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## THE LAND OF MORGAN.—THE CHIEF LORDS.

By G. T. CLARK.

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, 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. 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 tythes in Cardiff; a fishery, meadow, and village on the Taff; and the tythes held by Fitz-Hamon's barons in Wales. To St. Peter's at Gloucester he gave the church of St. Cadoc in Llanearvan, with Treyguff, gifts confirmed by Stephen in 1158. He gave also fifteen hides of land in Penhan or Penon. Among Fitz-Hamon's wide possessions occurs the manor of Kyme, near Boston, now conspicuous for its ancient brick tower, and 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. 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 Brichtic'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 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 Devezes, Robert's son

<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?

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 must 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 :—

“The kynge of sogte 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 a to-name or sirname, and that as Fitz-Hamon's daughter she could ask no less.

“So vayr, as ych abbe, yt were me gret ssame,  
Vor to abbe an loverd, bote he abbe an tuo name.”

Henry admits this, and says his son shall be called “Robert le Fitz le Roy,” a sirname 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 by name I sal he and ys  
Vor he ssal be Erle of Gloucestre, and hys eyrs ywys.”

She answers—

<sup>1</sup> In 1118 he witnessed a Charter by Henry I to Savigny as “Robertus filius regis.”  
—*Gall: Christ*: xi, 112.

well lyketh me thys  
 "In this forme ycholle, that all my thyng be hys.

This was erlene hondred yer, and in the yer ryght.

And of the kynges crounement in the (ninthe) yere  
 The vorst Erle of Gloucestre thus was mayd then  
 Robert, that spoused the ryght eyr, King Henry's sone,  
 That vor hys gode dede worth, ych were evene 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 Senghe-

nydd 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 dependants, 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. 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 Ogmores, the seats of the families of Sully, St. John, Nerberd, Butler and De Londres, points to the same date, 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, and 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. The Earl gave up a fishery on the Ely, 100 acres of cultivable land in the marsh between Taff and Ely, the right to take lime from the forests for the repairs of the church, 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, and other matters. The Bishop agreed to set aside divers complaints he had to make, and so to adjust his weir that the pipe of the river should neither be impeded by floods from above or below. The jurisdiction of the Bishop's manor court was settled, and it was agreed that ordeal by fire should be tried at Llandaff, and by water. *fossa judicialis aqua*, on the Bishop's land near Cardiff Castle. Judicial duels were to be fought out in the castle, saving the Bishop's rights. The concord was drawn up before the King with some formality, and among the witnesses are found Archdeacon Ucketred, Isaac the Bishop's chaplain, Richard Vicecomes de Kardi, Pagande Tuberville, Rodbert Fitz-Roger, Richard de St. Quintin, Mauru 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 1 Dec., 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 15 April, 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 Locher, 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 1 Jan., 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 libertatibus*, 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, Ogmores, 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 Ewenny, St. Bride's, with the chapel of Ogmores of Lanfey, and the church 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*, 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.

These successes were 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 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 over Geoffrey Plantagenet, landing at Wareham, where with some difficulty and delay he took the castle. In 1143, 1 July, 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 tythes and benefices given, or to be given, lawfully to them in his diocese, and they yielding to the bishop their tythe of the cultivated demesne in the moor between Taff and Ely, and two parts of the tythe 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 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 repay-

ment. 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 Treyguff and the church of Llancarvan, saving the tythe, 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. Earl Robert 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.

Earl Robert was one of the greatest soldiers and most prudent or perhaps astute statesman 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 Ewenny 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, Llan-carvan 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 9 Aug., 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 3 April, 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 Valoignes, 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 31 December, 1155. In 1154, 25 October, 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 Chronicle, 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 and along its border; but this raid probably gave occasion, a century later, to the construction of the tower of Whitchurch, the castellets of Castell coch and Morlais, and the grand border fortress of Caerphilly.

5th Henry II, 1158-9, Thomas, nephew to the Earl of Gloucester, owed fifty marcs to the Exchequer for his land at Chilchester, 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; no doubt 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.

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 (23 April) 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, announced troubles at hand, and disappeared, while the king, having mounted, rode away over Rhymny 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 ap 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 shewn 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, 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 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 headpiece, 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 tythes 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 12d. per annum rent instead of 2s. 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 13s. 4d., 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 Comitis Gloucestræ;" 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 custody of the crown, and its accounts appear in the Pipe Rolls of the 30th Henry II, 1183-4, in which year there was paid livery for four hostages of the Earl of Gloucester, for 129 days 43s.; and in the account of the earl's lands rendered by Hugh Bardolf appear fifty measures of wheat and fifty

<sup>1</sup> He also granted certain lands to the house of Boleyn near Torigny. — (*Gall. Christ.*, xi, 456.

bacons for Pembroke Castle, £6 9s., and the same for Caermarthen Castle. Also to Hamo de Valoinis for enclosing, "claudendo," the vill of Kenfig, £16; so that it is probable that the tradition of the building of Kenfig town by Earl William is well founded, and that the enclosing it by a wall or some kind of defence was the completion of his work. William de Cogan had two marks, balance of his last year's pay. From Cornwall came 100 bacons, 500 cheeses, and 200 cranocks of wheat for Neath Castle; which looks as though the Granvilles retained some interest in it. The cost and the carriage were £30. 4s. 8d. Also Maurice de Berkeley accounted for £79. 13s. 4d. for "servientes" in the king's service, and the cost of sending them from Bristol to Cardiff was £69. 13s. 4d.

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, invaded Glamorgan. They burnt Kenfig and the town of Cardiff, and laid siege to Neath Castle, attacking it fiercely. It was, however, relieved by the Normans, who beat off the swarm of Welshmen, and burned their machines of war. 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.