

## FINDING FULBERT IN NORMAN ENGLAND ©

**John F. Polk, PhD  
Clan Historian  
Clan Pollock International**

Fulbert, the progenitor of the Pollok family of Renfrewshire, is known to us as the father of three individuals, Peter, Robert, and Helya (Elias), who were given feudal fee to the lands of Pollok and who appeared in various 12<sup>th</sup> century Scottish charters. In this paper the possible origin of this family in Norman England will be explored and a specific individual suggested who may in fact have been Fulbert, progenitor of the Pollok family.

### **Background**

With one exception, Fulbert himself never appeared directly in a Scottish charter but only indirectly in the form of a patronymic with his sons' signatures, in Latin,<sup>1</sup> i.e. Petrus filius Fulberti, Robertus filius Fuberti, Helia filius Fulberti

Helya was a cleric and appointed the Canon of Glasgow cathedral. Peter and Robert were invested with lands in the area of Renfrewshire known as Pollok and took that as their title, giving origin to the family name. Robert was also given lands in Steinton (Stenton), East Lothian. The little we know of these sons of Fulbert comes from the few charters on which their names appeared either as a witness or grantor. All we know of Fulbert from Scottish records is that he was identified as their father. Since the lands of Pollok and Steinton were first given by King David I to Walter FitzAlan, his High Steward, we can conclude that Fulbert's sons were Walter's followers, and were given their lands as his vassals under the feudal system that David was instituting in Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

Because of their association with Walter it has also been generally assumed in Pollok family history that they originated from Shropshire in England, as he did, but this is just speculation. It is also a bit simplistic since Walter's family did not originate from Shropshire but had a much broader and more complex network of family connections in France and England than just Shropshire, and this should be taken into account in seeking the Norman origin of Fulbert and his sons.

Locating Fulbert requires some familiarity with Scottish and English history in the 12<sup>th</sup> century when the Norman feudal system was introduced to Scotland, principally during the reign of King David I. Some brief sketches of the persons most instrumental in bringing Fulbert's sons to Scotland, and of the Norman world in which they operated, will help.

### **The family of Walter FitzAlan**

Walter was the son of Alan, son of Flaad, son of Alan, son of Flaad, a family which had for at least four generations held the hereditary title of Dapifer, or Steward, of Dol in Brittany. They did not participate in the Battle of Hastings nor were they immediately given lands in the subsequent Norman occupation of England but were well established in the Norman/Breton hierarchy.

This changed when a struggle for the English throne broke out in 1100 after the death of William Rufus, son of William the Conqueror, who left no sons. The two contenders were Henry, fourth son of the Conqueror, and Robert, Duke of Normandy, his older brother. The struggle was bitter and involved

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<sup>1</sup> Strang, Part 2, Chapter 8, p.251-69.

<sup>2</sup> Steuart, p.162.

armed conflicts in both France and England, but Henry prevailed and was enthroned as Henry I, King of England, in 1100. Despite promises to the contrary, he seized the lands of some of the families that had opposed him and redistributed them to his supporters.

Walter FitzAlan's family was one of the notable winners. His father, Alan FitzFlaad, was given extensive lands in Shropshire, Norfolk and Sussex which had previously belonged to the families of Montgomery and Balliol. Alan was made the Sheriff of Shropshire and given lands at Oswestry, a key post on the border of the Welsh marches. He married Avelina, the daughter of his predecessor, Ernulf de Hesdin, and had four sons by her. In accordance with the feudal custom the oldest would inherit most of the family holdings. In this case, their lands in France and England were divided between the first two sons. The eldest, Jordan, received the lands in France and the hereditary family title of Dapifer of Dol. The second son, William, was given his father's lands in Shropshire and Norfolk. The remaining two, Walter and Simon, were probably given some allocations of wealth but only token land holdings and had to find other avenues to pursue their ambitions. In this regard their early association with David, later King of Scotland, whose sister Matilda was married to King Henry, was a key factor. Both eventually ended up in Scotland as supporters of King David.<sup>3</sup>

### **King David of Scotland and his niece, Matilda, Lady of England**

Both as a youth and after his sister had married, David spent considerable time in England, made many contacts among the Norman ruling families and learned their system of administration and military organization. He was the seventh son of Malcolm Canmore and seemingly had little prospect of becoming king but married the daughter of the Earl of Northumberland and thereby became lord of considerable lands in northeast England. In time, with the backing of Henry I, David became Earl of Northumberland himself. His father and oldest brother Edward were killed in battle in 1093 and after the successive reigns of his brothers Edgar (1097-1107) and Alexander (1107-1124), both dying without heir, David was crowned King of Scotland in 1124. He reigned until 1153.

England entered an extended period of bloody strife known as the Anarchy upon Henry's death without a male heir in 1135. His daughter, Matilda, already Empress of the Holy Roman Empire and wife of the Duke of Anjou, claimed the throne but so did her cousin, Stephen of Blois, son of the Conqueror's daughter Adela. The conflict played out in both France and Scotland and took years to resolve, but Stephen was the eventual winner. Matilda was nearly crowned early in the conflict, but was not, and came to be known as the Lady, rather than Queen, of England. Ironically, upon Stephen's death in 1154 and within Matilda's lifetime, her eldest son succeeded to the English crown as Henry II.

For present purposes it is not necessary to go into the details of the struggle but only to know that both King David of Scotland and the FitzAlans of Shropshire were strong supporters of Matilda in her losing cause. She was, after all, David's niece. He invaded the north of England in her support and had several successes but was defeated by Stephen's forces at the Battle of the Standard in August, 1138. Walter FitzAlan participated in this event - one of the bonds on which Walter's relationship with David was formed.

David was strongly engaged in introducing the Norman feudal system into Scotland at this time and invited some of his Norman allies into the north, giving them extensive lands to hold in fealty to him as King and overlord. This has come to be known as the Normanization of Scotland.<sup>4</sup> Many well-known Scottish families trace their beginnings back to this period although their non-Scottish origin is frequently overlooked. The best known of these are of course Bruce, Wallace and Stewart but there were many more

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<sup>3</sup> Thompson, p.34. Not much is known of Simon but he is mentioned in several charters and was ancestor to the Earls of Kilmarnock in Scotland.

<sup>4</sup> For a full treatment see Ritchie's excellent work "The Normans in Scotland," particularly Chapter 6.

including, a bit later, the sons of Fulbert. In all cases where the origins of David's Norman, or Breton, overlords can be traced they came from established families with demonstrated experience in the Norman feudal system. They also came from an age of brutal power struggles and swift demise for those making the wrong choices in a world of ever shifting loyalties among the royal and ruling families. David no doubt chose his "new men" carefully and relied heavily on relationships made during his early years in the English court when he was not seen as a likely king in the making. The ones who adhered to his niece Matilda and supported her in the conflicts with Stephen were certainly prime candidates for his consideration.

### **The Norman Milieu and Pollok**

As noted earlier, seeking Fulbert only in Shropshire is rather self-limiting since it ignores the tremendous mobility of Norman families at that time. Even a casual reading of Norman history (along with their Breton, Flemish, English and Anjevin neighbors) shows how quickly alliances were formed and broken, lands lost and gained, marriages made and families destroyed as endless battles raged. It was a brutal period which had its roots in the relentless Norse raiding of the British and French coastal areas in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10th centuries. Normandy after all was nothing more than land conceded to Norsemen by the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte in 915 in desperate hopes of stopping their endless incursions.

Walter FitzAlan no doubt split his childhood years between France and England. His mother was the daughter of Ernulf de Hesdin from Flanders. His father, Alan, was from Dol in Brittany but held English lands not only in Shropshire but also in Arundel and Norfolk on the other side of England. The family clearly had a wide network of alliances in both France and England which transcended the limited confines of Shropshire. Walter would have been fully acquainted with these and his selection of associates to serve as his knights or underlords in Scotland would have drawn from a deep pool of possible candidates, and not been made lightly. The other families that King David and Walter FitzAlan brought with them into Scotland all came from the Norman ruling class and were chosen specifically as agents for implementing David's plans in Scotland.<sup>5</sup> The lands of Pollok and Steinton, like Walter's other lands, were given as knight's fees in the Norman system,<sup>6</sup> with the attendant responsibilities of knight's service.<sup>7</sup> As a parallel example, just east of Pollok in Renfrewshire, Robert de Montgomery was given the manor of Eaglesham.<sup>8</sup> The Montgomeries were at one time one of the most powerful Norman families in France and England. As already noted, they lost their holdings in England by backing the wrong claimant in 1100 but they certainly knew how the Norman system worked and Robert de Montgomery was given Eaglesham for that reason. We can be sure that Peter, Robert and Helya were picked with similar expectations and surely came from a family with similar experience.

Pollok flanked Walter's own principle residence at Paisley on the Clyde and was a particularly strategic location at this time. The Clyde estuary was the gateway to and from the Western Isles and a critical element of Glasgow's defensive perimeter.<sup>9</sup> Paisley was in fact the exact site of the Battle of Renfrew in 1164 at which Somerled, Lord of the Isles, was defeated and killed by Scottish forces led by Walter. It would not be unreasonable to presume that Peter and Robert were involved in this battle and it may in fact have been where they proved their worthiness to the lands they were given at Pollok. It seems unlikely that they would have been given that honor without having merited it in some clear way. We don't know exactly when they were enfeoffed at Pollok but it was close to this time. Robert was one of the witnesses to Walter's charter establishing Paisley Abbey in 1163.

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<sup>5</sup> See Ritchie p. 184 and p.371-75.

<sup>6</sup> Barrow, p.166, 172.

<sup>7</sup> Ritchie, p.223.

<sup>8</sup> Welsh, p.26.

<sup>9</sup> See Thompson, p.31-32

### **Search Criteria for Fulbert**

Based on the foregoing, the following criteria would be appropriate for seeking Fulbert, father of Peter, Robert and Helya, in Norman England:

- 1 – Fulbert and his sons were contemporaries of Alan FitzFlaad (1070-1114) and his sons,
- 2 – Fulbert was a Norman baron granted knight's fees, found in contemporary English records,
- 3 – Fulbert had a first son, and possibly a second, older than those who went to Scotland, who inherited his lands and offices in England,
- 4 – Fulbert, and/or his sons, supported Queen Matilda during the Anarchy (1135-1154),
- 5 – Fulbert, and/or his sons, had activities and loyalties that would have brought them to the attention of Walter FitzAlan.

### **The Search**

The first task is to search available English records beginning with the Norman Conquest for citations of individuals named Fulbert. This may seem rather daunting but it is far more tractable now than it was just a few years ago due to the tremendous growth in information technology and online genealogical resources. The author undertook such a search many years ago, focusing primarily on Shropshire, at the Peabody Library in Baltimore which has a renowned collection of British antiquarian resources. At that time the search was limited to available hard copy documents in the library, including the Domesday Book, Pipe Rolls and published histories of Shropshire. The attempt was basically unsuccessful, turning up no Fulberts in Shropshire.

The task was recently re-attempted making use of the extensive historical resources now directly available online and widening the search to all of Norman England. The main resources used were:

- Domesday Book, available at <http://www.domesdaybook.co.uk/> A convenient search engine for names appearing in Domesday is available at the Cambridge University and King's College London Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England (PASE) Domesday website <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk/>
- British county histories at Some Notes on British Medieval History (BMH). These can be accessed at <http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/och/index.shtml> This site includes all of the volumes of the Victorian series of Topographic histories of the counties.
- England wide or county wide search on British History OnLine (BHO) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/> The BHO site covers a tremendously wide collection of British sources.
- Foundations of Medieval Genealogy provides many well researched articles and online databases. Their main website is at <http://fmg.ac/>
- Google using Fulbert and related keywords such as FitzAlan, Shropshire and the various English counties.

Wikipedia should also be mentioned because it provides valuable capsulated descriptions of medieval history topics which are very helpful in understanding the historical milieu of Norman England, France and Scotland.

### **Shropshire**

We consider Shropshire first because it was the home of Walter FitzAlan and frequently suggested as the likely origin of Fulbert and his sons. A check of the Domesday Book however reveals no Fulberts in Shropshire either before the conquest or at the time of survey. Of course Alan FitzFlaad does not appear there either since he was not given lands in Shropshire until after 1100. It is necessary to consider post-

Domesday sources, and the best reference for early medieval Shropshire is undoubtedly Rev. R. W. Eyton's scholarly 12 volume history, "Antiquities of Shropshire," published 1854-1860. This covers the period from Domesday to 1200, exactly our period of interest. Eyton makes full use of the extant early documents and cartulary of Shropshire, as detailed in his Preface in Volume 1. These are extensive, starting with Domesday and proceeding through the Pipe Rolls (1130 onwards), the Black Book (Liber Negro, 1166), the Liber Feodorum (beginning 1198) and other extant rolls, cartularies and similar records. Surely any person of prominence living in Shropshire in those times would be found in these sources, and consequently in Eyton's history.

All 12 volumes of "Antiquities of Shropshire" are accessible on line courtesy of Google Books at the Medieval Genealogy Shropshire website <http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/och/shropshire.shtml> and can be digitally searched in their entirety. Doing so yields only one mention of an individual named Fulbert in the entire set,<sup>10</sup> and this is simply a reference to someone in Dover, Kent, not Shropshire. On this basis, and assuming Fulbert and his sons were persons of sufficient stature and experience to warrant the attention of Walter FitzAlan and David I, we can safely conclude that they did not originate from Shropshire.

J. C. Anderson's single volume history, "Shropshire: Its Early History and Antiquities" was also consulted, with similar result.

### Domesday

Consider next the Domesday Book for the whole of England. From the PASE Domesday website we obtain the following list of all land holdings by individuals named Fulbert appearing in Domesday:

<u>County</u>	<u>Vill/Manor</u>	<u>Tenant in Chief</u>	<u>1086 Value</u> <sup>11</sup>	<u>1066 or 1086</u> <sup>12</sup>
Norfolk	Rougham	Hermer de Ferrers	0.50	1066
Norfolk	Stradsett	Hermer de Ferrer	4.75	1066
Leicestershire	Sapcote	Hugh de Grandmesnil	1.25	1086
Bedfordshire	Campton	William d'Eu	0.25	1086
Lincolnshire	Honington	Gilbert de Ghent	3.00	1086
Kent	Luddenham	Odo, bishop of Bayeux	6.00	1086
Kent	Eastling	Odo, bishop of Bayeux	4.00	1086
Kent	Canterbury	Odo, bishop of Bayeux	0.75	1086
Kent	Chilham	Odo, bishop of Bayeux	30.00	1086
Kent	Barham	Odo, bishop of Bayeux	40.00	1086
Kent	A mill	Hugh de Montfort	1.20	1086

Similar results were obtained from <http://www.domesdaybook.co.uk/> and from the Open Domesday website: <http://domesdaymap.co.uk/>

### Assessment of the Candidates

By examining the full text of Domesday for each of these individuals and consulting related county histories we can make the following comments on the likelihood of their being father of Robert, Helya and Peter of Pollok.

1 - Fulbert of Norfolk:

<sup>10</sup> Eyton, Vol. 9, p.70.

<sup>11</sup> The listed value is PASE's summary assessment of the holding, presumably in terms of pounds silver (annual fee).

<sup>12</sup> The year indicates whether the individual was first noted before the conquest (1066) or at the time of the survey (1086).

Fulbert of Norfolk was actually a priest in service to Hermer de Ferrers and in addition to the lands mentioned in the table also possessed one house in Norwich at the time of the Survey.<sup>13</sup> He had been in Norfolk prior to the conquest. Following is from “History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk,” on Fulbert’s holding in Rougham:<sup>14</sup>

Hermerus de Ferrarijs had a small lordship, as we find in *Domesday Book*, possessed by Fulbert, to which there belonged a carucate then, but at the survey only half a carucate; but the other half might be recovered, valued at 10*s. per ann.* the soc was in *Muleham (Mileham,)* and belonged then to the King; Fulbert was lord in his own right, in King Edward's time, and now held it under Hermerus, who was ancestor of the lords Bardolf of Wirmegay,

To which the following footnote was appended:

But the soc, the chief power, the court baron, &c. belonged to the King's manor of Mileham: this Fulbert was also a priest, and the same who in the account of Norwich, in Domesday book, is called *Fulbertus quidam sacerdos Hermeri*, and held then a house in Norwich.

Concerning Stradstet it states:<sup>15</sup>

This town stands in a great valley, which *Strath* is said to signify; and several places in *Scotland* take their names from it, as *Strathern, Strathnavern, &c.* and in *England, Stradshall, Stradbrook in Suffolk, &c.* At the survey, *Fulbert* held 2 carucates of land of *Hermerus de Ferrariis*, who had a grant of this town on the expulsion of *Suartine* a freeman, lord in the time of the Confessor, when there were also 6 villains and 2 bordarers, 1 servus, 8 acres of meadow, the moiety of a fishery, and 2 carucates in demean, 2 oxen, 1 runcus, 2 cows, &c. a church endowed with 30 acres, 140 sheep, &c.—In the said town were 13 freemen, who were deposed, and had 210 acres, and a church with 30 acres, 2 carucates and 7 acres of meadow, which were delivered to *Hermer* for one carucate, to make up one manor. The whole was valued at 4/15*s.* the protection of 2 of these freemen was, before this, in the Lord *Bainard*, his predecessor. The whole was 7 furlongs long, and 4 broad, paid 8*d.* to a 20*s.* gelt.

Considering that this Fulbert of Norfolk was a priest holding land in pre-conquest England he is a very unlikely candidate. He would have been too old to have sons being enfeoffed with lands in Scotland about a century later. Being a priest would presumably preclude his having sons in any case. There are no further mentions of him in the Norfolk county histories which are available at the British Medieval website so he was presumably not a person of particular stature. On this basis he would not seem to meet criteria 1, 2 or 3. On 4 or 5 there is no information.

2 - Fulberts of Leicestershire, Bedfordshire and Lincolnshire:

In these cases we have uncovered no further information on the Fulberts found in these counties beyond their appearances in Domesday. The Leicestershire county histories at British Medieval History are particularly comprehensive but yield nothing further on its Domesday Fulbert. Since all of these Fulberts had relatively small holdings and seemed to have had no particular prominence in their time they would not seem likely to have captured the notice of people like Walter FitzAlan or King David seeking possible followers to implement a feudal system in Scotland. Surely Walter would be looking to families with proven experience, and David or his successors would need to be convinced of their trustworthiness. As discussed above, these decisions were not made casually.

3 - Fulbert of Dover:

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<sup>13</sup> Blomefield & Parkin, Vol. 3 (City and County of Norwich, Part I), p.18.

<sup>14</sup> Blomefield & Parkin, Vol. 10 (Launditch Hundred: Rougham), p.34.

<sup>15</sup> Blomefield & Parkin, Vol. 7 (Clackclose et al), p.448.

Fulbert of Dover was a Kentish Baron with partial responsibility for manning Dover Castle and multiple land holdings listed in Domesday. He died between 1121 and 1130 and had two sons that we know of from records in Kent, and could have had others who went unrecorded. He is the only Fulbert emerging from our search who appears to meet the search criteria specified above. He will be discussed more fully below.

### Other Candidates

Besides the Domesday Book our best sources for possible Fulbert candidates are the BHO and BMH websites. These tap into a vast collection of primary and secondary sources including the Victoria County Histories<sup>16</sup> and other topographic and antiquarian histories of England. All of the county histories catalogued at the BHO website were accordingly searched by the author using the website's search engine but this produced no new candidates in the time period of interest.

The search engine at the BMH website was also used and yielded 84 records in which a Fulbert citation appears. Of these 27 are clearly out of our date range, 26 relate to the Fulberts of Kent, Norfolk and Bedford already identified, and 25 are simply index entries. The six remaining citations are the only ones that relate to a previously unidentified individual - a certain William Fulbert of London in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century. The entries are all concerned with fees or inheritance of relatively minor land holdings in London. For example the following is taken from the Cartulary of Holy Trinity, Aldgate:

456. [1170–97] Grant by Stephen prior and convent to Michael son of William Fulbert of that land which Ernardus Furbur held in fee; rent 3s. 6d. *p.a.*; swore fealty; Michael gave 1 bezant to the prior and half a London sextary of wine to the canons; witnesses, Walter the priest, William Fulbert, William son of the same William [Brun].. (from the Parishes of St Martin Vintry and St John Walbrook).

From "The Aldermen of the City of London Temp. Henry III – 1912":

The name of Henry fitz-Ailwyn is of common occurrence without the addition of "Mayor" and therefore presumably before his election to that office, which he held continuously from at least as early as 1193 till his death in 1212.... Contemporary with him the following names occur, with the addition of "Alderman," at one or more of the references given in the footnotes: ...William Fulbert...

and from "A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds," Volume 3:

A. 5915. Release by Robert Triket son of Ralph Triket to the canons of Holy Trinity, London, of all his right in land in Berkedene, formerly held of them by his brother Stephen, which Robert had claimed to hold after his said brother; in return for which the said canons have received him into their brotherhood, and have granted to him a corrody. Witnesses:—Henry, the mayor of London, Nicholas and Robert Blund, sheriffs of the same, Theobald son of Ivo, and William Fulbert, aldermen, Philip the priest of Horemade, Sir Ralph de Stebee, and others (named). [A.D. 1197–1198.]

The remaining citations offer no additional insight. In any case, they provide little basis for seeing William Fulbert as a likely candidate both from point of view of age (too young) and of status (insufficient to have attracted Walter FitzAlan's notice). The consistent use of his name, William, in these documents is also counter-indicative since it was never used as a patronymic by his sons in the Scottish charters which they witnessed.

### Fulbert de Dover

Fulbert de Dover was one of the early castellans of Dover and a Norman baron with six separate entries of land holdings listed in Domesday, amounting to 15½ knight's fees.<sup>17</sup> These were not given to him directly after the conquest but shortly before the survey, after Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent,

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<sup>16</sup> See <http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/>

<sup>17</sup> Hardman, p.103.

lost favor with his half-brother, the Conqueror, in 1082, and was removed and thrown into prison with his lands escheated.

Fulbert's chief holding was Chilham which is described in the History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent as follows:<sup>18 19</sup>

Four years after which, on the bishop's disgrace, Chilham, among the rest of his possessions, became forfeited to the crown. After which this place was given to Fulbert, the former tenant of it before-mentioned, and with other lands then granted to him, made up together *the barony of Fulbert, or Fobert*, as it was vulgarly called from him, being held of the king *in capite by barony*, the tenant of them being bound by his tenure to maintain a certain number of soldiers from time to time for the defence of Dover castle, on which account he took the name of *De Dover*, making Chilham the *caput baroniæ, or chief seat of this barony*, thence called THE HONOR OF CHILHAM, on which the other manors which comprehended it were dependant, which word *honor*, in antient times, usually signified the lordship or fee of an earl or baron, and in process of time, honor and barony came to be used as words of the same import; so that what is said of an honor, is also to be understood of a barony created by the king himself, the chief lord of the whole realm, and could be holden immediately of no other lord. He died in the reign of King Henry I.

There are similar passages on other manors possessed by Fulbert de Dover – East Shefford, Luddenham, Easing, Hougham, Doddington, Barham, Molash, Kingston, Denton, Youngs, Herst, Shillingheld, Shebbertswell, Hothfield, and Whitstaple, all forming what was known collectively as the Barony of Chilham (sometimes Chilliham).

We have little information on Fulbert's early life but according to English Baronies he came from Douvres in the Bessin, north of Caen,<sup>20</sup> and his name was, ironically, something of a *double entendre* as it initially arose not from his position at Dover but from his place of origin. He must have been a well-established figure to have been given such extensive holdings and implied trust. They did not come free. Along with them Fulbert, and seven other recipients of Odo's lands were given responsibility for the defense of Dover and its castle.<sup>21</sup> This was a serious matter as Dover was, and always has been England's foremost port on the English Channel, frequently referred to as "the lock and key to the Kingdom." It was in fact the landing site used by Julius Caesar for his first incursion into England.

Fulbert and the other castellans were required to provide forces regularly to man the castle. Three of these, quoting from an early history, were:<sup>22</sup>

.... The next, named Fulbert of Dover, who had Chilham assigned him, kept 15 soldiers for the defence of the castle; three of whom being upon guard a month by turns, their rotation took up 20 weeks.

.... The fourth, whose name was Jeffery Peverell, was accounted a very brave man. The quota of soldiers enjoined him by Fienes for the guard of the castle, was 18; three of whom being on duty a month by turns, their rotation was concluded in 24 weeks.

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<sup>18</sup> Hasted, Vol. 7, p.263.

<sup>19</sup> See also <http://www.chilham-castle.co.uk/history.aspx>

<sup>20</sup> Sanders, p.111. Unfortunately no sources are cited for this and we have no further information about Fulbert before his appearance in Domesday.

<sup>21</sup> Eales, p.97-8. It is not entirely clear exactly when each of these families acquired their responsibilities for the castle but it was long before an unambiguous record appears in the exchequer rolls. As Eales says it could have begun at any time from the 1190's. See also Hardman, p.102.

<sup>22</sup> Darrell, p.19.

The fifth, named William Mainmouth (Maminot), was ordered to furnish 24 soldiers for the guard of the castle; three of whom serving a month by turns, the whole number took their turn in 32 weeks.

The latter two, Peverell and Maminot, are mentioned here because their families intermarried with Fulbert's. They will be discussed further below.

The eight barons were also expected to help with enhancing the fortifications of Dover Castle and each constructed a tower which bears the family name to this day.<sup>23</sup> Hasted provides the following rather grim comment concerning Fulbert's tower:<sup>24</sup>

There is a prison in this castle, under the custody of an officer, under the warden of the cinque ports, called the bodar of Dover castle, who is likewise a sergeant at arms. By virtue of his office, he has power from the warden to take within his peculiar jurisdiction, crown and other debtors under an arrest, and to confine them in safe custody in a prison, made in Fulbert de Dovre's tower. Mr. Lyon, in his account of this prison, in his History of Dover castle, (a treatise containing much curious and accurate information relating to it) has given a melancholy description of it.

...

He says, there are but two rooms in this building, for the confinement of prisoners of all sorts, in which they are obliged to eat and sleep, and in which it has so happened, that different sexes have been locked up in the same apartment. They have not the least outlet to perform the common occasions of nature, or to breathe a little fresh air. To add to the horrors of this jail, there is no allowance whatever for the unfortunate prisoner to subsist on; so that if he has not a trade to work at, or a supply from the benevolence of others, he may be left to starve in misery and wretchedness.

### **Fulbert's Family and Relations**

Fulbert died by 1131 and left at least two sons, Hugh (Hugo), who succeeded to his manors, and William of whom we know almost nothing. Hugh died in 1171-72. On this basis Fulbert and his sons were clearly near contemporaries of Alan FitzFlaad (1070-1114) and Walter FitzAlan (1106-1177).<sup>25</sup> A short but carefully documented genealogical tree of Fulbert including his sons Hugh and William will be found at the FMG article on the family of de Dover under "Untitled English Nobility."<sup>26</sup> Hugh died without male heir and the manor passed to his nephew, William's son John, and thence to John's son, Fulbert de Dover (II).

There is a significant charter dated 1150-1153 in the cartulary of St. Bertin, a Benedictine Monastery in St. Omer, Flanders, for the donation of the Church at Chilham by Hugh de Dover to St. Bertin. Following is the description from the BHO website on the Calendar of Documents Preserved in France, 918-1206:<sup>27</sup>

1327. Charter of Hugh de Chileham son of Foubert of Dover (*de Dofora*) addressed generally. For the weal of his soul and [those] of his father Foubert and mother Adelit' and his relatives, and Matildis his wife and her relatives, and the successors of them both, he gives to the abbey (*ecclesie*) of St. Bertin, by the hand of Leonius its abbot, the church of Chilham with all its appurtenances, in alms for ever, so that two priests serve that church as chaplains. Should those chaplains be found unfit, let correction be made by counsel of the archbishop, abbot, and himself. Moreover, such brethren (*religiosi*) as come to him (*ad me declinaverint*) for hospitality, shall be entertained in the abbot's house, receiving there straw (*paleas*) only, and all else, both for horse and man, from his own house.

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<sup>23</sup> See <http://www.dover-castle-friends.org/tour/towers/>

<sup>24</sup> Hasted, p.490.

<sup>25</sup> Sanders, p.111.

<sup>26</sup> <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/ENGLISHNOBILITYMEDIEVAL3D-K.htm>

<sup>27</sup> Round, p. 481.

Testibus his: Silvestro Beati Augustini abbate; Willelmo priore sancti Augustini; Petro canonico Sancte Marie Tarouanensis; Willelmo Cada; **Helya de Chilleham**; Mathilde uxore mea; Radulfo filio Willelmi; Willelmo et Johanne fratribus ejus, nepotibus meis; Baldewino de Stura; Gaufrido de Ticheseia; Guillelmo de Eslingis; Arnaldo de Bolonia

Note in particular here the witness Helya de Chilleham, listed as the first family member, before Hugh's wife, Matilda. His designation as "de Chilleham" would seem to imply he was Hugh's brother and son of Fulbert.<sup>28</sup> While not conclusive this greatly strengthens the case for Fulbert de Dover being Fulbert the father of Helya, Canon of Glasgow, and his brothers Peter and Robert. Neither Fulbert nor Helya were particularly common names in Norman England. The likelihood of two separate households having this particular father-son combination is rather remote.

The Peverell and Maminot families cited above were both prominent Norman families in the century following the conquest and both became directly associated with Fulbert's family through marriage and shared responsibility for manning Dover Castle. Genealogical sketches for both families will be found at the FMG Untitled English Nobility webpage and genealogical charts for the Peverells are provided in both Eyton<sup>29</sup> and Farrer.<sup>30</sup> The Peverells were a powerful family with significant land holdings in Shropshire, and Eyton describes this at some length in his discussion of High Ercall, an important manor just east of Shrewsbury. Hamo Peverell was invested with this manor by Henry I sometime after he became king in 1100. When Hamo died without a male heir in 1138 the manor was passed on to his two nephews William Peverell (II) of Dover and Walchelin (Walkelin) Maminot. Walchelin was the son of Hamo's sister, Emma, and Hugh Maminot, Fulbert's partner among the original eight castellans of Dover. William Peverell (II) also died without heir (1147-8) so his half-share of High Ercall in Shropshire passed to his three sisters, one of which, Matilda, was married to Fulbert's son, Hugh of Dover. This can be seen more simply in the Peverell family tree in Eyton.<sup>31</sup>

### **Hugh de Dover as an Angevin Supporter**

The import of this web of family relationships is that Fulbert's son, Hugh de Dover, was very closely allied with two persons, William Peverell (II) and Wachline Maminot, who were demonstrably strong supporters of Matilda during her struggle against Steven. Without going into a full recapitulation of the Anarchy in England we note the following to substantiate this.

- Walchelin Maminot served as the Castellan at Dover at the early stages of the conflict when Dover was one of the focal points of support for Matilda and resistance to Stephen. Matilda's half-brother, Robert of Gloucester, controlled Dover and had forces stationed there from the outset. They refused entry to Stephen on his pre-emptive return to England to claim the crown immediately after learning of the death of Henry I in December, 1135. When Robert openly opposed Stephen in 1138, it triggered a regional rebellion against Stephen in Kent and across the southwest. This expanded into a general conflict throughout England over the course of the year, but Stephen emerged from it as the clear winner. In August Scottish forces under David were decisively defeated at the Battle of the Standard in Yorkshire. At almost the same time Matilda's forces were defeated at the siege of Shrewsbury and 93 of her

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<sup>28</sup> The order of charter witnesses generally indicates their relative importance. The ecclesiastical principals are first. William Cade was an important financier and probably had some say in how this donation was being accounted for to the King. A detailed discussion of Cade is found in Cronne, p.235. As the next listed witness Helya would seem to be important as having a stake in this action. With the appellation "de Chileham" there really seems no other interpretation than his being a brother of Hugh.

<sup>29</sup> Eyton, Vol 9, p.68-9. Note: the genealogical chart for Peverells in Eyton is somewhat inconsistent with the sketch in Untitled English Nobility. There is also some relevant discussion in Eyton, Haughmond Abbey, p.146-48.

<sup>30</sup> Farrer, p.160.

<sup>31</sup> Eyton, Vol. 9, p.68-9.

followers put to death, including Ernulf de Hesdin, brother of Alan FitzFlaad's wife.<sup>32</sup> Action then turned to Dover which had taken up Matilda's cause.<sup>33</sup> The Castle was put under siege and blockaded from the sea by forces brought by Stephen's wife, also named Matilda.<sup>34</sup> After a period of resistance and negotiations involving Walchelin Maminot's father-in-law, and no doubt in mind of what transpired at Shrewsbury, they capitulated without a serious armed struggle. Maminot lost his position as castellan for the balance of Stephen's reign.<sup>35</sup>

- William Peverell (II) distinguished himself as a strong supporter of Matilda. We have the following description from Eyton:<sup>36</sup>

"After this, and in 1144 (as I suppose), William de Dovre [Peverell] appears in Wiltshire. The author of *Gesta Stephani*, a partisan of the Usurper [Stephen] describes William de Dovre as a "man of military genius, crafty and fierce." In the year supposed, he built a castle at Cricklade, subdued the country north and south of the Thames; harassed Stephen's partisans in every direction, especially those who occupied Oxford and Malmesbury. Similar was his work in the year 1145, when he caught the Castellan of Malmesbury, one of Stephen's ablest Lieutenants, in an ambuscade, and handed him over a prisoner to the Countess of Anjou, as the Stephanite Chronicler calls the Empress."

Peverell afterwards left to join the crusade which departed from England and France in 1147, "...repenting of the evils and miseries which he had ruthlessly worked upon other folk, he sought the sacred precincts of Jerusalem, to expiate his sins, and there, performing many glorious deeds against the obstinate foes of Christianity, he was gloriously slain," probably in 1148.<sup>37</sup>

It can be presumed that supporters of Matilda, like Peverell and Maminot in Dover, were removed from power and possibly dispossessed by Stephen. William FitzAlan was at Shrewsbury for the first month of the siege but escaped before the castle surrendered and fled with his family to France. He remained there for the duration of Stephen's reign, dispossessed of his holdings in Shropshire, but was reinstated by Henry II shortly after he became king.<sup>38</sup> Walter FitzAlan fought with David at the Standard and retreated with him to Scotland and was appointed High Steward by him at some point.<sup>39</sup>

There is little in the records specifically about Hugh de Dover during this period but in view of his strong family connections with Maminot and Peverell he surely took up Matilda's cause as they did. He was, after all, a co-castellan with Maminot at Dover. One scholar explicitly calls him an Angevin supporter<sup>40</sup> and cites an involuntary donation of his property made while he was *in absentia* during Stephen's reign, imposed by William of Ypres, one of Stephen's leading commanders and, in effect, his Earl of Kent at the time.<sup>41</sup> More to the point, Hugh began to appear as a witness on charters of Empress Matilda in 1150-51.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Walter FitzAlan fought with David at the Standard. William FitzAlan was at Shrewsbury for the first month of the siege. He escaped and fled with his family to France before the castle surrendered and remained there for the duration of Stephen's reign, dispossessed of his holdings in Shropshire. He was reinstated by Henry II.

<sup>33</sup> Bradbury, p.59.

<sup>34</sup> To avoid confusion Stephen's wife is usually referred to as Queen Matilda and Henry's daughter, Stephen's rival, as Empress Matilda - her first marriage was to Henry V, the Holy Roman Emperor.

<sup>35</sup> Eales, p.92. Hardman, p.100.

<sup>36</sup> Eyton, Vol.9, p.66. See also Cleveland, Vol. 3, p.1-4.

<sup>37</sup> *Gesta Stephani Regis, as quoted by Eyton, Vol. 9, p.66.*

<sup>38</sup> Eyton, Vol. 7, p.236-7, 288.

<sup>39</sup> The date is uncertain but was confirmed and made hereditary by Malcolm IV in 1160.

<sup>40</sup> Marritt, p.119. See also Eales p.100-01.

<sup>41</sup> Bradbury, p.46. The donation was of the church at Chilham to the Abbey of St. Bertin. This was later confirmed by Hugh, under some duress, in the charter already cited above.

<sup>42</sup> Eales p.106.

After Henry came to power Hugh was reinstated and clearly in the good graces of the Angevin king. Eyton says of Hugh "...he was a great Baron of Kent and Sheriff of that County from 1161 to '67."<sup>43</sup>

### **Associations with FitzAlans**

We have so far shown that Fulbert de Dover meets the first 4 criteria that we have set for the father of Peter, Robert and Helya of Scotland. The remaining issue is whether Fulbert or his sons, however many there were, had associations that would have brought them to the attention of Walter FitzAlan as potential vassals for his lands in Scotland. This is a challenge because we have so little information about the lives and activities of these people beyond what is left to us in 900 year old charters and exchequer rolls. We do not have, at this point, a specific charter or other evidence that puts them together on a specific occasion but there would have been plenty of opportunity for interactions in the circles to which that they belonged. Associations between these families would be likely, based on two factors. First, and most importantly, the FitzAlans would be keenly aware of and familiar with the families that took up the Angevin cause during the Anarchy, such as Fulbert's. The community of Norman nobles may have been fractious and belligerent but they were highly interconnected, mobile, and mindful of family loyalties. Secondly, with the death of William Peverell (II) in 1148 Hugh de Dover became, through his wife's inheritance, a significant land baron in Shropshire with holdings in the important Manor of High Erccall just east of Shrewsbury.<sup>44</sup> This certainly would have brought Hugh de Dover to William FitzAlan's attention for his knight's fees due in Shropshire after William was reinstated as Sheriff there in 1155. There were also several donations of lands in Shropshire in which Hugh was involved.<sup>45</sup> These may easily have led to interactions between family members.

There is little else we can say about how Walter FitzAlan became acquainted with Peter, Robert and Helya and settled on them as his chosen vassals in Renfrewshire. Beyond the factors just mentioned it is reasonable to suppose that he actually observed them in real combat or other struggles from which he took a favorable impression. How this actually happened is something we will never know but can be sure his decision was based on careful consideration of their capabilities and demonstrated loyalties. The same could no doubt be said for the other followers that Walter brought to Refrewshire like Robert de Montgomery, Roland of Mearns, Robert le Croc and Richard le Walleis. These choices were not made lightly.

### **Conclusion**

We have examined the available on line sources of early medieval English history for citations of persons named Fulbert following the Norman Conquest and found a limited number of individuals. Of these only Fulbert de Dover appears to be a viable candidate for father of Robert, Helya and Peter of Pollok. He certainly meets the first four of the criteria that were set and, at least heuristically, the fifth. The additional fact that he indeed appears to have had a son named Helya makes his case all the more compelling. There may of course have been other Fulberts in Norman England that we did not uncover in our search but they would have to have been persons of prominence who somehow did not make it into the records that were examined. For now, the bottom line is that Fulbert of Dover appears to be the only reasonable candidate in 12<sup>th</sup> century Norman England who could have been Fulbert, the father of Peter, Robert and Helya of Pollok.

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<sup>43</sup> Eyton, Vol 9, p.67.

<sup>44</sup> Eyton, Vol. 9, p.69-70.

<sup>45</sup> Eyton Vol. 9, p.67.