The Genealogist.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE LINDSAYS.

By Sir George Sitwell, Bart., M.P.

Two generations of genealogists have lavished time and labour in the attempt to discover the origin of the house of Lindsay. Their struggles have been in vain. Lord Crawford's descent from the De Limesays, which Burke tells us has been "surmised, after long and patient investigation," remains to-day unproved and improbable, and the investigators would have done better to have told us simply in the words of the old Scotch poet,

"Of England come the Lyndysay,
Mair of them I can nocht say."

I propose, however, in this article to say a good deal more of them, and to trace the family to its Domesday settlement in England, from England into Normandy, and from Normandy in the tenth century into Germany. I do not claim that I can produce, at a few days notice, such proof as would be accepted by the Heralds College, but I do say, with the greatest confidence, that the descent I am indicating is so clear that it will eventually be accepted by all genealogists.

In Domesday we find a certain "Baldricus" holding of the Earl of Chester in Hamingebi, Farforde, to which Oxecumbe was attached, and Fulnotebi, all in the province of Lindsey. This Baldricus, as appears by King William's charter of confirmation to the monks of St. Evroul in 1081, gave to that Abbey the tithe of his lands at Farefort; and his donation was confirmed by the first Earl Ranulf of Chester in the following terms:—

"decimam quoque de farefort et oxcumbe quam dedit Baldricus de Lindissi."[1]

To this charter of confirmation *Ricardus filius Baldrici de Lindissi* is a witness.

Hamingebi in the North Riding was the *caput* of Baldric's Lincolnshire property in 1086, and in the Lindsey survey of 1114-16 we find Richard de Heningebi holding two carucates of Earl Richard.[2] This is evidently the same person as *Ricardus filius Baldrici de Lindissi*. There are many evidences of the presence of various members of this family in Lincolnshire throughout the twelfth century; and Hamingebi seems

[1] Cartulary of St. Evroul at Paris, fo. 16, number 31. Windsor Herald has kindly lent me a copy of the charter.

[2] Greenstreet's edition, 18, and Chester Waters, 32.

to have remained in their possession, for a Richard de Lindesi was one of the knights whose services were granted by Ranulph, Earl of Chester, to Earl David, brother of the Scotch King, in 1189, and "Emmungeby" (undoubtedly Hamingebi) one of the properties mentioned in the charter for which the services were to be rendered.[1] A charter of this Richard de Lindesi, made in c. 1181-5, is preserved in the Harleian collection.[2] He was evidently the head of his family, and the representative of Baldric, and held his lands by service for one knight's fee.

Having thus pointed out the original settlement of the Lindsays in England, and the manor in Lindsey at which they resided, at least occasionally, for a hundred and thirty years after the Conquest, I propose to follow their ancestor Baldric back to his Norman home. The Lincolnshire tenants of Hugo Lupus did not hold of the Earl in that county alone. Robert de Rodelent and Osbern Fitz Tezson, whose gifts to St. Evroul are mentioned in the same sentence with that of Baldric, were barons in Cheshire; as were also William Fitz Nigel and Hugh (Fitz Osbern) who appear side by side with Baldric in the great survey. Some of the lesser landowners may also be traced in both counties. It is, therefore, something more than an assumption when I assert that the Lincolnshire Baldricus is the same person as the Baldricus who held of the Earl in Cocle (either Kelsall or Coghall) in Cheshire.

Now this Baldricus, the Earl's tenant in Cheshire, had a wife named "Billeheldis," as appears by Earl Hugh's charter of 1093 to the Abbey of St. Werburgh:—

"Item Billeheld uxor Baldrici dedit Pecfortunam. Teste Normanno de Arrecio, multisque aliis."[3]

It is very noticeable as regards the companions of Baldricus, both in Lincolnshire and Cheshire, that many of them appear as principals or witnesses in charters to the Abbey of St. Evroul. Cannot we identify Baldricus of Lincolnshire and Cheshire, who gave the tithes of his Lincolnshire lands to St. Evroul, with some other Baldricus of the same date who was also a benefactor to that Abbey. I think we can, in the person of Baldric, lord of the Honour of Bocquencé, and conjecture ripens into conviction when we find that the latter had also a wife of the name of Billeheld:—

"Tempore Rogerii abbatis, qui abbati Serloni successit, venit Billeheldis uxor Baldrici de Balchenceio in capitulum Sancti Ebrulfi, et accepit orationes et beneficium loci, et dedit decimam de suo dominio, id est de sua carruca, et hoc libenter concesserunt filii sui, Rodbertus videlicet dominus de honore et Baldricus. Eodem die, hoc est in die inventionis sancte crucis, Rodbertus et Baldricus, filii ejus, qui cum ipsa venerant in capitulum, concesserunt sua spontanea voluntate quicquid pater et antecessores eorum loco dederant et concesserant, et cum matre sua fraternitatem loci cum magna devotione susceperunt, et

[1] Cotton Charters, xxiv, 15.
[2] 53 A. 30. See also 52 G. 34.
[3] Mon. ii, 386.

ecclesiam sancti Martini nominatim concesserunt, et de his omnibus cum sua matre super altare donationem et concessionem posuerunt. Quapropter abbas dedit eis unum caballum, licet ipsi minime requisissent. Quod cum gratiarum actione susceperunt, eo quod major frater, videlicet Rodbertus, Baldricum fratrem juniorem instruere tunc cupiebat ad militem. Testes Wigerius patruus eorumdem fratrum et filius ejus Fulco, Fulbertus forestarius, eorum, Hugo filius Fulcaldi, Marseius, Odo cocus, Natalis nutricius infantis Willelmi videlicet de Roelent et Goderfridus sanguinator."[1]

The descent of this Baldric de Bocquencé from a certain Baldricus the German, who entered the service of Richard, Duke of Normandy, at the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century is fully recorded by Orderic.[2] I give a translation, which owing to exigencies of time, is not my own :—

"The monks of St. Evroult were well pleased that Arnold was restored to his lawful jurisdiction, and with his support resisted the oppressions of some troublesome persons who had taken advantage of their defenceless state. In the time of the Abbot Theodoric and Robert, his successor, Baldric and Viger de Bauquencey and their people, had not only carried themselves insolently towards the monks, and were insubordinate to them as their lords, but often harassed them and their servants. Robert, on his becoming abbot, thought it disgraceful to submit any longer to such conduct. He, therefore, having consulted the brethren, gave up the rebels to his cousin, that he might chastise with a soldier's strong hand the stubborness of men who were too proud to submit to the gentle rule of the monks. Arnold laid upon them the burden of many hard services, compelling them and their people to guard his fortified castles of Echaufour and St. Ceneri. Upon this they earnestly entreated Abbot Robert and the monks that they would be pleased to take them again under their own rule, promising in future entire submission and better conduct. The abbot and monks, listening to their prayers, besought Arnold to restore them to their service under the church, which to those who are humble and well disposed is truly liberal."

"At this time Roger, the eldest son of Engenulf de Aquila was slain. Engenulf and his wife Richveride came to St. Evroult in deep grief, entreating the prayers and good offices of the monks for the good of the souls of themselves and their son Roger, which were granted ; and they thereupon offered his best horse to God and the monks. The horse being very valuable, Arnold begged to have it, yielding up Baldric and his people with the fief of Bauquencey to be subject to the monks as before. This was done : Arnold receiving the horse from his cousin Robert, and restoring Baldric with the land of Bauquencey to his former tenure under the abbey. Baldric, overjoyed at having thus escaped from the burdensome service of Arnold, granted to the monks a domain which he possessed in the vill of St. Evroult, as also his land

[1] Le Prevost's Orderic, v, 184.
[2] Le Prevost's Orderic, ii, 74-6, and 25, 35 ; v, 176, 184.

upon the rivulet of Douet Villars, and that of the Norman Mica and Benignus. Then Baldric swore fealty to Abbot Robert with joined hands, promising suit and service, and demanding that his fief should not again be severed from the estates of the monks. They granted and ratified this, and both Baldric and Robert, his son, from that time to the present day, have done service to none but the monks for the lands of Bauquencey."

"The abbey of St. Evroult stands in the fief of Bauquencey, and this Baldric was a man of high birth. For Gislebert, Count de Brionne, nephew of Richard, Duke of Normandy, gave his niece in marriage to Baldric the German, who came into Normandy, with Viger, his brother, to take service under the Duke. From this marriage sprang six sons, besides several daughters, viz., Nicholas de Basqueville, Fulk d'Aunoun, Robert de Courcy, Richard de Neuville, Baldric de Bauquencey, and Viger of Apulia. They all distinguished themselves by great valour under Duke William, from whom they received great riches and honours, and left to their heirs vast possessions in Normandy."

"Baldric who, with his brother Viger, held the fief of Bauquencey, gave his sister Elizabeth in marriage to Fulk de Bonneval, a brave knight, and for her dowry the church of St. Nicholas, built by his father, with the lands adjoining. Fulk, not forgetful of the life to come, presented to God, for the good of his soul and those of his kindred, his son Theodoric, to whom Abbot Theodoric was baptismal sponsor, offering to St. Evroult the youth and the abbey of St. Nicholas, of which we have just spoken. Baldric, Viger, and William de Bonneval, readily confirmed these offerings."

Though it would appear from the pages of Orderic that there was only one Baldric de Bocquencé in possession of that fief from *c.* 1045-93, I have strong suspicions that the period may really have been covered by a father and son bearing the same names. Baldric is recorded to have given certain property in free marriage with his sister Elizabeth to Fulco de Bonavilla. But surely if this Baldric is the same person as Baldric, the fifth son of Baldric the German, the portion would have been given not by him but by his eldest brother. Again I notice that in Duke William's charter of *c.* 1050 Baldricus de Balchencei is referred to in the past tense :—

"Theodericus Abbas emit ipse ab Ernaldo prefati Willelmi filio, consenciente Roberto avunculo et jubente comite Willelmo, terram de Balchencei, sicut tenuerat Baldricus ejus comitis arcearius."[1]

This conjecture seems to be supported also by Rodbert de Bocquencé's confirmation to St. Evroul of all that his father *and ancestors* had given, and by a study of the descendants of Baldric the German's four elder sons.[2]

[1] Orderic, Le Prevost, v, 176.
[2] See Addit. MSS. (Eyton) 31, 938, pp. 61, 129, 173 ; and 31, 939, p. 235.

I have made no attempt to connect Walter de Lindesi of 1116-20, who was apparently the first to settle in Scotland, with this family, though I think it very probable that he may have been brother to Richard, son of Baldric. It was probably this Walter who at some date earlier than 1185 gave land in Fordington, co. Lincoln, to the Templars. Fordington was held by the Earl of Chester in 1086. The collateral descendants of Walter held a knight's fee in Suffolk of the honour of St. Edmund *de veteri feofamento*, and I agree with the late Lord Crawford in conjecturing that Walter had been enfeoffed in *c.* 1102 by Robert the Abbot, who was son to Hugo Lupus, and had formerly been a monk of St. Evroul. Here also the indications leads us back to our starting point, to the Earldom of Chester and to the Abbey of St. Evroul.

This new derivation of the house of Lindsay must appeal, I think, to our sense of historic fitness. It takes us back more than a thousand years, and finds Lord Crawford's ancestors then, as ever afterwards, belonging to the old nobility and to the "pares," of whom the sovereign is "primus." It commences with a soldier of fortune, himself a man of high birth, who left the home of his ancestors in Germany to serve Duke Richard of Normandy, and was given in marriage the niece of Gislebert, Count of Brionne. The five sons who sprang from this union gained, we are told, great riches and honour, and vast possessions by their valour in the wars of Duke William, and their descendants were distinguished by the same adventurous spirit. One followed the De Hautevilles into Apulia; seven at least[1] took part in the conquest of England, founding there the great houses of Neville, De Courci, Dawney, St. Martin and Fitz Erneis; one fought under Earl Hugh in Cheshire; two accompanied David Earl of Huntingdon into the Lowlands, and one, if not more than one, played his part in the reduction of Ireland. Though the race from which they sprang was not originally Norman, I know of none which has exhibited in such a high degree the Norman genius for adventure, for conquest, and for administration.

BALDRICUS TEUTONICUS, a German *magnae nobilitatis*, who came into Normandy *Ricardo Duci servire* (Richard II, 996-1026). Lord of Baqueville-en-Caux, and of the Honour of Bocquencé, which he held of Geroie, by the service of castle-guard at Echauffour and St. Ceneri, and builder of the church of St. Nicholas (des Lettiers). Identical with the Baldric de Bauquencei who, by the advice of Geroie, placed his fief under the jurisdiction of Roger, Bishop of Lisieux (before 1022), and probably with the Baldric who witnesses several of Duke Richard II.'s charters.

= . . . given in marriage by her uncle or grandfather, Gislebert, Count of Brionne. Duchesne makes her dau. of his son Richard de Clare, but according to Eyton[2] she must have been Gislebert's niece.

WIGER, entered Duke Richard's service with his brother.

*a*

[1] Raoul, or Fulk, d'Aunou, Richard de Courci, Robert Fitz Erneis, Martel de Bacqueville, Richard, or Gilbert, de Neville, the Sire of St. Martin, and Baldricus de Bocquencé.

[2] Addit. MSS. 31, 939, p. 235.

*a*

ELIZABETH, wife of Fulco de Bonavilla (St. Aubin de Bonneval). He gave the church of St. Nicholas, part of her portion, to St. Evroul, on their son Theodoric (born *c.* 1050-8) being received as a monk.

HAWISE, wife of Erneis, the brother of Raoul Tesson and cofounder of Fontenay. Their son Robert Fitz Erneis fell at the foot of the standard at Hastings.

1 NICHOLAUS DE BASCHEVILLE (Baqueville-en-Caux, eldest son of Baldric the German). He married a niece of the Duchess Gunnora (da. of Herfastus), and was ancestor of William Martell and Walter de St. Martin. In 1047 he witnessed Duke William's charter as Nicholaus filius Baldrici. He was probably father of Martel de Baqueville, who fought at Hastings, 1066.[1]

2 FULCO DE ALNOU (Aunou-le-Faucon), second son of Baldric and ancestor of the Dawneys.

—

3 RODBERTUS DE CURCEIO (near Croissanville), third son of Baldric, ancestor of the de Courcis, and father of Richard, who was present at Hastings, 1066.

4 RICHARD DE NOVAVILLA (perhaps Neuville-sur-Tonque), fourth son of Baldric and ancestor of the de Nevilles.

6 WIGER APULIENSIS, sixth son of Baldric, had a share in the Honour of Bocquencé, and rebelled against Theodoric (1050-8). Witnessed Billeheld's grant, after 1091, and confirmed that of Fulco de Bonavilla.

5 BALDRICUS DE BALGENZAIO, 5th son of Baldric, lord of the Honour of Bocquencé and bow-bearer (*arcearius*, *archearius*, or *farchocarius*) to William, Duke of Normandy. In *c.* 1050-8 gave the church of St. Nicholas to his sister Elizabeth in free marriage with Fulco de Bonavilla. The overlordship of Bocquencé, in which the Abbey of St. Evroul stands, having been sold by Ernald, son of William Geroie, to Theodoric the Abbot, Baldric rebelled against the latter (1050-1058), but eventually submitted and did homage to the Abbot Robert, *c.* 1060. Having accompanied Richard, Vicomte D'Avranches, or his son, Hugo Lupus, to England, Baldricus held under the latter in Hamingebi, Farforde, and Fulnotebi in Lindsey, and Cocle in Cheshire. Before 1081 he gave the tithes of Farefort and Oxecumbe to St. Evroul, and Earl Ranulf's charter of confirmation describes him as *Baldric de Lindissi*. He probably died before 1093.

= BILLEHELDIS. After the death of her husband gave the tithes of her demesne to St. Evroul. (Between 1091 and 1126.) Before 1093 gave the manor of Peckforton, co. Chester, to St. Werburgh.

RODBERTUS, LORD OF BOCQUENCE at the time of his mother's grant to St. Evroul. He confirmed her gift, and gave the church of St. Martin to the Abbey. A witness to Roger Tirell's charter. Living when Orderic wrote the first book of his History.

RICARDUS FILIUS BALDRICI de Lindissi, a witness to Earl Ranulf's confirmation of Baldric's gift of the tithes of Farefort and Oxecumbe. As Richard de Heningebi holds that manor (Baldric's in 1086) under Richard, Earl of Chester.

RICHARD DE LINDESI, 1189, holds a knight's fee of Ranulf, Earl of Chester, and his service (apparently for Hemingebi, which is mentioned in the charter) is transferred by the Earl to David, brother of the Scotch King.

BALDRICUS, a youth at the time of his mother's grant (1091-1126), and by Rodbert's desire *instructus ad militem*.

[1] See Martené's Thesaurus, 1717, i, 168; Duchesne's Historiae N., 313; and Maison d'Harcourt, xi, 1397.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE LINDSAYS.

Sir George Sitwell's interesting paper (*supra*, p. 1) deals with a subject to which I have myself devoted considerable attention.

My researches had made me acquainted with all Sir George's evidences, except the mention of "Billeheld uxor Baldrici" in a St. Werburgh's charter. But this, of course, is of cardinal importance as connecting with Cheshire the house of Bocquencé. It may fairly be presumed (though it is not proved) that her husband was, as Sir George asserts, the Baldric who held "Cocle," in Cheshire, of the earl.

The difficulty lies, it seems to me, in Sir George's assumption that Baldric, the earl's tenant in Cheshire, was, of necessity, identical with Baldric, his tenant in Lindsey. In his well-known "Barons of Pulford" a similar identification is made the subject of elaborate argument and proved by careful research. In the case of Baldric, a presumption would, no doubt exist, if it were not for the very document Sir George quotes *in extenso* in his paper. It is difficult to derive from it any other impression than that Robert and Baldric were the only sons of Billeheld,[1] yet the sons we require for the Lindsays are Richard and Walter. I had hoped that Sir George's paper would remove this difficulty, but this can only be done by connecting the Cheshire property, in its descent, with the Lincolnshire line. Till this is done, I venture to think that (as I previously suggested to my friend Windsor Herald) the peculiar derivation of the name from a district, not from a village, may perhaps be accounted for by the Baldric who held of the earl in Lindsey being distinguished from this Cheshire namesake as Baldric "de Lindissi."

I may add that I have recently examined the St. Evroul cartulary at Paris and can find nothing in it affording further light. The charter witnessed by Richard, son of Baldric "de Lindissi," must belong to 1121-1129.

J. H. ROUND.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE LINDSAYS.

I ought to say something (though it is little) with reference to Sir George Sitwell's article in the July number of the *Genealogist*. I am much gratified that so distinguished an antiquary should have given his attention to the subject of the origin of my family, and, although I cannot think he has proved that origin, I thank him heartily for his suggestions.

Sir George Sitwell has not, indeed, attempted to prove the paternity of Walter de Lindsay. What he has done is to emphasize a fact that I had myself mentioned, viz., that a gentleman living in Lindsey as a knight of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, had the name de Lindissi attributed to him, the possibility of which the late Earl of Crawford went far to deny.

Whether Baldric, to whom the name de Lindissi is attributed in a Confirmation Charter of Earl Ranulf to the Abbey of S. Evreux, c. 1121, was identical with Baldric, Lord of the Manor of Cocle in Cheshire under Hugh Lupus, I will not attempt to decide. The identity would be exceedingly probable if Cocle (now Kelsall) could be shewn to have been inherited by a Richard son of Baldric, but Mr. Round's suggestion that the Lindsey benefactor was called de Lindissi to distinguish him from another Baldric cannot be disregarded.

It is perhaps an error to suppose that territorial surnames were originally adopted as a mark of prestige. I am inclined to think that they began in mere convenience, and that for some time after the Norman Settlement the *prénom* or Christian name was principally cared for. It is obvious that the Knights of Counties must have been often classed under the names of their Counties. The expression Knights of Lindsey comes down to the reigns of the Edwards.

Now Walter de Lindissi is on record as bearing that surname in 1113-16, at least five years before the surname is recorded for Baldric. If he was son of Baldric, and if Baldric was Lord of Boquencé, and if Walter thus belonged to a distinguished house in which the name of Baldric had been pre-eminent since early in the tenth century, it is very astonishing that no Baldric de Lindesay should ever have appeared as son of the Scottish house. Walter was succeeded by William, William by Walter, and these names were those of the eldest line till 1281. No younger son named Baldric has ever been discovered. Randolph, Simon, David, John, Gerard, these names I know, but I have not found a Baldric nor a Richard in Scotland. It will be recollected that Lord Crawford, who devoted particular attention to this Baldric (Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i, p. 18), nevertheless believed the origin of the name to be Limesi I think, on the contrary, that Lindsey in Lincolnshire is the more probable derivation, and that Walter acquired the surname in the same way as Baldric acquired it, while the Scottish family adhered to the surname with greater tenacity than did the descendants and heirs of Baldric.

I should *a priori* expect Walter de Lindissi to be son of a William. Now there was a person named William who was a much more important owner of lands under Hugh Lupus than Baldric was.

It is, of course, difficult to prove that the person named William was not either William (Malbanc) Malbedeng, William fitz Nigel, nor William Perci, but in fact William, not designed as one of these, held manors or parts of manors under Hugh Lupus in Cheshire, Lindsey, Berks, Dorset, Bucks and Oxon, holding his principal estate (in ten manors) in Dorset. I cannot claim him as my ancestor because I cannot prove that Walter inherited any of these lands, but in most of these counties there were Lindsays. There is indeed only one fact which I can prove. Fortintone and Ulseby were both in demesne of Hugh Lupus, 1086 and in 1116. They are in Lindsey and both belonged to the Scottish family before 1185. Therefore the Scottish Lindsay and therefore, most probably, the first of them was enfeoffed in Fortintone by an Earl of Chester, but the surname is of older date. The connection of the Lindsays with the Earls of Chester is more pronounced after the succession of de Meschines, while it becomes closer still after the Chester-Huntingdon marriage. Let me add that there is no vassal of Hugh Lupus, who is recorded as the tenant of his fees outside Chester, to be compared with "William." It is indeed remarkable how very few of the Knights of Hugh Lupus are expressly mentioned as his vassals outside the County Palatine. William Malbedeng was by far the largest proprietor inside Cheshire, and a William the largest *recorded* proprietor out of it. They may therefore be identical—if so, the fact can probably be proved.

My answer to Sir George Sitwell then is that while I should be pleased to accept Sir Baldric de Bocquencé as my ancestor, I see no proof, nor even presumption, of the fact. That the first ancestor of my race in Scotland was a man of some distinction is obvious. He is recorded as "Noble and Knight" in 1113-16. He and his descendants were at once *Magnates Scotiæ*. They never cared for any but their English surname, to which they clung tenaciously. They were closely allied with the Earls of Chester for two centuries after Walter appeared in Scotland. They were constantly in England, and they held all the most important offices of State in Scotland. More "this deponent knoweth not," though continually in search of the truth.

W. A. Lindsay,
*Windsor Herald.*