The Genealogist.

THE FAMILY OF LINCOLN.

In a note on "The Family of Lincoln," published last July (*Genealogist* vii, N.S., 62), I made these remarks :—

"I feel bound to enter a *caveat* against the acceptance of Mr. Kirk's solution of the Countess Lucy problem. So far from *proving* anything he has only added (as his own expressions, when examined, show) one more hypothesis to those already in existence, while his guesses involve, it will be found, grave chronological difficulties, not to say improbabilities."

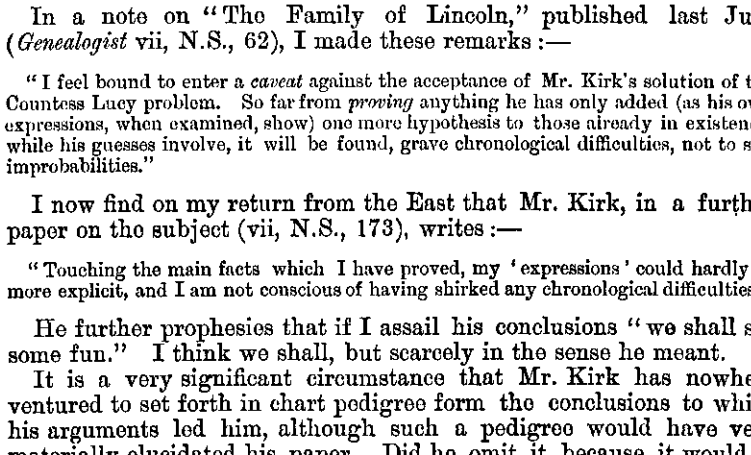
I now find on my return from the East that Mr. Kirk, in a further paper on the subject (vii, N.S., 173), writes :—

"Touching the main facts which I have proved, my 'expressions' could hardly be more explicit, and I am not conscious of having shirked any chronological difficulties."

He further prophesies that if I assail his conclusions "we shall see some fun." I think we shall, but scarcely in the sense he meant.

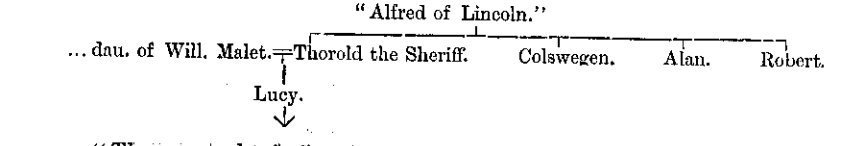
It is a very significant circumstance that Mr. Kirk has nowhere ventured to set forth in chart pedigree form the conclusions to which his arguments led him, although such a pedigree would have very materially elucidated his paper. Did he omit it because it would at once have exposed the "chronological difficulties" of which I spoke? Let us see.

The individuals whom Mr. Kirk sets himself to connect are these, arranged in the natural order suggested by the dates of their occurrence.



[1] The earlier list of Glastonbury knights must be assigned to 1135, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, and Robert is mentioned in 1138, as if his father were then alive.

Now what does Mr. Kirk do? In his elaborate original paper (v, N.S., 60, 131, 153), which results, he claims, in "the elucidation of numerous disputed points in the pedigrees . . . . . of the families of Lincoln, Malet, and Roumare" (p. 172), he constructs his pedigree as follows:—First he assumes throughout the identity of "Alfred of Lincoln" (A) with "Alfred of Lincoln" (B): then he assigns to the one Alfred, so formed, four sons, namely (1) Thorold the Sheriff, who was dead before Domesday; (2) Robert, who was fighting under Stephen; (3) Alan of Lincoln, *temp.* Henry I.; and, as a very strong probability (4) Colswegen, the Domesday tenant. Lastly, he announces that Lucy was the daughter of Thorold the Sheriff by a daughter of William (and sister of Robert) Malet. Here is the result in chart form:—



"Thus we obtain," writes Mr. Kirk (p. 154), "a pedigree which is vastly different to any which has hitherto been put forward." It is indeed, and "vastly different," too, from anything that the known dates suggest or render probable. The reader, who has scanned my own list of the several individuals and their dates, will see this for himself; but I will now show that even Mr. Kirk unconsciously betrays his inability to believe in his own conclusions. For, continuing the above quotation, we find him writing:—

"But to make it complete and acceptable it seems necessary to adopt one or two suggestions which have been made by Mr. Freeman. He supposes that Colswain, whose fees are described in Domesday, was also son of Alfred de Lincoln..... He further suggests that Alfred had Colswain before the Conquest, and Alan de Lincoln and Robert de Lincoln after the Conquest. If we add Thorold to the list of Alfred's children before the Conquest, *we may get rid of the difficult question, how was it that Alan rather than Thorold succeeded Alfred?*" (pp. 154, 155.)

Now Thorold, Mr. Kirk admits, died "not later than the year 1085; he may have died some years before" (p. 160): but Alfred, his alleged father, certainly survived him, and "may have lived till the beginning of the reign of Henry I." (p. 156). Therefore Mr. Kirk gravely tells us that he finds it a "difficult question" why Alfred was not succeeded, at his death, by Thorold, *who had died many years before!* He would find it a similarly "difficult question" why James I. was succeeded in 1625, by Charles I., and not by Prince Henry, who had died in 1612.

My object in insisting upon this point is to show that the gross intrinsic improbability of making "Thorold the Sheriff," who died before Domesday, the son of a man who lived at a later date is (unconsciously) too great even for Mr. Kirk himself, although, he tells us, he is "not conscious of having shirked any chronological difficulties."

But there is something more serious to come. Scarcely had Mr. Kirk erected his grotesque house of cards than he began, of his own

accord, to knock it over. In a paper on "The Family of Lincoln," published the following year (vi, N.S., 129), he announced that "Alfred de Lincoln, living in 1086," and "Alfred de Lincoln . . . . . living in 1130," were not only distinct, but belonged to "distinct families" (p. 133).

Now if Mr. Kirk positively assumed, as we have seen, throughout his paper, that these *two* distinct Alfreds de Lincoln were *one*, was he, necessarily, less mistaken (I say this without prejudice to the question) when, in the same paper, he announced with equal confidence that the *two* Lucys were *one*? When so much is hypothesis and guess-work, the value of a writer's conclusions must depend on his ability as a critical genealogist, and I am therefore giving these examples of Mr. Kirk's accomplishments in that capacity.

Further, in this same retractation (vi, N.S., 129), Mr. Kirk admitted that "it seems impossible that Colswain could have been the son of Alfred de Lincoln (the first), as argued by Mr. Freeman, and thus another modern theory goes by the board" (p. 133). But Mr. Kirk had himself, in his paper, embraced this "modern theory" so far as to urge that a charter printed by him "strongly supports" it (p. 157), and to speak of Alfred, Thorold, and Colswain as "a father and two sons" (p. 155). Here, again, I draw the inference that when his arguments are based on guesses, those guesses should be distinguished as such and taken for what they are worth.

For instance, he guesses that "Alfred" [de Lincoln] "married a second time after the Conquest, with a Norman lady, and that his estates were entailed on her issue, and descended to her son Alan, because Alfred's [guessed] sons [Thorold and Colswain] by his [guessed] first wife were already sufficiently provided for" (p. 155), and is equally ready to guess at a special settlement by which Robert, not Alan, succeeded to the Dorset estates. When he afterwards abandoned the pedigree, he was ready to guess that Alfred de Lincoln had married yet another, a third wife,[1] and he sums up his network of hypothesis as "at least as plausible as previous suggestions." Turn where you will you find Mr. Kirk using such expressions as "with some certainty . . . . . almost equally certain . . . . if it is necessary to suppose this . . . . . if not, and if this was the same . . . . . He may, however, have been . . . . . if Thorold was, as he seems to have been, ... If we add Thorold . . . . . it may well be that . . . . . he seems to have obtained . . . . . would seem to have acquired . . . . . seems to have lived . . . . . seems to have married . . . . . may have lived . . . . . may have been daughter," &c., &c.[2] These are the "expressions" which I referred to at the outset, and which Mr. Kirk replies "could hardly be more explicit." The fact is that what he has done is "to replace the speculations" (in his own words) hitherto advanced by "others" (p. 153), or, as I expressed it in the words to which he takes exception, "he has only added one more hypothesis to those already in existence."

But what of poor Alfred de Lincoln? Mr. Kirk summed up, some-

[1] VI. N.S., 131.
[2] V. N.S., pp. 153-157.

what pompously, his first discourse on "the family of Lincoln," thus[1]:—

"Here then we have an important Lincolnshire pedigree from the Conquest to the reign of King John, which I believe has never before been worked out," etc., etc.

But in his subsequent retractation he not only split the hapless Alfred into two, but deprived him at a blow of half his children. Thorold and Alan alone remain. But if he has parted with Colswain and Robert, may he not have to part with Thorold also? Must we not deprive him, after all, of two out of his three wives and three out of his four sons?

We have seen the extreme *primâ facie* improbability of Thorold the Sheriff being the son of a man who survived him, and probably, as Mr. Kirk admits, survived him many years. Positive evidence might reconcile us to such an improbability, but without this evidence we cannot possibly accept it. Now Mr. Kirk has, simply, no evidence whatever. As I said at the outset, he *proves* nothing. Starting, like his predecessors, from the charter of Henry (when Duke of Normandy) in which Robert Malet and Alan de Lincoln are mentioned as uncles of Lucy, he proceeds:—

"It can be shown *with some probability* that Robert Malet was brother of the Countess [Lucy's] mother, and hence it is *almost equally certain* that Alan de Lincoln was brother of her father Thorold. This obvious inference did not fall in with the modern theories, *but there is very little against it.*" (N.S., v. 153).[2]

Let us trace to its source this "some certainty." We finally detect it (p. 161) in the suggestion borrowed by Mr. Kirk from Stapleton that, because the manor of Aulkborough, held in 1086 by Ivo Tailbois, is stated in Domesday "to have previously belonged to William Malet," it must have been alienated, by William, "by a gift in frank marriage with a daughter." This daughter, says Stapleton, must have married Ivo Tailbois—or rather, says Mr. Kirk, Thorold the Sheriff. Now whether this suggestion was made, as we are told, "in Mr. Stapleton's best manner" or not, it is "wild cat" genealogy. Firstly, it is not the practice of Domesday to enter manors held *in maritagio* thus.[3] In default of any statement to the contrary, we must always infer that the two holders named in the Survey are (A) the holder T.R.E., (B) the holder in 1086. If this holds good here as elsewhere, we are led to the interesting conclusion that William Malet, held this manor T.R.E., and was, to that extent, as M. de Prèvost held, "established in England previously to the Conquest." But, secondly, even if this be an exceptional entry, yet the manor may have passed by exchange; and, thirdly, it may, as we know was the case with other of William's manors, have been wrongfully taken from his heirs after his death.

And yet upon this slender basis the whole fabric is built! For Mr. Kirk proceeds, Robert Malet was thus *maternal* uncle to Lucy,[4] and

[1] V., N.S., 153-157.

[2] The italics are my own.

[3] For proof of this, turn to Domesday fo. 197, where we find Picot holding lands from Robert Gernon, which lands are entered in the Gernon fief with the note:—"Has terras tenet Picot Vicecomes de Roberte Gernon in maritagio feminæ suæ."

[4] A writer on these matters must seem to have "Lucy" on the brain, but she is fated to haunt one.

as Alan of Lincoln cannot, as Mr. Stapleton supposed, have been his half-brother,[1] therefore, he must have been brother to Lucy's father; and as that father, he holds, was Thorold, Thorold was brother to Alan, and consequently son of Alfred de Lincoln. Was there ever so slight a ground for so improbable a conclusion?[2]

I now come to "a knotty point" (as Mr. Kirk finds it), in the undoubted occurrence of an Alan de Lincoln in "1082" (p. 154). It seems to me quite possible (but I advance it merely as a suggestion) that this Alan was father of Alfred (1086), and grandfather of Alan de Lincoln (Hen. I.) The point is immaterial, but if this should prove to be the case, Alfred's paternity of Thorold would become more improbable than ever.

Here is a further nut for Mr. Kirk to crack. He tells us that Thorold "gave lands in Bukenhale to Croyland Abbey, and lands and tithes in Spalding and other places to the Abbey of Angers for the support of the cell of Spalding, of which he appears to have been the founder" (p. 159), and he notes a Spalding charter (p. 68), confirming to the monks the wood of Spalding as they had held it in the days of Thorold. As he holds that Thorold died before Domesday, this possession should appear among the monks estates in the Survey. "It is true," to quote his own words, "that the monks had an estate in Spalding at the date of Domesday," but reference to the Survey shows that they had held it before the conquest, which is *ex hypothesi* fatal to his view that it was given by Thorold the sheriff.

As to Thorold's paternity of Lucy Mr. Kirk, I repeat, has *proved* nothing; he has but given us an hypothesis the more. In his own words, he can "produce no positive authority, good, bad, or indifferent" (v. 64). The only evidence he can find to support (?) him is the statement in the *Peterborough Chronicle* that Ælfgar was Lucy's father, and that Thorold was, *not* her father, but her "uncle."[3]

And now for my last point, to which I invite attention.

In the Pipe Roll of 11 Hen. II. we find this entry:—

"Comes Cestriæ reddit compotum de xx marcis pro feodo turoldi vicecomitis."

I called attention, in 1888, to this interesting passage, and Mr. Kirk subsequently referred to it as follows:—

"The amount paid being so small, it is clear that the fee here referred to could not have been the whole of Thorold's estates, indeed the great bulk of them had then

[1] Mr. Kirk's ground for rejecting, here again, what does not suit him in Stapleton is very characteristic. He *assumes* that they could not be half-brothers, because, if so, Lucy and her son could not be heirs of both. But there is no question of heirship, nor, even if there was, could a son of Lucy be Alan's heir (for he left lineal heirs); nor, if he could, would that son have been the Earl of Chester, who was the grantee of this Charter! Mr. Kirk has overlooked all this.

[2] Mr. Kirk complains of the 'slender premises' the 'slight' and 'meagre' evidence relied on by his predecessors (v. 64-5.) The theory of "Stapleton, Nichols, Mr. Freeman," etc., that Alfred of Lincoln was the "Alveredus nepos Turoldi" of Domesday, and, as such, nephew to Thorold, harmonises far better with chronology, but is dismissed by Mr. Kirk as "impossible to accept," because it conflicts with his own view!

[3] I keep clear of Lucy's marriages because I leave the question open as before. In my *resumé* of the controversy (*Academy*, 10 Dec, 1887.) I wrote:—If we, further, reject her being a daughter of Ælfgar she may, after all, have been but one, and have had her three husbands."

doubtless long been in the possession of William de Roumare, grandson of William, Earl of Lincoln. Hence this entry on the Pipe Roll may require some elucidation," etc. (v. N.S., 141)

He added, in a footnote, that: "This reference was pointed out by Mr. Round in a letter to the *Academy*, 21st April, 1888; but he makes no suggestion as to its real meaning." Of course, Mr. Kirk was able himself to explain the "real meaning," and so we find him writing, further, that the Earl of Chester

"Paid a fine for his [Thorold's] 'fee' or rather for some estates which had not been restored to his grandmother Countess Lucy.

Such indeed appears to be the true explanation of the obscure entry on the latter Pipe Roll [11 Hen. II.] for on the death of Earl Hugh in 1181, the King assigned to 'Bertra,' his widow, as dower, the manors of Beltesford . . . . . He must have obtained the manor from the King by purchase, and the entry on the Pipe Roll of 11 Hen. II. refers either to the settlement of that amount, or to the purchase of some other portion of the property by Earl Hugh. Thus the entry on the Pipe Roll of 11 Henry II. is fully accounted for, etc. (p. 160).

Alas! this entry was a pitfall, which I had left open for Mr. Kirk, and into which, as might be expected, he rushed headlong.

As every tyro knows, the entries on the Rolls are grouped together according to the transactions to which they happen to refer. Now the entry before us occurs in the midst of a group, twenty in number, all referring solely to the payments made that year by the tenants in chivalry for a Welsh expedition.[1] There is no possibility of mistaking the group, for it begins, as usual, with the Bishop's payment, and its end is marked by the heading "De purpresturis" prefixed to the next group. The "real meaning" is, therefore, as different as it well can be from that which Mr. Kirk propounds.

Here then we have another commentary on his genealogical powers.

Nor is this all. Had he only read the very next entry, he would have seen

"Ricardus de Canvilla reddit compotum de xxvi li. xiii s. iiiid. de feodo Willelmi de Romara."

But he has wholly overlooked it, together with its bearing on the question: that bearing I leave him to discover.

Having now shown that Mr. Kirk's knowledge is scarcely proportionate to his confidence, I pause.

J. H. ROUND.

THE LORDS WHARTON AND THEIR SHIELD.

By JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A., SCOT.

The first of this old border family who rose to public distinction, was Sir Thomas Wharton, an active leader against the Scots on the West Marches, in the reign of Henry VIII, who in reward of his

[1] De exercitu Walie" (Pipe Roll *passim*.)

THE FAMILY OF LINCOLN.

In his last paper on this subject Mr. Round has strayed so far from his "muttons," that I must endeavour first of all to bring him back to them. The question between us related to "the main facts" in the Countess Lucy controversy, which I claimed to have settled; yet now, in spite of his general *caveat*, he confines himself entirely to side issues. As therefore he has nothing to allege against my principal conclusions, he tacitly acknowledges that his *caveat* is worthless.

He still however professes great respect for "the hypotheses already in existence." Lest they should impose upon any one else it will be useful to state them summarily.

1. The Countess Lucy was daughter of Algar, Earl of "Mercia, Chester, and Lincoln," and Countess of Lincoln in her own right.
2. Ivo Taillebois came over from Anjou, and received his estates in Lincolnshire at the Conquest, probably with the Earldom of Lincoln.
3. He did not die till 1114, and therefore his wife Lucy could not have been mother of William de Roumare and Ranulph Gernons.
4. Consequently there must have been two Lucys, mother and daughter.
5. The first Lucy was married to Ivo Taillebois.
6. Ivo and Lucy (the first) had two daughters—Beatrice, married to Ribaud, Lord of Middleham, and Lucy (the second), married as below.
7. The Earldom of Lincoln was held in common by these coheiresses and their representatives.
8. The second Lucy was married firstly to Roger de Roumare, and secondly to Ranulph Meschin.
9. Ranulph Meschin was Earl of Lincoln in right of his wife, and is so called in the Lincoln Survey.
10. King Stephen granted the same earldom to William de Roumare and Ranulph Meschin "in coparcenary."
11. Ranulph Gernons compelled Gilbert de Gant to marry his niece Rohese, to whom he resigned his "share of the Earldom."
12. The Countess Rohese had a claim to another share of the Earldom as daughter either of Beatrice above named, or of Matilda, daughter of the second Lucy.
13. Ranulph Blundvill, Earl of Chester, had a claim to the Earldom of Lincoln in right of his great-grandmother, the Countess Lucy.

This is the pretty little flock which Mr. Round took under his pastoral care, but which he has now deserted, contenting himself with throwing stones from a safe distance. Before going after the runaway shepherd, let us make our observations on the spot.

Not one of this baker's dozen of "hypotheses" has a sound leg to stand on; yet their doughty defender once had such a high opinion of their "understandings," that, after a lengthy dissertation, he wrote as follows—"one can do little more than sum up the arguments as they stand." This he promised to do. When he makes the attempt, I think we shall not be disappointed of our "fun."

These arguments were supported by the authority of great writers—Dugdale, Stapleton, Nichols, Hodgson Hinde, Mr. Freeman, and others; and it was only by patient investigation that I discovered one after another to be of no value. But I went beyond mere disproof, having been fortunate enough to obtain fresh and authentic evidence, chiefly from manuscript sources, which I produced, and from which the following facts appeared.

1. The Barony of Spalding originally belonged to Thorold the Sheriff.
2. On his death he was succeeded by his sole daughter and heiress, Lucy.
3. Lucy was married three times, firstly to Ivo Taillebois, secondly to Roger de Roumare, and thirdly to Ranulph Meschin, afterwards Earl of Chester.
4. Ivo Taillebois had been previously married, having by his first wife [Eltred and ?] Beatrice.
5. Whatever claim Ranulph Meschin had to the Earldom of Lincoln was in his own right.

It will be observed that these five simple conclusions cover the whole of the ground which the twelve complicated "arguments" professed to occupy. Mr. Round, however, takes no notice of the former except to make a travesty of the evidence relating to Lucy's parentage, and a half-hearted admission that she may have had three husbands.[1]

By the settlement of these facts the main objects of my paper were accomplished, as is evident from its opening paragraph. My "expressions" with regard to them were sufficiently explicit, and I still think there is no "probable, possible shadow of doubt" about them.

Having accomplished so much, I thought it would be a pity not to show the bearing of the new facts on other dependent questions, which had naturally suffered in common with the main questions, so much so that I had to reject sundry previous conjectures; but, I remarked, "all suggestions which seem still to be of use will be readily adopted" (v, 153). Among these were Mr. Freeman's suggestions relative to Alfred, Colswain, Alan, and Robert de Lincoln, and for which Mr. Round gives me undue credit. One of my reasons for not setting out a chart pedigree was, that I was not satisfied with the result, as appears from the very "expressions" quoted by Mr. Round. In fact, as I said, I had merely "done something to clear up the history of the mysterious family of Lincoln."[2]

Further consideration, as well as subsequent communications from Mr. Thomas Bond, who has devoted great attention to this family,[3] induced me to propose an *alternative* to part of Mr. Freeman's speculations, and to write a special paper on the subject. This is what Mr. Round is pleased to call my "retractation." Anyhow, I think I have made it clear that it does not affect the controversy before mentioned.

I believe I was the first to suggest that the Alfred of 1130 was a different person from the Alfred of 1086, and that it was he who was the father of Robert de Lincoln, but this does not appear in the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I (vi, 131).[4] I feel much flattered by Mr. Round's adoption of my view, though he adopts it without acknowledgment. I have since found a charter of Robert de Haia and his wife Gundreda to Glastonbury Abbey, made with the consent of Robert Fitz Hamo his lord (ob. 1107) and his wife Sibilia, and to which Aluredus de Nichol and his son Robert are witnesses; and as this

[1] We have the positive statements of the Countess herself, and of her son William on the latter point; but after they have been in print three years, Mr. Round still "leaves the question open," and says it is affected by another question—whether she was daughter of Earl Algar. The two questions have no interdependence. So far as dates go, she might well have been the Earl's daughter (v, 64).

[2] It is not true that I summed up the general results "somewhat pompously." The words quoted at the top of p. 4 *ante* relate only to the satisfactory chain of descent from Colswain to Nicola de Camvill, as the dates show (v, 157).

[3] See the last edition of Hutchins' Dorset.

[4] The Alfred and Robert of 1130 were evidently independent landowners.

Robert de Haia may not have been identical with the Baron Robert who married Muriel (de Lincoln), the deed shows that in one respect my conjecture was open to question.[1] In fact *all* the joint references to Alfred and his son Robert may be much *earlier* than I supposed them to be. There can however be little doubt about the propriety of accepting my alternative, if the dates assigned by Mr. Round to the returns of Glastonbury knights' fees can be depended upon, and assuming that the Alfred therein mentioned was father of Robert. They show that the first Alfred of Dorset was living long after the death of the Alfred of Lincoln.[2]

Having thus helped to substantiate my conclusion, it might have been expected that he would see his way to go a little further with me; but he raises a number of groundless objections, interlarded with uncomplimentary remarks on my "genealogical powers." In reply, I will confine myself to the former.

Half of one of his pages is occupied with a commentary on a quotation ending with the words—"how was it that Alan rather than Thorold succeeded Alfred?" Is it possible that he cannot see this to be a mere slip of the pen? "Thorold" should of course have been "Thorold's daughter." His analogy is absurd, for "Prince Henry" left no daughter and heiress. Yet he "insists upon this point"! It is his weak point, as will be seen.

Stapleton on Domesday is preferable to Round on ditto.[3] Whatever the latter may think of the former's suggestion as to William Malet's daughter, it is not true that "upon this slender basis the whole fabric is built." It is borne out by the positive statement of Duke Henry's charter that Robert Malet was Lucy's uncle, which tallies precisely. Then again, it may be inferred that Thorold's wife brought him some property, as she is described as "antecessor," *i.e.* predecessor in title, of Ivo and Lucy (v, 67, 163). And further, Beatrice, sister of Robert Malet, was probably the wife in question (v, 161; vi, 133); on which

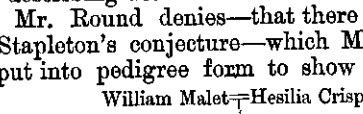
[1] Hearne's edition of Adam de Domerham, p. 604. We thus obtain another Dorset name which was identical with a Lincoln name of the same period; but the *connexion* between the two Alfreds de Lincoln, the two Robert Malets, and the two Roberts de la Haye still remains a mystery. In the Chronicles of John of Glastonbury there are several references to "Alfred de Lincoln" (pp. 392, 394, 397 *bis*), but *which* Alfred is doubtful. Other persons of the name also occur (pp. 391, 558, 560). Richard and Ralph de Haia are to be found on pp. 550, 562. Most of these references are not given in Hearne's indexes. A John de Lincoln was witness to the charter of Richard and Matilda de Haia (v, 171); see Close Roll, 11 Edw. II, No. 72.

[2] Addit. MSS. 17,450, ff. 4, 6. According to these lists, Alfred had five fees in Butecleia (altered in one copy to Boclande), Domerham, Niwetun, and Lim. I have looked up these places in Domesday, but can make out nothing satisfactory about Alfred's ancestry. The same manuscript contains elaborate surveys of some of these and other places, apparently of the same early period. They specify the names of sub-tenants and their "works" at great length.

[3] Because Domesday in one place refers to lands brought by a wife to her husband, Mr. Round deduces that "it is not the practice of Domesday to enter manors held *in maritagio*" without stating the fact. The instance quoted by him refers to *a living owner; but Thorold was dead.* And how about the proved fact that Ivo Taillebois held all his lands in right of his wife, of which the survey gives no inkling? In the nature of things such instances must be common. Yet in more practical matters, where we might expect uniformity, he is ready to argue that Domesday is variable—that *Aluredus nepos Turoldi* is identical with *Alvveredus de Lincole!* Then as to holders of lands T. R. E.: it is not always safe to assume that a tenant held land before the Conquest unless the fact is stated, especially if his name is Norman.

point I have more to say. Can Mr. Round produce anything half so good in support of any one of his much respected hypotheses?

I have not however blindly followed Stapleton, whose view that Robert Malet and Alan de Lincoln were half-brothers I was compelled to discard. Duke Henry granted their fees to Ranulph Gernons, Earl of Chester, describing them as his mother's uncles. I assumed therefore—what Mr. Round denies—that there was some question of heirship. Stapleton's conjecture—which Mr. Round upholds—needs only to be put into pedigree form to show its weakness.



If Lucy was the daughter of Robert's sister she was not strictly niece of Alan, an "uncle" being properly either a father's brother, or a mother's brother; why, then, should the latter's fee be given to her son? It is true that a niece may inherit from her father's or her mother's half-brother, but only if he be the child of her grandfather, and not if he be the child of her grandmother by a second marriage, as suggested above; unless indeed Hesilia were an heiress, in which case her lands would pass with her to her second husband, and if issue failed, Lucy would of course become heiress. But we know what lands Alan possessed—they were identical with those of Alfred de Lincoln his predecessor, and there is no pretence that Alfred's lands had previously belonged to William Malet. Moreover Alan did not die without issue. Therefore we have no ground for supposing that Robert Malet and Alan de Lincoln were half-brothers.

Mr. Round has "overlooked all this," and a good deal more besides. As I have shown that Lucy was *not* heiress through Hesilia, so on the other hand I can give reasons for believing that she *was* heiress to Robert Malet's sister and to *Alfred* de Lincoln. I did not investigate the history of the Malet family so fully as that of the Lincoln family, but, so far as I could gather, there is no evidence that Robert Malet left any issue. The charter of his sister Beatrice (v, 161, 162) indicates that she was his nearest representative, and would have been his heir if he had not forfeited his barony. Assuming Lucy to have been her daughter, we at once perceive a reason for Duke Henry's grant. And how can Mr. Round object to the grant being made to Gernons, when his elder half-brother William, Earl of Lincoln, was a witness and a consenting party to the charter?

We are thus driven into a corner with regard to the Lincoln family, and are bound to infer that Alan de Lincoln was really the brother of Lucy's father by the whole blood, and it is pretty certain that he was by far the younger of the two.[1] When therefore he succeeded his father Alfred de Lincoln, he did so to the exclusion of Lucy, then wife of Ranulph Meschin, who would of course consider himself wronged.[2] What is more likely than that Ranulph's son, after the death

[1] If we were at a loss to know who his father was, we might have supposed him to be a son of William Malet, in spite of his name; but this is out of the question.

[2] We have seen before that the Crown interfered to regulate the succession to baronies at this early period (v, 168). Henry I. may have prevented the further aggrandisement of Ranulph Meschin on this occasion, as he did afterwards when he made him give up his wife's inheritance before succeeding to the earldom of Chester.

of Alan, leaving one or two daughters, should have endeavoured to recover the barony of Lincoln? But the charter does not appear to have operated. Till we obtain further evidence, I offer these remarks as fitting in well with what we have.

In spite of the fact that the charter of 1082 cannot be trusted, as I have shown (vii, 179), Mr. Round still writes of "*the undoubted occurrence* of an Alan de Lincoln in 1082." And he is bold enough to suppose this Alan to have been father of the Alfred of 1086! This is "wild cat genealogy" with a vengeance. Former believers in that charter were not so venturesome.

Next we come to the proffered "nut to crack," but where is it? I must defer the operation till I am informed where it is shown that the Abbey of the Angers or the Priory of Spalding had an estate in Spalding "before the Conquest." The Abbey of *Croyland*, as I stated,[1] possessed lands in Spalding according to Domesday, but none at the date of the entry in Testa de Nevill. On this I have written before (v. 159, 164). As the Abbey of Angers is not credited in Domesday with any land in Spalding, the cell founded by Thorold was probably located in the land belonging to Croyland, and this may have been the origin of the feud between the Croyland Monks and Ivo Taillebois. That point may well occupy an historian of the Priory, but does not concern us.[2]

Then as to the parentage of the Countess Lucy. Having disposed of the claims put forward on behalf of Earl Algar and Ivo Taillebois to this honour, I naturally looked about to see who *was* her father. It has been proved up to the hilt that she was heiress to Thorold the Sheriff, and this alone is sufficient to point to him. A sole heiress to a father occurs any number of times more than frequently than a sole heiress to an "uncle," the title given to Thorold by a doubtful authority. But we need not rely on this alone. It is matter of history that Lucy's third husband parted with her estates, and all modern authorities agree that she re-acquired some of these in 1130, when they are described as "the land of her *father*." I have moreover shown (v, 169, 170) that they included Bolingbroke and Spalding, which had belonged to Thorold. This is conclusive.

It is not worth while to take serious notice of Mr. Round's harmless "pitfall," though he has devoted a whole page to it, because it does not affect any one even of the side issues. His reference to the Pipe Roll of 11 Henry II was merely tagged on at the end of my remarks on Lucy's being an heiress (v, 141).[3] It now appears that he did not correctly state the purport of the entry, and for this he takes great credit. The inference I drew, that the Earls of Chester acquired from the Crown some portions of Thorold's fee does not rest on that Pipe Roll alone, but on other records (v, 160; vi, 138). Thus I "rushed headlong" into truth, not into error, as Mr. Round generously wished me to do. An "alas!" is scarcely suited to the occasion. However,

[1] Mr. Round's quotation would make it appear that I was referring to Spalding priory.

[2] It may be noted that "J. Tailebosc" was witness to a charter "post descriptionem totius Angliæ." *Mon.* i, 307.

[3] The printed edition of the Pipe Roll is somewhat misleading, in that it does not leave a space where the "group" commences.

once bit, twice shy; *crimine ab uno disce*, &c.; accordingly I avoid his Canville conundrum, which must have a still more remote bearing on "genealogy."

Quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

In parting from these barren criticisms I would ask, why is it that Mr. Round, whenever he discovers a mare's nest, should make it a practice to bring general charges of utter incompetence and gross ignorance, couched in every variety of objurgation? It is to be hoped he is not setting a fashion. The world is not in want of an *odium historicum*, even with St. Round as its chief Apostle and infallible Papa.

One reason for not giving a chart pedigree with my first paper has been given. Another was that I had, as I intimated, some intention of continuing the subject, in order to eludicate the later history of the Earldom of Lincoln. It had also been announced beforehand, by the late Editor, that I should throw some light on the parentage of the Countess Rohese, which was supposed to be of great importance; but it has been seen to be immaterial, as she had no claim to the earldom. Still, one would like to know who she was, after all the fuss that has been made about her. Three sets of fathers and mothers have been alternatively assigned to her, namely—

1. Ribaud of Middleham and Beatrice Taillebois.
2. Hugh, brother of the Earl of Chester, and Matilda [Taillebois].
3. William de Roumare and Hadewisa de Redvers.

At length we are in a position to settle the question. Evidence as to the parentage of this lady has been discovered by Mr. H. J. Ellis, of the British Museum, who has kindly informed me. It is to be found in a transcript of the Register of Rufford Abbey,[1] and shows that every one of the three guesses was incorrect. The following is a translation:—

"To all the sons of holy mother Church Rohesia, the Countess, sister of Roger Earl de Clare, greeting. Know ye all that I have granted that donation which the Earl Gilbert my lord made to the monks of Rufford of the land of Cratela, with all its appurtenances, and that I have confirmed it by this my charter in perpetual almoign, saving my service from Hugh Fitz Ralph for the exchange which Ralph Fitz Rang' (?) his father and he himself took from the Earl Gilbert my lord, to wit, in Torp next Schendelbi, and in Bart', one carucate of land. For this grant the before named monks gave eight marks of silver. Witnesses: Roger de Clare, Earl of Hertford, Alan de Perci," [and others].[2]

Rohese here calls herself "sister of Roger Earl de Clare." She was therefore daughter of Richard Fitz Gilbert de Clare, and of Adeliza or Alice "the Viscountess"[3] his wife, who was the daughter of

[1] Harl. MS. 1063, f. 7.

[2] The names seem to be inaccurately transcribed. There is also a charter of Gilbert, Earl of Lincoln, husband of Rohese. The one above quoted was made after his death.

[3] This title is given her in the History and Cartulary of Gloucester Abbey, edited by the late Mr. W. H. Hart, but whence did she derive it? Could she have adopted it as a surname in memory of her grandfather, Thorold *Vicecomes*? In the same volumes she is described as sister of Ranulph Gernons, Earl of Chester, widow of Richard Fitz Gilbert, and mother of Walter (the Constable) of Gloucester. These descriptions finally settle two questions dealt with under the head of "Clare" in the *Complete Peerage*, ii, 267, 268. Fitz Gilbert was certainly *not* Earl of Clare, and his wife *was* Adeliza.

Ranulph Meschin, Earl of Chester, and of Countess Lucy. She was probably named after Roesia Giffard, wife of the *first* Richard Fitz Gilbert. Thus, after all, Rohese was granddaughter of Lucy, as modern genealogists endeavoured to prove her to be; but, having two uncles and two brothers, she could not be heiress to Lucy in any way; so that, even if Lucy had been Countess in her own right, this discovery would not help the rejected theories. The chronicler's description of Rohese as niece to Ranulph Gernons is now seen to be perfectly correct. We may at length draw up our pedigree without much fear of contradiction.

Sundry other questions in respect of the Earldom of Lincoln remain to be settled. Nichols' conclusions[1] are very unsatisfactory, but I can here do no more than offer a few suggestions on the principal difficulties, which are these:—

1. How did William de Roumare become Earl of Lincoln?
2. Why was the title taken from the Roumare family, and given to Gilbert de Gant?
3. What became of the earldom after Gilbert's death?

There is nothing to show that William de Roumare was created Earl by King Stephen. He probably assumed the title on succeeding to his mother at Bolingbroke, with the consent of his half-brother, to whom it properly belonged. The latter may well have made a conveyance of the Earldom of Lincoln to the former, in the same way as Ranulph Blundvill, Earl of Chester and Lincoln, afterwards granted it to his sister, the Lady Hawisia de Quency and her heirs.[2] If it was permissible to suppose that Gernons gave "his share of the earldom" to his niece, it must be equally allowable to conjecture that he transferred the whole of it to his half-brother. It may have been in return for this concession that William gave up whatever claim he had to the baronies of Eye and Lincoln, as we have seen.

William probably died in 1153, and it has been asserted that Gilbert de Gant was called Earl of Lincoln in William's lifetime, but I understand there is no authentic evidence of this. William certainly retained the title till the end of his life. Gernons died at the end of 1153. It is just possible that he may have made a fresh gift of the title to Gilbert de Gant, but it seems more likely that King Stephen created his partisan Earl of Lincoln,[3] ignoring the claims of William's grandson, if he had any; but as the latter never used the title, though he lived long after Gilbert, Gernons may have granted the earldom to his half-brother for life only. On Gilbert's death in 1156, the title became extinct, though Hugh Cyvelioc and Ranulph Blundvill probably retained the same claim to it as had been enjoyed by their

[1] Topog. and Gen., i, 301 seq.

[2] Dugd. Bar., i, 102; Coll. Topog. et Gen., vii, 130, viii, 155, (pedigree) 156, 157. She is called Countess of Lincoln in the Duchy of Lancaster Cowchers, ii, 478 b. Gernons made a grant of Watteley to William and his heir (*heredi*), "in the same year in which the said William, Earl of Lincoln returned from the pilgrimage (*itinere*) of St. James the Apostle" [of Compostella]. See Duchy Cowchers, ii, 445.

[3] See Courthope, p. 375, as to the "false Earls" created by Stephen and deposed by Henry II.

ancestors.[1] Nichols has a startling heading—"the Earldom vacant, and at farm," which he imagined to have been the case during the reigns of Richard I. and John; but here once more he shot very wide of the mark, for the Pipe Rolls and Close Rolls which he quotes, refer to the Shrievalty only.

The following corrections and additions to the Peerage may therefore be proposed:—

Lincoln.

Earls.

I.	1070.	Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester.
II.	1101.	Richard, Earl of Chester, s. & h.; drowned 1120, s.p.
III.	1120.	Ranulph Meschin, Earl of Chester, cousin & h.
IV.	1129.	Ranulph Gernons, Earl of Chester, s. & h.
V.	1141?	William de Roumare [by grant of the preceding ?]; ob. 1153?
VI.	1153?	Gilbert de Gant, created Earl of Lincoln by King Stephen; ob. 1156.
VII.	1156.	Hugh Cyvelioc, Earl of Chester, s. & h. of Ranulph Gernons.
VIII.	1181.	Ranulph Blundvill, Earl of Chester, s. & h.

Note.—None of the preceding Earls of Chester assumed the double title of "Chester and Lincoln" till 1216, when it was adopted by Blundvill under royal authority.

IX.	1232.	Hawise de Quency, Countess of Lincoln by grant of her brother, the preceding Earl.

Spalding and Bolingbroke.

Barons by tenure.

I.	1066.	Thorold the Sheriff, Baron of Spalding.
II.	c. 1083.	Ivo Taillebois, in right of his wife Lucy, d. & h. He built a castle at Spalding.
III.	c. 1093.	Roger FitzGerold, Baron de Roumare, in right of the same.
IV.	c. 1100.	Ranulph Meschin, in right of the same. He surrendered the barony of Spalding to the Crown in 1120, but seems to have subsequently re-purchased a portion of it.
V.	1124.	William de Roumare, son and heir of Roger, recovered a portion of the barony.
VI.	1129.	Lucy, widow of Ranulph Earl of Chester, re-purchased another portion of the barony. She granted Spalding to the priory there, and made her residence at Bolingbroke; ob. 1141? The two portions then became re-united in William de Roumare, s. & h. of Lucy, who resided at Bolingbroke castle.
VII.	1153.	William de Roumare, grandson & h.
VIII.	1198.	Ranulph Blundvill, Earl of Chester, heir to the preceding.

Similar corrections and additions should be made in respect of the baronies of Colswain and Alfred de Lincoln, with the aid of the pedigree subjoined. The Dorset Lincolns may also be considered to have been barons in respect of the barony of the widow Fitz Grip, which, as Mr. Bond has shown, came into their possession probably by marriage.

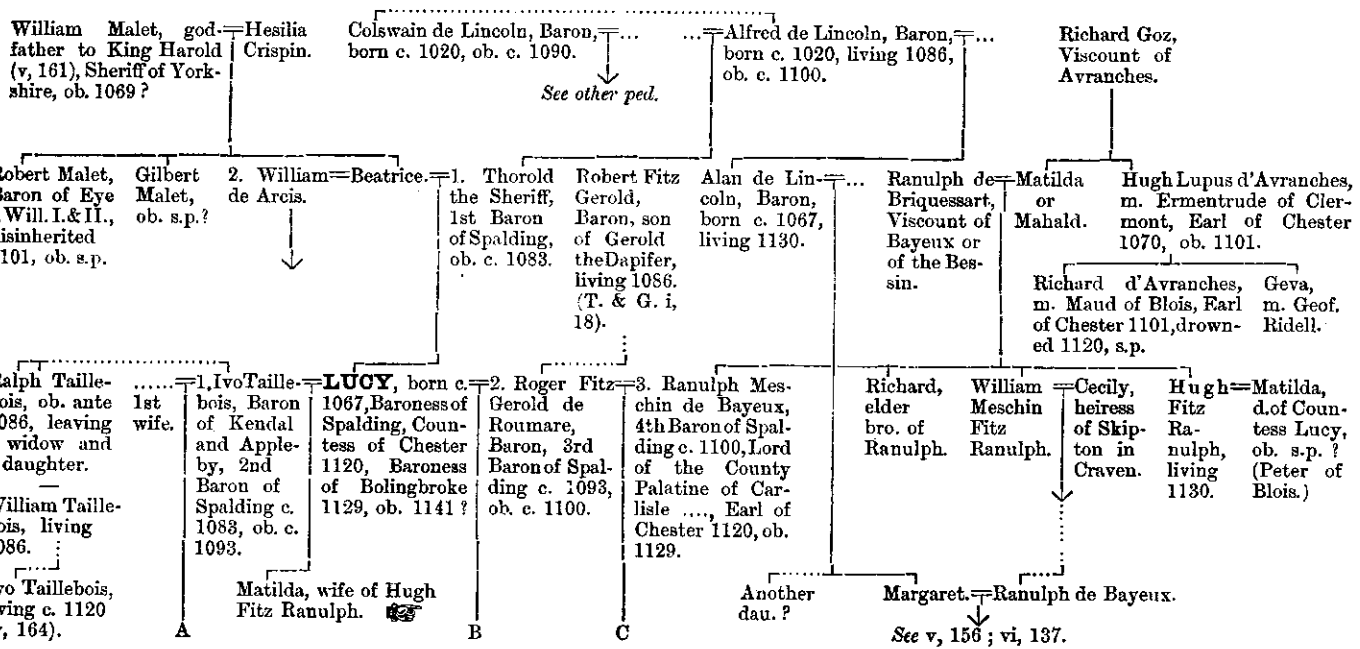
R. E. G. Kirk.

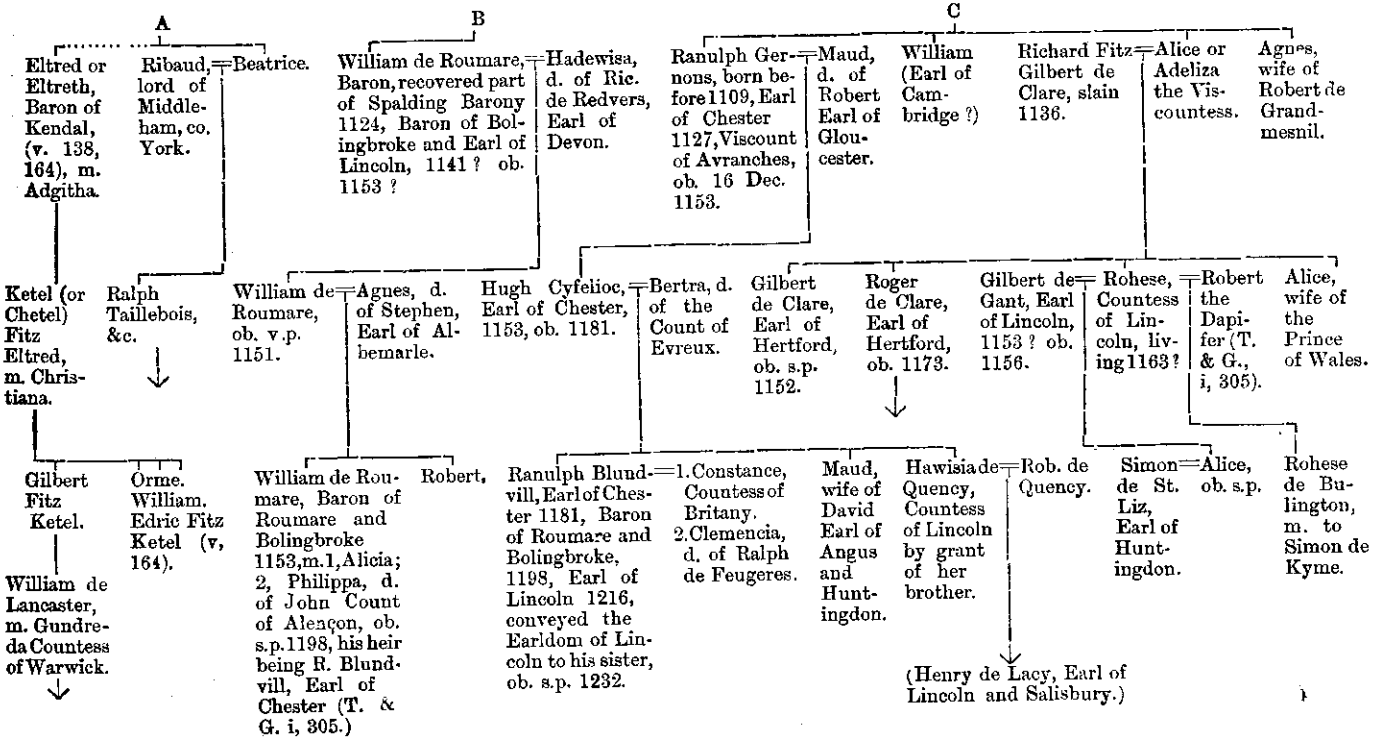
[1] Courthope says it is certain that Ranulph Gernons [or rather Hugh Cyvelioc], after the death of Earl William and the deposition (?) of Earl Gilbert, "continued to hold a large portion of the honours or rather the profits of the earldom." This seems to favour the view taken above, but I am not quite sure what he refers to. Does he mean that the Earls of Chester held lands formerly belonging to Lucy, Baroness of Spalding? If so, this will not help us.

PEDIGREES OF THE COUNTESS LUCY AND HER RELATIVES.

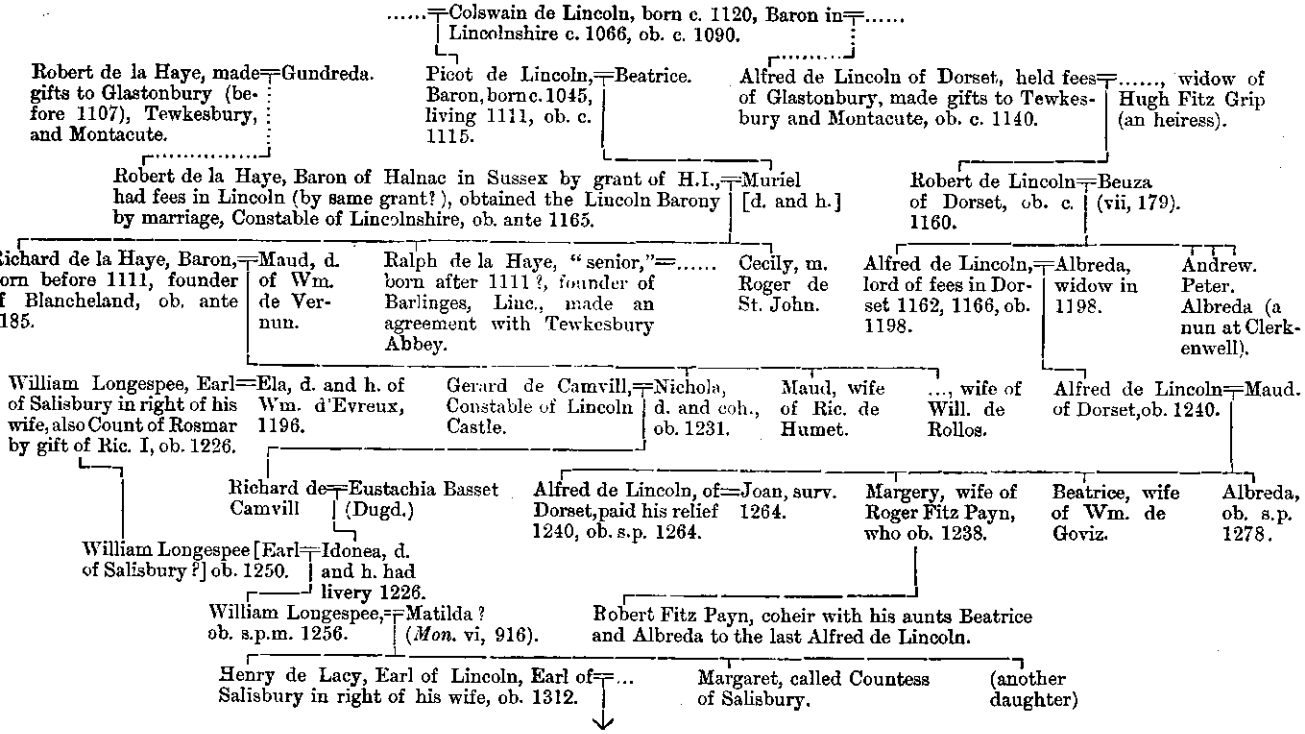
Families of Lincoln, Malet, Taillebois, Fitz Gerold or Roumare, Bayeux, Avranches, Clare, De la Haye, Camvill, &c.
Earldoms of Chester, Lincoln, Clare, &c.

I.




A
B
C
Eltred or Eltreth, Baron of Kendal, (v. 138, 164), m. Adgitha.
Ribaud, lord of Middleham, co. York.
Beatrice.
William de Roumare, Baron, recovered part of Spalding Barony 1124, Baron of Bolingbroke and Earl of Lincoln, 1141? ob. 1153?
Hadewisa, d. of Ric. de Redvers, Earl of Devon.
Ranulph Gernons, born before 1109, Earl of Chester 1127, Viscount of Avranches, ob. 16 Dec. 1153.
Maud, d. of Robert Earl of Gloucester.
William (Earl of Cambridge?)
Richard Fitz Gilbert de Clare, slain 1136.
Alice or Adeliza the Viscountess.
Agnes, wife of Robert de Grandmesnil.
Ketel (or Chetel) Fitz Eltred, m. Christiana.
Ralph Taillebois, &c.
William de Roumare, ob. v.p. 1151.
Agnes, d. of Stephen, Earl of Albemarle.
Hugh Earl of Chester, 1153, ob. 1181.
Cyfelioc,
Bertra, d. of the Count of Evreux.
Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford, ob. s.p. 1152.
Roger de Clare, Earl of Hertford, ob. 1173.
Gilbert de Gant, Earl of Lincoln, 1153? ob. 1156.
Rohese, Countess of Lincoln, living 1163?
Robert the Dapifer (T. & G., i, 305).
Alice, wife of the Prince of Wales.
Gilbert Fitz Ketel.
Orme. William. Edric Fitz Ketel (v, 164).
William de Lancaster, m. Gundreda Countess of Warwick.
William de Roumare, Baron of Roumare and Bolingbroke 1153, m. 1, Alicia; 2, Philippa, d. of John Count of Alençon, ob. s.p. 1198, his heir being R. Blundvill, Earl of Chester (T. & G. i, 305.)
Robert,
Ranulph Blundvill, Earl of Chester 1181, Baron of Roumare and Bolingbroke, 1198, Earl of Lincoln 1216, conveyed the Earldom of Lincoln to his sister, ob. s.p. 1232.
1. Constance, Countess of Britany. 2. Clemencia, d. of Ralph de Feugeres.
Maud, wife of David Earl of Angus and Huntingdon.
Hawisia de Quency, Countess of Lincoln by grant of her brother.
Rob. de Quency.
Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Huntingdon.
Alice, ob. s.p.
Rohese de Bulington, m. to Simon de Kyme.
(Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and Salisbury.)

II.


.....=Colswain de Lincoln, born c. 1120, Baron in Lincolnshire c. 1066, ob. c. 1090.=.....
Robert de la Haye, made gifts to Glastonbury (before 1107), Tewkesbury, and Montacute.=Gundreda.
Picot de Lincoln, Baron, born c. 1045, living 1111, ob. c. 1115.=Beatrice.
Alfred de Lincoln of Dorset, held fees of Glastonbury, made gifts to Tewkesbury and Montacute, ob. c. 1140.=....., widow of Hugh Fitz Grip (an heiress).
Robert de la Haye, Baron of Halnac in Sussex by grant of H.I., had fees in Lincoln (by same grant?), obtained the Lincoln Barony by marriage, Constable of Lincolnshire, ob. ante 1165.=Muriel [d. and h.]
Robert de Lincoln of Dorset, ob. c. 1160.=Beuza (vii, 179).
Richard de la Haye, Baron, born before 1111, founder of Blancheland, ob. ante 1185.=Maud, d. of Wm. de Vernun.
Ralph de la Haye, "senior," born after 1111?, founder of Barlinges, Linc., made an agreement with Tewkesbury Abbey.=.....
Cecily, m. Roger de St. John.
Alfred de Lincoln, lord of fees in Dorset 1162, 1166, ob. 1198.=Albreda, widow in 1198.
Andrew.
Peter.
Albreda (a nun at Clerkenwell).
William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife, also Count of Rosmar by gift of Ric. I, ob. 1226.=Ela, d. and h. of Wm. d'Evreux, 1196.
Gerard de Camvill, Constable of Lincoln Castle.=Nichola, d. and coh., ob. 1231.
Maud, wife of Ric. de Humet.
..., wife of Will. de Rollos.
Alfred de Lincoln of Dorset, ob. 1240.=Maud.
Richard de Camvill=Eustachia Basset (Dugd.)
Alfred de Lincoln, of Dorset, paid his relief 1240, ob. s.p. 1264.=Joan, surv. 1264.
Margery, wife of Roger Fitz Payn, who ob. 1238.
Beatrice, wife of Wm. de Goviz.
Albreda, ob. s.p. 1278.
William Longespee [Earl of Salisbury?] ob. 1250.=Idonea, d. and h. had livery 1226.
William Longespee, ob. s.p.m. 1256.=Matilda? (*Mon.* vi, 916).
Robert Fitz Payn, coheir with his aunts Beatrice and Albreda to the last Alfred de Lincoln.
Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife, ob. 1312.=...
Margaret, called Countess of Salisbury.
(another daughter)