

THE LAND OF MORGAN.

PART IV.

By G. T. CLARK.

GILBERT de Clare, surnamed "the Red," "*quia rufus erat et pulcher aspectu*," 7th Earl of Gloucester and of Hertford, and 9th Earl of Clare, succeeded in July, 1262, 46 Henry III, being then nineteen years of age, married to Alice de la Marche or d'Angoulesme, and with one child, Isabel, born 10th March, 1262. Soon after his accession the Earl of Hereford, then custos, wrote to Walter de Merton, the chancellor, to say that the lands of the late earl are quiet, and the castles equipped. In 1263, William de Powyk was appointed to take depositions in a dispute between the Prior of Ewenny and the Abbot of Margam concerning tenements in Llanmeuthin, and 15th July, the king informed the barons, knights, and the lieges of Glamorgan that he had committed to Walter de Sully the lands and castles of which Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, had had charge, and required them to obey and aid him. 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 seisin; which cost the earl £1000. 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, like 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, 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 fideli reddit infidelem.*" He was, however, probably influenced also by the example of his father, who, though 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 knight-hood 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 Warren, 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 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 the earl. 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. 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 a 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, charging him with being an alien, "*manifeste ridiculum est quod hic alienigena totius regni dominium sibi præsument 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 on the king's behalf. His reward was a pardon, 49th Hen. III., for his brother Thomas, himself, and his

adherents, and the wardship 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 a 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 so 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.

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 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 enquire 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 Misco, 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, and the stronghold of Castel Coch. 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 contiguntur, et quæ tunc temporis a Wallensibus fortiter fuerunt impugnatae, depopulatis provinciis, et castris solo terrarum compeanatur periculum imminere, si vacuatis regni limitibus; ipsas expositas relinquerunt indefensus." 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. Meantime Caerphilly had been commenced, and was defensible, for the Bishops of Lichfield and Worcester were there when Llewelyn laid siege to it. 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^r 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.

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 tythes, 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 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, Ogmere, 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. 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 Ledes, 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 accommodation 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 the 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 architectual peculiarities, which, however, are sufficiently marked. Enough remained of Whitchurch a score of years ago also 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 Lewis's of the Van and Llanishen, indigenous 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.

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 re-opened, 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 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 coheir 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 matter was settled by the transfer of Aure Manor to Mortimer. 9th June, 1279, Earl Gilbert did homage to Archbishop Peckham, for Tonbridge. This took place at Lymynge 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 1000 marks, which sum he was then repaying.

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. 4d. 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 de Neil (Veal), was again guilty of violence, seizing from 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 recognized 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 Merdeith were first, 1286, sent to Bridgorth 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 earls 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 Angou-

lesme, 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 Pere 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 "*Prælucutio*" 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 marcheas 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. Matilda, the earl'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 the 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 enquiry 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, reported, and both earls were imprisoned. The proceedings are recorded at great length on the Rolls of Parliament, and was one of the "causes celebres" 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 in 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 est 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's 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 thesee, 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, and then 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. 3rd November, 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 then said, "*Nichil clamare poterunt, propter privilegium regium, et corone dignitatem, ad quam specialiter pertinet Episcopatum vacantium custodia.*" Warenne was non-suited. The whole transaction well exemplifies the mixture of firmness and moderation with which the great 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 inquisitions as to the possessions of William Earl Mareshal 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, the records of this 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 at 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 Dolellau, 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 Llandewibrevi,—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 Bailth 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 pene travit totam Walliam juxta castrum de Morlais. Omnes Wallenses de dominio comitis Gloucestriæ rex suscepit ad pacem suam, contre voluntatem dicti Comitis. Et rex dedit eis custodem, videlicet, Dominum Walterum Hack-

lut." 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 a sovereign. At the close of this memorable year, 7th December, 1295, 24th Edw. 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.

By Alice de la Marche 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 non-age 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, 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.

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. 7½d., against which was a set off of £2262 12s. 3d. Joan did homage on her accession, 18th January, 1296. Her keeper of the wardrobe was John de Bruges, parson of Higherghed.

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 Bambrugh. 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 already to have induced the king to confer knighthood. 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, Maberton 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 promoverem*.'" Joan was allowed to reside quietly at Marlborough, and after a short time the marriage was recognized; and 26 Edward I, 1297-8, Monthermer had livery of the estates, and was summoned as Earl of Gloucester and Hertford by the tenure of fifty knights' 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 Tyrarth (Tir-y-jarll) had 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 Llanrissant, 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 for ten years of John le Sor to Lovetot, who sold it to a Sienna merchant for 260½ marcs. Le Sor was a Glamorgan land holder.

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 the Pope as "R. de Monthermer Com. Gloucestræ." The archbishop wrote to him about restoring the goods of Earl Gilbert to his executors, 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 earl was present at Bruce's coronation at Scone, and 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, 5th 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, 14th June, formally acquitted Rafe de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester, all debts which he and his late wife Joan owed to him, and ordered letters of release under the great seal.

Monthermer lived on in 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.

GILBERT de Clare, 8th Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, 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

church, 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 coincided 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 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 in 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 £1000 for his expenses in Scotland, and 3500 marcs were to be paid him from the first money received from wardships. He had also a grant of 5000 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 5000 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.