Penwaed in Cernyw is obviously Penwith promontory at the south-west extremity of Cornwall, and Blathæon in Prydain must, I think, be somewhere in the neighbourhood of North Berwick, on the north-east coast of Haddingtonshire, facing the Firth of Forth, which was the northern limit of ancient Britain, as it was also for a considerable period the extreme limit of the Roman occupation, so long at least as Agricola's line of forts or the wall of Antoninus Pius, between the Forth and the Clyde (the *Bodotria* and *Clota* of Tacitus), formed an effective barrier against the northern barbarians: and this will correspond fairly well with the distance by road from the Land's End. It is only reasonable to suppose that the tracks along which Dyfnwal's measurements were taken would be followed by his son Belin in laying out his great roads, and, whatever the real

origin of the name Watling Street may be, I cannot myself doubt that its north-western terminus was on the isle of Mona, the sanctuary of the Druids, where they were so ruthlessly slaughtered by the Roman governor, Suetonius Paulinus, in A.D. 61. I know that it has become the fashion of late to write of Dyfnwal Moel mud and his son Belin as purely legendary kings of Britain, but whatever the true date of their respective reigns may be, and however much Geoffrey of Monmouth may have drawn upon his imagination for the picturesque details of their careers, there must surely be some foundation in fact for the existence of a king who left so marked an impression upon his country's history as Dyfnwal Moel mud. C. G. O. B.

The regnal years of the early Saxon kings given in this volume should now be corrected in accordance with Mr. Murray Beaven's valuable article in the *English Historical Review*, October, 1917, as follows:—

Ælfred	died 26 Oct., 899.
Eadward I.	died 17 July, 925.
Æthelstan	died 27 Oct., 939.
Eadmund I.	died 25 May, 946.

J. Q. W.

Staffordshire County Studies
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