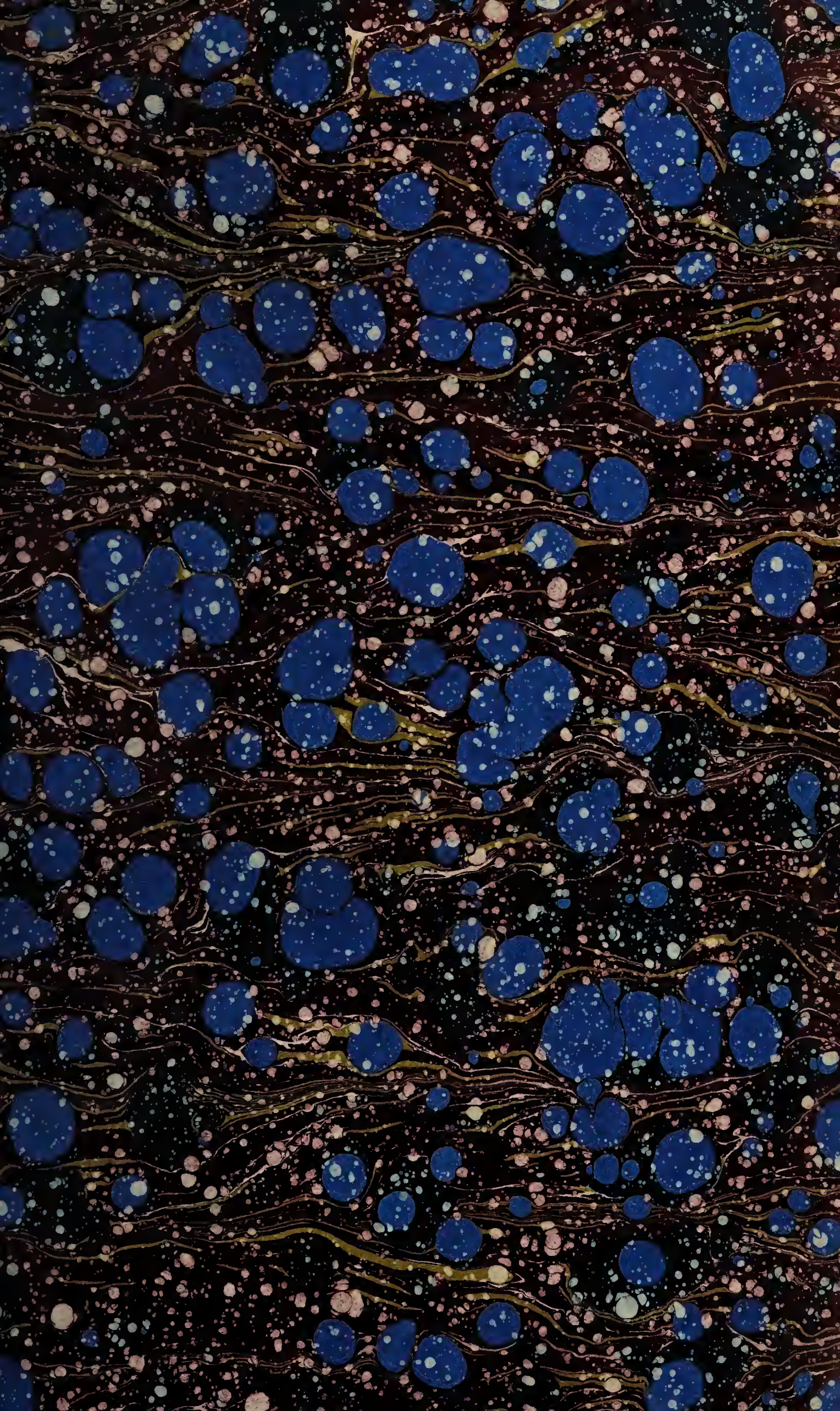




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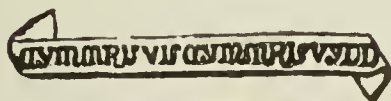
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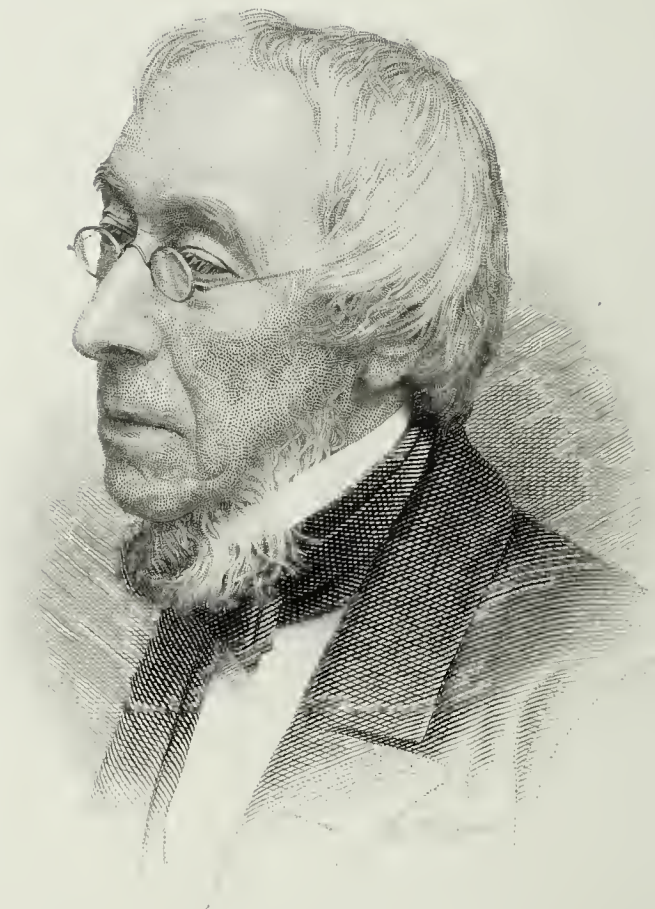
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*Matthew Holbecke Bloxam*  
*Oct. 7.5. May 12 - 1880.*

# Archæologia Cambrensis.

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## THE CELTIC ELEMENT IN THE LANCA- SHIRE DIALECT.

(Continued from p. 264, vol. xiii, 4th Series.)

### LANC. CELTIC.

*Grig*, a cricket; Du. *kriek*, a cricket;  
*krekkel*, id.

*Grike*, a rut, a crevice

*Griskin*, part of the loin of a pig  
when broiled; the back bones of  
a pig broiled on the coals (Ash);  
Sw. *gris*, a little pig; Dan. *gris*

*Groach*, *grutch*, a murmur, a grunt;  
v., to grumble, to give reluctantly  
and sullenly; Fr. *gruger*, to grudge,  
to repine; *grugeoir*, a grater

*Grounds*, lees, sediment

*Grutchins*, *grudgins*, coarse-ground  
meal. The order is, I think, flour,  
seconds, *grutchins*, bran

*Gry*, to be in an ague-fit

*Gully*, a butcher's knife, a large  
knife used in farmhouses

*Gull*, *gulls*, hasty-pudding made of  
flour and milk; *gull*, gruel for  
calves (Cumb.)

### WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *cryg*, a rough, sharp noise; *cri-  
ciad*, a cricket; Sans. *krus'* (*kruk*),  
to utter a cry

W. *crig*, a crack

Ir. *grisgin*; Gael. *grisgean*, roasted  
or broiled meat; *gris*, fire; Manx,  
*greesagh*, hot embers; *greesgin*, a  
griskin

W. *grwg*, a broken, rumbling noise;  
*grugach*, murmuring; to murmur;  
Arm. *graka*, to make a noise by  
rasping or grating, to croak; *grou-  
gousa*, "to croo as pigeons" (Cot.,  
s. v. *Roucouler*)

Gael. *grunndas*; Ir. *gruntas*, dregs;  
*grunndas*, lees, refuse, from *grunnd*,  
ground (Skeat); Manx, *grunt*,  
ground, bottom; *gruntys*, dregs

W. *rhuchion*, husks, gurgions; *rhuch*,  
a film, a husk

W. *cryn*, shaking, shivering; *crynu*,  
to shiver; *cryd*, shaking, an ague;  
Arm. *kridien*, trembling; Ir. Gael.  
*crith*, shaking, ague

W. *cylllell* (y=Eng. u); Corn. *collell*;  
Arm. *cyllan*, a knife; W. *cyllyr*, a  
chopper; *cyllu*, to separate; Lat.  
*cultellus*

W. *gwlyb*, liquid, liquid food; *gwł*,  
wet; Arm. *goular*, insipid, used of  
liquid food

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Gyrr, gyre*, to purge, to have diarrhoea; used of animals

*Gurd*, a fit, an onset, as "a *gurd o' leawghin*" (laughter); *gird*, a fit or spasm (*Craven Gl.*)

*Hack*, to cough faintly and frequently; *hawk*, id.

*Haddle*, barren, unfruitful; A. S. *adl*, diseased, corrupt

*Haips*=*haipes*, a slattern

*Hæver, hever*, the quarter from which the wind comes; quarter or part of the heavens. "Th' wind 's in a good *hæver*"

*Hala, heloe*, modest, bashful; *aylo, ayla*, id.

*Haspat*, a youth between man and boy

*Haspin*, an idle fellow, a hunks (N.)

*Hattock*, a shock of corn consisting of ten sheaves

*Haups, haup* (B.), a tall, clumsy person

*Hawter*, the Devil. "The *hawter* tak it", = Deuce take it. (Com.)

*Heasin*, a husk, pilled bark

*Height, hight* (C.), *heit* (J.), the call of a driver to his horse to go to him; i.e., to the left

*Hen-money*, money given at a marriage to provide entertainment for poor persons

*Henty*, the opening between two riggs of ploughed land. (N.)

*Hewit*, a name for a dog

*Hig*, a passion; "to be in a girt *hig*", to be very angry, or in a very pettish mood

*Hitch*, to walk lame (J.), to walk by jerks

## WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *gyru*, to drive, race, rush violently; Corn. *girr*, diarrhoea; Ir. Gael. *gearrach*; Manx, *giarey*, the flux or diarrhoea

W. *gyrr* (for *gyrd*?), an impulse, an onset, an attack; Hindust. *gir*, in comp., taking, seizing, holding

W. *hochi*, to throw up phlegm, to hawk; Arm. *hok*, a convulsive movement of the diaphragm with noise

W. *hadl*, decayed, rotten; *hadlu*, to decay; Ir. O. Gael. *adhall*, corruption, sin; *adhallach*, corrupt, sinful, perverse

W. *hafri*, a slattern

Arm. *ebr, evr (cver)*, the sky, the heaven; Ir. Gael. *aer*, air, sky; W. *awyrr*, air and sky, the firmament; Sans. *abhra*, a cloud, air, ether, sky

W. *gwyl, gwel*, modest, bashful; *verecundus, modestus*. (D.)

Ir. *gas*; W. *gwas*, a man; *pitw*, small(?)

W. *hysp, hesp*, barren, unfruitful, dry; *hyspydd*, the state of being exhausted (*hyspin*, one barren, dry, exhausted); Arm. *hesp, hesk*, barren, exhausted, as a cask which has ceased to give liquor

Ir. Gael. *adag (atac)*; Corn. *attock*, a bundle of sheaves, a shock of corn; root, *at*, to swell; Hindust. *atal*, a rick of corn; a heap

Ir. *ailp*, a gross lump; Ir. Gael. *alp*, a height or eminence; Manx, *alp*, high land; adj. high, mountainous

W. *cether* in *cethern*, devils, furies of Hell; *cythraul*, the Devil or Satan, a demon

W. *hws, hwsan*, a covering

W. *chwith*, left, the left hand

Ir. Gael. *cen*, a feast, a supper; Corn. *coyn*; W. *cwynos*=*cenos*, a supper; Lat. *cœna*

W. *hynt*, O. W. *hent*, Arm. *hent*, a way, course, path; Lat. *sentis*

W. *huad*, a dog

W. *ig*, an emotion, a sob; *igio*, to sigh, to sob

W. *hicio*, to snap, to catch suddenly

LANC. CELTIC.

*Hitter*, to fester; Du. *hitte*, heat

*Hives*, water-blebs (blisters or swellings) on the skin. (F.)

*Hog*, a year-old sheep; Norm. Fr. *hogetz*, id.

*Hog*, a place for putting potatoes, etc., to keep during winter. (P.)

*Hocussed*; liquor is said to be *hocussed* when mixed with something injurious

*Hoit*, a clumsy person. (F.) It means one who is naturally stupid and heavy. *Hoit*, a silly fellow. (Whitby.)

*Hollin*, a holly

*Honed*; a cow is said to be *honed* whose udder is swollen after calving

*Hool*, to shiver with cold. It is for *horl*, cf. *urled*, starved with cold (H.), and *horl*, to shiver with cold (N., Wr.)

*Horrocks*, a large, fat woman; *horrocks* is for *horrockes*

*Horse-gogs*, wild plums; a hybrid word

*Hoop*, a measure, one fourth of a peck (a peck, Salop)

*Hownce*, to spring, leap, bound: "An I *hownc'd* eawt o' bed" (P. B., 43)

*Huff*, pique, displeasure; v. to take offence, to be piqued

*Hum*, to throw anything, as a stone (P.); prim. to beat, as now in Holderness

*Hunnish*, to starve with cold and hunger

*Hurkle*, to shudder. (Com.)

*Hush*, to loosen earthy particles from minerals by running water

WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *chwydredd*, purulent matter, vomited matter; Arm. *choueda*, to vomit

W. *hwff* (pl. *hyffion*), a lump; *hwfan*, a rising over

Ir. Gael. *og*, young; *oige*, youth; *ogan*, a young person; W. *hogyn*, a strippling, a youth

W. *hwg*, a corner, a nook

W. *hoced*, deceit, a juggle; *hocedus*, cheating, deceitful

W. *hutan*, an oaf; *hutyn*, a stupid fellow; *hult*, a dolt

The term. is Celtic; cf. W. *celyn*; Ir. Gael. *cuilleán*, *cullin*; Manx, *hollin*, the holly

W. *cwni*, to rise; *cwnad*, a rising; O. W. *cwnet*, risen; Arm. *koen-vi*, to swell out, to be puffed, to become gross

W. *oer*, cold; *oerlyd*, chilly; *oerol*, of a cold nature; *oeroli*, to become cold

W. *hwrwg* (*hŵrŵg*), a lump; gibbus, tuberculum (D.); *hor*, a rotundity; a mutation of *cor*, round; *horen*, a fat woman; *horyn*, an unwieldy lump; *hawru*, to spread out; Arm. *horel*, a ball

W. *cocw*, a round lump; *cocwy*, an egg; *cocos*, cockles, cogs; *cog*, a mass, a lump; Arm. *kok*, the fruit of the holly; Sans. *koka*, the wild date-tree

W. *hob*, a measure; in Glamorgan-shire, a peck

W. *hawnt*, eagerness, alacrity, briskness; *hawn*, eager, brisk, full of activity; *hawnti*, to be eager or active

W. *wfft*, a push off, a slight, scorn; *wfftio*, to cry shame, to cry fie!

W. *hum*, a bat, a racket; *human*, id.

Ir. *una*, hunger, famine

W. *hercian*, to keep jerking; *herc*, a jerk forward

Ir. Gael. *uisg*, *uisge* (*usge*), water, a river; Ir. *uisgigh*; Gael. *uisgich* (*usgic*), to water, to irrigate

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Huzz*, to hum, to make a noise like bees (C.); A.-S. *hysian*, to hiss  
*Huzzim*, a husk  
*Ingle*, a fire

*Inklin*, a wish, a desire  
*Jannock*, oaten bread

*Jar*, a loud noise, a loud contention;  
 v., to squabble

*Jerry*, to cheat; adj., bad, defective;  
*jerry-built*, badly, slightly built

*Jiddy*, to agree. "They never *jiddy* together." (N. and M.)

*Jige*, to creak as unoiled wheels;  
*jike*, to creak. (N. H.)

*Jimp*, spruce, neat, fine

*Job*, to strike, to peck as a bird, to stab

*Jonnack*, fair-dealing, just, upright;  
 also *jannack*; O. N. *jafn*, even, level; Prov. Sw. *jamn*, level, flat

*Jope*, *jaup*, to splash; *jop*, id. (Yorks.)

*Jor*, to push, to jostle; also *jur*

*Jos*, *joe*, a master, a foreman; cf. *jed*=dead, etc.

*Jorum*, a large quantity

*Jowl*, to peck at, to strike, to push with violence

*Kabe*, to separate the filaments of flax into lines; the last process of heckling

## WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *hust*, a buzzing noise; *husting*, a whisper, a mutter

W. *hwsan*, a covering

Ir. Gael. *aingeal*, fire, flame; W. *engyl*, fire (P.); *ennyn* (for *engyn*?), to kindle, to burn; s., ignition; San. *agni*, fire

W. *ainc*, desire, craving; *aviditas*. (D.)

Ir. *caineog*, O. Gael. (Armstrong), *caineag*, barley and oats

Ir. *garoid*, a loud noise; W. *geran*, to squeal, to cry; *vagire*, *ejulare* (D.); *ger*=*gari*, a cry; Sans. *ghur*, to utter a loud cry

W. *dyrras*, bad, evil, mischievous; *improbus*, *sceleratus* (D.): *d* before a vowel or semi-vowel has often the sound of *j*; cf. Eng. *jed*=dead, and Gael. *diulach* (a hero), pron. *jullach*. (M'Alpine)

W. *cydio*, to join together, to be joined together, to close; *cydiad*, a joining together

See *Gyge*

W. *gwymp*, smart, trim, beautiful

Ir. Gael. *gob*, Manx, *gob*, the bill of a bird; W. *gwp*, id.; W. *cobio*, to strike, to peck

W. *iawn* (*ion*), just, equitable; *iawnoc*, id.; Arm. *eeun*, just

See *Job*

W. *gyru*, to drive on or at, to rush forward, to make an onset

Ir. Gael. *dos*, a hero, one of superior rank; prim., a plume, a cockade, a tuft

W. *gor*, high, excessive; *gorm*, fullness; *gormod*, excess; Arm. *gorré*, what is higher

W. *gylf*, *gylfin*, the beak of a bird; Ir. Gael. *goill*, war, fight

W. *caib*, a hoe; *ceibio*, to hoe; *caff*, a rake with curved prongs

"I heckle the flax, I *kabe* and I reel." (*B. and S. of Lanc.*, p. 5.) It is now called combing; but a comb is never called a *kabe* in Lancashire. The ballad is of the fifteenth century: the instrument seems to have been a handle with curved prongs.



## LANC. CELTIC.

*Kaffle*, to entangle, to become entangled, to perplex by language

*Kait*, *këad*, a sheep's louse

{ *Kamed*, cross, ill-natured, awry

{ *Kam-kam*, to walk with the legs awry (*Hist. Manc.*)

*Kaythur*, *keather*, a cradle

*Keawl*, to be cowardly (C.), to retreat; *keel*, to cease, to give over (Cumb.)

*Kebble*, a sweet-heart, a darling (*B. and S. of Lanc.* p. 40)

*Keen*, to burn; a cancerous sore when burnt with caustic was said to be *keened*

*Kegge*, to affront; to frown at (?)

*Kelk*, a blow; *v.* to beat severely

*Keout*, a little barking cur (J.)

*Kesh*, white weed; a kind of hemlock; *kex*, *kecks*, the herb hemlock, its hollow stems

*Ketlock*, *kecklock*, charlock or wild mustard

*Kevil*, *kephyl*, a common working-horse; used as a term of contempt

*Kib*, a small bone in the sheep's foot, used in the game, "Bobber and kibs". The *kib* is round at each end like a shell

*Kibble-hounds*, beagles

*Kibbo-kift*, a trial of strength, which consists in standing in a half-bushel and lifting a sack of wheat from the ground to the shoulders; Du. *kippen*, to pick out, to seize

*Kick*, to ask for *kick* is to ask for a gift or allowance; *v.*, to ask for a gift, "Theer's Mester A. aw'll *kick* him for a pint" (J.) (S.)<sup>2</sup>

## WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *cafael*, to enclose, to grasp, to hold; Arm. *kafala*, to address insultingly, to abuse

Ir. *caideog*, an earthworm

See *Cam*

W. *cader*, Ir. Gael. *cathair*, a chair, a seat

W. *cilio*, to retreat; Arm. *kila*, to draw back, to retreat

W. *cibli*, a favourite, a toast

W. *cynneu*, to burn, to set on fire; *cynne*, ignition

W. *cuch*, a frown; *cuchio*, to frown  
Ir. *sgaileog*, a blow; Gael. *sgaile*, pron. *skelk* (*kelk*), a smart blow; O. W. *calch*, a fight<sup>1</sup>

W. *ci*, *cu*, a dog; *huad*, for *cuad*, a dog

W. *cecys*, plants with hollow stalks, the hemlock; *cegid*, hemlock; Corn. *cegas*; Arm. *kegit*, hemlock; Fr. *ciguë*

W. *cedw*, mustard; *cedw gwyllt*, wild mustard or charlock; Sans. *katu* (1), pungent (2), mustard; W. *llys*, for *llych*; Gael. *luigh*, an herb  
W. *cefyl*; Corn. *kevil*, a horse; Ir. Gael. *capall*, *capull*, a horse or mare

W. *cib*, a cup, shell, husk; Ir. *cib*, the shank-bone of a beast; Ir. Gael. *ciben*, *cibein*, a rump

Ir. Gael. *cuib*, a whelp, a cub; W. *ci*, a dog

W. *cibyn*, a half-bushel measure; *cip*, a quick pull or effort; *cipio*, to make a sudden effort

Primarily it meant to ask for flesh, which when the chief food was of a cereal kind or of herbs, must have been a rarity; W. *cica*, to

<sup>1</sup> An obsolete word. Dr. Davies thinks it means armour, but Gwilwyn Tew (1460) says that its meaning is *ymladd*, a fight.

<sup>2</sup> This word is used with the same meaning in Devonshire, "I'll *kick* en ver a pint." (Pulman's Gloss.)

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Kick*, to take offence N.; see *Kegge*

*Kid*, a fagot of small brushwood; v., to bind up in fagots

*Kiddy*, a small block of wood used in the game of bandy-cat (P.). It is called *cat* in the South

*Kill*, a kiln

*Kim-kam*, to walk with a throw of the legs athwart one another

*Kindle*, to bring forth young, used of beasts

*Kipple*, to lift a weight from the ground to the shoulders

*Kittle*, a smock-frock, a tunic (J.); A. S. *cyrtel*, *palla*, a cloak

*Klick-hooks*, large hooks to catch salmon by daylight

*Knap*, a blow; v., to strike

*Krindle*, a kernel

*Kyloes*, small highland cattle

*Lace*, to beat

*Lag*, slow, last; v., to move slowly and lazily or feebly

*Lammas*,<sup>1</sup> to run (*Lam.*, id. Leeds Gloss.)

## WELSH OR IRISH.

hunt for flesh; *cicai*, one who hunts for flesh; *cig*. Corn. Arm. *kig*; Arm. *kik*, flesh; Arm. *kiga*, to seek for flesh; W. *cigcai*, *carnem mendicans*, *quæritans* (Dav.); Sans. *s'ukta*, for *kukta*, flesh

W. *cuch*, pron. *kich*, a frown, a knitting of the brows; *cuchio*, to frown  
W. *cedys*, bundles of wood, fagots; *coed*, wood; Ir. Gael. *coid*, brushwood

Manx, *kit*; a piece of wood made small at both ends to play with; W. *cat*, a piece, a fragment; *chware cat*, to play *cat*, denotes the same game as our Lanc. *bandy-cat*

W. *cyl*, a kiln, a furnace; *cil*, a recess

See *Cam*

W. *ceddlu*, to breed, to produce; *ceddl*, Arm. *kenedl*, a stock, a family

See *Kibbo-kift*

W. *ceitlen*, a smock-frock; from *caeth*, *ceith* (Jones); Corn. *caid*, a servant, a bond-man; and *llen*, a garment

Ir. Gael. *clioc*=*clica*, a hook; to catch by a hook; Manx, *cluic*, a hook, a trick

Ir. Gael. *enap*, a knob, a blow; v. to strike, to beat

W. *crwn*, *cron*, round; *cronell*, a small globe or round body

W. *cul*; Ir. Gael. *caol*, small, narrow  
W. *llachio*, to beat; *llach*, a stroke; Hindust. *lakad*, a blow, a cut

W. *llag*, loose, sluggish; Corn. *lac*, id.; Ir. Gael. *lag*, weak, feeble; Manx, *lhag*, slack, loose, feeble

W. *llamu*; Corm. *lamme*; Arm. *lammet*, to leap, to bound; Ir. Gael. *leum*, id.; Hindust. *lamp*, a bound, a leap

<sup>1</sup> An interesting word. It shows that the suffix—*as*, was used as a verbal formative. Cf. Corn. *goly-as*, to watch, W. *gwili-ed*; Corn. *pobas*; W. *pobi*, to bake; and Arm. *diwall-out*, to defend, from *diwall*, defence. The Sans. *prish*=*parsh*, to fall in drops, to bedew, seems to be formed in the same manner; Cf. Sans. *pri*, to shed, to diffuse; W. *ber-u*, to drop, to ooze; and Arm. *ber-a*, to flow, to distil.

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Lap*, to flog, to beat

*Lauk*, to beat

*Lease*, *leece*, the dividing of the thread in a warp; *leece-rod*, the rod that separates the threads;

A. S. *leosan*, to go away, to depart

*Leem*, to furnish the rock of a spinning wheel with line

*Leemers*, ripe hazel-nuts, which separate easily from the husks

*Lep*, to steep (Fylde); Cf. Hindust. *lep*, plastering, smearing

*Leeny*, alert, active

*Lerch*,<sup>1</sup> to sharp, to trick out of (Com.); Prov. Germ., *lurre*, fraud

*Letter*, a spark in the wick of a candle, denoting that a letter is coming to the house (Lether. Hold.)

*Liew*, *Lew*, thin, poor, diluted

*Lilt*, to jerk, to spring, to step lightly with a dancing movement

*Limb*, a wild, frolicsome or over-clever person (N. and M.); in Cumb. it means a mischievous person

*Lin*, a pool

## WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *llab*, a stroke, a blow; *llabio*, to slap, to rap or beat; Manx, *lab*, a blow, a thump

See *Lace*

W. *llias*, a state of separation, a parting; *lliasu*, to be separated

W. *llawn*, full, complete; Corn. *lanwes*, fulness; Ir. *lainne*, fulness, filling; Gael. *laine*, fulness; Ir. Gael. *lion*, to fill, to replenish

See *Lammas*; Manx, *thiimmey*, to leap, to spring

W. *llifo*, to wet, to overflow; *llif*, a flood; Ir. Gael. *lo*, *la*, water; *lia*, id.; Arm. *liva*, to submerge, to steep

Ir. Gael. *ling*, to leap, to skip; Ir. *lingeadh*, leaping, bounding

W. *ller*, sharp, keen-witted; *llerf*, sharp, subtle

W. *llethrid*, a gleam; *llathr*, glittering; *llathru*, to gleam

W. *lli*, a stream; prim., water; *lliant llif*; Corn. *lif*; Arm. *liv*, a flood; Ir. Gael. *lia*, a stream; moistening, wetting

Ir. Gael. *luailteach*, restless, volatile; full of gestures; Gael. *luailte*, speed; Ir. *lilteach*; Gael. *lilleach*, flexible, pliant; Ir. *luilleach*, a mimic, a buffoon; Manx, *lheitlys*, activity, briskness

W. *llym*, sharp, keen, subtle; gen., in a bad sense; *llymin*, of a sharp or keen quality; *llymddyn*, a sharper

W. *llyn*, Corn. *lin*, a pool, a pond; O. Ir. *lind*, liquamen (*Rel. Celt. Nigra*, p. 40); Ir. *linn*; Gael. *linne*, a pool

<sup>1</sup> I think this is a Celtic word. *C* or *ch*, with a vowel or diphthong, is a common verbal formative; as Gael. *cath*, war, a fight; *cathaich*, to fight; *geal*, white, *gealaich*, to whiten, to bleach; Cf. *winnick*, to fret, to complain (East), *bommock*, to beat, Corn. *bom*, a blow; and Sans. *krunch*, to curve, with Ir. Gael. *crum*, *crom*; W. *crwm*, curved. The Lancashire form of the verb to whine is *whinge*. This formation may perhaps be explained by the Hindustani language. *Karna* is an infinitive form of *kar*, to make (Sans. *kri*=*kar*), and is often used to make a compound verb; as *dam*, a breath; *dam-karna*, to blow; written commonly in Forbes' *Dict.*, *dam-k*. The Sans. *krunch* may mean to make curves, and Lanc. *whinge*, to make a whining sound.

LANC. CELTIC.	WELSH OR IRISH.
<i>Lish, leesh</i> , smart, active, alert; O. Fr., <i>leste</i> , active	Ir. Gael. <i>luas</i> , swiftness; <i>lus</i> , pith, strength, power; <i>lit</i> , activity, briskness; W. <i>llaws</i> , active, brisk
<i>Lithe</i> , to thicken broth with oat-meal	W. <i>llith</i> , meal soaked in water; Ir. <i>lith</i> ; Gael. <i>lit</i> , porridge; O. Ir. <i>lite</i> , pulmentum ( <i>Ir. Gl.</i> 94)
<i>Loave</i> , to offer, N.; Du. <i>looven</i> , to ask money for wares, to rate	W. <i>llofi</i> (f=Eng. <i>v</i> ), to handle, to reach or offer with the hand, to bestow; <i>llaw</i> for <i>llaf</i> , the hand
<i>Lob</i> , a heavy dull fellow; <i>lob-cock</i> , a large idle young fellow	W. <i>llob</i> , a lump; a dull fellow, a blockhead ( <i>Pryse</i> )
<i>Lorry</i> , a brawl	Ir. Gael. <i>luir</i> ( <i>luri</i> ), noise, clamour, prating; Manx, <i>loayrt</i> , to talk
<i>Lotch</i> , to jump like a frog	See <i>Lutch</i>
<i>Louk</i> , a blow, a thump	W. <i>llach</i> , a blow, a slap; Hindust. <i>lag</i> , a stroke
<i>Lounder</i> , to lounge about in idleness (F.)	Ir. Gael. <i>lundaire</i> , <i>lundair</i> , a lazy person, a sluggard; <i>lundach</i> , lazy, sauntering, loitering; Manx, <i>lit-cher</i> , an idler
<i>Lum</i> , that which points or shoots upwards (J.); <sup>1</sup> a chimney	W. <i>llum</i> , what shoots up or ends in a point ( <i>Pugh</i> ); <i>llumon</i> , a chimney
<i>Lunge</i> , to plunge, to rush forward with violence	Ir. Gael. <i>longadh</i> , throwing, flinging, moving to and fro; <i>long</i> , to worry (from the kind of action); Manx, <i>lunjean</i> , a swing
<i>Lungeous</i> , awkward, rough, apt to push against heavily or with a shock	W. <i>lluch</i> (for <i>llunch?</i> ), a sudden dart or throw; Sans. <i>lunj</i> , to strike
<i>Lurky-dish</i> , the herb penny-royal	W. <i>llyrcadys</i> , id. ( <i>Davies W. Botan.</i> )
<i>Lushy</i> , rather intoxicated (intoxicating drink, Wr.)	O. Ir. <i>lus</i> , ibhe, drink, liquor ( <i>O. Ir. Gl.</i> 101); Ir. Gael. <i>luis</i> , drink; <i>lusach</i> , a drinker
<i>Lutch, lotch</i> , to pulsate strongly as an angry tumour	W. <i>lluchio</i> , to dart, to throw; <i>lluch</i> , a dart or sudden throw, darting, flinging, a flash of light; O. Ir. <i>im-luadad</i> , jactabat ( <i>Goid.</i> 63)
<i>Lyring</i> , a shallow in the sands in which the sea remains (P.)	W. <i>llyr</i> , a water-course, a channel; [ <i>llyryn</i> , a little water-course]
<i>Maak</i> , a maggot; O. N. <i>madkr</i> ; O. Sw. <i>madk.</i> id.	W. <i>macai</i> , a maggot; <i>magu</i> , to breed
<i>Maapy</i> , silly (Com.); Du. <i>moppen</i> , to look surly, to pout	W. <i>mab</i> ; O. W. <i>map</i> , a son; <i>mab-aid</i> , boyish, childish
<i>Maikin</i> , the common yellow iris; <i>iris pseudacorus</i> ; <i>meakin</i> , id.	Ir. Gael. <i>meacan</i> , a tuberous plant; <i>meacan buidhe</i> , the yellow <i>meacan</i> or carrot; Gael. <i>meacan</i> , a root, a bulb, a parsnip; also a name for the Iris or common flag (P.)
<i>Mam</i> , mother; Fr. <i>maman</i>	W. Corn. <i>mam</i> ; Arm. <i>mamm</i> , mother; Ir. Gael. <i>mam</i> , id.; Manx. <i>mam</i> , id.; Ir. Gael. <i>mam, mama</i> , a breast, a pap; Hindust. <i>mam</i> , mother

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that the same ideal meaning should be given to this word by Dr. Pugh, and by one who knew nothing of Welsh.

LANC. CELTIC.

WELSH OR IRISH.

<i>Man</i> , a pile of stones on the top of a mountain (Com.)	W. <i>maen</i> , a stone, a block of stone; Corn. <i>man</i> , <i>mean</i> ; Arm. <i>maen</i> , <i>mean</i> , id.; Sans. <i>mani</i> , a precious stone
<i>Mank</i> , a prank, a sportive trick	Ir. Gael. <i>mang</i> ( <i>manc</i> ), deceit, a trick; <i>meang</i> , craft, deceit; Ir. <i>mon</i> , a trick, a wile; Ir. Gael. <i>monach</i> , wily
<i>Mant</i> , to stutter, to stammer	Ir. Gael. <i>mantach</i> , stammering, a stammerer; Ir. <i>mantaire</i> , id.; Gael. <i>manntachd</i> , stuttering; <i>mantach</i> , means also toothless, <i>i.e.</i> , having only a gum ( <i>mant</i> ), and therefore mumbling
<i>Mapment</i> , nonsense	O. W. <i>map</i> ; M. W. <i>mab</i> , a son; <i>maban</i> , a babe; <i>mabin</i> , boyish, youthful
<i>Martin</i> , a spayed heifer	Gael. <i>mart</i> , a cow; Ir. <i>mart</i> , a cow; a beef; Manx, <i>mart</i> , an ox, a beef
<i>Maskery</i> , rusty, used of a pan exposed to damp and seldom used (J.); <i>masker</i> , to decay (N. H.); <i>mosher</i> , to corrupt, to rot (Ash)	Ir. <i>mosgan</i> ; Gael. <i>mosgain</i> , rotten, decayed, musty; Ir. Gael. <i>mosach</i> , dirty; <i>mosrach</i> , <i>mosradh</i> , brutality, coarse embraces
<i>Maund</i> , a hand-basket, still in use; A. S. <i>mand</i> ; Fr. <i>mande</i> , <i>manne</i> , from the Celtic	W. <i>maned</i> , a hand-basket; <i>man</i> , the hand (Lat. <i>manus</i> ); Arm. <i>mann</i> , a pannier made of withes
<i>Maunder</i> , to mutter (C.), to wander in talking, to wander about	Ir. Gael. <i>mantach</i> , <i>mandach</i> , stammering, stuttering, <i>mandaire</i> , a lisping person; prim. mumbling as one who has lost his teeth; see <i>Mant</i>
<i>Meakin</i> . See <i>Maikin</i>	
<i>Meal</i> , a sand-heap, a sand-bill; O. N. <i>möl</i> , a sandy or stony place; <i>melr</i> , id.	Ir. Gael. <i>meall</i> , a ball, a knob, a round hillock (Ir. <i>Gl</i> 62); W. <i>moel</i> , a heap, a conical hill; Manx <i>meayl</i> , top of a hill, a heap
<i>Merge</i> , mud, sludge <sup>1</sup>	Ir. <i>mure</i> , filth, dung; Ir. Gael. <i>muir</i> , earth tempered for walls, mortar; <i>muirin</i> , soft clay, mud; Ir. <i>muirghin</i> ( <i>murgin</i> ) dung, muck
<i>Midgerum</i> , the milt or spleen (P.); a mistake, it is the fat on the intestines of a pig; <i>midgerim</i> , the mesentery gland (read <i>fat</i> ), H. <sup>2</sup>	W. Corn. <i>mehin</i> , (for <i>mechin</i> from <i>moch</i> , pigs), fat, lard; W. <i>mehinnen</i> , the leaf of fat; <i>rhin</i> , a border, an edge
<i>Miff</i> , displeasure, ill-humour	Ir. Gael. <i>miabhan</i> ( <i>mifan</i> , <i>mif</i> ), ill-humour, a megrim
<i>Milwyn</i> , the green fish, also called green-bone; <i>belone vulgaris</i> <sup>3</sup>	W. <i>mil</i> ; Ir. Gael. <i>miol</i> ( <i>mila</i> ), an animal; <i>gwyn</i> ; in comp. <i>wyn</i> , white

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *mergin*, the rubbish of old walls used as a compound for mortar or manure (E. Nall).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *mudgins*, the fat about the intestines of a pig (Leic).

<sup>3</sup> The bones of this fish are of a green hue, but "the sides and belly are silvery white, the pectoral, ventral and anal fins, white"; *Eng. Enc.* s. v. *Belone*.

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Mirp*, "bright and in a thriving state" N. (Com.)

*Mitred*, rusted (Com.)

*Molart*, a mop to clean ovens with (C.)

*Mool*, to rumple, to disorder

*Moonge*, the lowing of oxen; to low, to whine. It denotes the feeble lowing of oxen when hungry (to grumble in a low tone, Cumb.); O. N. *mögla*, murmurare (Hald.)

*Mop*, *moppet*, a term of endearment for an infant; *mopsy*, addressed to a female child<sup>1</sup>

*Morge*, *morgen* (F.), mud, slush; often the mud of roads

*Mort*, a lot, a great quantity, also a salmon when two years old

*Morl*, to pulverise N. (Com.); *morly*, "like powder" (Com.)

*Mozzly*, damp, warm and heavy; applied to the weather (N. and M.)

*Muffin*, a light spongy cake, a kind of tea-cake

*Mug*, a low word for the mouth, sometimes the face, "He showed his ugly *mug* when it warn't wanted"

*Muggle*, *miggle*, to skulk away unobserved or by stealth (P.)

*Muggy*, close and damp, applied to the weather

*Mullock*, refuse, dirt; Sw. *mull*, dust

## WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *mir*, fair, comely, bright; *mirain*, fair, comely; Ir. Gael. *meir*, blithe, joyous

Probably from Ir. Gael. *meirg*, rust; v. to rust; Manx, *mergey*, *mergid*, rust. For the change to *t* from a primitive *k*, see *Ascoli Glott*, p. 139

W. *moled*, a muffler, an apron (Pryse), *rica*, *focale*, *peplum* (D.)

W. *mwyl* (*mool*), a heap, a mass, a concretion

W. *mwngial*, to mutter, to murmur; *mutire*, *mussitare* (D.)

O. W. *map*; W. *mab*, a son; *maban*, a baby [*mapes*, a female child]

See *Merge*

W. *mawr*, *mor*, great; *mawredh* (*moret*) greatness; Ir. Gael. *mör*, great, large; Manx, *mooar*, great, *moorad*, size, quantity; Ir. *moradh*, an increase

W. *mwrl*, friable, crumbling; *tir mwrl*, a loose crumbling soil

W. *mwycl*, tepid, warm, sultry; *mwyl*, Arm. *moues*, *mouez*, moist, humid

W. *mef*, soft, smooth, puffed [*mefyn*, something soft]; *mwyth*, soft, puffed; *mwythan*, any soft tender substance

Ir. *muig*=*mugi*, a surly countenance; Gael. (*s*)*muig*, a snout, a ludicrous name for the face; Sans. *mukha*, mouth or face

W. *much*, pron. *mich*, darkness, gloom, obscurity; Ir. *muich*; Gael. *muig*, mist, gloom, darkness; *muigeil*, dark, obscure; (Cf. *mwngial*, to mutter, and Manx, *brebal*, to kick, *breb*, a kick, for the verbal form); Hindust. *megh*, a cloud; fog, mist; Sans. *megha*, id.

W. *mwylg*, *mwycl*, tepid, warm, sultry

W. *mwylwch*, *mwlog*, refuse, sweepings, filth; Ir. Gael. *moll*, dust,

<sup>1</sup> *Mopse*, a little *mopse*, puellula (*Prompt. Parv.*)

LANC CELTIC.

WELSH OR IRISH.

<i>Munt</i> , to hint by signs (Com.); O. N. <i>munr</i> , discrimen, voluptas, beneplacitum (Hald.)	refuse; <i>mollach</i> , rough; Ir. <i>mualach</i> ( <i>mulach</i> ) cow-dung
<i>Murgeon</i> , rubbish, earth cut up and thrown aside in order to get peat	Ir. Gael. <i>mun</i> , to teach, instruct, point out, show; <i>munadh</i> , teaching, pointing out
<i>Murl</i> , to crumble, to fall in pieces	See <i>Merge</i>
<i>Murth</i> , abundance	See <i>Morl</i>
<i>Mushy</i> , tidy and trim (Com.); Germ. <i>schmuck</i> , trim, neat, fine	See <i>Mort</i>
<i>Muzzle</i> , to drink excessively	Ir. Gael. <i>mus</i> , pleasant, handsome, fair; W. <i>maws</i> , pleasant, agreeable; <i>murs</i> , nice, prim
	Arm. <i>mezo</i> , drunk; W. <i>meddw</i> , drunk; Ir. <i>miosg</i> , <i>misge</i> ; Gael. <i>misge</i> , drunkenness; Ir. Gael. <i>misgeach</i> , drunken; Manx, <i>meshtey</i> , drunkenness; <i>meshtal</i> , drunk; Sans. <i>mad</i> , to be drunk
<i>Mychin</i> , <i>michin</i> , pining, out of humour	W. <i>mic</i> , pique, spite; <i>micio</i> , to be piqued or offended; <i>much</i> (pron. <i>nich</i> ), darkness, gloom
<i>Nagas</i> , a greedy, stingy person; O. N. <i>hnögr</i> ; Sw. <i>njugg</i> , scant, niggardly	W. <i>nigus</i> , narrow, strait, confined
<i>Nantle</i> , <i>Nauntle</i> , to toss up the head in scorn or affected dignity	W. <i>nawnu</i> , to uphold
<i>Nap</i> , a stroke, a blow	See <i>Knap</i>
<i>Nattle</i> , to be busy about trifles; to be curiously wrought but unimportant; "little <i>nattling</i> things", curious trifles	W. <i>nadd</i> , wrought; <i>naddial</i> , to cut, chip, hew; <i>naddion</i> , chippings, shreds; <i>naddol</i> , hewing, sculpturing
<i>Neckle</i> , to knock ( <i>P. B.</i> , p. 39)	W. <i>cnicell</i> , one that gives a slight rap, a pecker; <i>cnic</i> , a slight rap; <i>cnec</i> , a sharp noise, a snap; <i>cnoc</i> , a sudden tap; <i>cnocell</i> , a sudden flip; <i>cnocellu</i> , to peck
<i>Neet</i> , five sheaves of grain set upright (P.)	W. <i>cnud</i> , (pron. <i>cnid</i> ) for <i>cnit</i> , a group
<i>Nix</i> , look out! beware! a school-boy's cry when the master is in sight	W. <i>nycha</i> , lo! look out! en, ecce (D.)
<i>Nob</i> , <i>s.</i> , the head, <i>v.</i> , to strike; <i>nope</i> , a blow; to give a knock	Ir. Gael. W. <i>cnap</i> , a boss, knob, button, hillock, a round lump; Ir. <i>cnap</i> , to strike
<i>Nog</i> , a peg to fix on the handle of a scythe	Ir. Gael. <i>cnag</i> , a knob, a peg
<i>Noggin</i> , a small mug holding about one-fourth of a pint	Ir. Gael. <i>noigean</i> , <i>noigin</i> ( <i>nogin</i> ), a small mug; connected with <i>cnoc</i> , a boss
<i>Nook</i> , <i>Nookin</i> , a corner; O. N. <i>hnocki</i> , a hook	Ir. Gael. <i>niuc</i> = <i>nuci</i> (c=k), a corner, a nook
<i>Nor</i> , than	O. W. <i>nor</i> , than; Arm. <i>na</i> for <i>nar</i> <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "tegach *nor* vorwyn deckaf" (fairer than the fairest maid) *Mab.* i, 4. "mwy *nor* lall" (greater than another) *Mab.* 1, 28.

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Notchells*, fragments, broken meat

*Nub*, to give a private signal by a touch of the hand, elbow or foot (Com.); O. N. *hnappr*; Du. *knop*, a knop, button, bud (but not a blow)

*Nudge*, to push against gently, gen., as a reminder of something. Mr. Peacock has *Nub* in the same sense. See *Nob*

*Nyfle*, a trifle, a small quantity, a delicacy<sup>1</sup>

*Oandurth*, the afternoon; A. S. *undern*, nine A. M. or from nine to twelve

*Ooavl*, a finger-poke (P.)

*Orled*, not thriving (P.); (*urled*, starved with cold, N. H.)

*Orrill*, *Orrul*, wild, frenzied

*Oss*, to attempt, to dare; Fr. *oser*, to dare

*Oukles*, small green or purplish tubes formed in the axils of the lower leaves on the stems of potatoes (Britten O. country word E. D. S., p. 49)

*Pace eggs*,<sup>3</sup> Easter eggs. They are boiled hard and stained with various colours, given as presents

## WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *cnwc*, a lump, a bunch, a round mass; Ir. *cnoc*, a round hill, a parsnip

Ir. Gael. *cnap*, *cnab*, a boss, a slight stroke or blow; to beat

W. *nugio*, to shake

W. *nyfel*, a subtle element (Pryse); fine, delicate, small?

W. *anterth*, the forenoon. Arm. *anderv* (for *anderth?*), *enderv*, between 3 P.M. and sunset; Ir. Gael. *eadar-thrath*<sup>2</sup> (between time) noon or dinner-time (O'Reilly). Noon was primarily 3 P.M., and dinner time was the same

W. *hwf*, a hood, a cowl; with the suffix of diminution

W. *oer*, cold, severity; *oerllyd*, adj. cold

W. *rhull*, pron. *rhill*, hasty, rash; with *ar*, changed into *or*, an intensitive prefix; Ex. *arben*. a sovereign, *pen* (ben)=head

W. *osi*, to offer to do, to attempt; *osio*, to attempt, to dare; Arm. *ouza*, *aoza*, former, disposer, preparer

Ir. Gael. *og* (*oc*), young; *ogan*, a bough, a branch, a youth; W. *oc-tid*, time of youth, youth; *oc*, meant prim. a twig, a branch; *ocel*, a little branch and with the sound often given in Ireland to *o*=*ou* as in Eng. *ounce*, we have *oucel*

W. *pasc*, Easter; Lat. *pascha*; Gr. *πασχη*; Arm. *pask*, Easter

<sup>1</sup> In Yorkshire *nifle* or *nyfle* means a little round lump; glandule. It is the same word as the Lanc. *nyfle*, and both may probably be referred to W. *cnwff*, a round mass or lump (*cnwyffel*, a little lump).

<sup>2</sup> The Ir. Gael. *eadar* is for *endar*; Lat. *inter*. *Eadar-thrath* (pron. *adar-rath* for *andarrath*) means the middle hour between 12 and 6 P.M.

<sup>3</sup> This word, *pace*, shows that Christianity had been established in Lancashire when the British race possessed the land. The Easter egg is probably a relic of paganism. It was an emblem of the Universe. In the Hindū mythology Brahmā (the Supreme as Creator) sprang from the mundane egg deposited by Brahmā or Brahman, the supreme, eternal Spirit. Coloured eggs are used at Easter in the Greek church (Brand's *Pop. Ant.*, 1, 94-98; Hazlitt's ed.)



LANC. CELTIC.

WELSH OR IRISH.

- Painter, panter, pantel*, a gin, a snare (a rope for fastening a boat, W.);<sup>1</sup> Fr. *pantière*, a large swoop-net, a dragging net (Cotgrave)
- Pale*, to beat, "aw *pal't* him weel"; Lat. *palus*; Germ. *pfahl*
- Pan*, to fit or tally with, to unite, to agree with; Cf. Hindust. *pan*; (Sans. *pana*), an agreement, promise, vow, a bet, a stake at play; prim., involvement or attachment
- Pant*, a hollow, a receptacle for the drainage of a muck-heap, called the *middin-pant*<sup>2</sup>
- Parken*, a cake made of oatmeal, treacle, and caraway seeds
- Parr*, a small fish, supposed to be the young of salmon<sup>3</sup>
- Pat*, a lump; a *pat* of butter is a common expression
- Pattish*, to calm, to appease (Com.)
- Pauling*, a cover for a cart or wagon
- Ir. Gael. *painte* (*pante*), a lace, a cord; *painteir* (*panter*). *paintell*, a gin, a snare; Hindust. *pant*, a line, a row
- W. *pawl*; Arm. *paul*, a pole, a stake; W. *polio*, to cudgel
- W. *panas*, plaited straw; *panel*, a thick plaiting of straw; *panelu*, to involve, to plait; Arm. *paner*, a basket made of osiers; Ir. Gael. *pannal*, a crew, a band of men
- W. *pant*, a hollow, a valley
- Ir. *bairghean*, a cake; O. Ir. *bairgen*, panis, placenta (*Z'* 462; *Goid*, 76); Gael. *bairghean* (*bargen*), a cake
- W. *maran* (*m*=older *p* or *b*), a salmon (*an* is only a suffix); Ir. Gael. *bradan*=*bardan*, id.
- Ir. Gael. *pait*=*pati*, a lump; *paiteog*, *paiteag*, a small lump of butter
- W. *paid*, quiet, rest; *paidio*, *peidio*, to cease, to be quiet, to grow calm (Walters); Arm. *paoueza*, to cease, to repose. For the verbal suffix, see *Lammas*
- Ir. Gael. *peall*, a skin, a covering, a coarse blanket; (*peallan* a little skin)

<sup>1</sup> The Lancashire *panter* or *pantel* is not a net, but a snare or gin made of hair. Snare meant prim. a cord; O. N. *snara*, laqueus; Sw. *snara*, a lace, a cord, a knot; Fr. *lacet*, a lace, a springe (Cotg.)

<sup>2</sup> In the Lancashire Glossary lately published by the Eng. Dialect Society, this word is said to mean *mud*. This is a mistake. The *midden-pant* was the hollow into which the drainage of the manure-heap flowed. "*Pant*, a hollow declivity. West" (Hall).

<sup>3</sup> The *parr* is really a young salmon (Eng. Enc. s. v. *Salmo*). This fact must have been known to the British race, as the word shows. For the change of *p* or *b* to *m* in Welsh, cf. *mab* (*map*)=*bab*; *mer-u* to drop=*beru* (Lanc. *per*, to fall in drops), etc.

(To be continued.)

## EXTRACTS FROM OLD WILLS.

*Carnarvonshire.*—“ Robt’s Ap mered’ Ap Hulkyn lloyd<sup>1</sup>.... corpusq’..... [*decayed*] collegiat’ de Clynnok vawr yn Arvan in meo’ ib’m loc’ major’ It’m do et lego rep’... colleg’ xl solid’. It’m do et lego rep’ni eccl’ie cath’ Bangor’ sex solid’ It’m do et lego rep’ni prol’ de llan Dorck xxs. .... f’rib’ p’dicat’ de Bangor’ sex solid’..... It’m do et lego ... junior’ de llan vays iijs. iiijd. It’m volo q’d Edmu’do lloyd ap Rob’t filio meo na’li et l’i’o et suis hered’ l’i’e ex corp’e suo p’creand’ placea nup’ mea sive mansio vulgarit’ vocat’ glyn l’levon cu’ suis jurib’ ei p’tinenc’ a loc’ vocat’ Ross Neunan usq’ ad loc’ vocat’ y brynglas imp’petuum rema.... Et si contingat ..... mori sine l’itimis hered’.... tu’c volo q’d ..... ap Rob’t filio meo na’li et l’iti’o et hered’.... remaneat. Et si contingat’ p’fat’ Joh’em filiu’ meu’ mori sine l’itis hered’..... tu’c ... Willi’mo ap Rob’t minori filio meo na’li et l’i’o et hered’..... Et si contingat mori sine l’is hered’.... rectis hered’..... It’m volo q’d de ceteris aliis terris et tenementa q’d nup’ mea fuerunt in vill’ de Dinlle et Elurnion ac in o’ib’ aliis vill’ p’ tot’ comot’ de Uchcor in comitat’ Caern’ ubiq’ jacen’ dividu’tur p’ eq’les porco’es int’ dict’ Joh’em ap Rob’t Edmu’du’ lloyd ap Rob’t et Will’um ap Rob’t juniorem ..... Et si contingat aliq’m discordia’ fore ... tu’c volo q’d dil’c’i filii mei M’gri Will’mi Glyn arbitrio et laudo de et super premissis discordiis et controversiis obtemperaverint et suo .... acquiescant.”

<sup>1</sup> Robert ap Meredith ap Hwlkyn Lloyd was of Glyn Llivon, in the commot of Uwchgwrfae (Uchcor) and parish of Llandwrog. His children took the surname of Glyn from their place of residence, which passed by the marriage of an heiress to Thomas Wynn of Bodvean or Boduan, created a Baronet in 1742; and it is now the chief seat of his descendant, Spencer Bulkeley Wynn, third Lord Newborough. John ap Robert, mentioned in the will, became Dean of Bangor (John Glynn). Edmund Lloyd ap Robert was Sheriff of Carnarvonshire in 1541, and from him was descended Chief Justice Glynn, the ancestor of the late Sir S. R. Glynn, Bart., of Hawarden Castle. John Glyn, the Dean, mentions “my brother William”, probably a half-brother by the second wife, a Doctor of Canon Law, and Archdeacon of Anglesey, who died in 1537. For an account of the collegiate church of Clynnog Vawr, see *Arch. Camb.*, 1849, and 1877, p. 333. The Priory of Llanfaes was built by Prince Llewelyn ap Iorwerth in memory of his wife, the Princess Joan, who died in 1237. “Rhos Nennau” should, perhaps, be Rhos *Menai*. “Eleirnon” is in the parish of Llanaelhaiarn.

*Denbighshire.*—Will dated 13 Sept. 1558, proved 24 April 1559 (7 Chaynay). “Alyce lloyd alias Alyce lloyd verch Gruff” lloyd<sup>1</sup>... to be buryed in the church of Saincte George or any xpean buryall ... to the mynster of Saincte Assareha two shillinges .. to ye church of Saincte George vj torchess Item I will that myne Executor shall cause the bell of the sayd church to be castyd and made a newe or to bye a chales<sup>2</sup> to the sayd church twenty shillinges .. to my ghostly father there twenty shillinges .. to Sir Gruff<sup>3</sup> vycare of llanbryn mair syx shillinges eighte pence .... to sir Ryc’ Flegher syx shillinges eighte pence and thoys to praye for my soule and all xpean sowles ... to John Wyn ap John ap Howell twenty markes and a fetherbed wythe hyt appurtenaunces Item to Margett verch D’d ap Thomas one kyverlyte two calves and a bostrell and one heyffare of thre yeare ould Item to Katheryn verch D’d ap Thomas one kyverlyd two calves a bostrell one heyffare of thre yeare ould ... to Katheryn verch D’d ap Jevn ap Tudyr one kyverlett etc. ... to Margaret verch Res ap Ellis too heyfars .... Benett\* ap D’d ... William ap Rynall ... Edward ap John ... John ap D’d lloyd ... Hughe ap Sir Edward ... Harrye Conwey ... Margaret Conwey ... Lewes verch Iev’n ... my sister Margaret verch Elis ... Elisabeth verch John ap Howell ... Grace Conwey ... Pirs Hollant and my daughter Katheryne ... Willyam ap Owen my late husband John Myddleton ... In wytenes hereof Sir John Ellis clarke parson of saincte George, D’d ap Robarte ap Tudyr, Gruff’ ap Iev’n ap D’d, Thomas ap John Holant, John ap Meredye, Benett ap D’d ap Meredych, Willyam ap Rinall, Edward ap John.”

1558-9. 36 Welles.—John Stockley<sup>4</sup> of Stefordecleys, Essex. “To Jone my wif all my landes ... lienge in the Towne of Lyons otherwise called the Holte and in Wrixham ... Denbighe during

<sup>1</sup> Alice Lloyd, heiress of Kimmel, married Richard ap Ieuan ap David, and had an only daughter and heiress, Catherine, who married Piers Holland, who represented a younger branch of the Hollands of Berw in Anglesey.

<sup>2</sup> The present chalice bears the date of 1677, and was the gift of a descendant, Thomas Carter, Armiger.

<sup>3</sup> Griffith ap David was vicar of Llanbrynmair, 1556-73. The “mynster” of St. Asaph is the Cathedral.

<sup>4</sup> In Norden’s Survey, “Original Documents”, cxxxv, we find under Wrexham, “Joh’es Stokeley, gen.,” as owner of two tenements in the High Street, two gardens, and ten parcels of land; and from a later entry (p. cccxlv) we learn that one of the houses in High Street was called “Ty Mawr”, and was then in the occupation of Valentine Tilston. Randolph Dodde was of Edge.

her naturall lif in name and for her Joyncture on condition that she dischargd my Cosynne Randulphe Dodde and after her decease ... unto John Stockley my sonne" and heirs. Remainder to testator's other son, John Stockley, otherwise called John Hudnett and heirs. Remainder to testator's sister, Eliz. Edys and heirs.

*Flintshire*.—1558, 70, Noodes. "Henrye ap Thomas ap Will'm<sup>1</sup> of the par' of Theserth, Flynte ... to be bur' in churchyard ... to Jankyn Conwey all my goodes, except, etc. To Margett my Suster my best and dwellinge House which is called llywerllid with xvij acres of landes next and comodious ... Jenett my suster ... Elys my sonne ... my brother Pyrs ... Jankyn Conwey my brother ... my suster Jone ... per me d'n'm D'd ap Iev'n ap Tudor Curat' de Dissert."

1558, 51, Noodes.—"Nicolas Gruffithe of the city of London ... my brother Richard G. I will and bequeathe that my baase daughter Jane shal have yerelie xxs. during suche yeres as I have in a\* lease concerninge Attye crosse<sup>2</sup> mylnes and other landes lying in Northopp parrishe ... to my suster Jane tenne poundes ... to my brother Gruffith Gruffith the some of v markes ... to be paid to my said brother when my brother pennant will appointe ... my trustie and welbeloved brother in lawe Henry Pennant."

1559, 22 Chaynay.—Rees ap Edward Appell<sup>3</sup> to be buried "in eccl'ia p'och'li de Northoppe ... lego Jenete filie mee xlii. ad meritand' eam ... llykv uxori meo ... lego Petro ap Pers filio meo o'i'a et singula illa messuagia terra et Tenementa cum p'tinen' jacentia et situata in vella Whitford garne infra com' Flynt que nup' p'quisivi de Roberto ap John apethell unacu' tenement' jacent' et situata in eadem villa et Comitatu que michi p'fat' Rees descenderunt de Jure hereditatorio post decessum Engharad verch Howell avie mee ... Thome ap John ap Rees ap Edward filio et hered' Johannis ap Rees ap Edward ... Jenkyn ap Rees filio meo ... Hijs testibus petro ap D'd curate meo."<sup>4</sup>

*Montgomeryshire*.—1559, 26 Chaynay. "Cadwallader ap Jevan

<sup>1</sup> "Henrico Conway, cognato mei de Des'th", and Jankyn Conway, occur as legatees in the will of Peter Conway, Archdeacon of St. Asaph, dated 16 Dec. 1531. (*Arch. Camb.*)

<sup>2</sup> Atis-cros lies between Flint and Connah's Quay; was in Roman times a place of importance, and gave its name to the Hundred.

<sup>3</sup> Probably of Llwynegryn.

<sup>4</sup> "Peres ap David my curate" occurs as witness to the will of Peres Fowler, parson of Northop. Proved 7 May 1548. "S'r Peers, my curate." Will of Lewys ap Ieu'n, 1552-3.

app Maddock<sup>1</sup> of the par' of Churche stooke ... to be bur' in the churche aforesaide ... to Richarde app C. my sonne thre tenementes ... in Mellynton in the countie of Mountgomery ... to Moryce ap K. my sonne one tenement commenly called Tyer ydicus ... in Castell vrye & Mellynton ... but one parcell of woode within Gwerne ydacus the which I do give to the said Richarde my sonne ... to John ap C. my sonne ... landes ... called Erwe Wahalth ... in the Towne shippe of Gwestyne vadocke in the countie of Mountgomerye ... And also the landes ... in ... Restyne ... Salopp ... to the said Richarde my sonne my part of a lease hadde of the Abbotte of Comehere whiche my father dyd bequeath to me ... Katheryne verch K. my doughter ... Ellen verch K. my doughter .. Jane verch K. my doughter." Jonett verch David ap Ho'ell Executrix, described as relict in Probate Act.

*Montgomeryshire and Shropshire.*—1558, 4 Welles. "Richard Aphowell<sup>2</sup> of Ednop, Salop, Esquier ... unto Howell my sonne

<sup>1</sup> "Cad' ap Ieu'n ap Mad'" occurs among the magistrates of Montgomeryshire for the year 1553-4, and his son, "Ric'us ap Cadwaladr generosus" as "constabular' pacis Hund' de Montgomery," 2 and 3 Eliz., 1560-61; and again as "Ric'us ap Cadw'r gen'os", on the grand jury list, 5th and 6th Eliz. Mellington and Weston Madoc are townships of Churchstoke in Montgomeryshire; Riston another township, but in Shropshire; "Castell vrye" appears to be Castle Wright, a township of Mainstone. The Abbot of Cwmhir owned the grange of Gwernygo in the neighbouring parish of Kerry.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Powell of Ednop was Sergeant-at-Arms to Henry VIII, and in the nineteenth year of that reign obtained a grant of the chief forestership of Kerry, Llanllwchaiarn, and Tregynon, for life. In the thirty-fourth of Henry VIII he obtained a grant for twenty-one years, of the chapel and tithes of Churchstoke, which had belonged to the dissolved Priory of Chirbury; the residue of which (Gurstocke) he leaves to his wife Anne, the daughter of David Yonge of the Moors, near Lydham. Other monastic property he got hold of included the churches of Hissington and Mainstone, in the latter of which parishes Ednop is situate. In the first of Queen Mary he obtained a lease, for twenty-one years, of demesne-lands of the Crown in Dolforwyn, Manavon, and Tregynon, and was for two successive years Sheriff of the county of Montgomery. His son Hugh acted as his deputy. Richard Lloyd, his son-in-law, was of Marington, Sheriff of Montgomeryshire in 1616. John Powell, his son, also a serjeant-at-arms to Henry VIII, married Elizabeth, daughter and coheirress of Richard'ap Edward ap Howel of Vaenor. A later Richard Powell of this family was the author of the *Pentarchia*, a metrical history of the Five Royal Tribes, which was printed in this Journal, in the volume for 1879, p. 267. Cf. *Montgomeryshire Collections*, vol. iii, 1870.

and heire the manour of Lynley Beache and Norton after my deceace for ever ... to John my sonne ... the hole townshipp of Trevenaunt in as large and ample manner as I had the same of the graunte of Richard Price. And also ... the tenement ... in Kerrey ... And also I doo geve my said sonne John and to his heires the church or chapell of Hussenton in as large and ample manner as I had the same of the graunte of Thomas Hissill and John Bell. He finding a curate there ... to Anne my wife my mansion house or townshipp of Ednopp ... and the church or chapell of Maynstone with thappurtenaunces and the lease whiche I have in the church or chapell of Gurstocke ... my vj children that is to say Robert Richard and Thomas my three sonnes and Mawde Fraunces and Margarete my daughters ... to Richard lloyd my sonne in lawes three sonnes twoo marcs a pece and to his iiij daughters iiij yonge kyen ... Richard John my sonnes sonne ... Hewe Powell and John Powell my sonnes ... Sir John Thomas, Clerke, my goostlie father.”

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## CARTULARIUM PRIORATUS S. JOHANNIS EVANG. DE BRECON.

(Continued from p. 308, Vol. xiii.)

*The parochial right of Melinog to belong to the Prior and Convent of St. John of Brecon, on payment of 3s. yearly to the Church of Gloucester. November 1164.*

“Compositio facta inter monachos Glocestrie et monachos Breconie.—Sciant presentes et futuri controversiam et querelam que erat inter ecclesiam Sancti Petri Glocestrie et ecclesiam Sancti Johannis de Brechonia super jure parochiali de Melianach<sup>1</sup> assensu tam Hamelini Abbatis et monachorum Glocestrie quam assensu Walteri abbatis et monachorum Sancti Martini de Bello in hunc modum finitam esse quod eadem parochia remaneat inperpetuum priori et monachis Sancti Johannis de Breconia dum modo pro eadem parochia reddant Ecclesie Sancti Petri Glocestrie tres solidos per annum ad festum Sancti Dio-

<sup>1</sup> Melinog, a small and mesne manor on the confines of the parishes of Hay and Llanigon, running in a narrow slang, nearly north and south, across the Wye, where are some fields called Caeau Melinog. (Jones' *Brecknockshire*, vol. ii, p. 74.)

nysij apud Glocestriam et ut hec compositio firma et inconcussa inperpetuum maneat sub divisione presentis cirographi et sigillo ecclesie Sancti Petri Glocestrie confirmata est. Anno Dominice Incarnationis mclxiii<sup>0</sup> festo Sancti Martini tertio Idus Novembris.”

*Decision of Robert Bishop of Hereford, that a third part of tithes of Lordship of Talgarth, viz., of wool, cheese, lambs, and calves, belonged to Abbot of Gloucester; and that tithes of calves and cheese, of cows in the forest of Brecon, belonged to Convent of Brecon, the Abbot reserving tithes of venison before Christmas:*

“Carta Domini Roberti Herefordensis Episcopi.—Universis Sancte matris ecclesie filijs Robertus<sup>1</sup> dei gratia Herefordensis ecclesie minister humilis salutem in eo qui est salus eterna credentium. Notum sit vobis quod cum super decimis de dominio de Brechenia auctoritate domini pape coram nobis lis mota fuisset priori de Brechenia et conventui ab Abbate et monachis Glocestrie<sup>2</sup> tandem de nostra licentia transactione interveniente pax inter eos formata est et tota controversia que eadem auctoritate suscitata erat penitus extincta. Ita quidem quod fratres de Brechenie de voluntate Abbatis de Bello abbacie Abbatis appellacione quam fecerant coram nobis renunciata tertiam partem decimarum de dominio de Talgar que ad eos non spectabant scilicet de lana caseis agnis vitulis que ex vaccis et ovibus perveniunt Abbati de Glocestria penitus resignaverunt. Predictus vero Abbas Glocestrie similiter decimas vitulorum et caseorum qui ex vaccis de foresta de Brechenie perveniunt perpetuo possidendas retentis sibi decimis totius venationis et totius occisionis ante Natale apud Brecheniam integre predictis fratribus de Brechenie concessit. Decime de Lameis<sup>3</sup> in transactionem istam non veniunt. Et nos auctoritate domini Pape qua fungimur in hac causa transactionem istam confirmamus. Hujus rei testes sunt Gaufridus Decanus, Radulphus Archidiaconus, Ivo Thesaurarius Magister Nichol Will’ de Stoc Canonicus Herefordensis Magister Gilbertus de Cricalade, Presbyter de Bodeham, Henricus de Kil-

<sup>1</sup> Probably Robert de Melun, consecrated 1163, ob. 1174, judging from the names of the Dean and Archdeacon, who are witnesses.

<sup>2</sup> In Milo Earl of Hereford’s confirmation of B. Newmarsh’s donation to the church of Gloucester, he added, as a grant on his part, “et decimam totius dominici de Breckeynauc et de Talgard et de Lanmeys (sc’t) annone, pecorum, &c., venationis mellis et anguillam de Mara et totius occisionis mee.” (*Cart. Mon. S. Petri Gl.*, vol. i, p. 314, Rolls Series.)

<sup>3</sup> Llanvaes.

p(eck) et Walterus frater ejus, Milo de Michelr, Osbertus clericus Archidiaconus, et plures alij.”

*Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, regulates the attendance at the services of the chapel of Maund Brian and at the Parish Church of Bodenham, and at the request of the Prior of Brecon grants 4 cemeteries in the parish—Maund, Rowbury, Fern, and Broadfield:*

“De Ruberh<sup>1</sup> et (v)illa de Ferna duabus. Illi autem qui refugium in cimiterio de Bradefeld<sup>2</sup> habent ad servitium veniant vel ad matrem ecclesiam vel ad capellam de Machna<sup>3</sup> quae satis propinqua est. Die Sancto Pasche et diebus rogationum et die Ascensionis, pentecosten. Natalis domini et in ea parte jejuniij, dominica palmarum et tribus proximis diebus ante pascham et in omnibus festivitibus Sancte Marie et in Solemnitate omnium Sanctorum ad matrem ecclesiam Sancte Marie de Bodeham<sup>4</sup> parochiam communiter ad servitium veniant consuetudines vero similiter quas ipsa mater ecclesia habere solet antiquitus communiter faciant et teneant. Donationes hujusmodi sunt Nicholaus de Machna dedit ecclesie Sancte Marie de Bodeham unum ferdellum<sup>5</sup> terre, dimidium apud Machna et dimidium apud Ruebergh et medietatem omnium rerum quas presidet<sup>6</sup> apud Machnam et totam post obitum fratris sui Roberti clerici vel si idem Robertus se ad Religionem dederit dedit etiam tertiam partem portionis sue cum obierit totius substantie quae sibi contigerit praeterea communionem pasture sue et de Machna et de Ruebergh hec ipse Nicholaus affidavit in manu mea coram Radulpho priore de Brecchonia et parochianis de Bodeham.<sup>7</sup> Ceteri vero de cimiterio de Machna dederunt de unoquoque ferdello duas acras. Robertus quidem de Sancto Albino qui Rueberch tenet in parochia de Bodeham dedit totam decimam suam de Rueberch et dimidium ibi ferdellum terre cum bosculo quodam et prato et communionem pasture et unam mansuram. Henricus vero de Ferna<sup>8</sup> dedit dimidium ferdellum cum mansura

<sup>1</sup> Rowbury.

<sup>2</sup> Broadfield.

<sup>3</sup> Maund Brian.

<sup>4</sup> Bodenham, dioc. Hereford.

<sup>5</sup> The fourth part of a virgate or yardland, or the fourth part of an acre. The quantity of a virgate varied, according to the locality, from twenty to forty acres. See Spelman's *Gloss. Arch.*

<sup>6</sup> *Possidet?*

<sup>7</sup> A reference to this grant, which occurs towards the end of the series, establishes the fact that these regulations were issued by Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of Hereford, 1148-62. The document is apparently incomplete.

<sup>8</sup> Fern.



et communionem pasture tam in bosco quam in plano. Illi de Bradefeld unum ferdellum dederunt cum quatuor mansuris et communionem pasture. Quia igitur necessitate cogente hec quatuor cimiteria feci in parochia ecclesie Sancta Marie de Bodeham rogatu prioris et fratrum de Brechonia quorum ipsa ecclesia est concedo et hoc similiter presenti scripto confirmo ut capelle eorum libere sint et quiete ab omni temporali consuetudine.”<sup>1</sup>

*Confirmation by Gilbert Bishop of Hereford of the gift of the church of Humber by Walter del Mans to the Priory :*

“Carta Domini Gilberti Hereford’ Episcopi. Gilebertus dei gratia Herefordensis Episcopus omnibus Sancte matris ecclesie filijs salutem in domino noverit universitas vestra nos concessisse et confirmasse ecclesiam de Humbre priori et monachis Sancti Johannis de Brechonia quam Walterus del Mans et uxor ejus Agnes coram nobis in perpetuam elemosinam cum omnibus pertinentijs suis supradictis monachis ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia dederunt et ne id quod pie et caritatis intuitu gestum est tempore precedente alicujus malignitate in irritum revocetur dictam donationem Sigilli nostri appositione munivimus.”

*Notification by Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, that Roger, Earl of Hereford had granted to the church of St. John of Brecon the mill of Burghill with the land, etc., belonging to it. Date between 1148 and 1162:*

“Carta Domini G(ileberti) Hereford’ Episcopi. Universis Sancte matris ecclesie filijs G(ilebertus) Herefordensis Episcopus salutem et benedictionem. Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris Rogerum comitem Herefordie concessisse ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia molendinum de Burchull et molendinum quod superius est cum terris et consuetudinibus omnibus que ad illa pertinent ita libere et quiete in perpetuum possidenda quemadmodum ille in dominio tenuit et antecessores sui et hoc propter calumpniam deponendam que erat inter monachos de Brechonia et Canonicos antea de ecclesia de Burchull et quia hoc audivimus et vidimus hoc presenti scripto nostro confirmamus et episcopali auctoritate testificamur.”

<sup>1</sup> In Bishop Tanner’s note of the Brewster MS., f. 53, the following occurs : “Sciant presentes et posterii quod ego Gilebertus Episcopus Hereford’ cogente guerra 4<sup>or</sup> cimiteria feci in Parochia S. Marie de Bodeham propter refugium rogatu Nicholai Prioris et Conventus Brecon.”

*Hugh, Bishop of Hereford, confirms to the Prior and Convent of Brecon the right of patronage to the church of Byford, in accordance with the Charters of Walter de Traveley with the Papal Authority:*

“Carta Domini H(ugonis) Hereford’ Episcopi. Universis sancte matris ecclesie filijs presens scriptum inspecturis H(ugo)<sup>1</sup> divina miseratione Herefordensis ecclesie minister eternam in domino salutem Quoniam justis postulantium desiderijs et precipue virorum religiosorum qui totam vitam suam in dei laudibus expendunt paterna provisione duximus annuendum dilectis filijs priori et conventui de Breconie jus patronatus ecclesie de Buford et ultimam praesentacionem ad dictam ecclesiam nomine eorum factam secundum tenorem cartarum dilecti filij Walteri de Traveler(ia) ejusdem ecclesie patroni quas diligenter inspeximus auctoritate pontificali confirmare curavimus ut igitur hec nostra confirmatio rata et stabilis in posterum permaneat eam presenti scripto et sigilli nostri appositione duximus roborandam. Hijs testibus Thoma<sup>2</sup> decano, W.<sup>3</sup> precentore, Elya<sup>4</sup> Thesaurario, A(lbino)<sup>5</sup> cancellario, Magistris Ricardo et Stephano, Canonicis Herefordensis ecclesie, magistro W. de Gersintim, magistro’ El’ de Burchull’ G. et R. Capellanis, Nicholao clerico, et multis alijs.”

*Giles, Bishop of Hereford, on a vacancy continuing beyond the appointed time, institutes his chaplain to the vicarage of Humber, subject to the payment of 10s. yearly to the monks of Brecon. 1200—1216:*

“Carta Domini Egidij Hereford’ Episcopi. Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Egidius divina permissione Herefordensis ecclesie minister eternam in domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod cum contigisset vicariam capelle de Humbre ultra tempus in Laterano diffinitum concilio vacare. Nos ejusdem auctoritate concilij nec non et privilegijs nobis a domino papa super hoc indultis eandem vicariam A. capellano contulimus et ipsum in eadem capella perpetuum vicarium cum omnibus ad eam de jure spectantibus canonice instituimus salva pensione decem solidorum monachis

<sup>1</sup> Hugh de Mapenore, consecrated 1216, ob. 13 April 1219; or Hugh Foliott, consecrated 3 Nov. 1219, ob. July 1234.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas de Bosbury, 1218-31.

<sup>3</sup> William Foliott.

<sup>4</sup> Elias de Radnor, 1217; Bishop of Llandaff, 1230.

<sup>5</sup> Albinus de Cave, 1215-26.

de Brekenie annuatim de eadem capella persolvenda ut igitur hec nostra institutio rata permaneat et inconcussa eam presenti scripto et sigilli nostri testimonio confirmavimus. Hijs testibus magistris Theobaldo Galf' de Ludel' Philippo Map Ricardo et Rad' Capellanis, Simone et Willelmo clericis et multis alijs."

*Geoffrey, Bishop of Coventry, confirms to the monks of Brecon the payment of 30s. yearly from the church of Patingham by the Prior and Convent of Landa, to whom the right of presentation had been transferred by the delegates of Pope Lucius:*

"Carta Domini Gaufridi Conventrie Episcopi.<sup>1</sup> Gaufridus dei gratia Conventrie ecclesiae humilis minister omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit salutem in domino noverit universis tas vestra nos divine pietatis intuitu confirmasse dilectis nostris monachis de Brechonia pensionem triginta solidorum annuatim de ecclesia de Patingham per manum prioris et conventus de Landa ejusdem ecclesie advocatorum percipiendam quam ex transactione inter eos et canonicos de Landa auctoritate judicum delegatorum bone memorie Lucij pape facta sicut ex ipsa transactione inspecta fide oculata perpendimus consecuti sunt. Hijs testibus R. Archidiaconus Salopeb', Magistro Ada decano Salopeb' magistro Simone de Derbi, magistro Johanne de Newert, magistro Waltero Malet, Thoma de Beuerlaco, et multis alijs."

*Ralph, Bishop of Hereford, on inspection of Charter of Walter de Traveley, confirms to convent of Brecon the right of patronage to the church of Byford, March 1236:*

"Carta domini Radulphi Hereford' Episcopi. Universis sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presentes littere pervenerint Radulphus<sup>2</sup> dei gratia Herefordensis Episcopus salutem in domino. Noverit universitas uestra nos inspecta carta Walteri de Travele' facta dilectis in Christo Priori et Conventui Breconie super jure patronatus ecclesie de Biford eidem ab eo collato inspectis etiam litteris bone memorie domini H(ugonis) nostri predecessoris jus illud dicto priori et conventui confirmantibus tam dictam collacionem quam confirmationem ratam et gratam habentes eas supradictis priori et conventui auctoritate episcopali sicut ipsas juste ac canonice adepti sunt confirmamus in cujus rei testimonium presens scriptum sigilli nostri munimine duximus ro-

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey de Muschamp, consecrated 21 June 1198, ob. 6 Oct. 1208.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph de Maydestune.

borandum. Actum Anno Domini mcc tricesimo sexto mense Martis.”

*Ralph, Bishop of Hereford, confirms agreement between the Abbot of Lire and the Prior of Brecon relative to tithes of Berrington and Hopton Wafre. March 1236:*

“Carta Domini Radulphi Herefordensis Episcopi. Universis Sancte matris ecclesie filijs Radulphus dei gratia Herefordensis episcopus salutem in domino. Noverit universitas vestra nos compositionem factam inter Abbatem et conventum de Lyra<sup>1</sup> et dilectos nobis in Christo priorem et conventum Breconie super omnibus decimis dominici de Berinton et decimis molendinorum ejusdem ville gratam et ratam habere. Dictas quoque decimas de Beriton<sup>2</sup> et decimas dominici de Hopton Wafre<sup>3</sup> sicut juste ac canonice adepti sunt et diu ac pacifice percipere consueverunt supradictis Priori et Conventui auctoritate episcopali confirmamus. In cujus rei testimonium presens scriptum sigilli nostri munimine diximus roborandum. Actum anno Domini mcc tricesimo sexto mense Martis.”

*Ralph, Bishop of Hereford, confirms to the Prior of Brecon the church of Bodenham. January 1237:*

“Carta Radulphi Herefordensis Episcopi. Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Radulphus dei gratia Herefordensis Episcopus eternam in domino Salutem. Ad universitatem vestram volumus pervenire, quod cum dilecti nobis in Christo Prior et conventus Sancti Johannis de Brechonia ecclesiam de Bodeham cum pertinentijs suis ab antiquis temporibus possederunt salva debita et competenti vicaria nos eorum possessionem a predecessoribus nostris Episcopis eis concessam ratam et gratam habentes dictam ecclesiam supradictis Priori et conventui sicut quiete et pacifice possederunt auctoritate pontificali confirmamus in cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum. Actum Anno Domini mcc tricessimo septimo mense Januarii.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lire, a Benedictine Abbey in diocese of Evreux, Normandy.

<sup>2</sup> Berrington, near Tenbury.

<sup>3</sup> “Porcio Prioris Brecon’ in ecclesia Hopton Wafre, decima, 6s. 8d., taxatio, 8d.” Deanery of Burford, archdeaconry of Salop. (*Tax. Ecc. P. Nich.*, 165.)

<sup>4</sup> In Bishop Tanner’s notes, B. MS., f. 55, “Carta ejusdem Radulfi confirmans dicto prioratui duas partes decimarum de dominico ville de Bruneshope, 1237, Sept.,” occurs here.

*William Bishop of Hereford settles a controversy between the monks of Hereford and the monks of Brecon relative to the tithes of the Lordship of Herbert de Euras in Bodenham. Date 1195 to 1199:*

“Carta Willelmi Herefordensis Episcopi. Universis Sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Willelmus,<sup>1</sup> dei gratia Herefordensis ecclesie minister humilis eternam in domino Salutem. Quoniam lites que transactionis beneficio finem sortiuntur ad futurorum notitiam in scripturam rediguntur universitati uestre presenti pagina signandum duximus controversiam que vertebatur inter monachos Herefordie et monachos de Brechenia super decimis de dominio Herberti de Euras in Bodeham<sup>2</sup> assensu de Gloucestrie et Sancti Martini de Bello Abbatum hoc fine conquievisse ita videlicet quod monachi Herefordie percipient duas partes decimarum bladi totius dominij prenominati sive predictum dominium a domino vel villano vel quolibet cujuscumque sit conditionis possideatur et ideo de cetero percepturi sunt duas partes decimarum de tredecim acris quas Willelmus loch’ et Willelmus filius molendinarij tenent et de tribus buttis et sex acris quas Radulphus de cimiterio tenet et de novem acris quas tenet Adam et de tribus acris quas tenet Hugo filius Agnetis et de novem acris quas Jordanus tenet et de duabus acris quas Simon filius Ricardi tenet que omnia fuerunt de dominio et si forte dominus illius dominij villenagium in dominium converterit<sup>3</sup> Monachi Herefordie nil de decimis illis subtili pretextu sibi poterunt vindicare. Set monachi de Brechenia illas decimas totas percipient. Preterea de partibus nemoris illius dominij que converse sunt vel de cetero convertentur in agriculturam a quocumque possideantur monachi Herefordie medietatem percipient monachi vero de Brechonia alteram medietatem. Preterea monachi Herefordie percipient medietatem decimarum feni et de pisis et de fabis de supradicto dominio et monachi de Brechonia alteram medietatem et insuper idem monachi de Brechenia percipient omnes minutas decimas ad altare pervenientes. Et ut hec conventio rata de cetero maneat et inconcussa eam fideliter observandam utraque pars in verbo veritatis in presentia nostra promisit et nos eam sigilli nostri munimine et sigillorum ecclesiarum utriusque partis ne in

<sup>1</sup> William de Vere, consecrated September 1186, ob. December 1199.

<sup>2</sup> Now Bodenham Devereux. See Robinson’s *Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire*.

<sup>3</sup> Should convert the tenure by villenage into freehold tenure.

posterum super hoc emergat ambiguitas confirmare curavimus. Hijs testibus, Willelmo precentore Herefordensi<sup>1</sup> magistro Simone, magistro Nicholao de Hamlyn', Canonicis, Magistro Roberto Grossi capitis, Magistro Osberto et Willelmo, capellanis, Milone et Hugone de Bodeham, Willelmo de Kilpe(c)et Nicholao, capellanis, Helia medico, Willelmo coco, Waltero de Esbeche, Roberto filio Ricardi, Ricardo decano de Brecheñie Bernardo Nicholao et Willelmo, capellanis, Willelmo de Euras, Aluredo Brun, et multis alijs."

*Decision of Papal delegates as to the rights of the convent of St. Guthlac, Hereford, and the Prior and convent of Brecon, to certain tithes in the parish of Humber. Date about 1215:*

"Compositio inter Monachos.—Omnibus Sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit prior de Acleya Herefordensis<sup>2</sup> diocesis et subdecanus Herefordensis et R. de Clifford, canonicus Herefordensis salutem in domino. Noverit universitas vestra quod cum coram nobis a domino Papa iudicibus delegatis questio diutius verteretur inter dominum Abbatem Glocestrie et priorem et conventum Sancti Gutlati<sup>3</sup> Herefordie ex una parte et priorem et conventum de Brecheñia et decanum de Humbera ex altera parte super duabus partibus decimacionis quarundum terrarum in Humbera scilicet unius virgate terre et dimidium quam Adam tunc decanus tenuit, et unius virgate terre et dimidium quam tenuit Wrenou Seys, et sex acrarum quas Randulphus Pretor tenuit et sex acrarum quas Willelmus frater pretoris tenuit et sex acrarum quas tenuit Girardus faber, et trium acrarum quas Agnes vidua tenuit quas

<sup>1</sup> William Folliott, 1195.

<sup>2</sup> Acley, or Lyre Ocle, in the parish of Ocle Pichard. This manor was given to the Abbey of Lire, in Normandy, by one of the ancestors of Robert Chandos, before 1160. It became an alien priory of Benedictine monks. (Tanner, *Not. Mon.*)

<sup>3</sup> The possessions of the church of St. Guthlac are described in the *Domesday Survey*. The chapel of St. Cuthbert had prebendaries, which were transferred to the church of St. Peter, Hereford, *temp.* William the Conqueror; and the church of St. Peter, with its revenues, was given in 1101 by Hugh de Lacy to the Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester. The provost and secular canons were changed into a prior and Benedictine monks, who were removed into the east suburb without Bishopsgate, where Robert Betun, Bishop of Hereford, gave them the ground whereon was built the Monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul and St. Guthlac. (Tanner, *Notitia Monastica.*)

omnes dicebant monachi Herefordie esse de dominico de Humbera et super de duabus partibus minutarum decimarum de dominico illo et feni et molendini tandem post litis contestationem et testium admissionem ante quam attestaciones publicarentur anno septimo generalis interdicti<sup>1</sup> Anglie die mercurij proxima post dominicam qua cantatur quasi modo geniti in majori ecclesia Herefordensi lis in hunc modum conquievit videlicet quod prior et monachi Sancti Gutlati Herefordie vel eorum firmarij duas partes decimarum de blado totius dominici de Humbera quod eo tempore sine questione et lite fuit dominicum quicumque de dominico illo tenuerint pacifice percipient et possidebunt Vicarius autem de Humbera qui pro tempore fuerit omnes alias decimas de omnibus terris prememoratis et de omnibus alijs terris illius ville tam prediales quam minutas decimas. Et ut hec mea concessio et confirmatio rata sit et stabilis in perpetuum presenti carta sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hijs testibus, Domino Johanne de Waldebeof, Roberto le Wafre, Domino Ricardo le Brec,<sup>2</sup> magistro Willelmo de Lanhamelach, Domino Rogero de Burchull', Willelmo rectore ecclesie Sancti Michael, Willelmo de Burchull', Domino de Benni, Roberto de Brech', clerico, et multis alijs."

*Grant of Richard Bryto to the church of St. John, Brecon, of Gilbert's messuage and land. Date, latter part of twelfth century:*

"Carta Ricardi Bruto.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus Bruto dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta confirmavi deo et ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et Monachis ibidem deo servientibus et servituris messuagium quod fuit Gilberti cum pertinentijs suis scilicet, cum una acra que ad illud pertinet consensu et voluntate Roberti heredis mei in perpetuam et puram elemosinam pro anima patris mei et matris mee et pro anima mea et uxoris mee et filiorum et filiarum fratrum et sororum mearum et antecessorum et successorum meorum tenendum et habendum libere et quiete ab omni servicio et exactione sicut res ecclesie debent vel possunt liberius et quietius teneri et possideri et ut hec mea donatio rata et inconcussa permaneat eam sigilli mei attestacione roboravi hijs testibus Waltero de Clifford, Johanne Pichard, Ricardo Decano de Brechon, Roberto de bask(aville). Willelmo Brutone, Willelmo Havard, et pluribus alijs."

<sup>1</sup> The general interdict was in 10 John (1208).

<sup>2</sup> Probably Bret.

*Agreement between Richard of Kinardesley lord of Melinog and the Prior of Brecon, relative to lands in Melinog claimed by the Prior as the gift of Roger son of Emma of Melinog. Date 1200-32:*

“Compositio facta inter Ricardum Kinardel(ey) et monachos Brechonie.—Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Ricardus de Kinardesleya<sup>1</sup> dominus de Melenioc salutem in domino eternam ad vestram volo notitiam pervenire quod cum lis esset mota inter me ex una parte et I. priorem et conventum Breconie ex altera super duabus acris de prato et duabus acris de terra culta et uno homine cum terra sua in Melenioc que omnia dictus prior petijt ex legato Rogeri filii Emme de Melenioc hoc modo conquievit in capitulo Brecon videlicet quod ego Ricardus dedi et concessi pro animabus patris et matris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam dictis monachis duas acras de prato scilicet acram illam de prato que jacet inter acram Johannis coci et locum qui vocatur Cocsute et acram illam de prato que vocatur Keukinocaker quas acras dictus Rogerus tenuit tenendas et habendas dictis monachis in perpetuum de me et heredibus meis libere et quiete ab omni servicio et exactione laicali promisi et juramento corporaliter prestito coram dicto capitulo quod ego et heredes mei dictas duas acras dictis monachis warrantizabimus contra omnes homines et feminas sicut dominicum meum et elemosinam meam dicti autem Prior et monachi remiserunt mihi et heredibus meis coram dicto capitulo pro bono pacis totum jus quod dicebant se habere ex legato dicti Rogeri in duabus acris de terra culta et uno homine cum terra sua in Melenioc que omnia dictus Rogerus tenuit et quia ratum et stabile esse volui presens id scripto et sigilli mei impressione confirmavi, hijs testibus G.<sup>2</sup> Archidiacono Breconie, Magistro Hugone de Cluna,<sup>3</sup> Ricardo decano Breconie, Johanne Pichard, Mahello le brec, Ph. persona de Kinardell(eya) Th. persona de Haya, et multis alijs.”

*Grant by M. le Bret to the church of St. Mary of Brecon of 12d., payable from the land of Hugh de Turberville in Brecon, to keep up the light of the church for the souls of himself and his family:*

“Carta M. le Brec.—Sciunt tam presentes quàm futuri quod ego M. le Brec<sup>4</sup> dedi et concessi et hac mea carta confirmavi in

<sup>1</sup> Kinnersley, Herefordshire.

<sup>2</sup> Giraldus the nephew.

<sup>3</sup> Archdeacon of St. David's, 1200-30.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Mael Bret, who is a witness to the last document in



puram et perpetuam elemosinam ecclesie Sancte Marie de Brechonia xii<sup>d</sup>. quos consuevi habere de terra quam Hugo de Turbavilla dedit Samsoni fratri meo in eadem villa de Brechonia ad sustinendum lumen ecclesie pro anima patris mei et matris mee et pro anima mea et uxoris mee et pro animabus puerorum et quia ratum et inconcussum permaneat hac presenti carta et sigilli mei impressione confirmavi hijs testibus Waltero Traveleye, Willelmo le Brec, Radulpho le Brec, Rollando Haket, Willelmo de Bodeham, et multis alijs.”

*Ralph Torel gives to the Prior of Brecon lands in the parish of Brinsop, Herefordshire. This and the two following grants were probably made at the end of the twelfth or early part of thirteenth century:*

“Carta Radulphi Torel.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Radulphus Torel, miles, assensu et consensu Radulphi Torel, heredis mei, dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi pro anima patris mei Willelmi Torel et Johanne uxoris mee et pro animabus omnium antecessorum meorum et successorum deo et Sancto Johanni et priori de Brechonia et toti conventui ibidem deo servientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam unum mesuagium cum omnibus suis pertinentijs quod jacet juxta regalem viam et extendit in longitudine de la lidesate usque ad semitam que tendit versus ecclesiam de Bruneh(op) juxta rivulum qui descendit de Brenchesowre et etiam illum rivulum concedo illis ut adiaceat predicto mesuagio et extendit se in latitudine a via regali usque ad gardinum meum de Holmedewe et duos pedes infra fossatum gardini mei scilicet in summitate fossati tenendas et habendas in perpetuum libere et quiete in pratis in pascuis in vijs in semitis in bosco et plano et in omnibus alijs locis et in omnibus alijs rebus itaque ego nec ullus heredum meorum numquam inde aliquid exigamus, vel capiamus concedo etiam dicto priori et toti conventui quod omnes homines sui habeant liberos exitus et reditus in sua terra et in omnibus terris meis sine omni contradictione vel vexatione mei vel omnium meorum hanc elemosinam manutenendam et ab omnibus adquietandam et contra omnes homines et feminas defendendam et warrantizandam affidavi et juravi pro me et pro heredibus meis in perpetuum et quia volo quod hec mea donatio et elemosina sint stabiles et firme hanc cartam sigilli mei impressione confirmavi hijs testibus Roberto Decano de Strettina,<sup>1</sup> Roberto vicario de Burch(ull) Waltero Map Osberto persona

the series. The letters *c* and *t* have a close resemblance in manuscript charters of this period.

<sup>1</sup> Stretton, near Hereford.

de Wurmell,<sup>1</sup> Mauricio Vicario de brineh(op) Henrico de brinehope, Roberto filio ejus, Waltero munot, Johanne clerico, et multis alijs.”

*Ralph Torel gives to the Prior of Brecon a parcel of land in Brinsop on which to build a grain barn :*

“Secunda carta Radulphi Torel.—Notum sit omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit quod ego Radulphus Torel miles assensu et consensu Johanne uxoris mee et Radulphi heredis mei dedi et concessi deo et Sancte Marie et Sancto Johanni et priori de Brechonia et toti ejusdem loci capitulo pro anima patris mei Willelmi Torel et pro anima mea pro animabus omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum unam partiunculam terre mee in Brunehopia ad unius horree edificationem in feodo et hereditate et in puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum scilicet illam partiunculam terre que jacet juxta viam regalem apud la lidesate versus austrum ex opposito pomerij Galfridi de la lidesate que partiuncula terre undique fossato circumdata continebit in se infra fossatum in longitudine sexaginta pedes et infra fossatum in latitudine quadraginta pedes hanc vero partiunculam terre predicto priori de Brechonia et toti ejusdem loci capitulo ego Radulphus Torel miles et heredes mei contra omnes homines et feminas caritatis intuitu warrantizabimus et quia volo quod hec mea donatio rata sit et stabilis hoc scriptum sigilli mei impressione confirmavi, hijs testibus Willelmo et Johanne tunc capellanis, de bruneh’, Henrico de buneh’, Matheo de dene, Ricardo marescallo, Waltero de Strettina, Waltero de Bodeham, Galfrido de la lidesate, Willelmo filio Radulphi, Waltero Muneotto, Roberto filio Ricardi de Bruneh’, et multis alijs.”

*Ralph Torel grants a messuage with its appurtenances in Brinsop to the Prior:*

“Tertia carta Radulphi Torel.—Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Radulphus Torel miles assensu et consensu Radulphi Torel heredis mei dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi pro anima patris mei Willelmi Torel et Johanne uxoris mee et pro animabus omnium antecessorum meorum et successorum deo et Sancto Johanni et priori de Brechonia et toti conventui ibidem deo servientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam unum mesuagium et curtillagium cum pertinentijs in villa mea de Bruneh(op) scilicet illud mesuagium cum pertinentijs quod jacet contra gardinum Galfridi de la lidesate in

<sup>1</sup> Wormsley.

latitudine et extendit in longitudine usque ad gardinum meum de holemedewe tenendum et habendum in perpetuum libere et quiete in pratis, in pascuis, in vijs, in semitis, in bosco et plano et in omnibus alijs locis et in omnibus alijs rebus itaque ego nec ullus heredum meorum nunquam inde aliquid exigamus nec capiamus et quia volo quod hec mea donatio et elemosina sint stabiles et firme pro me et heredibus meis hoc legaliter affidavi, et eas contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabo et acquietabo de omnibus rebus hijs testibus Domino Gilberto Talebot, Waltero de Wimell', Willelmo priore de pionia,<sup>1</sup> Osberto persona de wimell, Mauricio vicario de bruneh(op) henrico de buneh, Roberto filio Henrici de buneh, Matheo de dene, Roberto Gunter, Waltero de munellot, Waltero de Efwelle, et multis alijs."

*Ralph, son of Ralph Torel, confirms the grants made by his father to the Priory of Brecon:*

"Quarta carta Radulphi Torel.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Radulphus Torel filius Radulphi Torel ratam et stabilem habeo et habebo donacionem quam dominus Radulphus Torel pater meus dedit deo et Sancto Johanni et Priori de Brechonia et toti conventui ibidem deo servientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam scilicet unum mesuagium cum omnibus pertinentijs quod jacet juxta regalem viam et extendit in longitudine de la lidesate usque ad semitam que tendit versus ecclesiam juxta rivulum qui descendit de Brenchesowre et illum rivulum concedo illis ut adiaceat predicto mesuagio et extendit se in latitudine a via regali usque ad gardinum longum de holemedewe et duos pedes infra summitatem fossati illius gardini omni eodem modo et eadem libertate sicut continetur in carta domini patris mei quam habent de eo ad majorem ergo securitatem et confirmationem hujus rei hanc cartam sigilli mei impressione confirmavi. Istam elemosinam ex parte mea manutenendam et ab omnibus adquietandam et contra omnes homines et feminas defendendam et warantizandam affidavi fideliter juravi hijs testibus Roberto decano de Stretton, Roberto vicario de Burch(ull) Mauricio vicario de Bruneh, Waltero Map Osberto persona terre ejus. Henrico de Bruneh(op), Roberto filio ejus, Waltero Muneott Johanne clerico et multis alijs."

*Ralph Torell the son confirms his father's third grant to the Priory:*

"Quinta Carta Radulphi Torel.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Radulphus filius Radulphi ratam et stabilem habeo et

<sup>1</sup> Wormeley or Wormesly, *olim* Pyonia, a priory of Black Canons of the order of St. Victor, founded by Gilbert Talbot, *temp.* K. John or beginning of Henry III. (Tanner, *Not. Mon.*)

habebo donationem quam dominus Radulphus Torel pater meus dedit deo et Sancto Johanni et priori de Brechonia et toti conventui ibidem deo servientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam scilicet unum mesuagium et unum curtillagium cum pertinentijs que jacent in latitudine contra gardinum Galfridi de la lidesate, et tendunt in longitudine usque ad gardinum de holemedewe omni eodem modo et eadem libertate sicut continentur in carta nomini patris mei quam habebant de eo ad majorem ergo securitatem et confirmationem hujus rei hanc cartam sigilli mei impressione confirmavi hijs testibus domino Gilberto Talbot,<sup>1</sup> Waltero de Wrmell', Willelmo priore de Pionia, Osberto persona de Wrmell', Mauricio vicario de Burch(ull) Roberto filio Henrici de Bruneh(op) et multis alijs."

*Richard Hagurnell gives to the church of St. John of Brecon the yearly sum of 12d., payable by William Prest, and also a bushel of corn at Michaelmas, to be delivered at Bodenham :*

"Carta Ricardi Hagurnel.—Omnibus Sancte Matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum Ricardi Haganerl<sup>2</sup> noverit universitas vestra me assensu Emme uxoris mee et heredum meorum dedisse et concessisse pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem deo servientibus in perpetuam elemosinam duodecim denarios singulis annis persolvendos ad festum Sancte Marie in Quadragesima quos denarios Willelmus Prest et heredes sui predictis monachis persolvere debent . et unam summam frumenti ad festum Sancti Michaelis quam ego Ricardus Hagurnel et heredes mei apud Bodeham adduci faciemus . hijs testibus Willelmo de Wolbeth tunc de Brechonia constabulario, Roberto de Burchhull, Johanne Bachim-tune, Simone de Brochleri, Ricardo decano, Bernardo capellano, Nicholao capellano, Willelmo Prest, et Osberno filio ejus, Thoma preposito, Roberto Hacher, Willelmo coco, Hugone et Milone de Bodeham, et multis alijs."

*William de Mara gives the Prior liberty to build upon his land of Little Hereford the Pool of Berrington Mill, on yearly render of three pounds of wax to him for his life, and of two pounds to his heirs.*

"Carta Willelmi de Mara.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Mara dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Talbot, *temp.* Henry II.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a relation of Gilbert Hagurnell, miles, the person whom Giraldus mentions in *Itiner. Kambrie*, lib. i, chapter 2.

mea confirmavi consensu heredis mei Deo et ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem deo servientibus et servituris plenam licenciam et liberam potestatem firmandi gurgitem molendini sui de Beritona<sup>1</sup> ad terram meam de parva Herefordia et pro hac donatione et concessione mea reddent mihi predicti monachi annuatim quoad vixero tres libras cere in vigilia purificationis Sancte Marie apud parvam Herefordiam et post obitum meum reddent heredibus meis annuatim tantummodo duas libras cere ad prefatum terminum et in predicto loco et ut hec mea donatio et concessio firma sit et stabilis illam sigillo meo roboravi: hijs testibus Johanne de Sancto Albino, Roberto de Bochmone, Johanne Ward, Johanne de Sturmie, Magistro Ada de Bromfeld, Nicholao clerico, Thoma de Huppel', Thoma de Hope, et multis alijs."

*Grant of Walter de Mans<sup>2</sup> and his wife Agnes to the Priory of the Church of Humber, temp. Hen. I :*

"Carta Walteri de Mans.—Notum sit tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Walterus de Mans et uxor mea Agnes dedimus et concessimus pro salute anime nostre et antecessorum et successorum et omnium parentum nostrorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam ecclesiam de Humbera cum omnibus pertinentijs suis In decimis, in terris, in oblationibus et ceteris omnibus obventionibus ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus libere et quiete in perpetuum tenendam, et huic donationi ad perpetuam firmitatem ego Walterus sigillum meum apposui."

*Walter d'Evreux, the younger, grants to the Priory twelve acres of land at the request of his lord, William de Braose the younger. Date 1222, 30:*

"Carta Walteri de Ebroicis<sup>3</sup>.—Sciunt omnes tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Walterus de Ebroicis juvenis dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et Sancto Johanni de Brechonia et monachis Deo ibidem servientibus duodecim acras terre in dominio meo que jacent juxta fossatum leye in perpetuam elemosinam pro anima mea patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum et pro anima mea et uxoris mee et puerorum meorum et pro requesta et amore Willelmi de Breusa juvenis domini mei tenendas libere et quiete in perpetuam elemosinam ab omni servitio et absque omnibus querelis et

<sup>1</sup> Berrington.

<sup>2</sup> See the confirmation by Gilbert Bishop of Hereford.

<sup>3</sup> Ebroicis (d'Evreux).

consuetudinibus et ab omni exactione quod quia ratum et incon-  
vulsum manere volo presenti scripto et sigilli mei attestatione con-  
firmavi hijs testibus Willelmo de Breusa Juvene, Rogero de Basker-  
ville, Philippo de Breusa, Milone de Muchegross, Johanne Pichard,  
Willelmo de Waldeboef, Ricardo de Hagurner, Milone Pichard,  
Willelmo de Burchull, Geramo Burnel, Roberto de furchis, Rogero  
de Lagetera et multis alijs.”

*John de Puher<sup>1</sup> gives to the Priory twenty gallons of wine yearly  
for the souls of himself and his family. Date 1200 to 1230.*

“Carti Johannis de Puher.—Sciunt presentes et futuri quod  
ego Johannes le Puher dedi et concessi Sancto Johanni evange-  
liste de Brechonia et ejusdem loci conventui viginti galones  
vini annuatim in puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro me et  
pro uxore mea et pro anima patris mei et antecessorum meorum  
persolvendos de me et de heredibus meis quoque anno in die  
Sancti Johannis evangeliste vel infra duodecim dies Natalis  
domini apud (S’auelah)<sup>2</sup> et ne in posterum irritum habeatur  
illud sigilli mei impressione confirmavi, hijs testibus Waltero de  
Puher et Samsone fratre ejus, Ricardo Walensi, Job persona  
de (S’auelah), Johanne de Curieule, Thoma Capellano, et multis  
alijs.”

*Walter de Traveley gives to the Priory his mill in the Vill of  
St. Michael and twelve acres in his land of Traveley nearer to the  
monks’ land. Date towards the end of 12th century:*

“Carta Walteri de Traveleya.—Sciunt presentes et futuri quod  
ego Walterus de Traveleya pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee  
et patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum et success-  
orum meorum dedi et concessi ecclesie Sancti Johannis de  
Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in perpetuam  
elemosinam meum molendinum quod est in villa de Sancto  
Michaele<sup>3</sup> cum omni moltura et duodecim acras in terra mea de  
Traveleya propinquiore terre ipsorum monachorum ut autem hec  
mea donatio rata permaneat et inconcussa presentis scripti attes-  
tatione et sigilli mei impressione eam corroboravimus hijs testibus

<sup>1</sup> The Carte MS. has “Pichard”, the Brewster MS. “Puher”,  
who elsewhere appears as Lord of Benni.

<sup>2</sup> The name is abbreviated in an attempted facsimile; but in such  
a manner as to make it unintelligible. It seems to be the chapel of  
St. Alivedh, near Slwch, referred to by Giraldus in his *Itinerary*,  
p. 32. In the MS. the letters may be St. Aveleh, see note, *post*, 37.

<sup>3</sup> St. Michael, Ystradwy, now Llanvihangel Cwmdu.

Domino Willelmo de Breusa, et domina Matilda uxore ejus, Willelmo, Phillippo, Waltero, Egidio, filijs eorum, Johanne Pichard, Willelmo de Burchull, Willelmo de Weldeboef, tunc constabulario, Ricardo decano, Bernardo capellano, Radulpho Torel, Willelmo de Brinshope, Galfrido coco, Thoma Preposito, Ricardo diacono, David filio Linordi et multis alijs."

*Walter de Traveley gives to St. John and the monks of Brecon his mill in the vill of St. Michael; on his reception into their fraternity, the Prior gives him a silver marc:*

"Carta Walteri de Traveley.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Walterus de Traveley dedissem Deo et beato Johanni et monachis de Brechonia molendinum meum situm in villa Sancti Michaelis sicut carta dictorum monachorum eis a me super hoc facto testatur tandem J. prior de Brechonia mihi quem in fratrem suum recepit unam marcam argenti tanquam fratri suo ad vitam meam tantum concessit ne igitur hec veritas post obitum meum lateat et ne aliquis meorum pro hac temporali ac personali dicte marce concessione mihi tantum facta coram testibus ad hoc vocatis priorem et monachos de Brechonia vexare presumat presenti scripto sigillum meum duxi apponendum."

*Walter de Traveley, the son, confirms his father's grant of the church of Byford, the mill in St. Michael, and twelve acres in the land of Traveley:*

"Carta Walteri de Traveley.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Walterus de Traveley concessi et hac presenti carta confirmavi Deo et ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum ecclesiam de Biford cum omnibus pertinentijs suis et molendinum in villa de Sancto Michaele cum omni multura et duodecim acras in terra de Traveley propinquiori terre ipsorum monachorum que omnia Walterus de Traveley pater meus divine pietatis intuitu eis dedit sicut carte eorum quas de ipso habent testantur hec autem prenominata et omnia dona dicti patris mei dictis monachis concedo tenenda et habenda igitur sibi plene, pacifice, libere et quiete in puram et perpetuam elemosinam et sicut res ecclesiastice melius et liberius teneri et haberi possunt et quia volo quod hec mea concessio et confirmatio rata sit et in perpetuum stabilis permaneat presentem cartam sigilli mei impressione roboravi

hijis testibus Domino meo R. de Breosa,<sup>1</sup> Pagano de Burchull' Ricardo de Brecon, David de Burchull', Kenegano capellano de Piperton, Hugone capellano de Brechonia, Phillipio de Brecon, Willelmo de Burchull', tunc constabulario de Brechonia, Willelmo de Traveley, fratre meo, Radulpho janitore, Nichol de Pipton,<sup>2</sup> et multis alijs."

*William de Burghill, rector of the church of St. Michael, is the farmer of certain tithes of the lordship of Seethrog for his life, paying certain yearly sums therefor to the Prior of Brecon. 1215, 1222:*

"Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Willelmus de Burchull', rector ecclesie de Sancto Michaele, juxta villam monachorum salutem in Domino Noverit universitas vestra me recepisse ad firmam duas partes decime feni dominici minorum de Skadroc<sup>3</sup> ad vitam meam de priore et conventu Breconie per octodecim denarios eis solvendos singulis annis ad proximum Capitulum post festum Sancti Michaelis ita quod nec ego nec successores mei aliquid juris aliquo tempore in dictis decimis vindicabimus et si forsitan aliquo tempore in aliquo termino cessaverim a solutione dictorum octodecim denariorum liceat priori et conventui auctoritate propria ingredi possessionem dictarum decimarum sine aliqua contradictione vel appellatione a me faciendis et quod recepi etiam a dictis priore et conventu duas partes decime bladi crescentis in pomerio de Skadroc et duas partes omnium fructuum crescentium in eodem pomerio ad firmam pro XII denarijs eis solvendis singulis annis in predicto termino et sub pena predicta in hujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hijis testibus Magistro W. de... capellano, Roberto fratre suo, Magistro Thoma Breconie, et Johanne vicario de Tallegard, Roberto de Breconia clerico, Henrico de Lando<sup>4</sup> clerico, et multis alijs."

*W. de Burghill recognises the right of the Prior to the tithes of Seethrog last mentioned, before officials :*

"Universis Christi fidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis L. de Lameys<sup>5</sup> et Ythenardus officiales Brechonie et G. decanus ejusdem loci eternam in domino salutem Noverit universitas vestra quod cum controversia mota esset inter priorem et monachos Brechonie ex una parte et Willelmum de Burchull rectorem

<sup>1</sup> The name of Reginald de Braose as lord gives a date from 1215 to 1222 for this grant.

<sup>2</sup> Now Pipton.

<sup>3</sup> Scethrog.

<sup>4</sup> Llanddew.

<sup>5</sup> Llanfaes.



ecclesie Sancti Michaelis ex altera super duabus partibus decime feni dominici dominorum de Skathrok et duabus partibus decime garbarum bladi crescentis in pomerio de Skathrok tandem partibus in presentia nostra constitutis publice recognovit dictus Willelmus jus et possessionem dictorum prioris et monachorum in dictis decimis et etiam in decimis fructus pomerij ejusdem loci, ita quod nichil juris sibi neque ecclesie sue vindicabit in posterum in predictis decimis in hujus autem rei testimonium litteras illas sigillorum nostrorum una cum sigilli predicti W. impressione corroboravimus.”

*Isabella, daughter of Gilbert, and widow of Laurenee, grants to St. John of Brecon thirty acres of land near the highway from Brecon to Troscot. Date, early part of thirteenth century:*

“Carta Ysabelle filie Gileberti.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ysabella filia Gileberti que fui uxor Laurencij dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta confirmavi Deo et Sancto Johanni de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in puram et liberam et perpetuam elemosinam triginta acras terre quarum sexdecim jacent in uno tenente subtus magnam viam que dirigitur a Brechonia versus Troscot,<sup>1</sup> hijs limitibus videlicet ex parte australi a dicta via decesum juxta terram Episcopi usque ad Holegewelle,<sup>2</sup> et inde juxta rivulum qui vocatur flur usque ad locum qui vocatur Bromhul, inde secesum juxta locum qui vocatur Gilebardesmore usque ad dictam magnam viam quatuordecim vero jacent in uno tenente supra dictam viam continue Ita quod ultima earum jacet ultra acram que vocatur boreseker,<sup>3</sup> et pratum unum quod vocatur Burimedowe, ut autem hec mea donacio stabilis et illesa permaneat, presenti scripto sigillum meum duxi apponendum, hijs testibus Ricardo de Brecon, Pagano de Burchull, Johanne de Weldeboef, David de Burchull, Willelmo de Burchull, tunc constabulario de Brechonia, Hugone de Cluna Menevensi archidiacono, Magistro Willelmo de Capella, Magistro Matheo de Brechonia, Magistro Thoma Bretun, Roberto de Baskerville, Ricardo Truevill, Johanne trus, Radulpho precentore, Waltero Havard, Roberto de Lambill,<sup>4</sup> Nichola Balistario, et multis alijs.”

*Margaret, daughter of Seer le Haganer, with the consent of David her husband, gives to the church of St. John, Brecon, thirty-six acres of land, describing them. Date about 1220 (see Herbert Fitz Peter's confirmation, ante):*

“Carta Margarete filiae Seeri le Haganer.—Sciant presentes

<sup>1</sup> Trawscoed, probably by the road leading through Llanddew.

<sup>2</sup> Holywell.

<sup>3</sup> Boar's acre.

<sup>4</sup> Llanvillo.

et futuri quod ego Margareta filia Seeri le Haganer consensu Davidis mariti mei dedi et concessi et presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus et servituris in puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et pro animabus antecessorum et successorum meorum, de libero feodo meo xxx et vi acras terre culte per has divisas, scilicet viii acras in leviotreffeld et ij acras ultra le ruediche<sup>1</sup> juxta iij acras quas soror mea Matilda dederat Deo et predicte ecclesie pro anima Willelmi filii sui et heredis et i acram quam Robertus Trumpe assartavit,<sup>2</sup> et iiij acras super Osberneshull et xi acras ultra viam inter Maghtildeslede<sup>3</sup> et Berigrave et iiij acras ultra Maghtildeslede juxta assarta Simonis et vi acras in moreslonde, propterea dimidium longum pratum et totam partem meam de lato prato et totum pratum quod vocatur horspol<sup>4</sup> habenda et tenenda libere et quiete ab omni servitio et ab omni taillagio et auxilio et ab omni exactione et ego et heredes mei warantizabimus predictis monachis totam predictam terram contra omnes homines et omnes feminas et faciemus servicium capitalis domini quod ad tantam terram pertinet et ut hec donatio mea et concessio firma sit et stabilis eam sigilli mei appositione roboravi hijs testibus Domino Geraldo archidiacono de Brechonia, magistro Hugone tunc officiali decani Menevensis, Magistro W. de Lanham(lach), Ricardo Decano de Brechonia, Magistro Matheo, Magistro Thoma medico, Roberto de Lambil', constabulario de Brechonia, Willelmo Havard, Radulpho Janitore, Rogero Diacono, Johanne Pulano, et multis alijs."

*Margaret, daughter of Seer Hagurnel, gives to the Church of St. John, Brecon, for the support of the poor, certain lands, describing them :*

"Carta Margarete filie Seeri Hagurnel.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Margareta filia Seeri Hagurnel pro salute anime mee et pro animabus antecessorum et successorum meorum dedi et concessi domino et ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Breconia in puram et perpetuam elemosinam ad sustentationem pauperum duas acras terre ad Radwieswell et tertiam partem assartationis Symonis et ut hec donatio et concessio mea rata sit et stabilis eam sigilli mei appositione roboravi. Hijs testibus Ricardo Decano Breconie, Rogero capellano, Willelmo Havard, Willelmo

<sup>1</sup> "Ruediche" is probably the same as "ruge", or "roge", "diche", and means the ridge formed by the excavation of the ditch or the dyke.

<sup>2</sup> Brought into cultivation.      <sup>3</sup> Matilda's land.      <sup>4</sup> Horsepool.

portario Galfrido coco, Rogero Daniel, Philippo Waring, Osberto Prest, Johanne Pulain, ac multis alijs."

*Grant of Emma of Melinog :*

"Carta Emme Melenioc.—Omnibus Sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Emma de Meleniauc Salutem. Universitati vestre notum facio me divini amoris intuitu et pro anima mea et antecessorum meorum dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse in puram et perpetuam"..... (*Imperfect.*)<sup>1</sup>

"LITERE PROCURATORIS GENERALIS."

(*Letters of general procuration.*)

"NB mat Mae Lhaw dhiwedharth yw hon.  
hyd y nod yma."<sup>2</sup>

"Pateat universis per presentes quod nos Prior domus sive prioratus Sancti Johannis Evangeliste de Brechonia Menevensis diocesis et ejusdem loci Conventus in omnibus causis et negotijs nos personas nostras seu res nostras ac prioratum nostrum qualitercunque convenientibus motis vel movendis coram quibuscunque judicibus ordinarijs delegatis subdelegatis aut eorum comissarijs quibuscunque qualitercunque jurisdictionem seu motionem habentibus diebus horis et locis quibus nos abesse vel adesse contigerit dilectos nobis in Christo Magistros Ricardum Judde, Hugonem Grene, Ricardum Wlfe, Hugonem Jones et dominum David Moris capellanum, conjunctim et divisim et eorum quem libet per se et in solido ita quod non sit melior conditio occupantis set quod eorum unus inceperit quemlibet eorum id libere prosequi valeat mediare prosequi et finire nostros veros et legitimos procuratores actores factores negociorumque nostrorum gestores ac nuncios speciales ordinamus facimus et constituimus per presentes dantes et concedentes eisdem procuratoribus nostris et eorum cuilibet ut prefertur per se divisim et in solido potestatem generalem et mandatum speciale pro nobis et nomine nostro ac prioratus nostri antedicti agendum et defendendum excipiendum replicandum, litem seu lites contestandum et contestare videndum juramentum tam de calumpnia quam de veritate dicenda ac quodlibet aliud genus liciti sacramenti in antedictos nostros prestandum et jurandum ponendum et articulandum poscionibus<sup>3</sup> et articulis respondendum testes literas et

<sup>1</sup> Here Bishop Tanner notes of the Brewster MS. "tantum 4or. primæ lineæ extant", a f. 35 ad 41; "pergamena pura".

<sup>2</sup> N.B. That this is a recent hand up to this mark. Bishop Tanner as to these letters only notes "manu recenti".

<sup>3</sup> Postulationibus?

instrumenta ac alia quacunq̄ue probacionum generaliter producendum exhibendum productaque et exhibita ex adverso reprobandum et impugnandum statusque nostri reformationem et in integrum restitutionem dampnorum estimationem expensas et interesse quodlibet. Nec non beneficium absolutionis a quibuscunq̄ue suspencionis excommunicationis aut interdicti sententijs petendum recipiendum et obtinendum summas tam interlocutorias quam definitivas ferri petendum et audiendum provocandum et appellandum provocationes et appellationes notificandum et intimandum ac eorum causas prosequendum apostolosque petendum et recipiendum alium vel alios procuratorem seu procuratores loco ipsorum et eorum cujuslibet substituendum substitutum seu substitutos continuo revocandum ac procuratorem officiorum in se et eorum quemlibet reassumendum et executiendum quotiens et quando eis aut eorum cuilibet melius videbitur expediri et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendum extendendum et expediendum que in premissis et circa ea negotia fuit seu quomodolibet opportune licet mandatum de se magis exigant finale pro eisdem vero procuratoribus nostris et eorum quolibet substituto vel substituendo ab eisdem vel eorum aliquo rem ratam haberi et judicatam solvi sub ypotheca et obligatione omnium bonorum et nostrorum promittimus et cautionem exponimus per presentes in cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum commune presentibus apponi fecimus. datum in domo nostra capitulari decimo die mensis Julij Anno Domini 1496.”<sup>1</sup>

*Gerald, Bishop of St. David's, on the petition of William de Braose and Maud his wife, confirms to the church of St. John, Brecon, the churches of Hay, Llanigon, Talgarth, and Llangorse, saving the rights of the incumbents of the same churches during their lives :*

“Carta G. Menevensis Episcopi.—Omnibus Sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit G(iraldus<sup>2</sup>) divina permissione Menevensis Episcopus Salutem in domino Noverit universitas vestra nos de communi assensu Capituli nostri ad petitionem domini Willelmi de Breosa et domine Mathildis de Sancto Walerico uxoris sue divini amoris intuitu concessisse et presenti scripto confirmasse ecclesie Sancti Johannis evangeliste de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus et servituris in perpetuam ecclesiam de Haya, ecclesiam de Sancto Eghyon ecclesiam de Talgarth, ecclesiam de Mara, in usus proprios ad

<sup>1</sup> Here follows in the Carte MS. the first charter of Bishop Bernard (*post* p. 46), the two first lines omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Elected by the Chapter, 1199 ; resigned, 1203.

sustentationem fratrum et hospitalitatem et elemosinam sustinendam cum omnibus ad eas pertinentibus pro anima prefati W. et uxoris sue et antecessorum et heredum suorum salvis in omnibus consuetudinibus ad Episcopum et suos pertinentibus salvis quoque beneficijs canonice adeptis Thome clerici in ecclesia de Haya, Hugonis capellani in ecclesia de Sancto Eghyon, Walteri clerici in ecclesie de Talgarth, Willelmi capellani in ecclesia de Mara quamdiù vixerint salvis et honestis sustentationibus vicariorum in predictis ecclesijs canonice assignandis ut autem hec concessio et confirmatio perpetuam firmitatem obtineat sigillum nostrum una cum sigillo capituli nostri presenti scripto duxi apponendum.”<sup>1</sup>

*Confirmation of the preceding document by Geoffrey, Bishop of St. David's, 1203-1214:*

“Carta G. Menevensis Episcopi.<sup>2</sup>—Omnibus Sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit G(alfridus) dei gratia Menevensis episcopus eternam in domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos cartam bone memorie G(iraldi) predecessoris nostri in hec verba inspexisse Omnibus Sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. G. divina permissione Menevensis episcopus Salutem in domino. Noverit universitas vestra nos de communi assensu capituli nostri ad petitionem domini Willelmi de Breosa et domine Mathildis de Sancto Walerico uxoris sue divini amoris intuitu concessisse et presenti scripto confirmasse ecclesie Sancti Johannis evangeliste de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus et servituris in perpetuum ecclesiam de Haya, ecclesiam de Sancto Eghyon, ecclesiam de Talgar[th], ecclesiam de Mara in usus proprios ad sustentationem fratrum et hospitalitatem et elemosinam sustinendam cum omnibus ad eas pertinentibus pro anima prefati W. et uxoris sue et antecessorum et heredum suorum salvis in omnibus consuetudinibus ad Episcopum et suos pertinentibus &c.<sup>3</sup> apponendum. Nos igitur eandem concessionem et confirmationem ratam habentes et acceptam eam auctoritate

<sup>1</sup> “Kaisia y Rheliw y ty arall” (seek the rest on the other side).

<sup>2</sup> “Nid yw hwn ond yr un air am air ar diwaetha drwy gangymeriad yr Isgrifenydd trwstan, H. Gruff.” (This is but the same, word for word, with the last, through the mistake of the bungling writer, Hugh Griffith.) A perusal will show that the writer of this Welsh note had himself an imperfect knowledge of what he was transcribing.

<sup>3</sup> As in the preceding.

episcopali confirmamus . in cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum et in hujus rei testimonium presenti scripto nostrum apponi fecimus sigillum valeat Nos itaque dictas donationes concessionem et confirmationes ratas et gratas habentes easdem auctoritate episcopali confirmamus et in hujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus valeat.”<sup>1</sup>

*Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, confirms the donations of B. Newmarch, Roger Earl of Hereford, his brothers, and the family of De Braose :*

“Carta Domini B.<sup>2</sup> Archiepiscopi Cantuar’.

“B. Dei gratia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Anglie Primas omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit illam que est in domino salutem. Universitati vestre notum fieri volumus dilectos filios nostros monachos de Brechonia scriptum autenticum venerabilis fratris nostri P.<sup>3</sup> Menevensis Episcopi nobis exhibuisse ex quarum tenore perpendimus prefatum Episcopum confirmasse donationes quas eis fecerunt ipsius ecclesie patroni videlicet Bernardus de Novo Mercato Rogerus Comes Herefordie et fratres ejus Walterus Henricus Mahelus et Willelmus de Breosa dominus de Brechonia et patronus prefate ecclesie et alij qui intuitu Dei sepe dicte ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia aliquid contulerunt tam in ecclesiasticis beneficiis quam in alijs sicut sepe dicti Episcopi carta prenotata testatur nos itaque ipsius Episcopi prescriptam confirmationem ratam habentes et acceptam eam sicut canonice et rationabiliter facta est scripti presentis attestacione et sigilli nostri appositione communivimus Hiis testibus G.<sup>4</sup> Archidiacono Menev., Magistro Alexandro Walensi, magistro Silvestro, Gileberto filio Willelmi, Reginaldo de Oilli, Ricardo de Umframvill, Galfrido forti, Eustath de Wilton, et multis alijs.”

*Stephen, Archbishop and Cardinal, confirms the composition between Prior of Brecon and Peter Fitz Herbert relative to tithes of Peter’s household expenses and his third part of lordship of Brecon :*

“Carta Domini Stephani<sup>5</sup> Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi.—Omnibus Sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum perve-

<sup>1</sup> The last two charters are repeated in the transcript *verbatim*, near the end of the cartulary.

<sup>2</sup> Boniface of Savoy, consecrated 15 January 1244-5, ob. 18 July 1270.

<sup>3</sup> Peter de Leia, consecrated Nov. 1176, ob. July 1198.

<sup>4</sup> There was no archdeacon of St. David’s, at this time, whose Christian name begins with G.

<sup>5</sup> Stephen Langton, consecrated June 1206, ob. July 1228.

nerit. Stephanus Dei gratia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Anglie Primas et Sancte Romane ecclesie Cardinalis salutem in domino. Noverint universi presentes litteras inspecturi controversiam ortam inter Abbatem et conventum de Bello et priorem et monachos de Brechonia ex una parte et nobilem virum Petrum filium Herberti<sup>1</sup> ex altera super decima totius expense domus ipsius P. in cibarijs et potibus decima quoque denariorum reddituum placitorum lucrorum donorum et omnium proventuum que adquisierit in denarijs et denariatis in tertia parte sua de Brechonia et etiam super decima vaccarum de donis Walensium hoc fine amicabiliter in presentia nostra et venerabilis fratris H.<sup>2</sup> Herefordensis Episcopi et dilecti filij L. Abbatis Rading' et dilectorum filiorum nobilium virorum H.<sup>3</sup> de Burgo Justiciario Anglie et W. de Lasque sopitam<sup>4</sup> fuisse videlicet quod predictus P(etrus) redditum quinque marcarum annuatim percipiendum in certo loco et competenti predictis priori et monachis de Brechonia assignabit piscationem vero in Mara de Brechonia tribus diebus in Ebdomada et cotidie<sup>5</sup> in Quadragesima et cotidie in Adventu cum una cimba<sup>6</sup> penitus eis concessit terram scilicet Paulini que unam marcam eis annuatim reddere solebat et purpresturam<sup>7</sup> terre quam assartaverit de foresta dicti P[auli] desuper villam Walkelini<sup>8</sup> eis quietas clamavit. Predicti vero Abbas et conventus de Bello et prior et monachi de Brechonia omnem actionem quam occasione alicujus instrumenti super rebus prenomina- tis habuerint renunciaverunt ire versus sepe dictum P. vel heredes suos super eisdem possint de cetero questionem aliquatenus suscitare utraque autem pars supradictam conventionem fide media firmiter se observaturam promisit ut autem ista amicabile compositio firma futuris temporibus perseveret et stabilis eam presentis scripti testimonio et sigilli nostri appositione corroboravimus Valeat universitas vestra semper in domino."

*David, Bishop of St. David's, confirms to the church of St. John and the monks there the churches, which Roger, Earl of Hereford, had granted to them:*

"Prima Carta<sup>9</sup> Davidis Menevensis<sup>10</sup> Episcopi.—David Dei gratia Menevensis Episcopus omnibus ecclesie Christi fidelibus

<sup>1</sup> See note, *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Series, vol. xiii, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh Folliot, 1219-34.

<sup>3</sup> Hubert de Burgh.

<sup>4</sup> Set at rest.

<sup>5</sup> "Quotidie".

<sup>6</sup> A boat.

<sup>7</sup> "Purpresturam", the encroachment of land.

<sup>8</sup> Tre Walkin.

<sup>9</sup> This and the two following charters were probably made between 1148 and 1152.

<sup>10</sup> David Fitz-Gerald, Archdeacon of Cardigan, consecrated 19 Dec. 1147, ob. May 1176.

presentibus et futuris salutem et benedictionem. Nostre sollicitudinis incumbit officio fidelium elemosinas deputatas monasterijs ad usus servientium Deo promovere et tueri earumque integritati et perpetuitati discreta vigilantia providere quapropter devotioni Rogeri Comitis Herefordie ad ipsius et patris ejus Milonis Comitis animarum salutem diligenter assentientes ecclesias et terras et decimas et molendina et alia beneficia tam in libertatibus quam in utilitatibus in hominibus in pratis in pascuis in vijs in semitis in bosco et plano et in aquis et in piscationibus quas idem Comes ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus canonicè dedit salva reverentia dignitatis Episcopalis et consuetudinibus auctoritate Dei et nostra eis concedimus et perpetuo jure possidendas presenti scripto communimus scilicet ecclesiam de Haya et ecclesiam de Sancto Eghyon, ecclesiam de Lan seffrey<sup>1</sup> et ecclesiam de Langeleu<sup>2</sup> et ecclesiam de Catheidi<sup>3</sup> cum capellis et terris et decimis et omnibus pertinentijs earum et omnes alias ecclesias quæ sunt in terra Comitis in Walis que sui juris sunt, quas nec monachi nec canonici possident et preter has cetera beneficia que in carta prefati Rogeri Comitis et ipsius avi Bernardi de Novo Mercato tam in Ecclesijs quam in ceteris beneficijs continentur. Hanc itaque nostram custodire volentibus et eidem Ecclesie benefacientibus perpetuæ salutis premium optamus et si qui temere temptaverint infringere, sciant quod iram Dei tanquam dissipatores Sanctuarij sui promerebuntur Testibus Clemente Priore Lanton,<sup>4</sup> Lamberto Presbitero, Simone, Johanne, Magistro Johanne Canonico de Sancto David, Alexandro, David Clericis Prior(atus) de Brechonia.”

*David, Bishop of St. David's, on the presentation of Ralph, Prior of St. John, institutes William, the foster son of Eli the priest, to the church of St. Paulinus of Llangorse, rendering yearly to the Prior 10s. as a recognition of right, with a provision for maintenanece and education until William was of age :*

“Secunda Carta ipsius Davidis.—David Dei gratia Menevensis Episcopus toti clero et populo de Brechonia tam presenti quam futuro salutem. Cognoscat universitas vestra quod frater Radulphus prior ecclesie Sancti Johannis presentavit nobis hunc Gullelmum nutritum<sup>5</sup> Eli Sacerdotis et nobis presentibus ex consilio capituli fratrum suorum dedit ei ecclesiam Sancti

<sup>1</sup> Llansantfread ?

<sup>2</sup> Llanelieu.

<sup>3</sup> Cathedine.

<sup>4</sup> Llanthony.

<sup>5</sup> A boy given to a monastery, and brought up there by Eli, the priest, as his foster-son.



Paulini de Lancors que de proprio jure ecclesie Sancti Johannis esse perhibetur ad tenendam quidem de sua ecclesia et ad recognoscendam de eo et per eum futuris prioribus reddendo singulis annis decem solidos ecclesie Sancti Johannis. Nos autem donationem ipsius tanquam ex magno pietatis et liberalitatis affectu procedentem benigne approbantes rogante eo predictum Gullelmum benedicta primum corona clericum fecimus et prefate ecclesie personatum cum inductione beneficij eidem concessimus et confirmavimus Johannes itaque sacerdos de Talgart suscepit de manu nostra custodiam persone et rerum suarum sub hac quidem diffinitione quod ipsum scilicet diligent in necessarijs omnibus nominatim victu et vestitu et studio debeat educare et predictam recognitionem priori pro eo annuatim reddere donec etatem et ordinem habeat quod sibi et rebus suis possit providere. Et si infra decesserit ad ecclesiam denuo redeat quiete in manu prioris tanquam jus ecclesie sue in liberam ejus dispositionem Valeat."

*David, Bishop of St. David's, grants to the Church of St. John of Brecon the Church of Hay after the death of William the priest and his son-William; the Church of Llansaintfread after the death of the then incumbent, and the other churches included in the grants of Roger, Earl of Hereford and Bernard Newmarch, as they fall vacant:*

"Tertia Carta Davidis Menevensis Episcopi.—David Dei gratia Menevensis Episcopus omnibus Christi fidelibus presentibus et futuris salutem et benedictionem. Nostre sollicitudinis incumbit officio fidelium elemosinas deputatas monasterijs ad usus servientium Deo promovere et tueri earumque integritati et perpetuitati discreta vigilantia providere. Qua propter devocionem Rogeri comitis Herefordie ad ipsius et patris ejus Milonis Comitis animarum salutem diligenter assentientes ecclesias et terras et decimas et molendina et alia beneficia tam in libertatibus quam in utilitatibus in hominibus in pratis in pascuis in bosco et plano et in aquis quas idem Comes ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus canonice dedit salva reverentia dignitatis episcopalis et consuetudinibus auctoritate Dei et nostra eis concedimus et perpetuo jure possidendas presenti scripto communimus. Scilicet ecclesiam de Haya post decessum Willelmi presbyteri et filij ejus Willelmi et ecclesiam de Lanseffrei<sup>1</sup> post obitum tenentis illam et omnes alias ecclesias que sunt in terra Comitis in Walis quas nec monachi nec canonici possident sicut deliberabuntur a presbyteris et

<sup>1</sup> Llansantfread.

preter hos cetera beneficia que in carta prefati Comitis et ipsius avi Bernardi de Novo Mercato continentur hanc itaque nostram confirmationem custodire volentibus et eidem ecclesie beneficientibus perpetue salutis premium optamus et si qui temere temptaverint infringere sciant quod iram Dei tanquam dissipatores Sanctuarij sui promerebuntur. Teste Clemente priore Lant(oni) Lamberto Presbytero, Simone, Johanne, Johanne Magill, Canonicis de Sancto David."

*David, Bishop of St. David's, on the petition of Ralph the Prior, dedicates the Church of St. Haillilde,<sup>1</sup> free from episcopal custom, to the Church of St. John :*

"Quarta Carta Davidis Menevensis Episcopi.—David dei gratia Menevensis Episcopus universis filijs ecclesie fidelibus salutem. Anno ab incarnatione domini Millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo secundo quinto calend<sup>2</sup> Julij petitione Radulphi prioris et eodem totum affectuose procurante negotium dedicavimus ecclesiam Sancte Aissilde et ipsam quietam a consuetudine episcopali ecclesie Sancti Johannis ut filiam matri consignavimus ad augendam vero caritatem et devocionem suffragia beate Virginis requirentium in festo ipsius<sup>3</sup> et tribus post illud sequentibus diebus de domini consiliis misericordia quadraginta dies de penitencia sua relaxamus et tregina(m)<sup>4</sup> Dei pacem et nostram veniendo et redeundo habendam confirmamus. Si quis itaque eam aliquem disturbando pacem infregerit noverit se iram Dei incurrere et ecclesiastica justicia donec satisfecerit constringendum."

*Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, confirms the donations of Bernard Newmarch and his followers, and himself gives to the Church of St. John the Chapel of St. Haellilde, situate in the parish of St. John :*

"Prima Carta Bernardi Menevensis Episcopi.—Bernardus<sup>5</sup> Dei gratia Menevensis antistes universis sancte Dei ecclesie fidelibus clericis et laicis tam presentibus quam futuris spem veritatis induere, et per ipsum fideliter operari justis constitutionibus

<sup>1</sup> In Bishop Tanner's notes "Aissilde" is also written, but crossed through. St. Eleved (*Itin. Kambriæ*, p. 32), Sancta Eleveta, is mentioned among other demesne lands of the Manor of Brecon in *Inq. post mortem*, 38, 39 H. VI, No. 59.

<sup>2</sup> 27th June 1152.

<sup>3</sup> 1st August.

<sup>4</sup> "Tragina"? a vehicle or carriage-road, but in a wider sense the journey.

<sup>5</sup> Bernard, consecrated 1115, ob. 1147.

assensum congruum exhibere volentes et quo possumus effectu promovere desiderantes universitati vestre notificamus quod nos auctoritate Dei et nostri ministerij ecclesie Sancte Johannis de Brechonia et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus possessiones decimas et omnia beneficia quecunque eidem donatione Bernardi de Novo Mercato hominumque suorum et ceterorum fidelium devocionis intuitu in elemosinam collata sunt concedimus et et sicut in ipsorum cartis continetur presentes scripti subsistentia confirmamus et corroboramus in jus sempiternum prefate ecclesie permansura Insuper ex nostro proprio dono quandam capellam Sancte Haellilde<sup>1</sup> in parochia Sancti Johannis sitam eis concedimus quiete et libere possidendam omnibus vero prefatam ecclesiam consilio et auxilio foventibus et in quolibet beneficio eam promoventibus et augentibus communionem beneficiorum ecclesie nostre et nostrorum omnium simul et orationum recompensamus et Dei benedictionem optamus.”<sup>2</sup>

*Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, notifies to Roger, Earl of Hereford, that the Prior of Brecon had established his right to the Church of Llangorse against the monks who had invaded it without the Bishop's assent, by a canonical judgment, and entreats his support on their behalf:*

“Secunda Carta Bernardi Menevensis Episcopi.—Bernardus Dei gratia Menevensis antistes R(ogero) comiti Herefordie salutem et gratiam Notificamus attentioni vestre quod Dominus prior et monachi nostri de Brechonie disracionaverunt ecclesiam de Mara contra monachos qui eam sine assensu nostro invaserant in pleno capitulo et quod illa eis sicut sua propria res judicio canonico remansit unde rogamus vos obnixe et in domino moneamus ut ecclesiam Sancti Johannis in hac re et in aliis posses-

<sup>1</sup> Giraldus, in his *Itinerarium Kambricæ*, refers to St. Ælived as one of the numerous daughters of Brychan, and mentions that a chapel (*basilica*) dedicated to her was erected on the top of a hill near the castle of Aber Hodni. On her feast day, the 1st of August, a large number of people, who came from a distance, assembled there, and those who suffered from various infirmities received through her merits their wished-for recovery. Jones says that the chapel fell down towards the end of the seventeenth century, and that a heap of stones and an aged yew-tree, with part of a wall at its foot, mark the traditional site of it on the north side of Pencefn y gaer, and on the left of the road leading from Brecon to a farmhouse called “Slwch.” (*History of Brecknockshire*, vol. i, p. 54; ii, p. 92.)

<sup>2</sup> This charter occurs before in the Carte MS., after the letters of procuration, and again towards the end, *verbatim*, except that the chapel is called St. Elylythe.

sionibus suis sicut vestram propriam elemosinam et antecessorum vestrorum manuteneatis et augeatis. Multum vero debet vobis placere et poterit in Deo proficere quod domus illa religione et caritate plus solito nuper excrevit. Nos autem propter hoc multum exhilarati [dona] antecessorum vestrorum et quicquid devocio fidelium apponere voluerit auctoritate Dei et nostri ministerij per scripta nostra confirmavimus et per Dei gratiam augere disponimus locus autem ille Sancti Paulini in propria parochia ecclesie de Langors est, que monachorum possessio propria semper fuit.”<sup>1</sup>

*Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, notifies that on his dedication of the Church of St. Mary, Hay, William Revel, with the consent and in the presence of Bernard Newmarch, granted to that Church certain lands and all the tithes of all his territory of Hay :*

“Tertia carta Bernardi Menevensis Episcopi.—Bernardus Dei gratia Episcopus de Sancto Davide omnibus Sancte Dei ecclesie fidelibus salutem deique benedictionem et suam Sciant tam presentes quam futuri quod quando dedicavimus ecclesiam beate Marie de Haya Willelmus Revel<sup>2</sup> concessu Bernardi de Novo Mercato qui interfuit dedicationi dedit et concessit in perpetuam elemosinam et dotem ipsi ecclesie xv acras terre et duas mansuras<sup>3</sup> terre videlicet Levenathi prepositi,<sup>4</sup> et Alverici bubulci<sup>5</sup> et totam terram que est ab illis mansuris sursum in nemore usque ad divisas de Euias<sup>6</sup> et in bosco et in plano dedit etiam eidem ecclesie totam decimam totius terre sue de Haya in omnibus rebus et de terre Ivoris et de Meleniauc<sup>7</sup> et de omnibus illis qui de foendo<sup>8</sup> Haie tenebant et ne in posterum inde fiat dubitatio hujus determinati dedit et concessit decimas videlicet de blado et feno et de pullanis<sup>9</sup> et vitulis de agnis et panellis<sup>10</sup> de lana et caseo et lino et virgulto et de redditu Walensi et passagio<sup>11</sup> et placitis.<sup>12</sup> Quicumque vero aliquid inde subtraxerint vel diminuerint excommunicentur et a consortio Dei omniumque

<sup>1</sup> Date, 1143-47.

<sup>2</sup> William Revel gave to the church of St. Peter, Gloucester, a hide of land in Hampton, with the consent of B. Newmarch and the confirmation of King Henry, in the time of Peter Abbot, 1104-13 A.D. (*Cart. Monast. S. Petri, Gl.*, vol. i, p. 88, Rolls series).

<sup>3</sup> A certain quantity of land which varied according to the locality.

<sup>4</sup> The bailiff.      <sup>5</sup> The herdsman.      <sup>6</sup> Ewyas, Herefordshire.

<sup>7</sup> Melinog.      <sup>8</sup> Feudo.      <sup>9</sup> Colts.

<sup>10</sup> “Panellis”, loaves of bread.

<sup>11</sup> “Passagium”, a toll levied for the guard and maintenance of roads.

<sup>12</sup> Pleas of court.





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DOLWYDDELAN CASTLE, LOOKING E.

Sanctorum ejus sequestrentur donec ad emendacionem veniant hujus autem donacionis testes sunt clerici nostri videlicet Wilhelmo archidiacono de Kermerdin et Elya Archidiacono de Brechon' et Liriencio clerico Regis Henrici et Bernardo de Novo Mercato<sup>1</sup> et Ricardo filio Puncij.<sup>2</sup> Valeat."

(*To be continued.*)

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## DOLWYDDELAN CASTLE.

LITTLE is known of the early history of this singularly situated building, which has evidently replaced older works, the defensive character of its situation being such as would be appreciated in early times. From the history of the Gwydir family we learn that Iorwerth or Iorwerth Drwyndwn, or Edward of the Broken Nose, being excluded from succeeding his father Owen Gwynedd, on account of that deformity, retired to this residence, where his eldest son Llywelyn was born, or is reported to have been born, according to the historian of the Gwydir family (see the latest and the best edition, by Askew Roberts of Croeswylan, Oswestry).

To Iorwerth were assigned as his patrimony the hundreds of Ardydwy and Nant Conwy; in the latter is this stronghold, to which he is said to have retired, probably on account of its solitary and strong position, for protection from attacks of his own kindred. That his being set aside would lead to contests, was an additional inducement to select such a safe habitation. Nor was he mistaken; for it appears from Powell's

<sup>1</sup> As Bernard Newmarch was one of the witnesses to both of the charters of William the Conqueror to Battle Abbey, and also took a leading part in the insurrection against William Rufus at the commencement of his reign, it seems probable that this charter was made soon after the consecration of Bishop Bernard in 1115, although the list of archdeacons in Browne Willis' MS. states that Elias held the office, 1135-40, and the *History of St. David's* gives a like date for the period when William and Elias held their respective offices; but the dates are approximate only.

<sup>2</sup> Fitz-Pons.

*History of Wales*, p. 194, ed. 1774, that Owen Gwynedd, when he set aside his eldest son, did not nominate any one of the younger ones as his heir. Hence, as might have been expected, a contest arose for the prize. Hywel, the eldest brother, was not only illegitimate, but his mother being an Irishwoman was still more objectionable. However, being in possession, and refusing to give it up, David claimed it; and it was agreed that the two brothers should settle the question by single combat, in which Hywel fell, and David thus became Prince of North Wales. He held possession until his nephew Llywelyn, the eldest son of Iorwerth, came of age, and claimed his lawful inheritance with success. Another brother, Madoc, during these family struggles, thought it more prudent to try his fortunes abroad, and accordingly sailed towards the west, and is still believed by some to have discovered America. This David had married Emma, sister of Henry II; relying on which match he, according to Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, imprisoned his brother Roderick because he desired a portion of the inheritance.

According to Powell, David lost the affection of his subjects from the treatment of his brother, so that he had no support from them against the claims of his nephew Llywelyn.

According to the fragment of a Welsh chronicle, mentioned by Sir John Wynne (see Mr. Askew Roberts' ed., p. 18), Llywelyn murdered at Conwy his uncle with all his family, as the safest way of getting rid of future claimants. But this story is not noticed by any other authority, and is directly contradicted by Powell, according to whom David lived quietly and peaceably for some time, but as soon as he had the support of a considerable army of English and Welsh, he attacked Llywelyn, was defeated, and taken prisoner. He was then delivered into safe custody; but in 1203 was generously released by his nephew. He made, however, an ungrateful return, for he went off to England, and collecting a considerable force, again at-



tacked his nephew, was again defeated, returned to England, and soon after died from grief and disappointment.

Even at the beginning of this century this castle was so difficult of access that it was seldom visited by strangers. Bingley, who explored Wales from 1798 to 1801, describes the ruin, from its situation in the bosom of mountains, difficult to find; and Southey, who was, no doubt, anxious to see any place connected with his hero Madoc, seems to have failed to reach it, at least as far as may be inferred from the following note: "The rudeness and barrenness of the surrounding mountains I can well testify, having been bewildered and benighted upon them."

Pughe, the author of *Cambria Depicta*; published in 1816, was unfortunately prevented by want of time or some other cause from reaching this castle. If he had been able to do so, he would probably have added to the illustrations which give its value to his work. He makes, however, a singular statement; namely, that he was not aware that the castle had ever been a subject for the pencil. He might indeed not have been aware that a view of it is given by Buck, and may not have known a book not found in many libraries, but that he should have been ignorant that Pennant, in the second volume of his *Tour in Wales*, p. 135, has given a view of it from the pencil of Moses Griffiths, is somewhat singular. The only information he contributes to the little that is known about the castle, is that shortly before his visiting the district "one of its towers, deemed in tolerable condition, in the dead of the night came tumbling down with a crash, which roused every creature in the neighbourhood". This may have happened about 1810.

Pennant's description, repeated as it has been by many writers, is well known, but may be as well given here. "I left the bridge (Pontypair), and after a steep ascent arrived at Dolwyddelan Castle, seated in a rocky valley, sprinkled over with stunted trees and watered by the Lledyr. The boundaries are rude and barren

mountains, and among others the great bending mountain Siabod, often conspicuous from most distant places. The castle is placed on a high rock, precipitous on one side and insulated. It consists of two square towers, one forty feet by twenty-five; the other, thirty-one by twenty. Each had formerly three floors. The materials of this fortress are the shattery stone of the country, well squared, the masonry good, and the mortar hard. The castle yard lay between the towers."

Pennant goes on to state that the castle had been founded by some of our princes, but nothing is known of its origin. "There were very few castles in North Wales before its conquest by the English. They were needless, for nature created in our rocks and mountains fortifications (until our fatal division) quite impregnable. Had there been occasions for artificial retreats, the wealth of our country could readily have supplied the means of erecting them."

The above passage is another instance of the inaccuracy of this popular writer.<sup>1</sup> He merely says, vol. ii, p. 136, "This [castle] has been founded by one of our princes, but we are ignorant of its origin"; and further on, "Iorwerth Drwyndwn made this place his residence". He seems to think that this is the identical building to which Iorwerth retreated. He adds that the ancient inhabitants of North Wales did not build such castles, for their rocks and mountains were sufficient protection. As regards hostile attacks, this assertion may be true; but the rudest natives, especially in such a climate, must have had some pro-

<sup>1</sup> The inaccuracies of this author have been already mentioned in the *Arch. Cambrensis*. The following one, although not connected with Wales, may be mentioned. In the second volume of his *Journey from Dover to the Land's End* he mentions the fact that Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, was born in Folkstone, and buried at Hempstead in *Herts*. There are Hempsteads in Norfolk, Gloucester, and Essex. Hemel Hempstead, much better known, is in *Herts*, and seems to have been the only Hempstead that Pennant had heard of; so he buried Harvey there, who was at that time lying in the church at Essex, where his leaden coffin may be seen to this day in the crypt.

tection against wind and weather, and if huts were sufficient for the purpose, these grouped together would require further defences, and thus we find at Treceiri walls still sixteen feet high, inclosing the summit of the mountain.

It is very remarkable, considering the lengthened occupation of the Romans, that the native population does not appear to have taken any building notions from their masters, but continued to work in the rude style of what is called "British masonry". It has been stated that no single instance is to be found throughout Wales of anything like the masonry of Roman or even Norman character. There are, indeed, examples still remaining of regular facings of walls, and even in some few instances indications of regular courses; but the entire absence of mortar indicates the ignorance of its use, although lime was within reach of the builders.

In the case of Dolwyddelan Castle it is probable that in the time of Iorwerth the buildings were not unlike the stone fortress of Penmaen Mawr, which protected his son Llywelyn against the forces of Edward I. But the Welsh forces are said to have been 20,000 in number—a large number of whom would have been required for protecting the works. Dolwyddelan Castle must have been more a chieftain's stronghold for his retinue, than a fortified city like that on Penmaen Mawr, called Braich y Dinas, the latest and fullest account of which, by the Rev. Hugh Prichard of Dinas, will be found in the *Arch. Camb.* of 1877. It is well worth attention.

The great mound at Aber is called Llewelyn's Castle. It was certainly occupied by him, but commanding as it does the Roman road or roads leading into Anglesey and Carnarvon, it must have been an important position long before his time. In this respect it resembles Dolwyddelan, which commands the road continued from Caerhun, near Conwy, to Tomen-y-mur. Aber has lost its outer defences, although small remains of them were seen by Pennant.

The original fortress of Dolwyddelan was a scarped rock ; much stronger as a stronghold than Aber, from the character of the ground. A good idea of it is given by the woodcut of Mr. Worthington Smith, but it is doubtful that this identical building was in existence at the time that Iorwerth selected it as a safe residence. For some cause he seems to have altered his mind, and moved his residence to the more remote and safe retreat in the sanctuary of St. Monacella, known by the Welsh as Melangel. As the sequel, however, proved, he might have remained in Carnarvonshire, as Pennant informs us that he was slain in the neighbourhood of his new retreat, at a place called “Bwlch Croes Iorwerth”, or the Pass of the Cross of Iorwerth.

Pennant, in his notice, states that the effigy of the knight he saw in the churchyard was that of Iorwerth Drwmdwn, and that the shield bore this inscription, HIC JACET ETWART.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pugh repeats this statement; and it may be inferred that the inscription existed at the time of his visit, at the commencement of the present century. But he adds a curious story when he tells us the malformation of this unfortunate prince was not confined to his nose, but extended to the lower part of his legs. He, however, in his drawing (p. 267) represents the legs perfect. The legs were mutilated by an eccentric clergyman, Thomas Jones, who was made vicar in 1757, and is thought to have died in 1790. He was a superior scholar. According to a contributor to the interesting work, *Bygones* (July 1877), he was known as “Eccentric Jones”, and, as not unusual at that time, kept a small school in a room adjoining the east end of the chancel, called “Cell y Bedd”, according to tradition

<sup>1</sup> He does not explain whether the inscription was on the face of the shield, or on the edge of the stone, the more usual place for inscriptions; but as the earliest effigy with arms on a shield is that of Geoffrey de Magnaville, Earl of Essex, in the Temple Church, who died in 1144 (according to Gough), it is highly improbable that Iorwerth, whose father died in 1169, had his shield similarly treated, especially when the circumstances of his death, and the remote position of the place of burial, are taken into consideration.

the grave of St. Monacella herself. This worthy man one day, in the middle of school-time, in the presence of his scholars, rushed out, and with a large stone broke the legs of the figure, saying, in Welsh, words to this effect, "You rascal, Ned! As you have broken the legs of others, so I will break yours, you rascal!" If Pennant, whose first volume of his *Welsh Tour* was published in 1778, visited the churchyard, as he seems to have done, it is curious that he makes no remarks on the broken limbs. He certainly had not heard of this enthusiastic vicar. Pugh seems to have mistaken this mutilation of the legs as a natural deformity, and thought that his toes as well as his nose had deprived him of his legal rights. Whatever truth there is in the story of the vicar, Thos. Jones, it is clear Pugh had not heard of it, for he would never have made such an absurd statement. The author of the article of Pennant Melangel, in Lewis' *Top. Dict.*, does little more than transcribe Pennant's remarks. The writer of the two notices of the church and antiquities in the *Arch. Camb.*, the late Rev. H. Longueville Jones, tells us that both figures are so weather-worn and defaced that it is difficult to ascertain their character with precision. The effigy of the knight may be fourteenth century.

Southey, of course, paid a visit to this retired and romantic spot, but saw at once that the real dates are much later than the traditional ones. Had the inscription mentioned by Pennant existed at the time of his visit, it is incredible that he would not have mentioned the fact. Southey informed his daughter that the peasants attending the church services seemed to have brought their dinners with them, and used to sharpen their knives on these stones; and if so, it is not surprising that the letters have been effaced. The late Lady Marshall, granddaughter of Dr. Parr, the learned Grecian, says in a note to her poem, *A Prince of Wales Long Ago*, that after the poem was written she and some friends paid a visit to this churchyard, and found the tomb of Iorwerth with an effigy of Llywelyn re-

posing thereon; but on the shield between the lions rampant was a date of the nineteenth century. The visitors were informed that J. J., a wealthy farmer, having died, the coffin-lid had been lifted up, and the body deposited beneath. Whether this story has any foundation or not, it is evident that Lady Marshall did not observe the inscription, although she found lions on the shield, which up to that time had not been discovered. She evidently thinks the said lions were the heraldic badge of Iorwerth, which they were not.

Little is known of Welsh heraldry in early times, except that it was very different from that of England of the same period. The ordinary charges of chevron, fess, bend, etc., are not found in Welsh coats, which were either those of families or tribes. The usual charge is that of animals with which they were acquainted, such as wolves, bears, eagles, ravens, etc., for it was not until the Edwardian period that lions came into fashion. So that unless the effigy is much later than the time of Yorwerth, Lady Marshall's lions existed only in her imagination.

The true history of this effigy must still be considered doubtful. All that can be said about it is that the form of the shield is that of the fourteenth century; and that it is not probable that so many years after his death his memory was so much revered that some Welsh gentleman would have caused this monument to be made for him. On the other hand, Pennant's statement cannot be set aside, however unsupported it is by others. Perhaps the whole story of this unaccountable, mad act has no foundation in fact. But an explanation of the difficulty may be suggested, namely, that the two monuments are those of some distinguished knight and his wife. If not exactly of the same age, the difference, apparently, is so small that they may be the gravestones of man and wife. They were, no doubt, originally within the church of the time.

E. L. BARNWELL.

## SIR WILLIAM STANLEY.

WHATEVER the custom of using the same Christian name in a family may have in its favour, there are certainly some disadvantages attached to it, one being the difficulty often thereby occasioned of distinguishing between two individuals; and, no doubt, it is a fruitful source of confusion in our histories and genealogies. The father becomes confused with the son or grandson; and two cousins of the same name are frequently involved in an unity of historical, though enjoying a duality of corporeal personalities. Some such confusion seems to surround the name of Sir William Stanley, and it would be well if more light could be thrown upon the subject.

As is well known, the Stanleys deduce their line of descent from the house of Alditheley, now Audley, which is itself sprung from that of Verdon; and the family, though now connected with Cheshire, was originally of Staffordshire origin. Talk-on-the-Hill, one of the seven townships of the parish of Audley, which is situated five miles north-west of Newcastle-under-Lyne, is said to have belonged to the family of Verdon of Alton before the Norman conquest. Adam (Verdon) de Aldeleigh or Audley had two sons, Lidulph, ancestor of the Lords Audley, and Adam, whose son William exchanged the manor of Talk with his cousin for that of Standleigh, by which he was subsequently designated. An old book of pedigrees in the possession of the family of Madocks, of Vron Iw, has the following: "Audley Lord Audley bore aunciently B 3 chusoes (or chrysoes or butterflies) A; and leaving that bearing, bore G fretty O in imitation of Verdon (as may be supposed), who bore O fretty G, of whom the manor of Audley was held; and the first Audley is by some supposed to be a younger brother of Verdon, who was most

evidently a man of great possessions ; and Nicholas of Verdon gave to the Audleys the manor of Audley, from which they derive their surname."

Sir William d'Audley "als. Stanley" (as the *Cheshire Visitation* of 1580 calls him), great-grandson of the last mentioned William Stanley, married Johanna or Joan, the eldest daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Bamville (*or*, on a chief *gu.* three trefoils *argt.*) and Agnes, his wife, daughter and coheir of Alexander Silvester of Stourton (*argt.*, on a mount a tree *vert*). This connected the family with Cheshire, Stourton being in that county. Their son John succeeded to Stanley and Stourton, and by Mabel, his wife, daughter of Sir James Hanshett, had a son and successor, Sir William Stanley the elder, living in 1352, who married Alice, daughter of Hugh Massey of Timperley (quarterly, *argt.* and *gu.*, over all a bend *az.*), by Agnes, daughter of John Leigh of Boothes (*az.*, two bars *argt.*, over all a bend *gu.*). They had two sons : 1st, Sir William Stanley the younger ; and 2ndly, Sir John Stanley ; and it is of the descendants of these two progenitors, and their connection with Wales, that we intend to speak.

Sir John Stanley, the second son, married Isabella, daughter and sole heir of Sir Thomas Lathom or Leatham of Lancashire (*or*, on a chief *az.* three plates), the descendant of Robert Fitz-Henry, founder of Burscough Priory, and had issue by her two sons : Sir John Stanley, Steward of the House to King Henry IV ; and Thomas Stanley, *jure uxoris*, of Elford in the county of Stafford. The Elford estate had been in the family of Arderne (*gu.*, three crosslets fitchées and a chief *or*) since the time of Henry III at least, when John de Arderne held it ; sixth in descent from whom came another Sir John Arderne, who married Katherine, daughter and heir of Sir Richard Stafford, Lord Stafford of Clifton (*or*, a chevron *gu.* inter three martlets *sa.*). She brought in the estates of Clifton-Camville, Pipe, Haseloure, and Statfold, co. Stafford, and was mother of Sir John Arderne, who, by Mathildis his wife



(*argt.*, a cross patonce *gu.*, voided of the field,—Pilkington) had issue a daughter and heiress, Mathildis or Maud, Baroness Stafford of Clifton, and wife of the before mentioned Thomas Stanley, second son of Sir John; which said Thomas Stanley was Sheriff of Staffordshire in the twelfth year of Henry VI, and their son and heir, Sir John Stanley, was Sheriff in the twenty-ninth year of the same King.

So far the pedigree is sufficiently clear; but from this point it becomes very confused. According to the *Visitation* of 1580 (Harl. MS. 1424), this John Stanley of Elford married, 1st, Maud, by whom he had issue,—1, Sir John of Elford (*obt.* 1509), to whom no issue is given; and 2, Sir Humphrey Stanley of Pipe, who died 1505, leaving issue. He married, 2ndly, Isabel, daughter of Sir Richard Vernon, by whom he had three daughters married to three knights. He married, 3rdly, Dowse, daughter of —— Ligh of Baguley, by whom he had Roger Stanley, who, by Jane, daughter of John Clark of Yorkshire, was father of John Stanley of Alderley in Cheshire. According to Harl. MS. 2187, Sir John Stanley married, 1st, Matilda, relict of John Vampage, Attorney to the King, by whom he had issue, John de Elford, elder son, and Humphrey de Stone et Pipe (*obt.* 1505), second son; of whom the elder, John, had issue, by Elizabeth his wife, three daughters, coheirs: 1, Margery, wife of William Staunton; 2, Matilda, wife of John Ferrers of Tamworth; and 3, Anne, wife of Christopher Savage of co. Worcester. Humphrey had by Elianor his wife, daughter and heir of Sir James Lee of Stone, five children, viz.: 1, Sir John of Pipe, who, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Gerard, had two daughters; 2, William, who, by a daughter of Comberford, had a daughter Dorothea, wife of Christopher Henningham; 3, Humphrey, a priest, of Clifton; 4, Matilda, wife of Thomas Wolverston; and 5, Alicia, wife of Thomas Swinerton. Sir John of Elford married, 2ndly, Dulcia, daughter of — Leighe of Baguleigh, by whom he had Roger, his third son. He married, 3rdly,

Isabella, daughter of Theobald Verdon, by whom he had three daughters: Alice, wife of Sir John Moton, Knt.; Catherine, wife of Sir William Vampage, Knt.; and Isabella, wife of Sir Hugh Peshall, Knt.

There is, however, a third statement of the case, supported by documentary evidence, from which it appears that Sir John Stanley had by his first wife a son John, killed in infancy, and John Stanley; and by his second wife, Isabella, daughter of Sir Richard Vernon of the Peak (sometimes called Pembruge, from his mother), he had issue, Sir Humphrey, who had issue, 1, Sir John (*obt.* 23 June 1514, aged thirty-three), who married Margaret Gerrard, and had issue, Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Hercey; and Isabel, wife of Walter Moyle; 2, William, whose daughter Dorothy married Christopher Heveningham, born April 1540; and 3, Maud, wife of Thomas Wolferston of Statfold, whose son Humphrey, however, married Katherine, heiress of John Stanley of Thoresby, and thus represented the eldest branch of the family. On March 25th, 1564, Sir John Hercey gives a power of attorney to John Stanley of Thowrysbye to deliver certain covenants to Christopher Heveningham; and this John Stanley is called son of Sir John Stanley of Thoresby, and grandson of Sir John who married Isabella Vernon. There was considerable litigation between the descendants of the two brothers on account of their conflicting interests. In another place, however, this John Stanley (with what truth I know not) is called son of John Stanley, son of Humphrey Stanley.

In the Cathedral at Lichfield is a monument to one of the Stanley family, which is generally attributed to this Humphrey. He is represented under an arch, the upper half of his person naked; and from his waist downwards is an apron or covering, on which is the paternal coat (*argt.*, on a bend *az.*, three bucks' heads caboshed *or*). His knees and feet are in armour. A sword is by his side. His hands are raised, as in prayer, and the head reclines upon a pillow. On the base of the monument are four compartments with shields; in

the first and fourth of which are the arms of Stanley impaling *or*, three chevronels *gu.* (Clare). The monument is probably one placed to mark the penitence of some one who had incurred the displeasure of the Church; and from the sketch of it in Shaw's *History of Staffordshire*, Plate XXIV, it would appear that the hands have a small scroll dependent from them, while over the head and under the feet are stags' antlers.

It is related that Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, stationed some of his troops at Tamworth on his way to Bosworth, and some at Elford, where the Lord Derby slept that night at his cousin Stanley's.

In the year 1489, Henry VII, in the presence of the great officers of the state, decreed that Sir Humphrey Stanley should not interrupt the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield in repairing the pipes to bring water from the springs near his manor of Pipe.

Sir Humphrey married, as second wife, Elleyn, daughter and heir of Sir James Lee of Aston, near Stone (*sa.*, a scythe *arg.*), co. Stafford, and was buried in the Chapel of St. Nicholas, in Westminster Abbey, with an effigy in knightly habiliments, and the following inscription: "Hic jacet Humfridus Stanley, miles, pro corpore excellentissimi Principis Henrici Septimi regis Anglie, qui obiit 12 Martii anno Dom' millessimo quingentesimo quinto cujus animæ propitiatur Deus, Amen." At each corner of the tomb was a shield of brass, and in the centre a large one containing a quartered coat: 1, Stanley and Lathom; 2, Stafford of Clifton; 3, Pype; 4, Camville. He has been accused, as the following shows, of some deeds of violence. Sir Philip Chetwind married Elene, daughter and heir of Thomas de la Roche of Birmingham and Bromwich, and relict of Sir Edmund Ferrers, and died in the twenty-fourth year of Henry VI, leaving William, his grandchild, his heir, who afterwards became gentleman-usher to Henry VII, and was so much envied by Sir Humphrey Stanley of Pipe, one of the knights of the body to the said King, and Sheriff of Staffordshire in the

ninth year of Henry VII, that by means of a counterfeit letter in the name of Randolph Brereton, Esq., delivered on the night of the Friday before the Feast of St. John Baptist's Nativity, requesting him to meet him at Stafford next morning by five o'clock; being allured out of his house at Ingestre, and passing thitherwards with his son and two servants, he was waylaid upon Tixall Heath by no less than twenty persons, whereof seven were of the said Sir Humphrey's own family; some with bows, and others with spears, all armed with brigandines and coats of mail; who issuing out of a sheepcote and a steep, dry pit, furiously assaulted him, saying he should die, and accordingly killed him; the said Sir Humphrey at that time passing by with at least twenty-four persons on horseback, with pretence of hunting a deer.

As previously observed, Maud, daughter of Sir Humphrey Stanley, married Thomas Wolfreston, and had issue, Humphrey Wolfreston, who married Katherine, daughter and heir of John Stanley, thus uniting the two lines. Their son, Hercy or Hersey Wolfreston (*sa.*, a fess wavy inter three wolf's heads erased *or*), married Frances, daughter of Ralph Egerton of Betley, by Frances, daughter and elder coheir of Sir Ralph Egerton of Wrinehill (*gu.*, a fess *ermine* inter three pheons, points downwards, *argt.*), and Anne his wife, daughter of Sir Edward Fitton of Gawsorth, co. Chester. They had issue, a son and heir, Francis Wolfreston, who married Frances, the eldest of twenty-two children of George Middlemore of Haslewell, and had issue, Anne (1662), wife of Edward Arblaster of Arblaster Hall, co. Stafford. It will be subsequently understood why this, the Elford line of Stanley, has been continued so far.

We return to Sir John Stanley, Steward of the House to King Henry IV (*obt.* 1431), who, it may be remembered, was elder brother of Thomas Stanley of Elford *jure uxoris*. Sir John Stanley married Elizabeth, sister to Sir William Harrington, whose pedigree is thus deduced in the *Cheshire Visitation* of 1580. Sir John

Harrington, brother to the Lord Harrington (*sa.*, fretty *argt.* a label of three points *or*), had a son and heir, Sir William Harrington, who by Margaret his wife, daughter and coheir of Sir Robert Nevill of Hornby, had issue, Sir Thomas, slain at Wakefield in 1461, who had, by Elizabeth his wife, three sons, of whom the eldest, Sir John, was slain with his father at Wakefield, but left issue by Maud his wife, daughter of John Lord Clifford, two daughters, who apparently became coheirs of their brother Sir William. Of these, Elizabeth, the elder, married, 1stly, John Stanley; and 2ndly, Richard Beaumont; and Anne, her sister, was wife of Edward Stanley, Lord Mounteagle. This John Stanley was made Constable of Carnarvon Castle in 5 Henry VI, and in the seventeenth year of the same reign, being Groom of the Bedchamber to the King, he had given to him the custody of the lands lately held by Nicholas Saxton, deceased, in Carnarvonshire and Flintshire, and was further made Constable of Carnarvon, with £40 *per an.*, Sheriff of Anglesey with £20 *per an.*, and knighted. So says Collins in his *Peerage*, vol. iii, p. 36. But there seems to be some confusion here.

We are further told that he had issue, four sons: 1, Sir Thomas; 2, Sir William, who married the Countess of Worcester; 3, Sir John of Weever; and 4, James, Archdeacon of Chester. Another authority, however (and with this the *Visitation* agrees), more correctly states these to have been his grandchildren; and that the above Sir John Stanley died in 1431, when he was succeeded by his son Sir Thomas, called "King of Man", who, the *Visitation* adds, was the first Lord Stanley, and Comptroller of the Household to Henry VI. This Sir Thomas, Lord Stanley, married "Jone, d. and heire to S<sup>r</sup> Robt. Gowsell and of his wife Ellin, d. to Rich. Erle of Arundell, widow to T. Mowbray, D. of Norff.", and had issue: "1, Thomas Stanley, Erle of Darby; 2, S<sup>r</sup> Wm. Stanley of Holt, Chamberlaine to K. H. 7, decollat<sup>s</sup> 1494; 3, John Stanley of Weever in com. Cestriæ; 4, James, Archdeacon of Chester; 5, Margaret,

wife of Sir William Troutbeck ; 6, Anne, wife of Sir Richard Molineux ; 7, Katherine, wife of Sir John Savage." The aforesaid Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Robert Goushill, was of no mean lineage, her mother being Ellin (or Elizabeth), eldest daughter and coheir of Richard Fitzalan, K.G., beheaded 1397, the fourteenth Earl of Arundel and Earl of Surrey by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton. This Richard, fourteenth Earl, was the son of Richard, thirteenth Earl of Arundel, by his second wife, Eleanor Plantagenet, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, and widow of John Lord Beaumont. Sir Robert Goushill was of Heveringham Castle, co. Notts.

If we follow the senior male descent, few families unite in themselves more illustrious blood than this line of Stanley. Thus, Thomas, the first Earl, married Eleanor, daughter of Richard Nevill and Alice de Montacute, and died in 1504. His son, George Lord Strange, of Knockyn, co. Salop, died 5 Dec. 1497, having married Jane, daughter and heir of John Lord Strange of Knockyn, and Jaquet, sister of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV. It is from his second son, Sir James, the present Earl of Derby is descended. The son and heir of his grandfather, Thomas, second Earl, who died in 1521, married Anne, daughter of Edward Lord Hastings ; and their son Edward, third Earl, who died 4 Dec. 1574, married Lady Dorothy Howard (Harl. MS. 1155), daughter of Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, and Lady Elizabeth Stafford his wife, daughter of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and Lady Alianora, daughter of Henry Percy, K.G., Earl of Northumberland, and Lady Maud Herbert, daughter of William Earl of Pembroke. Their eldest son, Henry, succeeded as fourth Earl Derby. The second son, Sir Thomas, married Margaret, daughter and heir of Sir George Vernon of Tong Castle, co. Salop, and Haddon Hall, co. Derby ; while of the daughters, Lady Mary was wife of Edward Lord Stafford ; and Lady Jane was wife of Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley.

But we must rather turn our attention to the second son of the first Lord Stanley, Sir William Stanley of Holt, who, it may be remembered, was greatly instrumental in the victory of Bosworth Field. The Stanleys had been close followers of the White Rose; but like the Staffords and others, were estranged from their allegiance by the repulsive character of Richard III, especially when it was generally known or believed that he had imbrued his hands in the blood of his nephews.

Sir William Stanley was connected with Wales, having received a grant for life of the office of Justice of North Wales, 12 November, 1 Richard III; and also a grant of the castles and lordships of Dinas Bran, Holt, Hewlyngton, Bromfield, Yale, Wrexham, Burton, Horselli, Ridley, Iscoed, Hem Cobham, Almer Cobham, Yscoed, Eclusham, Eglwysegle, Rhuabon, Abenbury, Dynnill Morton, Bedwall, Pickhill, Sessewick, Sonford, Osselston, etc., “et alias raglotarias, officia, reversiones, servicia, et hereditamenta quecumque cum suis pertin’ que fuerunt Johannis nuper Ducis Norff’ et Georgii Nevile Militis seu alterius eorum”, etc. (Vide *Arch. Camb.*, April 1882, p. 150 *et seq.*) This grant was made 10 Dec., 2 Richard III, and especially mentions the aid which that monarch had received from Sir William in maintaining his right and title to the crown of England.

And now we may recall what has been previously said, namely, that — Stanley had given to him the custody of the lands lately held by Nicholas Saxton, deceased, in Carnarvonshire and Flintshire; and since a generation has been missed out in the previous pedigree, we might well believe that the said lands were referred to the present Sir William Stanley rather than Sir John, especially if we have evidence to that effect; and such, indeed, we have, for in a MS. of Flintshire and Denbighshire pedigrees (Harl. MS. 1971, fol. 160) occurs the following: Ithel Vychan of Northop (Inglefield), 29 Edward I, married Alice, daughter of Richard ab Cadwalader, and had issue,—David; Tudor of Mos-

ton and Northop; Alice, wife of Robert ab Iorwerth ab Ririd ab Iorwerth, etc., to Ednowain Bendew; and others.

David had issue, a son named Hywel Gwyneth, who was beheaded by the inhabitants of Flint "in the rebellious tyme of Owen Glyndower, and his lands given to Bryan Saxon, who married Jonnett, daughter to Edward Stanley, and had Nicholas Saxon, who died without issue." Tudor (ab Ithel Vychan of Moston) married Ermynallt, daughter of Madoc ab Llywelyn ab Gruffudd, and had issue, Hywel, who married Lleiky, daughter of Rees ab Rotpert, by whom he had a sole daughter and heiress, Angharad, who was twice married,—one husband being Ieuan Vychan ab Ieuan ab Adda of Pengwern, by whom she had issue, Rees, Ithel, and Hywel; the two former of whom were imprisoned in the Castle of Hereford, and "after drowned in Seavern". The other husband of Angharad the heiress was Edmund Stanley, called "2nd sonne to Sir William Stanley of Hooton, Knt.", by whom she had issue, Sir William Stanley the Judge, "who had all the lands", Jonnett, and others.

This Jonnett married, firstly, Bryan Saxton, and secondly, John Aer Conway, by whom she had, with other issue, a daughter Jonnett, wife of John ab Kendrick ab Ithel Vychan of Plase yn Llanasa. This Ithel Vychan was son of Cynric (or Kendrick) ab Rotpert, mentioned above as husband of Alice, daughter of Ithel Vychan of Northop. However, in the *Golden Grove Book*, under the pedigree of Conway of Bodrhyddan, John Conway is said to marry "Jenett, daughter of Edmund Stanley, son of Piers, son of Sir William Stanley." Add. MS. 9864 (Brit. Mus.) says John aer y Conway married "Janet verch Edd. Stanley ab Sir William o' Hootton, relict Brian Saxton ap S'r W'm ap S'r W'm ap S'r W'm ap W'm Audley o' Stanneley, ap John Lord Audley"; while Lewis Dwnn, under the same pedigree, says John Conway married Janet, daughter of Edmund Stanley ab Sir William Stanley. Her mother was



Angharad ab Hywel ab Tydyr ab Ithel Vychan of Mostyn, ab Ithel Llwyd ab Ithel Gam ab Meredydd ab Uchtryd ab Edwin of Tegaingl.

Now we naturally ask, who, then, was Sir William Stanley? Lewis Dwnn says Sir William Stanley married Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Sir John Heighleigh. The passage is as follows: "Edward Stanley, esqre., sonne and heire to Pyrs Staneley, esqre., ap Pyrs Stanley, esq., ap Pyrs Stanley ap S'r William Stanley, Kt., ab Sir William Stanley ap Sir William Stanley ap Sir Wm. Stanley ap Sir Wm. Stanley ap Sir Wm. Stanley ap Sir John Awdley, Kt." He then says Sir William Stanley married Margery, sole heir to Sir John Heley, Knt.; and in the footnote by Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick it says, "Sir William Stanley was the man who, by surrounding Richard III at the critical moment, decided the fate of the battle of Bosworth. He and Lord Stanley both turned traitors to their sovereign", etc. Pyrs Stanley, Armig. (the son of Sir William), married Kwnstance verch Thomas Salsbri, Esq., and had issue, Pyrs Stanley, etc. In the notes it says this Thomas Salsbri was of Llyweni; and at another place, that the issue of the above match of Pyrs Stanley and Constance Salisbury was Piers, Fowke, Sion, Harri, Edwart, Tomas, William, Anne, Elsbeth, Catrin, Margery; while in another note we are told that the office of Escheator and Sheriff of Merioneth was granted by Henry VII. "22 Sep. j regni, Petro Stanley", which he held to the 1st Henry VIII. The lordship and manor of Ewloe was leased by the latter monarch, 7 April, in the twenty-sixth year (1535), "Petro Stanley Ar' uni generos' camer' n're." Edward Stanley of Harlech is witness to a deed of 22 Augt. 1558, and was Sheriff of Merioneth in 1545, 1553, and 1560. Vincent (135, fo. 298, *Coll. Arm.*, says that Peter, second son of Sir William Stanley of Hoton, Knt., married Margery, daughter and heir of William de Highleigh, and that this Peter or Piers was living 35 Henry VI.

In his researches in the Record Office, the writer

finds, in 1509-10, 14th January, a lease to Peter Stanley of the town and lordship of Ewloe, with coal mines, for four years from Michaelmas last, at £20 10s.,—sureties, Richard Mutton and Ralph Foxlowe; in 1511, Dec. 8, a lease of the perquisites of the court of the town of Flint, for twenty-one years, at 23s. 4d.—sureties, Thomas Venables, Arm., and James Conway; and at the same date, a lease of the manor and lordship of Ewloe for twenty years, at £20 10s.—sureties, Thomas Venables, Arm., and James Conway. There is a long roll of proceedings relative to the manor of Harwarden and the possessions of the Stanleys (*vide* press-list of Welsh records, No. 5a, Chester, Henry VIII). In an article by the Chevalier Lloyd (*Arch. Camb.*, January 1873, p. 64), speaking of Ewloe, he says it was reckoned an appurtenance of the manor of Montalto or Mold, and adds the following pedigree, apparently from Lewis Dwnn:—

Sir William Stanley, Knt., standard-bearer to Richard III at the battle of Bosworth = Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Sir John Heley or Heighleigh, Knt.

Pyers Stanley of Ewloe Castle, Esq., appointed Escheator and Sheriff of Merionethshire, 22 Sept., 1 Henry VII (1485) = Constance, daughter of Thos. Salusbury Hen, of Llyweni, Esq.

1, Pyers Stanley, of Ewloe Castle, Esq.	= Janet, d. of Sir Thos. Button, Knt.	2, Ffoulk 3, John 4, Harri	5, Edward Stanley of Harlech, M.P. for Merioneth, 1542; appointed Constable of Harlech Castle by letters patent, dated 26 March, 5 Edward VI (1558)
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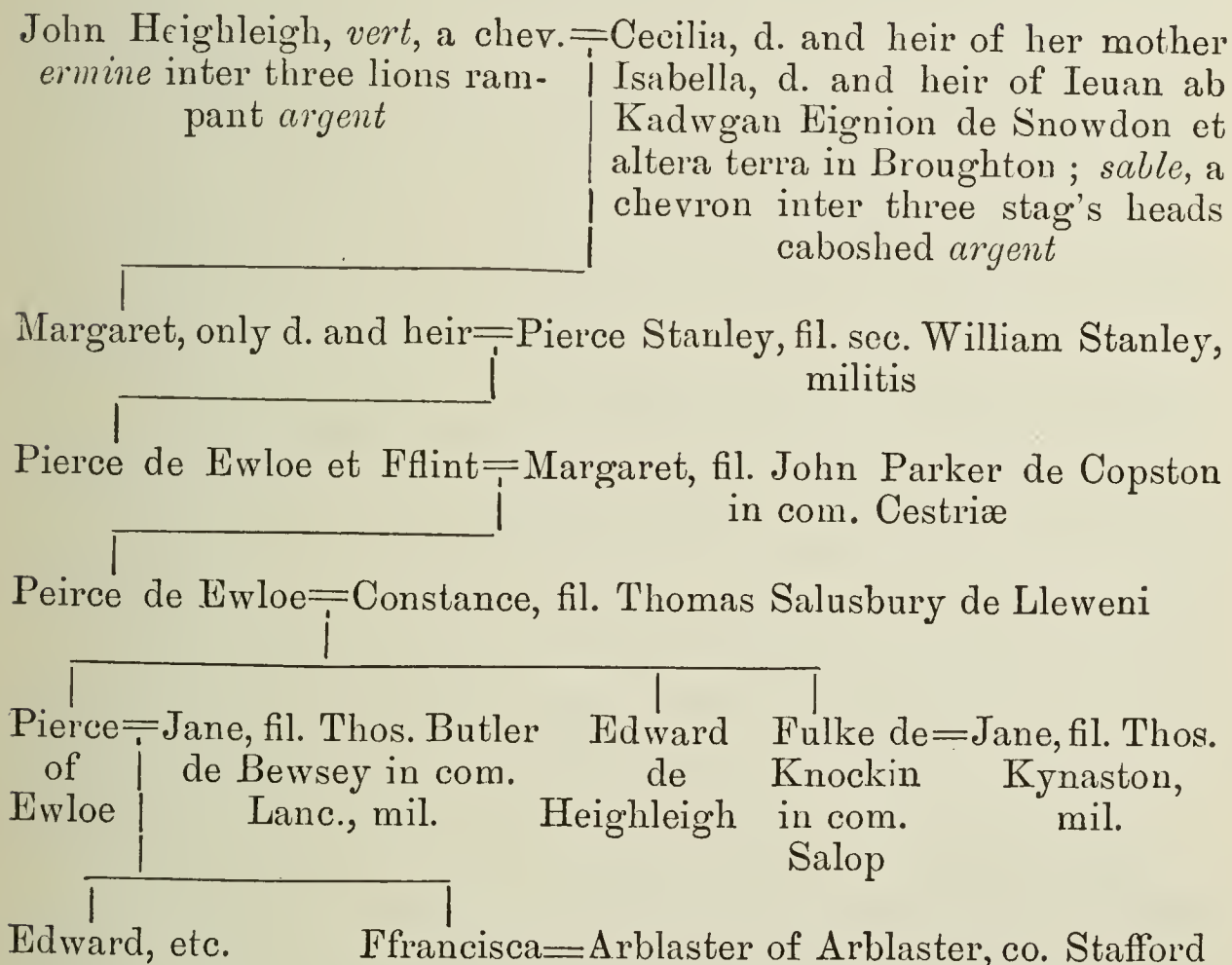
Pyers Stanley, of Ewloe Castle, Esq. = Jane, d. of ... Parker  
6, Thomas  
7, William

Edward Stanley, of Ewloe Castle, Esq., living 1597 = Margaret, d. of Sir James Stanley, Knt.

Robert Stanley, of Ewloe Castle, Esq. = Alice, d. of Thomas Salusbury, of Flint, third son of Sir Thomas Salusbury, of Llyweni, Knt.

Anne, heiress of Ewloe Castle = John Mostyn, of Coed On, Esq., of the house of Mostyn of Mostyn.

Some further information is thrown upon the subject by the following pedigree taken from Harl. MS. 2187, fol. 107:



Now, from a careful study of the above authorities, and collating the several pedigrees, it seems evident that Sir William Stanley of Hooton, who is identified by Lewys Dwnn and others with Sir William Stanley of Holt, brother of the first Earl of Derby, and standard-bearer at Bosworth, married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Hopton, and heir to her brother Sir Walter. She was, firstly, wife of Sir Roger Corbet of Morton Corbet; secondly, of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester; and her third husband was this Sir William Stanley, called in the Corbet pedigree Sir William Stanley of Tatton. By her Sir William Stanley had issue an eldest son, William (*Visitation of Cheshire*, 1580), called of Tatton, because he married Jane, daughter and heir of Sir Geoffrey Massy of Tatton; and also a second son, Piers Stanley (Latinized *Petrus*), who married Margaret, the daughter and sole heir of Sir John Heighleigh.

Their son Piers married Margaret, daughter and heir of John or James Parker, of Copshall, by Margaret, daughter and heir of Wettall of Copenhall or Copnall (Harl. MS. 1971), whose son Piers was of Ewlo, *temp.* Henry VIII, and married Constance, daughter of Thos. Salisbury of Llewenny; and their daughter Anne married Robert Charleton of Apley, co. Salop.

There is, however, a difficulty as to the identity of this Sir William Stanley, because, if we return to the pedigree, it will be observed that Sir William Stanley the elder left an elder son, Sir William Stanley the younger, who married Margery, daughter and heir of Sir William Hooton of Hooton, co. Chester; whose son, Sir William Stanley of Stanley Stourton and Hooton (living 4 Henry VI), married Margery or Blanche, daughter of Sir John Arderne of Hawarden or Harden (*gu.*, three crosslets fitché *or*, and a chief of the last); and their son, William Stanley, Esq., of Hooton was living 10 Henry VI; and by Mary his wife, daughter of Sir John Savage, had issue, William Stanley of Hooton, Esq., and, as some say, Piers of Ewloe; but others make him his brother, and so younger son of Sir William Stanley and Blanche Arderne. (Harl. MS. 1971.)

If this be the correct version of the matter, then the lands of Bryan or Nicholas Saxton or Saxon were not only not granted to the before mentioned John or William Stanley, as our authority says, but were not even granted to one of that line of the family at all, having fallen to the lot of their third or fourth cousin.

The Stanleys of Hooton, as far as Sir William, would bear—1, *arg.*, on a bend *az.*, three buck's heads cabossed *or* (Stanley); 2, *or*, on a chief *gu.*, three trefoils *arg.* (Bamvile); 3, *arg.*, a tree eradicated *vert* (Silvester); 4, *arg.*, on a bend *vert* three mullets *or* (Hooton).

Further, we must say that those authorities who declare this Sir William Stanley, founder of the Ewloe line, to be the commander or standard-bearer at Bosworth, are in error; and it will be found that this error

is sufficiently wide-spread. *The Visitation of Cheshire*, of 1580, does not touch upon the subject, since, after the manner of the English heralds, they leave out branches of a family which migrate into another county, and enter their pedigree under their new place of abode. *The Golden Grove Book* seems correct in calling Edmund (or Edward) Stanley, who married Angharad, daughter and heir of Hywel ab Tydyr ab Ithel Vychan, the son of Piers ab Sir William Stanley; and from the match with his daughter, the name of Piers seems to have passed into the family of Conway, and to the descendants of John ab Cynric ab Ithel Vaughan, who are said by Morris of Shrewsbury to have obtained their Chilton estate, near Shrewsbury, through this match with Conway.

But we return to the undoubted Sir William Stanley of Holt, whose elder brother was Thomas Earl of Derby, and whose younger brother John married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Thomas Weever of Weever, and so founded that branch of the family. His sister Margaret married, 1stly, Sir William Troutbeck of Prynnes Castle in Werrall, slain at Bloreheath; 2ndly, Sir John Butler; and 3rdly, Lord Grey of Codnor. It was their second son Adam, heir of his brother, who left an only daughter and heir, Margaret, who carried many of the Troutbeck estates to her husband, Sir John Talbot of Grafton. Katherine, another sister of Sir William Stanley, married Sir John Savage, brother of Margaret Savage, wife of Sir William Stanley of Hooton. Their son, Sir John Savage, K.G., was slain at Bollein when Henry VII laid siege to it; and by Dorothy his wife, daughter and heir to Ralfe Vernon of Shepbrooke, had issue, Sir John, who continued the line; Alice, wife of Sir William Brereton of Brereton; Isabel, wife of Needham of Shavington, co. Salop; and Anne, wife of Sir John Hampden of Hampden, who died 20th Dec. 1553, leaving coheirs, of whom Katherine was wife of Henry Ferrers of Baddesley, co. Warwick.

But there is connected with this Sir John Savage,

K.G., a matter of interest if not of edification, which tends to show not a very high state of morality in the clergy before the Reformation. Besides his legitimate issue, Sir John, K.G., had a natural son, George Savage, priest and parson of Dunham, who, we are told, "begatt these 7 bastards by 3 sundry women", one of whom, "Edmund Boner, was first Archdeacon of Lecest'r, and after twice Bishop of London, and third hope; but god cutt him short, and was buried like a doge." His mother (a note tells us) was "Elizabeth Ffrodesham, who died at Ffulham in King Ed. vj time, when Boner was prisoner in the Marshalsey, who, notwithstanding, gave for her mourning coates at her death."

The arms, as borne by Sir William Stanley of Holt, were,—1, *argt.*, on a bend *az.* three buck's heads caboshed *or* (Stanley); 2, *or*, on a chief indented *az.* three plates (Lathom); 3, barry of six *or* and *az.*, a canton *ermine* (Goushill); 4, *gu.*, a lion rampant *or* (Fitzalan). By his wife, Elizabeth Countess of Worcester, he had issue, at least a son, Sir William Stanley, and a daughter, Jane. It is related that Sir William of Holt was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 16th of February 1494-5, for complicity in the attempt to place Perkin Warbeck, otherwise the Duke of York, upon the throne.

On the 25th of June in the same year, Henry VII "did take his progress into Lancashire, to make merrie with his mother, the Countess of Derby, who then laie at Lathome in that county. It is traditionally said that while there Henry ascended the roof of the tower, whence a fine view of the surrounding neighbourhood could be obtained, but which was ill defended by battlements; and while standing near the edge he overheard the family jester, who noted his position, whisper to Lord Derby, "Tom, remember Will", upon which his Majesty quickly retired from so hazardous a position.

Sir William's daughter, Jane, married Sir John Warburton, Knight of the Body to Henry VIII; and their son, Sir Piers Warburton, who died 5th July, 4 Edward VI, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of

Richard Winnington of Winnington and Katharine, fifth daughter and co-heir of Robert Grosvenor of Holme. They had, with others, a son and heir and a daughter, Anne, wife of Sir Edward Fitton of Gaws-worth (*argent*, a canton *gules*, over all on a bend *azure*, three garbs *or*), by whom she had issue Anne Fitton, wife of Sir Ralph Egerton of Wrinehill, co. Stafford. They had two daughters, co-heirs—1. Frances, wife of Ralph Egerton of Betley, and by him mother of Frances, the wife of Captain Hercy Wolferston, previously mentioned; and 2, Anne, wife of Thomas Arblaster of Arblaster, co. Stafford, whose grandson, Edward Arblaster (son of Captain Edward Arblaster) married Anne, daughter of Francis Wolferston (son of Hercy), and had issue Edmund Arblaster.

Sir John Warburton of Arley, the son and heir, died in 1575, having married Mary, daughter of Sir William Brereton of Brereton, by whom he had issue, with others, a son and heir, Peter (who left eight daughters co-heirs), and a daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Sir William Booth of Dunham Massey, *obt.* 1579, and mother of Sir George Booth, whose son Sir George was ancestor of the late Earl of Stamford and Warrington, and whose daughter Susan married Sir William Brereton of Hanford, and was mother of an heiress, Frances, wife of Edward Lord Dudley and Ward, from whom descend the co-heirs of the Barony of Dudley, but not the present Earl of Dudley, who derives from William, a younger brother of this Edward. William, the son of Sir William Stanley of Holt, was called of Tatton, having married Jane, daughter and heir of Sir Geoffrey Massey of Tatton, with whom he acquired that property. According to Ormerod, their daughter and heir Joan (or Jane) married 1stly, John, son of Sir Thomas Ashton of Ashton-on-Mersey, co. Chester, who died 1513; and 2ndly, Sir Richard Brereton, younger son of Sir Randle Brereton of Malpas, and had issue Richard, *obt. s. p.*, Geoffrey and Anne. The *Cheshire Visitation* does not mention the first husband, and

gives as issue of Sir Richard Brereton only Richard and Anne. Of these, Anne married 1stly, John Booth of Barton, living 1540; and 2ndly, Sir William Davenport of Bromhall; and Geoffrey married Alice, daughter of Piers Leycester of Tabley, by whom, according to Ormerod, he had a son, Richard, who married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley, but died *s. p.*, and a daughter Anne, who also died *s. p.*, so that the representation would vest in the issue of Anne the sister of Geoffrey Brereton, if indeed she left any issue; but she seems not to have done so, in which case the representation goes back to the descendants of Jane, daughter of Sir William Stanley of Holt, and her husband, Sir John Warburton, of whom we have previously spoken, and shewn that they are very numerous.

It is curious how a Staffordshire family, like that of Arblaster, became so frequently connected with Wales. Edmund (or Edward) Arblaster (the son of Edward and Anne Wolferston) married Mary, daughter of Edmund Littleton of Pilaton and Susannah Biddulph, and died in 1732, leaving, among other issue, Mary, born 1708-9, wife of William Turner and Richard, born 1709, who married Mary, granddaughter of Ferrers Fowke of Wyrley Grove, co. Stafford, and left issue Richard, who was the last male representative of the family, and Mary, finally only representative of her line, wife of Robert Hanbury of Norton, baptized 21 October 1736, whose only child, Sarah Hanbury, married Daniel Turner, son and heir of Henry, son of the above William Turner and Mary Arblaster. This Mary Turner married Catherine, elder daughter and co-heir of Thomas Jordan and Catherine his wife, sister and co-heir of Ferdinand Dudley Lea, Lord Dudley.

These particulars were confirmed by the late W. Hanbury, Esq., of Morton, gentleman, nephew of the above Robert Hanbury, whose great-grandfather, Francis Hanbury, married, as is generally stated in the pedigrees, Elizabeth, *daughter* and heir of Sir Richard



Hussey, who had an interest in the lands of Norton, etc.; but the dates are somewhat conflicting, and, probably, it is a mistake for *granddaughter*; this Elizabeth being daughter of Vincent Hussey and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir John Bridgman, which Vincent was son of Sir Richard Hussey and Mary Corbet his wife. Sir John Bridgman died at Ludlow, 5th February 1637, being connected with the Court of the Marches; the family came from Suffolk, and his father, according to Additional MSS. 14, 314, Brit. Mus. (or grandfather, according to Harl. MS. 1982), Edward Bridgman, who was living in 1592, married Mary, daughter and heir of William Charlton of Apley, whose father, Francis, was the son of Robert Charlton of Apley and Anne his wife, daughter of Piers Stanley of Ewloe, co. Flint.

We have now laid before our readers the several strands in this entangled genealogical web of the Stanley Pedigree; we have shewn that there were two Sir William Stanleys of different branches of the family connected with Wales, unless indeed he who is so constantly called Sir William Stanley of Hooton is the same as Sir William Stanley of Holt, which seems to be the opinion of some of our acknowledged authorities; however there is grave manuscript authority against such a supposition, and the dates are against it, otherwise it is possible, so far as the pedigree goes, since we have authority for believing that it was Piers, second son of Sir William, who married the heiress of Sir John Heighleigh, not Sir William himself, who might thus be the husband of Lady Worcester as Sir William of Holt certainly was. Some confirmation of this might also be drawn from the fact that the lands of Nicholas Saxton are stated to have been granted to Sir John Stanley, who was grandfather of Sir William of Holt; and we find as a fact that Sir William Stanley's posterity did actually enjoy these lands, but this Sir William is called Sir William of Hooton, who would be second or third cousin of Sir William Stanley of Holt.

In the *Visitation of Cheshire*, neither Sir William is mentioned as having a second son Piers, which may probably arise from his being in Wales. The Hooton branch does not seem to be connected with Wales until a later period, unless indeed it be by the marriage of Sir William Stanley with Blanch, daughter of Sir John Arderne, whose father is described as Sir John Arderne of Hawarden *als.* Harden, though the arms given are those of Arderne of Elford in Staffordshire. But, of course, the strongest point is the direct testimony of Harleian MS. 1971, though even there there is a discrepancy, since in one place it makes Piers of Ewlo son of Sir William Stanley and Mary Savage; in another, it makes him younger brother of this Sir William; but upon the whole, notwithstanding the formidable array of authorities upon the other side, we are inclined to believe the true state of the case to be that the Stanleys of Ewlo are a younger branch of those of Hooton, which is the senior line of the house; and that Sir William Stanley of Holt, being attainted and beheaded, was succeeded in very few, if any, of his Welsh lands, by his son William, who settled upon his wife's estate, derived from the Masseys of Tatton, while the castle of Holt, etc., reverted to the king. It must be remembered that Edmund (or Edward) Stanley, who married the daughter and sole heiress of Hywel ab Tudor ab Ithel Vychan of Mostyn, had a son, Sir William Stanley, who had all the lands, as Harl. MS. 1971 says. He was the uncle of Nicholas Saxon, who died without issue, and whose mother, Jonnet, then married John Conway of Bodrhyddan, who signs deeds of conveyance of land 35 Henry VI and 14 Edward IV; and it was their daughter Jonnet (Sionet), who (as is said by the late Joseph Morris) brought the Chilton estate in Shropshire to her husband, John ab Cynric ab Ithel Vychan of Holt. So that here is another connection with Holt, for Ithel Vychan had gained an estate there with his wife, Angharad, daughter and sole heiress of Robert (or Robin) ab Meredydd ab Hywel ab Davydd

of the House of Gwydir, and this Robert or Robin was of Holt, as was also his descendant, the above John ab Cynric, who himself and whose son and grandson, Richard and William, were born at Holt, though the latter succeeded his uncle John at Chilton about 1491-2; and it is on record that John Jones (ab John) of Chilton paid 26s. 8*d.* to the benevolence of 7 Henry VII.

These dates would also seem to shew that Sir William Stanley, who would be great-great-grandfather of this John, could scarcely have fought at the battle of Bosworth, though the aforementioned authorities accredit him with being the Sir William of Holt Castle who did so.

Where so much confusion has arisen, a deeper investigation of the Stanley Pedigree seemed desirable, and the above-mentioned manuscripts and works seem to throw considerable light upon the subject.

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## HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION.

(Continued from Vol. *xiii*, p. 274.)

### MSS. IN THE REPOSITORY OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

1660, August 17. Affidavit of John Stainer of Uppington, Salop, that Andrew Lloyd of Aston, in the same county, refused to obey the order of the House for restoration of the Earl of Newport's goods. (L. J., xi, 131.)

Annexed: Copy of the order referred to, 30 June 1660. (L. J., xi, 79.)

1660, Aug. 22. Petition of Captain John Griffith. In the year 1651 petitioner, then an inferior officer in the city of Chester, was, amongst others, summoned to appear at a court-martial, where, finding them upon the trial of Lord Derby, petitioner presently withdrew, and was never present at any question or sentence of death; but has, notwithstanding, been summoned with the rest that sat in that court. Petitioner has suffered much for his adherence to His Majesty's party, and particularly

was sequestered, and very much abused by the Rump for assisting Sir George Booth in his late rising; but has not hitherto had an opportunity of truly informing the House of his case. He prays to be speedily discharged from his imprisonment, which he has now suffered above a month, and the charge of which he is not able to bear. (L. J., xi, 137.)

Annexed: Petition of the same to the Committee for Privileges; confesses that he was one of those who sat in the court-martial upon the Earl of Derby, but positively affirms that he knew not of his execution, or who gave orders for it. The conclusion of the petition is similar to the preceding one. (Undated.)

2. Statement in favour of Griffith, and that the Earl of Derby consents to his release.

1660, Sept. 3. Petition of William Awbery, the son of Richard Awbery, in the parish of Boughrood, in the county of Radnor, in South Wales. During the late times of cruelty and oppression, petitioner's father, who was marked for a sufferer for his loyalty, was induced by William Watkins and another, for £300, to levy a fine and suffer a recovery of lands worth £1,500. This, after dejecting him, broke his heart, and within a short time he died. Petitioner prays for inquiry, that the fine and recovery may be cancelled, and right done to him as legal heir.

1660, Sept. 8. Petition of the Provost and College of the College Royal of the Blessed Mary of Eaton, near unto Windsor, in the county of Bucks, commonly called the King's College of our Blessed Lady of Eaton. Petitioners are seized of the manors of Goldcliffe, Nash, and Coldry, in the county of Monmouth; and the copyholders have, time out of mind, until the late unhappy wars, paid fines arbitrary for admittance; and such payment was confirmed by a decree of the Court of Chancery made in the sixth year of King James; but since the year 1644 the copyholders have refused to pay any fines but such as they please. Petitioners and their farmers have for ten years past endeavoured to maintain their right in the Court of Chancery, and have the former decree confirmed, until legally reversed by bill of review, or to have an indifferent county assigned for the trial at law; but such was the number and potency of their adversaries, and the strength of their purses, being at least two hundred joined together, that though petitioners have expended at least £1,000, and are able to expend no more, yet can they not obtain confirmation of the decree, or payment of fines since 1644. They pray for consideration of their sufferings, for an order confirming the decree securing them their fines until legally reversed by bill of review; and for a summons for tenants refusing to pay, to appear before the House. (L. J., xi, 162.)

1660, Sept. 8. Petition of Thomas Birch. An order has been granted, upon the petition of William Evans, to secure the profits of the rectory of Hampton Bishop, Herefordshire, upon pretence that he was forcibly ejected; but this plea has been heard and examined by the Lord Chancellor, and found empty, there being no proof that Evans was ever legally presented. Petitioner prays that the order may be reversed. (L. J., xi, 163.)

1660, Nov. 17. Petition of Thomas Hillyard, of Newton Nottage in the county of Glamorgan, clerk; prays that Arnold Butter, who alleges that he was illegally ejected from the rectory of Newton Nottage, and has, by virtue of an order of the House, gathered in the tithes of the rectory, and converted them to his own use, may be called upon to appear, and to show cause why petitioner should not enjoy the rectory and tithes.

1660. Petition of Francis Lord Newport. In 1646 a fine of £10,000 was imposed upon Richard Lord Newport, deceased, and petitioner, his son and heir, for their (then called) delinquency, after a sequestration of all their real and personal estate, and demolition of their dwelling-house, beside the said fine for composition. In discharge of the fine, petitioner and his father were compelled to pay a great part in ready money; and for the residue, to convey their tithes and rectories in the county of Salop to William Pierrepoint and Humphrey Edwards, deceased, and their heirs, in trust for the augmentation of the maintenance of the ministers of the several parishes. Petitioner hopes their Lordships will not interpret his and his father's loyalty and faithful adherence to His late Majesty as a crime, and prays that he may be restored to the estate and possession of the rectories and tithes so extorted as aforesaid, they being the only remaining part of the fine not swallowed up unrecoverably; and to that end, that the surviving trustee may be ordered to regrant and convey the said rectories and tithes to the petitioner and his heirs; and that persons in whose hands the deeds and conveyances made thereof by petitioner and his father remain, may be ordered to deliver them up to be cancelled.

1661, May 25. Draft of an Act for restoring of Charles, Earl of Derby, to the possession of the manors, lands, and hereditaments belonging unto James, late Earl of Derby, his father. Read first this day, and withdrawn after various subsequent proceedings. (L. J., xi, 265, etc.)

1661, June 19. Petition of Sir John Trevor, George Twisselton, and Andrew Ellis. There is a bill before their Lordships, which, under pretence of restoring the Earl of Derby to his lands, would dispossess petitioners of their lawful estates in certain manors and lands in the county of Flint, purchased by

them of the said Earl, and assured to them by conveyances, fines, etc., the best estate the law can give them. They pray to be heard at the Bar of the House before the bill shall be further proceeded with.

1661, June 26. Petition of Owen Owens, son and heir of Rice Owens, deceased, late brother and heir of Morgan, late bishop of Llandaff, deceased, and of Morgan Owens, sole surviving administrator of the said late bishop. By the cunning practices, forgeries, and abuses of Owen Price, heretofore a servant to the bishop, petitioners have been defrauded out of the greater part of the bishop's estate, particulars whereof are fully stated in the annexed paper. They pray that Price may be summoned to appear and answer their complaint.

Annexed: 1. Schedule of the crimes, forgeries, and abuses charged against Owen Price.

1661, July 15. Petition of Sir John Trevor, knight, Colonel George Twisleton, and Andrew Ellice, Esq. Complain that having purchased the manors of Hope and Mold, in the county of Flint, from Charles, Earl of Derby, and having enjoyed quiet possession, the rents are now stayed in the hands of the tenants under colour of an order of the House of the 14th of June, 1660, and a mill, timber, etc., has been seized by Edward Price, in the name of the Earl of Derby. They pray to be restored to the possession of their property. (*See L. J.*, xi, 310.)

Annexed: Copy of an order of 14 June, 1660.

1661, Dec. 10. Draft of an Act for the restoring of Charles, Earl of Derby, to the manors of Mold and Moldsdale, Hope and Hopesdale, in the county of Flint. Read first this day. (*L. J.*, xi, 347.) The Bill passed through all stages, but the royal assent was refused 19 May, 1662. (*L. J.*, xi, 471.)

Dec. 1661. Petition of the cardmakers and wiredrawers of the counties of Worcester, Gloucester, and Salop, to the House of Commons. In the reigns of James I and Charles I the whole trade of cardmaking and wiredrawing was nearly spoiled by vagabondious persons, void of habitation, who travelled from place to place collecting old cards, from which they drew out the teeth, scoured them, turned the leaves of the cards and reset the teeth in them, fixed them on new boards, and having counterfeited the marks of substantial cardmakers, sold them to the country people. A penal law was in consequence put in execution against the offenders, and the trade again flourished; but since the late unhappy wars there are more deceitful persons sprung up, who not only sell their base commodities in England and Wales, but transport great quantities into Ireland, almost levelling the trade to the ground, to the great disabling of many

families that formerly lived in good estate. Petitioners pray that the offenders may be punished.

1661-2, Jan. 28. Amendments to the Bill for restoring Charles Earl of Derby to the manors of Mold and Moldsdale, Hope and Hopesdale, in the county of Flint. (L. J., xi, 372.)

1662-3, March 14. Application for an order to stay proceedings in a suit touching the manor of Brockton, in the county of Salop, wherein the title of Viscount Stafford is concerned during the privilege of Parliament.

1663, June 18. Engrossment of an Act for keeping and holding of the court of great sessions, and of the general quarter sessions of the peace for the county of Carnarvon, at the town of Carnarvon, in the said county for ever. Brought from the Commons this day, but not further proceeded with. (L. J., xi, 539.)

1663-4, March 21. Petition of Robert Robartes, son and heir apparent of John Lord Robartes and Sarah his wife, sole daughter and heir of John Bodvile, Esquire, deceased, and Charles Bodvile Robartes, an infant, second son of the said Robert and Sarah; they complain that after John Bodvile, who was possessed of an estate in the counties of Anglesea and Carnarvon, worth £2,000 per annum, had made a will in favour of his daughter, Sarah, and her son Charles Bodvile Robartes, Thomas Wynn, and others, having got entire possession of him when weak in body and mind, induced him to make a will in favour of Griffith Wynn (son of Thomas Wynn), and one Thomas Bodvile; petitioners proceeded in Chancery for relief in 1663, when the annexed order was made, declaring that the will was obtained by fraud, but that as there was no precedent for giving relief in such a case, and the Court was unwilling to create one, a year's time was given to the petitioners to seek relief elsewhere, an injunction being granted in the interim to stay proceedings at law upon the pretended will. Petitioners pray the House to hear the case and grant them relief. (L. J., xi, 583.)

1664, Nov. 28. Petition of Robert Robartes, Esq. (son and heir apparent of John Lord Robartes and Sarah his wife, sole daughter and heir of John Bodvile, Esquire, deceased), and Charles Bodvile Robartes, an infant, second son of the said Robert and Sarah; pray the House to proceed in the consideration of their cause against Thomas Wynne and others, and to give directions to the Lord Chancellor according to the several orders made in May last. (L. J., xi, 630.)

Annexed: 1. Copy of petition of same of 21 March, 1663-4; 2. Precedents and reasons for relief; 3. Answers to Wynne's exceptions to the order in Chancery.

1664, Dec. 9. Draft of an Act for the enabling of Thomas Juckes of Treliddan (Trelydan) in the county of Montgomery, Esq., to sell lands for the payment of his debts and raising of younger children's portions. Read first this day, and received the royal assent 2nd March, 1664-5. (L. J., xi, 635.)

1664, Dec. 20. Statement respecting the imprisonment of John Langford, servant to Lord Powis, contrary to privilege. (L. J., xi, 641.)

1664-5, Feb. 11. Order for the High Sheriff of the county of Carmarthen to cause speedy restitution to be made of the corn belonging to Lord Vaughan, forcibly carried away by Rowland Gwynne and others. (L. J., xi, 655.)

On the same paper is a certificate of the High Sheriff of the proceedings taken by him for the recovery of the corn.

Annexed: 1. Application for preceding order, and for an order for the arrest of the rioters. 2. List of the rioters.

1666, Dec. 11. Petition of Griffith Wynne, *alias* Bodvile, and Thomas Bodvile, infants. A Bill is now before the House to make void the last will of John Bodvile, by which his estate in the counties of Carnarvon and Anglesey is devised, after payment of debts and legacies, for the benefit of petitioners and their heirs. The case has been twice heard in Chancery; the last time upon a direction from the House, but the plaintiffs were dismissed, and no relief given against the will. Petitioners therefore pray to be heard in support of the will. (L. J., xii, 43.)

[A bill for settling the estate of John Bodvile, Esq., deceased, received the royal assent on the 18th of January following, 18 Car. ii, c. 4, in List of Private Acts, 8vo., and L. J., xii, 81, etc. For the first proceedings in Chancery, referred to in the petition, see "*Roberts v. Wynn*", Reports in Chancery, ed. 1693, vol. i, p. 236, *seq.*]

Annexed: 1. Case of Robert Roberts, Esq., and Sarah, his wife, sole daughter and heir of John Bodvile, Esq., deceased, and Charles Bodvile Roberts, second son of the said Robert and Sarah. They complain of the conduct of Thomas Wynn, in inducing John Bodvile, when weak and not in his right mind, to make a will to the prejudice of his wife, Sarah Roberts, and her son, Charles Bodvile Roberts; contrary to a previous will made in consequence of a settlement made by Lord Roberts upon his son. Upon a hearing in Chancery it was declared that, in spite of the evidence of fraud, there was no precedent for relief. Application was then made by petition to the Lords in Parliament, who, after examining the case, referred it back to the Lord Chancellor to make a decree in Chancery; but, on a re-hearing, it was decided that their Lordships' direction did



not empower the Court to make a decree, there being no precedent for so doing. 2. The case of Griffith Wynn, an infant, son and heir apparent of Thomas Wynn, Esq., and Thomas Bodvile, an infant, and of the said Thomas Wynn, the father (presented to the House of Commons). John Bodvile, of Bodvile, in the county of Carnarvon, on his marriage with Anne, daughter of Sir William Russell, settled his estate and the reversion of his wife's jointure upon his own right heirs, with certain powers of charging his estate if he had only daughters. He had issue two daughters only, Elizabeth and Sarah, of whom Elizabeth died in 1661. There were great differences between John Bodvile and his wife; he was a colonel in the king's service, and his wife procured a warrant to have him tried by a High Court of Justice, which Bodvile escaped by notice from Thomas Wynn. In 1650, under a decree for alimony, Mrs. Bodvile got her husband's estate put into the Bill of Sale, notwithstanding his composition, and obtained a sequestration of it, and in 1657 married her daughter Sarah to Mr. Roberts without her husband's consent. In 1662 Bodvile was arrested by his wife for alimony, and threats were used to induce him to settle his estate on Mr. Roberts and his wife and children. In the same year Bodvile was arrested by his creditors, but released on bail being given up by Wynn; and afterwards Mrs. Bodvile, having procured an order in Chancery for her husband's commitment to the Fleet, he removed to Islington and there lived under a feigned name, and being seriously ill made his will, by which he left £5,000 to his daughter, Sarah, upon certain conditions; and the residue of his estate to Griffith Wynn and Thomas Bodvile equally. Bodvile died on the 28th March, 1663, whereupon Mrs. Bodvile and Mr. Roberts entered upon and still retain his whole estate. In April 1663 they commenced proceedings in Chancery against the trustees, to set aside the will, on the ground that it was obtained by fraud. The Court decided that they could give no relief, but allowed the plaintiffs to seek relief elsewhere; upon which they applied to the House of Lords, who referred the case back to the Lord Chancellor to make a decree according to equity, though there were no precedents for so doing; but in July 1666, after a very full hearing, the Court decided that the plaintiffs were not relieveable. The charges of fraud cannot be substantiated; but ever since Bodvile's death the trustees have been kept out of the estate, and debts are unpaid, while the trustees cannot sue at law, by reason of Mr. Bodvile's privilege. (C. J., viii, 640, etc.)

3. Reasons against the receiving of any petition in either House of Parliament against Mr. Bodvile's will.

## Biographical Notice.

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MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM, F.S.A.

IF notices of distinguished men are usually postponed until they are removed from among us, yet there may be exceptions to the rule; and if so, Matthew Holbeche Bloxam must be generally considered as worthy of being thus excepted. There are few names more widely known and more generally esteemed than this veteran of architectural archæologists, who may be said to have been the first who put into the hands of novices a clear and faithful guide to a knowledge of Gothic architecture. Before his time others had written on the same subject works at the present time held of small value. Rickman succeeded them with his valuable work, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation*. He was followed by Mr. Bloxam with his *Guide*, and soon after by Mr. John Henry Parker with his admirable *Glossary*. All these works are still in as great requisition as ever. Mr. Bloxam's work has one valuable advantage over the others, namely the popular character of the book, which is and was in every one's hands; whereas those of the other two authors, valuable as they are, would be considered by many as too expensive or too advanced for ordinary folk: hence the enormous circulation of the smaller and more modest, but by no means less valuable, volumes of Mr. Bloxam.

A circumstance, however, occurred last year which has no little connection with the present notice. Mr. R. H. Wood of Rugby and Warwick, an accomplished antiquary, a neighbour and friend of Mr. Bloxam, who knew how to appreciate his friend's value, had his likeness engraved as a frontispiece for the then forthcoming eleventh edition of the *Guide*. The likeness is so perfect, and the engraving so remarkable, that it was thought desirable, if possible, to gratify the members of the Association with copies of it. No formal request was made to Mr. Wood; but on his understanding the feeling on the subject, he most readily not only offered the use of the plate to the Association, but generously presented the five hundred impressions, the required number.

The subjoined can hardly be an account of such a life as Mr. Bloxam has been permitted to extend to a venerable age, and which all must wish may be prolonged some years yet. It is more properly a brief and imperfect notice of a few details of a life spent in good and useful work, the benefits of which will be felt by future generations.

Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam was born at Rugby, in the county of Warwick, on Tuesday, May 12, 1803. He was the fifth son and eighth child of the Rev. Richard Rouse Bloxam, D.D., an Assistant Master of Rugby School, by Ann his wife, sister of Sir Thomas Lawrence, the celebrated President of the Royal Academy. His father

was descended from the old family of Underhill, of Easington in Warwickshire. From certain members of this family Shakespeare purchased New Place, in Stratford-upon Avon, where he resided the latter part of his life, and where he died. His mother was descended from the ancient family of Hill of Court Hill, of the Powys (? Powis), and Littletons of Salop and Worcestershire. Matthew had four sisters and five brothers. At the age of two years he was stricken with fever; and the year following he was sent to a small school consisting only of four boys, of which he was the youngest, two of the others being the sons of solicitors in Rugby; the other, the son of a medical practitioner in the same town. In consequence of the master, who was under-writing-master to Rugby School, leaving the town, young Bloxam was sent, at the age of four years, to a mixed English school at Rugby, consisting of poor children of the parish, who received their education gratis, and partly of the sons of tradesmen and professional gentlemen and clergymen of Rugby, there being no preparatory school for those intended for the public school at Rugby. At this English school, called the Elborowe School (after the founder of that name), the subject of this notice, or, as he will be subsequently known by the initial letters of his name, M. H. B., remained four years, and learned to read and write. The most remarkable circumstance he remembered was seeing the scholars of Rugby School walking two and two together to church on the occasion of the Jubilee kept in October 1809, on the completion of the fiftieth year of the reign of George III.

In August 1813 he was entered at Rugby School, and placed at first in the lowest form. He remained for eight years, gradually rising to the fifth form, the second in position. During the time he was in the School his exercises were generally, if not always, marked *mediocriter*; and if there was an absence of *bene* and *optime*, the same may be said of *male* or *pessime*; so that our young scholar was considered to be a dull, plodding boy attempting his best. Rugby School was then far different from what it is now, and has been during the last half century. Latin and Greek, writing and arithmetic (the latter only up to a certain point), were taught, and nothing more. The masters were good classical scholars, as scholarship was then esteemed. The study of the French language was an extra, optional to parents. As, however, this language was attempted to be taught by a French *émigré* (a worthy man in his way, but one who had no command over his pupils), and the time was taken out of play-hours, French was considered an enforced grievance, and no boy attempted to learn anything. It was an involuntary task which did not excite the smallest emulation. That it should have been so was a grievous mistake. Neither modern history nor English composition was taught, and boys desirous of reading out of school-time were at a nonplus for want of books. If during the time M. H. B. was at Rugby, schoolboys could borrow an edition (abbreviated or otherwise) of *Gulliver's Travels*, *Don Quixote*, or the *Arabian Nights*, they considered themselves most fortunate. Sometimes

a novel of Fielding or Smollett would make its appearance, much to the delight of him into whose hands it fell. Periodicals were few in number. Voyages and travels were printed in costly quarto, and not easily obtainable on account of the price. Newspapers were dear, and weighted with the stamp-duty. In fact, with the exception of Latin and Greek, the pursuit of knowledge was essentially carried on under difficult circumstances. Such was the past. The present how different!

In September 1821, being then a little more than sixteen years and a few months old, M. H. B. left school to be articled to a solicitor at Rugby, with whom he remained five years and seven months. During that period he had little leisure for pursuits unconnected with his intended profession. Even legal works, except of an abstruse and expensive class, were unobtainable; and those which were procurable were read late at night. Occasionally he had to ride to some town or village on business; and after seeing his horse properly cared for, and transacting the business on which he came, he always inspected the church, and as far as his scanty knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquities would permit, noted down what particulars he deemed worthy of being recorded.

The first works he read on the subject (and this was during his clerkship) were *Essays on Gothic Architecture*, by the Rev. Thomas Wharton, the Rev. J. Bentham, Captain Grove, and the Rev. J. Milner. This last was the third edition, published in 1808. Besides these, he had access to the series of articles contributed by the late Mr. John Carter to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, on "Architectural Innovations." These were perused with avidity. It was at a later period he met with Rickman's celebrated work, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Gothic Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation*, a work to which all writers on the subject, during the last sixty years, owe much. The late Mr. John Britton was at this time publishing his *Cathedrals* and also his *Architectural Antiquities*; but these were too expensive purchases for M. H. B.

In his leisure hours, which were not numerous during his clerkship, Mr. Bloxam endeavoured to frame a little work on the subject of Gothic architecture. This, his first attempt, was in a catechetical form. In May 1827, having completed his articles of clerkship, he went up to London for the purpose of being admitted into the courts of common law as an attorney,—a designation now legally discarded; and in the Court of Chancery as a solicitor. His residence in London was about ten weeks, the longest period in his life he resided out of his native town. While in London he took his manuscript to a firm of well known publishers on architectural subjects in Holborn, and offered it for publication, in the hopes, if accepted, he might obtain in exchange a copy of Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*. It was, however, luckily for him, after a superficial glance, civilly declined, with a suggestion that it might, perhaps, be accepted if offered for one of the series of *Pinnock's Catechisms*, then in the course of publication. It was not, however, again offered, the first rebuff being sufficient.

A year subsequently, while staying near Leicester, M. H. B. made the acquaintance of Mr. Thomas Combe, a well known and enterprising bookseller at that place, and subsequently printer to the University of Oxford. On the manuscript being casually mentioned, he expressed a wish to see it. As soon as he examined it, he volunteered to print and publish it at his own risk. It made its appearance in May 1829. The subsequent editions (eleven in all) terminated in the eleventh in 1882. The first three editions were printed at Leicester; the six following ones at the University Press, Oxford, by the late Mr. Combe. The tenth edition, printed at Rugby, was published in 1859. A German translation of the seventh edition was issued at Leipzig in 1847. The present edition, also printed at Rugby, made its appearance in three volumes last year (1882). It is not generally known that the tenth edition was received as evidence in a Chancery suit respecting the ownership of an ancient chantry chapel annexed to a church. Of the first ten editions, seventeen thousand copies were quickly disposed of; and for many years past the tenth edition has been out of print, and is now not to be had without much difficulty. Between the publication of the first and second editions, Mr. Combe published another work by Mr. Bloxam, entitled *A Glimpse at the Monumental Architecture and Sculpture of Great Britain*. This was in 1834, and has been out of print many years.

In the month of January 1830, M. H. B. attended, in company with five brothers, the funeral (a *quasi* public one) of their uncle, Sir Thomas Lawrence, President of the Royal Academy, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul. They were the only mourners of blood-relations to the deceased, the eldest being chief mourner.

In 1827 Mr. Bloxam commenced practice as a solicitor in his native town; but his practice for the first four years was very limited. In the month of January 1831 he was appointed clerk to the Justices of the Petty Sessions held in Rugby, in and for the Rugby petty sessional division of the county of Warwick. This official post he retained for forty years, during which, by the zealous discharge of his duties, and his uniformly kind and courteous manner towards all who had anything to do with him, from the highest to the lowest, as to social position, he won the love and esteem not only of his neighbours, but wherever he went. Much to the regret of the Rugby world, he resigned his office in 1871, in consequence of a serious collision on the London and North-Western Railway in the previous November, in which he was present. He did not, indeed, sustain any bodily injury; but his nervous system was so seriously affected that his resignation, if not actually necessary, was the wisest and most prudent course to adopt.

During his clerkship to the Justices his movements were limited, and his holidays were few. In spite, however, of his onerous duties he about 1840 became a member of many of the provincial architectural and archæological societies, and as often as he could attended their annual meetings. During the usual excursions on such occa-

sions he was able to visit many churches and other remarkable objects of antiquity, and was always received with the greatest kindness, for which he felt the deepest gratitude. It was, therefore, not surprising that many requests were made that he should read papers on different antiquarian subjects in many towns and cities. Many of these have been published in the *Journal* of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, of which he was elected a Vice-President in 1882. He was made a Vice-President of the Cambrian Archæological Association in 1874, and contributed several valuable articles to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. In the reports and papers of the associated architectural societies of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Worcestershire, Leicestershire, and Sheffield, and in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, will be found numerous contributions from his pen. Of papers relating to his native county, Warwickshire, not a few have been published in Kenning's *Rugby Almanack* during the last eighteen years. In April 1839 a paper of his appeared in the *British Critic*, edited by the then Vicar of St. Mary's Church in Oxford (the present Cardinal Newman), on "The Internal Decoration of English Churches."

From the infirmities of age, Mr. Bloxam has been compelled to forego the many pleasant meetings at which for so many years he has been in the habit of taking an active part. But painful as this compulsory retirement must be to him, he owns that he has much to be thankful for to the Divine Giver of all goodness, as he is able to say that he does not remember the time when he was confined to his bed for the whole of a single day. Great, however, as may be his regret at his no longer meeting his numerous friends at these pleasant gatherings, that of his friends will be fully as great in not seeing one who was always so ready to instruct and interest his hearers on details on which he is the first authority of the day. The possession, therefore, of the admirable likeness which his friend Mr. R. H. Wood, F.S.A.,<sup>1</sup> one of our members, has so kindly presented to the Cambrian Archæological Association, is doubly welcome.

E. L. BARNWELL.

<sup>1</sup> It is by the munificence of this gentleman that Rugby has been lately presented with a public hospital, built and endowed at his sole cost.

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## THE CELTIC ELEMENT IN THE LANCA- SHIRE DIALECT.

(Continued from p. 13, vol. xiv, 4th Series.)

### LANC. CELTIC.

*Paup*, to move about awkwardly  
(F.)

*Paut*, to potter, to do work in an  
idle, slovenly way<sup>1</sup> (P.); (cf.  
*paut*, to push at anything. Clevel.);  
Prov. Sw. *päta*, to poke

*Paw*, a ludicrous word for "hand";  
O. Fr. *poue*, *poe*, foot of an animal  
*Paw-paw*, an exclamation of nurses  
in removing the dirty clothes of  
young children

*Pawm*, to rear up; used of horses  
(Com.)

*Pay*, to beat, to punish

*Peak*, to pry; *peedle*, to look slyly  
about; *pearke*, to peep, to pry in-  
quisitively; *pee*, to squint, to take  
aim

*Peeart*, *Pert*, brisk, cheerful, as a  
child recovering from sickness,  
insolent

*Peddle*, light easy employment; *v.*  
to trifle, to be busy about small  
things or small details; *piddle*, id.;<sup>2</sup>  
Fr. *petit*

### WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *palf*, the palm of the hand; *palfu*,  
to grope gently

W. *putio*, to push, to poke; Corn.  
*poot*; Ir. Gael. *put*. to push, to  
thrust

W. *pawen*; Corn. *paw*; Arm. *pao*,  
*pav*, a paw, a hoof

W. *baw*, dirty; Arm. *pouch*, dirty,  
vile; Sans. *panka*, dirt

W. *palfu*, for *palmu*, to paw; *palf*, a  
paw

W. *pwyo*=*pēo*, to beat

Manx, *peeikear*, a spy, a scout (*peeik*,  
to scout, to spy); Ir. Gael, *faic*  
(for *paic*), to look, to look at  
closely, to watch; W. *peithio*, to  
look about, seach, scout (*th* for a  
prior *k*); Ir. *beachtoir*, a spy, an  
observer; Sans. *pas'*, for *pak*, to  
see

W. *pert*, pretty, smart, spruce, saucy

W. *pitw*, very small or minute

<sup>1</sup> *Paut* or *pawt*, means also to push, to kick (*P. B.*, p. 10).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Arm. *pitoul*, friand, delicat; *pitoula*, se nourrir de friandises, to  
live on tid-bits.

LANC. CELTIC.	WELSH OR IRISH.
<i>Peel</i> , a strong-hold	W. <i>pill</i> , a strong-hold (Rich); prim. the stock of a tree; Manx, <i>peeley</i> , a tower, or fortress; Arm. <i>pill</i> , trunk of a tree
<i>Peigh</i> , <sup>1</sup> a pea, a primitive form; Lat. <i>pisum</i>	W. <i>pys</i> , pease, pulse; <i>pisg-en</i> , a pod; Arm. <i>piz</i> , pease; Sans. <i>pés'i</i> , a pod, a husk, a sheath
<i>Peigh</i> , to cough in a short or hacking way; <i>peff</i> , id.	W. <i>pesweh</i> , a cough; <i>pesychu</i> , to cough; Gael. <i>peich</i> , to sniff with anger; <i>pioch</i> , to wheeze
<i>Peil</i> , to trouble, to harass (P.); to work or move energetically	W. <i>pebrhe</i> , turmoil, trouble; see <i>Peyl</i>
<i>Pelk</i> , <i>pelt</i> , to beat, to assault with stones; a stroke, a blow	Ir. O. Gael. <i>pallt-ag</i> , a blow; Ir. Gael. <i>buille (bulle)</i> ; Manx, <i>builley</i> , a blow; Manx, <i>builtagh</i> , assailing
<i>Pelt</i> , a skin with the fur on; Lat. <i>pellis</i> ; Prov. Sw. <i>pels</i>	Ir. Gael. <i>peall</i> , a hide, a skin; <i>peal-laid</i> , a sheep-skin
<i>Pen</i> , a head, used in many names of places	W. <i>pen</i> ; Arm. <i>penn</i> , a head; Corn. <i>pen</i> , id.; Ir. Gael. <i>ceann</i> , a head; Sans. <i>kenāra</i> , a head
<i>Per</i> , to fall in drops, when a liquid begins to flow slowly	Arm. <i>bera</i> , to drop, to distil; W. <i>dyferu</i> , id.; <i>bèru</i> , to drop, to ooze; Ir. Gael. <i>braon</i> , a drop; v. to drop, to distil; Sans. <i>prish</i> , to fall in drops, to bedew <sup>2</sup>
<i>Pert</i> , cheerful, lively, saucy	See <i>Peeart</i>
<i>Perk</i> , trim, conceited, proud; v. to hold up the head, to grow brisk	W. <i>perc</i> , compact, neat, trim; Arm. <i>pergen</i> , neat, trim, comely
<i>Perry</i> , a sudden squall or blast of wind <sup>3</sup>	Ir. Gael. <i>piorra (pirra)</i> , a squall, a keen gust of wind; <i>piorr</i> , to make a dash at in order to stab; Ir. <i>peireadh (pirad)</i> , rage
<i>Pettle</i> , to trifle, to engage in matters of small import	See <i>Peddle</i>
<i>Peyl</i> , to weary	W. <i>pallu</i> , to fail, to cause to fail

<sup>1</sup> The Lancashire word has preserved a primitive form. The Sans. *pes'i* represents an older *peki*, and the Lanc. *peigh* is also=*peki*. The word implies a podded fruit. May we compare with it W. *plisg*; Ir. Gael. *plaosg*, a husk, a shell; and Sans. *plihan* (for *pligan*), the spleen, from its form? If so, the word *spleen* means a bag or pouch, which it very much resembles.

<sup>2</sup> The Sans. *prish* is=*par-ish*.

<sup>3</sup> In the Lancashire Glossary by Messrs. Nodal and Milner, *perry* is made a verb; "to scatter money or other objects amongst a crowd", and they quote, "At the church-door an idle crowd was always ready for the *perry*", i.e., to contest for the scattered half-pence (*Hist. of Blackpool*, iv, p. 97). Here *perry* means a sudden rush, a *mêlée*. "*Perry*, a squall" (Hall); "a sudden storm at sea" (Nares).

In surgelesse seas of quiet rest, when I  
Seven yeares had sailed, a *perrie* did arise.

*Mirr. for Mag.*, p. 194, N.

The *perry* was a sudden rushing and whirling wind, often dangerous on Windermere.



LANC. CELTIC.

WELSH OR IRISH.

<i>Pick</i> , to cast, to throw, to vomit	W. <i>picio</i> , to dart, cast, fling
<i>Piggin</i> , a small wooden vessel with an upright handle	W. <i>picyn</i> ; Ir. <i>pigin</i> ; Gael. <i>pigean</i> ; Manx, <i>piggin</i> , a wooden vessel with a handle; from <i>pic</i> , a projecting point
<i>Pike</i> , a sharp-pointed hill	W. <i>pig</i> ( <i>pic</i> ); Arm. <i>pik</i> , a sharp point; Ir. Gael. <i>peac</i> , id.
<i>Pikel</i> , a hay-fork	W. <i>picell</i> , a dart, a javelin; Corn. <i>pigol</i> , a miner's pick; Arm. <i>pigel</i> , hoe
<i>Pikelet</i> , a kind of tea-cake; <i>Pikelin</i> , id.	Probably from <i>picell</i> , the surface being pricked all over and made rough
<i>Pilther</i> , <i>pilder</i> , to wither, to shrivel; (to shrivel from heat?); <i>pinder</i> , to scorch, to shrivel up by the action of fire; to burn, to over-roast	W. <i>pelydru</i> , to radiate, to gleam; <i>pelydr</i> , rays, beams? Sans. <i>pil</i> , to lance, to dart?
<i>Pink</i> , the chaffinch	W. <i>pinc</i> , the chaffinch; also, gay, fine
<i>Pirn</i> , a stick with a loop for twisting the nose of a refractory horse	Gael. <i>piurna</i> ( <i>pirna</i> ), a pirn; <i>piridh</i> , a top, a whirligig; Ir. <i>birin</i> , a little stake; Corn. <i>pyr</i> , round
<i>Pitch</i> , a pleurisy <sup>1</sup>	W. <i>pigyn</i> , a stitch in the side, pleurisy; <i>pic</i> , <i>pig</i> , a sharp point, a dart
<i>Planets</i> , abundance, excess. To rain in planets is to rain heavily with a sudden fall	W. <i>llawnaeth</i> , for <i>planet</i> ; fulness, <sup>2</sup> abundance; <i>llawn</i> for <i>plāna</i> , full; Manx, <i>thieeney</i> , a filling, flowing, flood of the tide; to fill, to flow, to overspread as clouds
<i>Plish</i> , a blister (P.)	W. <i>plisg</i> , husks, shells; Corn. <i>plisg</i> ; Arm. <i>plusg</i> , a husk; Ir. Gael. <i>plaosg</i> , a husk, shell, scull
<i>Ploc</i> , to close, to plug; <i>plog</i> , id.	W. <i>ploc</i> , a block; <i>plocio</i> , to block, to plug; Ir. Gael. <i>ploc</i> , a bung, a large stump, a round head, a hump
<i>Plucks</i> , the lungs, heart, and liver of a sheep	Ir. Gael. <i>ploc</i> , <i>pluc</i> , a lump, etc.; see <i>supra</i>
<i>Poached</i> , wet land trodden by cattle is said to be <i>poached</i>	Arm. <i>puka</i> , to make an impression on a soft substance by pressing it; W. <i>poc</i> , a kiss (an impression on the lips); Ir. Gael. <i>poc</i> , a blow; <i>pog</i> , a kiss; Manx, <i>paag</i> , a kiss, an embrace
<i>Plop</i> , <i>flop</i> , the noise of anything falling into water	Gael. <i>plab</i> , to make a noise, as a body falling into water, or as water beating against a shore

<sup>1</sup> *Fool.* What diseases can you cure?

*Doctor.* All sorts.

*Fool.* What's all sorts?

*Doctor.* The itch, the *pitch*, the palsy, and the gout.

Lanc. Pageant, *Leg. of Lanc.*, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> For loss of initial *p* in Celtic words, see *Irish Glosses*, p. 13 and *Beiträge*, etc., viii, 1.

LANC. CELTIC.	WELSH OR IRISH.
<i>Pobs, pobbies</i> , bread and milk boiled together	W. <i>pobi</i> , to bake; Corn. <i>pobas</i> , id.; Arm. <i>pibi, pobi</i> , to cook; Sans. <i>pach</i> , to cook
<i>Pod</i> , the foot, applied to young children; to walk	W. <i>ped</i> , the foot; Lat. <i>pes</i> , for <i>ped-s</i> ; Sans. <i>pad</i> , the foot
<i>Pod</i> , to sulk, Ormskirk (N. and M.)	W. <i>pwdu</i> , to be sulky (Pryse); connected with <i>pwio</i> , to poke (the lip)
<i>Pod</i> , to shoot a marble unfairly by jerking or thrusting forward the hand (P.)	A shortened form of <i>pote</i> , q. v.
<i>Podgy</i> , short and stout	See <i>Pudgy</i>
<i>Poke</i> , a bag, a sack; O. N. <i>poki</i> , a bag; O. Du. <i>poke</i> , id.; Fr. <i>poche</i>	Ir. Gael. <i>poc</i> , a bag; <sup>1</sup> <i>pocadh</i> (a little bag), a pouch; Hindust. <i>pakhāl</i> , a large leather bag
<i>Poot</i> , a young fowl; a young inexperienced person; Fr. <i>poult, poulet</i> , a chicken	W. <i>pw</i> ( <i>poot</i> ), any short thing; Gael. <i>pūt</i> , a young grouse, etc.; Sans. <i>pota</i> , the young of an animal; Hindust. <i>put</i> , id.
<i>Popple</i> , to bubble up	W. <i>pwmp</i> , a knob, a boss; <i>pwmpa</i> , a round lump; <i>pwmpio</i> , to boss, to knob
<i>Popple</i> , the herb cockle	See <i>supra</i>
<i>Pordy</i> , short and fat (F.)	See <i>Purdy</i>
<i>Posset</i> , a warm drink, often of ale	W. <i>posel</i> , curdled milk, a posset; Ir. <i>pusoid</i> , a posset (?) Manx, <i>possad</i> , id. (?)
<i>Pote</i> , to push with the feet, to push with a stick, to thrust	W. <i>pwio</i> , to thrust, to butt; Arm. <i>pouta, bouta</i> , to push, thrust, butt; Ir. Gael. <i>pūt</i> , id.; Manx, <i>puttey</i> , to butt as a bull, to shove; Sans. <i>pu</i> , to send out, to dart
<i>Pouk</i> , a pimple, a blister; Du. <i>pok</i> , Germ. <i>pocke</i> , a pock	Ir. Gael. <i>pucadh</i> , a swelling up; <i>pucaid</i> , a pustule, an ulcer; Ir. Gael. <i>boc</i> , W. <i>bog</i> , to rise, to swell up; cf. W. <i>poth</i> , a boss; <i>pothell</i> , a blister. The same root is in Sans. <i>puga, punga</i> , a mass, a heap; W. <i>pwng</i> , id.
<i>Pouse</i> , a hazy atmosphere. (Wr.)	W. <i>pwys, pwysi</i> , a weight, heaviness; Arm. <i>poeza, poueza</i> , to be heavy; <i>poezuz, pouezuz</i> , heavy
<i>Pouse, powse</i> , dirt, refuse, offal; <i>prouse</i> , mud, dirt. ( <i>T. B.</i> , p. 36)	W. <i>pws</i> , what is expelled (P.); Arm. <i>prousa</i> , to stink
<i>Powl</i> , to leave off work, and go to the ale-house (B.); Prov. Sw. <i>pula</i> , to work hard, but also to work slowly and with difficulty	W. <i>pallu</i> , to fail
<i>Pricket</i> , six sheaves of corn	W. <i>pricaid</i> , a spindleful <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Connected with the Celtic root *boc, poc*, to swell. Hence *poke* and *pock*, a small pustule, are related; the primary idea being a swollen form. To buy a pig in a *poke*, was a common Lancashire phrase for a foolish bargain.

<sup>2</sup> The Eng. and W. words mean each, what is fastened to a stick or post.

LANC. CELTIC.

*Prog*, to thrust, to thrust a stick with a worsted line into the holes of eels; *proker*, a poker

*Prog*, a vulgar word for food; M.E. *prokken*, to beg

*Prou*, a call to cattle to urge them to go on faster; Prov. Sw. *pro*, *pru*, id. (Rietz.)

*Proud*, luxuriant, too forward in growth

*Proud*; a cow when desiring the bull is said to be *proud*

*Prow*, to throw up earth

*Prowt*, trumpery stuff

*Pubble*, plump, full

*Pudge*, a stout fat child; *pudgy*, short and stout; Prov. Sw. *put*, a swelling, a boss

*Pum*, a stick with a knob at the end, used in the game of spell and knur; to beat or thump; *pum-mer*, something very large; Prov. Sw. *pumms*, a bubble; *pampen*, swelled out

*Pumps*, in *Yallo-pumps*, young calves, from their yellow hoofs

*Purdy*, short and stout

*Purr*, to kick

*Put*, to butt with the head; *putter*, a bull or cow that butts; Fr. *bouter*, to butt

*Pyrk*, to be supercilious

*Quart*, joy, mirth

*Quift*, to quaff, to tipple

*Quilt*, to beat

*Rackle*, noisy talk

WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *procio*, to thrust, to stick; *proc*, a thrust; *prociwr*, a thruster

Manx, *proghan*, bread steeped in butter-milk; *broghan*, pottage; Ir. Gael. *brochan*, pottage; Gael. *prioghainn* (*prog*), choice food; Ir. *pracas*, oatmeal; W. *pry* for *pryg*, food; Corn. *bruha* for *brugha*, pottage

W. *tprue*, the same interjection; Arm. *prou*, id.

W. *prydd* (*prud*), rich, luxuriant

W. *brwd*, hot?

See *Prog* (1). Perhaps *pro* may be a contraction of *priddo*, to mould, to cover with earth

W. *yspred*, *ysprod*, refuse, outcast

W. *pwmp*, a round lump; *pwmp*, a round mass

W. *pwt*, any short thing; *pwty*, a short round body; *pwten*, a short squat female; Arm. *pouden*, a head; W. *pwg*, swelling; Sans. *pota*, the young of an animal; *putt*, to be little

W. *pwm*, a round lump; *pwmp*, *pwm-pa*, a round mass; *pwmpio*, to beat, to boss, to knob

W. *byrdew*, squabby, punchy; *byr*, short; *tew* (*dew*), thick

Ir. Gael. *purr*, to push, thrust, jerk

W. *pwtio*; Arm. *pouta*, *bouta*, to thrust or butt; Corn. *poot*, to kick

See *Perk*

W. *chwardd*, laughter, mirth; Corn. *wharth*, laughter; Arm. *choarz*, id.

W. *cofftio*, to quaff, to fill; *cofft*, a hollow body

Ir. *cuilse*, a beating; probably from *cuilc*, a reed, a cane

Ir. Gael. *rac*, *racaid*, noise, uproar, a crash; Gael. *racail*, the noise of geese, etc.; Arm. *racler*, to make a noise in rubbing a hard, rough body; W. *rhugl*, a rattle

LANC. CELTIC.	WELSH OR IRISH.
<i>Rad</i> , loosely knit	W. <i>rhydd</i> , open, loose, free
<i>Raddle</i> , to weave, interweave, wattle	W. <i>rhwyd</i> = <i>rēd</i> , a net; Lat. <i>rete</i> ; <i>rhwydol</i> , interweaved; Manx, <i>rad-ling</i> , a network of straw or heath; Arm. <i>roued</i> , a net
<i>Rake</i> , a rut, a crevice. (Com.)	Ir. Gael. <i>crac</i> , a fissure, a breach; W. <i>rhig</i> , a notch, a groove; <i>rhwyg</i> , ruptura, scissura. (Dav.)
<i>Rāme</i> , <i>rawm</i> , to spread out the hands and arms in reaching (to throw out the forelegs, and plunge, used of horses. Leeds)	W. <i>rham</i> , a reaching out; <i>rhamu</i> , to rise up or over; Arm. <i>rampa</i> , to spread out the feet
<i>Ramp</i> , to <i>ramp</i> and rave, to be in a violent passion; <i>rampage</i> , to act furiously, to storm; to be on the <i>rampage</i> , to lead a riotous, dissipated life	W. <i>rhemp</i> , an extreme, an excess, frenzy; <i>rhempio</i> , to run to excess; <i>rhempian</i> , to snatch greedily; <i>rhampio</i> , to ramp, to prance; <i>rhempus</i> , infatuated, <i>i.e.</i> affected by extreme passion or folly; Gael. <i>ramhlair</i> , a noisy fellow
<i>Randan</i> , the produce of the second sifting of the meal, the finest part of the bran	W. <i>rhan</i> , Arm. <i>ram</i> , Ir. Gael. <i>rann</i> , a part, a division; W. <i>dain</i> = <i>dani</i> ? fine, delicate?
<i>Raps</i> , news, country talk. (Whitby.)	Ir. Gael. <i>rap</i> , a noise; Gael. <i>rabhd</i> , idle talk; Manx, <i>raip</i> , a harsh noise
<i>Ratch</i> , the space in a loom between the yarn-beam and the healds	W. <i>rhag</i> , <i>rhac</i> , what is opposite or before, the front; <i>rhacu</i> , to put before
<i>Ratey</i> , cold and tempestuous; used of weather	Ir. Gael. <i>reodh</i> , frost; Gael. <i>reodha</i> , frosty; Ir. <i>reothte</i> , frozen; W. <i>rhew</i> ; Arm. <i>reo</i> , frost, great cold
<i>Ratton</i> , <i>ratten</i> , a rat; <sup>1</sup> <i>rodden</i> . (P.)	Ir. Gael., <i>radan</i> , a rat; Manx, <i>rod-dan</i> , id.
<i>Ray</i> , a diarrhoea	W. <i>rhe</i> , a quick motion, a run; <i>rhed</i> ; a course, a run; <i>darym-red</i> , a looseness, a diarrhoea
<i>Ræan</i> , a gutter (C.); A. S. <i>ryne</i> , a water-course	W. <i>rhean</i> , a streamlet; <i>rhe</i> , to flow, <i>rhen</i> , <i>rhin</i> , a drain, a brook; Corn. <i>rine</i> , <i>ryne</i> , the channel of a river; Sans. <i>ri</i> , to flow
<i>Reeak</i> , to squall, to shriek; O. N. <i>skrækja</i> ; Dan. <i>skrige</i> , to shriek	W. <i>rhech</i> , a loud noise; <i>crech</i> , a shriek
<i>Rey</i> , <i>rea</i> , water (Com.), properly, I believe, a stream, running water	W. <i>rhe</i> , a swift motion, a run; <i>rhean</i> , a streamlet; Arm. <i>red</i> , a course, a flow
<i>Rhute</i> , a rushing forward, impulse, passion, a fit of anger; A. S. <i>hrud</i> , commotion, raging (S.)	W. <i>rhuth</i> , a break out, a rush; <i>rhuthr</i> , a rush, an onset; <i>rhuthrwylli</i> , outrageous, furious; Arm. <i>ruda</i> , to be in heat; used of animals
<i>Rick</i> , to scold, to make a noise; O. N. <i>rikte</i> , fame, rumour; <i>rikta</i> , to spread rumours	W. <i>rhincio</i> , <i>rhiccian</i> (D.), to creak, to gnash, to scold; <i>stridere</i> , <i>fren-dere</i> (D.)

<sup>1</sup> Du. *rot*, a rat; Fr. *raton*, a little rat. The termination is Celtic.

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Riddle*, a coarse sieve; A. S. *hriddel*, a sieve (S); *hridder*, a fan for corn (S.)

*Ridglin*, a half-castrated horse

*Rigglt*, an imperfect ram, or other animal half castrated (P.); *Riggot*, a half-gelded horse

*Rim*, the membrane enclosing the intestines

*Rither*, an instrument to nick out sods all of a size (P.)

*Roaky*, *rooky*, hoarse

*Rogne-post*, a tree broken by the wind (Com.)

*Rossel*, to heat, to bask over a fire, to roast; Germ. *rösten*, to roast;<sup>1</sup> *rosseled*, inflamed with liquor

*Rout*, a great stir or bustle; a hearty but fussy reception. "They made a girt *rout* wi meh"

*Royd*, overgrown (Com.)

*Royle*, to bluster or roar in a boisterous manner (P.); (rude, tumultuous, frolicsome conduct; rough, lively sport. Coles)

*Roynta*, *rynty*, move off! begone quickly!<sup>2</sup>

## WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *rhidyll*, a sieve; *rhid*, a drain; *rhidio*, to drain; Arm. *ridel*, a large sieve, used in cleansing grain; Corn. *ridar*, a sieve; Ir. Gael. *rideal*, id.; Manx, *ridlan*, id.

Gael. *ruig*=*rigu*, a half-castrated ram

W. *rhigol*, a groove; *rhigoli*, to groove, to trench

W. *rhim*, *rhimp*, an edge, a limit; Arm. *rim*, border, edge; Manx, *rimmey*, a rim; *rimmeig*, a streak, a line

W. *rhith* (*rith*), a form, a shape; *rhithio*, to take a form or shape

W. *rhoch*, *rhuch*, a broken or rough utterance, a grunt; *rhochus*, grunting, grumbling; Arm. *rog*, the croaking of frogs; *roch*, the noise of snoring, a *rāle*; Gael. *roc*, a hoarse voice; *racach*, hoarse; Lat. *raucus*

W. *rhwyg*, a rent; *rhwygo*, to rend, to tear; Arm. *regi*, *roga*, to tear; W. *post*, a post, a pillar, "Est antiqua vox Br. Ex. Pabo *post* Prydain" (D.); Arm. *post*, id.; Ir. Gael. *posta*

W. *rhost*, a roast; *rhostio*, to roast; Arm. *rost*, *rosta*, id.; Ir. *rosd*, id.; *roistin*, a gridiron; Gael. *roist*, to parch, scorch, roast, broil; Manx, *rost*, roast; *rostey*, to roast

W. *rhuth*, a break out, a rush; *rhuthr*, a rush, an onset; *rhuthro*, to rush, to sally; see *Rhute*

W. *rhvy*, excess; *rhwydd*, a producing excess (Pryse); prosper, expeditus (D.); *rhydd*, open, loose, at large

W. *rhull*, free, rash, hasty; *rhullder*, frankness, rashness, luxuriance

W. *rhonta*, to frisk. In Lancashire it was customary to say *frisk it*=begone! Sans. *runth*, to go

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Skeat cannot decide whether the word *roast* is Teutonic or Celtic. It seems to be from the same root as Ir. Gael. *roise*, bright, shining; Sans. *rāj*, to be bright, brilliant, resplendent; Hindust. *roshni*, light, splendour, *rakhsh*, lightning, flashing, shining, effulgence; Cf. Sans. *randra*, heat, and also wrath; *rosha*, wrath, and Hindust. *roti*, any cake broiled on a gridiron. The root-meaning seems to be *flame*.

<sup>2</sup> *Aroint* thee, witch, *aroint* thee!—*Lear* iii, iv, 1. 129.

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Rud*, spawn; *toad-rud*, spawn of toads

*Rute*, a hasty violent determination; a fit of passion (N. and M.)

*Sad*, heavy; often applied to bread when it has not risen well

*Saim*,<sup>1</sup> lard, fat; Germ. *seim*, thick glutinous slime

*Sammy*, a fool

*Sap*, a foolish fellow; *sapskull*, a blockhead, a fool

*Sayney*, *seeanee*, a small fresh eel; a lamprey (J.)

*Scale*, to spread out; as to *scale* swathes (to spread out the grass when cut); Sw. *skala*, to run; *skilja*, Dan. *skille*, to separate, distinguish; A. S. *scylan*

*Scone*, barley cakes (B. and S. p. 6); *scon*, *skon*, *scons*; Scot., see Jam.

*Scorrick*, *scurrick*, a fragment. a crumb; *scrog* (for *scoroc*), a fragment; O. N. *skora*, incidere

*Scram*, the rind of cheese (F.)

*Scramb*, to pull or take together by the hands (Com.)

*Screeve*, to discharge corrupt matter, as a wound or a corpse; O. N. *skroppa*, foam

*Scribe*, to make marks with instruments as carpenters, to score; O. N. *skrifá*; O. H. G., *scripan*, to write

*Scrimp*, to crease, as in ironing clothes (J.)

*Scrog*, a fragment

## WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *rhid*, semen, spawn; *rhidio*, to secrete, to blissom; Arm. *rud*, *rut*, blissom or sexual desire in animals, Fr. *rut*

See *Rhute*

W. *sad*, firm, solid; Manx, *sad*, id.; Ir. *sodan*, a dumpy (O'Don.)

W. *saim*, grease, fat; Arm. *soa*, *soav* (*soam*), fat, grease; Corn. *seim*, train oil; W. *swyf*=*sem*, tallow, suet; Ir. Gael. *seim*, rich, prim. fat? *saill*, fat, grease

Ir. Gael. *samach*, quiet, soft; Gael. *samh* (*sam*), a clownish or rustic person (McAlp.)

Ir. Gael. *saobh* (*sapa*), foolish, silly, wrong, dim, blind

Arm. *sili*, eels; *silien*, a single eel (with the loss of the vowel-flank *l*)?

Ir. Gael. *sgaoil*, *scaoil* (pron. *skāol*), to separate, spread out, scatter, disperse; Manx, *skeailley*, to spread, to scatter; Sans. *skhal*, to move to and fro

Gael. *sgonn*, *sconn*, a block of wood, a lump

Ir. Gael. *sgor*, *scor*, to cut; with *ic*, a Celtic suffix denoting diminution;—*oc* has the same meaning

W. *ysgraw* (*scram*), a crust; *cram*, an incrustation; Arm. *kremen*, an incrustation; *kreun*, a crust

Ir. Gael. *sgram*, *scram*, *sglam*, to snatch, to seize

Gael. *sgreamh*, pron. *skrēv*, a thin scum; Manx, *sgriog*, slime, scum; W. *crawn* (for *craven*?) matter, pus

Ir. Gael. *sgriob*, *scriob*, a notch, a furrow; v. to notch, to engrave; Manx, *screeb*, a scratch, a graze; *screebey*, to scrape; W. *ysgrifo*, to notch, to write; *erif*, a mark cut in anything; Lat. *scribo*

W. *crimp*, a sharp ridge; *crimpio*, to form a ridge, to pinch

See *Scorrick*

<sup>1</sup> I think this is a native Celtic word. (1) It is found in all the Celtic languages; (2) Pliny says that soap was an invention of the Gauls—"inventum Gallorum" (H. N. xxviii. 12, 51); (3) the Ir. Gael. *sabh*, spittle, an ointment, is related to *sapo*, a Gallic word, and both to the Sans. *sava*, expressed juice, from *su*, to extract; but whence came the Germ. *seim*?

LANC CELTIC.

WELSH OR IRISH.

- Scuff*, the back of the neck  
*Scur*, to slide (P.)  
*Scut*, any short garment; Prov. Sw. *kott*, small-grown; *scutty*, short, short-tailed  
*Seatree*, *seater*, cloth worn thread-bare or in holes  
*Seggin*, the Iris pseudacrus; A. S. *secg*, sedge  
*Sham*, *shom*, false, counterfeit; a trick, a pretence; to make pretences, to act a part; *shanmock*, to sham  
*Shilla*, a gravelly beach, N; loose stones or pebbles on the beach (*shillies*, loose pebbles on the sea-beach. Cumb.); *shillow*, small stones on the side of a mountain  
*Shindy*, *shinny*, a round piece of wood used in the game of knur and spell; also the game<sup>1</sup>  
*Shoo*, a word used to drive away poultry  
*Shock*, a rough head of hair; a kind of dog with rough hair; A. S. *sceacga*, a bush of hair; small branches of trees (S.)  
*Shom*, a pretence, deceit  
*Sie*, to stretch as a rope  
*Size*, a thick paste used by weavers for stiffening cloth<sup>2</sup>  
*Sizle*, to wander about, to walk in a swaying or rocking manner (P.); *sidle*, to saunter (com.); O. N. *sis*, *lente difficilia moliri*  
*Shedlock*, the same as *Cadlock*, or wild mustard
- W. *gwddf*; Arm. *gouzoug*, the neck; Ir. *scoid*, the neck (W. *ysgwddf*, the neck?)  
 Ir. Gael. *sgiorr*, to slip, to slide; Manx, *skyrrey*, id.  
 W. *cwta*, short, bob-tailed; *cytio*, to cut short; Sans. *kut*, to divide, to split  
 W. *sitr*, what is in jags or shreds; *sitrach*, id.; *sidr*, rags, fringe; *sideru*, to make a thing in rags or holes; Corn. *siger*, full of holes  
 Ir. Gael. *seasg*, sedge [*seasgan*, a single sedge]; W. *hesg*, sedge; *hesgen*, a single rush  
 W. *siom* (*shom*), a void, vacuity, deceit; fallacia, dolus (Dav.); *sioni*, to balk, to deceive; Gael. *sioma* in *sioma-guad* (deceit-word), a pretence, an equivocation; Ir. *somadh*, artful; Sans. *s'ūnya*; Hindust. *sun*, empty, vacant?  
 Manx, *shillee*, a gravelly beach; Ir. Gael. *sgilleog*, a pebble  
 Ir. Gael. *sine*; Manx, *shinney*, any round thing, a bud, a teat, etc.  
 W. *siw* (*shoo*), used for the same purpose; Manx, *sco*, to drive away  
 W. *sioch*, a head of hair, bushy hair; *siochen*, a bushy tuft  
 See *Sham*  
 Ir. Gael. *sin*, to stretch, to extend  
 W. *syth*, paste, glue; adj. stiff, viscid  
 W. *sitellu*, to whisk round, to revolve; *sitell*, a whisk; *sid*, a round, a circling; *sidellu*, to whirl round  
 W. *cedw*, mustard; *llys* (for *llych*), an herb; Sans. *katu*, sharp, pungent, s., mustard

<sup>1</sup> In Scotland the ball or knob used in the game, and the game itself, are both called *Shinty*, which is connected by Dr. Jamieson with Ir. *shon*, a club. I do not know this word. Ir. *sion* (*shon*) means a chain, a bond.

<sup>2</sup> In Armoric *z* answers to W. *dd*. Ex. Arm. *mezvi*, to be drunk; W. *meddw*, drunk; *lac*, murder; W. *lladd*.

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Skelp*, a smart blow; v. to beat severely [Scot. *skelp*, a splinter of wood; to beat, Jam.]; O. N. *skelfa*, terrere, consternere; *skialfa*, tremere. Egillson interprets it by tremefacere, percellere

*Sken*, to squint; *skennock*, one who squints (J.); cf. Hindust. *lep*, plaster, *lepak*, a plasterer

*Skilly*, water in which meat has been boiled, thickened with oatmeal; oatmeal gruel

*Skip*, *skep*, a basket made of rushes or straw (P.); any kind of basket, especially the large round kind used in cotton mills

*Skir*, to slide on the ice

*Skraum*, to grope about with extended arms (Scramble, to go on all fours, to creep. Webs.)

*Skug*, dirt (N. and M.)

*Sleeve*, to kiss (P.)

*Slim*, slender, pliable

*Slub*, to draw out and slightly twist; applied to wool

*Smack*, to strike with the open hand; Prov. Sw. *smäkk*, a light, quick blow with the flat hand; Dan. *smæk*, a slap, a smack. The root is the Celtic *mag*, a paw, a hand

*Snag*, to cut off, to lop wood (J.); *Snack*, a piece, a share; *Snaze*, to clip or cut a hedge

*Sneck*, a string to pull up the latch of a door (B.)

*Snood*, a fillet to tie up a woman's hair; A. S. *snod*, fillet, cap, hood (S.); from *snu*, to twist; Sw. *sno* (Skeat)

## WELSH OR IRISH.

Gael. *sgealp*, *sgeilp*, a slap, a blow with the hand; Ir. *sgealp*, to cut, to rend; Manx, *scelp*, a lash, a rent; *scelpagh*, to lacerate; Ir. Gael. *sgolb*, a splinter, a wattle

Gael. *sgean* (*sken*), to squint; Ir. Gael. *sgean*, a wild look from fear. Cf. Ir. *caille*, a veil; *cailleach* (a veiled person), a nun; W. *garan*, a shank; *garanog* (*garanoc*), long-shanked

W. *isgell*; Corn. *iskel*, broth, pottage; Lat. *jusculum*, broth, soup; Sans. *yūsha*, pottage, soup; *jusha*, id.; Ved. *yas*, to seethe; *yes'*, to cook; Hindust. *yus*, soup, broth

Ir. *sgeap* (*skepa*), a bee-hive; Gael. *sgeap*, a bee-hive, a basket

Ir. Gael. *sgiorr*, to slip, to slide; Manx, *skyrrey*, id.

Arm. *skerampa*, to creep, to crawl; Corn. *cramyas*, to creep; Ir. Gael. *sgram*, to grab, to grasp. See *Scramb*

A variation of *cack*, q. v.

Ir. Gael. *sliob*, the lip, the mouth; Manx, *slee*, to lick

Ir. Gael. *slim*, lank, lean; *sliom*, slim, sleek

Ir. Gael. *lub*, a loop, a plait; v. to bend, turn, fold

Ir. Gael. *smeach*, a fillip, a smack, and *smaile*, a blow; *mag*, *smag*, a paw, a hand; *smac*, the palm of the hand; W. *ysmach*, a buffet

Ir. Gael. *snag*, *snaigh*, to hew, to cut down; W. *naddru*, to hew, to chip; Manx, *sneih*, pl. *sneighyn*, a wound

Ir. Gael. *snichd*, *snaighe*, a thread, a line; Manx, *snaik*, pl. *snaighyn*, thread

W. *ysnoden*; Corn. *snod*, a fillet, a band, a head-band; W. *noden*, a thread; *nydd*, a spin, *nyddu*, to spin; Arm. *neud*, *neuden*, a thread, a string; Ir. Gael. *snadh*, thread, yarn; *snadhm*, a band, a tie; Manx, *snoad*, a hair-line; Ir. Gael. *snod*, a fishing line



## LANC. CELTIC.

*Snug*, handsome (C.); Dan. *smuk*,  
fine, handsome

*So! Sooa!* rest! be quiet  
*Sock*, a ploughshare; Fr. *soc*. id.

*Sock*, to beat, to hit hard; *Sog*, id.;  
*Sogger*, a hard blow

*Sogram*, a person inactive through  
fatness (F.); "Thon lile (little)  
fat *sogram*"

*Sompan*, a foolish, stupid fellow  
*Sonsie*, pleasant, agreeable, plump  
(lucky. Cumb.)

*Sops*, tufts of green grass in the  
hay; lumps of black-lead; O. N.  
*soppr*, pila, sphæra

*Sough*, an underground drain, a wet  
ditch; O. N. *sog*, sentina navis

*Sow*, the head

*Spaits*, torrents of rain at intervals  
(N.)

*Spang*, a spring, a jump

*Spattle*, an instrument for taking  
the dirt off a spade or plough-  
share

*Spar*, to dispute, to contend, to  
practise boxing

*Spiddock*, a spigot

*Spink*, the chaffinch

*Spittle*, an instrument for turning  
out cakes in baking

*Spree*, a wild frolic

*Sprod*, a young salmon (P.)

*Stouk*, a shock of corn of 10 sheaves  
(P.); *Stook*, id.

## WELSH OR IRISH.

Ir. *snoghach*, beautiful, well-look-  
ing; *sno*, appearance, colour;  
Gael. *snuadh*, appearance, colour,  
'beauty'; *snuadhach*,<sup>1</sup> comely,  
good-looking

Ir. Gael. *so*; W. *ho*, rest, quiet

Ir. Gael. *soc*, a ploughshare; W.  
*swch*, (1) a snout, (2) a plough-  
share; Arm. *soch*, *souch*, id.

Ir. *sagh*, *soigh*, to attack; Manx,  
*soiagh*; Ir. *sagaidh*, an attack, an  
attack, an assault; W. *sag*, a  
squeeze of the gullet

W. *socyn*, a pig, an urchin, a boy;  
Ir. Gael. *ramhar* (*ram*), fat;  
W. *rhum*, what swells out (P.)

Ir. *siom*, void, empty; *pen*, head

Ir. Gael. *sonas*, prosperity, happi-  
ness; *sonntach*, merry, joyful;  
Manx, *sonney*, happy; *suntagh*,  
joyous; Hindust. *sandā*, strong,  
stout

W. *sop*, *sob*, a tuft, cluster, mass;  
*sopen*, a bundle, a truss; Corn.  
*suben*, a mass; Arm. *souben*,  
bread in soup; Ir. *sop*, a wisp, a  
bundle

W. *soch*, a sink, a drain

W. *siol*, the top of the head, the  
skull

Ir. Gael. *speid*, a great river flood, a  
mountain torrent

W. *ysbone* (*sponk*), a skip, a hop

W. *yspodol*, a spattle; *ysbawd*, a  
blade, a blade-bone; Lat. *spatula*

Ir. Gael. *sparr*, to drive a nail, to  
enforce by argument; *spairn*, an  
effort, a struggle; v. to contend,  
struggle, wrestle; Arm. *sparra*,  
to strike with a lance

Manx, *spyttog*, a spigot; Gael.  
*spitheag*, a small piece of wood

W. *pinc*, id.

See *Spattle*.

Ir. *spre*, a spark, life, animation;  
Ir. Gael. *sprac*, *spraic*, life, vigour

Ir. Gael. *bradan*, a salmon

W. *ystwe*, a shock of corn; Manx,  
*sthook*, id.

<sup>1</sup> The Gael. *snuadh* is pron. *snuagh*.

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Stour*, dust  
*Strollop*, an untidy female; *Strollops*, rags, dirt  
*Strum*, a strumpet

*Sturdy*, a disease in sheep, causing them to stagger; Fr. *estourdi*, dulled, amazed, dizzy

*Swat*, to sit down (Com.); Fr. *esquatir*, to flatten, to crush; *Swat*, to spill a liquid (Com.)  
*Swill*, a round wicker basket

*Tab*, the tag or end of a lace, a point of land

*Tack*, a small nail, a wooden peg, a lease; v. to fasten; Low Sax., *tak*, Germ., *zacke*, a nail

*Tackle*, weapons, instruments, gear; Germ. *takel*, the tackle of a ship

*Tad*, father; *Dad*, id.; *Tat* (N.)

*Taistrel*, a worthless ill-conditioned person, a scoundrel

*Tantrum*, a fit of passion

*Tare*, eager, brisk; v., to go quickly over the ground

*Targus*, worthless (P.); A.-S. *trag*, evil (G.)

*Tata*, a child's word for a journey or walk, "going a *tata*"

*Tazzele*, a wicked, drunken person; Dan. *taase*, a fool, a ninny

## WELSH OR IRISH.

Ir. Gael. *stur*; Manx, *stoor*, dust  
 Ir. Gael. *troll*, foulness, corruption

Ir. Gael. *striopach*, *striopaid*, a harlot, *striop*, whoredom; Manx, *strumpag*, *streebagh*, a harlot; Gael. *streapag*, a wanton female  
 Gael. *stuirid*=*sturdi*, sullenness, giddiness, a disease in sheep; Ir. *stuirid*, sullenness; Manx, *sturd*, sullenness

W. *yswatio*, to squat, to lie flat; *yswad*, a throwing down; *yswad-an*, a throwing, a slap

Gael. *sguilean*, a large coarse basket made of willow twigs; Ir. Gael. *sgulan*, a basket

W. *tap*, a projecting ledge; Arm. *tapen*, a piece, a morsel

Ir. Gael. *tac*, a pin, a nail, a surety, a bail; *tagh*, welding, securing; Manx, *taaghey*, to solder, to cement; *taggad*, a little nail; Arm. *tach*, a nail; W. *tag*, a strangle; Sans. *tanch* (for *tac*?), to bind together, to constrain

W. *tacl*, an instrument, a tool, an arrow; *taclu*, to arm, dress, equip; from the root *tac*, to join; Corn. *tacel*, id.; *takkye*, to fasten

W. *tad*, father; Arm. *tat*, *tad*, id.; Hindust. *tat*, id.

Ir. Gael. *tais*, soft, weak, cowardly; *traill*, a servant, a drudge

W. *tant*, a string, a spasm, a spring, a sudden gust of passion, a whim; *trwm*, heavy; Sans. *tantu*, a thread; *tantri*, chord of a musical instrument, a string

W. *taer*, eager, ardent; Arm. *tear*, lively, quick; *teara*, to walk quickly; Ir. Gael. *tar*, *tara*, brisk, quick

Ir. Gael. *taireach*, base, vile; Gael. *tarcuis*, contempt; Ir. Gael. *tair*, mean, base, low; Manx, *taaragh*, contemptible, vile

W. *taith* (*tati*), a journey; Ir. Gael. *taisdeal*, a journey

Ir. Gael. *tais*, wet, moist, soft, cowardly; *taiseal-achd*, wetness, softness; Manx, *taish*, wet; *taishlagh*, to wet, to bedew; *tais-lit*, wetted

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Teal*, one of no repute; in Westmoreland, *Tule* (*Tully*, a little wretch. Crav.); *Tully*, a bad woman (P.); Prov. Dan. *tulla*, Prov. Sw. *tule*, a little child, a pleasant companion, from O. N. *thulr*, a prattler

*Teanlay*, the last night in October, the eve of All Saints' day, when fires were kindled on the hills

*Ted*, to spread out hay; O. N. *tad*, manure; *tedja*, to spread out manure (Skeat)

*Teen*, fire (P.)

*Teer*, to smear or daub with earth; *Teere*, to plaster between rafters (J.)

*Teg*, a yearling sheep

*Ten*, to work as mortar, to agitate, to fatigue by violent exercise (Com.)

*Thrimmle*, to pull out reluctantly, "he thrimmel'd out sixpence" (P.); *Thrimble*, *Thrimmo*, to trifle, to delay, to draw out slowly

*Throw*, to spin; s., a turner's lathe; *Thrower*, a spinner; esp., silk-spinner

*Thump*, to beat, to bang; a blow, the sudden fall of a weight

*Tiff*, a state of ill-humour or pettish anger

## WELSH OR IRISH.

Gael. *tual* (*tula*), a fatal or unprosperous journey; adj., unlucky, sinister, base; Ir. *tuai* for *tuail*, bad, evil; Manx, *tultan*, a ruin, a decayed house

W. *tan*, Ir. Gael. *teine*, fire; Ir. Gael. *la*, *lae*, a day; Hindust. *taw*, heat; *tawna*, to heat; *tund*, hot, fierce; *tatta* (for *tanta*?) hot  
W. *tedd*,<sup>1</sup> a spread-out; *teddu*, to spread out, to display

W. *tân*; Ir. Gael. *teine*, fire

W. Ir. Gael. *tir*; Corn., *teer*, earth; Lat. *terra*

Ir. Gael. *othaisg*, a yearling sheep

W. *tynu*, to drag, to pull; *tynol*, straining, pulling; Arm. *tenna*, to draw, to draw in, to draw to or alter; Ir. Gael. *teann*, to stir, move, go or come; Sans. *tan*, to stretch, to spread out

W. *trymlio*, to be sluggish, to flag

W. *tro*, a turn; *troi*, to turn, to revolve; *troiad*, a turning round; Arm. *trō*, a turn, a circle, a circling

W. *tumpian*, to let fall suddenly, to strike; *tump*, a mass; *tumpio*, to drop, to thump; Sans. *tumbā*,<sup>2</sup> a gourd used as a water-bottle

Ir. Gael. *tibhe*, a jibe, a taunt; *tabaid*, a squabble, a quarrel; Arm. *tabut*, a noise, dispute, quarrel

<sup>1</sup> Pryse has this word in his edition of Pugh's *Dictionary*, but he marks it as obsolete. I cannot find it in any other Welsh dictionary. The O. N. *tedja* means only to manure; the idea of spreading may have been added, but it does not belong to the root. Is the Welsh *tedd* for *tanddi*, from *tan* (Sans. *tan*) to extend, to spread?

<sup>2</sup> The Sans. *tumbā* denotes a cow that needs milking, i.e., whose udder is distended; cf. Lat. *tumba*, a sepulchral mound; *tum-ul-us*, a little mound. The Du. *tombe* (tomb) is, therefore, borrowed; Fr. *tombe*. See *Tump*.

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Till*, manure, dung; a compost of earth and lime mixed (Britten, 126)

*Tined*, inflamed, angry (B. and S. of Lanc., p. 2); A.-S. *tendan*, *tyn-dan*, to set on fire

*Tink*, to sound, as a bell

*Tiring*, plastering

*Tisshaw*, a jocose name for a sneeze (a word of imitative sound)

*Titivate*, to trim, to set in order

*Titty*, *Titty-puss*, names for a cat

*Toit*, to fall, to tumble over (P.)

*Tolpin*, a pin belonging to a cart. It is drawn through holes in the shafts, and undrawn for unloading

*Tommy*, bread, a small brown loaf; *Tommy-shop*, a shop where goods are given instead of wages

*Tommy*, a silly fellow

*Toppin*, the hair on a person's forehead, the crest of a bird; O. N. *toppr*, a lock of hair, a tuft

*Torfle*, to decline in health, to fade away, to die. Jamieson has *Torfel* and *Torchel* with the same meaning. He compares the word with O. N. *torfelldr*, difficult

*Tote*, the whole (P.)

*Tougher*, a marriage dowry ("Two Lanc. Lovers," p. 18)

*Traffick*, rubbish; low, rascally people (P.)

*Tram*, to do work contrary to one's usual employment

*Trafe*, to slide along in wet grass, which impedes the feet

*Trest*, a long, large stool; Fr. *tre-teau*, a tressle

## WELSH OR IRISH.

Ir. Gael. *tell*, *tealla*, land, earth; W. *tail*, land, soil; Arm. *teil*, a dung-heap; Lat. *tellus*; Sans. *tala*, soil, ground

Ir. Gael. *teine*; W. *tan*, fire

W. *tinc*, a tinkle; *tincio*, to tinkle; Gael. *tiong*, id.

See *Teer*

W. *tis*, a sneeze; *tisio*, to sneeze; Corn. *tithia*, to hiss? Sans. *kshu*, to sneeze

W. *twtio*, to make neat or trim

W. *titw*, a cat

Ir. Gael. *tuit*, to fall; *tuiteam*, a fall, falling; Manx, *tuitym*, a fall; to fall; W. *cwyddo*, to fall

W. *twill*; Arm. *toull*, a hole, a cavity; *pin*, a peg, a spigot

W. *tama*, solid food, as bread and flesh; O. Ir. *tomil*, manduca (food Z' 457); Ir. Gael. *tomaltas*, victuals; Ir. *tiomal*, to eat

Ir. Gael. *tamhan* (*taman*), a soft fellow, a fool

W. *topyn*, a top, a bunch, a bush of hair; Hindust. *top*, a cover, cap, tuft of trees; *topi-wala*, one who wears a hat (European), or an animal with a comb, crest, etc.

Ir. Gael. *torchar*, a fall, death; *torchraim*, I fall, perish, die; *torcur*, passing over or away; *torg*, killing, destroying; Manx, *torckey*, to suffocate

Ir. Gael. *toit*, the whole, all, complete; Lat. *totus*

Ir. *tochar*, a portion, a dower; *toic*, wealth, means; Manx. *toghar*, a portion, a dowry

Ir. Gael. *drabh*, *drabhas*, dregs, refuse, dirt; *drabach*, dirty, filthy

W. *trafnu*, to mutate, to range; *traf* (for *tram*?), a rotation, a course, a turn

W. *traf*, *trafaes*, a stir, strain, bustle; *trafodi*, to stir, to strive

W. *trawst*, a rafter, a beam; Corn. *troster* (pl. *tresters*), a beam; Arm., *treust*, *trest*, a beam; Gael.

## LANC. CELTIC.

## WELSH OR IRISH.

- Trice*, a short time, "in a trice", quickly, immediately
- Trig*, to fill, to stuff; esp., the stomach
- Trim*, to scold, to beat, to chastise
- Trip*, a race, family, or brood
- Trollibags*, the intestines; *Trollops*, a dirty female
- Trolly*, a low, heavy cart; a kind of sledge (Britten); a pig's pluck (J.)
- Tron*, to do neat work (Com.)
- Trouan*, truant; Fr. *truand*, a vagabond, a beggar
- Truck*, a small wooden wheel; a low carriage for goods; (*Trucks*, round balls. Phillips.)
- Tully*, a bad woman, a little unfortunate wretch
- Tum*, to card wool for the first time with coarse cards
- Tump*, a round hillock. a stack of hay, a mound about trees
- Turnil*, a long oval tub, esp. used for scalding pigs
- Tush*, thickly grown (Com.); *Tussock*, a tuft of long, coarse grass
- Tut*, interj. expressing contempt or dislike; Fr. *trut*, tush! tut!
- Tuttle*, an awkward person; one ill-conditioned (C.)
- Twiddle*, to turn round the thumbs in quiet meditation
- treasd* (*trest*, a long bench or form, as in a school; Ir. *tresdeil*, a three-legged stool
- Ir. Gael. *treis*, a while, a short space of time, a spell; *treimse*, a time, a period
- W. *trecio*, to equip, to furnish
- Ir. W. *trino*, to scold, handle, fight; *trin*, a handling, a quarrel
- Ir. Gael. *treabh*, a family, tribe, clan; a farmed village; W. *tref*, a town? Lat. *tribus*
- Ir. Gael. *troll*, corruption, defilement; *trull*, a drab, a slut; Manx, *trallec*, dirty; Arm. *trulen*, a dirty, slovenly woman; W. *drewllyd*, nasty, stinking
- W. *trol*, a cylinder, a small cart; *trwli*, round and bulky
- W. *trawn*, what is over or superior (Pryse); *troni*, to render superior (Pugh)
- W. *truan*, a wretched creature; Arm. *trouand*, a vagabond, a beggar; Ir. Gael. *truagh*, poor, wretched; *truaghan*, a wretched creature
- W. *trwc*, what is round, a turn, a truck; *trwca*, a bowl; *trwawl*, a rundle
- See *Teal*
- W. *tymmig* (*y* Eng. *u*), pulling, twitching (Rich.); *vellicatio* (Dav.); *tymhig*, a twitch, a stinging
- W. *twmp*, a round mass, a knoll; Ir. *tuimpe* (*tumpe*), a hump; Manx, *tom*, a knob or boss, a hillock; Lat. *tumba*, a sepulchral mound. See *Thump*
- W. *turnel*, a tub, a vat
- W. *twys*, a tuft; *twysog*, tufted (-*oc* or -*og* is also a dim. form); *twysg*, a mass, a heap
- Ir. Gael. *tut*; W. *tutt*, id.; Ir. Gael. *tut*, a stink; *tutach*, stinking
- Ir. Gael. *tuathal* (*tutal*), awkward, boorish, clownish; *tuath*, people, country people
- W. *chwid*, a quick turn; *chwido*, to move quickly; *chwidro*, to re-

## LANC. CELTIC.

## WELSH OR IRISH.

- Twig*, to observe, to perceive, to understand
- Udge*, to shake or surge with laughter
- Urchin*, *Urchon* (B.), a hedge-hog ; Fr. *herisson* ; Lat. *erinaceus*
- Urled*, stunted (starved with cold. H. N.) (pinched with cold. Craven)
- Vamp*, to mend, to patch; *vamp up*, to revive old claims or grievances
- Vlother*, *Flother*, nonsensical talk (P.)
- Waff*, a slight blast, a puff of wind
- Waint*, clever, dexterous
- Waith*, the apparition of a person about to die, or recently dead
- Wallas*,<sup>1</sup> to lap up greedily, as dogs eat porridge
- Wallow*, insipid, tasteless
- Wap*, a blow; v., to beat, to flutter the wings; adv., quickly, smartly
- Warble*, a swelling or tumour in cattle caused by insects; Prov. Sw. *vapla*, a swelling, a boil
- Warish*, to recover from sickness; Fr. *guérir*, to heal
- Warish*, unsavoury (P.)
- volve, to move giddily (ch=c and c=t); Cf. *twill*=quill, *twilt*=quilt, etc. (Hall)
- Ir. Gael. *tuig*, to see, observe, understand; *tuigsi*, discernment; O. Ir., *tuicci*, intelligit (Z 438); Manx, *toiggal*, to see, to understand; Hindust. *toh* (for *tog?*), watching secretly
- Ir. Gael. *udal*, a shaking, a moving to and fro; Ir. *udalach*, wavering, tottering; W. *nugio*, to shake, to quiver; Manx, *udlan*, a swivel
- Ir. Gael. *uirchean* (*urchen*), a little pig
- W. *oer*, cold, *oeri*, to grow cold; *oerllyd*, chilly
- W. *gwam*, a tilt, a vamp; Ir. Gael. *faim*, a border, a hem
- W. *ffladru*, to be foolish in speech; *ffladr*, foolish, doting; Arm. *flatra*, to report what another has said, to detract; Ir. Gael. *blad*, the mouth; *bladach*, garrulous, abusive; *bladair*, a flatterer
- W. *chwaff*, a quick gust
- W. *gwaint*, smart, brisk
- W. *gwêdd* (dd=soft th); Corn. *wêth*, a figure, a form
- W. *gwallaw*, to pour, empty, exhaust; Arm. *goullôi*, vider, ôter ce qu'il y a dans une chose, dés-emplir
- W. *gwall*, defect, failing; *gwallog*, defective, faulty; Arm. *goular*, fade, insipide
- W. *chwap*, *wab*, a blow; *chwapio*, to strike smartly; *chwap*, instantly, at once
- Arm. *gwerbl*, a tumour, a boil; W. *gwerbl*, an acorn, a chestnut (Jones, 1760)
- W. *gwared*, to save, deliver, remedy, heal; Corn. *gweres*, to help, to heal; Arm. *gwarezi*, to procure assistance or safety
- W. *gwâr*, tame, mild, meek<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the verbal suffix, *-as*, see *Lammas*.

<sup>2</sup> We may compare *gwâr* with Hindust. *râr*, time, delay, waiting, patience.

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Washer*, a round piece of leather which, when wetted, was pressed upon a stone to draw it up<sup>1</sup>

*Wassail*, a slender twig? "as waik as a *wassail*", a common simile

*Week*, to squeak, to whine, as a pig (P.)

*Week*, to kick (B.)

*Welle*, a grassy field, a plain (Anturs of Arthur, p. 2); Du. *veld*, a field

*Welt*, a doubling in a garment, a hem (C.); a ribbed knitting (P.)

*Went*, the top part of a knit stocking (J.); a separate part from the rest, formerly made by a thicker, ribbed knitting; Germ. *wende*, the act of turning, a turn

*Wessel*, to beat

*Whaff*, a gust of wind

*Whale*, to beat with a pliant stick

*Whap*, a blow, to strike smartly. See *Wap*

*Wharre*, crabs, the crab-tree; *Wherr*, very sour (C.); *Wherled*, soured, said of milk (J.)

*Whelk*, a blow (P.)

*Wherry*, to laugh, to giggle

*Whew*, a sudden transition or vanishing

*Whewt*, to whistle

## WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *gwasg*, pressure; *gwasgu*, to press; Arm. *gwask*, pressure, compression; *gwasker*, one who presses or fastens; Ir. Gael. *faisg*, a tie, a band, compression; *fas-gair*, a keeper

W. *gwas*, a boy; prim., a branch; Ir. Gael. *gas*, a stalk, a stem, a young boy; (*gwasell*, a little branch)

W. *gwich*, a squeak, a squeal; *gwichio*, to squeak

W. *gwingo*; Arm. *gwinka*, to kick, to spurn

Corn. *gwel* (*wel*), a field; W. *gwalas*, a plain

W. *gwald*, a hem, a border; *gwaltes*, a welt; Ir. Gael. *faltan*, a belt, a welt; *fal*, a rim, a border

W. *gwant*, a mark, a division

Ir. Gael. *gas*, a branch, a bough; O. W. *gwas*, id.; (*gwasell*, a little branch=stick)

W. *chwaff*, a quick gust

Corn. *gwelen*; W. *gwial*, *gwialen*; Arm. *gwalen* (*gwal*), a rod, a stick

W. *chwap*, a sudden stroke; *chwapio*, to strike smartly

W. *chwerw*, sharp, bitter; Arm. *chouero*, id.; Ir. Gael. *gear*, sharp, sour; W. *garw*, sharp, sour

Ir. Gael. *faile*, a blow. See *Whale*

W. *chwerthin*, laughter, a laugh; to laugh; Arm. *choaraz*, laughter; *choarzin*, to laugh

W. *chwiw*, a whirl, a quick turn

W. *chwyth*, a breath, a blast; *chwythell*, a whistle; *chwythellu*, to whistle; Arm. *chouitella*, to whistle, to play on the flute

<sup>1</sup> In mechanics, the *washer* is a ring of metal or leather used to secure tightness of joints.

## LANC. CELTIC.

*Whiff*, a glimpse; *whiffle*, to flutter, to be unsteady, to speak wildly; O. N. *veifa*, gyrare

*Whiff*, a short puff

*Whig*, butter-milk

*Whig*, a sweet cake or bun with currants; Low. G. *wecke*, a wedge; *weck*, a roll of bread

*Whin*, furze

*Wise*, a stalk, a plant; *wyzles*, potato stalks

*Wither*, very strong, lusty (C.); *witherin*, large, powerful (B.); also astounding

*Wo*, *Wöa*, the carter's cry to his horse, stop!

*Wistey* a large populous place, a spacious place (C.)

*Wraith*, an apparition of a person before or after death, a spectre (an apparition in the likeness of a person supposed to be seen before or soon after death. Jam.)

*Wyzles*, stalks of potatoes, etc.

*Yarry*, harsh-flavoured, acrid; *Yar-rish*, harsh in flavour; *Yary*, acrid

*Yerk*, *Yark*, to strike hard with a quick motion=*jerk*

*Yeanlin*, a lamb just yeaned; A.-S. *eanian*, to yeane

## WELSH OR IRISH.

W. *chwif*, a quick, sudden movement, a whirl; *chwifio*, to fly, to whirl, to wander

W. *chwiff*, a hiss, a whiff, a puff

W. *chwig*, butter-milk; adj., sour

W. *chwioog*=*chwigo*, sweet cake-bread, a cake, a manchet; *itrion*, (a cake made of sesame and honey) (Dav.); W. *chweg*, sweet

W. *chwyn*, weeds

W. *gwydd*, trees, shrubs; *gwydden*, Arm. *guezzen*, a shrub

W. *uthr*, terrible, awful; Arm. *eüzuz*, *heuzuz*, id.

W. *wo*, id.; *hoe*, rest, quiet, cessation

W. *gwys*, people, a peopled region

W. *rhith*, a form, shape, figure, an appearance; *rhithedd*, semblance; Corn. *roath*, form, figure

See *Wise*

W. *garw*, rough, harsh; Ir. Gael. *geur*, *gear*, sharp, sour; *garg*, rough; Sans. *garja*, a deep, harsh sound, a rumbling

W. *terc* (*te*=*che*) a jerk, a jolt; *tercu*, to jerk, to jolt; *taer*, quick, eager

W. *oen*; Arm. *oan*; Corn. *oin*, *oan*; Ir. Gael. *uan*, a lamb; W. *oena* to bring forth lambs, to yeane

This list has extended to so great a length that I cannot venture to add any remarks on the social or other conditions which it denotes, or to offer any classification of the words. It reveals much that is interesting and important; but my main design has been to show that the Celtic element in the Lancashire dialect is very considerable; and this object has been accomplished by the mere presentation of the Celtic words that are found in it. These amount to more than seven hundred; and if to these we add the Celtic words which are not found in this dialect, but appear in the dialects of Cumberland on the north, and of Cheshire and Shropshire on the south, we shall have fully a thousand



Celtic words that are yet retained, or were retained within this century, in a comparatively small part of the English soil. There are also some words that are probably due to this source; but being found in other languages, it is not easy to determine from what quarter they have been derived; as *badger*, a dealer in corn, Fr. *bladier* (cf. *sojer* from *soldier*), the Fr. word being drawn from the Celtic *blawd*=*blād*, meal; and *bruit*, to make a talk of; *bruited*, talked about; Fr. *bruit*, noise, common tale, report; W. *brud* (for *brut*), a report, a chronicle; Ir. *bruidh-ean*, noise, verbal quarrel. There is also a curious blending of words, apparently Celtic, in the Scandinavian languages, as Prof. Holmboe has pointed out in his *Norsk og Keltisk*, and hence a difficulty arises in assigning the derivation of some Lancashire words. Thus *bool* means either a curved handle or a child's hoop; O. N. *böll-r*, a round lump, a globe; W. *bwl* (*bool*), a rotundity; Arm. *boul*, a round body; *boul-as*, a bud; (Cf. Sans. *bul-i*, womb or matrice; Hindust. *bul-bul-a*, a bubble; *bul-uk*, a large prominent eye). The word *truss* means a square mass of hay; O. N. *truss*, a bag, baggage; W. *trwsa*; Ir. *trus*, id.; Ir. *trusach*, a sheaf; Arm. *trous*; Fr. *trousseau*. In these and other instances, we may assume that they are from a Celtic source.

There can be no doubt that Cumberland and Lancashire were inhabited by a Cymric race at the time of the Saxon invasion. But there are many Celtic words in the dialect that are not now found in the Welsh or Breton languages. Are we to infer that these languages have lost the words that are now found only in Irish or Gaelic? If the number of these words were small, we might make this inference, but as it is of a large amount, it seems more probable that there was a prior occupation of the land by an earlier branch of the Celtic stock. A race allied to the Irish or Gaelic people seems to have made the first Celtic migration into the land, probably from France or Holland, and from the south-eastern parts gradually to have spread

themselves over the whole country; one part going westward to Ireland, and the other northward into Scotland.

I subjoin some Lancashire words which, I think, are not Teutonic or Scandinavian, on which I shall be glad if your readers can throw some light.

- Bummlin*, a blockhead. W. *pwmp*, a round mass?  
*Cam*, a head ornament. W. *cam*?  
*Chitty-bauk*, a small beam placed above the main beam. W. *cytio*, to cut, to diminish; *cwta*, short?  
*Conivers*, the kidneys of a beast. O. N. *nyra*, a kidney?  
*Coppet*, a stool. *Copt* means convex. Is *coppet* so called from its form, which was convex at the top?  
*Cush*, a cow without horns.  
*Divelin*, the swift; said to be so named from its ugliness and screeching note. W. *dieflyn*, a little devil or imp?  
*Feague*, a dirty idle person.  
*Footer*, *Fotre*, to take off the awn or beard of barley by an iron instrument. Ir. Gael. *fol*, hair, a tail? *Footer* is for *Folter*.  
*Govelin*, uneducated, rude.  
*Hankle*, to mar. Ir. *ainghlim*, to persecute?  
*Kevel*, to sprawl, to gambol. W. *chwif*, *chwyf*, a quick motion?  
*Kizent*, much dried.  
*Mollicroy*, to twist. W. *mwl* and *cwm*?  
*Pine*, to dry over-much.  
*Rallock*, to romp. Eng. *rollock*?  
*Skear*, a squirrel's nest. W. *caer*?  
*Smouch*, to take sily. W. *mwei*, a fog; *much*, darkness?  
*Terrilood*, chased by a dog. W. *taer*, eager, swift; *elu*, to go?  
*Wesron*, the alimentary canal in beasts.

J. DAVIES.

#### CORRIGENDUM.

P. 4, last line, *for handle read* hackle.

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THE SURVEY AND PRESENTMENT OF THE  
MANOR OF ROATH-KEYNSHAM  
IN GLAMORGAN.

THE parish of Roath, into which enters a part of the manor of Roath-Keynsham, lies between Cardiff and the lower part of the Rhymny river, and consequently forms the south-eastern corner of the county of Glamorgan and of the Principality of Wales. The name occurs in a charter of about 1102 as "Raz". Merrick says that Jenkin ap Adam ap Cynaelthuy, great-grandsire of Sir William ap Thomas, married Alice, daughter and heiress of David Roth; from which family the place may have taken its name. But if, which is very doubtful, there was such a family, they are more likely to have taken their name from the place than to have given their name to it; for Roath or Raz is not, like Sully or Barry, an imported name.

The presentment is inscribed upon three skins of parchment, each 2 feet 4 inches long by about 12 inches broad, and stitched together with white silk thread. The left, or commencing side, has been pared close, so that one or sometimes two words are wanting all the way down. Besides this, about 8 inches of the third skin has been cut off, with probably at the least one whole skin, as is shown by a comparison with the contents of a survey of the same manor in 1703, of which a copy of the part describing the boundaries (being the part wanting in the roll) has been preserved, and is here given. The remainder of the roll is in fair condition, save that a part of the heading is stained and obscured. There is no original endorsement; but the roll is addressed, in a later hand, to "Philip Lewis, Esq., Lanrumney."

The sixteen jurors are designated as "*generosi*" or gentlemen, a title then confined to the son of an esquire, or to a landed proprietor above the rank of a yeoman,

and in the commission of the peace. Thirteen of them are drawn from principal parishes in the manor : from Llanedern, one ; Llanishen, eight ; Roath, four. Three come from Lisvaen, which was not within the manor ; and the other parishes, Cardiff, Llandaff, and Whitchurch, parts of which were comprised in the manor (within which, no doubt, the jurors all held land), are not represented at all upon the jury. One juror only, Morris, has a name not distinctly Welsh. Of the other names, Evan, Griffith, Howell, Jenkin, Meredith, Morgan, and Rees, are exclusively Welsh ; Herbert is Welsh by adoption ; and David, Edmund, Edward, James, John, Lewis, Matho or Mathew, Thomas, and William, though common in England, are common also in Wales as Christian names, and their use as surnames is confined to Wales. These names show to what an extent the Welsh had superseded the English settlers even in the immediate neighbourhood of the chief residence of the foreign lord. That this was not always so is evident from the presence of such names as Adam's Croft, Barkeley's Croft, Foures' Land, Leche's Hill, Porter's Land in Adam's Down, Rosse's Land, Spodell's Land, and Stoge's Croft, which occur in Roath in the reign of Henry VI.

The list also shows that though surnames were in use, they were not exclusively so. Where more than two names are given, they are those of the holder, his father, and his father's father, though the connecting "ap" is sometimes omitted. Only eight of the jurors may be regarded as using surnames as in England ; the other eight followed the Welsh fashion, and each bore a different name from his father, and transmitted a different name to his son. Also, in the body of the record nearly all the names are Welsh. The exceptions are Basset, Grant, and Humberstone. Kemeys is derived from a Welsh parish in Monmouthshire ; but it is probable that those who bore the name were of Norman origin.

The parish of Roath includes the whole or parts of seven manors :—Roath-Dogfild, Roath - Tewkesbury,

Roath-Keynsham, White-Friars, Splot, Spittal, and Griffithsmore. Unfortunately their boundaries have not been laid down upon any map, and some of them have not even been described in words.

Roath-Dogfild is supposed by Merrick to derive its distinctive name from Beth-y-cy-dy, a place now unknown. In the inquisition of Countess Isabel, 18 Henry VI, is a place called "Dogowyldescroft", which may be the name under an English disguise. It was probably the original manor of Roath, out of which the others have been carved. Its manor-house, called "The Court", was fortified, and its moat long remained. It certainly extended into Llanishen parish. Its tenures are described as freehold, sergeanty, kitchenhold, and bond-tenure. In it is Lloyn-y-Grant, so called from a family of Grants, probably the same who succeeded the Syggin family at Tre Syggin or Sygginston, who dwelt there for four generations, and left an heiress, who died in 1727, aged eighty-two, having married Thomas Gibbon of Scurla Castle. It was, no doubt, this original manor that is entered as "Rothe maner' extent", "Roathe maner' extent", "Roche maner", "Roath Lordship", in various inquisitions from 24 Edward I onwards, and which was held by the lord of Glamorgan down to the time of Jasper Tudor. It then came to the Earl of Worcester, who sold it to Rowland Morgan of Machen, whence it has come to Lord Tredegar.

Roath Tewkesbury was attached by an early grant to that monastery, and no doubt then erected into a manor or sub-manor, held under the lords of Roath-Dogfild or of Cardiff. Probably the connection commenced by the gift of the mill of Raz to Tewkesbury by Robert de Haia about 1102. (*N. Mon.*, ii, 61.) It included the Castle of Cardiff, the church of Roath, and the White or Grey Friars. 33 Edward I, Roath and Leckwith are called members of the town and Castle of Cardiff. At the Dissolution it was purchased by Sir George Herbert (1546), and held *in capite*. It was then described as a parcel of land, part of the late sup-

pressed monastery of Tewkesbury. It descended to Sir William Herbert, who died childless, and whose heirs were Sir William Dodington, William Herbert of Cogan Pill, and William Herbert of Swansea. It seems to have been purchased by Lord Bute.

White or Grey Friars was probably a sub-manor of Roath-Tewkesbury. It was the seat of a religious house which stood in Crockherbtown, and was attached to St. Augustin's, Bristol. It was founded in 1280 by Gilbert de Clare, and at the Dissolution purchased by Sir George Herbert, who built with the materials of the Friary the house of which the ruins remain. The manor descended with those of Cogan and Leckwith, all which were purchased by the late Lord Bute.

The Benedictines or Black Monks had a priory at Cardiff, founded, 1147, by Robert Earl of Gloucester, probably as a cell to Tewkesbury. It stood west of the Castle, just beyond the Taff. In 1230-40 there were canons and a prior. William de Deerhurst was appointed Prior in 1262. (*N. Mon.*, iv, 632.) If ever this house had an appendant manor, all trace of it has long been lost.

37 Henry VIII, James Gunter of Abergavenny applied for a lease of the Friars Preachers and Friars Minors at Cardiff, and with William Lewis for the farm of the manor of Cardiff, late in Tewkesbury Monastery.

Spittal manor was attached to the Guest House or Hospital called the Spittal, placed in Speed's map at the end of Crockherbtown. The hospital was probably attached to St. Peter's Gloucester, as its tithe was afterwards held by the Dean of that Cathedral. The manor is named in the Windsor settlement, and has descended to Lord Bute.

Splot manor, or "Dominium", so called in the inquisition of Isabel Countess of Warwick, 18 Henry VI, is described as a parcel of land holden of the Lord of Llandaff. It paid suit to the Bishop's Court in Leland's time. The property, and probably the manor, belonged for several generations to the Bawdrip family of Penmark Place, the last of whom, William Bawdrip, sold

both estates, about 1625, to Sir Edward Lewis of Van, in whose inquisition Splot is described as in the parishes of St. Mary and Roath. It was probably purchased by the Earls of Pembroke. The name is still preserved in two farms, Upper and Lower Splot, between Roath village and the sea. The manor is scheduled in the Windsor settlement, and belongs to Lord Bute.

Griffithsmore, or -moor, is entered in the inquisitions of 31 Edward I as composed of sixty acres "terrae" and sixteen acres "prati". It appears also 23 and 49 Edward III. In the schedule of Countess Isabel, 18 Henry VI, it is entered as "Griffithsmore dominium et 200 acre terre, 60 acre prati, et 40 acre pasture, inter burgum de kaerdyf et aquam Sabrinam"; so that it extended to the sea. It is also mentioned in the Roath-Keynsham Survey of 1703 as abutting on the Rhymny.

The remaining manor, Roath-Keynsham, is that which gives occasion to this paper. It was so called because granted by Robert Earl of Gloucester to his Abbey of Keynsham. In the taxation list of Pope Nicholas in 1291, the Abbot of Keynsham had a carucate of land in Roath yielding £2 13s. 4d., and certain rights, rents, and a water mill, yielding £5 7s. 4d. At the dissolution it was purchased by Sir Edward Lewis of Van, and held as church property, *in capite*. The Lewises seem to have sold it to the Morgans of Tredegar.

It is difficult, either from the present survey, or from the later one in 1703, to trace the boundaries of this manor. It extended, as here stated, into the parishes of Roath, Llanedern, Cardiff, Llandaff, and Whitchurch. It probably included nearly or quite all Llanedern, and but very little of either Llandaff or Whitchurch, which were independent manors. The places named in the two surveys as within it, are Blaen ffynon Bach, or Abbot's Land, Cae-y-Cunrich, Cae-yr-Gwy-fil, Castell Cefn-Mably, Cefn Poeth or Porth, Cefn Coed or Kenkoed, Cwrt-bach, Craig-y-llwyn, Craig-y-Castell,

Coed-y-groes, Craig-maes-y-Gwynt, Kibur, Draynewa, Dreiniog, the Dulais brook, Goose-lear, Ffos-lais, Griffithmore, Gwaun-Adam, Gwaun-y-Maillocke, Gwaun-y-pentra, Gwaun-tre-Oda, Heol-y-Coed, Heol-y-Cefn-Coed, Lloyn-y-Grant, Mynydd Bychan, Nant Mawr, Nant-y-Gabele or Babill, Nant-y-Cymma, Pantbach, Pengam, Plorin, Pont-Evan Quint, Pont-Lykie, Pedair-erw-Twch, Pwll-duy, Ralph-wartha, Rhyd-y-Billwhe or Billwa, Roath Mill, Rhyd-y-Cooke or Kilodhe, Rhyd-y-Watley, Rhyd-y-Minnerch, Saith Erwdeon, Stabell-y-Cwn, Tir Caled, Tir-cwm-bach, Tir-Grono-yr-llygad, Tir-y-Capel, Tir-drwm (or Diom) bach, Tir-yr-ynis, Tir-Howell-Cos, Ton-mawr, Wedal, Y-wann-dduy, and Y-wann-Ddyrol, some of which are recorded on the ordnance sheets for the district.

Of the persons mentioned, there is other record only of the most considerable. William Lewis, lord of the manor, was son of Sir Edward Lewis and Lady Ann Sackville, whose fine altar-tomb at Edington, with effigies of the knight and lady and their children, remains, though much in need of repair. He married in 1648, two years before the date of the Survey, Margaret Banastre, heiress of Boarstall and Brill in Oxon and Bucks. He died in 1661, leaving daughters only. His heir in the male line was his brother, Richard Lewis, of the Van, Edington, and Corsham, who appears as lord of the manor in the Survey of 1703, and died in 1706. Thomas Lewis of Llanishen, before whom the Survey was held, was the principal cadet of the family of Van. He was Sheriff in 1629, and married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Johns of Abergavenny. Mrs. Grace Lewis, who appears as a landowner in the survey of 1703, was the widow of his son Gabriel, and the daughter of Humphrey Wyndham of Danraven. She died in the year of the Survey, and bequeathed lands in Roath-Keynsham and Llanvedw.

Sir Charles Kemeys of Cefn Mably married in 1678 Mary, a daughter and eventual co-heir of Philip, fourth Lord Wharton, and their daughter Jane carried the



estate to the Tynte family. William Miles of Cabalva married Margaret daughter of Jenkin Thomas George of Llanedern, and was related to the Davids, Gwyns, and other of the lesser landed gentry of the district. Their son Morgan Miles married Florence Basset of Miscin. Agnes Howell was probably one of the family of whom Sir George Howell of Roath married a daughter of Sir Thomas Clarges. Their daughter and heir Jane married Marmaduke Gwynne. Edmund Thomas was son of William and grandson of Edmund Thomas of Wenvoe. He married 1671 Mrs. Mary Lewis of Penmarck Place, but probably died childless, as his heir was his sister Elizabeth, heiress of Wenvoe and Ruperra, whose second husband was Sir John Thomas, Bart., who was of Wenvoe, and died 1703. Sir Lewis Morgan of Ruperra was a cadet of Tredegar. Thomas Morgan of Llanrhyminy was son of Thos. Morgan and Mary daughter of Sir Nicholas Tynte of Cefn Mably. Rowland Morgan was his rather remote ancestor.

The reply to the third article of the charge mentions two courts, as usual; the Court Leet held twice yearly, about May and Michaelmas; and the Court Baron every three weeks, with cognizance of actions between parties where the debt or damage did not come up to 40s., and with the usual and excellent proviso that the charges of court or costs were not to exceed 2s. 4d.

Sufficient credit has not been given to the soundness and good sense of the manorial system. The great object was to bring justice within the reach and means of everyone, and to secure, as far as possible, the independence of the tribunal. The Court Baron, Curia Baronis, the domestic Court of the Lord, to which free tenants alone owed suit, that is of which they were members, was formerly often held in the Lord's hall, and hence called sometimes the hall mote. It was a civil court only, and not of record, and might be held every three weeks. It took cognizance of misdemeanours and nuisances, and of questions of landed property within the manor, of debts and damages

under 40s., services, customs, heriots, chief rents, amerce-  
ments, trespasses, the Lord's rights, and the like.  
When there were copyholds it took cognizance of them  
also. The steward of the manor presided.

The Court-Leet (*Leod, plebs, curia populi*), probably a  
much earlier institution, of which all resiants or commo-  
rants, or residents within the manor were members, was  
called also the Folk Mote, and was commonly held in the  
open air, twice yearly, within a month after Easter and  
Michaelmas. Its meetings were called "law days". It  
tried criminal cases, and although the lord received the  
profits and perquisites, it was regarded as the King's  
court, and was a court of record. It also took cognizance  
of pleas of or above 40s., and its verdicts were found by a  
jury of the members, of not less than twelve nor above  
twenty-three. The steward of the Leet presided. The  
"suitors" of these courts were not, as might be sup-  
posed, persons having suits before the court; they were  
persons owing "suit" or service to the court, and bore  
to it about the same relation that a Justice of the  
Peace bears to the court of Quarter Sessions; they  
were members of the court. In some manors the  
tenants elected three of their number, from whom  
the lord selected one as the steward, and the bailiffs of  
the court were in like manner selected by the steward  
from the persons presented to him. The constitution  
even of the Lord's court gave great weight to the  
popular element.

"MANERIUM DE ROTH KENSAM.

"A Survey had and made of the said Lordshipp of Roth Kensam  
on the seventh day of May in the yeare of our Lord God  
one thousand six hundred and fiftye, before Thomas Lewis,  
Esq., and John ..... of the said Lordshipp and Jurors .....  
as enquest to survey the same, videlicet,

EDWARDUS MORIS de Lanederne	} Generosi.
Jacobus Edmund de Lisvaine	
Howellus Thomas de eadem	
Jenkinus John Lewis de eadem	
Willimus Thomas Richard de eadem	
Herbertus Lewis de Roth	
Thomas Meredith de eadem	
Ievanus William Harrie de eadem	

Willimus Harrie de eadem	}	Generosi.
Johannes William Harrie de Lanissen		
Morganus Lewis de eadem		
Willimus Tho. David de eadem		
Lodovicus Edward de eadem		
Lodovicus Griff. Matho de eadem		
Johannes Howell de eadem		
Jenkinus John Meredith de eadem		
Thomas Rees ap Evan de eadem	}	
Juratores.		

“THE SAID Jurors having had in charge, to that intent and purpose, the several Articles following (videlicet):

“IMPRIMIS you are to present William Lewis of the Vanne, esq., to be lord of the said Mannor or Lordshippe of Roth Kensam.

“ITEM you are to enquire and make true presentments of the names of those that owe suite and service to this Manor.

“ITEM you are to present the Customes, Rents, and Services of the Manor, and from whom they are due.

“ITEM you are to present what harriot or reliefs there are due uppon the death or alienation of anie [free]holder within the said Manor.

“ITEM you are to present the severall chiefe rents upon the names of everie tenement in this Manor.

“ITEM you are to present the bounds and limitts of this Manor, and within what parishes the same are contayned.

“In answeare to which Articles the said Jurors (on their oath) doe say and present in forme following:

“IMPRIMIS, to the first article of their charge they say and present that the said William Lewis of the Vanne, esquier, is the undoubted Lord of the Manor.

“ITEM to the second and fift articles of their charge they present and say that the persons undernamed [doe] owe suite of court to the court of the said Lord there heald [as Leate] twice a yeare, when [they shall be] reasonably summoned thereto. And that they hold the severall lands of their severall rentes inserted, from the said Lord, in free and common Soccage tenure, paying to the [said] Lord the severall summs of Moneys at their Names appearing [as chief rent], at [Mi]chelmas or within fifteen dayes then next after, videlicet,

“IMPRIMIS, Sir Charles Kemeys of Kevenmable, Knight, for lands purchased by [Edw]ard Kemeys of Kevenmable, esquier, late deceased, of John ap John David, [scit]uate and being in the parish of Lanedern, and now holden by David Lewelin [of the] said Sir Charles by lease, and in the tenure of David Jenkin as under tenant to the said David Lewelin. *xvid.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for the lands late of the said Jenkin Williams, lieing in Kenkoed, within the said parish of Lanederne, nowe in the tenure [of] Thomas Lewis, clerke, and Edmund William of Pill duy. *xvid.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles [Kemeys], Knight, for the lands late of the said Jenkin William, [lie]ing and being hard by Dowlais, within the said parish of Lanederne, now in the [ten]ure of Robert Watkin, and called by the name of Ka Sir Howell. *iiiijd.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for lands late in the tenure of Edward ..... weaver, scithence in the occupation of John Thomas ap Owen, now in the [ten]ure of Edward John his sonne, which said lands are lieing and being at Kenkoed [i]n the said parish of Lanederne. *xxd.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys for lands scituate neere Kraig y Llonyn in Lanederne, an[d] late in the tenure of Richard David Howell, harper, and now in the occupation of William Thomas William. *ijd.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for the lands late of David John William, [bei]ng in Kenkoed in the said parish of Lanederne, formerlie in the tenure of Wenllian [He]rbert, and now in the tenure of William James and Thomas John Lewis. *xxijd.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for lands in Kencoed, within the said parish of [Lane]derne, being parte of the lands of Harrie William, scithence of James Harrie, and [no]w in the tenure of Lewelin Morgan and John Richard. *xiiiijd. ob.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for a meadow scituate in the said parish of Lane[der]ne, ioyneing to Kraig Elen and Kraig Maes y gwynt, which said meadowe was parte [of] the lands late of Miles Lewis, then in the tenure of John William, weaver; scithence [the] lands of William Miles of Cabalva; and after that the lands of Lewelin John [Nic]holas, father to James Lewelin, now liveing; and now in the tenure of John Roger; [alsoe] for the severall parcells of lands thereto adioyneing and scituate in Lanederne [afores]aid, ..... called Ka-yn-gwy-fil, Stabell-y-Cwm, and Y-wayn-dduy, alias Gwayn-Adam, [and] now in the tenure of Lewelin Morgan, weaver. *js.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for part of the land late of David William (alias Dio Wyll), scituate in Lanederne, neere a place called Kraig y Llwyn, [now] in the tenure of Edward Humberston. *ixd.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles for the lands late of Evan Lewis, called Erw Varle, [be]ing neere the parke of Kevenmable in the said parish of Lanederne, and now in the occupation of William Vaughan. *jd. ob.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for another parte of the lands of the [said] David William, scituate in Lanederne aforesaid, and ioyneing with the rest of [the] said land before mentioned, and now in the tenure of the said Edward Humberstonne. *jd. ob.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for the landes late of Harrie Edmund, scithence [of] Robert John Richard, lieing by Dowleis, within the parish of Lanederne aforesaid, [and in] the tenure of Robert Watkin William. *xijd.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for the lands now in the tenure of Watkin [Wi]lliam Geoffrey, scituate in Lanederne aforesaid, called Kraig Elen, being parte of [the] lands late of Treharne Morgan. *ijjd.*”

### End of the first skin.

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for the lands late of Thomas Morgan [of] Machen, esquier, now in the tenure of the late wife and relict of Rowland Thomas, [lie]ing and being in the parish of Lanederne aforesaid. *ijd. ob.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for the lands late of Agnes Howell of .....dwy, heretofore in the tenure of John Watkin, lieing neere the parke of Keven[ma]blie, within the said parish of Lanederne, and called and knowne by the name [of] Tir Kadwgan. *xd.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for the lands late of Rees Dio Will, [scitu]at in the parish of Lanederne aforesaid, and now in the tenure of John William Merricke. *xd. ob.*

“ITEM the same Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for lands called Kraig y Llwyn, scituat [in] Lanederne aforesaid, late in the tenure of the relict of John Howell, now in the [occ]upation of Jenkin John Richard. *ijjd.*

“ITEM Thomas Lewis of Lanishen, esquier, for the lands late of John Lewis Dio, lieing at [Ken]koed in the said parish of Lanederne, nowe in the tenure of James Morgan and [Lew]is ap Owen. *iijs. iiijd. ob.*

“ITEM the same Thomas Lewis, esquier, for parte of the lands late of Harrie Williams, [lie]ing and being at Kenkoed in the said parish of Lanederne, and now in the tenure [of] the said James Morgan and Lewis ap Owen. *xxd.*

“ITEM the same Thomas Lewis, esquier, for the lands late of Morgan Lewis Evan, called [...]en Porth (alias Tir Diom bach), scituate and lieing in the parish of Lanederne, and [now] in the tenure of Richard Edward. *iiijd.*

“ITEM the same Thomas Lewis, esq., for the lands of William Vaughan, lieing in [Lane]derne aforesaid, late in the tenure of

Jenkin y Gweltwr, and now in the tenure of Phillip Thomas Jenkin, conteineing by estimation four acres of Welsh measure [or t]hereabouts. *vjd.*

“ITEM Edmund Thomas of Wenvo, gentleman (being grandchild and heire to Edmund Thomas [of] Wenvo, esquier, late deceased), for the lands late of James Edmund, lyeing in [Kenk]oed, in the parish of Lanederne aforesaid, and now in the tenure of John Morgan [David] and William Watkin. *ijs. xjd. ob.*

“ITEM the same Edmund Thomas, gentleman, for parte of the lands late of Harrie [Will]iam, lieing and being within the said parish of Lanederne, and now in the tenure of Thomas Walter and Evan John. *ijs. vjd.*

“ITEM Thomas Morgan, esquier, sonne and heire to Sir Lewis Morgan of Rhiw-r-Perrey, [Knig]ht, for parte of the lands late of Treharne Morgan, scituate in Lanederne aforesaid, [and] now in the tenure of Lewelin Morgan. *xijd.*

“ITEM William Vauchan for two tenements of lands called by the name of Llwyn y [Gra]nt ycha and Tir y Capell, scituate in Lanederne aforesaid, and now in the tenure [of] Thomas Mathew and Lewelin David. *iijs. vjd.*

“ITEM Edward Moris, gentleman, for the lands late of Miles Lewis, then in the tenure of John Nicholas, the same being and lieing in the said parish of Lanederne, and now [in] the tenure of David Morgan Harrie. *xxd.*

“ITEM Thomas Lewis, Clerke, Rector of Lanvigan in the Countie of Brecknoche, for parte [of] the lands late of Evan Lewelin Dio Griffith, scituate in Kenkoed, within the said parish [of] Lanederne, which the said Thomas holdeth in right of his now wife for terme of her l[ife], after whose decease the same is to descend to David Lewelin, grandchild of the [said] Evan, for ever.

“ITEM Marie Harrie, widow, for the rest of the lands of the said Ievan Lewelin, scituate in [Kenk]oed, within the said parish of Lanedern, which shee likewise holdeth for terme of her [life]; and after her decease the same is to descend to the said David Lewelin in forme [afore]said. *iijs. viijd.*

“Item the said Marie Harrie, widow, for one parcell of lands (being her own freehold, containing by estimation one acre, of Welsh measure, or thereabouts), formerlie the [land]s of John ap John David, her grandfather, now in the tenure of her the said Marie, [scitu]ate in the said parish of Lanederne. *jd.*

“ITEM James Lewelin for one parcell of the lands late of Treharne Morgan, lieing in Llanederne aforesaid, and mearing betweene a broke there, called Dowlais, and the mill [and lands] of the said James, from that mill upward, and from the said mill

downwards, with [the] lands of David Leuelin, and the lands of the said James Leuelin, called Tir-yr-ynys, [and] an orchard of the said James there unto adioyneing. *jd.*

## LANEDERNE AND ROTH.

“ITEM the forenamed Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, for lands now in the tenure of widow .....than, lieing and being in the severall parishes of Lanederne and Roth, called Gwayne ..... in Ivors Moore. *vjd.*

“ITEM Thomas Morgan of Lan Rumney, esquier, for the lands, formerlie the lands of Rowland Morgan, esq., whereof one tenement called Tir Howell Kos, is scituate in Kenkoed, and now is in the tenure of Meredith David; one other tenement theyreof is lieing in the severall parishes of Lanederne and Roth, and now in the tenure of Rees Watkin. One other tenement theyrof called Llwyn-y-Grant Kenol is lieing and being in Roth, and now in the tenure of Morgan Williams. One other tenement theyrof is scituate in Roth and now in the tenure of [Harr]ie Basset, gentleman; two other tenements theyrof called by the severall names of Ralf-wartha and Tir-Kaled; whereof the said tenement called Ralf-wartha is in the tenure of [Thom]as Blethin and Robert John; and the said tenement thereof called Tir Caled is in the occupation of David Rees; and both the said tenements are lieing in Roth aforesaid; [also] foure acres of lands lieing neer Pont Likie in the said parish of Roth, called ..... Marthog, being now in the tenure of the said Thomas Blethin and Robert John.

“And the said Jurors doe say and present that the tenant or occupier for the time being [inha]biting or occupieing on the said lands called Llwyn-y-Grant-Kenol, did yearllie pay chiefe rents to the said Lord for these severall lands and tenements, being in all, xiiijs.

## End of second skin.

“[te] of the lands late of Rees Thomas, gentleman, now in the tenure of David Lewis. *id. ob.*

“[The] lands of Joan Lewelin, and now in the tenure of Thomas Eldrid *vjd.* [par]te of the lands latelie sold by Edmund Mathew, esq., called by the name of [Ton] Mawr, and now in the tenure of George William Jones. *jvd. ob.*

“[Another] parte of the said Tonn Mawr, now in the tenure of Morgan Lewis. *ijd. ob.*

“[Item] lands late of Jenkin Lewis, now in the tenure of the forenamed George Williams. *xd.*

“ [Item] lands late of Ioan Lewelin, now in the tenure of William Thomas David. *vjd.*

“ [Item] lands late in the tenure of Jenkin Thomas, now in the occupation of John ..... Evan. *ijd.*

“ [Item] lands called Kraig-y-Castell, alias blaen-ffynon-Denar, neere Draynen-kraig, now in the tenure of Robert Elbrid. *vjd.*

“ [Item] parte of the lands late of Jenkin Morgan Gwyn, and scithence of Rees ..... gentleman, and now in the tenure of Blanch Walter, widow, Lewis ..... Evan, and David Lewis. *ijjd. qs.*

“ ITEM to the third article of [their] charge, they the said Jurors doe present and say in forme followinge :

“ [That] is to say that by custome of the said Lordship or Manor, a Court Leet and Court Baron [are appendant] unto the said Lordship or Manor, and are to be held and kept as hereafter by this ..... expressed, (videlicet) the said Court Leet is there to be holden twice [everie] year [in the] dayes about May and Michelmas, as the said Lord or his steward or stewards shall appoint (giveing a reasonable summons or notice thereof to the said tenants). [Alsoe a] Court Baron everie three weekes to [trie] betweene partis all maner of actions [where] the debt or damadge does not excede the summe of thirtie nine shillings, and ..... pence, and they say that the charges of Court or cost of action there doe not excede the summe of two shillings four pence.

“ [Al]so that the Lordship of the said Manor or Lordship hath by the custome there all the wayes and ffelons goods to be found within the said Lordship or Manor.

“ Likewise that all the tenaunts of the said Manor on all [commons throughout] the year have and may have had ffree common of pasture for all sorte of Cattell on the Heaths or [commons] there called Mynydd Bychan, Y-wayn-ddyval, and Tre Oda.

“ Moreover they say and present that there is a Pinfold or Pound belonging to the said Manor, [and] by the custome of the said Manor, the Lord as often do neede shall require, is and ought [at his] ..... proper costs and charges to make up, repaire, and amende the same.

“ ITEM to the sixth Article of their charge, they say and present that the said Lordship or Manor is scituat or being in the severall parishes of Lanederne, Roth, Cardiff, Landaph, Whitechurch, and Lanissen, and that the meares, limits, and bounds thereof are as following :

“ ITEM the said Lordshippe or Manor meareth in the upper end of the parish of Lanederne [aforesai]d, in a place there



called Keven Poyth afforesaid, with the boundaries of the severall parishes of Lanederne and Lanvedow East and North, untill it cometh to a rivulet of water that [runneth] from the parke of Kevenmableie to the house heretofore of David William (alias Dio [Will]), scithence the house of Rees Dio Will, and now the Mansion House of John William David, and soe to the brooke called Dowlays. [It is] likewise meared in the upper end of the said parish of Lanederne Northward with a well [which runn]eth between the lands of Thomas Lewis of Lanissen, esquier, called Tir-cwm-bach and [Tir-grono] yr Ligaid, whereof Tir-cwm-bach is within the said Lordshipp. And soe along that [same] well, untill it cometh to a brook called Nant-y-Kybale, which runneth close to the house of .....rd David Howell, the harper, now the dwelling house of William Thomas William ... ..side thereof; and from thence it is meared Eastward with the bounds and markes betweene the markes [lands] that are between the lands of Sir Charles Kemeys, Knight, pa ..... Lordshippe or Manor, now in the tenure of Edward Hunberstonne, within the parish of Lan ..... and the lands of Sir Charles Kemeys afforesaid in the tenure of Thomas John Owen ..... of Lisvaine, untill it cometh to a brooke that runneth through a meadow called Y Ff..... in Lanederne (being the lands of the said Sir Charles Kemeys), held by lease by Edward Treharne, and now in the tenure of John Thomas ap Owen.

“[Alsoe a] parcell of the said Lordship or Manor is likewise meared on the East with a brooke [which runneth] from a place called Rhud-y-bilooke, untill the same meereth with a brooke called Dowlais, [and] thence it is meared Eastwards by the said brooke Dowlays, untill it cometh to the lands of Sir Charles Kemeys, and the lands late of William Morgan James, now in the tenure of Thomas ..... who is married to the widow of Thomas Morgan Gamage (which Thomas Morgan was ..... said William Morgan James); the said lands of the said Thomas Mathew and of one William ..... [being] landes holden in ffee under the Colledge of Sainct Austen on the Greene of Bristoll; [and doth thence] bound and meare the said Lordship or Manor on the South and West, untill it [cometh to a] well or rivulet which runneth betweene the said lands of the said William Watkin [on the one side], and the lands of the forenamed Thomas Lewis, Esq., called Kenkoed, in the tenure of ..... Morgan, and the lands of William Vauchan, called Tir Capel (being parcells of the [said] Lordshippe) on the other side thereof, and crosseth the hige way that leadeth from Cardiff, and so running as meare; and mearing the said Lordship Eastwards untill it cometh [to the] River Runney untill ..... (*cætera desunt*).

*Continued and concluded from a Survey of the 25th May 1703,  
commencing from the 6th Article of the earlier Survey.*

“ We say and present that this Lordship or Mannor meareth in the upper part of Llanederne parish in a place called Kevenpoyth, with the bounds of the several parishes of Llederne and Llanvedw east and North, untill it cometh to a Riverlet of Water that runneth from Kevanmably Parkè to the house of David William, al’s Dio. Will., now the mansion House of Rowland Lewis Rees, and thence downward along that Riverlett unto a Brooke called Nant y Cumma, at a meadow called ffoeslaes vach, within the parish of Lanederne aforesaid; and this Mannor is likewise meared in the upper end of Llanderne afs’d, northward, with a well that runneth between the lands of Mrs. Grace Lewis, widow, called Tyr Cwmbach, al’s Kevenpoyth, within the said Lordship, and the Lands called Tyr gronow yr Llygad, within the Lordship of Sinhenidd and parish of Lanvedw, being also the Land of the said Madam Grace Lewis, untill it cometh to a Brooke called Nant y gabale, which runneth close by the House of Edmond Richard, late of one William Thomas William, on the west side thereof; and then, leaving the said Brook, crosseth the Highway and runneth along the Bounds of the several parishes of Llanederne and Lisvane, between the lands of Sir Chas. Kemeys, Bart., now in the tenure of John Humberstone and Ralph Thomas, on the west, untill it cometh into the Brooke of the ffoeslaes af’sd, being the land of the said S’r Chas. Kemeys, now in the tenure of Willm. Jones of Llanederne af’sd; and one other parcel of the s’d Lordship or Mannor is likewise meared on the East with a little Brooke called Rhyd y Billwhe, near the House of Watkin Thomas of the Vaindry, now in the tenure of Mary Watkin, Spinster, untill it meareth with a Brooke called Dowlas; and from thence it is meared with the said Brook called Dowlais, untill that you come to the land of Wm. Morgan of Coed y Gorras, Gent., with the land of the said Willm. Morgan and the land of Sir John Thomas, Bart., now in the Tenure of Wm. Morgan, being Lands holden in ffee under the College of St. Austin on the Green in Bristol; and doth from thence bound or meare to the said Lordship or Mannor on the South and west part untill it cometh to a Well or Riverlet which runneth between the lands of the said Sir John Thomas on the one side, and the lands of Thomas Lewis of Lanishen, Esq., called Kevencoyd, now in the tenure of Edward Morrice, and the land of the af’sd William Morgan, called Tyr y Chappell, being parcel of this Lordship, on the other side thereof, and

so crosseth the Highway below the said Chappell ; and so runneth mearing down a Hedge, by a Meadow called the Plorin untill that ye come to the river of Runney ; and from thence it is meared by the said River Runney untill it come to a Moore called Griffiths' Moore, being the Lands of Thomas Morgan of Llanrumney, Esq., now in the tenure of John William and others, on the one side ; and from thence it meareth southward with a Ditch that severeth between the said Griffith's moore and other Lands of the Countess Dowager of Pembroke, now in the tenure of Will'm Richards, of the one side, and the lands of the said Thomas Morgan of Llan Rumney, Esq., called Lloyne y Grant Kenol, on the other side, now in the tenure of John William af'sd and others, untill it cometh to a Corn Grist Mill called Roath mill, which said Mill the said Jurors do hereby likewise present to be the Lords Mill, and situate within this Lordship ; and from the said Mill to Roath Bridge, being made of stone, near the Church, about a Cottage and waste Ground thereunto belonging, called Goose Lear, now in the tenure of Edwd. Thomas, and being part of this Lordship, unto the meeting of the two Brooks eastward, untill it comes to another Bridge called Pont evan Quint. Alsoe it is meared westward with a Brook called Nantmawr, and from Pont Evan Quint unto a Lane called Hewl y Keven-coyd westward, and thence along that Lane to the Place called Rhybillwhe before mentioned.

“Item the said Jurors do hereby present and say that one Tenement of the Lord's Land called Weddall ycha, being parcell of this Lordship, is situate in the parish of Landaffe, and now held by Lease from the said Lord of this Manor by Wm. Jones of Cardiff, and is now in the tenure of Morgan Robert his under-ten't, and that it doth meare and bound into a Lane called Hewly coyd on the east, the Mountain or Common called Mynyth bychan on the north and west, and the lands of S'r Chas. Kemeys, Bart., called Weddall issa, now in the tenure of William Morris, and a place called Kinthe bach on the south part thereof.

“Item we say and present that one other Tenement of the said Lord of this Mannor, now in the tenure of Alice William, widow, being parcel of this Lo'pp, is situate in the parish of Whichurch, meering and bounding to the Common called Mynyth bychan, and a Highway leading from a place called Pantbach to a place called Rhyd y watley on the east, and a tump or bank or earth on the Common, called Wayntreoda, which tump or bank adjoineth to the several Lordships of Landaffe, Llistalybont, Senhenith, and to this Lo'pp on the west part thereof ; the lands of the widow Mathews of Cabalva being part of the Lordship of Llistalybont on the south, and the lands of Captn.

Richard Jenkins, being part of the Lo'pp of Senhenith, now in the tenure of Wm. Thomas and Henry Morgan, on the north part thereof.

“Item we say and present that one other Tenement of the lands of the Lord of this Manor, situate in the parish of Whichurch a'f'sd, now in the tenure of Lewis Lewis, being alsoe parcel of this Lordship, and late the land of one Samuel Edwards, doth bound and mear to the said Common, Mynith bychan, the s'd place called Pantbach on the south, and the s'd way leading to Rhyd y Watley on the west, and the lands of the s'd Lord of this manor, now in the tenure of Thos. Morgan, being in the Lo'pp of Senhenith, on the north part thereof. And from thence the s'd Lo'pp is bounded with the mears that meareth between the parish of Lanishen and Whichurch untill it cometh to a Brooke called Cassen, in a place where the s'd Brooke runneth between a place called Kae y cunrick, parcel of the Lo'pp of Senhenith, and the lands of Rich'd Lewis of Cansham [Corsham], Esq., now in the tenure of Thos. William, being parcel of this Lo'pp of Roath-Kensam; and from thence to the ruins of an Old Castle near draynew Pen y graig, it is meared by the Brook called Kastan, and on a Hill called Graig Kibber on the north, and Lands of S'r Chas. Kemeys, Bart., now in the tenure of Rees John Mathew, and the brook that runneth between the lands of the s'd Richard Lewis, Esq., called Tir y whit, and one other Tenement of the s'd Richard Lewis, Esq., now in the tenure of Wm. David Lewis, untill it cometh to the stone Bridge on the Highway, by Llanisthen Church. And from thence, by Rhyd y mincoch, to a place called Gwain y pentra, hard by the Common called Munith bychan, it is meared by the Highway southward; and from thence, hereinbefore mentioned, to the lands of Lewis Lewis, as aforesaid, it is meared on the south part thereof with a mount or wake there raised, and now extant.

“Item we say and present that one other Tenement of the Lord of this Manor, situate in the parish of Roath a'f'sd, called by the name of Courtbach, now in the tenure of Joseph Meredith, is mearing and bounding unto the Highway leading from Roath Village unto Roath Bridge, the Brook that cometh from Roath mill, the customary Land of the Lord of this Mannor, now in the tenure of Joseph Meredith; the lands of George Howells, Esq., now in his own tenure, on all parts and sides thereof, and it is part of the said Lordship.

“Item we present and say that one other Tenement of Land of the Lord of this Mannor is situate in the said Parish of Roath, and called by the name of Pengam, now in the tenure of Edmond Meredith, meared and bounded with the River Rumney,

the lands of Robert Harvey, Esq., and George Howells, Esq.; and on the southwest with the lands of the Lord of the Friars, and a mead called Gwain y maillocke, in the tenure of Wm. Harry; the Lands of Sir Humphrey Mackworth, called Saith erw deon, now in the Tenure of the said Sir Humphrey, and being parcel of this Lordship.

“Item we say and present that there are two other parcels of the Lord’s Lands, being likewise part of this Lordship, situate in Roath moore, and now in the Tenure of the said Edmond Meredith, as lands belonging to the aforementioned tenement called Pengam, whereof one is called by the name of the Back, al’s Abbotsland, contain’g by estimation 8 acres or thereabouts; and the other is called Pedair erw Twch, cont’g by estimation four acres or thereabouts.

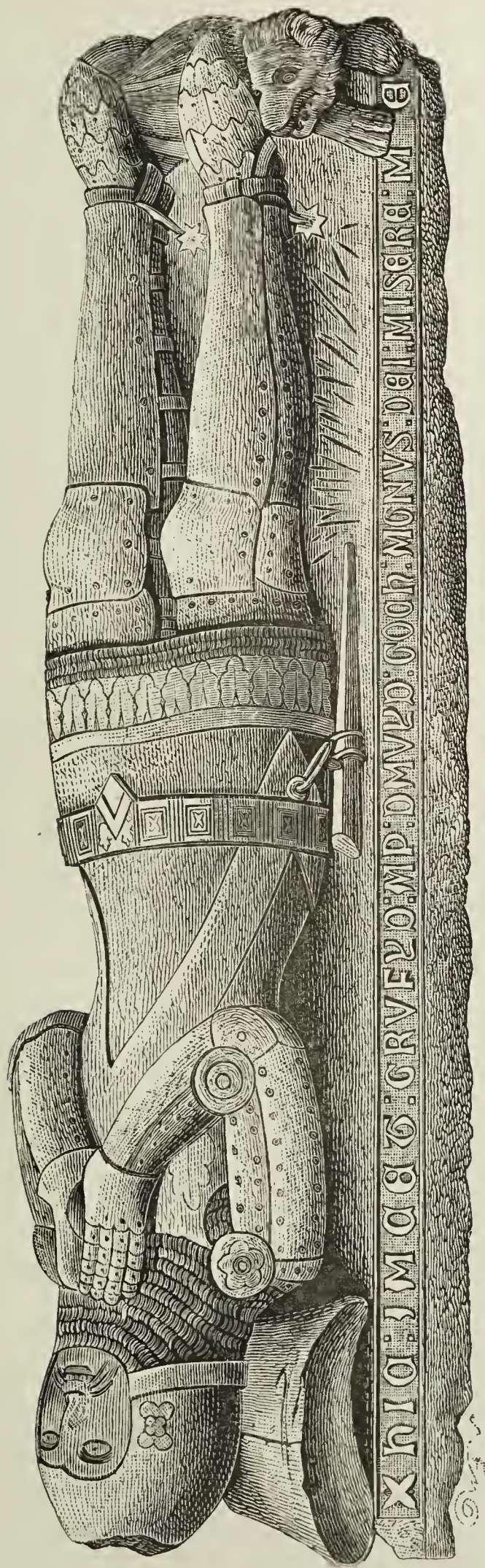
“Item we say and present that the land called Saith erw deon, being the lands of the said Sir Humphrey Mackworth, and now in his own Tenure, doth join with the Land of the Lord of this Mannor, and now in the tenure of the aforementioned Edmond Meredith as part of Pengam ffarm, and is parcell of this Lordship, and contains by estimation Seven Acres or thereabouts.”

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## SEPULCHRAL RECUMBENT EFFIGY IN BETTWS Y COED CHURCH, NORTH WALES.

THOSE of the sepulchral effigies in Wales, of the fourteenth century, represented in armour, will oftentimes be found to differ in detail from those of the same period in England. I am not, however, about to enter into a general comparison, but shall content myself with observing upon a single effigy only, that represented in the annexed engraving, one of a most interesting description, preserved in the little church of Bettws y Coed, not far from Llanrwst, a spot well known to tourists of North Wales. In the north wall of the chancel of this little church is a plain, pointed, sepulchral arch, the quarter-round mouldings of which clearly indicate it to be of, or about, the middle of the fourteenth century.

Beneath this arch is deposited a recumbent effigy of a warrior clad in the defensive armour of the fourteenth century, of a rare description; peculiar, I think, or nearly so, to Wales. The head of this effigy reposes, in a not unusual manner, on a tilting-helm of the description worn in tournaments; the crest on which, of a large size, is that of a bird's head and beak. On the head of this effigy appears the basinet or war-helmet, the top of which has been broken. On either side of the basinet is a leaf of four foils. Attached by cords within loops on either side of the lower border of the basinet, is a camail, or tippet of mail, of that kind often described as of rings set edgewise; the links of which are very perfect, and five-eighths of an inch in diameter. The camail covers the chin and breast, and over the upper lip is worn the moustache. The shoulders are protected by epaulières of overlapping plates, and gussets of mail cover the armpits. In front of the shoulders are roundels of plate,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, each bearing a cinquefoiled rosette. Like-shaped roundels appear also at the bending of the elbows. The upper arms, from the shoulders to the elbows, are enclosed within defensive plates of armour called brassarts or rerebraces; the elbows are protected by coudes,—armour so called; the lower arms are encased within vambraces. Both the rere and vambraces are studded with button-like protuberances, three-eighths to half an inch in diameter, four rows of which are apparent on the rerebraces. Gauntlets of plate, with articulated finger-joints, protect the hands, which are conjoined on the breast as in prayer; and between which a heart is held,—a by no means unusual representation. Over the breastplate the short and sleeveless, close-fitting surcoat called the jupon is worn. This is heraldically emblazoned with a chevron and two oak-leaves in chief; and the skirts of the jupon are bordered by a row of oak-leaves. Round the loins, and encircling the jupon horizontally, appears the bawdrick, an ornamental belt of some width. In front of the



EFFIGY IN BETTWYS-Y-COED CHURCH.

Scale, 1 inch to 1 foot.





bawdrick is a small angular-shaped shield,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length by  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches in width. The heraldic bearing on this is similar to that emblazoned on the jupon, viz., a chevron and two oak-leaves in relief in chief. Over the upper part of the thighs, and between them, seemingly attached to the breastplate, and appearing below the jupon, is a horizontal skirt or apron of mail. Cuisses protect the thighs, and are covered with two horizontal rows of studs. The genouillères, or knee-caps, of plate are also studded. These cover the fronts and outside of the knees only, and are attached by means of straps. The front and exterior of the legs, from the knees to the insteps, are protected by jambs; the defensive armour, so called, studded in front. These are fastened to the legs by five straps. The inner portions and calves of the legs appear unprotected by defensive armour. The sollerets which cover the feet are extremely curious. They are composed of *laminæ*, or overlapping plates, cut Vandyke-wise. These *laminæ* are studded, and the sollerets pointed at the toes. Attached to the ankles are rowelled spurs, and the feet rest against a lion. The legs are straight, and not crossed. Suspended by a lace or cordon from the bawdrick, on the right hip, is an anelace or dagger,  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length. On the left side, the sword, of which a small portion only remains, appears to have been fastened to the bawdrick. In raised letters along the front or south verge of the slab on which the effigy reposes, is the following inscription: + HIC : IACET : GRVFDYD : AP : DAVYD : COCH : AGNVS : DEI : MISERE : ME. The *misere* abbreviated for *miserere*.

A notice of this effigy, very similar to the above, will be found in vol. v of the 4th Series, p. 128, but without the accompanying illustration.

M. H. B.

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## HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION.

*(Continued from p. 83.)*

## MSS. IN THE REPOSITORY OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

1668, April 22. Herbert *v.* Lloyd.—Report from the Committee to whom was referred the petition of William Herbert and the answer of Sir Charles Lloyd, that the petitioner is not relievable in the Courts of Westminster Hall, and ought, therefore, to have a hearing at the bar. (L. J., xii, 228.) *In extenso*. See also Pet. Book, 14 April.

Annexed: 1.—17 March 1667-8. Petition of William Herbert for the reversal of a decree in Chancery pronounced against him in 1652 by Commissioners Keeble and Lisle in his suit against Thomas Bynion respecting the right of redemption of an estate in the county of Montgomery, mortgaged by petitioner's father, Richard Herbert, to William Bynion, father of Thomas Bynion. [The matter appears, by the statements in the petition, to have been in litigation since 1638.] Petitioner prays that Sir Charles Lloyd, who bought the premises for a very small consideration, and who had notice of petitioner's suit, and was afterwards desired not to proceed in the purchase, may be ordered to appear and answer.

2. Answer of Sir Charles Lloyd. Is a mere stranger to most of the matters mentioned in Herbert's petition. He is questioned for an estate of which he became a purchaser upon a valuable consideration, and prays that a convenient time may be granted him to answer. Having no habitation in London, his writings concerning the matter are in the country, one hundred and twenty miles from hence, where he and his family have resided since the late dreadful fire.

3. Plea and answer of Sir Charles Lloyd, Baronet. The lands in question were absolutely conveyed by the petitioner's father to William Bynion in fee simple, and not under any condition of redemption, trust, or mortgage whatsoever. Respondent gave full value. He positively denies that at the time of the purchase he had any notice of the petitioner's suit, Bynion at the time having been for two years in peaceable possession.

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MANUSCRIPTS IN THE POSSESSION OF REGINALD CHOLMONDELEY,  
ESQ., OF CONDOVER HALL, SHROPSHIRE, RELATING  
TO CHESTER AND WALES.

A deed dated 1528, August 18. Thomas [Wolsey], Cardinal-Priest of the title of St. Cecily, Archbishop of York, Primate of

England, and Chancellor, and Legate de Latere of the Apostolic See, to Richard Bromeley, monk of the monastery of Vale Crucis, of the [Cistercian] Order, in the diocese of St. Asaph, a priest, having professed a regular life. Absolves him from the guilt, if any, of apostacy incurred by him by the not wearing his habit, and from all ecclesiastical penalties hitherto incurred, and from all excesses (except those reserved to the Holy See) hitherto by him committed; and gives him permission, because of his weakness of body, to use linen next his skin, and long leggings (*caligis*) of a decent colour; also ..... under his hood during divine service, as well in the choir as in the cloister; and to talk in a low voice in the dormitory and elsewhere; and in his chamber, after ..... to eat and drink moderately, and on a journey; to choose a fit confessor, secular or regular; and to hear confessions from those who should come to confess to him, and to absolve them from all excesses not reserved to the Holy See; and to be elected abbot of any monastery of the said order, or to take any other claustral dignity which he can conscientiously assume.....

Dated from his house near Westminster. Oval seal of red wax, about 5 inches by 3 inches, in case. Figures of SS. Peter and Paul in niches, under a Roman pediment. Underneath is the coat of arms of Wolsey surmounted by a cardinal's hat. The legend is "Sigillum Thome Archiep. Eb[or.], Legati de latere, ad dispensationes." Portions of the inscription and coat of arms are lost. At the foot (left corner) is the name of John Hughes; and (right corner) the name of Claibun the Datary. The document states Bromeley to be son of a monk by an unmarried woman. (Latin.)

Folio, paper, seventeenth century, 240 pp. Copies of the case and arguments *temp.* Car. I, where the jurisdiction of the Marches Court over the four shires of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Salop, was debated at length.

P. 45. A.D. 1641. Arguments proving the jurisdiction used by the President and Council in the Marches of Wales over the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Salop, to be illegal and injurious, and a mere encroachment beyond their appointed limits.

P. 49, Records; p. 66, Reports, in French, of arguments in Parliament (17 Car. I); p. 74, the effect of the first argument of the King's Solicitor-General, Sir Francis Bacon, in maintaining of the Council of the Marches over the four shires; p. 82, the effect of what was spoken by Mr. Sergeant Hutton; p. 86, the reply of the King's Solicitor; p. 97, the third and last argument of the King's Solicitor in reply to Sergeant Harris.

In this volume are also the following letters and papers :

1661, March 14, Ludlow Castle. "Carbery, Lord President of the Marches, to the High Sheriff and Justices of the Peace of the county of Gloucester." He notices the bad state of the roads in that county, and calls upon them to put in force the statutes relating thereto.

1662, March 25. Draft of a declaration by the Justices of the Peace alluding to Lord Carbery's letter, and denying that the county of Gloucester was within the Marches of Wales or within the power or jurisdiction of his Lordship's commission. It has the autograph signatures of twenty-one Justices of the Peace.

Copy of a presentment by the Grand Jury to Lord ..... that processes were issued out of the Court of the Marches of Wales against some inhabitants of the county of Gloucester for matters arising within that county; and that the Lord President had sent the letter noticed above, and praying him to present the matter to the King, that redress might be had.

Form of a bill in the Court of Marches.

Small 4to, paper, 206 pp., end of seventeenth century. Fair copies of letters between Ant. Pagi and William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, on Roman consular chronology. These end on p. 123. The remainder of the volume contains letters on the same subject between Father Noris and the Bishop, with the interpolation, at pp. 145-156, of a letter by Henry Dodwell (at Cookham) to the Bishop. All the letters, except Dodwell's, are in Latin, and are dated in the years 1686 and 1687.

Small 4to, paper, seventeenth century, 123 leaves. "A Breviary, or Collections of the most anchant Cittie of Chester, reduced into these chapters following, by the Reverend Mr. Ro. Rogers, Bachelor in Divinity, Archdeacon of Chester, and one of the prebends (*sic*) of the Cathedral Church in Chester; written anew by his sonne, D. R., a well wisher to that anchant Cittie." The tenth (and last) chapter is headed, "Certain commendable deeds done for the wealth and estimation of the Citti of Chester by certain that have bene maiores of Chester, by some others that have bene borne there, and other good men dwellinge there."

Folio, paper, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. 1. "Visitation of Cheshire, taken by William Flower, alias Norroy King of Arms, and with hym Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, his Marshall, A.D. 1580." 97 leaves. The arms are well tricked, and there are copies of deeds and their seals, which evidence the pedigrees and arms. There are some additions, supposed to be made by Wm. Smith of Old Haugh, Rouge Dragon, Pursuivant-at-Arms in 1609. Leaves 74-80 are nearly blank. The leaves 90-96 have arms only, "taken out of a Book in the Office, written temp. Hen. V."

2. Paper of a larger size. Visitation for Cheshire, temp. Elizabeth, by Somerset Herald. Leaves 31b-39 and 55-62 are in a different hand. After 64 the leaves are blank, except four pages of arms copied out of churches and houses in Yorkshire, 1584.

Folio, 1760, 44 leaves, interleaved. By Dr. Cowper. Collections for Broxton Hundred. Such as are extracts from Daniel King's Itinerary (published in Vale Royal of England, 1656) are in inverted commas. More than two hundred arms are blazoned. At the end is an index of names.

In the margin of the following tract of 25 leaves is this note: "Malbon's account of Nampwyche, co. Cest., from 1642 to 1655." The tract is headed, "A brief and true relacion of all such passages and things as happened and were done in and about Namptwich, in the county of Chester, and in other places of the same county, together with some of the things in other counties ..... by some of the commanding officers and soldiers of the said town of Namptwich, after the same was made a garrison for King and Parliament, since the 10th of August 1642; so truly as the writer hereof could come by the knowledge of the same, viz., upon or about the 11th day of August 1642. Sir William Brereton and the Deputy Lieutenants for the said county of Chester." *Ends* (after the surrender of Beaumaris in 1648), "there were not above 20 on the Parliament side slain and wounded; but of the other parties a great number. Per me, Thomas Malbon, 1651." After this the last page and a half contain notices for the years 1651, -2, -3, and -5.

Folio, paper, seventeenth century. Fo. 1, oaths of the Mayor, Recorder, and Sheriffs of Chester. A collection of the mayors who have governed the city of Chester.

Fo. 6. Divers collections by the worthy and grave citizen William Aldersay the elder.

Fo. 8b. "Abridgment of my collections gathered by Robert Rogers, Archdeacon of Chester, divided into 7 chapters" (only four here). Then names of mayors from 24 Henry III. There are columns for the years and the twelve months, the names of the mayors are put in their proper places, and there are some notes of the events. The original hand ends with 19 Charles I; thence the tables are continued to 1701; then come notes of proceedings at Assembly, and notes of charitable gifts (several pages).

Folio, paper, seventeenth century, about 100 leaves. A long description of Chester Cathedral.—Description of several hundreds in Cheshire—Account of the Earls of Chester—Copy of the charter of 21 Henry VII to the city of Chester—Deaths of the plague in Chester, between June 1647 and April 1648,—particulars: total number of deaths, 2,099.

“Collectanea Devana”, 2 vols., folio. (These are from various authors; a list of them is on p. 1.)

Vol. i, 330 pp. Collections for the City of Chester down to 1757. The Earls of Chester down to 1648. Part II begins at p. 123. It consists of fragments and lists and notes of Mayors, Sheriffs, etc. Vol. ii, pages 1 to 49, are occupied with the Sheriffs down to 1755, and additions down to 1802. A new paging (1 to 41), contains “a collection of certain passages and occurrences in the Civil War, began A.D. 1642, concerning Chester and other places, mostly within the distance of a day’s journey from that city.” It ends with a letter (6 pp.), dated Pulford, 17th March 1642, signed by Thomas Aston (the contents certified by ten other signatures) about the conduct of Aston in the affair of Middlewich. It is addressed to Earl Rivers and Viscounts Cholmondeley and Kilmurrey, and others.

Quarto, paper, eighteenth century. “Villare Com. Cestri.”, 342 pp., besides tables at the end. It is headed, “Dr. Williamson’s Collections from Holme’s MSS., with some additions and annotations.” The names of places are in alphabetical order, one name to each page. The last date is 1701, when the book was compiled. (It is said to be “out of the library of Dr. William Cowper, of Chester.”)

Folio, paper, eighteenth century. “Statuta Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, Cestr.”, 54 pp., and one page of index to the Statutes. The Latin text is on one page, and an English translation on the opposite page.

A square folio, written A.D. 1764, 38 pp. An account of the siege of the City of Chester, 1645—begins, “1642, the war between the King and the Parliament being now begun, it was thought necessary to fortify Chester”; ends, with an account of the demolitions during the siege, “to the full sum of £200,000.”

A folio volume, bound, with the arms of Cholmondeley on the sides. It is lettered on the back “Dr. Williamson’s Collection of Cheshire Evidences”. MSS. by William Cowper, of Clutton, ludimagister.

A thin folio volume of 54 pp., contains official extracts (signed by J. Cayley, Keeper of Records), from ministers’ accounts, 32 Henry VIII, for Vale Royal Abbey, preceded by extracts from Tanner’s *Notitia Monastica*.

Folio, 212 leaves, preceded by a copious Index of Names. Extracts from *Inquisitiones post mortem*, for Cheshire, from 1 Henry VIII to 12 James I.

Folio, unbound, 62 pp. The antiquity of the most ancient and famous City of Chester, collected by the learned and experienced authors of great antiquity, being here born and

laboured much in this work in their times. And first of the names of the City of Chester, 1 Neomagus (11 in all).” Ends with a chapter on the antiquity of the Gabele Rent.

A paper-covered folio, wrongly labelled “A Visitation of Cheshire by Glover”. It contains notices of the Antiquities of Chester: Foundation of the Abbey of Vale Royal: Abstracts of the Chronicles of the Earls of Chester: Extracts from Domesday and the Red Book of the Exchequer: Abstracts of Charters in Latin and English, with arms neatly tricked in the margins: Gentlemen of Cheshire knighted by the Earl of Hertford at Leith: Pedigrees from Inquisitions and Charters: Names of persons disclaimed by Richard St. George, Norroy. Index of Names (1½ pp. in 2 columns), 1613.

A quarto volume of about 80 leaves, History of Chester and lists of the Mayors and Sheriffs. It begins *temp.* Edward III, A.D. 1335.

A quarto volume, 31 leaves, deals with the Bishops, Earls, Mayors, and Sheriffs of Chester.

A quarto volume of 87 leaves, contains some collections relating to the Ecclesiastical affairs of Chester. The last date is 1422, at p. 87. It deals with Bishops, Prebendaries, Deans, and Archdeacons.

A quarto volume of 68 leaves seems to be a continuation of the last volume. The last 18 leaves contain an Account of the Abbey of St. Werburgh.

A quarto volume contains Account of the Mayors and Sheriffs of Chester.

A quarto volume of 89 pp. contains Collections concerning the City of Chester, and ends with the death of Charles II.

Another quarto of only 6 leaves contains an account of the Streets of Chester.

A quarto volume contains a List of Gentlemen who appeared at Chester in the Grosvenor interest at the Election of George Johnson to be Mayor in 1732.

Bishop Lloyd’s letter to Thomas Price of Llanfyllin, concerning Jeffery of Monmouth’s history (12½ pp., 4to.)

#### CHESTER.

1 Henry VIII. The award between John, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Werburg, and the Mayor and Citizens of the City of Chester, made anno 1 Henry VIII. This is an epitome, in 19 items, of the award. Following, in another hand, is a copy of Henry VIIIth’s charter to the city of Chester. (Sixteenth century, 3 pp.)

1 Henry VIII, August 7th. A full copy of the award, made

by Charles Booth, Sir William Uvedale, and George Bromley, three of the King's Commissioners, and Anthony Fitzherbert, Sergeant-at-Law, and William Rudall, the Queen's Attorney. (It is about St. Werburg's fair and other liberties, 8 pp.) Sixteenth century.

Memorandum that the 9th day of January, 31 Henry VIII, Raffe Wryne, then being Recorder of this citie, was made Clarke of the Pentice of the same citie, and the 5th day of October, 32 Henry VIII, the particular fees following were ordered to be paid unto him. And the same have ever since been challenged and received by the recorders of this city successively as incident to the office of recorder. And the Clarke of the Pentice, who by himself and his servants executed all the business, had notwithstanding noe part thereof. This is followed by list of fees on 4 pages. (Sixteenth century.)

Memoranda or notes referring to the privileges of the Mayor and Citizens of Chester, and the Encroachments of the Dean and Chapter. And notes of passages in two of the Dean's Sermons, in which he attacked the Mayor (1½ pp., sixteenth century).

1569, May 14, from the Court R. (Earl of) Leycester to Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, V. P. of Wales; Sir John Throckmorton, Justice of Chester; William Gerrard and Richard Pates, Esqrs., requesting them to reparaire to the City of Chester for trial, whether the same were decayed or not, and the cause of such decay. (Contemporary copy.)

1602, May 26.—Court at Greenwich. Copy of Council Letter to the Mayor of Chester, and the rest of the Commissioners, for viewing of the souldiers at that port; about the raising and keeping together soldiers and their embarkation from Liverpool [to Ireland].

1607, April 7.—Attested cotemporary copy of award in a dispute between the Mayor and Citizens of Chester on the one part; and Peter Sharpe, B.D., and Roger Ravenscroft, M.A., prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Chester, on behalf of the Dean and Chapter, of the other part. The Mayor and Citizens were to be at liberty to pass and repass through the great west door of the church at the time of any funeral or attendance upon any corpse to be buried in the said church; and as often as the Mayor repaired to the church to hear divine service or sermon, or upon any just occasion, he was to be at liberty to have the sword of the city borne before him with the point upwards.

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## CARTULARIUM PRIORATUS S. JOHANNIS EVANG. DE BRECON.

(Continued from p. 49.)

*Peter, Bishop of St. David's, gives to the Church of St. John and monks of Brecon the Church of Llanddewi y Cwm, in Builth, with a saving of episcopal authority :*

“Prima Carta Petri<sup>1</sup> Menevensis Episcopi.—Petrus Dei gratia Menevensis Episcopus omnibus Archidiaconis suis Decanis personis et vicarijs et universis fidelibus sancte ecclesie salutem gratiam et benedictionem Noverit universitas vestra me dedisse et concessisse et hac carta mea et episcopali auctoritate confirmasse Deo et Sancto Johanni et monachis de Brechonia in perpetuam elemosinam ecclesiam Sancti Davidis de Cum in Buelt cum omnibus pertinentijs suis salva dignitate Episcopali et consuetudine Testibus hijs Ricardo abbate de alba landa,<sup>2</sup> Ricardo, Simone et Roberto canonicis de Sancto Davide, Johanne capellano Episcopi, Magistro Rogero, Waltero clerico Episcopi, David Decano de Brechonia, David Presbitero, et multis alijs.”

*Peter, Bishop of St. David's, at the instance of the Prior, confirms the donations of Bernard Newmarch, Roger Earl of Hereford and his brothers, and of William de Braose and their followers, in the district of Brecon or Builth, or elsewhere in the diocese :*

“Secunda Carta Petri Menevensis Episcopi.—Petrus dei gratia Menevensis Episcopus omnibus Sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit salutem in domino Quoniam justis petitionibus justum tenemur prebere assensum ideo dignum videtur nobis ad instanciam et petitionem karissimorum filiorum nostrorum prioris et monachorum de Brechonia eis auctoritate qua fungimur confirmare omnes donationes elemosinarum que Deo et ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et supra memoratis monachis ibidem Deo servientibus a patronis predictae ecclesie scilicet Bernardo de Novo Mercato et Rogero Comite Herefordiensi et fratribus suis Waltero, Henrico et Wilhelmo de Braiosa domino de Brechonia et sepepredictae ecclesie patrono pijssimo sive hominibus eorum seu a ceteris fidelibus caritatis intuitu collate sunt canonice vel in posterum conferentur in provincia de Brechonia sive de Buelt vel alibi in tota

<sup>1</sup> Peter de Leia, 1176-98.

<sup>2</sup> Whitland.

diocesi nostra tam in ecclesijs et capellis et ecclesiasticis beneficijs quam in terris et pratis et pascuis et molendinis et aquis et piscationibus et ceteris omnibus possessionibus et libertatibus sicut habere debet ecclesia Sancti Johannis supradicta ex se vel ex dignitate sue matris ecclesie Sancti Martini de Bello secundum quod carta domini regis Henrici et antecessorum suorum testatur Hanc autem confirmationem prememoratis monachis eo libentius fecimus quod venerabiles antecessores nostros Dominum Bernardum et dominum David merite recordacionis vivos omnia supradicta eis confirmasse cognovimus et ut hec confirmatio nostra in perpetuum rata permaneat et inconcussa eam sigilli nostri munimine corroboravimus omnibus etiam sepe dictam ecclesiam Sancti Johannis de Brechonia diligentibus et manutenentibus aut in aliquo promoventibus communionem beneficiorum ecclesie nostre de Sancto David et totius diocesis nostre concessimus et Dei benedictionem optavimus. Siqui vero hanc confirmationem nostram temere temptaverint infringere sciant se proculdubio iram Dei incururos tanquam Sanctuarij sui dissipatores Teste capitulo de Brechonia valeat."

*Geoffrey Bishop of St. David's, on the petition of William de Braose and Maud his wife, confirms to the Church of St. John the Churches of Hay, Llanigon, Talgarth, and Llangorse, saving episcopal authority and the benefices of the then incumbents. Before 1208 :*

"Carta Domini G. Menevensis Episcopi.—Omnibus Sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit G.<sup>1</sup> divina permissione Menevensis Episcopus salutem in Domino Noverit universitas vestra nos de communi assensu capituli nostri ad petitionem domini Willelmi de Braosa et domine Matildis de Sancto Walerico uxoris sue divini amoris intuitu concessisse et presenti scripto confirmasse ecclesie Sancti Johannis evangeliste de Brekenia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus et servituris in perpetuum ecclesiam de Haya, ecclesiam de Sancto Egion, ecclesiam de Talgard, ecclesiam de Mara in usus proprios ad sustentacionem fratrum et hospitalitatem et elemosinam sustinendam cum omnibus ad eas pertinentibus pro anima prefati W. et uxoris sue et antecessorum et heredum suorum salvis in omnibus consuetudinibus ad episcopum et suos pertinentibus salvis quoque beneficijs canonice adeptis Thome clerici in ecclesia de Haya, Hugonis capellani in ecclesia de Sancto Egion, Walteri clerici in ecclesia de Talgarth, Willelmi capellani in ecclesia de Mara quamdiù vixerint salvis etiam honestis sustenta-

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey de Henelawe, consecrated 1203, *ob.* 1214.

tionibus vicariorum in predictis ecclesijs canonice assignandis ut autem hec concessio et confirmatio perpetuam firmitatem optineat Sigillum nostrum una cum sigillo capituli nostri presenti scripto duximus apponendum.”

*Geoffrey Bishop of St. David's confirms to the Church of St. John the Church of Llangorse, saving the right of William of Llangorse in the same for life, and after his death a vicarage of 100s. to be received by the vicar :*

“Carta domini G. Menevensis Episcopi.—Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit G. divina permissione Menevensis Episcopus salutem in Domino Universitati vestre volumus notum fieri nos de consensu capituli nostri caritatis intuitu confirmasse Deo et ecclesie Sancti Johannis Evangeliste de Brekenia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus et servituris ad sustentacionem et hospitem susceptionem et solatia pauperum ecclesiam suam de Mara cum pertinentijs suis in usus proprios convertendam salvo jure Willelmi de Mara presbiteri in eadem ecclesia quoad vixerit Salva etiam post decessum ejus vicaria centum solidorum assignanda et a vicario ejusdem ecclesie percipienda Idem vero vicarius prefate ecclesie in propria persona ministrabit et episcopo et officialibus suis plene respondebit et ut hec indulgentia nostra rata permaneat et firma eam presenti scripto cum sigilli appositione corroboravimus Teste capitulo nostro.”

*Geoffrey Bishop of St. David's confirms to the Church of St. John the Church of Hay, with a saving of the right of Thomas de Hay, clerk, therein for his life ; and after his death a vicarage of ten marcs to be received by the vicar :*

“Carta Domini G. Menevensis Episcopi.—Omnibus Sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit G. divina permissione Menevensis Episcopus salutem in domino Universitati vestre volumus notum fieri nos de consensu capituli nostri caritatis intuitu confirmasse Deo et ecclesie Sancte Johannis evangeliste de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus et servituris ad sustentacionem fratrum et hospitem susceptionem et solatia pauperum ecclesiam suam de Haya cum pertinentijs suis in usus proprios convertendam salvo jure Thome de Haya clerici nostri in eadem ecclesia quoad vixerit Salva etiam post decessum ejus vicaria decem marcarum assignanda et a vicario ejusdem ecclesie percipienda Idem vero vicarius prefate ecclesie in propria persona ministrabit et Episcopo et officialibus suis in omnibus plene respondebit et ut hec

indulgentia nostra rata permaneat et firma eam presenti scripto cum sigilli nostri appositione corroboravimus Teste capitulo nostro.”

After this document Bishop Tanner notes several documents omitted in Carte MS., as follows :

“Carta G. Menev. Episcopi de Ecclesia de Talgarth.”

“Carta Gervasii<sup>1</sup> Menev. Episcopi confirmans Mon. Brecon. cartam G. predecessoris de appropriatione ecclesiarum de Haya, S. Egion, Talgard et Mara.”

“Carta D. Gervasii Menev. Episcopi confirmans Prioratui Brech. potestatem ordinandi et amovendi capellanos in ecclesiis S. Joh. Brek. de veteri villa, de S. Editha et de Bello post mortem Ric. Decani Breken. Testibus H. Menev. Archidiacono, G. Decano.”

“Carta Gervasii Menev. Episcopi de ordinatione vicariæ in Ecclesia de Talgard. Testibus G. Archidiacono de Breken., Magistro Martine, Domino Pentecosto et Johanne filio Aser Canonicis Menev.”

“Carta Gervasii Menev. Episcopi confirmans compositionem inter Abbatem et Conventum Glocestr. et monachos Brechin. de decimis de Talgard factam per Robertum Episcopum Hereford.”

“Carta Gervasii Menev. Episc. de institutione Willelmi de Brecon. in Vicariam Ecclesie de Mara et de ord. ejusdem Vicarie. Testibus Domino Hugone Archidiacono Menev., Magistris Mathia et Waltero Canonicis Menev.”

“Carta Gervasii Men. Episcopi de institutione H. de Cluna Archd. Menev. in Vicariam de Talgard per presentationem Johannis Prioris Brechon. Testibus David Domino Menev. capellano, Alano mon. Brechon.”

“Carta Dom.<sup>2</sup> A. Episcopi Menev. de institutione Johannis clerici ad ecclesiam de Talgard post mortem Hugonis Archidiaconi Menev.”

“Carta ejusdem A. Episc. Menev. confirmans jurisdictionem Prioris Brech. in capellis sibi appropriatis juxta tenorem carte predecessoris sui Gervasii. Actum apud Lando. Testibus Magistro Johanne de Feratyn Domini Pape subdiacono et capellano Norwic. Archid., Magistro Jordano de tribus montibus Menev. Archid., Magistro Ricardo Lombardo, Willelmo de Porlot, canonicis Menev., Willelmo capellano nostro, Ricardo de Lantefey et aliis pluribus. A.D. 1235 nonas Octobr.”

“Tertia carta A. Menev. Episcopi de ordinatione Vicarie de Lanegwan juxta Hayam. Testibus Magistro H. Archidiacono Menev., Magistris M. de Abrinc et R. de Penbroc Canonicis

<sup>1</sup> Iorwerth, consecrated in 1215, died in 1229.

<sup>2</sup> Anselm le Gros, consecrated in 1230, died in 1247.

Menev., W. Canon, Haverford, capellano nostro, L. offic. de Brecon., R. de Lantesiea," &c.

"Quarta Carta A. Menev. Episcopi confirmans appropriationem ecclesie de Haya monach. Brecon. Testibus G. Priore de Haverford, J. Priore de Penbroc, Fratre H. de ordine Predic."

"Quinta carta A. Menev. Episc. de institutione Nicholai de Bosco ad vicariam de Haya. Testibus Dominis Johanne et Galfredo Prioribus de Pembroc et Haverford, Domino Willelmo Priore de Langenid, Ricardo Lantesey clerico."

*Bernard Newmarch, with the consent of King Henry, gives to Battle Abbey his church at Brecon dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. About 1100 :*

"Carta Bernardi de Novo Mercato.—Sciant omnes presentes et futuri quod ego Bernardus de Novo Mercato concessu domini mei Henrici Regis testimonioque baronum suorum dedi ecclesie Sancti Martini de Bello quandam ecclesiam meam apud castrum meum quod est situm in Walis in Brechenio quam ego dedicari feci in honorem Sancti Johannis Evangeliste pro salute et anima ejusdem domini mei Henrici et pro anima Willelmi regis patris ejus et matris et pro salute anime mee et uxoris et filiorum filiarumque et omnium parentum nostrorum vivorum et defunctorum. Autem sunt que ego eidem Ecclesie dedi concedentibus uxore mea et filijs. Dedi enim eidem Ecclesie super flumen quod dicitur<sup>1</sup> Uscha molendinum unum et duas partes alterius molendini super flumen Hothenei<sup>2</sup> et quinque Burgenses in Castro meo et terram ad unam carrucam juxta Castrum meum et duas alias terras quarum una vocatur Landwern<sup>3</sup> altera costinio<sup>4</sup> cum ceteris terris circumadjacentibus partem quarum dedi Ecclesie pro escambio de Lan Mihangel<sup>5</sup> alteram partem pro anima Philippi filij mei. Preter hec dedi quandam vastam civitatem que vocatur Carnois et circa eam unam carucatam terre et decimam denariorum thelonei et molendinorum meorum et decimam panis mei. Hec omnia que nominavi sunt in Walis. In Anglia vero dedi quatuor Ecclesias cum omnibus terris et decimis ad easdem pertinentibus scilicet Ecclesiam de Patingeham, Ecclesiam de Bodeham, Ecclesiam de Burchulle, Ecclesiam de Hardintona<sup>6</sup> et decimam de Bruneshope. Agnes vero uxor mea

<sup>1</sup> Usk.

<sup>2</sup> Honddu.

<sup>3</sup> Llanywern.

<sup>4</sup> From N. French *costeins*, "neighbouring thereto". In the same sense, *Costentin*, or *Côtentin* of Normandy. Mr. Macray records a verb *costiare*, to touch at the side. (*Muniments of Magd. Coll.*, p. 138.)

<sup>5</sup> Llanvihangel Tal y llyn.

<sup>6</sup> The church of Hardinton (dioc. Bath and Wells) was at a later period, with the consent of the Abbot of Battle, given up by the

me concedente dedit unum manerium quod vocatur Beruntona.<sup>1</sup> Item in Gualis dedi Ecclesie Sancti Johannis Ecclesiam meam de Talgarth et Ecclesiam de Langors et capellam meam. Hec sunt autem que homines mei dederunt. Picardus<sup>2</sup> dedit tres carucatas terre et decimam suam de annona et de omnibus animalibus in Wallia Ricardus Cenomannicus<sup>3</sup> unam carucatam terre, Haroldus unam carucatam terre, Walterus de Cropus decimam suam de Lansefred<sup>4</sup> et in Anglia Ecclesiam de Cliberia<sup>5</sup> et quicquid ad eam pertinet. Wlgerus decimam suam rectam in Gualis, Walterius de Linehalla<sup>6</sup> unum Burgensem, Rogerus de Baschevilla unum Burgensem, Willelmus filius Giraldi unum Burgensem, Robertus de Eurois<sup>7</sup> unum Burgensem, Ricardus filius Radulphi dedit eisdem monachis terram Firmini et terram Radulphi Cornuti. Hec omnia que hic continentur scripta confirmo ego Bernardus et concedo ut ecclesia teneat et Monachi ita bene et quiete et honorifice cum omnibus consuetudinibus sicuti ego de domino meo Henrico rege teneo.”<sup>8</sup>

“*Secunda Carta Bernardi de Novo Mercato.*”

“Domini mei videlicet Henrici Regis Anglie consensu atque nutu testimonioque Principum suorum dedi ego Bernardus de Novo Mercato pro sui salute et mei et pro animabus Regis patris sui et matris Sancte Trinitati Sanctoque Martino de Bello in Gualia Ecclesiam quandam in honore beati Johannis Evangeliste dedicatam sitamque in Hodeni Castro meo uxore mea concedente. Duas etiam Ecclesias illam scilicet de Talgar et illam de Langors que sunt in eadem patria huic predicte Ecclesie delegavi et capellam meam. Super quodque flumen quod dicitur Usca dedi molendinum unum et in prenominato etiam Castro quinque Burgenses et terram ante portam ejusdem Castri duabus carucis sufficientem et duas villas quarum una vocatur Lanwern altera Lan Mihangel<sup>9</sup> cum triben rigrid<sup>10</sup> ex aqua Nanttroi-

monks of Brecon to the monks of Quarrer, or Arreton, in the Isle of Wight, on payment of fifteen marks of silver by the latter, to whom it was then granted by Geoffrey de Mandeville. (Jones, *History of Brecknockshire*, vol. i, p. 96, referring to Madox, *Form. Anglic.*, p. 255.)

<sup>1</sup> Berrington, near Tenbury.

<sup>2</sup> See the subsequent Pichard charters.

<sup>3</sup> Of Le Mans.

<sup>4</sup> Llansantfread juxta Usk.

<sup>5</sup> Cleobury North, archdeaconry of Salop.

<sup>6</sup> Lenhale, now Lyonshall.

<sup>7</sup> D'Evreux.

<sup>8</sup> This charter is printed in Dugdale's *Mon.*, tome i, p. 316.

<sup>9</sup> By this charter Llanvihangel is expressly given.

<sup>10</sup> It is difficult to say what “triben rigrid” is, if it is correctly written.

gros<sup>1</sup> usque ad Carliharnau<sup>2</sup> ex utraque parte Hodeni et super littus prefati fluminis quod Usca dicitur tres arripennos<sup>3</sup> pratorum. Hec omnia que actenus nominavi sunt in Wallia et de meis proprijs. In Anglia tres ecclesias illam scilicet de Burchull et de Bodeham et de Hardintune cum terris et decimis et omnibus que sibi pertinent prefate Ecclesie dedi et decimam de Berrintune et de Bruneshope. Quidam ex meis hominibus nomine Picardus eidem Ecclesie dedit in Wallia terram trium carrucarum et rectam decimam de omnibus que possidet in eadem patria.<sup>4</sup> Et alius quidam nomine Ricardus Cenomannicus terram unius carruce. Similiter quidam nomine Walterius de Cropuz dedit omnem decimam suam de Wallia. Haroldus quidam nomine dedit similiter terram unius carruce. Robertus filius Guiardi unum Burgensem in Hodeni. Hugo cognomine Guafra<sup>5</sup> rectam decimam totius terre sue de Hantune.

“Signum † Regis Henrici, † Rodberti filij Hamon, † Rogerij filij Ricardi, † Walterij fratris ejus, † Valdrici<sup>6</sup> cancellarij.”

“*Carta Rogeri comitis Herefordie.*”

“Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Rogerus comes Herefordie<sup>7</sup> pro anima patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum et pro salute mea et meorum dono et concedo Ecclesie Sancti Johannis Apostoli et Evangeliste de Brechenion

<sup>1</sup> Nantygroes, a brook which runs into the river Honddu, about two miles north of Llandevaelog.

<sup>2</sup> Theoph. Jones says that Caerbannau is on an eminence, now corruptly called Benni, about two miles north-west of Brecon, and about a mile and a half from the confluence of the river Escir with Usk. He suggests that its proper name was Caer Van. Near this camp, and nearer to Aberescir, the Romans erected a station which they called Bannium, whence Benni; softened, according to Welsh rule, into Venni. (Vol. i, p. 27.)

<sup>3</sup> “Arvipennium, arepennis (Gallicè, arpent), a land-measure, which some call an acre, others a stadium.” (Spelman’s *Glossary.*)

<sup>4</sup> Ystradwy.

<sup>5</sup> Wafre.

<sup>6</sup> Waldricus was Chancellor about 1103, 3 Henry I. (Spelman’s *Glossary.*)

<sup>7</sup> Roger Earl of Hereford was the eldest son of Milo Earl of Hereford, Constable of England, by Sybil, daughter of Bernard Newmarch. Of this marriage there were four younger sons, Walter, Henry, Mael, and William, who, after the death of Roger, each (save William) in his turn held the office of Constable, and were lords of Brecon, all dying without issue; and three daughters,—Margery, who married Humphrey de Bohun; Bertha, the wife of Philip de Braose; and Lucy, the wife of Herbert Fitz Herbert. Earl Roger succeeded his father in 1143, and died in 1154.

et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in elemosinam perpetuò liberè et quiete possidenda molendinum videlicet meum situm super Hodeni sub pede mote Castelli cum tota multura sicuti melius in meo dominio tenui ita ut nulli alio liceat aliud molendinum facere vel habere in parochia ejusdem Ecclesie nisi ipsis monachis et decimam totius panis et potus mei et de Castello de Brechenion et de castello de Haya<sup>1</sup> et de toto Honore totius Brechonie de meo dominio sive assim sive an absim et decimam piscium et piscationem in Mara per duos dies in ebdomada (at)que decimam omnium placitorum et donorum meorum per totum honorem totius Brechenion et in denarijs et in denariatis. Dono eis etiam carrucam terre circa capellam Sancti Peulini de Mara et molendinum de Langors cum tota multura et terram totam Osmundi de Traveile et Hospitium<sup>2</sup> unum in castro de Haia<sup>3</sup> quietum et ab omni consuetudine et servicio terreno liberum. Similiter illam terram cōcedo eisdem monachis que jacet ante portam ejusdem ecclesie Sancti Johannis usque ad portas<sup>4</sup> de baillio castelli. Preterea dono eis et concedo omnium rerum decimas quas adquisiero in Walis preter terras que mee erunt et legitime libereque dari poterunt concedo insuper eis ecclesiam de Haya et ecclesiam de Lansefrei et ecclesiam Sancti Wenarch de Herchenefeld<sup>5</sup> et omnes ecclesias que mei juris sunt in Wallia sive in Anglia quas neque canonici neque monachi possident. Quicquid eciam Avus meus Bernardus de Novo Mercato et homines ejus eidem ecclesie Sancti Johannis dederunt in hominibus in terris in ecclesijs in decimis sive in ceteris possessionibus sicut carta ipsius Bernardi testatur et carta Regis Henrici confirmatur ita liberè et quietè ab omni servicio terrene consuetudinis concedo et presenti carta confirmo sicut res ecclesie possideri debent eo tenore et condicione ut in eadem ecclesia Sancti Johannis conventus sextem<sup>6</sup> monachorum

<sup>1</sup> The King to Engelram de Cygony. "Let the Prior of Brecon have the tithes of our castles of the honor of Brecon, as he had them before the disagreement between us and our clergy of England." (15 John, 1213; *Close Rolls*, p. 148.)

<sup>2</sup> Guest-house or room in Hay Castle.

<sup>3</sup> This charter is copied at full length in a subsequent part of the Carte transcript, so the conclusion is here supplied. A note, as follows, "Hic deficiunt 2 Cartæ Rogeri Comitis Herefordiæ", here occurs in the Carte MS.

<sup>4</sup> Gates of the Castle bailey, afterwards Old Port Superior.

<sup>5</sup> Llansaintfread and St. Weonards of Archenfield.

<sup>6</sup> It is quite uncertain whether this is "sextem" or "septem", as the word is almost illegible. Bishop Tanner, in his *Notitia Monastica*, says there were only six monks in the Priory, without reference to his authority.



ad minus teneatur de monachis Sancti Martini de bello ad quam predicta ecclesia Sancti Johannis pertinet et cui subjecta est. Hijs testibus.”<sup>1</sup>

“*Secunda Carta*<sup>2</sup> *Rogeri Comitis Herefordie.*

“Notum sit presentibus et futuris quod ego Rogerus Comes Herefordie dedi et hac carta confirmavi monachis de Brekenia pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum meorum et successorum Lanwern usque Maisludin<sup>3</sup> et usque Heileye et Kaer a flumine Eskir usque Gleudi et inde usque Kilunuc (et) terram que fuit Walkelini<sup>4</sup> Vis de Lu de Pentenauel<sup>5</sup> usque ad castellum Weynardi.<sup>6</sup> Et terram Ricardi Gulafre de Traueleya usque Wenniterfin et inde usque ad Lantewerchin<sup>7</sup> et quadraginta acras quas Stephanus de Benni me presente eis dedit liberas et quietas ab omni exactione et terreno servicio Concedo eciam dictis monachis decimas reddituum et placitorum et donorum meorum et liberam pasturam animalibus suis in forestis meis et decimas porcorum de pannagio meo et vaccarum de donis Walensium<sup>8</sup> apud Talgarth et apud Brekeniam et decimas molendinorum meorum et omnium lucrorum per totum honorem de Brekenia Concedo eciam eis liberam curiam suam cum omnibus libertatibus quas habet ecclesia Sancti Martini de bello sicut carta domini mei Regis Henrici testatur.<sup>9</sup> Et precipio omnibus fidelibus meis quod habeant omnes res et possessiones suas ita libere et quiete et honorifice sicut ego terras meas teneo et ut omnia rata sint huic carte sigillum meum appono teste curia de Brechonia.”

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Tanner notes here : “*Cartæ 2da et 3ia excisæ sunt.*”

<sup>2</sup> This second charter is written towards the end of the *Carte MS.*, after the charter immediately preceding. It is now restored to its proper place, and is one of the two charters supposed to be wanting.

<sup>3</sup> Maeslydan, Broadfield. (Theoph. Jones.)

<sup>4</sup> Trewalkin, on the old road from Talgarth to Genfford. The name of Umfridus Vis de Lu (St. Lo?) occurs in *Close Rolls* (vol. ii, p. 212), 11 Henry III.

<sup>5</sup> Pentanavel, near Garn y Castell. (Ordnance Survey.)

<sup>6</sup> Garn y Castell is probably the site of Weynards Castle. Compare this description with that in the charter of Walter of Hereford, “*inter Maram et Castellum Wainardi*”, with a reference to Ordnance Survey.

<sup>7</sup> Lattewrechin. (Dugd.)

<sup>8</sup> The tithes of pannage and Welsh cow-yield.

<sup>9</sup> This is printed in Dugdale (*Mon.*, tome i, p. 322) as the fourth charter, with the omission of the last sentence.

*“Quarta Carta Rogeri Comitis Herefordie.*

“Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Rogerus Comes Herefordie dedi et concessi Deo et Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum imprimis hanc libertatem ut Prior et conventus habeant curiam suam per omnia et omnes libertates quas habere debent ex dignitate sue matris Ecclesie. Dono etiam eis totam terram Sancti Peulini apud Maram et in Mara piscationem per tres dies singulis septimanis et singulis diebus in Adventu et in Quadragesima libere et quiete sine alicujus impedimento vel contradictione. Dono etiam predictis monachis omnes decimas pullanorum meorum et vitulorum et agnorum et caseorum et lane et lini et omnium rerum unde decime pervenire poterunt de omnibus forestis meis per totum honorem totius Brechonie et totam decimam totius ville mee de Brechonia et decimam totius expense in dominicis meis sive assim sive absim et decimam lardarii<sup>1</sup> de Haya. Dono etiam ad augmentum donorum meorum decimam omnium vaccarum de donis Walensium et decimam preदारum quas super inimicos meos accipere potero<sup>2</sup> et communem pasturam per totam terram de Brechonia. Omnes etiam donationes quas Bernardus de Novo Mercato eidem Ecclesie contulit concedo et hac presenti carta confirmo scilicet molendinum unum situm super flumen quod dicitur Husca et duas partes alterius molendini super flumen Hotheni. Preter hec quandam vastam civitatem que vocatur Chaer cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus in bosco et in plano in pratis in pascuis in vijs in semitis in aquis et in piscationibus a flumine Heskir usque ad Gleudi<sup>3</sup> per magnam viam<sup>4</sup> que tendit versus Brechoniam et inde sicut Gleudi descendit in moram et annem qui ex altera parte descendit in moram de subtus per medium cacumen montis usque ad sursam alterius rivi qui est in latere montis versus Huscam et inde sicut idem rivus descendit in Huscam<sup>5</sup> et duas carucatas

<sup>1</sup> The tithes of the meat-market of Hay.

<sup>2</sup> Tithes of the Welsh cow-yield, and of the booty to be received from his enemies.

<sup>3</sup> Gleudi (Ordnance Survey).

<sup>4</sup> Henheol.

<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to make out which is the river which descends into Usk, unless it be Honddu. The tract of land between the rivers Eskir and Honddu, granted by Bernard Newmarch to Battle Abbey, seems to have extended from Abereskir and Henheol along the left bank of the Eskir, including the parish of Battle and the tenements of Battle End, Battle vawr, and Battle vach, to the brook called Nantygroes, which runs into Honddu. (See Ordnance Survey.)

terre cum bosco ad eam pertinente et Ecclesiam de Bodeham et Ecclesiam de Patingeham et Ecclesiam de Talgar et Ecclesiam de Mara et omnes alias donationes quas eidem Bernardus avus meus predicte ecclesie donavit in hominibus in terris in ecclesijs et in ceteris possessionibus sigilli mei et Baronum meorum testimonio confirmo. Hijs testibus Waltero fratre meo Jordano Archidiacono, Davide Decano, Bauderun, Waltero de Clifford, Roberto de Candos, Humfredo filio Odonis, Hugone Forestario, Radulfo de Baschevilla et Roberto Fratre ejus, Rogero de Chinlet, Olivero de Bruneshope<sup>1</sup> [Reginaldo de Weldebef, Thurstano Bret et Roberto fratre ejus Seer Hagurner]", etc.<sup>2</sup>

*“Carta sexta Rogeri Comit̄is Herefordie.*

“Notum sit omnibus presentibus et posteris quod ego Rogerus comes Herefordie concedo et hac mea carta confirmo pro salute anime mee et patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in perpetuum liberam curiam suam in omnibus cum quadam vasta civitate que vocatur Carnois<sup>3</sup> scilicet de Aberescir usque Kilinoc<sup>4</sup> et Lanwern usque Maislidin. Preterea concedo eis omnia molendina de parochia de Brechonia cum tota moltura et cum omnibus consuetudinibus et libertatibus et pertinentijs suis tenendum et habendum liberè et quietè sicut ego ea unquam liberius et melius in meo dominio habui et ita scilicet quod non liceat alicui molendinum facere vel habere infra fines dicte parochie nisi ipsis monachis. Concedo etiam eis terram Osmundi de Traveleia totam et juxta illam unam aliam terram que fuit Ricardi Gulafre totam scilicet usque Wenniterfin et totam terram que vocatur Toui et terram illam que fuit Walkelini Vis de lu scilicet de Pentanavel usque ad castellum Weinardi in bosco et plano et omnibus ad eas pertinentibus. Dono insuper dictis monachis has Ecclesias scilicet ecclesiam de Talgar et Ecclesiam

<sup>1</sup> The following note is written here by the transcriber: “Mae’n debygol vod dalen yng holl ymma.” Translation: “It is probable that a leaf is lost here.” Bishop Tanner notes: “Deest etiam carta 5ta.”

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Dugdale’s *Monasticon*, tome i, p. 321, from which names of witnesses, in brackets, are added.

<sup>3</sup> Carneys in Dugdale.

<sup>4</sup> Theoph. Jones says this is Cilieni, a river which falls into the Usk on the north, about seven miles above Brecon, and four or five above Aber Eskir; but the description in the several charters does not support his notion.

de Mara et Ecclesiam de Haya et illam de Sancto Egion et Ecclesiam de Langeleu<sup>1</sup> et illam de Kethedin que omnes sunt in Wallia. In Anglia vero dedi eis ecclesiam de Patingham et illam de Bodeham et illam de Burchulle et illam de Hardintona cum omnibus pertinentijs suis. Et decimas omnium proventuum placitorum tholnetorum donorum lucrorum et reddituum meorum et totius panis et potus et totius expense de castello Brechonie et de Haya et de ceteris Dominijs meis per totum honorem Brechonie sive assim sive absim et decimam omnium rerum quas adquisiero in Wallia. Et piscationem trium dierum in Mara per ebdomadam et omnibus diebus in Adventu et Quadragesima et liberam pasturam omnibus animalibus suis in Forestis meis per totam Brechoniam et decimas vaccarum de donis Wallensium. Has et omnes donationes et concessionem que in hac carta et in alijs cartis meis vel antecessorum meorum continentur eis concedo liberè et quiete in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Testibus Francigenis, Anglicis, et Wallicis Curie mee de Brechonia.”<sup>2</sup>

“ VII.—*Carta Rogeri Comitis.*

“ Notum sit omnibus quod ego Rogerus comes Herefordie pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum concessi et hac meâ carta confirmavi monachis meis de Brechonia curiam suam de hominibus suis et terris et possessionibus et omnibus rebus suis liberam et quietam decimas totius panis et potûs et totius expense de castello Brechonia et de Haya et de ceteris Dominijs meis per totam Brechoniam. Et si pro subtractione vel dilatione ministrorum meorum melius solverint, loco predictæ decime concedo eis decimam totius bladi mei ad ostia grangiarum apud castellum de Brechonia et apud Talgar et Hayam et omnium leguminum post primam decimationem que ecclesijs quibus prius data fuerat, in pace firma remaneat et si que terra vel Maneria de honore de Brechonia in meum dominium aliquo casu devenerint hoc idem in eis monachi mei predicti habeant. Si vero summagium portatum fuerit in terram meam de Brechonia de Dominijs meis ab Anglia decimam habeant inde undecunque fuerit. Preterea dono et concedo sepedictis monachis meis has ecclesias, scilicet, ecclesiam de Talgar et ecclesiam de Mara et ecclesiam de Haya et ecclesiam de Sancto Egion et Ecclesiam de Langeleu et illam de Kethedin<sup>3</sup> que omnes sunt Wallias. In Anglia

<sup>1</sup> Llanelieu.

<sup>2</sup> This is printed in Dugdale, *Mon.*, tome i, p. 321, as the third charter, and styled in Br. MS., “Carta sexta”.

<sup>3</sup> Kathedin.

vero dedi eisdem monachis meis quatuor ecclesias scilicet illam de Patingeham et illam de Burchull et illam de Hardintuna cum omnibus ad omnes predictas ecclesias pertinentibus. Dono etiam eis omnes decimas omnium placitorum tholnetorum, donorum, lucrorum, reddituum de Brechonia proventuum et omnium rerum et bonorum que ego adquisiero in Wallia et piscationem trium dierum in Mara per Ebdomadam et omnibus diebus in Adventu et Quadragesima. Concedo etiam dictis monachis meis liberam pasturam omnibus animalibus suis in Forestis meis per totum Honorem de Brechonia et decimas vaccarum de donis Walensium similiter cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis donationibus et liberis consuetudinibus quas antecessores mei eis dederunt, cum omnibus etiam (?) libertatibus quas habet ecclesia Sancti Martini de Bello, in omnibus rebus sicut carta Domini mei Regis Henrici testatur. Hijs Testibus Waltero fratre Comitis, Waltero de Clifford, Radulfo et Roberto de Baskevilla, Osberto filio Hugonis, Willelmo de Bealchamp, Reginaldo de Oldebef, Rogero de Burchulla, Hugone de Hesla, Waltero de Ferna, Willelmo clerico, Jestin Trahern et multis alijs.”<sup>1</sup>

“VIII.—*Carta Rogeri Comitis.*

“Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris Francis Anglis et Walensibus quod ego Rogerus Comes Herefordie pro salute meâ et pro anima patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum concedo et hac presenti carta confirmo, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus ecclesiam de Humbre cum omnibus pertinentijs suis quam Walterus del Mans et uxor ejus Agnes ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et dilectis monachis meis ibidem existentibus in perpetuam elemosinam coram Domino Gilberto Herefordensi episcopo, pro salute animarum eorum dederunt. Preterea concedo et confirmo sepe dictis monachis de Brechonia quadraginta acras de Benni quas donavit Stephanus de Puher<sup>2</sup> eis in perpetuam elemosinam dedit. Ut autem omnia predicta in perpetuum permaneant et inconcussa presentis scripti attestazione, et sigilli mei appositione ea confirmo et corrobore. Hijs testibus Waltero fratre meo, Waltero de Cliffordia, Hugone Forestario, Roberto de Chandos, Radulfo de Baskervilla, Reginaldo de Weldeboef, Olivero de Merlemunt, Willelmo de Mineris, Willelmo Torel, et multis alijs.”

<sup>1</sup> This is printed in Dugdale, *Mon.*, immediately before the preceding charter.

<sup>2</sup> In a preceding charter called Steph. de Benni.

“Nona Carta Rogeri comitis Herefordie.

“Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris quod ego Rogerus comes Herefordie pro anima patris mei et antecessorum meorum et pro salute mea dono Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia per manum Episcopi Gilberti Herefordensis<sup>1</sup>, molendinum de Burchella cum terra et piscatione cum tota secta<sup>2</sup> molture, et cum omnibus consuetudinibus que ad illud pertinent et molendinum superius de Coure<sup>3</sup> cum terra et consuetudinibus suis ita liberè et quiete in perpetuum sicuti fuerunt in meo dominio et antecessorum meorum et hec tali conditione dono ut calumpnia que erat inter monachos ejusdem Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et canonicos Lantonienses de Ecclesia de Burchulle<sup>4</sup> tota dimittatur et in perpetuum remaneat. Teste ipso Episcopo et capitulo Herefordie, et Waltero Fratrem meo, et Balderun de Munemue,<sup>5</sup> Waltero de Clifford, Alano filio, Waltero de Bello campo, Mauricio Hereveo.” (Date 1148 to 1154.)

“Carta decima<sup>6</sup> Rogeri Comitiss Herefordie.

“Sciunt omnes tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Rogerus Comes Herefordie pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum concedo et confirmo Deo et ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in perpetuam elemosinam terram quam Osmundus de Traveleia et uxor ejus dederunt predicte Ecclesie eadem conventionem que inter eos et predictos monachos fuit scilicet totam terram de Traveleia ultra fontem et Burgagium in Brechonia et acram extra Barram libere et quiete ab omni terreno servitio. Hijs Testibus Reginaldo de

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Foliot, 1148; translated to London, 24 March, 1162-3.

<sup>2</sup> The suit at the mill, or the duty of the lord's tenants to have their corn ground at his mill.

<sup>3</sup> B. Newmarch in 1088 gave to the church of St. Peter, Gloucester, the church and tithes of Coure (Cowarne), with Glasbury and other possessions. (*Cart. Mon. S. Petri Gl.*, vol. i, p. 314, Rolls Series.)

<sup>4</sup> Milo Earl of Gloucester gave the church of Burghill and its emoluments to the canons of the church of Llanthony. (*Dugd., Mon.*, tome ii, p. 70.)

<sup>5</sup> Referred to as an ancestor by John of Monmouth in his charter to the Priory.

<sup>6</sup> The numbers of the charters of Earl Roger are printed as they occur in the Carte MS. Theophilus Jones mentions that this last charter is included in the *Inspeximus* charter of Henry IV. (*Hist. Breckn.*, vol. i, p. 108.) It stands as the tenth in Brewster MS.

Weldeboef, et Turstano Bret. Seerio Hagurner, Roberto filio Gunteri, Roberto de Traueleye, Mahelo capellano et multis alijs.”<sup>1</sup>

*Henry of Hereford's Grant of the Churches of Hay and Llanigon, as William the priest of Hay held them; and establishment of a Vicarage there:*

“Carta Henrici de Herefordia constabularij.—Omnibus notum sit tam clericis quam Laicis presentibus et futuris, quod ego Henricus de Hereford constabularius Regis pro salute anime mee et pro animâ patris mei et matris mee et fratrum et antecessorum meorum dono et concedo ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia inprimis Ecclesiam de Haya et illam de Sancto Egion cum omnibus rebus eidem Ecclesie pertinentibus, in capellis, in decimis, in terris, in bosco, in plano in hominibus et in ceteris pertinentijs sicut ea Willelmus presbyter de Haya, melius et liberius unquam tenuit, absque omni terreno servitio sicut relique ecclesie teneri debent. Prior autem et conventus ejusdem Ecclesie Sancti Johannis precibus meis et voluntati obtemperantes, primum vicarium suscipiant in hijs ecclesijs serviendum quamdiu vixerit et eis fidem tenuerit; ita ut singulis annis inde monachis Sancti Johannis de Brechonia quinque marcas argenti reddat. Post illum vero quemcumque voluerint suscipiant idoneum ecclesijs et sibi serviendum. Preterea concedo et hac presenti carta confirmo quicquid Bernardus de Novo Mercato avus meus et homines ipsius eidem ecclesie contulerunt et que Milo comes pater meus dedit, et quicquid Fratres mei Rogerus Comes et Walterus Constabularius et homines eorum eidem Ecclesie concesserunt et decimam de proventu placitorum et donorum meorum et omnium lucrorum et reddituum meorum de Brechonia, piscationem vero trium dierum in Mara per ebdomadam ex proprio dono similiter concedo. Cetera omnia que ipsi Fratres mei Ecclesie Sancti Johannis et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus concesserunt et suis cartis confirmaverunt, in Ecclesijs, in decimis, in terris, in hominibus in molendinis in aquis, in bosco et plano, in libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus, et ego concedo et hac mea carta confirmo a me et hereditibus meis libere et quiete perpetuo jure possidenda. Teste inprimis Fratrem meo Maielo concedente et confirmante; et hijs alijs testibus; Jordano Archidiacono,<sup>2</sup> Maihelo capellano et

<sup>1</sup> Read here the charters of Walter of Hereford, which follow those of his brother Henry. The Brewster MS. agrees with Carte MS. as regards the order in which these charters occur.

<sup>2</sup> Archdeacon of Brecon; resigned 1175.

Radulpho presbytero, Hugone Diacono, Bernardo diacono, Magistro Ricuado, Bernardo Clerico; Radulfo Presbytero de Lando,<sup>1</sup> Dauit de Lando et multis alijs Clericis. De Laicis Ricardo Turco, Osburno filio Hugonis, Waltero de Clifford, Radulfo de boscauilla, Rogero de Burchull', Willelmo de Furcis, Roberto filio Gunteri Waltero de Mans, et Maihelo filio ejus, Willelmo de Hesla, Reinnardo Crozun, Willelmo de Loemer, Radulfo de vau, Ricardo de Becheford, Ricardo de Haya, Willelmo Picart, Willelmo Oldebof, Luca, Roberto de Furcis, henrico Loureuc, Willelmo Banastra; Radulfo filio Ernulfi, Rogero de Camera, Nicholao Rogero dispensario, Bernardo coco, Gregorio, Ricardo Portario, Traier filio Ennio, Waltero filio ejus, Ithel, Radulfo Fratrem ejus, Traier filio Geffre de Burgensibus, Nicholao preposito, Osberno preposito, Ricardo clerico, hugone filio Edwardi, et Laurentio Filio, Reinnaldo filio Godit, Waltero canut, Lamberto Benedicto, Willelmo, Lamberto Monetario, et multis alijs Francis, Walensibus et Anglis."

*Grant of 3s. yearly to keep up the light of the church of St. John, in addition to 2s. given by Earl Milo, on Godfrey the cook being received as a Monk:*

"Carta ejusdem Henrici.—Sciunt omnes quod ego Henricus de Herefordia Constabularius regis concedo Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia tres solidos de redditibus meis singulis annis in perpetuum ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste ad lumen Ecclesie emendum; ita quod cum illis duobus solidis quos pater meus Milo comes ad luminare ejusdem Ecclesie similiter dedit, sint quinque et similiter reddantur. Et hoc facio pro Godefrido coco faciendo monacho, qui mihi et antecessoribus meis honorifice servivit usque ad monachatum. Hujus donationis Testes sunt Jordanus Archidiaconus, Maihel Capellanus, Radulfus capellanus, Dauit de Lando, Waltero de Cliffort, Radulfo de Baschavilla, Rogero de Burchull, Reinnaldo Crochun, Roberto filio Gunteri, Willelmus de Hesla et plures alij."

*Walter, constable, confirms the gifts of Bernard Newmarch and Earl Milo, and of Roger Earl of Hereford:*

"Walterus.—Notum sit omnibus tam posteris quam presentibus quod ego Walterus constabularius pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum concedo Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia quicquid avus meus Bernardus de Novo Mercato Fundator ipsius Ecclesie et homines Bernardi eidem ecclesie contulerunt. Concedo etiam que pater meus dedit. De donis

<sup>1</sup> Llanddewi.



autem Fratris mei Rogeri comitis Herefordie concedo monachis ibidem Deo servientibus molendinum sub pede castelli cum tota multura et libertate sua, ita ut nulli liceat aliud molendinum facere vel habere in parochia Ecclesie nisi ipsis monachis et terram ante portam Sancti Johannis usque ad portas de Bailio Castelli et Terram Osmundi de Traueleia totam et Ricardi Gulafre et Terram Turstani Bret juxta viridarium Ecclesie et carrucatum terre apud Sanctum Peulinum de Mara et totam Terram Walkelini Vis de lu inter Maram et castellum Wainardi in bosco in plano in pascuis in pratis et omnibus ad eandem Terram pertinentibus, et omnes istas terras liberas et quietas ab omni consuetudine et terreno servitio Et si forte aliquas istarum justitia cogente monachis ut patronus tueri non possum vel a me vel herede meo excambio ad valens pacabuntur. Concedo eis similiter Ecclesiam de Haya cum capellis suis et decimis et pertinentijs, et unum hospitium<sup>1</sup> apud Hayam cum homine suo in eodem manente liberum et quietum ab omni consuetudine et terreno servitio et decimam panis et potus et piscis in dominijs meis de Honore de Brechonia sive assim sive absim. Similiter concedo eis molendinum de Schelfwicha cum libertate sua et molendinum de Coure superius que data fuerant monachis in compositione pro Ecclesia de Burchulla quam Canonici de Lanthoni tenent.<sup>2</sup> Hec omnia supradicta concedo et hac presenti carta confirmo Ecclesie Sancti Johannis perpetuo libere et quietè possidenda et de omni querela quam adversus me habebant, liberum me clament et quietum. Hujus rei Testes sunt Henricus frater meus, Walterius de Cliffort et ceteri.”

*Walter, constable, makes a grant to the same effect as his preceding one :*

“Walterus.—Notum sit omnibus tam posteris quam presentibus quod ego Walterus constabularius pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum concedo Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia quicquid avus meus Bernardus de Novo Mercato Fundator ipsius Ecclesie et homines Bernardi eidem Ecclesie contulerunt. Concedo etiam que pater meus dedit. De donis autem fratris mei Rogeri comitis Herefordie concedo monachis ibidem Deo servientibus molendinum sub pede Castelli cum tota multura et libertate sua ita ut nulli liceat aliud molendinum facere vel habere in parochia Ecclesie nisi ipsis monachis, et terram ante portam Sancti Johannis usque ad portas de baillio castelli et terram Osmundi de Traveleia totam et Nicholai Gulafre

<sup>1</sup> A guest house at Hay.

<sup>2</sup> See Earl Roger's "carta nona", ante.

et terram Turstani Bret juxta pomerium monachorum et carrucatum terre apud Sanctum Peulinum de Mara et Pentenavel et totam terram Walkelini Vis de lu inter Maram et fossatum Walkelini et inde usque ad castellum Weinardi in bosco, in plano in pascuis, in pratis et omnibus rebus ad eandem terram pertinentibus et omnes istas terras liberas et quietas ab omni consuetudine et terreno servitio. Et si forte aliquas istarum terrarum justitia cogente monachis ut patronus tueri non possum vel a me vel ab heredibus meis excambio ad valens pacabuntur. Concedo eis similiter Ecclesiam de Haya et Ecclesiam de Sancto Egion cum omnibus pertinentijs suis. Hujus rei testes sunt Henricus Frater meus, Walterus de Clifford, Radulfus de Baskvillâ, Walterus de bello campo, Radulfus Auenel, Rogerus de Burchullâ, Hugo de Turbervilla, Willelmus de Hesla, et multi alij."

*Walter, constable, grants to the convent of Brecon a right of fishing two days weekly in Llangorse lake :*

"Walterus.—Sciant presentes et posteris quod ego Walterus de Herefordia Constabularius concedo et firmiter do in perpetuam elemosinam conventui meo monachorum de Brechonia piscationem duorum dierum in septimanis singulis in Lacu meo de Mara pro animâ patris mei Milonis Comitis et matris mee Sybille et fratris mei Rogeri Comitis Herefordie et omnium antecessorum meorum, et pro salute corporis et anime mee. Teste Gileberto de Laci et Fratre Hugone de Barris et Reginaldo filio Urlic et ceteris."

*Mahel de Hereford confirms the gifts of his ancestors to the church of St. John, Brecon :*

"Maihelus.—Notum sit omnibus tam Clericis quam Laicis presentibus et futuris quod ego Maihelus<sup>1</sup> de Herefordia pro salute anime mee et animarum patris mei et matris mee et fratrum et antecessorum meorum dono et concedo Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus et hac presenti Carta confirmo quicquid Bernardus de Novo Mercato avus meus et homines ipsius eidem Ecclesie contulerunt et que Milo pater meus dedit et quicquid fratres mei Rogerus

<sup>1</sup> Mahel, the last of the brothers, was killed before the end of the first year of his succession by a stone which fell from the principal tower of Brynllys Castle on the occasion of a fire, while he was on a visit to Walter de Clifford. Giraldus (*Itin. Cambriæ*, lib. i, chap. 2) speaks of him as a cruel persecutor of David Bishop of St. David's. Mahel's death occurred about 1165.

Comes et Walterus constabularius et Henricus et homines eorum eidem Ecclesie concesserunt et cartis suis confirmaverunt in Ecclesijs in decimis in terris in hominibus in molendinis in aquis in bosco et plano in libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus que omnia confirmavi cum sigilli mei munimine in carta Henrici fratris mei Preterea concedo eidem Ecclesie capellam<sup>1</sup> de Castello Brechoni<sup>1</sup> quam avus meus Bernardus primus eis concessit, cum donis illis et dignitatibus que pater meus Milo Comes eidem capelle dedit in dedicatione ipsius videlicet tres solidos ad luminare in capella et corredium<sup>2</sup> capellani cum clerico suo et scolam<sup>3</sup> de Brechonia que proprie pertinet matri Ecclesie et insuper tres solidos de feria annuatim ad Festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste ad lumen Ecclesie emendum ita quod cum illis duobus solidis quos pater meus Milo Comes ad luminare ejusdem Ecclesie similiter dedit, sint quinque et hoc pro Godefrido Coco quem Henricus Frater meus fecit monachum qui nostris antecessoribus honorifice servivit usque ad monachatum. Hujus concessionis Testes sunt Thomas Prior de Lanthoeni de Ewias et Radulfus cellararius, Humfridus de Buhun, (nepos meus,<sup>4</sup> Walterus de Clifford, Radulfus de Baschevilla, Rogerus dapifer de Burchall, Willelmus de Miniers, Williellmus Torell, Reinaldus Crocun, Robertus de Baschevill, Williellmus Loemer, Radulfus de Vatin, Rogerus Bret, Will. Picart, Will. Weldeboef, etc.”)

*William de Braose and Maud his wife confirm grant of churches of Hay, Llanigon, and Llangorse, and make provision for the service of those churches:*

“Willelmus de Breosa.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Breosa et Domina Matildis de Sancto Walerico uxor mea ex consensu et voluntate Willelmi filij nostri heredis et omnium filiorum nostrorum dedimus et concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus in perpetuam et puram elemosinam coram Domino G. Menevensi Episcopo Deo et beate Marie et Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in proprios usus cum corporibus nostris Ecclesiam de Haya et Ecclesiam de Sancto Egion et Ecclesiam de Talgard et Ecclesiam de Mara cum omnibus rebus, eisdem

<sup>1</sup> Dedicated to St. Nicholas. See *Itin. Kambricæ*, lib. i, cap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Conredium*, a corrody.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to find that a school was thus early established at Brecon in connection with the Convent.

<sup>4</sup> The names of witnesses, within brackets, are added from Dugdale's *Mon.*, tome i, p. 322, where this charter is printed.

Ecclesijs pertinentibus, in capellis in decimis, in bosco, in plano in hominibus et in ceteris pertinentijs suis sicut unquam aliqui melius et liberius tenuerunt, absque omni terreno servitio sicut res ecclesiastice teneri debent. Hec autem omnia dictis monachis ex proprio dono nostro cum corporibus nostris contulimus pro remissione peccatorum nostrorum, et pro salute animarum nostrarum et antecessorum et successorum nostrorum ita quod nos vel heredes nostri in predictis Ecclesijs aliquid jus presentationis sive donationis aliquo modo vindicare non poterimus Sed quatuor nominatas Ecclesias pro amore Dei et beate Marie et Sancti Johannis Apostoli et Evangeliste Priori et conventui nostro de Brechonia ad ipsos sustentendos tam liberè tam plenariè tam pacificè tenendas habendas et in perpetuum concedendas dedimus et concessimus et confirmavimus: sicut liberius melius et plenarius dare, concedere vel confirmare debuimus scivimus vel potuimus hanc spem apud nos retinentes quod in extremo judicio consequi mereamur a Deo remunerationem. Prior vero et conventus idoneos capellanos ad serviendum dictis Ecclesijs invenient scilicet ad Hayam duos, ad Lan Egion unum, ad Talgard duos ad Maram unum et ad propriam mensam suam illos retinebunt. Et ne aliquis heredum vel successorum contra concessionem vel donum nostrum venire possit sive confirmationem nostram tam solempniter factam infringere acceptaverunt cartam nostram sigillorum nostrorum impressione roboratam quam eis dedimus in testimonium. Hijs testibus domino G.<sup>1</sup> Menevensi Episcopo, domino E.<sup>2</sup> Herefordie Episcopo, domino H.<sup>3</sup> Landavensi Episcopo, Magistro Hugone decano<sup>4</sup> Herefordensi, Magistro G. de Barri,<sup>5</sup> G. Archidiacono de Brechonia, C. Archidiacono de Kaermerdin; Ricardo decano Brechonie et multis alijs.” (Date 1203 to 1208.)

*William de Braose gives his body to the church of St. John, and confirms the donations of his ancestors :*

“Willelmus de Breosa.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Braiosa<sup>6</sup> pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum imprimis do Ecclesie Sancti Johannis Apostoli et evangeliste de Brechonie [corpus meum] quocunque loco sive in Anglia

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey, 1203; ob. 1214.

<sup>2</sup> Giles de Braose, consecrated 1200; ob. 13 Nov. 1216.

<sup>3</sup> Henry, Prior of Abergavenny, consecrated *ante* 1196; ob. Nov. 1218.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Hugh de Mapenore, promoted to the bishopric in 1216.

<sup>5</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis and his nephew, Archdeacon of Brecon.

<sup>6</sup> William de Braose died in exile, and was buried in the Abbey of St. Victor, Paris, about 1210.

sive in Wallia Deo disponente finiero quia hec est Ecclesia quam pre ceteris diligo et in Sanctum Johannem post Deum et Sanctam Mariam majorem fiduciam habeo cum donatione corporis mei concedo eidem Ecclesie Sancti Johannis et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus quicquid antecessores mei Bernardus de Novo Mercato Fundator ipsius Ecclesie et homines ejus et Milo Comes, et avunculi mei Rogerus Comes Herefordie, Walterus, Henricus, Maihelus et homines eorum huic Ecclesie Sancti Johannis dederunt et cartis suis confirmaverunt in Ecclesijs et pertinentijs earum in decimis in terris in hominibus in possessionibus in bosco et in plano, in molendinis in piscationibus in libertatibus omnibus et in liberis consuetudinibus quas ex se debet habere vel ex dignitate sue matris Ecclesie secundum cartam domini nostri Regis Henrici et antecessorum suorum. Hec omnia Ecclesie Sancti Johannis et conventui ipsius concedo et perpetuo jure sibi possidenda hac carta confirmo; et ipsam cartam sic confirmatam multis testibus tam clericis quam laicis cum corpore meo super altare Sancti Johannis represento, et ejus custodie me vivum et mortuum fiducialiter ex hac hora committo. Unde omnes rogo qui mihi fidem debent et amorem ut hanc Ecclesiam libentius diligant et manuteneant et rebus ipsius ubique pro Dei amore consilio ex auxilio diligentius subveniant. Et notum sit omnibus quod ex proprio dono concedo cum corpore meo hanc libertatem quod omnes homines Ecclesie Sancti Johannis, tam Burgenses quam alij,<sup>1</sup> sint liberi et quieti de sciris et de hundredis et placitis et omnibus querelis et si aliquis deprehensus fuerit latrocinio vel aliquo modo convictus, catella ipsius sint Ecclesie et monachis, et sola justitia mortis et membrorum sit mihi et ministris meis. Testibus hijs Waltero de Clifford, Willelmo de Wellebuf, Rodberto de Baschavilla et multis alijs.”<sup>2</sup>

*William de Braose gives 5s. of his rents of Brecon yearly for lighting the church at the Mass on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary :*

“Willelmus de Breosa.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Breosa dedi et concessi in perpetuam et puram elemosinam Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus v. solidos de redditibus meis in villa de Brechonia ad luminare emendum ad missam Sancte Marie honorificé celebrandam reddendos singulis annis ad purificationem Sancte Marie. Et ut hec donatio mea rata et incon-

<sup>1</sup> Grant of liberties to the men of the church of St. John, as well burgesses as others.

<sup>2</sup> This charter is also printed in Dugdale's *Mon.*, tome i, p. 322.

cussa permaneat cartam meam sigilli mei impressione roboratam eis dedimus in testimonium. Hijs testibus Willelmo de Burchulla, Rodberto Fratre ejus; Willelmo de Weldebef, Ricardo Capellano, Hugone Capellano et multis alijs.”

*William de Braose, as Lord of Brecon, confirms the gift of Raïph de Baskerville of the mill of Trosdref:*

“Willelmus de Breosa.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus dominus de Brechonia concessi et hac mea carta confirmavi Deo et Ecclesie Sancti Johannis Evangeliste in Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus omne donum quod Radulfus de Baskevil, in feudo meo illis dedit scilicet molendinum de Trosthref et gurgitem suum in Leveni<sup>1</sup> et quia hoc ratum inconcussum esse volo, hac presenti carta et sigilli mei attestacione eisdem confirmo. Hijs testibus Matilde uxore mea, Willelmo filio meo, et Philippo filio meo, Willelmo de Weldebof, Willelmo de Burchulla, Roberto de Burchulla tunc constabularijs, Nicholao de Danmartin, Waltero de Travelege, Ricardo Capellano meo et multis alijs.”

*Reginald de Braose confirms the donations of his ancestors:*

“Reginaldus.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Reginaldus de Breosa<sup>2</sup> pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum et successorum meorum dono et concedo et hac presenti carta confirmo Deo et beate Marie et Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis meis ibidem Deo servientibus et servituris quecunque antecessores mei scilicet Bernardus de Novo Mercato, fundator ipsius Ecclesie et Milo Comes et Rogerus Comes Herefordie, Walterus, Henricus, Maihelus, et homines eorum et dominus Willelmus de Breosa pater meus et homines ejus dederunt illis, et cartis suis confirmaverunt in Ecclesijs et pertinentijs earum in decimis in terris et in hominibus, in burgagijs et in Burgensibus, in bosco, in plano, in molendinis in piscationibus, et in omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus tenenda et habenda libere et quieté ab omni servitio terreno; sicut carta domini Willelmi de Breosa patris mei et carte antecessorum meorum testantur. Et ut hec mea donatio et concessio rata sit et inconcussa, eam sigilli mei

<sup>1</sup> Llyfni.

<sup>2</sup> He succeeded his brother Giles, Bishop of Hereford, in 1215, and died in 1222. He was buried in the church of St. John. His son William, who was hanged by Llywelyn, Prince of North Wales, in 1230, succeeded him as lord of Brecon.

munimine roboravi. Hijs Testibus G.<sup>1</sup> Archidiacono Brechonie et Ricardo decano Brechonie, Roberto le Wafre, Ricardo Britone,<sup>2</sup> Willelmo Havard, Pagano de Burchull, Hoelo filio Traeri et multis alijs.”

*Reginald de Braose gives 5s. of his rents of Brecon for lighting the church on the daily celebration of the Mass of the Virgin Mary :*

“Reginaldus.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Reginaldus de Braiosa dedi et concessi et hac presenti cartâ confirmavi pro salute anime mee et animarum Patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum, Deo et Sancte Marie et Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus et servituris quinque solidos de redditibus meis de villa de Brechonia ad luminare emendum ad missam Sancte Marie honorificé cotidié celebrandam reddendos singulis annis ad Festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste. Et ut hec mea donatio rata et inconcussa permaneat; cartam istam sigilli mei impressione roboratam eis dedi in testimonium. Hijs testibus G. Archidiacono Brechonie, Ricardo decano de Brechonia, Magistro W. de Capella, Rotberto le Wafre, Pagano de Burchull, Ricardo le Bret, Willelmo Havard, Radulfo Janitore et multis alijs.”

*Peter Fitz Herbert confirms the right of fishing in Llangorse Lake :*

“Petrus.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Petrus, filius Herberti de concensu heredum meorum intuitu karitatis et pro salute anime mee et antecessorum et heredum meorum dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi<sup>3</sup> in propriam et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et Ecclesie Sancti Johannis Evangeliste de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus piscationem in Mara<sup>4</sup> tribus diebus in Ebdomada et cotidie in Quadragesima et cotidie in Adventu cum una cimba. Concessi etiam terram Sancti Peulini que annuatim eisdem monachis unam marcam reddere solebat et pasturam terre juxta villam Walkelini<sup>5</sup> quam ijdem monachi assartaverunt liberas et quietas unde fuit dissentio. Preterea dedi et concessi eisdem monachis redditum quinque marcarum in duobus molendinis meis videlicet in Molendino de Sancto Egwino et molendino quod Walterus Threstan tenuit quam Trahern filius ejusdem Walteri Threstan et heredes sui

<sup>1</sup> Gerald the nephew.

<sup>2</sup> Willelmo Havard (B. MS.).

<sup>3</sup> See charter of Herbert Fitz-Peter, *Arch. Camb.*, vol. xiii, 4th Series, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> It will be observed that this is a more limited right of fishing than was granted by Roger Earl of Hereford.

<sup>5</sup> Trewalkin, which the monks cleared.

tenent et tenebunt de me et heredibus meis ad perpetuam firmam feudalem que quinque marce a predictis monachis per manus dicti Trahern vel heredum suorum apud Prioratum de Brechonia sunt percipiende ad tres terminos anni scilicet ad Festum Sancti Michaelis xx solidos iii denar. ad Privicarnium xxii sol. et iii d. et ad Festum Sancti Ethelberti xxii sol. et ii d. Et si predictus Trahern vel heredes sui a solutione dictarum quinque marcarum in toto vel in parte ad dictos tres terminos cessaverint de consensu proprio penam excommunicationis incurrent; et ego et heredes mei dictam concessionem et assignationem contra omnes homines et omnes feminas warantizare debemus. Et si aliquo casu contigerit quod predicta molendina pro defectu heredum vel aliquo alio modo in manus meas vel heredum meorum redierint, spontaneâ voluntate meâ concedo quod Baillivus in partibus meis de Brechonia quicumque ille fuerit, absque omni contradictione eandem penam excommunicationis quam predictus Trahernus incurrat, si a solutione dictarum quinque marcarum ad predictos tres terminos cessaverit. Et ut hec concessio et assignatio rata et inconcussa in perpetuum permaneat presentem cartam sigilli mei appositione corroboravi. Hijs testibus Nobilibus viris W. de Laci, W. de Clifford, Johanne Pichard, et multis alijs."

*Robert de Baskerville, with the consent of his wife Elisent, grants on their son James being a monk, the land which Tudor Cymerdruc held of him, and gives other land in exchange for a previous donation, with consent of his Lord, Ralph de Baskerville:*

"Rodbertus.—Sciant Presentes et futuri quod ego Rodbertus de Baskevilla<sup>1</sup> concensu mee uxoris Elisent nomine, et heredum

<sup>1</sup> As the early pedigree of the Baskerville family is unauthenticated and unsatisfactory (Robinson's *Mansions of Herefordshire*, "Eardisley"), it appears desirable to collect any mention of its members from early records, and, as far as may be, identify the donors to Brecon Priory. Roger de Baskerville is mentioned in B. Newmarch's charter as donor of a burgage tenement. In 1109 Robert de Baskerville, on his return from Jerusalem, gave to the church of St. Peter, Gloucester, a hide of land without the walls of that city, where the monks' garden was. (*Cart. Mon. S. Petri Gl.*, vol. i, p. 81.) Bernard de Baskerville, on becoming a monk, gave to the same church a hide of land in Combe (Cumba), Gloucestershire; his brothers Walter and Robert confirming his gift in the time of Hamelin, Abbot, about 1148. Robert in 1157 acknowledged that he held the same land of the church of St. Peter at a yearly rent of 12s. (*Ibid.*, pp. 70, 237.) Ralph and Robert are witnesses to two of the charters of Earl Roger to Brecon Priory. The same



meorum dedi et concessi Deo et Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem servientibus totam terram quam Theodoricus Cumerdruc tenuit de me tam in bosco quam in plano in parrochiâ prefate Ecclesie juxta furcas,<sup>1</sup> cum filio meo Jacobo facto monacho in eadem ecclesia et quoniam ante istam donationem tres acras de hac predictâ terrâ hospitalensibus dedi, tres alias acras eisdem hospitalensibus ex alterâ parte de mea terra excambio istam terram, de concensu domini mei Radulfi de Baskevilla et heredum suorum liberam et quietam ab omni terreno servitio quam etiam ipse Radulfus super Altare Sancti Johannis coram Fratribus posuit et ibi sic concessit; et si ita contigisset quod ego nec heredes mei warantizare non possem sicuti terram que pro meo servitio mihi et heredibus meis data

Ralph and Payne de Baskerville were donors to Merivale Abbey in the time of Henry II. (*Dugd., Mon.*, tome i, p. 830.) Ralph de Baskerville, the donor to Brecon Priory, also gave to the monks of Dore Abbey all the land above his park at Bredwardine, describing it, with wood, fishing in Wye, and liberty to grind at his mill. (*Ibid.*, p. 865.) Ralph de Baskerville, probably his son, granted to Llanthony Abbey the tithes and church of Eardisley. (*Charter Rolls*, 1 John, p. 7.) In 1210 Thomas de Baskerville appealed against Roger, son of William, for craftily, and by night, killing his father, Ralph de Baskerville, in his house, and a trial by duel was adjudged. (*Abbrev. Placit.*, p. 67.) Walter de Baskerville died about 1215. In 1218 Isolda, his widow, had the land of Cumb assigned to her as part of her dowry. (*Charter Rolls*, pp. 286, 289.) Walter, probably his son, had license to marry Susanna, daughter of Andrew de Cancell, in 1214. A fair and market were granted to the same Walter at his manor of Eardisley in 1225. (*Close Rolls*, vol. ii, pp. 49, 74.) In 28 Henry III (1243) the King received the homage of Walter Baskerville for the lands in the county of Hereford which his father Walter held in chief of the King. In the beginning of the reign of Edward, Walter was outlawed for the part which he took in the murder of Henry of Alemaine at Viterbo by Simon and Guy de Montfort, and afterwards sought for a reversal of his outlawry on the ground that the act complained of was done in foreign parts. In 5 Edward, Theobald de Verdon entered into recognizances to restore Walter, then on service in Wales, the prices of any of four horses which he might lose there; and in the following year Walter recovered, by judgment of the King's Council (according to the Edict of Kenilworth), all his lands in Eardisley, Yazor, Stretton, Orcop, and Taradon (Tarrington), co. Hereford; Combe and Wyke, co. Gloucester; and Greenslade, co. Essex,—against Roger de Clifford; Roger to hold the lands for his life, and afterwards to revert to Walter de Baskerville. (*Abbrev. Placit.*, pp. 188, 193, 195, 264.)

<sup>1</sup> "Furcas" here probably means a fork-like junction of roads, or it may be the place of execution.

fuit; ego do et concedo quinque solidatas<sup>1</sup> terre de maritagio uxoris mee in civitate Wigornie quam tenent de me Osbertus filius Gunnorū et ejus successor quatuor videlicet solidatas et Brichinus tegulator xii nummatas<sup>2</sup> et hec terra prefata concessa est in elemosinam monachis in perpetuum tenenda. Et sciendum est quod ego et uxor mea suscepimus fraternitatem illius Ecclesie in capitulo suo et in die obitus nostri corpora nostra cum substantiā quam sequi debet ibidem sepelienda ubicunque in comitatu Herefordie vel in provincia Brechonie hoc nobis contingatur. Hujus donationis testes sunt imprimis Willelmus de Braiosa dominus de Brechonia et Matildis uxor ejus qui pro dicto Filio faciendo monacho intercesserunt et Jordanus Archidiaconus et multi alij.”

(Date prior to 1175 when Jordan resigned his archdeaconry.)

*Ralph de Baskerville confirms to the church of St. John, Brecon, the boundary between his tenement of Trosdref and the monks' lands, and Robert Baskerville's donation:*

“Radulfus.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Radulfus de Baskevilla concedo et hac mea carta confirmo Deo et Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus divisas inter tenementum meum de Trosdrefe<sup>3</sup> et inter terras predictorum monachorum sicut Rogerus Capellanus de Sancto Michaele<sup>4</sup> et Robertus clericus cum multis alijs per preceptum domini mei Willelmi de Breosa rationabiliter ostenderunt. Et ne aliqua contentio aliquando inde inter monachos et me vel heredes meos possit evenire ad notitiam omnium volo pervenire quod hendefda<sup>5</sup> (est) infra terminos monachorum; et monachi jus quod habere dicebant in henlepe mihi quietum clamaverunt scilicet meislidin<sup>6</sup> in divisis utriusque terre est et utrumque tenementum dividit scilicet, tenementum de Trosdref et tenementum monachorum. Concedo insuper et hac etiam Carta confirmo sepe dictis monachis quinque solidatas terre liberas et quietas ab omni exactione et terreno servitio, scilicet totam

<sup>1</sup> A term applied to the value or rent of land rather than its quantity: thus, in the present case, of the value of 5s.

<sup>2</sup> See preceding note, “nummi et denarii idem sunt” (*Lexicon, Med. et Infimæ Lat.*, Migne), and Spelman's *Glossary*, “idem quod denariatus terræ”.

<sup>3</sup> Trosdref is probably now Trewalter.

<sup>4</sup> St. Michael, Ystradwy.

<sup>5</sup> Probably for “hen-ddefodau”, the old customs or old recognised boundary.

<sup>6</sup> Maeslydan.

terram in bosco et in plano juxta furcas prope terram monachorum sicut eam Teodoricus habuit, de magna via contra montem usque ad fossam veteris Castellarij,<sup>1</sup> quam Robertus de Baskevilla me concedente pro Jacobo filio suo faciendo monacho, illis in perpetuam et puram elemosinam dedit et Carta sua confirmavit. Et ut omnia predicta rata semper et stabilita presentem cartam sigilli mei attestacione confirmo. Hijs testibus Domino meo Willelmo de Breosa, Willelmo de Oildeboef tunc constabulario Brechonie, Willelmo de Burchulla et multis alijs."

*Ralph de Baskerville gives the message of Semert, the gardener, with other lands on Wyneside in Brewardine, Herefordshire, with right to dead wood in his park, and free passage over the Wye in his boat :*

"Radulfus.—Sciant omnes presentes et futuri quod ego Radulfus de Baschavilla pro amore Dei et pro salute Anime mee et pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et uxoris mee et parentum meorum concessi et dedi Ecclesie Sancti Johannis in Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in perpetuam elemosinam totum masagium Semert hortolani in Bredeverthin cum gardino et horto quod est sub semita<sup>2</sup> que ducit ad Waiam contra vineam<sup>3</sup> et gardinum meum. Et preter hoc dedi eis totam terram que jacet inter pratum meum et Waiam secundum terminos quos ego cum hominibus meis previdi et secundum fossam quam Theobaldus Prior<sup>4</sup> fieri fecit cum toto cumento quod Waia in perpetuum faciet. Dedi etiam eis tres acras de terra arabili in Lavilede juxta terram Dogge pistoris super lacam Similiter dedi eis in parco meo et in omni bosco meo apud Bredeverthin mortuum boscum ad focum eorum. Concessi preterea eisdem et omnibus hominibus eorum liberum transitum ultra Waiam in navi meâ. Hec omnia dedi Deo et monachis Sancti Johannis de Brechonia liberè et quietè sine omni servitio terreno in perpetuum habenda. Et ut hec mea donatio rata et inconcussa permaneat cum sigilli mei appositione

<sup>1</sup> From the highway up the ascent, to the ditch of the old castle, perhaps the site of an earlier one.

<sup>2</sup> Footpath.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. John Webb mentions the prevalence of vineyards in Herefordshire and other counties, in favourable situations, at this period, and gives as an instance the fact that Bishop Swinfield, in the autumn of 1289, made seven pipes of white wine from a vineyard at Ledbury which Bishop Cantilupe had planted. (Household Roll of Bishop Swinfield, Camden Society, xlv.)

<sup>4</sup> Theobald, probably Prior of Brecon.

confirmo : Hijs testibus Willelmo de Breosa iuvene<sup>1</sup> et multis alijs.”<sup>2</sup>

*Ralph de Baskerville, with the consent of his son Ralph, confirms the grant of the mill of Trosdref and the pool on Llyfni :*

“ Radulfus.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Radulfus de Baschevilla, consensu Radulfi Filij mei et heredis dedi et concessi et hac presenti cartâ meâ confirmavi Deo et Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem servientibus molendinum de Trosdref cum tota moltura ad ipsum pertinente et gurgitem meum situm super Leveni in perpetuam et puram elemosinam pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum ita liberè et quiete ab omni servitio terreno, et ab omni exactione, sicut ego et antecessores mei predictum molendinum et gurgitem liberius et melius tenuimus de dominis de Brechonia ita etiam quod non liceat heredibus meis vel aliquibus alijs aliud molendinum facere vel habere in tenemento de Trosdref vel gurgitem alium firmare preter gurgitem monachorum vnde elemosina mea aliquatenus minuatur. Et ut hec mea donatio rata et inconcussa in perpetuum permaneat presentem cartam sigilli mei impressione roboratam coram domino Petro Menevensi<sup>3</sup> Episcopo in capitulo de Brechonia presentavi et legere feci : et preterea eandem cartam coram domino Willelmo de Breosa et multis alijs Francis et Anglis et Walensibus et Clericis et Laicis super altare Sancti Johannis obtuli. Hijs testibus Willelmo de Breosa et multis alijs.”

*Ralph de Baskerville, the son, gives a wood called Ridgemore in Bredwardine, and confirms his former donations :*

“ Radulfus.—Universis Sancte matris Ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scripta pervenerit Radulfus de Baschervilla eternam in domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod ego Radulfus de Baschervilla pro amore Dei, anime mee, et pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et uxoris mee et parentum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum, concessi et dedi ecclesie Sancti Johannis in Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in perpetuam elemosinam in Bredewerdin boscum quod dicitur

<sup>1</sup> Their eldest son, who was starved to death, with his mother, at Windsor by King John.

<sup>2</sup> This is set out in the *Inspeximus* charter, 13 Henry IV, f. 1, m. 5. The witnesses are there stated to be “ W. de Braiosa ; Mat., uxore sua ; W. de Braiosa, juvene ; Claro, sacerdote ; Rogero de Baschevilla, Willelmo de Roldebouef, Roberto de Baschevilla, Waltero Thitel, Hugone, capellano, et multis alijs.”

<sup>3</sup> Peter de Leia, 1176-98.

Rughemore usque viam que est inter Fildemore et Rughemore cum quodam seillone<sup>1</sup> proximo rivulo qui dicitur lembegge ad habendum viam in predictum boscum; et sex acras tres in veteri villa super ridd,<sup>2</sup> et tres in Werefurlanc,<sup>3</sup> libere et quiete et sine omni terreno servitio; et omnes donationes meas quas predictis monachis feci vel facturus sum hac presenti carta confirmo. Ut autem hec mea donatio rata permaneat et inconcussa, presentis scripti attestatione et Sigilli mei appositione, eam corroboraui. Hijs testibus Domino W. de Braiosa et Domina Matilda uxore meâ, Domino Radulfo Abbate de Wigemore et multis alijs."

*Ralph de Baskerville (the son?) gives all the land of Semer, the gardener, and other lands in Bredwardine:*

"Radulfus.—Sciunt omnes tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Radulfus de Bascherevilla pro amore Dei at pro salute anime mee, et pro animabus Patris mei et matris mee et parentum meorum concessi et dedi Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in perpetuam elemosinam totam terram Semeri Hortolani cum pomerio et horto in Bredwethin que sunt sub semita<sup>4</sup> que ducit ad Waiam contra vineam et pomerium meum. Ita tamen quod Inclusa<sup>5</sup> de Brudewrthin habebit medietatem de pomerio quamdiu vixerit et preter hoc dedi eisdem monachis duas acras de prato proximas de la steure<sup>6</sup> similiter et tres acras de terrâ arabili in la vilede juxta viam que ducit ad pratum. Concessi etiam monachis et omnibus hominibus eorum liberum transitum ultra Waiam in navi mea. Hec omnia dedi Deo et monachis Sancti Johannis de Brechonia libere et quiete et sine omni terreno servitio in perpetuum habenda. Et ut hec mea donatio rata et inconcussa permaneat, eam Sigilli mei appositione confirmo; hijs testibus Luca sacerdote. Henrico de Croc et multis alijs."

*Robert le Wafre, with the consent of Alice his wife, eldest daughter of Roger de Baskerville, confirms the mill of Trosdref:*

"Robertus.—Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus Le Wafre consensu et voluntate Alice uxoris mee primogenite

<sup>1</sup> "Pro sellione", about twenty perches.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps "rhyd", the ford.

<sup>3</sup> Weirfurlong (?).

<sup>4</sup> Footpath.

<sup>5</sup> "Inclusa", the anchoress. For a very interesting account of recluses and their abodes, see Bloxam's *Gothic Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 163 et seq.

<sup>6</sup> "Steure"; perhaps "stire", the storehouse, or "steye", the ascent. (Halliwell, *Dict. Arch. Words*)

Rogeri de Baskevile et heredum meorum concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et Ecclesie beati Johannis de Brekenia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, molendinum et gurgitem de Landevailauc<sup>1</sup> cum pertinentijs suis que scilicet Radulfus de Baskevile eis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam dedit et carta suâ confirmavit. Et ut hec mea concessio et confirmatio rata et stabilis permaneat presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hijs testibus domino Reginaldo de Breusia, Ricardo Le Bret, Johanne de Weldebeof, Willelmo Pictaviensi, Luelino Filio Madoc, Willelmo de Burchulle, Radulfo Janitore et multis alijs." (Date 1215 to 1222.)

*The dispute between Peter Fitz Herbert and John of Wallingford his clerk, and the convent of Brecon, was settled by the former renouncing all right to the churches of Talgarth and Llangorse, and the Convent all claim to the churches of Cathedin and Llanelieu :*

"Compositio facta inter dominum Petrum Filium Herberti et Monachos Breconie Omnibus Christi Fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis Decanus Wintonie et Magister Nichol de Viana Subdelegatus Archidiaconi Wintonie salutem in domino. Noverit universitas vestra quod cum lis mota esset coram nobis auctoritate domini Pape super ecclesiam de Talgard cum pertinentijs inter nobilem virum Petrum filium Herberti et Magistrum Johannem de Walingeford clericum suum ex una parte et Priorem et conventum Brechonie ex alterâ, tandem lis in hac forma conquievit scilicet quod dominus Petrus de consensu domine Ysabelle<sup>2</sup> uxoris sue et domini Herberti heredis sui et dictus Magister Johannes renunciaverint pro se et pro successoribus suis omne jus quod clamabant habere in Ecclesia de Talgard et in Ecclesia de la Mara in perpetuum. Renunciaverunt etiam omnibus actionibus motis tunc temporis ab eisdem contra dictos monachos auctoritate literarum domini Pape quarumcunque ; et dictas ecclesias possideant dicti Prior et Conventus libere et quiete et pacificè sine aliquo impedimento sui et suorum imperpetuum. Prior vero et conventus predicti renunciaverunt omnia jura quod habebant in Ecclesijs de Kathedyn et de Langelew, et concesserunt dicto nobili et heredibus suis dictas ecclesias conferendas cuicunque voluerint sine aliquo retinemento et impedimento sui vel suorum. Item dictus Prior<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Llandevaelog, Tre 'r Graig.

<sup>2</sup> One of the daughters of the last William de Braose.

<sup>3</sup> Prior to receive as monks two fit clerks, on Peter's presentation, to celebrate offices for Peter and his family. See charter of John, son of Reginald Fitz-Peter, *Arch. Camb.*, vol. xiii, 4th Series, p. 297.

et conventus duos clericos idoneos presentatos a dicto nobili et heredibus suis recipere debent in Fratres et Monachos qui pro dicto domino Petro et domina Yzabella uxore suâ, et domino Herberto herede suo et antecessoribus suis et successoribus officia divina ministrabunt tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis; et illis monachis defunctis vel ex justâ causâ de domo suâ ejectis, alios clericos idoneos presentatos ab eisdem sine contradictione dicti prior et conventus admittent. Et ad ista fideliter tenenda et observanda bonâ fide obligavit utraque pars juramento corporaliter prestito, pro se et successoribus suis et subjecit se jurisdictioni Decani et ejus successorum et Magistri Nichol de Viana et post decessum ejus Archidiaconi Wintonie et successorum suorum quicumque fuerint ita quod predicti iudices potestatem habeant in perpetuum omni appellatione et cavillatione remotis, compellendi partem contradicentem per censuram ecclesiasticam ad observationem hujus compositionis. Et ad majorem hujus rei securitatem, dicti Iudices presenti scripto sigilla sua apposuerunt una cum sigillis partium. Hijs Testibus domino Herberto Filio Petri, domino Hugone de Mortuo mari, domino Emerico de Lacy, domino Rogero de Merley, Magistro Waltero de Partico ponte, Magistro Hugone de Cluna Archidiacono Menevensi, Magistro Clemente de Landaf, Waltero vicario de Mara, et multis alijs.”<sup>1</sup> (Date 1216 to 1230.)

*Rogeri Fitz Pichard grants two parts of all his tithes of Ystradwy, and two parts of tithes of lordship of Llansantffread juxta Usk, as Walter Cropus granted them :*

“Carta Rogeri filii Picardi.—Sciant omnes presentes et futuri quod Ego Rogerus filius Picardi concedo in elemosinam Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechenio et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus duas partes totius decime mee de Stradewi, sicut pater meus prius dedicavit<sup>2</sup> et sicut carta eorum testatur. De omnibus rebus scilicet de dominio meo pro anima patris mei et matris mee et pro anima mea et uxoris mee et filiorum meorum similiter concedo eidem ecclesie duas partes totius decime mee de dominio meo de Lan San Freid sicut Walterus de Cropuz primus dederat et sicut carta eorum testatur. Hij sunt Testes ex utraque parte; Maihel capellanus, Radulfus Presbiter, Walterus

<sup>1</sup> It seems well to add here Bishop Tanner’s abstract of a charter wanting. (Brewster MS., fo. 96.) “Carta S. Archiepiscopi Cantuar. et Cardinalis recitans conventionem inter Petrum filium Herberti et monachos Brecon de quibusdam averiis et hominibus monachorum de Brechon de villa Walkelini captis. Dat’ Maij 1228.”

<sup>2</sup> See Bernard Newmarch’s first charter, p. 140.

de Travelia, Turstanus Seiher, Radulfus de Mans, Robertus de Cerefi, Hugo de Turbevilla et plures alij.”

*John Pichard gives a rent of 12d. from land, which Vincent the Dean holds, to maintain the lighting of the church. (Date, early part of the thirteenth century.)*

“Carta Johannis Pichard.—Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes Pichard pro salute anime mee et Hawys uxoris mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum in puram et perpetuam elemosynam dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta meâ confirmavi Deo et Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus redditum xii denariorum de terra quam Vincentius Le Deyne tenet ad sustentationem luminariorum predicte Ecclesie. Et ut hec mea donatio rata maneat et inconcussa huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hijs testibus Matheo le Bret, Magistro H. de Cluna, Roberto Clerico et multis alijs.”

*John Pichard confirms all the donations of his grandfather and of Roger his father, viz., land and two parts of tithes of Ystradwy and Llansaintfread, and 8 acres at Eliveha:*

“Carta Johannis Picard.—Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes Picard concessi Deo et Ecclesie Sancti Johannis Evangeliste in Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus omnes donationes quas Picardus avus meus et Rogerus pater meus eidem Ecclesie dederunt in terris et decimis scilicet terram unam in villa Stradewi secundum terminos ab avo meo eis assignatos et duas partes decimarum totius dominiij mei in Stradewi et in Lancfreit scilicet de annona,<sup>1</sup> de fabis, de pisis de equorum pullis de vitulis de agnis, de porcellis de caseis de lana et lino et de pomis. Similiter concessi et confirmavi eidem ecclesie Sancti Johannis in Brechonia octo acras apud Sanctam Eliveham<sup>2</sup> quas homines mei eidem Ecclesie dederunt scilicet quatuor acras quas Hugo filius Edwardi dedit.<sup>3</sup> Et quatuor acras cum parvo prato eis adiacente quas Gillebertus filius predicti Hugonis dedit sepedicte Ecclesie pro animabus patris et matris eorum. Et quia hoc ratum et inconcussum esse volo sigilli mei appositione illud confirmo. Hijs testibus Radulfo de Baschavilla, Wilhelmo de Eoil de boeuf, Willelmo Francigena, Maelo, Waltero Cano, Waltero filio Llewini, Gregorio clerico, et multis alijs.”

<sup>1</sup> Grain.

<sup>2</sup> The Chapel of St. Elived.

<sup>3</sup> This charter is set out in the *Inspeximus* charter, 13 Henry IV, with the addition here of “in consecratione cimiterii Sancte Elivehe.”



## Obituary.

WE regret to announce the death of the Rev. James Davies, an old member of our Association, and for some years a member of the Committee. Mr. Davies, who was the second son of Mr. Richard Banks of Kington, was born on the 29th May 1820; he received his education at Repton School during the head-mastership of the Rev. John Macaulay, a ripe classical scholar; he afterwards entered the University of Oxford, where he soon obtained an open scholarship at Lincoln College. He graduated in 1844, and proceeded in due course to his B.A. and M.A. degrees. In the following year he was ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester, and in 1847 he was appointed to the perpetual curacy of Christ Church, in the Forest of Dean; there he remained until 1852, when he was chosen head master of the grammar-school of King Edward VI at Ludlow, an appointment which he held until he succeeded, under the will of his great-uncle, Mr. Davies, in 1857 to the Moor Court estate, near Kington, shortly afterwards assuming, under the will, the surname of Davies. He there zealously fulfilled the duties, public and private, of a landowner, and provided for the welfare of his immediate neighbours by the erection of a chapel of ease, in which he officiated regularly until he was disabled by illness. In 1875 he was appointed a Prebendary of Hereford Cathedral. In addition to active duties in the diocese and attention to county business, he occupied himself with an ever increasing interest in literary pursuits, and was a frequent contributor to the *Quarterly*, *Contemporary* and *Saturday Reviews*, and author or editor of several works. He was elected a member of our Society at the Monmouth meeting in 1857, and always took a great interest in its success, notably in making arrangements for the meeting at Kington in 1863, and by frequent attendance at the yearly meetings. It is a matter for regret that his contributions to the Journal were few, when we refer to his valuable paper on Wapley Camp with reference to the last battle of Caractacus. Those who attended the Church Stretton Meeting in August 1881, will remember that his altered appearance was the subject of remark and anxiety on the part of his friends, although he was able to join in each day's excursion. In the following month he had a paralytic seizure, from which he never recovered; his decline was gradual and peaceful, with mental powers only lessened, until his death on the 11th of March.

## Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.

## BWLCHYDDAUFÆEN INSCRIBED STONE.

SIR,—There is a well-known road leading from the village of Aber (Carnarvonshire) through a pass in the mountain range between Llanfairfechan and Aber, and the valley of the Conway River, which pass is called “Bwlch y ddaufaen”. This road has always been considered to have been an old Roman road, but I have not hitherto seen or heard any direct evidence that it was formed or used by the Romans.

But now, about ten days ago, a remarkably fine stone has been found in a field adjoining a branch road which runs into the before-mentioned “Old Roman Road” at a distance of about two miles from Aber; which clearly connects the road with the Romans. The field was being cleared by the owner of boulder and other stones, when the labourers came in contact with the fine Roman milestone, which I will describe. Fortunately for its preservation, it was entirely buried in the earth, with the exception of a small bos at the base of the stone which stood above the surface of the land. It has been very carefully and nicely exhumed. The inscription on the stone is as follows:—

IMP . CAES . TRAI-  
-ANVS . HADRIANVS .  
AVG . P.M. TR . P.  
P.P. COS . III .  
A . KANOVIO .  
M . P . VIII .

The interpretation seems to be—

Imperator Cæsar,  
Trajanus Hadrianus,  
Augustus, Pontifex Maximus,  
Tribunicia Potestate,  
Pater Patriæ Consul III.  
A Canovio  
Mille passuum VIII.

which is the true distance to or from the Roman quadrangle, close to Caerhun Church, and the west bank of the River Conway, and called Canovium, as shown upon the map of the Ordnance Survey.

The foregoing interpretation may not be in every particular correct, and I shall be much obliged if any of your members or

correspondents, skilled in Latin inscriptions, would make such corrections as may appear to them to be a truer interpretation.

I send you a slight sketch of the stone, drawn to a scale of 1 inch to a foot; the form is cylindrical, and slightly tapering. Its entire length is 6 feet 9 inches; diameter near the base,  $19\frac{1}{2}$  inches; at the summit, which is not entirely circular,  $17\frac{1}{2}$  and  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches; the circumference at or near the base is 5 feet, and at the top, 4 feet 7 inches. The letters are from  $2\frac{1}{4}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, and the whole of the inscription is within 16 inches of the top; and it would appear that the base, for 16 inches, had been originally sunk in the ground.

The stone is conglomerate, or millstone grit, as also are the two stones in "Bwlch y ddaufaen." That kind of stone is not, I think, to be found in this neighbourhood.

RICHARD LUCK.

Llanfairfechan, 2nd March 1883.

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SIR,—In the first volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (1846, p. 70) there is an account of an exploring expedition made by Mr. Longueville Jones, Mr. Dearden, and the Rev. Dr. Jones of Beaumaris, in search of the Roman road from Conovium (Caerhun) towards Aber, to Segontium; on which occasion they succeeded in identifying its course for some distance. But this in no way diminishes the interest or the value of the present discovery, inasmuch as, till the present time, no Roman inscription, or distinctly Roman relic, has been found in this section.

The date upon the stone, the third year of the consulship of Trajanus Hadrianus, corresponding with A.D. 119, and U.C. 872 (Urbis Conditæ—from the foundation of Rome), is most interesting, as it coincides with the year of the Emperor's visit to Britain. It would be entirely in accord with his known ability and energy, that he should have inspected the station of Kanovium, as well as others where the Roman legions were settled; and it is not improbable that this milestone may indicate his visit. The following year we know he went northwards, and began the great Wall which still hands down his name, on the Northumbrian border.

The form of the name "Kanovium", here given, as compared with the more usual, not to say universal, Conovium, is noteworthy, because it shows by its contemporary and local witness (for the material is the local stone) that Kanwy or Canwy is an older form than Conwy; and in this it is also supported by the name of the earlier fortress of Deganwy, which Edward's beautiful castle so completely eclipsed and superseded.

Our thanks are due to Mr. Luck for sending so full and clear an account of the find; and it is to be hoped that he will keep a keen look out on the sites of the other mileages along the line, for other stones of similar character.

March 5, 1883.

D. R. T.

## Miscellaneous Notices.

(*Browne Willis, MS. 27, fol. 186.*)

“Norwich, Nov. 16, 1719.

“My good friend!.....To what you were told at St. David’s now of an old chest of Records destroy’d by a Floud, you may add what I found since I writ last in a letter from ... Ned Llwyd to me, dated from Tenby in Pembrokeshire, Apr. 12, 1698: ‘Great part of our writings (meaning MSS. of British authors, which I had writ to him about) have, without doubt, been long since burn’d and destroy’d, and many of them of late years; for one Mr. Roberts, a Clergyman in this country, tells me he saw heaps of parchments, Books and Rolls, burn’d at St. David’s during the late Civil Wars, and did himself, being then a schoolboy there, carry several out of the Library for the sake of the guilt letters.’..... (Notes on the Archdms. of Brecon, &c.)

“Your ... faith’ll Serv’t,

“To Browne Willis, Esq.

THOM. TANNER.”

KERRY CHURCH, MONTGOMERYSHIRE.—This church must once have had a south aisle. When the south wall of the nave was taken down last December, the remains of three circular pillars, corresponding to those of the arcade, between the nave and north aisle, were discovered embedded in the wall.

A SOCIETY called “The Pipe Roll Society” has been formed. Its object is the printing of all the earliest Pipe Rolls, more particularly those belonging to the reign of Henry II, which stand alone as evidence of this early period. These Rolls contain the accounts of the revenues of the Crown, arranged under the heads of the several counties, and so afford most valuable information on a variety of subjects. Those who have availed themselves of the few volumes of the Patent, Close, and Charter Rolls, which were printed by the Record Commission, will readily estimate how much trouble and expense will be saved by the printing of the Pipe Rolls, and the ready reference which an index will afford to their contents. Mr. James Greenstreet, 16, Montpelier Road, Peckham, S.E., the Honorary Secretary, will be happy to receive the names of any who are willing to become members at a yearly subscription of one guinea.

It is proposed to establish a Society for the purpose of preserving copies of all our ancient seals. Arrangements have been made by which it would be possible to produce, for one hundred guineas, an annual volume containing from twenty-five to thirty autotype plates, with facsimiles of about four or five hundred seals. These would appear with descriptive letter-press. Mr. Walford D. Selby, Public Record Office, will gladly receive the names of those who would be willing to support the scheme.

# Archæologia Cambrensis.

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## THE EARLY HISTORY OF HAY AND ITS LORDSHIP.

A FULLER account of the border-town of Hay and its lordship than has yet appeared seems desirable, as well on account of its situation as of the important part which its successive owners played in the affairs of the kingdom. On the completion of the Domesday Survey, the little brook called Dulas, which runs into the river Wye at the entrance of the town of Hay from Herefordshire, defined the boundary there of Wales as a principality, if not a kingdom, owing an allegiance little more than nominal to England. Twenty years before, Leofgar, the warlike Bishop of Hereford, had attempted to extend the borders of his county on the right bank of the Wye, and had died in battle, at Glasbury, in the attempt. There is no record or trace of any Norman aggression in the same direction until the closing years of the Conqueror's reign. It is uncertain when the Norman invasion of the province of Brecheiniog first began; but it appears that in the second year of the reign of William Rufus, Bernard Newmarch was in possession of Glasbury, and with the assent of his sovereign gave it and the tithes of his lordship there to the church of St. Peter, Gloucester.<sup>1</sup> It may, therefore, be safely assumed that he had previously acquired the lordship of Hay, which lies between Glasbury and the border.

<sup>1</sup> *Cart. S. Petri Gloc.*, vol. i, p. 314, Rolls Series.

Of the early history of Bernard Newmarch we have no account. His name appears as one of the witnesses to both of the Conqueror's charters to the Abbey of St. Martin of Battle. In the insurrection promoted by Odo Bishop of Bayeux, in favour of the King's elder brother, Count Robert, in the spring after the accession to the throne of William Rufus, Bernard espoused the cause of Count Robert, and associated himself with Roger de Lacy, who had previously invaded Herefordshire, and Ralph de Mortimer, at the head of a large army composed of English, Normans, and Welsh, in the invasion of Worcestershire, and in an unsuccessful attempt to take the city of Worcester.

We may conclude, therefore, that Bernard had already assumed the position of one of those chieftains, who one after the other established themselves, under a roving commission, as lords marchers on Welsh territory, in a state of semi-independence of their sovereign. What may have been the extent of his Breconshire territory at this period is uncertain. In a few years afterwards he was master of the three cantreds of Brecheiniog, comprising the whole of the present county of Brecknock, with the exception of the hundred of Builth. We may hazard a conjecture that the battle in 1093, in which Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of South Wales, was killed near the Castle of Brecon,<sup>1</sup> was the crowning victory which placed Bernard in the undisputed possession of the three cantreds.

It appears to have been a part of the policy of the Norman invaders of Wales to strengthen their position by alliances of marriage with the Welsh, and so blend their differing nationalities into one. As Gerald of Windsor, the Constable of Pembroke, allied himself with Nest, the daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, so Bernard selected as his wife, Nest, the grand-daughter of Gruffyth ap Llywelyn, the North Wales Prince, who had so actively repressed the onward progress of the Saxons in Edward the Confessor's reign.

<sup>1</sup> *Itin. Kambricæ*, p. 89, Rolls Series; *Flor. Wig.*, vol. ii, p. 31; *Annales Cambriæ*, p. 29.

Bernard further strengthened his position by allotting to his followers, as a reward for their services, portions of the conquered territory, retaining the position of over-lord. Hay fell to the lot of William Revell, who, with the assent, and in the presence, of Bernard Newmarch, endowed the church of Hay, on its dedication by Bernard Bishop of St. David's, with the tithes of the land within what is now its parish. Bernard, or his successor, probably resumed possession of the lands granted to William Revell, for William is the last recorded tenant; thereafter the successive lords of Brecon received the emoluments of the town and manorial lands, and retained in their hands the demesne lands. The date of Bernard Newmarch's death is unknown. It probably happened within a few years after 1115, the date of the consecration by Bishop Bernard.

The name Hay, or, as it was rendered in Latin, *Haia*, bespeaks at once its Norman origin, *haie*, a hedged or fenced enclosure, of which many instances occur in the county of Hereford, as the Haywood, Kington; Eywood, Titley; the Highwood, Croft; the Haywood, near Ludlow; and the royal Haya of Hereford. But the application of the word as an indication of the boundary of a parish is rare. It may be that the singularly straight line which defines the extent of the lordship of Hay, as against Glasbury, from Capel y Ffyn in a north-westerly direction to the river Wye (supplying the want of a natural boundary), served as a rough and ready demarcation of Bernard's first acquisition of the land of Breconshire, and suggested the use of the word *haie*. The territory included Hay proper, styled at a later period "Anglicana", and "Haia Wallensis", now known as Llanigon, from its church dedicated to St. Eigion, a saint of the sixth century.

The town of Hay, or The Hay, as it is more commonly called, sprang up under the shelter of its castle at the entrance of the lordship from England, on the great highway westward along the valley of the Wye. "Haia Anglicana" seems to have been, like other towns

of the lords marchers, a military settlement of mixed nationalities, in which Normans and English predominated over the Welsh in number as well as in rule, regulated by the law and customs of England, so far as a lord marcher recognised them; while in "Haia Walensis", the laws, tenure, and customs, of Wales were either recognised or tacitly allowed to continue in force.

It may suffice to say, without entering into the details of the story told by Giraldus, that Bernard's marriage with Nest was an unhappy one, and that on his death she took the unusual course of approaching the court of King Henry, and assuring the King, on her oath, that Bernard was not the father of her son Mahel. Henry, influenced by his wish rather than a love of justice, availed himself of the opportunity to deprive Mahel of his right, and give Sybil, the eldest daughter of Bernard and Nest, in marriage to a young and distinguished soldier of his court, Milo, son of Walter, Constable of Gloucester, with the Honor of Brecon as her dowry.<sup>1</sup> Milo was created, by the Empress Maud, Earl of Hereford in 1140.

Nothing is recorded of him, as lord of Brecon, further than that he was a donor to the Priory founded by his father-in-law. He died in 1143, leaving by his wife, Sybil, five sons and three daughters. Roger, the eldest son, succeeded him in the Honor of Brecon, and received a grant, by way of confirmation, from King Henry II, of the earldom of Hereford, with all the fee of Earl Milo his father, and all the fee of Bernard Newmarch, wherever it might be.<sup>2</sup>

Although there is no record of the fact, it is probable that Bernard, following the course adopted by the other Norman invaders of Wales, built a castle as a defence of his town of Hay, either on the mote or mound, to the west, near the Parish church, or on the site where the tower of a ruined castle still stands; for mention is made in one of the many grants of Earl

<sup>1</sup> *Itin. Kambriæ*, Rolls Series, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Charter Rolls*, p. 613; *ante*, vol. xii, p. 332.



Roger to Brecon Priory of his castle at Hay and of a guest room for one man within it. In exercise of his right as a Lord Marcher, Earl Roger probably granted a charter to Hay with the usual liberty of a borough town, for thenceforward it is styled a borough.<sup>1</sup> Earl Roger died in 1154 without issue. Each of his younger brothers, Walter, Henry, and Mahel, succeeded in his turn to the lordships of Brecon and Hay for a short period, with the title or office of constable, and all died without issue—Mahel meeting his death at the castle of Bronllys before 1176 from a stone, which fell from the tower on the occasion of a fire, while he was on a visit to Walter de Clifford, who had acquired, in addition to Bronllys, the adjoining manor of Glasbury, by an exchange with the Prior of Gloucester. On the death of Mahel of Hereford his three sisters, Margaret, Bertha, and Lucy succeeded to his lordships and estates as co-heiresses. On a division of their inheritance, the lordships of Brecknock and Hay fell to the lot of Bertha the wife of Philip de Braose, and on his death descended, together with the kingdom of Limerick and large estates in Devonshire, derived from Johel de Toteneys, to their eldest son, William, who married Maud de St. Valery. The local influence of William de Braose was increased by his acquisition of the neighbouring lordships of Huntington and Elvael, the barony of Radnor, and the cantred or hundred of Builth. During the reign of King Richard he was for several years Sheriff of Herefordshire, and at King John's coronation he and his followers were among the king's warmest supporters.<sup>2</sup> For some years he enjoyed the royal favour, and fresh honours followed him.<sup>3</sup> In 1200, his

<sup>1</sup> An opportunity is now afforded to correct an error, *ante*, vol. xiii, p. 35. It is there stated that Hay received a charter from King John in recognition of the liberties granted to it by Edward the Confessor. "Heya" in the charter referred to has since been clearly identified, by Mr. Stuart Moore, with Hythe, one of the Cinque Ports towns.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of Margam*, p. 24, Rolls Series.

<sup>3</sup> In a grant to him of the custody of the castles and lands of

second son, Giles, was promoted to the see of Hereford; and in the same year William had a grant of all lands which he had acquired or might acquire of the king's Welsh enemies, save in Cardiganshire; in increase of his Barony of Radnor.<sup>1</sup> In the following year he received a confirmation of the grant made by Henry II to his father of the Honor of Limerick by the service of sixty knights.<sup>2</sup> His reverse of fortune was very sudden, for on the 13th July 1207 he had a grant of the custody of the castle and town of Ludlow, which he handed over, receiving the king's acquittance, on the 19th March following to his son-in-law, Walter de Lacy. On the 29th April he received the king's order to pay, on William's account,<sup>3</sup> 1,000 marcs, within four days, to Gerard de Athies, for the expenses of the king's expedition into Wales. In his proceedings against W. de Braose the king seems to have been actuated as much by a feeling of mistrust as a desire to extort money from a too powerful subject. His next claim against William was for payment of 5,000 marcs, an arrear of rent of five years' standing for the province of Munster, and of the farm, or rent, of the city of Limerick. Failing to obtain payment the king directed a distress to be levied on all William de Braose's effects in Wales; thereupon he obtained an interview with the king at Hereford, and delivered into his keeping the castles of Hay, Brecon, and Radnor, at the same time pledging all his lands in England and Wales as a security for the payment of the debt on a day assigned. Shortly afterwards, taking advantage of the absence of the constables, William de Braose and his sons, William and Reginald, besieged each of these castles with a large force on the same day. Failing to obtain success, they then diverged to Leominster, where they burnt half the town, and killed and wounded many of

Glamorgan and Gower (4 John, 19, *Patent Rolls*, p. 19), "cujus servitium multum approbamus" occurs.

<sup>1</sup> *Charter Rolls*, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> *Patent Rolls*, pp. 74, 80, 81.

the king's followers there. Gerard de Athies, who had the custody of the castles, on hearing of their proceedings, assembled a large force in aid of the districts attacked. William and his family thereupon fled to Ireland.<sup>1</sup> This is the king's account, and the reasons assigned for William Braose's disgrace; but there were other causes, which materially contributed to the result. On the 23rd March of the same year, 1208, the whole kingdom had been placed under a general interdict; five of the Bishops, including Giles Bishop of Hereford, had secretly left England; the king's confiscation of the revenues and goods of the clergy quickly followed. Dreading his own excommunication and the release of his subjects from their obligation to fealty, the king determined to take hostages from his Barons and chief men for their allegiance. When the king's officers came to require hostages of William de Braose, his wife, Maud, is said to have anticipated her husband's answer by saying to them, "My boys I will not deliver to your King John, because he basely slew his nephew, Arthur, whom it was his duty honourably to protect."<sup>2</sup> When the king heard of this, he immediately ordered the apprehension of William and his family. Forewarned by friends, they escaped to Ireland, where Maud, her son William and his wife, were ultimately taken prisoners, and thence conveyed to Windsor Castle. Soon after their imprisonment they died there from starvation. William, her husband, escaped in a small boat to France, where on the 9th August 1211 he died, and was buried at the Abbey of St. Victor, Paris.

On William's flight and exile, the king entered into possession of all his lands. On the 13th May 1213 the king made his submission to the Pope, and granted a safe return to the exiled Archbishop and Bishops. On his return, Giles de Braose was restored to his see, and was shortly afterwards put in possession of his

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronicon Major*, p. 523, Rolls Series.

father's castles and lands.<sup>1</sup> He died on the 13th November 1215; on the 18th of the same month the king directed the delivery to William Earl Mareschal, of the castles and lands which the bishop held at his death.<sup>2</sup> Reginald, his younger brother, was at this time an adherent of the Barons in their war with the king, who on the 26th May 1216 wrote to Reginald requiring him to return to his fealty, and promised on his compliance to restore to him the lands of his late father, on the same terms which the bishop had made with the king. Reginald did not avail himself of these overtures. In the latter part of July the king arrived at Hereford, and after a stay there of two days proceeded on the 28th of that month to Hay. He appears to have certified, during his stay there, his receipt at Hereford of the abbot of the neighbouring Abbey of Dore of 200 marcs, as a fine for leave to disforest a part of the forest of Trivell. On the 30th he returned to Hereford; on the following day he was at Leominster, and on the 2nd August he was at Radnor. The rolls contain no further account of his doings at Hay, or Radnor; but we gather from other sources that the object of his visit was the capture of Reginald's castles of Hay and Radnor, and the raising there and in the west of an army, on which he might depend in his struggle with the Barons. It is stated in *Brut y Tywysogion* that John, coming to Hereford with an armed force, summoned Reginald and the Princes of Wales to him there to make terms for peace, and that, when that did not avail, he proceeded to Hay (Gelli) and Radnor (Maeshyvaidd), burnt the towns and destroyed the castles. Mathew Paris<sup>3</sup> gives a general confirmation of this statement, when he mentions that John, proceeding to the confines of Wales, besieged and took the castles of the Barons there, and, burning their buildings and orchards, presented a wretched sight to the beholder. On his departure from Radnor the king proceeded with

<sup>1</sup> *Patent Rolls*, pp. 99, 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> *Chron. Major*, vol. ii, p. 666.

a considerable force to Shrewsbury, and thence to the West of England, with the intention of checking the further progress of the Barons. His death on the 19th October put an end to further negotiations with Reginald.

On the 5th January 1216-17, a letter was written in the young king's name to Reginald, exhorting him to return to the king's fealty and service, and promising on his compliance to restore him to all his rights, as fully as the late king had restored them to his brother, the Bishop. This letter appears to have had the desired effect, for on the 23rd June the Sheriff of Herefordshire was informed of Reginald's return to the king's allegiance, and soon afterwards he had seisin of all the lands of his father.<sup>1</sup> Reginald de Braose died in 1222 and was succeeded by his son, William, in all his estates. He married Eve, daughter of Walter Mareschal, and a sister of Richard Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke. He was summarily hanged at Crokin<sup>2</sup> by Llywelyn, Prince of North Wales, with whom he was staying as a guest, in 1230, and left four daughters his coheiresses. On a division of their inheritance the Honors of Brecon and Hay fell to the lot of the youngest daughter, Eleanor, who afterwards married Humphrey de Bohun. On the death of William de Braose, his widow, Eve, had all his lands in Brecknock and in other counties assigned to her for her dowry, the king retaining the custody of the castles. King Henry III spent the summer and autumn of the year 1231 at Colwyn in Radnorshire,<sup>3</sup> and occupied himself in superintending the rebuilding of Maud Castle, Colwyn, which had been destroyed by the Welsh, and probably also in strengthening the fortifications of Pain's Castle, which is situate nearer to Hay. During his stay he visited the town of Hay,<sup>4</sup> and before his departure he

<sup>1</sup> *Close Rolls*, vol. i, pp. 312, 335.

<sup>2</sup> Shirley's *Royal Letters, temp. H. III*, vol. i, p. 367, *Rolls Series*.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Paris, *Hist. Anglorum*, pp. 332, 334, *Rolls Series*.

<sup>4</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i, p. 328.

received the homage at Maud Castle of Richard Earl Mareschal. In 1233 the custody of the castle of Hay was committed to the charge of Eve de Braose, and three years afterwards she had a grant of murage<sup>1</sup> to enable her to levy certain specified tolls in the town of Hay for three years, in aid of enclosing and fortifying the town for its defence and the security of the adjoining district. A considerable portion of the town wall still remains on the eastern side of the town, and forms a conspicuous object from the railway station; in the wall were three gates and a postern, which have long since disappeared, although the position of the east and west gates may still be ascertained. The only remains of the castle, which stood without the walls, but adjoining to them, are a ruined ivy-clad tower, long since incorporated with a modern residence, and the gateway of the castle bailey. The castle appears to have had a dry moat as a defence, wherever it was unprotected by the town walls.<sup>2</sup>

On the death of Eve de Braose, Humphrey de Bohun succeeded in right of his wife, Eleanor, to the lordship of Hay. He espoused the cause of the Barons in their quarrel with the king. On the renewal of hostilities in February 1264, the Earl of Leicester sent his sons, Henry and Simon de Montfort, with a strong force to waste the lands of Roger de Mortimer. They burnt and destroyed all before them, and, with the aid of Prince Llywelyn, took Mortimer's castle of Radnor. On advice of these hostilities, Prince Edward marched hastily from London to Mortimer's succour, and, having taken the castles of Hay, Huntington, and Brecon, committed to him the custody of them with the country adjoining, which belonged to Humphrey de Bohun.<sup>3</sup> Mortimer's occupation was of short duration; for the Lords of the Welsh Marches, dissatisfied with Leicester's

<sup>1</sup> *Patent Rolls*, 21 Henry III, No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> See *An Historical Guide to the Town and Castle of Hay*. Hor-  
dern. Hay, 1877. A well written pamphlet.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, *History of England*, vol. ii, p. 141.

proceedings, declared openly for the king and Prince Edward. Leicester retaliated, by reducing in July of the same year the castles of Hereford, Hay, and Ludlow, and wasting the lands of Mortimer.<sup>1</sup> Humphrey de Bohun was taken prisoner at the battle of Lewes in August 1265, and shortly afterwards died.

The inquisition on his death furnishes the first particulars of the revenue of the lordship of Hay; we may therefore briefly note the details. The yearly value was £122 3s. 4d.; including in this amount the demesne lands, £16; rents of the town with tolls, £22; rent of the public oven of the town, £6 13s. 4d.; the fishery, 18s.; the levy, styled *passagium*, for the protection of the highways, £1 12s.; foreign rents, or rents without the borough, £6 13s. 4d.; the cowyield of twenty-two cows with their calves every other year, worth £3 12s. 4d. yearly; pannage of swine, 10s.; customary Welsh works, £7 17s. 8d.; mills, £15; the prise of ale, £13 12s. 4d.; meadows, £6 13s. 4d. Pleas and perquisites of Court, £22; a garden with a fish-pool and dove cot, 10s.

Humphrey his son, who was a minor at his father's death, had a grant of the castle and lordship of Hay in 1274, and, on the death of his grandfather in that year, succeeded to the title of Earl of Hereford and Essex. He died in 1298, leaving a son, Humphrey, who married Elizabeth, widow of John Count of Holland and daughter of Edward I. He was killed at the battle of Boroughbridge in March 1321. John Walewayn<sup>3</sup> was thereupon constituted chief warden and supervisor of the lands of Hay, Huntington, and the late Earl's other extensive possessions in Wales; two years after the wardenship was transferred to Hugh le Despenser the younger. John de Bohun succeeded to his father's title, and was probably restored to his

<sup>1</sup> Carte, *History of England*, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Inq. p. Mortem*, 51 Hen. III, ante, vol. i, "Original Documents", No. 30, 4th Series.

<sup>3</sup> *Rotul. Original.*, vol. i, p. 262, 15 Edward II, R. 7.

father's estates before 20 Edward II. He died in 1335 without issue, leaving his brother, Humphrey, his heir. The inquisition<sup>1</sup> on his death states that Humphrey, late of Hereford and Essex, held of the king in chief, by baron's service, the castle of Hay with its appurtenances, worth yearly £50, and that he died on 15th October 1362, leaving his nephew, Humphrey, his next heir.

He united in himself the titles of Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton. The inquisition on his death states that the castle of Hay was of the value of £51, and that he died on the 16th January 1372, leaving his daughters, Eleanor, of the age of six years, and Mary, of the age of three years, his next heirs. His estates thereupon fell into the king's hands during their minority, and Roger Poleyn was appointed receiver. We thus gain interesting particulars relative to Hay for two successive years, ending November, 47 Edward III, from the minister's accounts for the lordship.

During the first year, John Gardyner, appointed by the late Earl, was bailiff; David ap William and Philip, his brother, the foresters; and Madoc ap William the Welsh receiver. The rents of assize, or fixed rents, due from the free tenants, amounted to £16 9s. 3*d.*; they included 4*d.* from 1 lb. of cummin as the rent of John Waleweyn, and a sum of money arising from the Welsh custom of Comortha at Clammey,<sup>3</sup> payable every other year at the feast of the Invention of the Cross, in addition to cowyield. Among the new rents, mention is made of Mortimer's mote, probably a traditional record of Mortimer's temporary occupation; of land in the Walsherye held by Ieuan Bagh ap Ieuan ap Gwasmaur, and of land on the mountain, called Lokedemerschere,<sup>4</sup> held by H. ap Ieuan ap Seissild; under "Advocaria", receipts from vassals for the protection of

<sup>1</sup> 1 March, 37 Edward III.

<sup>2</sup> 20th Sept., 47 Edward III.

<sup>3</sup> 3rd Kalend Majj. A like custom prevailed in the lordships of Brecon, Builth, Elvael, and Huntingdon.

<sup>4</sup> A name suggested, perhaps, by the view it afforded of the March country.



their Lord, sums varying from 4*d.* to 8*d.* were paid by Ieuan ap Glin ap Morededd, John ap Seissill, Llewelyn ap David ap Gwalter, Gladys verch Ieuan ap Griffith, Gladys verch David ap Adecok, Gladys verch Llewelyn, Rice ap David Lloyd, Meuric ap H. Coch, Eve verch Ieuan ap Philip, Ieuan Oteney, Grono Calth, David ap Llewelyn Hyr, and William David.

The burgage-rents, common oven, tolls of ale, fairs, and markets of the town, were let at £40; two water-mills, with the fishery in the pool of the river Wye, at £9 6*s.* 8*d.*; a fulling-mill at £1 6*s.* 8*d.*; a dove-cote at 3*s.* 4*d.*; a garden at 20*s.* £6 13*s.* 4*d.* was received for the pasture and attachments in the forest, and £1 6*s.* 8*d.* for the boat over Wye. Under "Exitus Manerii", the pannage of Welsh swine ("mocket") is mentioned. Of land let for sowing in the Forestfield, twenty acres realised 8*d.* per acre, and nine acres, 3*d.* per acre. Sixty-four acres of the lord's land in Churchefeld were let at 7*d.* per acre, and five acres in Forestfeld at 5*d.* per acre. Moneys were received for the sale of the common of pasture ("arentata communiter") of Maysdorgloth (Maes Arglwydd), Triscalhem, and Wenallt; and from the sale of the pasture of the Bottes at Brodemedede and at Poukedyche, Geneley, near the river; the Hame, near Brodehok; Berlonde, and the meadow reaching to Loghesford. Other meadows, Lakemedede, Brodelake, Puttemede, and Derneforthmedede, are also mentioned. The pasture of Whetmedede was eaten by the lord's bullocks. A composition of £1 6*s.* 8*d.* was received for the customary Welsh works at the winter and Lent ploughings, and 1*d.* per work for one hundred and ninety-two harvest works. In addition to other courts, two hall-moots, representing the court-leet, were held during the year. The lord's flock numbered three hundred and ninety-five sheep, including eighty-seven ewes; but there were no lambs, as the ewes were barren. 2*d.* per score was charged for shearing three hundred and thirty-five sheep. Allowances were made of payments for tar and red stone for marking them. The lord's herd of cattle

consisted of twenty-two cows and as many calves (received this year for the Comortha), and of fourteen oxen. Three hundred and eighty-four Welsh customary works of reaping, for a day one hundred and twenty-eight acres of grain, are charged at  $1\frac{1}{4}d.$  each. The crops consisted of wheat, oats, and peas.

The wages of the porter (*janitor*) of the Castle were  $8d.$  per week, with an allowance of  $6s. 8d.$  in addition for his expenses of the year. An allowance of  $\pounds 3 6s. 8d.$  was made in the account by the direction of Robert de Teye, chief steward, for a sum charged under the head of perquisites of courts, in 39 Edward III, and continued for the past seven years, as gold found in the purse of Geoffrey Dun, accidentally drowned in the river Wye, on the ground that the lord was not entitled to it as the goods of an intestate, because Geoffrey was a free burgess and an Englishman; which shows that the burgesses enjoyed under their charter the privilege of succeeding to the goods of a deceased relative. The sureties for payment of what was found due on the account were—Dominus Walter Deveros,<sup>1</sup> Richard Serjant, and William Simon, bailiff of Roil, now Clirow.

The second year's account was rendered by Richard Mogholom,<sup>2</sup> bailiff of the Castle, John ap Ithel being the bailiff of the town. The entries throw but little further light on the subject. A charge is made for an iron chain and a lock, to secure the lord's boat over the Wye. There were probably few bridges over the Wye at this period, for the river was crossed by boats at Bredwardine and Builth as at Hay. Charges were also made for locks for the doors of the Castle gate and the

<sup>1</sup> Walter Devereux, a descendant, married Anne, daughter and heir of William Lord Ferrers, and in 2 Edward IV was summoned to Parliament among the Barons as Walter Devereux de Ferrers. From him the Viscount Hereford is descended. (Dugdale, *Baronage*, i, p. 266, and Nicolas, *Hist. Peerage*.) In the survey of the last Duke of Buckingham's lands it is stated, "the Lord Ferrers holdeth half a knight's fee, called Llan Thomas, in Hay lordship."

<sup>2</sup> This name occurs under different forms in the rolls of the lordship of Huntington, where a farm is still known as Mahollam.

lord's chamber. One of the mills is called Broke Mill, which seems to show that it was on the Dulas. Twelve Hundred courts were held during the year. A question seems to have been raised by the Welsh tenants as to the cow-yield. They contended that they were only liable to pay 7s. for each cow, or render a cow with a calf, at the lord's election.

Soon afterwards (51 Edward III) the King granted to his son, Thomas of Woodstock (ultimately Duke of Gloucester), the wardship of the castles of Brecon, Hay, Huntington, Caldecote, and Newton, with the manors and lands of the late Earl, during the minority of his daughters. Thomas of Woodstock afterwards married Eleanor, the eldest daughter. Mary, the younger daughter, married Henry Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV. On the division of their inheritance, the lordships of Brecon, Hay, and Huntington, fell to the lot of Eleanor, who died leaving an only daughter, Anne Plantagenet, successively married to Thomas and Edmund, the third and fifth Earls of Stafford.

Few events caused so general a disturbance among all classes throughout the Principality as the insurrection of Owen Glendower. The ruin of the Castle of Hay, and the decay of the town, are ascribed by Leland and general tradition to Owen and his followers. It is unfortunate that scarcely any particulars of Owen's movements have come down to us. After his defeat of Sir Edmund Mortimer at Brynglase, near Pilleth, on the 12th of June 1402,<sup>1</sup> Owen, wasting the country on his way, marched with his followers into Glamorganshire. There is every reason to suppose that it was on this expedition that he took the Castle of New Radnor, and proceeded through the lordship of Huntington, burning a mill and destroying the toll-gate there,<sup>2</sup> to the valley of the Wye and Hay, where he destroyed the Castle and part of the town; for in the commission issued 8th of Sept. 1403,<sup>3</sup> the custody of the neigh-

<sup>1</sup> Carte, *History of England*, vol. ii, p. 654.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, vol. xv, 3rd Series, p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. viii, p. 328.

bouring castles of Painscastle and Royle was committed to the Earl of Warwick ; and of Huntington, to Anne Countess of Stafford, who had lost her husband, the fifth Earl, on the 21st of July preceding, at the battle of Shrewsbury ; but no mention is made in it of Hay Castle, which was probably then ruinous and defenceless.

Owen appears to have had many supporters in Brecknockshire, for on the 15th of Sept. in the same year,<sup>1</sup> the King issued, at Defynoc, a mandate to Sir John Oldcastle, John ap Harry, and John Fairford, clerk, empowering them to receive into the King's peace and favour the Welsh rebels of Brecknock, Builth, Cantreccelly, Hay, Glynbough, and Dinas, on condition that they laid down their arms, and took an oath of fealty.

The Countess had issue by the fifth Earl a son, Humphrey, who was created Duke of Buckingham on the 14th of Sept. 1444. He was killed at the battle of Northampton on the 10th of July 1460. In the inquisition<sup>2</sup> taken on the 30th of Oct. following, the Castle of Hay is described as ruinous, and destroyed by the Welsh rebels, and of no value. The rents of assize of the free tenants are stated to be £23 13s. 4d. ; and of the tenants at will, £5 13s. 4d. One hundred and nineteen acres of demesne land are valued at 1s. 6d. per acre, and twenty acres of pasture at 6d. per acre. The remaining items (except the Comortha) show a great falling off in value. The two water corn-mills and a fulling mill are valued at 40s. only ; the herbage of the forest at 4 marcs ; the tolls of fairs and markets at £4 ; pleas and perquisites of courts at £4 ; the customary cow-yield, when it happened, at £10.

The Duke had issue, a son, Humphrey Earl of Stafford, who was killed at the battle of St. Albans, leaving a son Henry, who succeeded his grandfather as second Duke of Buckingham.

Want of space prevents more than a reference to the

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. viii, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> 38 and 39 Henry VI, No. 59, m. 23.

advancement of the second Duke by Richard III to the office of High Constable and other offices; of the Duke's conspiracy against the King in favour of the Earl of Richmond; the assembly of the Duke's followers at Brecknock in 1483, and march thence into the forest of Dean, with a view to cross the Severn and join his friends in the West; his failure on account of unusual floods in the river, and retirement to the house of Sir Walter Devereux at Weobley; the dispersion of his Welsh followers for want of pay; his flight and concealment in the house of his trusted servant, Banastre, in Shropshire; his discovery, seizure, and execution at Salisbury on November 2nd,—all so graphically narrated by Carte.

On the Duke's attainder his possessions fell into the hands of the Crown, and so continued in the 9th and 10th Henry VII. We thus again obtain an insight of the affairs of Hay from the Minister's accounts of that year. The account of Watkin Robbinett, the reeve of English Hay, exhibits a very general falling off and decay, arising from the disturbed and lawless state of the country, induced probably by many years of civil war and unrest,—4s. 3d. only was received of the foreign rents, amounting to £6 5s. of divers lands in the lord's hands, for want of hirers. The farm of the demesne lands which, in 30 Henry VI was £4 13s. 4d., realised only £2 13s. 4d. The fulling mill and dovecot were totally decayed; nothing was received from the farm of the boat, as it was sunk in the excessive flood in 26 Henry VI; a few shillings only were received for the aftermath of the meadows, because the tenants were afraid to depasture their animals there for fear of robbers from different parts of Wales. Nothing was received from the sale of wood in the forest, or from the sale of hay. A part of the arrears and of the foreign and customary rents of the year were respited, as had been usual during the past eight years, until the King's warrant could be obtained for their discharge, because many tenants who used to pay the rents in

the time of Henry, the late Duke, had left their tenures void, and because the tenements continued unoccupied by reason of the war and strife prevailing between the tenants of the lordship of Hay and the tenants of the lordship of Elvael, on the opposite side of the river, and of other lordships their adherents. Thomas Lloyd, the bailiff of the borough, accounts for £11 4s. as rents of assize of 204 burgage tenants, according to a rental made in 4th Henry V. Nothing was received from the common oven, which had been recently newly built, because it was in hand, and no profit could be made of it—3s. 4d. only was received from 31 burgage tenants and other lands. The rent of the tolls of fairs and markets had fallen to £2 3s. 4d. The bailiff claimed an allowance out of the sum of £11 4s., rents of assize, in respect of 44 burgage tenements vacant in consequence of the war and strife above referred to, and of the loss of rent of divers tenements belonging to the chantry of the Virgin Mary at Hay. The sums claimed as allowances were respited, as in the case of W. Robbinett, until the King's warrant was obtained. An allowance was made to the burgesses of 15s. for the custody during the year of the three gates of the town, as in 38 Henry VI. Both of the accountants were committed to the custody of the constable of the castle for the sums found to be due from them.

The account of Hoel ap Philip ap Hoel ap Madoc, the bailiff of Welsh Hay, contains a return of several tofts and lands, as in hand for want of tenants, and yielding no profit, and states that no one was willing to accept the office of Ringeld. John ap Thomas, who held the office of Steward of the lordship for his life, under the King's warrant, and of Receiver during pleasure, appears to have died during the year. His account is rendered by his deputy receiver, Walter Vaghan, who was charged by the auditor with the sums received of the reeve and the bailiffs of Hay borough and Welsh Hay; for the arrears and the monies found

to be in his hands he was committed to the custody of the King's Gaol of Fleet.

The second Duke had issue a son, Edward, who was restored to his father's honours and estates in 1486; and in 24 Henry VII received from the King a grant of the Castle of Bronllys and the Manors of Cantre-celley, Brynllys, Pencelli, and Alexanderston in Breconshire. His large possessions, wealth, and influence, combined with his pretensions to the Crown in the event of Henry VIII dying without issue, excited the King's jealousy. He was arraigned before his peers on charges without much foundation, sentenced to death, and beheaded at Tower Hill on 17th May 1521. He left issue one son, Henry, who was restored in blood, but not to the late Duke's honours and land, by the same Parliament (14 Henry VIII) which passed his father's Act of attainder, and on the 25th September following the King granted to him on his marriage a large portion of the Duke's forfeited estates, including the lordships and castles in South Wales. In the Parliament 1 Edward VI he was recognised as Lord Stafford, and afterwards summoned as a Baron to Parliament.

Nothing eventful remains to be related of the earlier history of Hay. This account of it may therefore well conclude with a few extracts from Leland's *Itinerary*, vol. v, fol. 72:—"After passing over Wy river, the which for lack of knowleg yn me of the Fourde did sore troble my horse, I cam in *crepusculo* to the Hay. The Hay stondith hard upon Wy, and yet sheuith the token of a right strong waulle, having in it three gates and a postern. Ther is also a Castel, the which sum-time hath bene right stately.

"Within the Toune is but one poore Paroche. In the suburbe hard by Wy is a Paroche Chirch meately fair. Ther is also in the suburbe a Chapel wher on a Sunday I hard Messe. Not far from the Paroche Chirch in the suburbe is a great round hille of yerth cast up by mennes hondes other for a wyndmille to

stond apon or rather for sum fortres of Bataille. The toun of the Hay yet hath a Market: but the toun within the waulles is wonderfully decaied. The ruine is adscribed to Oene Glindour. One shewed me in the town the ruines of a gentleman's place called Waulwine, be whose meanes Prince Lluelin was sodenli taken at Buelth Castel and ther beheddid, and his hedde sent to the king..... The Toune longgid to the Duke of Bokingham. It pertaineth now to the Lord Stafford his sonne."

R. W. B.

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### PEN CAER HELEN.

ALTHOUGH this remarkable hill-fortress has been noticed already in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, yet no satisfactory representation of its most remarkable feature has been given. This is now presented to the members in the engraving obtained from the camera of our official and efficient draughtsman, Mr. Worthington Smith. With the difference of size only, we have an actual facsimile of the stones by which the builders of this fort protected themselves when the usual defences of stone or earth, or the steepness of the ground, were insufficient.

Although so many centuries have passed during which the surface may have been raised from successive growths, yet from the nature of the ground in the present instance this growth could not have been very important. But the height of these upright stones is not very necessary to the defence, because of the peculiar mode of attack; for we know that the Gauls of those days charged at full speed, endeavouring to surmount all difficulties by a rush; but, on the other hand, if checked in their course, they did not renew the attempt.

A reference to the plan (cut No. 2) will show that

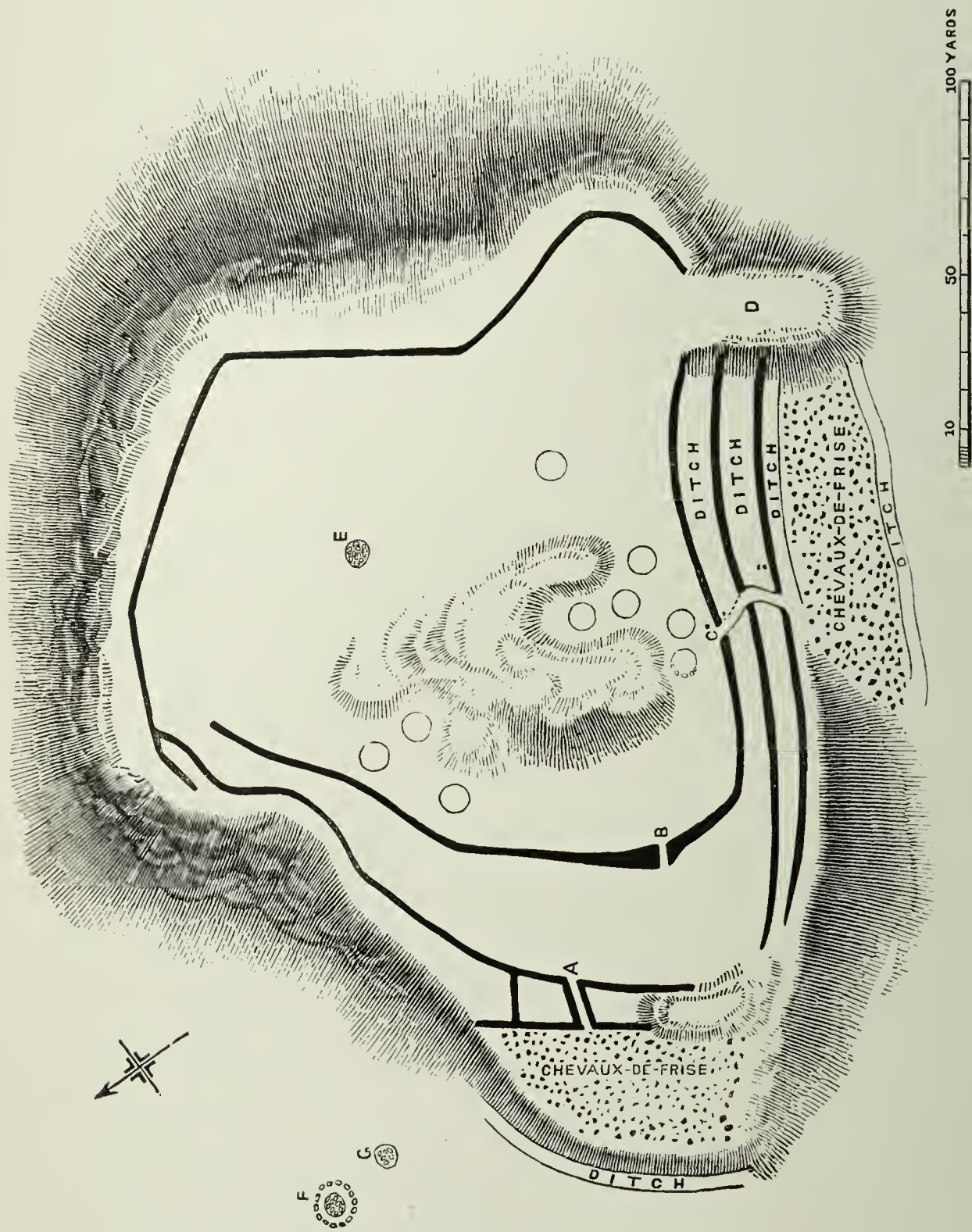




No. 1.—CHEVAUX DE FRISE, PEN CAER HELEN.







No. 2.—PLAN OF PEN CAER HELEN.

these *chevaux de frise*, as they may be called, only occur where the natural defences are weakest, while on the north-east side a single wall was considered sufficient, as the slope on those sides was so steep. On the other sides we find three walls and ditches; and at A two walls, which, by means of two cross ones, are converted into two defensive outworks. When these had been forced, the interior could only be reached by the entrance at B, the adjoining portions of the wall being of extra breadth, so as to accommodate a greater number of defenders, standing on the top. There was a third entrance at C, in the middle of the side, protected by three walls and ditches. A projecting portion (D) prevents these defences being turned, while a fourth ditch, at some distance from the other three, encloses a space protected by these upright stones. The same arrangement occurs at A, where a similar space is also protected by an exterior ditch.

The whole arrangement shows no little skill on the part of the defence, as well as their faith in the efficacy of these pointed stones, found only in the enclosed spaces above described. Their small projections, and the sharpness of their points, would make the approach to them impossible to enemies, without carefully picking out their way while they were being attacked with missiles by the defenders standing on the tops of the walls.

Pennant, in his search for traces of Sarn Helen, discovered this *British post* as he terms it. He describes it as having the "usual fosses and vast ramparts of stones, with some remains of the facings of walls." But what struck him most "were two considerable spaces of ground thickly set with sharp pointed stones set upright in the earth, as if they had been meant to serve the use of *chevaux du frise* (*sic*) to impede the approach of an enemy." This was written more than a century ago; and with the exception of the greater dilapidation of the walls, it applies to the present condition of the work.

There is no other example in Wales of this kind of defence, unless Treceiri, in the same county, gives a similar example, but with a remarkable difference.

The original entrance to this strong city is well ascertained, and is strongly protected by a number of walls, for the particular arrangements of which the reader is referred to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. for 1867, pp. 66-78. But on the opposite side of this same mountain there are sheets (as they are best described) of flat stones placed at short intervals, *en échelon*, which can only be crossed with great care, as the stones are set wide enough from each other to admit and easily break a man's leg. In passing from one group to another a smooth, green path is traversed, which exposes the flanks to attack from above. At first sight these sheets may be mistaken for the ruins of walls; but the regularity with which they are placed at intervals, and their uniformity in size and arrangement, preclude this supposition. There cannot, in fact, be the smallest doubt as to their origin and design. It is true they have not been noticed before. Even our late lamented member, the Rev. W. Wynn Williams of Menaifron, who was probably as well acquainted with the same class of remains as Mr. Prichard of Dinam, was not aware of the existence of sheets of stones, and expressed his intention of examining them,—an intention, unfortunately, not carried out. One reason for their escaping notice may be that they do not occur on the usual route; and it was only by accident that the writer found his way thither; for on meeting a quarryman at the foot of the mountain, who was about to cross it, and being informed he could reach Treceiri by that way, he joined company with him until the man turned to the right on his way to his quarry. In wet weather (and wet may be considered the usual rule) the ascent is rendered much more difficult by the slippery surface of such smooth stones.

A still more remarkable example occurs in the Isle of Arran, off Galway, which has been well described by

Professor Babington in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1858, p. 96 ; where also is given a cut showing how the fort of Dun Eangus was protected by rows of tall, sharp-pointed slabs of granite placed so close that men could hardly pass between them. The fort itself is like one of our Pembrokeshire and Cornish cliff-castles, protected on the sea side by precipitous cliffs, and on the others by artificial defences. These, in the case of Dun Eangus, were still further strengthened by the granite slabs which to some extent resemble the smaller pointed stones of Pen Caer Helen.

Who were the builders of the Welsh and Irish forts is a question which has not been satisfactorily answered, nor has the occurrence of the name of Helen, so often given to our earliest roads both in North and South Wales, been yet explained, or even attempted to be explained. Nor is the name confined to roads, as we have it in Coed Helen near Carnarvon, and here in Pen Caer Helen. In France, and especially in Brittany, a Princess Ahés is credited with the making of ancient roads ; but her character seems to have been less satisfactory than that of Helen, whatever that may have been.

E. L. BARNWELL.

1883.

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## PEMBROKE CASTLE.

It is much to be regretted that Mr. G. T. Clark never so far completed his chapters in the Journal, on the Earls, Earldom, and Castle of Pembroke, as to give a description of the Castle itself. Not only does one miss the delineation by a master, but it increases the venture of any one rash enough to tread near his path. The Castle, however, seems to me so remarkable a work, in some respects so different from others, and apparently so little understood (judging from the few words said as to it at the recent meeting of the Association there), that I venture to call further attention to it; and it is astonishing to me that Mr. King should have been apparently ignorant of it; and that Mr. Carter, Mr. Britton, and Mr. Clark, should have alike left it untouched. Excepting the Bucks and Mr. Fenton, neither of whom was architectural, and perhaps I should add Sir R. C. Hoare, its description seems to have been left to the picturesque people, who see so much that does not exist; and to photographers, who always get wrongly interpreted.

The Castle now consists of a building rising from the beach of the Pembroke river, where it is about 25 feet from high water-mark, enclosing a cavern in a limestone cliff, and various chambers above it, from which a wall of enceinte, having angle-towers (for the most part shattered) and entrance-towers on the south, extends along the cliff-top on each side, enclosing nearly four acres, having a circumference of about 1,450 feet, with a domed round tower on the west side of the centre; the whole occupying a promontory at the west end of the main street of the town, bounded by the Pembroke river and Monkton Pill on three sides, and divided into two unequal wards by a ruined wall. It will, however, at once be seen that the whole is merely



the western end of the almond-shaped area enclosed by the town walls, although shut off from it. The Castle area is naturally divided into two parts; the enceinte of that nearest the town being formed and regular, the other irregular, and following the contour of the cliff. Looking at the whole (town and Castle) in section, it resembles a full bean-pod, the larger centre bean being Elm Tree House, and the end one the Castle. In plan it is ridiculously like the skeleton of an ill-conditioned flounder, the Castle precinct being the head, the donjon the eye, the great south curtain the gills, the only street representing the vertebral bone, and the various gardens its rays.

As respects the cavern as part of a fortress, Pembroke stands quite alone: with the exception of its north front it seems wholly natural. Chepstow has a faint artificial resemblance to it, probably fulfilling the same end; but there is no other instance: and though there are many other round donjons, there is no one like this, as will be afterwards shown.

There were many great Earls, the Strongbows and the De Valences eminent amongst them; but none like the great Earl Mareschal, "Rector Regis et Regni."

It is probable that the cavern would, on careful investigation, yield the same proofs of prehistoric occupation as the other water-side limestone caverns of the district. The water flowing off the old red on the south side of the town, availed itself of the crannies so common in limestone, and in passing through scooped out this and other cavernous channels under the Castle, until some accident opening the present vent, the original entrance got filled. It is not with these matters, however, that we are now concerned.

That the site was occupied by the Romans may be assumed from the numerous coins of Constantine and Carausius found here. Mr. Wyndham speaks of several which were in the possession of Mr. Holcombe. I, a later gleaner, have obtained nine. No Roman bricks or tiles have been discovered. The lower part of the face-

wall of the cavern, and of the ruined wall dividing the two wards, being a very peculiar, open-jointed, herring-bone work, may be Roman, and must, I think, be taken as pre-Norman. This ancient wall certainly extended across the present Castle area, from the most westerly point of the promontory to just east of the cavern ; and I have no doubt that on the south-east, or outer side of this wall, the rock falls away very considerably, except at the point selected for the Norman entrance, forming a good natural ditch, now filled with rubbish. At the two ends the depth is apparent. This wall, which is throughout 6 feet 3 inches in width, may now be easily traced from the east end of the western hall (where, it is evident, the original wall was plumb, but afterwards strengthened by an outer case, with considerable batter), passing just south-east of the donjon to the prison tower (on the west side of which, where recently uncovered, the peculiar masonry is most apparent), and right through the north hall to the cliff. Mr. Clark's plate, facing p. 81, vol. vi, 3rd Series, well shows the two ends of this wall,—in the western tower in the left corner of the plate, and the prison tower on the right. This, with remains of similar masonry near St. Ann's bastion, I consider to be the earliest work extant ; the western hoist, an angle-headed opening of considerable size, just north of the extreme west, coming next. The object of this last is not clear. It could only be used to hoist into the enclosure matters which could not well be carried by another route,—unless the rock outside has been subsequently cut away, which seems unlikely ; but it does not seem well adapted even for this purpose.

The great horse-shoe entrance at the south angle of the wall first named, the foundations of which have been recently uncovered ; the great donjon ; the buildings to the north-west of it ; all the buildings which had bevelled freestone dressings, including the entrance to the cavern and the window over it (but not, perhaps, its inner lancet filling), must, I think, be put down to

a period before 1200, and considered as a continuous work of one design. At that time, I doubt not, the Castle consisted of buildings enclosed within the ancient wall before described, which had something represented by the present western hall at its western extremity, the gate-tower (the foundations of which alone remain), and the prison-tower at its angles, and a latrine tower, now forming the north-west angle of the north hall buildings, at its northern extremity, approached by a deep way cut in the rock from near the Monkton postern, the approach being commanded on the outer side—on the south by the Monkton bastion, and on the north-east by some works not well defined—and which may have been pre-Norman also, on a projecting part of the rock near the St. Ann's bastion before referred to. It may be noticed that the loops of the western hall and of the Monkton bastion, both very oblique, converge on this entrance; and it was this fact and the depression in the ground, coupled with the conviction that the reputed entrance to the inner ward was no entrance at all, that induced me to search for the remains. I imagine the western extremity was simply a latrine-tower, approached, like that on the north, by a passage in the wall. If this were so, the whole work had considerable uniformity,—the great round tower in the centre, the gate-tower and prison-tower at the obtuse angles, and latrine-towers overhanging the cliff at each end.

In this area, if anywhere, is to be found the Chapel of St. Nicholas, within his Castle of Pembroke, which De Montgomery gave to the Norman Abbey of Sayes. In my opinion it is likely to be the once gabled building just north of the western hall. That building has all the essentials: its orientation is more correct than St. Mary's Church; it has no chamber over it; its entrance is near the west end (the worn step and door-socket are noticeable), whereas the east would have been more direct and convenient; it is not built against the outer wall, but is screened from assault; it is the largest chamber in the Castle, being 60 feet by 20 feet;

it has no latrine connected with it, and is carefully isolated from such ; and it is on the rock. Not that I mean the last to be an essential either in Norman times or since ; but I think it would have been so considered for a *quasi* conventual establishment, not merely a castle chapel. There is also a change in the character of the roof at the chancel division ; and the extraordinary inner wall, forming a passage on the south side about 18 inches wide, may, upon the principle that it is wise to put down anything inexplicable to "some arrangement connected with the rood-loft", be so assigned. There is something not very dissimilar at Monkton, and perhaps at Ludlow. If this was the chapel, the adjoining building, which I have called the western hall, and with which there was some communication at the south-west angle, was the priest's lodging ; and if so, it is pretty clear the monks of Sayes must have kept watch against worldly as well as spiritual assaults. But it is here alone that the ancient wall cannot be traced ; and this, in my view, adds to the probability of the building I have supposed to be the chapel being really such. I conceive the chapel, when first erected, was just inside the ancient wall ; nearly, but not quite, parallel with it, and about 12 feet from it. This intervening space was afterwards utilised, the ancient wall removed, and the western hall built, adopting the ancient line of wall on the south, and the chapel wall, over which it is clearly built, on the north. In this way the fact of its being so much wider at the east end than at the west is accounted for.

The horseshoe-gate tower is peculiar. Its internal diameter from north to south is 25 feet ; from east to west, 17 feet 6 inches. Here were found, on the rock-floor, a pair of prick-spurs precisely similar to those on the great Earl's effigy in the Temple.

Almost touching, but quite disengaged from, the curtain-wall before described, nearly midway between the ancient gate-tower and the prison-tower, is the donjon or triple tower. Doubtless it resembles others

even to a greater extent than one round tower necessarily resembles another; yet it has no counterpart or parallel. Like all the larger towers, it has walls of amazing thickness, divided into four spaces, of which the upper are the best. But the builder of the Pembroke tower far exceeded others in the simplicity and severity of his notions. He must have had ideas like those of the builders of the Great Pyramid. Pembroke tower rises from the bare rock with no mound or buttress, as Conisborough; without any internal vaulting, arcading, or gallery, as at Coucy or Falaise; but with a stone dome at top, where all others were timbered; and, widely distinguished from them, without a well, latrine, drain, or any recess, except a small window in each of the two upper chambers. It seems difficult to conceive how life could be maintained in it for a week; impossible to conceive that this tower was the seat of almost regal state; and designed as such, by men like the Strongbows, or the great Earl who watched the building of the New Temple, to fulfil the functions performed by the great square eastern keeps of London, Colchester, Dover, Rochester, Hedingham, Rising, Norwich, Newcastle.

Where the wall joins the rock, it is 19 feet 2 inches in thickness; at the level of the first floor, 14 feet 7 inches; at the second, 12 feet 6 inches. The internal height is over 75 feet to the springing of the cone. The basement has an internal diameter of 24 feet; it has no opening whatever but the doorway at the stairs' foot; thence a spiral stair ascends in the thickness of the wall (not in a buttress or stair-tower) from the rock to the rampart, having an external slit for light, and an internal door opening to each storey at each coil. The first floor has now an additional entrance approached by the remains of outer steps, a huge fireplace with horseshoe opening 10 feet high, and two slits. The second has also an external access, 7 feet high, 2 feet 2 inches wide; a fireplace with flat arch, nearly 14 feet high from the floor; a window of two

lancet lights, each 4 feet 5 inches by 1 foot 4 inches ; and two slits: and the third has no fireplace ; an entrance from the stairs only ; a somewhat similar window, but with smaller lights ; and four larger slits. The dome is a smooth cone with no ribs, but with two openings to the parapet (one a door and the other a window), and it springs 18 inches or more from the inner face of the wall. There is no other break whatever in the smooth, internal, plastered masonry, except two vertical grooves, about 6 inches by 4 inches, on one side of each of the top floors, looking as if marking a partition ; the beam-holes ; and a pair of large corbels below the floor-lines, and two single corbels. The beams, apparently, were parallel, those in the centre stretching right across ; and all were built in, not resting on, corbels, and radiating from a centre as common. All the dressings are freestone, which I take to be from Caen. It is probable the stairs were freestone also, as I found one freestone newel-step in the rubbish, and I know of no other place from which it could have come ; and except on this theory it is difficult to explain why every one of these steps has been removed, while in all other places, where they are limestone, it is only one here and there that is taken.<sup>1</sup> The casing of the door from the stairs to the upper chamber yet remains, but much defaced ; that of all the others has been torn away, except in the case of the external entrance to the second floor, which was blocked until 1881, and is perfect. There is not, except on the windows, any ornament of any kind, though the workmanship of the freestone is finished, and the whole peculiarly good, and perfectly free from decay.

It is obvious that the strength of the tower is only the strength of its weakest and most assailable part. The basement-door was only fastened with a bolt ; there is no portcullis or sign of timber framing, and the ram-

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written I have clearly made out remains of steps in their sockets, all freestone, but much discoloured. It is plain all were freestone.

part slits above were originally blocked by the stair-hood and chimney. Apparently, any one piling fagots against the door, and firing them, could not have been assailed from the tower, except on his approach and departure. One is tempted to think that this entrance cannot have been original; yet a bolt-hole 8 feet deep in a limestone wall 18 feet thick, is not easily newly made without very evident marks, none of which exist. Moreover, many of the greater round towers seem to have differed from the square keeps in having basement-doors; notably Coucy and other Norman examples, and perhaps Brynlllys. There is more absence of evidence of this entrance being other than original than in the case of the portal above. Possibly this entrance may have been filled with masonry and plastered over when not required to be used, as evidently was done with other external openings near the ground. The entrance to the first floor is a tunnel 14 feet 7 inches long, and 5 feet 6 inches wide, through the wall: the freestone with which it was probably finished is entirely gone. There is no portcullis, and only one ill formed bolt-hole. There are external holes on each side of the head, one yet retaining the end of a beam, and corresponding beam-holes on the floor-level, which may possibly indicate the existence of some lift-bridge; but which, I think, carried a porch only. Enough of the external steps remains to show that there was a landing formed by a stone arch spanning the passage below, immediately outside the door. These steps were not contemporaneous with the tower, but they are ancient; older, I should think, than the beam-end. The two slits on the first floor are of the shape which would be produced by taking a tin pea-shooter, and gradually squeezing it till one end became a vertical slit. There is no recess whatever: indeed, it is a peculiarity of the Castle that in no case is there a simple slit in the wall opening out of a broader recess, with seats where bowmen could sit and act, as is usual elsewhere. This remark applies in a modified way to Cilgerran, said to

have been built by the great Earl. In the present case the hole is 15 feet long, descending from the inside (where it is about 2 feet 6 inches in diameter) towards the outside, where the terminal slit is about 4 feet high, and only 3 inches wide. Obviously, any one from the inside could only see or hit an object within his range, and that range must have been limited to a very few inches laterally,—considerably less than that from the breech of a 100-ton gun, the muzzle being so much more contracted. If an assailant chose to put himself within that range, he deserved any fate; but it is more difficult to imagine that any defender would sit armed in the dark, inside, in the hope that any assailant would be so simple; and yet more difficult still to think any one could build for such a chance; still less can we conceive anything approaching to residence in such a chamber.

The floor above has a much narrower door, which being now inaccessible without a 40-foot ladder, has escaped mutilation. It is faced with freestone as fresh as if built yesterday, clearly Norman in shape, but without a chamfer, break, or thread; simply bevelled edges. It had been narrowed with bad masonry into a loop until 1881. The external narrowing-in of the tower, which shows elsewhere all round as a *quasi* string, is not continued immediately under the door; but there is a hole, as if for a heavy timber, immediately adjoining. The door opened about 6 feet in distance, laterally, from the rampart of the curtain-wall, and (if the wall was there the same height as it shows by the Prison Tower) about 9 feet above its level. In my opinion there was a bridge from it to this rampart. This chamber had three slits very much the same as those below, but not quite so pronounced. The window immediately over the portal to the first floor is at the end of a seated recess 12 feet 8 inches long, 4 feet 3 inches (narrowing to 3 feet 5 inches) wide, and 8 feet high, and consists of two lancets, having a broad, hollow chamfer studded with the four-leaved flower inserted in a nearly round-



headed frame, the edges of which are bevelled. The top between the two lancets is filled with masonry, carrying a sculptured head not quite in the centre. The mullion (which carries a good internal bolt asp in relief, and is heavy) has a square base. The stone seat which runs along each side of the recess is not continued round the front. Owing to this last fact I feel a doubt as to the lancets being original. I think they are; but it is quite possible that they are not. The chamber above is similar, except that it has no external door and no fire-place, and its lancets are shorter, more round-headed, and have no flower, and it has four slits somewhat more spacious. The cone starts from the top of the wall, some 18 inches from the inner edge, and apparently formed another chamber, having what was probably a door opening from the rampart on one side, and a window with hood over it on the other. These openings are in the second or inner parapet wall. The summit is formed into three ramparts with parapets one within the other. The outer parapet was probably the same height as the stair-hood. It is about 2 feet thick, with loops at every 6 feet, and between each loop a recess of 28 inches wide by 13 inches deep under each opening, dividing the wide merlons, all faced with freestone. The rampart is 5 feet 6 inches wide. Within it rises a parapet, now nowhere more than 10 feet high, but probably at one time 15; within it a flagged rampart 3 feet 4 inches wide; then another parapet and rampart, together 6 feet 6 inches wide, now nearly destroyed; and within it a circular platform, where, doubtless, Leland's millstone, *in conum*, rested. The large holes in the outer parapet are evidently for timbers to carry a hourd, as there are water-drains besides. The range from the summit is, of course, very extensive along the trough between the old red of the Ridgeway and that of the coast. Except the destruction of the steps of the stairs, the pilfering of the freestone where within reach, and the pushing of stones from the summit and inner parapet by tourists, the building seems

as sound as the day after it was built. There is no sign of decay whatever. It is much to be regretted Mr. King did not visit it.

Just north of the donjon is a gabled building, lying nearly north and south, having the entire frame of one light, and one jamb of another on the west, and another on the east. This has been called the chapel, and on good authority ; but as I do not know a single argument in favour of this view, except that, after the fashion of the country, it, as well as the chancel at Monkton, was used as a ball-court, I cannot well discuss it. I am painfully aware of my want of knowledge, and will thankfully accept teaching. If any one will quote a case of a castle chapel not east and west, I shall be obliged. That it is not the chapel is, I think, proved by the fact that it is north and south ; that it has no signs of piscina or sedilia, though where to look for such in a north and south building I am not sure ; and that its pointed windows are very near the ground, and had seats in them. Its walls are thinner than most others ; but not thinner than those which adjoin on the east, and which are clearly Norman. I think it may have been the Chancery and Exchequer. Apparently it extended as far to the north as the west entrance to the basement of the building I have called the Norman hall. This joined the last described at about half its length, and occupied the space now or lately looked on as the entrance to the inner ward. There are the remains of an external Norman door and window with freestone jambs, and a loop on the south side, showing this side once faced to an inner court, where the steps started ; a fireplace of grand proportions, with freestone enrichments, now mutilated, above ; and a round-headed freestone door from the first floor, at its south end. I conceive that this hall was approached by the steps on the north-west side of the Prison Tower ; the oriel, or rather what existed there before it, being its ante-chamber, and the Prison Tower its protection. It had a square buttress about midway on the south, to carry

its flue ; and consisted, as usual, of a kitchen or store-room on the ground floor, and hall over, with high-pitched roof, the holes for the timbers of which may be seen on the south side of the west end of the northern hall. The double-barrelled latrine chamber did not then exist. That this latrine was erected after the completion of the Prison Tower is apparent by the north light in the upper chamber in the latter being blocked by it. This hall was reasonably rectangular, and was the same length as, but broader than, the adjoining chamber, now called the hall. Its south-eastern end was formed by the ancient 6 feet 3 inches wall before described. I cannot think that there was any door from its basement through this wall, towards the south-east, as no original loops cover it : those now existing are no more than proper for light, and to cover any angle. The present opening looks like a recent hole made to give convenient access to the inner ward, when it was walled off to make a kitchen garden. Probably the south-east window of the upper floor was a later enlargement of a previous smaller one, the principal light being at the north-west end.

That even after 1300 the curtain of the present inner ward was the external wall of the Castle (probably over a ditch) seems to me to be proved by the arch of discharge of the double-barrelled latrine. It could not have been internal in such a situation when constructed. From this chamber a covered way in the inner side of this ancient 6 feet 3 inches wall, led to the latrine tower.

It seems clear, from the masonry, that the building north of what I have called the Norman hall was erected after it. The western end of the junction-wall shows the marks of the projecting timbers, and no corbel-table is continued where it abuts. Its uncommon shape seems attributable to the necessities of the case. There was the face of the Norman hall on the south ; the face of the wall enclosing the cavern, probably the flight of stairs from it, on the north ; and the ancient latrine

tower on the north-east. All that could be done was done, and the north face is actually worked inwards some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet as it went up and joined the latrine tower. The building now consists of the remains of a kitchen with good lights, corresponding with those above, in recesses which had seats; and a hall above with a perished timber floor and flat roof, and was approached by external and somewhat poor steps at the north side of the west end, which were covered with a porch. The stairs from the cavern open into the first, and from the last ascends a spiral stair to the roof. It is remarkable that these stairs do not open on to the parapet or rampart-walk, but to the roof only, which was of lead; and that the angle hood-turrets, though pierced, do not afford a continuous walk. Each forms a separate look-out tower of itself, having steps accessible only from the lead roof.

The chambers at the east end are of similar character, but neither of them has a fireplace. It will be observed that one of the once external slits of the upper story of the latrine look into the upper chamber, which has been considered one of the most distinguished in the Castle, and as such has been selected by the public, in defiance of Leland (and I think I may say of probability, as a room with a fireplace would most likely have been selected), as the birthplace of King Henry VII; and the whole tower was covered by its roof, thus evidencing the earlier existence of the tower, which I have before pointed out. The north and east faces of this tower being adopted, were the angles on those sides. The old wall formed the west side, and the north wall of the Norman hall, being continued in a straight line, as almost unavoidable, seems to me to account for the extraordinary shape of this building; but it is very remarkable that each extremity of the ancient wall should thus, by accident as I think, have terminated in chambers, the eastern end of which is so markedly wider than their western. It may be noticed that the curtain starts from the north-west end, at a consider-

able height and thickness ; well shown in Mr. Clark's plate facing the title-page of vol. v, third series. Whether this merely evidences an intention, or a work completed and since destroyed, is doubtful. I think the former, as the existing wall seemed partly original.

The Prison Tower seems to me to be not much later than the donjon : the slits have freestone dressings and the same character. The sill of the southern light on the first floor is pierced to admit a ray of light to the basement, which chamber looks as if it had been excavated towards the north. This basement alone has no access. The newel is of sandstone, like Caerfai, and has a cap of decided Early English character. The chamber I have called the oriel may be an early Tudor transformation of some pre-existing Norman ante-chamber. The elegant chimney-stack, fireplace, and windows, are additions. The freestone Norman doors on the south-east portion of the chamber clearly indicate its origin. The old wall on this side has been broken through to give access to the double latrine added on its outer side.

It is clear that in these early times there was some building in the neighbourhood of the Mills Postern, now gone, the more modern great curtain being clearly built against it ; while the foundation of a wall, similar to that of the wall so often alluded to, exists on the north edge of the cliff, corresponding with the Monkton Tower on the south-west.

The beautiful window in the cavern wall was opened in 1881, it having been previously walled up flush. It conveys the same idea as those in the round tower, that the lancets are insertions in a Norman frame. But here the stone seats ran round the front. The recess is 8 feet by 6 feet 4 inches, and 10 feet high, and has a purely Norman look. The head looks as if there had at one time been some insertion similar to those in the donjon lights. The inner bolt-asp on the mullion is very bold and good. The lancets are 8 feet high and 2 feet 3 inches wide. The entrance-gateway is very

high and wide, and looks as if designed to take in boat as well as cargo. The gate had no portcullis or bolts, and it was protected by no flanking work or machicolation above. An attacking party seeking to fire the gate could have been assailed only by a sally. That there was water-supply in the cavern I cannot doubt. George Owen says there was in his day; and Cromwell would never have written as he did unless he had been certainly so informed. He clearly refers to the stairs from the Castle to the cavern, not to anything in the town. Moreover, fresh water now rises on the beach close by. There was, however, a distinct supply to the Castle from Norgan's Well in the old red, nearly south of the Castle, and about a mile distant, conveyed by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inch socket-pipes, laid in cement, across Monkton Pill, and up the face of the cliff into the archway at foot of the Monkton Tower. Pieces of the pipe are in the Tenby Museum, a piece *in situ* is preserved in the wall of the road above Monkton Board School, and other pieces, also *in situ*, yet remain in the archway above referred to. It is not clear whether these led to any tank.

The Monkton Tower differs widely from the others. It is only basement and storey over: the first approached from the rampart on the south, the last by spiral steps on the north-east. Each chamber had an apartment opening from it, and the basement a latrine also. The basement has only two slits, and no fireplace; the upper storey a fireplace and two windows of two lights.

The horseshoe entrance was uncovered in 1881. It was faintly indicated by a depression in the ground; and my little experience induces me to look for foundations where there are hollows rather than under mounds. Wall-destroyers generally did their work of getting good building stones well and effectively. They followed and removed the real wall as far as practicable, often leaving a trench where it was; casting the small stones or rubbish on one side, in a mound; or removing it if useful, as it often is at Pembroke. I believe

the lines across the area of the outer ward are caused by a desire to form a level sward for games or modern military parade, and do not mark division of wards or ancient walls. The remains of the building do not clearly indicate its character. It would seem there was no portcullis or drawbridge. The jambs of the entrance do not correspond with each other, but in each freestone is used. The rock-floor is much worn. The bevelled freestone recess on the north is curious, and indicates the same treatment as elsewhere adopted in the Norman work. This entrance appears to have been approached by the narrow way from Monkton Pill. This way is cut in the rock. It would look as if the thick curtain-wall, with the steps from the Monkton Tower, had been built before the rock was cut away; but this can scarcely be. I think the way was filled with stones, as, indeed, it was up to 1881, and the curtain built on this heap now partly removed.

The whole southern portion between the Monkton Tower and the Mills Postern seems of one date, and that Edwardian, though subsequently altered at various dates, as described below. It must be remembered that the town-wall joined the Castle at or near the west gate tower on the south side, and the north gate tower on the north-east. The intermediate wall had, over irregular ground, to fulfil somewhat the function of the great east curtain at Caerphilly. It forms three long lines having towers at the angles, and at the centre of the south front; the wall having ramparts with parapet and rear-wall, with a somewhat uniform sky-line, though, from the inequality of the ground, very varying height, and frequently comprising galleries either for offence or convenience. This wall, originally 7 feet thick, has been variously altered. Between the gate-tower and the west gate tower, the wall, as well as the towers themselves, has been strengthened on the inner side (the former by as much as 8 feet), so that it now forms a prodigious mass of masonry, 160 feet in length, over 30 feet in height, and 15 feet thick. The

result of this was to block the slits from the galleries looking inwards ; and in many cases the galleries were themselves also filled with masonry. Over and above this exterior casing of the towers on the inner side, they seem also to have had a complete internal casing, and to have been raised, so that in their latter state there was nothing like a continuous rampart-walk from the wall on one side of the tower to that on the other. Indeed, I doubt much if such a practice was ever admitted.

The barbican tower requires special notice from its extraordinary tenacity in resisting the shock of the dismantling powder, and from its offensive character. It is the only tower in the outer ward which preserves its stone roof. The loops of the chamber over the basement commanding the approach to the Castle, and raking the eastern curtain, are of the most extreme type ; the external slit is about 7 feet long by 2 inches broad, the top of the external slit being on a level with the bottom of the internal opening, which is protected by a raised cill, so that no missile from the ground outside entering the slit could possibly enter the chamber without first hitting the arch of the opening. Underneath this tower is another cavern or passage in the limestone rock, of considerable length, but narrow.

The gate tower seems to have been designed for the accommodation of persons of distinction in the upper chambers, as at Kidwely ; they are large, lofty, and were roofed with lead : entered from the stairs in the towers on each side the entrance. The guard chambers below have each their separate entrance, and are also lofty ; but, especially the eastern, must have been very dark.

The portcullis chamber has no holes in the floor, possibly because there was no drawbridge here. I suspect these holes have more to do with drawbridge apparatus than with offence.

The approach must have been unusually strong. Probably there was some work on the town side of the



bridge over the foss. I now know that the foss extended west of the present access to the then narrow west gate road; and I have no doubt that the vault, on which the newly covered cottage stands, was the arch of a stone bridge of approach across the ditch. As the walls go through and beyond the ditch walls, it is clear it was an ancient structure; and finding it had been occupied as a dwelling for all time of memory, I assumed it was an ancient dwelling, and re-roofed it accordingly. I am now satisfied that the eastern half was the bridge over the foss; but as I could not have approached it to use it as a bridge of access, owing to the stables on other property, I the less regret the error made. Any approach but by the bridge was prevented by the foss and the foss bastion raking it on one side, and the barbican tower commanding it on the other. The bridge itself could only be traversed under the direct fire of the barbican tower; when passed, the assailant had to pause between two bare walls, still under the overhead fire of the barbican tower, without possibility of shelter till the draw-bridge was lowered from the barbican arch, and the portcullis raised. He would then find himself in a somewhat circular court, with the great gate on his right, still without shelter, and commanded by the loops of the projecting bygate tower, and of each guard chamber, as well as by the men on the barbican and within the foss bastion, where he must wait till the outer portcullis was raised, and the great gate opened; which done, he would only find himself in an inner vaulted box, scrutinised by the inner loops of each guard chamber. An unwelcome visitor must have had a hard time of it.

The defences of the gateway itself consist, first of a portcullis; then what is called a chase; then great double hung doors, working, as usual, from an overhead beam, with bolts outside and inside, the inside being commanded by the slits of the guard chambers on each side. Then there is another chase; then another

portcullis and other doors ; and last another chase. I have also restored the vaulting where certain signs existed of its former existence. The top covering of the chase groove was not put by me ; it had every appearance of being original. I doubt if these grooves were worked from or connected with the portcullis chamber. And I think all must admire the grandeur of the arch within arch, as seen from the inside, and regret the interpolation of what I have called the flying pent house. Mr. Clark's plate, facing page 241, vol. v, third series, well shows what is here attempted to be described.

I have also restored the barbican gateway. The walls were about 5 feet high on one side, 9 feet on the other, with the springing of the arch. For the design above the arch, I am responsible. The thin walls of the by-gate tower and of the foss bastion, I need not say, were put by me, but on old foundations, to guide the eye, and make the approach more intelligible, instead of confusing as heretofore. On the eastern glacis there was a cottage of respectable antiquity, but very ruinous. Its builder had very ingeniously utilised the funnel of the latrine above to save the construction of a chimney. This cottage I removed, as well as the numerous mean dwellings and stables on the south glacis and covering the foundation of the foss bastion.

None of the enceinte towers are duplicates of each other, and all the curtains differ. From the great gatehouse to the central towers, at any rate, and probably to the west gate tower, the original wall was 7 feet thick, and within a foot or two of the height of the gate tower itself, nearly 40 feet—(indeed I expect it was the same height, and that the gate tower was not intended to show outside as such, but only as a continuation of the wall) and had two galleries in it, one above the other, with external and internal slits ; the latter were stopped by the erection of the thickening before alluded to, enveloping the central tower towards the court, where was placed a noble flight of steps at

right angles, with others in the thickness of the wall near the west gate tower.

From the west gate tower to the Monkton tower the parapet has been clearly raised some 12 feet, and preparation made for raising the rampart either by a solid or hollow wall, which was never carried out. From the Monkton tower to the western hall it appears as originally built, after the Monkton postern is supposed to have been filled as before mentioned, but in the wall near the hall is the discharge of a latrine, with nothing corresponding on the surface. This is supposed to mark the tower corresponding with that on the north. From the western hall to the northern hall the wall is irregular and thin; part is not original. At the extreme west are the remains of a latrine, and a little to the north something like a Norman window; while at the junction with the north hall the wall is high and double. I expect what now appears is, for the most part, an inner casing of the original, which had become ruinous, and except at the junction before described, has now perished. From the north hall to the angle by the St. Ann's bastion is similar to that between the west gate and Monkton towers, except that there is an appearance of there having been a central building, of which the wall formed one end, and there is no preparation for raising the rampart, which last, till lately, was covered with turf. Between the St. Ann's and the Mills bastions the wall was similar. But here it is clear the rampart was one side of a chamber. These bastions alone have the corbel table, and the last has plainly been raised. It is very elegant. On each side the north gate tower the wall is solid (except three short galleries leading to latrines), about 30 feet high, and 8 feet thick, carrying a rampart with parapet and rere wall on top, approached from each tower.

Dismissing the time before the conquest as leaving no certain mark, the salient periods seem to have been:

- (1) The building, whatever it was, by De Montgomery;
- (2) the creation of the earldom and the visits of King

Henry II; (3) the great Earl Mareschal's time and King John's visit; (4) Montchesny's occupation: his great wealth and building taste; (5) the Valentian period; (6) Owen Glyndwr's time, when all the castles in Wales were strengthened; (7) the Tudor troubles, and the birth and residence of King Henry VII; (8) the abolition of the Palatinate; (9) Poyer's residence and defence of the Castle, first against the King, then against Cromwell in person; (10) the surrender and consequent dismantling; and (11) two and a quarter centuries of pilfering and contempt.

If the inner curtain wall, or at least the lower part of it, did not exist before, I should attribute it to Montgomery. The horse-shoe tower of entrance to it, recently uncovered, and all the buildings with bevelled freestone dressings in the inner ward, to the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th periods; the donjon appearing to be the first, and the prison tower the last of these works.

During these periods, as before stated, I imagine the Castle consisted only of the inner ward, approached by a steep and narrow way cut in the rock, now covered by the Monkton postern, throughout defended by a deep ditch, extending across the outer ward, where the masonry is now continued more than 30 feet below the present inner surface, now filled, and covered by two outworks, since altered, but now represented by the St. Ann's and Monkton bastions. The north hall itself I assign to Montchesny.

The remarkable absence of the corbel table, so universal elsewhere in South Wales, and commonly ascribed to De Valance, in all the buildings in the outer ward, might lead to the idea that these also were before his time, but their general appearance is decidedly Edwardian. Nowhere here is the mark of a chisel visible except on the newels of the stairs, on the fireplaces, and on the dressings of the gate tower windows, and these last are the only instances of freestone in the outer ward, though possibly the great entrance itself, and the doors opening to it, were once

so enriched. The whole enceinte of the outer ward is Edwardian, being composed of straight lines with towers capping the angles, while that of the inner ward is informal. The thickening of the outer curtain I put down to the sixth period. I have thought it possible that the lining of the southern towers, especially the unusually ornate "chymeney" of the second floor chamber of the central tower, might point out the birthplace of King Henry VII. At any rate this lining and various alterations of the large chambers of the inner ward are probably of the seventh period. The eighth is not likely to have left much mark. To the ninth I think must be attributed the ugly flying pent house between the drum towers of the gate house and the slating of the roofs of the gate house covering the steps leading to the watch turrets.

The tenth and eleventh periods leave marks only too manifest. It nowhere appears where the dismantling charge was applied.

The remains of enrichment, or articles of use, found here have been much fewer than at Manorbere: only one piece of a disengaged Early English shaft, no foliage work, one piece of flooring tile of good design, abundance of the glazed greenish thumb marked ridge tile—except the ridge, somewhat coarse blue slate seems to have been used for all the roofs not leaded—several stone canon balls and a few of iron, the spurs before described, a very interesting ivory toothpick and lady's garnisher, Roman and a few other coins and tokens, and a rough iron seal with a very distinct but unintelligible legend, complete the list.

It is on the Continent that one naturally looks for typical Norman military buildings. There they were indigenous—there our Cœur de Lion built, and there no formal dismantling has been ordered. But I find nothing resembling Pembroke tower either internally or as regards the summit. Pre-eminent Coucy is described by a well-known French archæologist as having an interior extremely curious, and of very great ele-

gance, having great cylindrical shafts supporting short capitals. Besides its far greater size, it has a sculptured entrance to the ground floor, with a well and steps at the side of it. This basement must have been a splendid apartment, having vaulted arcaded recesses, well lighted, 48 feet in diameter, and 40 feet high. The other floors were all vaulted and well lit, and the upper storey, with timber roof, resembled a great lanthorn, having arched lights all round, twenty-four in number. It is 60 feet in diameter. At Gisors, Houdan, and Chateaufort, the entrance is on the level of the outside ground, and all have vaulted floors and timber tops; so also Chateau Gaillard. At Tournebou alone, so far as I know, is there a second rampart and parapet on the top, and here it is only in the thickness of the wall; but it is a modern work, and said not to be a reproduction of what was.

At Beaugency-sur-Loire there exist, under the first floor, external corbels, which probably sustained a movable stair or ladder, and we are told it is not unlikely a lift bridge rested on the adjoining rampart. At Lillebonne such access still exists. At Chamboy there is no sign of a stair, and tradition says access was obtained by an iron ladder.

Falaise has no external access at all. Besides furnishing handsome vaulted chambers, it seems more specially designed for lifting water from the previously exposed spring below, for the service of the adjoining square donjon.

Conisboro' Castle is the only English example that can be named in the same category as Pembroke. The following very brief description of it is given for the sake of comparison.

Tower, cylindrical, with six buttresses reaching above the top. The highest of these was a beacon, another an oven, another a dovecote, the rest for shelter and storeage. Stairs in thickness of wall, not circular, 3 feet 1 inch wide; inner wall, 3 feet 11 inches; outer, 5 feet 5 inches—total, 12 feet 5 inches. Gallery, in

wall round upper chamber, communicating with it. Second floor has beautiful English fireplace, with sink near it; a small vaulted and groined chapel, with two piscinæ and quatrefoil lights, and a small east loop with sacristy adjoining; a good window, with steps to it, and a recess, terminating in a latrine, with loop. First floor: magnificent fireplace, sink, window of two lights, approached by four steps, and a latrine. Basement: vaulted door only, and well,—idle to call it a dungeon. Main entrance at first floor, where the walls are 13 feet 7 inches thick; nothing to show what coping the parapets had; roof, of timber.

Except on the eastern side of England there are no examples of square donjons. Ludlow and Goderich have square Norman towers forming part of the enceinte of the inner court and having every usual Norman convenience and ornament, but both are connected with and form an integral part of the rest of the building. To the west of the Severn, Haverfordwest has credit for having been square, but it seems doubtful if it really was so. It looks like the shell of a square building now, but judging from Buck's view, it had round bastion towers at the angles, since destroyed. I hope the history of Haverfordwest Castle in Victorian times will be written while the events are fresh. It seems to me good King Henry VIII and Cromwell, the universal iconoclast, were gentle and conservative as compared with Sir Richard Cross. And there is Ogmore.

Raglan stands alone as having a keep not absolutely round, and not square, and as being outside the castle proper, and defending its gate from the outside. It undoubtedly communicated with the castle by a lift bridge across its moat, and was perfectly habitable and complete in itself.

Chepstow, the western castle which alone can approach Pembroke, is, like it, one of those castles the shape of which is determined by the limestone rock on which it stands. The Marten Tower has been considered

its keep, but it forms part of the enceinte. Its little oratory is a triumph of refined architecture. It was not only habitable, but inhabited almost within the last two hundred years.

Brynlllys, Tretower, Longtown, Scenfretth, and White Castles are well known examples of central round towers, but their small size and more habitable arrangements remove them from comparison with Pembroke. Brynlllys, perhaps, approaches most nearly. It is well described in *Arch. Camb.*, 1862, p. 81, and 1866, p. 441. For a description of it and Conisbro', Mr. King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, pp. 3, 59, and 34, should be referred to. Morlais Castle alone has the vaulting and arcading which seems almost universal with Continental donjons.

The only other instance I know of an external approach to basement, first and second floors, is in the neighbouring little round tower at Manorbere. I believe that exists as built somewhere about 1200, except the alteration of the slits into lancets. It also has a stone dome and wood floors; but it is an angle-bastion, and the object of its openings is apparent.

I fear it will be considered that I have gone into too minute detail. I have done so because much is so situate as not to favour careful investigation by the robust antiquary, and some not to be got at without special appliances; and except what the stones tell us, we are without information as to date and object. With such facts as I have been able to collect, I ask the opinion of others better qualified to judge. I state my own views with no feeling of confidence, and merely to invite discussion.

(To be continued.)

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CARTULARIUM PRIORATUS S. JOHANNIS  
EVANG. DE BRECON.

(Continued from p. 168.)

*Roger Pichard, son of John Pichard, with his wife's consent, confirms a portion of his land at Ystradwy near the Boket Gate. (Date 1230-40.)*

“Carta Rogeri Pichardi filii J. Pichardi.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Rogerus Pichart filius Johannis Pichart de consensu et voluntate Mathie uxoris mee et heredum meorum dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee antecessorum et successorum meorum quamdam partem terre mee apud Stredewi juxta portam occidentalem que dicitur Porta Boket extra quam portam dicta terra jacet ex parte aquilonari platee<sup>1</sup> scilicet quinque percatas et dimidium in longitudine et tres percatas et quatuor pedes in latitudine habendam et tenendam et pro voluntate sua tractandam in perpetuum libere et quiete ab omni exactione auxilio et demanda et etiam ab omni terreno servitio quod ad terram pertinet vel pertinere potest ita quod (n)ullo tempore liceat mihi vel heredibus meis a predictis monachis pro predictâ terrâ aliquid recipere vel exigere. Ego vero Rogerus et heredes mei warantizabimus dictis monachis dictam partem dicte terre contra omnes homines et omnes feminas. Et eam ut liberam elemosinam nostram defendemus. Et ut hec mea donatio et concessio rata sit et in perpetuum stabilis permaneat presens scriptum sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hijs Testibus magistro Willelmo de Lanhamelak, Hothel filio Kegeuen. Hothelen<sup>2</sup> persona filio ejus, Matheo le brehtz, Willelmo clerico, Willelmo Motun<sup>3</sup> de Stredwi, Milone Pichart de Skathrok,<sup>4</sup> Vincencio clerico, Adam Riffe burgensibus de Brechonia. Teste, etc., capitulo Brechonia et multis alijs.”

<sup>1</sup> A piece or parcel of land.

<sup>2</sup> Rector of St. Michael, Ystradwy, 1218-34.

<sup>3</sup> William Muthun, styled R. Pichard's constable in second document of the series.

<sup>4</sup> Scethrog.

*John of Monmouth frees all the Prior's men from toll and other customs in Monmouth, the Prior to observe an anniversary for him and his relatives in Battle Abbey and its affiliated houses. (Date 1215 to 1222):*

“Carta domini Johannis de Monemuta.—Noverint universi presens scriptum inspecturi quod ego Johannes de Monemuta<sup>1</sup> assensu et voluntate heredum meorum pro anima Baderon(is) antecessoris mei, et pro anima Roaps<sup>2</sup> de Monemuta, et pro animâ Gilberti patris mei, et pro anima matris mee Berte et pro anima uxoris mee Cecilie et pro anima sororis mee Margarete et pro me, et pro animabus omnium liberorum meorum dedi et concessi et hoc presenti scripto meo confirmavi in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et beate Marie et ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Prioratu de Brechkenia pertinente ad domum de la Bataille omnes homines Prioris ejusdem loci liberos esse et quietos a tolneto, et ab omnibus alijs consuetudinibus in villa mea de Monemuta et in tota valle mea de Monemuta Dictus autem prior et ejusdem loci conventus concesserunt mihi caritative quod in predicto prioratu facient anniversarium antecessorum meorum annuatim, post decessum autem meum et liberorum pro anima mea et pro animabus eorundem servitium et anniversarium in domo de la Bataille et in omnibus prioratibus eidem domui pertinentibus tanquam pro uno Monacho domus sue annuatim persolvere facient. Et ut hec mea donatio et concessio rata sit et stabilis, eam presenti scripto sigilli mei impressione roborato confirmavi. Hijs testibus Domino Reginaldo de Breusa, Domino Johanne,<sup>3</sup> Waltero et Ricardo filijs meis, Domino Willelmo priore de Gratia Dei, et multis alijs.”

*Walter de Traveley grants the church of Byford, dioe. Hereford:*

“Carta Walteri de Traueleya.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Walterus de Traueleya<sup>4</sup> dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta confirmavi Ecclesiam de Buford cum omnibus pertinentijs, suis ex consensu Walteri heredis mei in perpetuam et puram elemosinam Deo ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechenio et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus et servituris pro salute anime mee

<sup>1</sup> He succeeded his father *temp.* Richard I. He married Cicely, daughter of Walter Walerond, and died in 1247.

<sup>2</sup> Radulphus (?).

<sup>3</sup> Bishop Tanner notes, “a name cut off here.”

<sup>4</sup> See his son's confirmation of this grant, *ante*.

et Matildis uxoris mee et patris mei et matris mee et pro animã Radulfi de Buford avi mei et Sibille uxoris mee et pro anima Walteri de Buford et Ricardi de Buford et pro anima Eve de Buford et Matildis de Buford et pro animabus omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum et ut hec mea dona rata et inconcussa in perpetuum permaneant presentem cartam sigilli mei munimine roboratam priori et conventui de Brechonia dedi in testimonium hijs testibus Willelmo de Burchull, Pagano filio ejus, Willelmo de Weldeboef, Radulfo precentore de Glocestria et Alexandro monacho ejusdem loci, Ricardo decano de Brechonia, Magistro Mathia filio ejus, Kenebano capellano de Piperton, Milone filio ejus, R. Diacono de Brechonia Willelmo filio Bernardi, Willelmo Merlo, David clerico, Willelmo Havard, Radulfo Janitore, Nichol de Piperton', Willelmo Sparco de Piperton, et multis alijs."

(Date end of 12th century.)

*Walter de Traveley confirms his grant of the church of Byford. Nicholas has on his presentation been instituted as Rector of Byford after the death of Milo :*

"Secunda Carta ipsius Walteri.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Walterus de Traueleya contulisse Deo et beato Johanni et monachis de Brechonia pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum totum jus meum quod habui in ecclesia de Biford in puram et perpetuam elemosinam sicut carta donationis et mee confirmationis eis super hoc facta testatur ..... presentationem coram viris fide dignis et ad hoc vocatis Nicholaum rectorem Ecclesie de Biford post obitum Milonis decani Domini E.<sup>1</sup> Herefordensis episcopi auctoritate et loco et nomine eorum presentavi ad quorum presentationem per me sic factam, dictum clericum episcopus Herefordensis in eadem ecclesia admisit et instituit hunc autem clericum ad dictorum monachorum presentationem sic nomine eorum presentavi quod nec ego nec heredes mei ex illa presentatione aliquid juris in posterum vindicare retinere poterimus vel adquirere. In cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum duxi apponendum."

*Walter de Traveley relinquishes all his right in the church of Byford on being informed of the death of Milo, Dean of Byford :*

"Tertia Carta ipsius Walteri.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Walterus de Traueleya dedi et concessi Deo et beato Johanni de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus divine pietatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum

<sup>1</sup> Egidius, Giles de Braose.

totum jus meum quod habui in ecclesia de Biford tenendum et habendum igitur plene et pacifice quiete et libere in puram et perpetuam elemosinam ita quod nullus heredum meorum hanc meam donationem valeat in posterum perturbare vel aliquid juris in ordinatione dicte ecclesie sibi retinere vel vendicare. Hoc autem jus meum in dicta ecclesia dedi et concessi et Sancto Johanni et monachis de Brechonia statim postquam certus fui de obitu Milonis decani de Biford rectoris ejusdem ecclesie. Quum autem volo ut hec mea donatio rata sit et in perpetuum stabilis permaneat presentem cartam sigilli mei attestazione duxi confirmandam. hijs testibus J. priore tunc de Brechonia, Radulfo tunc precentore Sancti (Petri) Gloucestrie, Alexandro ejusdem loci monacho, Renegim capellano de Pipertun, Ricardo Pulein, diacono de Brechonia, Nicholao preposito meo de Piperton, Wilhelmo Pec, Ricardo serviente meo, et multis alijs.”<sup>1</sup>

*William de Weldeboef grants his wood, formerly of Bernard Unspac, above the road leading from Brecon to Abereskyr. (Date, end of twelfth century) :*

“Carta Willelmi de Weldeboef.—Sciant omnes tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Willelmus de Weldeboef et heredes mei pro salute animarum matris et uxoris et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum dedimus et concessimus Deo et beate Marie et ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in perpetuam et puram elemosinam totum boscum nostrum qui pertinet ad terram que fuit Bernardi Unspac supra viam que tendit a Brechonia usque Abereschir. ut autem hec donatio nostra rata et inconcussa permaneat eam presentis scripti attestazione et sigilli nostri munimine corroboravimus. Hijs testibus Domino Willelmo de Brausa, Domina Mathilde uxore ejus, Domino Willelmo de Brausa herede eorum, Philippo et Waltero de Brausa, Johanne Pichard, Roberto Wafre, Roberto de Evereus, Willelmo de Burchull, Gilleberto de Mans, Ricardo Hagurnel, Willelmo de Weldeboef juvene, Radulfo Torel, Simone de Brochleri, David filio Roberti de Burchull, Ricardo decano, Godefrido, Bernardo, Samsone Nichol capellanis, Stephano Janitore, et Radulfo filio ejus, Willelmo Havard, Stephano de Saucei, Nicholas de Schenefrei, Bernardo Bulfinche, Ricardo Elwi, Waltero filio Herliwini, Pagano Willelmo Petinpain, Thoma preposito, Galfrido coco, Thoma de Bello, Ricardo Diacono, et multis alijs.”

<sup>1</sup> In both MSS. the charters of Robert le Wafre and W. de Braose, relative to Trosdref Mill, are repeated before the following charter.

*William Peytivin grants seven acres of his land of Kilmanaut, and confirms the grant, by his ancestors, of twelve acres more of same land. (Date, 1215-1222):*

“Carta Willelmi Pictavensis.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus Pictavensis dedi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et opibus ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus pro salute anime mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum septem acras terre in feodo meo de Kilmanaut<sup>1</sup> concessi etiam et presenti carta confirmavi dictis monachis cum dictis septem acris duodecim acras quas antecessores mei in prenominato feodo meo illis dederunt tenendas et habendas illas omnes dictas novem et decem acras libere pacifice et quiete in puram et perpetuam elemosinam sicut res ecclesiastice melius et liberius teneri et haberi possunt et ut hec mea donatio concessio et confirmatio stabilis sit et perpetua presens scriptum sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hijs testibus Domino meo R. de Braosa, G.<sup>2</sup> Archidiacono de Brechonia, Philippo de Lam’as,<sup>3</sup> Hugone et Radulfo Capellanis, Ricardo le Brechon, Pagano de Burchull, Maelo de Manns, Waltero de Traueley, Philippo le Brec, Willelmo de Burchull, tunc constabulario de Brechonia, Janitore, Adam Rif, Gilberto Gernun, et multis alijs.”

*Payne de Burghill confirms the grant of his uncle Hugh, of land in his vill of St. Michael, Ystradwy, between the road from Brecon to Landevaelog and Brunnive brook:*

“Carta Pagani de Burchull’.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Paganus de Burchull<sup>4</sup> concedentibus uxore mea et heredibus meis pro salute animarum nostrarum et omnium antecessorum et successorum nostrorum concedo et hac presenti carta mea confirmo Deo et ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem deo servientibus in liberam et perpetuam elemosynam totam [terram] que eis data fuit ab Hugone avunculo meo in feodo meo de villa Sancti Michael que terra jacet inter viam que ducit a Brechonia ad Landevaylak et rivulum qui dicitur Brunive<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jones suggests that this may be Cilmaharen, in the parish of Garthbreny. (*Hist. of Brecknockshire*, vol. ii, p. 87.)

<sup>2</sup> The nephew.

<sup>3</sup> Llanmaes or Llanvaes.

<sup>4</sup> Son of William de Burghill. See list of witnesses to Walter de Traveley’s grant of Byford.

<sup>5</sup> Brynich brook, which ran into the river Usk before it was intercepted by the Brecon canal.

broc in longitudine et inter terram Rogeri filij Emmerad et terram ipsorum monachorum de vetere villa in latitudine tenendam et habendam libere et quiete et pacifice sicut res Sancte ecclesie liberius et melius teneri et haberi possunt ..... mera cujus unum capud tendit ad terram canonicorum Lantoni prime et aliud capud tendit ad Monekeweje. Et una acra jacet in longum juxta Monekeweje. Et una acra jacet ad ewalle in campo sub Brenchesonte et dimidium acre jacet ad ewalle et totam terram quam Walterus Mael aliquando de me tenuit. Et tres buttas que jacent ad capud ejusdem terre que se extendunt versus aquilonem cum omnibus pertinencijs suis tenendas et habendas de me et heredibus meis sibi libere et quiete sine omni contradictione mei vel heredum meorum in perpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis predictis monachis tres denarios ad festum Sancti Michaelis pro omni servicio exactione et demanda que de terra exeunt vel exire possint. Ego vero jam dictus Johannes et heredes mei dictis monachis totam dictam terram cum omnibus pertinencijs suis contra omnes homines et feminas in perpetuum warantizabimus et de omnibus sectis summonicionibus herietis relevijs et de rebus secularibus universis defendemus et adquietabimus. In cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hijs testibus Radulfo Torel filio Radulfi Torel, Waltero de Wrmeslege,<sup>1</sup> Waltero Caldeccio, Roberto vrain de Burchull, Roberto Gunter, Waltero de Ewalle, Roberto filio Henrici, Galfrido de Ludyate, et multis alijs.”<sup>2</sup>

(Date, early part of twelfth century.)

*Composition between the monks of Gloucester and William, clerk of Talgarth, relative to the tithes of Talgarth :*

“Compositio facta inter monachos Glocestrie et W. clericum de Talgard.—Universis sancte matris Ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. W. Dei gratia Abbas de Kingswood<sup>3</sup> et Decanus Christianitatis de Hamton salutem. Noverit universitas vestra causam que vertebatur inter Abbatem et conventum

<sup>1</sup> Wormsley.

<sup>2</sup> With this charter the agreement, in both MSS., of the regular sequence of documents beginning with B. Newmarch's charter ends. The documents which follow, down to the charter of William de Burghill, occur (detached from the other Brecon charters) in an earlier part (fol. 196) of Carte Papers, vol. 108. They are now transferred to their position in the Brewster MS.

<sup>3</sup> Kingswood, Wilts (Cistercian).

Glocestrie ex una parte et W. de Talgard clericum ex altera super quibusdam decimis de Talgard auctoritate apostolica tandem coram nobis utriusque partis assensu necnon et consensu prioris et conventus de Brechenia qui partem decimarum predictarum sibi vendicabant amicabiliter in hoc modum conquiesse videlicet quod abbas et conventus Glocestrie duas partes decimarum garbarum de dominico de Talgard sine alicujus contradictione perpetuo jure percipient tanquam ad ecclesiam suam pleno jure spectantes sicut ex testimonio virorum fide dignorum legitime comprobatum est Et Prior et Conventus de Brekenia terciam partem decimarum garbarum de eodem dominico Item Abbas et conventus Glocestrie medietatem omnium minutarum decimarum de eodem dominico Et prior et conventus de Brekenia aliam medietatem Item memorati abbas et conventus Glocestrie duas partes decimarum unde questio fuerat de quibusdam terris subscriptis percipient et prior et monachi de Brekenia terciam partem scilicet de septem acris in Kenederes-hull Et de duabus acris inter Kenedereschirch<sup>1</sup> et Talgar in medio dominici et de crofta juxta villam de Talgar in predicto campo et de octo acris apud Lower et de tribus acris supra domum persone de Talgar juxta viam et de duabus acris in loco qui dicitur lonnfurlong<sup>2</sup> et de bissupestoking et de finchesleye et de stoking<sup>3</sup> juxta finchesleye Ecclesia vero de Talgar decimam feni de dominico integre percipiet et decimas plenarie de sex acris que appellantur Cumbebuckeland unde prius coram nobis contentio fuerat Ne nichilominus que scripta sunt iisque partibus grata fuerunt et accepta inrecedive contentionis scrupulum aliqua occasione valeant devenire presenti scripto sigillorumque nostrorum appositione ea dignum duximus confirmanda diviso inter partes cirographo cujus altera pars sigillis nostris et sigillo conventus de Brechenia necnon et sigillo dicti W. de Talgard roborata penes abbatem et conventum Glocestrie

<sup>1</sup> Kenedereschirch. Bernard Newmarch in 1088 gave to the church of St. Peter and the monks of Gloucester the adjoining parish of Glasbury, "et ecclesiam Sancti Kenedri in eadem villa." (*Cart. Mon. S. Petri Gl.*, vol. i, p. 314.) Miss Williams, in her account of Glasbury (*ante*, vol. i, 4th Series, p. 306) mentions that the original parish church, which stood between the present channels of the rivers Wye and Llyfni, not far from their confluence, was dedicated to St. Cynidr, a saint of the fifth century. Other churches, dedicated to this saint are Kenderchurch in Ergyng, or Archenfield (see Pope Nicholas' *Taxation*, 160), and Llangynidr, and Aberescyr in Breconshire. (See Jones' *Breckn.*, vol. i, p. 47.)

<sup>2</sup> Long furlong.

<sup>3</sup> Probably land stocked or ridded.

resedit altera vero sigillis nostris et sigillo Abbacie et conventus Glocestrie munita penes priorem et monachos de Brechenia remansit.”

*The tithes of Broadfield belong to church of Bodenham ; land of Nicholas and Richard in Maund to be free of tithes on yearly render of grain to church of Bodenham ; Nicholas to have an oratory in his cure, and a cemetery for the burial of the poor in time of war ; offerings there of parishioners to belong to church of Bodenham ; of others, to the oratory :*

“Compositio facta inter monachos Breconie et N. decanum de Stokas.<sup>1</sup>—Sciunt universi tam presentes quam futuri quod controversia que versabatur inter priorem de Brechenia et Nicholaum decanum de Stokas de decimis de Bradefeld et terre Odonis tali fine quievit quum per multos viros ydoneos tam clericos quam laicos de veritate rei cognitum est scilicet predictas decimas ad ecclesiam de Bodeham pertinere pro bona causa pacis et pro omni molestia laris vitanda ego Radulphus prior de Brekenia totusque conventus ejusdem loci concessimus Ricardo clerico de Stokas ij solidos in Pascha annuatim solvendo tanquam in vita sua in perpetuam elemosinam concessimus etiam decimas illius terre quam Nicholaus Decanus et predictus Ricardus tenerunt in die tronizacionis B. Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi in eadem villa de Mahena ita tum quod in recognicione juris ecclesie de Bodeham in predictis decimis singulis annis reddat eidem ecclesie sex garbas tres de frumento tres de avena et immunis efficiatur ab omni exactione magnarum et minutarum decimarum omnibus diebus vite sue Concessimus ei etiam oratorium quoddam habere in curia sua et cimiterium juxta predictum sine omni sepultura ad refugium pauperum tempore hostilitatis si ita contigerit et faciant servire predictum oratorium per capellanum proprium Nicholaum vel Ricardum si affuerint ibi sine omni molestia matris ecclesie Et si aliquid ibi oblationis de parochianis de Bodeham advenerit, matri ecclesie reddatur. si vero ab alijs parochianis aliquid advenerit eidem oratorio permaneat quod ut ratum habeatur et inconcussum fide interposita et unanimo inter priorem predictum et Nicholaum et Ricardum est roboratum. Et si forte Nicholaus decanus Ricardo clerico supervixerit vel Ricardus habitum mutaverit eandem donationem eidem Nicholao omnibus diebus vite sue concedimus et hoc totum carta conventus ecclesie de Brekonie cum sigillo totius conventus ejusdem ecclesie confirmavimus caritatis etiam intuitu

<sup>1</sup> Probably Stoke Prior, near Leominster.



predictum Nicholaum et Ricardum et animas antecessorum et amicorum suorum tam vivorum quam mortuorum in elemosinis et orationibus et beneficijs que fiunt in ecclesia nostra suscepimus et omnium benefactorum nostrorum plene participes esse concedimus. Hijs testibus W. Abbate de Evesham et T. Abbate de Glocestria et S. Abbate de Percheora et Magistro Petro de Lehe<sup>1</sup> et Magistro Radulfo de Euesham et Magistro Godefrido et Willelmo priore de Hereford et Magistro Mihel et multis alijs.”

(Date, prior to 1176.)

*The men of the fee of Risbury to attend services at Chapel of Humber, saving to the Abbot of Reading the tithes of Risbury and to the church of Leominster testamentary rights and burial there, Adam and his successors paying by way of recognition a yearly sum to the Abbot, and the men of Risbury attending on a Feastday yearly, with their offerings, Leominster Church :*

“Compositio facta inter monachos de Rading et Adamum Decanum de Humbra.—Omnibus presens scriptum inspecturis Abbates de Thame<sup>2</sup> et de Nettel<sup>3</sup> Abbacie et W. prior de Hurlad<sup>4</sup> eternam in domino salutem Mandatum domini pape suscepimus in hec verba Honorius episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis filijs de Thame et de Nettel Abbatibus et priori de Hurley Lincolnensis et Saresbiriensis diocesis salutem apostolicam benedictionem Dilecti filij abbas et conventus de Rading suam ad nos transmisere querelam quod Prior majoris Maluernie et R. rector ecclesie de Strettun et quidam alij Wigornensis Herefordensis et Lincolnensis diocesis super quibusdam capitulis decimis sepulturis et rebus alijs injuriantur eisdem Quo circa discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandavimus quatinus partibus convocatis audiatis causam et appellatione remota mediante justitia terminetis facientes quod statueritis per censuram ecclesiasticam firmiter observari Testes autem qui fuerint nominati si se gratia odio vel amore subiunxerint per censuram eandem cessante appellatione cogatis veritati testi'um perhibere quod si non omnes hijs exequendis potueritis interesse duo vestrum ea nichilominus exequantur. Datum Anagnie xv Kalendis Julij pontificatus nostri anno primo.<sup>5</sup> Cum igitur auctoritate istarum literarum lis mota esset inter dictos abbatem et conventum Rading ex una parte et Adam decanum et vicarium de Humbra ex altera parte super sequela

<sup>1</sup> Peter de Leia, afterwards Bishop of St. David's.

<sup>2</sup> Oxfordshire.

<sup>3</sup> Netley, Hauts.

<sup>4</sup> Hurley, Berks.

<sup>5</sup> 1216.

quorundam hominum de Riseberi tandem partibus convocatis et in jure constitutis consensu prioris de Brekenia hoc fine lis conquievit videlicet quod dicti Abbas et conventus de Rading concesserunt omnibus hominibus de feodo Ade Malherbe de Riseberi quod adeant et sequantur capellam de Humbera cum omnibus debitis oblationibus suis ad divinum officium ibi audiendum et spiritualia ibidem percipienda salvis dictis Abbati et conventui de Rading omnibus decimis de Risebiri tam minutis quam omnibus alijs et salvis testamentis eorum et successorum suorum que primo et principaliter fieri debent ecclesie de Leomenistria et eorundem corporibus que ad matrem Ecclesiam de Leomenistrie debent deferri et salvis Abbati et conventui de Rading et illi quicumque loco eorum fuerit apud Leomenistriam omnibus que de prefatis hominibus percipiuntur et hactenus percipere consueverunt. Dicitur vero Adam et successores sui in perpetuum reddent singulis annis Abbati et conventui de Rading ad recognitionem dicte sequelle tres solidos sterlingorum die Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli et eadem die venient omnes dicti homines de Risebiri ad ecclesiam de Leomenistria singulis annis cum debitis oblationibus suis ut eiusdem ecclesie parochiani. Nos vero auctoritate nostra ex communi consensu parcium superius (prefatarum) . precipimus supradictam formam ab omnibus inviolabiliter observari ita quod non liceat ulli hominum hanc compositionis formam infringere vel ei ausu temerario contrahere.”

*Simon, Abbot of Reading, gives effect to the foregoing arrangement of the dispute by his charter :*

“Carta Simonis Abbatis de Rading.—Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Simon Dei gratia Abbas Radingie et ejusdem loci conventus concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus quod homines de feodo Ade Malherbe de Risebiri de quibus aliquando mota controversia inter nos et Adam decanum de Humbera coram iudicibus à domino Papa Honorio delegatis compositio facta est dicto Adam jus nostrum in iudicio recognoscere de sequela hominum prenominatorum ut adeant et sequantur capellam de Humbera ad divinum officium ibi audiendum et spiritualia ibidem percipienda salvo nobis principali testamento dictorum hominum cum corporibus eorundem apud Leomenistrie sepeliendis et salvis nobis omnibus decimis eorum tam minutis quam omnibus alijs. Dicitur vero Adam et successores sui in perpetuum reddent nobis annuatim tres solidos sterlingorum ad festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ad dicte sequelle recognitionem et juris nostri et prenominati homines

venient ad Ecclesiam de Leomenistrie singulis annis die pre-nominata ut ejusdem ecclesie sequaces et parochiani. Dictus siquidem Adam et omnes successores sui fidelitatem nobis et domui nostre jurabunt se prestaturos et ecclesie nostre indemnitatem jurabunt et predictum redditum trium solidorum ad prenominatum terminum sine dolo et malicia nobis soluturos. Hijs testibus Magistro Stephano de Tornbir', Gregorio Roberto capellano, Roberto Poer, Nicholao de Bergaveni, Hugone de Fuleford, Johanne de sancto Albino. Henrico capellano, Philippo filio Hugonis, Johanne Pribin et multis alijs."

*The Abbot of the Convent of Lire acknowledges that the Manor and Mill of Berrington were free from tithes, the Abbot of Lyre taking his accustomed two acres of land sown with grain. (Date 1223) :*

"Compositio facta inter monachos de Brekenia et de Mireual et de Kerkebi et de Eton priores.—Universis Christi fidelibus presens scriptum inspecturis frater K. humilis Abbas de Lyre et conventus eternam in domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod cum nos auctoritate literarum domini Pape Priorem et conventum de Breconia coram Abbate de Mireuall<sup>1</sup> et de Kerkebi et de Eton Prioribus judicibus a domino Papa delegatis super omnibus decimis de dominio et de molendino de Beriton<sup>2</sup> nomine ecclesie nostre Tametebyri<sup>3</sup> traxissemus in causa cum nobis coram dictis judicibus in judicio constitutis communibus et instrumentis propositis satis evidenter et manifeste constitit nos in dictis decimis ullum jus aliquo titulo nobis non posse vindicare actionem quam adversus dilectos fratres nostros priorem et monachos de Breconia movimus omnino remisimus libera et spontanea voluntate nichilominus concedentes ut ecclesia sancti Johannis de Breconia tranquilla possessione gaudeat et perpetua percipiemus autem nos singulis annis duas acras inbladatas in dominico de Beriton sicut consuevimus percipere. Et in hujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigilla nostra appendere curavimus. Datum anno domini Mcc vicesimo tertio."

*The Papal delegates declare the dispute between the Prior of Lyre, as Rectors of Tenbury, and Convent of Brecon to have been settled in manner mentioned in Abbot of Lyre's Charter. (23 Aug. 1222) :*

"Compositio inter monachos de Lira et monachos de Breconia

<sup>1</sup> Merevale, Warwickshire.

<sup>2</sup> Berrington, near Tenbury.

<sup>3</sup> Tenbury.

de Beriton.—Universis sancte matris ecclesie filijs presentes literas inspecturis. Abbas de Mireual et de Kyrkebi et de Etune Priores eternam in domino salutem. Mandatum domini pape suscepimus in hec verba Honorius episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis filijs Abbati de Mireual de Kyrkebi et de Etune Prioribus Coventrie diocesis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Dilectorum filiorum abbatis et conventus de Lira recepimus questionem quod abbas et conventus de Theokesberi persona ecclesie de Rippel et quidam alij clerici et laici Wigornensis Herefordensis et Coventrensium Diocesis super decimis et rebus alijs injuriantur eisdem. Ideoque discrecioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus partibus convocatis audiatis causam et appellatione remota fine debito terminetis facientes quod decreveritis per censuram ecclesiasticam firmiter observari. Testes autem qui fuerint nominati si se gratia odio vel timore subtraxerint per districtiorem eandem cessante appellatione cogatis veritati testimonium perhibere. Quod si non omnes hijs exequendis potueritis interesse duo vestrum ea nichilominus exequantur. Datum Viterbo. v. Kal. Februarii pontificatus nostri anno quarto. cum igitur hujus auctoritate mandati abbas et conventus de Lyra Priorem et conventum de Brekenia super omnibus decimis de dominico et de molendino de Berinton traxissent in causam datis legitimis indicijs post multas altercationes rationibus et allegationibus multis hinc inde prepositis in hunc modum conquievit contentio. Videlicet ex partibus in presencia vestra constitutis, abbas et conventus de Lira libera et spontanea voluntate priori et conventui de Brekenia actionem quam adversus eosdem instruxerant omnino remittentes, dictas decimas priori et conventui de Brekenia pleno jure pertinere recognoverunt et nichil sibi juris in decimis dictis aliquo tempore vendicatueros percipient autem Abbas et conventus de Lyra bladum de duabus acris singulis annis in dominico de Berinton' secundum modum et formam quam percipere consueverunt. Ne igitur aliquando malicia super decimis dictis sopita coram nobis judicialiter possit suscitari contentio et ut hec finalis concordia inter abbatem et conventum de Lyra et priorem et conventum de Brekenia robur perpetue firmitatis optineat auctoritate domini Pape qua fungimur in hac parte de prudentium et jurisperitorum consilio Priorem et conventum de Brekenia ab impetratione Abbatis et conventus de Lyra super decimis nominatis penitus absolventes presenti scripto sigilla nostra duximus apponenda. Hijs testibus Domino Reginaldo de Braosa Ricardo Vincentio seneschallo suo, magistro Ricardo de Maurdi', Hugone capellano h'leffen: Magistro Thoma Brut Gilberto Genuc et multis alijs. Actum

judicio partibus presentibus et consencientibus in ecclesia sancte Trinitatis apud Coventriam, Anno ab incarnatione domini Mccxx secundo x<sup>o</sup> Kalendis Septembris.”

*Papal delegates record settlement of dispute between the Vicar of Chapel of Humber and Convent of Lyre:*

“Compositio inter monachos de Lyra et monachos de Breconia de capella de Humber.—Notum sit presens scriptum visuris quod cum questio verteretur aliquando inter Adam vicarium capelle de Humber ex una parte et Abbatem et conventum de Lira rectores ecclesie de Themeteburi ex altera parte super duabus partibus decimarum de sex virgatis terre in Hepe et in Wunetun coram domino Abbate de Wigemora et priore Leonestrie et magistro Ricardo canonico de Brongard iudicibus a domino Papa Honorio delegatis tandem lis consensu prioris et conventus de Brekenia rectorum capelle de Humber hoc fine conquievit videlicet quod unanimo consensu parcium provisum est quod Ecclesia de Thameburi libere et inconcusso teneat et habeat in perpetuum duas garbas decimarum de sex virgatis terre in Hepe et in Wunetun que sunt de tenemento de Humber quod est de feudo de Brekenia et dicta ecclesia de Thameburi perpetuo reddat annuatim nomine dictarum decimarum capelle de Humber viii solidos sterlingorum ad duos terminos anni scilicet ad annunciationem beate Marie iiij solidos et ad festum sancti Michaelis quatuor solidos. Ita quod quicumque fuerit vicarius capelle de Humber percipiat viij dictos solidos annuos ad prefatos duos terminos anni apud capellam beati Andree de lastes a procuratore Abbatis et conventus de Lyra quicumque ille fuerit apud Thameburi jurisdictione siquid dictorum iudicium de communi consensu parcium super hijs irrefragabiliter observandis perpetuata ad perpetuo robur firmitatis optinendum et ne ex altercatione parcium aliqua in posterum quod absit possit oriri machinacio vel cavillacio nominati Iudices et partes presenti scripto sigilla sua apposuerunt.”

*The monks of Brecon are entitled to two parts of tithes specified and one half of tithes of hay in parish of Brinsop. The vicar agrees to farm their tithes at a yearly rent for his life:*

“Compositio facta inter monachos Breconie et vicarium de Brunysop.—Omnibussancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens scriptum prevenerit H. Decanus Herefordensis et H. Archidiaconus Salopesbure salutem in domino. Noverit universitas vestra

nos mandatum domini Pape suscepisse in hec verba. Innocencius servus servorum Dei dilectis filijs Decano Herefordensi Archidiacono Salopesburi et Magistro J. Clementis Canonico Herefordensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. R. rectoris ecclesie de Bruneshop accepimus questionem quod cum monachi monasterij de Brechonia et canonici ecclesie Lantoni prime Menevensis diocesis decimas quasdam et res alias ad ecclesiam suam pertinentes de jure igitur contra justiciam presumpsissent auferre idem senciens se grauari nostram audientiam appellavit. Ea propter discrecioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus partibus convocatis audiatis causam et appellatione remota fine canonico terminetis facientes quod decreveritis per censuram ecclesiasticam firmiter observari. Testes autem qui fuerint nominati si se gratia odio vel timore subtraxerint per censuram eandem appellatione remota cogatis veritati testimonium perhibere. Quod si non omnes hijs exequendis potueritis interesse duo vestrum ea nichilominus exequantur. Datum Laterano vij idibus Januarij Pontificatus nostri Anno xiiij. Cum igitur hujus auctoritate mandati questio coram nobis mota fuisset inter Monachos de Brechonia et Radulfum vicarium de Bruneshop super quibusdam decimis de Bruneshop videlicet super duabus partibus omnium decimarum exeuncium de novo pomerio sito super dominicum et decimarum exeuncium de terra ubi fuit vetus pomerium et duabus partibus decimarum pomorum de novo pomerio Henrici de Bruneshop sito super dominicum necnon et super duabus partibus omnium minutarum decimarum de toto dominico de Bruneshop. Item de duabus partibus decimarum de xij acris terre site inter holesti et Malmeshull<sup>1</sup> quas Dominus Willelmus Torel de dominico suo contulit vicarie de Bruneshop et duabus partibus decimarum de tribus acris terre quas Radulfus Torel contulit vicarie illi de suo dominico et de duabus partibus decimarum de prato quod dicitur la roede. Item de medietate decimarum de terra de hadenegge quam Restoldus tenuit et medietate decimarum de feno de omnibus pratis factis vel assartis in dominico de Bruneshop a primo anno generalis interdicti Anglie.<sup>2</sup> Tandem post litis contestacionem ante testium productionem amicabiliter conquivit contencio in hunc modum scilicet quod predictus R. vicarius in judicio jus monachorum in omnibus prememoratis spontanea voluntate sua recognovit postea vero omnia illa predicta ab eis recepit ad firmam ad vitam suam reddendo eis annuatim xij*l.* nomine firme ad nativitatem Sancti Johannis baptiste apud Brechoniam cum predictis etiam concesserunt dicti monachi dicto R. quicquid ad eos pertinet vel pertinebit

<sup>1</sup> Now Mansell.

<sup>2</sup> 1208 (10 John).

de omnibus terris a primo anno generalis interdicti Anglie assartatis apud Bruneshop et de omnibus tempore suo assartandis. Ita etiam quod post illius decessum omnes dicte decime integre et sine contradictione redeant ad monasterium de Brechonia ut ergo compositio ista perpetue firmitatis robur optineat eam sigillorum nostrorum appositione confirmavimus sine tercio iudice ita in negocio isto procedentes eo quod bone memorie magister T. Clementis conjudex noster ante diem istius compositionis ab hac vita felici fine migrauerat. Actum in iudicio publice partibus presentibus et libera et spontanea voluntate consencientibus apud Herefordiam in majori ecclesia Anno vij generalis interdicti Anglie die Veneris proximo ante Pentecostem scilicet xvij Kalendis Junij.”<sup>1</sup>

*Decision of Papal delegates that the tithes of the forest of Brecon belong to the Prior and Convent of Brecon, and the tithes of Penpont and Pensevid to the Prior and Convent of Great Malvern as part of the Parish of Llanspyddid :*

“Compositio facta inter Monachos Majoris Malvernie et monachos Breconie de foresta.—Universis Christi fidelibus de Evesham et Theokesbrie Abbates et Prior Evesham salutem in domino. Noverit universitas vestra nos mandatum domini Pape in hec verba suscepisse. Honorius Episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis filijs de Evesham et de Theokesbrie abbatibus et Priori de Evesham Wigornensis Diocesis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem dilecti filij Abbas et conventus de Gloecestrie nostro appellatui sunt conquesti quod Magister Philippus de Haia, W. de Herefordia et quidam alij clerici Lincolnensis Wigornensis Menevensis Diocesis super quibusdam annuis pensionibus decimis et rebus alijs injuriantur eisdem Ideoque discrecioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus partibus convocatis audiatis causam et appellatione remota fine debito terminetis facientes quod decreveritis per censuram ecclesiasticam firmiter observari. Proviso attencione pensiones ipse contra statuta Laterani concilij sint imposite vel adaucte. Testes autem qui fuerint nominati si se gratia odio vel timore subtraxerint per censuram eandem appellatione cessante cogatis veritati testimonium perhibere. Quod si non omnes hijs exequendis poteritis interesse duo vestrum ea nichilominus exequantur Datum Laterano vij kalendis Junij Pontificatus nostri anno septimo. Hujus igitur auctoritate mandati abbate et conventu Gloecestrie priore et conventu Breconia ex una parte.

<sup>1</sup> 16 May 1223.

Priore et conventu Majoris Maluernie et clericis suis de Landespetit ex altera in presentia nostra per procuratores idoneos constitutis cum super quibusdam decimis provenientiibus de foresta de Brekoniam diucius esset altercatum tandem de consilio prudentium virorum et litigantium voluntate et eorum mandato speciali lis hoc fine conquieuit videlicet quod de omni decima et omnibus proventibus de dicta foresta provenientiibus ecclesiasticis unquam aliquid Prior et conventus Majoris Malverine nichil vendicabunt. Omnes vero decime et proventus ecclesiastici de Penpont et de Penseuid penes Priorem et Conventum majoris Maluernie et clericos eorum de Landespetit<sup>1</sup> jure parochiali perpetuo permanebunt. Circa cimiteriu de Lanfothan quod est infra dictam forestam Ita quidem quod ratione dicti cimiterij neque proventus ecclesiastici neque aliquid jure parochiale aliquo tempore a monachis dicte Maluernie vel ab eorum clericis de Landespetit vendicabitur. Nos igitur volentes ut ea que in presentia nostra acta sunt perpetue firmitatis robur obtineant presenti scripto sigillo parcium roborato cirographo intra easdem partes diviso sigilla nostra apposuimus.”

<sup>1</sup> The advowson of Llanspyddid was granted to the Priory of Great Malvern by Milo Fitz-Walter. (Jones, *Hist. of Breckn.*, vol. ii, p. 709 )

(To be continued.)

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## EXTRACTS FROM OLD WILLS.

“*T. Rev'ndi p'ris' D. Will'i Bangor' Ep'i.*” (*Bp. Glynn.*)  
(*Noodes, fo. 32.*)

“16th day of Maye, 1558. I, William Glynnne, by the sufferance of God bishopp of Bangor...My soule into thands of the father of heaven, who I trust will take it for the bitter passion of my Savio' Christe, whose passion I putte betwene my synnes and me, desiring him of forgeveness and remission of my synnes, and that the rather at thentercession of his blessed mother the virgin Marye and all the whole company of heaven, whome I doo know have no neede to praye for themselves, and therefore I desire them all to pray for me and all synners...My bodye to be buried w'thin the queyer of the Cathedrall Churche of Bangor, wheare the Sepulchre was wont to be ...

“Item I geve and bequeathe to the Cathedrall Churche of Bangor tenne pounds st. to buye Challice and other thinges necessarye for the said Churche.

“Item I bequeathe to the said Cathedrall Churche the whole vestimentis whiche are w'thin my house, in the whiche the preeste dothe celebrate there.

“Item I geve and bequeathe to the Churche of Hengloys *vli.*

“Item to Trewalchemay *vli.* to buy twoo challices and vestimentis for the said twoo churches.

“Item to Hugh ap David Lloyde *xxli.* (Mr. Wm. Roberts the treasurer).

“Item to Nicholas ap Res *ivli....* (Mr. Morris Wynne).

“Item to Edward Coytmore.

“Item to Grace Glynnne *xxli.* sterling ov' and besides the *xxli.* whiche her brother Doctor Glyn' gave to her by his testament.

“Item to my Lorde of Rochester, my kynnesman, myne owne white gelding w'ch I rode upon my self, w'th the newe saddell, bridill, and harnes whiche I bought last at London, desiring him, for the love of God, and for the truste whiche I and my brother had in him, to see both o'r willes fulfilled w'th all expedicion as muche as lieth in him.

“Item to Richard ap Ie'un ap R's.

“Item to Hugh ap Ie'un.

“Item to William Jones.

“Item to Raynold the cooke.

“Item Jonet vz' ll'i.

“Item to Morgan ap Richard.

“Item to the Deane and Chapter of Bangor, to thuse of my next successor, all the vessels whiche I bought at London, and furniture, to be continued on there.

“Item to my successor the mytre and the ringe which I do occupie...table, carpet, an embrothered chair.

“Item...my docters coope...all on condition of residence at Bangor; otherwise proceeds for the Cathedrall Church.

“Item to my sister Grace, my sister Gwynhover, wedowe, to my brother Owen, and Hugh ap David Lloyde, the lease w’h I have uppon the Weyre at the Porth Wen.

“Item to my olde maister and good lorde the bishoppe of Elye, my great stoned yong horse.

“Item my chamblett gowne, with a rochett and a chymed of chamblett, to my lorde of Rochester.

“Item to my lorde of Sainte Assaph twoo rochettes and a ringe.

“Item my long cloth gowne to Doctor Davys.

“Item to Vicar Humphrey suche stuffe as I had of Maister Thomas Hughes of Ruthin...

“Item to my brother Hugh twoo littell tenements.

“Item to my other sister Gwanhav’.

“Item all my devinitie bookes to the library of the Cathedrall Church of Bangor, if any library be made within twoo yeres next after my death accordinglye; yf not, thenne I wille yt my brother Hugh shall distribute them as he shall think best; the most parte to John Hollande, and the reste to Maister Gwyn, Robertes, and Jones, and to others that be studentes of the countreye in enye of bothe universities....

“Item I give and bequeath to the Church of Kilrredin a white boll of silver which I bought at London.

“Item thother white boll of silver to Llanpedre Welfrey, w’ch I bought also in London.

“Item to the said twoo churches *vli.* a pece.”

Further bequests to servants.

“Item to William Glyn *vjli.* if he be kept to his lerning.

“Item to my brother Hughe three score pounds in money.

“Item to Mr. Evaunce all suche bookes as he shall thincke necessarye for his purpose during his life; and after his de-cease, to the library, or els to the poore scolars.

“Mr. Dr. Davies and my brother Mr. Hugh Glyn myne ex-ecutors.

“Item all my goodes, moveable and immoveable, not be-queathed, to be disposed of in helping poore maydens towards their marriages, and in mending of hie waies.

“Item to the reparacon of Pont in Marchogion xxs.; Pont Llantegan xls.

“Item to the poore folke of Hengloyes and Trewalchmay Tenne pounds.

“Item to Owen Glynn.

“Item to my three susters xxli., Gwinhover, Margaret, and Gwynhover, xx nobles, *i.e.*, vjli. viijs. ivd. apece.

“Item release of a mortgage to Edward Lloyd on payment of his debt of 70*li.*

“Item my Lord of Elye and my Lorde of Rochester to be supervisors of this will and my brothers.

“Witnesses: Robert Evans, Dean of Bangor; William Robertes, Archdeacon of Merioneth; Rice Thomas, Esquier; William Cotmor the elder; Owen ap John; Owen ap Mericke.

“Probat’ 3<sup>o</sup> Julii 1558.”

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## MISCELLANEA.

*Notes<sup>1</sup> identifying the Persons whose Signatures are attached to the Letter from the Inhabitants of Montgomeryshire to William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, Sept. 1645. Given in Arch. Camb., vol. xviii, pp. 311-313.*

EVAN GWYN.—Probably identical with Evan Gwyn ap Reginald ap Edward of Trelydan Burgedin, Guilsfield. His father, “Reginald ap Edward de Trelydan, gen.,” appears second on a grand jury of the county, 39 Eliz. John Gwyn, the second son of Evan Gwyn, was a captain in His Majesty’s Guard. He wrote a memorial of his descent and services in the royal cause, which he dedicated to Charles II. A copy of the same, edited by Sir Walter Scott, is in the Library of the Powys-land Museum.

HUMPHREY PRITCHARD was, doubtless, identical with the “Humfrid Richards de Trelydan, gen.,” on the grand jury, 14 Charles I, and “Humffrus ap Richard de Burgedinge, gen.,” on the same, 23 Charles I (1648). He was the son of Richard ap Howel (“Ric’us Howells de Trelydan, gen.,” grand jury, 43 Eliz.) ap Humphrey, descended from Sir Griffith Vaughan, Knight Banneret of Garth, Trelydan, etc., by Jane, daughter of Thomas Mytton of Pont ys Cowrid. (*Mont. Coll.*, vol. iv, p. 284, n. 2.) “Humffrey Prichard of Trelydan, gen.,” was on the grand jury in 1654.

<sup>1</sup> *Montgomeryshire Collections*, vol. xvi, p. 391.

WILLIAM PRYCE.—“Willim’s Price de Kyffronydd, gen.,” occurs on a county jury list in 1648. He was the son of Oliver Price of the same place, by Jane, daughter of George Juckes of Buttington. By his marriage with Margaret, daughter of John Bishop of Kerry, he had Arthur, John, Ales, and Mary. (*Mont. Coll.*, vol. vii, p. 182.)

REES MORGAN served as deputy sheriff to John Blayne of Gregynog in 1642, and in the same capacity to Sir John Whittewronge, Bart., Sheriff of the county in 1665, and was bailiff of Montgomery, 16 Charles II, 1664.

HUMPHREY (?) BOWEN or BEVAN.

WILLIAM KYFFIN was of Bodvach. He was bailiff of Llanvyllin, 14 Charles I, and a magistrate for the county in 1648.

JAMES MYTTON.—“Jacobus Mytton, ar.,” appears on the roll of county magistrates in 1650. Probably of Pontyscowryd.

GABRIEL WYNNE, of Dolarddyn, was a magistrate for the county in 1648. By his wife Anne, sister of Lloyd Piers of Maesmawr, and daughter of Edward Piers by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Griffith Lloyd of Maesmawr, Trawscoed, etc., he had John Wynne of Dolarddyn.

“Thomas Edwards de Hendrehen, gen.,” appears on a county jury list in 1648. He was of the Tribe of Brochwel, Prince of Powys. He married a daughter of Richard Mytton, son of John Mytton, probably of Pontyscowryd. His father, “Edrus ap Thomas de Hendreheani, gen.” (10 James I), and his grandfather, “Thomas ap John ap Mores de Hendre Heani, gen.” (38 Eliz.), appear on county grand juries. Thomas had a son, Eubulus Edwards of Hendrehene.

EDMOND (?) LLOYD of Sylvain, Deputy Sheriff to Lloyd Piers of Maesmawr, Guilsfield, in 1650, was the son of “Thomas Lloyd de Sylvane, gen.,” on county grand jury, 28 Eliz.; who also occurs on the 41 Eliz. as “Thomas Lloyd ap Edmund de Sylvaine, gen.” Edmund was a nephew of Griffith Lloyd ap Edmund of Maesmawr, Sheriff in 1581; descended from Cadwaladr, second son of Sir Griffith Vaughan of Garth. (*Mont. Coll.*, vol. vii, p. 189.)

RICHARD OWENS.—“Ric’us Owens de Rhiewsaion, ar.,” occurs as a county magistrate on the roll, 23 Charles I (1648), and as a juror in 1650.

DAVID POWELL of Maesmawr was Sheriff of the county in 1662.

RENDALL or RONDLE OWEN was the second son of Maurice Owen of Rhiewsaion in the parish of Llanbryn-mair.

RICHARD OWEN.—“Ric’us Owen de Broniarth, gen.,” occurs on a jury list in 1650.

CHARLES LLOYD.—“Carolus Lloyd de Garth, ar.,” appears

on the roll of county magistrates in 1648. The Garth referred to is Moel-y-Garth in the parish of Guilsfield. He was the son of David Lloyd of Hope and Welshpool, J.P. in 41 Eliz. to 3 James I, whose name then disappears from the roll. According to Burke's *Dormant Baronetage*, David was the son of Humphrey Lloyd of Leighton, first Sheriff of Montgomeryshire in 1541, and living in 1561. Although probably of the Leighton family, one or two generations must have been omitted. As Charles Lloyd was created a baronet on 10th of May 1661, his father David was probably a son of Oliver Lloyd of Leighton, fifth son of Humphrey the Sheriff. This view is strengthened by the fact that David is found frequently acting in a magisterial capacity with Charles Lloyd of Leighton, his supposed brother, and the youngest son of Oliver Lloyd of Leighton.

EDWARD WYNNE was probably of Eunant in the parish of Llanwddyn. On a jury for the Hundred of Llanvyllyn, at the Assizes in 1638 (14 Charles I), he appears as "Ed'rus Wynne de Llanwothyn, gener." He was the son of Rhys Wynne of Eunant, by Jane, daughter of Howel Vaughan of Coed Talog, ap Howel Vaughan of Llwydiarth. His grandfather, "Edwardus ap John ap David Vaughan de Llanwthin, gen'os.", was on a jury, 27 Eliz., and as "Edward Wyn de Llanvthyn, gen.," 30 Eliz.

(BROCHWEL ?) GRIFFITHS was of Broniarth. R. (Richard ?) Griffiths was of Sutton, near Montgomery. He and his son Ro. ("Robert Griffiths de Sutton, ar.") were both magistrates for the county on the assize roll of 1650. The father, Richard Griffiths, appears on the roll, 16 James I.

THOMAS ROGERS was probably of Varchoel, Guilsfield. Either he or his father, of the same name, was deputy sheriff in 1632 to Sir John Hayward, Knight, to whom he was also chief steward for his lordship of Strata Marcella. "Thomas Rogers de Varchoel, gen.," on the grand jury, 16 James I, was the son of Thomas ap Roger of Burgedin.

JOHN WYNNE.—"Joh'is Wynne de Gilfield, gen." (*Mont. Coll.*, vol. vii, pp. 190-191), was the second son of Edward Wynne of Garth in the parish of Guilsfield. He was a captain in the army as well as a physician, and occurs in 1650, "when he is said to have been aged fifty-one years or thereabouts", when examined as to the death of Edward Gough of Trymyneck. His elder brother, Thomas Wynne of Garth, was on the grand jury, 8 Charles I. Dorothy, daughter and heiress of Brochwel Wynne, third in descent from Thomas, conveyed the Garth estates, by marriage, to Richard Mytton of Pontyscowryd, now represented by Captain Mytton of Garth. The Wynnes of Garth were descended from Reginald, the youngest son; the Lloyds of Maes-

mawr from Cadwalader, the second son; and the Lloyds of Marrington from David Lloyd of Leighton, the eldest son of Sir Griffith Vaughan, Knight Banneret, of Garth.

RICHARD PRYCE.—We find Richard Pryce of “Aberbechan” and Gogerddan acting as a magistrate in 1649; but this Richard Pryce may possibly be of Gunley, and the Sheriff for the county in 1651.

W. V. LL.

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*Extract from Letter of Thomas Price of Llanfyllin to Mr. Josiah Babington, Schoolmaster, of St. Asaph. April 12, 1701.*

“Besides the parish church now standing, I myself have seen the ruins of two other churches, and been told of a brefydd-dy or religious house; and several pavements and hearths have been digged up in the neighbouring fields, of which one, at a pretty distance from the present village, is to this day named Gweirglodd y Porth.”

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## HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION.

(Continued from p. 136.)

N. d., *temp.* James I. Draft of a petition to the King by the Mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Chester. The King had, by letters dated 22 Nov. last, delivered to them the 15th of January inst., recommended Hugh Mainwaring, an utter barrister of Lincoln's Inn, to the place of Recorder. The late Recorder died on the 6th of January, twenty miles away from Chester, and they only knew of his death on the 15th of January. Inasmuch as Hugh Mainwaring is young and inexperienced, and some of their own aldermen and citizens are of great judgment, and well practised in the laws, and some (*sic*) of them a bencher in the Inner Temple, they pray to have their free election to the office.

1609. “The aldermen and stewards of every society and company, draw yourselves to your said several companies, according to ancient custome. And so to appear every man with your said several companies, every man as you are called, upon paine that shall fall therein.” The aldermen and stewards of twenty-six different companies are named in the list underwritten. On the back of the page is a copy of the Mayor's “Proclamation on the Roody upon St. George's Day, A.D. 1609. All persons assembled to see the ancient race are to keep the peace, and be of good behaviour. Horses, other than those in the race, are to keep off the course.

“Articles to be performed for certain orders touching the running of a race for two bells, and likewise for a cup, to be run for at the ringe upon St. George his day, being the 23rd day of April, as followeth.”—Six rules for the furnishing of the bells and cup, the award thereof to winners, payments for entries, the mode of payment of expenses, the keeping of and security for the cup, etc.

Dr. Cowper’s remarks on the Eastgate of Chester taken down, 1766. Remarks on the criminal jurisdiction of Cheshire barons.

1651, Oct. 31. Copy of Articles between Sir Thomas Armstrong and Mr. Samuel Rutter, on behalf of the Countess of Derby of the one part; and Col. Thomas Birch, Lieut.-Col. William Michell, Commissioners appointed by the Hon. Col. Robert Duckinfield, Commander-in-Chief, on the other part, touching the surrendering of Castle Rushen and Peele Castle.—This is a copy attested as true by Chr. Musgrave and Bernard Hatton. Below their names is the following: “This a true copy of the Articles of which I approve, and have already surrendered Castle Rushen.—C. Derby.” (The signature is that of the Countess.)

“1589, Oct. 28, Lincoln’s Inn. Thomas Owen to the Bailiffs of Shrewsbury. Mr. Fenes having obtained the office of Alnager of Shrewsbury, by grant from Her Majesty, Owen’s opinion is that the bailiffs cannot hold the same office by law from Her Majesty’s said patentee, and advises them to correspond with Mr. Fenes. As to the coming election of members of Parliament, he tells them that they are under no obligation to choose one resident within their town.

1586, Aug. 23, Condover. The same to the same. Is informed that they have given him a yearly fee of five marks; he gives it back again with thanks, being content with his former fee of 20s.

39 Eliz., Aug. 23. Edward Screven, Sheriff of Salop, to the Bailiffs of Shrewsbury; with a copy of the writ directing the choosing of a member of Parliament.

1597, Aug. 13, Plymouth. “Essex” (Robert Devereux) to the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the town of Shrewsbury. Being at Plymouth, expecting a good wind, he hears that Her Majesty is resolved to call a Parliament. Asks that they will grant him the nominating of their burgesses, nothing doubting he shall be returned from the present expedition for Her Majesty’s service in time convenient for the nomination. Asks them to send an answer to the Court to his Secretary, Edward Reynoldes.

1597, Aug. 27, London. Thomas Owen to the **Bailiffs** of

Shrewsbury. Asks that they will choose his son, Roger Owen, to be one of the burgesses for the Parliament to be holden the 24th of October.

1650, Aug. 21, Shrewsbury. Thomas Hayes, Charles Denyon, Richard Llewllen, and Ow. George to ..... lament the desolation of them by plague and pestilence, 156 having died in two months; there are among them near 3,000 cast upon common charity. Ask the addressees to have a day of humiliation in their city to implore God on behalf of Shrewsbury, and also to give them some assistance for their poor.

5 Edward VI, July 7, Greenwich. "Edward" to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the county of Chester. He sends writ, with certain other things devised by him, with the advice of his counsel, for the better order of the county. He orders them not to break up the seal of the writ until the morning of the 9th instant, and to do it within the county mentioned in the libel of the writ. They or their under-sheriff are to take testimony at the day to see them break it up; they are then to follow the terms of the writ circumspectly, and not to disclose the tenor of it, or of the schedule annexed, until the time of publication, except to the under-sheriff or other minister who shall execute the writ, whom they are to swear to follow the tenor thereof. Signed by E. Somerset, R. Ryche, Canc., J. Darwick, Willm. Paget, J. Dorset, W. Herbert, John ..... The signature of the King seems effected by means of a stamp.

1 Mary, July 12, Keninghall. "Marye the quene" to the Mayor and inhabitants of West Chester. She states that on the death of her brother she caused herself to be proclaimed Queen in Norfolk, Suffolk, and elsewhere; that it has come to her knowledge that John Dudley, calling himself Duke of Northumberland, with a few complices, has proclaimed "one Lady Jane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, for quene of our said realm, which he hath married to one Gulforde his soone, whom he entendeth to make King", and that he intends to lead a force against her. She commands them to raise as great a force as they can, and repair to her at Kenninghall or elsewhere in the county of Norfolk ..... "Wherefore [ryght] trustie and well beloved, as ye are *true Inglysshemenne*, faile ye not," etc. Indorsed, "Received on the 22'o, and proclaimed the same day."

3 and 4, Phil. and Mary, June 26, Palace of Westminster. "Philipp and Marye the Quene" to the Mayor and aldermen of the city of Chester. They are sending Sir Henry Sidney with convoy of treasure and munition to Ireland. After noticing a proclamation of the war, and license, by another proclamation, to all their subjects "to go to the seas and take their vauntage



upon the enemye", and not doubting that they (the Mayor and aldermen) have furnished such ships as they were able for keeping the seas quiet, and annoying the enemy, require them to see Sir H. Sydney and the treasure and munition safely conveyed over the seas.

1641, Feb. 8. William Brereton to Mr. Cooper, Mayor of Chester. This day he read to the House Cooper's letter and the warrant enclosed, and moved that if they thought fit to discharge Sir George Hambleton, his warrant might be restored, which was not assented unto, but they determined he should be brought up by *Habeas Corpus*. It would have been sent by that post, but for the mistake of one who should have delivered it to Brereton.

1641, Feb. 24. "George Monck", Lieut.-Col. to the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and General of His Majesty's forces for this present expedition, certifies that Thomas Printor, master of the Grace of Chester, has brought to Dublin sixteen horses of the officers of His Excellency's regiment.

1642, May 20. William Lenthall, Speaker [of the House of Commons], to Sir George Booth, Sir Richard Wilbraham, Sir Thomas Delves, Sir Richard Grosvenor, Thomas Stanley, Richard Brereton, Harry Banbury, John Greive, and the rest of the justices of the peace of the County Palatine of Chester, and to the Mayor of Chester, and to Charles Walley, and William Edwards, Aldermen of Chester. Notices complaints received from persons in the county and city of Chester, that they have suffered much from soldiers billeted on them without their consents, and who had committed outrages, and had departed without making satisfaction either for themselves or their horses. He then gives the particulars of the orders of the House of Commons on the subject of troops passing through the county on their way to Ireland.

1642, Sept. 18, Court at Stafford. "Charles R." to the Mayor of Chester. Announces his visit to Chester on Friday next, and bids him have the Train Band ready, and provision for him and his retinue.

17 Car. I, Jan. 4, Whitehall. "Charles R." to the Mayor of the town and port of West Chester, the Searchers, Comptrollers of the passage, and all other his officers there whom it may concern. Whereas Mr. Denzill Holles, Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, Mr. John Pim, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode, having been by the Attorney-General accused of high treason and of high misdemeanours, have fled, and they will probably endeavour to escape into foreign parts; he tells the addressees to use diligence to arrest and keep them in custody till (having advertised the Privy Council) further orders.

18 Car. I, Sept. 26, Court at Chester. "Charles R." to Thomas Cowper, Mayor of Chester, James Earl of Derby, and John Earl Rivers, Robert Cholmondeley, Robert Brerewood, Recorder, William Gamul, Charles Walley, and Thomas Thropp, Aldermen of Chester. Tells them, with the assistance of the Sheriffs and others, to search the several houses of Sir William Brereton, Bart., William Edwards, Alderman, and Thomas Aldersey, Alderman, the Red Lyon and the Golden Lyon, situate in the said city, and to seize and take for the use of the King all arms and ammunition found there, which they shall suspect to be intended to be used against the King.

1648, Aug. 1, Gray's Inn. Jo. Bradshawe to Mr. Robert Wright, Mayor of Chester. Has received a letter from Wright and three other Aldermen. They know why Chester was omitted the last time, and if the like or other sad impediment do not happen, they may be sure he will not alter from the usual place of holding the grand Sessions. He promises attention to the welfare of them and their city conditionally on their constant compliance with the directions of Parliament.

1650, Sept. 19, Council of State at Whitehall. Jo. Bradshawe, President, to the Mayor of Chester. Sends ten Acts of Parliament for a Thanksgiving, etc., and tells him to cause them seasonably to be distributed into all the parishes of his jurisdiction, so that none may pretend ignorance thereof, of which a strict account will be required.

16 Car. II, July 5, Office of Arms in the City of London. William Dugdale, Norroy King of Arms, to the Town Clerk of the City of Chester. A printed form signed by Dugdale, and having his large wafer seal of office, whereby he denounces certain persons, whose names are annexed, as having usurped arms, cognizances, and crests, and the style of esquire or gentleman, and directing them that they shall not be addressed as esquires or gentlemen until they shall justify the same by the law of arms. (The names of thirty-eight persons in Chester, and their places of abode, are given.)

1641. Nov. 4, York House. A. (Earl of) Northumberland (Lord High Admiral) to the Mayor of Chester. The Lords have had information that divers officers of Flanders and others are going towards Bristol, Chester, Holyhead, and other places, with intention to take ship for Ireland to join the rebels there. The Mayor is directed to stop the port of Chester and the members thereof, and not to suffer any to pass over sea unless they can show they are not of the number of these Flanders commanders or soldiers.

1641, Nov. 23, Chester. Thomas Cowper, Mayor, and Thomas

Mottershead, to the Lord High Admiral. In pursuance of his order of the 15th of November they send to him the body of Arthur Progers; and complain of the expense of conveying him and other delinquents.

1641, Jan. 14, Carnarvon. Jo. Griffith, Vice-Admiral of North Wales, to the Mayor of Chester. In obedience to the Lord High Admiral's orders, Griffith had stayed Colonel Butler, who was about to take ship at Holyhead. Butler went to stay with Dr. Griffiths, Judge of the Admiralty, and then went to Beaumaris, where he pretended to make a journey to Carnarvon to see Jo. Griffiths, but instead went to Chester. Whyte, the Mayor of Beaumaris sent word, and the Mayor of Chester attached him (Butler), and wrote to Jo. Griffiths to know the reasons for his detainer; in answer to that letter Jo. Griffiths wrote the present letter.

1641, Jan. 15. Copy of letter by the Mayor of Chester and some of his brethren to the Lord High Admiral. Mr. Thomas Nettervill (son to Lord Viscount Nettervill of Ireland) being at Chester and declaring himself bound for Ireland, they, understanding that Viscount Nettervill and his son, Luke, are out in the rebellion in Ireland, and thinking that Thomas, who had been a soldier in the Low Countries, might be a dangerous person, had arrested him; and as he could not give security not to go to Ireland without license from the State of England, they detain him until they know the Lord Admiral's pleasure.

1641, Jan. 17, Beaumaris. Henry White to Thomas Cooper (Cowper), Mayor of Chester, on the same subject.

1641, Jan. 19, West Chester. List taken from the Muster Rolls of four troops, viz., Viscount Lisle's, Sir Rd. Grenville's, Capt. Vaughan's, and Capt. Marrow's.

Same date. Another list of the same, with the sums of money to be paid on their account added.

Same date. Receipt for £1,000, from the Mayor of Chester, in part payment of one month's entertainment for four troops of horse, consisting of 300 besides officers. Signed by R. Grenville, Dan. Treswell, Will. Vaughan, and John Marow.

1641, Jan. 23. Receipt to the same for £100 for Sir Richard Grenville. Signed by Francis Hope.

1641, Jan. 22, Chester. Copy of letter by the Mayor and two others to the Earl of Leicester, Lieutenant-General of Ireland, at Leicester House. They acknowledge his letter of the 14th, and the two bills of exchange accepted by Mr. Pinder, one of which has been paid; and they have paid the amount to Sir R. Grenville, etc. Hope to receive the other £1,000 the beginning of next week, and then will pay the remainder of the

month's entertainment. At the pressing request of Lieut.-Colonel Monk they have let him have, for the Earl's regiment of foot, then in Chester, £100. They have assisted Sir R. Grenville in providing ships to transport troops to Ireland. Say that the citizens suffer, provisions being scarce and dear by reason of the troops quartered there, and the influx of 700 English fled out of Ireland, then resident in the city, besides many hundred of distressed Irish that daily resort to the same. Ask that if any more troops are to be embarked, they may be billeted in the country and town of "Leverpoole".

1641, Jan. 22, Chester. Copy of letter by the Mayor to Sir Robert Harley, K.B., about receipt and payment of money, as in the letter last above.

1641, Jan. 22. Copy of letter from [the Mayor of Chester] to the Lord High Admiral. Acknowledges his letter about bringing up Mr. Nettervill to the Lords in Parliament. In accordance with the contents of a letter from the Mayor of Beaumaris he has arrested Colonel Butler, an Irishman, as reported of great experience in military affairs, and he is in the custody of one of the Sheriffs. As the Sheriff is much busied about the troops (there being four troops of horse and the Lord Lieutenant-General of Ireland's own regiment of foot there in the city), the writer begs that Nettervill and any others that may be stayed, may be delivered by the Sheriff of the city to the High Sheriff of the County Palatine of Chester, and so be passed from county to county up to London. Complains much of the expense to the city.

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## Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.

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### THE NORTHERN SHORES OF WALES: THEIR TRADITIONS AND LEGENDS.

ABERGELE.

SIR,—The antiquary and historian cannot award the Vicar of Abergele too much praise for his architectural taste, judgment, and excellent work, in restoring and beautifying the ancient parish church. One thing more would, indeed, be desirable, if practicable, viz., the erection of a few buttresses, with an embattled parapet, to give the edifice externally apparent massiveness and height proportionate to its great length, and to be in keeping with Canon Meredith's great improvement of the rather imposing tower.

Hoping that the vicar, or some of your antiquarian correspondents, may have more to say on the subject, I offer a few conjectures on what has always been a topographical puzzle, *i.e.*, how the place came by its name, *Abergele*, seeing it does not stand near any junction of water, or the fall of any stream into the sea; nor is it any "haven for ships". The *Gele* or *Gelen* (*the Leech*) seems to be a highly poetical appellation for the brook which runs through the little town, bestowing its Ancient British name upon the dear old place, which it has also blest, since the Deluge at least, with the only available pure potation of Nature, unaided by Art; receiving in return for its beneficence the dignified name of a *river*, a title usually denied to perennial streams of its class; and so rendered canonical by *Elbodius* (*circ. A.D. 750*), of whom we shall speak more hereafter. The accredited source, as we had it from an aged native many years ago, is a spring on *Moelfre Hill*, called *Ffynnon Dyfyr*, but which, when in quest of "hoary antiquities" and "the oldest inhabitant", we did not visit; being, unfortunately, satisfied with the assurance, that the *Gele* first acquired the title of a river, by the junction of several other rills, in a dense wood called *Coed Plasucha*, where it formed a great cascade in times of flood, called *Pistyll Mawr*, and where when supernatural apparitions were not so shy as they are in our time, three beautiful nymphs, "*Tair Chwaer o'r Tylwyth Teg*", or three sisters of the Fairy Tribe, were wont to enjoy their midnight ablutions, until they retired to the *Ogof Fawr*, as we shall hereafter find. This enchanted spot is a long mile south of the town.

Soon after leaving *Abergele*, the river becomes a very silent and sluggish stream, dreaming along its reedy bed, and does not discharge itself right into the sea, but into the estuary of the *Clwyd*, four or five miles east of *Abergele*. That it was formerly celebrated for its leeches seems to be nothing more than the dream of etymologists, who may justly pride themselves on being more fanciful than all the rest of mankind. But what we want to know is, if the *Gele* has, by its own option or compulsion, left its original channel. Whenever you ask why the place, from the earliest record, has been called *Abergele*, "the oldest inhabitant" will reply that the real original name (as well the ecclesiastical cognomen, of course) was *Llanvihangel*, or *Llanvihangel y Morva*, the church being dedicated to *St. Michael and All Angels*. In proof of this you are directed to a stone tablet, without any name or date, fixed in the churchyard wall, close to the north gate, which bears the inscription—

"Yma mae'n gorwedd  
Ym Mynwent Mihangel  
Wr oedd ei annedd  
Dair milldir yn y Gogledd."

Neither this stone nor the orthography has any sign of great antiquity; but you are told that the present tablet is only a copy of another of a far more ancient date. And, indeed, on the

other side of the wall there was once a portion of a very old inscribed stone, which could not be deciphered; except a few capital letters. The individual, whose remains lie here, had his residence, therefore, some two miles and a half out to sea, on the coast plain which it is said once stretched from the Point of Air, in Flintshire, round Orme's Head, to the eastern banks of the Conway. And now, if the "Old Abergele", which when doomed to be drowned by the sea, much more than a thousand years ago, be alleged to have left its name as a perpetual legacy to its nearest neighbour, the present town, then the *Gele*, must have once discharged its waters into the sea due north; or, the real original *Gele*, must have been some creek now totally submerged, and one with the ocean. It is, however, a fact that in Christopher Saxton's maps, both of Denbighshire and Flintshire, *Camden's Britain*, edition 1637, the *Gele* appears to run right north, apparently emptying itself into the sea about Pensarn, having no junction with the Clwyd. In the days of their childhood the oldest inhabitants must have heard their grandsire's stories of spring-tides coming up the old water course, Hen Ffos y Clawdd, from Pensarn to Pentre Ucha, a very short distance below the present parsonage. Here you may still dig gravel, which some stream of water must have deposited in ages long gone by. Pensarn, we may presume, inherits its name from a causeway which crossed the *Gele* there at low water, before the Towyn was enclosed, and the sea embankment (now nearly levelled) was thrown up. It was within the memory of the last generation restored, an undertaking which old Father Oceanus seems never to have approved of, but to have coveted the whole plain, bit by bit; and sometimes yet he is defying the London and North-Western Railway Company to dispute his claims. Again, the present bed of the river, nearly all the way from the town to the Clwyd, seems to be more artificial than natural. But we leave the question to the local antiquary and geologist. Is there any parochial record of the inclosure of the Towyn, and the later inclosure of the Morva?

Now, about Elbodius, or Elvod, as he passed among the Welsh, what was his connection with Abergele? Was he the founder of a church there? Could he have been a native? He endowed the church with a parcel of land on the River *Gele*, *i.e.*, we presume, on the left bank of the stream just above the bridge, where the old houses were built upon land leased from the Bishop of St. Asaph. How did Elbodius acquire this strip of land? In Warrington's *History of Wales*, p. 559, we read that "the clergy of Wales had hitherto (A.D. 762) preserved, with great firmness, an independency of the Romish church. About this period, however, they suffered *Elbodius* to be appointed by the Pope, archbishop of North Wales; who soon brought them to act in conformity with the Romish observance of Easter, etc." But according to *Brut y Tywysogion*, "Elbodius, Archbishop of North Wales, died in A.D. 809, when there was an eclipse of the sun, and great contention among the clergy about the observance of Easter, for the bishops of

Llandaff and Menavia would not submit to the Archbishop of Venedocia (North Wales); they themselves being archbishops by a more ancient right", see *Hanes Cymru*, reign of *Cynan Tindaethwy*. Hence, Elbodius must have held his archiepiscopate for nearly fifty years, and during that long period he may have built a cathedral at Abergele, such as that age could produce, attaching to it two or more chapelries. This may explain, in some measure, why the present large church stands upon the massive foundations of a former edifice discovered during the late restoration. But where are we to learn the connection of Abergele with the Cistercian Monks?

The Towyn seems to have been inhabited to some extent, probably by fishermen, from an early time; a small door opening into north aisle, called "Drws y Tywyn", was made, no doubt, for their special convenience.

It has been asserted that *Peel* signifies a small military post erected by the Danes. Is such the fact? There is a Peel at Abergele, and another at St. George, or Llansantsior.

The antiquities and legends connected with Abergele are very numerous and interesting.

GLANMOR.

### POOL PARK, RUTHIN.

SIR,—A question of great importance occurs to my mind in connection with this property, lately advertised for sale; and it is one I should like to see discussed in the Journal. As members will remember, there stand in front of the house two most interesting objects of rare antiquity, both of which have been in time past removed thither from their proper *locale*, namely, the Emlyn Stone and Cadair Fenhines. Both of them have been described by Professor Westwood in the volume for 1855, where also illustrations are given of them. But at that time the meaning of Edward Llhwyd's note of "y<sup>e</sup> stroaks on y<sup>e</sup> edges" of the Emlyn Stone had not been realised; and it was not until 1873 that they were discovered by Professor Rhys to be Oghams. So that we have here not only what appears to have been a coronation-chair, but also an Ogham inscription; the only one, I think, in the whole of North Wales; and that, moreover, a bilingual one; exposed to the chances of a sale, and therewith to the whims and idiosyncrasies of a purchaser who may show much less regard and care for them than has been done by the late and present Lord Bagot. It is, indeed, much to be hoped that no such evil may befall them; but it is a grave matter that such a chance should be possible, and I would suggest that an effort should be made to get a clause inserted in the Act for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, to extend its provisions to all such like objects as are liable to transfer by sale and purchase. Those who may feel a real and intelligent interest in their acquisition will be thankful

for the safeguard; and those who do not will be prevented from injuring, or at least destroying, what they may not be able to appreciate.

I am, etc.,

ALUMNUS RUTHINENSIS.

### WOLVES.

SIR,—The late Mr. Davies Gilbert, who wrote a history of Cornwall, has more than once stated that the last native wolf seen in England was captured at Rosperth, in Ludgvæn, in Cornwall. He does not appear to have given the date of this capture. The last wolf in Scotland was killed in 1680 by Sir Ewen Cameron; while these animals seem to have lingered on in Ireland until 1710, about which time the last presentment for their destruction in the county of Cork was made. Edward I issued a *mandamus* to all his bailiffs to assist Peter Corbet to destroy them in the counties of Gloucester, Salop, Hereford, and Worcester. The attempts to extirpate of Athelstan and Edgar seem to have failed. It would be, therefore, interesting to know *when* the capture of the Cornish wolf was made. As the exact spot is known, it is not impossible some information as to the time may be obtained from local sources.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

AN INQUIRER.

### CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

#### STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR 1882.

PAYMENTS.				RECEIPTS.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Printing . . . . .	153	14	1	Balance from 1881 . . . . .	25	2	10
Engraving . . . . .	25	4	0	Interest from Bank . . . . .	0	16	2
Editor . . . . .	40	0	0	Balance from Llanrwst			
Postages . . . . .	2	2	0	Local Fund . . . . .	12	16	11
G. E. Robinson, Esq., ditto				Subscriptions and arrears	214	13	0
for 1881-2 . . . . .	4	16	5				
W. G. Smith, Esq., ex-							
penses . . . . .	5	5	0				
Mr. Richards, additional	6	14	0				
Balance . . . . .	15	13	5				
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	£253	8	11		£253	8	11

*Examined and found correct,*

(Signed)

ARTHUR GORE

CHARLES C. BABINGTON

} *Auditors.*







EFFIGY, HAVERFORDWEST.

$\frac{3}{4}$ -in. scale.

# Archæologia Cambrensis.

FOURTH SERIES.—VOL. XIV, NO. LVI.

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OCTOBER 1883.

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ON THE  
SEPULCHRAL EFFIGY OF A PILGRIM IN  
ST. MARY'S CHURCH, HAVERFORDWEST,  
SOUTH WALES.

ON the 21st of August 1872 I proceeded by rail from Tenby to Haverfordwest, on my way to St. David's, for the purpose of taking notes of the monuments in St. David's Cathedral; which notes were subsequently published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. I did not reach Haverfordwest till late in the evening, and the whole of the following day was occupied in journeying by a vehicle I had engaged to St. David's and back, and in the Cathedral, for the purpose I have stated. I had arranged to leave Haverfordwest the following day by a certain railway train, which gave me an opportunity on the morning of that day, the 23rd of August, of going about the town. Amongst the places I visited was the Church of St. Mary, which presented, as far as I can recollect, no special feature of architectural design. I noticed, however, in that church an object which excited my attention, and so fully compensated my visit that I regretted my time was so limited that I could barely take down a description in my note-book, and the slightest possible memorandum-sketch in another note-book, and this I was forced to do by candle-light.

The object then was no less than the sepulchral

effigy of a pilgrim, of a class so rare that I have only come across one other example in this country, to which I shall presently allude. This effigy then at Haverfordwest, which, as far as Wales is concerned, is probably unique, is much mutilated and abraded, especially the head, which appears to have been represented bare, and reposing on two cushions,—the undermost square, the uppermost lozenge-shaped. The effigy appears to have been sculptured in the peculiar garb appropriated to pilgrims, the exterior robe or gown of which was called the *sclavine*. The skirt of this is open in front, a short distance upwards. Under the right elbow is a vestige of the *bourdon*, or pilgrim's staff, whilst on the left side of the effigy appears the pilgrim's wallet or *scrip*, suspended by a strap over the right shoulder. On the scrip are represented scallop-shells, indicating the shrine to which the pilgrimage had been made. The hands are conjoined on the breast, as in prayer. From the shape of the slab (a parallelogram) on which the effigy reposed, I should imagine this to be a monument of the early part of the fifteenth century.

Pilgrimages to holy places are said to have commenced after the alleged invention, in the early part of the fourth century, by St. Helena, of the Holy Cross. This discovery, though not noticed by Eusebius, was generally believed in toward the close of the fourth century. In this country pilgrimages were more especially made to the shrine of St. David, St. Cuthbert at Durham, to that of St. Thomas at Canterbury, to the image of our Lady at Walsingham, and to the image of St. Dervel Gadarn in Llandderfel Church, Merioneth. There were many other churches containing images or supposititious relics to which local pilgrimages were made. Abroad, the principal places to which pilgrims were accustomed to resort were Jerusalem, Rome, Loretto, and Santiago de Compostella.

From Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrimage, and from the visits of Erasmus to Walsingham and Canterbury, it is

to be inferred that in this country no peculiar garb was worn by pilgrims. Such, however, was not the case with regard to those proceeding from this country on pilgrimages abroad, when a greater solemnity was observed.

In the *Pontifical* at Exeter Cathedral, which bears the name of Bishop Lacey, but is said to have been written in the fourteenth century, one of the offices is entitled "*Ordo ad servicium Peregrinorum faciendum.*" By this it appears that after having confessed, those about to proceed on pilgrimage lay prostrate before the altar ("*coram altari prostratos postquam confessi sunt*"); certain psalms and sentences were said, amongst which, "*Benedictus Dominus Deus, prosperum iter faciat vobis.*" Then followed the benediction of the pilgrim's wallet and staff. "*Hic surgant a prostratione, sequitur benedictio pere et baculi hoc modo, Dominus vobiscum. Oremus . . . . . te humiliter imploramus, quatenus sanctificando benedicere digneris has peras et hos baculos, ut quicumque eos pro tui nominis amore ad instar humilis armature, lateri suo applicare, atque collo suo pendere, sive in manibus suis gestare cupierint, etc. . . . . Hic ponet sacerdos collo peregrini peram, dicens, In nomine, etc., accipe hanc peram, habitum peregrinationis tue, etc. Hic detur baculus peregrino. Accipe baculum sustentationis tue, etc. Benedictio crucis peregrinalis Ierusalem sic, Dominus vobiscum, etc. Hic detur vestis signata cruce peregrino a sacerdote interim dicente, Accipe vestimentum, cruce Domini Salvatoris signatum est, etc. Hiis finitis dicatur Missa pro iter agentibus. Officium. Postcommunio. Post Missam dicat sacerdos has sequentes orationes super peregrinos coram altare prostratos, si profecture sint Ierusalem, seu ad sanctum Jacobum, vel ad aliam peregrinationem; cum Dominus vobiscum et Oremus", etc.*

According to the foregoing rite it would appear that the office of a priest was sufficient for this service, which, though a general one, was more particularly adapted to the intended pilgrimages to the Holy Sepul-

chre at Jerusalem and to the shrine of St. James at Compostella, Jerusalem and St. James being specially mentioned.

And now of the pilgrim's garb with its appurtenances. *Pera*.—This was the scrip, wallet, bag, or pouch (*scrippum*, *pera*, *saculus*), generally suspended by a belt or strap crossing diagonally from the right shoulder, and hanging down in front of the body, on the left side. On the front of the scrip of pilgrims who had visited the shrine of St. James at Compostella, scallop-shells were attached to denote that fact. By these we at once see to what locality the pilgrim represented by the effigy at Haverfordwest proceeded.

*Baculus*.—The bourdon or pilgrim's staff (*burdo*). A small portion of this only is left attached to the effigy here treated of. This fragment appears under the right elbow. It was sometimes called a *pyk*.

*Vestis signata cruce*.—This was the sclavine (*sclavina*), the outer robe or gown worn by pilgrims, adverted to by Du Cange, "incedens in habitu peregrini, qui vulgo dicitur *sclavina*." And again, "Vidit ipsum instar alicujus Hierosolymitani, palma, pera, et baculo insignem, atque sclavina coopertum."

I know of only one other sepulchral effigy in this country of a pilgrim habited in his peculiar costume. This, a well known instance, lies in the church of Ashby de la Zouch, in the county of Leicester. This effigy represents the party it was intended to commemorate as bareheaded; the hair worn long, cut round, and clubbed in the fashion prevalent in the latter part of the fifteenth or early part of the sixteenth century (*i.e.*, *temp.* Henry VII), to which period this effigy may fairly be ascribed. It is in a far more perfect state than the effigy at Haverfordwest. The sclavine, or upper robe (the peculiar garb of pilgrims), which is here well defined, is a kind of super-tunic, or overcoat, reaching nearly to the ankles, with short and loose open sleeves falling over the shoulders to a little below the elbows. From within these sleeves appear the full but some-

what close sleeves of the inner vest, tunic, or coat, extending to the wrists. The hands were raised on the breast, in attitude of prayer. These have been broken off, and are now lost. On the feet are worn short boots pointed at the toes, and loosely laced a little above the insteps. The feet rest against a dog which wears a collar. Partly hidden by the head, neck, and right shoulder, appears the pilgrim's broad-brimmed hat with an escallop-shell upon it, indicative of the shrine, that of St. James of Compostella, to which the pilgrimage had been undertaken. Suspended on the left side of the body by a narrow belt or strap crossing diagonally from the right shoulder, is the srip, pouch, wallet, or bag, with escallop-shells upon or attached to it. This has a flap fastened with a strap and buckle. Underneath the wrist of the left hand passes the bourdon or pilgrim's staff. This is set diagonally, from the left shoulder to the right thigh. Coming down over each shoulder, in front of the breast, is a collar of SS, indicating that the person here represented was one of distinction; but I believe it is not so clearly known who that person was.

In the year 1872 Warwick Castle was for a while closed to visitors during the reparations required by the then recent fire. I was however allowed, by the special permission of the noble owner, to inspect and examine such portions as had been subject to the action of fire. In going through the habitable apartments and chapel, I was struck in observing in the latter a headless statuette which, when entire, would be about three feet high. If this had been discovered near any other chapel or church, I might with fair probability have taken it for an image of St. James the Apostle; but, in the present instance, I could not but ascribe to it a personification of Sir Guy of Warwick, that hero of pure romance, represented in his pilgrim's garb. This statuette, apparently of the fourteenth century, represented the knight of fabulous antiquity as clad in a long tunic or coat reaching to the ankles;

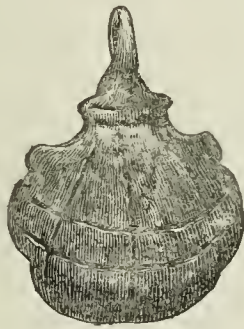
over this appeared the sclavine, or peculiar palmer's garb, worn over the tunic, but not so long, and with loose sleeves; suspended by a broad strap or belt crossing over the right shoulder obliquely to the left side, was the pilgrim's wallet or scrip, the flap of which was fastened by a button. The left hand was gone, this held the bourdon or pilgrim's staff, a small portion only of which appeared over the scrip. In the right hand a book was held. The supposititious pilgrimage of Sir Guy of Warwick was to the Holy Land. But it is the pilgrimages to Compostella that those whose effigies we possess at Ashby de la Zouch and Haverfordwest went on, which require our more immediate notice. Compostella in Galicia, not far from the north-west coast of Spain, and therefore fairly accessible by sea, was a favourite resort of pilgrims from different countries in the middle ages, from the remains of Santiago de Compostella, St. James of Compostella, otherwise St. James the Elder, the Apostle, being reputed to be there enshrined. This place is said to have been first founded by Theodomir, Bishop of Tria, A.D. 835, in which year he professed to have discovered the body of St. James the Apostle in a wood upon or near the site of the present city. Alonzo the Second erected a chapel on the spot where the remains were reported to have been found, subsequently enlarged into a cathedral church, finished A.D. 874, and consecrated A.D. 899. Since the ninth century the shrine of Santiago has been one of the most popular resorts of pilgrims. This cathedral was destroyed by the Moors, A.D. 997, and rebuilt A.D. 1082. An early image of the Saint is said to have been executed A.D. 1188 by el Maestro Mateo, for Archbishop Gelmirez. In the left hand of this image was held the bourdon or pilgrim's staff, with a gourd or calabash fastened to it.

In imagery and other representations during the middle ages, St. James the Apostle is represented in the garb of a pilgrim with the bourdon and scrip; and as the most noted places of pilgrimage had each their



peculiar sign, which, exhibited on some portion of the apparel of a pilgrim on his return, indicated the particular pilgrimage he had undertaken; that of St. James of Compostella was the escallop shell found on the sea shore of Galicia. Small copper shells were also manufactured, and these decorated some part of the garb, or its accessories, of the pilgrim on his return.

The Rev. Dr. Raven, Head Master of the Grammar School, Great Yarmouth, has one of these shells or signs made of copper. Of this, a representation of the size of the original is here given.



Copper Shell, or Pilgrim's Sign, from Compostella,  
found at Dunwich.

Dr. Raven's account of its discovery, and where, as communicated to me, is as follows:—"On April 11th, 1878, I visited Dunwich with a view of determining the route of the ninth Iter in the British part of Antonine's Itinerary. Mr. A. B. Cooper of Westwood Lodge, Blythburgh, was with me. There were two labourers at work in the field within the Grey Friars' wall. We asked them if they had found anything lately, knowing that Roman coins had been picked up at Dunwich. One of them replied that his companion had just now lighted upon 'this here', which he presumed to be without interest, but I thought otherwise, and bought it of him there and then. It is of copper, and had a hole in the shank, by which I attached it to the ring of my watch chain."

I am indebted to Dr. Raven for a photograph of this interesting relic, of the size of the original, from which the above engraving has been made. I have not met with a similar example.

In *Les Délices de L'Espagne*, tome premier, published A.D. 1715, one of the engravings is entitled, "Procession des Pélerins à Compostelle". In this a vast number of pilgrims are introduced.

The late Mr. George Edmund Street, F.S.A., the celebrated architect, in his admirable work, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, published A.D. 1865, in treating of Compostella, tells us, "If the cathedral be left out of consideration Santiago is a disappointing place. There is none of the evidence of the presence of pilgrims which might be expected, and I suspect a genuine pilgrim is a very rare article indeed. I never saw more than one, and he proclaimed his intentions only by the multitude of his scallop shells fastened on wherever his rags would allow; but I fear much he was a professional pilgrim; he was begging lustily at Zaragoza, and seemed to have been many years there on the same errand, without getting very far on his road."

The Rev. Dr. Husenbeth, in his *Emblems of Saints*, shows us how St. James the Greater, the Apostle, was represented as depicted on various rood screens in Norfolk; the peculiar pilgrim's garb is not, however, noticed by him. At Turnstead and Lessingham, St. James appears as a pilgrim with a staff. At Worstead and Edingthorpe, with a staff and shell. At Blofield, with a staff, shell, hat, and wallet. At Ringland, with a staff and wallet, the latter with a shell upon it. At Ranworth, with a staff and book. At Belaugh and Trunch, as holding a shell.

Molanus, *De Historia SS. Imaginum*, thus treats of the representation of St. James with the staff and shell, "*Quod vero ad Sanctum Jacobum Compostellanum attinet, cum Baculo et Conchâ quæ Sancti Jacobi dici solet, eum ob id pingi arbitror, quia ad Hispanias usque ambulavit, ut ibi apostolicâ legatione fungeretur; et Compostellæ corporaliter Patronus quiescit, unde Peregrinantes conchas hujusmodi referunt.*" In a note, apparently by Paquot, the foregoing statement

is somewhat doubted. "*Fertur impositum navigio Divi Jacobi corpus Iriam Flaviam delatum, inde Compostellam; postea sæviante persecutione sub humo occultatum, anno 816 detectum fuisse (Baronius ad an. 816). Sed hæc nullo idoneo teste narrantur. Venantius Fortunatus existimabat ætate suâ, id est, medio sæculo VI, S. Apostoli exuvias in Palæstina servari.*" By this it will appear that the truth of the legend, connecting St. James the Apostle with Compostella, was not universally acquiesced in. In the "Vision of Piers Ploughman", said to have been written by Robert Longland, a secular priest, about the year 1362, a pilgrim in his garb is thus described:—

"A paraild as a Paynym in Pylgrymes wise,  
He bar a bordon ybound with a brod lyste  
In a weyth wynde wyse ywrythe al aboute.  
A botle and a bagge he bar by hus syde,  
And an hundred hanypeles on hus hatte seten,  
Signs of Syse and *shilles of Galys*,  
And meny crouche on hus cloke, and keyes of Rome,  
And the fernicle by fore for men sholde knowe,  
And by hus sygnes wham he sought hadde."

In this passage we have the staff mentioned as the bordon; the scrip mentioned as a bagge; the hatte; the shilles of Galys, the scallop shells of Galicia; hanypeles, ampullæ, small cruets of metal; Syse, Sicily; crouche, cross; cloke, slavine; fernicle, venicle; lastly, to quote from Sir Walter Raleigh,

"Give me my scallop-shell of Quiet;  
My Staff of Faith to walk upon;  
My Scrip of Joy, immortal Diet;  
My Bottle of Salvation;  
My Gown of Glorie, (Hope's true gage:)  
And thus I'll take my Pilgrimage."

M. H. BLOXAM.

Rugby. 24 October 1883.

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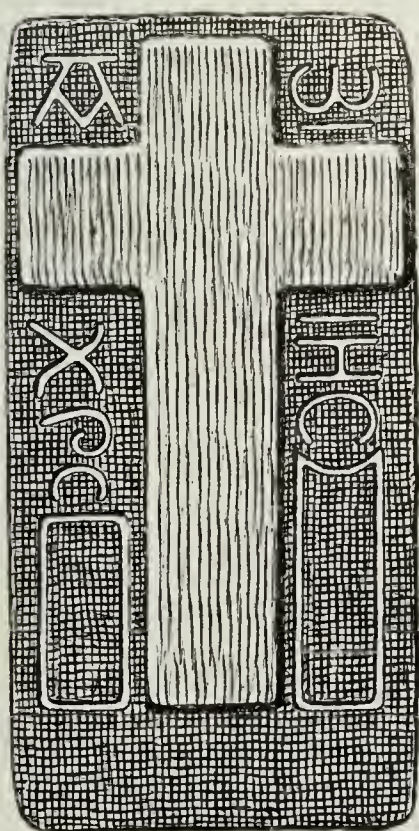
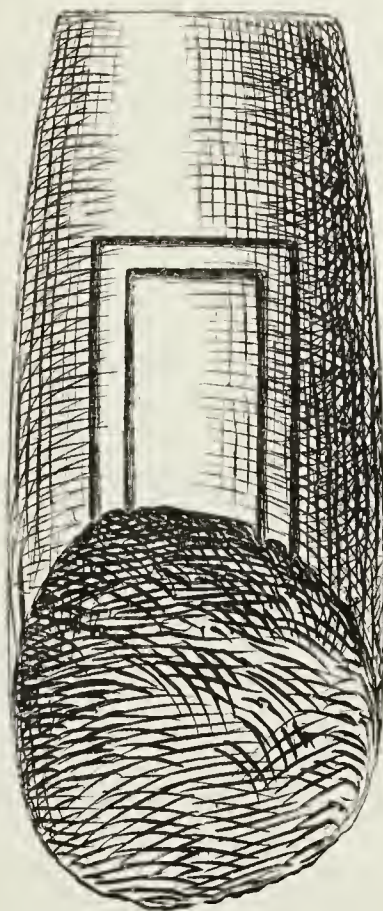
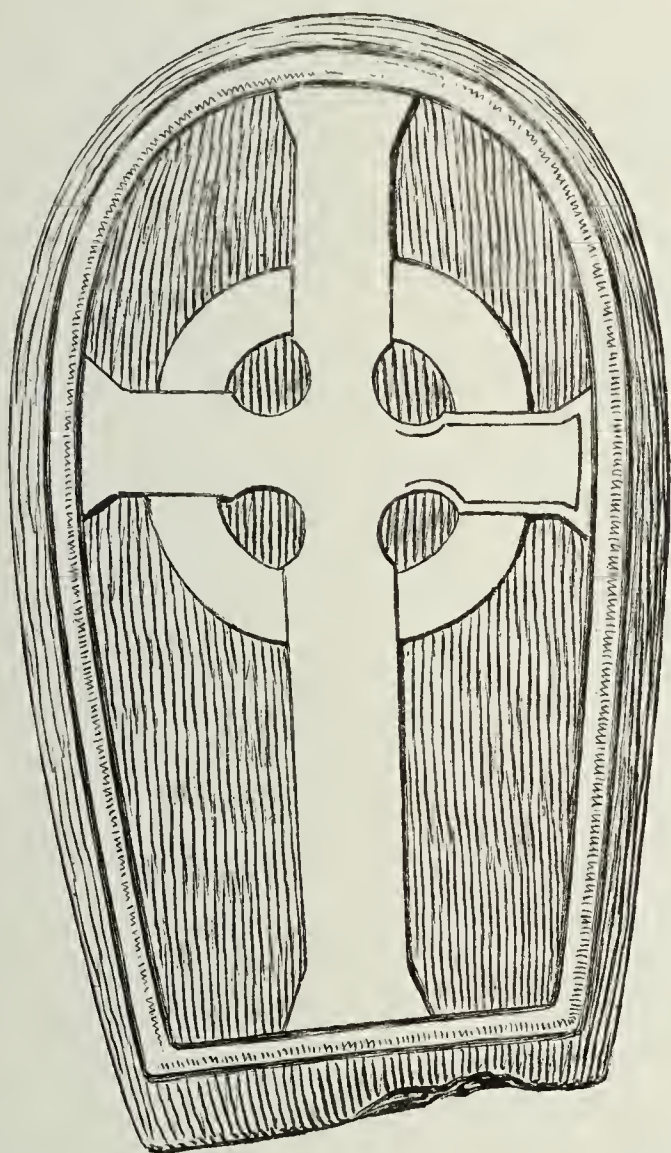
## CROSSES AT ST. EDREN'S CHURCH, PEMBROKESHIRE.

ST. EDREN'S CHURCH lies nine miles, as the crow flies, to the north-west of the town of Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire. It is situated on high ground almost in the centre of the promontory which runs out of the mainland of Pembrokeshire and terminates in St. David's Head. A mile to the northward runs the Via Flandrica, as marked on the Ordnance Map. The church stands alone, in rather a dreary solitude, being surrounded by no village or houses of any kind. The present structure is entirely modern, and is built in the debased Gothic style. All that now remains to bear witness to the existence of a more ancient building upon the present site are the four crosses to be described, and the ruined font lying broken in the north-west part of the churchyard.

Three of the crosses lie at the foot of the tower of the church, and the fourth stands erect in the churchyard, on the north side. The three small slabs are of sandstone, perhaps from Nolton, and the erect cross is of red slate similar to that found near St. David's. The following is a description of the stones, which are shown on the accompanying engraving, drawn to the scale of three-quarters of an inch to the foot, being carefully reduced from rubbings, and corrected from sketches.<sup>1</sup>

No. 1 measures 2 feet 3 inches long by 1 foot 3 inches broad, and is 6 inches thick. The stone is rounded at the top, and the cross section is elliptical, the centre portion being raised and sloping away on each side. The stone seems to have been formed by nature into

<sup>1</sup> Explanation of plate: No. 1, left hand upper corner; No. 2, right hand upper corner; No. 3, left hand lower corner; No. 4, right hand lower corner.





this shape, and the design of the cross adapted to it. Running round the whole of the outside edge of the upper surface of the slab, and following its contour, which is of an elongated horseshoe shape, is a bead-moulding enclosing a cross carved slightly in relief. The form of the cross is typically Celtic; *i.e.*, with the circular ring uniting the four arms, which have the usual hollows at the intersections, and expanded ends. Several examples of this shape of cross occur on rectangular slabs at Clonmacnoise in Ireland,<sup>1</sup> and on one at Iona;<sup>2</sup> but as far as I know, this is the only specimen existing in Wales, and the form of the slab is unique. The back of the stone is smooth and rounded, but has no carving upon it.

No. 2 is a fragment of a cylindrical pillar, 1 foot long, and 9 inches in diameter at the thickest part, and tapering towards the top. The double incised lines cut upon it are apparently part of a cross, the remainder being broken off.

No. 3 is a rectangular slab, 1 foot 8 inches long by 10 inches wide, and 4 inches thick. Upon its upper surface is a plain Latin cross with unequal limbs sculptured in relief. At the top, in the angles on each side of the cross, are incised the letters Alpha and Omega. On the right hand side of the cross, below, are the letters IHC, the well known abbreviation for Jesus Christ; and on the left are the letters XPC, another form of indicating the Saviour's name by means of the first letters of the Greek word *Christos*. These two inscriptions extend down each side of the stem of the cross, and the remainder of the space on each side of the lower portion of the cross is filled in with plain, incised panels. The letters Alpha and Omega are of common occurrence on sepulchral inscriptions in the Catacombs of Rome and elsewhere, being often combined, in various ways, with the monogram formed out of the Greek letters

<sup>1</sup> Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*.

<sup>2</sup> Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*.

XPI (Christi).<sup>1</sup> They appear also on two slabs of Saxon date, found at Hartlepool, Durham.<sup>2</sup> The letters XPC (Christus) are to be seen on the Gurmanc Stone at Pen Arthur, near St. David's. The back of the slab is smooth, slightly rounded, and has no carving upon it.

No. 4 is a wheel-cross standing erect. The diameter of the circular head is 1 foot 10 inches; the shaft is 1 foot 6 inches long, and 1 foot 3 inches wide at the base; the thickness is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The cross is a plain one, with equal limbs having expanded ends, and connected by a triple ring. The shaft and whole of the back are unornamented.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN.

*Note.* Professor Westwood has kindly read through the proofs of this paper, and suggested many improvements which have been made.

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## PEMBROKE CASTLE.

(Continued from p. 220.)

I CANNOT but think that if the principal object of the donjon was as a tower of observation, it would surely have been put on the highest point of the rock at the extreme N.W., where, as a place of last resort, it would have been more remote from attack, and afforded greater possibility of escape. Indeed, with the curtain in the hands of an attacking foe, who had been strong enough to acquire it, entry to the tower must have been easy. The curtain wall may, and doubtless did, protect the tower, but it is difficult to see how the tower could have been held without the wall.

I think the basement entrance is original, but that it was for the most part filled with flush masonry: that the entrance to the first floor is not original; that it was a window converted into a door at the same time

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptiones Christianæ Urbis Romæ*, by G. B. de Rossi.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Brit. Archæolog. Assoc.*, vol. i, p. 186.



that the steps of approach to it were added. I am unable to believe that an original entrance of this magnitude would not have had limestone constructive arches over it, or some better bolt-hole or protection, or communicated more directly with the stairs. It is of course possible that there may have been a well-protected lodge or porch on the landing outside, but it must have been very small, and does not look likely. I believe the access from the rampart of the curtain wall by means of moveable steps was the main approach designed by the builder.

I think also that the small central tower on the cone, of which there are now only the rudiments, may have been much higher, and that this was the tower of observation, the rest of the cone, with its hourding, equidistant from the two bastions, being designed to command and protect the ditch and wall, the upper chambers being used as quarters for the changing shifts of watchers and their chiefs, and that the two lower were simply designed as grain warehouses and for stores, which the cavern was too damp to preserve. And when it is remembered that Pembroke was looked on as the base from which Ireland was to be controlled, and that large armies had been and were about to be equipped and despatched thence, the necessity for very ample and safe storage room is apparent.

The cavern was probably drier then than it is now, when the buildings over were all roofed, and the rain-water carried away to the ditch and sides, but it never can have been dry enough for a grain store. Its capabilities and shortcomings may possibly have suggested the formation of something above ground equally capacious, or nearly so; and as strong, but drier and somewhat more accessible. Excepting the very decided shape and work of the perfectly plain doorway to the second floor, and other openings which allow considerable latitude in date, there is scarcely any guide beyond the windows. Omitting reference now to the lights of the northern hall, it will be found that the Norman

look and dimensions of the window recesses diminish as the work goes up ; but the form of the lights themselves is just otherwise. The cavern window has a recess as truly Norman in size and treatment as can be conceived. That supposed to be the first floor entrance of the donjon resembles it, but is smaller ; that of the second floor also resembles it, but is yet smaller, and on the exterior the arch is slightly pointed ; that of the upper is smaller still, and almost acutely pointed ; while the lights of the last are small, round-headed, scarcely reaching above the shoulder of the enclosing arch, the head filled with masonry, and the plinths square. The lights of the second storey rise higher in the recess, are slightly pointed, and the chamfer is hollowed and studded (not closely) with the four-leaved flower ; but the head is still filled with masonry, and the plinths square. The first floor shows nothing definite. In the cavern the lights are tall, acutely pointed, and purely English in shape ; the square plinth is omitted, but the head is still masonry.

May it be inferred that the work was one of time, that the recesses were formed as the work went up, the lights inserted as the scaffolding was removed ? It will be remembered that from the cill of the cavern-gate to the top of the great tower is now over 130 feet vertical, and was probably more. It will also be remembered that at St. David's, commenced in 1180, the triforium arches are pointed, while those of the piers and clerestory are round ; and that the new Temple, the building of which is almost certain to have been fostered by the great Earl who there lies buried, is of the same date.

The windows of the northern hall are clearly later. They are very acute, and in shape advanced English ; but the exceeding shallowness of the details gives them a much later look. One piece of distinct shafting was found in the rubbish, but one only.

I wish I could add a plan. There are, however, the Ordnance Surveys to refer to. I am sorry to say that

the large 1-500 scale Ordnance Map is misleading in some respects : markedly so as regards the Monkton tower, the great gate tower, and the curtain between the north gate tower and the Mills postern.

I venture to add the following as having important bearing on the history of the fabric, and as weakly continuing the history which Mr. Clark so ably commenced, just mentioning in confirmation of Leland (if confirmation of him be not out of place by me), that the inscriptions recording the burial of Strongbow and Newmarch on the north side of the Chapter House at Gloucester are, or lately were, again visible. There is, however, yet the period between De Valence and the Commonwealth to be written.

On the breaking out of the Parliamentary troubles in 1643, nearly all Wales took part with the King, Pembroke only excepted. That town, guided by John Poyer, its Mayor, and aided by William Laugharne, declared for the Parliament. In 1644 it was in great straits, and threatened with a siege from the Earl of Carbery, until the Parliamentary fleet, driven to Milford Haven for shelter, brought help. The tide then turned, and the Mayor of Pembroke took successively Stackpole, Carew, Tenby, Trefloyne, and other places. In July, Colonel Charles Gerard had somewhat restored the King's position in South Wales, having taken Cardiff, Kidwelly, Cardigan, Newcastle, and Haverfordwest, leaving Pembroke and Tenby, and probably Manorbere, in the Parliamentary interest. But at the same time Swanley, in his ships, had harried Glamorganshire, taking some 1,500 head of cattle to Pembroke; and Gerard left South Wales without making any further attempt on it.

In 1648, the country having been entirely subdued to the Parliament, orders were issued for disbanding the troops, paying them partly in cash, partly in paper. Poyer apparently insisted on having all in cash, and did not like to change his military governorship for the civic chair, and he revolted. He was then called

Governor of the Castle of Pembroke, and though in correspondence with the King's friends, does not appear even to have held a royal commission. Poyer shut himself up in Pembroke on the 10th of May. He had notice on the 8th of March 1648, that if he did not surrender the Castle in twelve hours he would be declared rebel and traitor; and not complying, he was formally invested by Cromwell in person in the beginning of June, surrendered to him on the 11th of July, and was shot in Covent Garden on the 21st day of the following April.

In May, Chepstow was surrendered to Colonel Ewer, Cromwell passing on to Pembroke. The Colonel names the prisoners, whom he says "we have put into the church, and shall keep there until I receive further orders." On the 31st of May, Tenby surrendered; and it is clear that Colonel Powell was one of the prisoners taken there, and not at Pembroke, as commonly supposed. The terms at Tenby seem harder than those conceded to more obstinate Pembroke. A letter dated June 6, 1648, from before Pembroke, says,—“I praise God the Lieutenant-General is gallant and well. He has subdued all the rebellious party in Wales except Pembroke Castle. They in Pembroke are fain to feed their horses and cows on the thatch of their houses. Poyer pretends his old principles.” On the 14th Cromwell writes to the Speaker from the leaguer before Pembroke: “All you can expect from me from hence is a relation of the garrison of Pembroke, which is chiefly this: They begin to be in extreme want of provisions, so as in all probability they cannot live a fortnight without being starved. But we hear they mutinied about three days since; cried out:—‘Shall we be ruined for two or three men's pleasure? Better it were we should throw them over the walls.’ It's certainly reported to us that within four or six days they'll cut Poyer's throat, and come all away to us. Poyer told them Saturday last, that if relief did not come by Monday night they should no more believe him; nay, they

should hang him. We have not got our guns from Wallingford as yet ; but, however, we have scraped up a few which stand us in very good stead. Last night we got two little guns planted, which in twenty-four hours will take away their mills ; and then, as Poyer himself confesses, they are all undone. We made an attempt to storm<sup>1</sup> about ten days since ; but the ladders were too short, and the breach so as no man could get over. We lost a few men ; but I am confident the enemy lost more.....I question not but within a fortnight we shall have the town ; and Poyer hath engaged himself to the officers of the town not to keep the Castle longer than the town can hold out. Neither, indeed, can he ; for we can take away his water by battering down a staircase which goes into a cellar where he has a well.<sup>2</sup> They allow the men half a pound of beef, and as much bread a day ; but it is almost spent. We much rejoice at what the Lord hath done for you in Kent ; upon our thanksgiving for that victory, which was both from sea and leaguer, Poyer told his men it was the Prince,—Prince Charles and his re-

<sup>1</sup> Obviously this was the town, not the Castle.

<sup>2</sup> A topographical writer of authority, in 1833, says : “ Cromwell having cut off their supply of water by the destruction of a staircase leading into a cavern under one of the towers, in which was their chief reservoir, there remained only the alternative of a lingering death or immediate submission ” ; and adds, “ this has been confirmed by a recent discovery of the cavern, in which were found a copious spring of water, with the shattered remains of a staircase leading to it from the tower, the bones of a man, and several cannon-balls. ” Even Mr. Murray says the communication was by a wooden stair, now destroyed.

Cromwell speaks of a cellar, though, doubtless, he referred to the “ Hogan ”. That “ marvelous vault ” was not first discovered until about 1833. The staircase is there now, uninjured, except the pilfering of the freestone-treads. Yet the belief is almost universal that the surrender took place in consequence of the water-supply being cut off. The evidence all seems to point the other way. On the 14th of June Cromwell said he could do it, and have the place by starvation in fourteen days. They held out till the 11th of July, and then got such terms as look almost like an arrangement, as if the town rather than Cromwell had forced the Castle to terms. Cromwell was clearly wrong in his expectation.

volted men coming with relief. The other night they mutinied in the town. Last night we fired divers houses, and the fire runs up the hill, and much frights them. Confident I am we shall have it in fourteen days by starving."

Another writer on the 19th says: "The town is almost at its last gasp, being much discontented and divided, occasioned by want of victuals. Our great guns have played against the walls, and a breach was made by battery, and the assault attempted, but fruitless.....It is supposed there are 2,000 fighting men in the town. We doubt not to be masters both of town and Castle very suddenly."

Cromwell writes again on the 28th: "I have some few days since despatched horse and dragoons to the north.....The number I sent are six troops.....I could not, by the judgment of the colonels here, spare more or send them sooner without manifest hazard to these parts. There is, as I have formerly acquainted your Excellency, a very desperate enemy, who being put out of all hope of mercy are resolved to endure the utmost extremity, being very many gentlemen of quality, and are thoroughly resolved. They have made some notable sallies on Colonel Reade's quarter, to his loss. We are forced to keep divers posts, or else they would have relief, or their horse break away. Our foot about them are four and twenty hundred. We are always necessitated to have some in garrison. The country, since we set down before this place, have made two or three insurrections, and are ready to do so any day; so what with looking to them, and disposing of our horse to that end, and to get in provisions, without which we should starve, the country being so miserably exhausted and so poor, and we no money to buy victuals. Indeed, whatever may be thought, it is a mercy we have been able to keep our men together in the midst of such necessity, the sustenance of the foot, for the most part, being but bread and water. Our guns, through the unlucky accident at Berkeley, have not yet come to us.....and this place not to be had without instruments of battery,

except by starving. And truly I believe the enemy's straights do increase on them very fast, and that with a few days an end will be put to their business, which really ought to have been done before had we received things wherewith to have done it. But it will be done in the best time. I rejoice much to hear of the blessing of God on your Excellencies endeavours.....These things that have lately come to pass have been the wonderful works of God breaking the rod of the oppressor, as in the days of Midian"; and closing with a desire that Colonel Lehunt may have a commission to command a troop of horse, with flank commissions for his inferior officers, with what speed may be.

And again, July 4th : "I cannot yet send you that either Pembroke Town or Castle be taken, yet we hope within a few days to be masters thereof. We have made several attempts against the town, and stormed the walls in two or three places.....The batteries are now finished, and an ordnance planted against the town and Castle, and have made several breaches.....The reason why the siege continues so long is for want of great guns and mortar pieces, which came not till within a few days down the Severn, the wind having been long opposed to them.....Tuesday last we gave the town another strong alarm. 120 of Poyer's men laid down their arms, vowing never to take them up again ; but by the importunity of Poyer and Laugharne, telling them if relief came not within four days they would yield, and they should hang them, they have engaged again. We are informed they have not provisions for fourteen days. We expect every day that most of them will come to us through want. They have only a little rain water and biscuit left. But it is still feared that Poyer and Laugharne, when they can hold out the town no longer, will betake themselves to the Castle, and leave the rest to mercy.

"If we get the town, I doubt not to carry the Castle suddenly. Mortar pieces have played hard against the town, and done great execution ; have battered down

many houses, and killed at least thirty of the enemy, as appears by the confession of two of Poyer's men who have come over the walls to us."

And finally, on the 11th of July, he writes to the Speaker: "The Town and Castle of Pembroke were surrendered to me this day, being the 11th of July, upon the propositions I send you here enclosed. What arms, ammunition, victuals, ordnance, or other necessaries of war, are in town, I have not to tell you, the Commissioners I sent in to receive the same not being yet returned, nor like suddenly to be; and I was unwilling to defer giving you an account of this mercy for a day. The persons excepted are such as have formerly served you in a very good cause, but being now apostatised, I did rather make election of them than of those that had always been for the King, judging their iniquity double, because they have sinned against so much light, and against so many evidences of divine Providence going along with and prospering a good cause, in the management of which they themselves had a share. I rest your humble servant."

#### ARTICLES FOR THE SURRENDER OF PEMBROKE.

"1. That Major-General Laugharne, Colonel Poyer, Colonel Humphrey Matthews, Captain William Bowen, and David Poyer, do surrender themselves to the mercy of Parliament.

"2. That others named do within six weeks next following depart the kingdom, and not return within two years from the time of their departure.

"3. That all officers and gentlemen not before named shall have free liberty to go to their respective habitations, and there live quietly, submitting to the authority of Parliament.

"4. That all private soldiers shall have passes to go to their several homes, without being stripped or having any violence done to them. All sick and wounded men to be carefully provided for till able to go home, &c.

"5. That the townsmen shall be free from plunder and violence, and enjoy their liberties as heretofore.



“6. That the town and Castle of Pembroke, with all the arms, ammunition, and ordnance, together with all victuals and provisions for the garrison, be forthwith delivered to Lieutenant-General Cromwell, or such as he shall appoint, for the use of the Parliament.

“(Signed) OLIVER CROMWELL. DAVID POYER.”<sup>1</sup>

In the petition of John Poyer, presented to Parliament April 16, 1649, he says he “was one of the first that appeared in armes in South Wales against the Common Enemy, for the defence of his own and the people’s best liberties; and he being Mayor of the Town of Pembroke, and Captain of the Trained Band, did freely and of his own accord fortifie the Castle of Pembroke, which was then his own habitation, and kept the same against the King’s forces, and did for the space of five years several other good services; but that being wrongly proclaimed Traitor, he did, for his own security and the security of those that were with him, and for no other end, keepe the said Castle, which was surrendered to Lieut.-General Cromwell upon articles of mercy, which, he conceived, could not be mercy in taking away his life.”

On the 21st lots were drawn, and he was shot in the Piazza, Covent Garden.

On the 14th of July 1648, Haverford was dismantled, and we have some little account of the operation, but none whatever in the case of Pembroke.<sup>2</sup>

J. R. COBB.

<sup>1</sup> The above are taken from W. Rowland Phillips’ valuable *Civil War in Wales*.

<sup>2</sup> I notice that Mr. Donovan, writing under date 1805, says in a note to vol. ii, p. 306, that from an old etching, supposed to be by Hollar, it appears that the base of the great tower is represented as in a great measure buried beneath the surface of the ground, with a prodigious shelving or pyramidal base nearly equal to one-fifth of its height. The summit has three tiers of pierced battlements, the lowermost projecting slightly, the second rising within the first, and the third still more diminished. He also says Poyer’s garrison was supplied with water conveyed from the Monastery at Monkton by means of lead pipes carried through the bridge. The secret was betrayed, and the pipes found and destroyed; but this did not reduce them.

CARTULARIUM PRIORATUS S. JOHANNIS  
EVANG. DE BRECON.

(Continued from p. 236.)

*The Prior of Landa having made default in payment for one year, to the monks of Brecon, of 30s., from the church of Patingham, is ordered to pay same in future at Bodenham :*

“Compositio facta inter Monachos Breconie et Priorem de Landa.—Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filijs presentes literas inspecturis Prior Archidiaconus et Cancellarius Herefordie salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra quod cum causa verteretur coram nobis auctoritate domini Pape Honorij tercij inter monachos de Brekenia ex una parte et Priorem et Canonicos de Landa ex altera super annua solucione triginta solidorum de ecclesia de Patingham in qua solucione dicti Prior et Canonici per unum annum cessaverunt, tandem dicti Canonici de cessacione solucionis Monachis de Brekenia per certum procuratorem satisfecerunt, et se per eundem procuratorem in futuro dictos triginta solidos ad terminos in autenticeis iudicium quondam a domino Papa delegatorum scilicet A. de sancto Oswaldo et A. de Wirkesope Priorum et bone memorie G.<sup>1</sup> quondam Coventriensis Episcopi necnon et prioris et canonicorum de Landa statutos se soluturos obligaverunt firmiter permittentes sine omni calumpnia quod in solucione dictorum triginta solidorum annuatim solvendorum non cessabunt et per eundem procuratorem consenserunt supponentes se jurisdictioni nostre renunciando privilegio fori et appellacioni, quod nos retinemus potestatem coercedi dictos Priorem et canonicos si forte cessaverint in solucione ad dictam solucionem faciendam cum indempnitate Monachorum de Brechonia, sunt autem termini in predictis autenticeis statuti scilicet quod medietas prefate pecunie solvi debet ad Pascham et medietas ad festum Sancti Michaelis apud Bodeham servienti Monachorum ibidem ministrato. Ut autem ista compositio futuris temporibus rata et inconcussa permaneat eam presentis scripti munimine et sigillorum nostrorum appositione munire curavimus. Valeat in domino.”

Date, 1216-1227.

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey de Muschamp.

*The Prior of Landa acknowledges the liability of his Convent to pay 30s. yearly at Bodenham to the monks of Brecon :*

“Composicio inter eos de Ecclesia de Patingham.—Omnibus Christi fidelibus A. prior de Landa et ejusdem loci conventus salutem in domino. Quoniam ea que ad perpetuam provisa sunt pacem perpetua debent stabilitate roborari, ideo ad omnium volumus noticiam pervenire controversiam inter nos et priorem et monachos de Braghinnio super ecclesia de Patingam olim ortam coram Prioribus Sancti Oswaldi et de Wirkeshope iudiciibus a bone memorie Lucio<sup>1</sup> Papa delegatis hoc modo fuisse sopitam, scilicet quod nos prefatis monachis annuos triginta solidos solvere tenemur de predicta ecclesia apud Bodeham, scilicet quindecim solidos ad Pascham et quindecim ad festum sancti Michaelis de quibus vivente Hugone Peche ejusdem ecclesie quondam persona viginti tantum solvimus solidos sicut in autentico eorundem iudicum instrumento continetur predicti vero Prior et monachi nichil amplius de cetero in predicta ecclesia petere poterunt. Hec composicio in Sinodo Staffordie recitata ad petitionem Prioris et conventus de Braghinnio et nostram a Galfrido<sup>2</sup> Coventrensi episcopo est confirmata et sigillo nostro roborata. Valeat in domino.”

*Canons of Landa, of the Church of Patingham, to pay 20s. yearly to Hugh, who holds the Church of Patingham of the monks of Battle; and after his death, 30s. yearly to the monks of Brecon :*

“Composicio facta inter monachos de Bello et Canonicos de Landa de ecclesia de Patingham. Omnibus filijs sancte matris ecclesie A. de Sancto Oswaldo et A. de Wirkesope priores salutem in domino. Noverit universitas vestra causam que vertebatur inter Canonicos de Landa et monachos de Bello super ecclesia de Patingham nobis a summo Pontifice delegatam in presentia nostra amicabilem compositionem hoc modo esse sopitam Hugo clericus qui prefatam ecclesiam nomine Monachorum de Bello possidebat reddendo annuatim viginti solidos ad duos terminos videlicet ad Pascham et ad festum sancti Michaelis, eosdem solvet prefatis canonicis, et prefati Canonici eosdem solvent procuratori Monachorum de Brekenia apud Bodeham eisdem terminis; post decessum vero prefati Hugonis prescripti Canonici sive prefatam Ecclesiam in proprios usus converterint

<sup>1</sup> Lucius III. Sept. 1181 to Nov. 1185.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey de Muschamp, consecrated 1198, ob. 1238.

sive eam alij contulerint, triginta solidos nomine pensionis annuatim solvent prefato procuratori Monachorum apud Bodeham duobus terminis, videlicet quindecim solidos ad Pascham et quindecim ad festum sancti Michaelis. Hec autem compositio utriusque fidei interposicione coram nobis confirmata est, et nos eam sigillorum nostrorum munimine corroboramus. Hijs testibus Radulfo priore de Broc, Magistro Ricardo de Harffordbi, Magistro Waltero, Magistro Gerardo, Magistro Roberto.”

*Iorwerth, Bishop of St. David's, notifies that the monks of Brecon had leased three parts of the tithes of the land of Bernard Bochan, and other land at Ystradwy; that when the lease ended, Hothelen, rector of the parish, deprived the Convent of the tithes; and in an action brought for their recovery, the Chapter of Brecon decided in the monks' favour. Hothelen acquiesced in decision, and agreed to farm the tithes for his life at a yearly rent:*

“ Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis Gervasius<sup>1</sup> Dei gratia Menevensis Episcopus salutem et Dei benedictionem, Cum constaret nobis per autenticum Petri<sup>2</sup> bone memorie quondam Menevensis Episcopi quod due partes decimarum de tota terra Bernardi Bochan et tota terra Lowil apud Stradewi adjudicate essent Priori et conventui de Brekenia, et cum constaret nobis per capitulum de Brekenia quod tempore Galfridi<sup>3</sup> bone memorie quondam Menevensis Episcopi Monachi de Brekenia dimiserint quartam partem dictarum decimarum ad firmam Davidi capellano de Stradewi, que quarta pars post decessum dicti D. transibit ad magistrum Willelmum qui ipsam ad totam vitam suam plene et pacifice possidebit et post decessum dicti W. redibit illa quarta plene et integre ad monachos de Brekenia et quod tres alias partes dictarum decimarum ad instantiam et petitionem E. (Egidii)<sup>4</sup> bone memorie quondam Herefordensis Episcopi et ad petitionem Johannis Pichard militis concesserunt dicti monachi J. Pichard clerico ad firmam ad vitam suam reddendo pro illis dictis monachis singulis annis unam marcam argenti Dicto autem J. clerico viam universe carnis ingresso cum dicti monachi possessione dictarum decimarum suarum uti libere vellent et de illis sicut de rebus suis ad voluntatem suam disponere, Hothelen rector ecclesie de Stradewi et Hothelen filius Keneun procurator dicti rectoris dictas decimas invaserunt et eisdem dictos monachos spoliaverunt contra

<sup>1</sup> Iorwerth, consecrated 1215, ob. 1229.

<sup>2</sup> Peter de Leia, consecrated 1176, ob. 1198.

<sup>3</sup> Geoffrey, 1203, ob. 1214.

<sup>4</sup> Giles de Braose, 1200-1216.

quos dicti Monachi in capitulo de Brekenia proposuerunt petitorium<sup>1</sup> et possessorium:<sup>2</sup> et cum post multas dilaciones secundum ordinem juris lite contestata in utroque judicio contra utrumque predictorum testibus juratis et examinatis attestacionibus publicatis et diligenter inspectis fuit sententia diffinitiva in utroque judicio pro dictis monachis contra utrumque predictorum promulgata licet itaque per predictos adversarios contra dictos monachos impetrare essent litere tam Gualo<sup>3</sup> quondam legati Anglie quam etiam litere domini Pape Honorij terciij ut predictum negocium turbaretur et impediretur, tandem de consilio et consensu domini Johannis Pichard et Rogeri heredis sui accesserunt predicti duo Hothelen ad capitulum de Brekenia et ibidem publice predicte adquieverunt sentencie et presentibus Johanni et Rogero jus Monachorum in dictis decimis unanimo recognoverunt et se injuste dictos monachos dictis decimis spoliasse confessi sunt publice et in capitulo et easdem decimas plene et integre secundum juramentum ipsorum dictis Monachis restituerunt quas corporaliter receperunt ipsi Monachi et in usus proprios sicut res suas converterunt Autumpno proximo post decessum<sup>4</sup> H. de Mapenoure bone memorie quondam Herefordensis Episcopi et pro decimis quas predicti domini Hothelen perceperant de dictis terris anno proximo ante obitum dicti H. solverunt dictis Monachis xx<sup>ti</sup> solidos. Hijs ita peractis ad magnam instanciam et petitionem dictorum Johannis et Rogeri permiserunt dicti monachi magistro Willelmo de capella cui caritative dictas decimas contulerant concedere easdem ad vitam suam ad firmam Hothelen clerico filio Hothelen filio Keneun pro xx<sup>ti</sup> solidis singulis annis reddendis magistro Willelmo ad duos terminos scilicet x. solidos ad festum sancti Michaelis et x. solidos ad Pascham ita quod si dictus Hothelen viam universe carnis ingrediatur ante magistrum Willelmum predicte tres partes de dictis decimis revertentur ad magistrum Willelmum plene et integre; percipiet autem dictus Hothelen dictas decimas primo autumpno post consecrationem H. Foliot.<sup>5</sup> Episcopi Herefordensis et post illum autumpnum in festo sancti Michaelis proximo sequente incipiet solucio dicte firme et procedet de termino in terminum secundum quod dictum est. Si vero contingat quod dictus H. non solvat quolibet dictorum terminorum dictam firmam plene et integre infra tercium diem post dictos terminos duplicabitur dicta firma in qualibet cessione ita quod appellatione remota post dictum triduum solvat

<sup>1</sup> An action, a claim.

<sup>2</sup> "Ut (?) possessorium", as the possessor or owner.

<sup>3</sup> Gualo, Cardinal and Legate.

<sup>4</sup> 1219.

<sup>5</sup> Hugh Foliot, consecrated Nov. 1219.

x. solidos pro firma et x. solidos pro pena magistro Willelmo. Magistro vero Willelmo sublato de medio revertentur dicte decime ad dictos Monachos plene et integre, libere et quiete et illas quoad proprietatem et quoad possessionem corporalem ut de suis ad libitum suum disponent. Hanc autem firmam et hanc convencionem fideliter tenendam et observandam juravit tactis sacrosanctis dictus Hothelen in capitulo de Brekenia et quod bona fide et sine dolo malo se haberet versus dictos monachos et versus magistrum Willelmum et quod nichil procuraret in fraudem eorum nec ab alio pro posse suo procurari permetteret quominus jus Monachorum in dictis decimis illesum conservaretur et ne tractu temporis predicta devocarentur in dubium huic scripto simul cum sigillo domini Johannis Pichard et R. decani de Brekenia et sigillo dicti Hothelen et aliorum sigillum nostrum apposuimus et predicta confirmavimus. Fuit autem dicta sententia rata et dicta firma concessa anno m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>xviiij<sup>o</sup> ab incarnatione domini. Hijs testibus Maelo Bret, Magistris N. Canonico de Lantoni, H. de Clona, Matheo de Brekenia, canonico Menevensi, Tho. Brutu, Ph. rectore ecclesie de Lanmais, R. Pichard, W. Smalchaf, W. de Burculle tunc constabulario de Brekenia, W. et R. de Burculle clericis, R. Janitore, Rogero filio David, Johanne de Punda . et multis alijs.”<sup>1</sup>

*William de Burghill, son of Robert, with the assent of Edith his wife, gives five acres of his land of Benny, near the road from Brecon to Aberescyr :*

“Carta Willelmi de Burchulle.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Burchulle filius Roberti de Burchulle de consensu et assensu Edithe uxoris mee et heredum meorum dedi et concessi et presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brekenia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in augmentum sustentacionis elemosine dicti loci in puram liberam et perpetuam elemosinam quinque acras terre mee de Benny que tendunt usque ad moram quandam modicam sub via qua itur a Brekenia versus Abereskyr, que quidem quinque acre jacent in latum a rivulo qui dicitur Glywdy<sup>2</sup> usque ad terram dictorum monachorum, simul cum dicta mora, tenendum et habendum dictas quinque acras terre cum predicta mora libere et quiete ab omni servicio seculari consuetudine auxilio et demanda et etiam ab omni servicio quod ad terram pertinet vel pertinere potest, ita quod non liceat mihi vel heredibus meis a dictis

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Tanner here notes of the Brewster MS., “a f 67 ad 72 inclus. pergamena pura.”

<sup>2</sup> Gludy (Ordnance Survey).

monachis aliquo tempore pro dicta terra et dicta mora aliquid terrenum recipere vel exligere. Ego vero Willelmus et heredes mei dictas quinque acras cum dicta mora warantizabimus dictis monachis et prioratui Breconie sicut predictum est contra omnes homines et omnes feminas, et quia volo quod hec mea donacio et concessio dicto prioratui in perpetuum rata sit et stabilis permaneat, presentem cartam meam sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hijs testibus Roberto le Wafre, Johanne Weldebeof, et Willelmo fratre ejus, Pagano de Burchulle, et Willelmo filio suo, Johanne de Euereus tunc constabulario Breconie, Ricardo le Breth et Roberto filio suo, magistris Willelmo de Lanhamelagh, Thoma Brutun, Rogero de Burchulle, Milone de Karpren'y, Vincencio et Roberto de Brekenia clericis, Philippo tunc preposito Brekonie, Adam Riffe burgensibus et multis alijs. Teste eciam capitulo Brekonie."

Date, early part of twelfth century.

*William de Burghill, lord of Benny, has the Prior's permission to celebrate offices for the dead in his Chapel of Benny; such permission not to prejudice the mother Church of Brecon, or the attendance of his family and followers there :*

"Carta Willelmi de Burchulle.—Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Willelmus de Burchulle dominus de Benni salutem in domino. Sciatis quod prior de Brekenia ad petitionem meam et amicorum nostrorum permisit quod faceremus capellanum nostrum sumptibus nostris celebrare divina pro defunctis in capella de Benni et nos coram viris fide dignis affidavimus quod propter predictam permissionem non fiet aliquid prejudicium matri ecclesie de Breconia et quod nos et familia nostra et homines nostri de Benni sequemur matrem ecclesiam sicut consuevimus et omnia jura parochialia eidem plene et integre persolvemus et ejus mandatis et statutis sicut prius obediemus. Valeat."

*Matilda le Hagurner gives six acres of land brought into cultivation by Simon, son of G..... and held of Stephen de Surdeval :*

"Carta Matildis Le Hagurnere.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Matildis la Hagurnere de voluntate et consensu heredum meorum dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta<sup>1</sup> mea confirmavi Deo et ecclesie Sancti Johannis Evangeliste de Breconia

<sup>1</sup> See the confirmation of this grant by Herbert Fitz-Peter, *ante*.

et monachis ibidem servientibus pro salute anime mee antecessorum et successorum meorum sex acras terre scilicet totam illam terram que jacet juxta aquam Toui sive fuerit ibi plus sive minus quam sex acre una cum prato adjacente et ad dictam terram pertinente secundum quod marchiati<sup>1</sup> ad pratum prioris Breconie ex una parte et ad pratum Margarete sororis mee ex altera parte et tendit a prefata terra in obliquum versus Aquilonem usque ad rivulum Toui, quam terram Symon filius G. quondam assartavit et de domino meo Stephano de Surdeual tenuit et que ad me post mortem ejus ut ad veram dominam redijt, habendam et tenendam libere et quiete ab omni servicio quod ad terram pertinet vel pertinere potest et ab omni auxilio et demanda in puram et perpetuam elemosinam ad augmentum sustentacionis elemosine dicte domus; ita quod nec mihi nec heredibus meis pro dicta terra aliquo tempore aliquid faciant vel respondeant. Ego vero Matildis et heredes mei warrantizabimus dictas sex acras sive totam dictam terram dictis monachis contra omnes homines et omnes feminas cum predicto prato, et quia volo quod hec mea donacio rata sit et in perpetuum stabilis permaneat, presentem cartam meam sigillo meo una cum sigillis Lewelini et Ythenardi officialium et Gerardi decani Breconie teste capitulo Breconie duxi confirmare.”

Date, about 1220-30.

*Matilda le Hagurner confirms the donations of her sister Margaret:*

“Secunda carta ipsius Matildis.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Matildis filia Seer le Hagurner pro salute anime mee antecessorum et successorum meorum ratas habeo et concedo omnes donaciones quas Margareta filia Seer le hagurner soror mea dedit Deo et ecclesie Sancti Johannis Evangeliste de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus tam in terris quam in pratis libere et quiete sicut carte<sup>2</sup> dicte Margarete sororis mee testantur et proportant.<sup>3</sup> Et ego Matildis et heredes mei hanc concessionem et ratam habissionem<sup>4</sup> contra omnes homines et omnes feminas warrantizabimus Quia volo etiam quod mea concessio et rata habissio dictis domui et monachis in perpetuum stabilis permaneat, presentem mee confirmacionis cartam sigilli mei attestacione una cum sigillis Lewelini et Idenardi<sup>5</sup> tunc officialium et Gerardi decani de Brechonia corroboravi. Teste capitulo de Brekenia.”

Date, 1220-30.

<sup>1</sup> Adjoins.

<sup>2</sup> See confirmation by Herbert Fitz-Peter, *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> Declare.

<sup>4</sup> For “habitionem”, possession.

<sup>5</sup> Ythenardus.



*Margaret le Hagurner, with the consent of David Roge, her husband, gives five acres of land near her sister's land, describing them :*

“Carta Margarete filie Seer le Hagurner.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Margareta filia Seer le Hagurner de consensu et assensu David Roge mariti mei et heredum meorum dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta<sup>1</sup> mea confirmavi Deo et Ecclesie sancti Johannis Evangeliste de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus pro salute anime mee antecessorum et successorum meorum ad augmentum elemosine dicte domus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam quinque acras terre, scilicet duas acras que jacent juxta aquam Toui, quas Symon filius G. quondam assartavit, et duas acras que jacent juxta fontem Redwy, et unam acram desuper fontem que dicitur berde una cum prato quod jacet juxta pratum quod Matildis soror mea dedit in elemosinam dicte ecclesie sancti Johannis de Brekoniam tenendum et habendum dictas terras cum dicto prato libere et quiete ab omni terreno servicio quod ad terram pertinet vel pertinere potest et ab omni auxilio et demanda ita quod nec heredibus meis dicti monachi pro dicta terra aliquo tempore aliquid faciant vel respondeant. Ego vero Margareta et heredes mei dictas quinque acras terre cum prato dicto contra omnes homines et omnes feminas dictis monachis warrantizabimus, et quia volo quod hec mea donacio et concessio rata sit et in perpetuum stabilis permaneat, presentem cartam sigillo meo una cum sigillis Lewelini et Idenardi tunc officialium et Gerardi decani Brechonie teste capitulo Brechonie confirmavi.”

Date, 1220-30.

*Stephen de Surdeval grants to Simon, son of G., six acres of land, which he had cleared at his own expense, at the yearly rent of 12d., free of rent for seven years :*

“Carta Stephani de Surdeual.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Stephanus de Surdeval consensu et assensu M. uxoris mee et Willelmi heredis mei dedi et concessi et hac mea carta et sigillo meo confirmavi Symoni filio G. totam illam terram juxta aquam Toui quam predictus Symon assartavit propriis expensis tenendum pro sex acris sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis libere et quiete ab omni servicio et omni exactione salvo servicio capitalis domini quantum scilicet ad tantum terre pertinet, reddendo per annum xij denarios ad festum Sancti Michaelis ille et heredes sui mihi et heredibus meis ; et predictus

<sup>1</sup> See confirmation by Herbert Fitz-Peter, *ante*.

Symon tenebit terram illam vij annos a festo sancti Michaelis post obitum<sup>1</sup> Huberti archiepiscopi sine censa et quando heres meus non poterit warantizare dicto Symoni dictam terram, faciet ei eschangiam de duodecim acris de sua propria hereditate ex parte mea in Kilmenawit de terra culta et tam bona propter predictum servicium et pro hac donacione et concessione dedit mihi dictus Symon ij. solidos de introitu. Hijs testibus Johanne priore de Brechonia, Ricardo decano de Brechonia, Willelmo de Burchulle, Willelmo de Weldeboef, Roberto le Wafre, Willelmo Havard, Radulfo Janitore, Rogero filio David, Reginaldo Bulvinch, Johanne molendinario et multis alijs.”

Date, 1205-6.

*William of Broadfield gives to Richard Mareschal thirty acres of land and a messuage and mill in Broadfield (Bodenham), also a mill with right of water and cartway, at a yearly rent of a white glove at Easter, with licence to sell or devise same to a religious house. . (Date, 1220-30.)*

“Carta Willelmi de Bradefeld.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Bradefeld dedi et concessi Ricardo Marescallo triginta acras terre mee et unum mesuagium in villa de Bradefeld cum communione pascue mee et omnibus alijs pertencijs scilicet: sex acras que jacent juxta boscum, et viij acras que jacent in boteford et sex acras que jacent juxta moram, et tres acras que jacent juxta molendinum, et unam acram que jacet super longelege, et iiij acras que jacent in Petecrofta que se extendunt versus orientem, et unam acram que jacet in inbund, et mesuagium quod Johannes Seyhe aliquando tenuit et unam acram que jacet juxta dictum mesuagium. Preterea dedi et concessi dicto Ricardo molendinum meum, et aquam superius et inferius ad molendinum pertinentem, et etiam viam cum karris et quadrigis ad dictum molendinum et cum omnibus alijs libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus et utilibus exitibus et sectis mei et heredum meorum et hominum meorum, tenendum et habendum de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis in feodo et hereditate libere et quiete in omnibus locis et rebus cum omnibus libertatibus, reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis ipse et heredes sui vel sui assignati unam cerotetam<sup>2</sup> albam ad Pascham pro omni servicio et exactione et consuetudine que ad terram pertinent vel pertinere possint. Licebit etiam dicto Ricardo et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis totam dictam terram et molendinum cum

<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop died in July 1205.

<sup>2</sup> For “chirotheca”, a glove or gauntlet.

omnibus pertinencijs suis dare et vendere et legare, et etiam in domum religionis transferre sine omni contradicione mei vel heredum meorum. Pro hac autem donacione et concessione dedit mihi dictus Ricardus sexdecimas marcas sterlingorum. Ego vero Willelmus et heredes mei totam predictam terram cum pertinencijs suis et dictum molendinum cum pertinencijs suis prefato Ricardo et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabimus et de omnibus servicijs et exactionibus et demandis versus dominum Regem et omnes homines adquietabimus, et ut hec mea donacio et concessio rata et stabilis permaneat, eam presenti scripto et sigilli mei appositione confirmavi. Hijs testibus Thoma decano<sup>1</sup> de Herefordia, Willelmo Archidiacono,<sup>2</sup> Elia thesaurario,<sup>3</sup> Willelmo de furches, Nicolao Seculari, Rogero de Bodeham, Johanne clerico de furches, et multis alijs."

*William of Broadfield grants to Brecon Priory the lands granted by him to Richard Mareschall, by a description slightly different:*

"Carta Willelmi de Bradefeld.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Bradefeld dedi et concessi Deo et Sancto Johanni de Brekenie et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam libere et quiete ab omni exactione et seculari exactione quod ad terram pertinet vel pertinere possit, triginta acras terre mee de Bradefeld, et unum mesuagium in villa de Bradefeld cum communione pasture mee et omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus, in bosco et plano in viis et semitis in aquis et pratis, et in omnibus alijs eisiamentis que ego et heredes mei habemus vel habere poterimus in dicta villa de Bradefeld; videlicet sex acras que jacent juxta boscum, et octo acras que jacent juxta bodeford, et sex acras que jacent juxta maram in loco qui vocatur Estlege, et tres acras que jacent juxta molendinum et unam acram que jacet super laneglege, et quinque acras que jacent in Wetecroft proxime capelle et unum messuagium quod Johannes Schie aliquando tenuit, et unam acram juxta dictum mesuagium. Si vero aliquid dicte terre in locis predictis defuerit, Ego Willelmus dictis monachis de terra mea in loco sibi competenti plene perficiam. Preterea dedi et concessi dictis monachis de Brekenia molendinum meum de Bradefeld et aquam superius et inferius ad molendinum pertinentem et viam karretis et quadrigis ad dictum molendinum, cum omnibus libertatibus

<sup>1</sup> Thomas de Bosbury, Dean circa 1218, ob. 1231.

<sup>2</sup> Circa 1221.

<sup>3</sup> Elias de Radnor, 1217; Bishop of Llandaff, 1230.

et liberis consuetudinibus et utilibus exitibus et sectis mei et heredum meorum et hominum meorum, tenendum et habendum libere et quiete in omnibus locis et rebus cum omnibus libertatibus. Ego vero Willelmus de Bradefeld et heredes mei has concessionem et donationem contra omnes homines et omnes feminas predictis monachis warrantizabimus, et de omnibus omnino demandis adquietabimus. Ut autem hec mea donatio et concessio rata permaneat et inconcussa, presentem cartam sigilli mei impressione confirmavi. Hijs testibus: Waltero de Evereucs, Willelmo de furchis, Johanne de Evereucs, Rogero de Bodeham, Waltero de Kiffiam, Ricardo de Grosmount, Waltero de mora, Rogero filio Mauricij, Ricardo de Bolege, Thoma de Bolege, Hugone de monachis, Waltero de Bokelinton, Magistro Thoma Brut, et multis alijs.”

*Walter de Riffe, with the assent of Amice his wife, gives an acre of land before the dwelling of Broadfield Mill:*

“Carta Walteri de Riffe.—Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Walterus de Riffe assensu et consensu Amicie uxoris mee in puram et perpetuam elemosinam dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi unam acram terre que jacet ante hostium<sup>1</sup> molendini de Bradefeld quam acram aqua dividit ex omni parte, cum omnibus pertinencijs suis domui sancti Johannis de Brekenia et ecclesie beate Marie de Bodeham pro animabus omnium antecessorum nostrorum. Et ego Amicia juravi tactis sacrosanctis et affidavi pro me et heredibus meis quod nunquam artem nec ingenium adquirere debeo nec aliquis pro me quominus dicta acra terre sicut predictum est ad easdem domum et ecclesiam pacifice permaneat. Et ego Walterus et Amicia et heredes nostri predictam acram prenunciatis domui et ecclesie contra omnes homines et feminas warrantizabimus. Et ne alicui vertatur in dubium, ego Walterus et Amicia uxor mea cartam istam sigillorum meorum impressione corroborare et confirmare curavimus. Hijs testibus Hugone vicario, Roberto et Rogero de Bodeham capellanis, Rogero de Bodeham, Ricardo de Bolis, Ricardo de Gresmund, Rogero de Magene, Ricardo Marescallo, Hugone de Monachis, et multis alijs.”

Date 1220-30.

*Nicholas de Machna, or Maund, grants to the church of St. Mary, Bodenham, all his tithes in Maund which he had already delivered to the Bishop in the presence of the Prior of Brecon and the parishioners:*

“Carta Nicholai de Machne.—Sciunt omnes presentes et

<sup>1</sup> For “hostitium”, the house or dwelling.

futuri quod ego Nicholaus de Machne concedo et do ecclesie sancte Marie de Bodeham totam decimam meam in Machna quam concessi coram G.<sup>1</sup> Herefordensi Episcopo et affidavi in manu ipsius coram R. priore de Brekenia et parochianis de Bodeham sicut ejus carta et confirmacio melius et plenius testatur. Et ut hec mea donacio rata et inconcussa permaneat et ne ullius fraude vel fallacia in irritum vocetur sigilli mei attestacione eam confirmo. Hijs testibus Ricardo capellano de Bodeham, Mauricio de Machne, Willelmo de Furchis, Bernardo filio Hamonis, Nicholao Bret', Henrico de Kilpech, Willelmo de Bradefeld et multis alijs."

Date about 1150.

*Brian, son of Nicholas Maund, confirms to the church of St. Mary, Bodenham, all the tithes in his fee of Maund:*

"Carta Briennij filii Nicholai de Machena. Universis sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presens carta pervenerit Briennus filius Nicholai de Machena salutem. Notum sit universitati vestre me Briennium filium Nicholai de Machena dedisse et concessisse in perpetuam et puram elemosinam ecclesie sancte Marie de Bodeham totam decimam meam in feudo meo de Machena<sup>2</sup> tam de toto dominico meo quam de villenagio liberam et quietam ab omnibus rebus et consuetudinibus pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et omnium antecessorum et heredum meorum et maxime quia predictae decime sunt infra limites parochiales de Bodeham et de jure parochiali spectant ad ecclesiam sancte Marie de Bodeham, et quia ego et mea sponsa perspeximus oculis nostris cartam Nicholai patris mei in qua predictae donaciones et libertates continentur quam monachi de Brekenia nobis ostenderunt et rogaverunt pro anima patris mei quod ego antecessorum meorum donaciones sigilli mei testimonio confirmarem, et ego annuens rationabilibus precibus eorum donum patris mei pro anima ipsius et mea confirmavi. Hijs testibus Mauricio capellano, Roberto capellano, Nicholao capellano, Osberto de Mo'har, Willelmo de Bedeford, Waltero Druard, et multis alijs."

*Thomas Maund confirms the charter of his grandfather, Nicholas:*

"Carta Thome de Magena.—Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Thomas de Magena pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum et successorum meorum concedo et hac presenti carta confirmo Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Foliott, 1148-62.

<sup>2</sup> Now Maund Brian.

Bodeham omne donum quod Nicholaus de Magena avus meus eidem ecclesie dedit et carta sua confirmavit et ut hec mea concessio et confirmacio rata et inconcussa permaneat presentem cartam sigilli mei impressione roboratam priori et conventui de Brekenia quorum est predicta ecclesia de Bodeham dedi in testimonium, et eandem coram parochianis de Bodeham super altare sancte Marie posui. Hijs testibus Waltero Ever[eo], Willelmo de furches, Waltero de Mora, Rogero de Bodeham, Ricardo decano de Brekenia, Willelmo presbitero de Bodeham, Milone de Beriton, Galfrido coco, et multis alijs."

*Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, inspects and confirms the charters of the founder and other donors to the monks of Brecon :*

"Confirmacio R. Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi.— Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum inspecturis R.<sup>1</sup> dei gratia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Anglie Primas Salutem gratiam et benedictionem. Noverit universitas vestra nos inspexisse cartas dilectorum filiorum monachorum Brekenie in hec verba."

(Here the charter of the founder, two charters of Roger Earl of Hereford, the charter of Bernard, Bishop of St. Davids, relative to the chapel of St. Eleved, and the charters of Gerald and Geoffrey, Bishops of St. David's, as to St. Hay, Llanigon and Talgarth, are set out verbatim.)

*Confirmacio domini A. Menevensis Episcopi:*

"Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum inspecturis. A.<sup>2</sup> divina permissione Menevensis Ecclesie minister humilis salutem et benedictionem. Noverit universitas vestra nos inspexisse transcriptum cartarum Monachorum de Brechonia signatarum sigillo R. bone memorie Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi in hec verba. Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum inspecturis R. dei gratia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Anglie primas, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Noverit universitas vestra nos inspexisse cartas dilectorum filiorum monachorum de Brechonia in hec verba."

(Here follows the first charter of Bernard Newmarch.)

"Acta<sup>3</sup> in Capella Sancti Johannis de Straddewy anno domini 1234 Coram H. Archidiacono et officiale Menevensi et coram L.

<sup>1</sup> Richard, Prior of Dover, consecrated April 1174, ob. February 1183-4; or Richard Weathershed, 1229, ob. 1231.

<sup>2</sup> Anselm, 1230-47.

<sup>3</sup> Added from Bishop Tanner's note of Br. MS., f. 83.

et I. officialibus et G. decano in causa inter Priorem Brekenie et Hothelum Rectorem Sancti Michaelis de Straddewy de duabus partibus decimarum de Kilvaynor in presentia domini Rogeri Pichard Domini de Straddewy.”<sup>1</sup>

*Alicia Baskerville gives to the church of St. John a messuage and croft which Adam, the smith, formerly held of her brother Hector in Bredwardine :*

“Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Alicia de Baskervilla dedi, concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brechonia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus pro salute anime mee antecessorum meorum et successorum meorum totum mesuagium integrum cum crofta quod Adam faber quondam tenuit de Hectore fratre meo in villa de Bredwardyn habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis dictis monachis et successoribus eorum in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosynam adeo libere et quiete sicut aliqua elemosina alicui domui religiose conferri potest. Ego vero dicta Alicia et heredes mei dictis monachis et successoribus eorum totum predictum mesuagium cum crofta una cum omnibus ejus pertinentiis contra omnes gentes inperpetuum warantissabimus et in omnibus versus quoscunque acquietabimus et defendemus. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui hijs testibus Domino Waltero de Baskervile, Rogero de Kadenore, Howelo ap Meurich, Waltero de Brocbery, Petro Clerico, Galfrido Cut, Johanne Muschet et multis alijs.”

Date about 1220.

The following calculations were apparently made in the year 1300 :

“Summa totius decime in tota terra Scotie mmmDcccclvijli. xixs. viijden.

“Summa totius decime terre Hibernie ml. dcxlvijli. xvjs. iiijden.

“Summa totius Anglie et Wallie xxml. Dccclxijli. ijs. iiijden. ob.

<sup>1</sup> The following notes of documents here wanting in the Carte MS. are supplied from Bishop Tanner’s notes of Br. MS. :

P. 97. “Literæ Conventus Brechon’ Waltero Archiepiscopo Cantuar’ constituentes Philippum de Crickowel procuratorem suum in Convocatione cleri in domo abbacie de Leycestr’.”

“Carta Humfridi Comitis Essex’ restituens prioratui Brecon’ libertates quas in manus suas assumpserat. Dat’ 4 Martis xi Edward I.

“Carta Rogeri Comitis Hereford’ confirmans monachis Brecon’ terram de Traveley. Testibus Reginaldo de Waldeboef, Seerio Hagner, Roberto filio Gunteri.”

“Summa totalis omnium decimarum predictarum per annum xxvjml. cccclvijli. xvijs. iiijden. ob.

“Summa totalis de bonis Ecclesiasticis in provincia Cantuariensi (exceptis bonis Templariorum et Hospitaliorum nec non bonis Archiepiscopi Eboracensis et episcopi Dunelmensis in eadem provincia) ccml. xlviij. ccclijmarc. 1d. Inde summa unius denarii de singulis Marcis erunt ml. cxvjlj. xijs. vjd. M. quod in Anglia sunt ecclesie p(arochiales) xlvm. Item sunt ville in Anglia lij. viij.

“Feoda militum lxml. ccxv de quibus religiosi habent xxml. viij xv feoda.

“De qualibet marca secundum Norwyc(ensem) ad subsidium Episcopi anno domini m<sup>o</sup>. ccc tres solidos de porcionibus prioris in Decanatu Brechonie.

“ De Ecclesia de Haya -	-	xxjs. iiijd.
“ De Sancto Eginio -	-	xs. Camerarius.
“ De Talgarth -	-	xxis.
“ Sacrista in eadem -	-	vijs. vjd.
“ De Mara -	-	viijs.
“ De Straddeu -	-	vjs. viijd.
“ De Scatherec -	-	iiijs. vjd.
“ De Devennoc -	-	xiijs. iiijd.
“ De Brechon -	-	xxxvs. vjd.
“ Cantor Gloucestrie id eadem -	-	iiijs. vd.

“Summa porcionis prioris in universo (cxs. iiijd.); unam medietatem in uno termino et aliam medietatem in secundo termino, videlicet in primo lvs. ijd. et secundo termino lvs. ijd.

“De qualibet marca secundum taxationem seu valorem ad subsidium Episcopi viijd. de porcionibus prioris Brecon in Diocese Menevensi.

“ De Ecclesia de Haya -	-	xxjs.
“ De Sancto Eginio -	-	xjs. iiijd.
“ De Talgarth -	-	xxiiijs.
“ De Mara -	-	ixs.
“ De Devennoc -	-	xiijs.
“ De Straddewi -	-	vijs. vjd.
“ De Brechon -	-	xlijs. ix.
“ De Lanveir in Buelt -	-	xviiijs.

“Summa vijli. vis. vjd.”

*Appointment of Thomas Cranbrook as proctor at the election of an Abbot of Battle Abbey :*

“Nos fratres Stephanus Feversayme, Johannes Exeter, Thomas Cranbroke, Robertus Mawr, et Thomas Anselm



Monachi Prioratus Sancti Johannis Evangeliste Brechenie ordinis Sancti Benedicti et Menevensis Diocesis<sup>1</sup> dilectis nobis in Christo comfratribus Domino Willelmo Marley Priori Monasterii Sancti Martini de Bello et ejusdem loci Conventui significamus quod Dominum Thomam Cranbroke constituimus et ordinamus nostrum legitimum procuratorem fore ad electionem futuri Abbatis de Bello faciendam in domo Capitulari ejusdem Monasterii die Jovis proximo post festum Sancti Laurentij proxime futurum. Datum in domo Capitulari Prioratus predicti Sancti Johannis Brechonie, 1 Augusti anno domini 1529.”

*Dismissal by the Abbot of Battle Abbey of Thomas Martyr, one of the monks, with permission to enter the Priory of Abergavenny. 10 November 1533:*

“Dimissio Fratris Thome Martyn<sup>2</sup>.—Johannes permissione divina Abbas Monasterii Sancti Martini de Bello Cicestrensis Diocesis dilecto fidei nostro in Christo Thome Martyn salutem in Domino sempiternam. Sepius nobis tua fraternitas humiliter supplicavit ut tecum misericorditer dispensare dignemur quatenus prioratum de Abergavenny Landavensis Diocesis certis de causis ingredi et fratribus ibidem servientibus valeas incorporari; Nos igitur tuis supplicationibus crebrisque petitionibus inclinantes tecum duximus dispensandum, ita tamen ut post tunc in hujusmodi prioratum ingressus per literas ejusdem loci sigillo conventuali roboratas quam citius poteris de tua ibidem incorporatione nobis certifies. In cujus rei testimonium hec literae nostrae nostro sigillo sunt munite date apud Bellum predictum x<sup>o</sup> die mensis Novembris Anno Domini mdxxxiiij<sup>o</sup>.”

*The Convent's claim of its rights and privileges before the King's Commissioners. 9 August 1529:*

“Anno Christi 1529, 9 Augusti, Clamacio<sup>3</sup> pro libertatibus coram commissarijs regis. Prior et conventus prioratus Sancti Johannis Euangeliste Brechonie clamant tenere omnes terras et tenementa sua res et possessiones suas infra dominia Brechon, Talgarth, et Haye et per totum regnum Anglie ubi res et possessiones habent in puram et perpetuam elemosinam.

ij. “Item quod omnes homines sui liberi sint et quieti ab

<sup>1</sup> The rest is supplied from Bishop Tanner's note of the Brewster MS., f. 3a.

<sup>2</sup> “N.B. Lhaw dhiwedhar.” (N.B. A recent hand.)

<sup>3</sup> “N.B. Lhaw dhiwedhar yw hon.” (This is a recent hand.)

omni toloneo et omnia mercata sua ubique absque toloneo faciant et quod habeant catalla fugitivorum suspensorum et quorumcunque dampnatorum qui de ipsis demeritentur et eciam catalla forinsecorum qui infra libertatem ipsorum iudicati fuerint que quidem catalla infra libertatem ipsorum cum ipsis malefactoribus inventa fuerint, et quod cedentibus vel decedentibus prioribus ejusdem loci ipsi monachi habeant custodiam prioratus sui omnium terrarum et tenementorum ad ipsum prioratum pertinentium et liberam administracionem de omnibus rebus et possessionibus ad eundem prioratum pertinentibus.

iiij. "Et quod omnes sui tam Burgenses quam alij liberi sint et quieti de shiris et hundredis et placitis accionibus querelis et si aliquis hominum suorum deprehensus fuerit latrocinio vel aliquo modo convictus bona et catalla ipsius erunt priori et monachis et sola executio mortis et membrorum erit Domino Breconie et ejus ministris.

iiij. "Et quod nullus ballivus vel minister ingrediatur terras aut tenementa eorundem prioris et conventus ad aliquas districtiones summoniciones seu ad aliquid faciendum quod ad officium suum pertinet nisi ob defectu ipsius prioris et ballivorum suorum et quod habeant curiam suam per omnia dominia sua et omnes Justicias suas tenendas de omnibus rebus et negocijs suis.

v. "Et quod habeant piscacionem in Mara pro iij diebus singulis septimanis et singulis diebus in Adventu et Quadragesima cum una cimba libere et quiete sine aliquo impedimento et contradicione cujuscunque.

vj. "Et quod habeant omnes decimas pullanorum vitulorum agnorum et caseorum lini (et) communium [rerum] unde decime poterint promoveri de omnibus forestis domini per totum honorem Breconie et totam decimam tocius ville Brecon et totam decimam tocius expense in dominicis domini sive assit sive absit et decimam Jardarii de Haya et decimam omnium vaccarum de donis Wallensibus et decimam omnium predictorum quas supra inimicos suos Dominus accipere poterit.

vij. "Et quod habeant curiam suam de omnibus hominibus terris possessionibus et omnibus rebus suis liberam et quietam et decimam tocius panis et potus et tocius expense de Castello de Haia et de ceteris dominijs Domini per totam Brechoniam. Et si per subjectionem et diminucionem seu dilacionem ministrorum domini melius voluerint loco dicte decime habeant decimam tocius bladi ad ostia grangiarum castrorum Brechonie et Haya. Et si qua terre et maneria de honore Brechonie in dominium domini aliquo casu devenerint tunc fore eadem in eis de decimis et de omnibus alijs predictis habeant et propriant.

viiij. “Et si sumagium portatur in terra Brechonia de dominijs domini ab Anglia decimam habeant inde undecunque fuerit. Item clamant habere decimas omnium placitorum tolneorum donorum lucrorum reddituum de Brechonia provenientium et omnium rerum et bonorum que dominus adquisierit in Wallis et liberam pasturam omnibus animalibus suis in forestis domini per totum honorem Breconie et decimas porcorum de pannagio domini et vaccarum de donis Wallencibus et decimas omnium molendinorum domini et omnium lucrorum per totum honorem Brechonie.

“Item clamant omnia molendina de parochia Brechonie cum tota multura.

“De appropriatione Ecclesiarum de Haya Sancti Egion de Mara et de Talgarth per Honorium auctoritate apostolica confirmata.”

“Honorius<sup>1</sup> Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei dilectis filiis priori et monachis Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Brekemio salutem et apostolicam Benedictionem.” (*Imperfect.*)

Bishop Tanner notes also the following documents as in the Brewster MS. :—

p. 102. “Innocentij P. confirmatio appropriationis Ecclesie de Llanavan vaur et aliarum Ecclesiarum de Buelt.

p. 103. “Bonifacii P. confirmatio Johanni Priori et monachis Brechon de appropriationibus omnibus anno Pontificatus xi<sup>mo</sup>.

p. 107. “Carta Roberti Halden Prioris Brechon constituens Procuratorem pro colligendis citra Dioc. Menev. elemosynis fidelium imagini S. Crucis Brecon pro 3<sup>bus</sup> annis. Dat’ 4 Maij 1530.

p. 110. “Termini terrarum de quibus dominus Prior Brechon recipit duas partes decimarum in villa de Straddewy.”<sup>2</sup>

Since the preface was written I have obtained a copy of Bishop Tanner’s notes, made “ex libro Prioratus S. Johannis Evang. Brechonie (membran. 8vo.)” on 27th December 1697. A careful perusal of these notes satisfies me that the Brewster MS. book was the original from which the Carte MS. was directly or indirectly derived, and that to which Bishop Kennett refers. The Brewster

<sup>1</sup> “Lhaw hèn yw hou’.” (This is an old hand.)

<sup>2</sup> Probably the first two documents in Carte series.

MS. was written on parchment. It commenced with the account of the foundation of Brecon Priory in the "Chronicon de Bello", verbatim. Tanner then notes, "Iterum de fundatione hujus cellæ narratio sed priori brevior, et in ea contenta; ambo manu haud antiqua." Then follows the appointment of Thomas Cranbrooke as Proctor at the ensuing election of an Abbot of Battle, 1st August 1529, imperfectly copied nearly at the end of the Carte MS. Next the Charters of the Conqueror and succeeding kings to Battle Abbey, followed by Bernard Newmarch's Charters to Brecon Priory.

Taking Bernard's Charters as a starting point, the documents follow in regular sequence in both MSS. down to the Charter of Payne de Burghill. The same repetitions occur in both, and the same order generally prevails, if the Carte MS. is rearranged with the light of the Tanner notes, and allowance is made for omissions in Carte. The Carte MS. was copied by three different persons, who did not take the trouble to see that the work of each fitted into that of the other, or that the transcript was complete. Thus documents have been omitted, while some remain unfinished, and words, where the writing was unintelligible to the writer, are copied in an imperfect *fac-simile*; this explanation seems the more necessary as the Brewster MS. is not forthcoming. Dr. John Davies of Jesus College, obtained the loan of it in 1697 for Bishop Tanner; what became of it afterwards is unknown. Dr. Brewster married Susannah, the widow of the Rev. Rees Powell of Boughrood, as appears by the tablet to her memory in Brecon Priory church. Powell was the founder of an extensive charity still administered at Brecon. Brewster may, from this connexion, have become possessed of the MS. Shortly before his death he gave five MSS. to the Bodleian library (Hearne's *Diary*, MS., 1715, No. 53, p. 156), where the following passage occurs: — "Dr. William Brewster, the Physician of Hereford, is dead, and hath left St. John's College

(of which he was a commoner) £2,000 to purchase advowsons, besides a good number of books." These five MSS. are described in Hearne's *Diary*, and also in the donation book of the Bodleian library, which contains the full titles of the printed books given by Brewster to the library; but no mention of the Brecon Priory book is made, as one of the five MSS., nor is it among the books in the donation book.

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My attention has been called to the following documents among the muniments of Magdalen College, Oxford, by the Rev. W. D. Macray, who has published some extracts from the Prior's answers to the articles exhibited against him by the Abbot of Battle, in the Appendix to the Eighth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, p. 266, col. b. Mr. Macray, forming his opinion from the character of the handwriting, considers that the Prior's answers formed part of a roll of the first half of the fourteenth century. A perusal of them, however, inclines me to think that the roll belongs rather to the latter end of the thirteenth century. My reasons for so thinking are:—

1. That the Prior refers to the period of his office as a time of war, which may have been the war between the barons and King Henry III.

2. He refers, in another answer, to the lady of Brynlllys, who may be identified with Maude de Longespée. Walter de Clifford, the owner of Brynlllys Castle and manor, had a daughter Maud, who married William de Longespée, son of the Earl of Salisbury. Her husband died in 1257, and she succeeded as heir to all her father's possessions on his death in 1263. From that time until 1270 she held Brynlllys in her own right. In the latter year she complained to the King that John Gifford had taken her by force from her manor house at Kanesford to his Castle of Brimmesfield,—an offence which John Gifford commuted by payment to the King of 300 marcs, for marrying without the King's licence. (Dugd., *Baronage*.) The lands of which John died

seized, of Maúd's inheritance, were, after their deaths, divided among her four daughters in 1298. (*Abbrev. Rot. Originalium*, p. 107.)

3. Humphrey de Bohun is mentioned in a subsequent answer of the Prior. The frequent occurrence of Humphrey as a Christian name in the De Bohun family creates confusion; but I think he may be identified with Humphrey de Bohun, the son of Humphrey de Bohun and Eleanor de Braose, who succeeded to the lordship of Brecon on his father's death in 1267, and on the death of his grandfather in 1274 became Earl of Hereford and Essex. He is further identified by the mention, in the Prior's answers, of Gilbert as his brother, and the occurrence of the name of "Gilbert de Boun" as one of the witnesses to Humphrey's confirmation to Brecon Priory. We may therefore conclude that the Prior held office from 1260 to 1270, if not until a later period. It is unfortunate that the Prior's name cannot be ascertained.

*Magd. Coll. Muniments; Miscell., 297. A Roll, on Parchment, 22 ins. by 6.*

"Ad primum Articulum respondet sic.

"De insufficiencia regiminis imposita priori sic respondet. quod quamvis ad omne regimen sit insufficiens quia tamen ex obediencia sibi injuncta datus fuit ad regimen et gwerra superveniens primo tempore sui adventus et huc vsque continuata impossibilem se reddidit ad regimen quia depredatus et ex aliis diuersis causis gravatus juvare se non poterat.

"De hoc quod dicitur quod non est discretus in factis sed tantum in verbis respondet quod salva pace dicencium facta sua secuta sunt uerba sicut potest videri in maneriorum emendacione et debitorum exhoneracione sicut per comptum apparebit.

"Item de hoc quod imponitur ei de negligencia obsequii divini respondet quod nisi occupatus fuerit in negotio domus vel infirmitate detentus quod sepius contingit per quandam guttam<sup>1</sup> supervenientem sue salutis immemor horas, missam et alia divina non omisit nec contempsit.

"Item ad hoc quod amisit credenciam pro infidelitate promisorum respondet quod non stetit per eum quin promissa teneret sed potius ex honore debitorum tempore suo solutorum quo

<sup>1</sup> The gout.

honore a tempore Stephani Prioris fuit domus ipsa honorata non potuit tenere promissa.

“Item de tempore compoti sui non soluti coram conventu respondet, quod paratus est solvere compotum de receptis suis in fide vera & quia hactenus non soluit respondet quod non poterat facere, quia non recepit compotum a suis servientibus et quia obedientiarii sui nondum solverunt ej compotum et sunt parati; non poterit coram conventu certum soluere compotum quousque super hoc fuerit instructus et ipse audito compoto eorum respondere paratus est.

“Item de ebrietate sua et aliis viciis maliciose ei impositis respondet, quod ante tempora sua modus fuit priorie et est quod inter hospites suos et Walenses necesse habet pretendere se petere potum et potare cum eis salva disciplina sobrietatis: de clamore et ostentacione sua et verbositate respondet quod in publico nunquam exhibuit se clamorose nec verbosum nec contenciosum contra honestatem regule sed in mensa propter pacem domus sese exhibuit jocundum.

“Item ad hoc quod dicitur quod nimis aspere et inordinate et cum toruo vultu<sup>1</sup> et austero corripit fratres respondet quod salva pace dicendum dictum non est verum quia ab inicio sue puericie talia nunquam fuerunt ei objecta; sed mitibus mitis, et austeris et inordinatis minus quam decuit austerus apparuit.

“Item de hoc quod raro jacet in conventu respondet quod hoc bene fatetur, quia gutta sua et morbus superveniens aliquando est ei in impedimento; nec est sine socio in camera<sup>2</sup> quia cum sepius habeat fratrem et commonachum nunquam est sine certo scutario<sup>3</sup> et hostium<sup>4</sup> inter conventum et ipsum semper est patulum<sup>5</sup> lucerna semper de noctibus in illa camera accensa.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur ipsum non debere revelasse confessionem fratrum hoc omnino et plane difficietur, et si sit aliquis qui hoc voluerit probare, audiatur.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur, quod ponit garciones indiscretos et infideles et luxuriosos ad custodienda maneria sua, et amovit fideles, respondet quod quidam Jacobus qui fuit ballivus apud Bodenham pro feloniam sibi a Vicecomite Herefordie imposita fuit amotus de cuius iniquitate iste articulus processit ut creditur et alius loco ipsius subrogatus habebatur sufficiens & fidelis secundum conscienciam suam secundum quod apparebit in fine

<sup>1</sup> For “vultu”.

<sup>2</sup> As to the arrangements of the dormitory, see Bloxam's *Gothic Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> An attendant; but the meaning is obscure.

<sup>4</sup> For “ostium”, the door or passage.

<sup>5</sup> Open.

sui finalis compoti de cuius luxuria ignorat Item de bonis illorum maneriorum videlicet Beritone et Bodeham in vsus conuentus ut dicitur non conuersis respondet quod blada in vsus conuentus et releuacionem debitorum et exaccionem ordinario- rum et decimarum regis et solucionem debitorum Gaudini et ballivorum regis ibidem confluentium tota die sunt expensa sicut per compotum vltimum inuenietur.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur de infidelitate cuiusdam Dodini custodientis grangiam respondet quod a puericia sua ipsum est secutus et fidelem ipsum inuenit nec constat ei de contrario et compotum suum fideliter reddit et si sit aliquis qui ei furtum velit imponere, respondebit.

“Item ad hoc quod dicitur quod manumisit quosdam absque consensu conuentus salua pace dicencium negat de plano quia unus ipsorum videlicet ille de Berytona optinuit super hoc gra- tiam conuentus et habet sigillum capituli quod non liberatur nisi de consensu totius capituli Item de alio videlicet Bene- dicto Portario castri respondet quod ad instanciam Domini Abba- tis conuentus concessit ei libertatem corporis sui sine gleba et de hoc habuit sigillum capituli.<sup>1</sup>

“Item de pignoribus apposis in Iudaismo pro duodecim libris respondet verum esse quod de consensu conuentus accepit duodecim marcas in vsum decimarum regis Willelmo de Sca- therok<sup>2</sup> soluendas et visa magna curialitate<sup>3</sup> Judeorum et maxima necessitate domus ingruente<sup>4</sup> quamuis inuitus recepit sex mar- cas quarum quatuor liberavit apud Herefordiam pro decima regis de anno preterito et viginti solidos pro decima manerii de Berytona et circa mutuum contra[h]endum dimidiam marcam ad suas expensas, et de hoc quod dicitur quod libri adhuc de armariolo<sup>5</sup> remanent apud Iudeos hoc penitus negat quia qui- dam burgensis de Lodelawe<sup>6</sup> ipsos habet in salua custodia ad vsum domus; et de<sup>7</sup> ciphro et cocleariis<sup>8</sup> impignoratis inuenit amicum qui tradidit ei mutuo apud Herefordiam viginti solidos quos soluit Rogero Gontyer Preterea ille ciphus non fuit de domo Breconie sed coclearia sunt.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod vendidit vnum conredium<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is an interesting instance of the manumission of villeins (“adscripti glebæ”). See a series of notes of grants, sales, and manumissions of serfs about this period, in *Muniments of Magdalen College, Oxford*, by Rev. W. D. Murray, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Scethrog.

<sup>3</sup> Courtesy or kindness.

<sup>4</sup> Attacking or pressing.

<sup>5</sup> Small library or bookcase.

<sup>6</sup> Ludlow.

<sup>7</sup> For “scypho”, a vase.

<sup>8</sup> Cups.

<sup>9</sup> A corrody, a sum of money, or allowance of food, drink, cloth-



irrequisito Episcopo respondet quod libenter et deuote requisisset assensum Episcopi super hoc et ipsius adquevisset consilio sed quia in remotis fuit partibus et magna necessitas ingruebat et aspera fuit annona recepit pecuniam ipsam conuersam in sustentacionem conuentus quam pecuniam gessit in proposito liberasse cauersinis<sup>1</sup> propter iuramentum quod fecerat coram conuentu nisi maior necessitas ad hoc eum coegisset et de conredio vendito et iuramento summittit se gratie.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod dixit fratribus ante visitacionem Episcopi si qua essent corrigenda tangencia personam suam bene corrigerentur sine Episcopo per Abbatem qui in breui venturus est, salua pace dicentium minus bene dicitur quia ex disciplina regulari et obediencia uult et semper uoluit domino Episcopo obedire et Abbati secundum regulam et suam professionem et ita semper uult<sup>2</sup> et uoluit quod fratres sui faciant et si super hoc reperiatur se deliquisse summittit se gratie.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod tenet Johannem Page inhonestum et luxuriosum respondet quod quamcito deuenit ad eius notitiam ipsum amouit.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod quidam monachus mitissimus transtulit se ad predicatores<sup>3</sup> propter malitiam prioris respondet salua pace dicentium non esse verum quia cum secum esset associatus de abbacia usque ad Breconiam et ibi aliquamdiu stetit transtulit se licencia non petita cum pannis<sup>4</sup> suis furtiue ad fratres cum crederetur ipsum celebrasse apud capellam de bello et postea confitebatur coram domina de Brendles<sup>5</sup> erga priorem deliquisse et pecijt instantissime diuine caritatis intuitu et illius domine precum interuentu cum lacrimis quod ipsa interponeret preces pro eo quod indulgeret ei de recessu suo illicito; teste domina illa.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod vendidit de bosco de Berytona viginti solidatas respondet quod non vendidit nisi septemdecim solidatas; si deliquit summittit se gratie.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod consanguineum suum Sampsonem sustinet in scolis de bonis prioratus absque consensu conuentus, respondet quod credidit super hoc conuentus sui consensum et voluntatem ad plenum interuenisse eo quod in iactu<sup>6</sup>

ing, and lodging, due from a monastery on a conditional grant to it by the donor. For an example of a corrody, see *Mun. Magd. Coll., Oxford*, p. 21.

<sup>1</sup> For “caorcinis”, usurers.

<sup>2</sup> For “uult”.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the friars preachers of the religious house in Llanvaes, known since as Christ’s College.

<sup>4</sup> Dress of his order, garments.

<sup>5</sup> Brynlllys.

<sup>6</sup> Statement or casting.

singulorum compotorum facta fuit de eo mencio et non fuit aliquis qui obloqueretur.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod non debuit tradidisse ad firmam porcionem suam in ecclesia de Devennok<sup>1</sup> Johanni vaghan vxorato contra prohibicionem Episcopi respondet quod dominus Episcopus apud Lantefey<sup>2</sup> constitutus super hoc ipsum priorem posuit ad rationem et reprehendit et in fine ei iniunxit quod ita de cetero non faceret vnde quamcito terminus transierit amovebitur.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod fecit firmacionem<sup>3</sup> cum Gronnov ab Sampson de debito in quo ei tenentur non computatis magnis expensis quas frequenter fecerunt in domo pro ipso cum statutum esset contrarium per Episcopum, respondet quod scit et credit statutum Episcopi esse pium et karitativum maxime interuentu et consensu fratrum, quia cum idem Gronnotus miseria et inedia et fame pressus ad ipsum cum declinaret misericordia ductus ipsum ad mensam admisit nolens computare sortem in vsuras ; si in hoc deliquit summittit se gratie.

“Item in hoc quod dicitur statuta episcopi non esse observata nec recitata debito modo, respondet non solum statuta sive ordinationes et precepta et cetera que ej erunt iniuncta obedienter et reuerenter velle debere observare ; et si in hoc in aliquo prius deliquit reddit se culpabilem et petit gratiam.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod tradidit ad firmam quandam terram Rogero Guntyer sine consensu conuentus, respondet quod non ... sed mutuuum cum eo contraxit et mutuuum ei soluit.

.....<sup>4</sup> quod dedit domino Humfredo de Bohon vnum palefridum et faceret ei habere<sup>5</sup>.....

“Item<sup>6</sup> de hoc quod dicitur quod deficiunt eis quatuor monachi de numero debito, respondet quod non stat per eum sed potius per dominum Abbatem et quanto plures haberet bonos socios tanto maius haberet gaudium, hoc sciat Deus.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod domus multo plus est obligata de debitis quam dicat prior et de multis debitis solutis et expensis ab eodem factis pro vt ostendit in quodam rotulo multa falsa dicit et multa recepit que ibidem non computat, respondet quod in rotulo compotj non continentur nisi vera preter quam hoc quod tacuit per obliuionem duas marcas et dimidiam in quibus tenetur Daud Portarius, et si inquirere poterit per suos ballios quod maius sit debitum, quam in rotulo contineatur appo-

<sup>1</sup> Devynock.

<sup>2</sup> Lamphey.

<sup>3</sup> “Firmacio”, same as “firmitas”, an arrangement.

<sup>4</sup> Two inches torn off.

<sup>5</sup> Also a line, lines, or part of a line.

<sup>6</sup> The back of the roll begins here. Margin of three inches at the top, with *Brechon* only written upon it.

netur in rotulo et respondebit fideliter coram illis quibus redditurus est compotum.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod cum corripitur ab aliquo fratre minatur ipsum mittere ad Abbatem respondet quod cum aliquis fratrum minus civili modo et in spiritu furoris ipsum reprehendat affectans pacem pectoris tacet, sed si denuo impetuose ipsum reprehendat modeste respondit quod si fuerit necesse Abbas ipsum castigabit secundum formam regule.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod contra aduentum episcopi attraxerat sibi socios quosdam et maxime suppriorem qui prius sibi erat contrarius et fratrem Robertum quem friuolis suis verbis decepit, respondet quod quia vidit fratrem Ricardum suppriorem in consiliis et in aliis expediendis sibi necessarium et subtilem in negociis et discipline regularis strictum conseruato-rem confederauit eum sibi et fratrem Robertum quem Dominus Abbas ad eum misit tanquam sodalem similiter ei confederauit et maxime quia ab infancia ipsum dilexit quia fuit magister suus in scolis et homo naturalis amoris et sciat Deus quod non est aliud in causa.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod tradidit ad firmam ecclesiam de Talgar pro lxx. marcis quas soluit cauersinis quibus debuit satisfacisse de xxxv marcis receptis de conredio vendito, respondet ut supra in illo articulo de conredio vendito.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod prostrauit boscum de Moneketona de quo solebant habere meremium ad molendina et ad gurgites et ad alia necessaria, respondet quod de bosco ipso nunquam vastum fecit sed tempore illo quo molendina sua omnia fuerunt combusta et gurgites et vnum molendinum per aquarum alluionem penitus asportatum et molendinum fullonum penitus destructum nec ad ipsorum reparacionem aliunde posset habere meremium propter temporis maliciam necesse habuit de meremio proprio amputare ne molendina ociosa iacerent in quibus magna pars substancie eorum consistit.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod cellararius<sup>1</sup> per priorem habet tres obediencias<sup>2</sup> scilicet cellarariam camerariam<sup>3</sup> elemosinariam<sup>4</sup> contra statutum episcopi, respondet quod quia vidit ipsum cellararium fidelem secundum conscienciam suam et in negotiis multum diligentem et sollicitum pro ut apparet per suam admi-

<sup>1</sup> For “cellarius”, one who has charge of the provisions and management of the house.

<sup>2</sup> “Terme générique, par lequel on désignait toutes les charges et dignités dans les maisons conventuelles, même celle d’Abbe ou supérieur.” (Migne, *Lex. Med. et Inf. Latinitatis*.)

<sup>3</sup> Chamberlain, who had care of the dormitory.

<sup>4</sup> Almoner.

nistracionem commisit ei curam ad tempus elemosinarie prouidebit tamen in breui de alio per consilium seniorum fratrum, et si in hoc deliquit summittit se gracie.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur de sua incontinenca in tribus articulis subscriptis offert suam purgacionem et a Deo expectat vindictam ab eis qui sibi tale crimen imposuerunt.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod amoueri fecit oues de quibus consueuerunt singulis diebus duos caseos facere et dedit falso intelligere conuentui quod mortue sunt omnes, respondet quod visa mortalitate communi ipsarum ouium et cum melius expediret eas vendere quam mortalitatem sustinere vendidit superstites singula capita pro viij denariis et ementes sustinuerunt magnam iacturam pro mortalitate ipsarum ouium subsequente.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod dedit equas oues et boues et multa alia sine consilio et consensu conuentus, respondet quod sepius conquerebatur ei dominus Humfridus de sua paupertate et insufficiencia bonorum volens ipsum sicut patronum suum pro vt decuit releuare dedit ei duas equas et postea vnum equum precii v. marcarum; Item Amiano consiliario ipsius vnam equam, et Abbati quia conquerebatur quod non habuit equam in parco suo portatilem de voluntate conuentus dedit ei duas, quia dicebat conuentus quod parum esset dare vnam Abbati Item dedit domino Gileberto fratri Comitis vnum bouem ad instaurandum suum nouum manerium Item dedit vnam equam domino Johanni de Scalariis<sup>1</sup> Senescallo et consiliario Comitis Item dedit tres iuuenulas fetas pueris domini Johannis Tregand et vnam equam de consensu conuentus, qui nobis magnam curialitatem<sup>2</sup> fecit de bonis suis scilicet vnum carrum ferratum nouum et vnam carectam nouam et duo paria rotarum ad carrum et duo dolia plena de sicera<sup>3</sup> et quatuor bacones et vnum carcoys bouis, et de venacione sua et vino et medone<sup>4</sup> sepius largitus est conuentui, et est in omnibus nobis propicius et amicus specialis; si in hoc deliquit summittit se gracie.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod prior est dilapidator temporalium domus et omnino insufficiens ut predictum est ad regimen domus mendax adulator et suspectus de furtiua alienacione bonorum domus, respondet se esse insufficientem sicut in primo articulo qui de insufficiencia notatur superius De ceteris reddit se culpabilem coram Deo et vobis et petit veniam et promittit

<sup>1</sup> Probably John de Scales, 33-49 Henry III, mentioned in Dugdale's *Baronage*, tome i, 617.

<sup>2</sup> Kindness or courtesy.

<sup>3</sup> A term which includes beer, cider, or perry, or other like drink, not wine.

<sup>4</sup> Mead.

emendam excepto vno videlicet de furtiua alienacione quia sciat Deus quod nunquam fuit fur sed a fidelibus parentibus oriundus et in puericia bene disciplinatus et de hoc inuocat Deum testem et dominum Abbatem de bello et fratrem Robertum quondam suum magistrum.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod dedit fratri Ricardo suppriori tunicam de burneto<sup>1</sup> parum ante visitacionem episcopi ut attraheret ipsum ad partem suam et celaret facta ipsius, respondet quod nichil sciuit de futura visitacione eo tempore quo dedit sed parum ante Natale domini anni presentis dedit ei tunicam et hoc propter suam magnam curialitatem quam ei facit supportando onus ordinis in sua ausencia.

“Item de hoc quod dicitur quod prior seminat multas discordias et viles in domo inter fratres et extra et mentitus est Abbati super pluribus contra fratres suos, respondet quod super hoc laudat Abbatem auctorem et conuentum inter quos in pluribus officiis scilicet in sacristaria<sup>2</sup> in hostelaria<sup>3</sup> in refectorio et in cellararia per quinque annos et in officio Senescalli per tres annos et nunquam ei talia fuerunt obiecta.”

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*Magd. Coll. Muniments, Oxford. Miscell., 227. (1435.)*

*Appointment of Thomas Hamon as Prior of Brecon,  
10 July 1435.*

“Willelmus permissione divina Abbas Monasterii Sancti Martini de Bello dilectis nobis in Christo Johanni Exceter, Willelmo Oxenford, Stephano Feveresham, Thome Bridde et Michaeli Dyst, monachis Celle nostre Brekonie, cum benediccione salutem. Quia ad prioratum dicte Celle nostre Brekonie per liberam resignacionem nostri predicti Willelmi Abbatis nuper ipsius prioratus Prioris vacantem et ad nostram prouisionem spectantem Fratrem Thomam Hamon providimus et prefecimus in Priorem Vobis igitur omnibus et singulis precipimus et mandamus quatinus dicto Fratri, Thome Hamon, tanquam legitimo Priori vestro humiliter obediatis reverenciam ei debitam ut condecet exhibendo In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Datum in Monasterio nostro predicto decimo die mensis Julii Anno Domini Millesimo .cccc<sup>mo</sup>. tricesimo quinto.”

<sup>1</sup> For “bruneto”, a cloth or stuff dyed, and not of the natural colour of the wool.

<sup>2</sup> Sacristan or treasurer.

<sup>3</sup> As the monk who receives strangers in the guest-chamber.

*Magd. Coll. Muniments, Oxford. Misc. 239.*<sup>1</sup>

*The Prior's Oath of Office.*

[.....<sup>2</sup> “de Monachis] Monasterij Sancti Martini de Bello et in eodem expresse professus ad p[rioratum sive cellam?] Sancti Johannis Euangeliste de Breconia Meneuensis diocesis ab eodem Monasterio de Bello .....<sup>3</sup> et eidem subditum et subiectum presentatum juro ad hec sancta Dei euangelia pro me corporaliter tacta canonicam obedienciam Venerabili in Christo patri domino Thome Dei gracia Abbati dicti Monasterij prelato meo et successoribus in forma subscripta, videlicet quod postquam ad dictum prioratum siue cellam admissus fuero et institutus ac inductus in eodem jura et possessiones dicti prioratus pro viribus sustinebo et manutenebo, ac illa illesa conseruabo, necnon iura et possessiones amissa et deperdita pro posse recuperabo, ac recuperari procurabo De possessionibus eciam ad dictum prioratum siue cellam pertinentibus nullas faciam alienaciones Corrodia insuper seu pensiones a dicto prioratu non concedam absque consensu Abbatis et Conuentus monasterij prelibati Monachis michi a Monasterio predicto per Abbatem [meum<sup>4</sup>] missis seu mittendis iuxta facultates prioratus predicti sufficienter in vite necessarijs ..... Monachis eciam ad dictum prioratum mittendis remittendis seu reuocandis equitaturam competentem vna cum solitis expensis faciam prouideri. Monachos insuper ab Abbate meo predicto et successoribus suis [mihi?] destinatos seu destinandos omni excusacione postposita acceptabo Reuocatos eciam monachos per eundem Abbatem et successores suos literis meis commendaticijs si quas meruerint remittam ad dictum monasterium sine mora Aliquosque Monachos absque speciali Commissione Abbatis mei predicti vel successorum suorum in dicto prioratu radi non

<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Magdalen College Muniments (Miscell. 234) is a fragment of a deed dated 1435, which appears to relate to the election of the Prior of Brecon, and to have been an appointment of proctors for the occasion. The name of Stephen Feversham occurs in it, also “John William Morgan ap David”; but the right hand half of the deed alone remains, the original deed having been cut in half. The back of the right hand half has been used for an indenture containing an inventory of the plate belonging to Battle Abbey.

<sup>2</sup> Two or three words are worm-eaten here,—“Ego Thomas unus”?

<sup>3</sup> Two words gone.

<sup>4</sup> “Meum” is crossed through, and some words have been written above, but they are quite gone.

faciam seu quomodolibet profiteri Et cum per Abbatem meum predictum seu aliquos successorum suorum vocatus fuero pro aliquibus negocijs monasterium vel prioratum predictum concernentibus cessante legitimo impedimento personaliter accedam excusationes minus veras seu legitimas totaliter postponendo In negocijs utramque domum concernentibus pro posse meo consilium prebebo et iuuamen Et si placuerit abbati meo predicto seu alicui successorum suorum dictum prioratum siue cellam tanquam sibi subiectum seu subiectam per se vel per alium seu alios visitare ipsum vt Abbatem meum et prelatum tanquam meum in ea parte superiorem ac eius Commissarium seu Commissarios tanquam meos eciam in ea parte superiores cum debita reuerencia acceptabo visitacionemque dicti Abbatis Commissarij seu Commissariorum suorum obedienter et humiliter subibo Sibi eciam et suis ac Commissario seu Commissarijs suis necessaria in esculentis et poculentis quamdiu visitacio huiusmodi durauerit providebo Reformationi correctioni et punicioni eiusdem seu eorundem parebo et obediam cum effectu Pensionem annuam xx solidorum monasterio predicto nomine subieccionis abolim debitam et consuetam fideliter soluam Jocalia eciam conuentualia de triennio in triennium nomine specierum debita vel saltem tres libros sterlingorum pro eisdem solui faciam indilate Monachis insuper de Bello Oxonie vel alibi studentibus pro rata porcione facultatis prioratus predicti seu ad Capitulum generale missis tanquam ad communem vtilitatem proficiscentibus de expensis providebo cum debite fuero requisitus Et quod nulli persone Abbati meo predicto seu Monasterio de Bello in aliquo aduersanti consilium prebebo auxilium seu fauorem sed dampnis siue periculis Abbati seu monasterio predicto imminentibus totis viribus obuiabo Et si contingat quod absit me premissis aut alicui parti eorum quouis modo contrauenire, tunc volo et consencio quod admissio institucioque et induccio de me in dicto prioratu siue cella de B[re]chonia] facte ipso iure sint nulle, et nullius extunc sint roboris vel momenti; sed eisdem admissioni institucioni et induccioni ac ipsi prioratui siue celle necnon iuri et titulo quibuscunque michi pretextu presentacionis ad dictum prioratum siue cellam adquisitis seu acquirendis necnon omnibus et singulis prouocacionibus appellacionibus exceptionibus alijsque Juris Civilis et Canonici atque Regij remedijs quibuscunque palam publice et expresse mea pura et spontanea voluntate exnunc prout extunc et extunc prout exnunc cedo recedo et renuncio; et volo et consencio quod extunc a dicto prioratu siue cella ipso facto sim ammotus pariter et priuatus ita quod tunc liceat Abbati dicti Monasterii de Bello cuicunque pro tempore existenti alium

monachum ad dictum prioratum siue cellam de B[rechonia] predictam tanquam vacantem vigore renunciacionis mee predicte presentare, quem sic presentatum volo et consencio in ipso prioratu siue cella intitulari nulla alia ammocione siue priuacione de me quouismodo in ea parte faciendâ. Omnia similiter et singula premissa iuxta formam suprascriptam Abbati predicto et successoribus suis me fideliter obseruaturum promitto in hijs scriptis sicut me deus adiuuet et hec facta Dei euangelia.”

*Letters of Archbishop Peckham to Reginald fitz Peter, complaining of his injuries to the men and animals of the Prior of Brecknoek:*

“Domino Reginaldo filio Petri pro Abbate de Bello<sup>1</sup> Frater Johannes, etc.—Nobili viro domino Reginaldo filio Petri<sup>2</sup> salutem, etc. Non sine vehementi admiracione et amaritudine cordis intelleximus quia vos libertatibus ecclesiasticis non satis ut honestatem vestram decuit deferentes occasione cuiusdam Monachi de Brekynok sue regularis discipline censuram ipsius exigentibus meritis ab eo loco nuper amoti predicti prioratus capi et attachiari fecistis averiam et quasdam personas carcerali custodie mancipari in non modicam libertatis ecclesie lesionem et detrimentum et animarum, cum igitur talem presumpcionis enormitatem negamus convenientibus oculis pertransire, que famam et honestatem vestram deformat plurimum ac in Dei et ecclesie necnon tocius religionis redundat injuriam vos ut filium carissimum rogamus monemus pariter et hortamur quatenus predicta gravamina sine dilacionis tedio revocetis et errata faciatis in melius reformari ne urgente necessitate pro hujus facti remedio aliter manus nostras extendere compellamur. Quid autem super hoc decreveritis rescribatis per presencium portitorem. Valeat.—Data apud Suthmall viij Idu Julii anno quinto (1283).

“Domino Reginaldo filio Petri pro Priore Breconie,<sup>3</sup> Frater Johannes etc. nobili viro domino Reginaldo filio Petri salutem gratiam et benedictionem. In progressu vicitacionis nostre<sup>4</sup> in diocese Menevensi non sine cordis amaritudine quedam relatione didicimus fidedigna quod vos videlicet Dei timore postposito et

<sup>1</sup> Register of Archbishop Peckham, fo. 198B. Lambeth Palace.

<sup>2</sup> Lord of Blaenllyfni and Dinas, younger son of Peter Fitz Herbert. He died in 1285.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., fo. 209.

<sup>4</sup> The Archbishop held a metropolitan visitation of the Welsh dioceses in 1284. (*History of St. David's*, p. 299.)



spreto religionis honore prioratum Breconie gravatis multipliciter ultra modo ejusdem homines destruentes et eorum averia et bona alia per vos et ballivos vestros contra Deum et justiciam occupantes ac alias domum ipsam diversimodo molestantes propter quod regularis disciplina minuitur subtrahuntur inibi opera caritatis et subvertitur religio quasi tota. Et quia non possumus sicut nec debemus tam enormes excessus convenientibus oculis ulterius pertransire, nobilitatem vestram et servum cui mors minatur de die in diem rogamus monemus in Domino pariter et hortamur quatenus ab his molestiis et gravaminibus et injuriis a modo penitus desistatis, ita quod inde clamor non perveniat iteratus, scituri pro certo quod nisi monicionibus nostris parueritis in hac parte, non dissimulabimus amplius quin contra vos et vestros in iis et aliis prout justum fuerit procedamus. Data apud Hampton Idibus Augusti anno sexto (1284).”

CARTULARIUM PRIORATUS S. JOH. EVANG.  
DE BRECON.

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## THE FRENCH LANDING AT FISHGUARD.

ON the third day of the month Ventose, in the sixth year of the Revolution (or, as Christian folks prefer to call it, February 21st, 1797), the inhabitants of Ilfracombe, North Devon, were terribly upset by the entry of three French frigates into their little harbour. The unwelcome strangers proceeded forthwith to scuttle certain luckless merchantmen which were lying alongside, and having performed this friendly action, stood out to sea again, steering north-west.

One can fancy what the good men talked about over the cider that night in the old Britannia Inn; telling their cronies how these unbreeched, frog-eating Mounseers had denied their God, and chosen a harlot in His stead; how they had murdered King and Queen, and deluged France in her best blood; how Carrier had travestied marriage, binding men and women in pairs, and cast them into the Loire; how even at that very time a young Corsican brigand was ravaging, plundering, and murdering the Italians in spite of Pope and Kaiser. Such things were, no doubt, common enough on that terribly comical Continent; but it was preposterous that freeborn Britons should be annoyed in their island sanctuary by this horde of tiger-monkeys. What

were the sailors about? Where was Lord Howe, who had swept the Frenchmen from the sea at Ushant last June twelvemonth? Where was Admiral Jervis, who turned them out of the West Indies, neck and crop, the year before? And that new man, Nelson, folks talked so much about, where was he? There must have been sad mismanagement somewhere, or these murderous villains would never have dared to scuttle ships under Hillsboro Hill. At all events they were gone now, and seemed to be steering for Tenby, or mayhap Milford Haven, to give the Welshmen a turn.

An old sailor, by name Thomas Williams, had settled down on a little farm called Trelythin, about half-way between St. David's and the sea, where he had prospered, and eventually blossomed into a justice of the peace. This good man was taking his walks abroad on Wednesday the 22nd of February, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, and, as was his wont, had one eye on the sea, the other on his crops, when he caught sight of a lugger and three men-of-war passing the North Bishops. So near were the vessels to the shore that Mr. Williams made out a number of troops on board. English colours were flying; but the old sea-dog was not to be gulled by that stale device. At a glance he recognised the craft to be Frenchmen, and immediately sent off a farm-boy on horseback to rouse the St. David's men. Numbers of these came running down to Trelythin, and followed Williams along the coast until they came to Pencaer, keeping the enemy well in sight all the while.

About 2 P.M. the Frenchmen dropped anchor, and for some little time there was a lull in the proceedings. At 4 o'clock a sloop, The Britannia (Owen, master), bound for Fishguard with a cargo of culm for Colonel Knox of Llanstinan, came by. The frigates signalled that she should heave to. This she did, and was at once boarded and brought to anchor. Williams then sent a messenger into Fishguard, and an officer (most likely of the coast-guard) ran to the fort, and fired a salute to the British flag. Then the most incredulous



onlooker was convinced, for the English colours were struck, and the French ensign run up in their place.

By this time the whole population of Fishguard had turned out, and when they recognized the tricolour a general scare resulted. Every beast of burden and every vehicle in the little town was brought into requisition; messengers were packed off in all directions, with orders to raise the country as they went; the possessors of carts and wheelbarrows crammed them with their worldly goods, while the less fortunate carried off their gear pickaback.

The enemy, numbering 1,400 men and two women, effected a landing on Carrig Gwastad Point without opposition. Nearly all of them disembarked on the evening of the 22nd, and the remainder reached the shore early the next morning. They had seventeen boats in all; but one, laden with ammunition, was upset in the surf, and the contents lost. However, they brought safely to shore forty-seven barrels, ten hampers, and a large sheet full of ball-cartridges, twelve boxes of hand-grenades, but no field-pieces nor artillery of any sort. It was no light task to land what they had in a rolling surf, and then carry it up the steep and slippery cliff. Twenty determined men might have stopped the way. The force consisted of 600 regulars and 800 convicts. They were commanded by a Wexford man named Tate, who called himself an American, and held a commission as general in the French army.

Mr. Mortimer, of Trehowel Farm, was one of those who had insisted that the frigates were King George's ships, and, like a good fellow, prepared an excellent supper for the officers. Perceiving his mistake in time, he escaped on horseback, carrying with him his money and papers; and his maidservant, Anne George, secured the silver spoons by putting them in her pocket; but the supper, a pipe of wine, and plenty of *cwrw-da* were left behind. The Hiberno-Franco-American General Tate seems to have been instinctively attracted by this good cheer; and so well contented was he with the

supper that he constituted Trehowel the headquarters of the French army of occupation. The sailors who came on shore with Tate looted an eight-day clock ; and as their kits were in need of replenishment, cut open the beds, turned out the feathers, and converted the ticking into duck-trousers. But although the supper was conceived in the most hospitable spirit, it proved insufficient for 1,400 men ; so when the General and his staff had taken the edge off their own appetites, they directed both rank and file to investigate the resources of the larders in the neighbourhood. The following is a list of the houses visited :

Llannuner	Brestgarn	Lanverran	Llandridion
Treathro	Castell	Felindre	Rhosycawre
Tresinwen	Llanunda	Tregeddulan	Finondridion
Carlem	Trefauwn	Trelimmin	Carnecoch
Talygare	Crimcoed	St. Nicholas	Cotts
Tanymuydd	Cillan	Trefasser	Trefwrgy
Trefiseg	Tresissillt vach	Trehelin	Bwlchyrhose
Tanbach	Penyrhiw	Pantyrig	Carngowil
Trenewydd	Tresinwen	Penysgwarn	Stepin

Llanwnda and St. Nicholas Church were also examined, and the Communion plate from the former looted. This, however, was eventually recovered. Wonderfully little mischief, and scarcely any violence was done : indeed, when we remember that more than half of the invading force were “ the sweepings of the jails, convicts who bore the marks of chains on wrists and legs”, their conduct leads us to suppose that the occupants of French prisons towards the end of the last century were an eminently respectable class of men. For instance, at a farm called Cotts, a poor woman who had recently been confined was abandoned by her cowardly husband. When the Frenchmen entered the house, in her despair she held up her baby in her arms, and implored mercy. As soon as they comprehended the situation, having soothed her fears as well as they could, they left her in peace.

Mr. Thomas of Mathry went to his relative's house

at Penrhew, which, to his astonishment, he found filled with plundering Frenchmen, who requisitioned his watch, silver knee-buckles, and money which he had secreted in his shoes and stockings, and then took him as a prisoner to Trehowel. Tate was exceedingly angry at the treatment Thomas had received, and requested him to point out the offenders. This the Welshman was afraid to do, so he was dismissed *minus* his watch and buckles.

The worst case was that of Mary Williams of Carlem. She, while running away, was first wounded with a gunshot, and then maltreated, probably by drunken men. However, even she, poor soul, did not make a bad bargain, for she received a pension of £40 *per annum*, which she was still enjoying when the narrative from which my story is taken was written, forty-five years after the invasion.

Near Carlem two Welshmen summoned two Frenchmen to surrender; but they showed fight, and one of the foreigners was killed; the other yielded, giving up his musket to his captors, with which one of them hit him over the head. He then drew his bayonet, killed them both, and escaped.

The Welsh altogether lost only these two men, and Mary Williams and a sailor were the only wounded. Three Frenchmen in all were killed (one of whom fell over the cliff), three were reported wounded, and two died either of wounds or disease. The plunder taken consisted chiefly of eatables. The invaders seem especially to have affected poultry; and tales used to be told of how they boiled geese in melted butter, and washed them down with huge draughts of port wine, large quantities of which were to be found in all the houses, as a Portuguese vessel had lately been wrecked, and the cargo stolen by the country folk.

After gorging goose and guzzling port wine all night, the invaders were scarcely in a condition to meet the force which had assembled to oppose them, though it was nothing more than a mob of rustics armed with

fowling-pieces, scythe-blades fixed on poles, and the like. The citizens of St. David's stripped the lead off their Cathedral to make bullets: a proceeding which vexed the righteous souls of Dean and Chapter, but does not appear to have inflicted any injury on the French.

Mr. Whitesides, a Liverpool contractor, who was engaged in the erection of the Smalls Lighthouse, raised the sailors of Solva. Five of these engaged five Frenchmen, one of whom they killed, two they wounded, and two ran away. One Welsh sailor was wounded in the foot, for which he received a pension. The field where this fight took place is called "French Park", and in it the foreigner was buried.

Lord Cawdor, who was at Stackpole, did not hear of the invasion until "the middle of Wednesday night, when he immediately set off; Lord Milford, the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, having desired him to take command of the troops, being too infirm to do so himself", though he (Lord Milford) made his way to Fishguard with the rest. The troops consisted of the Castle-martin Yeomanry Cavalry, the Cardiganshire Militia, the Cardiff Militia (which was then stationed in Pembrokeshire), Colonel Knox of Llanstinan, and Major Ackland of Llannion, with their respective companies of fencible infantry; some sailors under Lieutenants Mears and Perkins: in all, 750 men. It happened that with the other gentlemen who had assembled and offered their services, there was one Captain William Davies, a veteran who had seen service, having, indeed, fought at Bunker's Hill. Lord Cawdor had great confidence in his judgment, and requested him to draw up the troops so as to deceive the French as to their real number. This was most successfully managed. The ill-natured declare that the women in their high hats and red "whittles" assisted him considerably by their resemblance to regiments of the line.

At noon on Thursday both French and English were astounded to see the French frigates weigh anchor and

sail away. Whether Tate perceived that the whole affair had proved a fiasco, and signalled them to that effect, or whether the captains acted on their own responsibility, it is impossible to say. They took a course across the Channel. One of them struck on the Arklow Bank, and was taken in tow by the corvette. These two were eventually captured off Brest by the *St. Fiorenzo* frigate (Captain Sir H. B. Neale, Bart.) and the *La Nymphe* (Captain J. Cooke), who took them into Portsmouth, where the frigate was repaired and rechristened the "Fisgard", presumably the French pronunciation of Fishguard, and was until quite lately the receiving ship at Sheerness. The other frigate and the lugger managed to get safely into Brest.

The French force had occupied a strong position on a high rock just above the village of Llanwnda. The English prepared to assail this station on Thursday evening, but changing their plans, returned to Fishguard. At 10 P.M. two officers arrived in the town with a flag of truce, and inquired for Colonel Knox. A council of war was then called at The Royal Oak. Present, Lord Milford, Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Cawdor, Colonel Knox, Colonel Colby, Major Ackland, Colonel Dan. Vaughan, Colonel James, Colonel George Vaughan, the Governor of the Fishguard Fort, and other gentlemen. The French officers were then admitted, and offered to capitulate on condition that all the French should be sent back to Brest at the expense of the English Government. Colonel Knox, who appears to have been blessed with a vivid imagination, replied that the only terms which could be entertained were unconditional surrender; and that unless these were complied with by 2 o'clock on the following day, the French force would be attacked by 20,000 men; 10,000 of whom were then in Fishguard, and 10,000 more on the road. Impressed by this magnificent piece of bunkum, the French officers then produced the following letter :

“Cardigan Bay.

“5th Ventose, 5th Year of the Republic.

“SIR,—The circumstances under which the body of troops under my command were landed at this place render it unnecessary to attempt any military operations, as they would tend only to bloodshed and pillage. The officers of the whole corps have, therefore, intimated their desire of entering into a negotiation, upon principles of humanity, for a surrender. If you are influenced by similar considerations, you may signify the same to the bearer, and in the meantime hostilities shall cease. Health and respect.

“TATE, *Chef de Brigade.*”

The officers were informed that an answer should be returned to General Tate, but that they might inform him that his troops would be expected to parade for surrender the following afternoon. They were then blindfolded and conducted outside the town. At day-break on Thursday morning Major Ackland of Llanion carried the following ultimatum to Llanwnda :

“Fishguard. Feby 23.

“SIR,—The superiority of the force under my command, which is hourly increasing, must prevent my treating upon any other terms short of your surrendering your whole force prisoners of war. I enter fully into your wish of preventing an unnecessary effusion of blood, which your speedy surrender can alone prevent, and which will entitle you to that consideration it is ever the wish of British troops to show an enemy whose numbers are inferior. My Major will deliver you this letter, and I shall expect your determination by 10 o'clock, by your officer, whom I have furnished with an escort who will conduct him to me without molestation.

“I am, etc.,

CAWDOR.

“To the Officer commanding the French troops.”

At noon the British force was drawn up in line on Windy Hill, within sight of the enemy's advanced posts, and was inspected by Colonel Colby. Lord Cawdor despatched his aide-de-camp, the Hon. Capt. Edwardes, with a flag of truce, which was carried by Mr. Millingchamp, one of the yeomen, Messrs. Williams of Llandegigge and Morgans of Abercastle accompanying them.

On reaching Trehowel they found 600 Frenchmen drawn up in line. Capt. Edwardes gave his message to Tate, which was to the effect that time was up; that if the enemy did not "open pans, shed priming, and march peaceably, they would forthwith be attacked by an overwhelming force."

The remainder of the Frenchmen were now assembled, and the ammunition and spare arms having been deposited in camp, the enemy, without colours, but with drums beating, marched to Goodwick, where they were received by the Cardigan Militia and Fishguard Fencibles, the Castlemartin Yeomanry having been told off to protect the Bridge. The French were ordered to pile arms, and were then marched into Haverfordwest, which place they reached at 2 o'clock on Saturday morning. 700 were put into St. Mary's Church, 500 into the old Town Hall, and the rest into the Storehouses. That day, twenty-one carts laden with arms arrived, and in the course of the week the ammunition and remainder of the arms were brought in, filling thirty-four more carts. The French soldiers were clad in old English uniforms which had been dyed a rusty brown; they still bore the regimental buttons; the belts, however, were black leather; and their head-gear was composed of old cavalry helmets. Their muskets were the ordinary weapon of the period, with flint locks; barrels 3 feet 7, whole length 4 feet 10, weight  $9\frac{3}{4}$  lbs. There is a stand of these arms in Stackpole Court, and two of them, which Lord Cawdor has kindly presented to the Tenby Museum, can be examined in that place; where there is also a short sword taken from a non-commissioned officer (presented by H. Mathias, Esq.) On this latter weapon, on each side, are sun, moon, and stars, with the inscription "Cassagnard, Fourbisseur du Roy, Nantes." The king can scarcely have been Louis XVI, as the archaic spelling of "roi" seems to have disappeared before his time; anyhow, the republicans have done their best to obliterate the word with a punch. Thus ended the

great fiasco of the French invasion. What did it all mean? It has generally been considered that the destination of the force was Ireland, at that time in a state of disaffection bordering on rebellion; indeed, during the following year the Great Rebellion broke out, and the lives of 150,000 Irish and 20,000 English were sacrificed before it was suppressed.

But this idea proves to be erroneous, for among General Tate's papers were found the instructions he had received from General Hoche. From these it seems that the body which landed at Fishguard was called "La Legion Seconde des Francs", and that two other legions were to have simultaneously invaded the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and York; these latter, however, never put in an appearance. The primary object to be attained by the Second Legion was the destruction of Bristol and Liverpool. On reaching Severn Sea, should the former prove impracticable, then the legion was to land in Cardigan Bay, and march through Wales to Chester and Liverpool.

"The expedition under the command of Col. Tate has in view three principal objects. The first is, if possible, to raise an insurrection in the country. The second is to interrupt and embarrass the commerce of the enemy. The third is to prepare and facilitate the way for a descent, by distracting the attention of the English government."<sup>1</sup>

There seems to have been a strong suspicion of disaffection among the Welsh. The French exaggerated its importance; but for all that there can be no doubt it did exist, for we find that subsequently "a respectable minister was taken down from his pulpit, his desk was ransacked, and his papers searched, with a view of discovering whether he carried on treasonable correspondence with disaffected persons". Certain farmers, too, were charged with treason, and committed for trial at the

<sup>1</sup> See pamphlet printed for J. Wright, 169, Piccadilly (1798), the text copied from attested transcripts of the original documents.



assizes, and a French officer detained to give evidence against them, but the judge ruled that a foreigner and common enemy was incapable of giving evidence in an English court of justice, and as no other witness was forthcoming they were discharged. That Welshmen were among the invaders seems certain.

James Bowen, who had been a farm servant at Trehowel for five years, and then tried and transported for horse stealing, was recognised by his fellow servants—this was the man who is said to have piloted the Frenchmen to Carreg Gwastad point.

Again, a respectable man, named Meyler, overheard two of the prisoners talking Welsh.

“Where do you come from”, said he, “as you speak Welsh?”

“We come from the upper part of Pembrokeshire.”

“Then how came you to be soldiers in the French army?”

“We have been taken prisoners in France, and were taken out with the other convicts.”

“Then why don't you leave them?”

“Because we are afraid of being discovered and shot.”

They then asked Meyler to apprise their friends of their whereabouts.

Mr. Bowen of Fynondrudion informed the writer of this paper that his grandfather fled from Fynondrudion with his family and servants for refuge to Wolf's Castle. After the capture of the French they went out on the roadside to see the prisoners go by. One of the maidservants recognised an acquaintance in the ranks, and the man called out—“Ie a thyna Catrin Trerhonw hefyd”, Englished, “And there is Catherine of Trerhonw, too.” The idea naturally occurs that these men were Bretons posing as Welsh, but that can scarcely have been the case. Granting that the Breton language would have been intelligible to Pembrokeshire folks, no prisoner of war in those rough and ready days would have dared to incur the charge of

treason by way of a practical joke. He would have run a great chance of being shot first, and identified afterwards. If the French and their Welsh recruits really relied on the disaffection of Pembrokeshire men, they were grievously disappointed; and so far from finding friends, met an enemy that was by no means disposed to err on the side of mercy, for they cut off the ears of the Frenchman who was killed by the Solva sailors, and bandied them about the country as trophies. Another unfortunate foreigner fell over the cliff and was killed. "A reverend gentleman" went down and cut off his finger, and kept it as a memorial of the invasion; the poor wretch's body was then buried on the shore, but in such a slovenly fashion, that it was soon washed up again and cast among the rocks, where it was left until it became a skeleton. This was carried off, bone by bone, by the curious. Such was the feeling of contemporaries. Readers of Fenton will notice that in a few years the Fishguardians had worked themselves up into a fever of loyalty and rage when attempts were made "to tarnish the lustre of this event, and involve a most loyal country in a charge of disaffection to government, by coupling it with a circumstance which then made a great noise, and was prosecuted with more rancour than sound policy."

This invasion of the French not only roused the patriotism of the neighbourhood but led to several false alarms. One night, soon afterwards, a Mr. John Roach of Lythir, near St. David's, heard boats near Y Gesial vawr, and rushing into St. David's announced another invasion. Mr. Arthur Richardson, the organist of the cathedral, at once set off for Haverford, which he reached in forty-five minutes (good going), and informed the Mayor of the impending danger. A meeting was called, and the necessity of putting all the prisoners of war to death in cold blood was seriously debated; fortunately the town council shirked the responsibility of such an atrocious proposition.

In this chronicle of an invasion, characterised on the

one side by hopeless incapacity, and on the other by treason, swagger, panic, and cruelty, it is pleasant to dwell on a single instance of wholesome kindly human nature.

Five hundred prisoners of war were confined in a building on Golden Hill, near Pembroke; and, as was the custom, they were allowed to eke out the very meagre allowance voted by government for their subsistence by the sale of toys, which they carved out of wood and bone. Two Pembroke lassies were employed in bringing them the odds and ends requisite for this work, and in carrying away refuse from the prison. These girls not having the law of nations or the high policy of Europe before their eyes, dared to fall in love with two of the Frenchmen, and formed a desperate resolve not only to rescue their lovers, but the whole of the prisoners in the same ward, one hundred in number. It was impossible to smuggle any tools into the prison, but a shin of horse beef seemed harmless even in the eyes of a Pembroke Cerberus. With the bone extracted from this delicacy the Frenchmen undermined the wall, the faithful girls carrying off the soil in their refuse buckets. When the subway was complete the lasses watched the hill until some vessel should arrive. At length a sloop came in loaded with a consignment of culm for Stackpole. That night the liberated men made their way down to the water, boarded the sloop, and bound the crew hand and foot, but unfortunately the vessel was high and dry, and it was found impossible to get her off. Alongside her there was a small yacht belonging to Lord Cawdor which they managed to launch. This, of course, would not take them all; but the two women and twenty-five men got on board, taking with them the compass, water casks, and provisions from the sloop.

In the morning there was a grand hue and cry. Dr. Mansell, who was a leading man in Pembroke, posted handbills over the whole country, offering 500 guineas for the recovery of these two traitorous women, alive

or dead. But in a few days the stern of the yacht and other wreckage being picked up, the patriotic party were satisfied that the vengeance of Heaven had overtaken the traitors. They were, however, mistaken, for the Frenchmen captured a sloop laden with corn, and, abandoning the yacht, compelled the crew to carry them to France. When they were safe, it is pleasant to read that the commissary and the engineer married the girls; during the short peace, the engineer and his wife returned to Pembroke and told their story, they then went to Merthyr, and obtained employment in the mines, but on the renewal of hostilities went back to France, where it is to be hoped they lived very happily ever afterwards.

E. LAWS.

Tenby.

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*Note.*—The authorities for this paper are :—

1st. “An Authentic Account of the Invasion by the French Troops (under the command of General Tate) on Carrig Gwasted point, near Fishguard, Wednesday, the 22nd day of February 1797, and their surrender to the forces of His Britannic Majesty, on Goodwick Sands, on Friday, the 24th of February; likewise some occurrences connected therewith. Never before published. Haverfordwest: Joseph Potter, printer, High Street, 1842.” Its author, H. L. ap Gwilym, dedicates it to Major Bowling, the only surviving officer of the Castlemartin Yeomanry Cavalry, who was present at the surrender of the French troops on Goodwick Sands; and Peter Davies, innkeeper, and Owen Griffiths, schoolmaster, who served in the Fishguard Fencibles under Col. Knox, sign as having examined the account and found it correct.

2nd. A letter from the first Earl of Cawdor to the editor of the *Times*, dated December 27th, 1859.

3rd. A letter from G. Massy, Esq., Lech, to the editor of the *Times*, dated December 21st, 1859, in





CROSS, FISHGUARD CHURCHYARD.

1 in. scale.

which he largely quotes from "an old writing in his possession written at the time."

4th. From a letter written at the time by John Parry, and published in the *Haverfordwest and Milford Haven Telegraph*, July 7th, 1875; and, finally—

A pamphlet printed for J. Wright, 169, Piccadilly, in 1798; and *Chambers' Journal* of January 14, 1860, both of which are quoted in *Bye-gones* of July 1883.

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### SEPULCHRAL STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD OF FISHGUARD.

IN the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1856 (p. 72), the late Rev. H. L. Jones, alluding to the rebuilding of the church of Fishguard, which was then taking place, took occasion to mention that there were one or two window-heads in the old church which were worth preserving as well as the font. The latter is now placed within the new church, on the north side of the east end of the nave,—a position where the ceremony of baptism can be perceived from the western gallery; much frequented, and close to the large bath for immersion, at the entrance to the short chancel. He thus proceeds:

"The incised slab now standing in the churchyard, which will be illustrated in our pages on a future occasion, should be surrounded with a fence or removed to the interior of the new church." (*Op. cit.*, p. 364.) In the Report of the Haverfordwest Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association, in August 1864, it is stated that rubbings and a drawing of this stone were exhibited by the Rev. W. Rowlands. No further notice of the stone has hitherto appeared, and the stone itself still stands erect in the churchyard, not far from the north-west angle of the church, amongst the other numerous memorials of the dead in that cemetery. Rubbings of the stone were also forwarded to me by the Rev. H. L. Jones; but they remained in my portfolio until I had an opportunity of examining the

monument itself, as the inscriptions presented considerable difficulty in their interpretation. This was afforded by the Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association at Fishguard last August, and I now forward a drawing of the stone and its inscriptions.

The stone stands 5 feet out of the earth, and is 18 inches wide, and nearly 6 inches thick. The top is obliquely truncated, and the lower half of one edge has been cut away for the depth of nearly 2 inches; this gives an irregular shape to the otherwise oblong surface of the monument, the western face of which is ornamented in a remarkable manner, which, with the inscriptions, give an apparent contradiction to the supposed dates of the different parts. The centre of the stone is occupied with a Latin cross, 45 inches high, formed of two incised outlines, the bottom resting on a basement of four steps. The top and each of the two arms of the cross terminate in three rounded lobes. In the upper angle of the stone is a square ornament formed of double incised lines, which are continued at the angles in rounded lobes, so as to give the idea of a continuous pattern. In the lower part of the stone, on the left side, is a pretty, knotted pattern formed of two interlaced cords with free ends; whilst on the right side is a very unusual ornament formed of three hearts conjoined, so as to form a triquetrous design, the outlines of which are single.

Below the arms of the cross are the two lines of the inscription, in capital letters of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, of a peculiar shape, the ends of the top and bottom cross-strokes being elongated and knobbed, the two lines reading

DAUID

MEDD'

All the D's and the other letters in the top line have the top and bottom strokes elongated and curved. The A has the first stroke very oblique, and the top angle tipped with a cross-stroke. The M at the beginning of the second line is of the rounded form, with a central



upright stroke and a curved bottom stroke ; and the E is of the rounded, uncial shape. The I in the upper line has the top and bottom strokes so much elongated as to be easily mistaken for X. Above the end of the second line there is a curved stroke such as is usually employed in mediæval manuscripts for “us”, which would possibly be intended for the name “Meddus” or “Meadows”. Such is, at all events, the only explanation I can suggest of this very clear mark.

The long, straight edge of the stone is inscribed throughout its whole length, commencing at the top with a six-rayed star within a circle formed of single incised lines, and followed by the words “dñe miserere” in tall, minuscule, Gothic letters, 4 inches high. Then follows a plain space of 8 inches, succeeded by a curiously shaped letter like an o with two curved lines arising from the top of it. Then two minuscule Gothic dd’s conjoined ; the second downstroke of the first forming the first stroke of the second ; and terminating with the word “me”. The curious, o-shaped letter has much perplexed most archæologists ; but I am inclined to adopt the suggestion made to me by the Rev. W. Macray of the Bodleian Library, that it is really intended for the ordinary contraction of “ou” in Greek manuscripts of the middle ages ; just as the two conjoined dd’s represent the ordinary Greek mode of contraction of the word “David”. So that we thus obtain the exclamation given in St. Matthew’s Gospel, xv, 22 : “Miserere me, Κύριε, υἱὲ Δαβὶδ.” It will be noticed in support of this suggestion that the Christian name of the deceased was also David.

The southern edge of the stone commences with the contracted form of the name of the Saviour, as usual in mediæval manuscripts, “ihc xpc̄”, followed by “An° d<sup>i</sup> m°d°i” ; and the single letter h, as a Gothic capital, in the curved part of the edge formed by the narrowing of the side. This would apparently give “Anno Domini M°D°I...” as the date of the inscription : a date too

recent, by two hundred years, for the form of the letters of the inscription on the face of the monument, whilst the interlaced ornaments on the west face of the stone would indicate a still earlier Norman period.

It must in conclusion be observed that the east face of the stone is entirely plain.

I. O. WESTWOOD.

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## HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION.

(Continued from p. 248.)

1641, Feb. 1. Copy [signed by H. Elsynge) of the order by the House of Commons that Sir W. Brereton should write to the Mayor of Chester to send the examinations of suspected persons staid at Chester.

1641, Feb. 2. Receipt by Capt. John Boys for £132 6s. from the Mayor and two aldermen of Chester.

1641, Feb. 8, Covent Garden. Tho. Smithe to the Mayor of Chester. As the citizens feel aggrieved by the intention of their apprentices to go for Ireland as soldiers, he puts the Mayor in mind, that by statute four justices may compel an apprentice to serve his time. He and Franc. Gamull attended the Lord-Lieutenant yesterday, who promised them that it should not be so (*i.e.*, that apprentices should not be taken).

1641, Feby. 21, Covent Garden. Tho. Smithe to the Mayor of Chester. Encloses copy of order of House of Commons, so that now, having an order of either House, the Mayor and the Sheriff may (notwithstanding any Habeas Corpus) convey prisoners who may be stayed at Chester from Sheriff to Sheriff. Will obtain an order that no soldiers shall have arms delivered until they are ready to be shipped. "Those members of our House that have the protestation are not put to take it again." Thinks the Mayor may, like his predecessors, use his discretion in conniving at slaughtering and eating of flesh when fish and white meat are scarce, especially at this time, considering the great confluence of soldiers and others to Chester.

1641, Feb. 4 and 9, and 10, and 16, and 18, Puddington; Feb. 18, no place; Feb. 20, New Key. Seven letters of these dates, by Sir Richard Grenville to the Mayor of Chester, about supplies to men and ships being transported to Ireland; and an account (signed by Grenville) of £100 received by him from the

Mayor to pay for provisions for four horse troops to be transported from Chester to Dublin.

1641, Feb. 22, York House. A (Earl of) Northumberland, Lord High Admiral, to the Mayor of Chester. The Mayor having given a pass to one Connell, servant to the Recorder of Dublin, notwithstanding the Mayor knew he was a Papist, the Earl warns him to be cautious how he gives passes to Papists, as an ill construction may be made thereof.

1641, Feb. 26. Copy of letter by Thomas Cowper, Mayor of Chester, to the Earl of Northumberland, explaining the circumstances under which he granted the pass to the servant of Mr. John Bysse, the Recorder of Dublin.

1641, March 2. Receipt signed by Edward Dymocke, Lieutenant to Capt. Biddulph (by order of Parliament, and direction of Sir W. Brereton, M.P.), for £60 : 4 : 8 paid by the Mayor and Aldermen of Chester for pay due to Dymocke and others. Attached is a copy of the order of the House of Commons, dated 16 Feb. 1641.

1641, March 7. Receipt for £12 paid by the Mayor and Aldermen of Chester for transportation from Liverpool to Dublin of twenty horse, part of Capt. Vaughan's troop.

1641, March 8. Similar receipt for £14 8s. for twenty-four horses of Capt. Vaughan's troop.

1641, March 17. Similar receipt for £21 12s. for thirty-six horses of Capt. Vaughan's troop.

1641, March 8. Indorsed copy of a letter sent to my Lord Lieutenant, 12 March, 1641. The writer (the Mayor) defends himself from the charge of inhospitality to the soldiers at Chester.

1642, March 26. Copy of a letter by Thomas Cowper, Mayor of Chester, to Sir Thomas Smithe and Mr. Francis Gamul. Refers to an order of the House of Commons, made 9 Sept. 1641, for removing scandalous pictures from churches. He says that he believes the order has been observed in all the churches in Chester, except the Cathedral, where he is informed there are several scandalous pictures. Mr. Bispham, the Sub-Dean, to whom he sent a message on the subject, said that he could not move without the Dean and the rest of his brethren. Encloses the Sub-Dean's letter, and asks that it, and if necessary the writer's letter, may be laid before the House.

1641, Feb. 19. Copy of a letter by the Mayor of Chester to Sir Thomas Smythe and Mr. Thomas Gane, requesting them to get the House of Commons to say whether they mean the Protestation to be tendered to such as had already taken it; and to move the House that inasmuch as they had no provision of herrings or other fish to furnish the city for that Lent season, the

House would grant him power to appoint six butchers out of the city, or otherwise out of the county, to slaughter and kill victual towards the maintenance of the citizens and others that might in that season be billeted in the city.

1641, March 24, Chester. Copy of a letter by the Mayor of Chester to Sir Thomas Smythe and Mr. Francis Gamull, sending a list of all such as have taken the Protestation within the city of Chester; none, to their knowledge, having refused.

1642, July 2. H. Rigby to the Mayor of Chester, advising him to look after a prisoner in the Northgate, charged with having stolen a mare, because he had "an art to dissolve anie boltes laid on him."

N. d. Copy of petition to the Right Honourable Court of Parliament, of the nobility, knights, gentry, and freeholders of the County Palatine of Chester, whose names are subscribed. (The names are not copied. The petition is in favour of episcopal government in the Church.)

N. d. Copy of a petition intended to have been presented to His Majesty for the fortification of Chester.

1648, Feb. 23, Goldsmiths' Hall. The Committee for compounding with delinquents to the Committee and Sequestrators for the County of Chester. Robert Tatton of Wilhenshaw, county Chester, has submitted to a fine, and paid and secured the same according to order. They are to forbear all further proceedings in the sequestration of the estate of the said R. Tatton. If further estate is discovered, the same is to be sequestered until compounded for. Directions concerning the estate. The particulars of Tatton's estate.

1688, Dec. 19, Chester Castle. The Earl of Derby to the Duke of Ormonde. Sends enclosed the desire of the gentlemen who were officers in that garrison to have laid down their arms on sight of the King's letter to Lord Feversham....He continues the restraint, being all Roman Catholics, until he receives directions. Their case is hard; he does not hear of any in their circumstances being detained. Has written to Lord Churchill much to the same purpose. Asks favour for Sir Edward Byron, who has just come in.

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## Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.

*From "The Antiquary", Sept. 1883, p. 130.*

SIR,—A writer in the *North Wales Chronicle* says "The following has been found in Rhiwia Farm, Aber, near the other milestone. It was erected to commemorate the two Emperors, Lucius Septimus Severus and Marcus Aurelius Antonius, ACCVVI." Is there a local secretary for Carnarvonshire? If there is, why has he not forwarded this intelligence to the Rev. R. Trevor Owen of Llangedwyn, Oswestry, the General Secretary for North Wales, so that further inquiry might be made about what appears to be a discovery of great interest.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

B. L. E.

SIR,—The following brief notice may be acceptable to some of our younger friends, and more particularly to such as were so cordially entertained at the Castle during the late meeting of the Society at Fishguard.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

AMICUS.

"Newport, called also in Welsh 'Trefdraeth', and in Latin 'Novum Burgum', is situated at the mouth of the river Nevern, in the county of Pembroke, and is the principal town of the Barony of Kemes, this latter being a feudal tenure of a most peculiar character, the last and only Lordship Marcher now in the kingdom.

"The feudal Barony of Kemes is co-extensive with the modern hundred of that name, and embraces within its limits twenty-five parishes, is divided into several manors and lordships, and measures in circumference some sixty miles.

"Kemes was erected into a Lordship Marcher by Martin de Tours, one of the principal companions in arms of William the Conqueror, who obtained it by conquest from the Welsh. Martin and his descendants, the Lords of Kemes, sat in Parliament for several generations as Peers of the Realm by tenure, the same as the Lords Berkeley and Arundel; and also by writs of summons in the reigns of Henry III, Edward I, II, and III.

"These noblemen enjoyed several peculiar privileges as Lords Marchers, of which a few are still exercised by their descendant and representative, Sir Marteine Owen Moubray Lloyd of Bronwydd, the twenty-fourth Lord of the Barony of Kemes, who still holds his Baronial Courts, and yearly exercises the unique privilege of appointing the Mayor of Newport. They also enjoyed the privilege

of giving the silver harp as a prize at the Eisteddfodau or meetings of the Bards, and in their absence the Abbots of Saint Dogmaels presided.

“Robert, eldest son of Martin de Tours, founded the Abbey of Saint Dogmaels near Cardigan, which he endowed with lands; and his son William, as Lord Marcher, granted a charter of incorporation to the Burgesses of Newport, which is still in force and recognised by the Courts of Westminster.

“Immediately behind the town of Newport rises the lofty and picturesque mountain of Carn Ingli, called also Mons Angelorum, in reference to a tradition that a Saint of the fourth century—Saint Brynach, who resided there, was favoured by a visitation of Angels.

“As an illustration how old customs are perpetuated through the lapse of centuries, it may be mentioned that in one of the parishes within this Barony, that of White Church, the game of chess was extensively played by the labouring classes down to the last century, having learnt it, no doubt, from the Norman invaders of the country.

“There still exist the remains of the ancient castle of Newport, consisting of a tower, quite entire, and late repairs and additions have been made to render this hoary witness of antiquity habitable.

“The castle was first erected by Martin de Tours, and partially rebuilt by William Martin in the reign of Edward I.

“Immediately under the Castle stands the tower of the Old Church, the advowson of which is in the gift of the Lord of the Barony.”

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# Cambrian Archaeological Association.

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## THE THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

WAS HELD AT

## FISHGUARD

ON

MONDAY, AUGUST 13TH, 1883,

AND FOLLOWING DAYS.

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### PRESIDENT.

C. E. G. PHILIPPS, Esq., Picton Castle.

The arrangements were under the management of the following

### LOCAL COMMITTEE.

HUGH LLWYD HARRIES, Esq., Cefnydre, CHAIRMAN.

HUGH OWEN, Esq., Goodwick, VICE-CHAIRMAN.

The Right Hon. Lord Kensington, M.P.	W. James, Esq., Trenewydd
W. Davies, Esq., M.P.	H. J. Thomas, Esq., Lochturffin
The Dean and Chapter of St. David's	Theo. Thomas, Esq., Trehale
J. B. Bowen, Esq., Llwyngwair	J. Marychurch, Esq., Longhouse
J. Worthington, Esq., Glynymel	Rev. J. Lewis, Llanrhian Vicarage
Rev. W. Rowlands, Vicarage, Fish- guard	Dr. Williams, Trearched
Miss Schaw-Protheroe, Brynteg	Rev. D. L. Jones, Mathry Vicarage
Miss Bowen, Cotham, Newport	Rev. D. Morgan, Rectory, St. Nicholas
Rev. J. C. Mortimer, Court	Rev. Arthur H. Richardson, St. Dog- well's Vicarage
D. Williams, Esq., Drim	Rev. J. Williams, Dinas Rectory
Colonel Owen, Rosebush	Rev. E. Jones, Newport Rectory
W. Williams, Esq., Drim	Dr. Havard, Newport
C. Matthias, Esq., Lamphey Court	Rev. Mr. Morris, Independent Minister
The Archdeacon of St. David's	Capt. Richardson, Fishguard
Rev. A. M. Mathew, Stonehall	G. V. Bowen, Esq., Fynondrudion
Capt. Edwardes, Sealyham	J. C. Davies, Esq., Railway House
Capt. Edwardes, Tyrhos	W. Bennett, Esq., Castle Hill
Rev. P. Phelps, Ambleston Vicarage	Rev. Rees Williams, Whitchurch Vi- carage
Rev. T. Johns, Manorowen	Morgan Owen, Esq., Brynymor
Rev. J. Bowen, St. Lawrence	Hugh Mortimer, Esq., Tower Hill
W. P. Williams, Esq., Trehowel	Mr. W. Vaughan, Fishguard
F. Lloyd Philipps, Esq., Penty Park	Capt. Williams, Fishguard
John Owen, Esq., Surgeon, Brynymor	Capt. Titus Evans, Fishguard
J. James, Esq., Trenewydd	Mr. Perkins, Hendrewen

J. Perkins, Esq., Priskilly Forest  
 J. W. Quilter, Esq., Fishguard  
 Herbert Worthington, Esq., Glyny-  
 mel  
 W. D. Wathen, Esq., Fishguard  
 Rev. Mr. Davies, Llangloffan  
 Rev. Jas. Symmonds, Fishguard  
 Rev. D. Symmonds, Fishguard  
 Rev. B. Thomas, Letterston  
 Hugh Davies, Esq., Tower Hill

Capt. Bowen, Goodwick  
 Mr. J. Perkins, Blaenwern  
 Rev. T. Walters, Maenclochog Rec-  
 tory  
 Mr. Thomas Harries, Trellan  
 J. Harries, Esq., Glanymor, Dinas  
 Rev. J. Tombs, Burton Rectory  
 Rev. T. Mathias, Henry's Mote Rec-  
 tory

**Local Treasurer.**

J. W. Quilter, Esq., London and Provincial Bank.

**Curator of Museum.**

Morgan Owen, Esq.

**Local Secretaries.**

Rev. D. O. James, Letterston Rectory.  
 Rev. J. Lloyd Jones, Fishguard.

## REPORT OF MEETING.

MONDAY, AUGUST 13TH.

THE General Committee met at the Temperance Hall at 7.15 P.M., to receive and discuss the Report of the past year. The Rev. E. L. Barnwell objected to one part of it.

At 8 P.M. a public meeting was held. Professor Babington commenced the proceedings by reading a letter in which the outgoing President, H. R. Sandbach, Esq., of Hafodunos, expressed his regret at being unable to attend the Meeting. He then requested the President-Elect to take the chair.

Mr. C. E. G. Philipps, on assuming the chair, said that in the first place he must thank the members for the honour of having so kindly re-elected him as President. In 1880 they had met in a part of Pembrokeshire where a Welsh-speaking Wales surrounds a very England in language, thought, and tradition. Those who had come that day from Haverfordwest had travelled but a few miles before they had crossed the border-line where this "England beyond Wales" ceased. And as was the contrast of race and language, so would they find a contrast in the objects which would demand their attention from those in South Pembrokeshire and Castle Martin. They would not be occupied in visiting, day after day, magnificent ruins that told of past days of feudal splendour; but they would see one great Castle rich in memories of a mighty past, where the lords of Cemmaes held state little less than regal, and not only had the command of, and led their own tenants to war, but likewise presided over courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction. Their visit to the cromlech of Pentre Evan, unequalled in Wales, might, per-



haps, once more raise the question how stones of such colossal size as would puzzle even the engineers of the present day to move, had been brought together. It was one of the largest existing cromlechs, and was included in the "Act for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments." Many churches dissimilar from the Flemish-towered churches of Castle Martin would be visited, and the week would very fitly close with the inspection of that grand old Cathedral to which many a pilgrimage of the learned and great had been directed. They were specially fortunate in having for their guide the venerable Dean, who loved St. David's so dearly, and who had so carefully presided over the restoration of that ancient church.

On the conclusion of his address, the President called on Mr. G. E. Robinson to read the Report of the Society for the past year.

### REPORT.

"It was with some misgivings as to the capacity of the town of Fishguard to accommodate the members of our Association, that your Committee were induced to acquiesce in its selection as the place in which to hold the Thirty-eighth Annual General Meeting of the Society. Of its fitness in an archæologic sense there was never a doubt, but to most of us Fishguard—or Fiseguard, as an eminent historian thinks the more correct reading—and its vicinity were a *terra incognita*. Placed upon the western confines of the country, and from its geographic and somewhat isolated position difficult of access, it has not hitherto received attention commensurate with its merits; an attention which it is assuredly both the duty and the pleasure of our Association to render to all parts of that Principality they claim as peculiarly their own. The cordial manner of our reception, and the numerous and influential local committee formed to receive us and aid in our researches, are sufficient evidence that the selection is a good one, and your Committee desire to congratulate your members on their assembling for the fourth time in this most interesting and hospitable county of Pembroke, and under auspices so favourable.

"They venture confidently to anticipate their meeting here will be the means of eliciting further information concerning those megalithic remains which are so peculiarly abundant in this district, and it is hoped the researches and deliberations of the Association may in some measure determine what are the true origin and purpose of these ancient monuments.<sup>1</sup>

"The first duty of your committee is to direct attention to those changes in the official staff of the Association which have taken place since our last autumnal meeting, and to lay before the

<sup>1</sup> The words "they venture", etc., to "monuments", were in Committee objected to by Mr. Barnwell, as the question alluded to had been determined forty or fifty years ago in the opinion of all the antiquaries of Europe. He proposed that they should be omitted; but no member seconded him. He therefore claims that his protest should be recorded.

members the names of those gentlemen who have been selected to fill the vacancies thus created. The foremost of these changes is the resignation of the presidential chair by Mr. Sandbach, and the election of his successor, Mr. Philipps of Picton Castle, who, for the second time, places the Association under a great obligation for his kindness in acting as President. Your Committee would suggest that in the course of the present Meeting a special vote of thanks be passed to Mr. Sandbach, the outgoing President, for his courteous and energetic exertions to render the meeting at Llanrwst a successful one. How well he succeeded, those who were present will not soon forget.

“The retiring members of the Committee are the Rev. Hugh Pritchard, Arthur Gore, Esq., and W. Trevor Parkins, Esq., and your Committee recommend the re-election of these gentlemen. A further vacancy occurs in the Committee through the death of the late Prebendary Davies; and, in accordance with Rule 4, it is competent for any member of the Association to nominate a candidate either to fill this vacancy or to vary the election of the gentlemen before named. The election will take place at the final evening meeting.

“Your Committee recommend that the name of the Right Hon. Lord Tredegar be added to the list of the patrons of the Society. They also recommend the following appointments of Local Secretaries be made in the respective counties, to fill vacancies caused by retirement:—In Glamorganshire, Chas. Wilkins, Esq., *vice* Rev. John Griffiths, Merthyr; in Pembrokeshire, E. Laws, Esq., Tenby; in Carmarthenshire, Rev. C. Childlow, Cayo, *vice* Rev. Aaron Roberts; in Anglesea, Mr. Lloyd Griffith, Bangor, in place of the late Rev. W. Wynn Williams, many years Local Secretary for the Island; in Carnarvonshire, H. Barker, Esq.; in Merioneth, R. H. Wood, Esq., F.S.A.; in Flintshire, Rev. M. H. Lee. The names of the following noblemen and gentlemen will come before you for confirmation of election at the final evening meeting:—South Wales: the Right Hon. Lord Tredegar; the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Llandaff; Mrs. Thomas, Ysguborwen, Aberdare; Morton Thomas, Esq., Coity, Brecon; Alfred Chas. Jones, Esq., Trafalgar House, Swansea; the Library, Lampeter College; Morris T. Hancock, Esq., Quay Street, Carmarthen; Wm. Bisset, Esq., Clive Road, Penarth, Cardiff. North Wales: General Blake, Bryn Gwalia, Denbighshire; S. Dew, Esq., Llanerchymedd, Anglesea; Rev. Llewellyn Nicholas, Flint; Rev. D. Edwards, Cefn Rectory, St. Asaph. Elsewhere: the University of Toronto; Owen Roberts, Esq., York Terrace, London; Miss Bevan, Hay Castle.

“While your Committee congratulates the Association upon the satisfactory increase in the list of members, they cannot refrain from saying there is room for considerable improvement in the regularity with which the subscriptions of a large number of the members are paid. The subject of arrears has been an old-standing complaint of your executive; and it must be repeated with emphasis, in the hope that amendment will follow. It ought to be widely known that

laxity in this respect hampers the progress of the Society, and greatly impairs its usefulness.

“Your Committee desire to tender the very cordial thanks of the Association to those gentlemen who have contributed articles for publication in its Journal during the past year. The nature and value of these contributions will commend them to all archæologists. In an especial degree are the thanks of the Association due to Mr. G. T. Clark for his contribution towards the history of the earlier Lords of Glamorgan, issued to our subscribers as a supplemental volume for the current year, half the cost of publication being borne by Mr. Clark himself. Of the historic value of the work it is impossible to speak too highly. The thanks of the Association are also due to Mr. R. W. Banks for defraying the cost of the illustration which accompanies his account of the Charters of Brecon Priory. Your Committee suggest also a special vote of thanks to R. H. Wood, Esq., F.S.A., for presenting to the Association the impressions of the admirable likeness of Mr. Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, accompanying the short biographic notice of that learned and valued member of our Society.

“Your Committee can also point with satisfaction to another work as issued under the auspices of this Society, *Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd*, or the Journal of Peter Roberts, together with the Notebook of Thomas Rowlands. Both of them have been carefully edited by the Rev. Canon Thomas, the learned historian of the diocese of St. Asaph, and the thanks of the Association are due to him for his judicious and successful labours.

“Satisfactory in some respects as this retrospect of the work effected by, or under the auspices of, the Society must be, it is to the older and more tried members it is almost exclusively indebted. Contributions to the pages of the Journal from younger members of the Association are conspicuous by their absence. From whatever cause this apathy on their part arises, it is fraught with serious injury to the Society in the present, and if persisted in will bring about its eventual extinguishment. In a Society such as ours, dependent exclusively upon the voluntary efforts of but a few of its members, it is essentially necessary, as the ranks of the older ones become thinned from retirement, or other cause, that younger men should step forward to fill the blank. The field is ample; there yet remain great numbers of unrestored and most interesting churches, castles, monastic and domestic buildings, besides the numerous earthworks and other similar monuments, all worthy of careful and exact examination and illustration. And your General and Editorial Committee invite the serious attention of all who are interested in the well-being of this Society, to carefully consider this subject during the present meeting, with a view to the devising of some scheme for reaching the sympathies and enlisting the active co-operation of a succession of its younger members.

“It is with feelings of profound regret your Committee have to record the demise of two of our old and most valued members and

contributors, in the persons of the Rev. W. Wynn Williams and the Rev. Prebendary Davies. To the former, the Isle of Anglesea and the county of Carnarvon, as well as this Association, owe a lasting debt of gratitude for the series of able papers from his pen that enriched the earlier volumes of our Journal. The loss of the latter comes home to many of us, who remember the invariable courtesy and kindness which marked the expression of his opinions upon all occasions."

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The Very Rev. the Dean of St. David's moved the adoption of the Report. On his way there that day, with a relative, he had been shown two very fine Ogham stones which had never been described. He had no doubt that during the present meeting they would find objects of very great interest, such as would help towards forming material for a supplement to Professor Westwood's most valuable work on the Sculptured Stones of Wales. It would give him great pleasure to see the members of the Association once more at St. David's.

Professor Westwood, in seconding the motion, said there were some things to which he would have thought it necessary to call attention, had they not been mentioned in the Report. One thing he thought that especially required mention was the want of contributions from the younger members of the Association.

The report was then adopted.

Professor Babington moved a vote of thanks to the President for his address; and the motion was seconded by the Ven. Archdeacon of St. David's, who thought it was an excellent thing that people should take a pride in the works of their ancestors. Professor Babington put the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The Secretary for South Wales, Mr. G. E. Robinson, then announced the particulars of the next day's arrangements, and the meeting separated.

#### TUESDAY, AUGUST 14TH.

The first halt was at the Church of Letterston, which takes its name from Lettard, one of the followers of the Lords of Cemmaes, a member of which family granted the church to the Commandery of Slebech. The present church was built two years ago, and consists of nave, chancel, and a western porch.

The so-called effigy of St. Leotard, whose name is not in the list of British Saints, is that of a female of the latter part of the fourteenth century or of the early part of the fifteenth. The figure has suffered much from rough treatment, but sufficient details are left to fix its date. In Fenton's time it was within the altar rails, but this probably was not its original position. When the church was rebuilt it was placed near the font, where it now is, but it will probably be removed to a more suitable position during the course of the present

improvement being carried out. During the rebuilding the very curious piscina was transferred to the porch, but will be replaced in its proper position when funds are supplied. About £300 are required to complete the good work. What gives an especial interest to this piscina is the cross issuing which surmounts it, the stem and arms of which are, in heraldic phrase, *ragulé*. No similar one is known to exist. The chalice with the paten cover is Elizabethan, and is inscribed "Poculum Ecclesie de Leterstoun." At a short distance of about a mile is a place called "Heneglwys", probably an earlier site of the church; and near it "Dolychwareu", "the field of sports",—one of which, according to local tradition, was a race to Trefgarn and back, a distance of seven miles. Nearer to the church is the earthwork called the Castell, a circular space of about twelve yards in diameter, protected by a rampart of earth thrown up from the encircling ditch.

The next place visited was a farm-house called Trefgarn Fach. Here the members examined a stone, described by Mr. J. R. Allen, in *Arch. Cambrensis*, vol. vii, 4th series, pp. 54, 55, and Professor Rhys, *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, p. 295. There are two inscriptions, one in debased Latin characters, and the other in Oghams. Near Trefgarn Fach is a humble farm-house still retaining portions of a superior building, the windows of which have chamfered mouldings. Owen Glyndwr is reported to have either been born or at one time resided here. We believe there is no authority for such a statement.

Spittal, once a hospice belonging to the Knights Commanders of Slebech, to whom it was granted, together with Rudbaxton Church, by Alexander Rudebac, another of the Norman retainers, shows but little evidence of its former importance. A small enclosure within walls about ten feet high, now used for farmyard purposes, with a few indications of other walls, some of which were pulled down about fourteen years ago to build the adjoining house, is all that now remains of the hospice. The church, however, has more of interest; near its south porch stands the inscribed stone, described and illustrated by the Rev. H. L. Jones, *Arch. Camb.*, 1861, p. 302. Professor Rhys, in his *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, p. 406, gives the inscription as "Euali Fili Dencui Cuni-ovende Mater Ejus". Internally, the nave and chancel are divided by a narrow pointed arch, which has on either side a hagioscope. The turret of the Sanctus bell marks the junction externally. The western gable has a turret with two bells. A recess in the north wall of the chancel seems to have once contained a tomb. The chalice, which here likewise is Elizabethan, has the name omitted. The font is noticeable as a specimen of the type which appears to be the most prevalent in the district, namely a square top with cushion sides, supported by a round pillar standing on a square base. The church of New Moat, St. Nicholas, has much of interest, but appears to be little cared for. In form it is a double parallelogram with a good Pembrokeshire tower. The chancel,

embellished with a good deal of stucco and colour, is of the last century, and filled with monuments of the Scourfields of the Moat; it has also a marble altar slab. From its being called the Scourfield Chapel, and being shut off from the nave by iron gates, it is not improbable that the chancel may have been in the north aisle. At present this part of the church is a sort of lumber-room where the disused bells are stored, and in it are the steps by which the Scourfield Vault is entered. The north wall retains one of the small loop windows, and between two of the arches of the nave there is still a niche for an image. The font is similar to that at Spittal, but smaller.

At Castle Henry, or rather Castle Hendre, the church was rebuilt in 1778, but upon the old foundations. It comprises a chancel, nave, and south transept. In the older foundation wall of the transept are the remains of an arch; and on the south side of the same is inserted a stone ten feet in length, which may have been a Maenhir. Nearly opposite to it is the base of a churchyard cross. The font is a trapezium, supported by a low round pillar. The chalice has the inscription, "Poculum de Ecclesie HARRYSMOT", and the date-mark of 1574. On its cover is the same date.

On the return journey the members passed quickly through the Roman station of "Ad Vicesimum", and drew up for a short halt at Carn Twrne, a remarkable outcrop of rock, some portions of which appear to have been used for circles and cyttiau, and some for fences. In historic times the place has been famous as the spot on which the three Lords of Cemmaes, Dewisland, and Daugleddau used to meet to decide questions bearing on their mutual jurisdiction, a purpose that meets with its parallel in Bwlch y Tri Arglwyddi, where the Lords of Mawddwy, Cyfeiliog, and Estimaner used to meet for a like object.

At the evening meeting, after Professor Babington had given an account of the day's proceedings, Mr. Edward Laws read a paper on the "Landing of the French at Fishguard in 1797", which appears in the Journal. The President read the original instructions given by General Hoche to General Tate for his guidance in the conduct of the expedition. Mr. Barnwell added the story of the present Lord Cawdor's grandfather visiting the French prisoners in Porchester Castle, and how some of those who were kept on scanty fare took his horse and eat it, leaving him only the saddle and bridle.

Mr. Barnwell was then called upon by the President to speak on the subject of Cromlechs, with special reference to the grand specimen to be visited the next day at Pentre Evan. After a short discussion as to their use, in which Mr. Robinson, Mr. Laws, Mr. Drinkwater, and Canon D. R. Thomas, joined, the Secretary announced the programme for the morrow."

## WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 15TH.

The first halt was made this morning, in a drenching downpour, at the little church of Llanychllwydog. The church has lately been rebuilt, and has a chancel, nave, and south porch, so that we miss the curious features of the older church with its south chapel, the broad passage connecting it with the chancel and the stone altar at its junction with the nave, as it appears in the engraving in the *Journal* for the year 1865, p. 182. Only two sculptured stones are mentioned in the account given by the Rev. H. Longueville Jones, as “nearly buried in the growing soil, and commonly said to have reference to the Saint’s grave—one of them bearing a cross cut in low relief, and of a design not hitherto observed in Wales.” There are, however, three other stones, and the character of the crosses is different in each case. In one, the arms and stem are composed of ribbed lines; in another, the limbs form crosslets; in a third, they terminate in the T, and the fourth, with this termination, has a circle at its intersection.

At Pontfaen also there have been great changes for the better as compared with its roofless condition in 1859. Here there has been no change in the construction, only a renovation, and the chapel on the north side still remains with its wide passage, giving access to the chancel. In the engraving given by the Rev. H. Longueville Jones in the volume for 1865, p. 179, two stone altars are represented as standing—one against the east wall of the chapel, and the other, as at Llanychllwydog, at its junction with the nave; whilst a third slab is shown standing against the passage wall, which he also considers to have been an altar slab. This is of very rough character, and now forms the sill of the entrance door. In the churchyard there are two stones, both of which are engraved in the *Lapidarium Walliæ*, plate lvii, figs. 3 and 4, and in *Arch. Camb.*, vol. vii, 3rd Series, p. 212. The longer one, however, which is there represented as in a leaning position, has completely fallen down, and now lies almost hidden in the grass. It is to be hoped that steps will be taken to re-erect the stone. The other stone does duty as a gate-post at the entrance of the churchyard.

A very pleasant drive along the upper valleys of the Gwaen and the Nevern brought the members to Llwyngwair, where Mr. J. B. Bowen most hospitably entertained them, as he had done twenty-four years before, when the Association met at Cardigan.

The church of Nevern, which has recently been judiciously restored, is cruciform, with short transepts, that on the north forming a vestry; and over that on the south, which has a groined roof, and over the outside buttress a cross, a long, low priest’s chamber. There are recesses both north and south of the chancel. The general character of the church is Late Transitional. In the churchyard

is the great cross, which is only surpassed by that at Carew and Maen Achwyfan, near Newmarket, in Flintshire. The height, from the surface of the ground to the top of the shaft, is 10 feet. The shaft is formed of a squared block of stone, the top narrowed obliquely on the west face. The north and south sides are not quite so wide as the east and west faces. The letters of the inscriptions agree with the letters in the Gospels of St. Chad, Mac Regol, Llandisfarne, and in Irish MSS. On the other sides of the shaft is a series of compartments, each containing a differently arranged interlaced ribbon or other patterns. It is described in Professor Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*, and by the same author in the volume of the *Arch. Camb. Journal* for 1860, p. 47.

On the old road (now partially cut off by a hedge), on the north side of the church, is the cross cut in the face of the rock, with a kneeling-place hollowed out below it. This is given from a drawing by Mr. Blight in the *Arch. Camb.* for 1873, p. 373. This road was on the direct route from Holywell, in Flintshire, and also, as stated, from Strata Florida.

The magnificent cromlech at Pentre Evan, which, when visited by the Association in 1859, admitted three persons on horseback under its capstone, stands on the moorland to the east of Carn Ingli, about six miles from the sea. The capstone, which is 8 feet from the ground, and is poised on three of the uprights, measures, in extreme length, 16 feet 9 inches; in average width about 8 feet; and in thickness, 2 feet 8 inches; its approximate weight is from ten to twelve tons. It has been described by Owen, the Pembroke-shire historian, by Fenton, the late Sir Gardner Wilkinson in the *Collectanea* of the British Archæological Association, and by Mr. Barnwell.

The church of Newport, well restored in 1880, consists of chancel, nave with wide north and south transepts, and a western tower. In Buck's view of the Castle, the church is represented as having a south aisle both to the nave and chancel; but as the external walls follow the same lines, this must have been a difference in the construction rather than in the ground-plan. Under the tower stands a tombstone of the fourteenth century. A foliated cross with the head alone appears. The inscription reads thus: CES: ANE: GIT: ICI: DEV: DEL: ALME: EIT: MERCIE. The stoup has an ogee arch, the font is a good specimen of the well known Pembrokeshire form.

The Castle was next visited, which, after passing through many vicissitudes, remains still in the possession of a descendant of its founder, William, son of Martin de Tours, who built it at a spot then and still by the Welsh called Trefdraeth. Its owners continued to exercise, as lords of Cemmaes, independent authority until the time of Henry VIII, when such rights were finally abolished, save that Sir Marteine Lloyd still continues to exercise the peculiar privilege of appointing the mayor,—a privilege still reserved to him notwithstanding the recent Unreformed Corporations' Act. Of its destruction we have no historical record; but probably it shared the





J.T. BLIGHT. F.S.A. DEL.

THE NEVERN ROCK CROSS.



fate of other castles during the Commonwealth. Of the ruins, the principal feature is a thirteenth century tower, rising from a square basement into a circular form, and surmounted by a polygonal story of later date. In the south-east angle are the remains of a large round tower rising from a square base. On the north side of this tower, and adjacent to it, is a vaulted chamber with a central pier of early Decorated character, from which spring eight ribs terminating in as many pilasters on the sides and corners of the chamber. A long day's work and the pressure of time prevented a proper examination of the ground-plan; but it is hoped that at some future time a full and connected account will be printed in the Journal. It only remains here to acknowledge the welcome with which Sir Henry and Lady Beecher received the members of the Association.

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 16TH.

BEFORE starting on this day's excursion, several of the members went to examine the stone in Fishguard Churchyard, an account of which, by Professor Westwood, is given at p. 325 of this volume. At ten o'clock a start was made for Goodwic and the Hill of Penrhiw, which, as well as the whole of the promontory of Pencaer, abounds in cromlechs and stone remains. In one place three cromlechs in a line direct north and south stand at a short distance from each other. The first of these, locally called "Carreg Samson", has its capstone, 12 ft. 9 in. in length, by 11 ft. in breadth, and an average thickness of 2 ft.; the supporting stones have been displaced, but the line of the enclosing circle is distinct enough. The same remark will apply to numbers two and three. In the second case, the supporting stones, six and seven feet in length, have given way; the capstone is 12 ft. by 8 ft., with an average thickness of 12 inches. Close to these is a well defined circle, divided by a line through the centre, and approached by a passage which pointed towards a low tumulus. Owing, however, to the great quantity of stones scattered about in all directions, and the luxurious growth of the fern, but little could be made out in the time allowed. Similar remains were passed, in the now enclosed portion of the hill, on the way to the very fine remains which give its name to the field as Parc y Cromlech, near Penrhiw farm-house. This cromlech partakes more of the nature of a very large cistvaen than any of the others, as the capstone, which averages 13 ft. by 7 ft., and lies east and west, rests upon supports laid lengthwise, and not upright; that on the south side being 10 ft. long, and 3 ft. 6 in. above the ground. At an angle of the cross roads, on the way to Llanwnda, stands a stone with an inscribed cross, one of four that existed within memory. On the north-west slope of the Garn, just above the village of Llanwnda, are the remains of another cromlech, which however has slipped considerably out of position. It has, indeed, been asserted that the

stone is simply a slab of rock which has slipped down to its present position, but the discovery, some years ago, of an urn and bones beneath it must settle the question. Fenton speaks of it as such, and seems to have had no doubt as to its nature.

Llanwnda Church is cruciform, the transepts being widened into chantry chapels; that on the north side is stone vaulted. The stairs to the rood-loft exist, as also the corbels in the walls by which it was supported. A stone seat runs round the west end. The porch has a squint. The font is rude and of the local type—a square basin supported by a round pillar standing on a square base. At the junction of the nave and chancel is the small belfry for the Sanctus bell, similar to the one at Spittal. The chancel walls, lately rebuilt, have several early crosses built up into them which were found in the foundations. The chalice and paten have each of them the same maker's initials, but the date mark is different. Both were looted by the French on their memorable landing, and when offered for sale, were identified by the inscription on the chalice, *POCULUM ECLESIE DE LANWENDA*, and restored to the churchwardens. On the way from the village, at Pont Eglwys, there is a stone with a cross inscribed on it, which now forms one of the supporters of the bridge.

At the farm-house of Llanwnwr, a number of graves dug in the surface of the rock were seen in the yard, and a small one was opened for the occasion. They were not more than a foot in depth; and some of them were said to have contained ashes as well as bones. A sculptured stone, now serving as a gate-post, was found near it, and in the dingle, a little below the house, the remains of a quern.

On the summit of Garn Vawr is a remarkable stone fortress, similar in character to, though not so extensive as, those on Treceiri and Penmaenmawr. On the north, south, and west, the sides of the hill are steep and difficult of access, and on the west it also overhangs precipitous rocks. On the east and more accessible side it is defended by two strong walls of loose stones. Here and there, and notably at the outer entrance on the western slope, may be seen the remains of loose and wide jointed primitive masonry. Close to the inner walls of the camp proper, is plainly seen a range of stone circles, the remains of huts.

Passing thence rapidly by the moated earthwork of Castell Poeth, where some years ago a number of urns were unearthed, the members next examined, at the village of St. Nicholas, the stone with the following inscription: *TUNCETACEUX SORDAARIHICIA CIT.*<sup>1</sup> The church consists of chancel and nave, with a vaulted chapel on the south side, connected with the chancel by one of the Pembrokeshire passages or enlarged squints reaching to the ground. The font is of the local type. The west end is original, and has a remarkably massive buttress.

<sup>1</sup> Rhys, *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, p. 406; Fenton's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 23.

The cromlech at Trellys, although not so large as some of the others that were seen this day, stands on the brow of a hill to the south of the village. The capstone is 7 ft. 6 in. in length, by 6 ft. 3 in. in breadth, with an average thickness of 1 ft. 9 in. Two of the supporting stones are 5 ft. 5 in. and 6 ft. respectively in height. On the way home the members halted to examine the great oval earthwork at Hendre Wen. Its diameter taken lengthwise is 80 yards, and across 80 yards. The circumference measured along the top of the vallum is 240 yards. The external dyke is deep and wide, and for the most part still perfect. The surrounding ground level and unbroken.

At the evening meeting the President, in opening the proceedings, corrected a statement in his inaugural address by saying he was glad to find that Sir Marteine Lloyd still retained his privilege, as Lord Marcher, of appointing the Mayor of Newport. He then called on Professor Babington to give a *résumé* of the day's proceedings.

The Rev. D. H. Davies of Cenarth read a paper on the earthworks of the parish of Llanon.

The Rev. E. L. Barnwell proposed, and Mr. H. W. Lloyd seconded, a vote of thanks to the Local Committee, and especially to Mr. H. Llwyd Harries, the Chairman.

A vote of thanks was also given to the Curators and contributors to the Museum.

#### FRIDAY, AUGUST 17.

The first halt to-day was made at Loughouse, to inspect the cromlech mentioned by Fenton, the capstone of which has six supports, is 18 ft. long, 9 ft. 8 ins. wide, and 4 ft. 6 ins. at the thickest part. Fenton's measurements are, 16 ft. to 18 ft. in length. A section of the company went to explore an ancient work which Fenton thought was a summer camp of the Romans. A difference of opinion exists on that point; but none can exist as to the beauty of the small bay below, terminated by Strumble Head. Members were received at Longhouse by Mr. Marychurch with ample hospitality. This house was formerly a temporary residence of the Bishop, and according to Fenton Bishop Tully lived there entirely.

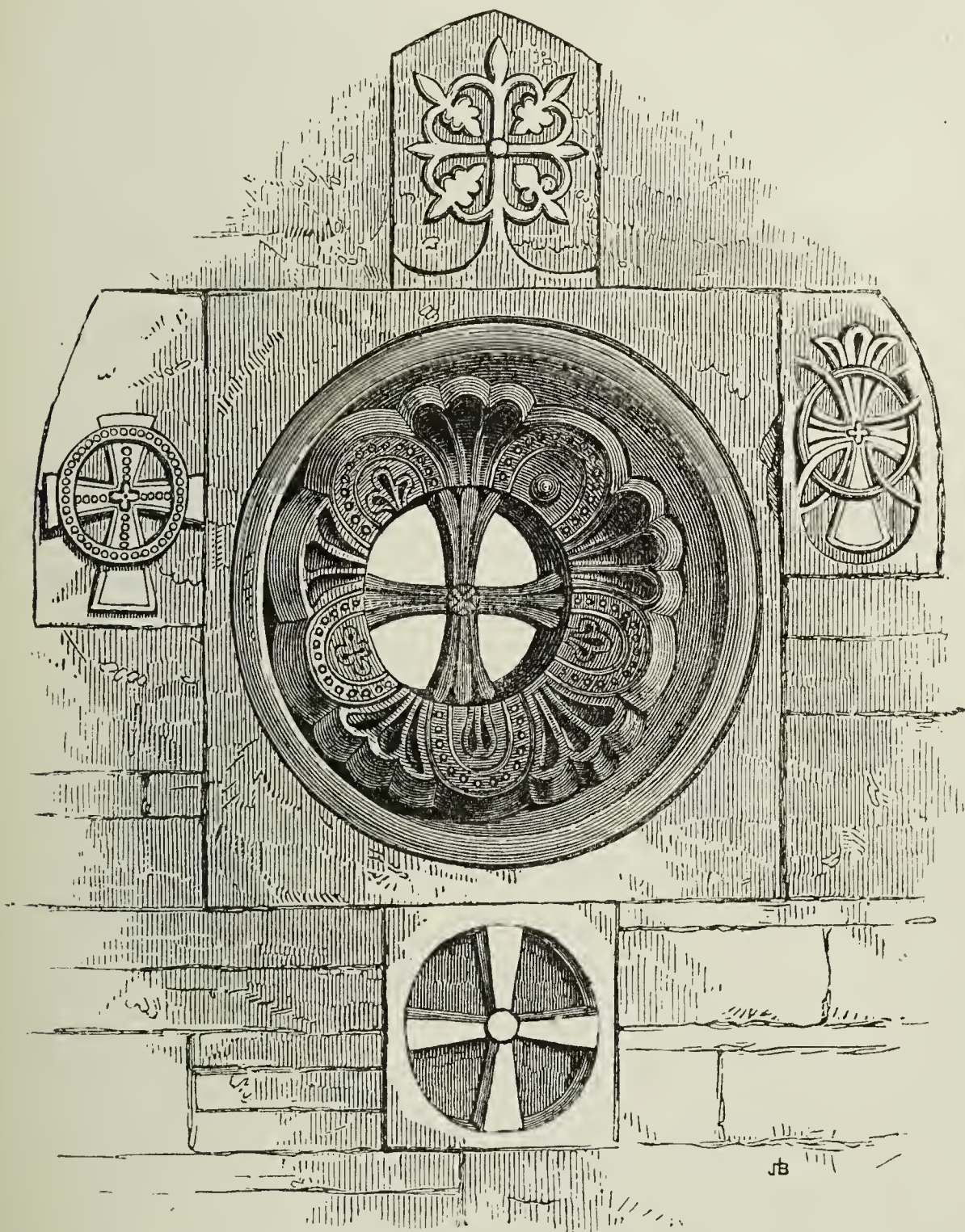
When the President had returned thanks to Mr. Marychurch for his courteous reception, a start was made for St. David's. The Cathedral was first examined under the guidance of the Very Rev. the Dean. The nave, generally assigned to Bishop Peter de Leia (1176-90), consists of six bays. With the exception of the westernmost bay, which is narrower than the rest, all the arches of the main arcades are rounded, the piers being alternately round and octagonal, with shafts attached. The timber ceiling is said to have been erected during the treasurership of Owen Pole (1472-1509). It is of Irish oak,—a wood that is said to be free from rot. It re-

places an earlier one which was groined, but had become decayed, according to Fenton. A massive Decorated rood-screen separates the nave from the choir. A vaulted passage of two bays leads through the centre of the screen into the choir. On the south side of the western bay are two compartments containing tombs. In the one adjoining the entrance is the recumbent effigy, on a high tomb, of a priest in eucharistic vestments. The shoes are pointed, and the feet rest against a lion. The compartment beyond this contains a high tomb bearing the recumbent effigy of a bishop who is represented as wearing the *mitra pretiosa*. Along the south side of the tomb are seen statuettes in relief. The compartment on the north side contains also the recumbent effigy of a priest. The ritual choir occupies the space beneath the central tower and half the bay beyond it. The presbytery takes the remaining half of the bay and three bays eastward. Of the four main arches of the tower, the western is circular; the other three, constructed after the fall of the tower in 1220, are pointed. The stalls, the work of Bishop Tully, are twenty-eight in number. The Sovereign is entitled to a stall in the choir. The east end of the presbytery has been restored to the form it presented after the rebuilding of 1220, with the exception that the lower tier of three windows is closed up. On a brass beneath the central window is the inscription, "In honorem Dei, et in memoriam Gulielmi Lucy S.T.P., hujus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis regnante Carolo Secundo præclari Episcopi, pietate adductus, dat dedicat Johannes Lucy per multos annos Hampton Lucy Rector. A.D. 1871." In the third bay from the east, on the south side of the presbytery, are effigies of two bishops side by side. The one on the north is of dark marble, and commemorative of Bishop Anselm. He is represented with a moustache and short, curled beard, vested in eucharistic garments, and wears a mitre; the right hand on the breast, downwards; the pastoral staff with the crook, which has Early English foliage, and is turned outwards, well defined. Southward of this is another recumbent effigy, on a stone coffin, of a bishop similarly vested; the remains of the pastoral staff, partly enveloped in a veil, are much mutilated. In the middle of the presbytery is the altar-tomb of Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and father of Henry VII. In the west wall of Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, immediately at the back of the high altar, is a recess in which are placed five crosses; a larger one in the centre surrounded by four smaller ones. They were discovered in 1866, and are described by the Rev. E. L. Barnwell (*Arch. Camb.*, 1867, p. 68). The illustration here given gives a correct idea of this singular group of openings, giving a view of the series at the altar. In the Lady Chapel, built during the episcopate of Bishop Martyn, are triple sedilia, Decorated insertions, and two tomb-recesses of the same date.

To the north of the Cathedral are the remains of the chapel, with a sacristy at the south-east angle, of the College of St. Mary, founded by Bishop Adam Houghton.

On the right bank of the Alan, opposite the Cathedral, are the

ruins of the Episcopal Palace, the work of Bishop Gower. It is impossible to convey any notion of the beauty and details of this magnificent specimen of a bishop's palace, unique, as such, in these islands. The late Mr. C. Norris published, in the early part of this



Crosses in Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, St. David's.

century, in an oblong quarto, elaborate engravings of these ruins ; a book easily procured, and at a very moderate price.

After partaking of the Dean's hospitality, the members returned to Fishguard. There was no evening meeting.

## FISHGUARD MEETING, 1883.

## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions . . . . .	25	14	0	Printing, etc. . . . .	1	16	8
Tickets sold . . . . .	8	0	6	Rent and expenses of Hall	1	15	0
				Keeper of Hall and watch- man . . . . .	1	15	0
				Postages, telegrams, and stationery . . . . .	1	0	0
				Sundry small expenses . . . . .	0	8	11½
				Balance remitted to Trea- surer . . . . .	26	18	10½
	£33 14 6				£33 14 6		

Examined and found correct,  
this 27th day of October 1883.

HUGH LL. HARRIES, Chairman of Local Committee.  
JOHN LLOYD JONES, Local Secretary.

(Countersigned) C. C. BABINGTON.

## SUBSCRIBERS TO LOCAL FUND.

	£	s.	d.
C. E. G. Philipps, Esq., <i>President</i> , Picton Castle, Haverfordwest	5	0	0
The Very Reverend the Dean of St. David's	5	0	0
The Ven. Archdeacon of St. David's, Warren Rectory, Pembroke	1	1	0
William Davies, Esq., M.P., Haverfordwest	1	1	0
Rev. William Davies, Llanychaer, Fishguard	1	1	0
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Rev. D. O. James, Letterston Rectory, Haverfordwest	1	1	0
Rev. James Lewis, Llanrhian Rectory, Haverfordwest	1	1	0
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Rev. David Morgan, Rectory, St. Nicholas, Fishguard	0	12	0
Rev. J. Tombs, Burton Rectory, Haverfordwest	0	10	0
	£25 14 0		



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THE  
LAND OF MORGAN:

BEING A

CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE HISTORY

OF THE

LORDSHIP OF GLAMORGAN.

BY

GEO. T. CLARK.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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IN the following pages an attempt is made to relate the history of the Lords of Glamorgan from its Conquest and settlement by Robert Fitz Hamon down to the extinction, in the male line, of the House of Clare, his descendants and successors. The history of the Lords, for that period, is in fact the history of the Lordship, inasmuch as the system of feudal tenures prevailed there in all its strictness, and the relation between the Chief Lord, his tenants, and their tenants, being of a military character, in the presence of a brave and implacable foe, was one of unusual closeness. The Lordship itself was a fief of the Crown, and every manor within it was held, mediately or immediately, of the Chief Lord, as of his Castle of Cardiff.

The Lord held *per integram baroniam*, but the limitations attending the tenure, undefined by grant or charter, were not only widely different from those of an ordinary barony or honour, but appear to have been different also from those of the other Marcher Lordships. Glamorgan was a county, and its ambulatory parliament is styled a *Comitatus*, and was composed of the greater tenants, probably from ten to twenty in number, each of whom, though differing in the amount of their holdings of the Lord, had to provide a lodging at his own expense within the Castle yard at Cardiff, connected with their double capacity of defenders of the Castle in war, and advisers of its Lord in times of peace. Each, moreover, had his own castle, and some of them were also Lords of mesne manors and castles, whose tenants paid to them services similar to their own.

The *Comitatus* was a Court of Chancery or Record,

composed of the Lord's principal tenants or *barones comitatus*, presided over by the Lord's Vice-Comes, or Sheriff, from the decisions of which there lay no appeal to the Crown, and which levied fines, and regulated wardships, escheats, scutages, inquisitions, forfeitures, and other usual incidents of the feudal system. One of latest fines levied before this Court, in the time of Jasper, Duke of Bedford, describes Sir Richard Croft, Knight, Sheriff, as presiding, and Richard Turberville, David Mathew, John Butler, John ap Jenkyn ap Riderch, and John Carne as the Barons. No doubt the Marcher Lords generally levied fines and stepped into escheated lands, but the machinery of government in the lordship of Glamorgan seems to have been of a far more extensive and perfect character than elsewhere. It certainly was far more so than in the contiguous lordships of Gower, Brecknock, and Upper Gwent, and probably than in any other Welsh Marcher lordship, save only Chester. How it came about that Fitz Hamon obtained and transmitted such exceptional privileges is not known. The nearly contemporary conquerors of Gwent, Brecknock, Gower, Caermarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke, were to the full as great men as Fitz Hamon, and the Lord of Montgomery was certainly greater and more powerful, but so far as has been ascertained, in none of these districts was the jurisdiction of the complete character of that established in Glamorgan. Something, probably, was due to the position of Glamorgan under its Welsh princes, some of whom bore the title of King, holding Cardiff as their principal seat of government, and the district about it as the Royal cantred or hundred. The laws and customs of Glamorgan were also of a peculiar character, and the Norman Lords, powerful as they were, found it convenient to respect them, at least as regards the more mountainous and more purely Welsh part of their territory.

There could not be a more complete *imperium in imperio* than was the sway of the Norman Lord of

Glamorgan, within the lordship. It was described as “*sicut regale*”. Cardiff and the Taff were his Bungay and Waveney; and once there seated, no King of Cockney could reach him. Coyty, and at least one hill lordship, comprising the two commotes of Senghenydd, were held of him *per baroniam*; Avan, the only important lowland lordship in the hands of a Welsh family of rank, was held by serjeantry. Most of the manors were held directly of Cardiff by the tenure of Castle-guard; a few were held immediately of the larger manors. All the greater tenants, with the exception of the Lords of Avan and Senghenydd, and perhaps one or two more, were of Norman blood, and also held estates in England, chiefly within the Honour of Gloucester, within the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, Devon, and Dorset. The *Liber Niger* gives a list of the knights who held of the Honour, and in it occur the names of twenty who also held lands in Glamorgan. These are Berkerolles, de Cardiff, Cogan, Constantine, Croc, Grenville, de Londres, Maisi, de la Mare, Nerbert, Norris, Pennard, Reigny, St. Quintin, Le Sore, Somery, Umfranville, Villers, Walsh, and de Winton. This list, moreover, for some unknown reason omits a number of other knightly tenants who held lands in Devon, Dorset, and Somerset, also within the Honour, and many of whom not only held lands but have given their names to parishes and manors in Glamorgan. Such are Bawdrip, Hawey, de la More, St. John, and Turberville, and in the latter class, Barry, Bonville, Cantelupe, Fleming, and Sully.

As the Lords of Glamorgan also held the Honour of Gloucester, cases of divided allegiance were rare. Only one such is on record, where the Beauchamps of Hache claimed the wardship of Hawey, who held the manor of Combe-Hawey in Somerset of the Beauchamps, and that of St. Donats in Glamorgan of the Earls of Gloucester. The case came before the *Comitatus*, but the finding is not on record. The only other case in which the proceedings before the *Comitatus* are preserved re-

lated to the right of appeal to the King's Court. During the troubled reign of Henry III, Richard Siward, a Glamorgan baron, Lord of Talavan and Llanblethian, having rebelled against the Lord, the *Curia Comitatus* declared his estates forfeited, and himself "waiviatum de comitatu" or "Wolveshed" according to the usage of the county. Siward, on this, appealed to the *Curia Regis*, on the ground that the Earl was a party concerned, and could not therefore be a fair judge. The Lord refused to acknowledge or plead to such an appeal, and called on the King to respect his privileges. Naturally the King was anxious to break down the Marcher powers, which in truth were inconsistent with the uniform government of the State, and Henry happened at that conjuncture to have the upper hand. The result was a compromise, but it was evident that the local court had always been independent of the *Curia Regis*.

Even as late as the reign of Henry IV, the general laws of the kingdom had but little force in Glamorgan; for, in the 12th of that King, the Escheator is exonerated for failing in a levy, on the ground that he could not be expected to execute his office where the King's writ did not run, "propter nimiam et magnam potentiam et resistenciam"; and a century or so later a messenger of the Court of Chancery, who tried to serve an order of Court at Radyr, was pelted with stones from the roof of the Manor House, and had to quit the Principality *re infectâ*. But the currency denied to the laws of the realm was permitted to the old native customs, to which the people were much attached. These, however, were confined almost entirely to the hill lordships and commotes. In the vale, where nearly all the larger landholders were of foreign origin, the laws were practically those of England. Land descended to the male heir, and failing him, in coparceny to females. Copyhold tenure, unknown in the Hills, was common, and heriots were very general. Ordinary justice was administered by Courts-leet and

Courts-baron, and the burgesses and freeholders, in many cases all Welshmen, elected their own officers, subject to a well-defined and moderate *veto* from the Lord. In a few manors gavelkind prevailed, and in one or two borough-English.

The Lord's power originally extended over the possessions and dignities of the Church. He was patron of the Abbeys of Neath and Margam, and exercised the right of *baculum pastorale*, of appointing or confirming the election of the Abbot. Also he had the same power, or *dignitas crociæ*, with regard to the Bishopric of Llandaff. The Crown, indeed, challenged this, and in the reign of Edward I it was compromised; but the Lord continued to collate to the Archdeaconry and other Cathedral preferments, *sede vacante*, and, during such intervals, to hold the temporalities of the See. The Act of the 27 Henry VIII, cap. 26, gives, among other reasons for the new settlement of Wales, that its "rights, usages, laws, and customs be far discrepant from the laws and customs of the realm", but neither here nor in any other of the Acts relating to Wales do we find any description or distinct allusion to, still less any recognition of, the Marcher Courts and customs. The Act above cited, in constituting the King's Courts in Glamorgan, enumerates as parts of the new shire the Lordships of Gower, Kilvae, Bishopston, Llandaff, Senghenydd *supra* and *subtus*, Miskin, Ogmore, Glyn-Rothney, Talygarn, Ruthyn, Talavan, Llanblethian, Llantwid, Tir-y-Iarl, Avan, Neath, Llantweie, and the Clays, all of which seem originally to have had distinct jurisdictions. One of the exceptions to the new system is in favour of Henry, Earl of Worcester, who remained "Justice of the shire of Glamorgan".

The mysterious and total disappearance of the records of the *Comitatus*, is fatal to anything like a complete history of Glamorgan. Fortunately, however, the lordship being held *in capite*, the King had a right to an *inquisitio post mortem* on the death of each Lord, and to the custody of the lordship and the heir, if

a minor. These inquisitions have been preserved with the records of the realm, and throw great light upon the descent of the landed property, as do the Pipe rolls for the corresponding periods upon the sources of income and the details of expenditure. Moreover, as most of the Lords of Manors were of English descent, and either the heads or cadets of existing English families, these names appear in English records, especially in those connected with the western counties. Also, although the cartulary and most of the charters of Neath Abbey are lost, and the cartulary of Margam is inaccessible, there is preserved in the British Museum a large collection of the charters of the latter Abbey, and at Gloucester many of the grants relating to the property in Glamorgan of the Abbey of St. Peter. Several of the boroughs also have preserved their charters, and a few exist at St. Donats and Fonmon, and in the collection of the late most industrious antiquary Mr. Francis. From these sources has been drawn what is known of the history of the county before the reign of Henry VIII, and what is recorded in the following pages. The public records relating to South Wales, and more especially to Glamorgan, have been searched with equal industry and acuteness by Mr. Floyd, to whom the writer has to acknowledge obligations too extensive to be more particularly specified.

TALYGARN, 1883.

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## THE LAND OF MORGAN : ITS CONQUEST AND ITS CONQUERORS.

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OF the forty shires of England there are certainly not a score of which good histories have been written, and not above five or six and twenty of which there are any tolerable histories at all. Even Yorkshire, so rich in antiquities of every kind, ethnological, ethnographical, architectural, and genealogical; in pre-historic tumuli; in proper names given by the Briton, the Roman, and the Northman; in march dykes; Roman and other encampments; military roads and moated mounds; in the ruins of glorious abbeys and mighty castles; in its noble cathedral and grand parish churches, upon two of which the brevet rank of cathedral has been imposed; in its venerable and splendid country seats, and in its ancient and often historic families—even Yorkshire, so rich in all these varied and tempting subjects, and rich too in material wealth, has yet met with no historian. Divisions of the county, as Richmondshire and Hallamshire, Doncaster, and Sheffield, are the subjects of works quite of the first class, but neither the local history of the great Shire, nor even that of one of its Ridings, has been placed upon record. If such be the case in wealthy and cultivated England, it is no great shame in Wales to be, as regards county histories, in a still more unprovided condition, as indeed the Principality must be admitted to be. There is but one history, Jones's *Brecknock*, of any Welsh county, at all worthy of the name, for assuredly neither Fenton's *Pembrokeshire* nor Meyrick's *Cardigan* merit that title. And yet, as is abundantly shown in the volumes of the

*Archæologia Cambrensis*, and in the copious though incidental notices of Wales in Eyton's excellent *History of Early Shropshire*, it is not the material that is wanting. Cambria, though not the cradle, the latest home of the Cymric people, has no reason to complain of her share of the gifts of nature or of their adaptation to produce material prosperity. The incurvated coast, whence the country is thought to derive its name, abounds in bays and headlands of extreme beauty and grandeur. In the North, its scenery is bold and striking; in the South it is of a softer character, and celebrated rather for its valleys than its mountains, its meandering rivers rather than its dashing torrents. In mineral wealth the North is not deficient, but the South has the lion's share, nor does any part of it approach in value the division of Glamorgan. Here, in the centre of the Welsh coal field, that mineral is not only abundant in quantity, easy of access and convenient for transport by sea, but it is of a character equally removed from the bituminous varieties of the east and the anthracite of the west, so that it produces unusual steam power in proportion to its weight and bulk, and does so without raising the usual accompaniment of smoke—qualities which render it valuable in commerce and still more in request in naval warfare.

Wales, moreover, and especially Glamorgan, was for centuries the scene of romantic and spirit-stirring events, and has had a large measure of ecclesiastical and military renown. To Pelagius, though their names have the "merit of congruity", the land of Morgan cannot indeed lay claim; and too many of her early sons, like the Greeks before Agamemnon, slumber unrecorded beneath her cairns and barrows. But of others, notices have survived, and their sweet savour is found in the churches which they have founded, in the records of Llandaff, the earliest of British bishoprics, and in the fragmentary, but ancient literature of the people. Bede relates how "Lever Mawr", the "great light", better known in translation as King Lucius,



moved Eleutherius, A.D. 160, to send over from Rome Fagan and Dyvan to preach the gospel to his people. They settled at Avalon, but seem to have laboured much across the Severn, where their names are yet preserved in the Churches of St. Fagan and Merthyr Dovan, the latter indicating the manner in which its founder bore testimony to his faith.

Gildas, an author of the sixth century, whose name is prefixed to the treatise *De excidio Britanniae*, written certainly before the time of Bede, is associated with Glamorgan, from having paid a visit to St. Cadoc at Llancarvan, where, before either Saxon or Norman had profaned the banks of the Carvan, the Siloa of Glamorgan, many of those holy men who gained the appellation of *terra sanctorum* for the land in which they laboured, were educated and sent forth to their work. The monastic school, or *Chorea Sanctorum* of Llancarvan, is said to have been founded by the saints Germanus and Lupus to counteract the Pelagianism of the district, strong in the name and heresy of Morgan; but the claim of Germanus in this respect is challenged for Dubricius, a saint of the close of the sixth century, and for Cadoc, or Cattwg, a saint and prince, whose name survives in the adjacent Cadoxton, whose triad has gained for him the appellation of "the wise", and who, with St. David and Nennius, claims to have shared in the instruction of St. Finnian, one of the apostles of Christian Ireland. A charter by Merchiaun, witnessed by Bishop Gwrgan (Gucawnus), who died A.D. 982, mentions the Abbot "totius dignitatis ecclesiae sancti Cattoci Lancarvanie"; and it was at Llancarvan, towards the middle of the twelfth century, that Caradoc, named from thence, penned that account of the Principality known as the *Brut-y-Tywysogion*, which, expanded and continued by the successive labours of Price and Lloyd, Powell and Wynne, still holds the chief place in Welsh historical literature. In Llancarvan also, upon his patrimony of Trev-Walter, or Walterston, was probably born Walter Calenius, or

de Map, a son of Blondel de Map, chaplain to Fitz-Hamon, and who acquired the property by marriage with Flwr, its Welsh heiress. Walter became chaplain to Henry I, and Archdeacon of Oxford, and was one of those who, during the reigns of the two Henrys, and under the protection of Robert Earl of Gloucester, Lord of Glamorgan, promoted the growth of English literature, and was besides celebrated for his lively and pungent satires upon Becket and the clergy of his day. He also seems to have added largely to the stocks of Arthurian romance, and to have made popular those legends upon which his friend and contemporary Geoffrey of Monmouth founded his well-known volume. These well-springs of Cymric history are, indeed, scanty and turbid, and must be drawn from with great discrimination; but it is from them, from the *Lifr Coch*, or Red Book, otherwise known as the Book of Llandaff, and from the lives of St. Cadoc, St. Iltyd, and other of the Welsh saints, that is derived all that is known of the history of Glamorgan before the Norman invasion. Nor is the testimony of the *Book of Llandaff* confined to Llancarvan. Both Llan-Iltyd or Llantwit, under the presidency of St. Iltutus, and Docunni or Llandoch, now Llandough upon the Ely, were celebrated as monastic colleges early in the fifth century; and even now, in the churchyard of each place, are seen those singular obelisks or upright stones, rudely, but effectively, adorned with knot-work in stone, and of very ancient, though uncertain, date.

Glamorgan extends about fifty-three miles along the northern shore of the Bristol Channel, here broadening into an estuary. From the seaboard as a base it passes inland twenty-nine miles in the figure of a triangle, the northern point abutting upon the range of the Beacons of Brecknock. Its principal towns, Cardiff and Swansea, are placed near the southern angles of the triangle: Merthyr, of far later growth, stands at the northern angle, and near the head, as Cardiff is near the opening, of the Taff, and Swansea of the Tawe. Aberdare upon

the Cynon, and Tre-Herbert upon the Rhondda, tributaries of the Taff, are the centres of immense nebulae of population, at this time condensing with more than American rapidity into considerable towns. The actual boundaries of the county, east and west, are the Afon-Eleirch or Swan river, now the Rhymny, from Monmouthshire, and the Llwchwr or Burry from Caermarthenshire. The episcopal village and Cathedral of Llandaff stand upon the *Llan* or mead of the Taff, a little above Cardiff.

The great natural division of the county is into upland and lowland, called by the old Welsh the *Blaenau* and the *Bro*; the latter extending, like the Concan of Bombay, as a broad margin along the seaboard, and covering about a third of the area; the former, rising abruptly like the Syhadree Ghauts, and lying to the north. The *Bro*, though containing sea cliffs of a hundred feet, is rather undulating than hilly; the *Blaenau* is throughout mountainous, and contains elevations which rise to 1,200, 1,600, and, at Carn Moysin, to 2,000 feet. From this high ground spring the rivers of the county. Besides the four already mentioned, are the Nedd, on which are the town of Neath and the dock of Briton-Ferry, the Ely with the dock of Penarth, the Ogwr flowing through Bridgend, and the Cowbridge Thawe, whose waters roll into the sea over a field of water-worn lias pebbles, in repute as an hydraulic limestone, in great request among engineers, and as celebrated as that of Barrow on the Soar. Besides these are a multitude of small streams bearing Welsh names, some of which, as the Sarth or Javelin, and the Twrch or Boar, are highly significant.

The Llwchwr is the only Glamorgan river admitting, in any degree, of navigation, and that to a very small extent. The other streams are rapid and uncertain, sometimes foaming torrents, sometimes dry beds of shingle, but more commonly with a moderate flow. They descend through those wild and rocky but always verdant valleys, for which Glamorgan is justly famed.

Both the Taff and the Nedd are celebrated for their scenery, but the Taff has the advantage not only in the conflux of valleys, which form so pleasing a feature at Pont-y-Prydd, but in the grand cleft by which that river, guarded by the ancient castle of the De Clares, and the far more ancient camp of British origin, bursts from its constraint amidst the mountains, and rolls in easy and graceful curves across the plain of Cardiff.

Cardiff, the principal port of the county, is formed by the union of the Taff and the Ely, and its roadstead is protected by the headland of Penarth. Swansea, its western rival, opens upon its celebrated bay : Briton-Ferry, Port Talbot, and Porth Cawl are intermediate and smaller ports. A curious feature upon several points of the sea-coast are the large deposits of blown sand, probably an accumulation of the twelfth century, but first mentioned in a charter of Richard II, 1384, in which he grants to the Abbot and Convent of Margam the forfeited advowson of Avene *propter suam terram per sabulum maritimum destructam in nimiam depauperacionem abbatiae*. This sand, the movement of the surface of which has hitherto defied all attempts at planting, has advanced upon Merthyr Mawr and Kenfig and some parts of Gower, and, like the dragon of Wantley, has swallowed up much pasture, at least three churches, a castle, a village or two, and not a few detached houses.

The superficial features of the county are largely affected by its mineral composition. The mountain districts contain the coal-field, of late years so extensively worked : the lowlands are mainly old red sandstone and mountain limestone, more or less eroded by water, and covered up by the unconformable, and nearly horizontal, beds of the magnesian conglomerate, the new red, and the lias. The county contains no igneous rocks, nothing known older than the old red, and no regular formation later than the lias. The gravels, however, are on a large scale, and their sections throw much light upon the origin and dip of the

pebbles, and therefore upon the measure and direction of their depositing forces.

The charms of Glamorgan have not wanted keen appreciation. An early triad asserts of it :—

“The Bard loves this beautiful country,  
Its wines, its wives, and its white houses.”

Its wines are, alas! no more; not even the patriotic efforts of Lord Bute, in his vineyard at Castell Coch, have as yet been able to raise a murmur from the local temperance societies; but the white cottages still glisten, nestled in the recesses of the hills; and if its wives no longer enjoy a special pre-eminence in Wales it is only because the fair sex of other counties, emulous of the distinction, have attained to the same merits. The verses, by Dean Conybeare, in which the sentiments of this triad are embodied, seem worthy of preservation here :—

“Morganwg! thy vales are fair,  
Proud thy mountains rise in air;  
And frequent, through the varied scene  
Thy white-walled mansions glare between:  
    May the radiant lamp of day  
    Ever shed its choicest ray  
    On those walls of glittering white;  
Morganwg! the Bards' delight.

“Morganwg! those white walls hold  
A matchless race in warfare bold;  
In peace the pink of courtesy,  
In love are none so fond and free.  
    May, etc.

“Morganwg! those white walls know  
All of bliss is given below,  
For there in honour dwells the bride,  
Her lover's joy, her husband's pride.  
    May, etc.”

The glowing description of Speed has been often quoted, and is well known; a modern and more prosaic writer, following in the same school of geography that has compared Italy to a boot, and Oxfordshire to a seated old woman, has employed a sort of *memoria*

*technica* for the general form of Glamorgan, which he likens to a porpoise in the act of diving: "Roath represents its mouth, Ruperra its prominent snout, Blaen-Rhymny and Waun-cae-Gerwin its dorsal fins, the peninsula of Gower its outstretched tail, and the Hundred of Dinas Powis its protuberant belly." Higden, writing in the fourteenth century, extends his panegyric to the whole Principality.

"Sic propero ad Walliam  
Ad Priami prosapiam,  
Ad Magni Jovis sanguinem  
Ad Dardani progeniem.  
\* \* \* \*

"Terra foecunda fructibus  
Et carnibus et piscibus;  
Domesticis, silvestribus,  
Bobus, equis, et ovibus;  
Apta cunctis seminibus,  
Culmis, spicis, graminibus;  
Arvis, pratis, nemoribus,  
Herbis gaudet, et floribus;  
Fluminibus et fontibus,  
Convallibus et montibus.  
Convalles pastum proferunt,  
Montes metalla conferunt;  
Carbo sub terræ cortice,  
Crescit viror in vertice;  
Calcem per artis regulas  
Præbet ad tecti, tegulas.  
Epularum materia  
Mel, lac, et lacticinia,  
Mulsum, medo, cervisia,  
Abundant in hac patria,  
Et quicquid vitæ congruit  
Ubertim terra tribuit.  
\* \* \* \*

"Convictus hujus patriæ  
Differt a ritu Angliæ,  
In vestibus in victibus,  
In cæteris quam pluribus,  
His vestium insignia  
Sunt clamis et camisia,  
Et crispa femoralia.  
Sub ventis et sub pluvia,  
Plura non ferunt tegmina  
Quamvis brumescat Borea.  
\* \* \* \*

“Itidem in South-Wallia  
 Apud Kærdiff est insula,  
 Juxta Sabrinum pelagus,  
 Barri dicta antiquitus,  
 In cujus parte proxima,  
 Apparet rima modica,  
 Ad quam si aurem commodes  
 Sonum mirandum audies,  
 Nunc quasi flatus follium  
 Nunc metallorum sonitum  
 Cotis ferri fricamina  
 Fornacis nunc incendia.  
 Sed hoc non est difficile  
 Ex fluctibus contingere  
 Marinis subintranantibus  
 Hunc sonum procreantibus.”

Glamorgan received a western addition and became a regular county in the reign of Henry VIII, but the ancient limit still divides the sees of Llandaff and St. David's. Both districts, by some accounts, were included in the ancient Morganwg. “Glamorgan”, says Rees Meyric, “differs from Morganwg, as the particulars from the general,” Morganwg being the older name and far more comprehensive territory. “Morganwg”, says the same authority, “extended from Gloucester Bridge to the Crumlyn Brook near Neath, if not to the Towy River, and included parts of the later shires of Gloucester, Monmouth, Hereford, Brecknock, and Glamorgan, and it may be of Caermarthen.” Glamorgan, on the other hand, seems to have been confined to that part of the present county that lies along the seaboard, south of the portway, or road, probably Roman, from Cardiff to Cowbridge and Neath, and this it is which is said to have been ruled by Morgan Hên, or the aged, in the middle of the tenth century. To this Prince has been attributed the name of his territory, Gwlad-Morgan or Morgan's country, and there is no evidence for its earlier use. The rule of his descendants, however, under the same name, seems to have included the northern or hill country; and, finally, Fitz-Hamon and his successors, although of the ancient Morganwg they held only that

small part between the Rhymny and the Usk, always styled themselves "Domini Morganix et Glamorganix" in their charters, nor was the style altered even when the Monmouthshire lands passed away for a time by a co-heir to the Audleys.

The Britons, both of East and West Britain, seem, when fairly conquered, to have accepted the Roman yoke with equanimity; and it is evident, from the remains of Roman villas all over Wales, that the intruders lived there in peace. This was never the case with the English. The Welsh never accepted their rule, and their language contains many expressions indicating their deadly and continued hate. Even in the Herefordshire Irchenfield, where many parishes bear English names, and which probably from the time of Alfred was part of an English county, and along the Shropshire border, within and about Offa's Dyke, all the English dwellings were fortified. The points of contact between the Welsh and the various tribes of Northmen were numerous; sometimes on the English border, where a large infusion of the names are English, sometimes along the sea-coast, where such names as Skokholm, Holm, Sealm, Gresholm, Gatholm, Strumble Head, Nangle, and Swansea, savour strongly of the Baltic; and it seems probable that in some degree to those early Vikings, as well as to the later settlements of Flemings or English, is due the Teutonic element which prevails in the topography of Lower Pembroke and Gower. In Glamorgan, however, the Welsh in the eleventh century seem pretty well to have recovered their territory, and to have disposed of their invaders as they disposed of Harold himself when he attempted to erect a hunting lodge for the Confessor at Portskewit.

Gwrgan, the penultimate Welsh prince who ruled over Glamorgan, is usually called by the Welsh Lord of Morganwg; which, however, he certainly never held in its extended sense, his rule having been confined to the tract from the Usk to the Crumlyn, and from the



Brecknock border to the sea. His name is said to be preserved in Gwrganstown, near Cowbridge, but he lives chiefly in the memory of the Welsh as having laid open the Common of Hirwaun, thence known as “Hirwaun-Wrgan”, or “Gwrgan’s long meadow”, near Aberdare.

Jestyn ap Gwrgan, his son and successor, had a powerful and ambitious neighbour in Rhys ap Twdwr, Lord of Deheubarth, or the shires of Caermarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke, with whom, as was natural to his race, he was at war; and getting, or fearing to get, the worst in the struggle, he dispatched Einion ap Collwyn, a refugee from Dyfed, who had lived much with the Normans, to Robert Fitz-Hamon for aid. Fitz-Hamon was a friend and follower of Rufus, and Lord of the Honour of Gloucester, the magnificent heritage of Brictric, who is said to have refused the hand of Matilda, who afterwards married William the Conqueror, but never forgave the *spretæ injuria formæ*. The Roman de Brut says:—

“ Meis Brictrich Maude refusa  
Dunt ele mult se coruça.”

Fitz-Hamon, not insensible to the attractions of a Marcher Lordship, crossed the Severn with his troops, and landed, it is said, at Porthkerry in or about 1093. Joining his forces to those of Jestyn, they met, attacked, and conquered Rhys at Bryn-y-beddau near Hirwaun, within or close upon the border of Brecknock, and slew him on the brow of an adjacent hill in Glyn Rhondda, thence called Penrhys. Goronwy, a son of Rhys, also was slain, and Cynan, another son, was drowned in a large marsh between Neath and Swansea, thence called Pwll-Cynan.

The Normans are said to have received their subsidy at the “Mill-tir-awr”, or Golden Mile, near Bridgend, and to have departed by land. Einion, however, was refused his guerdon, the hand of Jestyn’s daughter; on which he recalled the Normans, who had a fray at

Mynydd Bychan, near Cardiff, at which Jestyn was slain. Einion's reward was the hill-lordship of Senghenydd, but in the Welsh tradition he is always stigmatised as Einion-fradwr, "the traitor". Jestyn was also supported by Cedrych ap Gwaethfoed, Lord of Cardigan, but closely connected with Glamorgan, and ancestor of Lewis of Van and other of the older families in the east of the county.

The proceedings of Fitz-Hamon during and upon his conquest have been woven into a legendary tale, very neat and round, very circumstantial, but as deficient in evidence as though it had proceeded from the pen of Geoffrey himself. The story, which in South Wales is an article of faith, explains the jealousy between Rhys and Jestyn, resting, of course, upon a woman; the cause of the special selection of Einion to bring in the Normans; the battle of Hirwaun-Wrgan; the death of Rhys and his sons; the payment of the Normans in gold; the refusal to Einion of his guerdon; the retirement and return of the Normans; the death of Jestyn and the occupation of his territory; and, finally, its partition between the conqueror and his twelve principal followers, and four or five Welshmen.

By whom, or when this story was concocted is not known. It was certainly accepted without challenge in the reign of Elizabeth, and could scarcely have been circulated before the extinction of the Le Despencers, early in the fifteenth century. Probably its author was some follower of the Stradlings of St. Donats, a family somewhat given to literature, whose fictitious pedigree it sets forth as true. What is certain is, that whatever may have been the cause alleged, the invasion was not really due to any local quarrel, but was part of a settled policy for completing the English conquest; a policy which, if not undertaken by Fitz-Hamon, would have been carried out by Rufus in person, or by some of the adventurers who about the same time were taking possession of Monmouth and Brecknock and the whole of South-west Wales. In-

deed, Rufus awaited the result of Fitz-Hamon's expedition at Alveston, between Bristol and Gloucester, and is supposed to have been only prevented by illness from bearing a share in it. A few months after the main success there seems to have been a rising of the Welsh in Wentloog, Glamorgan, and Gower, the result of which, according to the Brut, was so far successful that it secured for them somewhat better terms, of which, however, there is but little evidence in what is known of the disposition of the lands.

It is singular that of so notable a man as Fitz-Hamon so little should be known. His father, "Hamo Dentatus", seems to have received favours from Duke William, who specially noticed his defection, with that of Neel de St. Sauveur, Grimont de Plessy, and Ranulph of Bayeux at Val-è-Dunes, as recorded in the *Cronique des Ducs de Normandie* :—

“ Par cel Rannol de Beiesin  
E par Neel de Costentin  
E par Hamun uns Antecriz  
E par Grimont des Plaiseiz.

Felon, parjor e traïtor  
E vers Deu e vers lor Seignor  
Neel, Hamun, Ranol, Grimont.”

In the battle, among the leaders, was "Haimonem agnomine Dentatum", who led the first line of six thousand men and much distinguished himself, fighting hand to hand with the King of France, by whose attendants he was slain. He is there called Sieur de Thorigny, de Bersy, et de Creully, and his war-cry (according to the Roman de Rou), was "St. Amant";

“ Et Han-a-dens va reclamant,  
‘St. Amant’, sire ‘Saint Amant’.”<sup>1</sup>

Malmesbury speaks of Haimon as "Avum Roberti qui nostro tempore in Anglia multarum possessionum incubator extitit", but he was more probably the father.

<sup>1</sup> St. Armand was the patron saint of Thorigny, sometimes called "St. Amand de Thorigny".

Hamo-a-Dens seems to have had two sons, for Hamo Dapifer is stated by Wm. of Jumièges to be brother of Robert Fitz-Hamon. "Dedit etiam illi [Roberto Comiti Glouc:] rex terram Haimonis dapiferi, patruī videlicet uxoris suæ." Hamo Dapifer, though omitted in the index to the folio *Domesday*, appears as a tenant in chief in the record, holding in Essex fourteen parishes, and as "Haimo Vicecomes" possessing others in Kent and Surrey. Hasted says he was also called "Crevequer". He was one of the Judges in the great cause between Archbishop Lanfranc and Odo, and died childless in the reign of Henry I. The land thus granted by Henry I to Earl Robert's wife descended to her children and their successors, and thus it was that Dunmow came to the De Clares.<sup>1</sup>

In the list of fees held under the Church of Bayeux, "Robertus filius Hamonis" is entered as holding ten fees of the Honour of Evreux under Bayeux, and he was hereditary standard-bearer to the Blessed Mary of Bayeux, as Earl Robert of Gloucester was after him. Meyrick calls him Earl of Corboile, but the Haymo who was Lord of the Castle of Corboile, died on his way to Rome, during the reign of Hugh Capet, and his son was Theobald, as is related in the life of Earl Burchard, who married his widow.

Though not mentioned in *Domesday*, Fitz-Hamon was probably then in England, for Mr. Ellis has found his name connected with Gloucester, in what he regards as the notes whence that part of the survey was compiled. He was in the confidence of Rufus, and on the eve of the Welsh expedition received from him the Honour of Gloucester, whence, indeed, he drew, as was of course intended, men and means. On the death of Rufus, when Duke Robert landed at Dorchester and advanced in arms from Winchester to meet his brother, he was accompanied by Fitz-Hamon, who succeeded in

<sup>1</sup> The office of Dapifer seems to have been held by the elder Hamo; for, in 1088, Robert, son of Hamo Dapifer, aided Rufus in the siege of Rochester Castle.

negotiating a peace between the brothers. As Seigneur of Thorigny and Creully he was homager of Robert, "Homme de Duc", as it was called, but he seems thenceforward to have adhered to Henry, whom he supported in 1101 against the "Optimates", who supported Robert. In that year the letter written by Henry on his accession, to Anselm, is witnessed by Robert Fitz-Hamon and Hamo Dapifer. In 1105 he was captured during the siege of Bayeux, taking refuge in the Tour de Moustrier de Secqueville, which was burned. Henry, however, obtained his liberation immediately, for "moult il se fioit en Robert Fitz de Hamon". Very soon afterwards, in the same year, he was wounded in the temple at the siege of Caen, of which wound he lingered till 1107, when he died.<sup>1</sup>

The policy pursued towards the Welsh seems to have been severe, since only one Welsh lord occurs in the low country, which was parted between the invaders; the few Welsh, with that one exception, who were allowed to hold considerable estates, being confined to the hills. In settling the lordship, the old Welsh divisions of cantreds and commotes were preserved, and usually the parishes, but by a modification of these divisions the lordship was divided into body and members. The body, the Welsh "Bro", became the shire fee, and was placed under a sheriff; and the members, though extending at points into the lowlands, corresponded for the most part to the "Blaenau". Besides these were the lord's private or demesne lands, the borough towns, and the possessions of the church of Llandaff.

The shire fee or body was settled in accordance with the feudal system in use in Normandy. The private estates became manors, and in many cases also probably new parishes. There were 36 and 3-5ths knights' fees, divided into about twenty-six lordships, held by castle-guard tenure of the Castle of Cardiff, to which

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. de Normandie in Rer. Gall. Script.*, xii, 628; xiii, 206, 248, 250, 251; xv, 64.

the tenants were bound to repair when needed. Besides these there were mesne manors, subinfeudations from the original tenants, holden of them and their castles, also by military service, the whole being held by the chief lord under the sovereign.

The boroughs were six, Cardiff, Cowbridge, Kenfig, Llantrissant, Avan, and Neath. The four first held direct from the lord, and enjoyed the usual liberties and privileges, guaranteed by charter. Neath held originally from de Granville, but came by exchange to the lord. Avan, or Avene, stood out much longer, but, on the extinction of the elder line of Jestyn, that also fell in. Probably these boroughs were wholly of Norman introduction. Caerphilly has been classed with the boroughs, but it does not seem ever to have received a charter, or to have had a governing body. It sprung up at a later period with the castle, and no doubt fell with it into speedy and complete decay.

The members were ten, of which two were subdivided. They were Avan Wallia, Coyty, Glyn Rhondda, Llanblethian, Miscin, Neath citra and ultra, Ruthyn, Senghenydd supra and subter, Talavan, and Tir-y-jarl or the earl's land. Tenure by gavelkind, called in Welsh "Rhan-tir", or partible land, is found about Bridgend and in a part of Monmouthshire. The practice of dividing land equally between sons, and failing sons, between daughters, once common to all English socage tenants, is thought also to have prevailed in Celtic Britain, so that it is just possible that what is found in South Wales may be the remnant of a general usage, though the name of gavelkind is of English importation. The Welsh members of the shire had also their local courts, and their lords the right of "bren-o-ffwl", or pit and gallows, no great concession, as seven of the twelve were in the hands of the chief lord. Each member had its steward or seneschal, who presided at its courts, from which an appeal lay to the shire court at Cardiff.

Although Llandaff was a very ancient ecclesiastical

title, there seems to have been an attempt for a time to make Glamorgan the designation of the see. At Bishop Urban's consecration by Anselm he is called Bishop of Glamorgan, and the same appears in Eadmer. The Bishop, as head of the Church of Llandaff, and lord of that manor, had the prerogatives of a Lord Marcher, but his temporalities were confirmed to him by the chief lord, who claimed to hold possession of the see when vacant, though this right was afterwards challenged by the crown and surrendered. The Bishop held the lordship of Llandaff and the manor of St. Lythan, or Worlton, in the shire.

The lands given by the Welsh princes to the colleges of Llantwit and Llancarvan seem to have been transferred to other foundations; for it is stated in the cartulary of St. Peter's at Gloucester that Fitz-Hamon gave to that House the church of St. Cadoc at Llancarvan, and Penhon, with fifteen hides of land, probably about 1102. Llancarvan is mentioned in a bull of Calixtus in 1119, and of Honorius in 1128; and King Stephen, in confirming lands to Gloucester in 1136, mentions St. Cadoc of Llancarvan and Tregoff, among the gifts of Fitz-Hamon. On the whole, the church in the lordship had no reason to complain of the new lords. The Benedictine Abbeys of Neath and Margam were founded in 1130 and 1147, and their endowments rapidly augmented. Eweny, as a cell of Gloucester, was founded about the same time, and therefore it is not probable that Fitz-Hamon or his successor confiscated any church lands; and no doubt the local property held by the Abbey of Gloucester, and afterwards by their successors, the Dean and Chapter, represents the old Welsh endowments.

The part played by the Crown in the conquest of Glamorgan has never been clearly defined. Fitz-Hamon certainly received the Honour of Gloucester to enable him to undertake it. It is certain that he did so with the consent of Rufus, and upon the condition that he held the land, as such conquests were elsewhere held,

of the Crown as a Marcher Lordship. What was the precise position of Lords Marchers has not been settled by legal antiquaries. They received no charter defining, establishing, or limiting their ample privileges. No sovereign would have been willing to grant in perpetuity privileges permitted to be assumed under temporary pressure, and the Marchers much preferred that their privileges, if not formally acknowledged to the full, should remain undefined. The privileges were necessary, under the circumstances, but naturally became circumscribed as Wales became settled; and the Crown, which retained the usual feudal rights over these lordships, had, from time to time, during a minority, or upon an escheat, an opportunity of checking encroachments.

Glamorgan was by much the oldest shire in Wales, and one of the very few not included in the Statutum Walliæ of 1280. The statute of Henry VIII also treats it as an old county. In truth, the Lord of Glamorgan was little short of a crowned king. The king's writ did not run in his territory; he had his sheriff, his chancery, his great seal, his courts civil and criminal, rights of admiralty and of wreck, of life and death, an ambulatory council or parliament, *jura regalia*, fines, oblations, escheats, wardships, marriages, and other feudal incidents. Some of his greater tenants held *per baroniam*, others by grand and petit sergeanty, socage, and villenage. He held, *sede vacante*, the temporalities of the bishopric, he was patron of the principal abbeys and of the municipal boroughs, and he himself held *in capite de corona*. In common with other Marcher Lordships Glamorgan had also this in common with an Honour, that, when it was, by an escheat or during a minority, vested in the crown, it did not become merged, or lose its individuality. The personal service due from the military tenants to the lord was not transferred to the crown, but, if they so pleased, could be compounded for in money. Nor were the Marcher privileges mere



assertions. They were regularly exercised, and occasionally pleaded in the king's courts. A plea is preserved in the records of the *Curia Regis*, 8th July 1199, and noted by Palgrave, in which the sheriff of Hereford, when ordered by the king's court to take possession of Bredwardine castle, protests that he cannot do so, it being out of his bailliewick, and Wm. de Braose, the Marcher Lord, declares that neither king, sheriff, nor justice has any right to enter upon his liberty. Also, in 1302, another William de Braose claimed in parliament that in his liberty of Gower he had his chancellor and chancery and seal, the judgment of life and death, and cognizance of all pleas, whether of crown or others, arising in the lordship, between all persons whomsoever. Similar statements are pleaded by the de Clares, Earls of Gloucester, in bar of appeal from their courts to Westminster. Also in a cause reported in the Cotton MS. (*Vitell*; C. x, f. 172<sup>b</sup>), where Richard Syward, 1248, appeals to the Crown against a judgment in the Earl of Gloucester's court in Glamorgan, the Earl demurs to the appeal on the ground that Syward is his vassal, and that the transaction, the cause of the proceedings, was in Glamorgan. He suggests, however, a sort of compromise, a royal commission to report upon the case to the king in person, which was accepted.

No wonder that the great English lords coveted the Welsh lordships. Unproductive in money or pastoral wealth, they were inaccessible, contained excellent soldiers, and by a temporary arrangement with the Welsh leaders a Marcher could at any time securely defy a weak Sovereign.

There is direct evidence for but few of Fitz-Hamon's grants, or even for the names or numbers of his principal followers. There is known but one extant charter by him relating to Wales, and by that he grants the fishery of an arm of the Taff at Cardiff to Tewkesbury Abbey. Other of his charters, relating to other counties, are however extant, and from the witnesses and similar sources the names have been established of a few of his

principal followers, and of several others who it is highly probable were of the number. What makes it probable that the greater number of tenants whose names appear in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century were derived from original settlers, is that most held directly of the lord. Of mesne or subordinate manors there were comparatively few, and those of course may have been created at any time up to the passing of the celebrated statute "*Quia emptores*", which seems to have been acted up to in Glamorgan, whether recognized or not as binding.

The records of Glamorgan for the first century and a half from the Conquest are very scanty indeed, chiefly charters from the lords to their dependants and to the Church, though usually with many local witnesses. Some of Fitz-Hamon's followers seem to have staid but a short time, and, if they received grants of land, to have disposed of it, and in consequence they have escaped notice altogether; but even of the greater lords, who founded local families, the origin and early descent has hitherto been involved in much obscurity.

Under the feudal system the relations between the crown and its tenants in chief, and between these and their subtenants, were very intimate; the crown perpetually claiming services or their redemption in money, the tenants resisting, and all parties appealing to grants and charters, extents or surveys, remissions or exceptions for and against the claims of wardship, livery, relief, scutage, escheat and the like, all which were set down with an accuracy well befitting transactions relating to property.

Relations similar to these in substance, but modified by the delegated powers of the Marcher Lords, subsisted also in Wales. Each Marcher, while holding in chief from the Crown, was himself in many respects a sovereign in his relations to his own tenants and their sub-tenants. Every manor in the March was held mediately or immediately of a Lord Marcher, and its mesne lord paid his reliefs, wardships, scutage, and

wardsilver; and each had its customs, exemptions, payments and quittances recorded in the chancery, which it was the prerogative of every Marcher to hold, attached to the court of his *Caput Baronie*, which took cognisance, in the first instance or by appeal, of every cause, civil or criminal, arising within its bounds. There must, therefore, have been accumulated in the several chanceries a mass of records similar to those which, from the other parts of the kingdom, were preserved in the royal courts and the exchequer.

What then has become of these records, which were, in fact, the early title deeds of the Welsh estates? It is scarcely surprising that the records even of the most powerful private families in Wales should have been destroyed, so frequent were the incursions and retaliations of the two parties, who, of course, burned and destroyed everything within their reach; but this does not apply in the same degree to the records of the Marchers, whose castles were strong and well garrisoned, and in many cases, as at Chepstow, Ludlow, and Shrewsbury, scarcely at all exposed to be taken and sacked. Cardiff indeed was once or twice in the hands of the Welsh; and Glendowr, who was its last invader during its existence as a Marcher Lordship, is supposed to have destroyed all he found, which may perhaps account for the disappearance of the earlier records; but even then there must have been many of a later date, accumulated under the Beauchamps and Nevilles, and Jasper Tudor; and these also are lost. The lordship then reverted to the Crown, and as Edward VI and Elizabeth, while selling the lands, retained the seigniorial powers, it might be expected that their officers would take charge of the records of the chancery. Certainly there are very few in private hands, and it is understood that neither at Badminton, nor Wilton, nor at Cardiff, are there any documents relating to the seigniorial of Glamorgan, or any relating to Glamorgan, of earlier date than the entrance of the Herberts into that seigniorial.

Some have suggested that when the Marcherships were abolished or vested in the Crown, and the government of Wales was administered by the Council at Ludlow, the records were all transferred thither, and perished in the subsequent civil wars; others suppose them to have been removed to the repositories in London, and still to slumber unknown in that vast and long neglected though valuable collection, a theory which recent research renders scarcely tenable. The subject of the disappearance of the South-Welsh records is one of considerable interest, and it is to be hoped that it will be investigated by one of the able antiquaries on the staff of the Record Office, since none other could direct the necessary researches.

Fortunately for posterity, although the records of the transactions of the Marcher Lords with their tenants, of the Mareschals and De Clares, the Mortimers, Montgomerys, Newmarchs, Bellomonts, Braoses, Bohuns and Hastings'; with their knights and military dependents, are lost, a better lot has attended the records of their transactions with the Crown; and the inquisitions taken upon their deaths or escheats, and the detail of their feudal services, are in great measure preserved.

Also, it has fortunately happened that the Marcher Lords, from their detached position and great military power, were frequently tempted into rebellion, and their estates suffered forfeiture or escheat; then, or during a minority, the Crown stepped in and seized upon or administered the lordship, and when this occurred the dues were usually paid to the officers of the Crown, and the transactions were recorded in the records of the realm, and are preserved. Thus the Honours of Gloucester and Brecknock were in the hands of Henry I and Stephen. Richard and John both held the Honour of Gloucester, and the *compositus roll* returned by their officer gives much information as to the internal state of Glamorgan at that remote period, which would otherwise have been lost.

There is also another source, both copious and accurate, of which little heed has hitherto been taken, but which throws considerable light upon the names and origin of the followers of Fitz-Hamon into Glamorgan. It appears that almost all who joined in the conquest, or settled in the conquered territory, came from the Honour of Gloucester, and were therefore connected with one or other of the shires of Gloucester, Somerset, Devon, Dorset, or Wilts; and as they were either landowners, or the cadets of landowners, in those counties, their names occur in the local records, which not unfrequently explain various particulars as to their descent and connections.

Of the leading settlers, whose names occur in such records as exist in Glamorgan, some certainly contemporary with Fitz-Hamon, others who, or whose fathers, may, many of them, be really of that date, de Granville held lands at Bideford, Turberville at Bere-Turberville, St. Quintin at Frome-St.-Quintin, Umfraville at Down-Umfraville, Halwey at Combe-Halwey or Hawey, Reigny at Esse and Culm-Reigny, Bawdrip at Bawdrip, Cogan at Huntspill, Bonvile at Bonvileston in Devon; while Barry, Bawcen, Butler, Corbet, Dennis, Fleming, Joel, Le Sore, Luvel, Maisy, Norris, Payn, Sandford, Scurlage, Sturmy, St. John, Valognes, Walsh, and scores of others, occur in various parts of the Honour, and are found in either the eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth century in Glamorgan.

Many of the settlers reversed the usual practice in England, and, as in Ireland, gave to their lands their own names; sometimes, it may be, because they found the Welsh name hard to pronounce; more frequently because their castles and the limits of their estates were altogether new. Thus Barry, Bonvileston, Flemingston, Colwinston, Constantineston or Coston, Gileston, Laleston, Nicholaston, Marcross, Sully, all names of parishes, were evidently taken from their lords, and possibly were carved out of earlier Welsh parishes, which were usually very large indeed. St.

George's, and several other parishes taking name from English saints, are no doubt of the same class. There are also many private estates, sometimes manors, but not parishes, bearing the names of the intruding owners. Such are Cantelupeston, Maes-Syward, Odinsfee, Sigginston, Samonston, Picketston, Lloyn-y-Grant, Beganston, Sturmy-Down, Walterston, and the like.

Fitz-Hamon, though certainly a severe conqueror, probably, like the greater conqueror under whom he had served, did not disturb the Welsh more than was necessary for his own security, though that, no doubt, is admitting a good deal. Einion and other Welsh lords were permitted to retain large tracts on the hills; and of four of the sons of Jestyn, the eldest was allowed to hold a member-lordship in the low country on at least equal terms with the greatest of the Normans. The position held by the descendants of Caradoc ap Jestyn is unlike any retained in England by men of pure Saxon descent. They built a castle on the Avan, established under its protection a chartered borough town, were large benefactors to Neath and Margam, two Norman Abbeys, burying at the latter, and, as their seals show, used armorial bearings and armour like the Normans. With all this they continued for four generations to bear Welsh names, and to sympathise with the Welsh people; for which they were sometimes summoned to do personal homage to the king, and sometimes called upon to give hostages for their conduct. It was Morgan ap Caradoc who, in 1188, convoyed Archbishop Baldwin across the treacherous sands of Avan and Neath, on his way to Swansea. Morgan Gam, his successor, was shut up in an English prison by the Earl of Gloucester, and in reprisal he burned the Earl's grange at Kenfig. Their original tenure, like that of the other Welsh lords, was without any definite service, but they acquired a commote held by sergeanty, adopted Avene as a surname, intermarried with the Norman families, added the great lordship of

Cilvae and the manors of Sully and Eglwys-Brewis to their possessions, and finally, in the eighth descent, ended in an heiress, who married Sir William Blount, and exchanged her lands for others in England. To another son of Jestyn was allotted the lordship of Ruthyn; to another, Rees, the lands of Solven, called thence "Rees-Solven".

Fitz-Hamon's personal share in the conquered land is said to have included the towns of Cardiff, Cowbridge, and Kenfig, the Castles of Cardiff and Kenfig, the shire fee or body of the lordship, and as demesne lands Miscin, Glyn Rhondda, Tir-y-Iarl, and Boverton or Llantwit.

Of the Norman settlers there were six, unquestionably contemporary with Fitz-Hamon, whose power was far more considerable than that of the others. These were de Granville, de Turberville, de Londres, Syward, St. Quentin, Umfravile and Sully. Richard de Granville is reported to have been Fitz-Hamon's brother, and there certainly occurs a Ricardus filius Hamonis in 1096 as a baron, etc., with possessions in Normandy (*Rerum Gall.*, scrip. xiv, 146). He, or his son, founded Neath Abbey, in 1129, attaching it to the House of Savigny in Normandy, and retired to Bideford, where they became the progenitors of one of the great families of the West, achieving high military and naval fame, and not unknown in literature.

Pagan de Turberville had Coyty, much celebrated in bardic story as the seat of a royal lineage. He, or his son, strengthened their position by marrying the dispossessed Welsh heiress. The family always showed Welsh sympathies, and continued to hold a very high rank in the county until the fifteenth century, when the main line failed, as the cadet lines have since also failed, so that there remains now but the echo of this very considerable name.

St. Quintin settled at Llanblethian, but they have left no special tradition or mark in the county, from which before 1249 the family was gone, and Syward

held their fees. Probably they resided mainly elsewhere. Their heiress, no doubt, though the actual pedigree is not preserved, was the lady whose blood, mingled with that of Fitz-Hugh and of Marmion, centred in Parr of Kendal, and now flows in the veins of the Herberts of Wilton.

Syward had the lordship and castle of Talavan, and the sub-manor of Merthyr Mawr, and, before his fall, in 1249, the castle of Llanblethian. He was one of a turbulent race, alternately useful and injurious to their lords, and remembered as having carried on a plea against Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, into which largely entered the very curious legal question, how far an appeal lay from the Earl Marcher's court to that of the King at Westminster.

Of these lords, de Granville, de Turberville, St. Quintin and Syward, held member-lordships, with powers of life and death and other Marcher privileges.

De Londres, probably more powerful than any of the others, held the lordship of Ogmore with the sub-manor of Dunraven. The family territory was, however, mostly in Caermarthenshire, where they held the great lordship of Carnwiltion, of which Kidwelly was the chief seat. They built Ogmore castle, but mostly resided at Kidwelly. William de Londres and Maurice, his son, were the founders of Ewenny Priory. The heiress of de Londres married de Cadurcis or Chaworth, and their heiress, Henry Earl of Lancaster. The lordship of Ogmore has never had a resident lord, but on the other hand it has been held together, and is now a part of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The other considerable settlers were Umfravile and Sully. Umfravile is stated by genealogists to have been the head of that family, cadets of which settled at Prudhoe, and became Earls of Angus. The connection seems probable, for the Glamorgan Umfraviles sealed with a hexapetalous flower, which also forms a part of the Angus coat. They built Penmark castle, and there is some reason to suppose that the St. Johns,



who married their heiress, held Fonmon manor under them. Somery, of Dinas Powis, ought perhaps to be added to the above "Barones majores", since they were Barons of Dudley castle, and held their Glamorgan fees for some centuries; but they do not seem to have taken a very active part in local affairs.

The earliest inquisition extant of the Lordship of Glamorgan was probably taken in 1262, on the accession of Earl Gilbert de Clare, and therefore one hundred and seventy years or so after the conquest. This gives a list of all the holders of lay fees, who held *in capite* of the lord, and the service due from each. The table is most interesting, and has only lately been discovered.

The names and holdings are :

G. Turberville in Newcastle	$\frac{1}{40}$ fee.	Constantine in Lanmaes	$\frac{1}{3}$ fee.
Nerberd in Lancovian	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	de Gloucestria in Wrenchester	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
Sandford in Leckwith	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	de Kaerdiff in Lanirid	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
Scurlag in Llanharry	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	Clifford in Kenfeis	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
H. Sully in Pentyrch	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	Basset in St. Hilary	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
Pireton in Nova-Villa	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	Sully in Lanmaes	$\frac{2}{3}$ „
—————			
Butler in Marcross	1 fee.	Le Sore in St. Fagans	1 fee.
Constantine in Coston	1 „	Walsh in Landoch	1 „
Hawey in St. Donats	1 „	de Wincestria in Landan	1 „
Norris in Penllyne	1 „	Mayloc in Capella	1 „
Syward in Merthyr-Mawr	1 „		
—————			
Cogan in Cogan	2 fees.	Nerberd in Abron Thawe	4 fees.
Somery in Dinas Powis	$2\frac{1}{2}$ „	Sully in Sully and Wenvoe	4 „
Corbet in St. Nicholas	3 „	Umfrevile in Penmark	4 „
De Londres in Ogmore	4 „		

The abbot of Margam held Langewy, probably a lay fee, but no service is named. Turberville held Coyty *per baroniam*, also described as grand sergeanty. Of the Welsh lords, Morgan Vachan (of Avan) held in Baglan half a commote by Welshery; no service, but a horse and arms at the death of the tenant, the old form of heriot. Two sons of Morgan ap Cadewalthan held half a commote in Glyn Rhondda; no service. Griffith ap Rees held two commotes, an immense hold-

ing, in Senghenydd: he was the ancestor of Lewis of Van; no service. Morediht ap Griffith held one comote in Machheir, probably Miscin; no service. De Granville's lordship is not mentioned, it having lapsed to the chief lord, as probably had those of Syward and St. Quintin. Marcross had been succeeded by de Pincerna or Butler. Berkerolles had not yet given place to Nerberd, nor Stradling to Hawey. Fleming probably had not arrived, and Bawdrip was then only a burgess of Cardiff. St. John of Fonmon and Butler of Dunraven are not named. The latter certainly was a subtenant, and possibly this was so with St. John. Probably for the same reason, as not holding *in capite*, are omitted Joel, Odin, Barry, and Bonville, though they appear as inquisitors. It is to be observed also that in these inquisitions the jurors at Cardiff are all English. At Llantrissant and at Llangonydd all are Welsh. At Neath only three of the twelve are English. This shows how largely the Welsh element prevailed, and how completely the Welsh were trusted with the ordinary duties of free-tenants. The next extant survey of the shire was taken in 1320, about sixty years later, and in that time considerable changes had taken place. The knights' fees are still numbered at 36 and a fraction; but of the former tenants there remain the names but of ten—the Abbot, Basset, Corbet, Mayloc, Nerber, Norris, Turberville, Umfravile, Walsh, and de Winton; and of these there remained, in the reign of Elizabeth, but two—Basset, and a cadet of Turberville.

The proximity of Strongbow's estates and castle of Chepstow, and the passage of the road thence to Milford across Glamorgan, seem to have led many of the settlers to a further adventure in Ireland, where we find such names as Barry, Cogan, Basset, Cadoc, Bonville, Fleming, Kenfig, Lamays, Landochan, Norris, London, Penrice, Swaynsey, Siward, Sandford, Newton, Scurlock, Walsh, and a great number of Welshmen designated by a christian name, and as of Cardiff.

The position of the English in Wales during the two

centuries following the conquest, in fact until the reduction of the Principality by Edward I, was such as to make a castle a necessity; so much so, that there is no trace of a *licentia crenellare* having been thought necessary under the Marcher rule, though the Marcher Lord of Whittington in Salop had such a licence from Henry III. Every landowner's house was literally his castle. In parts of Glamorgan they stood so close that it is difficult to understand whence their owners derived their revenues. For example, within a radius of six miles from Barry, half the circle being occupied by the sea, were twelve castles; and in the county, and mainly in its southern part, were from thirty to forty, of which but one, Aberavan, belonged to a Welsh Lord. Most of these castles were the residences of private persons, and were built for the defence of the estate and its tenants; others, the property of the chief Lord, were constructed for the defence of the country, and were so placed as to command the passes by which the Welsh were accustomed to descend upon the plain. The sites of most of the Glamorgan castles are known, and of many of them the ruins remain, though they rarely contain masonry of an earlier date than the reign of Henry III. Cardiff, however, boasts a shell keep of Norman date, as is probably its immense outer wall, attributed to Robert Earl of Gloucester. The annals of Margam attribute the building of the town of Cardiff to the previous reign, but Cardiff is certainly a much older place, and probably was founded when the Roman road was laid out, to guard the passage of the River Taff. The earthworks of the Castle were originally rectangular, and probably the work of the Romanised Britons, on the withdrawal of the Legions. The mound, like that of Caerleon, is certainly the work of later invaders from England. Ogmore has a square keep of undoubted Norman pattern, doubtless the work of the first or second de Londres; and at Penllyne are fragments of a similar keep, containing some curious, and it may be, early, herring-bone work, and possibly

Earl Robert's work, and so a little earlier than even Robert Norris, who seems to have been the first, or a very early, grantee. At Newcastle by Bridgend are the gateway and the original wall of a castle, certainly early, because it gives name to the parish, and the masonry of which is evidently of Norman date and very peculiar in the pattern of its mouldings. Here, as generally in the Norman buildings in Glamorgan, Sutton stone is employed. It is uncertain by whom Newcastle was built. The name of Oldcastle is preserved in the adjacent town of Bridgend, though where it precisely was, or what it was, is not known.

Of Early English castles the rectangular keep at Fonmon, still inhabited, is the best, and indeed the only tolerably perfect example. The base of the tower of Whitchurch is in that style, as is part of Coyty; and in the foundations of Sully Castle, opened some years ago, were Early English fragments. Also, in the centre of the later house of Dunraven, some masonry of Early English aspect is walled in, and is probably part of the castle of Arnold Butler.

During the troubled reign of Henry III, a great age for castle building in Wales, many strong places in Glamorgan seem to have been renewed. Castell Coch and Caerphilly were then built; and to that reign or that of Edward I are due the fine gateways at Neath and Llanblethian, a smaller one at Barry, parts of Cardiff and Morlais, the ancient wall of St. Fagans, and probably the fragment at Llantrissant. The gate house of the old episcopal palace at Llandaff is excellent Decorated. Those of Pencoed and Castleton are apparently later. The central building at Cardiff and the polygonal tower, now, alas! dwarfed and buried under modern additions, were the work of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, the builder of a similar but far grander tower at that castle. St. Donats, the most complete castle in South Wales, is very late, as is much of Coyty. Besides these, of doubtful date are Dinas Powis, the fragments of St. George's and Peterston,

parts of Kenfig, Penmark, and Castleton, the ditches and a few fragments of Talavan and Bonvileston, and the foundations of Llanquian. Avan, Wenvoe, and Wrinston are utterly gone. At Van, Beauprè, Cogan-Pill, Cardiff, Cadoxton, West Orchard, Aberthin, Llanveithin, Llanvihangel, Llantrithyd, Pencoed, Caerwiggau, Sutton, and Llanca-yach are ancient houses, some very perfect. Carnllwyd is excellent Decorated, as is Cantleston and part of Flimston, where the court has an embattled wall. At Castell-y-Mynach are remains of the Hall, and in the walls of the Manorial House of Talygarn, lately recast, were found windows of the time of Henry V.

Many of the churches, and notably the cathedral, contain Norman work; and in others, where the church has been rebuilt, the font and the holy water stoop, on a stunted column, are of that date. Throughout the lordship most churchyards retain the polygonal stepped base of a cross, and of some such crosses the shaft is preserved, and of one or two the actual carved stone which formed the apex, and represented the crucifixion. In the churchyard of St. Donats is one of these crosses of remarkable elegance. It has been copied at Llandaff, but in dimensions, and placed in a position, entirely fatal to its effect. There also remain a few of the upright shafts of crosses of an earlier date, carved in bold basket work patterns, and usually set upright in the ground without base or pedestal. Time, neglect, and the labours, not uncalled for, of the diocesan architect are annually bringing about the destruction of these remains and, what is, archæologically, much the same thing, the restoration of the ancient edifices.

The gentry and yeomanry of the lordship, that is, those who have any real claim to antiquity of descent, are still divided into the pure Welsh and the descendants of the Norman settlers. The genealogies of these settlers, "Advenæ" as they are styled in the local pedigree books, are scarcely so well preserved as those of the corresponding class in England, but their estates

have usually been known, and their possession of a surname gives a facility for tracing their descent which does not extend to the natives. The Welsh genealogies pretend to far higher antiquity, and are recorded with much greater fulness of detail. Unfortunately their compilers—it were discourteous, perhaps unjust, to say their authors—seldom condescend to mention the place of residence of the families, or to introduce a date. These omissions—the absence of surnames—and the very limited number of Christian names in use, and their frequent repetition in the same family, not to mention the frequent introduction of a train of natural children, and the names and pedigrees of their mothers, reduce an English genealogist to despair. “Oh!” said a late Garter, indicating the genealogical MSS. left to the College of Arms by Sir Isaac Heard, “Oh! those are Welsh pedigrees; we have nothing to say to them.” In truth the Welsh counties were seldom, if ever, included in the Visitations of the English Heralds.

And yet these Welsh genealogies are really extremely curious, and for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries probably fairly true. To what extent the Welsh bards preserved private pedigrees is unknown, but, no doubt, Welsh genealogy received a great impulse on the accession of the House of Tudor, and in consequence of the inquiries set on foot by Henry VII, and by the Herberts. Still the extant manuscripts, of which there are many, are rarely, if ever, older than the reign of Elizabeth, and more generally, date from those of the 1st James and Charles. Looking to the genealogies of Glamorgan, what is most remarkable is the small number of stocks whence the native families are said to be derived. These are mainly five only; Jestyn ap Gwrgan, Einion ap Collwyn, Bleddyn ap Maenarch, Gwilim ap Jenkyn, Llewelyn ap Ivor, and Gwaethvoed. From these are deduced from three to four hundred distinct families. Roughly, it may be stated, from Caradoc ap Jestyn, 26; from Rhys, 12; from Madoc, 30; and from Griffith ap Jestyn, 3. Einion ap Collwyn, notwithstanding the stigma at-

tached to his name, is recorded as the ancestor of 99 families; Bleddyn ap Maenarch of 46, besides those pertaining to Brecknock; Gwilim ap Jenkyn, 74; Llewelyn ap Ivor, 23; and Cydrich and Aidan ap Gwaethvoed, 21 and 50. Besides these were a few others, families of no great note, whose remote ancestor is not recorded, and who chiefly inhabited the hill country north of Bridgend and Margam.

Of the descendants of the above patriarchs, among the best known were, from Caradoc, Avan of Avan, Evans of Gnoll and Eagle's Bush, Pryce of Briton Ferry, Williams of Blaen-Baglan, Thomas of Bettws, and Loughor of Tythegston. From Rhys ap Jestyn came Williams of Duffryn-Clydach, Penry of Reeding, and Llewelyn of Ynis-y-Gerwn. From Madoc ap Jestyn, Llewelyn of Caerwiggau, and the numerous descendants of Ievan Mady. From Einion sprang Gibbon of Trecastle, Prichard of Collenna, Price of Glyn Nedd, Prichard of Ynis Arwed, Powell of Loydardth, Energlyn, Maesteg, and Baydon, Cradock of Swansea and of Cheriton, and Powell of Llandow. Bleddyn ap Maenarch was the forefather of Jenkins of Hensol, Griffith Gwyr, Penry of Lanedi, Williams of Bettws, Llewelyn of Ynis Simoon, Evans of Cilvae, Jones of Fonmon, Price of Penllergaer, Gethyn of Glyn Tawe, Bowen of Court House and Kittle, Powell of Swansea and Seys of Boverton. Of all these the only known descendants in the legitimate male line are Evans of Eagle's Bush, Prichard of Collenna, and Jones of Fonmon.

From Gwilim ap Jenkyn sprang the very copious race of Herbert, of whom about seventy-four distinct branches may be traced, very many settled in Glamorgan under various names, of whom were Raglan of Carnllwydd, Gwyn of Llansannor, Thomas of Llanvihangel and Pwlllyvrach, Herbert of Cardiff, of Cogan, and of Cilybebill.

Llewelyn ap Ivor was of Tredegar, whence came a number of families, almost all bearing the name of

Morgan, of whom were those of Coed-y-Gores, Penllwynsarth, Rubina, Ruperra, and Cilfynydd.

Gwaethvoed was the fruitful stock of Mathew of Llandaff, with about twenty-three cadet branches, of which the most conspicuous were those of Radir, Aberaman, Castell-y-Mynach, St-y-Nill, Maes Mawr, and Miros. These came from Aidan. From Gweristan ap Gwaethfoed came Thomas of Blaenbradach, a house unusually bare of cadet branches; and from Cydrich ap Gwaethvoed the immensely numerous family of Lewis of Van, of whom may be mentioned Williams otherwise Cromwell, Prichard of Llancayach, and the Lewises of Cilvach-Vargoed, Penmark, Lystalybont, Glyn Taff, Llanishen, Newhouse, and Greenmeadow or Pantwynlas, besides a flourishing branch in the United States represented by Mr. W. F. Lewis of Philadelphia. The elder branch, but in the female line only, is represented by Lord Windsor, the owner of Van. Of the strangers from England there remains extant in unbroken male descent, one only, Basset of Bonvileston, whose ancestor came in about the time of Richard I. Of the original Welsh families in male descent there remain two only, Lewis of Pantwynlas, and Thomas of Blaenbradach.

It is to be regretted that these Welsh genealogies have not received a critical examination. It is true that they are without dates, and present but few of the points by which an English pedigree can be checked and proved; but allowance must be made for the habits of the people, who had little idea of the accuracy derived from records. Here and there, where a name occurs in the county records, as in the Fine and Docket book of the great Sessions, or where a will has been preserved in the Llandaff registry, they can be proved to be correct. For the rest it may be said that they seem probable enough; the number of descents given through the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries is not, on the face of it, fabulous; and in the various manuscripts there is neither enough coincidence



to indicate collusion, nor sufficient difference to destroy all belief. Unfortunately, neither Sir T. Phillipps nor Sir S. Meyrick, though they printed collections of genealogies, knew or cared enough about the matter to edit them; that is, to collate and compare the several versions, and to seek and import such collateral evidence as might be found.

There is no other part of the kingdom in which so marked a line still remains drawn between the residents of pure British descent and the settlers from England, even after centuries of residence, much intermarriage, and no difference of religion. What is at this time in progress, the opening up of the coal field, and the construction of docks and railways, is doing much to break up the peculiarities of the county. The limits of manors are no longer preserved. Manor courts are rarely held; copyholds are becoming enfranchised; chief rents abolished by mutual consent and composition. On the other hand, though the "Jura regalia" and Marcher prerogatives were withheld from the ancestors of the present owner of Cardiff Castle, his rights of common and to minerals have been preserved, and constitute a very valuable property.

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## THE CHIEF LORDS.

EARLS ROBERT AND WILLIAM OF GLOUCESTER.

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ROBERT FITZ-HAMON, of whom and his conquest something has already been said, married Sybil, a daughter of Roger de Montgomery, and sister to Robert de Belesme, and by her had four daughters. At the instance of his wife he endowed the old Mercian foundation of Tewkesbury, founded in 715, and of which Brictric had been the patron; and this so liberally that he was ever regarded as the real founder. He found it subject to Cranbourn in Dorset, but reversed their relative position by the removal of the Cranbourn Priory to the new establishment, of which it was continued as a cell only. The new Tewkesbury was founded in 1102, and was confirmed by William Rufus in a charter of which Fitz-Hamon was one of the witnesses, as he was also of that king's charters to St. Peter's, Bath, and to the church of Lincoln, both preserved among the public records. Robert's charter was again confirmed by Henry I, Robert and his brother Hamon being witnesses; and the same king granted a second charter after Robert's death, in which he inserted a donation for the weal of his friend's soul. This is the charter in which is mentioned the parish church of St. Mary at Cardiff, and the chapel of the castle there. Sybil occurs in the foundation charter of Neath Abbey, on the Calends of October 1159, and, with her husband, in his charter to Abingdon. In 1101 Fitz-Hamon witnessed the charter known as the "Institutiones Henrici regis"; at least his name occurs in the Worcestershire version. In what is supposed to be the only extant charter by Fitz-Hamon relating to

Cardiff, he gives to the monks of Tewkesbury an arm of the Taff at Cardiff for a fishery, and the donation is witnessed by his wife. As early as 1064 his name appears in Normandy, in the Bayeux Charters, and again in 1074.

Robert built the tower and much of the existing church of Tewkesbury, dedicating it to St. Mary, by the hands of the Bishop of Worcester, 23 October 1123. Gerald d'Avranches was the first abbot. Among the endowments were St. Mary's church, the castle chapel, and lands and tithes in Cardiff; a fishery, meadow, and village on the Taff; and the tithes held by Fitz-Hamon's barons in Wales. To St. Peter's at Gloucester he gave the church of St. Cadoc in Llan-carvan, with Treyguff; gifts confirmed by Stephen in 1158. He gave also fifteen hides of land in Penhon or Penon. Among Fitz-Hamon's wide possessions occurs the manor of Kyme, near Boston, now conspicuous for its ancient brick tower, which manor was held by Ralph de Kyme, and afterwards under the Earls of Gloucester by Philip, and, 11th of John, by Simon de Kyme.—(*Abb. Plac.*, 65.)

Fitz-Hamon was faithful to Henry as he had been to Rufus. His last public appearance was at the battle of Tinchbrai, 28 September 1106, where a spear wound in his temple reduced him to imbecility, in which condition he died in the following year, March 1107. Malmesbury says, "Hebetatusque ingenio non pauco tempore quasi captus mente supervixit." He had been taken prisoner in 1105, and Henry, to release him, had burned the town of Bayeux and its principal church. Heavy offences, "Sed utrique, ut speramus, purgabile fuit." His body was laid in the chapter house at Tewkesbury, whence it was translated to the presbytery of the church by Abbot Robert in 1240-1, and over it, in 1397, a chapel or oratory was constructed by Parker, the eighteenth abbot. His descendants, Lords of Glamorgan, were always recognised as patrons of the abbey, and exercised the usual rights on the election of each new abbot. It was also the burial place of the de Clares and le Despensers.

The inheritance was not at that time thought to be so large as to be dangerous to the peace of the kingdom, and to require to be divided. Henry, moreover, had his own views concerning it. Of the daughters, Cicely and Hawise became Abbesses of Shaftesbury and Wilton. Amice is said to have married the Earl of Bretagne, but seems to have died early and childless. Mabel, called Sybil by William of Jumieges, was regarded as the sole heiress and treated accordingly. She was the great match of her day, inheriting the Honour of Gloucester and the Lordship of Glamorgan, her father's other lands, and those of her uncle, Hamo Dapifer,<sup>1</sup> in England and Normandy. The latter possessions included Thorigny, on the borders of Bayeux and Coutances, two miles from the boundary stream of La Vire. Here, at a later period, her husband built a large and strong castle.

It has been stated that Henry revived his mother's claim to Brictric's ancient Honour, and it has been supposed, but on weak authority, that most of the lands were male fiefs, and as such would revert to the Crown. Probably, however, Henry was content with the wardship of the lands and the "maritagium" of the heiress, and allowed them to vest in her. Certain it is that Mabel exercised rights of ownership, both during her married life and her widowhood.

The husband selected for Mabel was the eldest of Henry's natural sons, by name Robert, and distinguished, probably from his birth-place, as Robert of Caen. The general belief has long been that his mother was Nest, a daughter of Rhys of Twdwr, who certainly lived with the king for some time, and who had from her father the Lordship of Caerau or Carew

<sup>1</sup> This statement, which there seems no reason to doubt, assumes that Hamo died, at the latest, soon after his niece's marriage, but a "Hamo dapifer" witnessed a precept by Henry I concerning Savigny Abbey in 1112, and a charter by Hugh Wade in 1168, and other documents in Normandy. He is called "Dapifer" or "Pincerna", indifferently. Who was he?

in Pembrokeshire, and by her husband, Gerald de Windsor, was ancestress of that family, who derived their surname from their office of Castellan of Windsor Castle. Lappenberg, who accepts Nest as Robert's mother, thus accounts for the number of Welsh who followed him to the battle of Lincoln, and Palgrave rests upon it a circumstantial narrative, but there is no evidence for the fact, which moreover was not accepted by Dugdale.

The dates of Robert's birth and marriage are unrecorded, and can only be inferred. He was certainly born before his father's accession in 1100, and he seems to have been the eldest of Henry's many natural children. Henry himself was born in 1068. Robert's daughter was married to the Earl of Chester shortly before the battle of Lincoln in 1141, but as women were then married early, this proves little. In 1140, according to the *Gesta Stephani*, after the capture of the Devizes, Robert's son was sent to share the custody of the castle. About 1142, Philip, another son, is spoken of as taking an active part on his father's side, and he was married to a niece or granddaughter of Roger de Berkeley. Supposing Philip born about 1120, and not the eldest son, it seems possible that Robert may have married as early as 1116-17, or even a few years earlier.<sup>1</sup> Such is the conclusion of Mr. Floyd, who has worked out the point with his usual sagacity. This would give the administration of the estates to the Crown for about ten years. If the marriage took place in 1117, the lady, Fitz-Hamon's eldest daughter, could not have been less than fourteen, and was probably nearer twenty. Henry was no doubt well aware of the great abilities of his son, and thought him a safe man to wield so great and peculiar a power.

The wooing was conducted by the King in person, and, if faithfully related by Robert of Gloucester, gives a high notion of the lady's good sense:—

<sup>1</sup> In 1148 he witnessed a Charter by Henry I to Savigny, as "Robertus filius regis."—*Gall. Christ.*, xi, 112.

“The kyng of soghte hyre sayth ynon, so that atten end  
Mabyle hym answerde . . . . .”

She told him his wooing was more for what she had than for herself, and that with such an heritage she ought not to marry a lover unless he had two names, that is, a Christian name and a surname, and that as Fitz-Hamon's daughter she could ask no less.

“So vayr erytage, as ych abbe, yt were me gret ssame,  
Vor to abbe an loverd, bote he adde an tuo name.”

Henry admits this, and says his son shall be called “Robert le Fitz le Roy,” a surname which, however, he does not seem ever to have borne. Then, with an eye to the future, Mabel asks what their son is to be called.

“Robert Erle of Gloucestre hys name ssal be, and ys,  
Vor he ssal be Erle of Gloucestre, and hys eyrs ywys.”

She answers—

. . . . . “well lyketh me thys  
In this forme ycholle, that all my thyng be hys.

This was erlene hondred yer, and in the yer eyght.

And of the kynges crounement in the (ninthe) yere  
That the vorst Erle of Gloucestre thus was ymad there  
Robert, that spoused the ryght eyr, King Henry's sone,  
That vor hys gode dede worth, ych wene evere in mone.”

Malmesbury says of the Countess—“She was a noble and excellent woman, a lady devoted to her husband, and blest with a numerous and beautiful progeny.”

The actual conferring of the title seems to have followed the marriage, and Robert certainly bore it 1119, 20th Henry I. In the chronicles of that period the northern title of Earl is often rendered by the Latin “Consul”, and Earl Robert is often called Consul of Gloucester, or “Robert Consul”.

During the sixteen or more years that passed between this creation and Henry's death, Robert's chief attention seems to have been given to his Welsh lordship, and whatever Fitz-Hamon may have achieved in subduing

the natives, the real work of organizing and administering the conquest, and providing defences for the conquered territory, seems to have been in a great measure the work of Earl Robert. Fitz-Hamon must necessarily have provoked much personal enmity, and his close attendance upon Rufus, and his large estates in Normandy, probably occupied most of his time during the seventeen years in which he survived his conquest; nor is there any tradition or material trace of any, even military, work in Glamorgan which can be ascribed to him. Earl Robert, on the other hand, was not associated with any of the acts of violence connected with the conquest, and his royal connection, vast power, and the great moderation of his character, were all calculated to lead the Welsh to submit to his rule. He allowed the men in the hills to retain unmolested their "Moes-y-Devod", or local customs, to which they were attached. The sons of Jestyn were confirmed in their possessions, as was Cynfrig, whose two descendants, Ievan David ap Llewelyn Vachan, and Morgan Llewelyn ap Ievan Mady, were the patriarchs of the numerous families who dwelt in Miscin. The Welsh Lord of Senghenydd was allowed to retain his patrimony, and with it a power, which in the next generation became troublesome. On the whole, the Welsh of Morganwg seem to have accepted the inevitable, and to have respected the lord's demesne lands and those of his dependents; and that they were, on the whole, peaceable subjects, and that there was a disposition to give them fair play, may be perhaps inferred from the constitution of the local inquests in the succeeding century, when, even in the districts bordering on the hills, the jurors were almost all Welshmen. The conquest was, however, far too recent, and the Welsh spirit far too jealous of control, to allow the lord's authority to rest alone upon an equitable system of government. Earl Robert, who is known to have built Bristol Castle, is reported also to have built that of Cardiff, and the material evidence of the

polygonal keep and of the outer wall is in harmony with this tradition. The castle was certainly a place of great strength, when, in 1126, Duke Robert was removed from the Devezes and placed in charge of the Earl, who lodged him first at Bristol, and very soon afterwards at Cardiff, where he died in 1134, having, it is said, lost his eyesight,—

“ In Cardiff he a captive lay,  
Whose windows were but niggard of their light.”

That he was imprisoned in the castle may be assumed, but the keep is the only extant part of it which could then have been standing. The tower which goes by his name, and in which he is said to have died, is certainly later. Earl Robert seems also to have built a castle at Llantrissant, and the accounts of the Lordship in 1184 show that the castles of Newport, Kenfig, and Neath were at that time regularly established fortresses. Penllyne keep, with its herring-bone masonry, is probably a work of Earl Robert's time, although the Norrises do not appear to have held the fief until Robert Norris received it from William, the Earl's successor, whose vicecomes he was. The older remains of the castles of Sully, Fonmon, Castleton, Dunraven, and Ogmore, the seats of the families of Sully, St. John, Nerberd, Butler, and De Londres, point to the same period, as do the walls and gate of the castle of Newcastle, and the oldest part of the Turberville castle of Coyty.

Earl Robert's rule also produced works of a more pacific character. In 1147 he founded the Abbey of Margam and endowed it with lands between Kenfig and the Avan. To de Granville's foundation of Neath Abbey, to which he succeeded as patron, he gave Ponte and Blackscarr. These two foundations, though occasionally attacked by the Welsh, were, on the whole, popular with them, and received from the native lords very large additions to their possessions.

Also, in 1126, he healed a long open sore between



the lords of Glamorgan and their bishops. Besides other concessions, the Earl gave a fishery on the Ely, one hundred acres of cultivable land in the marsh between Taff and Ely, the right to take timber from certain forests for the repairs of the church, and the chapel of Stuntaff or Whitchurch, the parishioners of which he allowed to attend Llandaff at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and to be buried in Llandaff, with other concessions. The Bishop, on his part, agreed to set aside divers complaints he had to make, and so to adjust his sluice that the passage of the river should not be impeded, save in times of flood, from above or below. The jurisdiction of the Bishop's manor court was settled, and it was agreed that ordeals by fire, *judicia ferri*, should be tried at Llandaff, and by water, *fossa judicialis aqua*, on the Bishop's land near Cardiff Castle. Judicial duels between mixed parties were to be fought out in the castle, but those between the Bishop's people only were to be fought at Llandaff. The concord was drawn up before the King with great formality, and among the witnesses are found, besides many Bishops and great nobles, Archdeacon Uchtred, Isaac the Bishop's chaplain, Richard Vicecomes de Kardi, Pagan de Turberville, Rodbert Fitz-Roger, Richard de St. Quintin, Maurice de Londres, Odo Sor, and Gauff: de Maisi.

Earl Robert's attention to his Welsh lordship did not lead him to neglect the interests of his father. He served with Henry at the battle of Brenneville in 1119, and was at the taking of Byton Castle in 1122, and in 1127 was among those who swore in Henry's presence an oath of allegiance to his daughter, a pledge which he amply redeemed, though supposed by some writers to have had an eye himself to the succession.

Neath Abbey was founded about 1129 by Richard de Granville, Fitz-Hamon's chief baron, and probably his near relative. The foundation charter is not dated,

but it runs in the names of Richard de Granville and Constantia his wife, and provides for the weal of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, Mabel his wife, and William their son. Amongst the witnesses were Richard de St. Quintin, Robert de Umfraville, Pagan de Turberville, William Pincerna, and Robert de Granville, all Glamorgan Barons; and the Earl undertook to guard and defend the gifts.

Henry died Dec. 1st, 1135, and, it is stated by Orderic, placed, on his death bed, in the hands of Robert £60,000 for the payment of his household and immediate followers. His death was followed, April 15, 1136, by a rising in South Wales, in which Richard Fitz-Gilbert, son of the conqueror of Cardigan, was slain. The Welsh inburst was severe. Whether they actually recovered Gower from Henry de Bellomont is uncertain, but they destroyed many castles, churches, and houses, and slaughtered both rich and poor. This is the rising that seems to have caused de Granville to retire from Neath to his Devon lordship, leaving his fief in the hands of his chief lord. Giraldus says, after crossing the Nedd "we proceeded towards the River Lochor, through the plain in which Howel ap Meredith of Brecknock, after the death of Henry I, gained a signal victory over the English," and Florence of Worcester mentions a severe battle fought in Gower Jan. 1, 1136, between the Normans and the Welsh, after which the main inroad occurred and Richard Fitz-Gilbert fell. The Welsh occupation of Gower must have rendered De Granville's position on the Nedd one of great danger, and it was probably under this pressure that he retired.

Earl Robert returned to England with Henry's corpse, and probably at that time regarded Matilda's cause as hopeless, for he made terms with Stephen, and gave in his allegiance, though upon conditions which gave to his adhesion a great air of equality. In 1136 his name, as Robert, Earl of Gloucester, appears as a witness to Stephen's Charter *de liberta-*

*tibus*, etc. In 1138 he received from Stephen a confirmation of Fitz-Hamon's gifts to St. Peter's, Gloucester, and those of St. Michael's, Ogmore, and St. Bride's, which a letter of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, Papal Legate in 1139-1148, mentions as proceeding from Maurice de Londres. The Legate's letter relates to a chapel built in Llancarvan parish contrary to the wish of the Abbot of St. Peter's, and in which the Bishop is directed not to allow service to be performed. This letter is enforced by one of a similar character from Archbishop Theobald. According to the Gloucester cartulary, the donations of Maurice, son of William de Londres, were made in 1141, but if the date of Stephen's charter be correct, this must have been a confirmation only. The donations were St. Michael of Eweny, St. Bride's with the chapel of Ogmore of Lanfey, and the churches of St. Michael's of Colveston (Colwinston), of Oystermouth in Gower, and of Penbrae.

In 1138 Earl Robert built Bristol Castle, a very strong fortress, at the junction of the Frome with the Avon, in a very low marshy district. This castle has long been destroyed, save a crypt. It is said to have had a rectangular keep, which, in such a position, is probable, and of which the well has been recently discovered. The keep was faced with Caen stone. In the following year, late in the summer, the Earl brought over his sister to England, landing at Portsmouth, whence he lodged her at Arundel, the polygonal keep and gatehouse of which had recently been constructed by William d'Albini, who had married Adeliza, the second wife and widow of Henry I. On hearing of the Empress's arrival, Stephen at once broke up the siege of Marlborough and appeared before Arundel. By some accounts, his courtesy was such that he allowed her to retire with her brother to Wallingford, to Brian Fitz-Count, whence she went to Milo, the Constable of England, at Gloucester, and thence, as a very strong retreat, to Bristol. Early in October Earl Robert's preparations were completed, and in

December, while Stephen was attacking Wallingford by means of a great wooden tower or *malvoisin*,<sup>1</sup> he took Worcester, and, in the following April, Nottingham. Stephen in the meantime had attacked and failed before Bristol, and had ravaged a part of the Honour of Gloucester, in Somerset. In 1141 Robert lodged some of his English hostages with the Count of Anjou, Matilda's husband; and in the same year he fought the battle of Lincoln, having led into the field a large body of Welshmen, this being probably the first time that the Norman Lord of Glamorgan had been so supported. Stephen, there taken captive, was sent to Bristol Castle, and soon afterwards, at Oxford, Matilda created Milo of Gloucester Earl of Hereford, Earl Robert attesting the creation. In this year Maurice de Londres granted St. Michael's Church at Ewenny to Gloucester, with St. Bride's Lanfey, Oystermouth, and the chapels of Ogmore and St. Michael of Colveston.

These successes led to conduct injurious to the character and cause of the Empress, who disgusted her supporters, and in consequence had to flee to Winchester, where she held the royal castle at one end of the city, and laid siege to the bishop in his castle of Wolvesey at the other. Here, before long, she was blockaded by Stephen's friends, and between them and the bishop was so pressed, that she escaped, it is said, in a coffin, and reached Gloucester, while Earl Robert, covering her flight, was taken and committed to the castle at Rochester, whence he was speedily exchanged for Stephen. The war was continued; the Earl frustrated Stephen's attempts upon Wallingford, then one of the strongest places in the south of England, as indeed its extant earthworks still testify, and he also hovered over Stephen's march to Winchester, and much impeded his movements.

The Earl next revisited the continent and brought

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, however, as at the siege of Bamborough, the *malvoisin* seems to have been an earthwork.

over Geoffrey Plantagenet, landing at Wareham, where with some difficulty and delay he took the castle. In 1143, July 1, he attacked Stephen at Wilton and drove him out, and Count Geoffrey returned to Anjou, taking with him Henry, the future king.

In 1145, died Richard the first Abbot of Neath. In 1146, Bishop Uchtred of Llandaff relates in a charter how in this year, by the mediation and concession of Earl Robert, peace was established between the Bishop and the Abbot and Monks of Tewkesbury, the Bishop giving consent to their holding all the tithes and benefices given, or to be given, lawfully to them in his diocese, and they yielding to the Bishop their tithe of the cultivated demesne in the moor between Taff and Ely, and two parts of the tithe of Merthyr-Mawr and that attached to St. John's Chapel. Further, saving to Llandaff its own claim, they consent to allow to the Bishops of Llandaff a right of burial at Tewkesbury, of which privilege however they did not avail themselves. Twenty years before this the Earl had settled his own differences with Urban, the Bishop's predecessor, in an amicable manner, and some time afterwards Bishop Uchtred's concord was in like manner confirmed by Bishop Nicholas, who succeeded him.

Also in 1146 the Abbot and Convent of Gloucester farmed out for five years, for a fine of £80 in silver, Penon, with the Church of Llancarvan, to Robert Harding, with power to determine the agreement on a rateable repayment. This agreement was witnessed by the Earl with the whole *comitatus* of Cardiff. Afterwards, during the episcopate of Bishop Nicholas, 1153-1183, the Abbot let Treygoff and the Church of Llancarvan, saving the tithe, to Archdeacon Urban, at 60s. per annum. Soon afterwards, however, the archdeacon, probably feeling a scruple of conscience about the matter, with the Bishop's consent renounced his lease.

Earl Robert, after having borne the brunt of the

civil war, was denied the satisfaction of witnessing the close of it, and his nephew's accession. He died at Bristol in October 1147, seven years before the pacification of Wallingford and the death of Stephen, and was buried in the Priory of St. James, his own foundation. Earl Robert also founded Margam in 1147, the last year of his life. In 1148 Bishop Uchtred died, and was succeeded at Llandaff by Nicholas, son of Bishop Gwrgan. Uchtred seems to have been married; at least his daughter Angharad was the wife of Jorworth ap Owain of Caerleon.

Earl Robert was one of the greatest soldiers and most prudent, or perhaps astute, statesmen of his day. Whatever, under other circumstances, he may possibly have intended, he was a loyal promoter of his sister's interests, and did much to correct or rather to check her weak but imperious character. Like his father Beauclerc, he was a great patron of literature and himself a man of letters. He was the friend of Caradoc of Llancarvan, and probably the cause of the Norman bias of that historian. To him Geoffrey of Monmouth dedicated his version of the *Brut*, and William of Malmesbury his history, attributing to him the magnanimity of his grandsire the Conqueror, the munificence of his uncle William Rufus, and the circumspection of his father. It was unfortunate for the good government of Glamorgan that English affairs occupied so much of the latter part of his life.

Besides his Welsh endowments, Earl Robert was a liberal benefactor to the church upon his English estates. He founded the Priory of St. James at Bristol, in the choir of which he was buried, and where his effigy carved in wood, though probably not quite of contemporary date, is still preserved. To St. Peter's at Gloucester he gave, 1130-39, Treygoff, and in a later charter, 1139-47, he confirmed Treygoff with Penon and the church of Llancarvan, and to Eweny the gifts of Maurice de Londres, all for the weal of his soul and that of Mabel his countess, who

witnessed the charter. In it Robert styles himself "Robertus regis filius Gloucestriæ Consul". In another longer charter, probably of the same date, he confirms the gifts of Maurice de Londres and Gilbert de Turberville to Ewenny, and adds twenty-one acres of arable land outside the gates of Kenfig. He also confirms his quittance of toll to Ewenny. All this he does "amore beati Michaelis archiangeli". Earl Robert is said to have built a castle at Faringdon in Berkshire, but this was probably a slight and temporary work, it may be of timber.

Countess Mabel survived her husband ten years, during which time she seems to have acted with authority in Glamorgan. Her earliest charter as a widow, given probably in 1147, is a confirmation to St. Peter's of Gloucester, and commences "M : Comitissa Gloucestriæ, et Willelmus comes, filius ejus, Willelmo filio Stephani constabulario suo, etc." Fitz-Stephen was constable of Cardiff Castle. The lands confirmed are Treygoff, Llancarvan, and Penon. Mabel also gave to St. Augustin's, Bristol, sixty acres of land in the marsh of Rhymny; and in Earl William's charter to Neath, he adds the assent and consent of Mabel his mother. She died in 1157.

Her children were:—1, William; 2, Roger, Bishop of Worcester in 1164; he was Henry's messenger to Rome after Becket's murder in 1167, and died at Tours Aug. 9, 1179; 3, Hamo, who witnessed his brother's foundation of Ardennes in 1139 as "Hamo filius comitis Gloucestriæ", and who died at the siege of Thoulouse in 1159; 4, Philip, who married a daughter of Roger Lord Berkeley, and latterly took part with Stephen; 5, A son mentioned by William of Jumieges, and who probably was the "Richard, son of Robert, Earl of Gloucester", who, says Orderic, received in 1135 the Bishopric of Bayeux. As bishop, in 1138, he witnessed a deed of commutation, between Roger, Abbot of Fecamp, and Earl Robert, concerning the priory of Gilves (?), and in the same year founded Ardennes, an

abbey near Caen, in the charter for which he is styled "Richard, Bishop of Bayeux, son of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, son of the King of England". Of an additional donation it is stated, "Dedit autem et Robertus regis filius Gloucestriæ consul". Bishop Richard died April 3, 1142.—(*Gall. Ch.*, xi, 78, Inst.) 6, Maud, who married Ralph Gernons, Earl of Chester.

William, the second Earl of Gloucester, succeeded his father in 1147, and his mother in 1157, and held the lordship from the former period thirty-six years. He is first mentioned in the foundation charter of Neath in 1129, and next as governor of Wareham Castle, during his father's absence in Normandy, in 1142, where he was attacked by Stephen and the castle taken. He commenced his rule, probably with an understanding with his mother, by a charter dated January 1148, addressed in regal style to his dapifer, barons, vicecomes, and to his lieges generally, French, English, or Welsh. It is specially addressed to Hamo de Valoygnes, one of a family then considerable in the county, and it alludes to the foundation of the churches of St. Mary and St. Thomas at Cardiff. By another charter he confirmed certain gifts to Tewkesbury.

In 1153 his name, as "William Earl of Gloucester", is attached to the convention between Stephen and Maud. Also in 1153 died William, the first Abbot of Margam, who was succeeded by Abbot Andrew, who died December 31, 1155. In 1154, October 25, Stephen died, and Henry II succeeded to the throne. In 1156, Geoffrey, Bishop of Llandaff, died whilst engaged at mass.

A great event in Earl William's reign, according to the Welsh Chronicles, was his war with Ivor ap Meyric or Ivor bach, Lord of Senghenydd, of which the Earl threatened to deprive him, and whose stronghold seems to have been on the high ground above the later fortress of Castell coch, overlooking the plain of Cardiff, and placed most conveniently for a dash at that castle. No doubt the hopes of the Welsh were at that time



much excited by the ill success of Henry's expedition in North Wales in 1157, but Ivor's enterprise, as recorded by Giraldus, who however places it in 1153, was not the less a marvel of audacity. Cardiff Castle, as may yet in part be seen, was defended by a wall 40 feet high and 11 feet thick, and was at that time garrisoned by 120 men at arms and a large body of archers and a strong watch. In the contiguous town was also a stipendiary force. Ivor, however, with his Welshmen scaled the wall at night, surprised the garrison, carried off the Earl, his countess, and their son to the hills, and dictated his own terms. The Welsh pedigrees, by way of rounding off the story, make him marry the Earl's daughter, but the more reliable English records give no support to this part of it. Ivor's descendants long continued to be the mesne Lords of Senghenydd, and still, both in the male and female line, retain considerable property within that lordship, both above the Caiach about Merthyr and Morlais, and below the Caiach about Van, Eglwysilan and Llanishen; but this raid probably gave occasion, a century later, to the construction of the tower of Whitchurch and the castellets of Castell coch and Morlais. The grand border fortress of Caerphilly was due to a more national attack, but all were built by the de Clare's upon the private domain of Ivor's descendants.

5th Henry II, 1158-9, Thomas, nephew to the Earl of Gloucester, owed fifty marcs to the Exchequer for his land at Chichester, Devon; and in the sixth year this is entered *de placitis* of William Fitz John, who is remitted the fifty marcs by the King. Who Thomas was is not known; probably the same who in 1176, as the nephew to the Earl of Gloucester, with Richard his son, owed forty marcs to the Exchequer. In 1160, during the King's prolonged stay in Normandy, Earl William took part in an expedition against Rhys ap Griffith, who retaliated in the year following by burning the grange of Margam. In 1165-6, upon the aid

for marrying the King's daughter to Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, the Earl was rated upon  $36\frac{1}{3}$  fees in Kent, and elsewhere on 274 fees, in all  $309\frac{1}{2}$  fees, of which  $261\frac{1}{2}$  were in the Honour of Gloucester. This was exclusive of his Welsh lordship, which seems recently to have been augmented by the acquisition of Caerleon from Meredyth ap Howel. In 1166 Robert (?), Earl William's brother, died. In 1169 the Earl founded Keynsham Abbey. The invasion of Ireland by Earl Richard of Striguil, in 1169, was strongly supported in Glamorgan; and among the knights who won and settled upon estates in that country are very many whose names show them to have emigrated from the lordship, such are Barry, Cogan, Kenefek, Penrice, Scurlock, and about a hundred others.

In the autumn of 1171, and in March 1172, Henry passed through Cardiff on his way to and from Ireland. On the latter occasion occurred the incident related by Giraldus, and which is thought to mark the commencement of the movement for keeping holy the Lord's day, which became popular in the reign of King John. Henry being at Cardiff on Low Sunday (April 23) heard mass in St. Perian's Chapel, in Shoemaker Street, and as he came forth and was about to mount his horse, a man addressed him in English, saying—"God keep thee, O king; Christ and his Holy Mother, John the Baptist, and Peter the Apostle greet thee, and by me order thee to forbid all fairs and markets on the Lord's day, and all not necessary labours, and take thou heed that the sacred offices be devoutly administered; so shalt thou prosper." "Ask the master", said the King in Norman French, turning to Sir Philip Marcross, "whether he directed this"; on which the man repeated his admonition, saying, "Unless thou dost obey me, and at once amend thy life, before a year shall pass away, harder things will happen to thee, which, so long as thou livest, thou shall not shake off"; and having so spoken he disappeared, while the King, having mounted, rode away over Rhyminy bridge into

England. It was during this Irish journey that Henry summoned Yorworth of Caerleon and his sons to meet him at Newport on Usk, addressing to them a safe conduct. While on the road, one of the Earl of Gloucester's men met them, and killed Owen the son of Yorworth, on which Yorworth, distrustful, returned, and laid waste the country towards Gloucester. Henry finally took possession of Caerleon; in revenge for which, in July 1174, when Henry was beyond the sea, Yorworth and Morgan ap Sissylt ap Dynval destroyed Caerleon town and castle, and wasted the neighbourhood, then in English occupation. In 1171-2 the Bishop of Llandaff, the see being much impoverished by these repeated harryings, received 66s. 8d., the King's gift, and a corrody of 13s. from Hyde Abbey.

In 1173 the Pipe Roll enters from Gilbert de Umfraville, £44 10s. 2d., *pro rehabenda terra sua*, of which the Earl of Gloucester had deforced him. There was in the treasury £9 6s. 8d., and he owed £35 3s. 6d., and in the next year's account he had paid 101s. 8d. This looks as though the Earl's lands were in the King's hands; which is strange, unless indeed the King had taken them in hand on account of the Earl's adherence to the party of the young Henry, to which for a time he either gave his aid, or at least did not support the King, affecting neutrality. That the King was dissatisfied with him is also shown by his having actually imprisoned him with the Earl of Lincoln, and by his including him among those whom he dispossessed of their castles, when he attached that of Bristol to the Crown. This was in 1175-6, in which year Henry received at Gloucester the Welsh magnate Rhys ap Griffith, and with him Morgan ap Caradoc ap Jestyn of Avan, whose mother Gwladys was Prince Rhys's sister, and Griffith ap Ivor bach ap Meyric of Senghenydd, together with another nephew of Rhys, also a son of his sister; with them came Yorworth ap Owen of Caerleon. It should be observed that both Morgan and Griffith were vassal barons of the Earl

of Gloucester, and had he been in a position to enforce his rights they would not have been admitted to the sovereign. In Lent 1177, at the assembly in London in which Henry arbitrated between the Kings of Castile and Navarre, Earl William appears as one of the witnesses of the confirming document.

In 1181 Henry proclaimed an assize of arms, certainly much needed, on the Welsh borders, but which was an assumption by the Crown of the right to tax rents and, in some degree, personal chattels. Every holder of a knight's fee was to be provided with a cuirass, a helmet, a shield, and a lance; and so many fees as he may hold, so many of each was he to provide. Every free layman, having chattels or a rental equal to sixteen marcs, was to provide a hauberk, an iron head-piece, and a lance. No man is to sell, to pledge, or to lend these arms; no lord is to seize them. They are to descend to the heir, and if he be an infant the guardian is to use them until the owner be able to bear arms. No man is to possess more arms than the above. In 1182 the Welsh slew Ranulph Poer, the King's sheriff for Gloucestershire. Nicholas, Bishop of Llandaff, died 6 Sep. 1183.

Earl William died on the night of St. Clement's, 23 Nov. 1183, the anniversary of his birth, and probably about the sixtieth of his age. Among his works was the building of the town of Kenfig, and the foundation of Keynsham Abbey at the request of his dying son. To the monks of Neath he confirmed his father's gift of Blackscarr, to which he added the right of wreck upon their sea shore. To Margam he gave by charter, before 1166, tested by his countess and addressed to his sheriff and barons, "*Siwardum palmiferum*," with his house and curtilage, by the hand of Robert his son. By another charter he gave to the monks of St. Peter's, Gloucester, freedom from toll in Bristol, Cardiff, and Newport, for the soul's weal of himself, his countess, and their son. To St. Augustine's, Bristol, he gave the tithes of his mills at Newport, and a tenth of his

forest rent for Candelan, with lands on the river Rhymny near Cardiff; and to the church of St. Guthlac, Hereford, freedom from toll throughout his Welsh possessions, and the same freedom to the monks of Goldcliff, in Bristol, Cardiff, Newport, Caerleon, and Chepstow. By another charter, preserved in the Bradenstoke Cartulary, he gave to a certain "Stemor" his burgage in Cardiff at 12*d.* per annum rent instead of 2*s.* Another charter, tested by his countess, relates to what Mr. Floyd supposes to be the parish church of St. Mary at Cardiff, which he seems to have rebuilt and dedicated to St. Mary and St. Thomas, then recently martyred. There are also other charters by Earl William, relating to donations in Gloucester and Dorset.<sup>1</sup> He was buried at Keynsham.

Earl William married Hawise, daughter of Robert Bossu, Earl of Leicester. She died 24th April 1197, having had to stand up for her vidual rights. 1st Richard I she had £50 allowed her for her *maritagium* for the half year, in the accounts of the Honour of Gloucester; and 7th Richard I, just before her death, she accounted for 200 marcs, or £66 13*s.* 4*d.*, in the Pipe Roll of Devon and Somerset, as her payment on her dower and *maritagium*.

Their children were—1, Robert, mentioned in the Pipe Roll 1155 as "Robertum filium Comitiss Gloucestriæ"; he was born and died at Cardiff, and was buried at Keynsham; 2, Mabel; 3, Amice; 4, Isabel. As Robert died young and childless, the three sisters became coheirs.

It was Earl William who presented King Henry with the spotted greyhound so celebrated for his fidelity to Owen ap Caradoc ap Jestyn, having received seven wounds in defence of his master, who was slain by Cadwalader ap Caradoc, his brother, who also came to an untimely end.

Upon the Earl's death the lordship fell into the cus-

<sup>1</sup> He also granted certain lands to the House of Boley, near Torigny.—*Gall. Christ.*, xi, 456.

tody of the crown, and its accounts appear in the Pipe Rolls of the 30th Henry II, 1183-4. These accounts are very curious, and though too long to be given at length, show the value of the Pipe Rolls, and what has been lost by the destruction of the records of the local Chancery. The several officers who account to the King for the receipts and expenditure, half year by half year, are Maurice de Berkeley, Hamo de Valoygnes, and Hugh Bardolf. Under them are William de Cogan, Walter Luvel, Reginald Fitz-Simon, and one or two others who were in charge of the castles of Neath, Kenfig, Newcastle, Rhymny and Newport. There are also charges for military stores and fittings, warnisture for these castles, and for their repairs, especially for gates and palisades, probably barriers in advance of the gates. There were also horsemen and footmen serving for a term at livery at the lord's expense, whose leaders were W<sup>m</sup> le Sor, Walt<sup>r</sup> de Lageles, Walter Luvel, Payn de Turberville, Reginald Fitz Simon and Hoel of Caerleon, and allowances for the hire of shipping for stores and provisions, and for the transport of de Valoygnes and his knights. Tithes are paid to Tewkesbury; compensation for horses lost or killed by the Welsh; Roath and Rhymny bridges are repaired; and two millstones put into Leckwith Mill. Kenfig town had been burned, and had to be enclosed, "præcludenda" and the rents remitted for a year. The Dean and the Archdeacon came in for compensation for injuries done by the Welsh. Philip de Marcross, the Under-Sheriff, has a handsome present for the charge of the lordship; as the Sheriff is not mentioned it may be supposed that the two officers stood, as to loss and gain, as they do now. There are charges for the keeping of Welsh prisoners, and one very grim-looking item for "chains for Welsh prisoners and doing justice on them." The income is derived from a variety of sources—rents, or farms of manors and mills, pleas of courts and perquisites, wards, fairs, and earnest money; lands seized because their lords did not discharge the service due, and chattels forfeited

for disobedience of orders. Wardships formed a regular portion of the Lord's revenue. One occurs in the person of the daughter of Guy de Trotington, whose land is in the Lord's hands. A relief also is paid by Robert de Cardiff on obtaining seizin of his land, and a fine is levied upon Alan de St. George, probably on a similar occasion.

In 1184 Henry was at Worcester on South Wales' affairs. Rhys ap Griffith had a safe conduct and came to the King, and promised his sons and nephews as hostages. They, however, refused to redeem the promise. It is rather strange, after what had passed, that Howel of Caerleon should be in the King's service against his countrymen.

In 1185 the Welsh, unrestrained by any giving of hostages, took advantage of the interregnum, and invaded and laid waste Glamorgan. An eclipse, which presented the sun of the colour of blood, no doubt was construed in their favour. They burned Kenfig for the second time—"it had not been burned a year or more"—and the town of Cardiff. Neath was attacked, but relieved by the Normans, who beat off the swarm of Welshmen, and burned their machines of war. It was then that, at Llanridian in Gower, St. Iltyd's spring flowed with milk, and that of so excellent a quality that butter rose upon its surface. In this year William, Prior of St. Augustine's, became Bishop of Llandaff, and in 1187 consecrated the altar of the Holy Trinity in the Abbey of Margam.

On the 6th July 1189, King Henry died, the lordship being still in the hands of the Crown.

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## THE CO-HEIRS OF THE HONOUR AND LORDSHIP, AND THE COMING IN OF THE HOUSE OF CLARE.

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THE ages of Earl William's daughters at the time of his death are not on record, but they certainly were very young. Dugdale, following Walsingham, says that the Earl, to prevent the division of the heritage, adopted as his heir, at Windsor in 1176, the King's second son, John; but this must have been with the understanding that he was to marry one of the coheirs. Madox (*Bar. Angl.*, p. 201) says that on the Earl's death the Honour of Gloucester, in which he evidently includes the Welsh lordship, was escheated to the Crown; and Hugh Bardolph, in accounting to Richard I for the issues "de tribus partibus anni", says this was "antequam rex daret eundem Honorem Johanni fratri suo" (Pipe Roll, 1st Richard I). Nevertheless, the subsequent descents of both Honour and Lordship show that they were not held as male fiefs; but, like all other property, where the law had its course, descended to the heiresses, subject to a purparty or division, and subject, of course, during a minority, to the usual rights of wardship. When, some years later, the male line of the de Clares failed, but very few of their manors reverted to the Crown; the great bulk of the estate was held by the King as in wardship, and so soon as it was certain that there was no male heir of the body of the last Earl, on the petition of the sisters, was divided. It is, therefore, probable that the vesting of the estate in John was by an arrangement with Earl William; and that this was so, is supported by the fact that after John divorced the heiress he gave up the estate, though



with a very bad grace, and after considerable delay. The title of Earl of Gloucester was certainly a personal grant by Henry I to his son Robert on his marriage. It could not have been a part of Mabel's heritage, for Fitz-Hamon was not an earl. With the title Henry evidently made the usual grant of the third penny of the county. The learned authors of the *Peerage Reports* deny this, but in the Pipe Roll of 1st Richard I, after the passage above cited, follows, "et de xxxii libris de tercio denario comitatus de dimidio anno;" and in the Roll of 3rd John, Almaric d'Evreux had xxli. of the third penny of the same county. The usual appanage of an earl in those days was the third penny of the pleas of his county.

The limitation under which the earldom descended is obscure. It does not appear why John's marriage should have made him Earl of Gloucester, as his wife was not sole heiress of her father, although in Bristol Castle she possessed what was probably then regarded as the "caput Honoris Gloucestræ". Gloucester, which she did not possess, might probably be the "caput Comitatus," but it was never held by the earls.

On Earl William's death Henry stepped in, as guardian of the infant co-heiresses and custos of the lands. The latter he held about six years, when the issues were returned as a branch of the royal revenue. Thus, 33rd Henry II, 1186-7, Hugh Bardolph accounted for the scutages, "quia Honor est in manu regis," and in the same year is an account of £43 17s. 7d. for works at Kenefit Castle, probably Kenfig, in Glamorgan, though possibly a Herefordshire fortress.

On Henry's death the wardship passed with the crown to Richard, and the accounts, besides the third penny mentioned above, show "et comitissæ Gloucestræ £50 pro dote et maritagio suo de dimidio anno per Ran' de Glanvill' precepto regis." This was the Countess Dowager. Other entries show that Bardolf accounted for the Castle of Caermarthen and for works at Bristol Castle, as well as for certain issues from the Abbot of

Keynsham. Among the tenants Henry de Umfranvill owed £4 for his relief, and Roger de Maisi £45 for nine knight's fees held of the Honour, but probably, in strictness, of the Lordship of Glamorgan. Fitz-Stephen seems to have accounted for the issues of the County, Bardolf for those of the Honour. Richard held the wardship two-thirds of a year, and then, in 1189, determined it in favour of Isabel, the third sister, whom he married to his brother John, to whom she had been contracted in 1176. The accounts for 1189-90, 1st Richard I, show for saddles, etc., for the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester and her maidens, £17 2s. 7*d.*, and for various furs for her and the daughter of the Earl of Chester, as well as for the Queen and the sister of the King of France, 73s. 4*d.* She had also three roserells. John held the Honour by baronial homage and service. He lost it for a time when disseized of his English lands by the sentence of the royal court, but regained it on his reconciliation with his brother. It seems to have been in the Crown in the 9th Richard I, 1197-8, when William de Warene was custos of the Honour, and was collecting for Richard's ransom. The names of some of the knights in his accounts, as de Cardiff, de Granville, and de Sanford, belong both to the Honour and to the Lordship of Glamorgan.

On John's accession he became both chief and mesne lord. Madox is careful to point out that while John's own services thus became extinguished, the tenants continued to pay theirs as holding "in capite ut de Honore." Also, as an Honour was a Barony, it did not merge in the Crown, as was the case with a knight's fee or a demesne manor, but was held in abeyance and distinct, and was described technically as holden "in dominio". John's marriage was opposed by Archbishop Baldwin as within the forbidden degrees, both parties descending from Henry I. While Earl of Moretaine it suited John to disregard this objection, but when he succeeded as king, and had no children, he revived it and obtained a divorce.

According to the Annals of Tewkesbury, John's marriage, though contracted for in 1176, with the proviso that the Pope's license was to be obtained, did not actually take place until Richard's accession in 1189. It must have been just before the marriage, during the episcopate of William de Saltmarsh, that Archbishop Baldwin, accompanied by Giraldus Cambrensis, visited Glamorgan, preached the crusade at Llandaff, was the guest of Abbot Conan at Eweny, and was guided across the treacherous marshes and sands between the Avan and the Nedd by Morgan ap Caradoc, Jestyn's eldest grandson, and the Lord of Avan. Richard's letter from Messina, written about the 25th January 1191, is addressed to John, Earl of Gloucester, and John so styles himself in forwarding the letter to the Archbishop, although he seldom used the title afterwards. In 1199, 30th October, he confirmed to William de Berkeley a donation made by Robert Earl of Gloucester, and soon after his marriage he, as "Comes de Moreton", or "Moritonie", granted charters of confirmation to Neath and Margam. The Neath charter has been printed; that to Margam, dated Cardiff on the Tuesday before St. Hilary 1193, is in excellent preservation, and bears John's seal as Lord of Glamorgan, with two passant lions on his shield. It is one of a mass of similar documents in the possession of Mr. Talbot of Margam, which, if examined, would no doubt throw much light on the early history of that abbey, and on the descent of property in the county in the twelfth century. There is also another charter by John, without date, but granted before his accession, preserved in the Cottonian MSS. (Cleopatra, A vii, 73 b), printed in the *New Monasticon* (ii, 69). 7 Aug. 1197, "Elizabetha Comitissa Gloucestræ et Moreton" confirmed a charter "a domino meo Johanne Moreton" to John, Bishop of Worcester, concerning Malvern forest (*Nash Worc.*, ii, 137). It is dated from Bec.

The divorce seems to have occurred in May 1200, and John's marriage to Isabel of Angoulême followed at

once, so that they were crowned at Christmas. That John retained the Lordship and Honour in his hands is evident from his grants after his accession. 22nd October 1199, he confirmed a grant by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, of Eldresfield, to William son of William de Berkeley, and 18th April 1200, a grant of Bedminster manor by the same to the same. This indeed he might have done as sovereign, but in his first year William de Falaise and Master Swern account for the issues of the Honour, and probably of the lordship, which for this month are £223 12s. 3d. Also, 1201-2, Guy de Cancellis accounted to the Crown for the scutages of the Honour of Gloucester, levied upon 327½ fees, and the King retained also the castle and barton of Bristol. The Pipe Roll for the following year, 3rd John, 1202, has been printed. In it William de Falaise accounts for the Honour for the past year. Among the tenants who belonged also to Glamorgan are Henry de Umfranvill, who paid 12 marks on 5 fees; Roger de Meisi, 24 marks on 4 fees; John le Sor, 36 marks on 14 fees; Roger Corbet, 8 marks on 1 fee; Herbert de St. Quintin, 3 marks for 10 fees; and Milo de Sumeri, 5 marks for 3½ fees. William de Montacute and Ralph de Cirecest' were allowed £50 for the expenses of the Countess [of Gloucester] at Bristol, by a letter from Geoffry Fitz-Peter. Keynsham Abbey paid 40*d.* for scutage.

In the next roll, 4th John, the fees in the Honour of Gloucester are 304¼, of which 47¼ are in Glamorgan. The Earl of Evreux held 20 fees, and the Earl of Clare 15 fees. Also Henry de Umphravill accounts for 20 marks on 5 fees; John le Sor, 60 marks on 14 fees; and H. de St. Quintin, 50 marks on 10 fees. Also, 13th April, 1204, John confirmed certain gifts in Petersfield, Hants, by William Earl of Gloucester and Hawise his wife; and 23rd June 1205, granted a "masagium" or habitation, in Lincoln, to be held of the Earl of Gloucester and his heirs. As king he also confirmed the charters to Margam and Neath. To

Margam, his confirmations, four in number, are dated 15th May 1205; a second probably in the same year; and the others 22nd July and 11th August 1207, are printed in the *Rotulus Chartarum*, as are those to Neath, 6th January, 5th August, and 11th August 1207. Also in the *New Monasticon* (vi, 366), is a charter confirming to St. Augustin's, Bristol, the grant of Earl William between Cardiff and the Rhymny, and others by Countess Mabel, William's mother. Certain allowances, apparently not very liberal ones, were made to the lawful heiress, who retained her titular rank. At Tewkesbury, John built the long bridge and granted the town tolls for its repair.

6th November 1201, the justiciary was directed to allow the Countess of Gloucester to hold her lands in peace, "sicut antecessores"; and 30th July 1205, "Our beloved Countess" is to have "qualibet septimana unam damam". 6th February 1206, she has £12 for her expenses from the Exchequer; and 26th May, the King allows the reasonable expenses of the Earl (Countess) of Gloucester at Winchester. 20th March 1207, a ton (tonellum) of wine, also charged to the Exchequer, is allowed, and certain necessary expenses for her at Sherborne, to be certified by her servant Hamo. The Pipe Roll of 8th John contains an entry of 40 marks for disseizin for Amicia, formerly Countess of Clare.

19th September 1207, Falkes, the King's bailiff in Glamorgan, has an allowance for the repairs of the castles there; his patent as Custos is dated February 1207. 3rd December, the Castle of Sherborne in Dorset is mentioned as belonging to the Countess, and no doubt her residence.

27th December, Falkes is informed that Gilbert de Turberville has appeased the King by the payment of a horse for his fine on relief for his land. 23rd March 1208, Keynsham Abbey is vacant and Gilbert de Aties is to provide the canons with food and clothing, and

Falkes is to give him seizin of their land in Glamorgan. 9th April, Falkes is directed to let William de Londres have the Priory of Ewenny, which is of his fee. Falkes was the notorious Falcasius de Breauté.

By an entry on the Patent Rolls of 5 March 1208, John calls on the Barons and Knights of the Honour of Glamorgan and of the Honour of Cardiff, to put in repair his houses in the Ballium of Cardiff Castle as they were wont to do, so that they may discharge their Castle guards, as they value their fees. This shows that the greater tenants occupied houses in the Castle court, which were kept in repair by them, though belonging to the lord.

10th John, 1208-9, a charter roll contains the accounts of Falkes for £100 for the Honour of Gloucester; for works at Cardiff and Neath Castles, £22 10s., and 100 marks for the custody of Swansea Castle. From Gilbert de Turberville 25 marks; from the monks of Neath 50 marks and a palfrey. From the Abbot of Margam £17 16s. 6d., and from the same abbot, among the "oblata", 100 marks for having in free alms the Manors of Lalvereth and Haved Halown with appurtenances, and similarly the Manor of Pettun and appurtenances, as in the King's charter. Agnes, widow of Hamelin de Torinton, a family related to the Umfravilles and Sullys, pays 20 marks. Philip de Nerberd accounts for £20 for having his land. Galfrid Whytney (?) accounts for 200 marks and a palfrey for custody of the lands and heir of Henry de Umphrville.

10th John, William son of Caswallon was allowed 1 mark for the loss of his horse. In 1210 John was in Glamorgan; 28th May and 28th August, at Margam, then spelt Margan or Morgan; 21st May, at Neath; and 29th May, at Swansea. At that time Gower seems to have been in his hands, and, 11th November 1208, he freed the English and Welsh of that lordship from certain burthens connected with the Castle of Swansea. In 1210, Rhys and Owen, sons of Griffith ap Rhys, were sent as messengers to Falkes to try to

bring about a peace ; but, notwithstanding this, 12th John, 1210-11, 50 marks were expended in strengthening Swansea Castle ; a not unnecessary outlay, for in 1211 the Welsh, under Cadwalon ap Ivor bach, burnt and plundered Glamorgan, as, in 1212, Rees Vachan treated the town of Swansea. 14th John, Falkes de Breauté is quitted £200 for the farm of Glamorgan for the preceding and current years. 31st April 1213, the King issued a brief of inquisition into the losses sustained by the Church in the late discords between the King and the Clergy of England, and that for the See of Llandaff was addressed to Richard Flandrensis of Glamorgan and Walter de Sulye. As the see was not vacant, they were probably selected as upright and independent assessors. In that year Gilbert, Abbot of Margam, was displaced, and was succeeded, 18th May, by John de Goldcliffe, one of the monks. Gilbert became a monk at Kirkstall, and died 12th May 1214.

A little before this, 12th March 1213, the King allowed to Isabel, Countess of Gloucester, “rationabile testamentum quod fecit de rebus suis mobilibus”, probably with a view to her marriage. And, 16th January 1214, Peter de Cancellis is to bring safely to the King the Countess of Gloucester, now in his charge, apparently at Bristol Castle. Guion de Cancellis was at this time Custos of the Honour of Gloucester.

After about thirteen years of widowhood, which, in a time when a widow with a large jointure as an inheritance seldom remained single, may, without much fear of injustice to John, be attributed to his wish to retain the earldom in his own hands, Countess Isabel married Geoffrey Fitz-Peter or de Mandeville, the justiciary, who, on the death of his father, 2nd October 1213, became Earl of Essex, and had livery of his paternal estates. No doubt the marriage took place very soon afterwards, for, 24th January 1214, the Exchequer was to allow £13 15s. 8d., to be spent in robes for the Countess of Gloucester and her maidens, and by the 28th they were married, and Geoffrey had certainly

been admitted to her lands, seeing that in February he was ordered to be disseized, because he had not paid the fees due. The precept for his admission "*Honori de Glanmorgan*" is addressed to Falke de Breauté, and dated 26 January 1214.

The fine for the marriage was 20,000 marks, and Geoffrey's relief on taking up the earldom of Essex was a similar sum, to be paid in four equal parts. Probably he contrived to pay the first instalment at once, for, 9th and 10th of August 1214, the King informs the sheriffs of thirty-two counties that he has given Isabel to Geoffrey de Mandeville to wife, and that he is to have the whole Honour of Gloucester, and to be installed in all Earl William's rights, except the castle, vill, and forest of Bristol, and the vill of Campden. The seizin of Geoffrey's own lands in Bucks was not given till the 23rd of June. 21st November in the same year, 1214, he witnessed John's charter concerning the freedom of episcopal elections, as "*Gaufrido de Mandevillæ, Comite Gloucestrie et Essexie*", and, as "*Comes Gloucestrie*", he was one of the twenty-five barons chosen under the Great Charter, 15th June 1215. In January in that year, he had witnessed a royal proclamation as Earl of Gloucester and Essex, and a late convention as Earl of Essex and Gloucester. Nicholas, however, dates his assumption of the earldom of Gloucester from 1215. In the Pipe Roll, 3rd John, 1202, £50 is allowed for the expenses of the Countess of Gloucester at Bristol, by two briefs of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, and another £20 for the same expenses, "*predictæ comitissæ*", also "*per breve G : f : Peter*". At this time the Honour contained three hundred and twentyseven and three-tenths fees, besides twenty fees which could not be identified.

Geoffrey's usual style was Earl of Essex and Gloucester, and that of his wife Countess of Gloucester and Essex. Her charter to Basalleg, printed by Hearn (*A. de Domerham*, ii, 609), combines the two, and commences "*Ego, Isabella, Comitissa Gloucestrie et Essexie, consensu et assensu domini mei Galfridi de Mandevilla*



Comitis Essexie et Gloucestrie". The divorce alienated the whole Gloucester interest from John, who also so mismanaged the marriage as to throw the new Earl also into opposition, which continued during the few months that intervened before his death, childless, before June 1216, in London, in consequence of an accident at a tournament. John at once, 19th June, granted to Savary de Mauléon all the lands which had belonged to Geoffrey de Mandeville and his brother William, then probably in arms against the King. John himself died 19th October, 1216. The accounts show that of the 20,000 marks, Earl Geoffrey had paid half only, and the remainder, being a charge upon his estate, was demanded at the hands of Earl William, his brother and successor, as late as 12th May 1226; and long afterwards, 18th June 1242, Letters patent were issued, allowing the remainder of the fine of 20,000 marks made by Geoffrey de Mandeville with King John, for the marriage of Isabel, Countess of Gloucester, to be paid by annual instalments of £40 10s., out of the third penny of the County of Essex. While a widow, Isabel granted a charter to Margam, preserved at Penrice, as "Ego Ysabell Comitissa Gloucester 'et Essex' in libera viduitate mea", and another while still a widow, to Caerleon, but she speedily became the third wife of Hubert de Burgh, then justiciary. The date of this marriage is not recorded, but it must have been immediate, for, 13th August 1217, all the lands of the Countess of Gloucester were committed to Hubert de Burgh (*Pat. Roll*, 1st Henry III, m. 4), and in the same year Hubert had livery of Walden, a part of Isabel's dower, and, 17th September, the King informed the sheriffs of nine counties that the Countess had come in to his fealty and service, and was to be placed as she stood before the war between the King and the Barons of England. This was under Henry III, and just after the battle of Lincoln. She died almost immediately, for, 15th October, was an order as to the custody of her land, she being dead (*P. Roll*, 1st

Henry III, m. 1); and, 30th October, she, which must mean her estate, was called upon to pay scutage. 5th Henry III, Hubert married Margaret of Scotland. He does not appear as Earl of Gloucester; probably he had not time to fulfil the necessary formalities. He was created Earl of Kent 11th February 1227, with remainder to his heirs by Margaret.

Isabel having died childless, the inheritance passed, *de jure*, to the son of her eldest sister, Mabel, who had married Almeric or Aymar de Montfort, Comte d'Evreux, who, as "Aumericus Comes Ebroicarum", tested a charter by Henry I to Conches in 1130, and is named in a Bull of Pope Eugenius in 1152. He died 1196, while the Earldom of Gloucester was in the hands of the Crown, leaving a son, also Almeric, whose position with regard to his mother's right is obscure. Mabel is probably the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, to whom and her maidens was allowed, in the Pipe Roll of 7th Richard I, 1196, "£17 2s. 7d., and for vair furs about 37s., and for a Roserell £6". Sandford says, Henry II gave her £100 portion, because her father had passed her over and bestowed the earldom upon John. And the Pipe Roll, 4th John, already quoted, shows that her two sisters were allowed a share, though a small one, of the inheritance, the Earl of Evreux having 20, and the Earl of Clare 25 knight's fees.

The date of the elder Earl Almeric's marriage is not recorded, but the younger Earl, in May 1200, at the instance of King John, ceded his right in Evreux to Philip Augustus, for which he had an equivalent. The cession is the subject of a document given in the *Gallia Christiana* (xi, p. Inst.), which begins "Ego Almericus Comes Gloucestrie", and states that he is acting "de mandato domini mei Johannis illustris regis Angliæ", who "in sufficiens excambium inde donavit". William Mareschal is one of the witnesses. This was in May 1200, the very month of John's divorce from Almeric's aunt, and shows that, having himself no longer an interest in the title, he was disposed to allow the son

of the elder sister to assume it, as he continued to do, and was allowed some fragments of the property. Thus, in the Pipe Roll, 3rd John, 1202, William de Falaise accounts for 112s. 7d., issues from the barton outside Bristol, "before it was given to Earl Almaric"; and by the same accounts "Almaric Comes Ebroic": was allowed £20 out of the third penny of the county. Also, 26th January 1205, Falaise, as custos of the Honour, was directed to give to Earl Almaric, Bradested; and 31st April, Petersfield and Mapledurham; and 30th December, Burford; and 16th August 1206, certain other manors, all which had probably been his mother's jointure. Also, he occasionally witnesses royal charters, sometimes as "A: comite Gloucestrie", and sometimes as "A: comite Ebroic", as in 1204-5, or simply as "Comes Gloucestrie", as a pledge in 1205 for Henry, son of the Earl of Cornwall for 4 marks; nor is there anything in the subject of the documents to account for this variety. No document has been discovered in which he uses the titles together, nor does he ever appear as Lord of Glamorgan or of the Honour of Gloucester. He seems to have died 1212-13, and was buried at Keynsham. Some further obscurities arise out of the disposition of the manors above mentioned. 20th November 1213, Gilbert de Clare is to have seizin of two parts of the land which Aumeric, Earl of Evreux, had in Merlaw and Hameldon, co. Bucks, and Melisent, his widow, the third part. Also, 15th December, the Countess of Gloucester is to have her chattels in these manors; and, 4th January 1214, the executors of the will of "A: comitis de Ebroic" are to have his chattels in Thornbury, Petersfield, and Mapledurham. Also, 15th March 1217, William de Cantelupe, junior, and Melisant, who was the wife of Aumaric, Earl of Evreux, are to have her dower in Mapledurham and Petersfield, which she had from the Earl, her husband. Also, 2nd October, Gilbert de Clare was to give to William de Cantelupe and Melisant his wife possession of Merlaw, as part of her dower, and he is to answer to the King

for having disseised her of it. Finally, in 1215, about the 2nd of July, "Melisanta comitissa de Ebroill", appoints as her attorney Henry de Neford, in a plea concerning land, between the Countess, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Prior of Dunstable, Geoffrey de Mandeville, and Gilbert de Clare. The churchmen are probably trustees, and Geoffrey and Gilbert represented the other sisters.

It appears from Père Anselm's account (*Hist. Geneal., etc.*, vii, 74), which, however, is full of errors, that Almeric, evidently the son, married, secondly, Melesinda, daughter of Hugh de Gournay, who is doubtless the Melisant mentioned above. It is not improbable that the manors were originally settled on Mabel, that on her death they came to her son Almeric, and that in 1205 he was getting them resettled, on his marriage. The ordinary accounts make Mabel die before 1199, and her son childless in 1226, but the above entries show that he was dead in 1213, which may account for Isabel's marriage, and her husband's assumption of the earldom in 1214. Thus, the succession of the Earls of Gloucester from the death of Earl William was John, Earl of Moretain, Almeric Comte d'Evreux, and Geoffrey, Earl of Essex.

The death of Earl Geoffrey in 1216 and of Countess Isabel, probably in 1217, cleared the way for the succession, and makes it probable that the *Annals of Margam* are correct in stating that Gilbert de Clare assumed the earldom in 1217, although Nicholas places that event in 1126. He was certainly the Earl of Gloucester to whom the King sent a messenger at a cost of 6*d.*, 9th March 1220, and another, who being sent to Clare, was paid 1*s.*, 17th April 1222, and who, 19th February 1221, was rated for the scutage of Biham. He also appears in the great charter of Henry III as Earl of Gloucester. One of his early acts was to confirm to Tewkesbury the grants of his ancestors.

However, or by whom, the lordship may have been held during the forty-three years that elapsed from the

death of Earl William in 1173 to that of the Earl of Essex in 1216, after the latter event, it certainly vested *de jure* in the son of Amice, the second sister, who alone left issue, and it must be allowed that the new dynasty was one very capable of upholding and extending the title and inheritance of which it thus became the heir. The House of Clare ruled in Glamorgan for four generations, during a period of eighty-eight years, from 1226 to 1314, including the reigns of Henry III, Edward I, and a third part of that of Edward II, his son. The long reign of Henry III, the weakness and vacillation of his character and conduct, and the general dissatisfaction with his foreign relatives and favourites, gave great cause and great encouragement to the nobles to rebel, and at various times, and in the foremost rank of the disaffected, were the Earls of Gloucester and Pembroke, the former in the male line and the latter in the female, the representatives of the House of Clare, and the chief lords of the South and West Wales Marches. Their territory extended almost from Pembroke to Chepstow, including much of Cardigan and a large slice of Nether Gwent. Their only rivals, the Barons Braose of Gower, Lords of Brecknock and Abergavenny, were far too violent to have any permanent weight, or to interfere seriously with the ambition of the House of Clare. Under William Mareschal the elder, Lord of Chepstow and Pembroke, and the heir of Strongbow in Ireland, the Lords of the March were kept in tolerable order, but his death left the King without restraint, and the succeeding Earls Mareschal and of Gloucester with ample excuse, if not sufficient reason, for taking refuge in open rebellion.

The history of the House of Clare belongs quite as much to that of England as of their Welsh lordships, and although their near relationship to the Mareschals, and their differences with the Sovereign, caused them to rely much upon their position as marchers, they do not seem to have resided much at Cardiff, or to have

pursued any steady policy, either of peace or war, with regard to the Welsh.

GISLEBERT Crispin, the real founder of the Clare family, was the son of GODFRID or Goisfred, Comte d'Eu and de Brionne, a natural son of RICHARD the elder, Duke of Normandy. In the foundation charter of Bec Abbey, about 1034, he describes himself as "Gislebertus Brionensis Comes, primi Ricardi Normannorum ducis nepos, ex filio Consule Godefrido". These Norman earldoms are involved in much obscurity. Gislebert could scarcely have been Earl of the territory of Brionne, for his son continued to use the title of Comes after Brionne had been alienated. Probably it was personal. The sobriquet of Crispin was borne by another, also distinguished, Norman family, of whose founder the Monk of Bec records that he had "capillos crispus et rigidos, atque sursum erectos, et ut ita dicam, rebursos ad modum pini ramorum, qui sæpe tendunt sursum". Hence the name of "Crispinus, quasi crispus pinus", and such we may suppose to have been the character of the "chevelure" of Godfrid's immediate descendants. The county of Eu was taken from Gislebert by his kinsman Duke Richard II, and given to Gislebert's uncle, William. Brionne he retained, and Sap, said to be so called from a "sapin", or fir tree, planted in front of the church there. He was one of the young William's governors, but was assassinated in 1035. His sons were Richard and Baldwin, who, with his brother "Ricardus filius Comitum Gisleberti", witnessed the conveyance charter to Bury Abbey in 1081. (*N. Mon.*, iii, 141.) Baldwin was Seigneur de Maule, and called also "de Sap", or "le Viscomte", or "d'Exeter". From him the Earls of Devon inherited Okehampton. His second son Robert had Brionne.

RICHARD Fitz-Gislebert was also called de Bienfaite, not, as often said, from Benefield in Northamptonshire, a manor held, as Baker has shown, by Richard Engaine, but from a Norman benefice; and de Clare, and de Tunbridge, from his two principal English fiefs. On his

father's murder he and his brother fled to Flanders, and returned thence to Normandy, when Matilda married Duke William, who gave him Bienfaite and Orbec. He also held Brionne. He accompanied William to England, was present at Hastings, and was richly recompensed in English lands. His possessions lay in the counties of Beds, Cambridge, Devon, Essex, Kent, Middlesex, Suffolk, Surrey, and Wilts. In the *Survey* he is styled indiscriminately "Ricardus filius Gisleberti", "Ricardus filius Comitum Gisleberti", "Ricardus de Tonbridge", and "Ricardus de Clara". His Kentish land seems to have been mainly confined to the Leuca or Lowy of Tonbridge, but it is remarkable that neither Tonbridge nor the also important Barony of Hastings are named in *Domesday*. Dugdale says he obtained Tonbridge by exchange for Brionne with Archbishop Stigand, but this is exceedingly improbable. That the Leuca was in some way connected with Canterbury is certain, from the claim set up for it by Becket, on the ground that church lands were inalienable. The controversy, however, seems rather to have related to the castle than to the lands, which the de Clares seem always to have accepted as held by grand sergeanty of the See. Tonbridge and Clare contained ancient English fortresses of the first class.

Fitz-Gilbert's restless spirit was not content with 176 manors in England: he burned for further acquisitions, and invaded South Wales, where he conquered Cardigan, but met with his death, being slain at Llanthony by Yorworth, brother of Howel of Caerleon, about 1091. He was buried at St. Neots, and it is recorded of him, "Qui in re militari tempore Conquestoris omnes sui temporis magnates præcipit" (*Cott. MS.*, Vitell., F 4, f 7).

Earl Richard married Rohaise, a daughter, and eventually one of the two co-heirs of Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham, by Ermengarde Flaitel. This lady appears in *Domesday*, where mention is made of the "Terra Rothais uxoris Ricardi filii Gisleberti", in St. Neots,

and she afterwards, in 1113, gave the Manor of St. Neots to the Abbey there, of which she was reputed the second foundress. She and her husband transplanted a colony of French monks from Bec, exchanging them for the rebellious Englishmen, whom they imprisoned in Normandy. Her charter (*New Monasticon*, iii, 472) mentions her husband, sons, and daughters. These were:—1, Gislebert. 2, Robert of Dunmow, who married Maud de St. Liz, and died 31st Henry I. He was ancestor of the family of Fitz-Walter. 3, Roger de Bienfaite, Lord of Orbec and du Hommet, who supported Duke Robert in 1080, but was afterwards attached to Rufus and Henry, whose life he saved at the battle of Brenneville, near Andelys, 1119. He died childless. 4, Walter of Nether Gwent, the founder of Tintern Abbey in 1131. He also died childless. In their mother's charter their order is Roger, Walter, and Robert. 5, Richard, Abbot of Ely, died 1107. There were also two daughters, who married Raoul de Tillieres, and Baudry le Teuton of Balgenzio.

Rohaise married, secondly, Eudo Dapifer, the reputed builder of Colchester Castle, and founder of St. John's Abbey there, where she is buried.

GISLEBERT, mostly styled "de Tonbridge", but "Comes de Clara" in his son's charter to Bury Abbey. He also held his father's conquest in Cardigan, and had Aberystwith. His English predecessor Ælfric, son of Withgar, had founded a chapel dedicated to St. John Baptist, with seven secular canons, in the Castle of Clare, whom this Earl replaced by monks from Bec. He married Alix, daughter of Rainald, Comte de Clermont in Beauvoisis, a benefactor to Thorney Abbey. They had:—1, Richard. 2, Gilbert, called Strongbow, who reconquered Cardigan, and inherited Chepstow and broad lands in Monmouthshire from his uncles Roger and Walter. He was created Earl of Pembroke in 1138. He died 1148, and was buried at Tintern. By Elizabeth, sister of Waleran, Comte de Meulan,



who, says Anselm, had been mistress to Henry I, he had Richard Strongbow, the celebrated invader of Ireland, and ancestor, in the female line, of the Mareschals, Earls of Pembroke. 3, Walter de Sap. 4, Hervé. 5, Baldwin, who adhered to Stephen's cause, and with his brother Richard witnessed the Conqueror's charter to Bury Abbey (?), and gave to the monks of Bec, Palletune juxta Sap (*N. Mon.*, vi,—). 6, Louise, married Raoul, Seigneur de Coldon, living 1113.

RICHARD Fitz-Gilbert, Earl of Clare, created Earl of Hertford. Clare seems to have been one of these personal earldoms like Warrene, Ferrars, and Giffard, which did not represent a county, and was not even annexed to land, for although Clare was a manor and afterwards an honour, it does not seem ever to have been regarded as a territorial earldom. In the return in the *Black Book* of the Exchequer, the Earl of Clare prefixes his return "Carta de Honore Clar", without mention of himself. When it became the custom to adopt a surname, Gislebert or Richard Fitz-Gislebert, Comes, became gradually known by that of the chief seat of his power, and it is probable that his correct designation would have been, not "Comes de Clara", but "Gislebert de Clara, Comes".

The title of Hertford was altogether different. This was a regular earldom, representing a county, and endowed with the third penny from the issues of the county. Why that title was selected is unknown, for Hertford town and castle did not belong to the family, nor were they specially interested in the shire. Indeed, they seem to have held at that time but one manor in it, that of St. Wandon; nor were they even sheriffs, for that office was held by the De Magnavilles. The third penny, however, had nothing to do with land. It was a grant by patent from the Crown, and not entered upon by seizin. It was the official fee of the English earls before the Conquest. The date of the creation of the earldom of

Hertford is uncertain, but the reservation of the third penny in the fee-farm rents paid by the sheriff of the county shows it to have been either late in the reign of Henry I, or very early in that of Stephen. As to the limitation, the patent for the earldom is not extant, but possibly it would be held now that, like that of Oxford, it was confined to the heirs male of the body, because, on the death of Gilbert de Clare in 1314, his sisters did not take it. Gloucester, however—almost a contemporary title—descended, as has been seen, on three occasions to heirs female, and by the courtesy of England, was assumed by their husbands, Earls Almaric, De Magnaville, and De Clare. King John, who assumed the title with the junior co-heiress, is said to have been created Earl of Gloucester, but that this was unnecessary is clear, for D'Evreux and De Clare, whose mothers were the other sisters, successively bore, and the latter transmitted, the title. Nevertheless, on the death of Gilbert de Clare, Gloucester, like Hertford, was held to be extinct. The Despensers, husband and son of the elder co-heir, did not claim it, and Audley, the husband of the next co-heir, obtained it only by a new creation, as did a more remote Despenser. It seems, therefore, that the practice had changed, and that earldoms which had formerly passed with heirs female did so no longer. It must be remembered, with respect to the earldom of Hertford, that there had been no early opportunity of proving its limitation, as the male line had never failed.

Earl Richard seems to have paid much attention to his South Wales possessions, and he, like his grandsire, met with his death from the natives, it is said from Morgan ap Owen, in the disturbances that broke out after the death of Henry I, in 1135. His death is supposed to have occurred in 1139; so that his enjoyment of the title of Hertford must have been brief. He was buried at St. Neot's. He married Christiana, sister of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, whose name, unknown to Dugdale, occurs in her husband's charter to Bury

Abbey. They had—1, Gilbert ; 2, Roger, successively Earls ; 3, Walter ; 4, Alice, who married Cadwaladr, second son of Griffith ap Conan, Prince of North Wales, one of those ill-assorted matches by which the marcher lords sought to consolidate their incohesive power. It must be this Alice of whom Fitz-Stephen says, writing of Earl Roger, “Qui et pulcherrimam totius regni sororem habebat, quam rex aliquando concupierat.”

Earl Richard, in 1134, removed the monks of Bec from his castle of Clare to the adjacent hill of Stoke. It appears from an *Inspeximus* (*Pat.*, 1 *Hen. IV*, *P.S.* m. 25) of the confirmation charter of Henry II, that Earl Richard, son of Earl Gilbert, gave for his services, to Walter Bloet, the vill of Raglan and its appurtenances, to him and his heirs, to be held by the service of one knight's fee.

GILBERT, 4th Earl of Clare and 2nd of Hertford. In 1146 he was a hostage at Stephen's court for his uncle, the Earl of Chester, to whom, however, he fled. He died childless, in 1152, nearly two years before Stephen, and was succeeded by his brother,

ROGER, 5th Earl of Clare and 3rd of Hertford. The title of Clare seems gradually to have been dropped, as the family name came into use, and, finally, the Earls are invariably described as of Hertford, and, after the acquisition of the Gloucester lands, as of Gloucester and Hertford, the former title dating from Henry I, the latter from Stephen.

He witnessed a Bury charter, printed in the *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* (i, 589), and there dated 1154, no doubt in error for 1134. Earl Roger married Maud, daughter and heiress of James de Hilary, and by her had Richard, his successor, and Isabel, who married William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, and thus strengthened the tie of blood between two powerful families, whose territorial interests were already also closely connected. Earl Roger seems to have had a son, James, who suffered from some congenital disease, expected to be fatal. The Earl offered 40 marcs to whoever should cure him, but

would not allow an operation. When he was two years old, his mother took him to Becket's shrine, and implored the aid of the martyr; who cured him in three days. This was succeeded by another complaint, of which he was supposed to die, and was laid out. His mother, however, undeterred by the rebukes of the Countess of Warwick, again implored the aid of the martyr, and again with success. (*Bened. Mirac.*, St. Thomæ, p. 255.) Earl Roger married a second wife, whose name is not recorded. He died 1173.

In Earl Roger's time, Becket claimed the Estate and Lewy or Honour of Tunbridge, "pridem a Cantuariensi alienatum ecclesia"; a claim which gave great offence to both king and baronage, and which was resisted, as regarded the castle, by the Earl. The holding of the Lewy seems to have been admitted, but did not satisfy the Archbishop, who, indeed, also claimed Rochester Castle. The question was not finally settled till 1264, when a survey of the Lewy was executed, and the terms of the homage agreed to between Archbishop Boniface and Earl Richard. The Earls held as butlers and sewers, and as stewards, and in the one capacity had the manors of Bradstreet, Vielston, Horsmandene, Melton, and Petter, and in the other, Tunbridge and Handlo. The fees of office allowed by the Archbishops were splendid. The homage seems to have been regularly paid, and often in person, at the enthronization of each Archbishop, and as such is specially noted at those of Archbishops Kilwardby, Peckham and Winchester. It was carried on by the De Clare heiresses, and Hugh d'Audley paid homage to Archbishop Stratford, in 1333, and the Earl of Stafford to Sudbury, in 1375. The last act of homage seems to have been paid to Archbishop Warham, when he entertained Henry VIII and Charles V, at Canterbury, in 1520. On that occasion Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, one of the De Clare heirs, discharged the duties of sewer in person.

RICHARD de Clare, 6th Earl of Clare and 4th of Hertford, witnessed, as Richard Fitz-Gislebert—used

apparently, as a family name,—Henry II's confirmation of the Earldom of Oxford to Aubrey de Vere. He also, as Richard Earl of Clare, witnessed letters by Richard I 20th March 1190, and 17th April 1194, and another document, 7th June 1199. 1st John he married Amice, daughter and co-heir of William, Earl of Gloucester, whose inheritance neither he nor his wife lived to possess. To her, as to her sister Mabel, Henry II gave £100 wedding portion. The marriage took place before the 1st of John, in which year she pleaded that by a precept of the Pope she had been separated from her husband Richard, Earl of Clare, on the ground of consanguinity, and she claimed Sudbury, which had been hers at her marriage (*Abb. Plac.*, p. 25). In the 4th of John she repeated the claim, and 7th and 8th of John claimed the advowson of St. Gregories, Sudbury, which the Prioress of Eton said had been granted to Eton by Earl William, Amice's father (*Ib.*, pp. 51, 92). 15th John, Amice, Countess of Clare, again claimed Sudbury, where she founded a hospital. No doubt the marriage difficulty had been got over by a dispensation from Rome. Earl Richard's seal is extant, and bears the three chevrons, afterwards so widely known in South Wales, and adopted by the Lords of Avan, the Earl's principal Welsh Barons. In his time King Richard divided the Giffard heritage, giving to Earl Richard the caput and estates in England, and to William Mareschal those in Normandy. It is to be remarked that neither heir made any claim to the earldom of Buckingham.

Earl Richard seems to have died in 1217, when, 28th November, Walter Fitz-Henry was to have seizin of his lands in Kent, “salvo rationabili testamento ejusdem Comitis” . . . “teste ipso Comite”; probably the young Earl. Similar instructions were sent into other counties. The Earl was buried at Clare. Countess Amice seems to have died before 1226, the date of the death of her nephew Aymaric d'Evreux. Their children were :—1, Gilbert ; 2, Richard, killed in London,

24th May 1221, and who probably is the Roger de Clare, Earl Gilbert's brother, who was allowed £12 on the 11th February 1226, for his expenses in the King's service with the Earl of Cornwall in Poitou; 3, Rose, married Roger de Mowbray. The Chronicles state that the daughter of the Earl of Clare in 1217 married Rhys Bahan (Vachan). She may have been a natural daughter.

GILBERT de Clare, 5th Earl of Gloucester and 5th of Hertford, is stated in the Annals of Margam to have taken up the earldom, and to have confirmed the abbey charters in 1227, a statement corroborated by Gilbert's witnessing, as Earl of Gloucester, in 1128, the declaration that the signature of Henry III to public documents should not be valid until he came of age. Also, 25th January 1218, Hugh de Vivonne was ordered to give up the forest of Keynsham to the Earl of Gloucester, and, probably in consideration for his "regni novitas", the Barons of the Exchequer were "ponere in respectu" the Earl's scutage then due, until after Easter.

With his paternal possessions and those of his mother Amice, Earl Gilbert inherited those of his grandmother Maud de St. Hilary, and a moiety of the Honour of Giffard. The inheritance, as shown by his scutages, 7th Henry, extended into nineteen counties. As early as 12th John he fortified Builth Castle, and took an active part against the King. He was one of the twenty-five barons excommunicated by Pope Innocent in 1215, but at this time he was a party to the negotiations for peace, and 9th November had a safe conduct from the King, which was repeated 27th March 1216, after the fall of Colchester. He sided with the barons at Lincoln 20th May 1217, and was taken prisoner by his kinsman the Earl Mareschal, who afterwards married him to his daughter and eventual co-heir Isabel, a lady whose personal attractions probably made the young captive a willing suitor. The Annals of Tewkesbury give 1214 as the date of the

marriage, but this is almost certainly an error. In 1216 (?) he was assessed for a relief at £100 for each of his Honours of Gloucester and Clare, and at £50 for his half Honour probably of Giffard, the reliefs being levied on each Honour as on a Barony, without reference to its actual value, since Clare contained 140 fees and Gloucester over 327. He was also assessed upon his lordship of Glamorgan, which then contained  $27\frac{1}{4}$  fees, of which William de Kardiff held one; John le Sor, 14; Thomas de la Mare, 10; and Thomas Blund half a fee. Probably, however, some of these holdings were in England, for most of the Glamorgan barons held also of the Honour of Gloucester.

In 1218, died Clement, Abbot of Neath, to whom succeeded Gervais; and 12th November, died Henry, Bishop of Llandaff, who was succeeded, October 1219, by William, Prior of Goldcliff. The Earl much desired to recover the family possession of Bristol Castle, and Hugh de Vivonne was directed to restore to him the berton of Bristol, the wood of Furcas, and the chase of Keynsham. This however, though the King's officer, he refused to do until he was provided with the means of maintaining the castle, for which the council had promised him £100 in rent and 100 marcs in silver, nothing of which he had as yet received. The order was repeated over and over again, "multitoties", in the course of 1219-20, but without effect. The Earls of Gloucester never recovered Bristol Castle.

25th November 1218. Earl William de Magnaville and Earl Gilbert were allowed to settle, by a concord, a question relating to lands which they held together in wardship, and which evidently arose out of the affairs of Magnaville's brother Geoffrey. 6th Henry III, 1221-2, Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, is ordered not to go to Wales to take the castle of Dinas Powis, as the King had sent Robert de Vallibus to receive and deliver it to the Earl. This was on the death of Somery, Baron of Dudley, who was Lord of Dinas Powis, and was evidently an attempt by the King to

obtain "primer seisin" in Glamorgan. In the next year, 14th March 1223, the Earl Mareschal's bailiffs had a safe conduct from Henry de Chetham to go to Dinas Powis. The Earl paid scutage about this time for a Welsh expedition, and in 1224 the Welsh invaded Glamorgan, killing certain farm servants and a shepherd's boy. Morgan ap Owen burned a house, belonging to Neath Abbey, with above 400 sheep, and killed several farm servants, and dangerously wounded a monk and some lay brethren. In 1223-4, 8th Henry III, the Earl had a safe conduct to attend the King. 15th July 1224, he was to have four dolia of the King's best wine, at cost price; an order repeated the same day, in the Close Rolls; and 23rd September, he was to have five dolia more from the wine retained at Bristol.

1st January 1225, the Earl is to have from the Sheriff of Gloucester £20, as his ancestors had, "nomine comitatus", evidently a part of the third penny, as the Sheriff of Herts received a similar precept.

13th February, he is to have from the Constable of Kenilworth one hundred "bresnas" [wether sheep?] for his vivaries at Tewkesbury, "et de Shepton instaurand". A messenger despatched to him by the King, cost 12*d.* 28th August, the Bailiffs of Caermarthen are to allow the Earl to hold the lands, late of Thomas de Londres, of which he has the wardship, with his daughter. This was probably as chief Lord of Ogmore. Eva de Tracy had her dower out of the De Londres lands, in Wilts. Wardships and their sale were a great source of the royal power and income, and Earl Gilbert, 3rd October, has that of the heirs of Walter de Tailly, with the maritagium; and Waleran Teutonicus, and Sybil his wife, are to give up the daughter.

In 1226 the Welsh burned St. Nicholas, Newcastle, and Laleston, and killed certain men. 29th October, the Earl paid 2,000 marcs for licence to marry his daughter Amice, then six years old, to Baldwin de



Redvers, and £200 in land was allowed out of the estates of William, Earl of Devon, Baldwin's grandfather, presumably for her sustenance, until she came of age. In this year, 2nd November, the Earl's daughter Isabel was born. A joint messenger, sent by the King to the Earl and the Earl of Chester, cost 15*d.* In this year the Earl joined the Earl of Cornwall against the King.

In 1227, 16th February, William, Earl of Devon, was dead, and the Earl had licence to hold his lands. In this year the Welsh burned the Margam grange of Pennuth, with many animals, and killed many men; also the grange of Rossaulin, with many sheep, and drove away eleven cows, and killed a farm servant. Also they cleared the grange of Theodore of animals, and burned several horses and great flocks of sheep, the property of Margam. 4th May, Richard, the Earl's brother, was killed in London. His violent death led to reprisals upon several of the King's servants. On the 18th, the Earl's son, William, was born. Kenfig was burned by lightning, and a horse killed. In this year also the Earl captured Morgan Gam of Avan, and sent him, fettered by the feet, into England for security. This was mild treatment compared with what Morgan ap Cadwaladr met with, in the same year, from his nephew, Howel ap Meredith, who put out his eyes, and otherwise mutilated him. Notwithstanding the line taken by the Earl, he seems to have kept on some sort of terms with the Court, for, 4th September, he is one of the Lords accredited to the princes of the Empire, at Antwerp. Howel ap Meredith, in 1229, burned St. Nicholas and St. Hilary. In that year Morgan Gam was set free, giving hostages for his conduct, which, however, did not prevent him from burning Neath in 1231. In this year the Earl is said to have discovered mines of silver, lead, and iron, in Wales. The two former have never proved profitable; the latter were well known to, and, to some extent, worked by, the Romans. 15th Henry III, the Abbot of Margam paid 100*s.* for having his charter confirmed.

In 1230 Henry made a disastrous expedition into Brittany, and of the magnates who attended him, many, says Wikes, died before his return, and some after it. Among the latter was Earl Gilbert, who died at Penros in Brittany, 25th October 1230. His funeral was conducted with great state. The corpse was landed at Plymouth and brought across Devon and Somerset to Cranbourn, and thence to Tewkesbury, large doles being given to the poor on the road as it passed, and silken cloths, "panni cerici", to the religious houses. The procession reached Tewkesbury on the Saturday before St. Martin's Day, and on Sunday the corpse was laid, temporarily, in its sepulchre before the high altar. The final burial was witnessed by the Abbots of Tewkesbury, Tintern, Flaxley, Keynsham, and Tureford (?) and an immense assemblage of persons of both sexes, lay and clerical. The Earl seems to have left two wills, one dated Suwick-super-Mare, 30th April, and the other in Brittany, 23rd October; both in the year of his death. To Tewkesbury he bequeathed a silver-gilt cross; and, during the minority of his son, the wood of Muth, by Severn side, which was confirmed by Henry III in 1232, and reverted to the earldom in 1243. The monks laid a stone over his grave.

In the *Monasticon* (*N. M.*, vi, 453) is a confirmation by Earl Gilbert to Keynsham of a burgage in Cardiff, "which was Goye's", and another which had belonged to John Fitz-Baldwin, and of the whole park, fishing, and fishery of Rumeya (Rhymny), and both the vivaries of Raz (Roath), with the mill and great vivary under Kibwr, and all the land of Raz, and all the forest of Kibwr, to be held as under Earl William, the grantor's grandsire.

The children of Gilbert and Isabel were:—1, Richard; 2, William, born 18th May 1228, knighted in London at Christmas, 1250; 3, Gilbert, born 12th September 1229, a Clerk in Orders; 4, Amice, married Baldwin de Redvers; 5, Agnes; 6, Isabel, born 2nd

November 1226, married, May 1240, Robert de Bruce of Annandale, who died 1295.

Countess Isabel married, secondly, 30th March 1231, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, much against the will of the King, his brother. She was, says Wikes, a woman of marvellous beauty. She was known as Isabel, Countess of Gloucester and Hertford, Cornwall and Poitou, and she died in childbirth at Berkhamstead, 17th January 1239 or 1240, and her mortal spoils were divided between three communities; her bowels went to Misenenden; her heart, in a gilded urn, to Tewkesbury;

“Pars melior toto fuit.....pro corpore missa”

was the Tewkesbury view of the partition. The body went to Beaulieu. She founded a chantry for Earl Gilbert and herself at Market Street, and Earl Richard founded one for her at Wallingford. Her will disposed of a curious collection of relics. Her epitaph at Tewkesbury, where she herself had always wished to be buried, was as follows:—

Postrema voto legavit cor Comitissa :  
 Pars melior toto fuit huc pro corpore missa.  
 Hæc se divisit, Dominum recolendo Priorem  
 Huc cor quod misit, verum testatur amorem—  
 Hiis simul Ecclesiæ sanctæ suffragia prosint,  
 Ut simul in requie cœlesti cum Domino sint.

The ancestors of Earl Gilbert had, for eight generations, been very considerable persons, both in Normandy and England; and their next of kin, of the line of Strongbow, now represented through a female by the Earls Mareschal, were scarcely their inferiors in power. Their other cousins, who continued in the male line as Barons Fitz-Walter, also held large estates, and had at that time reached the climax of their power in the person of Robert Fitz-Walter, styled by King John's barons “Marshal of the army of God and the holy Church.” The De Clares were also allied by marriage to the Earls of Chester and other leading nobles. Besides all these

sources of power, Earl Gilbert had received a great accession in the large inheritance derived from his mother, making him, by the bend sinister, which was then scarcely regarded as a discredit, of near kin to the sovereign, and endowing him not only with the valuable Honour of Gloucester, but with the Lordship of Glamorgan; the privileges of which were of a regal character, and the position of which, securing to him an almost impregnable retreat, gave him great weight in the perpetual struggles between the Baronage and the Crown. From this time the house of Clare became the acknowledged head of the Baronage. Great personal qualities, such as those possessed by the elder William Mareschal or by Simon de Montfort, brought them at times to the front; but for steady hereditary influence, supported, on the whole, by moderation of conduct, and always by great personal valour in the field, no family at all approached to that of the Earls of Gloucester and Hertford.

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THE  
EARLS OF GLOUCESTER AND HERTFORD.

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RICHARD de Clare, 6th Earl of Gloucester and 6th of Hertford, was born 4th August 1222, and was therefore a little over eight years old at his father's death, 25th October 1230. His wardship was granted to Hubert de Burgh, then Justiciary, who had married the young Earl's great-aunt, then, however, some years deceased. In addition to the wardship, De Burgh, 26th November 1230, had a grant of the homage and service of John de Braose for his Honour of Gower, described as held of the Honour of Caermarthen and Cardigan; which tenure however was never admitted by the Lords of Gower (*P. Roll*, 15th Henry III, m. 7). William de Goldcliff, Bishop of Llandaff, died before the Earl, 12th January 1229, when the custody of the bishopric was given to Maurice, archdeacon, and Ivor, a canon of Llandaff, and 23rd February, seisin of the lands was given to the Earl, the Earl Mareschal, and John de Braose, under whom the bishops held manors in different parts of the diocese. Elias, Treasurer of Hereford, was confirmed, 30th August 1230, in the vacant See.

At Michaelmas, Abbot Peter of Tewkesbury took seisin of their moiety of the Church of Llandir, probably Llantwit-major, which William, parson there, formerly held. After much dispute between the Abbot and the Welsh parishioners, some of whom wished that William's brother should succeed, the Abbot gave way, but took a charge of eleven marcs yearly, the Abbey retaining a chapel attached to the church, to indicate possession. It was provided that if the farm

rent was not paid to the day, the tenant should lose his tenement for ever.

In 1231, 2nd June, Ralph Mailoc, a local celebrity in Glamorgan, died. A little after this, in 1266, the Abbot of Neath acknowledges from Sir William Mayloc, the land of Bluntesmore in the fee of Ogmore, to be let in farm to Sir William on the same terms that he held it from Peter Blundus. Thomas, Dean of Hereford, Peter, Abbot of Tewkesbury, Maurice, Archdeacon of Llandaff, Master B., Rector of Thornbury, and others, met at Striguil to arrange respecting the Church of Llanblethian which Mailoc had held of Tewkesbury, and which by the Court of Rome and the confirmation of the Bishop had been granted to be held impropriate. It had been given away by the Bishop, although shortly before he had already granted it to a chaplain, who, however, renounced, and accepted a vicarage from the Abbot.

About Michaelmas, the monks sent Brother Eustace to receive seizin of Llanblethian Church, which Mailoc had held. He found the church locked and the key carried off to the mountains; so he took seizin in the porch, and protested against this invasion of the privileges of the Abbey. The Welsh replied to this by taking him prisoner on the highway, and keeping him three days in the mountains. In rejoinder, the Bishop excommunicated the wrong-doers generally, and laid the matter before Hubert de Burgh, the custos. The Abbot, also, in presence of his monks, excommunicated a certain J. Grant, probably of Sigginston, who had laid hands on Eustace. No doubt the resistance to the Abbot's claim was encouraged by the concurrent invasion by Llewelyn, who attacked Brecknock, descended upon Caerleon, and thence retired across the hills to Neath, where he laid siege to the castle, which was surrendered about 29th June. Aided by Morgan Gam, of Avan, he burned the town, levelled the castle, and extorted 60 marcs from Margam. All this seems to have been provoked by the violation of an existing

truce ; for 20th February 1232, the King writes to assure Llewelyn that he has, by his brother Earl Richard, ordered that the infraction of the truce by Richard Siward be made good.

De Burgh fell in July 1232, and was displaced as *custos* 15th August ; and 10th September Peter de Rivaux has a patent of custody of the castles of Cardiff and Newport, and of those generally of Glamorgan, Cardigan, and Caermarthen. 17th October Henry de Turberville is *custos* of the lordship of Glamorgan, and 19th December Ra. de Hurle is to receive the issues of the lands, etc., of Glamorgan and Wentlloog, and the custody of Cardiff, Newport, and Newcastle. Peter remained in power till 1235, giving great dissatisfaction. Just before De Burgh retired, 13th April 1232, the King allowed the young Earl's claim "*de collatione baculi*," as to Tewkesbury ; and De Burgh, in consequence, gave the monks leave to elect an Abbot, who was confirmed by the King. This was the Abbot who leased the "Gurges" or pool of Cardiff for five years to Henry the Chaplain. Fishing seems then as now to have been a sport allowed to the clergy. The same claim was allowed for Keynsham. It seems to have been usual to allow to the representatives of the founder the privilege of collating to an abbey, but a license for its exercise was necessary. Thus, 16th April 1200, John granted to Wm. Earl Mareschal the privilege of bestowing the pastoral staff of Nutley, in Bucks, an abbey founded by Walter Giffard, but within the Earl's fee.

In 1232 Llewelyn again invaded Glamorgan, and attacked Kenfig. The cattle had been removed, and to clear the way for the defence, the people burned a part of the town within, that is to say close to, the gates. The Welsh, on their part, led by Morgan Gam, burned what was outside the walls, and attacked the castle keep, then only defended by a hedge and a ditch. They were then driven off, and fled to the hills. It was observed that on this occasion, they spared the lands of the Church.

Events were now ripe for the breaking out of the war between the King and the Earl of Pembroke. Earl Richard Mareschal, a scholar and a soldier, a moderate and an honest man, "murus inter dominum regem et magnates", had just succeeded his brother William; and, forbearing as he was, found himself driven to oppose in arms the King's violence and imprudence. The dissatisfaction was very general, and broke out in Monmouth and Glamorgan in a civil war, which, continued by De Montford and the Earl of Gloucester, led to the battles of Lewes and Evesham, and the siege and ban of Kenilworth. The services of De Burgh were forgotten, and Henry was inflamed with jealousy against that great statesman, who, always loyal to the Crown, and succeeding Pandulph as minister, had composed the Irish war, quelled the discontent in Gascony, kept Llewelyn and the Welsh within moderate bounds, razed Bedford Castle, exiled De Breauté, and procured the Bull declaring Henry of full age, upon which the royal castles had been surrendered to him by the Lords who had held them during the minority. De Burgh was ill exchanged for Peter des Roches, an ecclesiastic of violent and dangerous counsels, a foreigner, and intensely unpopular. In 1232 the Abbot of Tewkesbury had a royal writ to receive his accustomed payment from the Honour of Cardiff; and another writ, 24th May 1233, for Peter de Rivaux, was addressed to Ranulph de Hurle, bailiff of Glamorgan. Both, therefore, were still in office.

Among the disaffected in Glamorgan were Philip Basset, whom the King had deprived of a manor given him by King John; and Richard Siward, a bold and distinguished soldier, and one of the Earl of Gloucester's most turbulent barons. Siward, who owned the castle of Talavan, had married Basset's sister, Philippa, widow of the Earl of Warwick, according to some accounts without the King's license. The Earl, Henry de Newburgh, also Lord of Gower, had died in 1229, and Philippa then paid 100 marcs not to be distrained



to marry, and if she did marry, to have leave to marry any faithful subject. She did marry, before 1st March 1231, Richard Siward, and that this was not then disapproved by the King appears from a writ to the Sheriff respecting certain payments due at the Exchequer. Siward's real offence seems to have been his attachment to the Earl Mareschal, and his opposition to Bishop des Roches.

Henry summoned the Barons to a meeting at Oxford 24th June 1233, which the Earl Mareschal and his friends decided to decline to obey, as they did a further summons for the 11th July. They further informed the King that unless he dismissed his foreign advisers they would renounce their allegiance. Henry had laid hands on and had destroyed the castles of some of the Earl Mareschal's followers and had given their lands to his alien relations. On the 1st July, the barons met the King in London, but as the Earl Mareschal, warned by his sister, feared treachery, he turned back at Woodstock and rode to Wales. Nothing was decided at the meeting. Henry then summoned his military tenants to Gloucester for the 15th August. As Earl Richard was again absent, he and his adherents were proscribed as traitors, the Earl's lands were seized and laid waste, especially, 2nd November, his house and gardens in Worcestershire, and a day was named for his trial. Henry, evidently looked for support among the mixed English and Welsh in the rear of the Earl Mareschal's head-quarters, for 6th August is issued a writ to the bailiffs of Bristol stating that, "Although the King has directed them not to let any victuals be taken from their town, yet they are to allow the men of Cardiff, Swansea, and Carmarthen to do so, they giving security not to take them elsewhere." The King's proscription caused the Earl Mareschal to close an alliance with Llewellyn, offensive and defensive, each party swearing not to make peace without the consent of the other. The Earl of Cornwall took part with the insurgents. Henry having received an acces-

sion of force at Gloucester, crossed the Severn, and marched on Hereford. His object seems to have been to attack from the west the Earl Mareschal's chief castle of Chepstow, and his plan to descend the valley of the Usk, taking advantage of the support of John of Monmouth, to whom belonged that town and castle, and of Morgan of Caerleon, who held the lowlands of Gwent, and thus to interpose between the Earl, who lay westwards near Cardiff, and his sister Margaret de Braose and Walter de Clifford, who held Abergavenny and Builth, and the country and strong places of Irchenfield, west of Hereford. In executing this plan he descended the right bank of the Usk, and at Usk laid siege to the castle, which was found to be so strong that the King offered terms. What actually took place is doubtful; the general, though not very probable, account is that the King asked for the surrender of the castle to save the royal credit, and pledged himself to restore it uninjured in fifteen days; to which the Earl agreed, and gave up the place, which, however, the King retained, breaking faith. Henry entered Usk about the 1st September, and this success, however obtained, was the first important feature in the campaign. In the castle he placed Henry de Turberville, an eminent captain, who had been seneschal of Gascony, and who was ordered to give up the stores therein contained, an order certainly given, and which seems scarcely consistent with this alleged breach of faith. Moreover, the surrender of Usk was followed, 8th September, by the establishment of a truce, settled at Abergavenny, the terms of which were, however, construed very differently by the King and by the Earl. 12th September, Henry was at Hereford, whence he directed the Vicecomes of Cardiff to restore all the booty taken on the Earl Mareschal's lands, and called on the Earl and Morgan of Caerleon to do the same, a summons which does not seem to have been obeyed. The King retired to England, promising concessions, and summoned a meeting for the 2nd October. Here

Earl Richard's friends demanded his trial by his peers, a right denied by Bishop Peter, who thus placed himself in opposition to the whole baronage.

Meantime, the Earl was under arms, and by the aid of Philip Basset and Siward, De Burgh was rescued, it would seem against his will, from the Devizes, and brought in safety by way of Aust to Chepstow. The *Oseney Chronicle* says Siward put arms into his hands and brought him away "nobili vehiculo". Wykes gives a more circumstantial detail, and says he escaped from the castle by night, being let down from the window-grate by napkins and towels, when he took sanctuary in a church on the outer edge of the castle ditch, whence he was rescued by Siward and Bassett. 20th September, the King wrote to Richard Mareschal no longer to harbour Siward and his fellows, but Siward was far too useful to be disavowed.

Henry bid high for the support of the young Earl of Gloucester's tenants, writing from Ledbury, 2nd December, to Reymund de Sully, a principal Glamorgan Lord, as the Close Roll, 15th December 1233, states: "Rex significat Rey : de Sully quod bene placet regi quod ipse et alii probi homines de partibus suis veniat ad fidem et servitium regis dum tunc securitatem faciat de bono et fideli servitio, etc."

2nd December, Henry laid hands on Siward's lands at Chedworth and Brailes. Also, 3rd November, the lands at South Moulton and Marshfield, of Gilbert de Turberville of Coyty, had been seized, and given to Herbert Fitz-Matthew; those of Roger Berkerolles in Somerset were given to Ralph de Hurle, who died before 22nd Henry III, and was succeeded as Bailiff of Glamorgan by Toran de Hurle. The lands of John le Sor at Alwington went, 7th November, to William Bloet; of William de Somery in Somerset to William de Boils; those of Simon and Richard de Pincerna in Devon to Simon de Sleland; those of Gilbert de Umfreville at Court-Labeford to Roger la Suche; those of David Basset in Wernford to Philip Choatte. Those of Wil-

liam de Barry in Devon, of Thomas de Sanford in Berks, of John de St. John, William and John de Regny, Peter le Butiler, Thomas de Hawey, and William le Fleming, were also taken; and even Reymund de Sully did not escape, his lands at Alsiston being given to de Boils. All this shows the close connection in property between the holders of fees in Glamorgan, and of those in the counties of Somerset and Devon.

Cardiff Castle seems to have been held for the King, as Warene Basset, one of the Earl's partisans, was killed in an assault upon it, 15th October 1233, and was buried at Llandaff, 21st October. The Earl was then at Cardiff, having burned Monmouth. 17th November, he defeated the King at Grosmont, where Hugh de Sanford was killed, and forced the barons and knights of Glamorgan, and the burgesses of Cardiff, to give hostages for their good behaviour. Henry again offered terms, which the Earl, then at Margam, refused, and his adherents kept up a harrassing war from Newport and Cardiff against the shipping of Bristol. Towards Christmas, Siward harried the lands of the Earl of Cornwall, an offence never forgiven. Nevertheless, 7th January 1234, the Countess of Warwick was allowed to go to the Marches of Wales, to her husband, R. Siward.

The Earl Mareschal's position, west of Chepstow, was not without its dangers. The actual Lord of Glamorgan was a minor, and in the King's hands, and the war was by no means popular with the people, who had everything to lose, and nothing to gain by it. The knights and barons who, with their tenants, formed the military strength of the lordship could not afford to give a steady support to the Earl, as almost all held fees of considerable value in Devon, Somerset, or Gloucester, all in the King's power. That many of them were disposed to listen to the King is made probable by his letter above quoted, and all the English settlers in Wales must have been alarmed at the Earl Mareschal's intimacy with the Welsh; and, indeed, it appears from

one of Henry's letters to Llewelyn, 22nd August 1234, that there was a report that the Earl had gone so far as to grant to Morgan Gam and other Welshmen lands which belonged to the Earl of Gloucester.

Towards the end of 1233, Bishop Peter seems to have created a diversion in Ireland, where the Earl Mareschal had a great interest, acquired by his ancestor Strongbow, and whither he went, in consequence, leaving the conduct of the Welsh war to De Burgh, Siward, and Philip Basset. In Ireland the Earl was mortally wounded, and died a prisoner at Kildare, 15th April 1234. Meantime, and probably before the news reached England, the Earl's partisans were active. Siward scoured Berkshire, and under cover of Windsor Forest made the country unsafe, and threatened the Exchequer messengers who carried money, 29th April. A little later, 2nd May, the King informs the Sheriff of Gloucester that in the way from Wallingford to Reading, Siward had seized the baggage of Stephen de Segrave, De Burgh's enemy and successor. The Sheriffs, however, were foiled, and Siward reached Wales in safety. Thos. Siward, his nephew, was taken at Hereford, as was St. Philibert, another nephew, 10th May.

The Earl Mareschal's death left the party without a leader, and the war ceased, although the position of the insurgents enabled them to secure excellent terms, which included Llewelyn, De Burgh, Siward, and their followers. Bishop des Roches was dismissed from power. 17th May 1234, the men of Glamorgan were referred to Henry de Turberville for the terms on which they might be admitted to the King's peace; and 26th May, the King, by documents entered on the Close Rolls formally laid aside his indignation against Gilbert Mareschal, Hubert de Burgh, Richard Siward, Gilbert and Philip Basset, William Crass, H. de Barry, William of Christchurch, and Richard de St. John, and by an entry on the Patent Roll, 25th May, they were pardoned. Thos. Siward was released, and on the 18th May and 3rd June, Richard Siward was actually placed

in charge of Glamorgan, to which, 17th July, Swansea was added; and that this carried the lordship of Gower with it, appears from a precept on the Close Roll informing Siward that because the King understands that the "maritagium" of Agnes, daughter and heir of William Mara, pertains to Margaret de Braose as part of her dower, the £100 fine which Robert de Penris made for her with Peter de Rivaux is to be paid over to Margaret. Rivaux had evidently usurped the "maritagium" from Margaret, and Siward as custos is to redress the wrong.

With the rest, the King extended his favour to the Barons of the Honour of Gloucester, Roger Berkerolles, Roger de Hide, Gilbert de Turberville, Richard Pincerna, William Flandrensis, Wydo Wak, and Hoel son of Archid, the two bailiffs of Swansea, Reymund de Sully, John de St. John, and Gilbert de Umfreville. 17th July, Richard Lelande was ordered to inspect the lands held by H. de Burgh as guardian of the Earl of Clare, and to report how they had been held by Peter de Rivaux and Richard Passelewe. This seems to have been preparatory to the handing them over to a new guardian. Siward's appointment was in fact temporary, and 23rd January 1235, he had a safe conduct to surrender the lordship to Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, who was admitted 28th February, and having been allowed the title and estates of his late brother, Richard Mareschal, was, 11th June, girded with the sword of the earldom. For the wardship of his nephew, and the lordship of Glamorgan, during the remainder of the minority, he fined 500 m<sup>ar</sup>cs. This acquisition placed the whole seaboard from Chepstow to Pembroke and Aberystwith, Gower alone excepted, in the hands of Earl Gilbert. Among those now restored were John de St. Quintin, who was to have his castle of Llanblethian and other lands in Glamorgan, Peter le Botiller, Thomas de Hawey, Thomas de Saundford, John de Reyny, Robert Fitz-Payn, Richard le Butiller, Jordan de Aunteston, Maurice de Cantilupe,

William de Barry, and William de Reyny. Also, as part of the general amnesty, the men of Bristol were to let those of Swansea have the wine that had been seized; and the Abbot of Margam's ship was to be given up to John, the cellarer of that house. Neither were the burgesses of Bristol to vex those of Swansea by requiring of them customs' dues contrary to King John's charter and its confirmations. 9th June 1235, the Abbot of Neath had a license to send ships to England to trade. The amnesty extended to Ireland, and 7th November 1235, Milo de Rochford, taken in the war with Richard Earl Mareschal in Ireland, was to be released.

Soon after, 12th March 1236, Ralph of Newcastle, having scruples of conscience about the source whence he received his church, renounced it before the chapter of Llandaff, and again accepted it as a free gift from the Abbot of Tewkesbury. 22nd April, the same Abbot and convent gave to Elias, Bishop of Llandaff, the church of Lanederne, retaining the tithes of Lambordan for the use of the priors of Cardiff, to whose sustenance they belonged. About the same time the Bishop and chapter confirmed to the same Abbot all the ecclesiastical benefices he held in the diocese. 4th July, Richard Siward seems again to have given offence, for he was taken at Gloucester, though soon afterwards set free.

According to Matthew Paris, one of Henry's grievances against De Burgh was that he had married his daughter Margaret to Earl Richard, the King's ward, and a minor, without the leave of the King, who seems to have intended to marry him to his own niece, a Provençal. Hubert denied this, and said he had no knowledge of the matter. A curious account of the whole affair is recorded in the Close Roll of the 22nd Henry III, and extracted by Sir Duffus Hardy, whence it appears that, the day after Michaelmas 1238, the King had Hubert before him at Eccles, and called on him to resign all claim to the marriage of Richard de Clare,

that being one of the conditions of his pardon. Hubert took time to answer, and, finally, met the King at Kennington, where he stated that after the reconciliation at Gloucester, Henry led him to the altar and asked him to swear never again to mention the subject of the marriage, which he did, and took no further steps in the matter. On this, however, some of his friends said things had gone so far that the parties ought to be affianced, and the Countess said her daughter was committed, and that a marriage had actually taken place at St. Edmund's, while De Burgh was besieged at Merton. The matter was never quite cleared up, but Hubert does not appear to have been to blame, whatever may have been the case with his countess. He nevertheless had to make his peace by promising a sum of money to the King.

Margaret seems to have died soon afterwards, in November 1237. The matter is obscure, and De Burgh's statement is supported by the fact that the King sold the Earl's "maritagium", 26th October 1237, to John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, for 3000 marks, and the remission of a debt of 2000 more, but this was subject to a power of cancelling the agreement, if by transferring the "maritagium" there should be any chance of bringing the Comte de la Marche to the King's party. This was not acted upon. The bride was the Earl of Lincoln's eldest daughter, Maud de Lacy, and the marriage took place 2nd February 1238, when the Earl was about sixteen years old, and seems, from an entry on the Patent Rolls, to have had opinions of his own, not at that time specially favourable to the royal cause.

26th August 1237, died John de Goldcliff, Abbot of Margam, and was succeeded by John la Ware. 8th March 1238, was a suit between Richard Fitz-Richard and Thomas de Marini, and the Abbot of Neath, for common of pasture in Horblauton. 30th August, Ralph de Somery, the farmer of the chapel of Cogan, died, and Wm. le Fleming of Glamorgan, led by evil counsels, declared himself attorney for the Lord



Richard de Cogan, presented the son of Wm. de Keymin (Reigny) to the chapel, and summoned by writ of last presentation Robert, Abbot of Tewkesbury, before the comitatus at Cardiff. After much dispute, William was adjudged not to be the attorney.

The year opened with the secret marriage, 7th January 1238, of Simon de Montfort with the King's sister Eleanor, the widow of William Earl Mareschal. This, which soon was known, gave great offence, Simon being then considered in England only as an obnoxious foreigner, while Eleanor had taken vows of chastity. Henry's own conduct, and his readmission of foreigners to power, promoted the general disaffection, and the King's brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, and Richard Earl Mareschal, the leaders of the opposition, were expelled from court. In November the Bishop dedicated altars at Llandaff to the Saints James and Nicholas, and endowed these altars with certain spiritual advantages.

On St. Oswald's day, probably 5th August 1240, being a day over his eighteenth birthday, the young Earl was admitted to be of age for certain purposes, and he redeemed his Glamorgan lands and repaid to his guardian the 500 marcs, the price of his wardship. Dugdale, however, places this transaction in the 19th Henry III, 1234-5. In May 1240, the Earl's daughter Isabel was born, and 13th May died Elias Bishop of Llandaff, and Waleran Teutonicus was put in to administer the temporalities of the see. He also collated to two stalls and the archdeaconry. The chapter then elected Maurice, also archdeacon, to the see, but he was set aside by the King. Next they elected William of Christchurch, who held the seat, but without installation, till 1244, when he resigned, no doubt because disapproved by the King. Finally, another *congé d'élire* was issued, and, 30th July 1246, William de Burgh, a king's chaplain, became Bishop. 23rd May, the Earl of Cornwall and Simon de Montfort left England for Palestine. They were escorted to Marseilles by the French king. During their absence Gilbert

Earl Mareschal died from the effects of an accident. Henry notified his death officially, 29th June 1241, to John de Monmouth, whom he orders to take possession of the Earl's castles of Strigoyl, Usk, and Karelion; and should their keepers make resistance the King is to be informed at once. The Earl was succeeded by Walter the third brother. Henry at first refused him livery of the lands, but at last gave way, and on the Sunday before All Saints he was recognized as Earl Mareschal and of Pembroke. The King, however, resumed the custody of the castles of Cardiff (Caermarthen?) and Cardigan, which Hubert de Burgh and Earl Richard had held. The Welsh had been troublesome, but by August 1241 they were quieted, and 28th August 1242, Henry remitted his displeasure against the Abbot of Margam, who had harboured William de Marisco. In this year died Morgan Gam of Avan, and was buried at Margam. In this year also, 26th Henry III, the Sheriff of Norfolk is ordered to assign a dower to Alice, who had been wife of Roger de Clare, out of the lands which he had held of the heir of Earl Gilbert, now in the King's custody; Alice paid 200 marcs to have the custody of Roger's lands in Middleton and the marriage of the heir. (Abb. Rot. Or., 26th Henry III.) In 1241, Fitz-Hamon's body was translated into the choir at Tewkesbury, and placed on the left of the high altar. 7th August 1242, Gilbert de Sully, vicar of K., died, and 4th September the Abbot of Tewkesbury put in Walter Alured.

25th July 1242, a dispute arose between Howel ap Meredith, Rhys ap Griffith, and Gilbert de Turberville, touching an infraction of the truce in Miscin and Senghenydd. Robert, Abbot of Tewkesbury, William de Cardiff, James de Clare, and others the Earl's friends were sent down to make inquiries. They summoned a "comitatus" at Cardiff, 28th July, took hostages from the Welshmen, and lodged them in Cardiff Castle, and so restored quiet. The Abbot took the opportunity to visit Llanblethian to accept the transfer of the church,

in pursuance of the decree of the prior of Winchcombe, Papal subdelegate. This related to the incumbency and farm of the benefice of which Roger Mailoc, probably a nephew of Ralph, had been deprived for arrears of rent. The see being then vacant, the archdeacon, as ordinary, presented Thomas de Pennarth. The Abbot refused to allow this; upon which Thomas resigned, and accepted the benefice at the hands of the Abbot, with the obventions and profits of the church, excepting the tithe sheaves. On this Roger sued the Abbot before the comitatus. Roger had an uncle Rhys, and was otherwise well supported, so the Abbot offered him a pension of five marcs, which at the Earl's request was raised to six, but still was refused as insufficient. The Abbot, as a safeguard, took letters of protection from the Earl, addressed to the vicecomes.

The Earls returned from the Holy Land early in 1242, but the Earl of Gloucester was probably too young to take part in the fierce discussion that then arose in Parliament, as to assisting the King to recover his foreign possessions. No doubt his sympathies were with his stepfather, the Earl of Cornwall, but nothing is heard of him before the 4th August 1243, when he was of full age. A message was sent to Henry, then on the continent, pressing him to give seizin of the estates by letter. This he declined to do, and the Earl actually had seizin at Winchester 29th August, and, finally, 23rd September, the King accepted his homage. (*Plac. Coron.*, 27th Hen. III.) With his other lands he received those which his mother, the Countess of Cornwall, had held in dower. In this transaction the convent of Tewkesbury became his "fidei jussores" in 300 marcs to the Earl of Cornwall, and in return took a bond of indemnity from the young Earl. A little earlier, the 25th of March, the Abbot of Tewkesbury gave to Rely Morgan a yearly pension of two marcs until he should provide him with a better benefice, and Rely gave up his pension from Llandough, into which he had been inducted by Archdeacon Maurice, his uncle.

2nd September 1243, the Earl's eldest son, Gilbert, was born at Christchurch in Hampshire. It was in this year that Hawise de Londres, heiress of the great Lordships of Kidwelly and Ogmore, married Patric de Chaworth, and laid the foundation of a valuable part of the after Duchy of Lancaster. He fell in battle against the Welsh, at Caermarthen, 7th September 1258. Also in this year J——, Vicar of Dinas Powis, won his cause against Tewkesbury, and 15 marcs costs, and obtained the small tithes. Howel ap Meredith was again in rebellion, and Kenfig was again burned.

On the death, in 1240, of Bishop Elias, the custos claimed for the Earl the right, as chief lord, to take possession of such lands as were held of him by the Bishop. Also, on the death of Archdeacon Maurice, 14th December 1242, the Custos claimed to appoint and put in Ralph of Newcastle, some Canons dissenting, some approving. Ralph held office until the King's proctor objected and nominated, and as the Earl had not as yet had seizin of his lands, it was thought better to submit. 29th March 1244, Thomas, the King's Archdeacon, had a protection, and in July a royal licence allowed the Chapter to elect a Bishop. Meantime, Ralph, when Archdeacon, had appointed a Vicar to the chapel of St. John at Cardiff, against which Prior Ralph de Derby had appealed. The transactions connected with the recent appointment to the see of Llandaff led to a dispute between the King and the Earl; and it appears from the *Placita Coronæ*, that the Earl gave up his claim. R. de Clare came before the King and acknowledged that the "Baculum pastorale" and patronage of the bishopric belonged of right to the King, but a day was named for him to show what it was he claimed. What he did claim was the custody of the lands held of him, and the collation to the prebends and the archdeaconry. The new Bishop, probably soon after taking his seat, appeared before the King, and admitted, very untruly, that he held nothing from any other in his bishopric

save from the King. In 1245, Roger de Somery (of Dinas Powis) has a protection in Wales from the King.

On Whit Sunday, 1244 (?), the Earl seems to have been knighted by the King; and in March 1245, upon the aid for marrying the King's eldest daughter, he was assessed at £261 10s. upon 261½ fees, besides 12½ fees in Kent, and £43 for 43 fees, his moiety of the Honour of Giffard. In 1245, the Earl was among those who made a bold attempt before the Council of Lyons to moderate Papal tyranny in England. In this year Henry summoned certain Welsh lords to do homage to him at Westminster, 30th April, and among them the son of Morgan Gam and Howel ap Meredith. The latter had been disseized of his lands by the Earl. 5th February 1245, the Lord Herbert Fitz-Matthew met his death in a certain combe near Avan Castle, crushed by a mass of rock, which broke his neck. A writ of "diem clausit" was issued 7th February, but M. Paris lays the scene in North Wales. Probably it took place in the gorge of the Avan, a mile or so above the castle, which stood on the right bank of the river, close to the church of Aberavan. 1245-6, the bailiffs of Bristol were ordered to seize all the wool purchased by the Ghent merchants from the Abbot of Margam, and to hold it till further orders.

About this time the great House of Mareschal came to an end. Earl Walter died at Goderich Castle, 24th November 1245, and his writ of "diem clausit" was issued 3rd December; and 5th December his brother and successor Anselm, the youngest and the last, also died, and childless. He was buried at Tewkesbury. This death broke up the estate, and left the De Clares without a rival in South Wales. About the same time the Earl proposed to meet Guy de Lusignan, one of the new batch of the King's foreign relations, at a tournament at Dunstable. The King, however, seems to have feared for his half-brother, and forbade the meeting, as he did a later one proposed at Northampton. The Earl granted Petersfield, Mapledurham, and some

other manors to his brother William, and it would seem introduced the Augustine Friars into England. The Welsh also occupied much of his attention. In 1246, he allowed the Tewkesbury Monks a free water-flow, "liberam aqueductam", across his lands. 17th July 1247, Stephen Bawcen, an active soldier connected with Glamorgan, had an allowance of £25 yearly to sustain him in the King's service.

In 1248, more of the King's half-brothers had arrived, and in the midst of the rising discontent the Earl chose to take the part of the foreigners, at a tournament at Brackley, where he aided William de Valence to overthrow William de Odingselles, a Knight of Warwickshire. At Newbury he repeated this conduct, and thereby much offended the Baronage. 21st July, the Earl had a son born, who was named Bevis. In this year he sued the Abbot of Tewkesbury for the advowsons of three churches. The Bishop of Llandaff absolved the Prior of Cardiff from a certain sentence by which he was bound for the Vicarage of Cardiff. The Vicar there had all the money coming into the Chapel of St. John, but had to pay out of it 20s. a year to the Prior for the liquor of a Priest at the Prior's table. At Llantwit, the Vicarage had all the "altalagium", or altar dues, with the great and small tithes, except the tithe sheaf of hay, and the tithes of the Chapel of Lysworney. Also the Lord William de Cardiff impleaded the Abbot of Tewkesbury for the land of Lapull, and, in 1250, quit-claimed all his right therein to the Earl and the Abbot. Richard, Prior of Cardiff, died, and Alan de Cornubia succeeded, who also died soon after, when Philip le Leche became Prior. Philip was probably a member of a family at one time holding land in Glamorgan, which probably gave name to the manor and fortified house of Leche Castle in Wenvoe. He died 15th December 1261. The Abbot seems to have indulged in a cross action, for he impleaded De Cardiff concerning a chantry chapel at Walton-Cardiff and a right of way

across his meadow. In 33rd Henry III, Henry de Umfreville accounted for £45 for 9 fees held of the Honour of Gloucester, and Richard de Kerdiff was quitted for 36s. 8d.

In 1249, the Earl, with the Earl of Cornwall, went beyond sea, and visited the Pope at Lyons and St. Edmund's of Pontigny. Their absence was brief, but included the Easter Parliament. At this time, 33rd Henry III, the Abbot of Margam accounted for five marcs in the Pipe Roll for having an assize, and 12th June 1249, the chapter of Llandaff, under licence, elected John la War, Abbot of Margam, to the see of Llandaff. Nicholas, however, places this election 26th July 1253, in which year he fixes the death of Bishop de Burgh.

In 1250 the Earl officiated as hereditary seneschal and butler at the enthronisation of Boniface of Savoy as Archbishop, according to his tenure of Tonbridge, and in this year also he was invested with the military belt. He, again, had a dispute with Tewkesbury, on this occasion concerning rights of "fossa et furca", pit and gallows, claimed by the Abbot, who was allowed these powers in Wimborne and Cranborne, with a gallows at Cranborne, where he seems very conveniently to have found a subject for his newly admitted justice. This year the Earl visited Compostella, returning 15th July, and bestowed knighthood upon William de Wilton and Peter le Botiler at Harley. In 1250, 29th June, Abbot John resigned Margam, and was succeeded, 22nd September, by Thomas de Perthwaite. In 1251 the Cranborne dispute was revived, the Earl denying the right claimed for the priory as well as the manor of Beveridge. In the claim, power of life and death seem oddly mixed up with common of pasture. It was said that the Abbot had usurped his power during the minority. The Earl asked an aid from his tenants to marry his daughter, but it appeared that no such aid had before been asked for, nor was he prepared to name the bridegroom. It appeared also that he had had a survey

made of his villenages, and had raised the dues. Roger Luvel, the Tewkesbury proctor at Rome, was appointed to act also for the Earl. In 1251-2 the Pipe Roll shows a grant of £40 from the King to Stephen Bawcen. 34th Henry III the King issued a mandate, in the Close Rolls, to the Bailiffs of Kerdiff to permit one whom they had arrested for theft "in the King's Court" to go forth without stopping any of the things stolen.

In 1252, the Earl held his Easter at Tewkesbury, and confirmed to the Chapter of Llandaff half the tithe of the Chapel of Lanternen (Llantarnam) 17th April. The King wished to marry the Earl's son Gilbert, a youth of great promise, to Alice, daughter of Guy Comte d'Angoulême, his half-brother, offering with her a portion of 5,000 marcs. The Earl at first accepted, and gave a bond for 10,000 marcs in case he broke off the match. He then changed his mind, and sent the Abbot of Tewkesbury and the Prior of Stokes to the King. Meantime he and his son went abroad, it being intended that the youth should win distinction in arms. It was about this time that the Earl interfered to save the credit of his brother William, who had lost horse and arms in a joust. The Earl took his place, recovered the spoils, and brought his brother home with honour towards mid-Lent. He seems also to have visited Gascony, where Simon de Montfort's conduct was the subject of an inquiry. It is said to have been during this visit to the continent that the young Gilbert and William de Valence provoked contempt by their effeminacy, and got worsted at a tournament, a great contrast with the Earl's action on behalf of his brother. At Christmas, 1252, a daughter was born to the Earl at Llantrissant, probably within the castle. In this year also he caused Milo, his chamberlain, to be imprisoned at Usk.

In 1253 the Earl, who was very expert in the use of arms, took part in a tournament abroad. About the 11th July he returned to find that Henry, after a



stormy discussion, had confirmed the public charters with unusual solemnity, under promise of an aid. To this aid the Earl strongly objected, and, as was the custom with the nobles of that day, he spoke his mind to the King very freely, and retired from the presence in great anger. He then paid a short visit to Ireland. In this year, the young Gilbert, born 2nd September 1243, then therefore about ten years old, was contracted, while abroad, to Alice of Angoulême, the King's niece. Anselm (*Hist. Geneal., etc.*, iii, 78) describes her as Alasi or Alise de Lezignan, daughter of Hugh le Brun, Comte de la Marche et d'Angoulême, by Isabel, widow of King John of England, and daughter and heir of Aymar, Comte d'Angoulême. The actual marriage seems to have taken place in 1257. Anselm says she was divorced in 1258, but this, it will be seen, is an error. Also in 1253 Robert Musgrose held the Honour of Gloucester, probably as Sheriff or receiver.

After renewed disputes with the barons concerning foreign service, the King, 7th September 1254, took the Earl with him to Bordeaux, where he was present when Henry conferred Gascony upon Prince Edward, and at the Prince's marriage with Eleanor of Castile. Thence the Earl visited Paris, where were the Kings of France, England, and Navarre. He returned with the King and Queen, by New-Year's Day 1255, to England, where public affairs had become critical. Henry was hopelessly indebted; no money was to be had from his Parliament: even his brother and his son were obliged to protest against his proceedings, and de Montfort, now in England, was in litigation with the Crown about his wife's jointure.

25th May 1255, a proposed tournament at Blythe was forbidden. 10th August, the Earl, fortified with credentials, went to Scotland with John Mansel, the celebrated pluralist, to relieve and, if possible, rescue Henry's sister, the Scottish Queen, then a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle. This he managed successfully, by a mixture of force and address, to the satisfaction of

both her husband and brother. It seems to have been in November of this year that Robert, Abbot of Tewkesbury, died, and the Earl confirmed the choice of Thomas as the new Abbot. The Earl had a dispute with the monks, whom he compelled to follow him to Fairford for a settlement of their claims upon the tithe of Rendcombe. In this or the preceding year, the Earl was paying to the King 640 marcs, being two years' amount of a charge of £80 per annum on the Earl Marechal's lands in Ireland for the dower of Eleanor the King's sister, and de Montfort's wife. Her share was one-fifth of the income, which therefore must have been £400 per annum. Here the marc is taken at 5s. instead of 6s. 8*d.* as usual. It was also probably about this time that was drawn up the agreement mentioned by Nash (*Worc.*, ii, 135) between Earl Richard and the Bishop of Worcester concerning Malvern Chase, in which the Abbot of Tewkesbury and Lord William de la Mare acted for the Earl, and among the witnesses to which appear Philip Basset and Stephen Bawcen. It seems that John, Earl of Moreton, in 1196, while Lord of Glamorgan, granted to the Bishop of Worcester licence to assart land in Malvern Forest, and Countess Isabel confirmed the grant. The dispute, however, was by no means settled, and reappears in the reign of Edward I.

12th June 1256, letters of credence were given to the Earl and Robert Walerand, with their suite, addressed to the Princes of Germany. They seem by the Patent Rolls to have left England 22nd June. Their mission was to watch at Frankfort the election of the King of the Romans, in the interest of the Earl of Cornwall, and to administer bribes to and receive the fealty of the electors, preparatory to the crowning of Richard in the following December. Among the Earl's attendants were John and Robert Turberville and Adam Waleys, all connected with Glamorgan. 29th June 1256, John de la Ware, Bishop of Llandaff, died; and on 30th July William de Radnor was elected Bishop. The

29th June was a remarkable day in Bishop de la Ware's life. On that day he resigned Margam, on that day was elected Bishop, and on that day he died. In the same year the Earl founded the house of the Black Friars, outside the west gate of Cardiff. 7th November, Richard Siward of Talavan was dead, and his twice widowed wife, Ela, Countess of Warwick, had married Philip Basset. In this year Prince Edward received from John de Monmouth the Castle and Honour of Monmouth in fee. Henry also invested him with regal powers in Ireland, and the Earl of Gloucester did him homage for his land there.

In 1257, Henry seems also to have transferred the conduct of Welsh affairs to the Prince, who laid on a tax which excited Llewelyn ap David to take up arms. Griffith ap Rhys had died 11th June 1256. The Earl, whom M. Paris calls a dear friend to the King, was in command of the royal forces in Glamorgan and Pembroke, and generally in South Wales. It was in this somewhat unsuccessful campaign that Stephen Bawcen was slain. 24th July, Roger de Somery, summoned by the King to Chester, was afterwards directed to proceed with all his forces to protect Glamorgan, where he held lands. The Close Roll, 42nd Henry III, mentions the claim of Alex. de St. Severino for the price of 45 dolia of wine, which the thieves of Glamorgan, West Wales, and Gower, had taken and conveyed to Devonshire, to the damage of Earl Richard, whose merchant he was. The Sheriffs of Devon and Somerset are to seize the goods, unless the Earl or the Sheriff of Glamorgan admits them to have been come by lawfully.

23rd July, either in this or the following year, the Earl was taken ill at Sonning, near Reading, and William Scotney, his seneschal and chief adviser, was charged with administering poison to him and his brother William, at a breakfast given by Prince Edward at Winchester. William died 23rd July at Rethersford, and was buried at Dareford (probably

Dertford) Abbey, privately, instead of at Tewkesbury as he had wished, lest the news should reach and prove fatal to his brother. The Earl recovered, but lost his hair and his complexion; his teeth and nails threatened to fall off, and he was much disfigured. Scotney was dragged asunder by horses at Winchester, or, by some accounts, hanged, 26th May 1259, and his quarters suspended from a gallows. The Earl, however, managed to be present at Tewkesbury, 20th April 1258, when he obtained a procession, and gave the kiss of peace to all present. In this year, 6th September, the Welsh attacked Neath with 800 mail-clad horsemen, and 7,000 footmen. They failed to take the castle, but burned the town up to the gates, "et sic ad dæmones redierunt".

During these years the Earl seems to have been acting, though perhaps not very cordially, with the King's party, but Henry's conduct had gradually alienated from him all men, even those of moderate opinions. In 1258, matters drew to a head, but the Earl was still with the King, who, 22nd January, having heard that Llewelyn proposed to marry his sister Margaret, directed the Earl to take her in charge and guard her safely. 8th March, he was at Court and witnessed a royal charter relating to St. Alban's. The opening Parliament of the year met in London, 9th April, and sat till the 5th May. Howel ap Meredith and the Welsh leaders had made an alliance with Scotland. The discussions were unsatisfactory, and the assembly was adjourned to the 11th June at Oxford. In August, the Earl was directed by the King to inquire as to the large sums of money said to have been taken beyond sea by his half-brothers.

The Parliament thus adjourned was the "Mad Parliament". The Barons who had attended in London armed, came to Oxford under summons for a Welsh campaign, in full array for war. As in the time of John, a committee was appointed, and in the list the Earl of Gloucester appears with de Montfort on the

Barons' side, and in the subsequent very complex arrangements he took an active part, and was one of those by whom, 18th October 1258, the King's adhesion to the Acts of the Council was accepted, and who shared in the provisional government of the following year, and until the outbreak of the civil war. He also signed the letter to the Pope against the admission of the Poitevins. The Earl had charge this year of the manors of Aymer, Bishop of Winchester, then banished, and it was not until the 7th or 8th of Edward I that Earl Gilbert, his son, was called upon by a writ of "præcipe" to surrender them. In 1258 the Abbot and Convent of Tewkesbury paid to Master Henry de Stratford 10 marcs upon a suit between him and Roger Boyfield, one of their monks, on an agreement concerning grain, entered into at Cardiff when Roger was Prior there.

In 1259 Parliament met early in the year, and the jealousy between the personal influence of de Montfort, and the hereditary influence of Earl Richard, led to a personal altercation between them. Earl Simon was impatient of the Earl of Gloucester's moderate and somewhat temporising policy, which was the more irritating that he was far too powerful to be set aside. "For you, my Lord Earl of Gloucester," said he, "the higher your position above us all, the more are you bound to carry these statutes into effect." Indeed, Gloucester's whole conduct up to that time shows that he was not inclined to press too strongly on the King, with whom he kept up some sort of personal terms. 10th May he was named to arrange for the marriage of Henry's daughter Beatrice with John, eldest son of the Duke of Britany; and 18th May the King had lent him certain artificers. 25th May, in this year or 1260, died James de Clare, probably a near kinsman. After the personal altercation with de Montfort, the Earl seems to have gone abroad, as special Ambassador to the King of France. Earl Simon, however, is joined with him in the patent, and a reconciliation was

patched up between them by the Earl of Hereford and others, no doubt in consequence of the King's proclamation of the 28th of March. Gloucester sent Herwin, his seneschal, through his domains, to see that the statutes were obeyed, and it probably arose out of this that, 20th July, John de Cokefield was assigned to hear the "*Querela transgressionis et injuriæ*" by Earl Richard and his bailiffs in Gloucester, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Herts. In this and the preceding years the Patent Rolls show that the Earl had a licence to crenellate and fortify the Isle of Portland, and the towns and ports of Weymouth and Wyke. The crenellation probably related to "Bow and Arrow Castle", a curious fortress of Norman date, still standing on the east cliff of Portland. He had also a licence to build castles at Walden in Essex, and at Southwood in Suffolk.

The summer of this year seems to have been occupied in a trial of strength between the two parties in the ruling council; de Montfort, and with him Prince Edward, seeing the necessity for speedy action, and Gloucester being indisposed to move. In October, a remonstrance by the military tenants of the knightly class throughout England affirmed that the King had done his part, and it was for the council no longer to neglect to do theirs. The results were the Provisions of Westminster, drawn up in this month. The part taken by the Earl of Gloucester is indicated by the inclusion of his name among the twelve Barons chosen to reform the State, as well as in the later council of fifteen. He was not one of the twelve parliamentary commissioners, but appears among the twenty-four of "the aid". 7th November, by an agreement with the Abbot of St. Edmund's, he concluded a law plea which had lasted nine years and five days, and in the same month he either preceded or accompanied the King to France, to take part in the formal resignation of Normandy, and to settle some other differences between the Crowns; and during the short

remainder of his life his influence was, on the whole, exerted in the King's favour. He led the moderate party.

In 1260 the state of affairs compelled Henry's return to England, and Earl Richard accompanied him. 30th April he met the Barons at St. Paul's, and was reconciled to Prince Edward, who had urged on the obnoxious reforms. At the meeting, Gloucester and de Montfort again came to words, and besides their public difference, de Montfort refused to give up his wife's lands in Normandy, and so endangered the recent understanding with France. The Earl, however, to some extent, still acted with de Montfort, and by so doing probably hampered his proceedings far more than had he openly taken the King's part. 30th May, the Welsh attacked Builth Castle, while Roger Mortimer, its keeper, was attending the King in London. He was officially acquitted of all blame. The castle, though small, was strong, as its earthworks still show. In the summer Gloucester had a violent quarrel with Prince Edward, which caused great general anxiety, but, 22nd June, harmony was re-established by the mediation of Henry and his brother, the King of the Romans. An agreement then drawn up is referred to in the *Calendar* of the Patent Rolls for the year, but the document itself is not given. In this year Ralph Basset, previously mentioned, died. About the same time, while the Earl was at Tewkesbury, a certain Jew fell into a jakes and refused to be taken out because the day was the Sabbath. On this the Earl, with a curious misconception of his Christian duties, refused to have him taken out on the following, being the Christian Sabbath, and left him to perish. The story was made the subject of a quatrain :—

“ ‘Tende manus, Salomon, ut te de stercore tollam.’  
 ‘Sabbata nostra colo, de stercore surgere nolo.  
 En ruit altra dies, nunc me de stercore tolles.’  
 ‘Sabbata nostra colo, de stercore tollere nolo.’ ”

In this year he attended with the King, under a safe-

conduct, the funeral of the French king's eldest son. In a letter from the Earl to the King, 15th June, probably 1261, he states that his health prevents his attendance on the King in London. He acknowledges a letter from the King about Prince Edward's affairs, about which the Earl has ordered J. Breton to meet him at Tewkesbury. 15th December, Philip de Leche, Prior of Cardiff, died, and 27th June following was succeeded by William of Deerhurst.

In 1262, 7th May, it appears from the rolls of Parliament that the Earl granted to Chancellor Walter de Merton the manors of Farley and Chessendon in aid of his new foundation, and by another document he informed Roger de Horn, his seneschal at Tonbridge, that he confirmed gifts to the same Walter by Roger at Malden, and by Philip Basset and Ela, Countess of Warwick, his wife; 8th July, the Earl recommends to the Chancellor's favour Geoffrey de Aspall, his clerk, and John, the brother of the latter.

In June the Earl was taken ill at the table of Peter of Savoy, the Queen's uncle, and was thought to have been poisoned. He died 15th (or 22nd) July 1262, "ante statutum", at Eschemerfield in Kent, and was buried 28th July in the choir at Tewkesbury, on the right of his father, in a tomb which his widow encrusted with gold and precious stones, and which bore this somewhat superlative epitaph :—

*"Hic pudor Hippoliti, Paridis gena, sensus Ulissis,  
Æneæ pietas, Hectoris ira jacet."*

The Bishops of Llandaff and Worcester, eight to twelve Abbots, and many Barons, Knights, and other considerable persons attended at the burying. His actual sword and spurs were suspended over his tomb, and to all praying for his soul's weal Archbishop Boniface gave forty days' indulgence, and the Bishops of Chester, Llandaff, and Worcester twenty days' each, to which Worcester and Llandaff added ten more to all repeating ten Paternosters and three Ave Marys



within the year. In the *Annals of Tewkesbury* he is recorded as “Vir nobilis et omni laude dignus.”

1st Edward I. In the Memoranda Roll Master John de Sethwille and John de Bruis (Braose) are named as executors of the Earl's will, but those given in the Rolls of Parliament are Hugh Bigod and others. The debts were considerable, both to the King and to private persons. One debt to the merchants was 480 marcs; and another to Hugh de Gundeville, 300 marcs. 7th Edward I, Sethwille received £80. 12th Edward I, the account was still unsettled, both with the Exchequer and the general debtors and creditors. £127 8s. 4d. was allowed for the farm of the Barton of Bristol for eight to ten years. This possession, therefore, severed from the castle, was still a part of the estate.

47th Henry III, Countess Maud had an assignation of dower which included Bedwin and Winchcombe, and the castles and manors of Usk, Trillech, and Clare. 52nd Henry III, she purchased the manor of Long Stratton in Norfolk. Their children were—1, Gilbert; 2, Thomas, a man of some mark in his day. He was governor of St. Briavel's Castle in April, 49th Henry III, and custos of the royal forest in Essex, and for his conduct at Lewes made governor of Colchester Castle. 51st Henry III, he went with Prince Edward to Palestine, and brought home four Saracen prisoners. 55th Henry III, or 1st Edward I, he was governor of London, and soon afterwards went to Ireland with a grant of Thomond and a roving commission to conquer all he could. Soon after his landing he was himself conquered by the charms of Julian, third daughter of Maurice, son of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, by Emmeline, daughter and heir of Sir Stephen Longespée, a natural son of Henry II and Rosamond Clifford. With her he had Youghal, where the provost and borough adopted his arms, the one sealing with de Clare impaling Fitz-Gerald with a label, both dimidiated; the other with de Clare and Fitz-Gerald, each with a label

and each upon a heater-shaped shield. He built Bunratty Castle. For the rest, his career was unfortunate; he was thrice defeated, and, finally, killed by the Irish in 1285. His wife was alive in 1321. They left issue John, Gilbert, Richard, and Thomas. Richard, the third son was probably the Richard de Clare who was summoned to Parliament 26th October 1309. He left issue Thomas de Clare, who died childless, 14th Edward II, 1320-21, leaving his father's sisters his heirs. He was probably the male heir of the House of Clare, though he does not seem to have claimed the Honours. Probably the settlement made by the penultimate Earl on his marriage with Princess Joan precluded him from the estate. He is not mentioned by Dugdale.

3. Bevis, Benedict, or Bogo, born 11th or 21st July 1248, was a canon of York. 4. Isabel, born May 1240, said by Anselm to have been a nun at Barking, but who married at Lyons, 13th June 1257, the Marquis di Ponte Ferrato, and was escorted thither by a Tewkesbury monk. 5. Margaret, born at Llantrissant, Christmas 1250. She married Edmund, a younger son of Richard Earl of Cornwall, but his eldest by Saunchia of Provence. He was regent during Edward's absence in Palestine. She was divorced, childless, 22nd Edward I, and compelled by the Bishop of Winchester "vitam vivere cælibem." 6. Roesia, born 17th October 1252, married Roger Mowbray. 54th Henry III, Roger Estraneus and Matilda his wife, and Matilda de Mowbray, are bound to Matilda Countess of Gloucester in a fine if Roger, son and heir of Roger de Mowbray, does not marry Roesia, daughter of the Countess. The witnesses are Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Thomas de Clare, Henry de Sully, Paulinus de Kerdiff, Thomas de Bellocampo, Walter de la —, Hy. de Umfravile, knights, John, Abbot of Tintern. The marriage took place in 1270. 7. Eglantine, born 1257, died an infant, fifteen weeks old, and was buried at Tewkesbury. Another Bogo, well known in the reign of Edward I, seems to have been a cousin.

On the Earl's death, Nicholas Berkeley, and afterward Petronel de la Mare, took charge of the Honour. The jurors on his inquisition were directed to make return "de maneriis quæ idem comes nomine custodiae et firmæ tenuit die obitus suæ." In Glamorgan he so held only Marcross, 46th Henry III.

Earl Richard died at a very critical period in his own career and in the history of his country. His rank and alliances, his immense property, and his power in the Welsh Marches made him a most important person, second only to King Henry and his brother the King of the Romans. The moderation of his character in a reign continually verging upon civil war placed him in opposition, sometimes to one party, sometimes to the other, and probably neither Henry nor Prince Edward, nor Simon de Montfort thought him to be relied upon. He died just when it would have been absolutely necessary to take a decided part, and had he lived, that part would probably have been with the King. He was personally brave, and experienced in the use of arms and in warfare.

The lordship of Glamorgan fell into the King's hands, the young Earl being a minor. Humphrey de Bohun at once took charge, and reported to the King, who acknowledged his letter, and committed to him, 18th July, the castles of Usk, Tregrue (?), Newburg, Kaerdiff, Lantrissan, Langenyth, Neth, and all other fortalices and their appurtenances in Wales. Philip Basset the Justiciar is to move John de Breos to deliver up Lantrissant Castle to de Bohun. 1st February 1263, 100 marcs are allowed to store the castles; Walter de Sully, sheriff, is, we are told, "bonus homo et potens in provincia". De Bohun reported to the Chancellor that all was then quiet, and that he had equipped the castles. 4th August 1263, the King directed Roger de Clifford to assist Humphrey. Inquiry is to be made into the late Earl's tenure of the manor of Buckingham, which William

de Breos alleged that his brother John had leased fraudulently. Bohun is to employ Robert de Meisy, Trahilo ap Hoel, and Ralph de Auste to make an extent or survey of the lordship, and Walter and Henry de Sully are to have quittance concerning a summons in Devon; and whereas John de Sully had been enfeoffed by the Earl of a carucate of land in ——— and one in Orchiston, he is to receive them from the escheator, 7th December. The extent was also directed of the lands in Gloucester, Essex, and Suffolk. The King announced the Earl's death to Philip Basset the justiciary and to Walter de Merton the Chancellor, and approved their doings at Amiens.

It appeared that William le Sor held of the "Honour of Tewkesbury" 13 fees. Also, 18th February, Griffin de Bedwas, who was detained in the King's prison at Cardiff, was to be delivered by the Sheriff to M. Bezile, constable of Gloucester Castle.

De Bohun did not long act as custos. On account of debility he is to deliver up his charge to Walter de Sully; 1 February 1266, he was superseded in the command of the army in Wales by John de Grey, and Henry wrote to Llewelyn to inform him of the appointment. 15th February 1263, the King informed the barons, knights, and loyal men of Glamorgan that Walter de Sully had charge of the lands and castles of the late Earl of Gloucester, which had been held by Humphrey de Bohun; and, 15th June, a royal letter to Sully informs him that he was to be in charge for three weeks or a month, in fact until the Earl had seizin. It appeared that William de Powyk had been constituted to take depositions in a dispute between the prior of Ewenny and the Abbot of Margam, concerning tenements in Llanmeuthin. Also the Sheriff of Cardiff was directed to act as to certain crops belonging to the Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, at Tregof and Lancarvan, seized on account of a vacancy in that office. The Archbishop of Canterbury had placed his seneschal in charge of Tonbridge Castle,

whence he is ordered to transmit six Welsh prisoners to the constable of Rochester Castle. They were Thurk (?), Howel ap Meulyn, Meuth ap Leulyn, Tudor Howel, Howel ap Ivor (?) and Meureth.

Gilbert de Clare, surnamed "the Red", "*quia rufus erat et pulcher aspectu*", 7th Earl of Gloucester and 7th of Hertford, and 9th Earl of Clare, succeeded in July 1262, 46th Henry III, being then nineteen years of age, not as yet girded with the sword of knighthood, and married to Alice de la Marche or d'Angoulesme, by whom he had one child, Isabel, born 10th March 1262.

27th June, the Abbot of Tewkesbury appointed William de Deerhurst Prior of Cardiff. The minority was a short one, for, 3rd August, the young Earl did homage, and had livery of the castles of Cardiff, Newburgh (Newport), and Llantrissant, and of the Welsh lordship, of which Hereford was to give seizin; which cost the Earl £1000. The Hundreds of Wathelston and Littelfeld, held by the Earl, under the See of Canterbury, but appendant to Tonbridge, were restored to him, on his coming of age, by the Archbishop. At the same time he entered upon his lands in England and Ireland, and also succeeded to the wardship of the lands of Peter of Savoy, and of Pembroke Castle, and of the lands of William de Valence in Pembroke: wardships, unlike other personal property, being heritable. Just before this, 8th February 1263, the Bishop of Llandaff was informed that when he came to London he might lodge in the close of the King's Hermitage at Charing Cross, without impediment from the royal officers.

The young Earl, it is recorded by Wykes, was impetuous and much influenced by his mother, who led him to join the opposition party. "*Blanditiis allectum, qui prius Regi devotus extiterat, resilire coegit, et de fide reddidit infidelem.*" He was, however, probably influenced also by the example of his father, who, though a moderate, was never a blind, supporter of the

King. It is moreover said that the Earl had a special grievance against Prince Edward, whose attentions to his wife were unpleasant to him. From whatever cause, he at once, as early as February 1263, threw himself into the party of de Montfort, at that time engaged in giving effect to the provisions of Oxford, by which aliens were excluded from the government of the royal castles, and the central administration of justice, and an equitable collection of the revenue were provided for. In March he refused to include Prince Edward in his oath of allegiance, and, with de Montfort, took up arms. The King fled to the Tower, and the Prince took post at Windsor, and towards the close of the year it was decided, against the Earl's wish, to refer the matters in dispute to the French King. Henry seized the Earl's castles of Kingston and Tonbridge, but allowed the Countess, who was in the latter, to go free.

The French award was unfavourable to the barons, who, at the Oxford Parliament in March 1264, refused to accept it. 12th May, Henry addressed a defiance to de Montfort and the Earl of Gloucester, as chiefs of the Barons' party, and in the military summonses to Worcester their adherents were omitted. On the 14th, the rival forces met at Lewes, and the appeal to arms, long threatened, actually occurred. The Earl accepted knighthood on the battle field from de Montfort, and, young and unskilled as he was, was nevertheless recognized as, equally with de Montfort, a leader of the party, and to him was allotted the command of the second line. In the battle he distinguished himself by personal valour, and seems to have received the King's sword. He used his power to take a grant, 20th June, of the confiscated estates of Earl Warenne, excepting Rygate and Lewes Castles; and one of the articles of the "Mise of Lewes" provides especially for his indemnity and that of de Montfort. The Earl, Earl Simon, and the Bishop of Chichester were the three electors who were to nominate

the new council of nine persons of those who were "most faithful, prudent, and most studious for the public weal", and who were to be the real governors of the kingdom. Gloucester was also one of the five Earls summoned to the "Great Parliament" at Westminster, 20th January 1265.

Victory speedily generated discontent between the victors, and especially between the two Earls. Gloucester seems to have claimed from Earl Simon the custody of his own prisoners, and especially of the Earl of Cornwall, and to have been refused. He also demanded unsuccessfully the Castle of Bristol, to which he had hereditary claims, and which was occupied by Earl Simon; and further, a tournament at which he proposed to take part against de Montfort's sons, was forbidden by their father. These causes, or some of them, may have precipitated the rupture, but it was improbable that the two Earls could long have continued in accord. De Montfort was a foreigner by birth and education, a much older man than Gloucester, and as far above him in personal weight as he was below him in hereditary position and territorial wealth. Each naturally looked upon the other with a jealous eye. Earl Gilbert, though without experience, stood at the head of the English baronage, and it was evident that however much circumstances might force him to oppose Henry, he did not wish permanently to overthrow the royal power. A few years later Wikes describes him as "*Summæ et singularis inter regni Magnates nobilitatis, et præeminentiae, et incomparabilis post Regem potentiae*". De Montfort, whose views were broader and probably far more patriotic than those of the Earl, nevertheless desired personal aggrandisement. From the King he had long sought an augmentation of his wife's jointure, which included a third of the Mareschal estates, and he wished to obtain from the Prince the Earldom of Chester in exchange for that of Leicester, Chester being not only a richer, but, from its position on the Marches, a far more powerful earldom; and to

bring about this change he took advantage of his possession of the Prince's person. He was also bent upon strengthening his own power in the west, at the expense of that of Gloucester, holding Bristol, and giving encouragement to the South Welsh Princes, hereditary foes to the Lords of Glamorgan. Moreover, his son, the younger Simon, was pretender to the hand of Isabel, heiress of the great Earldom of Devon, and holding in dower a third of that of Albemarle. After Lewes, he had actually pursued her with an armed force, and forced her to take refuge under the covert protection of the Earl of Gloucester, her kinsman. These sources of distrust led Gloucester at once to take up the interests of the King, who would thus become indebted to him for his kingdom.

His change of action was rapid and complete. In April 1265, he opened a communication, through his brother Thomas, with Roger Mortimer, and came to a personal altercation with de Montfort, casting up against him his foreign birth, "*manifeste ridiculum est quod hic alienigena totius regni dominium sibi præsumit subjugare*". De Montfort, with the King and Prince in his train, went to Hereford, while de Clare, in conjunction with John Giffard, a great soldier and a man of much personal influence in South Wales, collected a considerable force in the Forest of Dene. In May, an arbitration was agreed to, probably to gain time, for in that month, by Thomas de Clare's agency, the Prince effected his escape from the meads of Hereford, and rode to Wigmore, and thence to Ludlow, where he was joined by Gloucester, on the condition that he should swear to observe "the ancient and approved laws of the realm". De Montfort's rejoinder was the destruction of the Castle of Monmouth, whence he marched upon Newport, holding both banks of the Usk. He was followed by Prince Edward from the East, on which he broke down Newport Bridge, and retired upon Glamorgan, which he laid waste in combination with Llewelyn. Meantime de Clare regained Bristol,



and the Prince fell back upon the Severn at Gloucester. While there, he learned that the younger de Montfort was on his way from Pevensey towards Kenilworth. With a decision that indicated the future leader, the Prince by a rapid march intercepted de Montfort near Kenilworth, routed him, 16th July, and thence turning back upon Worcester, held that city and broke down the bridge, 1st August, and on the 4th, encountered and overthrew Earl Simon at Evesham.

In the battle, de Clare, as at Lewes, led the second line, but now on the King's behalf. His reward was a pardon, 49th Hen. III, for his brother Thomas, himself, and his adherents, and the custos-ship of Abergavenny during the nonage of Maud, the child wife of the Earl of Hereford. He again did homage for his lands; and the King remitted £900 of fine as yet unpaid upon his livery, on the ground of his expenses in the royal cause.

De Montfort's death left Gloucester without a rival, and much tempted him to take the lead on the popular side. He does not seem to have aided at the siege of Kenilworth; and though one of those elected to sit as an arbitrator upon the terms of the Ban, in October 1266, he disapproved of, and opposed them. Early in that year William de Braose, Canon of Llandaff, was elected Bishop; and Griffith ap Rhys, taken prisoner, was committed to Cardiff Castle, and thence, in 1267, sent to Kilkenny for greater security. Towards the close of 1266 Gloucester, himself discontented, seems to have met the "disinherited" party in the Isle of Ely, and thence, 8th April 1267, to have led them to London, where they occupied the city, and summoned the Legate to surrender the Tower. They met publicly at St. Paul's, but, meantime, Henry had advanced from Windsor, and encamped at Stratford, whence, 5th May, he also entered London. On this, Gloucester, through his brother Thomas, again made terms, and in June he and his followers were admitted to the benefits of the Ban, and a safe-conduct issued in favour of Gilbert

de Clare, his household, and all who call themselves "exheredatos". This was to enable them to meet Henry at Stratford.

The Parliament at Marlborough, in November, conceded almost all the points in dispute; and although the Earl remained at variance with Mortimer and the royal party, and declined an invitation to the King's great banquet, he gave no further trouble, and the King waived the conditions proposed by the Legate, that the Earl should give either his daughter or his Castle of Tonbridge, for three years, as a hostage for his conduct. Finally, at Midsummer 1268, the Earl assumed the cross, with Prince Edward, at Northampton, though this promise was not fulfilled by himself. His brother Thomas, however, accompanied the Prince.

The Earl's amity was no doubt largely influenced by the King's action in South Wales. As early as 26th April 1266, the King had questioned the correctness of the Earl's scutages, and had directed William de Powyk and the Abbot of Tintern to make a new survey; and 30th April, Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, was ordered to take charge, but the issues were to be paid over to Matilda, Countess of Gloucester, and Gilbert de Clare; and the Countess was to surrender Usk Castle. 5th May, Earl Humphrey was informed that the King will accommodate his niece, the wife of Gilbert de Clare, with the use of Usk Castle, which had belonged to Richard de Cardiff; Lawrence de Hameldon appears as Earl Gilbert's clerk. 1st August, the Earl had a grant of the manor of Lydgate, and the seneschalship of Bury Abbey, taken from Henry de Hastings, the King's enemy. 20th August, he was also to have the lands of all the rebel Welsh that he could conquer.

In 1267, Henry laboured hard to give peace to South Wales; 14th March, Roger de Somery and Hugh de Turberville, Glamorgan Barons, were commissioned to inquire into the causes of quarrel between Llewelyn ap Griffith and the Earl of Gloucester. Llewelyn's complaint was that the Earl refused to restore the lands of

his subjects, according to the terms agreed upon. The result was a compromise, agreed to at Michaelmas 1268. The violence complained of had chiefly lain in the districts of Senghenydd, Glyn-Rhondda, and Miscin, tracts of country too strong and too near Cardiff to be left in native hands. The compromise lasted but a short time, and the final result was the building of the great Castle of Caerphilly. The Earl was still bent upon the recovery of Bristol; and, 31st October 1268, he addressed the King, stating that he proposed, with Prince Edward's consent, to have his right to the castle and borough tried in course of law, and should he recover it, he promises to give due exchange. The suit seems to have been deferred till 1276, when, in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, the castle and borough were adjudged to the King.

A year later, 15th October 1269, the Earl had a safe-conduct to come to meet the King, Prince Edward, and Llewelyn, of which he does not seem to have availed himself; nor did he attend the Parliament then held. He found it very inconvenient to accompany the Prince to the Holy Land, and he probably feared compulsion. The reason he assigned, whether true or false, was certainly sufficient. "*At Comes causatus est terris suis, quæ Walliæ continguntur, et quæ tunc temporis a Wallensibus fortiter fuerunt impugnatae, depopulatis provinciis, et castris solo terrarum complanatis, periculum imminere, si, vacuatis regni limitibus, ipsas . . . expositas relinqueret indefensas.*" The King of the Romans seems to have mediated, and at Pentecost 1270, Henry allowed the repayment of the Earl's expenses at Evesham, and again gave him livery of his lands and castles. In return, he undertook to follow the Prince, who had left England in July, unless prevented by illness, war, or other sufficient causes. This he did not do, but as he gave no other cause of offence, he and Henry lived on good terms for the rest of the reign.

The King of the Romans died 2nd April 1272, and that year, about six weeks before Henry's death, Earl Gilbert married his sister Margaret to Edmund, Richard's eldest surviving son, on which occasion, on St. Edmund's Day, 20th November, Edmund was knighted and recognised as Earl of Cornwall; and on St. Nicholas' Day following, 6th December, he gave a wedding feast of great splendour at Wallingford. Upon Henry's death Earl Gilbert was one of those whose names, 23rd November 1272, are appended to the letter informing Prince Edward of that event, and the proclamation of the new King was signed by the Archbishop of York, Earl Gilbert, and Edmund (Earl of Cornwall). He was also present at the proclamation at the New Temple, and on the new King's arrival in England he entertained him with great magnificence at Tonbridge Castle.

The state of Glamorgan during the reign of Henry III was such as to cause great anxiety to its lord, its ecclesiastical magnates, its barons and knights, and its inhabitants generally, whether Welsh or English. The land was wasted, the houses burned, the cattle driven off, the borough towns and religious houses sorely bested. The clergy were in arrears with their tithes, the bishops and monastic bodies with their dues, and the landlords of all ranks with their rents and the produce of their demesnes. Treaties and truces between the English and the Welsh were of no avail. Each party broke them at pleasure. The King's writ did not run in the Marches, and would have been but little respected even if it had had legal sanction; and the chief lords, though strong enough to be a thorn in the King's side, were often unable to preserve peace. It is true that the lower or seaboard division of the lordship, including the vale of Glamorgan, was studded with castles. Cardiff, Neath, and Swansea, and perhaps the Tower of Lwchwr, were strong enough to defend the lower parts of the Taff, the Nedd, the Tawe, and the Lwchwr rivers, but the other castles and strong houses, Kenfig,

Llantrissant, Ogmore, Coyty, Dunraven, Talavan, Llanblethian, Bonvilleston, Fonmon, Penmark, Sully, Barry, Wenvoe, Flimston, and Dinas Powis, and a score of others, were intended to guard private domains, and did not command the main passes of the district. Cardiff and Neath were regularly walled, and Kenfig fenced in, probably with a palisade. Cowbridge also was walled. The south gate and wall still remain, and a charter of the 3rd Henry VII refers to a turret or tower and to the north wall, as then standing. These defences, however, were for the security of the town only. What was wanted was some central stronghold of the first class, large enough to contain a numerous garrison, strong enough to resist a siege, and so placed as to stand in the way of any advance of the Welsh in force into England, and, should they so advance, to cut off their retreat. Earl Gilbert determined to supply this want in a manner worthy of his rank and wealth as chief of the Marcher Lords, and suitable to the importance of the territory which it was his duty to protect. The place fixed upon for his fortress was the centre of a vast and, in part, marshy basin upon the Welsh bank of the Rhymny, and therefore between the lordships of Gwent and Morgannwg, within the hill district, and not above six miles from Cardiff. This lay in the route by which the Welsh invaders usually advanced upon and retired from Gwent, and to close it would close the whole line of the Rhymny, from the Brecon mountains to the sea, Cardiff blocking the seaward plain, and Brecknock and Builth, the valley of the Usk, north of the mountains. The proposed castle was wholly new. A knoll of ground rising out of the morass was scarped and revetted and crowned with a double belt of walls and towers, while, as at Kenilworth and Leeds, an insignificant brook was barred by a strong and well-defended dam, and the depression about the castle converted into a deep and broad lake. Such was the origin and such the general disposition of the Castle of Caerphilly, the most complete example in

Britain of the concentric style of fortress, and in area and accommodátion second only to Windsor. Unfortunately for its historic celebrity, the precautions which led to its construction were, within a very few years, rendered useless by the complete conquest of the Principality, though in that respect it only shared the fate of Conway, Caernarvon, Beaumaris, Harlech, and Bere.

Earl Gilbert certainly did not take up the defence of his territory by halves. Besides Caerphilly, the small but strong fortress of Castell Coch was constructed to guard the lowest pass of the Taff; and upon the high ground near one head of the same river, near the old Roman way from Newport to Brecon, was constructed, a few years later, Morlais, a castle small in area but strong, and guarded by a ditch quarried with immense labour out of the limestone rock. The chain was completed by the construction of a circular tower, now destroyed, at Whitchurch, in the plain between Castell Coch and Cardiff. The age of Castell Coch can be determined only by reference to its architectural peculiarities, which, however, are sufficiently marked. Enough remained of Whitchurch a score of years ago to declare its date; but it is also mentioned in the reign of Edward II, when Llewelyn ap Griffith, representative of the celebrated Ivor Bach, and ancestor of the Lewises of the Van and Llanishen, indigenious in those parts, claimed and was allowed the "forcelettum" which stood upon his ground. Morlais, the site of which had been wrested from the same Llewelyn, was the subject of quarrel between the Lords of Brecknock and Glamorgan in the reign of Edward I, the full particulars of which are recorded upon the Rolls of Parliament. Caerphilly was certainly built in the closing years of the reign of Henry III, though largely altered and improved half a century later. Much of it bears evidence of having been built in haste, though the interior and more ornate parts are in good taste and of excellent workmanship. In a military point of view it is a very remarkable work.

Caerphilly had been commenced, and was defensible as early as 1270, for it was then attacked by Llewelyn, and in it were the King's Commissioners, the Bishops of Lichfield and Worcester. A truce was agreed to, the Castle to be held by the Bishops till the quindene (15th day after) of Midsummer, and there was to be a final settlement of the matter at the Fords of Montgomery, at the quindene of the following Easter. The King no doubt saw the importance of the castle to the realm at large, for, in Council, 2nd February 1271, in London, de Clare had leave to enditch it.

Llewelyn's attack is the subject of a letter from the Archbishop of York in London, dated 3rd November 1271, to Mag<sup>r</sup> R. de Nedham, his proctor at Rome. It appeared that Prince Edward, on leaving England, had constituted the Archbishop, the King of the Romans, Philip Basset, R. de Mortimer, and R. Burnel, his deputies, and their attention was engaged upon affairs in South Wales. "Llewelyn," the Primate says, "had come down upon Caerphilly, and laid siege to it with a considerable force. The Earl of Gloucester is calling for aid which ought not to be withheld. But the King is ill, and the scarcity of the past year has left them without funds." He relates this that the Cardinals may be content with less valuable presents than might have been expected. The favour of the new Pope was, however, to be obtained by a handsome sum.

Beneath the strong rule of Edward I, the part played by the Earl of Gloucester became politically insignificant, and on the subjugation of Wales in 1282, one source both of his power and of his weakness was extinguished. Henceforward, the most important events in his life were connected with his own estates. In 1276, Earl Gilbert joined in the decree declaring Llewelyn guilty of contumacy; and, at the close of the year, he was summoned to the Welsh expedition. In this year also, Morgan of Avan, the son of Morgan Gam, and the principal Welshman holding of the Earl,

married the daughter and heiress of Walter de Sully, a knight of Norman descent, and united his estate to Avan. He died 6th August 1288.

Soon afterwards, the dispute respecting Malvern Chase, settled about 1255, was reopened, the Earl claiming right of chase on Malvern Hill, in Colwall and Estun, against the Bishop of Worcester, who gained the cause, which, however, reappeared a few years later. The Bishop of Hereford, who had also certain claims, came to an agreement with the Earl. In 1276, the Earl made a final effort to recover the Castle and Borough of Bristol, as the heir of William, Earl of Gloucester. The cause seems to have been fairly tried by the magnates of the realm, and judgment went against him, on the ground that the Crown had held them during the last four reigns. Also, in 1276, the Earl's Bailiff of Caerleon, and his Sheriff of Glamorgan, are ordered by the King not to allow the tenants to supply provisions to the Welsh rebels.

In December 1277, the Earl was impleaded by certain merchants for debts incurred in aid of the Welsh war, in consideration of which a delay was allowed him. About the same time arose a dispute with the Bishop of Winchester about the Church of Portland, and John Pickard and Maurice de Lambeth represented the Earl. In March 1278, he seems to have escorted Alexander, King of Scots, to London, under a safe-conduct from Edward, and at Michaelmas he was present at the homage rendered by the Scottish King.

10th January 1279, Bishop Braose of Llandaff was summoned before the Exchequer for sums due on the wardship of a certain youth which he had obtained in satisfaction for 100 marcs paid by him on behalf of Ralph Cross, the youth's father; a kind of security then common. About this time Matilda, Countess of Gloucester, and Earl Gilbert, her son, were called to deliver to Roger Mortimer and Matilda his wife, certain lands and rents in Usk, which had been assigned to the latter lady. They were cousins. Gilbert, 5th



Earl of Gloucester, married Isabel Mareschal, and Eva, her sister and co-heir, married Wm. de Braose. Isabel's son married Matilda de Lacy, and Usk was settled on her son Gilbert, 7th Earl. Eva de Braose also had a daughter, Matilda, who married Roger Mortimer. The dispute was arranged by the transfer of Aure Manor to Mortimer. 9th June 1279, Earl Gilbert did homage to Archbishop Peckham, for Tonbridge. This took place at Lymyng in the presence of Sir John, son of Arnulph de Bosco, Richard de Teyden, Master Thos. de Pulesdon, and Richard de Londres, of the Earl's household. It appears from an entry in the Pipe Roll of 9th Edward I, that when the Earl undertook to accompany Prince Edward to Palestine he received 1,000 marcs, which sum he was then repaying. In 1280, the Earl founded the Grey Friary in Crockherbton, of which a fragment, though of later date, still remains.

About this time, also, the Earl's marcher rights were questioned by one of the de Braose family who had been stopped with violence by Robert de Veal, the Earl's Bailiff, on the public highway. He proceeded against de Clare, who was summoned before the King's Court at Michaelmas 1281. The Earl challenged the jurisdiction, and when his rights were made the subject of a "quo warranto" he declined to reply until he had consulted with his brother peers and marchers. 24th May 1282, he was summoned for the Welsh war, and took part in Edward's great and final effort, which ended in the death of Llewelyn.

The Earl seems to have been considerably burdened by his father's debts, incurred, as Edward was disposed, very liberally, to admit, in the royal service. He obtained more than one respite from the Exchequer, and 12th Edward I, that department undertook to aid him in the recovery of monies due to his father's estate, and he was allowed £127 18s. 4*d.* for the farm of the barton of Bristol for the 8th, 9th, and 10th years of the reign. After the North Wales campaign the King visited South Wales, and presented Abbot Adam, at

Neath, with a very beautiful baudekin. In 1285 the Sheriff of Glamorgan, Robert le Neil (Veal), was again guilty of violence, seizing for the Earl, unjustly, the lands of New Grange and of Terry, the property of Margam.

In 1287 one of the final struggles of the Welsh, now without any recognised leader, took place under Rhys ap Meredith, on which occasion the Bailiff of St. Briavels was ordered to raise a force and place it under the Earl of Gloucester, who was to be supported by Mortimer and other marchers. 11th June, Rhys had taken divers castles in the west, and was advancing upon Swansea, which, 27th June, he plundered and burnt; and then burnt Oystermouth Castle in Gower. The Welsh prisoners seem to have been fairly treated. Griffith ap Meredith was committed to Richard Tybetot at Nottingham Castle, where he stayed six years and thirty-two weeks. There appears a charge of 16s. per annum for robes for him, and £25 2s. "pro vadiis". Rees ap Maelgon and Conan ap Meredith were first, 1286, sent to Bridgenorth, and thence, 1289, moved to Bamburgh. Rees had a grant of 10 marcs per annum rent, in Dalton juxta Drayenton, in 1307.

When we read that one cause of the Earl's personal dislike to Prince Edward was his jealousy of his attention to his wife, it seems strange to find a marriage proposed between the Earl and the daughter of the Prince, become King; such, however, was the fact. There is much doubt as to why or when he was divorced from Alice of Angoulesme; one account stating positively that the divorce was pronounced at Norwich 18th July 1271, while other and more probable accounts place it as 1282, and Père Anselm fixes it in 1283, and says the cause was "parcequ'elle étoit devenue hypocondre". What is recorded of Edward's intimacy with the lady, even if exaggerated, is scarcely consistent with a great affection between the husband and wife; and no doubt the desire for male heirs had great weight. But there does not appear to have been any

scandal in the rupture. Alice was the appellant in the petition for divorce; and the Earl, 25th May 1282, settled upon her, as the Lady Alicia de Marchia, certain lands as a provision for her sustenance; their daughter Isabel was also provided for. The proceedings, however, seem, according to a deed in Rymer, not to have been completed until 16th May 1285.

The object for which the divorce was brought about could have been no secret, for in May 1283, is dated the "Prælocutio" between the King and the Earl, touching a contract of marriage between the latter and the King's daughter. The King and his council are satisfied that the Earl will obtain from the Church the dissolution of his marriage with Alice, who was his wife, and are aware that he has purchased a dispensation to marry the King's daughter, his kinswoman. The Earl is to surrender all his lands in England, Ireland, and Wales, so that he and his wife may be enfeoffed therein to them and the heirs of their bodies. If there be no such heirs, the lands go to the Countess for life, with the remainder to the Earl's right heirs, excepting "deus mile marchees de terre", to be selected to the satisfaction of the King and Queen, and which the Countess is to have in fee as her inheritance, together with any land that the Earl may purchase after marriage. This seems a perfectly reasonable settlement, having regard to the rank of the lady; and the King's oath to observe it was given by Otto de Grandison, as proxy, the Earl's in person.

Princess Joan was born at Acre in 1272, Edward's second daughter, and was then therefore, in 1283, but eleven years old. The consummation of the marriage was on this account postponed, and took place at Westminster, 2nd May 1290, she being then eighteen years old. Edward gave her no portion. The dispensation referred to in 1283, and given by Rymer, seems not to have been signed till 16th November 1289; and it covered not only the relationship between Earl Gilbert and Joan, but that between Joan and Alice, the former

wife. The King married his two daughters on successive days. On the second of July 1290, Beatrice married the son and heir of the Duke of Brabant, and their feast was held at Westminster. Next day, "in crastino vero ipsius Dominicæ Comes Gloucestriæ, abducta uxore sua, quam nuper ante desponsaverat. loco nuptiarum celeberrimum fecit convivium apud Clerkenwell celebritati superioris convivii non dissimile nec minus sumptuosum." Matilda, the Earl of Gloucester's mother, seems to have died about this time, for, 10th March 1289, her dower lands came into his possession.

About the same time, probably between the contract and Earl Gilbert's marriage, occurred the celebrated quarrel between the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, which led to serious consequences to both, and enabled Edward to carry into effect a stroke of policy very important for the welfare of his kingdom. Hereford, 26th June 1289, complained that Gloucester had built a castle on his territory, and had collected an armed force and broken the peace. It appeared upon inquiry that the Earl of Gloucester had built Morlais Castle, as he said, within his border; as the Earl of Hereford alleged, beyond it. Their dependents had met in arms with banners displayed, and had committed, as the King declared, a breach of his peace, or as Gloucester considered it, of their own peace as marchers. Also the border had been harried, flocks and herds driven off, and a church despoiled, in which Gloucester's seneschal had been the main offender. The King ordered both parties to pause, and await his decision. This command they disobeyed, and continued their local warfare. 18th Edward I, January 1290, the matter came before Parliament, and the King took it up in earnest. A commission was appointed and reported, and both Earls were imprisoned. There exists a very curious record of a suit in the King's Court arising out of this dispute, in which de Bohun was querent and de Clare defendant, in which de Bohun asserts that de Clare had neglected to fulfil the custom of the March, or of

Wales, which had long obtained, by which, when contentions arose between such magnates as held of the King "in capite", before any suit was lodged in the King's Court, there should be taken "dies amoris sive Parliamenti", also called a "dies Marchiæ", when the causes of the quarrel were to be laid before the neighbours and common friends, acting as judges, so that the custom of the March thus might be cleared up.

The proceedings upon the main inquiry are recorded at great length on the Rolls of Parliament, and were one of the "causes célèbres" of the reign. Before sentence was given the Earl of Gloucester had married the King's daughter, but the Earl of Hereford was also connected with the royal family. In truth, the occasion was a good one to break down the power of the Marcher Lords, and the King availed himself of it to the full. The lands of both parties were forfeited, and, 20th Edward I, 1291-2, Roger de Burghull had custody of the "royal liberty", then in the hands of the Earl of Gloucester, in Glamorgan, and of the Earl of Hereford in Brecknock, which liberties were taken into the King's hands by reason of the contempt and disobedience of the said Earls. The King thus asserted his right as over-lord to "totum regale in terris *suis* de Morgannon", and "totum regale libertatis *sue* de Brekenok." Gloucester's lands were to remain in the King's hands "tota vita ipsius comitis", and for the other earl, "forisfacta de ipso Comite et heredibus suis in perpetuum." Hereford, however, was really least in fault, and this was admitted, "Transgressio de qua convictus est non ita carcans, nec tantam penam requirit quantum, etc., de qua predictus Comes Glouc. convincitur"; and so, as Hereford had married the King's cousin, and his children were of kin to the King's children, his forfeiture also was limited to his life. Both were imprisoned, and Gloucester, besides paying £100 to Hereford for his losses, was fined 10,000 marcs to the King, and Hereford 1,000 marcs. Even the Earl's officers, who only obeyed orders, were fined. The offence was, in fact, treated just as though it had been committed in

any other part of the kingdom, and Edward was the first sovereign who could have ventured so to treat it. In Gloucester's case, the reason given for the limitation of the forfeiture to his life was that he had a son Gilbert, born 1291 at Winchcombe, begotten of the King's daughter, who was jointly enfeoffed of the estates with her husband. There is a good deal of obscurity as to the different steps, both of the marriage and the forfeiture. The Earl's deed of surrender is dated 20th April 1290, three weeks before his marriage, upon which was a re-settlement, much less favourable to him than that set forth in the *Prælocutio* of 1283, being to the husband and wife jointly for life, remainder to the heirs of their bodies, remainder over to *her* heirs, instead of, as before, to *his* heirs. The lands so re-settled lay in the counties of Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Derby, Devon, Dorset, Essex, Gloucester, Hants, Herts, Hunts, Kent, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northampton, Notts, Oxford, Somerset, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Wilts, Worcester, and in Wales, a prodigious estate. The Irish lands were included, but with remainder to *his* heirs.

In 1290 occurred a revival of the old dispute as to the custody of the temporalities of Llandaff, "sede vacante." It appeared that in 1240, when Bishop Elias died, King Henry put in Waleran Teutonicus to administer, and he collated to one prebend Master William de Burgh, treasurer, and to another Alfred de Fescamp, sub-treasurer of the Wardrobe, and to the archdeaconry Thomas, the queen-mother's chaplain; and at the term of his custos-ship he accounted for the proceeds to the Exchequer. At that time the Chapter elected Archdeacon Maurice to the See, but the election was set aside by the King. William of Christchurch was then chosen, and appears on the roll of bishops from 1240 to 1244, when he resigned, no doubt because disapproved by the King; and William de Burgh, above mentioned, and then chaplain to the King, became bishop, and so remained till his death in 1253. The earl was at that time under age, and though a protest was entered against the King's interference, it was not pressed.

Bishop William de Braose died, it appears, 19th March 1286-7, when the Archbishop of Canterbury revoked the commission of Master Thomas de St. Audomard as official of Llandaff, and appointed Master Aniamo Calus (?) then a canon of St. Asaph. On the Bishop's death, or soon afterwards, the Marcher Lords, under whom the lands of the See were holden, took possession of them. The Earl of Gloucester took Llandaff and Llancader-Warden manors, Lord William de Braose took Bishopston in Gower, and the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, and Edmund the King's brother, took others. November 3rd, 1290, the King's escheator, Malcolm de Harley, raised objection to this, and, the See being still vacant, claimed the custody of the manors for the Crown. De Braose and the others gave way, but Gloucester stood up for his rights. He asserted the whole "patria" of Glamorgan to be "dominio suo", and all wardships, that of the See included, to belong to him, as they had always belonged to his ancestors, save when under age, and the lord had, on that account, been a ward to the King. He stated that his father Richard, had, at his death, actually been in possession of the manors in question, the See being then vacant. The Earl was, no doubt, in his right, but the King had him at a disadvantage, and his object was certainly for the good of the realm, so the Earl had to give way, and did so in October 1290; but to make the cession more palatable a special grant, 2nd November 1292 (Ryley says October 1290), of the privileges for their joint and several lives was made to the Earl and Countess Joan, with remainder to the King and his heirs for ever. This case was cited in 1293 against John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, who claimed the custody of the temporalities of St. Asaph. Of de Clare and the other lords, it was said, "*Nichil clamare poterunt, propter privilegium regium, et corone dignitatem, ad quam specialiter pertinet Episcopatum vacantium custodia.*" Warrenne was non-suited. The whole transaction well exemplifies the mixture of firmness and moderation with

which the gréat King carried out measures that affected the unity of his kingdom.

5th July 1291, Richard de Tonsmere, chaplain, was instituted to the Church of High Anvolle (Highlight), on the presentation of David de Someri, its lord, by the archbishop, the See being vacant. 3rd September 1294, John Gordon was custos of the temporalities of Llandaff, and the Abbot of Margam collector of the current subsidy. The dispute between the King and the Earl will account for the uncertainty as to the occupancy of the See between 1287 and 1296, when John de Monmouth was appointed, but the King had to interfere to force the Earl to give him seizin. On another occasion, 1291-2, the Earl seems to have taken the law into his own hands, in the case of a trespass committed by the Earl of Norfolk upon his tenants of Usk and Trilleck. Arbitrators were named who were to inspect the inquiries as to the possessions of William Earl Mareschal, from whom the manors were derived. About the same time the Malvern dispute was reopened. The Earl and Countess threw up an earthen bank along the crest of the ridge, to which Giffard Bishop of Worcester objected as an encroachment. This was settled by an agreement signed at Tewkesbury, October 1291, by which the Bishop, or in his absence the Prior and Chapter of Worcester, were to have annually from the Earl two fat bucks and two fat does.

The King's determination to put an end to the privileges of the Marcher Lords, no doubt led others to contest them. Thus, the Prior of Goldcliff summoned the Earl to appear at his court at Newport to answer for trespass. The Earl neglected to appear, and stated that the King knew how he was engaged at the date of the first summons, and that as to the second, he knew not whether he had received it or not; but, when pressed, he claimed time, on the plea that his wardrobe, no doubt containing, or supposed to contain, records of his chancery, was in the parts of Wales.

In 1294, notwithstanding the general subjugation of



the Principality, the local troubles were considerable, especially in South Wales, where they were fomented by Conan ap Meredith and Maelgon ap Rhys. In the spring of 1295 was a general rising, when a certain Madoc, from the recesses of Snowdon, descended upon and burned Caernarvon, while another Madoc overran Pembroke and Caermarthen, and Morgan of Avan seems at one time to have gained complete mastery in Glamorgan. De Clare, never quite equal to a great emergency, was probably disabled by disease. In any case, Edward would probably have himself taken the lead; as it was, he acted with his usual vigour. In November 1294, he was at Aberconway, where he seems to have stayed till 1st April 1295, when he had 140 war ships in the Menai Straits. He was next in Anglesea and, 7th May, at Bangor. On the 11th and 12th he was at Cymmer Abbey, by Dolgellau, and, on the 14th and 15th, on the moated mound of Talybont, just above Towyn. On the 17th he was at Llanpadarn Vawr; between the 20th and 23rd, at Aberystwith; and on the 29th, at Llandewi-brevi,—moving, therefore, with immense rapidity, and with a considerable force, “amazement in his van, with flight combined”, though unaccompanied by any of the severities of war, for the terror of his name seemed to have reduced the rebels to order. On the 2nd and 3rd of June he was at Cardigan; on the 6th at Drysllwyn Castle, whence he marched to Merthyr in Morganwg (Merthyr Tydvil), between the 12th and 15th, and whence, no doubt, he visited Morlais. Thence, having quieted the Principality, he returned northwards to Brecknock, 16th of June, and was at Builth 17th, Clun 19th, Welshpool 22nd, Whitchurch 24th, and on the 1st of July he was again at Aberconway, whence, soon after, he moved to London. His transit across the Principality, rapid as it was, had the best effect, “Rex”, says the continuator of Florence, “Rex penetravit totam Walliam juxta castrum de Morlais. Omnes Wallenses de dominio comitis Gloucestræ rex suscepit ad pacem suam, contra volunta-

tem dicti Comititis. Et rex dedit eis custodem, videlicet, Dominum Walterum Hacklut." In the *Eulogium Historiarum* the King's movement is more briefly noticed. "Rex de Snowdoun per Walliam progrediens, occidentalem intravit Glanmorgan." The Earl must indeed have seen that his Marcher kingdom was at an end, and that, too, just when he had attained the highest object of a subject's ambition—a marriage with a daughter of the sovereign. At the close of this memorable year, 7th December 1295, 24th Edward I, he died, in the Castle of Monmouth, aged fifty-two years, and having held the earldom thirty-three years. On the 22nd of the month he was laid at Tewkesbury, on the left hand of his father. Richard de Talbot was appointed Governor of the Castle and town of Cardiff. (Abb. pl. v, 1, 100, 25 Ed. 1.)

By Alice de la March he had a daughter, Isabel, born 10th March 1261. She married Maurice Lord Berkeley, 1304-5. She seems to have been granted the custody of certain lands held by the King by reason of the nonage of Gilbert, son and heir of Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, etc. In 1314, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore admitted a debt due to her of 300 marcs. She also held lands contingent on her stepmother's death; for in 1315 Ralph de Monthermer, Countess Joan's husband, did service for certain lands which afterwards devolved on Isabella. Also in 1327-8, being Berkeley's widow, she petitioned, stating that her brother, Earl Gilbert, had granted her the manors of Shipton and Barford, for the restitution of which she prayed. She was to show her charters. Berkeley had been justiciary in South Wales, and custos of the castles there. Isabel seems to have died childless, 1338.

By his second wife, Joan of Acre, the Earl had a son, Gilbert, born 1291, and three daughters, Eleanor, or Alianor, Elizabeth and Margaret, afterwards co-heiresses of the estate, to the exclusion of their half-sister Isabel, who was, no doubt, ousted by the surrender and settlement of the estates, and by the rule against the inheriting by the half blood.

The Earl's executors were Thomas, Abbot of Tewkesbury, Robert le Veal of co. Somerset, Simon de Heyham, Adam de Blechingley, and William de Hameldon; and to them, on the Earl's death, at Countess Joan's request, the King pardoned 10,000 marcs due to the Exchequer. It appears that the whole debt was £7284 5s. 7½*d.*, against which was a set-off of £2262 12s. 3*d.* Joan did homage on her accession, 18th January 1296. Her keeper of the wardrobe was John de Bruges, parson of Heghtred.

Among the allowances for the year is £79 6s. for the transport of fifty South Welsh hostages from Bristol to Salisbury Castle. Thirteen others were sent to Newcastle, and sixty to Bamburgh. Three prisoners taken by Roger de Knovil were pardoned for £40.

Joan married secretly and speedily in 1296 Ralph de Monthermer, a simple esquire, upon whom she seems previously to have induced the King to confer knight-hood. The precise date of the marriage is not preserved; but 16th March 1297, it was unknown, for Edward assented to a proposal for marrying Joan to Amadæus, Earl of Savoy. When the marriage was discovered, Edward was furious. He imprisoned Monthermer, and seized all his daughter's lands. 15th March 1297, Marc de Harley had her in custody, and was to provide her with reasonable sustenance. Edward's paternal love must have been strong, for before long, at the intercession of Bishop Bec, he gave way. Her answer to her father's remonstrances is said to have pleased him. "It is not," said she, "considered an ignominy for a powerful Earl to marry 'pauperculam mulierem et tenuem'; neither therefore is it reprehensible in a Countess 'Juvenem strenuum promovere.'" Joan was allowed to reside quietly at Marlborough, and after a short time the marriage was recognized; and 26th Edward I, 1297-8, Monthermer had livery of the estates, and was summoned as Earl of Gloucester and Hertford by the tenure of fifty knight's fees. He proved a gallant soldier, rose high

in the King's favour, and after some delay seems to have been allowed to administer the lordship of Glamorgan till the majority of the young Earl.

Meantime the King, administering as guardian, had issued writs to Morgan the son of Meredith, and David le Grant, to levy and send forward Welsh troops to Gascony; and another writ with Morgan couples Henry de Penbruge. 9th May 1297, the custos was to hear the complaints, according to the local custom, of Simon de Ralege and Joanna his wife, and James de Bonneville and Amabilia his wife. These probably related to Wrenchester, the Ralegh estate in Glamorgan. 3rd July 1297, writs were issued to postpone a payment of 100 marcs, which the men of Tyriarth (Tir-y jarll) had been fined, with Countess Joan, to be secured in their ancient customs, and of a similar payment of 500 marcs from the men of Miscin and Glynrothny, and 100 marcs from the commonalty of Senghennith; and 15th July, Walter de Hacklut, Custos, was ordered to complete the gate of the Castle of Llantrissant, which he had begun. 18th July, at the prayer of the Archbishop, the King restored to the Bishop of Llandaff his lands which had been held by the Barons of the Exchequer; also the Countess Joan, in the exercise of her rights, sold the wardship of John le Sor for ten years to Lovetot, who sold it to a Sienna merchant for 260½ marcs. Le Sor was a Glamorgan landholder.

In 1301, Tonbridge Castle was restored to the Earl and Countess, with estates in Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and the Isle of Portland. In Marc de Harley's accounts for the Honour of Tonbridge is a charge for "vadia" for a Welsh hostage there kept. The royal accounts extend from 2nd May 1298, to 16th November 1301, when the restoration took place. In 1301, Monthermer signed the barons' letter to Pope Boniface the VIII, as "R. de Monthermer Com. Gloucestræ et Hertfordiæ." The Archbishop wrote to him about restoring the goods of Earl Gilbert to his ex-

ecutors, and cites Robert de St. Fagan, treasurer of the church of Llandaff, to reply concerning them. This was Robert le Veal who was Lord of St. Fagan's. In 1304-5, a subsidy was levied upon Wales for the war. North Wales paid £1,333 6s. 8d.; West Wales, £833 6s. 8d.; Flint, £333 6s. 8d.; Powys, £216 13s. 4d.; Builth, £50; Montgomery, £40; total, £2,806 13s. 4d.

26th July 1306, Prince Edward writes to Joan from Lambeth, thanking her for her goods and her seal, which latter he returns by his clerk. He assures her that the King is not so harsh to him as she has been told. 1304-5, Earl Ralph appointed Richard de Rochelle to be his sheriff for Glamorgan. In 1306, the year of Bruce's coronation at Scone, he received from Edward the lands of Athol, Strathbolgi, and Strathern. He was then styled Earl of Gloucester and Huntingdon. 26th February 1307, in the year of Edward's death, the Earl was one of the four Lords sworn to enforce the order for the banishment of Gaveston. Countess Joan died in March in that year, when her father was engaged in his last campaign. The news reached him at Carlisle. He issued two mandates: one, 1st April, commending her to God, and directing prayer to be made for her soul, and another, 9th May, announcing her death "non sine cordis amaritudine", and directing Mass to be said. He himself followed her on the 7th July. Soon afterwards, on the coming of age of his step-son, Ralph laid aside the title of Gloucester and Hertford, and afterwards took rank as a Baron only. Between Joan's death and his own, Edward, by writ of Privy Seal, 14th June, formally acquitted Ralph de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester, all debts which he and his late wife Joan owed to him, and, from Carlisle, 14th November 1307, ordered letters of release under the great seal.

Monthermer lived on into the reign of Edward II, and survived the young earl. He was taken at Bannockburn, but released, and married to his second wife,

Isabel, sister of Aymer of Valence and widow of John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, also a great heiress and allied to royalty. Both his wives were great heiresses, but both had sons by previous husbands, so that neither he nor his children inherited from them. By Joan he had two sons, but his eventual heiress was a daughter who married John de Montacute, since which all succeeding Montacutes and, on questionable authority, the Montagues, have quartered the arms of Monthermer.

Countess Joan gave lands at Caversham for her soul's weal and that of Earl Gilbert, and was buried in the church of the Augustins at Clare. Her brother, Edward II, and many magnates, attended her funeral. Neither Monthermer nor his countess seem to have taken much interest in Glamorgan matters; in 1316, however, he held the wardship of Peter le Veele, a Glamorgan landowner, at that time a minor.

GILBERT de Clare, 8th Earl of Gloucester, and 8th of Hereford, and 10th Earl of Clare, was born in 1291, and was thus about four years old at his father's death in 1295, and seventeen at that of his mother in 1307. He seems to have been on good terms with his cousin, Edward II, in their youth, for in a letter to his father in 1305, the prince asked to be allowed to have Gilbert de Clare and Perot de Gaveston as companions. In 1306, while under age and a ward to the King his grandfather, the Earl appeared before the Court at Westminster, and claimed to be allowed certain tenements, liberties, advowsons of churches, etc., which his father had possessed in the city of London, holden by socage tenure, and which did not pass into the King's wardship, but by the custom of the city could be claimed when the heir was of an age to manage them and himself; until when they were to be in the charge of his next friend. The claim was admitted and livery was granted, he being then eighteen years old, "*et habet sensum, racionem, et intellectum ad regendum se et sua.*" This was extended, 26th November 1307, to all his possessions throughout England held in socage

or fee farm, and indeed the entry on the Close Roll looks as though the King admitted him at once to all his possessions. His mother's death and the accession of Edward nearly coincide with his assumption of his titles and the enjoyment of his estates.

One of Edward's first acts was to recal Gaveston, and to give him the earldom of Cornwall, and Margaret, one of Gloucester's sisters, for a wife. They were betrothed 29th October 1307, and the bridegroom had large gifts in money and jewels from the late King's treasury. The offence Gaveston gave to the nobles speedily led to his second banishment, decreed by letters patent, 8th of May, and which was actually enforced 25th of March 1308. The King, however, diverted the blow by sending him to Ireland as regent. On this occasion Gloucester seems to have remained neuter. In this year a writ was issued to the custos of Dene Forest to augment the bishopric of Llandaff, which "*nimis exilis esse dinoscitur*", by the gift of the Church of All Saints, Newland, promised by the late King. Also inquiry is to be made as to the claim of the neighbouring parsons to assarts in the forest. In July 1309, Gaveston returned, and on this occasion Earl Gilbert stood his friend and made his peace with the barons, though for a short time only. At this time the Abbot of Margam was about to attend a Cistercian chapter.

At the council of Westminster in March 1310, Gloucester was one of the four earls appointed to keep the peace. He also was one of the "ordainers" appointed by the King at that council, at the close of which Edward went to Scotland, leaving the Earl of Lincoln as regent, who, dying in February 1311, was succeeded, 4th March, by the Earl of Gloucester. Some of his acts in that capacity are cited in a petition to Parliament, 8th Edward II. In August the King again met his Parliament in London, and the ordainers gave in their report, four articles of which provided for the banishment of Gaveston, to which the King was forced

to yield. In February 1312, the King, violating his assent, recalled Gaveston; on which the barons rose, captured him at Scarborough castle—an event followed by his illegal but well deserved death, 19th June 1311.

The Earl's position from the first had been one of great difficulty. As nephew to, and an early friend of, the King he was naturally one of his chief supporters; but his tendencies, like those of his father and grandfather, were to oppose the abuse of the royal power, and, as far as possible, to moderate its excesses. He evidently, all along, disapproved of Gaveston's proceedings, and although on one occasion he took his part, and was relied upon by the offender, he showed no disposition to avenge his death, but joined his efforts to those of the Bishops to bring about a better understanding. It was at his request that the jewels taken with Gaveston were given up to the King. By some accounts, when pressed by the Earl of Leicester to interfere to save Gaveston, he declined, save only to change the manner of his death. Edward seems to have regarded him with distrust, and he is ordered not to attend Parliament "*cum equis et armis, more debito*", but to come as in the time of the late King. His exertions certainly contributed largely to stave off the civil war. 20th April 1312, he had a safe-conduct, with his horses and arms, to pass through London to Eltham.

23rd May 1313, Edward attended the coronation of the King of Navarre, leaving Gloucester to open Parliament as regent. He seems, at this time, to have had heavy unsettled accounts with the exchequer. In 1309-11, he had £1,000 for his expenses in Scotland, and 3,500 marcs were to be paid him from the first money received from wardships. He had also a grant of 5,000 marcs on the same account. In 1313-14, he went to France on a mission; and in June 1314, attended the King in Scotland, bringing 5,000 retainers at his own charge, and thus supported, he appeared with the king at Bannockburn, 24-30th June 1314.

The rivalry with his Welsh neighbour, de Bohun,



displayed itself on the battle-field. De Clare claimed the vanguard, the place of his ancestors, against de Bohun, who claimed it as High Constable. While the chiefs disputed, the Scots advanced, and de Clare, in his undisciplined valour, rode hard in advance of his men to draw the first blood. He became entangled in the ranks, was overthrown, and fighting valiantly, was slain. "There", says Walsingham, "charged that noble soldier, Gilbert Earl of Clare, avenging with his own hands upon the Scots the cruel death that awaited him." With him fell Giles de Argentine, who had advanced to his rescue. Gloucester is said to have owed his death to having charged without waiting for his surcoat of armorial bearings, so that the Scots were ignorant of his name; otherwise, the immense ransom that would have been paid for him would have saved his life. His body was given up without ransom and sent to the King at Berwick. It rested finally at Tewkesbury, on the left hand of that of his father.

Earl Gilbert was but twenty-three years old at his death in June 1314, and had survived his father nineteen years. By his wife Maud, who appears to have been a daughter of John, son of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, he had one son, John, who died just before his father, and was buried at Tewkesbury in the Lady chapel. With the Earl, therefore, ended the main line of the great house of Clare, Earls of Gloucester and Hereford. The Countess declared herself not only pregnant but quick with child, a statement which gave rise to some very curious legal proceedings between her and the husbands of the sisters and presumptive co-heirs; nor was it until 1317 that the dispute was settled and all hope of issue given up. The case was raised by Hugh le Despenser, husband of the elder co-heir, who prayed for a division of the estates and tendered homage. On this the Countess pleaded pregnancy, and offered herself to a jury of matrons under a writ "de ventre inspiciendo", for which, however, Despenser did not move. The question of

law as to how long it would be proper to wait was one of extreme nicety, "*novum et difficile*", some holding that no child born eleven months after the reputed father's death could be really his. The King referred the matter, by a writ of privy seal, to the chancellor and two justices, who advised a reference to Parliament. It was, however, referred to certain doctors of the canon law, and finally came before Parliament in the quindene of Easter, 1317, when the statement of pregnancy was abandoned, and it was admitted that by the course of nature the Countess "*non posset dici a predicto comite impregnata.*" The King then accepted the homage of the husbands, all the sisters being married.

Under the Close Roll of 8th Edward II, 1314-15, an assignation of dower was made to the Countess. Upon the Welsh lands she had £440 3s. 1½*d.*, and to make up one third of the issues of Great Marlow, Bucks, £64 12s. 0½*d.*; total, £504 15s. 2*d.* She had the castle, manor, and vill of Caerleon, the manors of Lyswini and Llevenyth, and lands in Edlegarn and Little Tintern, besides lands in Berks, Gloucester, Norfolk, Oxford, Suffolk, Surrey, and Wilts.

The returns of the King's escheator show who were reputed the heirs of the Earl, and what lands he held "*in capite.*" The returns, being from many counties, were very numerous, but most stated that, saving the pregnancy of the widow, the heirs were the three sisters, then of full age. Some, however, include Isabel, the earl's half-sister, on which point it was decided, "*et quia in aliquibus inquisitionibus continebatur, quod Isabella, prout soror et hæres præfati comitis simul cum prædictis Alianora et Margareta, consideratum fuit, etc. . . . at inquirendum, etc.*" . . . and the return further stated, "*quod non fuit aliqua Isabella soror prædicti comitis que debuit succedere in aliqua parte dictæ hereditatis, sed quod præfata Alianora, Margareta, et Elizabetha fuerunt sorores, etc.*" . . . Isabel was no doubt doubly excluded, by the surrender of the estate and its re-settlement, on the Earl's second marriage,

and as being related by the half blood only. The returns from Oxford, Berks, and Suffolk, give Eleanor, Margaret, and Isabel. Here, however, Isabel seems to be put for Elizabeth.

The Earl's executors, Richard de Rodney, Ithel de Caerwent, and Richard de Byflet, had a writ to give seizin to the heirs 15th June 1317. They had already, 5th July 1314, got possession of the personalty. On the Earl's death, the "sigillum deputatum" for the land of Glamorgan was placed in the King's hands, who gave it, 23rd July, 7th Edward II, to Ingelram de Berenger, custos of the land, who, 28th October 1314, came to the Exchequer and gave it up to the barons.

The actual partition was a tedious business, and "pendente lite" the estates remained in the King's hands, and certain "custodes" managed them. John Giffard of Brimmesfield, called "Le Rych", an active soldier much concerned in Welsh affairs, had charge of the castles of Glamorgan and Morgan. His father, also, John Giffard, had held St. Briavels, 47th Henry III, and Dynevor, 18th Edward I, and seems to have held Brunlais in right of his first wife, Maud Clifford. The younger John was custos of Drysellwyn, 2nd Edward II, and was taken at Borough Bridge, and executed 1322. Various details of administration were settled by the King. 7th August 1314, he granted to Geoffrey de Aylsham, the late Earl's confessor, the issues of the vacant See of Durham. 14th September 1314, Bartholomew de Badlesmere was in charge of Glamorgan, and all the officers of the lordship were to have the same fees as in the time of the Earl. Also he is to store the castles. The fees, it appears, were:—To the Sheriff 100 marcs yearly, two robes, and £6 for an additional horse; to the comptroller, £6 13s. 4*d.*, and 40s. for robes; to the constable of Cardiff Castle, £4 6s. 8*d.*, and £12 for robes; to the constable of Llantrissant Castle, £13 6s. 8*d.*; of Caerphilly, £40, and for robes, £5. The constable of the Tower of London is to receive and hold Morgan de Avene, who

will be delivered to him by William de Braose. Morgan was still in the Tower 13th July 1316, when there was some mention of his bails. 14th March 1315, Badlesmere was to appoint Llewelyn ap Griffith (ancestor of Lewis of Van and Green Meadow), to a bailliewick, such as he held in the time of the late Earl, if he be fit for it. 15th March, the Welsh of Morganwg have petitioned the King that the hostages in custody with Badlesmere should be allowed such sustenance from the lands as they were accustomed to have from Earl Gilbert and his ancestors. The King asks how this was; and if the petition be well founded the practice is to be continued. At the same time, 14th March, Llewelyn ap Griffith states that the "Forcelettum de Blank Mouster", our tower of Whitchurch, is "in nullo (novo) edificatum", and that there is a mill there with profits attached to it. The King directs that Llewelyn is to have the "forcelettum", but that Badlesmere is to do with the mill as seems best. The "forcelettum" seems eventually to have reverted to the chief lord, but the land near it still is held by Llewelyn's descendant, Mr. Lewis. Llewelyn further pleads a promise from Earl Gilbert of 10 marcs rent, of which he has received two by gift in Egloswladus (Capel Gwladys). He also complains of having been unjustly harassed. In 1317, 15th May, Edward orders this to be set right, and the 8 marcs to be paid out of the issues of Glamorgan. John, Bishop of Llandaff, also puts in a claim for the tithe of grants of the "new land" in all the extra-parochial parts of Dene Forest, granted by the late King on account of the poverty of the See; and, because there is a question about the boundaries, Ralph de Monthermer, as custos of the Forest, is to see to the matter. In this 8th Edward II, eleven men of Tiriarth were remitted 50 marcs of their fine for rebellion, and those of Neath 200 marcs. They seem to have paid 50 marcs, 3rd Edward II, out of a fine of 200 marcs, and the men of Neath 200 marcs out of 500 marcs, through Badlesmere. To William de

Berkerolles is remitted 10 marcs, to John le Noreis £10, and to Robert de Greyndon £10. Also to Leysan de Avene was allowed 40 marcs if he could show that, as he said, he had expended so much of his own money when directed to defend Kenfig; also a similar payment of 50 marcs to Payn de Turberville. The Abbot of Caerleon stated that Earl Gilbert had taken great part of his land under an exchange, but had not fulfilled the agreement. He had £10 on this account from the issues of Glamorgan. The Bishop was John of Monmouth, a member apparently of the baronial house of that name and place. He was an active person in Welsh affairs, and ever on the side of order. In 1310 he was one of the fifteen Lords Ordainers; and, in 1311-14, he and his chapter advanced 100 marcs to the King; and, in 1320, he was the agent for enforcing a loan from the knights Hospitallers in his diocese. In the following year he appears as pronouncing ecclesiastical censures against those who spoke evil of the King. In 1322 he was called upon to give an opinion upon the exile of the Despensers, having been absent from the council in which the judgment was declared illegal. Soon afterwards he employs the spiritual arm and offered up prayers for the King's success, which, however, he enforced by the temporal arm, by furnishing men-at-arms. He is, however, getting old, and on this plea excuses himself from attending the Parliament at York; and in 1323 he died.

A mild and just policy marks all the King's decisions in these local matters. The men of Senghenydd complained that the housebote and heybote they had under the Earl were taken away by Badlesmere, who had sold the "bosc". In this, also, they were to have satisfaction. 1st December 1315, Turberville is to be custos of Glamorgan, with charge of the castles, and to take fealty from all who held of the lordship, whether in Glamorgan or Pembroke. Robert de Greyndon, however, was made sheriff in the lands held by Gilbert de Clare of the King "in capite". He held office from the

death of Earl Gilbert to the Assumption of the Virgin, 10th Edward II, and had £10 for his expenses against the Welsh. The remissions had reference to the past rebellion, but there was still much local discontent, which in this year broke out in East Glamorgan under the leadership of Llewelyn Bren, a landowner on the left bank of the Taff, within the hill country. 9th February 1316, the sheriffs of Gloucester and Somerset, and John de Wysham, constable of St. Briavels, were to provide men and victuals for a force to put down the rising, and Stephen le Blund is to provide the money. 13th February, Humphrey de Bohun was to take the command. Peace was at once restored. 23rd March, Bohun was ordered to send Llewelyn Bren, his wife, and sons, Griffith and Gevan, to the Tower, where they still remained, 17th June 1317. Also, 26th March, Wm. de Montacute, Hy. de Pembrugge, and Robert de Grendon were to sit and take fines in Glamorgan for the breach of the laws. Bail was taken for Llewelina, wife of Llewelyn, for David, Meuric and Ruyn ap Llewelyn, Howel ap Ivor, Ywaun ap Ivor, Llewelyn ap Madoc, Madoc Vachan, Grono ap Res, and Res Miskyn, all, probably, relations or neighbours of Llewelyn Bren. John Giffard is to pay Greyndon's fees as sheriff. For services during the rising, the King gave to Rimus Bol of Sheghere, the land of Sheghere which Rimus Vaughan had held under the Earl. To Wm. Fleming was committed the custody of Llantrissant Castle, and the Forest of Miskyn as bailiff. Afterwards he fell under the King's displeasure, and was executed at Cardiff for treason. Also, Maurice de Berkeley was to be a justice of South Wales, with the custody of all the King's castles not given to others.

The King's lenient conduct was not appreciated; and ascribed, not unjustly, to his weakness. 20th September 1316, he informs the Bishop of Llandaff that he hears that many outlaws and other malefactors frequent the Church of Llandaff, and are there received and kept, going to and fro at their pleasure, and committing rob-

beries, etc., in those parts. The bishop is called upon to apply a remedy.

5th November. Letters patent inform the men of Glamorgan that John Walwayn and John Giffard were assigned to receive arrears of fines in those parts for the redemption of life and limb, upon their goods and chattels, under the awards of Wm. de Montacute and his fellows in the year preceding. Of the same date was a writ for the delivery of all the Welsh concerned in Llewelyn Bren's rising who had paid the fines awarded by Montacute, but the effect of the disturbance was long felt, and, as late as 1224-5, the Prior of Goldcliff was in arrear with his tithe on account of Llewelyn Bren's excesses. The Close Roll of 5th February 1316 states that Ralph de Monthermer and Joan, his wife, the King's sister, by charter, at the request of Edward I, granted to Morgan ap Meredith all his land of Edlegarn for life, for £15 yearly, and he was to pay for the remaining lands above that value; but Morgan now states that when Earl Gilbert took seizin he removed him from Edlegarn, and in its place gave him Coganmore hamlet for life, worth not above £10, as the recent inquisition shows, on which Morgan prays that in consideration for his services, past and future, he may be allowed 100s. in land. To this the King consented, and ordered Turberville to see to it.

The three sisters, in behalf of whom "*divisus est comitatus nobilissimus in tres baronias*", were all married, and their husbands continued to press for the division of the spoil. They were:—1, Alianor, aged twenty-two in 1314; married in 1312 Hugh le Despenser, and on his death, William Lord Zouch of Mortimer. 2, Margaret, aged twenty-one in 1314; married, first, Piers Gaveston, and afterwards Hugh D'Audley, the younger. 3, Elizabeth, married, first, John, son and heir of John de Burgh, Earl of Ulster; next, Theobald Verdon, and, finally, Roger d'Amory.

As, in the partition, the lordship of Glamorgan, the Castles of Cardiff and Caerphilly, and the patronage

of Tewkesbury, fell to the elder sister, her descendants by Despenser were regarded as continuing the line of de Clare, so far as regarded Glamorgan, and their history alone belongs to the history of that county.

Gaveston, the husband of Margaret de Clare, was a Gascon knight, brought up with young Edward, until the King, seeing his excessive and mischievous influence over the Prince, removed him, February 1307, just before his death, and banished him from England. Edward, become King, at once recalled him, and, 29th October 1307, betrothed him to Margaret de Clare, to whom, immediately afterwards, he was married, at Berkhamstead, an appanage of the Earldom of Cornwall just granted, 6th August, to Gaveston. The new Earl's follies and arrogance, and his alternate prosperity and adversity, belong to the history of the reign. He was beheaded 19th June 1312, and the long list of his possessions occupies five pages in the *Fœdera*. Edward buried him with great ceremony at Langley, and himself placed two palls of cloth of gold upon his tomb. By Margaret he left a daughter, Joan, whom he had proposed to betroth to Thomas, son and heir of John, Lord Wake. Wake, however, married elsewhere without the King's licence, for which he was fined heavily. Joan was then betrothed by the King to John, son of Thomas de Multon, Lord of Egremont, both then very young. Edward promised her £1,000 portion, and she was to have a jointure of 400 marcs per annum. The £1,000 was paid as a fine by Wake to Multon, 11th Edward II. Joan probably died early, for she is not again mentioned, and Multon married another lady, 14th Edward II.

Hugh de Audley, whom Margaret next married, was son of Hugh, a cadet of the Barons Audley, of Heleigh Castle. She was then styled widow of Piers Gaveston, and having become a coheiress, she had by partition, 11th Edward II, the castle and tower of Newport, the manors of Stowe, Rempney, Dyneley, and Maghay, the hamlet of Frenebothe (Ebbw), and the commote



of Wentloog. Thornbury also came to her, and Tonbridge Castle, and much English property. Thus the Monmouthshire portion of the lordship was cut off from the Glamorgan part. 15th Edward II, Audley was in arms for Thomas of Lancaster, and was taken at Boroughbridge, but pardoned owing to his wife's interest.

20th Edward II. Maria, widow of William de Brewose held in dower one-third of the manor of Buckingham and of the hamlet of Burton (?), parcel of it, of the heritage of John de Brewose, all which, together with two parts of the said manor and hamlet are held of Hugh de Audley and Margaret his wife, of the heritage, etc., and John is of full age. This was no doubt a part of the old Giffard estate, inherited by the de Clares.

7th Edward III. Audley was fighting against William la Zouch of Mortimer. He served in Scotland, and, 23rd April 1337, was created Earl of Gloucester by patent to him and his heirs. He was allowed a grant out of the issues of the earldom instead of the usual third penny. As Earl of Gloucester he was much employed by Edward III in war, and held a command at Vironfosse. 14th Edward III, he was in the sea fight at Sluys. 16th Edward III, he went into Brittany with a retinue of 100 men-at-arms, a banneret, 20 knights, 78 esquires, and 100 mounted archers; a princely retinue. 17th Edward III, he was in Scotland.

Audley died 1347, leaving by Margaret one daughter, Margaret, aged thirty years. She married Ralph, Lord Stafford, and carried to that family Thornbury and large estates in Monmouthshire and elsewhere, which descended to the Dukes of Buckingham of the name of Stafford.

Notwithstanding the terms of the patent, the earldom was dropped on Audley's death, nor was it again revived in his descendants.

Elizabeth de Clare, the third sister, was much the

greatest lady of the three. To her was adjudged the Honour of Clare, with lands in Dorset and Monmouth. She married, 1, John de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, who died 1313; and by him was mother of John de Burgh, born at Cardiff, on the morrow after Easter-day 1313, and baptised, 14 days later, by the Bishop of Llandaff, in the presence of the King. He died young. The Countess also had William, Earl of Ulster, whose daughter and heir, Elizabeth, living 1355, married Lionel, 3rd son of Edward III, in whose person were revived his wife's honours, he being created Earl of Ulster and Duke of Clare or Clarence. Their daughter Philippa married Edmund, Earl of March, and through her the House of York derived its claim to the throne.

Elizabeth married secondly, at Bristol, 3rd February 1315, Theobald de Verdon, otherwise Butler, as his second wife. The marriage seems to have been clandestine, and the lady by no means coy. De Verdon was charged before Parliament with having on the Wednesday after the 2nd February 1315, 18th Edward II, forcibly abducted Elizabeth, widow of John de Burgh, and the King's niece, from the castle of Bristol, where she was lodged in ward to the King, having been summoned thither from Ireland. His defence was that he never entered the castle, but that Elizabeth came forth a league from it to meet him, when they were married. He gave bail to meet the charge. De Verdon was of Newbold-Verdon and a baron, and had probably made the lady's acquaintance in Ireland, where he was justiciary. He did not long survive, dying 27th July 1316. He was buried at Crokesden, co. Stafford, leaving Elizabeth pregnant with a daughter, Isabel, born on St. Benedict's day following her father's death, and co-heir with her two half-sisters of the Verdon estates. She married Henry, Lord Ferrers of Groby, who did homage for her lands 5th Edward III, and died 15th September, 17th Edward III, by whom she had William, Lord Ferrers.

It appears that in her grants, Elizabeth the elder did not use the name of Verdon, but styled herself Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare.

On the death of Theobald de Verdon, Elizabeth married a third husband, Sir Roger d'Amory, baron of Amory in Ireland, to whom about that time, 10th Edward II, Edward granted Sandal in Yorkshire, and manors in Oxford and Surrey, and soon afterwards, in 1319, Nicholas de Verdon prayed to be admitted to the lands of his late brother Theobald. In d'Amory Elizabeth gained a husband who was able to protect her through most of the troubles of the latter part of the reign of Edward II. He had summons to Parliament in the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, of Edward II.

14th and 15th Edward II, he was Governor of the castles of Ewias-Lacy, Gloucester, and Bristol, and warden of Dene Forest. He also had Knaresborough Castle. He was, on the whole, opposed to the Earl of Lancaster, and acted with Badlesmere and Pembroke, binding himself in 1317 by a bond for £10,000 to do his best to lead the King to be governed by those Lords. In 1320, however, he joined the general body of the discontented, probably from dislike to the Despensers, and 8th December, 15th Edward II, 1321, a writ was issued for his arrest, which preceded his death but a few months, he dying at Tutbury 1322, when his body was given up to his widow, who buried him at Ware Priory.

Edward at first seized his lands for rebellion, but speedily relented, and the Close Roll, 2nd November 1322, directs that Elizabeth de Burgo is to have her lands in divers counties. Soon afterwards, however, 7th January 1323, it is declared that, whereas Elizabeth de Burgo, the widow of Roger d'Amory, knight, the King's niece, has receded from his presence without licence, her lands are to be seized.

By Roger d'Amory Elizabeth had one daughter, Isabel, who married John, Lord Bardolf, aged 17,

3rd Edward III, who made proof of age and had livery of his lands, 9th Edward III. The marriage took place, 10th Edward III. Bardolf was an active soldier and saw much service. He died 3rd August 1371. Besides two daughters, Isabel and Agnes, mentioned in their grandmother's will, they had William, father of Thomas, Lord Bardolf, who was returned, 1 H. IV, as cousin and heir of Sir Roger d'Amory. He also inherited lands from Elizabeth de Clare.

Elizabeth de Clare was the foundress of Clare Hall, Cambridge. She died 4th November 1360, leaving a will, dated 25th September 1355, of great length, and disposing of large personal property. It has been printed by Nichols in his *Royal Wills*. She therein styles herself, as before, Elizabeth de Burgh, Dame of Clare, and directs her body to be buried with the Nuns Minorites in Aldgate. She founded Masses for the weal of de Burgh, Verdon, and d'Amory, "Mes seignours"; and left legacies, among a host of persons, to Nichol. d'Amory her executor, and to John de Clare. "A ma sale apelle" Clare Hall she left £40 and some plate, the endowment being already completed. To the two Orders of Brothers at Cardiff she left £6, and she mentions her heritage in Clare, Dorset, and Monmouth. Her seals are well known to those curious in such matters, and have often been engraved. One, given in Montague's *Guide to the Study of Heraldry*, has a central roundel charged on an escutcheon with 3 cinquefoils for Bardolph, and round it, 8 roundels charged, 1 and 5 with a plain cross for de Burgh; 2 and 6, a castle for Castile; 3, barry undy a bendlet for d'Amory; 8, a lion rampart for Leon; and 7, three chevrons for Clare. Another seal has in the centre d'Amory, and on roundels placed about it, England, Clare, de Burgh, with a file of 3 points, and a fret for Verdon, while four intervening roundels carry Castile and Leon for her grandmother Eleanor of Castile.

And thus came to an end the great house of de Clare, and was closed the second great chapter in the

History of the Land of Morgan; the first being its condition under its native rulers, brought to an end by the conquest by Fitz-Hamon. Descending from Alianor de Clare, the elder co-heir, the Despensers continued the female line in Glamorgan through various vicissitudes, transmitting it finally to the Beauchamps, whence it merged in the Nevilles, whose heiress marrying Richard Plantagenet gave occasion to his becoming Duke of Gloucester; on whose death as Richard III at Bosworth, the lordship escheated to the Crown, and the independent Marchership came practically to an end.

During a part of the reign of John, and the whole of those most eventful periods in Welsh history, the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, and for much of that of Edward II, the de Clares were Lords of Glamorgan, and upon Glamorgan they mainly relied for their immense political power. Their wealth, indeed, they drew from their English estates, and especially from those comprising the Honours of Clare and of Gloucester; but it was the possession of the land of Morgan that enabled them to take a position often opposed to and always independent of their sovereign. The position, no doubt, had its sources of weakness as well as of strength; the sons of Morgan, brave in arms and unbridled in their zeal for liberty, were always ready to take advantage of a change of masters, of a minority, or of any weakness of purpose in the reigning Earl; but at other times, when the Lord was firm and moderately just, they were not indocile subjects, and followed him and served him faithfully in war. In another respect the history of Glamorgan, under the house of Clare, bears upon a very interesting section of the history of England. Under the early Norman sovereigns, the Lords of the Welsh Marches acquired powers utterly inconsistent with the good government of the whole kingdom; powers such as the great feudatories on the continent so long exercised to the serious detriment of the kingdoms of France and Germany. The Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, the

Lords de Braose, of Mortimer, Warren, and the Earls of Chester, under a weak and imprudent Prince, such as Henry III, threw the whole kingdom into disorder, and gave a refuge to those barons whose estates lay more at the mercy of the Crown. These powers the great Edward set himself to work to resume. His conquests were not merely nor mainly over the Welsh; but in reducing the Welsh to submission, he destroyed the main source of the power of the marcher Lords; and long before the close of his reign, he had so consolidated the Principality with England, that even the weakness and folly of his son were unable altogether to break it up.



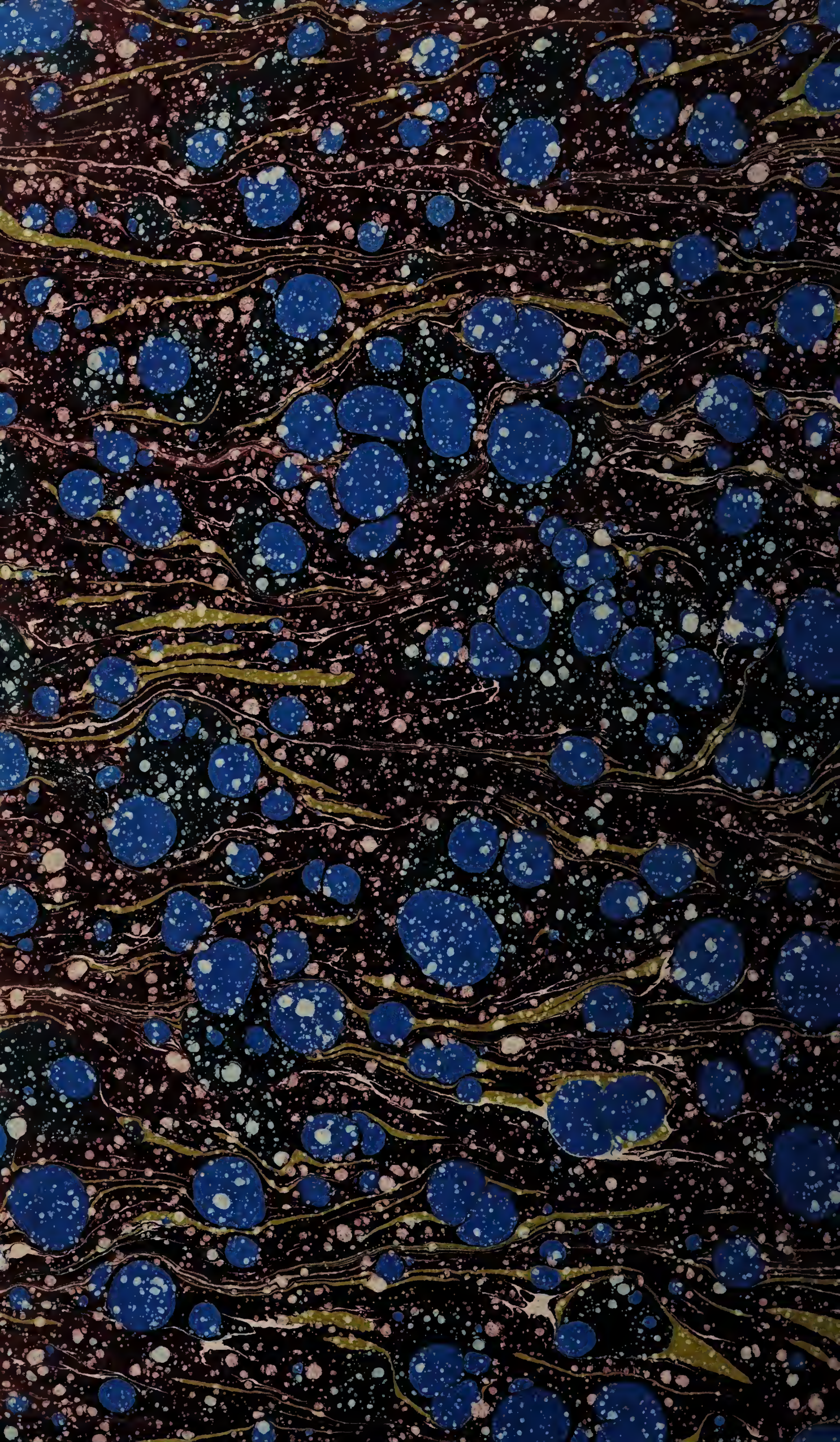














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