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## THE LAND OF MORGAN.

CONCLUDING PART.

By G. T. CLARK.

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 Hertford. 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 quinzaine 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 upon the countess. Upon the Welsh lands she had £440 3s. 1½d., and to make up one third of the issues of Great Marlow, Bucks, £64 12s. 0½d.; total, £504 15s. 2d. She had the castle, manor, and vill of Caerleon, the manors of Llyswini 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 shew 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 further return 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 of course legally, though most unjustly, excluded, by the surrender of the estate and its re-settlement on the earl's second marriage.

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 Dryslwyn, 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 Aysham, 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. 4d., and 40s. for robes; to the constable of Cardiff Castle, £4 6s. 8d., and £12 for robes; to the constable of Llantrissant Castle, £13 6s. 8d.; 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 Morganok 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 Moustier," 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 descendent, 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 eight marcs to be paid out of the issues of Glamorgan. John, Bishop of Llandaff, also puts in a claim for the tythe 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 Tiriaath 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 shew 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 same mild and just policy marks all the king's decisions in these 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. 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 robberies, 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 tythe 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 Cogan-more hamlet for life, worth not above £10, as the recent inquisition shews, 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 *Fædera*. 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 £1000 portion, and she was to have a jointure of 400 marcs per annum. The £1000 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 coheirress, 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 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 le 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 issue 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 his 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 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 of 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, Elizabeth or Isabel, born on St. Benedict's day following her father's death, and coheir with her two half-sisters of the Verdon estates. Dugdale makes her marry 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. She survived Ferrers, and, says Dugdale, died 25th July, 23rd Edward III. 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.

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, Elizabeth, 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 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 rampant 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. 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.

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, as well, indeed, as of the weakness 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.

NOTE—The six papers forming the Land of Morgan having appeared, at varying intervals of time, in four of the volumes of the *Archaeological Journal*, the following table may be found useful for reference. They are intended to serve as an introduction to the History of Glamorgan from its conquest and partial occupation by the Normans.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL.

Vol. xxiv, p. 11.

The Land of Morgan : Its Conquest and its Conquerors. Part I.

Vol. xxxv, p. 1.

The Land of Morgan : The Chief Lords. Part II.

Vol. xxxv, p. 313.

The Land of Morgan : The Earls of Gloucester. Part III.

Vol. xxxvi, p. 117.

The Land of Morgan : The Earls of Gloucester and Hertford. Part IV.

Vol. xxxvii, p. 30.

The Land of Morgan. Part V.<sup>1</sup>

Vol. xxxvii, p. 117.

The Land of Morgan. Concluding Part.

<sup>1</sup> This has been wrongly numbered as Part IV.