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THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
W A L E S.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN BRITISH,
BY CARADOC OF LHANCARVAN,
ENGLISHED BY DR. POWELL,

AND AUGMENTED
By W. WYNNE, Fellow of Jesus College, Oxon.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A DESCRIPTION OF WALES,
BY SIR JOHN PRICE.
A NEW EDITION, GREATLY IMPROVED AND ENLARGED,
WITH PEDIGREES OF FAMILIES.



The Chief Druid. Bannerman Sculp

L O N D O N :

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T O

SIR WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNNE, BART.

KNIGHT OF THE SHIRE FOR THE COUNTY OF SALOP,

THIS NEW AND IMPROVED EDITION

OF THE HISTORY OF WALES,

A COUNTRY IN WHICH HIMSELF

AND FAMILY,

ARE UNIVERSALLY, AND DESERVEDLY RESPECTED,

IS INSCRIBED,

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT

HUMBLE SERVANT,

Strand, No. 50,
March 1.

THOMAS EVANS.

1363019

T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE history of the Britains, may not improperly be distinguished into two periods; the former comprehending the interval from Brute to Cadwalader, whilst the Britains are thought to have enjoyed a general possession of the whole island; the other containing the memoirs and transactions of the Britains under their several princes, after their recession to that part of the island, since called Wales. The former of these has been generally accounted of late, absolutely false and unhistorical; and it is undoubtedly concluded that all the passages in Geoffrey of Monmouth, (the only remaining monument of the affairs of the ancient Britains) which are not consonant to, and agreeable with the Roman historians that speak of Britain, are absolutely fabulous and insincere. The history of the Princes of Wales, has indeed met with better fortune, and the author Caradoc of Lhan-carvan is accounted just and authentick; so that there need no other apology for the following work, than that it is for the best part the genuine history of that author. But because the history of Wales has no small dependence upon, and relation to the history of the ancient Britains published by Geoffrey, I think it necessary to make some general reflection, in relation to the truth and authority of that copy.

And here in the first place, I must take notice of two sorts of opinions, most widely repugnant, and as I may say, diametrically opposite to each

THE P R E F A C E.

other; and both in my opinion, equally deviating from the right apprehension of the matter in debate. The one, perfectly rejecting the whole foundation and process of Geoffrey's history, will not believe so much as one passage relating to the ancient Britains, but what is delivered by Roman writers; as if nothing remarkable could happen in Britain, but what must needs fall under their special cognizance and observation. The other, without any allowance to the age when these British affairs were transacted, (not to mention the utmost antiquity of some part of this history, cotemporary with which, nothing is certain among the more civilized Greeks and Romans) will believe the whole frame, and all the circumstances of Geoffrey's history, be they never so ridiculous and extravagant. But not to insist on so bigotted an opinion, as to think that the British history is universally true, and altogether authentick; I will confine myself to the examination of the other extrem, to see whether that history published by Geoffrey, be so absolutely fabulous as is frequently represented and generally believed. Now they who discredit this history, either wholly attribute the frame and invention of it to Geoffrey, or else granting him to be a faithful translator, assure themselves that the copy he received was fictitious, and perfectly owing to the unwarrantable forgeries of the fabulous monks. So that the subject of my present enquiries, will naturally fall under these two disquisitions; first, Whether Geoffrey be the real contriver and composer of this history? and secondly, Supposing him to be innocent of this suspicion, Whether the history published by him, be perfectly fabulous, and in all respects a monkish legend?

First,

THE P R E F A C E.

First, As to what relates to Geoffrey, though methinks there need no greater argument to evidence his innocency from so suspected an imposture, as his being the contriver of this history, than that he professedly owns the receipt of the British manuscript from Walter, archdeacon of Oxford; yet because the prejudice of some men oftentimes obscures their understanding, in things otherwise very clear and open, it will be requisite to dwell somewhat more particularly upon that subject: or if the world be once persuaded, that the whole invention is owing to Geoffrey, and that there was no such account of the Britains in being, before he published his history, the whole series of British affairs not mentioned in the writings of the Roman authors, and all that long continued succession of British kings for so many ages, must of necessity be accounted fabulous, and a perfect legend. But before that Geoffrey should be so unreasonably attainted of such notorious forgery, and his history be so generally condemned; one might expect that such evident proofs could be produced to evince so absolute a position, as to render it past all dispute and contradiction. For to charge any one with insincerity, for no other reason, than because it is the common vogue and sentiment of the world, is in my opinion a greater argument of partiality and prejudice, than of solid and judicious reasoning.

Now the greatest reason that I can think of, why the British history is attributed to the invention of Geoffrey, is, that almost upon its first appearance in the world, William of Newbo-

THE P R E F A C E.

rough and Geraldus Cambrensis exclaim against it, and seem to lay the whole imposture to the charge of Geoffrey. The words of Newborough are these: *At contra quidem* (speaking before of Gildas) *nostris temporibus pro expiandis his Britonum maculis scriptor emerfit, ridicula de iisdem figmenta contexens, eosque longe supra virtutem Macedonum et Romanorum impudenti vanitate attollens. Gaufridus hic dictus est, agnomen habens Arturi, pro eo quod fabulas de Arturo ex prisca Britonum figmentis sumptas, et ex proprio auctas per superductum Latini sermonis colorem, honesto historiæ nomine palliavit. Qui etiam majori ausu, cujusdam Merlini divinationes fallacissimas, quibus utique de proprio plurimum adjecit, dum eas in Latinum transfunderet, tanquam authenticas, et immobili veritate subnixas prophetias vulgavit.*

From this passage it is apprehended, that Newborough thought that the British history was solely owing to the contrivance and invention of Geoffrey; whereas nothing is more evident than that the only thing he lays to Geoffrey's charge, is, that he augmented, and of his own head made additions to the copy he received. And seeing that Newborough expressly mentions Geoffrey's translating into Latin, some ancient figments of the Britains concerning King Arthur, and unwarrantably adding to the same; it is manifestly apparent that he never took Geoffrey to be the contriver of the whole of what he had published, otherwise it is hardly conceivable, that such an inveterate enemy of that history, would conceal any thing that might derogate from the truth and authority of it. Besides, Newborough throughout his whole

preface

THE PREFACE.

preface, wherein he endeavours to invalidate, and render the British history fabulous, chiefly insists upon the life of King Arthur, and the prophecies of Merlyn; not a word of Brutus and his Trojans, which, though since accounted as notorious a piece of romance as any at all; it seems he had faith to swallow. Indeed, the passages in King Arthur's life, and the prophecies of Merlyn tending much to the same purpose, were too great and extravagant to be credited by him, (who by his character of them, seems to have bore but very slender affection towards the Welch,) by reason that they derogated much from the fame and valour of the Saxons; so that I am afraid, that the odium which Newborough bore to Geoffrey and his history, depended more upon national honour and reputation, than the truth and sincerity of history. For surely he could never be so warmly exasperated against a fabulous history, had he but the candour to consult his own, unless there had been some other motive to raise and foment his passion. As to the scurrilous language he casts upon the British history, and his unmannerly treatment of the translator; he therein expresses his ignorance and malice, rather than any love and regard to truth and ingenuity. For who but an ignorant and an unskilful pretender, would confidently assert the Britains never had any metropolitans or archbishops, and would produce this as an invincible argument for the falsity of the British history; whereas it is notoriously manifest, that the Britains had their archbishops long before the arrival of Augustine the monk, whom Newborough pretends to have been the first who underwent that dignity in

T H E P R E F A C E .

this island. But as his arguments against Geoffrey's history are weak and invalid, and his whole preface more an invective than a confutation, so his credit should be rejected and undervalued, for charging another history with falshood, when his own seems wholly interwoven with ridiculous legends and monkish fictions.

But be the occasion of Newborough's dislike of the British history what it will, it is evident, that nothing can be concluded from the above quoted passage, more than that Geoffrey made additions to the British copy he received of the archdeacon of Oxford. And this is no more than what may easily and safely be granted; for the life of King Arthur, and the prophecies of Merlyn, the main subjects of Newborough's discontent, may probably be inserted into the history by Geoffrey, at least they were augmented, and several traditions were added by him. Bale, assures us, that he writ the life of King Arthur in a distinct treatise; and himself owns in the preface to his fourth book, which comprehends the prophecies of Merlyn, that upon the request of Alexander bishop of Lincoln, he had translated Merlyn's prophecies out of British into Latin, before the British copy came to his hands. Now, when Geoffrey had received the manuscript from the archdeacon, and was engaged in translating it into Latin, it is no strange matter to imagine, that as occasion required, he might amplify, and add to it, out of his former tracts. For it is obvious to suppose, that the several things concerning Arthur and Merlyn, might be preserved in the island of Great Britain, which were long ago obsolete among the Britains of Armorica,

from

The P R E F A C E.

from whence the British copy is said to have been brought over.

But supposing that Newborough had attributed the whole frame of the British history to Geoffrey, which is evident he does not, his authority cannot balance with far more authentic historians, such as H. Huntington, R. Hovedon, Matthew of Westminster and others, but more particularly Matthew Paris, who in express terms, calls Geoffrey, the faithful translator of the British history. And seeing then, that it was in those times apprehended to be an antient manuscript, and none of Geoffrey's contrivance, when the cheat might be best discovered, and there wanted not good inclinations to detect so notorious a forgery; how in these latter times, it could be so luckily found out, that Geoffrey was the sole inventor and composer of the history, I cannot possibly divine.

Al Ann.
1151.

The other reason, why Geoffrey is thought to be the author of the British history, is grounded upon a passage in Giraldus Cambrensis, who speaking of the etymology of Wales, rejects the denomination of it from either duke Wallo, or queen Wendolen, *Sicut fabulosa Galfredi Arturi mentitur historia.* Now this is thought an invincible argument against Geoffrey, and a palpable detection of his insincerity, since Giraldus, his own countryman strikes at him, and accuses him of forgery; whereas upon nicer examination, we may easily discover how that Giraldus quarrels only with the history which Geoffrey published, and which upon that account bore his name. For had Giraldus thought it to be only a contrivance of Geoffrey's, had he suspected that Geoffrey falsely pretended to have received an
antient

Camb.
Descrip.
Cap. 7.

THE PREFACE.

antient British manuscript, and by that means to have imposed upon the world; can it be supposed that upon so plain conviction of falshood, he would believe and give credit to an history, which he was satisfied was altogether a fable? But on the contrary, we find him assenting to the story of Brutus, and the division of the island betwixt his three sons; and in short, excepting in this one place, he expresses himself to be an absolute votary of the British history, whence 'tis evident, he apprehended Geoffrey to be no more than a faithful translator of an antient British copy.

Lib. I. I need not take notice of William of Malmshury, because that by the best account, he is supposed to have been dead before Geoffery published his history, and consequently he could never see it; so that this expression in him, *Hic est Artburus de quo Britonum nugæ hodieque delirunt*, must likely refer to the then present traditions and accounts of the Welch concerning king Arthur, which probably might be too great and extravagant. For 'tis certain that a traditional account of any person or action, the farther it recedes from the spring and original, the more corrupt and imperfect it still proceeds; and like a ball of snow, it gathers and augments in its journey; so that it may be reasonably supposed, that the vulgar account which the Welch in Malmshury's time delivered of king Arthur, was too far incredible and surprising.

But since the reasons produced for proving Geoffrey to be the author of the British history, seem not to be satisfactory and evincing; let us see whether the contrary assertion can be more reasonably maintained. And first, 'tis manifest that Geoffrey could not be the total inventor of the British history,

THE PREFACE.

history, by reason that several things, and some of the most material passages therein contained, are agreeable with the histories of the Gildas and Nennius, the poetical fragments of Taliessyn, not to mention the Saxon Manuscript, quoted by Mr. Wheelock, and other authors far more antient than Geoffrey. 'Tis owned indeed Geoffrey might borrow the ground and plat-form of his romance from Merlyn or Taliessyn, or rather from Nennius, in whose writings there is some slight account of the Britains being descended from the Trojans; but the superstructure is all his own, who living in an ignorant age, and well knowing he could not well be disproved, took the liberty to make what invention he pleased, and then recommended it to the world, for a true, undoubted history. But notwithstanding all this concession, I think there is as little reason to attribute the frame and composition of this history to Geoffrey as there can be, to think him contriver of the ground and plot of it. For it seems to me very unaccountable, that if Geoffrey was to invent and compose this history, why in this account of the transactions betwixt the Britains and Romans, he should so widely disagree with, and deviate from the writings of the Roman historians. For certainly, nothing could add more authority to a fable, than exactly to follow the steps of creditable authors, in those things they both had occasion to treat of. This in all probability, would not only render that part of the history unsuspecting, but likewise credit and authorize the rest, of which there was no account in Roman authors. And this disagreement betwixt the British history, and the writings of the Roman historians, though frequently produced to overthrow the authority of it, induces me to believe,

Notes upon
Bede.

The P R E F A C E.

lieve, not only that Geoffrey was not the author, but likewise that the manuscript was ancient, and much older than the time, in which it was first made public.

But besides, Geoffrey dedicates his translation to Robert earl of Gloucester, son to king Henry I. which in all likelihood he would never have ventured to do, had the original been of his own contrivance, for fear least that the cheat being discovered, he should be found, to put upon a person of eminent quality, with whom the British history was then in great esteem. For to him it is that Geoffrey owns the receipt of this manuscript from the archdeacon of Oxford, which he affirms to be very antient, and by his request was persuaded to translate it into the Latin tongue. It was a very easy matter for the earl of Gloucester to find out Geoffrey's integrity, by enquiring of the archdeacon (who by all accounts is reckoned his co-temporary) whether he had delivered such an antient British copy into Geoffrey's hands, and whether the translation justly answered the original. These enquiries were natural, upon the publication of any new history, which made such considerable noise and clamour in the world, and which gave such an account of the antient Britains, as was never before thought or heard of among the English nation. And supposing the earl of Gloucester to have omitted these enquiries, yet it is scarce conceivable, but that in case of so open a forgery, the archdeacon would discover the cheat, unless it can be thought that he was privy to, and had a hand in the contrivance. But he was so far from detecting Geoffrey's imposture, that he himself owns too, to have translated the British history first into Latin, and then in his latter

THE P R E F A C E.

latter days, to British again from the Latin, as may be still seen in the Archives of Jesus-College library. Now if there be any heed to, or dependance upon this, if it be true, that the archdeacon did translate, and consequently allow of this history, it appears very evident to me, that Geoffrey can be in no wise the author or contriver of it.

But that Robert of Gloucester took a fancy to Geoffrey's translation, more upon the account that his father had lately subdued the Welch, and therefore seemed to add to his father's glory, than that he did credit and believe the history, does not seem to be so true and evincing. For wherein could the publication of this history contribute to the advancement of his father's name? Was it because he had conquered a people whose ancestors appeared by this history to be formerly valiant and warlike? this was performed by others before him, and I can conceive no great addition to any man's fame, to conquer a handful of people, with a numerous army, tho' their forefathers had been stout and victorious. This is surely too slight a pretence for the reception of the British history by the earl of Gloucester, and too weak an argument to destroy the truth and authority of it. It is certain, that it took exceeding well in the world at that time, nor was it opposed till after Robert's death, when William of Newborough more out of malice and discontent than any love he bore to truth, began to charge both the original and translator with insincerity. I cannot see upon the whole, the least reason, why the contrivance and invention of this history should be attributed to Geoffrey, or that the authority of it depends any way upon him, more than the fidelity of his trans-

T H E P R E F A C E.

translation. I shall therefore conclude this subject with the character bestowed upon Geoffrey, and the history by him published by Ponticus Virunnius, who flourished in the year 1290, a man of great reading, and excellent learning of his time, who did not think it lost labour to draw an epitome of the British history: *Giraldus* (says he) *historicus egregius et cardinalis, magnæ vir auctoritatis apud Robertum Claudiocestriæ ducem, Henrici regis filium, ac patriæ suæ curiosissimus fautor, ex summa philosophia atque archivis, historiam antiquissimam continua serie ab ipsis Trojanis collectam transulit. Verissimas Britannorum historias arguit regum occidentalium consuetudo; quæ erat, secum semper habere eos, qui veritate præcipua eorum gesta notarent.*

Secondly, But supposing Geoffrey to be innocent from this suspected imposture, and that he did no more than faithfully translate a British manuscript he received of the archdeacon; it may be farther objected, that seeing it abounds with so many unwarrantable matters of fact, and so extravagant fables and prodigies, it appears extremely suspicious, and sensibly smells of a monkish production. For how is it possible, you will say, that any account, excepting what is found in the Roman histories, could be had of the Britains, and that not only before, but even after their subjection to the Romans; since there is so much reason to doubt, whether the Britains, as well as other unlettered nations, had any means to convey any knowledge to posterity, for want of the art of writing? for if the affairs and transactions of the Britains were only handed down by tradition, and they had no other way

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THE PREFACE.

or method to preserve their memories, then certainly all pretences to ancient records, and consequently to this British manuscript, supposed to have been translated by Geoffrey, must of necessity be vain and groundless.

And thus it is supposed, that the Britains had no writing among them, neither before nor after the Roman conquest; whence it follows, that there is no true nor certain account of any matter translated among them, but what is recorded in Roman histories. But tho' this be frequently insinuated, yet I think, the contrary can with greater ease and perspicuity, be made to appear. As to the Britains having no writing among them, during their subjection to the Roman empire, the contrary is so evident and notorious, that I conceive it lost time to go about to disprove it. It is sufficient to lay down the words of Tacitus, an author of unshaken reputation; *Jam vero* Vita Agric. *principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, et qui modo linguam Romanorum abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor, et frequens toga; paulatimque discessum ad delinamenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam.* Now, can any one suppose, that when the British youths were instructed in all the arts and sciences of the Romans, when they began to ape and imitate them in their habits, buildings, and other necessary fooleries, they should neglect so necessary a qualification, as that of writing? and can we imagine, that among so many able and learned persons, as the Britains must in reason be, when educated in the Roman way, and owned to be very tractable in their education, not one should prove so

THE PREFACE.

so affectionate to his country, as to note down the state and transactions of it? certainly, if they learnt all the civilities and sciences of the Romans, history was not so slight and trivial a subject of their industry, as to be undervalued; and I know not where they could better employ their skill, than in writing the history of their native country. It was natural for them being once civilized, to enquire into the origin and antiquity of their nation, the state and condition of their country before the Roman conquest; and having made the best search they could, whether by oral or written tradition into these enquiries, they would in all reason, according to the custom and manner of the Romans, commit all to writing.

But allowing the Britains to have learnt the art of writing from the Romans, after their subjection to the empire, yet it is certain they had no such thing among them, before the discovery of this island by Julius Cæsar, and consequently, that all the former part of the British history which precedes that epoch, must be false and fictitious. And that this is no precarious objection, a passage out of Cæsar's Commentaries is produced to strengthen it, which in my opinion, evidently proves the contrary. The words of Cæsar are these: *Magnum ibi numerum* (speaking of the Druids) *versuum ediscere dicuntur, itaque annos nonnulli vicenos in disciplina permanent; neque fas esse existimant ea literis mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Græcis literis utuntur.* Why any one from hence should conclude, that the superstition of those ancient philosophers the Druids, forbade the Britains to commit to writing the transactions of their country, much more that they had no writ-

De Bell.
Gal. lib. vi.

THE P R E F A C E.

ing at all among them, does I confess, very far exceed my comprehension. Cæsar, truly does intimate, that the doctrine and mysteries of their religion, the Druids did not think fit to commit to writing; but in all matters besides, whether private or publick (among which, history may be reasonably accounted) they used the Greek characters: for so I understand these words, *Græcis literis utuntur*. For it may not be supposed that all publick and private affairs of the Britains were translated in Greek, when they had a different language of their own, and which in all reason must be the common tongue of the country; but only that when the Britains had occasion to put any thing in writing, they used the Grecian character, which probably was the only letter, they then were acquainted with. But to confirm this matter the more, Cæsar makes mention of the like custom among the Gauls; *In castris Helvetiorum tabulæ repertæ sunt literis Græcis confectæ*. Now if he concluded from hence, that the Gauls (for the Helvetians were a Gaulish people) made use of the Greek language, rather than the Grecian characters; I would fain be informed, why Cæsar should write in Greek to Quintus Cicero, *Ne intercepta epistola sua, a Galhis consilia noscerentur*; lest that his letter being intercepted, all his measures and martial intrigues be discovered by the Gauls. Certainly, if he had known (as well he might, in case the Helvetians understood and writ in Greek) that the Gauls were not ignorant of the Greek language, he would not make use of so mean a stratagem to conceal his counsels. But suppose it be acknowledged that the Gauls and Britains used, not only the Greek characters, but the language

Lib. I.

Lib. V.

THE PREFACE.

too (one of which must be allowed) it is evident that they had the art and use of writing before Cæsar made an invasion to either country, and consequently the Britains might have some written memorials of their country, which might be afterwards easily handed down to posterity. For it seems to me very strange, that men of such reputed learning and knowledge, and so well versed in the mysteries of philosophy, as the Druids are acknowledged to have been, should be ignorant of so necessary and useful a qualification as writing. And since it is affirmed, that their religious superstitions were interdicted to be committed to writing, we may rationally conclude, by the rule of contrariety, that all other things besides their religion, were allowed to be written, and consequently, that they had the art and use of writing among them.

But supposing the Britains to have recorded the transactions of their country, both before and after the Roman conquest, yet when the Saxons prevailed in the island, all the monuments and writings of the ancient Britains were utterly lost; so that this pretended history of the Britains, must be modern and fabulous, built upon vulgar and uncertain traditions. For how was it possible that any one could write a true and faithful account of the ancient Britains, and be so particular in the transactions of those times, whereas there was not the least light to guide him to the knowledge of those obscure ages. This is expressly acknowledged by Gildas, who lived long before Geoffrey, and openly declares, that all the records and monuments of his country were lost in his time; and that in writing those small fragments of the history of Britain, he was forced

THE PREFACE.

to abstract his materials out of the writings of foreigners. *Illa tantum proferre conabor in me-* Excid. Brit.
dium, quæ temporibus Romanorum Imperatorum et
passa est, et aliis intulit civibus, et longe positis
mala: quantum tamen potuero, non tam ex scrip-
tis patriæ scriptorum monumentis; quippe quæ vel
si fuerint, aut ignibus hostium exusta, aut civium
exulum classe longius deportata non compareant;
quam transmarina relatione, quæ crebris interrupta
intercapedinibus non satis claret.

I shall here by the by, observe the levity of Aylet Sames's objection against the history of Brute; namely, because Gildas makes no mention of Brute and his Trojans, he concludes that the British history must be a real fiction; whereas Gildas in this place manifestly declares his design only of writing the history of the Britains, during their subjection to the Roman empire. Britan. p.
158. But as to this passage in Gildas, if in his time, there were no remains of his ancestors left in writing; I would fain learn upon what ground and authority, he could so positively assert that the Britains from their first plantation in this island, were proud and irreligious, and their kings cruel and tyrannical. For a little before the above quoted passage, he says of Britain, *Hæc erecta cervice et mente ex quo inhabitata est, nunc Deo, interdum Civibus, nonnunquam etiam transmarinis regibus ingrata consurgit.* And a little after, *Tacens vetustos immanium tyrannorum annos, qui in aliis positis regionibus vulgati sunt.* Here he passes his judgment very liberally upon the state and condition of Britain from all antiquity; and yet by and by, he confesses, that he had no guide to direct him to the knowledge of those times he so freely censures; so that if he had not the spirit of divination, he
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may

THE PREFACE.

may falter in his conjectures, or else he was guided by some British light, of which he was not willing to own the perusal.

But allowing that Gildas, in composing that small fragment of the British history, received no light from any British record, but was constrained to borrow out of the writings of foreigners; it concludes no farther, than that he had not the good fortune to meet with British manuscripts, not that there were none really remaining in Britain. And farther, supposing that in Gildas his time, there were no remains of the antient Britains left in this island, but were all utterly lost; yet according to Gildas his own acknowledgment, and upon the Saxons prevailing in the country, they might be carried over by the exiled Britains to Armorica, from whence the archdeacon of Oxford is said to have brought over the British copy he delivered to Geoffrey. But if there was no written account of the former state of Britain, in the age of Gildas, how comes it to pass, that any such thing should be discovered and brought to light in succeeding ages? And not to insist upon the authority of the British manuscript translated by Geoffrey, we have good reason to presume, that the antient Britains before Gildas had both ecclesiastical and civil histories of their country.

As to the former, Bede, whose authority, I presume, will not be questioned, expressly affirms it. For in his preface to his ecclesiastical history, he says, *A principio itaque voluminis hujus, usque ad tempus quo Gens Anglorum fidem Christi percepit, ex priorum maxime scriptis hinc inde collectis, ea quæ promemoramus, didiscimus.* Here Bede plainly declares, that in writing a church history of
Britain,

THE PREFACE.

Britain, he extracted all his matter, before the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, out of antient authors. But who can these former writers be? Surely they were not Saxons, for we read of no Saxon writer before Bede; besides, that several things contained in this history, were translated before the landing of the Saxons; and as to the ecclesiastical part, betwixt the arrival, and the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity that cannot be extracted out of their writings. For in the first place they were no Christians, and it is very unreasonable to suppose, that they would write the history of a church, of which they were at that time very fatal and implacable enemies; not to question whether the Saxons before their conversion had any writing or learning at all among them. For though it be pretended, that the Irish, who use the same manner of writing, borrowed their characters from the Saxons; yet 'tis extremely suspicious, that these received them from the Irish, if not rather from the Britains. As to the former, it is well known, that during the disturbances betwixt the Britains and Saxons here in Britain, the incursions of the Goths, Vandals, and other northern nations into other countries; all the learning of these western parts of the world, fled into Ireland, which for a considerable time remained to be the nursery of learning and learned men.

And that the Saxons, long after their conversion to Christianity, retired to Ireland for this purpose, we have the testimony of their antient and most authentick historian; so that, I think, 'tis no presumption to suspect, that as the Saxons borrowed their learning from the Irish, they might for the same reason, receive their characters and

Bed. Hist.
Eccl. lib. 3.
chap. 27.

THE P R E F A C E.

form of writing from them. But 'tis again to be doubted, whether both the Saxons and the Irish did not primarily derive their characters from the Britains : for though the British language be now writ in a different character from the Irish and Saxon, yet upon antient British monuments and inscriptions, most of the Saxon letters, different from the present Roman alphabet, are plainly to be seen. Nor was this character originally British, the same being used in the first age of the Roman empire, if we can lay any stress on Julius Cesar's will and testament, represented by Mabillon. But farther yet ; if the Irish character be originally Saxon, the Saxons must either bring it along with them from Germany, or else they must have invented it after their arrival and settlement in Britain : if the first, it may seem wonderful, how it came to be quite lost and forgotten in all parts of Germany ; unless we can suppose, that it was limited only to the Saxons, and that they to a man came and settled in this island : for no body can be ignorant, that not only the Germans, but the Swedes and Danes too, use the Latin character ; which, if we suppose them to have but lately borrowed, yet in all probability, their former letter was Gothick or Runick, to which the Saxon bears no great resemblance. But if it be said, that the Saxons invented this character after their coming to Britain ; I cannot well conceive, why they should put themselves to such unnecessary trouble, when with far greater ease and facility they might copy and borrow from the Britains ; unless the odium betwixt both nations made them scorn to ape and imitate an enemy. But be it so, that the Saxons invented this character in

THE PREFACE.

British, it will follow that they had no letters nor learning before they came over; and consequently, that these authors which Bede mentions to have transcribed out of, could not be Saxons.

As to the civil part of the British history, that the transactions of state were recorded, and that copies thereof came to the hands of posterity, we have the express testimony of Nennius, who flourished about three hundred years after Gildas. For in his preface to the history of the Britains, he openly declares, that he composed his history, *Partim majorum traditionibus, partim scriptis, partim etiam monumentis veterum Britanniae incolarum.* Here Nennius says, that he partly extracted his history out of the writings of the antient Britains. And what could these writings be? Certainly, they were not the works of Gildas, the only British author we read of before Nennius; upon the account that the history of Nennius is much larger, and far more complete than that of Gildas; this latter, besides the names of a few British kings, having left nothing historical to posterity; the main, it seems, of his design being to rail, and to inveigh against his country, to which he had taken some displeasure. From whence then else could Nennius extract the materials of his history? Why, 'tis reasonable to suppose, that from some British records, which possibly might be recovered since the time of Gildas; and if then, why might not more be discovered since Nennius, and that delivered to Geoffrey by the arch-deacon of Oxon, be one?

But besides, that the Britains kept memorials of their transactions, we may rationally gather from the constitution and profession of the bards.

THE PREFACE.

Diodorus Siculus says, Ὅς τοι ἔμετ' Ὀργάνων ταῖς
 λυραῖς ὁμοίων, ἔς μὲν ὑμνεῖσιν, ὡς βλασφημίᾳ; The bards
 finging to an instrument like a harp, repeat the
 praises and commendations of some, the faults
 and dispraises of others. And in like manner

Lib. 15. Marcellinus; *Bardi quidem fortia virorum illustri-
 trium facta heroicis composita versibus, cum dulcibus
 lyrcæ modulis cantitarunt.* And above the rest

Pharfal.
 lib. 1.

Lucan;

Vos quoque qui fortes Animas, belloque peremptas
 Laudibus in longum vates emittitis ævum,
 Plurima securi fudistis Carmina Bardi.

But that the Bards did not only commit to me-
 mory the famous deeds of their princes and heroes,
 and so recite and repeat them upon occasions ;
 but also that they wrote down and recorded
 what they repeated, we have the ample testimony
 of Giraldus Cambrensis. *Hoc etiam mihi notan-
 dum videtur, quod Bardi Cambrenses, et Canta-
 tores seu recitatores, genealogiam habent prædic-
 torum principum in libris eorum antiquis et au-
 thenticis, sed tamen Cambrice scriptam, eandemque
 memoriter tenent a Roderico magno usque ad Belinum
 magnum, et inde usque ad Silvium, Ascanium, et
 Æneam; et ab Ænea usque ad Adam, generationem
 linealiter producunt.*

Camb.
 Descrip.
 cap. 3.

Now that the genealogies here mentioned by
 Giraldus, were not only a bare account of the
 several descents and successions of the British
 kings, but also some memorials of their lives
 and actions, may be easily gathered from the
 above said manners and customs of the Bards.
 And seeing these Bards did preserve not only in
 memory but in writing too, the lineal succession
 and most famous transactions of their kings; I
 see no reason why the history of Geoffrey may
 not,

THE PREFACE.

not, as to a great part of it, pretend to greater authority than is generally attributed to it. And if it be objected, that the Bards, by a poetical liberty outdid the truth of history, in the praises of those princes they were to celebrate; yet thus far it may reasonably be acknowledged, that the names and succession of the several kings are real, and consequently that Geoffrey could never be the inventor of so large a list of nick-names, as he is generally thought to be. For it is very probable, that the history of the Britains translated by Geoffrey, was composed partly out of these genealogies peculiar to the Bards, and partly out of any other records and monuments of the Britains; both which I have shewn to have been preserved, and used among them antiently.

But to descend to the particulars of this history, the first and most suspicious relation, is that of the landing of Brute with a colony of Trojans, the several crosses and encounters he sustained in his voyage; and then of this island receiving its name from him. Should we indeed reflect upon the particular circumstances of this story, we might upon good reason be satisfied of the vanity and falseness of them; but therefore to conclude, that because the building is suspicious, the foundation consequently must be fabulous, and a perfect contrivance; does, I think, deserve some better examination: for if we do but reflect upon the contemporary histories of the Greeks and Romans, those more polite and literate nations, we may with equal pretence of reason affirm, that there is no foundation for any matter of fact before the Olympids; or that the relation of Æneas coming to Italy, and all that history, to the building of Rome, are altogether groundless

THE PREFACE.

and impertinent, because they are intermixt with fables and impossibilities. Livy assures us, that all the transactions, before the building of Rome, are rather owing to poetical fancy and extravagancies, than to any true and certain matter of fact; and therefore he declined to give either his assent or dissent, to any thing related of those times: *Quæ ante conditam condendamve Urbem, poeticis magis decora fabulis, quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec affirmare, nec refellere in animo est.* And Plutarch

Præfat.

Vita Rom.

goes farther, and tells us, that the original and etymology of Rome, that famous city, so well known afterwards over all the world, could not be agreed upon among the diversity of authors, and consequently must be very obscure and uncertain. *Τὸ μέγα τῆς Ῥωμῆς ὄνομα καὶ δόξη δία πάντων ἀνθρώπων κεχωρηκός ἐστὶ καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τῆ πόλεως γέγονεν, ἔχει ἰσομολογήσασθαι παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφέουσιν.*

But for all their own historians do allow that the history of those times are fabulous and uncertain; yet there are none that question the being of Æneas, and that the Romans were descended from him. The like may be urged for the history of Brutus, and the landing of the Trojans in this island; that though many particular circumstances are fabulous, and entirely poetical, yet it does not thence necessarily follow, that there is no manner of ground or foundation for such a relation. Neither is it sufficient conviction, to urge, that the very being of Brute is all a fiction, by reason that the Roman historians make no mention of such a person to be the son of Silvius; because, that through the whole Succession from Æneas to Romulus, the Histories of those times take notice only of the son that was to succeed;

THE PREFACE.

ceed; it being unreasonable to suppose, that all the kings of Latium during that period, should beget each of them, but one son. And therefore, what by the obscurity of those ages, and what by bearing regard to the line of succession, many collateral princes escaped the cognizance of future historians. Nor is it enough to affirm, that the history of Brute is but lately known and discovered to the world; whereas the fabulous Roman history has been recorded from antiquity; because, that though we are not certain that the British history has been handed down to posterity in writing; yet we are sure, that it was an antient tradition, long before Geoffrey's publishing of it; and one should think, that an ancient national tradition, might require a stricter examination, than hastily to throw it aside, as fabulous and one of no consequence.

But the question is not, whether the British history, as related by Geoffrey, be, as to all the circumstances of it, true and real matter of fact; for that, no man, I presume, can reasonably maintain; but whether there be any ground or foundation of truth couched under these poetical and fabulous narratives. Now the first thing we meet with in the British history, is, an account of Brutus his pedigree, how he was descended from the Trojans, and having accidentally slain his father Silvius, how he was forced to flee into Greece, whence, after several scuffles with Pendrasus, a petty prince of that country, he thought fit to retire, and to seek his fortune by sea. But he had not wandered long, when he met with Corinaus, with another party of desolate Trojans, with whom having joined his forces, he followed the counsel of the Oracle,

THE PREFACE.

Oracle, and at last arrives in this Island, from him afterwards called Britain. Now as to the particular circumstances related in the life of Brutus, they may properly be placed in the same class with Homer's account of the travels of Ulysses, or Virgil's description of Æneas, his adventure to Italy; that is to say, that they are poetical fictions, and perfectly consonant to the humour of that fabulous age. But the question in hand will be, whether there be any probability for the ground of this story, that Brute should bring over a colony of Trojans, and seat himself in this island. Now what is most materially urged against it, is the novelty of this discourse, that none of the Roman historians make the least mention of such a person as Brutus; and that Cæsar and Tacitus, who seem to have enquired more narrowly into the original of the Britains, found no such tradition in their time; otherwise in giving their opinion whence the Britains were derived, they would never have omitted such an ancient national tradition, of their being descended from the Trojans. Besides, that Gildas, who was a Briton, takes no notice of such a tradition, which in all probability he would never have omitted, had there been such an account of their origin in his time.

As to what is objected against the antiquity of this tradition, is certainly very erroneous; for it is so far from being first known to the world, at the publication of Geoffrey's history, that Nennius, long before that time, and Merlin much antienter than he, speak of the Britains being descended from Troy. Nay the Saxons themselves, before Geoffrey, were not
unac-

THE PREFACE.

unacquainted with this tradition, as plainly appears from the antient Saxon poet, mentioned by Mr. Wheelock, whom he thus translates :

—*Hæc unica fœmina prima
Ante omnes sævit Trojani semina belli,
Hanc Britones dixere Helenam, sed Dardanus ille
Excelsus Bruti pater extitit, unde Britanni
Heroum sumpfere genus ; fortissimis idem
Hunc orbem primus regere, & dominarier ausus.*

Notes on
Bede.

And again :

Insula dicta fuit Britannia nomine Bruti.

That Gildas should make no mention of this British tradition, is no great wonder, and as little to the purpose, to invalidate the antiquity of it ; for we must not regard the intent and purport of Gildas's writing, which was not to give an account of the history and antiquity of the Britains, as much as to inveigh against the prophaneness and licentiousness of the age ; wherein his zeal and passion carried him so far, that he did not spare either princes or the greatest persons ; and therefore he might well omit to give an account of the origin of the Britains, seeing it was remote from, and exclusive of his purpose. Cæsar indeed seems to have been somewhat more inquisitive about the antient state and descent of those people he invaded ; but his stay in Britain was so short, and his knowledge of the country so defective, being he had no communication with the inland Britains, whom he owns himself to be the antient inhabitants, that it can be no great wonder he should be ignorant of this tradition : for if this curious person

THE PREFACE.

person had had the opportunity of a free conversation with the Britains, he would in all likelihood have left a large discovery of their manners and customs, and given a more perfect description of Britain; which at that time would have been a very acceptable performance, to all the persons of learning and curiosity in Rome, who as yet had but very shallow knowledge of the island. Or if we suppose that he made the strictest enquiry about the state of the Britains, which he might probably have learnt from Mandubratius the son of Imanuentius, king of the Trinobantes, who, for fear of Cassibelan, had come over to him to Gaul, and sided with him during the British wars, it is very possible he might be ignorant that the Britains were descended from the Trojans, and that to be an antient and a current tradition among them.

Tacitus was never in Britain, but from the relation of his father-in-law, Julius Agricola, and others, he made a guess, that from the different shapes and colour, they were descended from different nations; some from Germany, some from Gaul, and others from Spain; but yet, as to the primitive Britains, those who seemed to be the ancient inhabitants of the island, he concludes after the usual pagan manner, *Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an ad-vecti, ut inter Barbaros parum compertum.* The Britains, indeed, in Tacitus's time, were well known to the Romans, and consequently these latter might have been easily instructed, as to what knowledge the Britains had of their antiquity; but it does not therefore necessarily follow, that because this historian does not mention any such tradition, there was none really among them;

THE P R E F A C E.

them; because possibly he might never have heard of it; or if he did, he might have omitted inserting of it in his history: for what he has delivered relating to the antiquity of the Britains, was but contingent to his purpose, the whole scope of his design being to describe the actions of his father-in-law, during his lieutenancy in this island; and therefore it is not at all wonderful, that he has given but a slight and an imperfect account of what he never designed to make a narrow inspection into. Besides, if we suppose him to have made a diligent enquiry into the matter, and to have mind to know the ancient state and origin of the Britains; yet since he wanted the opportunity of conversing with them, having been never in Britain; and none of the Britains that we know of, being at Rome, except those who from their youth were educated there, and consequently were in all probability ignorant of the traditions of their own country; he might very well at such a distance have been never acquainted with such a national tradition, which for all that, might have been current and prevailing among the Britains themselves. As to other Roman historians, who have writ of the antiquity and primitive state of Rome, that they have made no mention of any such person as Brutus the son of Sylvius; I have already observed, is not of that force as to overthrow this tradition, by reason that, from Æneas down to Romulus, there is regard only had to the line of succession, and those only recorded who succeeded in the throne.

Let us consider now, in the next place, what probable reasons may be assigned to vindicate this supposed Trojan origin from an utter fiction; and whether

T H E P R E F A C E.

whether the history of Brutus have any probable dependance upon some real foundation. And not to insist on the antiquity of this tradition, nor the authority of the British history published by Geoffrey, nothing gives greater confirmation to assert some real foundation for this supposed fable, than the near alliance and affinity betwixt the Britains and the Grecians. All learned men allow that the Greek was the ancient language of the Trojans, and that their customs were not much different; and whoever will compare the manners, religion and customs of the Britains with those of the Grecians will easily discover a palpable conformity betwixt both nations, but more especially in the language; in which, as Mr. Camden says, *Maximum est disputationis firmitermentum et certissimum originis gentium argumentum. Qui enim* (as he goes on) *linguæ societatæ conjuncti sunt, originis etiam communione fuisse conjunctos, homo opinor nemo inficiabitur.*

I shall not at present trouble the reader with a particular enumeration of that affinity; but will refer him to Sir John Price's *Defensio Historiæ Britannicæ*, and Mr. Sheringham's treatise *De Gentis Anglorum Origine*. Now, since there is such demonstrable affinity betwixt the Britains and the Grecians in all these respects; we must either suppose, with Mr. Camden, that they are of the same origin, at least that a colony of either Greeks or Trojans came over to this island; or else, that the Britains had correspondence, traffick and communication with the Grecians. Now, that the Grecians had no knowledge of the Britains till very late, may be gathered from hence, that even the name of Britain is not so much as mentioned by any Greek
author

THE P R E F A C E.

author before Polybius, who lived less than two hundred years before the Roman invasion, and by him but just named, as betokening a very remote and distant country, wherein indeed it was reported that there was plenty of tin. Nay, Britain was so far unknown to the eastern parts of the world, long after this, that even Cæsar himself, when he intended an invasion, was perfectly ignorant of the state of the island; and tho' he made what enquiry he could of the British merchants in Gaul, yet for all that, he says himself, *Neq; quanta esset insula magnitudo, neq; quæ aut quantæ nationes incolerent, neq; quem usum belli haberent, aut quibus institutis uterentur, neq; qui essent ad majorum navium idonei portus reperire poterat*: and therefore he was forced to send Caius Voluseñus before him to search into the state and condition of the island. Such strangers were the Romans at this time to the isle of Britain. And can it be supposed, that the Grecians had a better knowledge of it, since, in all probability, if they had had a commerce with the Britains, the Romans, who were masters of the sea long before this, would have quickly discovered their merchandizing; which, if as profitable as is imagined, they were no such enemies to gain but they would share in the booty. At least, had the Grecians had any correspondence with the Britains, the Romans would in all probability have known it, and consequently they must needs have received better intelligence of the Island than what they seem to have had at Cæsar's landing. But Dion Cassius seems to put this matter out of dispute, and gives us a very plain account of what knowledge the Greeks and Romans had of this island, which

Bell. Gall.
Lib. 4.

I will

THE PREFACE.

Lib. 39.

I will set down in the Latin translation, *Primis Græcorum Romanorumque ne esse quidem Britanniam compertum fuit, posteriores in controversiam adduxerunt, continens ea terra, an verò insula esset: multa que de utraque opinione conscripta sunt ab iis, qui certi quidem nil noverant (quippe qui nec vidissent, nec ab indigenis qualis esset accepissent) sed conjecturis tantum, quantum vel otii vel studii singulis aderat uterentur.* And the antient poet, in Eustathius upon Dionysius, reckoning up the greatest islands of the world in his time, makes no mention of Britain, which shews it was not then known. And that Britain was the antient Cassiterides of the Grecians, from whence they received their tin, is altogether uncertain; for Herodotus, making mention of those islands of Cassiterides, fairly declares he knew not where they were; which cannot well be supposed, if the Grecian merchants traded thither in his time; it being rational to imagine that, in treating of any country, such a learned historian would endeavour to get the best intelligence he possibly could; and learning being at the highest pitch in Greece at this time, it is very strange we had not a better account of this island, which is supposed to be so well known to those who had a constant traffick here. But indeed, all authors who have mentioned these Cassiterides do not seem to have known where they were situated, only Dionysius, in his *περίηγησις*, makes them plainly to be the same with the Hesperides, those Islands lying in the Atlantick Ocean, far enough from Britain, concerning which the poets have invented so many fables.

THE P R E F A C E.

——— Αὐτὰρ ὕψ' ἀκρὴν,
 Ἴρην ἦν ἐνέπαισι κάρην ἔμδ' Εὐρωπείης,
 Νήσους δ' Ἐασέριδας τῶθι κασιτέροιο γέθλη,
 Ἄρνεοὶ ναίεισιν ἀγαυῶν παῖδες Ἰθήρων.

But admitting the Grecians to have been ignorant of any such place as Britain, and that there never was any traffic or communication betwixt these two nations; yet since the Gauls spoke Greek, it is not very improbable but that the Britains might borrow from them. That the Gauls used the Greek tongue, we have the testimony of Cæsar; and it is very certain, that all the Grecian learning flourished at Marseils, which was an ancient and famous university, and is very much celebrated by all almost, both Greek and Latin writers. And by this means, it may be reasonably concluded, how the British and Gaulish Druids became acquainted with the Grecian philosophy, which being as to all the different sects and opinions of it, taught at Marseils, the Druids more particularly adhered to the Pythagorean, to which the Druid philosophy bears a very near resemblance, both as to the doctrine of the Μετεμψύχωσις, or the transmigration of the soul, and the rest of their mystical Cabala, which they so superstitiously kept secret and close from the people.

But in opposition to this, it may be with greater certainty urged, that neither the Gaulish nor British Druids had any correspondence with the Grecians, and consequently could not borrow their philosophical mysteries from them. For if Cæsar may be believed, The art and learning of the Druids was first found out in

Lib. VI.

THE P R E F A C E.

of that discipline, do for the most part travel thither to learn it. Now if this be true, that the British Druids were the inventors of this kind of learning, and that the Gauls came over hither to be instructed in the way and method of it; I can see no reason, why they should have any communication with the Grecian academy at Marseils, much less that they borrowed it from the disciples of Pythagoras, especially since they accounted their mysteries so sacred, that they would communicate them to none, besides those of their own order. Nay, it may be better questioned, whether Druidism be not much antienter than Pythagoras, and antecedent to that æra, when the Grecians began to philosophise. And for the same reason, that the Druids of Britain did not derive their philosophy from Marseils, it will follow, that they could not borrow their language; for if we suppose, which is the most we can, that the Gauls had some communication with those Grecians, and upon that account that their language was in some measure mingled with the Greek; yet in their travel to Britain, they came not to communicate, but to borrow; and it is not likely that the Britains should be effected with the language of those who came to learn of them. Besides, of all the number of Gaulish words collected by Cambden, which agree with the British, few or none seem to be of Greek derivation; so it is highly improbable, as far as we can see into this matter, that the Gauls should ever communicate the Greek tongue to the Britains. And therefore, since this difficulty cannot be removed by any other way, it is not unreasonable to suspect, that there is some real foundation lodged in the ruins of the story of Brutus,

THE P R E F A C E.

Brutus, and that the truth is disfigured by the boundless accession of poetical invention.

I should tire the reader, and exceed the just bounds of what I at first proposed, if I should take a particular view of the British history, published by Geoffrey, and therefore I shall now only take notice of the life of King Cadwalader, where the history of Wales begins, and where a palpable mistake, I may call it forgery, has been committed by one side or another. For the very same things, which the British history relate of Cadwalader, the Saxon writers attribute to Ceadwalla King of the West Saxons, how he was driven by a famine out of his dominions, came afterwards to Rome, and was received by Pope Sergius, with other particulars here too tedious to relate. But that which seems to charge the fault upon Geoffrey, or whoever else was the author of the British history; is, that Bede an author of established credit, and one who lived near those times, says that it was the West Saxon King Ceadwalla that went to Rome in Pope Sergius's time. But then on the other side, it is hardly conceivable, supposing the British history a perfect contrivance, that Geoffrey or any other should be so grossly over-seen, as to borrow the transaction of a real king, and one so well known, to make up the life of a fictitious one cotemporary with him. Bede's reputation was too firm, to be shaken by an upstart history, and therefore it cannot well be supposed that the author of the British history was so unwary, in case he designed a cheat, as to let himself open to so easy a detection of forgery. All then that can be said, is, that the agreeableness of the names and time that these two princes lived in, and possibly their both

THE PREFACE.

going to Rome, which was not unusual in those days, might without any design of putting upon the world, make a confusion in their histories. But whether the life of Cadwalader be a fable, the reader is at his own liberty to judge; it being prefixed to the history of Wales, not as it is more authentic, or any way of greater certainty than the rest of Geoffrey's history, but only because the author, Caradoc of Lhangarfan, began his continuance of the British history with it.

This Caradoc of Lhangarfan, an author of undoubted integrity, was cotemporary with Geoffrey, who taking his rise from the place where the British history concluded, made a continuation of it through the reigns of several of the princes of Wales, till the year 1157, about which time he flourished. After him, all things of moment that happened in Wales, were kept and recorded in the abbies of Conwey in North-Wales, and Ystratflur in South-Wales, where the princes and noblemen of Wales were buried, as appears by the testimony of Gutryn Owen, who lived in the time of Edward IV. and writ the most exact and perfect copy of the same. All the most notable occurrences being thus registered in these abbies, were most generally compared together every third year, when the Beirdh or Bards belonging to these two houses went their ordinary visitations, which was called Clera. And this continued until the year 1270, a little before the death of the last Prince Lhwelyn, who was slain at Buelht. Humphrey Lloyd, Gent. who flourished in the reign of Henry VIII. and one greatly skilled in the British antiquities, continued this history to the death of Prince Lhwelyn; and afterwards having translated the whole into English language,
had

THE PREFACE.

had designed to commit it to the press. But his death prevented what he purposed, and stopped the publication of this history for a long time after, until David Powel, D.D. in the time of Queen Elizabeth, having met with Humphrey Lloyd's translation, collected what he could out of English historians, which he added by way of annotations, and so published it in the year 1584. This being the sole history of the princes of Wales, and the only edition of this history, I was moved to prepare it for another impression, by a new modelling the language, making the body of the history intire, without troubling the reader to see the same thing by way of annotation, Dr. Powel's notes being for the greatest part but a repetition of the same matter of fact out of the English historians, with what other improvements could be made. The additions which I made to the former history, I chiefly took out of the notes of that late great antiquarian Mr. Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt; by whose help also I have corrected, supplied, and continued the chronology. Sir John Price's description of Wales will pretty well answer the geographical part of this history, till we shall be able to recover and fix several of those places whose names are only left to us at present, which we have great hopes, will be successfully perfected, by the unwearied labours of my ingenious friend Mr. Edward Lhwyd, in his intended Etymological Dictionary. I have added by way of appendix, the several records belonging to this history, and chose rather to insert the articles of peace betwixt Prince Lhewelyn and John Peckam Archbishop of Canterbury, in the original, with reference thereunto, than to insert all the grievances which the Welch then made in the English language, which do not so handsomely bear a translation.

A
D E S C R I P T I O N
O F
C A M B R I A,
NOW CALLED
W A L E S.

Drawn first by Sir John Price, Knight, and
afterward augmented and made perfect by
Humphry Lloyd, Gentleman.

THE three sons of Brutus having divided the whole isle of Britain into three parts; that part contained within the French seas, with the rivers of Severn (called in British, Hafren) Dee and Humber, fell to the eldest son Loctrinus, which was after his name called Lhoyger, which name it hath in the British tongue to this day, and in English now it is called England, and is augmented northward to the river Tweed. The second son Albanactus, had all the land northward from Humber to the sea Orkney, called in the British tongue Mor Werydh, and in the Latin Mare Caledonicum. The third son Camber had to his part, all that which remained undivided, lying within the Spanish and Irish seas, and separated from England, with the rivers Severn and Dee; and this part was after his name called Cambria, and the inhabitants thereof Cambryi and their language Camberaec, and so they are at this day. So that they have kept the same country and language this 2700 and odd years, without commixtion with any other nation, especially

especially in North-Wales, as it shall hereafter appear.

And because the name of this country is changed, or rather mistaken by the inhabitants of England, and not by them called Cambry, but Wales: I think it necessary to declare the occasion thereof, which is, that where the Saxons a people of Germany were the first that after the Britains inhabited and ruled the greatest part of this isle, and drove the Britains to that corner, which according to the manner of their country they called Wales, and the people Welch-men, and the tongue Welch, that is to say, Strange, or not of them understood. For at this day the inhabitants of the Low Countries call their next neighbours language of Henegaw, or other that speak French, Walsh, as a language to them unknown. Likewise the dwellers of Tyroll and other the higher countries of Germany do name the Italian their next neighbour a Welchman, and his language Welsh. And this is an evident proof, that they which harped upon a Queen Gwalacs, and of a Prince Wala (of whom neither British, Latin, nor English maketh mention) were foully deceived; and so likewise was a great historiographer of late days, which saith, that it was called Wallia, quasi Italia, because the rest of the Romans which remained in the isle were driven thither. Neither is this any new invention, although Polydore Virgil with an Italian brag doth glorify himself to be the first that espied it out, for divers antient writers do alledge the same cause of the name of Wales, of whom Sylvester Giraldus is one, who wrote in the time of Henry the second, after the conquest, before 380 years passed; which is an evident token, that the said Polydore did either never see nor read the antient histories of this realm, or dissembleth the same to the advancement and praise of himself and his country; which to the learned and indifferent reader shall appear to be the only occasion he took that work in hand, for all his book redoundeth only to the praise and honour of the Romans, as well spiritual as temporal, and to blase

for their acts and deeds within this realm: and upon the other part doth either openly slander, or else privily extenuate, or shamefully deny the martial prowess and noble acts, as well of Saxons, Danes, and Normans, as of the Britains, all inhabitants of this isle. Which thing he that list to prove, let him read and confer Cæsar's Commentaries, Cornelius Tacitus, Herodianus, and other antient writers, as well in Latin as in Greek, with his work. As for the antient writers of the British history, as the British chronicle, the history of Gildas, Ponticus Verunnus, yea the golden work of Matthew Paris, monk of St. Alban, which wrote from William Bastard, to the last years of Henry the third; I dare well say he never saw them, they be in divers places to be had, so that the truth may be easily proved. To make an end I say, that he being first a stranger born, and also ignorant as well in the histories of this realm, as of those tongues and languages wherein the same were written, could never set forth the true and perfect chronicle of the same. But he having a good grace, and a pleasant stile in the Latin tongue, and finding himself in a country where every man either lacked knowledge or spirit to set forth the history of their own country, took this enterprize in hand, to their great shame, and no less dispraise, because he a blind leader shall draw a great number of undiscreeet and rash followers, as well geographers and cosmographers, as chroniclers and historiographers, to the dark pit of ignorance, where I leave them at this time, remitting the reader to the apology of Sir John Price, Knt. and his British history, written by him of purpose, against the envious reports, and slanderous taints of the said Polydore, where he shall see a great number of his errors confuted at large. And to return to my former matter of the name of Wales, which name to be given of late by a strange nation may be otherwise proved: for the Welchmen themselves do not understand what these words WALES and WELCH do signify, nor know any other name of their country or themselves but Cambry, nor

of their language but Cambraec, which is as much as to say, as Camber's language or speech. So likewise they know not what England or English meaneth, but commonly they call the country Lhoyger, the English men, Saifon, and the English tongue, Saifonaec. Which is an evident token that this is the same language which the Britains spake at the beginning; for the works of Merdhyn and of Talieffin, who wrote above 1000 years past, are almost the same words which they use at this day, or at the least easy to be understood of every one which knoweth perfectly the Welch tongue, especially in North Wales.

A Loerine
A Saxon.

Beside this, where at this day, there do remain three remnants of the Britains, divided every one from other with the seas, which are in Wales, Cornwall (called in British Cerniw) and little Britain, yet almost all the particular words of these three people are all one, although in pronunciation and writing of the sentences they differ somewhat, which is no marvel, seeing that the pronunciation in one realm is often so diverse, that the one can scarce understand the other. But it is rather a wonder, that the Welchmen being separated from the Cornish, well nigh these 900 years, and the Britains from either of them 290 years before that, and having small traffic or concourse together since that time, have still kept their own British tongue. They are not therefore to be credited, which deny the Welch to be the old British tongue. And here I cannot pass over what one of these fine Chronicler's wrote of late, of the name of Britain, affirming that it should be so called of Britanie in France, as the elder of that name. But surely he had either never seen Ptolomy nor Cæsar, nor any other ancient writer, or read them with small judgment and memory. For there he might have learned, that when this land was called Britain, the other was called Armorica, and how in Maximus's time, Conan Meriadoc was the first that gave it that name, and inhabited it with Britains out of this isle. Other derivations of these words,

Rob. Cæ-
nal, lib. 2.
Per. 2.

The mears
and bounds
of Wales.

Britannia and Albion, out of Greek and Latin, I am ashamed to rehearse; for unto such errors do they commonly fall, that either puffed up with vain-glory of their own wits, or pinched with despite and envy at other men's works, or blinded with ignorance, do go about to write and set forth any history or chronicle. But passing over this matter until another time, I will return to the description of Wales, which (as I said) was of old time compassed almost about with the Irish seas, and the rivers Dee and Severn, although afterwards the Saxons won by force from the Britains all the plain and champion country over the rivers, and specially Offa King of Mercia, who made a ditch of great breadth and depth, to be a mear betwixt his kingdom and Wales, which ditch began at the river Dee, by Bassingwerk, between Chester and Ruthlan, and ran along the hills sides to the South sea, a little below Bristol, reaching above a hundred miles in length, and is in many places to be seen at this day, bearing the name of Clawdh Offa, that is to say, Offa's ditch, and the country between it and England is commonly called in Welch, Y Mars, although the greatest part of it be now inhabited by Welchmen, namely in North Wales, which yet keepeth the antient limits to the river Dee, and in some places over it. Other (as Sylvester Giraldus) make the river Wy, called in Welch Gwy, to be the mear between England and Wales, on the south part, called South Wales, who measureth the breadth of Wales, from Salow or Willoweford, called Rhyd yr helig upon Wy, to St. David's in Menevia 100 miles, and the length from Caerlheon upon Yfc in Gwentland, to Holyhead, called Caergybi in Anglesey, in Welch, called Môn, above 100 miles, and these be the common mears at this day, although the Welch tongue is commonly used and spoken in England, beyond these old mears a great way, as in Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and a part of Shropshire. And thus for the general description of Wales, which afterward, about the year of Christ 870. Ro-

dericus Magnus, King of Wales, divided into three territories which they called kingdoms, which remained until of late days.

These three were Gwynedh, in English North Wales, Deheubarth, in English South Wales, and Powys Land; in every of the which he ordained a princely seat or court for the prince to remain at, most commonly; as in Gwynedh (which some old writers call Venedotia for Gwynethia) Aberffraw in the isle of Aberffraw. Môn or Anglesey. In Deheubarth, called in Latin Demetia, Caermardyn, from whence it was afterward removed to Dynefowr, eight miles thence. In Powys, Dynefowr. Pengwern, called Y Mwythic, and in English Shrewsbury, from whence it was removed to Mathrafal in Mathrafal. Powys Land. And because this history doth as well treat of wars betwixt these three provinces, as betwixt them and the Saxons, Normans and Flemings, I think it good to set forth the particular description of every part by itself. And first of North Wales as the North Wales. chiefest part, which he gave his eldest son, ordaining that either of the other two should pay him yearly 200l. of tribute, as it appeareth in the laws of Howel Dha, which are to be had in Welch, and also in Latin. Therefore Gwynedh (called North Wales) had upon the north side the Sea, from the river Dee at Basingwerke to Aberdyfi, and upon the West and South West the river Dyfi, which divideth it from South Wales, and in some places from Powys Land. And on the South and East, it is divided from Powys, sometimes with mountains, and sometimes with rivers, till it come to the river Dee again. This land was of old time divided to four parts, of which the chiefest was Môn, in English called Anglesey, where the Mons. prince's chief house was at Aberffraw, which is an island separated from the main land, with an arm of the sea called Mænai, and had in itself three cantreds or hundreds, which were subdivided to six comots, as cantref Aberffraw to comot Lhion, and comot Malhtraeth, cantref Cemais, to the comots Talibolion and Twr Celyn; cantref Rossyr to the comots Tyn-dacthwy

THE DESCRIPTION OF WALES.

daethwy and Mænai. And at this day there is a fine town in that isle called Bewmoris, and a common passage to Ireland at Caergybi, called in English Holyhead. But here I cannot wink at that notable error of Polydore, which (after his accustomed fashion) denieth this isle to be called Môn, but Anglesea, or Anglorum Insula, because it is called in English Anglesey, and gives this name Môn to Man, and so hath lost the names of both isles: which ignorance and forgetfulness might be forgiven him, if he had not drawn a great number to this error with him, which in their charters do daily wrong name these isles, which may be easily proved. First, because the inhabitants of the isle do know none other name but Môn; and it is called through all Wales, Tir Môn, that is to say, the land of Môn, unto this day. So that neither by memory of man, neither by any monument in writing in the British tongue can it appear, that ever it had any other name but Môn, yet there be manifest monuments for these 1000 years. It is also grown to a proverb through Wales, for the fertility of the ground, Môn mam Gymry, that is to say, Môn mother of Wales.

The antient history of Cornelius Tacitus (which be-like age had beaten out of Polydore's head) saith, that the soldiers of Paulinus Suetonius, and afterward of Julius Agricola, after they had passed through North Wales, then came over against Môn, where they did swim over an arm of the sea of 200 paces, and so by force won the isle. Now whether it is more reasonable thus to swim over 200 paces, or 20 miles? I know there is no man that believeth Polydore in this point; let all men therefore judge the rest. As for that which he saith of the great woods, it is nothing; for both the Romans, and after when the christian faith took place in this realm, the christians did fall and root them out, for the idolatry and absurd religion which was used there; that the King of Man sent for timber to Môn; read the life of Hugh Earl of Chester, which also is evident by the great beeches and
other

other trees found in the earth at these days. His other reason is, because it is called Anglesey in the English tongue: so is Lhoyger England, and Cambry Wales; Are those therefore the old names? No surely. And what if the inhabitants called it so? (as they did not) had it not a name before the Angles won it? Yes, I warrant you, but he had forgotten that. Now to the name of Man, it was ever, or at least these 1000 years named in British Manow, of which cometh the English name Man. The inhabitants thereof call it so, and no nation about it did ever call it Môn, no nor any writer but Polydore, which was too young a godfather to name so old a child. For Gildas who wrote above 900 years passed, whose writings Polydore never saw, but untruly fathers upon him his own device; Giraldus in his description of Ireland to Henry the Second, and Henry Huntington, do plainly call Man in Latin Eubonia, adding thereto either Manaw or Man, for the better understanding of the name; Will you believe them or Polydore? Other arguments there are which I will pass over, till I have more leisure and occasion to write of this matter.

The second part of North Wales was called Arfon, Arfons which is as much as to say, over against Môn; and had in it four cantreds, and ten comots.

Cantref Aber had in it three comots, Y Lhechwedhuchaf, Y Lhechwedh-isaf and Nant-Conwey.

Cantref Arfon had two comots, Ywch Gwyrfaï, and Isgwyrfaï.

Cantref Dunodic had two comots, Ardudwy and Efonyth.

Cantref Lhyn containeth three comots, Cymytmayn, Tirlhayn and Canologion. This is now called Caernarvonshire, as Môn is called Angleseyshire, and have the same division at this day. In this shire are Snowden-hills, called Eryri, neither in height, fertility of the ground, wood, cattle, fish and fowl, giving place to the famous Alps, and without controversy the strongest country within Britain.

Here

Here is the town of Caernarvan, called in the old time Caerfegonce; and there is also Conwey called Caergyffyn. And the see of Bangor, with divers other antient castles and places of memory, and was the last part of Wales that came under the dominion of the kings of England. It hath on the north the sea and Mænai, upon the east and south east, the river Conwey, which divideth it from Denbighshire, although it now pass the river in one place by the sea shore. And on the south west and west, it is separated from Merionyth by high mountains and rivers, and other mears.

Merionyth.

The third part of Gwynedh was Merionyth containing three cantreds, and every cantred three comots.

As cantref Meyreon hath three comots, Talybont, Pennal and Ystumanner.

Cantref Arustly had these, Vwchcoed, Iscoed, and Gwarthrenium.

Cantref Penllyn had these, Vwchmeloch, Ismeloch, and Micnaint, and this keepeth the said name till this day, but not within the same mears, and is full of hills and rocks, and hath upon the north the sea, notable at this day for the great resort and number of people that repair thither to take herrings. It hath upon the east, Arfon and Denbigh-land, upon the south, Powys, and upon the west, Dyfi and Cardiganshire.

Tegydy.

In this country standeth the town of Harlech, and a great lake called Llyn-Tegydy, through which the river Dee runneth, and mingleth not with the water of the lake, which is three miles long, and also the salmon, which are commonly taken in the river hard by the lake, are never seen to enter the lake. Likewise a kind of fish called Gwyniaid, which are like to whittings, and are full in the lake, are never taken in the river. Not far from this lake is a place called Caergay, which was the house of Gay, Arthur's foster-brother. This shire, as well as Arfon, is full of cattle, fowl and fish, with great number of red deer and roes; but there is great scarcity of corn.

The fourth part of Gwynedh, was called y Berfedh-<sup>y Berfedh-
wlad.</sup>wlad, which may be englished, the in-land or middle country, which contained five cantreds and thirteen comots, as cantref Rhyfonioc had in it these comots, Uwchalet and Ifalet.

Cantref Ystrad had Hiraethoc and Cynmeirch.

Cantref Rhos these, Uwchdulas, Iddulas and Creuthyn, all which are in the lordship of Denbigh, saving the Creuthyn which is in Caernarvonshire, wherein the castle of Dyganwy did stand, which was the earls of Chester, and is commonly called in the Latin and English chronicle, Gannoc.

The fourth cantref was Dyffryn Clwyd, which may <sup>Dyffryn
Clwyd.</sup> be englished the valley of Clwyd, and now is called the lordship of Rhuthyn, and hath these comots, Coleigion, Lhannerch and Dogucilyn.

The fifth cantref is Tegengl, and now is a part of Flintshire, having these comots, Counsylvht, Prestatyn, and Ruthlan. And in this part is one of the fairest vallies within this isle, containing 18 miles in length, and 4, 5, 6 or 7 in breadth, as the hills either draw inward together, or backward asunder, which high hills do inclose it on the east, west, and south parts, and northward the sea. It is plentiful of cattle, fish and fowl, corn, hay, grass, and wood, and divided along in the midst with the river Clwyd, to whom runneth Clywedoc, Ystrat, Whilar, Elwy, and a great number of other rivers from the hills. In this valley, two miles from the sea, is the town and castle of Ruthlan, where sometimes a parliament hath been <sup>Ann. 11,
Edw. I.</sup> kept. And two miles above it is the see of St. Asaph, between the rivers Clwyd and Elwy, called in the old time the bishop's see of Lhan Elwy. Four miles thence, and two miles from the river, is situate upon a rock the town and castle of Denbigh, where is one of the greatest markets in the marches of Wales, and one of the fairest and strongest castles within this realm, which being the house of David brother to Lhwelyn, the last prince of the Welch blood, was enlarged and strengthened by Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln,

Lincoln, to whom King Edward gave the same lordship; it is also the shire-town of that shire. Five miles above this, is the town of Ruthyn with a fair castle, which sometimes belonged to the lords Gray earls of Kent. This part of North-Wales, hath upon the north the river Dee, and the sea. Upon the west, Arfon, and the river Conwey. South and east, Merionyth, and the country then called Powys. And these be the mears and bounds of Gwynedh or Venedotia for the name of North-Wales containeth, besides this, all Powys, at these days. So there was under the territory of Aberffraw fifteen cantreds, and in them thirty-eight comots.

Mathrafal
or Powys.

The second kingdom was Mathrafal, which in right order was the third, which came to the third brother, yet for the better understanding of the history following, I have placed it here. To this kingdom belonged the country of Powys, and the land between Wy and Severn. Which part had upon the south and west, South-Wales, with the rivers Hy and Tywy, and other mears. Upon the north, Gwynedh, and upon the east the marches of England, from Chester to Wy, a little above Hereford; and therefore it was most troubled with wars, as well of the Saxons, as afterwards of the Normans, lords marches, who daily won some part thereof, and by that means it was the first part that served the Kings of England, and therefore less esteemed of all the rest. This part called Powys, was divided again into Powys Fadoc, and Powys Wenwynyn. Powys Fadoc contained in itself five cantreds and fifteen comots.

Cantreff Y Barwn, which had three comots, Dynmael, Edeyrneon, and Glyndourdwy, which are now in Merionythshire (saving Dinmael which is in Denbighshire)

Cantref Y Rhiw, whose comots were these, Yal now in Denbighshire; Ystratalyn and Hop in Flintshire.

Cantref Uwchnant hath thee comots, Merfforth in Flintshire; Maelor Gymraeg, in English Bromfield,

now

now in Denbighshire, and Maelor Saefneg in Flintshire.

Cantref Trefred containeth these comots, Croesfain, Tref y Wayn, in English Chirke, and in Denbighshire. Croesfowallt, in English Oswestrey, and in Shropshire.

Cantref Rhaiyder with his comots Mochnant Israiyder, Cynlhaeth and Nanheudwy all in Chirke-land, and in Denbighshire. Also the lordship of Whytington, now in Shropshire, was in this part of Powys, which part at this day, hath lost the name of Powys, and is situated in divers shires, as it appeareth by the discourse before passed. In this part is the castle of Holt in Bromfield, and the castle of Chirke in Chirke-land. Likewise the lordship and castle of Whytington, which came by marriage to Foulk Fitz-Warren. There is beside these, the lordship of Oswestry, of the which the Fitz-Alans have been lords these 300 and odd years, and of divers other lordships in those marches, as Shrarden, the eleven towns, Clun and many others, which are all now in Shropshire.

The second part called Powys Wenwynwyn, had likewise five cantreds, and twelve comots.

Cantryf Y Fyrnwy had these comots, Mochnant uwch Rayader, Mechain Iscoed and Lhannerch Hudol.

Cantref Ystlyc had these, Deuthwr, Corthwr Isaf, and Ystrat Marchelb.

Cantref Lhyfwynaf had these, Caerneon, and Mechain Uwchcoed.

Cantref Cydewen had comot Conan and Comot Hauren.

Cantref Gonan had Cyfeilioc and Mouthwy, which is in Merionythshire. Of all these, the three first cantreds do only at this day bear the name of Powys, which are upon the north-side of Severn, and are all five (saving the comot of Mowthwy) in Montgomeryshire.

This is a country full of woods, hills, and rivers, and hath in it these towns, the Poole, New-Town and Machylhaeth. Arustly was in old time in this part, but afterwards it came to the princes of Gwynedh.

These lordships came by just descent from the princes thereof, to a woman named Hawys, the daughter of Owen ap Gruffydh. Arustly and Cyfeilioc came to the baron of Dudley, and afterwards it was sold to the king.

The third part belonging to Mathrafal, was the land between Wy and Severn, containing four cantreds, and thirteen comots.

Cantref Melienyeth hath these comots, Ceri, Swydh-ygre Rhiwalalht, and Glyn Iiethon.

Cantref Elfel hath these, Uwchmynydh, Ismynydh, and Lhechdhyfnog.

Cantref y Clawdh these, Dyffryn Teyfediat, Swydhynogen, and Pennwelht.

Cantref Buelht hath these, Swydh y Fam, Dreulys, and Isyrwon. Of this part there is at this day some in Montgomeryshire, some in Radnorshire, and some in Brecknockshire. In this part, and in the lordships marching to it, which although at the time of this division, which was in the time of the last prince, were not in his subjection, yet to this day speak Welch, and are called Wales, and in these comots are these towns and castles. Montgomery called in Welch Trefaldwyn, a pretty town and a fair castle. The castle of Clun, called Colunwy, which is the earls of Arundel. The town Knighton, in Welch Trefyclawd. The castle of Cymaron. Presteyn in Welch Lhanandras. The town and castle of Radnor, in Welch Maesyfed, at this day the shire town. The town of Kington and the castle of Huntingdon, called in Welch Y Castellh Mayn, which were the Bohuns earls of Hereford, and after the dukes of Buckingham. Castle Payne, Haye, Lhanfair in Buelht. These lordships with Brecknock and Abergefenny, were belonging to the Bruces lords of Brecknock, and after came divers times, and by sundry means to the Bohuns, Nevils, and Mortimers. And so (as I have rehearsed) in this territory or kingdom were found fourteen cantreds, and forty comots. Two of these parts, which are Powys and Gywnedh, are at this day called North-Wales, and divided into six shires, Mon called Anglesey, Caernarvon, Merionyth, Denbigh, Flint,

Flint, and Montgomeryshire, and are all on the north-side Severn, saving a piece of Montgomeryshire.

And here I think it good to let the reader understand what the British chronicle saith of North-Wales, which affirmeth that three times it came by inheritance to women. First to Stradwen, daughter to Cadfan ap Conan ap Endaf, and wife to Coel Godeboc, mother to Genaw, Dyfyr and Gwawl. The second time to the same Gwawl wife to Edeyrn ap Padarn, and mother to Cunetha Wledic; which Cunetha inhabiting in the north parts of England, about the year 540, after the incarnation of Christ, and hearing how the mingled nations of Irish-Scots, and Picts, had over-run the sea-shore of Cardigan, which was part of his inheritance, sent his sons thither to enjoy their inheritance, of whom Tibiaon his eldest son died in Man, which land the said Irish-Scots had won. For Gildas saith, that the children of Glam Hector, which peopled a great part of Ireland, Yscroeth with his people inhabited Dalriecuda, which is a part of Scotland: Builke with his people came to Man. But I think it good to put in Gildas's words which saith; *Builke cum filiis suis inhabitavit Euboniam insulam vulgo Manaw, quæ est in meditullio maris inter Hyberniam & Britanniam*; that is to say, Builke with his children inhabited the isle Eubonia, commonly Manaw (for so it was and is named in British) which lieth in the middle of the sea, between Ireland and Britain. This was not called Mônna, as Polydore saith. The children of Bethoun inhabited Demetia, which is South-Wales, with Gwyr and Cydweli, till they were chased thence by the children of Cunetha. Thus far Gildas. Therefore the sons of Cunetha, being arrived in North-Wales (as well I think being driven by the Saxons, as for their inheritance) divided the country betwixt them. And first Meiredon the son of Tibiaon, the son of Cunetha, had cantref Meireadon to his part. Arustel ap Cunetha had cantref Arustly. Caredic ap Cunetha, had Caerdigion, now called Cardiganshire. Donod had cantref Dunodic. Edeyrn had Edeyrnion. Mael had Dynmael. Coel had Coleyon. Doguael had Dogueilyn. Rhyfaon had Rhyfonioc

Maelor the son of Gwran, son to Cunedha had Maeloron, that is the two Maelors, Maelor Gymbraeg, called Br. and Maelor Saefneg.

Rhyfonioc, now Denbighland. Eineon Yrch had Caereneon in Powys. Uffa had Maefufwalht near Oswftry. For surely that they say commonly of Oswald King of Northumberland, to be slain there, and of the well that sprung where his arm was carried, nothing so. For Beda and all other writers testify that Peanda flew Oswald at Maserfelt, in the kingdom of Northumberland, and his body was buried in the abby of Bradney, in the province of Lhyndesey. But to my former matter. These names given by the sons of Cunetha, remain to this day. After the Irish-Picts or Scots, which which the Britains called Y Gwydhyl Phictiaid, which is to say, the Irish-Picts, did over-run the isle of Môn, and were driven thence by Cafwalhon Lhawhir, that is Cafwalhon with the long hand, the son of Eineon Yrch ap Cunedha, who flew Serigi their king with his own hands, at Lhan y Gwydhyl, which is the Irish church at Holyhead. This Cafwalhon was father to Maelgon Gwynedh, whom the Latins call Maglocunus, Prince and King of Britain.

In his time was the famous clerk and great wise man Talieffyn Ben Beirdh, that is to say, the chiefest of the Beirdh or wisemen; for this word Bardh in Cæsar's time, signified (as Lucan beareth witness) such as had knowledge of things to come, and so it signifieth at this day. This Maelgon had a son called Run, in whose time the Saxons invited Gurmond into Britain from Ireland, who had come thither from Afric, who with the Saxons was the utter destruction of the Britains, and flew all that professed Christ, and was the first that drove them over Severn. This Run was father to Beli, who was father to Iago, (for so the Britains call James) who was father to Cadfan, and not Brochwel called Brecyfal (as the English chronicle saith) for this Brochwel called Ysgithroc, that is, long toothed, was chosen leader of such as met with Adelerd alias Ethelbertus Rex Cantiaë, and other Angles and Saxons, whom Augustine had moved to make war against the christian Britains, and these put Brochwel twice to flight, not far from Chester, and cruelly flew

flew 1000 priests and monks of Bangor, with a great number of lay-brethren of the same house, which lived by the labour of their hands, and were come bare-footed and woolward to crave mercy and peace at the Saxons hands. And here you shall understand that this was not Augustine Bishop of Hippona the great clerk, but Augustine the monk, called the apostle of England.

Then this Brochwell retired over Dee, hard by Bangor, and defended the Saxons the passage, till Cadfan King of North Wales, Meredyth King of South Wales, and Bledrus or Bletius Prince of Cornwall, came to succour him, and gave the Saxons a fore battle, and slew of them the number of 1066, and put the rest to flight. After the which battle, Cadfan was chosen King of Britain, and was chief ruler within the isle; after whom his son Cadwalhon, who was father to Cadwalader, the last of the British blood, that bare the name of King of Britain, was king.

The third time that North Wales came to a woman, was to Esylht the daughter of Conan Tindaythwy, the son of Edwal Ywrch, the son of Cadwalader. She was wife to Merfyn Frych, and mother to Rhoderic the Great, as shall be hereafter declared. By this you may understand, that North Wales hath been a great while the chiefeft feat of the last kings of Britain, because it was, and is the strongest country within this isle, full of high mountains, craggy rocks, great woods, and deep vallies, strait and dangerous places, deep and swift rivers, as Dyfi, which springeth in the hills of Merionyth, and runneth north west through Mowthwy, and by Machynlaeth, and so to the sea at Aberdyfi, dividing North and South Wales asunder. Dee, called in Welch Dourdwy, springing also on the other side of the same hills, runneth east through Penlhyn, and the lake Tegyd, Corwan and Lhangolhen, between Chirkeland and Bromfield, where it boweth northward toward Bangor, to the Holt, and to Chester, and thence north west to Flint-castle, and so to the sea.

There is also Conwey, rising likewise in Merionethshire, and dividing Caernarvon from Denbighshire, runeth under Snowden north east, by the town of Aberconwey to the sea.

Also Clwyd, which rising in Denbigh Land, runeth down to Ruthyn, and plain north, not far from Denbigh to St. Asaph, and so by Ruthlan and to the sea. There be many other fair rivers, of which some run to the sea, as Mawr at Traethmawr, and Afon y Saint at Caernarvon, and other that run to Severn, as Murnwy in Powys, and to Murnwy, Tanat; some other to Dee, as Ceirioc betwixt the lordships of Chirke and Whittington; Alyn through Yal and Moldsdale, and Hopedale, and so to Dee, a little above Chester. And this shall suffice for the perfect description of that which in old time was called Gwynedh and Powys, and at these days the six shires of North Wales.

Dynefawr. Now remaineth the last kingdom of Wales, called Dynefawr, which although it was the greatest, yet was it not the best, as Giraldus witnesseth, chiefly because it was much molested with Flemings and Normans, and also that in divers parts thereof, the lords would not obey their prince, as in Gwent and in Morganwg, which was their own confusion, as shall hereafter appear. This was divided into six parts, of the which **Caredigion.** Caredigion was the first, and contained four cantreds and ten comots, as cantref Penwedic had in it these comots, Geneurglyn, Perfedh and Creuthyn.

Cantref Canawl had these, Mefenyth, Anhunoc, and Pennarth.

Cantref Castell had these comots, Mabwynion and Caerwedros.

Cantref Syrwen had these, Gwenionyth and Iscoed; and this part is at this day called in English Cardigan-shire, and in Welch Swydh Aberteifi. This is a champion country without much wood, and hath been divers times overcome with Flemings and Normans, which builded many castles in it, and at the last were beaten out of them all. It hath on the east North Wales with the river Dyfi and part of Powys, upon
the

the south Caermardhynshire, upon the west Pembroke-shire, with the river Teifi, and upon the north the Irish sea. In this part is the town of Cardigan upon Teifi, not far from the sea. The town of Aberystwyth upon the river Ystwyth, by the sea, and Lhanbadarn Fawr, which was a great sanctuary, and a place of religious and learned men in times past. And in this shire were a great number of castles, as the castle of Ystratmeyric, of Walter, of Lhanrysted, of Dynherth, of the sons of Wynealon, of Aber-Reidol, and a great number more, with the town of Tregaron and Lhandhewibrefsi.

The second part was called Dyfed, and at this day ^{Dyfed,} Pembroke-shire, and had in it eight cantreds, and twenty-three comots, which were these. Cantref Emlyn had these comots, Uwchcuch, Iscuch and Lefethyr.

Cantref Arberth had these, Penrhyn ar Elays, Esteroles and Talacharn.

Cantref Daugledheu had these, Amgoed, Pennant and Efelfre.

Cantref Y Coed had these, Lhanhayaden and Castell Gwys.

Cantref Penfro hath these, Coed yr haf, Maenor byrr, and Penfro,

Cantref Rhos hath these, Hulfforth Castell Gwalchmai and Ygarn.

Cantref Pubidioc hath these, Mynyw, Pencaer and Pebidioc.

Cantref Cemais hath these, Uwchnefer, Isnefer and Trefdraeth.

In this part are divers towns and havens at this day, as Pembroke, Tenby, in Welch Dynbegh-y-pyscot, Hereford-West, in Welch Hulfforth, with the fair haven of Milford, called in Welch Aberdaugledheu, St. David's or Menevia, called in Welch Mynyw, the chiefest see in all Wales. Then Fiscard called Aber-gwayn; and Newport, named Trefdraeth; these be along the sea coast, or not very far off. Besides these there be divers castles, as Cilgerran, Arberth, Gwys,

Lhanhayaden, Walwyn, and divers others. This part was won first by the Montgomery's earls of Shrewsbury, and after given to the Marshalls, and so to Valence, and from thence were the princes of Wales most troubled with the Normans and Flemings, who do remain and inhabit about Tenby, Pembroke and Rhos to this day, which can neither Welch nor good English as yet. Dyfed (for so will I call it hereafter) hath on the west and north the Irish sea, upon the south the Spanish sea, and upon the east Caermardhynshire, and on the north east Cardiganshire. The third part was Caermardhynshire, having four cantreds, and fifteen comots, as cantref Finioc with the comots of Harfryn, Derfedh, and Isgeneny.

Caermard-
hyn.

Cantref Eginoc with these Gwyr, now in Glamorganshire, Cydweli, and Carnwilheon.

Cantref Bachan with these, Malhaen, Caeo, and Maenor Deilo.

Cantref Mawr with these, Cethineoc comot mab Elfyw, comot mab Uchdryd and Wydigada. In this shire are the towns and castles of Caermardhyn, Dynefwr, which was the prince's seat of the country, Newtown, Lhandeilo, Lhanymdhyfri, Emlyn, Swansey, now in Glamorganshire, called in Welch Avertawy upon the sea, the castle of the sons of Uchtryd, of Lhanstephan, and others. It hath upon the west Dyfed or Pembroke shire, on the north Cardiganshire, upon the south west the sea, and upon the south east Glamorgan, and upon the east Brecknockshire. This is counted the strongest part of all South Wales, as that which which is full of high mountains, great woods, and fair rivers, especially Tywy. In this, and in the other two parts of South Wales, were the notablest acts that this history treateth of, atchieved and done.

Morganwc.

The fourth called Morganwc, now Glamorganshire, containing four cantreds, with fifteen comots. As cantref Croneth, with these comots, Rwngneth ac Afan, Tir yr Hwdrwd, and Maenor Glynogwr.

Cantref

Cantref Pennythen with these, Meyscyn, Glynrhodny, Maenor Talafan, and Maenor Ruthyn.

Cantref Brenhinol with these, Cibowr, Senghenyth, Uwchcaeth, and Ifcaeth.

Cantref Gwentlhw, which is now in Monmouthshire, with these comots, y Rhardh Ganol, and Eithafdylgion. In this part are these towns and castles, Lhandaf the bishop's see, Caerdyffe, called Caerdyf, Cowbridge, called in Welch Y bont faen, which is as much as to say Stonebridge, Lantwyd, Caerffyli, and others, and hath divers rivers which run to the south sea, as Lay, Taf, Tawy, Neth, Afan, Ogwr, and Lhychwr; it hath on the south, the sea of Severn, which divideth it from Devonshire and Cornwall; upon the west and north west, Caermardhynshire; upon the north east, Brecknockshire; and upon the east, Monmouthshire. Of this you shall read very little, for one Iestyn being chief of the country, and having war with his neighbours, called one Robert Fitzhamon, with a great number of strangers to his succours, which after they had atchieved the enterprife, liked so well the country, that they found occasion to fall out with Iestyn, and inhabited the country themselves and their heirs to this day.

The fifth part was called Gwent and now in Monmouthshire, which had three cantreds, and ten comots, as cantref Gwent, which hath these comots, Y mynyth, Iscoed Lhefnyd, and Tref y grug.

Cantref Iscoed these, Brynbuga, Uwchcoed, y Teirtref, and Erging ac ewyas, now in Herefordshire.

Cantref Côch was the seventh cantred of Morganwc, which is now in Gloucestershire, and is called the Forest of Dean.

In this part was the antient city of Caerlleon upon Usk, where was the archbishop's see of Wales; here are also divers towns and castles, as Chepstow, Glyn, Strigul, Rhos, Tyntern upon the river Wy; there is also Newport, called y Castell Newydd, Uysc called Brynbuga, Grosmont, Raglan, White-castle, Abergefenny, and many others. This is a fair and a fertile

tile country, of which likewise the gentlemen were never obedient to their prince, which was the cause of their own destruction. It hath on the west Glamorgan and Brecknockshires, upon the north Herefordshire, upon the east Gloucestershire, with the river Wy, and upon the south and south east Severn.

Brecheinoc. Last of all cometh Brecheinoc, now Brecknockshire, which hath three cantreds, and eight comots. As cantref Selef which hath these comots, Selef and Trahayern.

Cantref Canol these, Talgarth Ystradyw and Brwynllys or Eglwys Yail.

Cantref Mawr these, Tir Raulff, Lhywel and Cerrig-Howel. In this part is the town of Brecknock upon the meeting of Usk and Honddi, and is called Aberhonddi, and Hay called Y Gelhy, with Talgarth, Buelht, Lhangors; it hath west Caermardhynshire, with the river Tywy, upon the north Radnorshire with Wy, upon the east Herefordshire and Monmouth, upon the south Glamorgan. This for the most part is full of mountains, woods and rivers, especially Buelht. And the lords of this country called Bruces with the Mortimers, most of all others lords marches, sometimes by might, but oftener by treason, have molested and grieved the princes of Wales. This land came after the Bruces to the Bohuns earls of Hereford, and so to the Staffords dukes of Buckingham.

These six shires being subject to the territory of Dynesawr with Radnorshire, which was belonging to Mathrafal, are now commonly called South Wales, which country is both great and large, with many fair plains and vallies for corn, high mountains and rocks full of pasture for cattle; great and thick woods, with forests and parks for red deer and fallow; clear and deep rivers full of fish, of which Severn is the chiefest, which with Wy and Rheidol spring out of a high mountain called Pymlymon, in the edge of Cardigan-shire, and are called commonly the three sisters. Severn runneth full east through Cydewen by the pool, and under the castle of Shraden to Shrewsbury, from

whence it turneth southward and runs to Bridgenorth, Bewdley, Worcester, Gloucester and so to the sea by Bristol. The second sifter is Gwy, in English Wy, which took her journey south east, by Rayader Gwy to Buelt, where Irwon meeteth her, thence to Glasbury, and so to Hereford and Monmouth, and to the sea of Severn at Chepstow; for so they call Môr Hafren the sea which severeth Wales from Somersetshire, Devonshire and Cornwall. The third sifter named Rheidol, ran northward to the sea being not far off, at Aberystwyth. There be other fair rivers as Usk, which rising in a high mountain called y Mynydd dy in the south part of Brecknockshire runneth to Brecknock, and so through Monmouthshire to the town of Usk, Caerlleon and Newport, and so to the said south sea. Tywy also rising not far from Wy, runneth south to Lhanymdyfri, and thence south west by Lhandeilo and Dynesawr to Abergwily and Caermardhyn, and so by Lhanstephan to the sea.

Teifi likewise which riseth in the edge of Caermardhynshire, and runneth north west by Emlyn, Cilgeran, Cardigan, and so to the north sea. In Teifi above all the rivers in Wales, were in Giraldus's time a great number of castors, which may be englished Κάστωρ bevers, and are called in Welch afanc, which name Greek, Fiber, Latin, Beaver only remaineth in Wales at this day, but what it is English, Afanc very few can tell. It is a beast not much unlike British, Giraldus in Itiner. an otter, but that it is bigger, all hairy saving the tail, which is like a fish tail, as broad as a man's hand. This beast useth as well the water as the land, and hath very sharp teeth, and biteth cruelly, till he perceives the bones crack, his stones be of great efficacy in physick. He that will learn what strong nests they make, which Giraldus calleth castles, which they build upon the face of the water with great boughs which they cut with their teeth, and how some lie upon their backs, holding the wood with the fore feet, which the other draweth with a cross stick, the which he holdeth in his mouth to the water side, and other particularities of their natures, let him read Giraldus in his topography of

of Wales. There be besides these a great number of rivers, of which some run to the south, and some to the west and north sea, as Tywy in Glamorganshire, Taf also in Caermardhynshire, which runneth to Cledheu, two rivers either called Cledheu, which do give Milford the name of Aberdaugledheu in Pembroke-shire, Arth, Aeron, and Ystwyth, in Cardigan. There be also divers lordships which be added to other shires, and were taken heretofore for parts of Wales, and in most part of them at this day the Welch language is spoken, as Oswestry, Knocking, Whittington, Elmser, Masbroke, Chirbury, Caurs, Clun, which are now in Shropshire, Ewyas-Lacy, Ewyas-Harold, Clifford Winsorton, Yardley, Huntingdon, Whitney, Loghardneys in Herefordshire. Also this country of South Wales as all the rest of Britain, was first inhabited by the Britains, which remain there to this day, saving that in divers places, especially along the sea shore, they have been mingled with Saxons, Normans (which the Welch history calleth Frenchmen) and Flemings; so that the princes of Wales, since the conquest of the Normans, could never keep quiet possession thereof, but what for strangers, and what for disloyalty of their own people, vexation and war, were for the most part compelled to keep themselves in Caermardhynshire.

The winning of the Lordship of *Glamorgan* or *Morgannwc* out of the *Welshmen's* Hands, and first of the Description of the same Lordship.

Reprinted from the Edition of 1584.

IN primis, the said lordship in length from *Rymny* bridge on the east side, to *Pwll Conan* on the west side, is 27 miles. The breadth thereof from the haven of *Aburthaw* alias *Aberdaon*, on the south side, to the confines of *Bredinockshire*, above *Morleys* castle, is 22 miles.

Item the same lordship, being a lordship marcher, or a lordship royal, and holden of no other lordship, the lords ever since the winning of the same, owing their obedience only to the crown, have used therein *jura regalia*: that is, the trial of all actions, as well real as personal, with pleas of the crown, and authority to pardon all offences, treason only excepted.

Item there were 11 lordships, to wit, *Sengbennyth*, *Myskyn*, *Ruthin*, *Lbanblethian*, *Tir Iarlb*, *Glyn Rothney*, *Auan*, *Netb*, *Coyty*, *Talauan* and *Lbantuit*, alias, *Bouiarthon*, that were members of the said lordship of *Glamorgan*. In every of the members were the like *jura regalia* used in all things, saving that if any wrong judgement were given in any of the courts of the said members, it should be reversed by a writ of false judgement in the county court of *Glamorgan*, as superior court to the said members. Also all matters of conscience happening in debate in any of the said members, should be heard and determined in the chancery of *Glamorgan*, before the chancellor thereof.

Item, the body of the said lordship of *Glamorgan* was (before the alteration of the laws in *Wales*) a county of itself, wherein the lord had two castles and three market towns, to wit, the castle and town of *Kynfigs*, alias *Kesniffigen*, in the west part thereof, and *Cowbridge* town, alias *Pont vaen*, in the midst. And the

the town and castle of *Cardyff*, or *Caer-Dbydd*, in the east part, in which castle of *Cardyff*, the lord did most inhabit; and therein he had his Chancery and Exchequer, and a fair court house, wherein the county court was monthly kept on the Monday for all the suiters of the shrievalty, that is, of the body of the said lordship itself, without the said members.

5 Item, within the said shrievalty, or body of the said lordship, were 18 castles, and 36 knight's fees and an half, that held of the said lordship of *Glamorgan* by knights service, besides a great number of freeholders.

6 Item, in eight of the said members were ten castles and four borough towns.

7 Item, the annual revenues of the said lordship, with the members, was 1000 marks, whereof was allowed in fees 400 marks; of the which members aforesaid, *John Gamage*, Esq; occupieth one at this day, descended unto him from the *Turberuiles* his ancestors, that is to wit, the lordship of *Coytie*: and the heir of *John Basset* enjoyeth another, to wit, the lordship of *Talanuan*, by purchase from King *Edward* the sixth. The other nine members, with four of the aforesaid knights fees, and all the castles, market towns, and borough towns, with the demesnes of the same; and all the lands that were in the lords hands, parcel of the said lordship and members, the earl of *Penbroke* hath purchased. So that there remaineth now to the senior of the said lordship of *Glamorgan* (being in the Queen's Majesty's hands) but the moiety only of the manor of *Dynaspowys*, of the value of 26 pounds by the year.

The value of the seniory, before the purchase thereof.

The value of the seniory now.

The Manner of the winning of the said Lordship.

1091 **I**N the year of our Lord 1091, and in the fourth year of the reign of King *William Rufus*, one *Iestyn* the son of *Gungant*, being lord of the said lordship of *Glamorgan*, *Rees ap Theodoc*, prince of *South Wales*,

Wales, that is, of *Caermartbyneshire* and *Cardiganshire*, made war upon him. Whereupon the said *Iestyn*, understanding himself unable to withstand the said *Rees* without some aid otherwise, sent one *Eneon*, a gentleman of his, to *England*, to one *Robertus Fitzbamon*, a worthy man, and knight of the privy chamber with the said king, to retain him for his succour. The which *Robert*, being desirous to exercise himself in the feats of war, agreed soon with him thereto for a salary to him granted for the same. Whereupon the said *Robert Fitzbamon* retained to his service for the said journey, twelve knights, and a competent number of soldiers, and went into *Wales*, and joining there with the power of the said *Iestyn*, fought with the said *Rees ap Tewdor* and killed him, and one *Conan* his son. After which victory, the said *Robert Fitzbamon*, minding to return home again with his company, demanded his salary to him due of the said *Iestyn*, according to the covenants and promises agreed upon between him and the aforesaid *Eneon*, on the behalf of the said *Iestyn* his master. The which to perform in all points, the said *Iestyn* denied; and thereupon they fell out, so that it came to be tried by battle. And forso much as the said *Eneon* saw his master go from divers articles and promises that he had willed him to conclude with the said *Robert Fitzbamon*, on his behalf, he forsook his master, and took part, he and his friends, with the said *Robert Fitzbamon*. In the which conflict, the said *Iestyn* with a great number of his men were slain, whereby the said *Robert Fitzbamon* won the peaceable possession of the whole lordship of *Glamorgan*, with the members, of the which he gave certain castles and manors, in reward of service, to the said twelve knights, and to other his gentlemen.

The Names and Sirnames of the said Twelve Knights were these.

- 1 **W**ILLIAM de Londres, alias London.
- 2 Richardus de Grana villa, alias Greenfeeld.
- 3 Paganus de Turberuile.
- 4 Robertus de S. Quintino, alias S. Quintine.
- 5 Richardus de Syward.
- 6 Gilbertus de Humfrevile.
- 7 Rogerus de Berkrolles.
- 8 Reginaldus de Sully.
- 9 Peter le Soore.
- 10 Johannes le Fleming.
- 11 Oliverus de S. John, a younger brother of the Lord S. John, of Basing.
- 12 William le Esterling, whose ancestors came out of Danske to England with the Danes, and is now by shortness of speech called Stradling.

The Parcels given by the said Robert Fitzhamon to the said Twelve Knights and others, in Reward of Service.

- 1 **I**N primis, to the said William de Londres, the said Ogmor. Robert Fitzhamon gave the castle and manor of Ogmor, being four knights fees; now parcel of the possessions of the duchy of Lancaster.
- 2 Item, to the forenamed Sir Richard Greenfeeld, he Neth. gave the castle and lordship of Neth, being one of the members aforesaid; and now parcel of the possessions of the Right Hon. the Earl of Penbroke.
- 3 Item, to Sir Paine Turberuile, he gave the castle and Coyty. lordship of Coyty, being another of the said members; and now parcel of the possessions of John Gamage, Esq.
- 4 Item, to Sir Robert S. Quintine he gave the castle Lhan Blethyan. and lordship of Lhan Blethyan, being another of the said members,

members; and now parcel of the possessions of *S. William Herbert*, of *Swansley*, Knt.

Item, to Sir *Richard Syward*, he gave the castle and lordship of *Talauan*, being another of the said members; and now parcel of the possessions of *Anthony Maunsell*, Esq. 5
Talauan:

Item, to Sir *Gilbert Humfrevile*, he gave the castle and manor of *Penmarke*, being three knights fees; now parcel of the possessions of the Right Hon. Lord *St. John*, of *Bledso*. 6
Penmarke.

Item, to Sir *Reginald de Sully*, he gave the castle and manor of *Sully*, so since called after his name, being two knights fees; now divided betwixt the Earl of *Penbroke*, and the Lord *St. John*, of *Bledso*. 7
Sully.

Item, to Sir *Roger Berkrolles*, he gave the manor of *East Orchard*, being one knight's fee; now parcel of the possessions of *S. William Herbert*, of *Swansley*. 8
East Orchard.

Item, to Sir *Peter le Soore*, he gave the castle and manor of *Peterton*, so now called after his name, being one knight's fee; now parcel of the possessions of the Earl of *Penbroke*. 9
Peterton.

Item, to Sir *John Fleming*, he gave the castle and manor of *St. George*, being one knight's fee; and holden of his posterity the *Flemings* to this day. 10
S. George.

Item, to Sir *John St. John*, he gave the castle and manor of *Fonmon* or *Fenuon*, being one knight's fee; and now parcel of the possessions of the Lord *St. John*, of *Bledso*. 11
Fonmon:

Item, to Sir *William le Esterling*, alias *Stradling*, he gave the castle and manor of *St. Donats*, or *St. Denwit*, being one knight's fee; now parcel of the possessions of Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. that now is. 12
S. Donat's:

Sum. Four Lordships Members, and Thirteen Knights Fees.

ITEM, he gave to the aforesaid *Eneon* that took his part, the lordship of *Sengbennyth*, being another of the said members. 13

- 14 Item, he gave the castle and lordship of *Auan*, another of the said members, to *Caradoc Fitz Iestyn*, the eldest son of the said *Iestyn*.
- 15 Item, he gave the lordship of *Ruthyn*, another of the said members, to another son of the said *Iestyn*.
- 16 Item, the rest of the foresaid knights fees, being twenty-two and an half, he distributed part to gentlemen that served him, and part to the *Welshmen*, right owners of the same.

The Portion that the Lord kept for himself and his Heirs.

THE castle of *Cardyff* and *Kenfigg*, with the foresaid three market towns of *Cardyff*, *Kenfigg*, and *Cowbrige*, and the shrievalty, being the body of the said lordship of *Glamorgan*, and all the demesnes of the same, with the rest of the said members; to wit, *Miskyn*, *Glynrothney*, *Tyr Iarl*, and *Boviarton*, alias *Lentwit*: and the chief seniory of the whole, the said *Robert Fitzhamon* kept to himself. And in the said lordship of *Boviarton*, he had a large grange or house of husbandry, with lands to the same belonging, that served him for the provision of corn to his house. He dwelt himself most in the said castle or town of *Cardyff*, being a fair haven town. And because he would have the afore said twelve knights and their heirs give attendance upon him every county day (which was always kept by the sberiff in the utter ward of the said castle, on the Monday monthly as is before said) he gave every one of them a lodging within the said utter ward, the which their heirs, or those that purchased the same of their heirs, do enjoy at this day.

Also the morrow after the county day, being the Tuesday, the lord's chancellor sat always in the Chancery there, for the determining of matters of conscience in strife, happening as well in the said shrievalty as in the

the members; the which day also, the said knights used to give attendance upon the lord; and the Wednesday every man drew homeward, and then began the courts of the members to be kept in order, one after another.

The Pedigree of *Robert Fitzhamon*, and of his Heirs, Lords of *Glamorgan*.

- 1 **T**HE said *Robert Fitzhamon*, was son to *Hamon*, a great lord, and kinsman of *William the Conqueror*, who came into the realm with him. This *Robert* (as is before said) was knight of the privy chamber with King *William Rufus*; who (as it appeareth in the Chronicles) dreamed the night before the king was killed, that he saw the king torn in pieces by wolves; and therefore, by his persuasion, he willed the king to forbear to go abroad that forenoon. But the king, when he had dined, there was no man able to stay him, but that he would ride forth a hunting into the new forest, where he was slain by *Walter Tyrrell*, by the glancing of his arrow shooting at a red deer.

Some do affirm that he was lord of Astrevile in Normandy.
Matt. West. lib. 2, p. 21.
I. Caistor.
Matt. Paris, page 22.
- 2 *Mawd*, the only daughter and heiress of the said *Robert*, was married to *Robert*, Earl of *Glocester*, base son to King *Henry* the first.
- 3 *William*, Earl of *Glocester*, son to the said *Robert* and *Mawd*, died without issue male, leaving behind him three daughters; of the which, *Isabel*, the eldest, was married to King *John*, then Earl of *Oxford* and *Lancaster* (as some chronicles do declare) who so soon as he was made king was divorced from her. And then she was married to *Geffrey Mandevile*, Earl of *Essex*, and died without issue, as far as I can find.
- 4 The second daughter named *Amicia*, was married to Sir *Gilbart de Clare*, then Earl of *Clare*, by whom

he had the earldom of *Glocester*. And *Mabile*, the third daughter was married to the Earl of *Eureux*.

- 5 Sir *Gilbart de Clare*, son to the said *Gilbart*, was the fourth Earl of *Glocester*.
- 6 Sir *Richard de Clare*'s son was the fifth earl.
- 7 Sir *Gilbart*'s son was the sixth earl.
- 8 Sir *Gilbart*'s son, who married *Jane de Acres*, daughter to King *Edward I.* was the seventh earl.
- 9 Sir *Gilbart de Clare* their son was the eighth earl, and he was slain by the *Scots* in King *Edward* the Second's time; and then the earldom fell between his three sisters. Of the which *Elianor* the eldest was married to *Hugh Spenser* the son, in her right Earl of *Glocester*. *Margaret* the second was married to *Peires Gaueston*, and after to the Lord *Awdley*. *Elizabeth* the third was married first to *William Lord Burgh*, Earl of *Ulster*, and after to *Ralph Roch*, Baron of *Armoy*, in *Ireland*; she was married the third time to *Theobald I. Verdoun*, and lastly to Sir *Roger Damory*, and had issue by every one of them.
- 10 Sir *Hugh Spencer* had to his wives purpartee the said lordship of *Glamorgan*.
- 11 Sir *Hugh Lord Spencer* their son enjoyed the same, and died without issue.
- 12 *Edward Lord Spencer*, son to *Edward*, brother to the said *Hugh*, succeeded the said *Hugh* therein.
- 13 *Thomas Lord Spencer*, his son, succeeded him.
- 14 *Richard Lord Spencer*, his son, succeeded him, and died in ward.
- 15 *Isabell*, sister to *Richard*, succeeded him, and married with *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Worcester*, and Lord *Burgavenny*, who had issue by her a daughter only, and died. The which daughter was married to *Edward*, the son of *Dawraby*, *Ralph Neucl*, Earl of *Westmoreland*. And after the death of the said Earl of *Worcester*, the said *Isabell* married

- married with *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*.
- 16 *Henry Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, and after Duke of *Warwick*, their son died without issue.
- 17 *Anne* his sister of whole blood succeeded him, and married with *Richard Neuell*, after Earl of *Salisbury*, and in her right Earl of *Warwick*; and had issue two daughters, *Marie*, married to the Duke *Clarence*, and *Anne*, married first to Prince *Edward*, slain at *Teuxburie*, and after his death with *Richard*, Duke of *Glocester*, who was afterward King of *England*.
- 18 The said *Anne* and King *Richard* (being then Duke of *Glocester*) had the said lordship given unto them by the said *Anne*, Countess of *Warwick*, her mother.
- 19 King *Henry* the Seventh enjoyed the same after the death of King *Richard*.
- 20 *Iasper*, Duke of *Bedford*, enjoyed the same by the gift of King *Henry* the Seventh, and died without issue; and by reason thereof it remained to the king again.
- 21 King *Henry* the Eighth enjoyed the same after his father.
- 22 King *Edward* the Sixth succeeded him therein, and sold almost all the lands thereof.
- 23 Queen *Mary* succeeded him in the senjory.
- 24 Queen *Elizabeth* our most dread soveraign that now is, doth succeed her in the same senjory, and hath sold the lordship of *Netb* from it; so that now there remain no more lands appertaining to the senjory, but the moiety of the manor of *Deinaspowys* only.

The Pedigree of *Londres*, Lord of *Ogmore*, one of the said Twelve.

- 1 **WILLIAM** *Londres*, lord of the castle and manor of *Ogmore* (as is before said) won afterwards the lordships of *Kydwelbey* and *Carnewilbion*, in *Caermartbenshire*, from the *Welshmen*; and gave to Sir *Arnold Butler*, his servant, the castle and manor of *Dunreeven*, in the lordship of *Ogmore* aforesaid. The which ever since hath continued in the heirs male of the said *Arnold Butler*, until within these few years that it fell to *Walter Vaghan*, sister's son to *Arnold Butler*, the last of the *Butlers* that was owner thereof.
- 2 *Simon de Londres*, his son, succeeded him.
- 3 *William de Londres* succeeded his father *Simon*, and had issue one son.
- 4 *Moris de Londres*, his son, succeeded him, and had issue one only daughter.
- 5 The said daughter married with one *Seward*, a man of great possessions.
- 6 They had issue a daughter only, married to *Henrie*, Earl of *Lancaster*, brother to *Thomas*, Earl of *Lancaster*.
- 7 *Henrie* their son, made afterwards Duke of *Lancaster*, did succeed them; and so the said three lordships, *Ogmore*, *Kydwelbey*, and *Carnewilbion*, became parcels of the Duchy of *Lancaster* ever after.

The Pedigree of *Greenefeeld*.

SIR *Richard Greenefeeld* before said (to whom the lordship of *Netb* was given in reward) was lord of the castle and manor of *Bydyford*, in *Devonshire*, at the time he came into *Wales* with the said *Robert Fitzhamon*, and founded an abby of white monks in *Netb*, and gave the whole lordship to the maintenance of the same, and then returned back again to *Bydyford*, whereas the issue male of his body doth yet remain, and enjoyeth the same.

The Pedigree of *Turberuile*, Lord of *Coyty*.

- 1 SIR *Paine Turberuile*, Lord of *Coyty*, as is before said.
- 2 Sir *Simon Turberuile* succeeded him, and died without issue.
- 3 Sir *Gilbart Turberuile* succeeded his brother.
- 4 Sir *Paine Turberuile*, his son succeeded him; and married *Mawd*, daughter and sole heir to *Morgan Gam*, one of the nephews of the aforesaid *Iestyn*.
- 5 Sir *Gilbart* their son quartered *Iestyn's* arms with *Turberuile's*.
- 6 Sir *Gilbart*, his son, succeeded him.
- 7 Sir *Richard*, his son, succeeded him.
- 8 Sir *Paine*, his son, succeeded him, who married with *Wenbian*, daughter to Sir *Richard Talbot*, Knt. and had issue by her, two sons, that is to wit, *Gilbart* and *Richard*; and four daughters, namely, *Catharine*, *Margaret*, *Agnes*, and *Sara*.
- 9 Sir *Gilbart* succeeded Sir *Paine* his father.
- 10 Sir *Gilbart*, his son, succeeded him, and died without issue.
- 11 Sir *Richard*, his father's brother, succeeded him, and having no issue, entailed the lordship of *Coity* to the heirs male of Sir *Roger Berkerolles*, Knt.
 - 1 Sir *Roger Berkerolles*, Knt. son to Sir *William Berkerolles*, Knt. and *Phelice* his wife, one of the daughters of *Veere*, Earl of *Oxenford*, which said Sir *Roger* had married *Catharine*, the eldest sister of the said Sir *Richard*. And for default of such issue, the remainder to the heirs male of Sir *Richard Stakepoole*, Knt. who married with *Margaret*,
 - 2 second sister of the said *Richard*. And for default of such issue, the remainder to the heirs of Sir *John de la Beare*, Knt. and *Agnes* his wife, the
 - 3 third sister to the said *Richard*. And for lack of such issue male, the remainder to the heirs male of *William Gamage*, and of *Sara* his wife, the fourth
 - 4 sister to the said Sir *Richard Turberuile*.

The said *Berkrolles*, *Stakepoole*, or *Stacpoole*, and *De la Beare*, died without issue male*, by reason whereof, after the death of Sir *Laurence Berkerolles*, Knt. son to the said Sir *Roger*, and *Catharine* his wife; the said lordship fell to Sir *William Gamage*, son to *Gilbert*, son to the foresaid *William Gamage*, and *Sara*. The said *William* was son to Sir *Robert Gamage*, Knt. son to *Paine Gamage*, lord of the manor of *Rogiade*, in the county of *Monmowth*. The foresaid Sir *William* had issue *Thomas*, *Thomas* had issue *John*, *John* had issue *Morgan*, *Morgan* had issue Sir *Thomas Gamage*, Knt. and *Margaret*, wife to *Ienkin Thomas*, and *Anne*, wife to *Robert Raglan*, and *Catharine*, wife to *Reginald ap Howel*, and *Wenlbian*, wife to *Thomas ap Meyric*.

The said Sir *Thomas Gamage* had issue *Robert Gamage*, that late was; *Catharine* his eldest daughter, wife to Sir *Thomas Stradling*, Knt. *Marie* the second daughter, wife to *Matthew Herebert*; *Margaret* the third daughter, wife to the Lord *William Howard*;

* *Robert*, the only brother of the said Sir *RICHARD STACPOOLE*, married a daughter of Sir *John Sitfyllt*, or *Cecill*.

Sir *William Stacpoole*, his eldest son, married a daughter of *Howel ap Ithel*, Lord of *Roos* and *Rynonioc*, now *Denbighland*. The said Sir *WILLIAM STACPOOLE* had a command in an army, raised in the reign of King *Stephen*, against *David*, King of *Scots*, but died young, leaving three sons and one daughter.

Sir *RICHARD STACPOOLE*, his eldest son, of *STACPOOLE*, in the county of *Pembrooke*, married a daughter of Sir *Henry Vernon*, of *Haddon*, in the *Pek*.

No mention is made of the second son; but *Robert*, the youngest son, encouraged by his cousin *Robert Fitzstephen*, went over to *Ireland* with *Richard*, Earl of *Strigule*, known by the name of *Strongbow*, and was a captain of archers in that division of the army that *Fitzstephen* commanded under *Strongbow*, in the year 1168, the fourteenth year of King *Henry* the Second.

The said *ROBERT STACPOOLE* afterwards settled in *Ireland*, and his lineal descendant has a large property in the county of *Clare* in that kingdom.

The old mansion of *STACPOOLE* Court, and a large estate in *Pembrookeshire*, descended to a grand daughter of the second Sir *RICHARD STACPOOLE*, and is now the property of the son of the late *Pryse Campbell*, Esq; who was member for that county, and died in 1769.

and *Elizabeth* the fourth daughter, wife to *Richard Hogan*, of *Penbrookeshire*, Esq. The said *Robert Gamage* had issue *John Gamage*, that now is.

- 1 Sole heir general to the said Sir *Roger Berkrolles*, Knt. and *Catharine*, one of the four sisters, and heirs general to the aforesaid Sir *Richard Turberuile*, Knt. is Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. that now is.
- 2 Sole heir general to the said Sir *Richard Stakepoole*, of *Penbrookeshire*, and *Margaret* his wife, another of the four sisters, and heirs general to the said Sir *Richard Turberuile*, Knt. is Sir *George Vernon*, Knt.
- 3 Heirs general to the said Sir *John de la Beare*, Knt. and *Agnes* his wife, another of the four sisters, and heirs general of the said Sir *Richard Turberuile*, Knt, are *Oliuer S. John*, Lord *S. John*, of *Bledso*, and *William Bassett*, of *Glamorgan*, Esq. that now is.
- 4 *John Gamage*, Esq. that now is, is as well heir general lineally descended from *Sara* the fourth sister, and heir to the said Sir *Richard Turberuile*, Knt. as also heir by the entail aforesaid, to the whole lordship of *Coyty*.

Robert de S. Quintine, his Pedigree.

SIR *Robert de S. Quintine*, to whom the lordship of *Lbanblethian* was given, and his issue male enjoyed the same, until King *Henry* the Third's time. And then, or in short time after, his issue male failed, of whom is descended Sir *William Parr*, late Marquis of *Northampton*.

Richard de Syward, his Pedigree.

SIR *Richard Syward*, to whom the lordship of *Taluan* was given, and his issue male, enjoyed the same until King *Edward* the Third's time; at which time the heirs thereof having other lands in *Somersetshire*, sold the said lordship to the Lord *Spencer*, then Lord of *Glamorgan*, and went into *Somersetshire* to dwell there, where his issue male continueth yet.

Gilbert de Humfreuile, his Pedigree.

SIR *Gilbert Humfreuile* aforesaid, to whom the castle and manor of *Penmarke* was given, and his issue male, enjoyed the same till the said King *Edward* the Third's time; and then the inheritance of the said castle and manor descended to Sir *John S. John*, of *Fonmon*, Knt. to whom the forenamed Lord *S. John*, of *Bledso*, is sole heir.

Roger de Berkerolles, Knt. his Pedigree.

SIR *Roger Berkerolles* aforesaid knight, to whom the manor of *East Orchard* was given; and his issue male, enjoyed the same till the thirteenth year of *Henrie* the Fourth; that Sir *Laurence Berkerolles*, Knt. died, whom Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. as sole heir did succeed, being son to Sir *William Stradling*, Knt. son to Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. and *Wenbian* sole sister and heir to the said Sir *Laurence*, of whom *Edward Stradling*, Knt. (that now is) is lineally descended.

Reginald de Sully, Knt. his Pedigree.

SIR *Reginald de Sully*, to whom the castle and manor of *Sully* was given, and his issue male, enjoyed the same until about King *Edward* the First's time. And then it fell to a daughter married to Sir *Morgan de Avan*, Lord of the lordship of *Avan* above named; whose son, Sir *John de Avan*, had but one daughter, of whom Sir *George Blunt*, of *Shropshire*, is lineally descended as sole heir, whose ancestor gave the said lordship of *Avan*, and the castle and manor of *Sully* to the Lord *Spencer*, in exchange for other lands in *England*.

Peter le Score, Knt. his Pedigree.

SIR *Peter le Score, Knt.* to whom was given the castle and manor of *Peter's Towne*, and his issue male, enjoyed the same until King *Henry the Fourth's* time, and then died without issue, and his inheritance fell between divers.

John le Fleming, Knt. his Pedigree.

SIR *John le Fleming, Knt.* to whom the castle and manor of *S. George* was given, and his issue male, enjoyed the same until King *Henry the Fourth's* time; and then it fell to *Edmond Malefant*, who had married a daughter to the last *Fleming*. And in King *Henry the Seventh's* time the *Malefants* issue by *Flemings* daughter failed; and then it fell to *John Butler*, of *Dunreeven* above named, Esq. and after the death of him and of *Arnold* his son, both the inheritances of *Fleming* and *Butler* fell to *Walter Vaghan*, of *Brode-mard*, in the county of *Heresford*, Esq. now living, sifter's son to the said *Arnold Butler*.

Oliuer de S. John, Knt. his Pedigree.

SIR *Oliuer S. John, Knt.* to whom the castle and manor of *Fonmon* was given, and his heirs male have ever since enjoyed the same, to whom the above named Lord *S. John*, of *Bledso*, that now is, is sole heir; whose ancestors from the winning of the said lordship or *Glamorgan* out of the *Welshmens* hands, have continually dwelt at *Fonmon* aforesaid, until the latter time of King *Edward the Fourth*. That *John S. John*, Esq. had the said lordship of *Bledso*, and many other possessions besides, by the death of dame *Margaret Beauchampe*, his mother, who was also mother to *Margaret*, Duchefs of *Somerset*, mother to King *Henry the Seventh*. Since which time the said *John S. John*, and Sir *John S. John, Knt.* father to my lord that now is, have always dwelt in *Bledso*, but they do keep their lands in *Wales* still in their hands.

William le Esterling, alias Stradling, his Pedigree.

- 1 **S**IR *William Esterling*, Knt. to whom the castle and manor of *S. Donat's* was given.
- 2 Sir *John le Esterling*, Knt. his son, succeeded him.
- 3 Sir *Moris le Esterling*, Knt. his son, succeeded him.
- 4 Sir *Robert le Esterling*, Knt. (most commonly called *Stradling* by shortness of speech and change of some letters) succeeded him.
- 5 Sir *Gilbert Stradling*, Knt. his son, succeeded him.
- 6 Sir *William Stradling*, Knt. his son, succeeded him.
- 7 Sir *John Stradling*, Knt. his son, succeeded him.
It doth not appear in what stock or firname any of these seven knights above named did marry; but the names of the wives of *William* the first, *Robert*, and *John* the second, were *Hawisfa*, *Mathilda*, and *Cicilia*.
- 8 Sir *Peter Stradling*, Knt. his son, succeeded him, who in the beginning of King *Edward* the First's time and reign married *Iulian*, sole daughter and heir of *Thomas Hawey*, by whom he had three manors, *Hawey* and *Combawey*, in *Samersetshire*, yet remaining to his heirs, and *Compton Hawey*, in *Dorcetshire*, sold of late years.
- 9 Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. their son, succeeded them, and he quartered the *Haweys'* arms with his, and married with *Eliador*, daughter and heir to *Gilbert Strangbow*, a younger brother, whose wife was daughter and heir to *Richard Garnon*, and had by her two manors in *Oxfordshire*.
- 10 Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. his son, succeeded him, and married with *Wentbian*, daughter to *Roger Berkrolles*, Knt. and sole sifter and heir to Sir *Laurence Berkrolles*, Knt. as it happened afterward.
- 11 Sir *William Stradling*, Knt. his son, married with *Isabel*, daughter and heir to *John S. Barbe*, of *Somersetshire*; but he had no lands by her, for it was entailed

entailed to the heirs male. This Sir *William*, in King *Richard* the Second's time, went a pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, and received there also the orders of knighthood of the sepulchre of Christ.

- 12 Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. his son, succeeded him, who, because he was sole heir general to the said *S. Barbe*, did quarter *S. Barbe's* arms with his. To whom also (in the thirteenth year of King *Henry* the Fourth) fell the whole inheritance of the *Berkerolles*, and the right of the fourth part of *Turberuile's* inheritance, Lord of *Coyty* aforesaid; the which, for lack of issue male of the said *Berkerolles*, remained to *Gamage* and to his heirs male by the especial entail aforesaid. The which Sir *Edward* did quarter not only the said *Berkerolles's* arms with his, but also the *Turberuiles* and *Iestynes* arms; of whom the *Turberuiles* had in marriage one of the inheritors, as is before said; because the said Sir *Edward* was one of the four heirs general to Sir *Richard Turberuile*, to wit, son to Sir *William Stradling*, son to *Wenlbian*, sister and heir to the said *Laurence Berkerolles*, and daughter to *Catharine*, eldest sister, and one of the four heirs general to the aforesaid Sir *Richard Turberuile*.

The said Sir *Edward* married with *Jane*, daughter to *Henry Beauford*, afterwards Cardinal, begotten (before he was priest) upon *Alice*, one of the daughters of *Richard*, Earl of *Arundell*; and in the beginning of King *Henry* the Seventh's reign, he went likewise on pilgrimage unto *Ierusalem*, as his father did, and received the order of the sepulchre there.

This Sir *Edward* had to his brother Sir *John Stradling*, Knt. who married with the heir of *Dauncy*, in *Wiltshire*, and had issue Sir *Edmond*, who had issue *John* and *Edmond*. *John* had issue *Anne*, Lady *Davers*, of whom the *Davers*, *Hugerfordes*, *Fynes*, and *Leuet*, and a great progeny of them are descended; and of the said *Edmond* cometh *Carnyfoyes*, of *Cornewal*.

The said *Edward* had another brother called *William*, of whom *Stradling* of *Ruthyn* and others are descended; the same *William* had a daughter named *Wenbian*, who, by the Earl of *Ryuers*, had a daughter, married to Sir *Robert Poynes*, of whom cometh all the *Poynes*, the *Newtons*, *Perots*, and others.

- 13 Sir *Harrie Stradling*, Knt. his son, succeeded him, and married with *Elizabeth*, sister of whole blood to Sir *William Herbert*, Knt. Earl of *Penbrooke*, and had issue by her one son and two daughters; one of them was married to *Myles ap Harry*, of whom *Mrs. Blanch ap Harrie* and her brethren and uncles are descended; the other daughter was married to *Fleming*, of *Monton*, in *Wales*.

This Sir *Harrie*, in the sixteenth year of King *Edward* the Fourth, went in like manner on pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, and received the order of the sepulchre there, as his father and grandfather did, and died in the Isle of *Cypres* in his coming home; whose book is to be seen as yet, with a letter that his man brought from him to his lady and wife. The saying is, that divers of his said ancestors made the like pilgrimage, but there remaineth no memory in writing but of these three.

This Sir *Harrie*, sailing from his house in *Somersetshire* to his house in *Wales*, was taken prisoner by a *Brytaine* pirate, named *Colyn Dolphyn*, whose redemption and charges stood him in 2000 marks; for the payment whereof he was driven to sell the castle and manor of *Basselek* and *Sutton*, in *Monmouthshire*, and the manors in *Oxfordshire*.

- 14 *Thomas Stradling*, Esq. his son, succeeded him, and married *Ienet*, daughter to *Thomas Matthew*, of *Rayder*, Esq. and had issue by her two sons, *Edward* and *Harrie*, and one daughter named *Jane*, and died before he was twenty-six years of age. After whose death, his wife married with Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Knight of the Garter. *Harrie* married with the daughter and heir of *Thomas Iubb*, learned in the law, and had issue by her *Francis Stradling*,

Stradling, of *S. George*, of *Bristow*, yet living *Iane* was married to *Sir William Gruffyth*, of *North Wales*, Knt. and had issue by her three sons, *Edward*, *Sir Rice Gruffyth*, Knt. and *John*, and seven daughters. The eldest married to *Stanley*, of *Houghton*, the second to *Sir Richard Buckley*, Knt. the third to *Lewys*, the fourth to *Moston*, the fifth to *Conwey*, the sixth to *Williams*, the seventh to *Pers Motton*, and after to *Simon Theloal*, Esq. whose wife at this time she is; the eighth to *Pbiphils*. Of which daughters there be a wonderful number descended. *Edward* married *Jane*, daughter to *Sir John Puleston*, Knt. and had issue by her three daughters; *Jane* married to *William Herbert*, of *S. Julian*; *Catharine* married to *William Herbert*, of *Swansey*, and another daughter married to *Sir Nicholas Bagnoll*, Knt.

15 *Sir Edward Stradling*, Knt. succeeded his father, and married with *Elizabeth*, one of the three daughters of *Sir Thomas Arundell*, of *Lanbeyron*, in *Cornewall*, Knt. The other two were married to *Speke* and *S. Lowe*, and had issue four sons; *Thomas*, *Robert*, *Edward*, and *John*. *Robert* married *Watkyn Lodber's* daughter, and by her many children; *Edward* married with the daughter and heir of *Robert Baglan*, of *Lantwit*, and hath also divers children; and *John* is a priest. Also the said *Sir Edward* had two daughters; *Jane* married to *Alexander Popham*, of *Somersetshire*, of whom is a great number descended; and *Catharine* married to *Sir Thomas Palmer*, of *Suffex*, who hath a son named *William*.

16 *Sir Thomas Stradling*, Knt. his son, succeeded him, and married *Catharine*, the eldest daughter to *Sir Thomas Gamage*, of *Coyty*, Knt. and to dame *Margaret* his wife, daughter to *Sir John S. John*, of *B'edso*, Knt. by whom he hath living yet two sons, *Edward* and *David*; and five daughters, *Elizabeth*, *Damafyn*, *Iane*, *Ioice*, and *Wenlbian*.

- 17 Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. that now is, married *Agnes*, second daughter to Sir *Edward Gage*, of *Suffex*, Knt. and as yet in the year 1572 hath no issue.

Memorandum, that of the heirs male of the aforefaid twelve knights that came with Sir *Robert Fitzhamon* to the winning of *Glamorgan*, the lordship aforefaid, there is at this day but the *Stradling* alive, that dwelleth in *Wales*, and enjoyeth the portion given in reward to his ancestors.

There be yet of the younger brothers of the *Turberuiles* and *Flemings*.

Greenefeeld and *Syward* do yet remain, but they dwell in *England*, and have done away their lands in *Wales*.

The Lord *S. John*, of *Bledso* (although he keepeth his ancient inheritance in *Wales*) yet he dwelleth in *Eugland*.

Thus far the copy of the winning of Glamorgan, as I received the same at the hands of Mrs. Blanch Parrie, penned by Sir Edward Stradling, Knt.

D. POWEL.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
W A L E S.

WHEN the Roman empire, under Valentinian, the younger, began to decline, and became sensibly unable to repress the perpetual incursions of the Goths, Huns, Vandals; and other barbarous invaders; it was found necessary to abandon the remotest Parts of that unweildly body, and to recal the Roman forces that defended them, the better to secure the inward, and the provinces most exposed to the depredations of the Barbarians. And in this exigency of the Roman affairs, Britain, as lying far remote from the heart of the empire, was deprived of the Roman garrisons; which, being transported into Gaul upon more urgent occasions; left it naked and exposed to the inveterate cruelty of the Scots and Picts: for no sooner had they understood of the Romans departure out of Britain; and that the Britains were to expect no further help from the empire; but they descend in greater number than formerly, and with greater courage and expectation, being now rid of the fear they entertained of the Roman legions, who always used to hinder their progress, and to prevent their incursions into the Roman province. The Britains perceiving their antient and implacable enemies to fall upon them, and finding themselves far too weak to repel their endless devastations;

B

tions; with a lamentable narrative of their own Miseries, and the cruel oppressions of their enemies, they sent over to Gaul, imploring aid of Ætius præfect of that province; who, being moved with the deplorable condition of that province, dispatched over a legion under the command of Gallio, which unexpectedly surprizing the Picts and Scots, forced them, with great loss and destruction, to retire over the seas or friths to their own habitations. Then helping them to build a wall of stone cross the land, for a bulwark against any future irruptions; the Romans, at their departure, told them, they could not any more undertake such dangerous expeditions for their defence, and therefore admonished them to take arms, and like Men vindicate their country, their wives, children and liberties from the injuries or their barbarous enemies.

But as soon as the Roman legion was transported into Gaul, back return the Picts and Scots; and having by a desperate assault passed the wall, pursued the Britains with a more dreadful and bloody slaughter than formerly. The Britains, perceiving their condition most desperate, once more send their miserable complaints to Ætius in these tragical words: "To Ætius thrice consul the groans of the Britains: the Barbarians drive us to the sea, and the sea drives us back to them; and so, distracted betwixt two deaths, we are either drowned, or perish by the sword." But they solicit to no purpose; the Romans having already bid absolutely farewell to Britain, and the empire being cruelly oppressed by the Goths, and other barbarous nations, was not in a condition possible to assist them. The Britains therefore finding themselves absolutely forsaken by the Romans, and conceiving it utterly impracticable to drive away the barbarians by their own strength; saw it urgently necessary to call in the aid of some foreign nation, whose labour in repelling their enemies should be gratefully and satisfactorily rewarded.

The reason that the British nation was at this time so weak and impotent, and so manifestly unable to withstand these barbarous enemies, who were far inferior

rior as to extent of country, and probably in number of people, may in great measure be attributed to the ease and quietness the Britains enjoyed under the Roman government. For whilst the Roman legions continued in Britain, they ever undertook the security and preservation of it; so that the Britains heretofore were little concerned at the incursions of the Scots and Picts, depending wholly upon the strength and valour of the Romans, insomuch, that within a while, they fell into a fit of luxury and effeminacy, and quickly forgot that martial prowess, and military conduct which their ancestors so famously excelled in. For after their entire subjection to the Roman empire, they had little or no opportunity to experience their valour excepting in some home bred commotions, excited by the aspiring ambition of some male-contented general, which were quickly composed and reduced to nothing. And after the Scots and Picts grew formidable, and durst venture to make incursions into the Roman province, the Britains were the least concerned in opposing them, leaving that to the care and vigilancy of the Roman garrisons. And this easiness and supinety of the Britains, may not be untruly attributed to the policy of the Roman constitution: for when the Britains were brought subject to the empire, the first thing the Romans effected towards the confirmation of their obedience, was to take the sword out of their hands. They were sensible how bold and valourous the Britains naturally were, how unlike to submit their necks to a foreign yoke, and therefore they found it impracticable to obtain a quiet possession of this province, as long as the Britains had power and opportunity to oppose them. This course they found very effectual, and when they had once lulied them asleep, they were not over solicitous to rouse and awaken them.

The Britains also might possibly be too much taken with this sedentary and unactive life; and as long as they lived secure under the protection of the Roman empire, they little feared their country would become a prey to any barbarous nation. No one would have

imagined that that glorious empire would be so soon crushed to pieces, which could not otherwise be effected, than by the insupportable pressure of its own weight. The apprehension of the greatness and strength of the Romans, made the Britains probably less solicitous of enabling themselves to defend their country, not thinking they would ever forsake and relinquish the province of Britain. But to their sorrow they experienced the contrary, the affairs of the empire elsewhere requiring the help of the British legions, so that they were left exposed to the cruelties of the northern invaders, having not as yet recovered any power or conduct to oppose them. For had not the Scots and Picts come on so forcibly at first, but had given time to the Britains to shake off that lethargy they had for many years been buried in, and to renew their ancient discipline and vigour, there had been no need of calling in the Saxons, seeing they would in all probability been able to maintain their ground against any opposition, and likely had been in possession of their whole country to this time. But next to the decree of heaven, the ruin of the British nation must be attributed to its too much luxury and effeminacy, and to the universal lapse of the nobility and people, into an aversion of all military action and martial discipline. For though a continued peace be in itself desirable, yet oftentimes nothing tends more to the future ruin and downfall of a nation. For peace begets in men generally a habit of looseness and debauchery, is the occasion of many notorious extravagancies and vicious practices, which weakens their hands, and cools their courage and greatness of mind, so that in case of any open danger, they are incapable to defend their country, and unfit to oppose the common enemy. Scarcely any kingdom or nation was subverted, but the ruin of it was ushered in by these means; witness the Assyrian under Sardanapalus, the Persian under Darius, and the Egyptian under Cleopatra; so that it was most prudently urged by a Roman senator, that Carthage might not be demolished; lest that for want of an enemy abroad, the valour of the Romans might degenerate, and their
conduct

conduct be forgotten. Had the Britains had the fortune to be continually in action, and not exchanged their courage and discipline for ease and laziness, they had no reason to dread the incursions of the Scots and Picts, nor any need of the Aid and Assistance of a foreign Nation; but the condition of their affairs then required it, and help must be had, or else their country must unavoidable become a prey to those northern invaders.

To prevent therefore and repel their violence, King Vortigern held a council of his great men and nobles, where it was concluded to be most advantageous to the Britains, to invite the Saxons out of Germany to their aid, who in all probability would gladly embrace the opportunity, by reason that their own country was grown too scanty for their superfluous numbers. This message of the Britains, however originally delivered, is by an antient Saxon Writer repeated in this manner: "Most noble Saxons, the miserable Britains, shattered and quite worn out by the frequent incursions of their enemies, upon the news of your many signal victories, have sent us to you, humbly requesting that you would assist them at this juncture. A land large and spacious, abounding with all manner of necessaries, they give up entirely to your disposal. Hitherto we have lived happily under the government and protection of the Romans: Next to the Romans we know none of greater valour than yourselves, and therefore in your arms do now seek refuge. Let but that courage and those arms make us conquerors, and we shall refuse no service you shall please to impose." To this message the Saxons returned this short answer: "Assure yourselves, the Saxons will be true friends to the Britains, and as such, shall be always ready both to relieve their necessities, and to advance their interest."

The Saxons being thus happily courted to what themselves had a thousand times wished for, arrived soon after in Britain, in three gallies, called in their own language Kiules, under the conduct of two brethren Hengist and Horfa. Being honourably received by the king, and affectionately treated by the people,

their faith was given of both sides; the Saxons stipulating to defend the Britains country, and the Britains to give the Saxons a satisfactory reward for all the pains and dangers they should undergo upon their account. At first the Saxons shewed themselves very diligent in their employment, and successfully repelled the Scots and Picts; who being probably ignorant of the landing of the Saxons, and fearing no opposition, boldly advanced to the heart of the country. But when the Saxons became better acquainted with the island, and happily discovered the weakness and inability of the Britains; under pretence that their pay was not answerable to their service and deserts, they quarrelled with the Britains, and instead of supporting them according to oath, entered into a league with their enemies the Scots. Moreover, Hengist perceiving with whom he had to do, sent over to acquaint his countrymen with the beauty and fertility of the island, the infirmity and effeminacy of the inhabitants; inviting them to be sharers of his future success and expectations. To his invitation they readily comply, and sailing over in great numbers, they thought to take possession of that country, which fortune promised should be their own: but they must fight for it first; the Britains being resolved to the last to defend themselves and their country against these treacherous practices of the Saxons; and if possible, to drive them to their primitive habitations. For when the Britains became sensible of the undermining aim of the Saxons, how they secretly endeavoured the total extirpation of the British nation, they presently betook themselves to their swords, and in a short time became signally famous for their valour and conduct. This the Saxons afterwards grievously felt, though the total recovery of Britain proved impracticable for want of power; the Saxons having by massacres and other treacherous means, most unmercifully lessened the force and number of the Britains. King Vortigern loved his ease too well to observe their practices; and besides, became so foolishly enamoured with the daughter of Hengist, which pur-
posely,

posely was laid to intrap him, that the Saxon upon the strength of their marriage began to carve for himself, and during Vortigern's reign, laid so firm a foundation for the Saxon conquest, that the succeeding British kings, though famously valiant, could never undermine it. This Scottishness of his father, young Vortimer could not at length endure; to see himself and his country so openly and shamefully imposed upon by strangers; and therefore he resolved to take the British government upon himself, and to endeavour the universal expulsion of the Saxons. With him the British nobility willingly join, and after several famous victories over the Saxons, he was unhappily poisoned by a Saxon lady. After him the Britains bravely defended themselves against the prevailing greatness of the Saxons, under these valiant princes, Aurelius Ambrosius, Uter Pendragon, Arthur, Constantine II. Aurelius Conanus, Vortiper, and Maelgon. To him succeeded Careticus; in whose time the Saxons aspiring to a total conquest of Britain, invited over one Gurmundus, a Norwegian pirate, who had lately signalized himself in Ireland, and obtained a conquest over that kingdom. Him they employ to march against Careticus, who being overcome and vanquished by him, the Britains were forced, some to retire beyond the rivers Severn and Dee, some to Cornwall, and the rest to Little Britain in France. The British affairs were now brought very low, and their government reduced within a very narrow compass; so that the title of the Kings of Britain, can be but superficially attributed to the succeeding princes, Cadwan, Cadwallan, and Cadwalader,

C A D W A L A D E R.

CADWALADER, surnamed Bhendiged, or the Blessed, was the last of British race, that enjoyed the title of King of Britain; after him, the Welch, who were the most numerous remains of the Britains, disdain- ing to own any subjection to the oppressing Saxons, set up a new government among themselves, and altered the stile of British kings to that of princes of Wales. But whilst Cadwalader ruled in Britain, a very severe famine, attended with a raging pesti- lence, which assuredly sprung from the continued war, which was so eagerly carried on betwixt the Britains and Saxons, happened in the island, which occasioned a most lamentable mortality among his subjects; insomuch that he was compelled, together with a great number of his nobility and others, to retire for refuge to his cousin Alan, King of Lhydaw, or Little Britain in France. There he was sure to meet with all civility suitable to his quality and condi- tion, as well, because of his own near relation and consanguinity to Alan, as upon the account that their subjects were originally one and the same people: for the Britains of France, about the year of Christ 384, went over out of this island under the command of Conan, Lord of Meriadoc, to the aid of Maximus the tyrant, against the emperor Gratianus. For this service Maximus granted to Conan and his followers the country of Armorica, where the Britains having driven out the former inhabitants, seated them- selves, and erected a kingdom, which lasted for many years under several kings, whose names and succession are as follows:

The LIST of the ARMORICAN KINGS.

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| 1. Conan Meriadoc. | 13. Conobertus. |
| 2. Gradlonus. | 14. Budicus II. |
| 3. Salomon I. | 15. Theodoricus. |
| 4. Auldranus. | 16. Ruhalhonus. |
| 5. Budicus I. | 17. Daniel Dremroft, i. e.
rubicunda facie. |
| 6. Howelus Magnus. | 18. Aregftanus. |
| 7. Howelus II. | 19. Maconus. |
| 8. Alanus I. | 20. Neomenius. |
| 9. Howelus III. | 21. Haruspogius. |
| 10. Gilquellus. | 22. Salomon III. |
| 11. Salomon II. | |
| 12. Alanus II. | |

Alan II. then reigned in Little Britain, when Cadwalader was forced to forsake his own dominions, and to retire beyond the seas. He was descended from Rune the son of Mailgon Gwyneth, King of Great Britain, by a daughter married to Howel the second, King of Little Britain. This kingdom remained firm, till Salomon III. who was treacherously slain by his own subjects; upon which unlucky accident, the kingdom was converted to an earldom, whereof one Alan was the first, a valiant and warlike prince, who stoutly resisted the Normans, and frequently vanquished and overcame them.

But after that Cadwalader had continued some time with Alan, the plague being abated in Britain he purposed to return, and if possible, to recover that part of his kingdom which the Saxons were now in possession of. He received frequent intelligence of their number and increase, how they fairly bid for the conquest of that country, which had been governed by British kings for the space of 1827 years. This troubled him exceedingly, and though he had little hopes of prevailing by the strength and number of his forces, yet he made the best preparation that the opportunity would permit, and dispatched his fleet for the transportation of his army, which consisted

consisted partly of his own subjects, and partly of such succours as he received from Alan. Whilst he vigorously prosecuted this design, and was ready to strike sail for Britain; his voyage was prevented by a message from heaven; which counseled him to lay aside the thoughts of recovering his kingdom, because it was already decreed above, that the Britains should no longer enjoy the government of Britain, till the prophesy of Merlyn Ambrose was fulfilled. And instead of a voyage to Britain, he is ordered to take his journey to Rome, where he should receive holy orders at the hands of Pope Sergius, and instead of recovering the British crown, have his own crown shaved off, and be initiated into the order of the monks. Whether this vision was signified to him in a dream, or by the impositious illusions of some wicked spirit; or whether it may be a fantastical conceit of his own, being a man of a mild and easy temper, wearied with troubles and miseries, is very dubious: only this is certain, that he never returned again to Britain, after he had gone over to Alan. But Cadwaladar had no sooner received this Vision, but immediately he relates the whole to his friend Alan, who presently consults all his prophetic books, chiefly the famous works of the two Merlins, Ambrose and Silvester: the first is said to be begotten on a spirit, and born in the town of Carmarthen, whence he received the name of Merlin, and to flourish in the reign of King Vortigern. The latter called Caledonius, from the forest Caledon in Scotland, and Silvester or Merlyn Wylht, by reason he fell mad, and lived desolately after that he had seen a monstrous shape in the air, prophesied in the time of King Arthur, and far more full and intelligible than the former. Both these were in great reverence and reputation among the Britains, and their works very religiously preserved, and upon any considerable occasion most venerably consulted. They were of opinion, that nothing could escape their knowledge; and that no accident of moment or revolution could happen, which they did not foretel, and was to be disco-

discovered in their writings. In the consultation therefore of their prophecies, and the words which an eagle is said to have spoken at the building of Caer Septon, now Shaftsbury; namely, that the Britains must lose the government of Britain till the bones of King Cadwalader were brought back from Rome. Alan found out that the time was now come, when these prophecies were to be accomplished, and the Britains forced to quit their native inheritance to strangers and invaders. Upon this he advised Cadwalader to obey the commands, and follow the counsel of the vision, and to hasten his journey for Rome. This he was willing to submit to, being desirous to spend the remainder of his days in peace and quietness, which before he had no opportunity to enjoy. To Rome therefore he hastens, where he was kindly received by Pope Sergius: and after eight years spent there in piety and devotion, he died in the year 688, and with him the kingdom and total government of the Britains over this island.

King Cadwalader is said to have been a considerable benefactor to the abbey of Clynnoc Vawr in Arvon, upon which he bestowed the Lordship of Grayanoc. This place was primarily founded by S. Beuno, to whom it is dedicated, who was the son of Hywgi ap Gwynlliw ap Glywis ap Tegid ap Cadell, a prince or Lord of Glewisig, brothers son to S. Cadoc ap Gwynlliw, sometime bishop of Beneventum in Italy. He was by the mothers side cousin German to Laudatus the first abbot of Enlli, or the island of Bardsey; and to Kentigern bishop of Glasgow in Scotland, and of Lhanelwey, or S. Afaph in Wales; which last was son to Owen Regent of Scotland, and grandson to Urien King of Cumbria. The building of a monastery at Glynnoc happened upon this occasion: Beuno having raised to life, as the tradition goes, S. Wenifryd, who was beheaded by one Caradoc, a lord in North Wales, upon the account that she would not yield to his unchaste desires, became in very great esteem with King Cadvan, who bestowed upon him certain lands whereon to build a monastery. Cad-

wallon

wallon also, Cadran's son, gave him the lands of Gwareddoc, where beginning to build a church, a certain woman with a child in her arms prevented his further progress, assuring him, that those lands were the proper inheritance of that child. Beuno was so exceeding troubled at this, and without any more consideration on the matter, taking the woman along with him, he went in all haste to Caer Sevant (called by the Romans Segontium, now Carnarvon) where King Cadwallon then kept his Court; when he was come before the king, he told him with a great deal of zeal and concern, that he had not done well to devote to God's service what was another man's inheritance, and therefore demanded back of him the golden scepter he had given him in lieu and consideration of the said land, which the king refusing to do, was presently excommunicated by Beuno, who thereupon departed and went away. But a certain person called Gwyddeiant, the king's cousin-german, hearing what had happened, immediately pursued after Beuno; whom when he had overtaken, he bestowed upon him (for the good of his own soul and the king's) the township of Clynnocowwr, being his undoubted inheritance, where Beuno built a church, about the year 616, about which time King Cadvan died, leaving his son Cadwallon to succeed him. And not long before this time, Eneon Bhrenin, or Anianus King of the Scots, a considerable prince in the north of Britain, leaving all his royalty in those parts, came to Lhyn in Gwyneth, where he built a church, which is still called from him, Lhan Eingan Bhrenin; where he is said to have spent the remainder of his days in the fear and service of God. He was son to Owen Danwyn, the son of Eneon Yrth, son to Cunedha Wledig king of Cambria, and a great prince in the north, and cousin-german to the great Maelgwyn Gwyneth King of Britain, whose father was Caswallon-law-hir, the brother of Owen Danwyn; and his mother Medif the daughter of Voylda ap Talu Traws of Nanconwey. This Maclywn died about the year 586,

IVOR and EDWAL YWRCH.

WHEN Cadwaladar was departed for Rome, Alan began to reflect upon the state and condition of Great Britain; he imagined with himself that the recovery of it was not impracticable, but that a considerable army might regain what the Saxons now quietly possessed. Therefore he was resolved to try the utmost, and to send over all the forces he was able to draw together; not doubting the conquest of some part of Britain, in case the whole should prove irrecoverable. He was the more encouraged to this expedition, by reason that the advantage was like to be his own, and no one could challenge the government of Britain, in case fortune should deliver it to his hands. Cadwalader was gone to Rome, and in all probability never to return; his son Edwal Ywreh, or the Roe, was young and under the tuition of Alan; so that the event of this expedition must of necessity fall to himself, or by his concession to his son Ivor, who was to be chief in the undertaking. Having raised a considerable army, consisting chiefly of his own subjects, with what remained of the Britains that came over with King Cadwaladar, he dispatched it for Britain, under the command of his son Ivor, and his nephew Ynyr: they safely landed in the western parts of Britain, which put the Saxons into so great a fright, that immediately they drew up all their power to oppose them, and to hinder their progress into the country. The Britains, though somewhat fatigued with their voyage, however gave them battle, and after a very great slaughter of the Saxons, possessed themselves of the countries of Cornwall, Devon, and Somersetshires. This proved a fortunate beginning for the Britains, and gave them great hopes of farther success in the recovery of their country;

country; but that could not be expected without great opposition, and several hot engagements with the Saxons. This they were immediately made sensible of; for they had scarce time to breath, and to recover their spirits after the last battle, but Kentwinus, King of the West-Saxons marched against them with a powerful army, consisting of Saxons and Angles. The Britains resolved to fight them; but whilst both armies were in view of each other, they thought it more adviseable to cease from any hostility, and to enter into articles of composition. Ivor seemed already satisfied with his conquest; and willingly agreed to marry Ethelberga, Kentwyn's cousin, and peaceably to enjoy for his life so much as he was already in possession of. This he faithfully observed during the reign of Kentwyn, and his nephew Cadwal; who, after two years, resigned the kingdom of the West-Saxons to his cousin Ivor. And now Ivor was become unexpectedly powerful, being King as well of the Saxons, as Britains that inhabited the Western parts of the island. He was now able to undertake somewhat considerable, and therefore began to fall foul upon his neighbours the kings of Kent, the West-Saxons, and Mercia, whom he vanquished in several battles. But being at length tired with the weight of government, he went to Rome, after the example of Cadwaladar, and resigned the rule of the Saxons to his cousin Adelred, leaving the Britains to the care of Roderick Molwynoc, the son of Edwal Ywrch.

This Ivor founded the abby of Glaftenbury, called in the British tongue Ynys Avalon; where there had been a christian church for several years before, and the first that was ever erected in Britain. For Joseph of Arimathea being sent by Philip the apostle in the days of Arviragus, An. Chr. 53. to preach the gospel in Britain, seated himself here, and built a church for the British christians. This church afterwards Ivor converted into an abby, which he endowed with very large possessions; being famous for the burying-place of Joseph of Arimathea, and King Arthur. He bestowed also some lands upon the church of Winchester.

But

But there happened several casualties in his time. Brythe, a Subject to Egfride King of Northumberland, passed over to Ireland, and wasted and destroyed a great part of that Kingdom. In the fourth year of his reign there happened a remarkable earthquake in the Isle of Man, which much disturbed and annoyed the Inhabitants; and the year following it rained blood both in Britain and Ireland. This occasioned the butter and milk to resemble the colour of blood; and two years after the Moon also appeared all bloody. These accidents of nature might presage some tumults and disturbances in the kingdom; which were very great in his time. For he was almost in perpetual hostility with the Kings of Kent, West-Sex, and Mercia; which occasioned great bloodshed and slaughter in Britain. His Journey to Rome put an end to all these commotions, from whence he never did return, but ended his days there in the practice of piety and religion.

RODERICK MOLWYNOC.

THE Government of the Britains Ivor resigned to Roderick Molwinoc the son of Edwal Ywrch, who began his reign An. 720. But Adelred, King of the West-Saxons, was displeas'd that Ivor had not bestow'd upon him his whole kingdom; and upon that account he is resolv'd to trouble and plague Roderick and his Britons. He rais'd immediately a powerful army, and with all his forces march'd to Devonshire. which he destroy'd with fire and sword. From thence he proceeds to Cornwall, intending to make that country, sensible of the same misery; but he came far short of his expectation; for upon his entrance into the county, the Britains oppos'd him, and gave him battel, where he was vanquish'd, and forced to retire with all speed to his own dominions. This victory the Britains call'd

A. D. 720

A. D. 721. led Gwaeth Heilyn; from the place where this battle was fought. The year following, the Britains again obtained two notable victories over the Saxons, the one at a place called Garth Maclawch in North-Wales, the other at Pencost in South-Wales. But the joy and satisfaction which the Britains entertained of these successes; was somewhat abated by the death of Belin the son of Elphin, a Man of noble birth; and great worth among them.

About the same time Celredus King of Mercia died; and was succeeded by Ethelbaldus, who being very desirous to annex that fertile and pleasant country lying between the rivers Severn and Wye to his kingdom of Mercia, entred Wales with a puissant army. He destroyed and ravaged the country before him, to Carno, a mountain lying not far from Abergavenny; where he was met with by the Britains between whom a bloody and sore battle was fought in the year 728. but the victory proved very doubtful.

A. D. 733. Not long after died venerable Bede, who was educated and brought up in the Abby of Wyrnetham or Iarewe; a man of great learning and extensive knowledge; who wrote several books, one of which entitled, the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation; he dedicated to Cleolwolfe King of Northumberland. The same time Adelred King of the West-Saxons, and Ethelbald King of Mercia, united their forces; and jointly marched to fight against the Britains. The Welch were now put to very hard streights, and forced to oppose the numerous armies of two powerful kings. However, fight they must, or suffer their country to be miserably over-run by their inveterate enemies. Both armies being engaged, a very dismal battle ensued thereupon, and a very great slaughter happened on both sides, but the Saxons prevailing by the number of their forces, obtained a very bloody victory over the powerless Britains. But Adelred, who was shortly followed by Edwyn King of the Picts, did not long survive this battle; and Cudred took upon him the government of the West-Saxons.

The

The Welch found themselves unable to cope with the Saxons, and too weak to repress their endless incursions; therefore they apply themselves to Cudred and joined in league with him, who upon some occasion or other, was actually fallen out with Ethelbald King of Mercia. But Ethelbald was so proud with the success of the last engagement, that notwithstanding the league with Cudred, he must needs again fall upon the Welch. He advanced as far as Hereford, where the Britains, by the help of Cudred, gave him a signal overthrow, and caused him to repent of his rash and precipitous expedition. But shortly after, Cudred and Ethelbald were unluckily reconciled, and made friends together, and Cudred relinquishing the Welch, joined his forces to Ethelbald's. Hereupon ensued another battle, in which the Welch being greatly overpowered, were vanquished by the Saxons; after which victory, Cudred shortly died. To him succeeded Sigebert, a man of a loose and vicious inclination; who for his ill behaviour in the management of his kingdom, was in a short time expelled and deprived by his nobility, and at last miserably slain by a rascally swineherd. After him Kenulph was chosen king of the West-Saxons, A. D. 746
 Ann. 750. in whose time died Theodore the son of Belin, a man of great esteem and reputation among the Britains. And about the same time, a remarkable battle was fought between the Britains and the Picts, at a place called Magedawc; in which the Picts were put to a total rout, and Dalargan their king casually slain. But the Britains did not succeed so well against the Saxons; for Roderic Molwynoc was at length forced to forsake the western countries of Britain, and to claim his own inheritance in North Wales. The sons of Bletius or Bledericus Prince of Cornwall and Devonshire, who was one of them that vanquished Adelred and Ethelbert at Bangor on the river Dee, had enjoyed the government of North Wales ever since Cadfan was chose King of Britain. Roderic therefore demanded the government of this country as his right, which he was now willing to accept of, seeing he was forced to quit what he had hitherto possessed. A. D. 743.

But he did long enjoy it, but died in a short time, leaving behind him two sons Conan Tindaythwy and Howel; after that he had in all reigned over the Britains thirty years.

CONAN TINDAYTHWY.

A. D. 755. **R**Oderic Molwynoc being dead, his son Conan Tindaythwy took upon him the government and principality of Wales, in the year 755. He was scarce settled in his throne, but the Saxons began to make in-roads into his country, to spoil and destroy what they conveniently could meet with. They were animated hereto by the bad success of Roderic; and having forced the Britains out of Cornwall and Devonshire, they thought it practicable to drive them out of Wales too, and so to reduce the possession of the whole Island to themselves. This was their aim, and this they endeavoured to put in execution; but they were met with at Hereford, where a severe battle was fought between them and the Welch, in which Dyfwal the son of Theodore a stout and valiant soldier, was slain. And shortly afterwards died Athelbert King of Northumberland, and was succeeded by Oswald.

About the same time happened a religious quarrel between the Britains and Saxons, concerning the observation of the feast of Easter, which Elbodius a learned and a pious Man, endeavoured to rectify in Wales, and to reduce it to the Roman calculation, which the Saxons always observed. The Britains did differ from the church of Rome in the celebration of this feast; and the difference was this. The church of Rome according to the order of the council of Nice, always observed Easter-day the next Sunday after the 14th day of the Moon; so that it never happened upon the 14th day itself, nor passed the 21st. The
 Britains

Britains on the other hand, celebrated their Easter upon the 14th and so forward to the 20th, which occasioned this difference; that the Sunday observed as Easter-day by the Britains; was but Palm-Sunday with the Saxons. Upon this account the Saxons did most uncharitably traduce the Britains, and would scarcely allow them the name and title of Christians. Hereupon, about the year 660, a great contest happened, managed on the one part by Colman and Hylda, who defended the rites and celebration of the Britains; and Gilbert and Wilfride on the part of the Saxons. Hylda was the niece of Edwine king of Northumberland, educated by Pauline and Aedan. She publicly opposed Wilfride and other superstitious monks, as to such trifles and bigotry in religion, alledging out of Polycrates, the fact of Irenæus, who withstood Victor bishop of Rome upon the same account; and the custom of the churches of Asia observed by St. John the Evangelist, Philip the Apostle, Polycarpus and Melito; and likewise observed in Britain by Joseph of Arimathea, who first preached the gospel here.

Offa was made King of Mercia, and Brictrich of the West-Saxons; about which time died Fermael the son of Edwal and Cemoyd King of the Picts. The Saxons did daily encroach upon the lands and territories of the Welch beyond the river Severn, but more especially towards the south part of the country. These encroachments the Welch could not endure, and therefore were resolved to recover their own, and to drive the Saxons out of their country. The Britains of South-Wales, as receiving the greatest injury and disadvantage from the Saxons, presently took up arms and entered into the country of Mercia; which they ravaged and destroyed with fire and sword. And shortly after, all the Welch joined their forces together, fell upon the Saxons, and forced them to retire beyond the Severn, and then returned home, with a very considerable spoil of English cattle. The Welch finding the advantage of this last incursion, and how that by these means they gauled and

A. D. 763.

A. D. 776.

vexed the Saxons, frequently practised the same; and entering their country by stealth, they killed and destroyed all before them; and driving their cattle beyond the river, ravaged and laid waste the whole country. Offa King of Mercia not being able to endure these daily incursions and depredations of the Welch, entered into a league with the rest of the Saxon Kings, to bend their whole force against the Welch; who having raised a very strong and numerous army, passed the Severn into Wales. The Welch being far too weak to oppose and encounter so great an army, quitted the even and plain country, lying upon the banks of Severn and Wye, and retired to the mountains and rocks, where they knew they could be most safe from the inveterate and revengeful arms of the Saxons. But as soon as the Saxons decamped, being not able to effect any thing against them in these strong and natural fortifications, the Welch still made inroads into their territories, and seldom returned without some considerable booty and advantage. The Saxons were heartily nettled at these bo-peeping ravagers, and would compliment them still to their holes, but durst not pursue them further, for fear they should be entrapped by such as defended the streights and passages into the rocks. King Offa perceiving that he could effect nothing by these measures, annexed the country about Severn and Wye to his kingdom of Mercia, and planted the same with Saxons. And for a farther security against the endless invasions of the Welch, he made a deep ditch, extending from one sea to the other, called Clawdh Offa, or Offa's dike; upon which account, the royal seat of the Princes of Powys was translated from Pengwern, now Shrewsbury, to Mathraval in Montgomeryshire.

A. D. 795.

While these things are transacted in the west, the Danes began to grow powerful at sea, and durst venture to land in the north of England; but without doing any great hurt, being forced to betake themselves to their ships again. Within six years after, they landed again in greater numbers, and proved much more

more terrible; they ravaged and destroyed a great part of Linsey and Northumberland, over-run the best part of Ireland, and miserably wasted Rechreyn. At the same time a considerable battle was fought at Ruthland between the Saxons and the Welch, wherein Caradoc King of North Wales was killed. The government of Wales was as yet green, and not firmly rooted, by reason of the perpetual quarrels and disturbances between the Welch and the Saxons; so that the chief person or lord of any country assumed to himself the title of king. Caradoc was a person of great esteem and reputation in North Wales, and one that did very much contribute towards the security of the country, against the incursions of the Saxons. He was son to Gwyn, the son of Colhoyn, the son of Ednowen, son to Blethyn, the son of Blecius or Bledericus Prince of Cornwall and Devonshire. Offa King of Mercia did not long survive him, and was succeeded by his son Egfert, who in a short time left his kingdom also to Kenulphus, a year after that Egbertus was created King of the West Saxons. About the same time died Arthen son to Sitsylht, the son of Clydawc King of Cardigan; and sometime after, Run King of Dyfed, and Cadelh King of Powys: who were followed by Elbodius Archbishop of North Wales, before whose death happened a very severe eclipse of the sun. The year following, the moon was likewise eclipsed upon Christmas-day. These fatalities and eclipses did portend no success to the Welch affairs; the laying of St. Davids in ashes by the West Saxons being followed by a general and a very grievous murrain of cattle, which was like to impoverish the whole country. The following year Owen the son of Meredith, the son of Terudos, dyed; and the Castle of Deganwy was ruined and destroyed by thunder.

A. D. 802.

But these several losses which the Welch sustained could not reconcile Prince Conan and his brother Howel; but they must needs quarrel and contend with one another, when they had the greatest occasion to embrace and unite their endeavours against the com-

mon enemy. Howel claimed the isle of Anglesey, as part of his father's inheritance, which Conan would by no means hearken to, nor consent that his brother should take possession of it. It was the custom of Wales, that a father's estate should be equally distributed between all his sons; and Howel by virtue of this custom, commonly called Gavelkind from the word Gafel to hold; claimed that island, as his father's estate. The custom of Gavelkind has been the occasion of the ruin and diminution of the estates of all the ancient Nobility in Wales; which being endlessly divided between the several sons of the same family, were at length reduced to nothing. From hence also proceeded several unnatural wars and disturbances between brothers; who being either not satisfied with their portions, or displeased with the country they were to possess, disputed their right by dint of the sword. This proved very true in this present instance; for Howel would not suffer himself to be cheated out of his paternal inheritance, and therefore he would endeavour to recover it by force of arms. Both armies being engaged, the victory fell to Howel, who immediately thereupon possessed himself of the island, and valiantly maintained it against the power and strength of his brother Conan,

The Welch being thus at variance and enmity among themselves, and striving how to destroy one another; had yet another disaster added to their misfortune. For the following year they received a very considerable loss by thunder, which very much spoiled and annoyed the country, and laid several houses and towns in ashes. About the same time, Gruffith the son of Run a person of considerable quality in Wales, dyed; and Griffri the son of Kyngen, was treacherously murdered by the practices of his brother Elis.

But Conan could not rest satisfied with his brother Howel's forcible possession of the Island of Anglesey; and therefore he was resolved to give him another battle, and to force him to restore and yield up the possession of that Country, which he had now violently
kept

kept in his hands. Howel on the other hand, being as resolutely bent to maintain his ground, and not to deliver up a foot of what he was now, upon a double respect, *viz.* his father's legacy, and his late conquest, owner of; willingly met his brother, put him to flight, and killed a great number of his forces. Conan was cruelly enraged at this shameful overthrow, and therefore made a firm resolution, either to recover the Island from his brother, or to sacrifice his life and his crown in the quarrel. Having drawn up all the forces he could raise together, he marched to Anglesey to seek his brother Howel; who being too weak to encounter and oppose so considerable a number, was compelled to make his escape to the Isle of Man, and to leave the Island of Anglesey to the mercy of his brother. But Conan did not live long to reap the satisfaction of this victory, but died in a short time, leaving issue behind him, one only daughter called Eshlht, married to a nobleman of Wales named Merfyn Frych. He was son to Gwriad or Uriet, the son of Elidure, who lineally descended from Belinus the brother of Brennus king of the Britains. His mother was Nest, the daughter of Cadell king of Powys, the son of Brochwel Yscithroc; who together with Cadfan king of Britain, Morgan king of Demetia, and Bledericus king of Cornwall, gave that memorable overthrow to Ethelred king of Northumberland, upon the river Dee, in the year 617. This Brochwel by the Latin writers named Breicivallus and Brochmaelus, was a very considerable prince in that part of Britain, called Powys-land; as also Earl of Chester, and lived in the town then called Pengwern Powys, now Salop; in the house where since the college of St. Chad stands. He was a great friend and a favourer to the monks of Bangor, whose part he took against the Saxons that were set on by Augustine the monk, to prosecute them with fire and sword, because they would not forsake the customs of their own church, and conform to those of Rome.

A. D. 817,

MERFYN FRYCH and ESYLHT.

CONAN being dead, Merfyn Frych and his wife Efylht, who was sole heir to Conan, took upon them the government or principality of Wales. This Merfyn was king of Man, and son to Gwyriat and Nest the daughter of Cadelh ap Brochwel ap Elis king of Powys. Howel being forcibly ejected out of Anglesey by his brother Conan Tindaethwy, escaping to the Island of Man, was honourably and kindly received by Merfyn; in return of whose civilities Howel used such means afterwards that Merfyn married Efylht, the daughter and heir of his brother Conan, (though others say, that he died presently after his escape to Merfyn.) Howel after that he had for about five years enjoyed the Isle of Man, and other lands in the north, given him by Merfyn to hold under him, died about the year 825; after whose death, they again returned to Merfyn, whose ancestors had always held the same, under the kings of the Britains; and so, upon his marriage with Efylht, the Isle of Man was annexed to the crown of Wales.

In the first year of their reign, Egbert, the powerful king of the West Saxons, entered with a mighty army into Wales, destroyed and wasted the country as far as Snowden Hills, and seized upon the lordship of Rhyvonioc in Denbighland. About the same time a very sore battle was fought in Anglesey, between the Saxons and the Welch, called, from the place where this fight happened, the battle of Lhanvaes. Fortune seemed all this while to frown upon the Welch, and their affairs succeeded very ill; for shortly after that Egbert had advanced his colours as far as Snowden, Kenulph king of Mercia wasted the country of West Wales, over-ran and destroyed

Powis-land,

Powis-land, and greatly disturbed and incommoded the Welch nation. Soon after this, Kenulph died, and was succeeded by Kenelm; and he in a short time by Ceolwulph, who, after two years reign, left the kingdom of Mercia to Bernulph.

Egbert, king of the West Saxons, was grown very strong and powerful, able to reduce all the petty kingdoms in Britain, under one single monarchy; upon the thoughts of which, he set upon Bernulph, king of Mercia, and vanquished him at Elledowne; and afterwards brought under subjection the countries of Kent and of the West Angles. But the Britains could not be so easily subdued; for after a long and a cruel fight at Gavelford, between them and the West Saxons of Devonshire, in which several thousands were slain on both sides, the victory remained uncertain. He had better success against Wyhtlase, king of Mercia, whose dominions he easily added to his now increasing Monarchy; and passing the Humber, he quickly reduced that country to his subjection. The Saxon heptarchy was now become one kingdom, and Egbert sole monarch of all the countries that the Saxons possessed in Britain; which name he ordered should be changed to England, his people to be called Englishmen, and the language English. A. D. 829,

They who came over out of Germany into this island to aid the Britains against their enemies the Picts and Scots, were partly Saxons, Angles, and Juthes; from the first of which came the people of Essex, Suffex, Middlesex, and the West Saxons; from the Angles, the East Angles, the Mercians, and they that inhabited the north side of the Humber; from the Juthes, the Kentishmen, and they that settled in the Isle of Wight. These Germans, after that they had drove the Britains beyond Severn and Dee; erected seven kingdoms called the heptarchy in the other part of the Island; whereof, 1. Kent. 2. Of the South-Saxons, containing Suffex and Surrey. 3. The East-Angles, in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgehire. 4. The kingdom of the West Saxons, comprehending Berkshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Cornwall. 5. Mercia,

5. Mercia, containing Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Shropshire, Stafford, Cheshire, Warwick, Leicester, Darby, Nottingham, Lincoln, Northampton, Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, and half Hertfordshire. 6. The East-Saxons, containing Essex, Middlesex, and the other part of Hertford. 7. Of the Northumbrians, taking in all the country beyond Humber, which was divided into two parts, Deyra and Bernicia; the first from Humber to Tyne, the other from Tyne to the Scottish Sea.

Egbert, king of the West-Saxons, having severally conquered these kingdoms, annexed them together, and comprehended them under one monarchy, which was called the kingdom of England, 968 years after the coming of Brute to this Island; 383 years after the landing of Hengist; and 149 after the departure of Cadwalader to Rome.

A. D. 883. Egbert having thus united under one government these several kingdoms, which used continually to molest, and to inroach upon each others territories; might reasonably have expected to enjoy his new kingdom quietly, and not fear any disturbance or trouble in his dominions. But no sooner was he established king of England, but the Danes began to threaten new commotions, and landed in great numbers, and in divers places of the kingdom. Egbert fought several battles with them, and with various success: at length the Danes landed in West Wales, marched forward for England, being joined by a great number of Welch, and met Egbert upon Hengist-down, where a severe battle was fought, and the Danes put to a total rout. The Welch suffered severely for this; Egbert, being highly incensed that the Danes were supported by them, laid siege to Caer Lhéon ar Dhyfrdwy, or Chester, the chief city of Venedotia, which hitherto had remained in the hands of the Welch; took the town, and, among other tokens of his indignation, he caused the brazen effigies of Cadwalhon, king of Britain, to be pulled down and defaced, and upon pain of death forbade the erecting of such again. He issued out also a proclamation, by the insti-

instigation of his wife Redburga, who always bore an inveterate malice to the Welch; commanding all that were any ways extracted from British blood, to depart, with all their effects, out of his kingdom, within six months upon pain of death. These were very severe and insupportable terms; but he did not live long to see them put in execution; for dying shortly after the battle of Hengist-down, he was succeeded by his son Ethelwulph. This King Ethelwulph married his daughter to Berthred, who was his tributary king of Mercia, by whose help he successfully opposed the cruel incursions of the Danes, who miserably destroyed the sea-coasts of England with fire and sword. These Danish commotions being indifferently well appeased, Berthred, king of Mercia, set upon the Welch, between whom a remarkable battle was fought at a place called Kettell; where Merfyn Frych, king of the Britains, was killed, leaving to succeed him in the government of Wales, his son Roderic Mawr, or the Great.

RODERIC THE GREAT,

MERFYN FRYCH having lost his life, and with it his kingdom, in the battle of Kettell; his son Roderic, surnamed the Great, without any opposition or contest, succeeded in the principality of Wales. The first thing he effected after his advancement to the crown, was the dividing of Wales into several provinces, which he distinguished into these three; Aberffraw, Dinevowr, and Mathraval. Berthred, king of Mercia, being animated by his late success against Merfyn Frych, purposed to perform the like exploits against his son Roderic. And having gained the aid and assistance of King Ethelwulph, he entered North Wales, with a strong army, and advanced as far as Anglesey, which he cruelly and miserably destroyed.

Roderic

A. D. 843.

Roderic met him several times, and the Welch did at length so gaul and torment him, that, in fine, he had little or nothing to boast of; only Meyric, one of the chiefeft princes among the Britains, was slain.

A. D. 846. But he was soon forced to quit his expedition against the Welch, and to convert his forces another way; his own dominions requiring their constant residence, being severely threatened by a foreign invasion. For the Danes were by this time grown so very powerful, that they over-ran a great part of England, fought with Athelstan, king of Kent, brother to Ethelwulph; and obtained so much conquest, that whereas before they returned to their own country when the weather grew too cold for action, they now took up their winter-quarters in England.

The Welch, in the mean time, being secure from any violence, which might otherwise be expected, from the English; began to quarrel and fall out amongst themselves. Ithel, king of Gwent, or Wentland, for what occasion not known, fell foul upon the men of Brecknock, who were so resolute as to fight him; and the event proved very unfortunate to Ithel, who was slain upon the spot. It is the unhappiness of a nation that is governed by several petty states, when it is apprehensive of no danger from an outward enemy that it will fall at variance, and create disturbances among itself.

Had the Britains, instead of falling upon one another, taken the advantage of this opportunity, when the Saxons were altogether employed in opposing and repelling the Danes, to increase and strengthen their number, and to fortify their towns; they might at least securely have possessed their own dominions, if not extended their government to a great part of England. But a sort of an equality in power, begat an emulation between the several princes, and this emulation for the most part ended in blows and contention; so that instead of strengthening themselves whilst they had respite from the English, they rather weakened their power by inward differences,

Kongen, king of Powys, was gone to Rome, there to end his days peaceably and religiously, but his death did not prove so natural as he expected, being barbarously slain, or (as some say) choaked by his own servants. Shortly after died Cemoyth, king of the Picts, and Jonathan, lord of Abergeley. It was now become customary for princes wearied with government to go to Rome, and the Pope willingly dispensed with the resignation of their crowns, by reason that his Holiness seldom lost by it. King Ethelwulph paid very dear for his entertainment there, made his kingdom tributary to the Pope, and paid the Peter-pence to the church of Rome. The Saxon genealogists bring the pedigree of Ethelwulph for several successions and generations, up to Adam, as may be seen in Matthew of Westminster, who in like manner derives the pedigree of Offa, king of Mercia. This has been the custom of most nations, both antient and modern: and is always practised by them whose families are any thing antient and honourable; so that it is a very great mistake to scoff at, and deride the Welch because they keep up this antient and laudable custom.

Berthred, king of Mercia, became at length far too weak to repel the daily increasing power of the Danes, who so numerously poured upon him, that at last he was forced to relinquish his kingdom and fly to Rome, where in a short time he sorrowfully ended his days. Ethelwulph shortly followed, and left his sons, Athelbald, king of the West-Saxons, and Athelbright, king of Kent, and the East-Saxons. Ethelwulph is reported to have been so learned and devout, that the church of Winchester elected him in his youth bishop of that see, which function he took upon him about seven years before he was made king. He is said also to have conquered the kingdom of Demetia or South-Wales; which together with the kingdom of the South-Saxons he bestowed upon his son Alfred, upon condition he would bring a thousand men out of Wales to Winchester, to the aid of his brother Ethelbert against the Danes. Athelbald succeeding
his

his father in the kingdom of the West-Saxons, kept his mother-in-law, the wife of Ethelwulph, for his concubine, and afterwards married her in the city of Chester. But he did not live long to enjoy this unnatural conjunction, but dying without issue after that he had reigned eight years, left his kingdom to his brother Athelbright.

About the same time the Danes began again to bestir themselves and fell upon the city of Winchester and destroyed it, which Athelbright perceiving, after a long fight forced them to quit the land, and to betake themselves to sea again. But the Danes quickly returned to the Isle of Thanet, where they remained for that winter, doing much mischief upon the sea-coast, and destroying all places near the shoars of England. The English were very glad that they durst venture no further, and the more, because the Welch began again to be troublesome, against whom an army must be speedily dispatched, otherwise they would certainly advance to the English country. Both armies met at Gweythen, where a fierce battle was fought, and a great number slain on either side; but the victory was not plainly discoverable. But the Welch not long after, received a considerable loss by the death of Conan Nant Nifer, a stout and skilful commander, who oftentimes had valiantly repulsed the English forces, and obtained many signal victories over them.

The Danes had been for some time quiet, being unable to venture upon any considerable action, and therefore they thought it adviseable to secure only what they had already won; and to expect a re-inforcement from their own country. This was quickly sent them; under the command of Hungare and Hubba; who landed in England with a very considerable army of Danes. King Athelbright, whether terrified with a dismal apprehension of these invaders, or otherwise being indisposed, quickly afterwards gave up the ghost, leaving the management of his kingdom, together with that of his army against the Danes, to his brother Ethelred. The Danes in the mean time

got sure footing, and advanced as far as York, which they miserably destroyed, killing Osbright and Elba two Kings of Northumberland that opposed them. From hence they proceeded, and over-run all the country as far as Nottingham, destroying and spoiling all before them, and then returned back to York. But having once tasted how sweet the Spoil of a country, much more fertile than their own was, they could not rest satisfied with what they had already obtained, but must needs make a farther progress into the country, and fall upon the kingdom of the East-Angles. Edmund king of that country being not able to endure their insolencies, endeavoured to oppose them, but in the undertaking was unfortunately slain. And now after the same manner that the Saxons had formerly attained to the conquest of Britain, the Danes proceeded to the conquest of England. For the Saxons having found out the sweetness of this island, and withal, discovered the weakness and inability of the Britains to oppose them, brought over their numbers by degrees, and in several companies, by which they wearied and tired out the British armies. For it is certain that nothing can produce more to the conquest of an island, than the landing an army at several places and at several Times, which distracts the counsels and proceedings of the inhabitants, and which at this time for want of sufficient power at sea, could not be prevented. And so the Danes being informed of the good success of Hungare and Hubba in England, sent over another army under the command of Basreck and Alding, who landed in West-Sax, and fought five battles with King Ethelred and his brother Alfred, namely at Henglefield, Eastondown, Redding, Basing and Mereton, in which two first the English overcame, and the three last the Danes got the victory.

Soon after this Ethelred died, leaving his kingdom to his brother Alfred, who no sooner had taken the government upon him but considered with himself what a heavy burthen he was to sustain, and therefore

fore he began to enquire after the wisest and learnedest men that he could hear of, to be directed by them, whom he worthily entertained, making use of their advice as well in the publick government of the kingdom, as in his private studies and conference of learning. He sent for two men famously learned out of Wales, the one called John de Erigena, surnamed Scotus; the other Afferius, surnamed Menevensis. De Erigena was born at Menevia or St. Davids, and was brought up in that college; who, for the sake of learning; having travelled to Athens; and bestowed there many years in the study of the Greek, Hebrew, and Caldaick tongues, and the secret mysteries of philosophy, came to France; where he was well accepted of by Carolus Calvus, or Charles the Bald, and Ludovicus Balbus, or Lewis the Stammerer: and there translated the works of Dionysius Areopagita, De Cœlesti Hierarchia out of the Greek into the Latin tongue. Being returned home to Wales, he was sent for by this King Alfred, who was then founding and erecting the university of Oxford, of which Erigena became the first professor and publick reader. But King Alfred bore so great a respect to learning, that he would suffer none to bear any considerable office in his court but such as were learned; and withal, exhorted all persons to embrace learning, and to honour learned men. But though a love to learning be seldom reconcileable with a warlike and a military life, King Alfred was also forced to regard the discipline of war to defend his kingdom against the increasing power of the Danes. For he was scarce settled in his throne, but this restless and ever troublesome people began to molest and destroy his country, insomuch that he was of necessity forced to oppose them, which he did twice upon the south side of the river Thames, in which engagements he slew of the Danes one king, nine earls, together with an innumerable multitude of inferior soldiers. About the same time Gwgan ap Meyric ap Dunwal ap Arthen ap Sitfylht, prince of Cardigan, died, being as some say, unfortunately drowned. But the
late

late victories which Alfred had obtained over the Danes, did not so much weaken and dishearten them, but that in a short time they recovered their spirits and began again to look terrible and threatening. For as soon as they could re-unite their scattered forces, they set upon and destroyed the town of Alclyde, won the city of London and Reading, over-ran all the inland country, and the whole kingdom of Mercia. Another army of Danes at the same time proved very successful in the North and possessed themselves of the country of Northumberland, which action did not so much grieve the English, as trouble and vex the Picts and Scots, who were incessantly gauled, and frequently beat off by these Danish troops. The next year three of the Danish captains marched from Cambridge towards Warham in Dorsetshire, of which expedition King Alfred being informed, presently detached his forces to oppose them, and to offer them battle. The Danes were so startled at this, that they immediately desired peace, and willingly consented forthwith to depart out of the country, and to forswear the sight of English ground. According to which capitulation, the horse that night marched for Exeter, and the foot being shipped off, were all of them drowned at Sandwich. The Danes having thus abjured England, were not willing to return home empty, but thought it prudent to bend their course against Wales. They fancied that they were like to meet with no great opposition from the Welch, and therefore could carve for themselves according as their fancy directed them. But having landed their army in Anglesey, they quickly experienced the contrary; Prince Roderic opposing them, gave them two battles, one at a place called Bengole, and the other at Menegid in Anglesey. At the same time another army of Danes under the command of Halden and Hungare landed in South-Wales, over-ran the whole country, destroying all before them, neither sparing churches nor religious houses. But they received their due reward at the hands of the West Saxons, who meeting with them on the coasts of Devonshire,

vonshire, slew both Halden and Hungare, with 1200 of their men. The same year Einion, bishop of St. Davids died, and was the following year succeeded by Hubert, who was installed in his place.

A. D. 876. The English being rid of their powerful and ever restless enemies the Danes, began now to quarrel with the Welch, entering into Anglesey, with a numerous army, fought a sore battle with Roderic, who together with his brother (or as others say his son) Gwyriad, was unhappily slain in the field, which battle is called by the Welch, Gwaith Duw Sul y Mon. This Roderic had issue by his wife Angharad, Anarawd, Cadelh and Merfyn, the last of which, Giraldus Cambrensis, contrary to the vulgar and received opinion, will have to be the eldest son of Roderic, upon whom was bestowed the principality of North-Wales. For it was unanimously granted that Roderic was undoubted proprietor of all the dominions of Wales, North-Wales descending unto him by his mother Esylht, the daughter and sole heir of Conan Tyndaethwy; South-Wales by his Wife Angharad, the daughter of Meyric ap Dyfnwal ap Arthen ap Sitsylht, King of Cardigan; Powis by Nest, the sister and heir of Congen ap Cadelh, King of Powis his father's mother. These three dominions Roderic divided between his three sons, appointing North-Wales for his eldest son Anarawd, South-Wales to Cadelh, who shortly after his father's death, forcibly seized upon his brother Merfyn's portion, upon whom Roderic had bestowed Powis-Land. Wales being thus divided between these three princes, they were called Y Tri Tywysoc Talae-thioc, or the three crowned princes, by reason that each of them did wear on his helmet a coronet of gold, being a broad head band indented upward, set and wrought with precious stones, which in the British Tongue is called Taleath. To each of these princes Roderic built a royal seat, for the Prince of Gwyneth or North-Wales, at Aberffraw; of South-Wales, at Dinefawr; for the Prince of Powis, at Mathrafel. Roderic had issue also, besides these three, Roderic, Meyric, Edwal or Tudwal, Gwyriad and Gathelic.

But

But Roderic having divided his principality betwixt his eldest sons, namely, Aberffraw, with the fifteen cantreds thereunto belonging to Anarawd; Dinefawr with its 15 cantreds extending from the mouth of the river Dofi, to the mouth of Severn to Cadelh; and Powis with fifteen cantreds from the mouth of the river Dee, to the bridge over Severn at Gloucester to Merfyn: Ordained, "That his eldest son Anarawd, and his successors, should continue the payment of the ancient tribute to the Crown of England; and the other two, their heirs and successors should acknowledge his sovereignty; and, that upon any foreign invasion, they should mutually aid and protect one another."

And he farther appointed, "That when any difference should arise betwixt the Princes of Aberffraw and Cardigan or Dinefawr, the three Princes should meet at Bwlch y Pawl, and the Prince of Powis should be umpire. But if the Prince of Aberffraw and Powis fell at variance, they should meet at Dol Rhianedd, probably Morva Rhianedd, on the bank of the river Dee, where the King of Cardigan was to adjust the controversy; and if the quarrel happened betwixt the Princes of Powis and Cardigan, the meeting was appointed at Llys Wen upon the river Wye, and to be decided by the Prince of Aberffraw."

And the better to frustrate any attempt of the English, he ordained moreover, "That all strong holds, castles and citadels, should be fortified and kept in repair; that all churches and religious houses should be re-edified and adorned, and that in all ages the history of Britain, being faithfully registered and transcribed, should be kept therein.

A N A R A W D.

THE Welch had often sorrowfully felt the unnatural effects of inward seditions, and of being governed by several princes, which were now unavoidably to be renewed by reason of Rodric's imprudent division of his dominions between his three sons. For the several principalities being united in him, it was certainly the most politic means for the preservation of the country from the inveterate fury of the English, to compose the inward differences which would otherwise happen, by perpetuating the whole government of Wales in one prince. For it was impossible effectually to oppose the common enemy by separate armies, and where a different interest interfered, as if the safety of the same country, and the honour of the prince were unanimously regarded. This was the unhappiness of the ancient Britains, when the Romans invaded their country; domestic broils and inward dissensions being sown among themselves, they could not agree to unite their powers, and jointly to oppose the common enemy; so that Tacitus wisely concludes, *Dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur.*

There are few nations but have experienced the folly of being rent into several portions, and the downfall of that great body the Roman empire, may not be absurdly attributed to Constantine's dividing of it between his sons. But the Welch at this time presently felt the unhappiness of it; Cadell, Prince of South-Wales, being dissatisfied with his portion, and desirous to feed his ambition with larger territories, could not spare his brother Merfyn's country, but must needs forcibly dispossess him of his lawful inheritance, and so involve the Welch in a Civil War.

But the succession of the Princes of Wales proceeds in Anarawd, the eldest son of Roderic, who began his reign over North-Wales, in the year 877. At that time Rollo, with a numerous army of Normans descended into France, and possessed themselves of the country of Neustria, which from them has since received the name of Normandy. But the treacherous Danes in England, who had retired to the city of Exeter, quickly violated the capitulation which they had lately sworn to observe, and upon that account were so warmly pursued by King Alfred, that they gladly delivered up hostages for the performance of the articles formerly agreed upon between them. But it was not their intention to keep them long, for the next year they again broke loose, possessed themselves of all the country upon the north side of Thames, and passing the river, put the English to flight, and made themselves masters of Chippenham in West-Sax. But their whole army did not succeed so well, for Alfred meeting with a party of them, slew their captain and took their standard, which the Danes called RAVEN. After this he vanquished them again at Edendown, where after that the Danes had given hostages for their peaceable behaviour; Godrun, their commander, received the Christian faith, and so reigned in East-Angle. But this opportunity seemed to threaten a great storm upon Wales; for besides the death of Aedan, the son of Melht, a nobleman of the country, the articles of composition between the English and the Danes, occasioned these last to join their power with the people of Mercia to fight against the Welch, between whom a severe battle was fought at Conwey, wherein the Welch obtained a very signal victory, which was called "Dial Rodri, or the Revenge of the Death of Prince Roderic."

A. D. 878.

The reason why the Mercians were so irreconcilably enraged against the Welch at this time, was this: After the death of Roderic the Great, the northern Britains of Stratchwyd and Cumberland were mightily infested and weakened through the daily incursions of the

Danes, Saxons and Scots, infomuch that as many of them as would not submit their necks to the yoke were forced to quit their country, and to seek for more quiet habitations. Therefore towards the beginning of Anarawd's reign, several of them came to Gwyneth, under the conduct of one Hobert, whose distressed condition the prince commiserating, granted them all the country betwixt Chester and Conwey to seat themselves in, in case they could drive out the Saxons who had lately possessed themselves of it.

The Britains having returned their thanks to Anarawd, presently fell to work, and necessity giving edge to their valour, they easily dispossessed the Saxons who were not as yet warm in their seats. For some time they continued peaceably in this part of Wales; but Eadred, Duke of Mercia, called by the Welch Edryd Wallthir, not being able any longer to bear such an ignominious ejection, made great preparations for the re-gaining of the said country. But the northern Britains, who had settled themselves there, having intelligence of his design, for the better security of their cattle and other effects, removed them beyond the river Conwey. Prince Anarawd in the mean time was not idle, but drawing together all the strength he could raise, encamped his army near the town of Conwey at a place called Cymryt, where himself and his men having made gallant resistance against the pressing efforts of the Saxons, obtained a very compleat victory.

This battle was by some called Gwaeth Cymryt Conwey, by reason that it was fought in the township of Cymryt, near Conwey. But Prince Anarawd would have it called Dial Rodri, because he had there revenged the death of his father Rodri.

In this battle Tudwal, Rodri's son, received a wound in the knee, which made him be donominated Tudwal Gloff ever after; but for his signal service in this action his brethren bestowed upon him Uchelogoed Gwynedd. But the Britains pursuing their victory, chased the Saxons quite out of Wales into Mercia, where having burnt and destroyed the borders, they returned home laden with rich spoils, and so took possession

possession of the country betwixt Chester and Conwey, which for a long time after they peaceably enjoyed. But Anarawd to express his thankfulness to God for this great victory, gave very considerable lands and possessions to the collegiate churches of Bangor and Clynnoc Vawr in Arfon. After this, those Danes that lay at Fulhenham near London, crossed the sea to France, and passing to Paris along the river Seyn, spoiled the country thereabouts, and vanquished the French that came against them; but in their return towards the sea coast, they were met with by the Britains of Armorica, who slew the greatest part of them, and the rest confusedly endeavouring to escape to their ships, were all drowned.

One should think that the several misfortunes the Danes sustained first at Sandwich, then by King Alfred, and now in France, would have quite drained their number, and utterly have rid Britain from so troublesome an enemy. But like ill weeds, the more you root them, the faster they will grow; the Danes were still supplied from abroad, and if an army was vanquished here, another was sure to come in their room. This the Welch found too true, for not long after this famous defeat by the Armorican Britains, the Danes not able to venture upon these, were resolved to revenge themselves upon their friends of Wales, and therefore landing in North-Wales, they cruelly harassed and destroyed the country. Nor is it strange to consider from whence such a wonderful number of Danes and Normans could come. For the kingdom of Denmark had under it, not only Denmark, which is a small country divided by the sea into Insulas and Peninsulas, as that which joins upon Saxony and Holsatia, called Cymbrica Chersonesus, with the islands of Zealand and Finnen, but also Norway, and the large country of Sweden, reaching to Muscovy, and almost to the North-Pole. This country being then scarce known to the world, did of a sudden pour out such a multitude of people, which like a sudden storm unexpectedly over-ran all Europe, with a great part of the country of Africa. From

hence proceeded these Danes who annoyed England; and the Normans, who conquered France; both nations being originally derived from the same stock.

A. D. 890. The Danes had not appeared in England for some time, and therefore are now resolved to take so sure a footing, as they cannot easily be repulsed. Two hundred and fifty sail being landed at Lymene in Kent, hard by the great forest of Andreslege, they built the castle of Auldre or Apledore. The same time Hast- ing with a fleet of eighty sail ventured to the Thames mouth, and built the castle of Mydltou; having first made an oath to King Alfred, not to molest him or any of his subjects: but having built the castle of Beamflee, he thought himself to have obtained so great a strength, that there was no necessity of observ- ing the oath lately sworn to King Alfred, and therefore invaded the country round about him. But he soon found his mistake, and was forced to betake himself back to his castle, which was quickly pulled down upon his head, and his wife and two sons taken pris- oners; who being christened, were again restored to their father. Upon this Hast- ing and his Danes de- parted from England, and made their way for France; where laying siege to the city of Limogis, and despair- ing of a speedy surrender of it, betook himself to his usual way of dealing finis- trously, and devised this trick to win the town: He feigned himself to be dangerously sick, and sent to the bishop, and the consul of the city, desiring of them most earnestly, that he might be ad- mitted to the Christian Faith, and be baptized before his departure out of this world. The bishop and consul suspecting no deceit, were very glad, not only to be delivered from the present danger of being besieged, but also to win so great a person to the congregation of Christ. Whereupon a firm peace being concluded betwixt both nations, Hast- ing is baptized, the bishop and consul being his godfathers; which being ended, he was carried back by his soldiers to his ships, in a very infirm condition, as he outwardly pretended. About midnight he caused himself with his arms about him to be laid on a bier, and commanded his soldiers

soldiers to carry their weapons with them under their coats, and so to be ready when he should give them the word. The next day, all things being in a readiness, he was solemnly brought by his soldiers with great clamour and counterfeit mourning, to be interred in the chief church of the city; where the bishop and consul, accompanied with all the most honourable members of the town, came to honour the funeral. but when the bishop had made himself ready to bury the body, and all the citizens being in the church, up starts Hasting with his Sword drawn, and killing first the bishop and the consul, afterwards fell in with his armed soldiers upon the naked people, putting all to the sword, and sparing neither age, sex, nor infirmity. Having ransacked the town, he sent messengers to Charles the French king, to mediate for peace, which he easily obtained, together with the town of Chartres towards the defraying of his charges.

At this time Hennith ap Bledric, a baron of Wales, died; and two years after, Anarawd prince of North Wales, with a considerable number of English, marched against his brother Cadell, and spoiled the countries of Cardigan and Ystradgwy. At the same time the Danes laid siege to the city of Exeter; and when Alfred had marched to oppose them, they that continued in the castle of Auldre passed over to Essex, and built another castle at Scobrieth, and from thence, marched to Budington, seated upon the Severn. When Alfred came near to Exeter, the Danes presently raised the Siege, and betaking themselves to their ships, sailed towards Wales, and spoiled the sea-coast thereof, and advanced as far as Buellt. A. D. 897.
893.

But the Danes at Budington being informed that king Alfred marched against them, fled back to their castle in Essex: so that the king was fain to alter his march, and to convert his forces against Leicester; where a party of Danes was so warmly besieged, that at length they were reduced to that extremity, as to feed upon their horses. But the season of the year for action being ended, and the extremity of

- of the weather being advanced, Alfred was forced to raise the siege, and to wait the next opportunity for the recovery of the town. But before he could appear before it again, the Danes fairly quitted it, and together with those in Northumberland, passed by the North Sea to Meresige, an isle in Essex. The
895. A. D. 895. next year they entered the Thames, and built a castle twenty miles distant from London; upon the strength of which, they ventured to spoil and waste the country thereabouts; but paid very dear for their courage, being accidentally met with, they received a bloody overthrow, having four of their princes slain upon the spot, and the rest very glad to make their escape to the castle. Upon this Alfred divided the river into three streams, by which stratagem the water became so diminished in the Thames, that the Danish ships could not return back into the sea. When the Danes perceived this, and found it impracticable for them to escape in their ships, they left their wives and children and all their effects in Essex; and so passed by land to Enadbryge upon the Severn; and then passing the rivet, spoiled the countries of Brecknock, Gwentland, and Gwentlhwg. Some of them at the same time, passed over to France; and another company coasting about Devonshire, destroyed the maritime countries; but being met with by the English, lost six of their ships in the dispute.
897. The following summer the kingdom of Ireland suffered extremely by locusts; who consumed all the corn and all grass through the whole country; but were at length by continued prayers and fasting quite destroyed. These are common in Africk, and other hot regions, but seldom seen in colder climates; and when they happen to travel so far, they are always very pestilentious and destructive to that country they come to.
900. This year Igmond; with a great number of Danes, landed in Anglesey, and was met with by the Welch, at a place called Molerain, where Merfyn was slain: though others call it Meilon, and from the battle fought there, Maes Rhos Meilon. The same year
King

King Alfred died, who translated the antient laws of Dyfnwall Moelmut, king of Britain, and the laws of Queen Marfia, out of British into English, and called it Marfian law, which was afterwards called West-Saxon law, and observed in part of Mercia; with all the countries on the south of Thames: The other part of the country having another law called Dane Lex, both which remained to the time of Edward the Confessor, who of these two made one law. It is very observable, what is related of King Alfred, concerning his division of the natural day into three parts; the one he set apart for devotion and study, the next for the affairs of the commonwealth, and the third for his own rest and refreshment.

Alfred being dead, Edward his eldest son took upon him the crown, which so displeased the ambitious spirit of his brother Adelwulph, that presently he raised a cruel war against him, and flying to Northumberland, stirred up the Danes against his brother Edward. The Danes were glad of the opportunity; having now a fair pretence to render themselves masters of the whole island; and therefore Adelwulph is made king, as well of the Angles as of the Danes, who by this time were grown to be one People. Marching then proudly, with a very considerable army at his heels, he subdued the East-Saxons, spoiled the country of Mercia; and passing over the Thames at Crickland, destroyed Brythend, and returned home with very great booty. At the same time Euneth was slain in Arwyfity. But Edward being informed of his brother's retreat, pursued him very eagerly; but missing of him, over-ran and destroyed all the country betwixt Ouse and the Dike of St. Edmund; and then returned home with his whole army; saving the Kentish men, who being too greedy of plunder, rashly tarried behind. For the Danes perceiving the body of the army to be returned, and that a small party still continued to ravage the country, presently set upon them, slew a great number of them, and put the rest to a shameful flight. Nor were the
Danes

A. D. 905. Danes only powerful in England, but molested and grew prevalent in Ireland: For this year they entered that kingdom, slew Carmot, king and bishop of all Ireland, a religious and a virtuous person, the son of Cukeman; and Kyrnalt, son of Murgan, king of Lagines. The year after died Affer, archbishop of St. David's, uncle to the famous and learned Affer, surnamed Menevensis; who being chancellor to his uncle the archbishop, was sent for by King Alfred to instruct his children; whose life he afterwards wrote, and was made bishop of Shireburn.

906. Edward, to force his brother from his country, and to revenge the death of the Kentishmen, dispatched an army to Northumberland; which having spoiled the country, returned home: Upon which the Danes, to return their kindness, destroyed a great part of Mercia. But within a while after, Edward having raised a very considerable army, gave the Danes battle, overthrew them, and slew their kings Alden and Edelwulph, with a great number of their nobles. This added very much to his dominions; which were the more increased and strengthened by the addition of the cities of London and Oxford; which upon the death of Edred, duke of Mercia, Edward seized into his own hands; permitting his wife Elfreda to enjoy the rest of his dukedom.

907. Shortly after, Cadell, prince of South Wales, died; leaving behind him three sons; Howel Dha, or the Good, who succeeded his father in the kingdom of South Wales; Meyric and Clydawc. King Edward having obtained so signal a victory over the Danes; and rendered his kingdom for some time quiet; began to build places of strength, which might be serviceable against a future storm: He built a castle at Hertford; betwixt the rivers Benefic, Minier, and Lige; and also erected the borough of Wytham in Essex; and continued sometime in Wealdyne, to keep those countries in awe. But in spite of all this precaution; the Danes of Leycester and Hampton, began the following year to be very troublesome, slew a great number of English at Hotchnorton; and in their return home-

ward;

ward, destroyed the country of Oxford. About the same time a considerable fleet from Tydwike, under the command of Uther and Rahald, sailed by the western sea to Wales, and destroyed St. David's; where was fought the battle of Dinarth, and Mayloc, the son of Peredur Gam, was slain. After this they entered into Herefordshire, where they were fought withal, and Rahald was slain, and the rest compelled to forswear the king's land, and never to return any more to England. King Edward, to prevent any future disturbance from such open invaders, caused a strong army to be quartered upon the south side of Severn; but the Danes, for all he could do, entered twice into his country, once at Werd, and then at Portogan; but were both times overthrown by the English. From thence they departed to the Isle of Stepen, whence they were forced by hunger to sail to South Wales, intending to make a considerable prey of that country; but failing of their aim, they were constrained to make the best of their way for Ireland. But the next year, a party of Danes fought a very severe battle with the Kentish men at Holm; but which of them obtained the victory, is not certainly reported. About the same time Anarawd, prince of North Wales, died, leaving behind him two sons, Edwal Foel, and Elis; and some say a third, named Meyric.

A. D. 911

9131

EDWAL FOEL.

AFTER the death of Anarawd, his eldest son Edwal Foel took upon him the government of North-Wales; Howel Dha holding the principality of South-Wales and Powis: At what time, a terrible comet appeared in the heavens. The same year the city of Chester, which had been destroyed by the Danes, was, by the procurement of Elfreda, new built and repaired,

repaired, as the ancient records of that city do testify. This in the ancient copy is called Leycester, by an easy mistake for Legecestria or Chester, called by the Romans, Legionum Cestria. The next summer the men of Dublin cruelly destroyed the isle of Anglesey; and soon after, Clydawc the son of Cadelb, was unnaturally slain by his brother Meyric, about the same time that the Danes received a cruel overthrow by the English, at Tottenhale. But Elfreda did not long survive the rebuilding of the city of Chester; a woman of singular virtues, and one that greatly strengthened the kingdom of Mercia, by building of towns and castles against the incursions of the Danes; as Strengat and Bruge, by the forest of Morph, Tamworth, Stafford, Edelburgh, Cherenburgh, Wadeburgh, and Runcofe. After this, she entered with her whole army into Wales, won Brecknock, and took the queen, with thirty-three of her men prisoners; which in Welch is called "Gwaith y Ddinas Newydh, or the battle of the new city. From hence she marched for Derby, which she took from the Danes, losing only four of her chief commanders in the action.

The occasion of these two expeditions, according to some, was this: Huganus, lord of West Wales, perceiving King Edward to be unavoidably busy in the Danish war, gathered an army of Britains, and entering into England, destroyed the king's country. Upon the news of this, Elfreda came to Wales with a great army, fought with the Welch at Brecknock, and putting Huganus to flight, took his wife and some of his men prisoners, whom she carried with her to Mercia. Huganus being thus defeated, fled to Derby, and being there kindly received, joined himself with the king's enemies, the Danes. Elfreda being certified of that, followed him with her army; but in storming the gates of the town, had four of her best officers killed by Huganus. But Gwyane, Lord of the Isle of Ely, her steward, setting fire to the gates, furiously ran upon the Britains, and entered the town; upon which Huganus perceiving himself to be over-matched, chose rather to fall by the sword,
than

than cowardly to yield himself to a woman. The next year Elfreda laid siege to the city of Leicester, which was quickly surrendered, and the Danes therein perfectly subdued. The fame of these several actions being noised abroad, her neighbours became somewhat fearful and timorous; and the Yorkshiremen voluntarily did her homage, and proffered their service. She died at Tamworth, after eight years rule over Mercia; and lies buried at Gloucester by St. Peters.

After the death of Elfreda, king Edward most ungratefully disinherited her daughter Alfwyen; and entering into Mercia, seized all the land into his own hands; upon pretence that she, without his knowledge, (whom her mother had appointed her guardian) had privily promised and contracted marriage with Raynald king of the Danes. But this unjust and unnatural action of king Edward's, might possibly bring upon him those vehement troubles, which presently ensued upon it. For Leofred a Dane, and Gruffydh ap Madoc brother-in-law to the prince of West Wales, came from Ireland with a great army to Snowdon, and minding to bring all Wales and the marches thereof to their subjection, over-ran and subdued all the country to Chester, before king Edward was certified of their arrival. Whereat being sore offended, and loth to trouble his subjects for help, vowed that himself and his sons, with their single forces, would be revenged upon Leofred and Gruffydh; and thereupon marching to Chester, forced the city from them. Then he divided his army into two battles, whereof he and his son Athelstane led the first, Edmund and Edred the second; and followed them so close, that he overtook them at the forest of Walewode (now Sherwode) where Leofred and Gruffydh set upon them so fiercely, that the king at first was in some danger; until Athelstane stepped in and wounded the Dane in the arm in that manner, that being no longer able to hold his spear, he was taken prisoner, and committed to the custody of Athelstane. In the mean time Edmund and Edred
encountering

encountering with Gruffydh, slew him, and brought his head to their father; and Leofred's head being likewise cut off, they were both set up upon the town of Chester; and then Edward, together with his sons, victoriously returned home. But King Edward, having built Glademutham, soon after this died at Farandon, and his son Alfred the same time at Oxford, and were both buried at Winchester.

Edward being dead, his base son Athelstane, for many excellent virtues appearing in him, was preferred to the crown; the worthiest prince of the Saxon blood that ever reigned. He overcame Cudfryd, the father of Raynald, King of the Danes, at York; and being invaded by Hawlaf, King of Ireland, who, with all the power of the Scots and Danes marched against him, gave him battle at Brimestbury, and obtained a very notorious victory; King Hawlaf, together with the King of the Scots, five Kings of the Danes and Normans being slain upon the spot: so that the whole country of England and Scotland became subject to him, which none of his predecessors ever attempted.

933. Sometime after, Owen, the son of Gruffydh, was slain by the men of Cardigan: And then Athelstane entering with his army into Wales, forced the princes thereof to pay a yearly tribute of 20 l. in gold, 300 l. in silver, and 200 head of cattle; which notwithstanding was not observed, as appears by the laws of Howel Dha, wherein it is appointed, That the Prince of Aberffraw should pay no more to the King of London, than 66 l. tribute; and that the Princes of Dinefawr and Powis should pay the like sum to the Prince of Aberffraw. But King Athelstane was not less terrible abroad, than he was awed and feared at home; the Kings of France and Norway sending him very great and costly presents, to obtain his favour, and to gain his good will.

936. This year Euneth, the son of Clydawc, and Meyric, the son of Cadelh died. The same time King Athelstane removed the Britains who lived at Exeter and the neighbouring country to Cornwall; bounding them with the river Cambria (now Tamar;) as the Britains

ains of Wales, with the Wey. Not long after, the noble Prince Athelstan^{A. D. 924.} died, to the great and inexpressible sorrow of all his subjects, and was buried at Malmesbury; and succeeded by his brother Edmund, not inferior to him in courage; but preferable by right of nativity, being born in wedlock. In the first year of his reign, he gave a very considerable blow to the Danes; took from them the cities of Leicester, Derby, Stafford, Lincoln, and Nottingham. Then Aulafe, King of the Danes, finding it impracticable to withstand the force of King Edmund, desired peace, and withal to be initiated into the Christian Faith; which being granted him, and all his Danes received baptism, King Edmund standing godfather at the font: after which both parties concluding a firm and a lasting peace, Edmund honourably returned to West-Saxony.

The same year died Abloic, chief King of Ireland: And the year following, Cadelh, the son of Arthual, a nobleman of Wales, was, for what reason not discovered, imprisoned by the English. To revenge which indignity, Edwal Foel and his brother Elis, gathered their forces together, and fought against the English and Danes, but were both unhappily slain.

This Edwal Foel had six sons, Meyric, Ievaf, Iago, Conan, Edwal, Fychan, and Roderic: and his brother Elis had issue Conan, and a daughter, named Trawst, the mother of Conan ap Sitsylht, Gruffydh ap Sitsylht, and Blethyn ap Confyng, which two last were afterwards Princes of Wales:

HOWEL DHA.

HOWEL DHA, had been for a considerable time Prince of South-Wales and Powis; in which government he had so justly and discreetly behaved himself, that upon the death of Edwal Foel, he was worthily preferred

preferred to the principality of Wales: Notwithstanding that Edwal had left behind him several sons, who at first seemed to murmur at and resent the election of Howel Dha. The first thing he took care of, was to enact good and wholsom laws for the benefit of his country; which held in force in Wales, till the time of Edward the first, when the Welch received the laws of England, yet not so generally, but that in some places they continued long after, and are still to be seen in the Welch and Latin tongue: For Howel Dha perceiving the laws and customs of his country to have grown to great abuse, sent for the Archbishop of Menevia, with the rest of the bishops and chief clergy, to the number of one hundred and forty, and all the barons and nobles of Wales, and ordered that six of the wisest and best esteemed persons in every commote should be cited before him, at his palace called y Ty Gwyn ar Taf, or the White House upon the river Taf. Thither coming himself, he remained with his nobles, prelates, and subjects for all the Lent, in prayers and fasting, imploring the assistance and direction of God's holy Spirit, that he might reform the laws and customs of the country of Wales, to the honour of God, and the peaceable government of his subjects. Towards the end of Lent, he chose out of that assembly twelve of the wisest and gravest, and persons of the greatest experience, to whom he added Blegored, a man of singular learning, and one exquisitely versed in the laws. To these he gave commission to examine the antient laws and customs of Wales, and to collect out of them what was requisite towards the government of the country; according to which charge they retained those that were wholsom and profitable, expounded those that were doubtful and ambiguous, and abrogated them that were superfluous and hurtful: And so these laws were distinguished into three sorts; the first concerned the order and regulation of the king's household and court; the second, the affairs of the country and commonwealth; and the last had regard to special customs belonging to particular persons and places. All which being publicly proclaimed

ed and generally allowed of, Prince Howel ordered three copies to be written; one for his own use, another to be laid up at his palace of Aberffraw, and the third at Dinefawr; so that the three provinces of Wales might have easy recourse to either of them, when need required. And for the better observation of these laws, he caused the Archbishop of St. David's to denounce sentence of excommunication against all such of his subjects as would not obey the same.

Within a while after, Howel, to admit nothing that might procure any countenance or authority to these his laws, accompanied with Lambert, Archbishop of St. David's, Mordaf, Bishop of Bangor, and Chebur of St. Asaph, and thirteen of the most prudent and learned persons in Wales, took a journey to Rome, where the said laws being recited before the Pope, were by his holiness ratified and confirmed: after which, Howel, with all his retinue, returned home to his country.

The particulars of these laws are too numerous to be here inserted; only it is observable, that all matters of inheritance of land were determined and adjudged by the prince in person; or if sick, by his special deputy. And that upon view of the same land, citing together the freeholders of that place, two elders of his council, the chief justice always attending in the court, the ordinary judge of the country where the land lay, and the priest. The method of their proceeding was in this manner:

The prince sat in his judicial-seat above the rest of the court, with an elder on each hand, next to whom the freeholders on both sides, who upon that account were probably called UCHELWYR. Below the prince, at a certain distance, sat the chief justice, having the priest on his right hand, and the ordinary judge of the country concerned upon the left. The court being thus sat, the plaintiff with his advocate, champion and Rhingylh or serjeant, stood on the left side of the court, as did the defendant in like manner on the right. And lastly, the witnesses on both sides appeared, and stood at the lower end of the hall, directly

opposite to the chief justice, to testify the best of their knowledge in the matter in debate. After the taking the depositions of the witnesses, and a full pleading of the cause in open court, upon notice given by the serjeant, the chief justice, the priest, and the ordinary judge, withdrew themselves for a while, to consult of the matter; and then *secundum allegata & probata*, brought in their verdict. Whereupon the prince, after consultation had with the elders that sat next him, gave definitive sentence; excepting the cause was so obscure and intricate, that the justice of it could not appear; and then the two champions put an end to the controversy by combat.

Whilst Howel Dha is thus regulating the customs, and meliorating the laws and constitutions of Wales; Aulafe and Reginald, Kings of the Danes, forcibly entered the country of King Edmund, who being vexed with their incessant hostility, gathered his forces together, and (as some say) by the help of Llewelyn ap Sitsylht, who was afterwards Prince of Wales, followed them to Northumberland; and having overcome them in a pitched battle, utterly chased them out of his kingdom, and remained a whole year in those parts to regulate and bring that country to some quiet order. But finding it impracticable to reduce the inhabitants of Cumberland to any peaceable constitution, having spoiled and wasted the country, he gave it up to Malcolm king of Scotland, upon condition that he should send him succours in his wars whenever

A. D. 942. demanded of him. In the mean time the Welch had but little occasion to rejoice; Hubert bishop of St. David's, Marclois bishop of Bangor, and Uffa the son of Lhafyr being dead: And shortly after the English entering into Wales with a very strong army, put the country into a great consternation; but being satisfied with the destruction and spoil of Strat Clwyd, they returned home without doing any more mischief. The same time Conan the son of Elis was like to be treacherously put to death by poison; and Everus bishop of St. David's died. The

944. next

next year Edmund King of England was unluckily slain upon St. Augustine's day; but the manner of his death is variously delivered; some say, that discovering a noted thief, who was out-lawed sitting among his guests, being transported with indignation against so confident a villain, ran upon him very furiously, who expecting nothing less than death, thought to die not unrevenged, and therefore with a short dagger gave the king a mortal wound in the breast. Others report, that as the King would have rescued a servant of his from an officer who had arrested him, he was unwittingly and unhappily slain by the same. But however his death happened, he lies buried at Glastenbury; in whose place his brother Edred was crowned King of England, who no sooner had entered upon his government but he made an expedition against Scotland and Northumberland, which being subdued, he received fealty and homage by oath of the Scots and Northumbrians, which they did not long observe. Shortly after Howel Dha, after a long and peaceable reign over Wales, died, much lamented and bewailed of all his subjects, being a prince of a religious and a virtuous inclination, and one that ever regarded the welfare and prosperity of his people. He left issue behind him, Owen, Run, Roderic, and Edwyn, betwixt whom and the sons of Edwal Foel, late Prince of North Wales, great wars and commotions arose afterwards about the chief rule and government of Wales.

A. D. 948.

But the sons of Howel Dha, as some writers record, were these, *viz.* Owen who did not long survive his father, Eineon, Meredyth, Dyfnwal, and Rodri, the two last whereof, as is conceived, were slain in the battle fought near Lhanrwst, in the year 952, by the sons of Edwal Foel; Run lord of Cardigan, who was slain before the death of his father; Conan y Cwn, who possessed Anglesey; Edwin, who was also slain, as is supposed in the forementioned battle: There was also another battle fought betwixt Howel and Conan ap Edwal Foel for the Isle of Anglesey, wherein Conan fell; and Gruffydh his son renewing the war, was likewise

overcome; and so Cyngar, a powerful person, being driven out of the island, Howel enjoyed quiet possession thereof, and of the rest of Gwynedh. It is supposed that this Howel Dha was chosen governor of Wales, during the minority of his uncle Anarawd's sons, who, at the death of their father, were too young to manage the principality; which he kept till his return from Rome, at which time Edwal Foel being come of age, he resigned to him the kingdom of Gwynedh or North Wales, together with the sovereignty of all Wales: Before which time Howel is styled Brenhin Cymry oll, that is, King of all Wales, as is seen in the preface to that body of laws compiled by him.

IEVAF and IAGO the Sons of EDWAL FOEL.

AFTER the death of Howel Dha, his sons divided betwixt them the principalities of South Wales and Powis; laying no claim to North Wales, though their father had been a general Prince of all Wales. But Ievaf and Iago the sons of Edwal Foel, having put by their elder brother Meyric, as a person incapable of government, and being dissatisfied with the rule of North Wales only, imagined that the principality of all Wales was their right, as descending from the elder house; which the sons of Howel Dha denied them. Indeed, they had been wrongfully kept out of the government of North Wales during the reign of Howel; in whose time the recovery of their own was impracticable, by reason that for his moderation and other good qualities, he had attracted to himself the universal love of all the Welch. But now, he being gone, they are resolved to revenge the injury received by him upon his sons: and upon a
small

small pretence, endeavour to reduce the whole country of Wales to their own subjection. Ievaf and Iago were indeed descended from the elder branch; but since Roderic the Great conferred the principality of South Wales upon his younger son Cadelh, the father of Howel Dha, it was but just his sons should enjoy what was legally descended to them by their father: But ambition seldom gives place to equity; and therefore, right or wrong, Ievaf and Iago must have a touch for South Wales, which they enter with a great army; and being opposed, they obtained a very opportune victory over Owen and his brethren the sons of Howel, at the hills of Carno. The next year the two brothers entered twice into South Wales, destroyed and wasted Dyfet, and slew Dwnwalhon lord of the country. Shortly after which, Roderic the third son of Howel Dha died. But his brethren perceiving the folly of standing only upon the defensive, mustered all their forces together, and entering North Wales, marched as far as Lhanrwst upon the river Conwy; where Ievaf and Iago met them. A very cruel battle ensued upon this, and a very great number were slain on both sides, among whom were Anarawd the son of Gwyriad, the son of Roderic the Great; and Edwyn the son of Howel Dha. But the victory plainly favoured the brothers Ievaf and Iago; so that the Princes of South Wales were obliged to retire to Cardiganshire, whether they were warmly pursued; and that country cruelly harrassed with fire and sword. The next year Merfyn was unhappily drowned; and shortly after Congelach King of Ireland was slain.

A. D. 950.

951.

952.

953.

The Scots and Northumbrians having lately sworn allegiance to King Edred, he was scarce returned to his own country, but Aulafe, with a great army, landed in Northumberland, and was with much rejoicing received by the inhabitants. But before he could secure himself in the government, he was shamefully banished the country; and so the Northumbrians elected one Hircius, the son of Harold for their king. But to shew the inconstancy of an unsettled multitude;

they soon grew weary of Hircius, and after three years space expelled him, and voluntarily submitted themselves to Edred, who after he had reigned eight years, died, and was buried at Winchester. To him succeeded Edwin the son of Edmund, a man so immoderately given to venery, that he forcibly married another man's wife; for which, and other irregularities, his subjects, after four years reign, set up his brother Edgar, who was crowned in his stead; with grief of which, he soon ended his days. The summer, that same year, proved so immoderately hot, that it caused a very dismal plague in the following spring, which swept away a great number of people; before which, Gwgan the son of Gwriad the son of Roderic died. At this time, Ievaf and Iago forcibly managed the government of all Wales, and acted according to their own good pleasure, no one daring to confront or resist them. But for all their power, the sons of Abloic King of Ireland, ventured to land in Anglesey; and having burnt Holyhead, wasted the country of Lhyn. Also the sons of Edwyn the son of Colhoyn, destroyed and ravaged all the country to Towyn, where they were intercepted and slain. About the same time died Meyric the son of Cadfan, Rytherch bishop of St. David's, and Cadwalhon ap Owen. Not long after, the country of North Wales was cruelly wasted by the army of Edgar King of England; the occasion of which invasion was the non-payment of the tribute that the king of Aberffraw, by the laws of Howel Dha, was obliged to pay to the King of London. But at length a peace was concluded upon these conditions, that the Prince of North Wales, instead of money, should pay to the King of England the tribute of 300 wolves yearly; which creature was then very pernicious and destructive to England and Wales. This tribute being duly performed for two years, the third year there were none to be found in any part of the Island; so that afterwards the Prince of North Wales became exempt from paying any acknowledgment to the King of England. The terror apprehended from the English, being by these

A. D. 958.

962.

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these

these means vanished; there threatened another cloud from Ireland; for the Irish being animated by their late expedition, landed again in Anglesey; and having slain Roderic the son of Edwal Foel, they destroyed Aberffraw. And this danger being over, Ievaf and Iago who had jointly and agreeably, till now, managed the government of Wales from the death of Howel Dha, began to quarrel and disagree among themselves; and Iago having forcibly laid hands upon his brother Ievaf, confined him to perpetual Imprisonment. These heats and animosities between the two brothers, gave occasion and opportunity to Owen prince of South-Wales to carve for himself, who presently seized to his hands the country of Gwyr. And to augment the miseries of the Welch at this time, Mactus the son of Harold, with an army of Danes, entered the isle of Anglesey, and spoiled Penmon. King Edgar was so indulgent to these Danes, that he permitted them to inhabit through all England; inso-much that at length they became to be as numerous and as strong as the English themselves; and fell into such lewd courses of debauchery, and such horrid drinking, that very great mischief ensued thereupon. The king to reform this immoderate sottishness, enacted a law, that every one should drink by measure, and so stamped a mark upon every vessel, how far it should be filled. But Harold having taken Penmon, made subject to himself the whole isle of Anglesey, which however he did not keep long, being forced to quit the same, and to return home; as did the fleet of king Alfred, which he had sent to subdue Caerlleon upon Use. And now being rid of the English and Danes, the Welch begin to raise commotions among themselves. Ievaf continued still in prison, to rescue whom, his son Howel raised his power, and marched against his uncle Iago, who being vanquished in fight, was forced to quit the country, to save himself. Howel having won the day, took his eldest uncle, Meyric the son of Edwal prisoner, and pulled out both his eyes, clapt him in prison, where in a woeful condition he shortly died, leaving behind him two sons, Edwal and Ionafal;

A. D. 967.

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Ionafal;

Ionafal; the first of which lived to be afterwards prince of Wales, and to revenge upon the posterity of Howel, that unnatural barbarity shewed to his father. But though Howel delivered his father from his long and tedious imprisonment, yet he did not think fit to restore him to his principality; for whether by age or infirmity he was incapable, Howel took upon him the sole government of Wales, which he kept and maintained for his lifetime; but afterwards it descended to his brethren. For Ievaf had issue besides this Howel; Meyric, Ievaf, and Cadwalhan; all three men of great repute and esteem.

About this time died Morgan Hen, in his younger days called Morgan Mawr, being an hundred years old, having lived fifty years after the death of his wife Elen, daughter of Roderic the great, by whom he had one son called Owen. Morgan was a valiant and a victorious prince, and well beloved of his subjects; but sometime before his death, Owen, the son of prince Howel Dha, laid claim to Ystradwy and Ewy, (called the two Sleeves of Gwent Uwchcoed) being the right of Morgan, and seized upon them to his own use. But the matter, through the mediation of the clergy and nobility, being by both parties referred to the decision of Edgar king of England, it was by him adjudged, that the said Lands did of right belong to Morgan, and to the diocesis of Lhandaff; and that Owen ap Howel Dha had wrongfully possessed himself of them. The charter of the said award was made before the archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons of England and Wales; as may be seen at Lhandaff, in an old manuscript called y Cwttá Cyfarwydd o Forgan-nwg. And there is somewhat to the same purpose in the old book of Lhandaff; only the mistake in both is, that they make Howel Dha the intruder into the said lands, who had been dead at least twenty years before king Edgar began his reign,

H O W E L A P I E V A F.

HOWEL, after that he had expelled his uncle Iago, and forced him to quit his own dominions, took upon himself the government of Wales, in right of his father, who though alive, yet by reason of his years, was willing to decline it. About the same time Dwnwalhon Prince of Stradclwyd, took his journey for Rome; and Edwalhon son of Owen Prince of South Wales died. But the English received a greater blow by the death of King Edgar, who was a prince of excellent qualities, both warlike and religious, and one that founded several monasteries and religious houses, and particularly at Bangor.

For Iago ap Edwal having fled to King Edgar, prevailed so far with him, that he brought an army into North Wales to restore him to his right. Being advanced as far as Bangor, he was honourably received by Howel, who, at his request, was contented his uncle Iago should have a share in the government, as he had in his father Ievaf's time. Then Edgar founded a new church at Bangor, on the south-side of the Cathedral, which he dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary; and confirmed the ancient liberties of that see, and bestowed lands and gifts upon it: And then with Howel and Iago in his company, he marched towards Chester, where met him, by appointment, six kings more, *viz.* Kenneth King of the Scots, Malcolm King of Cumberland, Macon King of Man, and Dyfnwal, Sifrethus, and Ithel, three British kings. These eight princes having done homage, and sworn fealty to him, entered with him into his barge, and rowed him, four of each side, from his palace to the church or monastery of St. John Baptist, and divine service being ended, in like state rowed him back again. To King Edgar succeeded his son Edward, surnamed the younger;

A. D. 976.

979

younger; who, after four years reign, was treacherously slain through the treason of his step-mother Elfrida, to make room for her own son Edelred, upon pretence of whose minority, being a child only of seven years, she might have the management of the kingdom in her own hands. But whilst the English were in this wavering and unsettled condition, Eineon, the son of Owen king of South Wales, the second time entered the country of Gwyr, and having spoiled and wasted it, returned home again. This, though an unsufferable affront to Howel Prince of North Wales, yet he thought it most convenient to pass by and wink at it; being then warmly engaged against the aiders and abettors of his uncle Iago; and marching against them with a numerous army, consisting of Welch and English, pursued them to Lhyyn and Kelynnoc Fawr, the very extremity of Wales; where, after cruel ravaging and miserable harrassing of the country about, Iago was at last taken prisoner; but so generously received by Howel, that he granted his uncle to enjoy his portion of the country peaceably for his life. But he did not deal so kindly with his uncle Edwal Fychan the son of Edwal Foel; who, for what pretence, not discovered, was slain by him. It may be, that being in a manner secure of his uncle Iago, he was apprehensive that Edwal Fychan would put in his pretence for the principality; and therefore he judged it convenient to remove this obstacle in time, and to send him to seek for it in another world. For nothing can be the cause of greater injustice and inhumanity in princes, than the jealousy and apprehension of rivals and pretenders to their government; to prevent which, they will sacrifice any thing that is just and legal, so that the person offending be removed out of the way. But though Howel had murdered his uncle Edwal Fychan, yet he could not remove all disputes and pretences to North Wales: For at that same time that he was employed in this unnatural action, Cystenyn Dhu, or Constantine the Black, son to Iago then prisoner to Howel, having hired an army of Danes, under the command of Godfryd the son of Harold, marched against

against his cousin Howel, and entering North Wales, destroyed Anglesey and Llyn. Whereupon Howel having drawn his forces together, set upon them at a place called Gwyath Hirbarth, where the Danes received a very shameful overthrow, and Constantine the son of Iago was slain. But another army of Danes fared better in England, who having landed at, and spoiled Southampton, over-ran the countries of Devon and Cornwall, burnt the town of Bodman, whereby the cathedral church of St. Petrokes, with the bishop's palace, were laid in ashes; by reason of which disaster, that bishop's see was translated to St. Germans, where it continued till the uniting thereof to Crediton. Within a while after, St. Dunstan archbishop of Canterbury died, a pious and religious person, who foretold of very great and unsupportable calamities, the English should endure by the cruel outrages of the Danes.

But Godfryd the son of Harold being highly disgusted at the shameful rout he received of Howel in the quarrel of Constantine, was resolved to recover his credit, and to revenge himself of the Welch. And accordingly he landed with a powerful army in West Wales, where, after that he had spoiled the land of Dyfed, with the church of St. David's, he fought the famous battle of Lhanwanoc. But Harold being forced upon this to retire and forsake the country, the following year Duke Alfred with a considerable number of English came to supply his room, and to conquer the Welch. But he received as little advantage or honour as Harold in this expedition; for after that he had laid waste and destroyed the town of Breconck, with some part of South Wales, he was shamefully vanquished, and his army almost totally cut off by the troops of Eineon the son of Owen Prince of South Wales, and Howel Prince of North Wales, who had joined their forces against him. And now the Welch having quite disabled the Danes and the English, began to fall to their old courses, to make use of their prosperity and quietness from abroad, for quarrelling and creating disturbances at home. The inhabitants

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of Gwentland imagined themselves very strong and powerful, and therefore must needs endeavour to shake off their allegiance to their prince, and to set up one of their own making. Owen Prince of South Wales, to pacify the rebellious humour of these seditious and turbulent people, sent his son Eineon to persuade them to obedience. But a distracted multitude got loose, is not to be worked upon by arguments, which Eineon fatally experienced, who was so far from persuading them in their allegiance by fair means, that they presently set upon him, and thinking that they had the bird in their fist, who was next to succeed, put him to present death. And thus most ignobly fell this worthy prince, who, in his father's time was the only support of his country, being a stout and a valiant commander, and one famously experienced in the art and discipline of war. He had issue two sons, Edwyn and Tewdor Mawr, or Theodore the Great, out of whose loins several Princes of South Wales were since descended. But Howel prince of North Wales did not regard this dissention and rebellion in South Wales, and therefore took opportunity to strengthen and multiply his army, with which he marched the next year for England, intending to revenge the incursions and invasions of the English upon Wales, and to destroy and waste their country. But having entered into England, he was presently fought with, upon which, being resolved either to return victoriously, or to die courageously, he fell in among them, but in the action was slain, leaving no issue behind him to succeed in his principality, though in some ancient genealogies he is reputed to have a son called Conan y Cwn.

984.

CADWALHON.

CADWALHON AP IEVAF.

HOWEL, the son of Ievaf, had for a long time enjoyed the principality of North-Wales, more by main force and usurpation, than any right of succession he could pretend to it. For Ionafal and Edwal the sons of Meyric, the eldest son of Edwal Foel, were living, and tho' their father had been rejected as unfit for government, yet that was no reason to deprive them of their right. Indeed, Howel could pretend to no other right or title, than that his father Ievaf had been prince of North-Wales before him, and this he thought sufficient to maintain his possession against the rightful heir, who was far unable to oppose or molest his wrongful usurpation. But he being slain in this rash expedition against the English, and leaving no issue to succeed him in the crown, his brother Cadwalhon thought he might rightfully take upon him the government of North-Wales, seeing his father and his brother had without any molestation enjoyed the same. However, to make his title secure, he thought fit to remove all manner of rurs which might create any dispute concerning his right of succession, and to that end, concluded it necessary to make away his cousins Ionafal and Edwal the lawful heirs; the first of which he executed accordingly, but Edwal being aware of his intention, privately made his escape, and so prevented his wicked design. This unnatural dealing with his cousins Ionafal and Edwal cost Cadwalhon not only his life, but the loss of his principality and the utter ruin of his father's house. For he had scarce enjoyed his government one year, but Meredith the son of Owen prince of South-Wales entered into North-Wales, slew Cadwalhon and his brother Meyric, the only remains of the house of Ievaf, and under the pretence

pretence of conquest, possessed himself of the whole country. Here we may observe and admire the wisdom of providence, in permitting wrong and oppression for some time to flourish and wax great, and afterwards by secret and hidden methods, in restoring the posterity of the right and lawful heir to the just and pristine estate of his ancestors. For after the death of Edwal Foel, Meyric who by right of birth was legally to succeed, was not only deprived of his just and rightful inheritance, but had his eyes most inhumanly put out, and being condemned to perpetual imprisonment, for grief of being so barbarously treated, quickly ended his days. But tho' his brothers Ievaf and Iago, and Howel and Cadwalhon the sons of the former successively enjoyed the principality of North-Wales; yet not one died naturally or free from the revenge of Meyric's ejection. For Ievaf was imprisoned by his brother Iago, and he with his son Constantine, by Howel the son of Ievaf, and afterwards Howel fell by the hands of the English, and his brethren Cadwalhon and Meyric were both slain by Meredith ap Owen. On the other side, Edwal ab Meyric who was right heir of North-Wales after the death of his brother Ionafal, escaped the snare intended by Cadwalhon; and Meredith ap Owen after some time leaving North Wales exposed to the enemies, by reason he had enough to do to preserve South-Wales, Edwal was received of the North-Wales men as their true prince.

MEREDITH AP OWEN.

586. **M**EREDITH having won the field and slain Cadwalhon and his brother Meyric, the only seeming pretenders to the principality of North-Wales, took upon himself the rule and government of it. But before he could be well confirmed in his dominions, Godfryd the

The son of Harold, third time entered into the isle of Anglesey, and having taken Lhyarch the son of Owen with 2000 men prisoners, most cruelly put out his eyes; which so startled and struck such a terror into Prince Meredith, that with the rest of his army, he forthwith made his escape and fled to Cardigan. This loss to the Welch was the same year seconded by another, but of another sort; for there happened such a dismal and unusual murrain, that the best part of the cattle of Wales perished. Neither were the English at this time free from adversities and troubles, for the Danes landed again in England with several armies, and at Westport and Witeft, gave two English lords, Godan and Britchwold such a blow, that the king was forced to buy his peace, with the payment of 10,000 pound, which was termed, Dane Gelt. But within a while after, King Edelred violated and brake the peace himself, and prepared a great fleet, thinking to vanquish the Danes at sea; But it proved far otherwise, and much contrary to his expectation, all his ships being either destroyed or taken, together with the Admiral, Alfric earl of Mercia. The Danes being animated with this victory sailed up to the mouth of the Humber, and landing in Yorkshire, spoiled and destroyed the cities of York and Lindsey; but in their march through Northumberland, were routed and put to flight by Godwyn and Fridgiff, two English generals who were sent to oppose them. The same time Anlaf king of Norway, and Swane of Denmark with 94 gallies sailed up the Thames and besieged London, which the citizens so bravely defended, that at length the Danes thought best to raise and quit the siege. But though they could effect nothing upon the city, yet the country was at their mercy and therefore leaving their ships, they landed and wasted with fire and sword all Kent, Essex, Suffex, Surry and Hampshire. Wherefore King Edelred instead of manly opposition in the field, sends ambassadors to treat about another payment, and so the Danes being satisfied with a great sum of money and victuals, lay quiet that winter at South-

ampton. Upon this composition, Anlaf was invited by Adelred, and royally entertained, and being dismissed with very many rich presents, he promised upon oath to depart the kingdom and never to molest it any more, which he faithfully performed.

987. Whilst the English and the Danes were thus for a time agreed, Ievaf the son of Edwal having spent for several years a retired and a private life, died: And was quickly followed by Owen the son of Howel Dha Prince of South Wales. This Owen had three sons, Eineon who in his father's time was slain by the rebels of Gwentland, and Lhywarch who had his eyes put out by Godfryd the son of Harold the Dane, and Prince Meredith, who had already conquered North Wales, and now upon his father's death takes possession also of South Wales, without any regard had to Edwyn and Theodore the sons of Eineon his elder brother. But upon his advancement to his new principality, he was like to meet with no very small troubles; for the Danes at Hampton quickly broke the league with king Adelred, and sailing towards the West mightily annoyed the coasts of Cornwall and Devonshire, and at last landed in South Wales. Having destroyed St. David's, Lhanbadarn, Lhanrhytyd, Lhandydoch, and several other religious places; the country was so cruelly harassed and weakened that Prince Meredith was forced to compound with them, and to pay a tribute of one penny for every person within his dominions, which in Welch was called Glwmaem, otherwise, the tribute of the black army. And Ireland too at this time received no inconsiderable blow from the Danes, who slew Elwmaen the son of Abloic king of the country, and so spoiled and ravaged that kingdom, that a great number of the natives perished by famine.

988. The year following Owen the son of Dyfnwal, a man of considerable note and reputation among the Welch, was slain; besides which, nothing remarkable happened this year. But the next year Edwin ap Eineon, who was right heir to the principality of South Wales, ha-

ving drawn to his help a great army of English and Danes hostily entered into Meredith's country, spoiled all the land of Cardigan, Dyfed, Gwyr, Kydwely and St. David's, and received hostages of the chief persons of those countries to own him as their rightful prince. To return these outrages upon Edwyn, Meredith destroyed the town of Radnor, spoiled Glamorgan, and carried the chiefest men therein prisoners, who paying their ransom, were set at liberty. But whilst Wales was in this tottering condition, and scarce any place free from hostility; it happily fell out, that Meredith and Edwyn were made friends, and the differences composed between them, so that the English and Danes who came in with Edwyn, and who expected to fare best by these civil disturbances of the Welch, were unexpectedly cashiered and sent home. And soon after this agreement, Cadwalhon, the only son of Meredith, died, which rendered the composition between Meredith and Edwyn more firm, by reason that this latter thought now, without any dispute to succeed Meredith in his principality. But this fell short of his aim, for Meredith being very much disturbed in South Wales, had so much work upon his hands to defend that country, that he left North Wales open and exposed to the common enemy, which the Danes were quickly acquainted with, and so landing in Anglesey, they ravaged and laid waste the whole island. The North Wales men finding themselves thus forsaken by Meredith, and their country like to be over-run by the Danes, if not timely prevented, set up Edwal the son of Meyric, the indisputable heir of North Wales, though long kept from it, and owned him for their prince. But those incessant wars and commotions in South Wales, occasioned a very dismal famine and scarcity in the country, of which a very considerable number of people perished. And thus Meredith who had once conquered North Wales, and for a long time had got possession of South Wales, without any right or title to either, was now obliged to relinquish the one, and was scarce able to maintain the other.

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991.

992.

EDWAL AP MEYRIC.

923. EDWAL after a long and tedious expectation, being now joyfully received by the North Wales men for their prince, endeavoured the first thing to defend his subjects from the injuries and depredations they received from the Danes. And having in a measure effected that, he was accosted by another enemy; for Meredith being resolved to revenge the indignity and disgrace put upon him by the North Wales men, in depriving him of the government of their country, gathered and mustered together all his power, intending to recover again that principality. Being advanced as far as Lhangwm, Edwal met him, and in plain battle routed his army; in which action, Theodore or Tewdor Mawr, Meredith's nephew was slain, leaving behind him two sons, Rhys and Rhytharch, and a daughter named Elen. But it is probable that it was not Tewdor Mawr, but his brother Edwyn that was slain in this battle, which also seems rather to have been fought at Hengwm in Ardudwy in Merionethshire, then at Lhangwm, for in that place there are to this day certain monuments of victory to be seen; as heaps of stones, tomb-stones and columns, which they call Curneddi Hengwm. Edwal returning home triumphantly after this victory, thought he had now secured himself in his government, and expected to enjoy his dominions quietly, and without any molestation. But he had scarce recovered the fatigue of the last engagement, when Swane the son of Harold having lately pillaged and wasted the isle of Man, landed in North Wales, whom Edwal endeavouring to oppose, was slain in the encounter leaving one son behind him, called Iago.

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Within a while after the Danes returned again against St. David's, and destroying all before them with fire and sword, slew Morgeney or Urgeney, bishop of that diocese. Prince Meredith being highly concerned at the mischiefs these barbarous people continually did to his country, and the more, because he was not able to repel their insolencies, out of grief and vexation died; having issue one only daughter named Angharad, who was twice married; first to Lhwelyn ap Sityhlt, and after his death to Confyn Hirdref, or as others think, to Confyn ap Gwerystan. She had children by both husbands, which occasioned afterwards great disturbances and civil commotions in Wales, the issue of both adventures pretending a right of succession to the principality of South Wales.

AEDAN AP BLEGORAD.

EDWAL Prince of North Wales being killed in the battle against Swane, and having no other issue than Iago, who was a minor, and too young to take upon him the government; and Meredith Prince of South Wales dying without any other issue than a daughter, caused very heavy quarrels and contentions among the Welch, several without any colour of right, putting in their claim and pretensions to the government. In North Wales, Conan the son of Howel, and Aedan the son of Blegorad were the chief aspirers to that principality; and because they could not agree who should be the man, they fairly consented to try the matter in open field, where Conan had the misfortune to be slain; and so Aedan was victoriously proclaimed Prince of North Wales. But who this Aedan was descended from, or what colour

1093.

hour or pretence he could lay to the principality, cannot be as much as guessed at, there being none of that name to be met with in any Welch records, excepting that Blegorad who is mentioned in the line of Howel Dha, whose estate and quality was too mean, that his posterity should lay any claim to the principality of Wales. But be that how it will, Aedan after his victory over Conan ap Howel, was owned Prince by the North Wales men, over whom he bore rule for the space of twelve years; though besides his conquest of Conan ap Howel, there being nothing recorded of him, excepting his being slain, together with his four sons by Lhewelyn ap Sitsylht.

But whilst the Welch are in this inconstant and unsettled condition, the Scots in Ireland began to grow powerful, and having destroyed the town and country of Develyn, they took Galfath and Ubiad, two Irish lords, prisoners, whose eyes they most inhumanly put out. The Danes also, who had lately made their incursions into South Wales, began now to molest the English; having landed in the West, passed through the counties of Somerset, Dorset, Hampshire and Suffex, destroying and burning all before them. Having advanced without any opposition, as far as the river Medway, they laid siege to Rochester, which the Kentish men endeavouring to preserve, assembled themselves together, and gave the Danes battle, but were vanquished in the undertaking. King Edelred was then in Cumberland, where the Danes were more numerously planted, which country he kept quiet and in subjection. But in the mean time another army of Danes landed in the West, against whom the country people of Somersetshire assembling themselves, shewed their readiness to attack them, but wanting a head to direct them, were easily put to their heels, and the Danes ruled and commanded the country at their pleasure. The King being sorely vexed at the insolencies and restless depredations of the Danes, thought convenient to strengthen himself by some powerful affinity, and to that end, sends ambassadors to Richard duke of Normandy, desiring his daughter Emma in marriage,

marriage, and succours to repel the Danish incursions. Here it is observable, that as the Saxons being formerly called over as friends and allies to the well-meaning Britains, violently and wrongfully possessed themselves of the greatest part of the island; so now the Normans being invited to aid the English against the Danes, took so good a liking to the country, that they never gave over their design of gaining it, till at last they became conquerors of the whole island. The mischief of calling in the Normans, though foretold to King Adelred, he was so far concerned about the present calamities received by the Danes, that he was deaf to all futurities, how dangerous and mischievous soever they might prove. And therefore being puffed up with hopes of increase of strength by this new affinity, he sent private letters to all cities and towns throughout his dominions where the Danes were quartered, requiring them all upon St. Brice's night to massacre the Danes, which was accordingly performed with much unanimity and secrecy. This cruel disaster was so far from discouraging the Danes, that they now began to vow the eradication of the English nation, and to revenge that unmanly massacre of their country-men; to which end they landed in Devonshire, and over-running the country with fire and sword, spared nothing that had the least spark of life in it. The city of Exeter they razed to the ground, and slew Hugh the Norman, whom the Queen had recommended to the government of it. To prevent their further incursions, Almarus Earl of Devon gathered a great army out of Hampshire and Wiltshire, and the country thereabouts, and marched with a resolution stoutly to oppose the Danes, who put Almarus to flight and pursued him to Wilton and Salisbury, which being ransacked and plundered, they carried the pillage thereof triumphantly to their ships.

A. D. 1004.

The next year Swane, a prince of great repute in Denmark, landed upon the coast of Norfolk and laid siege to Norwich, and wasted the country thereabouts. But Wolfkettel duke of that country, being too weak to oppose him, thought it most convenient to make a peace with the Dane; which was quickly broke; and then Swane marched privately to Thetford, which after he had spoiled and ransacked, he returned with his prey to his ships. Wolfkettel hearing this, privately drew up his forces, and stoutly marched against the enemy; but being far inferior in number, the Danes got the day, and afterwards sailed to their own country. Within two years after, the Danes returned again, bringing with them their usual companions, the fire, the sword, and the spoil, and landed at Sandwich; which after they had burnt and pillaged, they sailed to the isle of Wight, where they took up their winter-quarters till Christmas: And then coming forth thence, they over-ran, by several parties the countries of Hampshire and Berkshire, as far as Reading, Wallingford and Colsey; devouring up, for want of other plunder, all the provisions and victuals they found in the houses, and retributed the same with fire and sword at their departure. In their return they met with the army of the West Saxons near Effington, but this consisting only of a raw and unexperienced rabble, they easily broke through, and passing triumphantly by the gates of Winchester, they got safe with great booty to the isle of Wight. King Adelerd all this while lay at his manor-house in Shropshire, much troubled and concerned at these uninterrupted devastations of the Danes. But the nobility of England, rather to save some than lose all they possessed, bought their peace of the Danes for the sum of 30,000 pound; during which interval, King Adelerd rousing his drooping spirits, ordained, that every three hundred hides of land, one hide being as much as one plough can sufficiently till, through his dominions, should man out a ship, and every eight hides a corslet and a helmet; besides which the king had no inconsiderable navy sent him from Normandy. This fleet

fleet when rendezvoused at Sandwich seemed terrible in those days, and was the greatest that ever before then rode upon the British sea. And now, one might have thought, that all things would go well with the English, when of a sudden another cloud appears; for one Wilnot, a nobleman of Suffex, being banished by King Adelred, got to sea with a small number of ships, and practised piracy along the coasts of Britain, and mightily annoyed all merchants and passengers. Brightrych, brother to the traiterous Edric Earl of Mercia, thinking to advance his reputation by some signal exploit, promised to bring Wilnot dead or alive before him: To which end, he sets forth with a considerable fleet; which meeting with a terrible storm, was by the tempest driven back, and wrecked upon the shores; so that a great number of the ships were drowned, and the rest burnt by Wilnot and his company. Brightrych being abashed with this unfortunate beginning, returned ingloriously by the Thames back to London; so that this great preparation against the Danes, was dashed to pieces, and came to nothing.

The Danes were not ignorant of the misfortune the English received by this storm, and without any further enquiry, landed at Sandwich, and so passed on to Canterbury, which they intending to destroy, was by the citizens bought off for 3000 l. Passing from thence, through Kent, Suffex and Hampshire, they came to Berkshire, where King Edelred at length met with them, and purposing resolutely to set upon them, was by the cunning insinuations and subtile arguments of traytor Edric dissuaded from fighting. The Danes being thus delivered from the danger which they certainly expected, passed on joyfully by the city of London, and with great booty returned to their ships. The next year they landed again at Ipswich, upon Ascension day, where Wolfkettel entertained them with a sharp encounter; but being overpowered by number, he was forced to give back, and yield the day to the Danes. Passing from thence to Cambridge, they met with Ethelstan, King Edelred's nephew by his sister,

sister, who with an army was come to oppose them; but the Danes proving too powerful, he with many other noblemen were slain; among whom were duke Oswyn and the Earls Edwyn and Wolfrike. From hence they passed through Essex, leaving no manner of cruelty and barbarity unpractised, and returned laden with booty to their ships, which lay in the Thames.

A. D. 1010.

But they could not contain themselves long in their vessels; and therefore sallying out, they passed by the river side to Oxford, which they ransacked over again; adding to their prey, Buckingham, Bedford, Hartford, and Northamptonshire; and having accomplished that year's cruelties, at Christmas they returned to their ships. Yet the prey of the country from the Trent

1011.

southward, would not satisfy these unmerciful barbarians; but as soon as the season gave them leave to peep out of their dens, they laid siege to the city of Canterbury, which being delivered up by the treachery of Almaraz the archdeacon, was condemned to blood and ashes, and Alfege the archbishop carried prisoner to the Danish fleet, where he was at length

1012.

most cruelly put to death. The next year Swane, king of Denmark, came up the Humber, and landed at Gainsborow; whether repaired to him Uthred Earl of Northumberland, with his people, the inhabitants of Lindsey, with all the countries northward of Watling-street, being a highway crossing from the east to the west sea, and gave their oath and hostages to obey him. Whereupon, King Swane perceiving his undertaking to prove so fortunate beyond expectation, committed the care of his fleet to his son Cnute, and marched himself first to Oxford, and then to Winchester; which cities, whether for fear of further calamities, readily acknowledged him for their king. From thence he marched for London, where King Edelred then lay; and which was so stoutly defended by the citizens, that he was like to effect nothing against that town; and therefore he directed his course to Wallingford and Bath, where the principal men of West Saxon yielded him subjection. The Londoners too, at last fearing his
fury

fury and displeasure, made their peace, and sent him hostages; which city being received to mercy, Swane, from that time was accounted king of all England. King Edelred perceiving all his affairs in England to go against him, and his authority and government reduced to so narrow a compass, having sent his queen, with his two sons Edward and Alfred, to Normandy, he thought convenient within a while after to follow himself. Being honourably received by his brother-in-law Richard; he had not been there long but news arrived of the death of Swane, and that he was desired by the English to return to his kingdom. Being animated and comforted with this surprising news, he set forward with a great army for England, and landing at Lyndsey, he cruelly harassed that province, by reason that it had owned subjection to Cnute the son of Swane, whom the Danes had elected king in his father's stead. King Cnute being at Ipswich, and certified of the arrival of King Edelred, and the devastation of Lyndsey; fearing that his authority was going down the wind, barbarously cut off the hands and noses of all the hostages he received from the English, and presently struck sail for Denmark. And whilst England was in this general confusion, there fell out no less a storm in Ireland; for Brian king of that island, and his son Murcath, with other kings of the country subject to Brian, joined their forces against Sutric the son of Abloic king of Dublin, and Mailmorda king of Lagenes. Sutric being of himself too weak to encounter so numerous a multitude, hired all the pyrates and rovers who cruised upon the seas, and then gave Brian battle, who, with his son Murcath, was slain; and on the other side, Mailmorda, and Broderic General of the auxiliaries.

But Cnute, though he was in a manner forced to forsake England upon the recalling of King Edelred, yet he did not abandon all his pretence to the kingdom; and therefore the next year he came to renew his claim, and landed with a strong fleet in West Sax, where he exercised very great hostility. To prevent

A. D. 1013.

prevent his incursions, Edric and Edmund bastard-son to Edelred, raised their forces separately; but when both armies were united, they durst not, whether for fear, or the dissention of the two generals, fight with the Danes. Edmund therefore passed to the North, and joined with Uthred duke of Northumberland, and both together descended and spoiled Stafford, Leicester, and Shropshire. On the other side, Cnute marched forcibly through Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdonshire, and so by Stafford passed toward York, whither Uthred hastened, and finding no other remedy, submitted himself, with all the Northumbrians, to Cnute, giving hostages for the performance of what they then agreed upon. But nevertheless this submission, Uthred was treacherously slain, not without the permission of Cnute, and his dukedom bestowed upon one Egrick a Dane; whereupon Edmund left them, and went to his father, who lay sick at London. Cnute returning to his ships presently followed, and sailed up the Thames towards London; but before he could draw nigh the city, King Edelred was dead; having prolonged a long and troublesome reign for thirty-seven years. After his decease, the English nobility chose his base son Edmund, for his eminent strength and hardiness in war, surnamed Ironside, for their king. Upon this Cnute brought his whole fleet up the river to London, and having cut a deep trench round about the town, invested it on all sides; but being valourously repulsed by the defendants, he detached the best part of his army to fight with Edmund, who was marching to raise the siege; and both armies coming to battle at Proman by Gillingham, Cnute with his Danes were put to flight. But as soon as time and opportunity would give him leave to increase his forces, Cnute gave Edmund a second battle at Caerfane; but Edric, Almar, and Algar under hand siding with the Danes, Edmund was hard put to it, to maintain the fight obstinately, till night and weariness parted them. Both armies having sufficiently suffered in this action, Edmund went to West Sex to reinforce himself, and the Danes

Danes returned to the siege of London, where Edmund quickly followed, raised the siege, and forced Cnute and his Danes confusedly to betake themselves to their ships, and then entered triumphantly into the city. Two days after, passing the Thames at Brentford, he fell upon the enemies backs; by which lucky opportunity obtaining a considerable victory, he returned again to raise recruits among the West-Saxons. Cnute, upon Edmund's removal, appeared again before London, and invested it by land and water; but all in vain; the besieged so manfully and resolutely defending themselves, that it was impracticable to master the town before Edmund could come to the relief of it. And this they presently experienced; for Edmund, after having augmented his forces, crossed again the Thames at Brentford, and came to Kent in pursuit of Cnute, who upon engaging, was so shamefully defeated at first, and his men put to that terrible flight, that there wanted nothing of a full and absolute victory, but the true loyalty of the traitor Edric, who perceiving the victory to incline to Edmund, and the Danes like to receive their mortal and final blow, cried aloud, Fled Engle, Fled Engle, Edmund is dead, and thereupon fled with that part of the army under his command, leaving the king over-powered with number. By this desertion the English were at the last overthrown, and a great number slain; among whom were Duke Edmund, Duke Alfric, Duke Godwyn, and Ulfkettel, the valiant Duke of the East-Angles, together with all the English cavalry, and a great part of the nobility. After this victory, Cnute marched triumphantly to London, and was crowned king; but Edmund preparing to try his fortune in another field, mustered together all the forces he could, and meeting with Cnute in Gloucestershire, intended to give him battle: but considering what cruel and unnatural bloodshed had already happened, both generally agreed to put an end to their tedious quarrel by single combat; and the place being appointed, Edmund and Cnute fell to it very vigourously, till at last Cnute perceiving it impracticable to vanquish a man of Iron-

sides,

sides, laid down his weapon, moving this composition, to divide the kingdom fairly betwixt them: Edmund was not displeas'd at the offer, and therefore both parties submitted to this decision, that Edmund should rule the West-Saxons and the South; Cnute in Mercia and all the North; and so they parted friends, Cnute, moving to London, and Edmund to Oxford. But Edric was not pleas'd, that Edmund should have any share at all of the government, and therefore he is resolv'd to conspire against his life, and to deliver the whole kingdom of England into the hands of Cnute; of whom he might reasonably expect for this, and other traitorous services, a very ample and an answerable return. This he committed to one of his own sons to put in execution, an imp of the old stock, and one early vers'd in wicked and traitorous designs; who perceiving the king go to stool, thrust a sharp knife up his fundament, of which wound he presently died. Edric being quickly certified of the fact, posted it up to London, and with great joy and loud acclamations came to Cnute, greeting him as sole king of England, and withal, telling him in what manner, and by whose means his old enemy King Edmund was assassinated and killed at Oxford. Cnute, though pleas'd at the death of Edmund, was a person of greater honour than to commend so horrible a deed, though done to an enemy, and therefore told Edric, that he would without fail take care to reward him, as his deserts required, and would advance him above all the nobility of England, which was quickly performed, his head being placed upon the highest tower in London for a terror to such villainous traitors to their king. Edric being thus deservedly disappointed of the mighty thoughts he entertain'd of greatness, upon the advancement of King Cnute, this generous Dane scorn'd his baseness, and so having paid him a traitors reward, caus'd execution to be done upon all Edric's accomplices, and those that consented to the base murder of that brave Prince King Edmund.

About the same time there happened no small disturbance and commotions in Wales; Lhwelyn ap Sytŷylht having for some years sat still and quiet, began now to bestir himself; and having drawn all his forces together, marched against Aedan, who forcibly and without any legal pretence, had entered upon, and for all this time had kept himself in the government of North Wales, Aedan would not easily eject himself from what had been so long in his possession to maintain which, he gave Lhwelyn battle: But the day going against him, himself, with his four sons, were slain upon the spot; upon which, Lhwelyn, without any regard had to Iago the son of Edwal the right heir, took upon himself the title and authority of Prince of all Wales. His pretence to North-Wales, was, as being descended from Trawst daughter to Elis, second son to Anatawd, who was the eldest son of Roderic the Great; and to South Wales, as having married Angharad the only daughter of Meredith Prince of South Wales; by virtue of which pretensions he assumed to himself the government of all Wales.

LHEWELYN AP SITSYLHT.

LHEWELYN having, as is said, taken upon him the general government of Wales, managed his charge with such prudence and moderation, that the country in a short time became very flourishing and prosperous; peace and tranquility being established produced plenty and increase of all things necessary to human subsistence: For there was none that could lay any claim or pretence to either of the principalities, excepting Iago the son of Edwal, who was indeed lawful heir of North Wales; but either too weak to withstand, or unwilling to disturb Lhwelyn's title, he lay quiet for a time, expecting a better opportunity

portunity to recover his right. In the mean time; Cnute being crowned king of all England, marries Emma the widow of King Edelred; and for the better securing the English crown to himself and his heirs, he thought it expedient to dispatch Edmund and Edward the sons of Ironside out of the way. But lest such an execrable fact should seem too black to be done in England, he sent the two youths to Solomon King of Hungary, willing him to use some convenient opportunity to take away their lives; which seemed to Solomon so very unnatural, that instead of complying with Cnute's request, he educated and brought them up as his own children. But Cnute imagined now that his fear was over, and his business effectually finished; so that he could the more boldly demand of his subjects, what either his necessity or curiosity would prompt him to. And reflecting with himself, what excessive expence he had been at in the conquest of England, was resolved that the English should repay him; and therefore required a subsidy of seventy two thousand pounds, besides eleven thousand, which the city of London contributed. The same time Meyric the son of Arthfael, a person of quality in Wales, rebelled, and raised an army against Prince Lhwelyn, who no sooner appeared in the field to quell his male-contented General, but manfully slew him with his own hand, and easily discomfited his followers. The same time Cnute sailed over into Denmark, and made war upon the Vandals, who, for all that they had a greater army in the field, were overcome by the incomparable valour of earl Godwyn; for which famous action Cnute had the English in great esteem ever after.

A. D.
1020.

But Lhwelyn Prince of Wales, though he had lately quelled the rebels headed by Meyric, was now to encounter with another difficulty, which seemed to threaten greater disturbance and trouble to him: for a certain person of a mean quality in Scotland, coming to South Wales, assumed the name of Run, and gave out that he was the son of Meredith Prince of South-Wales; to whom joined a great number of the nobility,

bility, who had no great affection to Lhwelyn, and proclaimed Run Prince of South Wales. Lhwelyn being then in North Wales, and certified of this famous impostor, drawing his army together, marched to meet him; who, with the whole strength of South Wales, then lay at Abergwili, where he abode the arrival of Lhwelyn. When both armies were ready to join battle, Run makes a vaunting speech to his soldiers, assuring them of victory; and so persuading them courageously to fall on, privately himself retired out of harm's way; there one might have observed on the one side a valiant army under a cowardly general, and on the other part a valiant and a noble commander engaging with a slow and a faint-hearted army; for Lhwelyn, like a bold and courageous prince, ventured into the midst of his enemies, whilst Run privately sneaked off out of all danger; and the South Wales men were more fierce and eager in the cause of a pretender than the North Wales men to maintain the quarrel of a prince of their own blood. But after great slaughter on both sides, the North Wales men calling to mind the several victories they had obtained, and withal being in a very great measure animated by the incomparable valour of their prince, fell on so warmly, that they put their enemies to flight, and pursued Run so close, that notwithstanding his several shifts, he was at last overtaken and slain. Lhwelyn, after this victory, returned laden with spoil into North Wales, and for some time lived peaceably and without disturbance: But the next year Howel and Meredith, the sons of Edwyn, conspired against him and slew him, leaving behind him a son called Gruffydh ap Lhwelyn, who afterwards, though not immediately, ascended to the principality of North Wales.

IAGO AP EDWAL.

AFTER the death of Llewelyn, Iago the son Edwal, the true heir to the principality of North Wales, who had been all this time wrongfully kept from it; thought this the best opportunity to enter upon his right, by reason of the minority of Gruffydh the son of Llewelyn; upon which pretence likewise Rytherch the son of Iestyn forcibly assumed the principality of South Wales. About the same time Cnute King of England, sailed over to Denmark and Sweden, against Ulf and Alaf, who had moved the Finlanders against him; whom he subdued with the loss of a great part of his army, as well English as Danes. Within a while after his return to England, he made a very pompous and magnificent journey to Rome; more to satisfy his ambitious temper, and to signify to the world his greatness and might, which he expressed by his costly presents and princely behaviour, than any way to make atonement for the oppression and bloodshed by which he had established himself in his kingdom: For what holiness and mortification he had learnt at Rome, presently appeared upon his return to England; for upon no provocation he marched with an army into Scotland, and forced Malcolm the king thereof, together with Molbeath and Jermare, the kings of the Orkneys and Ewist, to do him homage.

A. D. 1031. But the affairs of Wales were at this time very turbulent and uneasy; for Höwel and Meredith, after the murder of Prince Llewelyn, expected to enjoy some part of his principality themselves; but finding Iago to have seized upon North Wales, and Rytherch upon South Wales, and withal perceiving their own power too weak to oppose their designs, they invited over the Irish-Scots, to their aid against Rytherch ap Iestyn,
Prince

Prince of South Wales. By the help of these, Howel and Meredith prevailed over Rytherch; who being at length slain, they jointly took upon them the rule and government of South Wales. But this was not a sufficient title to establish them so firmly in it, that their usurpation would not be called in question; for the A. D. 1032. sons of Rytherch, presently after their father's death, gathered their forces together to fight with the brothers Howel and Meredith, who met at Irathwy, where a cruel battle was fought, called Gwaith Irathwy; and at last the sons of Rytherch, were put to flight. But though these victories, the one over Rytherch, and the second over his sons, seemed in a great measure to favour Howel and Meredith's pretence to, and establishment in the principality, yet so unpardonable a 1033. crime, as the murder of Lhwelyn, a prince of so extraordinary qualities, could not remain long unrevenge'd; for the sons of Conan the son of Sitsylht, Prince Lhwelyn's brother, were resolv'd to return their uncle's murder upon the two usurpers, which in a short time they effected against Meredith, who met with the same end from the sons of Conan, that he had formerly inflict'd upon Lhwelyn. But these civil discords in Wales were quickly discovered by the English, who taking advantage of so fair an opportunity, entered with a great army into the land of Gwent, where after they had committed considerable waste for some time, Caradoc the son of Rytherch ap Iestyn, gave them battle, but was in that engagement unhappily slain. And shortly afterwards died King Cnute, the most famous and mightiest prince then in the western parts of the world; whose dominions extended over all Sweden, from Germany almost to the north Pole; together with the kingdoms of Norway and Denmark, and the noble island of Britain. To him succeeded his son Harold, for his swiftness, surnamed Harefoot, begotten upon Alwyn the daughter of Duke Alfelyn; though several stickled firmly for Hardycnute, his other son by Emma, who was then in Denmark. But Harold being once advanced to the throne, took care to establish himself as firmly as he could in it; and to that end, 1035.

thought it expedient to banish out of his dominions his mother-in-law Emma, who was restless to promote the interest of her own son Hardycnute, and to bring him to the crown of England.

A. D. 1037. And whilst Harold was by these measures settled in his throne, Iago ap Edwal was just upon the point of losing his principality of North Wales: for Gruffydh the son of Llewelyn ap Sitfyllt, sometime Prince of North Wales, having once hinted a rebellion against Iago, was so generally encouraged, and universally followed by all people, for the love they bore to his father; that in a short time his army mounted to an invincible number. However, Iago was not so thoroughly affrighted, that he would deliver up his principality without drawing a sword for it; but providing for himself as well he could, and drawing together what forces he was able; he gave Gruffydh battle; But his number being far too weak to oppose so great an army as sided with Gruffydh, was presently overpowered and put to the rout, and himself slain, leaving after him a son called Conan, by his wife Afandred, daughter to Gweir the son of Pylh.

GRUFFYDH AP LHEWELYN.

IAGO ap Edwal being killed, Gruffydh ap Llewelyn was received with loud acclamations, and joyfully saluted Prince of North Wales; who treading in his father's steps, behaved himself in his government with that prudence and conduct, that he manfully defended his country from the frequent invasions of the English and Danes: for he was scarce settled in his throne, when these inveterate enemies of the Welch entered in an hostile manner into Wales, and advanced as far as Crosford upon the Severn, where Gruffydh met them, and forced them shamefully to fly, and retire

tire back to their own country. From thence Gruffydh passed to Lhanbadarn Vawr in Cardiganshire, which he laid in ashes; and afterwards marched through all the country of South Wales, receiving of the people oaths of fidelity and subjection to him. In the mean time, Howel ap Edwyn, Prince of South Wales, fled to Edwyn brother to Leofric Earl of Chester, and prevailed with him to come with an army consisting of English and Danes, to his aid against Gruffydh, who meeting his enemies in the field, easily overcame them, Edwyn being slain upon the spot, and Howel forced to preserve his life by flight. After which victory, Gruffydh having reduced all the country of Wales to subjection, returned again to North Wales. But Howel as soon as he could recover himself and recruit his army, entered again into South Wales, intending the recovery of that principality, which he was now so well assured of, that he brought his wife with him to the field, to let her see how easily he could conquer and overcome Prince Gruffydh. But too great an assurance of victory seldom proves prosperous; which Howel presently experienced; for Gruffydh meeting with him at Pencadair, gave him so warm an entertainment, that he was forced presently to take his heels, which however could not so well secure him, but that he was narrowly pursued, and his wife who was to be entertained with the conquest of Gruffydh, on the contrary, saw herself taken prisoner by him, and forced to comply so far to his humour, as to be his concubine.

A. D. 1039.

The same time Harold King of England died, and was succeeded by his brother Hardycnute, a Prince very famous for hospitality, and a great lover of good cheer, having his table covered four times a-day, with great plenty and variety of dishes, with other superfluities for all comers. But he likewise dying at Lambeth after two years reign, the English agreed to send for Alfred the eldest son of Edred from Normandy, and to make him king. This message by no means pleased Earl Godwyn, a man of great sway now in England; who knowing Alfred to be a person of

greater spirit than to permit him to domineer as he pleased, endeavoured all he could to dissuade the English from sending for Alfred. He shewed them how dangerous it was to permit a warlike nation to take root in their country, and how well Alfred was accompanied with Normans, to whom he had promised the chief places and rule of the kingdom; by which and other like insinuations he so disgusted the English nobility against the Normans, that to diminish their number, they put every tenth man to death. But seeing this was not sufficient, they acted the same part over again, and tythed them a second time; and being highly enraged against the Normans, they led Alfred, who had brought them over, from Gilford, where this execution was committed, to Gillingham, where having put out his eyes, they removed him to Ely, and there at length pitifully murdered him. Then they sent for Edward out of Normandy, and made him king, who, according to his promise to Earl Godwyn, married his daughter Edith, a lady much commended not only for beauty, modesty, and other feminine qualifications, but also beyond what is requisite for a woman, learning. But King Edward did not deal so favourably with her brother Swane, son to Earl Godwyn, who upon some distaste was banished England, and thereupon forced to betake himself to Baldwyn earl of Flanders, by whom he was very honourably received.

A. D. 1041

These troubles and revolutions in England were succeeded by others of no less consequence in Wales. For Howel, not brooking to be kept so shamefully out of his kingdom, returns again the third time into South Wales, where he had not continued long, but a great number of strangers landed in the west of Wales, and advancing farther into the country, pillaged and destroyed all places they came to. Howel, though desirous to reserve his army to fight with Prince Gruffydh, yet could not behold his country so miserably wasted and over-run by strangers; and thinking moreover, that by so charitable an action he should win the universal love of the South Wales men, drew up his forces

forces against them; and overtaking them at Pwll Fynach, forced them with much loss, to retire to their ships; which action was called in Welch, Gwaith Pwll Fynach. At the same time Conan the son of Iago ap Edwal, who was forced for fear of Prince Gruffydh to flee to Ireland, with the forces of Alfred king of Dublin, whose daughter named Ranulph he had married, landed in North Wales; and having by some treacherous stratagem taken Gruffydh, triumphantly carried him prisoner towards his ships. This unhappy accident being discovered, and publickly known, the North Wales men did rise on a sudden, and so unexpectedly overtook the Irish, that they easily recovered their Prince, and drove his enemies with great slaughter to their ships; who, without any farther consultation, were glad to strike sail with Conan for Ireland. And now Wales, both North and South, is free from all foreign invasion, and Howel, as yet too weak to dispute his title with Gruffydh; so that A. D. 1042. the next year could be subject to no great action, in which nothing happened remarkable, saving the death of Howel the son of Owen Lord of Glamorgan, a man of great quality and esteem in Wales. 1043. But as soon as Howel could call in his Danes, to whom he added all the forces he could raise in South Wales; he intended presently to march against Prince Gruffydh. But he being aware beforehand to what end those levies were designed, prepared against the ensuing storm; and to avert the war from his own country, marched courageously to South Wales, not fearing to face an enemy whom he had shamefully vanquished twice already. Both armies being joined, Gruffydh easily overcame, and pursued Howel as far as the spring-head of the river Towy, where after a long and a bloody fight, Howel was at last slain, and his army so universally routed, that few escaped with their lives. But though Howel was dead, yet there remained still more pretenders to the principality of South Wales; so that Gruffydh was in no great prospect to enjoy the same peaceably: For as soon as it was published that Howel's army was defeated, and him-

self slain, Rytherch and Rhys the sons of Rytherch ap Iestyn put in their claim to South Wales in right of their father, who had once enjoyed the sovereignty of that country. And in order to the recovery of the same, they drew together a great army, consisting partly of strangers and partly of such as they could raise in Gwentland and Glamorgan, and marched to fight with Gruffydh. The Prince according to his usual manner detracted no time, but animating and solacing his soldiers with the remembrance of their former victories and conquests, bid the enemies battle, which proved so very bloody and terrible, that nothing could part them beside the darkness of the night. This battle so tired and tamed both armies, that neither was very desirous of another engagement, and so one being unwilling to set upon the other, they both agreed to return to their own habitations. The same time Joseph bishop of Teilo or Llandaf died at Rome. But both armies being separated, Prince Gruffydh enjoyed a quiet and unmolested possession of all Wales for about two years; after which, the gentry of Ystrad Towy treacherously slew 140 of the choice of his army, which he took in so high an indignation, that to revenge their death, he destroyed all Dyfed and Ystrad Towy.

About the same time, Lothen and Hyrling two Danish pirates, with a great number of Danes, landed at Sandwich, and having plundered the town, returned again to their ships, and sailed for Holland, where they sold the booty they had taken, and then returned to their own country. Shortly afterwards Earl Swayn came out of Denmark with eight ships, and returned to England, and coming to his father's house at Pevenese, humbly requested of, and his brothers Harold and Tostie, to endeavour his reconciliation with the King. Earl Beorned too promised to intercede for him, and going to Swayn's fleet to sail to Sandwich, where the King then lay, he was by the way most treacherously and ungratefully murdered, and his body cast upon the shore, which lay there exposed, till his friends hearing of the fact, came and carried it to Winchester, and buried it by the body of King Cnute, Beorned's

Beorned's uncle. Swayn having committed this most detestable murder, put himself again under the protection of the earl of Flanders, not daring to shew his face in England, till his father by earnest mediation wrought his peace with the king.

This year Conan the son of Iago raised again an army of his friends in Ireland, and sailed towards Wales, purposing to recover his inheritance in that country. But when he was come near the Welch coast, there suddenly arose such a violent storm, that his fleet was presently scattered, and most of his ships drowned, which rendered this expedition ineffectual. About the same time, Robert archbishop of Canterbury impeached Earl Godwyn and his sons Swayn and Harold of treason, and the queen of adultery, and upon the account of their non-appearance when cited before the the peers at Gloucester, the queen was divorced, and Godwyn and his sons banished, who with his son Swayn fled to Flanders, and Harold to Ireland. But these unlucky clashings, and the many troubles that ensued thereupon, happened upon this occasion. Eustace earl of Bologne being married to Goda the king's sister, came over this year to England to pay king Edward a visit, and in his return to Canterbury, one of his retinue forcibly demanding a lodging, provoked the master of the house so far, as by chance or anger to kill him. Eustace upon this affront returns back to the king, and by the insinuations of the archbishop, makes a loud complaint against the Kentish-men; to repress whose insolencies, earl Godwyn is commanded to raise forces, which he refusing to do, for the kindness he bore to his countrymen of Kent, the king summons a parliament at Gloucester, and commands Godwyn to appear there. But he mistrusting either his own cause, or the malice of his adversaries, gathered a powerful army out of his own and his sons earldoms, and marched towards Gloucester, giving out that their forces were to go against the Welch, who intended to invade the Marshes. But King Edward being satisfied by the Welch that they had no such design

design in hand, commanded Godwyn to dismiss his army, and to appear himself to answer to the articles exhibited against him. Godwyn refusing to obey, the king by the advice of earl Leofrick, summoned an assembly at London, whither a great number of forces arrived from Mercia, which Godwyn perceiving, and withal, finding himself unable to withstand the king's proceedings, privately retired with his sons out of the kingdom, and fled into Flanders. Whereupon the king issued out an edict, proclaiming Godwyn and his sons out-laws, and then confiscating their estates, bestowed them upon others of his nobility. And, to pursue his displeasure the farther, he divorced his queen Edith, earl Godwyn's daughter, and committed her to a cloister, where in a mean condition she spent some part of her life. In the distribution of the forfeited estates, Adonan obtained the earldoms of Devon [and Dorset, and Algar the son of Leofrick, that of Harold. But Godwyn could not patiently behold his estate bestowed upon another, and therefore having hired some men and ships in Flanders, he sailed to the Isle of Wight, where after that he had made a sufficient havock, he put in at Portland, which he treated after the same manner. The same time Harold having sailed from Ireland, at length met with his father, and then with their united navy, they burnt Preveneseny, Romney, Heath, Folkston, Dover and Sandwich, and entering the Thames, they destroyed Cheppy, and burnt the king's house at Middletown. Then they sailed up the river towards London, where the king's army being ready to oppose them, a treaty of peace was by the means of Bishop Stigand agreed upon, which proved so effectual of Godwyn's side, that the king received him again to his favour, restored him and sons to all their estates, recalled the queen, and banished the archbishop, with all the Frenchmen who had been promoters of that unhappy suspicion the king had entertained of them.

About this time, Rhys brother to Gruffydh Prince of Wales, who by several irruptions upon the borders, had

had considerably gauled and damaged the English, was taken and put to death at Bulendun, whose head being cut off, was presented to the king, then at Gloucester. But he received better news some time after from the North, for Siward earl of Northumberland having sent his son against Macbeth king of Scotland vanquished the sons, tho' not without the loss of his son, and many others, both English and Danes. But Siward was not cast down at his son's death, but enquiring whether he received his death's wound before or behind, and being assured that it was before, replied, "He was very glad of it, for he could not wish his son to die otherwise." After this victory, King Edward marched in person to Scotland, and having again overcome Macbeth in battle, he made the whole kingdom of Scotland tributary to the crown of England. The next year, earl Godwyn sitting with the king at table, sunk down dead of a sudden, being choaked, as 'tis thought, in swallowing a morsel of bread; whose earldom the king bestowed upon his son Harold, and his upon Algar earl of Chester.

To this time is referred the original of the Stewards in Scotland, which being a remarkable passage, and in a great measure dependant upon the affairs of the Welch, is requisite to be here recorded. Macbeth king of Scotland having caused Bancho a nobleman of that kingdom to be inhumanly murdered; Fleance, Bancho's son, to avoid the like cruelty to himself, fled to Gruffydh ap Lhwelyn prince of Wales, who taking a very great liking to his person, and withal commiserating his condition, shewed him all the respect and kindness possible. But Fleance had not continued long with Gruffydh when he fell enamoured upon the prince's daughter, and having obtained her good-will, without any regard had to her father's civility towards him, abused her so far as to beget her with child. Gruffydh being acquainted with the matter of fact, so heinously resented the affront, that he occasioned Fleance to be slain, and treated his daughter most servilely for prostrating her chastity,

chastity, especially to a stranger. However, she was in a short time delivered of a son, whose name was christened Walter; a child, who in his youth expressed very great hopes, and in all probability like to make a very considerable man, which happened according to expectation. But the first original of his future greatness happened upon a very accidental occasion; being reproached of bastardism by one of his fellow companions, he took it in so unpardonable a dudgeon, that nothing could satisfy his revenge, but the life of the aggressor. Being upon this mischance affraid to undergo the punishment of the law, he thought it safe to fly to Scotland, where falling in company with certain Englishmen who were come thither with queen Margaret sister to Edgar Edeling, he behaved himself so soberly and discreetly, that he won the favour and good character of all that knew him. But his fame daily increasing, he grew at length to that height of reputation, as to be employed in the most inward affairs of the commonwealth, and at last was made Lord Steward of Scotland, from which office his posterity retained the surname of Steward, the kings of Scotland of that name, with several other families of quality in that kingdom being descended from him.

But to return to England, Siward the worthy earl of Northumberland died about this time of the bloody-flux, a man of a rough demeanour, and a meer soldierly temper, as he plainly manifested at the point of death. For bewailing his misfortune that had escaped so many dangerous engagements, and withal disdainig to die so effeminately in bed, he caused himself to be compleatly armed, and as it were in defiance of death, presently expired in a martial bravery. But his son being too young, the king bestowed his earldom upon Tosty the son of earl Godwyn.

1054. Wales had been now a long time quiet, and void of all troubles both abroad and at home, but it could not be expected that such a life should prove durable,

ble, but something or other would create new commotions and disturbances. Gruffydh son to Rytherch ap Iestyn having recruited and recovered himself after the last blow he received from Prince Gruffydh, must needs venture another trial for the principality of South Wales. The Prince protracting no time, speedily marched against him, and both armies being joined, Gruffydh ap Rytherch was easily vanquished, and in fine, slain. But the troubles of the Welch did not end with him, for Algar Earl of Chester being convicted of treason, and thereupon banished the kingdom, fled to Gruffydh Prince of Wales, requesting his aid against king Edward, who, repeating the frequent wrongs he had received at the hands of the English, by upholding his enemies against him, gladly embraced the opportunity, and promised him all imaginable support. And thereupon assembling his forces, he entered with him into Herefordshire, and advancing into the country, within two miles of the city of Hereford, they were opposed by Randolph Earl of that country, who boldly gave them battle. The fight continued very dreadful and dubious for some hours, till at last Gruffydh so encouraged his soldiers with the remembrance of their former victories over the English, that they fell on a-main, and easily discomfited Randolph, and slew the best part of his army. Afterwards they pursued their chace to the town, and having made all the waste and havock they were able, they laid the town itself in ashes, and so returned home triumphantly, laden with rich booty and plunder. King Edward receiving notice of this invasion, presently gathered a great army at Gloucester under the conduct of Harold Earl Godwyn's son, who courageously pursuing the enemies, entered into Wales, and encamped beyond Stradclwyd. But Gruffydh and Algar dreading to oppose him, retired further into South Wales, of which Harold being certified, leaves one part of his army behind with orders to fight, if occasion offered, and with the other passed to Hereford, which he fortified with a strong wall round the town. Gruffydh perceiving his undaunted industry, after many messages concluded a
peace

peace with Harold at a place called Biligelhag, by which articles Algar was pardoned by the King, and restored to his earldom of Chester. But he did not continue long in the king's favour, for about two years after, upon conviction of treason, he was again banished the land, so that he was forced to betake himself to his old friend Gruffydh Prince of Wales, by whose aid, and a fleet from Norway in spite of the king he was restored to his earldom. But King Edward was sore offended with the Prince of Wales for harbouring traitors, and therefore to be revenged upon him, he dispatched Harold again with an army to North Wales, who, coming to Ruthlan, burnt the Prince's palace there, and his fleet, that lay in the harbour, and then returned to the king at Gloucester.

1956.

This year Edward the son of Edmund Ironside, who was sent for out of Hungary, being designed successor to the crown, came to England, but in a short time after his coming, died at London, leaving behind him a son called Edgar Edeling, and a daughter named Margaret, who was afterwards queen of the Scots, and mother to Maud the wife of Henry the first. About two years after, Roderic, son to Harold king of Denmark came with a considerable army into Wales, and being kindly received by Prince Gruffydh, united his power with the Welch, and so entered into England, which they cruelly harrassed and destroyed. But before they could advance any considerable distance, Roderic was compelled to sail for Denmark, and so Gruffydh returned laden with spoils into Wales. The same time Harold Earl Godwyn's son sailing to Flanders, was driven by force of weather to land at Poytiers, where being seized upon, he was brought before William bastard duke of Normandy, to whom he declared the reason of his voyage, that it was purposely to tender him his service in the affairs of England; and so taking an oath, first to marry the duke's daughter, and after the death of Edward to secure the kingdom of England for him,

he was honourably dismissed. Upon his return to England, by the persuasions of Caradoc the son of Gruffydh ap Rytherch, himself with his brother Tosty, raised a great army and entered into South-Wales, which they destroyed after that manner, that the Welch were glad to deliver up hostages for the payment of the antient tribute, which afore-time they were used to pay. Gruffydh hearing of the insolencies of the English in South-Wales, made all possible haste and preparation to oppose them, but all to no purpose; Harold having already treacherously hired some of Gruffydh's nearest friends to murder him, who watching their opportunity, executed their wicked design and brought his head to Harold. Gruffydh being dead, Harold by King Edward's orders, appointed Meredith son of Owen ap Edwyn prince of South-Wales, and the government of North-Wales to Blethyn and Rywalhon the sons of Confyn, brothers by the mother side to Prince Gruffydh, and who probably for the desire of rule, were accessory to the murder of that noble prince. This Gruffydh ap Lhewelyn enjoyed the principality of Wales for the space of thirty four years; a prince of incomparable virtues, both wise and valiant, beloved of his subjects and formidable to his enemies, in all his actions he behaved himself great and princely; and having defended his country so bravely against all foreign opposition; he was far unworthy of that treacherous and cruel death, which his unkind subjects and unnatural friends bestowed upon him. He left issue but one daughter called Nest, abused first by Fleance son of Bancho, and afterwards married to Trahaern ap Caradoc prince of North-Wales.

BLETHYN

BLETHYN and RYWALHON.

AFTER the deplorable murder of Prince Gruffydh, Meredith the son of Owen ap Edwyn, who according to some, was son to Howel Dha, did take upon him, as 'tis said, the government of South-Wales, and Blethyn and Rywalhon the sons of Consyn, half brothers to Gruffydh, as descended from Angharad daughter to Meredith sometime prince of Wales, entered upon the principality of North-Wales; Conan the son of Iago ap Edwal the right heir to that crown being then with his father-in-law in Ireland. This partition of Wales fell much short of the expectation of Caradoc ap Gruffydh ap Rytherch, who being the chief promoter of Harold's making an expedition against Gruffydh ap Lhwelyn, made no question to attain to the government of South-Wales, in case Gruffydh got the worse. But it happened otherwise; Harold being sensible of Caradoc's subtilty and knavery, and doubting whether if he was made prince of South-Wales, he could obtain a certain lordship nigh Hereford, which he had a longing mind to, made a composition with Meredith ap Owen for the said lordship, and created him Prince of South Wales, and on the contrary banished Caradoc out of the country. Harold having obtained his request, built a very magnificent house at a place called Portascyth in Monmouthshire, and storing it with great quantity of provision, splendidly entertained the king, who honoured him with a visit. This was by no means pleasing to Tosty, to see his younger brother in greater esteem and favour with the king than himself, and having concealed his displeasure for a time, could not forbear at length but discover his grievance. For one day at Windsor, while Harold reached the cup to king Edward, Tosty ready to burst

for envy that his brother was so much respected beyond himself, could not refrain to run furiously upon him, and pulling him by the hair, dragged him to the ground, for which unmannerly action, the king forbid him the court. But he with continued rancour and malice rides to Hereford, where Harold had many servants preparing an entertainment for the king, and setting upon them with his followers lopped off the hands and legs of some, the arms and heads of others, and threw them into the butts of wine and other liquors, which were put in for the king's drinking, and at his departure charged the servants to acquaint him, "That of other fresh meats he might carry with him what he pleased, but for sauce he should find plenty provided ready for him." For which barbarous offence the king pronounced a sentence of perpetual banishment upon him. But Caradoc ap Gruffydh gave a finishing stroke to Harold's house, and the king's entertainment at Portascyth; for coming thither shortly after Tosty's departure, to be revenged upon Harold, he killed all the workmen and labourers, with all the servants he could find, and utterly defacing the building, carried away all the costly materials, which with great charges and expence had been brought thither to beautify and adorn the structure. Soon after which, the Northumbrians (who could not endure the insolencies of the two brothers Harold and Tosty, who bearing an uncontrollable sway in the kingdom, were used to practise most hellish villainies to encompass any man's estate that displeased them,) in a tumult at York beset the palace of Tosty, and having pillaged his treasure, slew all his family, as well Englishmen as Danes. Then adjoining to themselves the people of Lincoln, Nottingham and Derbyshire, they elected Marcher the son of Earl Algar their general, to whom came his brother Edwyn with a considerable number of forces, and a great party of Welchmen. Then they marched in an hostile manner to Northampton, where Harold met them, being sent by the king to know their demands; to whom they laid open their grievances, and the cruelty of Tosty's government, and at last, with an absolute

refusal of admitting him again, desired that Marcher should be appointed Earl over them, which the king upon the reasonable complaints of injuries done by Tosty, easily granted, and willingly confirmed Marcher's title. Whereupon they peaceably returned back to the North, and the Welch with several prisoners and other booties got in this expedition, returned to Wales.

. D. 1066 The year following, King Edward died, and was buried at Westminster, being the last king of the Saxon blood before the conquest that governed the kingdom of England, which from Cerdic king of the West Saxons had continued 544, and from Egbert the first monarch, 171 years. Edward being dead, the next debate was about an election of a successor, Edgar Edeling being set up by some, as lawful heir to the crown, which Harold as being a person of greater power and authority in the kingdom, much wealthier and better befriended, presently thwarted, and brought matters so cunningly about, that himself was chosen king, without any regard observed to the oath and promise he had formerly made to William Duke of Normandy. Duke William upon notice of Harold's advancement, how that he had accepted of the crown of England contrary to the articles between them, convened together his nobles, and laid before them the several wrongs and affronts he had received at the hands of Harold, as the death of his cousin Alfred, the banishment of archbishop Robert, Earl Odan and all the Normans, and lastly the breach of his oath and promise. Then he declared to them the pretence he had to claim the crown of England, that Edward had given him formerly an absolute promise in Normandy, that if ever he enjoyed the English crown, William should be his heir; which title, though in itself weak and insignificant served William's purpose well enough to make an expedition against an intruder. Duke William's pretence seemed plausible enough to the Norman nobility, but the difficulty of the undertaking and the danger of this expedition was something perplexive, and made them

them less inclinable to encourage so precipitous an undertaking; which they the more disliked upon the persuasion of William Fitzosbert the duke's sewer, whom they pitched upon to deliver their thoughts as to the expedition, unto the duke. But he instead of dissuading him from this voyage, politically declared that himself with all his power were ready to live and die with him in this expedition, which the rest hearing, could not but offer the duke their service in the same manner; and so all things were prepared for an invasion of England. In the mean while Tosty, full of indignation at his brother's advancement to the crown, entered the river Humber with forty sail, but meeting with Earl Edwyn who came to oppose him, he was forced after a considerable encounter to bear off, and secure himself by flight. But meeting with Harold king of Norway upon the coast of Scotland, coming for England with three hundred sail, he joined his forces with Harold, and so both together entering the Humber, they landed their army and marched to York, where the Earls Edwyn and Marcher unsuccessfully gave them battle. Having pillaged and destroyed that city, they passed on to Stamford-bridge, and there met with King Harold, who with a well disciplined army was come to stop their farther career. After a long and a terrible fight, and much bloodshed on both sides, the Norwegians began at last to give back, which the English perceiving, fell on so manfully that few or none escaped with their lives, Harold and Tosty being also slain upon the spot. One of the Norwegians is deservedly recorded for his incomparable exploits performed in this battle, who with incredible valour maintaining the bridge against the whole strength of the English army for above an hour with his single resistance delayed their victory, and having slain a great number of his enemies, he seemed invincible, till in the end, no one daring to grapple with him fairly, he was run through with a spear from under the bridge, and so by his fall, a passage was opened for pursuit to compleat the victory.

tory. King Harold over-joyed with this success, triumphantly entered into York, and whilst he was making merry with his nobles at a sumptuous feast, news came that Duke William of Normandy was safely landed at, and began to fortify himself in Hastings, with which tidings being no way dashed, as fearing nothing after his late victory, he forthwith marched towards him, and as soon as he was arrived in Suffex, without any consideration of the fatigue his army had underwent in their march, bid William battle. The Duke dividing his army into five battalions, made a long harrangue to his soldiers, wherein he repeated and commended the noble acts of their ancestors the Danes and Norwegians, who had perpetually vanquished the English and French, and other nations, as many as they had to do with; how that themselves being well horsed and armed, were now to engage with a people void of both, who had no other defence to trust to, than the nimbleness and swiftness of their heels. Both armies being joined upon the fourteenth day of October, Duke William after some hours engaging ordered his army so to retire, as if they seemed to fly, which the English perceiving, broke their ranks in haste of pursuing the supposed chace, which falling out according to the Duke's expectation, he sent in a fresh supply of Normans, who falling upon the confused battalions of the English, easily overcame them, and Harold receiving first a wound by an arrow, were at length slain, and then both the field and the victory were left to the Normans. The day being thus won, William from this time called the Conqueror, went straight to London, where he was received with all possible formality, and upon Christmas-day solemnly crowned king of England. This change and alteration in England, was afore prognosticated by a comet which appeared in the spring of this year, upon which a certain poet made the following verses;

*Anno milleno sexageno quoque seno,
 Anglorum metæ flammæ censere cometæ.*

King William having established himself in the crown of England, passed over the next year to Normandy, so to settle affairs there, as afterwards they might have no need of his presence. In the mean while Edgar Edeling taking advantage of his absence, returned from Scotland to York, being declared king by the inhabitants of the country, who had already slain Robert, upon whom William had bestowed that earldom with nine hundred of his men. But the king upon his return from Normandy, presently marched to the North, and having sufficiently revenged himself upon the inhabitants, by wasting and destroying their country, chased Edgar to Scotland again. The like advantage Edric Sylvaticus the son of Alfric Earl of Mercia embraced, who refusing to own any submission to the conqueror, took the opportunity of his departure to Normandy to fall foul upon such as were appointed vicegerents and governors of the kingdom in his absence. Whereupon Richard Fitzscope governor of the castle of Hereford, with the forces under his command so bitterly gauled him, by wasting and consuming his lands, and carrying off the goods of his tenants, that he was compelled to desire aid of Blethyn and Rywalhon princes of Wales, by whose help, to recompence the loss he had received, he passed into Hereford, and after that he had over-run and pillaged the country to Wyebridge, returned back with exceeding great booty. But no sooner were Blethyn and Rywalhon arrived in North Wales, but they received news of a rebellion raised against them by Meredith and Ithel the sons of Gruffydh ap Lhwelyn, who had drawn together a considerable number of men, upon pretence of recovering the principality of North Wales, which they said was fraudulently detained from them. Blethyn and Rywalhon did not delay to march to find the enemies, and meeting with them at a place called Mechain, without any farther ceremonies, set upon the rebels, who behaved themselves so gallantly, that after a fight of several hours, they wanted nothing but number to compleat the victory. There fell in this battle on the one side

Prince Rywalhon, and on the other Ithel, who being slain, Meredith was forced to give ground, and endeavour to save himself by flight, which could not secure him, he being narrowly pursued by Blethyn, that in fine, he was glad to escape to the mountains, where for want of victuals and other necessaries, he quickly perished, leaving Blethyn ap Confyn sole Prince of North Wales and Powis. During these Welch disturbances, Swane king of Denmark, and Osburn, his brother with three hundred sail came up the Humber, and being joined by Edgar Edeling and Earl Waltelfe, marched to York, and taking the castle disposed of their forces to winter-quarters, betwixt the rivers of Ouse and Trent. The king understanding the matter, posted to the North; whose coming so dashed the confederates, that they quickly dispersed their power, and the Danes escaped to their ships, and the king having taken vengeance upon the rebellious inhabitants of the country, and upon his submission, having pardoned Earl Waltelfe, returned back to London.

BLETHYN AP CONFYN.

ABOUT the same time Caradoc son to Gruffydh ap Rhytherch ap Iestyn all this while being sorely dissatisfied that he could not attain to the principality of South Wales, invited over a great number of Normans, to whom he joined all the forces he could raise out of Gwentland, and other parts of Wales. Then setting upon Prince Meredith who was far too weak to encounter so considerable an army, gave him an easy overthrow near the river Rymhy, where Meredith was slain, and so Caradoc obtained the government of South Wales, which for a long time he had endeavoured sinistrously to encompass. He had sometime afore procured Harold to make an invasion upon

upon Gruffydh ap Llewelyn, purposely that himself might arrive at the principality of South Wales; and failing then of his expectation, he now invites over the Normans, not being willing to trust the English any more, by reason that he had so ungratefully been baulked by Harold: so that it seems he cared not by what course, or by whose means he should gain his point; though it were by the ruin and destruction of his country, which hitherto he had earnestly promoted. Being at length advanced to his long expected government of South Wales, (which though not recorded, seems yet very probable, by reason that his son Rhytherch ap Caradoc enjoyed the same very soon after) he did not enjoy this honour long, but dying in a short time after his advancement, left to succeed him, his son Rytherch ap Caradoc. At the same time that Caradoc carried on this rebellion in Wales, the Earls Edwyn, Marcher, and Hereward revolted from the king of England; but Edwyn suspecting the success of their affairs, and determining to retire to Malcolm king of Scotland in his journey thither was betrayed, and slain by his own followers. Then Marcher and Hereward betook themselves to the Isle of Ely, which though sufficiently fortified, was so warmly besieged by the king, that Marcher and his accomplices were in a short time forced to surrender themselves up prisoners; only Hereward made his escape to Scotland: but the king followed him so close; and after he had received homage of Malcolm king of Scotland, returned back to England; and after a short stay here, passed over to Normandy, where he received Edgar Edeling again to mercy.

The next year, the Normans having already tasted A. D. 1071. of the sweetness of wasting and plundering a country, came over again to Wales; and having spoiled and destroyed Dyfed and the country of Cardigan, returned home with very great spoil; and the following year sailed over again for more booty. About the same time, Bleythyd bishop of St. David's died, and was succeeded by one Sulien. But this was not all the misfortune that befel the Welch; for Radulph Earl

Of the East Angles, together with Roger Earl of Hereford and Earl Waltelpe, entered into a conspiracy against King William, appointing the day of marriage between Radulph and Roger's sister, which was to be solemnized in Essex; to treat of and conclude their design. Radulph's mother was come out of Wales, and upon that account, he invited over several of her friends and relations to the wedding; meaning chiefly by this seeming affection, by their help and procurement to bring over the princes and people of Wales, to favour and assist his undertaking. But King William being acquainted with the whole plot, quickly ruined all their intrigues; unexpectedly coming from Normandy surpris'd the conspirators; only Radulph, who either doubted of the success of their affairs, or else had intimation given him of the king's landing, before hand took shipping at Norwich, and fled to Denmark. Waltelpe and Roger were executed, and all the other adherents; more particularly the Welch, some of whom were hanged, others had their eyes put out, and the rest were banished. Soon after, Blethyn ap Confyn Prince of Wales was basely and treacherously murdered by Rhys ap Owen ap Edwyn and the gentlemen of Yftrad Tywy, after he had reigned thirteen years: a prince of singular qualifications and virtues, and a great observer of justice and equity towards his subjects; he was very liberal and magnificent, being indeed very able, having a prodigious and almost an incredible estate, as appears by these verses made upon him;

*Blethyn ap Confyn bôb Cwys
Ei hŷn bioedh hên Bowis.*

He had four wives, by whom he had issue, Meredith by Haer daughter of Gylhyn, his first wife; Lhywarch and Cadogan by the second; Madoc and Riryd by the third; and Iorwerth by his last.

TRAHAERN AP CARADOC.

BLETHYN being, as is said, traiterously murdered, there was no regard had to his issue, as to their right of succession; but Trahaern ap Caradoc his cousin-german being a person of great power and sway in the country was unanimously elected Prince of North Wales, and Rhys ap Owen with Rytherch ap Caradoc did jointly govern South Wales. Trahaern indeed had none of the least pretence to that principality, as having married Nest the only surviving issue of that great prince, Gruffydh ap Lhewelyn; his two sons Meredith and Ithel being lately slain in their attempt against Blethyn and Rywalhon. But his title could not secure him in his government as much as his possession, since there was one still living, though much regarded, who without any dispute, was true heir and proprietor of the principality of North Wales. And this was Gruffydh son to Conan, son to Iago ap Edwal, who being informed of the death of Blethyn ap Confyn, and the advancement of Trahaern, thought this a proper time to endeavour the recovery of what was truly his right, and out of which he had been all this time most wrongfully excluded. Wherefore having obtained help in Ireland, where he privately sojourned during the reign of Blethyn ap Confyn, from Encumalhon king of Ultonia, Ranalht and Mathawn two other kings of that country, he sailed for Wales, and landed in the isle of Anglesey, which he easily reduced and brought to subjection. At the same time Cynwric ap Rywalhon, a nobleman of Maeler or Bromfield was slain in North Wales, but how, or upon what account, is not known. But whilst Gruffydh ap Conan endeavours to dispossess Trahaern out of North Wales, Gronow and Lhewelyn the sons of Cadwgan ap Blethyn having united their forces

forces with Caradoc ap Gruffydh ap Rýtherch, intended to revenge the murder of their grandfather Blethyn ap Confyn, upon Rys ap Owen and Rytherch ap Caradoc, the joint rulers of South Wales. And then marching confidently to find them, both armies met together and fought at a place called Camdhwyr; where after a fore engagement, the sons of Cadwgan at length obtained a glorious victory. In North Wales the same time, Gruffydh ap Conan having established his possession of the isle of Anglesey, intended to proceed farther in the continent of Wales; to which end, having transported his forces over the river, encamped in the neighbouring country of Carnarvonshire, purposing to reduce North Wales by degrees. Trahaern ap Caradoc being informed of this descent of Gruffydh's, made all possible speed to prevent his farther progress; and having made all necessary preparations that the shortness of the opportunity would permit, he drew up his forces to Bron yr Erw, where he gave Gruffydh battle, and in fine put him to a shameful flight; so that he was glad to retire back safe to Anglesey.

A.D. 1074.

The next year Rytherch ap Caradoc Prince of South Wales died, being murdered through the unnatural villainy of his cousin-german Meyrchaon ap Rhys ap Rytherch; after whom Rhys ap Owen obtained the sole government of South Wales: but his enjoyment of the whole principality was not very lasting, and scarce at all void of trouble and vexation of war.

1075.

For shortly after the death of Caradoc, the sons of Cadwgan thinking they might easily now foil and vanquish one, seeing they had some time ago victoriously overcome both princes together, with all the forces they could raise, set upon Rhys again at a place called Gwanyffyd; who not being able to endure their number, was routed and forced to flee; however the blow was not so mortal, but that Rhys gathered together new levies, by the help of which he was emboldened still to maintain himself in his principality. But Fortune which had advanced him to the crown, seemed now to frown at and cross all his endeavours and undertakings

ings and being reduced to a very weak condition in the late battle, he was set upon by a fresh enemy, before he could have sufficient time to recover and recruit himself. For Trahaern ap Caradoc Prince of North Wales, perceiving the weakness and inability of Rhys to make opposition against any foreign enemy that invaded his territories, thought it now very feasible to obtain the conquest of South Wales, and then to annex it to his own principality of North Wales. Being egged on by these pleasant imaginations, he dispatched his army to South Wales, to fight with Rhys, who with all the forces he could possibly levy, as laying his whole fortune upon the event of this battle, boldly met him at Pwlhgwttic; where after a tedious fight on both sides, Rhys having lost the best part of his army, was put to flight, and so warmly pursued, that after long shifting from place to place, himself with his brother Howel fell at length into the hands of Caradoc ap Gruffydh, who put them both to death, in revenge of the base murder of Blethyn ap Confyn, by them formerly transacted. The principality of South Wales being thus vacant by the death of Rhys ap Owen; Rhys son to Theodore, ap Eineon, ap Owen, ap Howel Dha, as lawful heir to that government, put in his claim, which being very plain and evident, so prevailed with the people of the country, that they unanimously elected him for their prince; much against the expectation of Trahaern ap Caradoc Prince of North Wales. The next year St. David's suffered greatly by strangers, who landing there in a considerable number, A. D. 1077. spoiled and destroyed the whole town; shortly after which barbarous action, Abraham bishop of that see died; and then Sulien, who the year before had relinquished and resigned up that bishoprick, was compelled to resume it.

The government of all Wales both North and South, had been now for a long time supplied by usurpers, and forcibly detained from the right and legal inheritors; but Providence would suffer injustice to reign no longer, and therefore restored the rightful heirs to their principalities. Rhys ap Theodore had
actual

actual possession of South Wales; and there wanted no more at this time, but to bring in Gruffydh ap Conan to the principality of North Wales; both these princes being indisputably right and lawful heirs to their respective governments, as lineally descended from Roderic the Great, who was legal proprietor of all Wales. Gruffydh ap Conan had already reduced the isle of Anglesey, but not being able to levy a sufficient army from thence to oppose Trahaern, he invited over a great party of Irish and Scots, and then with his whole army joined with Rhys ap Theodore Prince of South Wales. Trahaern in like manner associating to himself Caradoc ap Gruffydh and Mailyr the sons of Rywalhon ap Gwyn his cousins-german, the greatest and most powerful men then in Wales, drew up his forces together, with resolution to fight them. Both armies meeting upon the mountains of Curno, a terrible and cruel battle ensued presently thereupon; which proved the more fierce and bloody, by reason that both parties resolutely referred their whole fortune to the success of their arms; and life would prove vain if the day was lost. But after a dismal fight on both sides, the victory fell at last to Gruffydh and Rhys, Trahaern with his cousins being all slain in the field; after whose death Gruffydh took possession of North Wales; and so the rule of all Wales, after a tedious interval, was again restored to the right line. About the same time, Urogeny ap Sitylht, a person of noble quality in Wales, was treacherously murdered by the sons of Rhys Sais, or the Englishman; by which name, the Welch were accustomed to denominate all persons, as either had lived any considerable time in England, or could fluently and handsomely speak the English tongue.

GRUFFYDH

GRUFFYD H A P C O N A N.

GRUFFYD H ap Conan being confirmed in the principality of North Wales, and Rhys ap Theodore in that of South Wales; there was no body that could create them any molestation or disturbance upon the account of right, which was unquestionably just; so that they quietly enjoyed for some time their respective dominions, without apprehension of any other pretender. Indeed, it had seldom been known before, but that one of the princes was an usurper; and particularly in North Wales, where from the time of Edwal Foel, none had legally ascended to the crown, excepting Edwal the son of Meyric, eldest son to Edwal Foel, in whose line the undoubted title of North Wales lawfully descended. And the right line being now restored in Gruffydh ap Conan, the same legally continued to Lhewelyn ap Gruffydh, the last Prince of the British blood. But during these revolutions in Wales, some things memorable were transacted in England; Malcolm king of the Scots descending into Northumberland, ravaged and destroyed the country without mercy, carrying away a great number of prisoners; after which the Northumbrians fell upon Walter bishop of Durham, whom they slew, together with a hundred men, whilst he sat keeping of court, not dreaming of any such treacherous villainy. The same time Robert Curthoys the Bastard's eldest son, being for some reason disgusted against his father, and set on by the instigation of the king of France, entered Normandy with an army, and claimed it as his right; which King William being acquainted with, passed over to Normandy, and meeting with his son hand to hand in battle, was by him overthrown. But being returned from Normandy, he entered with a great army into Wales, and marching after the man-

ner of a pilgrimage as far as St. David's, he offered and paid his devotion to that saint, and afterwards received homage of the kings and princes of the country. About the same time the tomb of Walwey king Arthur's sister's son, a most valiant person in his time, and governor of that country, from him called Walwethey, was discovered in the country of Ros, nigh the sea-shore, whose body proved monstrously prodigious, being in length about fourteen foot.

A. D. 1086. This year Madawc, Cadwgan and Riryd, the sons of Blethyn ap Confnyn some time Prince of Wales, raised a rebellion against Rhys ap Tewdor; and having drawn together a great number of licentious and malecontented people, thought to eject him out of the principality of South Wales. Rhys had not power and forces enough to oppose them; the rebels' army increasing daily by the addition of the discontented multitude, who always rejoice at any new commotion or disturbance; and therefore he was compelled to retire to Ireland, where he obtained a very considerable party of Irish and Scots, upon promise of a sufficient reward, in case he was restored again to his principality. Having by this measure got a very sensible increase to his former strength, he landed in South Wales; the news of whose arrival being blazed abroad, his friends from all quarters presently retired to him; so that in a short time his army became numerous, and able to confront the enemy. The rebels were sensible how the Prince's forces daily multiplied, and therefore to prevent any farther addition, they made all possible haste to force him to a battle, which in a short time after happened at Lhech y Creu, where the rebels were vanquished; Madawc and Riryd being slain, and Cadwgan glad to save his life by flight. Rhys having won so signal a victory, and fearing no farther disturbance dismissed the Irish and Scots with great rewards, who honourably returned to their own country. Within a while after, an unaccountable sacrilege was committed at St. David's; the shrine belonging to the cathedral, being feloniously conveyed out of the church, all the plate and other utensils were

were stolen, and only the shrine left empty behind. The same year a civil war broke out in England, and several armies in several parts of the kingdom were up in arms at the same time, and among the rest the Welch, who entering into Gloucester and Worcester shires, burnt and destroyed all before them, to the gate of Worcester. The king having drawn his army together, proceeded against his enemies by degrees, and falling upon their separate parties, without any great difficulty, reduced all to obedience. With-A. D. 1089. in two years after, Archbishop Sulien, the most pious and learned person in Wales, died, in the eightieth year of his age, and in the sixteenth year of his bishoprick; presently after whose death the town of St. David's suffered a more sensible calamity, being first plundered, and afterwards burnt by a company of pyrates, who sorely infested the British coasts. About the same time also died Cadifor the son of Calhoyn Lord of Dyfed, whose sons Lhwelyn and Eineon moved Gruffydh ap Meredith to take up arms against his sovereign Prince Rhys ap Tewdor, with whom they joined all the forces they could levy among their tenants and dependants; then passing with their army to Lhandydoch, boldly challenged Rhys to fight; who thereupon gave them battle, and after a resolute engagement of both sides, the rebels were at length worsted, and put to flight, and then so narrowly pursued, that Gruffydh ap Meredith was taken prisoner, and in fine executed as a traitor: but Eineon made his escape, and not daring to trust himself with any of his own kindred, he fled to Iestyn ap Gurgant, Lord of Morgannwc, who was then in actual rebellion against Prince Rhys. And to ingratiate himself the more in Iestyn's favour, he promised, upon condition of the performance of certain articles, one of which more especially was, That he should receive his daughter in matrimony; that he would bring over to his aid a considerable body of Normans, with whom he was singularly acquainted, as having served a long time in England. These articles being agreed to and recorded, Eineon posted to England, and in a little time

time brought matters so about, that he prevailed with Robert Fitzhamon and twelve more knights, to levy a strong army of Normans, and to come to Wales to the protection and aid of Iestyn. The beginning of the following year they landed in Glamorganshire; and were honourably received by Iestyn, who joining his power to theirs, marched to Prince Rhys's dominions; where, without the least shew of mercy to his own countrymen, he encouraged the Normans, by his own example, to spoil and destroy all that came before them. Prince Rhys was mightily grieved to find his country so unmercifully harassed; and though at this time very antient, being above ninety-eight years of age, he could not refrain but meet his enemies; and having with all possible speed raised a convenient army; he met with them near Brecknock, where after a terrible fight, and a great slaughter on both sides, he was unhappily slain. With him fell the glory and grandeur of the principality of South Wales, being afterwards rent in pieces, and divided into several parts and piece-meals among the Norman captains, as shall be by and by more particularly related. Prince Rhys left issue behind him by the daughter of Rywalhon ap Confn, two sons, Gruffydh and Grono, the latter of which was detained prisoner by the king of England; though the author of the winning of the lordship of Glamorgan, affirms, that he was slain, together with his father, in this battle against the Normans.

The Normans having received a sufficient reward from Iestyn, upon the account of their service against Prince Rhys, returned to their ships, in order to their voyage homeward. But before they could loose anchor to sail off, Eineon recalled them, being ungratefully affronted by Iestyn, who absolutely refused to make good to him the conditions which they had agreed upon, before the Normans were invited to Wales. Upon this account, Eineon was so irreconcilably incensed against Iestyn, that to be revenged upon him, he was willing to sacrifice his native country into the hands of strangers; and therefore endeavoured to persuade the Normans concerning the fatness and fertility

fertility of the country, and how easily they might conquer and make themselves masters of it. But he needed not many arguments to persuade a people that were willing of themselves, especially being encouraged thereto by a person of some esteem in the country; whereupon, without any more questions, they presently fell to their business; and from friends became unexpectedly foes. Iestyn was much surpris'd to find the Normans, whom he had but lately honourably dismissed from his service, and as he thought, with satisfaction, so soon become his enemies; but perceiving a serpent in the hedge, and Eineon so amicably great among them, he quickly guessed at the reason, of which there was no other remedy left but to bewail the unnecessary folly of his own knavery. The Normans easily dispossessed Iestyn of the whole lordship of Glamorgan; the most pleasant and fertile part of which they divided among themselves; leaving the more mountainous and craggy ground to the share of Eineon. The knights who accompanied Fitzhamon in this expedition were, William de Londres or London; Richard de Grena villa, or Greenfield; Paganus de Turberville; Robert de S. Quintino, or Quintin; Richard de Sywarde; Gilbert de Humfrevile; Roger de Berkrolles; Reginald de Sully; Peter le Soore; John le Fleming; Oliver de S. John; William de Esterling, or Stradling. These persons having distributed that fair and pleasant lordship among themselves, and considering that they were much better provided for here than they could be at home, settled in Glamorgan, where their posterity have continued to this time. And here we may observe, what a train of circumstances concurred together, in favour of the Normans, having possession of this lordship: for had not Eineon, being vanquished by Prince Rhys, fled to Iestyn, rather than to another; or had not Iestyn been so vain as to attempt the conquest of South Wales, and to that end consented to the advice of Eineon; there had been no necessity of inviting the Normans at all to Wales. And then, the Normans being arrived, had not Iestyn ungentely violated his promise, and refused to perform

the articles agreed upon between him and Eineon; or had not Eineon pursued so desperate revenge, but satisfied his passion upon Iestyn, without prejudice to his country; the Normans would have returned home with satisfaction, and consequently could never have been proprietors of that noble country they then forcibly possessed. And now again the Welch experienced the dangerous consequence of calling in a foreign nation to their aid; the Saxons had already dispossessed them of the best part of the island of Britain, and now the Normans seized upon a great part of that small country, which had escaped the sovereignty and conquest of the English. But here it will be necessary to lay down the state and condition of this lordship of Morgannwc or Glamorgan, and what share each particular knight obtained in the distribution of it.

The lordship of Glamorgan reaches in length twenty-seven miles, even from Rymny bridge to the east, to Pwlh Conan westward; and in breadth from Aberthaw, otherwise Aberdaon on the south part, to the confines of Brecknockshire above Morley's castle, twenty-two miles. This being a royal lordship, the lords thereof owing no other subjection than obedience only to the crown, assumed to themselves all the privileges of a regal court, excepting only the pardoning of criminals in case of treason. And not only Glamorgan, but the several petty lordships of which it consisted, namely, Sengennyth, Myfcyn, Ruthin, Lhanblethian, Tir Iarlh, Glyn Rothney, Avan, Neth, Coyty, Talavan, and Lantuit or Boviarton; exercised the same privilege of Jura Regalia, with this difference only, that in case of wrong judgment in these courts, appeal might be made in the county-court of Glamorgan, which being superior to the rest, had power to reverse any judgment given in them. Within this lordship were eighteen castles, and thirty-six knight's fees; besides the town and castle of Kynfig, the town of Cowbridge or Pont Vaen, and the town and castle of Caerdaf; in the latter of which the lord of Glamorgan chiefly resided

sided, wherein the county-court was monthly kept. The annual revenue of this lordship amounted to a thousand marks; whereof four hundred was allowed for the fees and salary of the several officers belonging to the same. This lordship of Glamorgan Robert Fitzhamon kept to himself; and the others he distributed between his several followers; namely, to William de Londres he gave the castle and manor of Ogmor: to Richard Greenfield the lordship of Neth; to Paine Turberville that of Coyty; to Robert S. Quintine Lhan Blethyan; to Richard Syward Talavan; to Gilbert Humfrevile the castle and manor of Penmarc; to Reginald Sully the castle and manor of Sully; to Roger Berkrolles that of East Orchard; to Peter le Soor that of Peterton; to John Fleming that of S. George; to John S. John that of Fonmon or Fenvon; and lastly, to William le Esterling or Stradling that of S. Donats. But that these knights should have dependance upon, and might seem to hold their several lordships and estate from him; Robert Fitzhamon appointed them their several apartments in his castle of Caerdaf, where they were obliged to give their attendance at every court-day, which was monthly kept upon Monday.

But about the same time that Robert Fitzhamon took the lordship of Glamorgan, Barnard Newmarch, a nobleman likewise of Normandy, obtained by conquest the lordship of Brecknock; and Henry de Newburgh son to Roger de Bellemont, by the Conqueror made Earl of Warwick, the country of Gower. But Barnard Newmarch gave the people of Wales some small satisfaction and content, by marrying Nest, the daughter also of Nest, daughter to Lhewelyn ap Gruffydh Prince of Wales, by whom he had issue, a son called Mahael. This worthy gentleman being legally to succeed his father in the lordship of Brecknock, was afterwards disinherited by the malice and baseness of his own unnatural mother. The occasion was thus, Nest happening to fall in admiration of a certain knight, with whom she had more than ordinary familiarity, even beyond what she exprest to her own

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husband;

husband; Mahael perceiving her dissolute and loose behaviour, counselled her to take care of her fame and reputation, and to leave off that scandalous liberty which she took: and afterwards meeting casually her gallant coming from her, fought and grievously wounded him. Upon this Nest to be revenged upon her son, went to Henry the first, king of England, and in his presence took her corporal oath, that her son Mahael was illegitimate, and not begot by Barnard Newmarch her husband, but another person; by virtue of which oath or rather perjury, Mahael was disinherited, and his sister, whom her mother attested to be legitimate, was bestowed by the king upon Milo, the son of Walter Constable, afterward Earl of Hereford, who in right of his wife enjoyed the whole estate of Barnard Newmarch lord of Brecknock. Of this Milo it is reported, that telling King Henry of a strange accident which had occurred to him by Lhyn Savathan in Wales, where the birds upon the pond at the passing by of Gruffydh the son of Rhys ap Theodor, seemed by their chirping to be in a manner overjoyed; the king replied, It was not so wonderful; for although, says he, manifestly we have violently and injuriously oppressed that nation, yet it is known, that they are the lawful and original inheritors of that country.

But whilst the Normans were thus carving for themselves in Glamorgan and Brecknock, Cadogan ap Blethyn ap Consyn towards the end of April entered into Dyved, and having ravaged and destroyed the country, returned back. But within eight weeks after, there succeeded him a more fatal enemy; for the Normans landing in Dyved and Cardigan, began to fortify themselves in castles and other strong places, and to inhabit the country upon the sea-shore, which before was not in their possession. Indeed the Normans having by the connivance of the Conqueror already got into their hands all the best estates in England, began now to spy out the commodities of Wales; and perceiving moreover how bravely Robert Fitzhamon and Barnard Newmarch had sped there, thought they

they might as well expect the like fortune. Wherefore having obtained a grant from King William (who readily consented to their request, because by this means he killed two birds with one stone, procured to himself their utmost service upon occasion, and withal provided for them without any charge to himself) they came to Wales, and so entered upon the estates appointed them by the king, which they held of him by knight-service, having first done homage and sworn fealty for the same. Roger Montgomery Earl of Arundel did homage for the lordships of Powis and Cardigan; Hugh Lupus Earl of Chester for Tegengl and Ryfonioc, together with all the land lying upon the sea-shore to the river Conwey; Arnulph a younger son of Roger Montgomery for Dyved; Barnard Newmarch for Brecknock; Ralph Mortimer for Eluel; Hugh de Lacy for the land of Ewyas; Eustace Omer for Mold and Hapredale; and several others did the like homage for other lands. But Roger Montgomery, who by the Conqueror was created Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, entered in an hostile manner into Powis-land, and having won the castle and town of Baldwyn, fortified it in his own right, and called it Montgomery after his own name. King William of England was now in Normandy, and busily engaged in a war against his brother Robert; by the advantage of whose absence, Gruffydh ap Conan Prince of North Wales, and Cadogan ap Blethyn, who now ruled in South Wales, with joint force entered into Cardigan and slew a great number of Normans, whose pride and excessive cruelties towards the Welch, were altogether intolerable. But after sufficient execution there, being returned home, the Normans sent for more aid from England; which being arrived, they thought to make a private in-road into North Wales, and so to be revenged upon the Welch. But their design being happily discovered to Cadogan, he drew up his forces to meet them, and then unexpectedly setting upon them in the forest of Yspys, after a very warm resistment of the Normans side, forced them to retire by flight, and then triumphantly marching through Cardigan and

Dyved, he destroyed all the castles and fortifications in the country, besides Pembrock and Rydcors, which proved too strong, and impregnable.

A. D. 1093.

The next year the Normans who inhabited the country of Glamorgan fell upon and destroyed the countries of Gwyr, Kidwely, and Yftrad Tywy, which they harrassed in such a cruel manner, that they left them bare of any people to inhabit. And to increase as it was thought, the miseries of the Welch, King William Rufus being informed of the great slaughter which Gruffydh ap Conan, and the sons of Blethyn ap Confyn had lately committed upon the English, as well within Cheshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire, as within Wales; entered the country at Montgomery, which place the Welch having sometime since demolished, King William lately rebuilt. But the Welch kept all the passages through the woods and rivers, and all other streights so close, that the King could effect nothing considerable against them; and therefore when he perceived that his labour was but lost, in continuing in those parts, he forthwith decamped, and returned with no great honour back to England. But this retreat of King William was not altogether so favourable to the interest of the Welch, as the death of William Fitz-Baldwyn, who was owner of the castle of Rydcors, and did the greatest mischief and hurt to the South Wales men of any other. He being dead, the garrison of Rydcors which was wont to keep the Welch in continual awe, forsook that place, and by that means gave opportunity to the inhabitants of Gwyr, Brecknock, Gwent, and Gwentlhw, to shake off that intolerable yoke the Normans forced upon them, who after they had robbed them of their lands, kept them in perpetual subjection. But now William Fitz Baldwin being dead, and the garrison of Rydcors scattered, they ventured to lay violent hands upon the Normans, who thought themselves free from all fear; and prevailed so successfully, that they drove them all out of the country, and recovered their own antient estates. But the Normans liked that country so well, that they were resolved not

1094.

to be so easily befooled out of what they had with a great deal of pains and danger once possessed; and therefore having drawn a great number of English and Normans to their aid, they were desirous to venture another touch with the Welch, and to return if possible, to their once acquired habitations. But the Welch so abhorred their pride and tyrannical dominion over them when they were masters, that they were resolved not to be subject to such tyrants again; and therefore they boldly met them at a place called Celly Iarfawc, and set upon them so manfully, the very apprehension of servitude whetting their spirits, that they put them to flight with great slaughter, and drove them out of the country. The Normans however were not so absolutely routed with this overthrow: but like a fly in the night which destroys itself in the candle, they must needs covet their own destruction; their greediness egging them on to venture with few, what was not practicable to be effected by many. Therefore on they came as far as Brecknock, with this absolute vow and resolution not to leave one living thing remaining in that country. But they fell short of their policy, the people of the country being removed to a narrow streight, to expect their passing through; whither the Normans being advanced, they fell upon them, and killed a great number of them. About the same time, Roger Montgomery Earl of Salop and Arundel, William Fitzauface Earl of Gloucester, Arnold de Harecourt, and Neal le Vicount, were slain by the Welch between Caerdaf and Brecknock; and Walter Eureux Earl of Sarum, Rosmer, and Mantilake; Hugh earl of Gourney, were wounded, who afterwards died in Normandy. The Normans finding that they continually lost ground, thought it not adviseable to stay any longer; and therefore having placed sufficient garrisons in those castles which they had formerly built, they returned with what speed they could to England. But all the haste they did make, could not secure them from the fury of the Welch; for Gruffydh and Ifor, the sons of Ednerth

ap Cadogan, expected them privately at a place called Aberllech, where falling unexpectedly upon them; they slew the greatest part of their number, the rest narrowly escaping safe to England. But the Norman garrisons which were left behind, defended themselves with a great deal of bravery, till at last, finding no prospect of relief, they were forced for their own safety to deliver them up to the Welch, who from that time, became again proprietors of those places which the Normans had dispossessed them from. And this encouraged the Welch to undertake other things against the English; for immediately after this, certain of the nobility of North-Wales, Uchthed the son of Edwyn ap Grono by name, together with Howel ap Grono, and the sons of Cadogan ap Blethyn of Powys-land, passed by Cardigan into Dyved (which country King William had given to Arnulph son to Roger Montgomery, who had built thereon the castle of Pembrock, and appointed Gerald de Windfore governour of the same) and destroying all the country with fire and sword, excepting Pembrock castle, which was impregnable, they returned home with a great deal of booty. In recompence of this, when the lords of North-Wales were returned, Gerald issued out of the castle, and spoiled all the country about S. Davids; and after he had got sufficient plunder, and taken divers prisoners returned back into the castle.

A. D. 1095. The year following, King William returned from Normandy, and having heard how that the Welch had cut off a great number of his subjects in Wales, gathered all his power together, and with great pomp and ostentation entered the marshes, resolving utterly to eradicate the rebellious and implacable humour of the Welch nation. But after all this boast and seeming resolution, he durst venture no farther than the marshes, where having built some few castles, he returned with no greater honour than he came. But the next Spring, Hugh de Montgomery earl of Arundel and Salop, by the Welch
named

named Hugh Goch, and Hugh Fras, or the Fat, Earl of Chester, being invited by some disaffected Welch lords, came into North-Wales with a very great army. Prince Gruffydh ap Conan, and Cadogan ap Blethyn, perceiving themselves to be too weak to oppose so numerous an army, and what was worse, being very suspicious of the fidelity and honesty of their own forces, thought it their best way to take the hills and mountains for their safety, where they were like to remain most secure from the enemy. Then the English army marched towards Anglesey, and being come over against the island, they built the castle of Aberlhiennawc. But Gruffydh and Cadogan could no longer endure to see their country over-run by the English, and therefore they descended from the mountains, and came to Anglesey, thinking, with what succours they should receive from Ireland, of which they were disappointed, to be able to defend the island from any attempt that should be made upon it. And now the whole reason, and the occasion of the English coming to Wales was discovered; for Owen ap Edwyn, the Prince's chiefest counsellor, whose daughter Gruffydh had married (having himself also married Everyth the daughter of Confynd, aunt to Cadogan) upon some private grudge or other, called in the English into Wales, and at this time openly joined his forces with theirs, and led the whole army over into Anglesey. Gruffydh and Cadogan finding how they were betrayed by their dearest friend, as they thought; for fear of farther treachery, judged it prudent to sail privately for Ireland; after whose departure, the English fell cruelly to work, destroying all they could come at, without any respect to either age or sex.

And whilst the English continued in Anglesey, Magnus the son of Harold, lately King of England, came over with a great fleet, intending to lay faster hold upon that kingdom, than his father had done, and to recover the same to himself. But whilst he steered his course thitherward, he was driven by contrary winds to the coasts of Anglesey, where he would fain
have

- have landed, had not the English army kept him off. But in this skirmish Magnus accidentally wounded Hugh Earl of Salop with an arrow in the face, whereof he died; and then of a sudden both armies relinquished the island, the English returning to England, appointing Owen ap Edwyn, who invited them over, prince of the country. But Owen did not enjoy the principality long; for in the beginning of the following spring, Gruffydh ap Conan and Cadogan ap Blethyn returned from Ireland, and having concluded a peace with the Normans, for some part of their lands in Wales; Gruffydh remained in Anglesey, and Cadogan had Cardigan, with part of Powis. But though Cadogan recovered his estate, yet in a little while after he lost his son Lhewelyn, who was treacherously murdered by the men of Brecknock: at which time also died Rythmarch archbishop of S. David's, the son of Sulien, being in the forty-third year of his age; a man of the greatest piety, wisdom, and learning, as had flourished a long time in Wales, excepting his father, under whose tutelage he was educated. The year following, King William Rufus, as he was hunting in the new forrest, was accidentally slain with an arrow, which one Walter Tyrrel shot at a stag; and his eldest brother being then engaged in the holy war, Henry his younger brother, whom in his life-time he had nominated his successor, was crowned in his stead. The same year, Hugh Earl of Chester, Grono ap Cadogan, and Gwyn ap Gruffydh departed this life.
1100. About two years after, a rebellion broke out in England; Robert de Belesmo, the son of Roger de Montgomery Earl of Salop, and Arnulph his brother Earl of Pembrock, took up arms against king Henry; which he being informed of, sent them a very gracious message to come before him, and declare their grievances, and the reason of their rising up in arms against his Majesty. But the Earls instead of appearing in person, sent him slight and frivolous excuses, and in the mean while made all necessary preparations for the war, both by raising of forces, and fortifying

fortifying their castles and strong holds. And to strengthen themselves the more, they sent rich presents, and made large promises to Iorwerth, Cadogan, and Meredith, the sons of Blethyn ap Confyn; for to bring them to their side. Robert fortified four castles, namely, Arundel, Tekinhil, Shrewsbury, and Brugge; which last, by reason that Robert built it without the consent of the king, was the chief occasion of this war; and Arnulph fortified his castle at Pembrock. After this, they entered in an hostile manner into the territories of the king of England, wasting and destroying all before them. And to augment their strength, Arnulph sent Gerald his steward, to Murkart King of Ireland, desiring his daughter in wedlock; which was easily granted, with the promise too of great succours and large supplies. King Henry, to put a stop to their bold adventures, marched in person against them; and laying siege to the castle of Arundel, won it without any great opposition; and quickly afterwards the castle of Tekinhill; but that of Brugge, by reason of the situation of the place, and the depth of the ditch about it, seemed to require longer time and harder service; and therefore King Henry was advised to send privately to Iorwerth ap Blethyn, promising him great rewards if he forsook the earl's part, and came over to him; urging to him, what mischief Roger, earl Robert's father, and his brother Hugh, had continually done to the Welch-men. And to make him the more willing to accept of his proposals, he promised to give him all such lands as the earl and his brother had in Wales, without either tribute or homage; which was a part of Powys, Cardigan, and half Dyfed; the other part being in the possession of William Fitz-Baldwyn. Iorwerth receiving these offers, accepted of them very gladly, and then coming to the king, he sent all his forces to earl Robert's lands, who having received very strict orders, destroyed without mercy every thing they met with; and what made the spoil the greater, earl Robert upon his rebelling against King Henry, had caused his people to convey

vey all their goods to Wales, for fear of the English; not thinking how his father's memory founded among the Welch. But when the News of Iorwerth's revolt reached the ears of the earl, Cadogan and Meredith, Iorwerth's brothers; their spirits began to faint, as despairing any longer to oppose the king, since Iorwerth, who was the person of greatest strength in Wales, had left and forsaken them. Arnulph was gone to Ireland to fetch home his wife, and to bring over what succour his father-in-law, King Murkart, could afford to send him; but he not coming in time, some other method was to be tried, how to get some aid against the English. A little before this rebellion broke out, Magnus, Harold's son, landed the second time in the isle of Anglesey, and being kindly received by Gruffydh ap Conan, he had leave to cut down what timber he had need for; and so returning to the Isle of Man, which he had got by conquest, he built there three castles, and then sent to Ireland to have the daughter of Murkart in marriage to his son, which being obtained, he created him king of Man, earl Robert hearing this, sent to Magnus for aid against king Henry; but receiving none, he thought it now high time to look to his own safety; and therefore he sent to the king, requesting that he might quietly depart the kingdom, in case he should lay down his arms; which the king having granted, he sailed to Normandy. And then king Henry sent an express to his brother Arnulph, requiring him either to follow his brother out of the kingdom, or to deliver himself up to his mercy; and so Arnulph went over also for Normandy. When the king was returned to London, Iorwerth took his brother Meredith prisoner, and committed him to the king's custody; his other brother Cadogan having reconciled himself beforehand, to whom Iorwerth gave Cardigan, with a part of Powys. Then Iorwerth went to London, to put the king in mind of his promise, and the service he had done him against earl Robert; but the king finding now all matters at quiet, was deaf to all

all such remembrances, and instead of promising what he had once voluntarily proposed, against all rules of equity and gratitude, he took away Dyfed from Iorwerth, and gave it to a knight of his own, called Saer; and Stratywy Cydwely, and Gwyr he bestowed upon Howel ap Grono, and sent Iorwerth away more empty than he came: nor was this sufficient reward for his former services; but the next year King Henry must send some of his counsel A. D. 1101. to Shrewsbury, and cite Iorwerth to appear there, under pretence of consulting about the king's business and affairs of those parts. But the plot was laid deeper; and when without any suspicion of treachery he made his appearance, he was surprizedly attainted of high treason, and then contrary to all right and justice actually condemned to perpetual imprisonment; the true reason of this unparalleled severity being, the king feared his strength, and was apprehensive that he would revenge the wrong and affront he received at his hands. And indeed, well had he reason to fear that, when he so ungratefully treated him, whose service he had experienced to be so greatly advantageous to him. But the policy of Princes is unaccountable; and whether to value an eminent person for his service, or to fear him for his greatness, is a subject that frequently disturbs their most settled considerations. But the noblemen that were at this time sent by the king to Shrewsbury, were Richard de Belmersh, who being chief agent about Roger Montgomery earl of Salop, was preferred to the bishoprick of London, and afterwards appointed by this king, to be warden of the marshes, and governour of the county of Salop. With him were joined in company, Walter Constable, the father of Milo, earl of Hereford, and Rayner the king's lieutenant in the county of Salop. About this time, as Bale writes, the church of Menevia or S. Davids, began to be subject to the see of Canterbury, being always afore the metropolitan church of all Wales.

Shortly

A. D. 1102.

Shortly after this, Owen ap Edwyn, who had been author of no small mischief and disturbance to the Welch, in moving the English against his natural prince, and son-in-law Gruffydh ap Conan, departed this life, after a tedious and miserable sickness; of which he was so much the less pitied, by how much he had proved an enemy and a traitor to his native country. He was the son of Grono, by his wife Edelstede the widow of Edmund, surnamed Ironside, king of England; and had the title of Iegengl; though the English, when they had compelled Gruffydh ap Conan to flee to Ireland for safety, constituted him prince of all North Wales. After his death, Richard Fitz-Baldwyn laid siege to, and took the castle of Rydcors, and forcibly drove Howel ap Grono, to whom king Henry had committed the custody of it, out of the country. But Howel quickly returned, and with a high spirit of revenge, began to destroy and burn whatsoever he could meet with, and then meeting a party of the Normans in their return homewards, he fell upon the flank of them with a very considerable slaughter; and so brought all the country to his subjection, excepting some few garrisons and castles which would not surrender to him. The same time King Henry took away from Saer the government of Dyfed, which formerly was Iorwerth ap Blethyn's, and bestowed it upon Gerald, who had been some time earl Arnulph's steward in those parts; and therefore by reason of his knowledge of the country, was in all probability best able to take upon him the management of it. But the Normans in Rydcors castle being sensible that they were not able to effect any thing against Howel ap Grono in open field, after their accustomed manner, began to put that in execution by treachery, which they could not compass by force of arms. And how to make Howel a sacrifice to those Normans he had lately slain, they could find no safer way than by corrupting one Gwgan ap Meyric, a man in great favour and esteem with Howel, upon the account chiefly that one of his children was nursed by Gwgan's wife.

wife. This ungrateful villain, to carry on his wicked intrigue the more unsuspected, gave Howel a very earnest invitation to his house to a merriment, where, without any suspicion of treachery, being come, he was welcomed with all the seeming affection and kindness imaginable. But no sooner was he settled, A. D. 1103. but Gwgan gave notice thereof to the Norman garrisons; and therefore by break of day they entered the town, and coming about the house where Howel lay in bed, they presently gave a great shout. Howel hearing the noise, suspected something of mischief, and therefore leaping in all haste out of bed, he made to his weapons, but could not find them, by reason that Gwgan had conveyed them away whilst he was asleep. And now being assured of treachery in the case, and finding that his men had fled for their lives; he endeavoured all he could to make his escape; but Gwgan and his company were too quick for him; and so being secured, they strangled him, and delivered his body to the Normans, who having cut off his head, conveyed it to the castle of Rycors. This most villainous murder, so barbarously committed upon the king's lieutenant, was not in the least taken notice of; for King Henry was so unreasonably prejudiced in favour of the Normans, that whatever misdemeanor, be it of never so high a nature, was by them committed, it was presently winked at, and let fall to the ground; whereas, if the Welch trespassed but against the least injunction of the king's laws, they were most severely punished: which was the cause that they afterwards stood up against the king in their own defence, being by experience assured, that he minded nothing more than their utter destruction.

About this time Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, convened a synod at London, wherein among other injunctions then decreed, the celibacy of the clergy was enjoined; marriage being before ever allowed of in Britain, to them in holy orders. But this new injunction created a great deal of heat and animosity among the clergy, some approving of it

as reasonable and orthodoxical; others condemning it, as an innovation, and contrary to the plain letter of scripture. But during these disputes between the clergy, king Henry being now in the fifth year of his reign, sailed over with a great army into Normandy, where his brother Robert, together with Robert de Belesmo, Arnulph, and William earl of Mortaign, gave him battle; but the king having obtained the victory, took the duke his brother, with William of Mortaign, prisoners; and carrying them into England, he caused first his brother Robert's eyes to be plucked out, and then condemned them both to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Cardyff.

A. D. 1104. About the same time Meyric and Gruffydh, the sons of Trahaern ap Caradoc were both slain by the means of Owen ap Cadogan ap Blethyn; whose uncle Meredith ap Blethyn, who had been prisoner for a long time in England, now broke open the prison, wherein he was very narrowly confined; and returning to his own country, had his estate restored, which afterwards he quietly enjoyed.

1105. The next year a very dismal and calamitous accident happening in the Low-countries, proved very incommodious and prejudicial to the Welch; for a great part of Flanders being drowned by the overflowing of the sea, the inhabitants were compelled to seek for some other country to dwell in, their own being now covered with water. And therefore a great many being come over to England, they requested of King Henry to assign them some part of his kingdom which was empty and void of inhabitants, where they might settle and plant themselves. The king taking advantage of this charitable opportunity, and being in a manner assured, that these Flemings would be a considerable thorn in the side of the Welch, bestowed upon them very liberally what was not justly in his power to give; and appointed them the country of Ros, in Dyfed or West-Wales, where they continue to this day. But Gerald the king's lieutenant in those parts, was resolved to be afore-hand with them, and rebuilt the castle of Pembrock,

Pembrock, in a place called Congarth Fechan; whither he removed his family and all his goods. But A. D. 1106. here a very unfortunate accident happened to him; for Cadwgan ap Blethyn having prepared a sumptuous feast in the Christmas, invited all the lords to his country-house in Dyfed, and among the rest his son Owen, who lived in Powis. This young gentleman being at his father's house, and hearing Nest the wife of Gerald universally praised for her incomparable beauty, was so smitten with the rumour that went abroad of her, that by all means he must see the lady, who was by all so much admired. And forasmuch as Gwladys, wife to Rhys ap Theodore, and mother to Nest, was the daughter of Rywalhon ap Consyn, cousin-german to Cadwgan his father; under pretence of friendship and relation, he made bold to pay her a visit. But finding the truth far to surpass the fame that went of her, he returned home so inflamed with her charms, that not being able to keep the mastery over himself, he went back again the same night, and being attended by a company of wild, head-strong youths, they privily entered into the castle, and encompassing the chamber about, where Gerald and his wife lay, they set the house on fire. Gerald hearing a noise, would fain go out to know the meaning of such unseasonable disturbance; but his wife fearing some treachery, persuaded him to make as private an escape as he could: and then pulling up a board in the privy, let him go that way. Then returning to her chamber, she would fain assure those notorious youths, that there was no body besides herself and children there; but this being not satisfactory, they forcibly broke in, and having searched every the most private corner, and not finding Gerald, they took his wife and two sons, with a son and a daughter born by a concubine, and carried them away to Powis; having first set fire to the castle, and destroyed the country as they went along, Cadwgan, Owen's father, hearing of what outrageous crime his son had committed, was exceedingly concerned and sorry, chiefly because hereby he was like to incur King Henry's great displeasure; and therefore

he went with all speed to Powis, and desired his son with all intreaties, to send home to Gerald his wife and children, with whatever else he had taken away from him. But Owen was so amourosly inexorable with respect to the woman, that he would by no means part with her; however, upon her request, he was willing to restore Gerald his children back again, which forthwith he performed. But when Richard bishop of London, whom King Henry had constituted Warden of the Marches, being now at Shrewsbury, heard of this, he sent for Ithel and Madoc the sons of Ryryd ap Blethyn, persons of great power and interest in Wales, promising them very considerable rewards, besides the government of the whole country, in case they could bring Owen and his father Cadwgan, either dead or alive, to him, that he might revenge that heinous affront which they had done to the king of England. With them he joined Lhywarch the son of Trahaern ap Caradoc, whose two brethren Owen had slain, and Uchtryd the son of Edwyn; which four undertook to answer effectually the bishop's proposal to them. But when they had united their forces, and began in an hostile manner to destroy the country as they passed along; Uchtryd sent private notice before him, requiring all who were any way desirous of their own safety, to come to him; because no quarters was to be given to any that was found in the country. The people being thus so opportunely forewarned, began to bethink with themselves how they might best avoid so eminent a danger; and thereupon some fled to Arustly, others to Melienyth, some to Stradtywy, and some to Dyfed; but in this latter place they met with very cold welcome; for Gerald, who was then very busy in exercising revenge upon that country, falling in among them, cut off a considerable number of them. The like fate befel them who escaped to Arustly and Melienyth; for Walter bishop of Hereford having raised an army in defence of the town of Caermyrdhyn, before he could come thither, accidentally met with these stragling fugitives, and knowing to what country they belonged to, without any further ceremony, he

fell upon them, and put most of them to the sword. But they who fled to Stradtywy, were gently received by Meredith ap Rytherch, and such as resorted to Uchtryd, were kindly entertained by him; and so he marched with the rest of his confederates to Rydcors castle; it being the general opinion, that it was best to enter the country by night, and to take Cadwgan and Owen his son by surprise. But Uchtryd reflecting upon the difficulty of the country, and how easily they might be entrapped by an ambuscade, dissuaded them from any such nocturnal undertakings; and told them, that it was far more adviseable to enter the country in good order, when the light gave the soldiers opportunity to keep and observe their ranks. But whilst they were thus considering of the most effectual way to carry on their purpose, Owen got a ship at Aberdyfi, bound for Ireland; and escaping thither, avoided the narrow search that was the following day made for them. But when neither father nor son could be found, all the fault was laid upon Uchtryd, who had dissuaded them from falling upon the castle unexpectedly; and therefore all they could do, since their escape, was to burn and destroy the country; which they did effectually, excepting the two sanctuaries of Lhanpadarn and Lhandewi Bresi; out of which however they took several persons who had escaped thither, and carried them away prisoners to their several countries. But Owen, with them who were necessary to the burning of Rydcors castle, being fled into Ireland, desired the umbrage and protection of King Murcart; who received him very gladly, upon the account of their former acquaintance; for Owen, during the war betwixt the Earls of Arundel and Chester, and the Welch, had fled to King Murcart, and brought him very rich presents from Wales, Cadwgan all this while lay privately in Powis; but thinking it impossible to continue there long undiscovered, he adjudged it his wiser way to send to King Henry, and to declare his innocence and abhorrence of that fact which his son had committed. The King was easily persuaded that the old man was guiltless, and wholly ignorant of his

son's crime; and therefore he gave him permission to remain in the country, and to enjoy the town and lands he received by his wife, who was the daughter of a Norman lord, called Pygot de Say. But his lands in Powis were otherwise distributed; for his nephews Madoc and Ithel, finding what circumstances their uncle Cadwgan lay under, upon the account of his son Owen; they divided betwixt themselves such lands as he and his son possessed in Powis, though afterwards they could never agree about the equal distribution of it. To counterbalance this, Cadwgan made such friends to the King of England, that upon paying the fine of 100 l. he had a grant of all his lands in Cardigan, and a power to recall all the inhabitants, who had rubbed off upon the publication of the King's late order, That no Welchman or Norman should dwell in Cardigan. Upon information of this grant to Cadwgan, several of them that retired to Ireland returned again privately to Wales, and lurkingly remained with their friends; but Owen durst not appear in Cardigan, by reason that his father had received that country from King Henry, upon condition that he would never entertain nor receive his son, nor by any means succour him either with men or money. Nevertheless, Owen came to Powis, and would fain be reconciled to the king, and make an atonement for his late misdemeanor; but he could find no body that would venture to speak in his behalf, nor make the king acquainted with his desire and willingness to submit. And thus being hopeless and full of despair, he could not possibly divine which way to turn himself; till at last, a very unexpected opportunity offered him means and occasion to oppose the English. The matter was this, there happened a difference betwixt Madoc ap Ryryd and the bishop of London, lieutenant of the marches of Wales, about certain English felons, who being under the protection of Madoc, he would not restore at the bishop's request. The bishop being much offended at Madoc's denial, threatened him very severely; and therefore to make all possible preparations

preparations against an ensuing storm, Madawc sent to Owen, who heretofore was his greatest enemy, desiring his help against the bishop; and by this means being reconciled, they took their mutual oaths not to betray each other, and that neither should make a separate agreement with the English without the knowledge and approbation of the other. And so uniting their power, they spoiled and ravaged all the country about them, destroying whatever they could meet with which belonged to those they had no kindness or affection for, without the least distinction of English or Welch.

Iorwerth ap Blethyn had been very unjustly detained A.D. 1107. in prison all this time; and now King Henry calling to mind what hardship he laboured under, and that he committed him to custody upon no pretence of reason, sent to know of him, what he was willing to pay for his liberty, Iorwerth being now almost ready to sink under a fatigue of so long imprisonment, was glad to give any thing he was able, to obtain that which he had so long in vain hoped for; and therefore he promised either 300 l. in specie, or to the value of it in cattle and horses; for the payment of which, Iorwerth and Ithel the sons of his brother Ryryd were delivered for pledges. Then the king released him out of prison, and restored him all his lands which were taken from him; and of the due for his liberty, the king bestowed 10 l. upon Henry, Cadwgan's son by the daughter of Pygot de Say the Norman. Owen and Madawc all this while committed all the waste and destruction possible, and cruelly annoyed both the English and Normans; and always withdrew and retired to Iorwerth's estate, which so troubled him, by reason of the king's strict orders, not to permit Owen to come to his or Cadwgan's territories, that at length he sent to them this positive and peremptory rebuke; "Since it hath pleased God to place us in the midst
 " of our enemies, and to deliver us into their hands;
 " and hath so far weakened us, as that we are not able
 " to do any thing by our own strength; and your fa-
 " ther Cadwgan and myself, are particularly com-
 " manded

“manded, under penalty of forfeiting our lands and
 “estates, not to afford you any succour or refuge during
 “these your rebellious practices; therefore as a friend
 “I intreat you, command you as a lord, and desire
 “you as a kinsman, that you come no more to mine
 “or your father Cadwgan’s territories.”

Owen and Madawc receiving such a presumptuous message, were the more enraged, and in the way of a malignant retribution, did more frequently than heretofore, shelter themselves in Iorwerth’s country; in so much, that at last, since that they would neither by threats nor intreaties desist from their wonted courses, he was forced to gather his power, and drive them out by force of arms. Being chased out hence, they made in-roads into Uchtryd’s country in Merionethshire; but Uchtryd’s sons, being then in Cyveilioc, hearing of it, they sent to the people of the country, with positive orders to oppose and resist any offer they would make to enter the country. The people, though wanting a skilful commander, were resolved to do as much as lay in their power; and so meeting with them by the way, they set upon them so furiously, that Owen and Madawc, though after a brave defence, were forced to bear back, and to take the heels; Owen to Cardigan to his father Cadwgan, and Madawc to Powis. Yet all this misfortune could not suppress the restless spirit of Owen; for as soon as he could rally together his scattered troops, he made divers inroads into Dyfed, and carrying away several persons to the ships, that they came in from Ireland; he first ransomed them, and then listing them under his own command, made such addition to his army, that he ventured to set upon a town in Dyfed belonging to the Flemings, and having rased it to the ground, he returned to Cardigan; having no regard to what inconveniency might befall his father from the king of England, upon this account: which a little afterwards unhappily fell out. For it happened that some of Owen’s men having had intelligence, that a certain bishop called William de Brabant, was upon his journey through that country to the court of England, laid wait for his coming; who without any apprehension

prehesion of treachery, passing through the country was unexpectedly slain, he and all his retinue. Iorwerth and Cadwgan were then at court, to speak with King Henry, concerning certain business of their own; but whilst they discoursed the king, in comes a Fleming, that was a brother to the deceased bishop, and with a very loud exclamation, complained how that Owen, Cadwgan's son had slain his brother and the rest of his company; and that he was succoured and entertained in Cardigan's country. King Henry hearing this, was wrathfully displeas'd at such cruel barbarity, that a person of that quality and profession should be so treacherously murdered; and therefore he asked Cadwgan what he could say to the matter; who answer'd, that what had so unhappily fell out, was done without the least of his knowledge or approbation, and therefore desired his Majesty to impute all the blame and guilt of that unfortunate action to his son Owen. But King Henry was so far from being satisfi'd with this reply, that he told Cadwgan in a violent passion, That since he could not keep his son so, but that he was aided and continually entertained in his country, he would bestow it upon another person, who was better able and more willing to keep him out; and would allow him a maintenance upon his own proper charges, upon these conditions, that he should not enter into Wales any more, without his farther orders; and so granting him twenty days for the ordering his affairs, he gave him liberty to retire to any part of his dominions, excepting Wales. When Owen and Madawc were inform'd how Cadwgan was treated by the king of England, and that Cardigan, which was their chiefest place of refuge, was to be given to another person, they thought that their condition by this time was desperate, and that they had not better stay any longer in Britain; and therefore with all speed they took shipping for Ireland, where they were sure to be honourably entertained by King Murkart. Then King Henry sent for Gilbert Strongbow, Earl of Strygill, a person of noted worth

and valour, and one who had often sued to the king for to grant him some lands in Wales, and bestowed upon him all the lands and inheritance of Cadwgan ap Blethyn, in case he could conquer and bring the country under. Gilbert very thankfully accepted of the proposal, and having drawn together all the forces he was able to raise, he passed to Wales, and being come to Cardigan, without the least trouble or opposition, he reduced the whole country to his subjection. The first thing he did, was the best he could to secure himself in this new-purchased inheritance; in order to which, he erected two castles, one upon the frontiers of North Wales, upon the mouth of the river Ystwyth, a mile distant from Lhanbadarn; the other towards Dyfed, upon the river Teifi, at a place called Dyngerant; where, as some think, Roger Montgomery had some time before laid the foundation of Cilgarran castle.

Owen and Madawc were all this while in Ireland; but this latter being at length tired with the country, and not willing to endure the manners and customs of the Irish, came over for Wales, and passed to the country of his uncle Iorwerth. Iorwerth being acquainted with his arrival was fearful to suffer the same fate with his brother Cadwgan, by winking at his being there; and therefore without any regard to relation or consanguinity, he presently issued out a proclamation, forbidding any of his subjects under a great penalty to receive him, but that they should account him an open enemy to their country, and endeavour all they could to secure him, and to bring him prisoner before him. When Madawc understood this, how that his person was in continual danger whilst he remained there; having drawn to him all the out-laws and villains in the country, he kept in the rocks and mountains devising all the ways and means he could to be revenged upon Iorwerth; and so made a private league and agreement with Lhywarch ap Trahaern, who for a long time had been a mortal enemy of Iorwerth's. These two associates, having intelligence that

that Iorwerth lay one night at Caereineon, gathered all their strength, and came and encompassed the house at midnight; which when Iorwerth's servants perceived, they arose and defended the house with all the might they could; but the assailants at last putting the house on fire, they were glad, as many as could, to escape through the flames; the greatest part being forced to yield, either to the enemies sword, or the more conquering fire. Iorwerth seeing no remedy, but that he must undergo the same fate as his men had done, chose rather to die in the presence of his enemies, with his sword in his hand, than to commit his life to the cowardly flames; and therefore rushing out with great violence, he was received upon the points of the enemies spears, and so being tossed into the fire, he miserably perished by a double death. As soon as King Henry heard of his death, he sent for Cadwgan to him, and gave him all his brother's estate, being Powys-land; and promising his son Owen his pardon, upon condition he would demean himself quietly and loyally hereafter, willed him to send for him back from Ireland. King Henry also about this time, married his natural son Robert to Mabil daughter and sole heir to Robert Fitz-hamon, lord of Glamorgan, in whose right this Robert became lord of Glamorgan, being before the king created earl of Gloucester; by whom the castle of Cardaf was built.

But Madawc finding the matter nothing mended, and that his other uncle Cadwgan, who lay under the same obligation to the king of England, ruled the country, hid himself in the most private and inaccessible places, watching only an opportunity to commit the like fact upon Cadwgan, and to murder him by one treacherous way or another. And this he effected in a little time; for Cadwgan having reduced the country to some sort of settlement and quietness, and restored the courts of judicature, where he sat in person to administer justice; came with the rest of the elders of the country to Trallwng, now Pool; and having begun to build a castle, he thought to make that the constant seat of his habitation. Madawc under-

understanding his design, laid in ambush for him in his way to Trallwng; and as Cadwgan unconcernedly passed by, without the least suspicion of treachery, he suddenly set upon him, and slew him, without allowing him any time either to fight or escape. Then he sent presently a message to Shrewsbury, to the bishop of London, the king's lieutenant in the marches, to put him in mind of his former promises to him, when he chased Owen out of the country; because that the bishop bearing an inveterate enmity to Cadwgan, and his son Owen, granted Madawc such lands, as his brother Ithel was possessed of. But Meredith ap Blethyn, being informed of the death of both his brothers, went in all haste to the king, desiring of him the lands of Iorwerth in Powys, which he had lately granted to Cadwgan; which the king granted him, till such time as Owen should return from Ireland. Owen did not stay long before he came over; and then going to King Henry, he was honourably received, and had all his father's estate restored to him; whereupon, in gratitude of this signal favour, he voluntarily promised to pay the king a considerable fine, for the due payment of which, he gave very responsible pledges. Madawc finding himself alone to be left in the lurch, and that he had no seeming power to bear head against the king, thought it also his wisest way to make what reconciliation he could; and therefore he offered the king a very great fine, if he should peaceably enjoy his former estate, promising withal, never to molest or disturb any one that was subject to the crown of England. King Henry willing to bring all matters to a settled condition, readily granted his request, and conferred upon him all he could reasonably ask for; only with this proviso, that upon his peril, he should provide for the relations of them whom he had so basely murdered.

A. D. 1109. And thus all matters being brought to a peaceable conclusion in Wales; the next year, Robert de Belesmo, who had been one of the chief instruments of these Welch disturbances, in that great rebellion, which himself, with Roger de Montgomery, earl of Salop, and his

his brother Arnulph earl of Pembroke had raised against the king; was taken prisoner by King Henry in Normandy, and committed to perpetual imprisonment in Warham-castle. The year following, Meredith ap Blethyn detached a considerable party of his men, to make incursions into the country of Lhywarch ap Trahaern ap Gwyn, who was an inveterate enemy of himself and Owen; by reason that by his aid and instigation, Madawc was encouraged to kill his uncles Iorwerth and Cadwgan. These men as they passed through Madawc's country, met a person in the night-time who belonged to Madawc; who being asked where his master was, after some pretence of ignorance, at last through fear confessed, that he was not far from that place. Therefore lying quietly there all night, by break of day they arose to look out their game; and unexpectedly surprizing Madawc, they slew a great number of his men, and took himself prisoner; and so carrying him to their Lord, they delivered him up, as the greatest honour of their expedition. Meredith was not a little proud of his prisoner, and therefore to ingratiate himself the more with his nephew Owen, he committed him to safe custody, till he was sent for; who coming thither streight, Meredith delivered Madawc up to him. Owen, though he had the greatest reason for the most cruel revenge, by reason that both his father and uncle were basely murdered by this Madawc, would not put him to death, remembering the intimate friendship and oaths that had passed betwixt them; but however, to secure him from any future mischief he might practise, he pulled out his eyes, and then set him at liberty. But least he should be capable of any revenge, by reason of his estate and strength in the country, Meredith and Owen thought fit to divide his lands betwixt them; which were Caernarvon, Aberhiw, with the third part of Deuthwfyf.

These home-bred disturbances being pretty well abated, a greater storm arose from abroad; for the next year, King Henry prepared a mighty army to enter into Wales, being provoked thereto by the request
of

of those who enjoyed a great part of the Welchmens lands, but would not be satisfied till they got all. For Gilbert Strongbow earl of Strygill, upon whom the king had bestowed Cardigan, made great complaints of Owen ap Cadwgan, declaring how that he received and entertained such persons as spoiled and robbed in his country; and Hugh earl of Chester made the like of Gruffydh ap Conan Prince of North Wales, how that his subjects and the men of Grono ap Owen ap Edwyn Lord of Tegengl, unreproved, wasted, and burnt the country of Cheshire; and to aggravate the matter the more, he added farther, that Gruffydh neither owed any service, nor paid any tribute to the king. Upon these complaints, King Henry was so cruelly enraged, that he swore he would not leave one living creature remaining in North-Wales and Powys-land; but having extirpated utterly the present race of people, he would plant a colony of new inhabitants. And then dividing his army into three parts, he delivered one to the conduct of the Earl of Strygill, to go against South-Wales; which comprehended the whole power of the fourth part of England and Cornwall: the next battle was designed against North-Wales, in which was all the strength of Scotland and the North, and was commanded by Alexander king of the Scots, and Hugh Earl of Chester: the third the king led himself against Powys, wherein was contained the whole strength of the middle part of England. Meredith ap Blethyn hearing of these mighty preparations, and being informed that this vast army was designed against Wales, was quickly apprehensive that the Welch were not able to make any great defence; and therefore thought it his safest way to provide for himself beforehand; and so coming to the king, yielded himself up to his mercy. But Owen fearing to commit himself to those whom he knew so greedily to covet his estate, and whom he was assured were far more desirous to dispossess the Welch of their lands, than any other way to punish them for former crimes and miscarriages, fled to Gruffydh ap Conan to North-Wales. Upon that, king Henry converted his whole force that way,

way, and came himself as far as Murcastelh, and the Scotch king to Pennant Bachwy; but the people flying to the mountains, carried with them all the cattle and provision they had; so that the English could not follow them, and as many as attempted to come at them, were either slain or wounded in the streights. But Alexander king of the Scots finding that nothing could possibly be effected against the Welch, as long as they kept the rocks and mountains, sent to Prince Gruffydh advising him to submit himself to the king, promising him all his interest to obtain an honourable peace. But the prince was too well acquainted with English promises, and therefore refused his proposals; and so King Henry being very unwilling to return without doing something in this expedition, sent to Owen to forsake the prince, who was not able to defend himself, but was ready to strike a peace with the Scottish king and the earl of Chester. But this cunning insinuation would not take effect; for Owen was for his life as distrustful of King Henry as Prince Gruffydh; and therefore he would hearken to no intreaties for revolting from him, who had all this while afforded him refuge, till at length his uncle Meredith, an old insinuating politician, persuaded him, with much ado, not to forsake the king of England's proposals, who offered him all his lands without tribute, in case he would come to his side; and therefore Meredith advised him instantly to accept of his offer, before Prince Gruffydh made a peace with the king, which if it was once done, he would be glad upon any score to purchase the king's mercy. Owen being prevailed upon by such arguments, came to the king, who received him very graciously, and told him, that because he believed his promise, he would not only perform that, but likewise exalt him above any of his kindred, and grant him his lands free from any payment of tribute. Prince Gruffydh perceiving how that Owen had submitted to the king, thought it also his wisest way to sue for peace; and so promising the king a great sum of money, a peace was then actually agreed upon, and confirmed; which the King of England

England was the more ready to consent to, because he found it impossible to do him any hurt, whilst he continued encamped in that place. Some affirm, that the submission as well of Prince Gruffydh as Owen, was procured by the policy of Meredith ap Blethyn and the earl of Chester; this last working with Gruffydh, and assuring him that Owen had made his peace with the king before any such thing was in agitation, so that the prince yielding somewhat to the earl's request, if Owen had gone contrary to his oath, which they had mutually taken, not to make any peace with the English, without one another's knowledge, seemed to incline to a peace. On the other hand, Meredith going in person to his nephew Owen, affirmed for truth, that the prince and the earl of Chester were actually agreed, and the prince was on his journey to the king to make his submission. And in the meanwhile Meredith took especial care that all messengers betwixt the prince and Owen should be intercepted, and by that means Owen wilfully submitted himself to the king.

King Henry having thus finished and brought to an end all his business in Wales, calling Owen to him, told him, that in case he would go over with him to Normandy, and there be faithful to him, he would upon his return confirm all his promises upon him; and so Owen accepting of the king's offer, went with him to Normandy, where he behaved himself so gallantly, that he was made a knight; and after his return the year following, he had all his lands and estate confirmed unto him. About the same time Griffri bishop of St. David's died, and king Henry appointed to succeed him one Barnard a Norman, much against the good-will and inclination of the Welch, who before this time were ever used to elect their own bishop. And this year the rumour of Gruffydh son to Rhys ap Theodore was spread throughout South-Wales, who, as the report went, for fear of the king had been from a child brought up in Ireland, and having come over about two years afore, past his time privately among his relations, particularly with

with Gerald Steward of Pembroke his brother-in-law. And now the noise of a new prince being spread abroad, it came at last to the ears of the king of England, that a certain person appeared in Wales, who pretended to be the son of Rhys ap Theodore, late prince of South Wales, and laid claim to that principality, which was now in the king's hands. King Henry being somewhat concerned with such a report, and fearing lest that this new starter should create him some greater trouble, he thought to nip him in the bud, and sent down orders to apprehend him. But Gruffydh ap Rhys being aware of the traps laid against him, sent to Gruffydh ap Conan prince of North Wales, desiring his assistance, and that he might have liberty to remain safe in his country, which Gruffydh for his father's account, readily granted, and treated him honourably. A little after, his brother Howel who was imprisoned by Arduolph Earl of Pembroke in the castle of Montgomery, where he had remained for a great while, made his escape and fled to his brother, then with Gruffydh ap Conan in North Wales. But King Henry being informed that Gruffydh ap Rhys and his brother Howel were entertained by the Prince of North Wales, sent very smooth letters to Gruffydh ap Conan, desiring to speak with him, who being come, he received him with all the tokens of honour and friendship, and bestowed upon him very rich presents, just after the Norman policy, who usually make very much of those whom they design afterwards to be serviceable to them. After some time's general discourse, King Henry came at length to the main point, and promised the prince even mountains of gold, in case he would send Gruffydh ap Rhys or his head to him, which the Prince, overcome by such fair words and large promises, promised to perform, and so returned joyfully home, big with the expectation of his future reward. But some who wished better to Gruffydh ap Rhys and his brother Howel, presently suspected the occasion of the king's message, and therefore they advised them to withdraw themselves privately for some time, till Prince Gruffydh's

fydh's mind be better understood, and whether he had made any agreement with the king of England to betray them to him. As soon as the Prince was returned to his palace at Aberffraw, he presently enquired for Gruffydh ap Rhys, and learning in a little time where he was, he sent a troop of horse to recall him to his court, but Gruffydh hearing of their approach, with all speed made his escape to the church of Aberdaron, and took sanctuary there. But Prince Gruffydh was so resolute to make his promise good to the king of England, that without any respect to the religious place he had escaped too, he commanded the same messengers to return, and to bring him away by force, which the clergy of the country unanimously withstood, protesting that they would not see the liberties of the church in the least infringed. And whilst the clergy and the prince's officers were thus at debate, that same night, some who had compassion upon the young prince, and seeing how greedily his life was thirsted for, conveyed him away out of North Wales to Strawy in South Wales. And so being delivered from the treacherous and more dishonourable practices of the Prince of North Wales, he was forced for the defence of his own life to bid open defiance to the king of England, and thereupon having raised all the forces which the shortness of the opportunity would permit, he made war upon the Flemings and Normans.

A. D. 1113. The next year, he laid siege to the castle which stood over-against Arberth, and winning the same, made it plain with the ground, and from thence marched to Lhanymdhry castle, belonging to Richard de Pwns, upon whom the King had bestowed Cantref Bychan, but the garrison commanded by Meredith ap Rytherch ap Caradoc, so manfully defended it, that Gruffydh after killing only some few of the besieged, and burning the out-works, was forced to remove with no small loss of his own men. Finding this place impregnable, he came before A-bertawy-castle, which was built by Henry Beaumont Earl

Earl of Warwick, but this proving too strong to be quickly surrendered, after he had burnt some of the outward buildings, he returned to Stratywy, burning and destroying all the country as he went along. And now his fame being spread abroad through all the country, all the wild and head-strong youth, and they whose fortunes were desperate, resorted unto him from all parts, by which means being waxed strong and numerous, he made in-roads into Ros and Dyfed, spoiling and destroying the country before him. The Normans and Flemings were cruelly enraged with these continual depredations, and how to remedy this mischief, was not easily determined; but after a long consultation, they thought it the best way to call together such Welch lords as were friends to the king of England, such were Owen ap Rhytherch, and Rhytherch ap Theodore, with his sons Meredith and Owen, whose mother was Heynyth the daughter of Blethyn ap Confyn, and Owen ap Caradoc the son of Gwendlhian another daughter of Blethyn, and Meredith ap Rhytherch. These protesting their loyalty and fidelity to King Henry were desired to defend the king's castle of Carmardhyn, and that by turns; Owen ap Caradoc the first fortnight, and then by succession by Rhytherch ap Theodore and Meredith ap Rhytherch. Owen undertook the defence of Carmardhyn castle for the time required of him, and Blethyn ap Gadifor had committed to him the government of Abercomyn or Abercorran castle, which appertained to Robert Courtmain. But for all these preparations, Gruffydh ap Rhys had a wishful eye upon Carmardhyn, and therefore he sent out some spies to learn the strength and condition of the town, who bringing him a very kind and hopeful account, he decamped by night, and rushing suddenly into the town, ordered his men to make a great shout, thereby to strike a great terror into those within. Owen ap Caradoc the governor, being surpris'd with such an unexpected uproar, made all possible haste to the place where he had heard the shouting, and thinking that his men were at his heels, fell in among the enemy; but

having none to support him, his men being all fled, he was after a manful defence cut in pieces, and so the town being taken, Gruffydh burnt every thing to the ground, excepting the castle, which was also sore defaced. And then returning with a great deal of spoil and booty to his usual residence at Stratywy; his forces were considerably increased by the accession of many young men, who came to him from all quarters, and thought that fortune so prospered his arms, that no body was able to stand before him. After this he marched to Gwyr, but William de Londres thinking it impossible to stand before him, forsook the castle with all his men in all haste, so that when Gruffydh was come thither, he found a great deal of cattle and spoil, and none to own them, and therefore having burnt down the castle, he carried away every thing of value in the country. When the Cardiganshire men heard how fortunately he succeeded in all his attempts, and being extremely fearful, lest his next expedition should be against them, sent to him, desiring him, as being their near relation and countryman, to take upon him the rule and government over them. Gruffydh willingly accepted of their offer, and coming thither, was joyfully received by the chief men in the country, who were Cadifor ap Grono, Howel ap Dinerth, and Trahaern ap Ithel, which three persons had forsaken Dyfed, by reason that it was so thwacked with Normans, Flemings and English men. Nor was Cardigan free from strangers, who pretended to sway and rule the country, but the people bearing in mind the continual wrong and oppression they received from them, bore an inveterate hatred to them, and were very glad to be delivered from their insolent and imperious oppressors. For King Henry what by force and banishment of those that stood up stiff for their liberty, and what by corrupting of those that were wavering, had brought all that country to his subjection, and bestowed what lands he thought fit upon his English or Norman favourites. But notwithstanding the strength of the English in this country, Gruffydh was not a whit cast

down, but boldly coming on to Cardigan Iſcoed, he laid ſiege to a fort that Earl Gilbert and the Flemings had built at a place called Blaen Porth Gwythan. After divers affaults, and the killing of ſeveral of the beſieged, with the loſs only of one of his men, Gruffydh took the place, and razing it to the ground, brought all the country thereabouts to ſubjection. This action proved very fatal to the Engliſh, for immediately upon this, they began to forſake their houſes and habitations, as thinking it too hot for them to ſtay any longer in the country, and ſo the Welch burnt and deſtroyed as far as Penwedie all the houſes of thoſe ſtrangers whom Earl Gilbert had brought with him. Then Gruffydh beſieged the caſtle of Stradpythylh which belonged to Ralph Earl Gilbert's ſteward, and having made himſelf maſter of it, he put all the gariſon to the ſword. Removing from thence, he incamped at Glasgryg a mile from Lhanbadarn, purpoſing to beſiege Aberyſtwith caſtle next morning, but for want of proviſion neceſſary for his army, he was forced to make bold with ſome cattle which grazed within the limits of the ſanctuary. And here it may be obſerved, that not only men enjoyed the privilege of theſe ſanctuaries, but alſo cattle and horſes, and whatever elſe lived within the liberties of them. But the day following, Gruffydh marched diſorderly towards the caſtle, being apprehenſive of no great oppoſition, by reaſon that he was ignorant of the number of the gariſon, and ſo encamping upon an oppoſite hill, which was divided from the caſtle by a river, with a bridge over it, he called a council to determine with what engines they might with beſt ſucceſs play againſt it, and ſo make a general affault. The Normans obſerving their diſorder, very cunningly ſent out ſome of their archets to skirmiſh with them, and ſo by little and little to entice them to the bridge, where ſome of the beſt armed horſemen were ready to iſſue out upon them. The Welch not thinking the gariſon to be ſo ſtrong approached near the bridge, ſtill skirmiſhing with the Normans, who pretended to give ground; but when they came very near, out ſal-

lies one on horseback, who would fain pass the bridge; but being received upon the points of their spears, he began to flag, and as he endeavoured to return, he fell off his horse, and so the Welch pursued him over the bridge. The Englishmen seeing this, fled towards the castle, and the Welch with all speed followed them to the top of the hill; but whilst they thought that the day was their own, up rises a party of horse which lay in ambuscade under the hill, and standing betwixt the Welch and the bridge, prevented any succour to come to them. And the Welch being thus hemmed in betwixt both parties, the former recoiling with greater strength, were so unmercifully cut off, that scarce one man was left living. When the rest of the Welch army, that staid on the other side of the river, saw what number the garrison contained, and that they were strong beyond their expectation, presently decamped, and with all speed departed out of the country.

When King Henry was informed of all the mischief and cruelties that Gruffydh ap Rhys had committed among his subjects in Wales, he sent for Owen ap Cadwgan, desiring him and Lhywarch ap Trahaern to use all the effectual methods possible to take or kill the arch-rebel Gruffydh, promising very speedily to send his son Robert with an army to Wales for that purpose. Owen being very proud that the king put such confidence in him, encouraged his men to be now so industrious to merit the king's favour, as they had been formerly to deserve his displeasure; and so joining his forces with Lhywarch, they both marched to meet Prince Robert at Stratywy, where they supposed Gruffydh ap Rhys had hid himself in the woods. When they were come to the frontiers of the country, they made a vow, that they would let neither man, woman, or child escape alive; which so affrighted the people of the country, that all made what shift they could to save their lives, some by fleeing to the woods and mountains, and some by getting into the king's castles, from whence they had come but a little before. Then Owen and Lhywarch separated

separated with distinct parties to scour the woods, which about Stratywy are very desertous; and Owen having entered with an hundred men, presently discovered the tract of men and cattle, and followed their footsteps so close, that within a little while he overtook them; and having slain a great many of them, and put the rest to flight, he carried away all their cattle back to his army.

But whilst Owen was busy in searching the woods, Gerald steward of Pembrock, who with a great power of Flemings was upon his march to join the king's son, met with them who fled from Owen; who desiring help of Gerald, declared how Owen had forcibly drove them out, slain a great many of their companions, and spoiled them of all their goods. Gerald and his Flemings understanding that Owen was so nigh with such a small number of men, thought he had now very convenient opportunity to be revenged of him upon the account of his wife; and therefore to make sure work with him, he pursued him close into the woods. Owen being forewarned by his men that a great number followed him, and advised to make all speed to get away, was deaf to all such counsels, as thinking that they of whom his men were so much afraid of, were the king's friends, and therefore their integrity need not be questioned, since they had all respect to the same common cause. But he found, that a private quarrel is sometime more regarded than the publick good; and therefore when Gerald was advanced within bowshot, he greeted him with a volley of arrows, to shew how great a friend he was; but Owen, though persuaded to flee, was so little terrified at such an unwelcome salutation, that though the enemy were seven to one, yet he told them, that they were but Flemings, and such as always trembled at the hearing of his name. And then falling on with a great deal of courage, he was at the first onset struck with an arrow into the heart, of which wound he presently died; which when his men saw they all fled, and brought word to Lhywarch and the rest of their fellows of what had happened; and so suspecting the

king's army, seeing they could not be trusted in their service, they all returned to their respective countries.

Owen being in this manner unhappily slain, his brethren divided his lands betwixt them; excepting Caereleon, which properly belonged to Madawc ap Ryryd ap Blethyn; and which he had forcibly taken away from his uncle Meredith. His father Cadwgan had several children by different women; and besides himself, he had issue Madawc by Gwenthian the daughter of Gruffydh ap Conan; Eineon by Sanna the daughter of Dyfnwal; Morgan, by Efelhiw or Elhiw the daughter of Cadifor ap Colhoyn lord of Dyfed; Henry and Gruffydh were by the daughter of the lord Pigot his wedded wife; Meredith by Euroron Hoodliw; and himself by Inerth the daughter of Edwyn. But a while afterwards, Eineon ap Cadwgan and Gruffydh ap Meredith ap Blethyn, besieged the castle of Cymmer in Merionethshire, which was lately built by Uchtryd ap Edwyn; for Cadwgan had bestowed upon Uchtryd his cousin-german Merioneth and Cyfeilioc, upon condition, that in all cases he should appear his friend, and his sons after him; contrary to which promise he bore no manner of regard to Cadwgan's children after Owen's death; but to strengthen himself the better, he erected this castle of Cymmer, which very much displeased many of Cadwgan's sons. And therefore Eineon and Gruffydh, to make Uchtryd sensible of his error in despising of them, furiously set upon Cymmer castle, and having slain divers of the garrison, the rest surrendered themselves; and so taking possession of it, they divided the country betwixt them; Mowdhy Cyfeilioc and half Penhyn to Gruffydh ap Meredith; and the other half of Penhyn with all Merioneth to Eineon.

The next year King Henry sailed with a great army into Normandy, against the French king, who with the Earl of Flanders and others, went about to make William the son of Robert Curthoise duke
of

of Normandy; but at the appearance of the king of England, they all scattered, and laid aside their intended design. About the same time Gilbert Strongbow Earl of Strigill, to whom King Henry had given all Cardigan, departed this life, after a long fit of a consumption; much to the joy and satisfaction of the Welch, who were in great measure displeas'd, that they should be deprived of their own natural lord Cadwgan, from whom this country was taken away, and be forced to serve and be subject to a stranger, whose kindness they had no great reason to expect. But the year following, an irreconcilable quarrel A. D. 1115 happened betwixt Howel ap Ithel lord of Ros and Ryfonioc, now Denbigh-land, and Riryd and Lhywarch the sons of Owen ap Edwyn. And when they could not otherwise agree, they broke out into open war; and thereupon Howel sent to Meredith ap Blethyn, and to Eineon and Madawc, Cadwgan's sons; who came down from Merioneth with a party of four hundred well-disciplined men, and encamped in Dyffryn Clwyd. Riryd and Lhywarch on the other hand, desired the assistance of their cousins the sons of Uchtryd; and so both armies meeting in the vale of Clwyd, they fell to blows with a great deal of spirit and alacrity, and after a tedious and a bloody fight, Lhywarch, Owen ap Edwyn's son, was at last slain, and with him Iorwerth the son of Nudh, a noble and a valorous person; and Riryd was forced to make his escape by flight. But though Howel obtained the victory, yet he did not long survive his slain enemies; for having received a desperate wound in the action, died of it within forty days; and then Meredith ap Blethyn, and the sons of Cadwgan finding it dangerous to stay longer there, for fear of some French, who lay garrisoned in Chester, returned home with all speed.

King Henry was still in Normandy, and about this time, a very great battle was fought betwixt him, and the French king, who was shamefully vanquished and overthrown, and had a great number of his nobles taken prisoners. But as King Henry returned the following year for England, one of the ships happened,

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1117.

by the negligence of the pilot, to be cast away, where in perished the king's two sons, William who was legitimate and heir apparent to the crown, and Richard his base son; together with his daughter and niece, and several others of his nobility, to the number in all of one hundred and fifty persons. This unparalleled loss of so many kindred and friends did not perplex his mind so long, but that within a short time, he began to solace and raise his drooping spirits with the thoughts of a new wife; and having married Adeline the daughter of the duke of Lovain, he purposed to go against Wales, and having prepared his forces, he led them in person to Powis-land.

A. D. 1118.

When Meredith ap Blethyn and Eineon, Madawc and Morgan, the sons of Cadwgan and lords of the country heard of it, they sent to Gruffydd ap Conan Prince of North Wales, desiring some help at his hands; who flatly refused, assuring them, that because he was at peace with the king of England, he could neither with honour nor safety send them any succour, nor permit them to come within his dominions. The lords of Powis receiving this unwelcome answer, and having now no manner of hopes of any aid, were resolved however to defend themselves as well as they could; and therefore they thought it the most effectual means to annoy the enemy, and to keep them from entering into the country, was to observe and defend the streights, by which the enemy must of necessity pass. Neither were they out in their policy; for it happened that the king himself, with a small number, advanced to one of these narrow passages, the rest of the army, by reason of their carriages, having taken some compass about; which the Welch perceiving, presently poured a shower of arrows upon them, and the advantage of the ground giving help to their execution, they slew and wounded a great many of the English. The king himself was struck in the breast, but for all that the arrow could not hurt him, by reason of his armour; yet he was so terrified with this unexpected conflict, and considering with himself, that he must receive several such brushes before he

he could advance to the plain country; and what was above all, being sensible that by such a rash misfortune he might lose all the honour and fame which he had before obtained, sent a message to parly with them who kept the passage, and with all assurance of safety, to desire them to come to the king. The Welch being come, and questioned how they had such confidence to oppose the king, and to put his life in so much danger; made answer, that they belonged to Meredith ap Blethyn, and according to their master's orders they were resolved to keep the passage, or to die upon the spot. The king finding them so resolute, desired them to go to Meredith, and propose to him an agreement of peace, which he and his cousins the sons of Cadwgan accepted of; and promised to pay the king 10,000 head of cattle, in retribution for former offences. And so King Henry leaving all things in a peaceable and quiet posture in Wales, and appointing the Lord Fitz-Warren warden or lieutenant of the Marches, returned to England.

But when a foreign enemy was removed out of the country, the Welch could never forbear quarrelling with each other; for Gruffydh ap Rhys ap Theodore, who had been now for some time quiet, fell upon Gruffydh ap Sulhaern, and for what reason not discovered, treacherously slew him. But the next year there happened another occasion of disturbances and falling out among the Welch; for Eineon the son of Cadwgan dying, left all his share of Powis and Merioneth to his brother Meredith. But his uncle Meredith ap Blethyn, thinking that these lands more properly belonged to him, ejected his nephew Meredith to whom his brother Eineon had left them, and took possession of them himself. And what augmented these differences, King Henry set now at liberty Ithel ap Riryd ap Blethyn, Meredith's nephew, who had been for a long time detained in prison; who coming to his own country, was in expectation to enjoy his estate, which, upon his being put in custody, his relations had divided betwixt them; of which, the greatest share fell

A. D. 1120.

1124

to his uncle Meredith. But when Gruffydh ap Conan was informed, how that Meredith ap Blethyn, contrary to all justice, had taken away by force the lands of his nephew Meredith ap Cadwgan, he sent his sons Cadwalhon and Owen with an army into Merioneth, who conquering and bringing to subjection all the country, carried away the chief of the people, and all the cattle to Lhyn. And at the same time the sons of Cadwgan entered into the lands of Lhywarch ap Trahaern, and cruelly wasted and destroyed it, by reason that he had countenanced the doings of their uncle Meredith ap Blethyn. But these inward clashings and animosities concerning estates and titles, were seconded by most unnatural bloodshed and unparalleled cruelties; for Meredith ap Blethyn, when he found that his nephew Meredith ap Cadwgan was assisted by the Prince of North Wales, and that it was impracticable to keep Merioneth from him, he was resolved to practise that upon his nephew, which he had failed to effect upon another. And therefore lest his other nephew Ithel ap Riryd should meet with the like help and encouragement to recover those lands, which during his imprisonment were taken away from him, of which his uncle actually enjoyed a considerable share; Meredith thought it his wisest way to prevent all manner of disputes, by sending Ithel out of the world, which upon mature deliberation he treacherously effected. Nor was this the only murder committed at this time; for Cadwalhon the son of Gruffydh ap Conan exceeded him far, and slew his three uncles, Grono, Riryd, and Meilyr the sons of Owen ap Edwyn; but which was most unnatural of all, Morgan ap Cadwgan with his own hands killed his brother Meredith; a crime most execrable, though he did afterwards repent of it.

71249 Not long after this, Gruffydh ap Rhys, by the false and invidious accusations of the Normans, was dispossessed of all the lands which King Henry had formerly granted him, and which he had for a considerable time peaceably enjoyed. And towards the end of the same year died Daniel ap Sulgien bishop of

of St. David's, and archdeacon of Powis, a man of extraordinary piety and learning, and one who made it his continual employment to endeavour to work a reconciliation betwixt North Wales and Powis, which in his time were at perpetual variance and enmity with one another. The next year died likewise Gruffydh the son of Meredith ap Blethyn; and about the same time Owen ap Cadwgan having got into his hands Meredith ap Lhywarch, delivered him to Pain Fitz-John, to be kept safe prisoner in the castle of Bridgnorth. The reason of this was, because Meredith had slain Meyric his cousin-german, and very barbarously had pulled out the eyes of two more of his cousins the sons of Griffri. This cruel and inhuman custom of plucking out the eyes of such as they hated or feared, was too frequently practised in Wales; for the following year Ievaf the son of Owen served two of his brethren after this unnatural manner, and thinking that too little, passed a sentence of perpetual banishment upon them. A little after, his brother Lhwelyn ap Owen slew Iorwerth ap Lhywarch; but all this mischief practised by these two brothers Ievaf and Lhwelyn, turned at last upon themselves; for their uncle Meredith ap Blethyn being apprehensive that his two nephews were a considerable rub in his way, and if they trooped off, that all their estate would of right fall to him; slew Ievaf outright, and having plucked out Lhwelyn's eyes, castrated him, for fear he should beget any children to inherit his lands after him. These no doubt were implacable times, when for the least offence, nay sometime suspicion, murder was so openly and incorrigibly committed; which must of necessity be attributed to this one principle, That so many petty states having equal power and authority in their own territories, and being subject to none but the king of England, still endeavoured to outvie and overtop each other. And so, nearness of relation giving way to ambition, they never regarded those of the same blood, so that themselves might add to their strength, and increase their estate by their fall; and for this reason Meyric

ric flew Lhywarch, and his son Madawc, his own cousins ; but before he could make any advantage of their death, he was himself served after the same manner. But the only person who afterwards repented of such a foul crime, was Morgan ap Cadwgan, who being severely troubled in mind for the murder he had lately committed upon his brother Meredith, took a journey to Jerusalem to expiate for his crime, and in his rerurn from thence, died in the isle of Cyprus. But this treacherous way of private murdering those by whom they were offended, could not be forgot among the Welch; for Eineon the son of Owen ap Edwyn calling to mind how that Cadwalhon the son of Gruffydh ap Conan had basely slain three of his brothers, and taking the opportunity of his being at Nanhewdwy, assisted by Cadwgan ap Grono ap Edwyn, set upon him, and slew him. About the same time, that great usurper Meredith ap Blethyn ap Confyndyn, who by most unnatural and most hellish practices, had got the lands of all his brothers and nephews, and by that means was become a man of the greatest strength and sway in Powis, died of a severe fit of sickness, which reduced him to that apprehension of his former miscarriages, that he endured penance for the expiation of former guilt.

1134. In the year 1134, till which time nothing of moment was transacted in Wales, Henry, the first of that name, king of England, died in Normandy in the month of October; after whom Stephen Earl of Buloign son to the Earl of Blois, his sister's son, by the means of Hugh Bygod, was crowned king by the archbishop of Canterbury, all the nobility of England consenting thereunto; though contrary to a former oath they had taken to Maud the Empress. The first thing that employed his thoughts after his accession to the government, was against David king of the Scots; who taking advantage of this new revolution in England, by some treacherous means or other, got the towns of Carlisle and Newcastle into his hands. But King Stephen, though scarcely settled in his throne, presently marched towards the North; of whose coming

ing David being assured, and fearing to meet him, voluntarily restored Newcastle, and compounded for Carlisle; but would not swear to him by reason of his oath to Maud; which, however, his son Henry did not stick at; and thereupon was by King Stephen created Earl of Huntington. This change and alteration of affairs in England made also the Welch better themselves; for Morgan ap Owen, a man of considerable quality and estate in Wales, remembering the wrong and injury he had received at the hands of Richard Fitz-Gilbert, slew him, together with his son Gilbert. And shortly after, Cadwalader and Owen Gwyneth the sons of Gruffydh ap Conan Prince of North Wales, having raised a mighty army, marched against the Normans and Flemings, and coming to Cardigan, committed very considerable waste and havoc in the country, and took two of the strongest places, one belonging to Walter Espec, and the castle of Aberystwyth. In this last place they were joined by Howel ap Meredith, and Rhys ap Madawc ap Ednerth; who marching forward, took the castle of Richard de la Mare, together with those of Dinerth and Caerwedros, and then returned with very valuable booty. But having succeeded so well in this expedition, they could not rest satisfied, till they had rid the whole country from the intolerable pride and oppression of the Normans and Flemings; and therefore returning the same year to Cardigan with 6000 foot, and 2000 horse, well disciplined and experienced soldiers; and being joined by Gruffydh ap Rhys and Howel ap Meredith of Brecknock with his sons, and Madawc ap Ednerth; they over-ran the country, as far as Aberteifi, restoring all the former inhabitants to their proper inheritances, and discarding all such strangers as the late Earl of Strygil had placed in the country. But when Stephen, who was governor of Aberteifi, saw that, he called to him Robert Fitz-Martyn, the sons of Gerald, and William Fitz-John, with all the strength of the Normans, Flemings, and English in Wales, or the Marches; and meeting with the Welch berwixt Aber Ned and Aber Dyfi, gave them battle. But after

after a very fore and bloody encounter, the English began to give ground, and according to their usual manner, trusting too much to the strength of their towns and fortifications, began to look how to save themselves that way. But the Welch pressed upon them so hard, that they killed above 3000 men, besides several that were drowned and taken prisoners. This victory being so happily obtained, Cadwalader and Owen over-ran the whole country, forcing all the Normans and Flemings to depart the country with all speed, and placing in their room those miserable Welch, who had been so long deprived and kept from their own estates; and after they had weeded the country of those insatiable caterpillars, they returned to North Wales, laden with very rich spoils and acceptable plunder. The king of England was not in a condition to take notice to what extremities his subjects were reduced to in Wales, by reason that his own nobles of England were risen in arms against him; the reason of which tumult among the nobility was occasioned by a fallacious report that went about of the king's death, who then lay sick of a lethargy. They that bore him no good will, verified the rumour as much as they could, and stirred up the common people in behalf of the Empress; whereas on the other hand the king's friends betook themselves to castles and strong holds for fear of the Empress, and among others Hugh Bygod secured the castle of Norwich, and after that he was assured that the king was well again, he was loth to deliver the same out of his possession, unless it were to the king's own hands. But during these commotions and troubles in England, Gruffydh ap Rhys, son to Rhys ap Theodore, the right heir to the principality of South Wales, died, leaving issue behind him a son called Rhys, commonly known by the name of Lord Rhys, by Gwenlhian the daughter of Gruffydh ap Conan, who by some is said to have poisoned her husband. Towards the end of the same year died likewise Gruffydh ap Conan Prince of North Wales, after he had reigned 57 years; to the great grief and discontent of all his subjects, as being a Prince of incomparable qualities, and one who after
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divers victories obtained over the English, had thoroughly purged North Wales from all strangers and foreigners. He had issue by Angharad the daughter of Owen ap Edwyn, three sons, namely, Owen, Cadwalader, and Cadwalhon, and five daughters, Marret, Susanna, Ranulht, Agnes, and Gwenthian; and by a concubine, Iago, Afcaïn, Edwal abbot of Penmon, Dolhing, and Elen, who was married to Hova ap Ithel Felyn of Yal. There were several good and wholesome laws and statutes enacted in his time; and among the rest, he reformed the great disorders of the Welch minstrels, which were then grown to great abuse. Of these there were three sorts in Wales; the first were called Beirdh, who composed several songs and odes of various measures, wherein the poet's skill was not only required, but also a natural endowment, or a vein which the Latins term *furor poeticus*. These likewise kept the records of all gentlemen's arms and pedigrees, and were principally esteemed among all the degrees of the Welch poets. The next were such as played upon musical instruments, chiefly the harp and the crowd; which musick Gruffydh ap Conan first brought over into Wales; who being born in Ireland, and descended by his mother's side of Irish parents, brought with him from thence several skilful musicians, who invented almost all the instruments as were afterwards played upon in Wales. The last sort were called Atcaneaid, whose business it was to sing to the instruments played upon by another. Each of these, by the same statute, had their several reward and encouragement allotted to them; their life and behaviour was to be spotless and unblameable, otherwise their punishment was very severe and rigid, every one having authority to punish and correct them, even to the deprivation of all they had. They were also interdicted and forbidden to enter any man's house, or to compose any song of any one, without the special leave and warrant of the party concerned; with many other ordinances relating to the like purpose.

OWEN GWYNEDH.

AFTER the death of Gruffydh ap Conan, his eldest son Owen, surnamed Gwynedh, succeeded in the principality of North Wales; who no sooner had entered upon the government, but together with the rest of his brethren, he made an expedition into South Wales; and having demolished and overthrown the castles of Stradmeyric, Stephan, and Humffreys, and laid in ashes the town of Caermardhyn, he returned home with no less honour than booty and plunder. About the same time, John archdeacon of Lhanbaran departed this life, a man of singular piety and strictness of life, who for his rigid zeal in religion and virtue, was thought worthy to be canonized, and to be counted among the number of the saints. This year likewise King Stephen passed over to Normandy, and having concluded a peace with the French king, and the duke of Anjou, returned back to England without any further delay. But the following Spring gave opportunity for greater undertakings; David king of Scots, upon the king of England's going to France last summer, had entered the borders of England, and continued to make considerable waste and havock in that part of the country. Whereupon King Stephen, to rid his country and his subjects from so dangerous an enemy, marched with an army towards the North, whose coming the king of Scots hearing of, he relinquished the borders of England, and retired to his own country. But that would not satisfy King Stephen, who desired to be further revenged for the unpardonable hostilities committed by the Scots in his country; and therefore pursuing the Scots to their own country, he harassed and laid waste all the south part of the kingdom

kingdom of Scotland. But the king's absence animated several of the English nobility to rebel; to which purpose they fortified every one their castles and strong holds; William Earl of Gloucester those of Leeds and Bristol; Ralph Lunel, Cari; William Fitz-Allen, Shrewsbury; Paganellus, Ludlow; William de Moyun, Dunester; Robert de Nichol, Warham; Eustace Fitz-John, Merton; and Walklyn, Dover. But for all these mighty preparations, the king in a short time became master of them all; some he won by assault, others upon fair promises and advantageous conditions were surrendered up, and some he got by treacherous and under-hand contrivances. The Scots thought to make good advantage of these commotions in England; and thereupon, as soon as they heard that some of the nobility were in actual rebellion against the king, they entered into the borders, and began, as they thought, without any apprehension of opposition, to ravage and lay waste the country before them. But William, Earl of Albemarle; William Pypell, Earl of Nottingham; Walter Espec and Gilbert Lacy, gathered together all the forces they could raise in the North; and being animated and encouraged by the eloquent and pressing oration of Ralph bishop of Orkneys, which he delivered in the audience of the whole army, they set upon the Scots at Almerston with such unanimous courage, that after a very great slaughter of his men, King David was glad to escape with his life by flight. After this, King Stephen seized to his own use the castles of Ludlow and Leeds, and pressed the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, so hard, that to prevent their perishing by famine, they were constrained to surrender; the former the castles of Vifes and Shirburn; the latter those of Newark upon Trent and Sleaford. This did not a little augment the king's strength against the ensuing storm; for in the summer this year, Maud the Empress, daughter and heir to King Henry, to whom King Stephen, with all the nobility of England, had sworn allegiance, landed at Arundel, with her brother Robert Earl of Gloucester, and was there honourably received by William de Albineto,

who was lately married to Queen Adeliz, King Henry's widow, with whom he received the earldom of Arundel in dowry. But as soon as King Stephen heard of her landing, he marched with all possible speed to Arundel, and laid siege to the castle; but finding it upon trial impregnable, he raised the siege, and by that means suffered the Empress and her brother to escape to Bristol.

A. D. 1138. The next year an unlucky accident fell out in Wales; Cynric, one of Prince Owen's sons, having by some means or other disgusted Madawc ap Meredith ap Blethyn ap Conlyn, a person of considerable esteem and estate in the country, was, with his connivance set upon and slain by his men. But the affairs of England this year, afforded greater rarity of action; King Stephen with a formidable army laid siege to the city of Lincoln, to the relief of which, Ranulph Earl of Chester, and Robert Earl of Gloucester, marched with their forces. But before they could arrive, the town was taken; whereupon they drew up their forces in order to give the king battle, who on the other side, was as ready to receive them. King Stephen drew up his forces in three battles, the first being led by the Earls of Britain, Mellent, Norfolk, Hampton, and Warren; the second by the Earl of Albemarle, and William of Ypres; and the third by the king himself, assisted by Baldwyn Fitz-Gilbert, with several others of his nobility. Of the enemy's side, the disinherited barons had the first place; the Earl of Chester, with a considerable party of Welchmen, far better couraged than armed, led the second; and the Earl of Gloucester the third battle. After a hot and bloody dispute of both sides, the victory at length favoured the barons, King Stephen being first taken prisoner, and a little after the queen, together with William of Ypres, and Bryan Fitz-Count. But within a while after, William Martell and Geoffrey de Mandeville gathered together some fresh forces, and fought the Empress and her brother at Winchester, and having put the Empress to flight, took Earl Robert prisoner, for exchange of whom, the king was set at liberty.

berty. The next year King Stephen would try the A. D. 1139. other adventure, and received a second overthrow at Wilton; which, however, did not so much discourage him, but that he laid so close a siege to the Empress at Oxford, that she was glad to make her escape to Wallingford. The same year died Madawc ap Ednerth, a person of great quality and note in Wales; and Meredith ap Howel, a man of no mean esteem, was slain by the sons of Blethyn ap Gwyn.

For the two succeeding years nothing remarkable 1140. passed in Wales; excepting that this year Howel ap Meredith ap Rhytherch of Cantref Bychan, and Rhys ap Howel were cowardly slain by the treachery and perfidious practices of the Flemings; and the next 1141. year Howel ap Meredith ap Blethyn was basely murdered by his own men; at which time, Howel and Cadwgan the sons of Madawc ap Ednerth, upon some unhappy quarrel, did kill each other. But shortly 1142. after this, an irreconcilable difference fell out betwixt Anarawd son to Gruffydh ap Rhys Prince of South Wales, and his father-in-law Cadwalader the son of Gruffydh ap Conan, and brother to Prince Owen Gwynedh; which from words quickly proceeded to blows. In this scuffle Anarawd was unhappily slain; which so exasperated Prince Owen against his brother Cadwalader, that together with his son Howel, he marched with an army into his brother's country, and after a considerable waste and destruction, burnt to the ground the castle of Aberystwyth. Cadwalader, upon the news of Prince Owen's approach, withdrew himself and fled to Ireland; where having hired a great number of Irish and Scots for two thousand marks, under the command of Oöter, and the sons of Turkel and Cherulf, he struck sail for Wales, and landed at Abermeny in Carnarvonshire. The Prince, to protract no time, marched with all speed to prevent their farther progress into the country; and both armies being come in view of each other, a peace was happily concluded betwixt the two brothers. The Irish understanding this, and how that their coming over was

like to prove but a fool's errand to them, they surpris'd and secured Cadwalader, till their wages and arrears were paid; who, to obtain his liberty, delivered to them two thousand heads of cattle, besides many prisoners, and other booty, which they had taken in the country. But as soon as the Prince was informed that his brother Cadwalader was set loose, without any farther demur upon the case, he fell in upon the Irish, and having slain a very considerable number of them, recovered all the booty they purpos'd to ship off, and forced as many as could escape, to return with great loss, and a greater shame back to Ireland.

But the Normans sped far better in Wales; Hugh son to Radulph Earl of Chester, having fortified his castle of Cymaron, set upon and won the country of Melienyth a second time; and the castle of Clun being fortified by another lord, all Eluel became subject to the Normans. The same time King Stephen took Geffry Mandeville prisoner at St. Albans, where the earl of Arundel, by the slip of his horse, was like to be drowned in the river. But the Earl of Mandeville, to obtain his liberty, delivered up to the king the tower of London, with the castles of Walden and Plassey, which reduced him to that condition, that he was forced to live upon the plunder and spoil of abbies and other religious houses, till at length he was slain in a skirmish against the king, and his son banished the kingdom.

A. D. 1144.

The next year a skirmish happened betwixt Hugh de Mortimer and Rhys ap Howel, wherein the latter was taken prisoner, with many others of his accomplices, who were all committed to prison by the English. But it fared much better with Howel and Conan the sons of Prince Owen, who having rais'd an army against the Flemings and Normans, gain'd a considerable victory at Abertiefi, and having plac'd a garrison in the town, returned home with great honour, and much booty.

About the same time, Sulien ap Rhythmarch, one of the college of Lhanbadarn, and a person of great reading and extensive learning, departed this life. Shortly after, Gilbert Earl of Clare, came with a great number
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of forces to Dyfed, and built the castle of Caermardhyn, and the castle of the sons of Uchtryd. Hugh A. D. 1145. Mortimer likewise slew Meyric ap Madawc ap Riryd ap Bleddu, and Meredic ap Madawc ap Ednerth. And so far it went of the side of the English; but now the Welch begin to gain ground; Cadelh the son of Gruffydh ap Rhys Prince of South Wales, laid siege to the castle of Dynefowr, belonging to Earl Gilbert, which being surrendered up, Cadelh, assisted by his brethren Meredith and Rhys, brought his army before the castle of Caermardhyn, which after a short siege yielded in like manner, reserving only this one condition, that the garrison should not be put to the sword.

From thence he marched to Lhanstephan, and set before the castle; to the relief of which the Normans and Flemings coming with their forces, were shamefully vanquished and overcome, and so the castle was easily delivered up to the Welch. But the Normans were so cruelly nettled at this, that they mustered up all the forces they could possibly draw together out of the neighbouring countries, and unexpectedly surrounded the castle, intending by all possible means to recover the same. But the governor, Meredith ap Gruffydh, a man of great years, and no less experience, so animated and encouraged the besieged, that when the Normans and Flemings ventured to scale the walls, they were beat back with such vigour, and loss of their side, that at length they were compelled to raise the siege, and leave the Welch in possession of the castle.

Shortly after this, Run the son of Prince Owen of North Wales, a youth of excellent hopes, and incomparable qualifications, died, whose death his father took so much to heart, that for some time he seemed to be past all comfort, being fallen into such a melancholy disposition, that he was diverted with nothing but retirement. But an accident fell out, which roused him out of this lethargical fit of sorrow and discontent; the castle of Mould was so very strong

and well garrisoned by the English, that it mightily annoyed the country thereabouts, and had been frequently besieged, but could never be taken. Prince Owen at this time levied an army and laid close siege to it; and the garrison for several assaults, behaved itself so manfully, that the place seemed impregnable and invincible. But the presence and example of Prince Owen so encouraged his men, that they fell on with all possible vigour and might, and at last forced their entrance into the castle. Having put a great number of the garrison to the sword, and taken the rest prisoners, the castle was razed to the ground; and this fortunate attempt so pleased the Prince, that he forgot all sorrow for his son, and returned to his usual temper and accustomed merriments. At the same time, King Stephen of England obtained a remarkable victory over his enemies at Farendon; and although the ensuing year Rondel Earl of Chester and he were reconciled, yet he thought it more adviseable to detain him prisoner, though contrary to his promise, until such time as the Earl would deliver up the castle of Lincoln, with all the forts and places of strength in his custody.

A. D. 1146. The next year, Cadelh, Meredith, and Rhys, the sons of Gruffydh ap Rhys ap Theodor, brought an army before the castle of Gwys; but finding themselves too weak to master it, they desired Howel, son to Prince Owen Gwynedh, a person famously remarkable for martial endowments, to come to their assistance. Howel, who was very desirous to signalize himself, and to evidence his valour to the world, readily consented to their request; and having drawn his forces together, marched directly towards Gwys, where being arrived, he was joyfully received, and honourably entertained by such lords as desired his help. Having viewed the strength and fortification of the castle, he found it was impracticable to take the place, without the walls could be destroyed; and therefore he gave order, that certain battering engines should be provided, whilst the rest should gaul and molest the besieged,

sieged, by throwing of great stones into the castle. The enemies perceiving what irresistible preparations the besiegers contrived, thought it to no purpose to withstand their fury; and therefore to do that voluntarily which must be done by compulsion, they presently yielded up the castle. Shortly after this a great difference happened betwixt the sons of Prince Owen, Howel, and Conan, and their uncle Cadwalader; whereupon the former entered with an army into the country of Merioneth, and committed great wastes and hostilities there, insomuch that the inhabitants flocked into sanctuaries to save their lives. But the young lords finding what fearful and unstable condition the people were in, and the better to draw them to their side, issued out their proclamation, assuring that all who would favour their country, should not only enjoy their lives, but their former liberty and accustomed privileges; upon the publication of which edict, the people returned to their own habitations. Having by this stratagem brought all the country under their own pleasure and good will, they led their army before the castle of Cynfael, belonging to Cadwalader, which he had built and strongly fortified. The government of this castle Cadwalader had committed to Merfyn, abbot of Tygwyn, or the White-House; who being summoned to surrender, by the brothers Howel and Conan, did not only refuse, but defied their utmost efforts upon the place. The lords finding they could do no good by threats and menaces, judged it more convenient to make use of the other extrem; and therefore promised the abbot a very high reward, if he would deliver the castle into their hands. But all proved to no effect, the abbot being a person, of more honesty and greater honour, than to be corrupted to betray his trust; told them flatly, That he would not deceive his master's expectation, and therefore would choose rather to die with honour, than to live with shame. The lords finding him inexorable, and withal being vexed, that a churchman should put such a stop to their fortunate proceedings,

made such a vigorous assault upon the castle, that after they had pulled down some part of the walls, they entered in by force, and ravaged so furiously, that they killed and wounded the whole garrison, the abbot only escaping, who by the help of some of his friends in Howel's army, got away safe. Towards the close of this year, several persons of note departed this life, among whom were Robert Earl of Gloucester, and Gilbert Earl of Clare, as also Uchthryd bishop of Llandaf, a man of great piety and learning, in whose see succeeded Nicholas ab Gurgant.

A D. 1147. The following year also died Bernard bishop of St. David's, and was succeeded by David Fitzgerald, then archdeacon of Cardigan. Sometime after, Prince Owen

1148. Gwynedh built a castle in Yale, called Castell y Rodwyth; and his brother Cadwalader built another at Lhanrytid, and bestowed his part of Cardigan upon his son Cadwgan. Also Madoc the son of Meredith ap Blethyn founded the castle of Oswestry, and gave his nephews Owen and Meyric the sons of Gruffydh ap Meredith his share of Cyfeilioc.

1149. The next year Conan son to Prince Owen Gwynedh for certain faults and miscarriages committed against his father, though the particulars are not discovered, was put in prison, where for some time he continued in custody. But it fared better with his brother Howel, who having made his uncle Cadwalader his prisoner, reduced all his country, together with his castle subject to himself. In South Wales, some business of moment happened this year; Cadell the son of Gruffydh ap Rhys having fortified the castle of Carmardhyn, marched with his army towards Cydwely, wasted and destroyed the whole country, and being returned home, joined his army with his brothers Meredith and Rhys, who entering into the country of Cardigan, won that part called Is Aeron. This was succeeded by an action of greater importance in North Wales; some irreconcilable difference arising betwixt Prince Owen, and Rondel Earl of Chester, quickly broke out into open war. The Earl made all the possible preparations

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tions the opportunity would permit, and drew together a considerable army from all parts of England, and which strengthened and encouraged him the more, he was joined by Madoc ap Meredith prince of Powys, who disdainng to hold his lands of prince Owen Gwynedh, chose rather to side with, and abet his enemies. The prince, on the other hand, was not backward in his preparations, and perceiving the enemy to come upon him, thought it not adviseable to suffer him to advance too far into the country, but to stop and prevent his career before he should take too firm a footing in his dominions. To this end he marched with his whole power as far as Counsylht, with full resolution to give the earl of Chester battle, which the English were glad of, as thinking themselves far more numerous, and much better armed and disciplined than the Welch. But both armies having joined battle, they quickly faltered in their expectation of undoubted success, and finding the Welch to press so irresistably severe upon them, they thought it wiser to retire, and endeavour to save themselves by flight. But the Welch pursued them so hard, that few escaped without being either slain or taken prisoners, and they some of the chief commanders, who through the fleetness of their horses, avoided the fury of their pursuers.

The next year, the scene of action removed to A. D. 1150. South-Wales, Cadell, Meredith and Rhys, the sons of Gruffydh ap Rhys prince of South Wales, being entered with an army into Cardigan, won all the country from Howel the prince of North-Wales's son, excepting the castle of Lhanfihangel in Pengwern. The siege of Lhanrystydd castle proved so difficult and unmanageable, that the young lords of South-Wales lost a great part of their bravest soldiers before it, which so troubled and vexed them, that when they got possession of the castle, they put all the garrison to the sword. From thence they marched to Ystratmeyric castle, which after they had won, manned and re-fortified, they disbanded their forces, and returned

turned home. But Cadelh, the eldest of the brothers, was upon the point of receiving his last blow by treachery at home, which he had escaped from the enemies abroad. For some of the inhabitants of Tenbigh in Pembroke-shire, having conceived some displeasure and hatred against Cadelh, were resolved to revenge themselves, and to lay a trap for his life; and having observed what pleasure he took in hunting, were resolved to execute their plot, whilst he was hot and eager at his sport. Observing therefore one day how he went a hunting with only a few companions, they placed themselves in an ambuscade, and when the game came that way, they unexpectedly set upon the unarmed sportsmen, and having easily made all the rest fly away, they wounded Cadelh so cruelly, that he narrowly escaped their hands alive; who making shift to get home, lay for a long time dangerously ill, and with great difficulty at length recovered his life. Upon this, his brothers Meredith and Rhys passed with an army into Gwyr, and having burnt and destroyed the country thereabouts, they besieged and took the castle of Aberlhychwyr, but finding they could not keep it, they rased it to the ground, and after that, returned home with great booty to Dynefawr, and repaired the fortifications of the castle there. About the same time also, Howel, Prince Owen Gwynedh's son, fortified Humphry's castle in the valley of Caletwr.

A. D. 1151. But the following year, prince Owen did a very barbarous action to Cunetha, his brother Cadwalhon's son, for fearing lest that this young man should lay claim to any part of his estate as his father's right, he first pulled out his eyes, and afterwards castrated him, for fear he should beget any children, who might some time or other renew their claim and right to Cadwalhon's estate. This inhuman severity was succeeded by another of no small remark; Llewelyn son to Madoc ap Meredith having watched a convenient opportunity, set upon, and slew Stephen the son of Baldwin. But Cadwalader, Prince Owen's brother

brother, after a tedious imprisonment which he had sustained through the malice and rancour of his nephew Howel, at length made his escape, and flying to the Isle of Anglesey, brought a considerable part of that island under his subjection. But prince Owen hearing how that his brother had got loose from custody, and that he was in actual possession of a great part of Anglesey, he presently dispatched an army over, which proving too formidable to Cadwalader's party, he was constrained to escape to England, and to desire succour from his wife's relations, who was the daughter of Gilbert Earl of Clare. This year Galfrede Arthur, commonly called Geffrey of Monmouth, was made bishop of St. Asaph, and at the same time Simon Archdeacon of Cyfeilioc, a man of great worth and esteem in his country died.

But the year following, Meredith and Rhys the sons A.D. 1152; of Gruffydh ap Rhys, Prince of South-Wales, laid siege to Penwedic castle, which belonged to Howel Prince Owen's son, and after great pains and considerable loss of men of their side, at last made themselves masters of it. From thence they marched by night to Tenby, and unexpectedly falling upon the castle, of which one William Fitzgerald was governor, they scaled the walls before the garrison were aware of any danger, and so possessing themselves of the castle, they fell foul upon the garrison, in revenge of the mischief they had done, and further designed to their brother Cadellh. For Cadellh at this time was gone upon a pilgrimage, and during his absence had committed his whole inheritance and all other concerns in Wales, to the care of his brethren Meredith and Rhys. But after the taking Tenby castle, they divided their army into two parties, with one of which Rhys marched to Ystratcongen, and after great havock and waste committed there, he passed to Cyfeilioc, which fared in like manner with Ystratcongen. Meredith, with the other party, sat before Aberavan castle, and after a short siege won and got possession of it, and then returned home with very considerable booty, and many rich spoils. About the same time

time Rondel, earl of Chester, who had lived in continual enmity and frequent hostility with prince Owen of North-Wales, departed this life, leaving his son Hugh to enjoy both his titles and estate in England, and to prosecute the feuds and hostilities against the Welch.

- A. D. 1153. And shortly after died Meredith, son to Gruffydh ap Rhys, prince of South-Wales, who was Lord of Cardigan, Ystratywy, and Dyfed, being not passed the twenty-fifth year of his age; a person of incomparable valor and audacity, and in all his warlike attempts and achievements very fortunate. He was presently followed by Geoffrey Bishop of Llandaf, a man as famous for learning and a good life, as the other was for masculine bravery and martial prowess. In England the face of things looked very lowering, Henry, surnamed Shortmantel, the empress' son, landed in England, and in his progress through the country took several castles, among which were Malmesbury, Wallingford, and Shrewsbury. But his fury was quickly appeased by the death of Eustace, king Stephen's son, so that the sole obstacle for his succeeding to the crown, being now removed, we willingly concluded a peace with king Stephen, permitting him to enjoy the crown peaceably for his life, upon condition that himself was declared his successor. But king Stephen did not long survive this treaty; and then Henry Plantagenet, the empress's son, was crowned in his stead. Towards the beginning of King Henry's reign, Rhys Gruffydh ap Rhys, king of South-Wales, upon apprehension that Owen Gwynedh had raised an army for the conquest of South-Wales, drew together all his strength, and marched to Aberdyfi to face the enemy upon their own borders. But finding the rumor to be false, and that the prince of North-Wales had no such design in hand, having built a castle at Abedyfi, which might defend the frontiers from any future design of his country, he returned back without attempting any thing farther. At the same time, Madoc ap Meredith built a castle at Caereoneon near Cymer, and then Eglwys Fair in Myfot, was

was founded. About this time also, Meyric, nephew to prince Madoc ap Meredith, made his escape out of prison, wherein he had been detained by his uncle for a considerable time.

The same year king Henry being displeas'd with the Flemings, whom his predecessor King Stephen had brought over into England, issued out a proclamation, charging the greatest part of them to depart his dominions, and to retire to their countrymen in West-Wales, where his grandfather, Henry the first the Bastard's son. had planted them. And thus that part of Wales, called Pembroke-shire, was over-run with these strangers, who being better befriended by the Kings of England, than the Welch could well expect to be, made sure footing in that country, where they have ever since continued firm. It was the English policy of those times to accept of any opportunity to curb and keep under the Welch, whom they experienced to be none of the safest neighbours, and therefore the kings of England did grant any lands and privileges in Wales to any that would accept of them, which, honestly, they had no power to bestow.

But this was not enough in detriment to the Welch,^{A. D. 1156.} for the year following, King Henry rais'd a very great army, which he gather'd from all parts of England, with purpose to subdue all North-Wales, being principally mov'd hereto, by the instigation of Cadwalader the prince's brother, whom Owen Gwynedh, for what reasons not known, deprived of his estate, and banish'd the country. Also Madoc ap Meredith, prince of Powis, who malign'd the liberty and privilege of the princes of North-Wales, who own'd subjection to no other than the king of England, whereas those of Powis were oblig'd to do homage to the prince of North-Wales, did jointly consent to this invitation. The king of England accepted of their proposals, led his army to West-Chester, and encamp'd upon the marsh call'd Saltney, in Welch, Morfa-Caer-Lleon. Prince Owen, all this while, was not ignorant of this intended invasion; and therefore having

having made all possible preparations to confront the enemy, he marched his army to the frontiers of England, and encamping at Basingwerk, resolved to give the English battle. King Henry understanding of the prince's resolution, detached some of the chiefeft troops out of the main-body, under the command of several earls and other lords, and sent them towards the prince's camp. But after they had advanced some little way, and were passing through a wood, called Coed-Eulo, David and Conon, prince Owen's sons, unexpectedly set upon them, and what by the advantage of the ground, and the suddenness of the action, the English were born down with a great slaughter, and those who survived narrowly escaped to the king's camp. This was a very unwelcome beginning to king Henry; but however, in order to prosper better hereafter, he thought it adviseable to decamp from Saltney, and to rank his troops along the sea-coast, thinking thereby to get betwixt prince Owen and his country, which if he could effect, he was sure to reduce the Welch to a very great inconveniency. But the prince, foreseeing the danger of this, retired with his army to a place called Cil Owen, that is, Owen's Retreat, which when King Henry perceived, he let fall his design, and came to Ruthlan. W. Parnus writes, that in this expedition against the Welch, King Henry was in great danger of his life, in passing through a strait at Counsylth near Flint, where Henry Earl of Essex, who by inheritance enjoyed the office of bearing the standard of England, being over-charged by the enemy, cast down the same and fled, This accident so encouraged the Welch, that they bore on so violently, that the king himself narrowly escaped, having of his party Eustace Fitz-John, and Robert Curcie, two valiant knights, together with several others of his nobility and gentry slain in the action.

After this prince Owen decamped from Cil Owen, and intrenched himself upon Bryn y Pin, where little of moment passed between the two armies, only some slight skirmishes happened frequently. King
Henry

Henry in the mean time fortified the castle of Ruthlan, and during his stay there, Madoc ap Meredith prince of Powis, sailed with the English fleet to Anglesey, and having put some men on shore, they burnt two churches, and ravaged part of the country about. But they paid very dear for it, for all the strength of the island being met together, they set upon them in their return to their ships, and cut them off in such a manner, that not one remained to bring tidings to the fleet of what had befallen them. But they on board quickly perceived what had happened, and therefore thought it not very safe harbouring upon that coast, but judging it more adviseable to weigh anchor, they presently set sail for Chester; when they were arrived thither, they found that a peace was actually concluded betwixt King Henry and prince Owen upon this article; That Cadwalader should have all his lands restored to him, and he received to the favour and friendship of his brother. Then king Henry leaving the castles of Ruthlan and Basingwerk well manned and fortified, and having near the latter founded a public structure for the order of Knights Templars, returned to England. But the troubles of Wales did not end with him, for Iorwerdh Goch ap Meredith who had taken part with the king of England during this war, laid siege to the castle of Yale, which was built by prince Owen, and making himself master of it, rased it to the ground.

The next year commenced with a very unfortu-A. D. 1157.
 nate action, Ifor ap Meyric having long before cast a very wishful eye upon the land and estate of Morgan ap Owen, was now resolved to put in execution what he had before contrived; and as covetousness seldom bears any regard to virtue or honour, he treacherously set upon him, and slew him; and with him fell Gurgan ap Rhys, the most famous British poet of his time. Morgan's estate Ifor bestowed upon his brother Iorwerth, who about the same time got also possession of the town of Caer-Lheon. But these inward and home-bred disturbances

sturbances were quickly mitigated by a general peace; which was presently after this concluded, betwixt the king of England and all the princes and lords of Wales, Rhys ab Gruffydh ap Rhys, prince of South-Wales, only excepted. For this prince Rhys, who probably would not rely too far upon the king of England's fidelity, refused to consent to a peace; but however, to secure himself the best he could from the English, whom he had no small reason to be afraid of, he thought it his best prudence to issue out his orders, commanding his subjects to remove their cattle and other effects to the wilderness of Tywy, where they were like to remain securest from the eyes and reach of the enemies. But he had not continued there long, when he received a more positive express from King Henry, commanding him to appear forthwith at his court, and to accept of the proposals of peace, before the joint forces of England and Wales were sent to fetch him up. Prince Rhys, having received such a threatening message, thought it now high time to repent of what he had afore so rashly resolved upon, and therefore after long consultation, he judged it his wisest way to accept of the king's proposals and to appear at court. There it was agreed upon, that Rhys, whose lands heretofore lay scattered about, and were intermixed with other person's estates, should enjoy Cantref Mawr, and any other Cantref which the king should be pleased to bestow upon him. But contrary to this article, the king assigned him several lordships and other lands far remote from each other, and particularly intermixed them with the estates of Englishmen, whom he was sure would be a watch and a curb to all the motions of prince Rhys. This was indeed a very politick contrivance of king Henry to keep under the high and restless spirit of Rhys; but the justice of the action does not so evidently appear in breaking one of the chiefest articles of the peace, and chopping and bestowing that which was not justly in his power to give. But it is manifestly apparent that the English of these times were mainly concerned right

of wrong to oppress and keep under the Welch, of whose mortal hatred to subjection they had so frequently and so cruelly felt. Prince Rhys was not at all ignorant of these wrongful and deceitful dealings of king Henry, but knowing himself to be unable to redress these grievances, he thought it more adviseable for a time to live quietly with a little, than rashly to hazard all. But in a short time he had opportunity either to demand redress from the king, or else to endeavour it himself by force of arms. For as soon as Roger earl of Clare was informed of the distribution which the king of England had granted to prince Rhys, he came to king Henry, requesting of his majesty, that he would grant him such lands in Wales, as he could win by force of arms. The king readily complied with his request, being always very forward to grant any thing which seemed to curb and discommode the Welch, and therefore the earl of Clare marched with a great army into Cardigan, and having fortified the castles of Ystrat-Meyric, Humphrey, Dyfi, Dynerth and Lhanrhytyd, he made several incursions into the country. In the same manner, Walter Clyfford who was governor of Lhanymdhvri castle, made inroads into the territories of prince Rhys, and after he had slain several of the Welch, and made great waste in the country, returned with considerable booty.

Prince Rhys as he was unable to bear these outrages, so he was resolved either to have immediate redress, or else to proclaim open war against the English, and therefore he sent an express to king Henry, complaining of the hostilities which his subjects the earl of Clare and Walter Clyfford had committed in his country. But finding the king to put him still off with only smooth words and fair promises, and that he always winked at the faults of the English and Normans, without any farther consultation about the matter, he laid siege to the castle of Lhanymdhvri, and in short time made himself master of it. Also Eineon the son of Anarawd, Rhys's brother's son, and a person of great valour, being desirous to

free his country from that miserable servitude they now groaned under, and judging withal that his uncle was now discharged from the oath he had lately sworn to the King of England sat before the castle of Humphrey, and having forcibly made his entrance into it, he put all the garrison to the sword, where he found a great number of horses and armour, enough to arm a considerable body of men. And whilst Eineon was thus engaged at Humphrey's castle, Prince Rhys perceiving that he could not enjoy any part of his inheritance but what he afterwards got by the sword, drew all his power together and entered Cardigan, where like a most violent torrent, he over-run the country, that he left not one castle standing of those which his enemies had fortified, and so brought all the country to his subjection. King Henry being sore offended at the progress which Prince Rhys so suddenly made against him, returned with a great army into South Wales, but finding it to no purpose to attempt any thing against the Prince, he thought it more adviseable to permit him to enjoy all that he had gotten, and only to take hostages for his observing of peace during his absence out of the kingdom, which Prince Rhys promising to do, he forthwith returned to England, and soon after went for Normandy, where he concluded a peace with the French King.

A. D. 1158. But the year following, Prince Rhys of South Wales without any respect to his promise to King Henry last year, led his forces to Dyfed, and destroyed all the castles that the Normans had fortified in that country, and then laid siege to Caermardhyn. But Reynold Earl of Bristol, the king's base son, being informed of it, called together the Earl of Clare, his brother-in-law Cadwalader, Prince Owen of North Wales's brother, Howel and Conan Owen's sons, with two Earls more, who with their joint forces marched to raise the siege. But Prince Rhys was wiser than to abide their coming, and therefore upon the first intimation of such great opposition, he retired to the mountains called Cefn Rester, and there encamped being

being sufficiently secure from any enemy, by the natural fortification of the place. The confederate army lay at Dynwylhir; and there built a castle, but finding no news or tidings of Prince Rhys, they returned home without effecting any thing of note. King Henry was still in Normandy, and there made war against the Earl of St. Giles, for the city and earldom of Tholouse.

Towards the beginning of this year, Madoc ap Meredith ap Blethyn Prince of Powis died at Winchester, whence his body was honourably conveyed to Powis, and buried at Myfod. He was a Prince very much affected to piety and religion, very charitable to the necessitous, and good to the distressed; but his great fault was, that he stickled too hard for the interest of the English, and was always in confederacy with King Henry against the good success of his native country. He had issue by his wife Sufanna, the daughter of Gruffydh ap Conan Prince of North Wales, three sons, Gruffydh Maylor, Owen and Elis, and a daughter named Marred. He had also three natural sons, Owen Brogynton, Cynwric Efelh, and Eineon Efelh, who though base born, yet according to the custom of Wales, co-inherited with their brethren who were legitimate.

And here it will not be amiss, once for all, to give a particular account of the principality, afterwards the lordships of Powis, how it came to be divided into many shares and portions, and by that means became so irrecoverably broken and weakened, that it was made subject to the Normans before the rest of Wales. For Powis before King Offa's time, reached eastwards to the rivers of Severn and Dee, in a right line from the end of Broxon hills to Salop, and comprehended all the country between the Wye and Severn, which was antiently the estate of Brochwel Yscithroc, of whom mention is made before. But after the making of Offa's dike, Powis was contracted into a narrower compass, the plain country towards Salop being inhabited by Saxons and Normans, so that the length of it reached north-east from Pul-

ford bridge to Lhangiric parish on the confines of Cardiganshire, to the south-west, and the breadth from the farthest part of Cyfeilioc westward, to Elfmere on the east-side. This principality, Roderic the Great gave to his youngest son Mersyn, in whose posterity it remained entire, till the death of Blethyn ap Confyn, who though he had divided it betwixt his sons Meredith and Cadwgan; yet it came again whole and entire to the possession of Meredith ap Blethyn. But he again broke the union, and left it between his two sons Madawc and Gruffydh; the first of which was married to Susanna the daughter of Gruffydh ap Conan Prince of North Wales, and had with her that part, afterward called by his name, Powis Fadoc. After his death, this lordship was divided also betwixt his sons Gruffydh Maelor, Owen ap Madawc, and Owen Brogynton, which last, though basely born, had however, for his incomparable valour and courage, a share of his father's estate, namely, Edeyrneon and Dinmael, which he left to his sons Gruffydh, Blethyn and Iorwerth. Owen Madawc had to his portion Mechain-is-Coed, and had issue Lhwelyn and Owen Fychan. But Gruffydh Maelor the eldest son, lord of Bromfield, had to his part, both the Maelors with Mochnant-is-Raydar, and married Angharad the daughter of Owen Gwynedh Prince of North Wales, by whom he had issue one son named Madawc, who held his father's inheritance entirely, and left it so to his only son Gruffydh, who was called Lord of Dinas Bran, because he lived in that castle: he married Emma the daughter of James Lord Audley, by whom he had issue Madawc, Lhwelyn, Gruffydh and Owen. This Gruffydh ap Madawc took part with King Henry the Third and Edward the First against the Prince of North Wales; and therefore for fear of the said prince, he was forced to keep himself secure within his castle of Dinas Bran, which being situated upon the summit of a very steep hill, seemed impregnable to all the daring efforts that could be used against it. After his death, Edward the First dealt very unkindly with his children, who were of age to manage their own

own concerns; and making two of them privately away, bestowed the wardship of Madoc his eldest son, who had by his father's will, the lordships of Bromfield and Yale, with the reversion of Maelor Saefnec Hopefdale and Mouldfdale his mother's jointure, on John Earl Warren; and the wardship of Lhewelyn, to whose share fell the lordships of Chirke and Nanhewdwy, to Roger Mortimer, third son to Roger Mortimer the son of Ralph Mortimer, Lord Mortimer of Wigmor. But Emma, Gruffydh's wife, having in her possession for her dowry, Maelor Saefnec, Hopefdale, and Mouldfdale with the presentation of Bangor rectory; and seeing two of her sons disinherited and done away, and the fourth dead without issue, and doubting lest Gruffydh her only surviving child could not long continue, she conveyed her estate to the Audley's, her own kin, who getting possession of it took the same from the king, from whom it came to the house of Derby, where it continued for a long time; till at length it was sold to Sir John Glynne, serjeant at law, in whose family it still remaineth. But Earl Warren and Roger Mortimer forgetting what signal service Gruffydh ap Madoc had performed for the king, guarded their new possessions with such caution and strictness, that they took especial care they should never return to any of the posterity of the legal proprietor; and therefore having obtained the king's patent, they began to secure themselves in the said lordships. John Earl Warren began to build Holt castle, which was finished by his son William, and so the lordships of Bromfield and Yale continued in the name of the Earls of Warren for three descents, viz. John, William and John, who dying without issue; the said lordships, together with the earldom of Warren descended to Alice sister and heir to the last John Earl Warren, who was married to Edmond Fitz Alan Earl of Arundel, in which house they remained for three descents, namely, Edmund, Richard, Richard his son, and Thomas Earl of Arundel. But for want of issue to this last, Thomas Earl of Arundel and Warren, the said lordships fell to two of his sisters,

whereof one named Elizabeth was married to Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk, and the other called Joan, to William Beauchamp Lord of Abergavenny: but since they came to the hands of Sir William Stanley knight, who being attainted of High treason, they devolved by forfeiture to the crown, and now are annexed to the principality of Wales. But Roger Mortimer the other sharer in the lands of Gruffydh ap Madoc, was made Justice of North Wales, built the castle of Chirke, and married Lucia the daughter and heir of Sir Robert de Wafre knight, by whom he had issue Roger Mortimer, who was married to Joan Turbervill, by whom he had John Mortimer Lord of Chirke. This John sold the lordship of Chirke to Richard Fitzalan Earl of Arundel, Edmund's son, and so it was again annexed to Bromfield and Yale.

The third son of Gruffydh Lord of Dinas Bran, named also Gruffydh, had for his part Glyn Dwr-dwy, which Gruffydh ap Gruffydh had issue Madoc Crupl, who was the father of Madoc Fychan, the father of Gruffydh, the father of Gruffydh Fychan, who was the father of Owen Glyndwr, who rebelling in the days of Henry the Fourth, Glyndwr-dwy by confiscation came to the King, of whom it was afterwards purchased by Robert Salisbury of Rug, in whose family it still remaineth. Owen the fourth son of Gruffydh Lord of Dinas Bran had for his share Cynlhaeth with the rights and privileges thereunto belonging. The other part of Powys, comprehending the countries of Arustly, Cyfeilioc, Lhannerch-hudol, Caereneon, Mochnach uwch Rayadr, Mechan uwch Coed, Moudhwy, Deudhwr, Ystrad Marchelch, and Teir Tref, or the Three Towns, rightfully descended to Gruffydh ap Meredith ap Blethyn, by Henry the First, created Lord Powis, who married Gweyryl or Weyryl the daughter of Urgene ap Howel ap Iesaf ap Cadogan ap Athlestan Glodryth, by whom he had issue Owen surnamed Cyfeilioc. This Owen enjoyed his father's estate entire, and married Gwenllhiam the daughter

ter of Owen Gwynedh Prince of North Wales, who bore him one son, named Gwenwynwyn or Wenwynwyn, from whom that part of Powis was afterwards called Powis Wenwynwyn. He had moreover a base brother, called Caswalhon, upon whom he bestowed the countries of Swydh Lhannerch Hudol, and Braniarth. Gwenwynwyn succeeded his father in all his estate, saving what Caswalhon enjoyed, and married Margaret the daughter of Rhys ap Theodor Prince of South Wales, by whom he had Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, who succeeding his father in all his possessions, had issue six sons, by Margaret the daughter of Robert Corbet, brother to Thomas Lord Corbet of Cous; and so the entire estate of Gruffydh ap Meredith ap Blethyn Lord of Powis, became shattered, and torn into divers pieces. Owen, Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn's eldest son, had for his part Arustly, Cyfeilioc, Lhannerch Hudol, and a part of Caereleon; Lhwelyn had Mochnant uwch Rayadr and Mechain uwch Coed; John the third son, had the fourth part of Caereleon; William had Moudhwy; Gruffydh Fychan had Deudhwr Ystrat-Marchel, and Teir Tref; and David the sixth and youngest son, had the other fourth part of Caereleon. Owen ap Gruffydh had issue one only daughter, named Hawys Gadarn, or the Hardy, whom he left his heir; but her uncles Lhwelyn, John, Gruffydh Fychan and David, thinking it an easy matter to dispossess an orphan, challenged the lands of their brother Owen, alledging for a cloak to their usurpation, that a woman was not capable of holding any lands in that country. But Hawys made such friends in England, that her case was made known to King Edward the Second, who bestowed her in marriage upon a servant of his, named John Charleton, termed *Valeetus domini regis*, who was born at Appley near Wellington, in the county of Salop, *anno* One thousand two hundred sixty-eight, and in her right, created him Lord Powis.

This John Charleton Lord Powis, being aided and supported by the King of England, quickly broke all their measures; and having taken Lhwelyn, John, and David, his wives uncles, he put them in safe custody, in the king's castle of Harlech; and then obtained a writ from the King to the Sheriff of Shropshire, and to Sir Roger Mortimer, Lord of Chirkland, and Justice of North Wales, for the apprehension of Gruffydh Fychan, with his sons-in-law, Sir Roger Chamber and Hugh Montgomery, who were then in actual hostility against him and his wife Hawys. But Gruffydh Fychan and his accomplices suspecting their own strength, and having lost Thomas Earl of Lancaster, their main support, thought it most adviseable to submit themselves to the king's pleasure, touching the difference betwixt them and Hawys; who finding upon record, how that Gruffydh ap Meredith, ancestor to the said Hawys, upon his submission to King Henry the First, became subject to the King of England, and thereupon was created Baron of Powis, which barony he and his posterity had ever since held *in capite* from the king; was of opinion, that Hawys had more right to her father's possessions now in their hands, than any pretence they could lay to her estate. But to make a final determination of this matter, and to compose the difference more amicably betwixt them; it was agreed, that Hawys should enjoy her inheritance in fee-simple to her and her heirs for ever, after the tenure of England; and that her uncles Lhwelyn, John, David, and Gruffydh, should quietly enjoy their portion, and the same to descend to their heir males perpetually; but in default of such heir males, the same was to descend to Hawys and her heirs. But William Lord of Mowdwy, the fourth brother, called otherwise Wilcock Mowdwy, because he did not join with the rest against Hawys, had all his lands confirmed to him, and to all his heirs, both male and female for ever. He married Elianor, the sister of Elen, Owen Glyndwr's mother, who was lineally descended from Rhys ap Theodore, Prince of South Wales, by whom

whom he had issue John de Mowdhwý; whose daughter Elizabeth, being heir to his whole estate, was married to one Sir Hugh Burgh, knight. His son Sir John Burgh, Lord of Mowdhwý, married Jane the daughter of Sir William Clapton of Gloucestershire, by whom he had four daughters, Elizabeth, Ancreda, Isabel and Elianor; the first of whom was married to Thomas Newport, the second to John Leighton of Stretton; the third to John Lingen; and the younger to Tho. Mytton; who, by equal distribution, had the lordship of Modhwý divided betwixt them.

But John Charleton Lord of Powis had issue by his wife Hawys, a son named John, who enjoyed the same lordship for about seven years, and then left it to his son, of the same name, who was Lord of Powis fourteen years; and then it descended to his son, called also John Charelton who enjoyed his father's estate twenty-seven years; but dying without issue, the lordship of Powis fell to his brother Edward Charleton. This Edward had issue by his wife Elianor, the daughter and one of the heirs of Thomas Earl of Kent, and the widow of Roger Mortimer Earl of March, two daughters, Jane and Joyce; the first of which was married to Sir John Gray, knight; and the second to John Lord Tiptoft, whose son was by King Henry VI. created Earl of Worcester. But after the death of Elianor, this Edward Lord Powis married Elizabeth the daughter of Sir John Barkley, knight; and so after his death, which happened in the year 1420, the lordship of Powis was divided into three parts, whereof his widow Elizabeth had for her jointure Lhannerch Hudol, Ystrad Marchelh, Deudhwr and Teirtref, and was afterwards married to Lord Dudley. Jane his eldest daughter had Careneon, Mechain, Mochnant, and Plasdinas; and Joyce had Cyfeilioc, and Arustly. But the lordship of Powis continued in the family of Sir John Gray, for five descents, in right of his wife Jane; the last of whom, Edward Gray, Lord Powis, married Anne, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and died without any lawful issue.

Dugdale
Bar. Engl.
tom. II.
p. 284

issue. This Edward Lord Powys, in 15 Henry VIII. accompanied the Duke of Suffolk in the expedition then made into France, and was at the taking of Bray, and other places then won from the French. And in 36 Henry VIII. being again ready to march in the King's service, he made his last testament, whereby he settled the succession of his whole barony and lordship of Powys, his castle and manor of Pool, with divers other lordships in the county of Montgomery, and all the rest of his estate in the county of Salop, upon the heirs of his own body lawfully begotten, or to be begotten; and in default of such issue, his castle and manor of Charlton and Pontisbury in Shropshire, upon Jane Orwell, daughter of Sir Lewis Orwell, knight, and her assigns, during her natural life. And in case he should die without any issue of his own body lawfully begotten, that then Edward Grey, his illegitimate son by the same Jane Orwell, should have and enjoy his said barony and manor of Powis, his castle and manor of Pool, and all other his lordships in the county of Montgomery; with the reversion of the castle and manor of Charlton and Pontisbury, to him and his heirs lawfully begotten; and for lack of such issue, to remain to that child, in case it should be a son, wherewith the same Jane Orwell was then great by him, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten. But if it should not prove a son, or if the son die without issue, then that the whole barony of Powis and all the premises before-mentioned, should come to Jane Grey his daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten; and for lack of such issue, to Anne Grey, his other daughter, and heirs of her body lawfully begotten; and lastly for default of such issue, to such woman-child as should be born of the body of the said Jane Orwell. But after Edward Grey, the title of Lord of Powis lay extinct to the fifth year of King Charles I. when Sir William Herbert son of Sir Edward Herbert of Redcastle (aniently called Pool-castle, now Powis castle) in the county of Montgomery, second son to William Earl

of Pembrock, was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of the realm, by the title of Lord Powis of Powis, in the marches of Wales; in whose family it still continues, though the title has been changed from a Baron to an Earl, and since to a Marquis.

About the same time that the Prince of Powis died, Cadwalhon ap Madawc ap Ednerth, who had been for some considerable time at variance with his brother Eineon Clyd, was taken prisoner by him; who delivered him up to Owen Prince of North Wales. But the Prince being willing to gratify the king of England, whose interest Cadwalhon has as much as in him lay opposed, sent him to the king's officers to be imprisoned at Winchester; from whence he quickly found a way to escape: and by the advice of the rest of his brethren he returned home to his country. King Henry continued all this while in Normandy, and during his stay there, a match was concluded upon betwixt his son Henry and Margaret daughter to Lewis king of France. But this new alliance could not prevent these two monarchs from falling at variance with each other, which happened the year following; and thereupon King Henry marched with his army into Gascoyne, to quell certain rebels, who upon first notice of this breach between both kings, were up in arms against the English. But the next year, a peace was again concluded, and so all things returned to their former state of amity and quietness.

But it was not so in Wales; for Howel the son of Ievaf ap Cadwgan ap Athlestan Glodryth, having got into his hand the castle of Walwern in Cyfeilioc, rased it to the ground, which so incensed Prince Owen, who was owner of it, that nothing could lay his fury, till he had drawn his forces together, and made an incursion into Lhandhinam in Arustly, Howel's country; which he cruelly harrassed, and carried away considerable booty. The people of the country perceiving these devastations of the North Wales men, came together to the number of three hundred men, offering their service to their natural Lord, Howel ap Ievaf; who

who upon this addition of strength, followed the enemy to the banks of Severn, where they were encamped. Prince Owen finding them to march after him, was glad of the opportunity to be further revenged upon Howel; and so turning suddenly upon them, he slew about two hundred men; the rest narrowly escaping with Howel to the woods and rocks. Owen being more joyful for the revenge he had taken of Howel, than for any victory he had gained, rebuilt Walwern castle, and having well fortified and manned it, returned home to North Wales.

A. D. 1162. The year following, the like thing happened; Owen the son of Gruffydh ap Meredith, commonly called Owen Cyfeilioc o Wynedh, together with Owen ap Madawc ap Meredith, and Meredith ap Howel, set upon Carrechofa castle near Oswestry, and having over-powered the garrison, committed great waste and destruction therein. But about the same time, a pleasant passage happened in England; Robert Mountford and Henry de Essex, who had both fought against the Welch upon the marches, and both run, began now to impeach each other, as being the first occasion of flying. The dispute was to be tried by combat, in which being engaged, Henry was overcome; and for his false accusing of Robert, he was sentenced to have his estate forfeited, and then having his crown shorn, he was entered a monk at Redding. Within a little after, King Henry calling to mind what Prince Rhys had committed during his absence out of the kingdom, drew up a great army against South Wales, and having marched as far as Pencadyr near Brecknock, Rhys met him, and did his homage; and having delivered up hostages for his future behaviour, stopped the king's farther progress, so that thence he returned to England. But after the king's departure, two very unlucky accidents happened in Wales; Eineon the son of Anarawd ap Gruffydh, nephew to Prince Rhys, being villainously murdered in his bed by his own servant, called Walter ap Lhywarch; as also Cadwgan ap Meredith in like manner,

ner, by one Walter ap Riccart. But the loss of his nephew Prince Rhys made up, by possessing himself of that large country called Cantref Mawr, and the land of Dynefowr, which he afterwards enjoyed. Of men of learning there died this year, Cadisfor ap Daniel, archdeacon of Cardigan; and Henry ap Arthen, the greatest scholar that had flourished in Wales for many years.

The next year, a total rupture broke forth betwixt A. D. 1163. the English and Welch; Prince Rhys, a man of an active and uncontrollable spirit, being now experimentally sensible he could never carry on the greatness and grandeur of his quality, with such lands as the king of England had allotted him, made an invasion into the lordship of Roger de Acre Earl of Gloucester; being moved thereto in a great measure, by reason that his nephew Anarawd ap Gruffydh was murdered by his motive and instigation. Being advanced with a strong army into the Earl of Gloucester's estate, without any great opposition he took Aberheidol castle, with those belonging to the sons of Wyhyaon; all which he rased to the ground. Thence he marched to Cardigan, bringing all that country under his subjection; and from thence he marched against the Flemings, whose country he cruelly harrassed with fire and sword. The rest of the estates of Wales, perceiving Prince Rhys to prosper so successfully against the English, thought they might equally succeed, and shake off the English yoke, which so unreasonably oppressed them. And therefore they unanimously agreed to cast off their subjection to the English, whose tyranny they could no longer bear, and to put over them princes of their own nation, whose superiority they could better tolerate. And so this year concluded with making suitable preparations for the following campaign.

And therefore as soon as the time of year for action 1164. was advanced, David son of Owen Prince of North-Wales fell upon Flintshire, which pertained to the king of England; and carrying off all the people and cattle with him, brought them to Dyffryn Clwyd, other-

otherwise Ruthyn land. King Henry understanding this, gathered together his forces, and with all speed marched to defend both his subjects and towns from the incursions and depredations of the Welch. Being come to Ruthlan, and encamped there three days, he quickly perceived he could do no great matter, by reason that his army was not sufficiently numerous; and therefore he thought it more adviseable to return back to England, and to augment his forces, before he should attempt any thing against the Welch. And accordingly he levied the most chosen men throughout all his dominions of England, Normandy, Anjou, Gascoin and Gwien; besides those succours from Flanders and Britain; and then set forward for North Wales, purposing to destroy without mercy every living thing he could possibly meet with; and being advanced as far as Croes-Oswalt, called Oswestry, he encamped there. On the other side, Prince Owen and his brother Cadwalader, with all the strength of North Wales; Prince Rhys with those of South Wales; Owen Cyfeilioc and Madawc ap Meredith with all the power of Powis; the two sons of Madawc ap Ednerth, with the people living betwixt the rivers of Severn and Wye, met together, and pitched their camp at Corwert in Edeyrneon, intending unanimously to defend their country against the king of England. King Henry understanding that they were so near, was very desirous to come to battle; and to that end he removed to the banks of the river Ceireoc, causing all the woods thereabouts to be cut down, for fear of any ambushment lurking therein, and for a more clear prospect of the enemy. But some of the Welch took advantage of this opportunity, who being well acquainted with the passage, without the knowledge of their officers, fell upon the king's guard, where all the pikemen were posted; and after a hot skirmish, several were slain on both sides. But in fine, the king won the passage, and so marched on to the mountain of Berwyn, where he lay sometime without any hostility on either side, both armies standing in fear of each other. The English kept the open plains, and were

were afraid to be entrapped in the streights and narrow passages; and the Welch on the other hand watched the advantage of the place, and observed the English so narrowly, that neither forage or victuals could pass to the king's camp. And what augmented the misery of the English army, there happened to fall such a rain, that mightily disturbed their encampment, in so much that the soldiers could scarcely stand, for the disadvantage of those slippery hills. But in the end King Henry was forced to decamp, and after a very considerable loss of men and ammunition, besides the great charges of this expedition, was compelled to return back to England. But to express the great dissatisfaction he entertained of this enterprise, in a great fury he plucked out the eyes of the hostages, which he had some time afore received from the Welch; which were Rhys and Cadwalhon the sons of Owen Prince of North Wales, and Cynric and Meredith the sons of Rhys of South Wales. Some write, that in assailing of a bridge, the king was in no small danger of his life; one of the Welch having aimed directly at him, was like to pierce him through the body, had not Hubert de Clare, Constable of Colchester, who perceived the arrow a-coming thrust himself betwixt the king and it, though to the loss of his own life.

But though King Henry was shamefully forced to return to England, yet he did not give over the thoughts of subduing the Welch; and therefore after a long consultation, he made a third expedition into Wales, conveying his army by sea, as far as Chester. There he staid for some time, till all his fleet, as well those ships that he had hired out of Ireland, as his own, were all arrived. But when they were all come together, and got safely to Chester, his mind was altered; and instead of a design against Wales, he unexpectedly dismissed his whole army. Prince Rhys was glad of this opportunity, and therefore withdrawing his forces from the confederate army, he marched to the siege of Aberteifi castle, which being surrendered to him, he rased to the ground. From thence

he got before Cilgerran, which he used after the same manner, and therein took prisoner Robert the son of Stephen his cousin-german, who was the son of Nest his aunt, who after the death of Gerald, had married Stephen Constable. The joy of these happy successes on the part of the Welch, was somewhat clouded by the death of Lhwelyn, son of Owen Prince of North Wales, a person of great worth and exceedingly well beloved of all his country.

A. D. 1165. And now the Welch being something secure from any invasion from the English; there rose up another enemy to create them disturbance; the Flemings and Normans finding the English to fail in their attempt against the Welch, thought they might with better success quell and subdue them. And therefore they came to West Wales with a great army, and laid siege to the castle of Cilgerran, which Rhys had lately fortified; but after two different assaults, they were manfully beat back, and forced to depart home again. But what the Flemings could not affect against the Welch in South Wales, the Welch easily brought about against the English in North Wales; for Prince Owen having besieged Basingwerk castle, then in the possession of the king of England, without much time spent, made himself master of it. But it was always the misfortune of the Welch, that when they found themselves secure from any enemy abroad, they were sure to quarrel and fall out at home; though indeed it could not be well otherwise expected, where so many petty states endeavoured still to surmount and out-vie one another. And now when all things went very successfully of their sides, in opposition to the English; two ambitious persons began to kindle a flame in their own bosoms; Owen Cyfeilioc the son of Gruffydh ap Meredith Lord of Powis, and Owen Fychan second son to Madawc ap Meredith, forcibly dispossessed Iorwerth Goch of his estate in Powis, which they divided betwixt themselves; Mochnant uwch Rayadr to Owen Cyfeilioc, and Mochnant is Rayadr to Owen Fychan.

But

But the rest of the princes of Wales could not A. D. 1166. brook this injury done to Iorwerth Goch; and therefore Owen Prince of North Wales, with his brother Cadwalader, and Rhys Prince of South Wales, went with an army into Powis against Owen Cyfeilioc, and having chased him out of the country, they bestowed Caereleon upon Owen Fychan, to hold it of Prince Owen; and Rhys had Walwern, by reason that it lay near his own territories. But within a while after, Owen Cyfeilioc returned with a numerous band of Normans and English along with him, and laid siege to the castle of Caereleon, which he burnt to the ground. But the loss of this place was made up by the taking of Ruthlan castle, which Owen, Rhys, and Cadwalader jointly besieged; and which was so strongly fortified, and so manfully defended, that it cost them three months before they could make themselves masters of the place. Afterwards they won the castle of Prestatyn, and reduced the whole country of Tegengl, subject to Prince Owen; and then returned home to their respective dominions. And from henceforward nothing of moment was trans- 1167. acted, during the remainder of Prince Owen's reign, only his son Conan most unmercifully slew Urgeney abbot of Lhwythlawr, together with his nephew Lhawthen. But a little after, Prince Rhys of South 1168. Wales released out of prison his nephew Robert, son to Stephen Constable, whom as is said before, he had taken at the siege of Cilgarran castle, and sent him to Ireland to the aid of Dermot the son of Murchart king of Linster, who was then in actual war with the king of Leinster. With him and his brother Morris Fitz-Gerald, and their nephews Robert Meyler and Raymond, went over a strong detachment of Welchmen, under the command of Richard Strongbow Earl of Strigule, who were the chief motive of the conquest of Ireland, when it was first brought in subjection to the crown of England.

But the next year, Owen Gwynedh son of Gruf- 1169. fydh ap Conan prince of North Wales, departed this life in the two and thirtieth year of his reign.

A.D. 1169. He was a wise and valourous prince, ever fortunate and victorious in all his undertakings, inso-much, as he never undertook any design but what he accomplished. He had by different women several issues, who got themselves greater esteem by their valour, than by their birth and parentage. He had by Gwaldus the daughter of Lhywarch ap Trahaern ap Caradoc, Iorwerth Drwyndwn, or the Broken Nose, Conan Maelgon, and Gwenthian; by Christian the daughter of Grono ap Owen ap Edwyn, he had David, Roderic, Cadwalhon abbot of Bardsey and Angharad, afterwards married to Gruffydh Maylor. He had by other women several other children, as Conan, Lhwelyn, Meredith, Edwal, Rhun, Howel, Cadelh, Madawc, Eineon, Cynwric, Philip, and Ryrid Lord of Clochran in Ireland. Of these, Run, Lhwelyn, and Cynwric died before their father; and the rest will be mentioned in the sequel of this history.

DAVID AP OWEN.

P RINCE Owen Gwynedh being dead, the succession was of right to descend to his eldest legitimate son, Iorwerth Drwyndwn, otherwise called Edward with the Broken Nose; but by reason of that blemish upon his face, he was laid aside as unfit to take upon him the government of North Wales. Therefore his younger brothers began every one to aspire, in hopes of succeeding their father; but Howel, who was of all the eldest, but base born, begotten of an Irish woman, finding they could not agree, stepped in himself and took upon him the government. But David, who was legitimately born, could not brook that a bastard should ascend his father's throne; and therefore

therefore he made all the preparations possible to pull him down. Howel on the other hand was as resolute to maintain his ground, and was not willing so quickly to deliver up, what he had not very long got possession of; and so both brothers meeting together in the field, were resolved to try their title by the point of the sword. The battle had not lasted long, but Howel was slain; and then David was unanimously proclaimed and saluted Prince of North Wales, which principality he enjoyed without any molestation, till Lhwelyn, Iorwerth Drwyndwn's son came of age, as will hereafter appear. But Madawc, another of Owen Gwynedh's sons, finding how his brothers contended for the principality, and that his native country was like to be turmoiled in a civil war, did think it his better prudence to try his fortune abroad; and therefore leaving North Wales in a very unsettled condition, sailed with a small fleet of ships which he had rigged and manned for that purpose, to the westward; and leaving Ireland on the north, he came at length to an unknown country, where most things appeared to him new and uncustomary, and the manner of the natives far different from what he had seen in Europe. This country, says the learned H. Lhoyd, must of necessity be some part of that vast tract of ground, of which the Spaniards, since Hanno's time, boast themselves to be the first discoverers; and which by order of Cosmography, seems to be some part of Nova Hispania or Florida; whereby it is manifest, that this country was discovered by the Britains, long before either Columbus or Americus Vesputius sailed thither. But concerning Madawc's voyage to this country, and afterwards his return from thence; there be many fabulous stories and idle tales invented by the vulgar, who are sure never to diminish from what they hear, but will add to and increase any fable as far as their invention will prompt them. However says the same author, it is certain that Madawc arrived in this country, and after he had viewed the fertility and pleasantness of it, he thought it expedient to invite more of his countrymen out of Britain; and therefore leaving most of

those he had brought with him already behind, he returned for Wales. Being arrived there, he began to acquaint his friends with what a fair and extensive land he had met with, void of any inhabitants, whilst they employed all their skill to supplant one another, only for a ragged portion of rocks and mountains; and therefore he would persuade them to change their present state of danger and continual clashings for a more quiet being of ease and enjoyment. And so having got a considerable number of Welch together, he bid his final adieu to his native country, and sailed with ten ships back to them he had left behind. It is therefore to be supposed, says our author, that Madawc and his people inhabited part of that country, since called Florida, by reason that it appears from Francis Loves, an author of no small reputation, that in Acufanus and other places, the people honoured and worshipped the cross; whence it may be naturally concluded, that christians had been there before the coming of the Spaniards; and who these christians might be, unless it were this colony of Madawc's cannot be easily imagined. But by reason that the Welch who came over, were not many, they intermixt in a few years with the natives of the country, and so following their manners and using their language, they became at length undistinguishable from the barbarians. But the country which Madawc landed in, is by the learned Dr. Powel supposed to be part of Mexico; for which conjecture he lays down these following reasons; first, as it is recorded in the Spanish chronicles of the conquest of the West Indies, the inhabitants and natives of that country affirm by tradition, that their rulers descended from a strange nation, which came thither from a strange country; as it was confessed by King Montezuma, in a speech at his submission to the king of Castile, before Hernando Cortez the Spanish general. And then the British words and names of places used in that country, even at this day do undoubtedly argue the same; as when they speak and confabulate together, they use this British word

Gwrandu,

Gwrando, which signifies to hearken or listen; and a certain bird with a white head, they call Pengwyn, which signifies the same in Welch. But for a more complete confirmation of this, the island of Corroeso, the cape of Bryton, the river of Gwyndor, and the white rock of Pengwyn, which are all British words do manifestly shew, that it was that country which Madawc and his people inhabited.

As soon as the troubles of North Wales were over, A. D. 1117. and Prince David securely settled in his throne, the storm fell presently upon Powis: for Owen Cyfeilioc the lord of the country, had always, as much as in him lay, opposed the interest and advantage of Rhys Prince of South Wales; upon which account Prince Rhys came with a great army against Powis, and having subdued Owen Cyfeilioc his enemy, he was for all that so favourable to him, that upon his delivering him pledges for his future behaviour, he presently departed out of Powis, and returned with much honour to South Wales. And now all the states of Britain being at perfect rest and amity with one another, the whole tide and scene of action returned to Ireland; for Henry king of England having called together all his nobility, began to consult about the Irish expedition, which had already been determined to be taken in hand. To this consultation there came some messengers from Richard Strongbow Earl of Strigule Marshal of England, to deliver up to the king's hands the city of Dublin, the town of Waterford, with all such towns and castles as he got in right of his wife; whereupon the king restored to him all his lands both in England and Normandy, and created him Lord Steward of Ireland. For this Earl Strigule had lately, without the king's permission, gone over to Ireland, and had married the daughter of Dermott king of Dublin; which King Henry took in such indignation, that he presently seized upon all his lands in England and Normandy. Therefore the king having now some footing in Ireland, the expedition was unanimously concluded upon; and

so the king set upon his journey, and coming towards Wales was received by Prince Rhys, whose submission the king liked so well, that he presently confirmed to him all his lands in South Wales. To return the king's favour, Rhys promised to his Majesty three hundred horses and four thousand oxen toward the conquest of Ireland; for the sure payment of which he delivered fourteen pledges. Then King Henry marching forward, came to Caerlleon upon Uske, and entering the town, he dispossessed the right owner Iorwerth ap Owen ap Caradoc, and kept it for his own proper use, placing a garrison of his own men therein.

But Iorwerth was not so easy-mouthed, as to be so unreasonably curbed by the king; and therefore departing in a great fury from the king's presence, he called to him his two sons Owen and Howel, whom he had by Angharad the daughter of Uchtryd bishop of Llandaf, and his sister's son Morgan ap Sitsyhlt ap Dyfnwal; and bringing together all the forces they were able, upon the king's departure they entered the country, and committing all the waste and destruction as they came along, they at last came before Caerlleon, which when they took, they used in the like manner, spoiling and destroying whatever they could meet with; so that nothing escaped their fury, excepting the castle, which they could not win. The king was in the mean time upon his journey to Pembrock, where being accompanied by Prince Rhys, he gave him a grant of all Cardigan, Ystratywy, Arustly, and Eluel; in recompence of all the civilities and honour he paid him. And so Rhys returned to Aberteifi, a town he had lately won from the Earl of Gloucester, and there having prepared his present, about the beginning of October he returned again to Pembrock, having ordered eighty-six horses to follow him; which being presented to the king, he accepted of thirty-six of the choicest, and returned the rest with great thanks. The same day King Henry went to St. David's, and after he had offered to the memory of that saint, he dined with the bishop, who was the son

son of Gerald, cousin-german to Rhys; whither Richard Strongbow Earl of Strygule came from Ireland to confer with the king. Within a while after, King Henry being entertained by Rhys at the White-House, restored to him his son Howel, who had been for a considerable time detained as a pledge, and appointed him a certain day for payment of his tribute, at which time, all the rest of the pledges should be set at liberty. The day following, being the next after the feast of St. Luke, the king went on board, and the wind blowing very favourably, set sail for Ireland; and being safely arrived upon those coasts, he landed at Dublin; where he rested for that whole winter, in order to make greater preparations against the following campaign.

But the change of the air and climate occasioned such a raging distemper and infection among the soldiers, that to prevent the perishing of his whole army, A. D. 1172. the king was forced to return with what speed he could back for England; and so having shipped off all his army and effects, he loosed anchor, and landed in Wales in the Passion-week next year, and coming to Pembrock, he staid there on Easter-day, and then proceeded upon his journey towards England. Rhys hearing of the king's return, was very officious to pay him his devotion, and would gladly feign to be one of the first who should welcome him over; and so meeting with him at Talachan, he expressed all the ceremonies of duty and allegiance. Then the king passed on, and as he came from Caerdyf by the new castle upon Usk, meaning to leave Wales in a peaceable condition, he sent for Iorwerth ap Owen ap Caradoc, who was the only person in open enmity against him, and that upon very just ground, willing him to come and treat about a peace, and assuring him of a safe conduct for himself, his sons, and all the rest of his associates. Iorwerth was willing to accept of the proposal, and thereupon set forward to meet the king, having sent an express to his son Owen, a valourous young gentleman, to meet him by the way. Owen, according to his father's orders, set forward on his journey, with a small

retinue, without any thing of arms or weapons of war, as thinking it folly to clog himself with such needless carriage, when the king had promised a safe conduct; But he did not find it so safe; for as he passed the new castle upon Uske, the Earl of Bristol's men, who were garrisoned therein, laid in wait for him as he came along, and setting cowardly upon him, slew him, with most of his company. But some few escaped to acquaint his father Iorwerth of such a treacherous action; who hearing that his son was so basely murdered, contrary to the king's absolute promise of a safe passage; without any farther consultation about the matter, presently returned home with Howel his son, and all his friends, and would no longer put any trust or confidence in any thing that the king of England, or any of his subjects, promised to do. But on the other side to avenge the death of his son, who was so cowardly cut off; he presently raised all the forces that himself and the rest of his friends were able to do; and so entering into England, he destroyed with fire and sword all the country, to the gates of Hereford and Gloucester. But the king was so intent upon his return, that he seemed to take no great notice of what Iorwerth was doing; and therefore having by commission constituted Lord Rhys Chief Justice of all South Wales, he forthwith took his journey to Normandy. About this time died Cadwalader ap Gruffydh, the son of Gruffydh ap Conan, sometime Prince of North Wales; who by his wife, Alice the daughter of Richard Clare Earl of Gloucester, had issue, Cunetha, Radulph, and Richard; and by other women, Cadfan, Cadwalader, Eineon, Meredith Goch, and Cadwalhon. Towards the end of this year Sitsylht ap Dyfnwal, and Iefan ap Sitsylht ap Riryd, surpris'd the castle of Abergavenny, which belonged to the king of England, and having made themselves masters of it, they took the whole garrison prisoners.

A. D. 1173. But the following year, there happened a very great difference, and a falling out betwixt King Henry and his son of the same name; this latter being upholden by the queen his mother, his brothers Geoffrey and Richard,

Richard, the French King, the Earl of Flanders, together with the Earl of Chester, William Patrick, with several other valiant knights and gentlemen. But the old King having a stout and faithful army, consisting of Almanes and Brabanters, was not in the least dismayed or discouraged at such a seeming storm; and which made him more bold and adventurous, he was joined by a strong party of Welchmen, which Lord Rhys had sent him, under the command of his son Howel. King Henry overthrew his enemies in divers encounters, and having either killed or taken prisoners most of them who were rose up against him, he easily dissipated the cloud which at first seemed so black and threatening. Iorwerth ap Owen was not very sorry to see the English clash, and fall into civil dissentions among themselves; and therefore taking advantage of such a seasonable opportunity, he drew his army against Caerlleon, which stood out very stiffly against him. But after many warm disputes of both sides, Iorwerth at length prevailed, and entering the town by force, he took most of the inhabitants prisoners; and then laying siege to the castle, it was surrendered up in exchange for the prisoners he had taken in the town. Howel his son at the same time was busy in Gwent is Coed; and having reduced all that country, excepting the castle, to subjection, he took pledges of the inhabitants, to be true and faithful to him, and to withdraw their allegiance from the King of England. At the same time, something of action passed in North-Wales; for David ap Owen Gwynedh, Prince of North-Wales, bringing an army over the river Menai into Anglesey, against his brother Maelgon who kept that island from him, forced him to make his escape to Ireland; in his return from whence the following year, he was accidentally discovered and seized upon, and then by his brother's orders committed to close prison. Prince David having brought the isle of Anglesey to its pristine state of subjection to him, was resolved to move all manner of obstacles which might at any time for the future endanger its falling off from him; and these he judged to be his own next relations,
and

1174. and therefore he expelled and banished all his brethren and cousins out of his territories of North-Wales. But before this sentence was put in execution, his brother Conan died, and so escaped the ignominy of being banished his native country, for no other reason but the jealousy of an ambitious brother.

About the same time, Howel the son of Iorwerth ap Owen of Caerlleon, took prisoner his uncle Owen Pencarn, who was right heir of Caerlleon and Gwent; and now having him secure, and to prevent his getting any children to inherit those places which himself was next heir to, he first pulled out his eyes, and then very inhumanly cut off his testicles. But vengeance did not permit such a base action to go unpunished; for upon the Saturday following, a great army of Normans and Englishmen came unexpectedly before the town, and won both it and the castle, notwithstanding all the opposition which Howel and his father Iorwerth made; though this last was not privy to his son's action. About the same time King Henry came over to England, a little after whose arrival, William king of Scots, and Roger de Moubray, were taken prisoners at Alnewike by the Barons of the north, as they came to destroy the northern part of the country in the quarrel of the young King. But old King Henry having committed them to the safe custody of the Earl of Leicester, and received Hugh Bygod Earl of Chester to his mercy, returned to Normandy with a very considerable army of Welchmen, which David prince of North-Wales had sent him; in return of which, he gave him his sister Emme in marriage. When he was arrived in Normandy, he sent a detachment of the Welch to cut off some provisions which were going to the enemies camp; but in the mean time the French King came to a treaty of peace, which was shortly afterwards concluded upon; so that all the brethren, who had all this time maintained such an unnatural rebellion against their father, were forced to beg the old King's forgiveness and pardon for all their former misdemeanours. David Prince of North

North Wales began to grow very bold and assuming, by reason of his new alliance with the King of England; and nothing would serve his turn, but he must put his brother Roderic in prison, and secure him with fetters, for no other account, than because he demanded his share of his father's lands. It was the custom of Wales, as is said before, to make an equal division of the father's inheritance between all the children; and therefore David had no colour of reason or pretence to deal so severely with his brother; unless it were to verify that proverb; *Might overcomes right*. But though Prince David might depend much upon his affinity with the King of England; yet Rhys Prince of South-Wales gained his favour and countenance the more, by reason that he let slip no opportunity to further the King's interest and affairs in Wales, and by that means was a very necessary and useful instrument to keep under the Welch; and to promote the surer settlement of the English in the country. Not that he bore any love or affection to either King Henry or his subjects; but because he was sufficiently rewarded for former services, and was still in expectation of receiving more favours at the King's hands, he was resolved to play the politician so far, as to have regard to his own interest, more than the good of his native country. And what did ingratiate him to King Henry most of all, upon the feast of St. James he brought all such lords of South-Wales as were at enmity with the King, to do him homage at Gloucester; namely, Cadwalhon ap Madawc of Melyenyth, his cousin-german; Eineon Clyt of Eluel, and Eineon ap Rhys of Gwerthrynon, his sons-in-law; Morgan ap Caradoc ap Iestyn of Glamorgan; Gruffydh ap Ifor ap Meiric of Sengennyth, and Sitylht ap Dyfnwal of Higher Gwent, all three his brothers-in-law, who had married his sisters; together with Iorwerth ap Owen of Caerlleon. King Henry was so well pleased with this stratagem of Rhys, that notwithstanding these persons had been his implacable enemies, he readily granted them their pardon, and received them to favour; and restored to Iorwerth ap Owen the town and castle of Caerlleon, which he had unjustly taken from him.

This

A.D. 1175. This reconciliation betwixt King Henry and these Welch lords, some of the English in Wales took advantage of, and more particularly William de Bruce Lord of Brecknock, who having for a long time a great longing to Gwentland, could not bring about his design, by reason that Sitsylht ap Dyfnwal, the person of greatest sway and power in the country, was an inveterate enemy to all the English. But being now reconciled to the King, William de Bruce, under pretence of congratulating this new peace and agreement between the English and Welch, invited Sitsylht and Geffrey his son, with several others of the persons of chiefest note in Gwentland, to a feast in his castle of Abergavenny, which by composition he had lately received from them. Sitsylht, with the rest, came according to appointment, and without the least suspicion of any treasonable designs; but after they had been civilly entertained for some time, William Bruce, to move a quarrel against them, began at last to propound certain articles to them, to be by them kept and performed; and among other unreasonable conditions, they were to swear, that none of them should at any time carry with them bow or sword. The Welch refusing to consent to and sign such improper articles as these; William Bruce presently calls out his men, who were ready for that purpose, and bidding them fall to their business, they most treacherously fell upon and slew the innocent and naked Welch; and as if it did not sufficiently express their cruelty and inhumanity, they immediately went to Sitsylht's house, which stood not far from Abergavenny, and taking hold of Gwladus his wife, they slew her son Cadwalader before her face, and then setting fire to the house, they packed her away to the castle. This execrable murder being thus most barbarously, and which was worst of all, under pretence of friendship and kindness, committed; William Bruce, to cloak his treason with some reasonable excuse, and to make the world believe it was not for any private interest or expectation he had done such an act, as he knew would be by all men abhorred; caused it to be reported

ported abroad, that he had done such a thing in revenge of the death of his uncle Henry of Hereford, whom the Welch on the Eastern-Even before had slain. But whilst these things passed in South-Wales, Roderic, David Prince of North-Wales's brother, made his escape by some means or other out of prison, and fleeing to Anglesey, he was received and acknowledged by all the country on the other side the river Conwey, for their Lord and Prince; which they were the more willing to do, by reason that they conceived an utter abhorrence of Prince David, who contrary to all rules of equity, and almost nature, had disinherited all his brethren and cousins; as boldly relying upon his affinity and relation to the King of England. But David perceiving the storm to grow very violent, and that the country did numerously flock and adhere to his brother Cadwalader, thought it his best way to stay a while, till the storm was abated; and so retired over the river Conwey. Towards the end of this year, Cadelh the son of Gruffydh ap Rhys, and brother to Lord Rhys, after a tedious fit of sickness, and taken upon him the Monkish order, departed this life, whose body was very honourably interred at Stratflur.

In the spring of the following year, died also David ^{1176.} Fitz-Gerald Bishop of Menevia, or S. Davids, whose see was supplied by one Piers, being nominated thereunto by the King of England. But what happened most remarkable this year; the Lord Rhys Prince of South-Wales made a very great feast at Christmas in his castle of Aberteifi, which he caused to be proclaimed through all Britain, Ireland, and the islands adjacent, some considerable time before; and according to their invitation, many hundreds of English, Normans, and others coming to Aberteifi, were very honourably received, and courteously entertained by Prince Rhys. But among other tokens of their welcome and entertainment, Rhys caused all the bards or poets throughout all Wales to come thither; and for a better diversion to the company, he provided chairs to be set in the hall, in which the bards being seated, they were to answer each other in rhyme; and those
that

that acquitted themselves most handsomely, and overcame the rest, were promised great rewards and rich presents. In this poetical disceptation, the North-Wales bards obtained the victory, with the applause and approbation of the whole company; and among the professors of musick, between whom there was no small strife, Prince Rhys's own servants were accounted the most expert. But for all this civil and obliging treatment of Prince Rhys, the Normans upon the marches fell to their accustomed manner of treacherous way-laying, and privately assaulting the harmless and undesigning Welch; and therefore Eineon Clyt Rhys his son-in-law, and Morgan ap Meredith, falling into the net which the Normans had deceitfully laid for them, were treacherously murdered. Therefore, to keep the Normans under greater fear and awe for the future, Prince Rhys built a castle at Rhayadr Gwy, being a place where the river Wye falls with a very great noise and precipitation down a great rock. But this castle was like to stand him in a double stead; for it was not long after he had perfectly finished it, that the sons of Conan ap Owen Gwynedh made war against him; but finding upon trial that their design against Rhys was impracticable, they thought it more adviseable to retire back to North-Wales.

The next year, Cadwalhon, brother to Owen Gwynedh, an uncle to David and Roderic, who for fear of his brother had some time ago fled for refuge to the King of England; as he was conveyed home by some of the King's servants, to enjoy his patrimonial Estate in Wales, was by those barbarous and treacherous villains murdered in his journey. This year the sepulchre of that famous and noble British King Arthur, with his wife Gwenhofar (by the means of some Welch bard, whom King Henry had heard at Pembrock relate in a song the worthy and mighty acts of that great Prince, and the place where he was buried) was found in the isle of Afalon, without the Abbey of Glastenbury; their bodies being laid in a hollow elder tree, buried fifteen foot in the earth. The bones of King Arthur were of marvelous and almost incredible

dible bigness, having ten wounds in the skull, whereof one being considerably larger than the rest, seemed to be his death-blow; and the Queen's hair seemed to the sight to be fair and yellow, but when touched crumbled presently to dust. Over the bones was laid a stone, with a cross of lead, upon the lower side of which stone were engraven these words:

HIC JACET SEPULTUS INCLYTUS REX
ARTHURUS IN INSULA AVALONIA.

*Here lies buried the famous King ARTHUR in the
isle of Avalon.*

No action of moment had passed in Wales this long time, and the Welch were in perfect amity and concord with the King of England; but some unlucky accident fell out at last to dissolve this happy union and agreement. One Ranulph de Poer, who was sheriff of Gloucestershire, or rather as Giraldus Cambrensis observes, of Herefordshire, being a cruel and unreasonable oppressor of the Welch, put the Lord of Gwentland to death; in revenge of whom a certain young person of that country, set upon Ranulph with several other gentlemen his companions, and slew them to a man. King Henry was implacably enraged at this news, and so cruelly incensed, that he presently raised and drew together all his power, and came to Worcester, intending to march forward to Wales, and to invade the enemies country. But the Lord Rhys ap Gruffydh, a subtle and a politick Prince, thinking it impossible to withstand the English army, and fearing the King's puissance, which he perceived to be so implacably bent against the Welch, went in person to Worcester, and swearing fealty to the King, became his perpetual liege-man; and for the due observance of this contract, he promised to send his sons and nephews for pledges. But when he would have persuaded them to answer his request, the young men considering with themselves, how former pledges had not been very genteely treated by the English, refused

refused to go; and so the whole matter rested for that time. What became of the matter afterwards we know not; but probable it is, that King Henry returned to England satisfied with Rhys's submission; for we hear no more of his coming to Wales. And so the country remained quiet and undisturbed for a long time; till at length the Welch began to fall to their wonted method of killing and murdering one another. Cadwalader Prince Rhys's son was privately murdered in West-Wales, and buried in the Ty Gwyn. And the year following, Owen Fychan the son of Madawc ap Meredith, was slain by night in the castle of Car-
 1185. A.D. 1186. rergova near Oswestry, by Gwenwynwyn and Cadwalhon the sons of Owen Cyfeilioc. But what was most unnatural of all, Llewelyn, whose father Cadwalhon ap Gruffydh ap Conan was lately murdered by the Englishmen, was taken by his own brothers, who very barbarously put out his eyes. About the same time, Baldwyn, Archbishop of Canterbury, being attended by Giraldus Cambrensis, took a progress into Wales, being the first Archbishop of Canterbury that visited that country; whose authority the clergy of Wales in vain opposed, though they stily alledged the liberties and priviledges of their metropolitan church of S. Davids. In this visitation, described by Giraldus in his *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, he persuaded many of the nobility of Wales to go to the Holy Land against those prevailing enemies of christianity, the Saracens; to whose prevailing
 1187. greatness, Jerusalem itself was now in great danger to become subject. The Archbishop having left the country, Malegon the son of Lord Rhys brought all his power against Tenbigh, and having by force made himself matter of it, burnt the whole town to the ground, and so carried away very considerable spoil. He was a person of such civil behaviour and easy access, of so comely personage, and honesty in all his actions, that he attracted the most earnest love and affection of all his friends; by which means he became very terrible and formidable to his enemies, especially the Flemings, of whom he obtained divers victories and conquests.

The next year, being the year of Christ 1189, A. D. 1189. Henry the Second, surnamed Courtmantel, king of England died, and was buried at Fonteverard; after whom, his son Richard, called Curdelyon, was by the unanimous consent of all the peers and nobility of England, crowned in his place. Prince Rhys being thus deprived of his greatest friend, thought it his wisest way to make the best provision he could for himself, by enlarging his dominions, and extending the bounds of his present territories; and therefore having raised all the strength he could, he won the castles of Seynclere, Abercorran, and Lhanstephan; and having taken and committed to prison Maelgwn his son, who was the greatest thorn in his side, as one that was most passionately beloved by the South Wales men, he brought the whole country to his subjection. Then he built the castle of Cydwely; but 1190: what took away from him the joy of all this good fortune, he lost his daughter Gwenthian, a woman of such incomparable beauty, and exceeding in all feminine qualifications, that she was accounted the fairest and best accomplished lady in all the country. And 1191 not long after her died Gruffydh Maylor, lord of Bromfield, a man of great prudence and experience, and one that excelled all the nobility of his time in hospitality, and all other acts of generosity and liberality. His corps was carried to Myfod, and honourably interred there, being attended by most of the persons of quality throughout the whole country. He had issue by his wife Angharad daughter of Owen Gwynedh prince of North Wales, a son called Madawc, who succeeded his father in that part of Powys, called from him Powys Fadawc. Rhys, prince of South Wales, was growing very powerful, and had made himself master of the greatest part of South Wales, only with some few places more, Dynefawr held out still; which however, upon the first assault he made against it, was delivered up to him. But as he increased in the number of towns and castles, he had the misfortune to have that of his children diminished; for his daughter Gwenthian was lately deceased; and

now he had no sooner got Dynefawr castle into his possession, but his son Owen died at Strata Florida, or Yftratflur. King Richard was gone to the Holy Land against the Saracens; but on his return to England, he won the kingdom of Cyprus, and gave it to Gwido king of Jerusalem, upon condition he would resign his former title to him: during his stay in this island, he married Berengaria the daughter of the king of Navarre.

A. D. 1192.

Maelgon, Prince Rhy's son had been now detained a long time in prison, where his father had shut him up; but being at last utterly weary of such a close confinement, he found some means or other to get out, and to make his escape. His father Prince Rhys was not so troubled at his being broke out, and that he had got his liberty, as to give over the conquest, which all this while he had gone so furiously on with; but laying siege to Lhanhayaden castle he took it without any great opposition, and brought all the country about to his subjection. And what favoured him more in his attempts against the English, King Richard having most bravely signalized himself against the infidels, in his return home through Austria, was taken prisoner by Duke Leopold, who presented him to the Emperor Henry, who demanded 200,000 marks for his ransom; laying to his charge, that he had spoiled and plundered the island of Sicily in his voyage, to the Holy Land. And as Rhys took the advantage of King Richard's absence to subject South Wales; so Roderic brother to David Prince of North Wales, made use of Gothrike's the king of Man's help, to get the principality of North Wales to himself, and eject his brother. And therefore entering into Anglesey, he quickly reduced the whole island to his subjection. But he did not enjoy it long; for before the year was over, the sons of his brother Conan came with an army against him, and forcing him together with the king of Man to fly the island, they took present possession of it themselves. And while these things were done in North Wales, Maelgon, Prince Rhys of South Wales his son, who was lately escaped from prison, besieged Yftratmeyric castle, and after some small

oppo-

opposition got into his own hands upon Christmas night; which encouraged him to farther attempts. And at the same time, his brother Howel, surnamed Says, or the Englishman, by reason that he had served for some time under the king of England, another son of Prince Rhys, got by surprize the castle of Gwys, and having secured Philip de Gwys the owner, with his wife and two sons, he made them all prisoners of war. Then the two brothers Howel and Maelgon joined their forces; but fearing that they had more castles than what they were able to defend, they thought it convenient to rase Lhanhayaden castle; which the Flemings having notice of, they gathered all their power together, and coming to Lhanhayaden at the day appointed, they unexpectedly set upon the Welch, and slew a great number of them. But notwithstanding this sudden and unhappy accident, they thought it necessary to destroy the castle; and so coming to Lhanhayaden the second time, they rased it to the ground, without any molestation from, or appearance of any enemy to disturb them. But when Anarawd, another son of Prince Rhys, saw how prosperously his brothers succeeded, he thought to make himself as rich as they, and by a shorter and an easier method; and therefore having under a smooth pretence of friendship and love got his brothers Howel and Madawc in private, being moved with ambition and covetousness to enjoy their estates, he first made them prisoners, and then very unnaturally pulled out their eyes. But Maelgon escaped this snare, and hearing what a foul action was committed, he promised his brother Anarawd the castle of Ystratmeyric, for the liberty and releasement of his two brothers, which Anarawd granted. But it is no wonder that those brothers could be unnatural and cruel to one another, who could join and agree to rebel against their father; and now Prince Rhys having rebuilt the castle of Rhayadr Gwy, was laid wait for, and taken prisoner by his own sons, who were afraid, that in case their father had them once in his power, he would severely revenge their cruel and unnatural deeds. But Howel proved more kind and dutiful than the rest;

who, though blind, found a way to let his father escape out of Maelgon's prison, and so Prince Rhys being set at liberty, he took and destroyed the castle of Dynefwr, which belonged to his son Maelgon. But tho' he succeeded in this attempt, yet he lost another castle elsewhere; for the sons of Cadwalhon ap Madawc of Melyenydh being informed that Prince Rhys was detained prisoner by his son Maelgon, they besieged Rhayadr Gwy castle, which being surrendered up to them, they fortified for their own use.

But whilst these unhappy differences, and unnatural clashings betwixt Prince Rhys and his sons, continue and rage in South Wales, a new revolution of affairs happened in North Wales. Prince David had now enjoyed the sceptre of North Wales for above twenty-four years; and one would think, that so long a possession would secure him in his throne, that it could not be very easy to pull him down. But possession is not always the surest card, which proved very true in Prince David's case at this time; for Llewelyn the son of Iorwerth Drwyndwn, who was the eldest son of Owen Gwynedh prince of North Wales, being now arrived to years of maturity, and having sense enough to understand what a just title and claim he had to the principality of North Wales, of which his uncle David had so unjustly kept him out; he thought it high time to endeavour to recover what was lawfully his own, which however he was well persuaded his uncle David would never easily part with. And therefore being well assured that the justness of his title would never mount him up to the throne, without he had an army at his heels to help him on; he called together all his friends and relations by his mother's side, who was Marred the daughter of Madawc ap Meredith prince of Powys, and having drawn to his side his cousins the sons of Conon ap Owen Gwynedh, and Rhodri ap Owen, he came into North Wales, proclaiming how against all justice his uncle David had first disinherited his father Iorwerth, and then had kept the government from him who was the right heir. And though his father Iorwerth had been incapable

able of taking upon him the government by reason of some infirmity; yet there was no reason that his father's weakness should exclude and turn him out; and therefore, being now sensible of what he was not capable to understand in his youth, he laid claim to the principality, which was justly his own. But there was no great need of conjuring to understand his claim, nor of much rhetorick to persuade the people to own him for their prince; whose affection was cooled, and almost worn off from David, ever since he had dealt so unnaturally with his brothers, whom after he had deprived of their estates, he banished out of the country. And therefore before Llewelyn could expect to have any sure footing, the whole country of North Wales was at his devotion, excepting only three castles, which David by the help of the English, in whom, by reason of his affinity with the late King Henry, he depends much upon, kept to himself. And thus David being deprived of almost all that he formerly possessed, we shall reckon him no more among the princes of North Wales, but restore the principality to the true heir Llewelyn ap Iorwerth.

LHEWELYN AP IORWERTH.

LHEWELYN ap Iorwerth the son of Owen Gwynedh, having thus successfully carried on his just claim to the dominion of North Wales, and being quietly settled in the government of it, Roger Mortimer marches with a strong body to Melyenith, and built the castle of Cymaron, whereby he reduced that country to his subjection, and forced thence the two sons of Cadwalhon ap Madawc that were governors thereof. About this time Rhys and Meredith, two valiant, but undutiful sons of Prince Rhys, having got together a body of hot-headed, daring soldiers, came before Dynefawr, and took the castle that was garrisoned by their father's men: hence they proceeded to Cantre-Fychan, where the country civilly

received them, and surrendered up the castle to them. At this their father was justly incensed, and therefore to put a stop to their farther proceedings, he endeavoured by all means to take them, which not long after happened; for their adherents now began to be touched with the sense as well of their treason against, as of their allegiance due to their lawful lord Prince Rhys; and therefore to atone for their past faults, and to procure his future favour, they betrayed their rebellious leaders to their offended father, who immediately committed them to safe custody.

A. D. 1196. The ensuing year Prince Rhys levies a great army, whose first attempt was upon the town and castle of Caermadthyn, both which he took in a short time and destroyed, and then returned with considerable booty. Not long after he led the said army to the marches, and invested the castle of Clun, which was not so easily taken as the former; for this cost him a long siege, and many a fierce assault; and therefore to be revenged of it, when he took it he laid it in ashes; thence he proceeded to the castle of Radnor, which he likewise won; but immediately after it cost him a bloody battle; for he was no sooner master of the castle, but Roger Mortimer and Hugh de Say came with a numerous and well-disciplined army, consisting of Normans and English, to the relief of it. Whereupon Prince Rhys thinking it not his best course to confine his men within the walls, led them up into a champaign ground hard by, and there, like a valiant prince, resolved to give his enemies battle, though they had much the advantage of him; for his men were neither so well armed, nor so much accustomed to battle as the others were; however, their courage made amends for their arms; and their leader's prudence and conduct supplied the defects of their discipline; for they chose rather to die honourably in the defence of their country, than shamefully to survive the loss of it: and therefore they attacked their enemies so valiantly, that they were not long able to withstand their force, but quitted the field in great disorder, leaving a great number of their men behind them

them slain upon the spot; and Prince Rhys pursued them so warmly, that they were glad of the shelter of the night to protect them from his fury. After this victory, he besieged the castle of Payne in Elfel, which he easily took, and kept in his own hands, till William de Bruce, the owner thereof, came to him, and humbly desired peace of him, which he granted him, and withal delivered him up his castle again. Not long after, the archbishop of Canterbury (whom King Richard had substituted his lieutenant in England) marches with a powerful army towards Wales, and besieges the castle of Gwenwynwyn, at the pool; but the garrison made such a vigorous defence, that he lost a great many of his men, and all his attempts proved ineffectual; therefore he sent for some pioneers, whom he ordered to undermine the walls; which when the besieged understood, they bethought of securing themselves on the most honourable terms they could; they were not willing to put themselves to the hazard of a battle, for their enemies were thrice their number; therefore they proposed to surrender up the castle, on condition they should carry off all their arms along with them: which offer the archbishop accepted of, and so permitted the garrison to march out quietly. Then fortifying the castle for the king's use, and putting a strong garrison in it for its defence, he returned again to England. But Gwenwynwyn was not so willing to part from his castle, as never to attempt the recovery of it; therefore as soon as he understood that the archbishop was gone back, he immediately besieged it, and shortly after received it on the same terms that his men had delivered it up, and afterwards kept it for his own use.

The following year there broke out a terrible plague, which spread over all Britain and France, and carried off a great number of the nobility, besides common people. This year likewise died the valiant Rhys, Prince of South Wales; the only stay and defence of that part of Wales; for he it was that got them their liberty, and secured it to them. He often very readily exposed his own life for the defence of

A. D. 1197. theirs and their country; generally he got the better of his enemies, and at last either brought them entirely under his subjection, or forced them to quit their country. He was no less illustrious for his virtuous endowments, than for his valour and extraction; so that it was with good reason that the British bards and others wrote so honourably of him, and so mightily deplored his death.

To this prince were born many sons and daughters, whereof his eldest son Gruffydh succeeded him: the others were Cadwalhon, Maelgon, Meredith, and Rhys. Of his daughters, one called Gwenthian was married to Ednyfed Fychan, ancestor to Owen Tudor that married Katharine queen-dowager to King Henry the Fifth: and the rest were very well matched with some of the nobility of the country. Prince Gruffydh being settled in the government of his country, did not long enjoy it peaceably; for his troublesome brother Maelgon thought it now a fit time to endeavour the recovery of the inheritance his father had deprived him of. To this purpose he makes a league with Gwenwynwyn, the son of Owen Cyfeilioc, lord of Powys, and by their joint interest got together a considerable body of men, wherewith they surpris'd Prince Gruffydh at Aberystwyth, whom, after they had slain a great many of his men, they took prisoner. Thus Maelgon effectually accomplished his design in the recovery of the castle, and the whole country of Cardigan. His unfortunate brother he committed to the custody of his spiteful confederate Gwenwynwyn, who immediately out of malice delivered him up to the mercy of his inveterate enemies the English. After this Gwenwynwyn having got together an army entered Arustly, and brought it to his subjection.

David ap Owen, whom Prince Llewelyn had forced to quit his usurpation of the principality of North Wales, had hitherto lived quietly and peaceably, not so much out of kindness to his nephew, as because he knew not how to redress himself; but now having got a great army of English and Welch, he used his utmost efforts to recover his principality. Whereupon Prince Llewelyn

Llewelyn who was the right heir, and in possession of it, came on boldly to meet him, and gave him battle, wherein he shamefully routed his army, and took his uncle David prisoner, whom he delivered into safe custody, whereby he secured to himself and his country peace and quietness. Towards the close of this year Owen Cyfeilioc lord of the Higher Powys departed this life, and left his estate to Gwenwynwyn his son, after whom that part of Powys was called Powys-Wenwynwyn, to distinguish it from the other called Powys-Fadoc, the inheritance of the lords of Bromfield. Much about this time Trahaern Fychan, a man of great power and authority in the county of Brecknock, was suddenly seized upon as he was going to Llancors to confer about some business with William de Bruce lord thereof, and by an order of the lords, tied to an horse's tail and dragged through the streets of Brecknock to the gallows, where he was beheaded, and his body hung up by the feet for three days. Which barbarity inflicted on him for no known just cause, so frightened his brother's wife and children, that they fled their country for fear of the same usage. The year following Maelgon, who had before routed A. D. 1198. his brother Prince Gruffydh's army, and taken him prisoner, begins now to enlarge his territories, and takes in his brother's castles of Aberteifi and Ystratmeyric. Also the youngest son of Prince Rhys about this time recovered the castle of Dynefowr from the Normans.

The same summer, Gwenwynwyn took up a resolution of attempting to extend Wales to its antient limits; and for this purpose he raises a powerful army, with which he first designs to be avenged of William de Bruce for the inhuman death of his cousin Trahaern Fychan, and therefore he besiegeth his castle of Payn in Elfel, where he makes a protestation, that as soon as he had taken it, for a farther satisfaction to his revenge, he would unmercifully ravage the whole country as far as Severn. But these mighty menaces were soon blown over; for he had neither battering engines nor pioneers, so that he was forced to lay before the

the castle for three weeks without effecting any thing; whereby the murderers had time enough to apply themselves to England for succours, which they obtained. For upon this Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Lord Chief Justice of England levies a considerable army, to which he joins all the Lords Marchers, and comes in all haste to the relief of the place, where he meets Gwenwynwyn; with whom before he would hazard a battle, he was desirous to have a treaty of peace, to which Gwenwynwyn and his adherents would in no wise hearken or condescend, but returned in answer, that their business there was to be revenged of old injuries done them. Hereupon the English lords resolved to enlarge Prince Gruffydh of South Wales, whom they knew to be an inveterate enemy of Gwenwynwyn, as he that delivered him up to their hands; and likewise to be a man of great authority in his country, therefore they rightly concluded he might be more serviceable to them when at liberty than under confinement, wherein they were not disappointed; for he immediately got together a strong body of his countrymen, and joining with the English advanced towards the castle, where they furiously attacked Gwenwynwyn, who made no less vigorous defence; hereupon there ensued a bloody battle, with a great slaughter on both sides, but at length the English got the victory, and Gwenwynwyn lost a great number of common soldiers (if we believe Matthew Paris, 3700 men) besides a great many of his best commanders, among whom were Anarawd, son of Eineon, Owen ap Cadwalhon, Richard ap Iestyn, and Robert ap Howel. Meredith ap Conan was likewise taken prisoner, with many more. After this the English returned home triumphantly, and requited Prince Gruffydh's service with a perfect liberty, who immediately, partly by his own force, partly by the affection of his people, repossessed himself of all his dominions, save the castles of Aberteifi and Ystratmeyric, which his usurping brother Maelgon, by the assistance of Gwenwynwyn, had, during his confinement by the English, taken from him, and still unjustly detained. Hereupon,

some

some of Prince Gruffydh's prime nobility and clergy came to him, and offered him their endeavours of reconciling him to his brother, and made him so apprehensive of his just displeasure at him, that he took a solemn oath before them, that in case his brother would give him hostages for the security of his own person, he would deliver him up his castle of Aberreifi by a day appointed; which proposals Prince Gruffydh accepted of, and accordingly sent him his demands: but it was the least of Maelgon's intention to make good his part, or else he was very inconstant in his resolution; for he had no sooner received the hostages, but instead of delivering up the castle, he fortifies it, and puts in a garrison for his own use, and commits the hostages to the custody of Gwenwynwyn, Prince Gruffydh's mortal enemy; but not long after, their innocency procured them an opportunity of an escape.

In the year 1199, Maelgon still pursuing his hatred A. D. 1199. of his brother Prince Gruffydh, gets an army, wherewith he besiegeth his castle of Dynerth, which he was master of in a short time, and then put all the garrison to the sword. But about the same time Prince Gruffydh in lieu of this, won the castle of Cilgerran, and strongly fortified it. This year Richard the First of England, as he was besieging the castle of Chalons in France, was shot from the walls with an arrow, whereof he not long after died, and left his kingdom to his brother John, who thereupon was with great solemnity crowned at Westminster. But he could not expect to enjoy this kingdom peaceably; for his elder brother Geoffrey Plantagenet had left a son behind him named Arthur, whose right to the crown of England was by lineal descent; which now therefore he justly lays claim to, and by the assistance of King Philip of France (who espoused his quarrel) endeavours to recover. But before Prince Arthur had made sufficient preparations to carry on his design, he was unexpectedly set upon by his uncle, his army routed, and he himself taken prisoner, and committed to
safe

safe custody; not long after which, he died, and so King John was rid of his competitor.

A. D. 1200.

The following year Gruffydh ap Conan ap Owen Gwynedh died, and was buried in a monk's cawl in the abbey of Conway, which way of burying was very much practised (especially by the better sort) in those days; for the monks and friars had deluded the people into a strong conceit of the merits of it, and had firmly persuaded them it was highly conducive to their future happiness to be thus interred. But this superstition, together with the propagators of it, they had lately received from England: for the first abbey or monastery we read of in Wales, since the destruction of that famous house of Bangor, which favoured of Romish dregs, was the Ty-Gwyn built in the year 1146, after which they mightily increased and spread over all the country; and now the fountain head began to be corrupted; for the clergy maintained a doctrine which their ancestors abhorred, as may easily be gathered from the writings of that worthy divine Ambrosius Telesinus, who flourished in the year 540, when the christian faith (which we suppose to be delivered at the isle of Afalon by Joseph of Arimathea) flowed in this land in a pure and uncorrupted stream, before it was infected and polluted by that proud and blood-thirsty monk Augustine. I say, he then wrote and left behind him as his own opinion, and the opinion of those days, these following verses:

Gwae'r offeiriad byd
 Nys angreiffia gwyd
 Ac ny phregetha:
 Gwae ny cheidw ei gail
 Ac ef yn figail
 Ac nys areilia;
 Gwae ni cheidw ei dhefaid
 Rhae bleidhie Rhufeniaid
 A'i ffon gnwppa.

i. e. Woe be to the bishop who does not rebuke vice, and give good example; and who does not preach.

preach. Woe be to him, if he does not keep well his fold : and he a shepherd. And does not keep together and guard his sheep from popish wolves, with his pastoral staff.

From whence it is apparent, that the Church of Rome was then corrupt, and that the British churches persevered in the primitive and truly apostolical profession of christianity, as it was at first planted in the island ; and that no Roman innovations had crept in among them, which afterwards mightily increased, when they were once introduced by Augustine the monk.

This year likewise we find the spiteful and turbulent Maelgon, choosing rather to persist still in his rebellion, than to return to his allegiance, and to prefer a small lucre to the love and safety of his country. For now finding that the castle of Aberteifi was not tenable by his own power and force, yet rather than deliver it up to his brother Prince Gruffydh, and thereby procure his favour, he chose to sell it to his bitter enemies the English, for an inconsiderable sum of money, whereby he opened them a free passage into all Wales ; this being reckoned one of its chief defences and bulwarks. About this time Madawc son of Gruffydh Maylor lord of Bromfield built the abbey of Lanegwest, commonly known by the English by the name of Vale Crucii.

In the year 1201, the valiant Lhwelyn ap Ior-A. D. 1201, werth, prince of North Wales banished out of his territories his cousin Meredith the son of Conan ap Owen Gwynedh, whom he suspected of treasonable practices, and therefore confiscated his lands which were the Cantref of Lhyn and Efyonyth. Much about the same time Meredith the son of Prince Rhys was slain at Carnwihion by treason, whereupon his elder brother Gruffydh possessed himself of his castle in Lhanymdhyfri and all his lands. This Gruffydh was a valiant and discreet prince, and one that was like to bring all South Wales

to good order and obedience; for in all things he trod in his father's steps, and made it his business to succeed him as well in his valour and virtuous endowments, as in his government. But the vast hopes
 A. D. P202. conceived of him soon proved abortive; for in the ensuing year, on St. James's day, he died, to the great grief and loss of his country, and shortly after was buried at Ystratflur with great pomp and solemnity. He left behind him for a successor a son called Rhys, which Maud the daughter of William de Bruce had bore him. The following year some of the Welch nobility marched with an army towards the castle of Gwerthrynion, which belonged to Roger Mortimer, and after a short siege, they took it and levelled it with the ground.

This year Llewelyn ap Iorwerth calling to mind his estate and title, and how all the Welch princes were obliged both by the laws of Roderic the Great, and those of Howel Dha to acknowledge the king or prince of North Wales for their sovereign lord, and to do homage to him for their dominions: yet notwithstanding that they knew this to be their duty, and that they formerly had readily performed it; yet because of late years his predecessors, had neglected to call them to their duty, they now began to imagine themselves exempted from it; and some thought themselves accountable to no superior prince; others denied subjection to Prince Llewelyn, and held their dominions of the king of England. To put a stop therefore to the further growth of this contempt, and to assert his own right, Prince Llewelyn summons all the Welch lords, who for the most part appeared and swore allegiance to him. But Gwenwynwyn lord of Powys, neither came to this meeting, nor would own the prince's supremacy; which stubbornness and disobedience the prince acquainted his lords with, whereupon they delivered their opinion, that it was but reasonable, that Gwenwynwyn should be compelled to his duty, or else forfeit his estate: this all the lords consented to, but Elis ap Madawc, who was an intimate friend of Gwenwynwyn, and therefore

would not consent to the enacting any thing that might be prejudicial to him, but broke off from the meeting much dissatisfied with their proceedings. Notwithstanding which, Prince Lhwelyn, pursuant to the advice of the rest of his lords, raises an army, and marches towards Powys; but before he made any use of it, he was by the mediation of some learned and able men reconciled to Gwenwynwyn, and so Gwenwynwyn became his dutiful subject; which he confirmed both by oath and writing: and indeed it was not without good reason, that Prince Lhwelyn used all the caution imaginable to bind this man; for he had sworn allegiance before to the king of England. Lhwelyn having thus subjected Gwenwynwyn, he thought it now convenient to shew likewise some marks of his resentments against his adherent Elis ap Madawc, and therefore he stript him of all his lands; whereupon Elis fled the country, but not long after, yielding himself to the prince's mercy, he received of him the castle of Crogen, and seven townships besides. And now having mentioned Crogen, it will not be improper to step a little out of the way, and here take notice of the reason why the English formerly, when they had a mind to reproach the Welch, called them Crogens. The first occasion of it was this, King Henry the Second in his expedition against the Welch to the mountains of Berwin, lay a while at Oswestre, during which time he detached a number of his men to try the passages into Wales, who as they would have passed Offa's ditch at the castle of Crogen, at which place there was a narrow way through the same ditch, which appears now very deep through all that country, and bears its old name; these men, I say, as they would have passed this streight, were met by a party of Welch, and a great many of them slain and buried in that ditch, as appears by their graves there to be seen; and the name of the streight imports as much, being called in Welch *Adwy'r beddau*. The English therefore bearing in mind this slaughter, whenever they got any of the Welch into their clutches, upbraided them with the name of Crogen, intimating thereby

thereby that they should expect no more favour or mercy at their hands, than they shewed them in the skirmish. But this word, which at first was rather a badge of reputation than disgrace to the Welch, came afterwards to be used in a bad sense, and only then applied when they designed to reproach and abuse them. But to return to Prince Llewelyn, whom we find returning home after he had successfully asserted his sovereignty over all Wales, and set all things in good order: And by the way he fortifies the castle of Bala in Penllyn. About this time Rhys the son of Gruffydh ap Rhys the right prince of South-Wales took the castle of Llanymdhyfry upon Michaelmas-day. This year Llewelyn Prince of Wales took to wife Joan the daughter of king John, which Agatha daughter of Robert Ferrers Earl of Derby bore him, with whom he gave the Prince for a dowry the lordship of Elmere in the marches of Wales.

A. D. 1203. Prince Rhys whom we mentioned the year before to have taken the castle of Llanymdhyfri, wins likewise the castle of Llangadoc, and puts a garrison therein; but he enjoyed neither of them long; for shortly after, his uncle Maelgon, with his friend Gwenwynwyn, levied a powerful army, and with it besieged and took the castle of Llanymdhyfri; thence they removed to Llangadoc, and wan the castle likewise, upon this condition, that the garrison be permitted to march out quietly. When they had taken these two castles, they went to Dinerth, where Maelgon finished the castle he had formerly begun there. This year likewise Prince Llewelyn set at liberty his uncle David ap Owen Gwynedh, who made but a sorry return to his kindness; for instead of living peaceably at home, and enjoying that liberty that was granted him, he flees to England, and there gets an army, wherewith he attempts to restore himself to his antient estate of North-Wales; but he missed his mark; for his prudent nephew immediately met him on his march, and gave him a shameful overthrow, wherewith David was so mightily disheartened, that he

he-presently returned for England, and shortly after died for meer sorrow. The next year Howel, a blind son of Prince Rhys was slain at Camaes by his brother Maelgon's men, and buried just by his brother Gruffydh at Ystratflur. But notwithstanding that, Maelgon in those days usurped all the rule and government of South Wales; yet his brother Gruffydh's sons, Rhys and his brethren, won from him the chief defence of all that country, to wit, the castles of Dynefowr and Lhanymdhyfri. About this time William Marshal Earl of Pembrock, besieged the castle of Cilgerran, and took it; and not long after, Maelgon hired an Irishman to kill Gadifor ap Griffri; after which horrid fact, Maelgon seized upon his four sons, and put them to death; these were forward promising young gentlemen, and descended from a noble stock; for their mother Susanna was a daughter of the said Howel ap Rhys, by a daughter of Madawc ap Meredith Prince of Powis. In the year 1206, Maelgon built a castle at Abereneon. At which time there was such abundance of fish seen at Aberystwyth, that the like number was never known to have come there in the memory of man before.

This year the king of England banished the realm William de Bruce and his wife, on the account of a grudge that he bore his son, and then seized upon all his lands; whereupon, William with his wife and son fled to Ireland, and there continued for some time. And this hardship he now underwent was the less pitied, because he exercised the great power he had in the marches of Wales with extreme cruelty and injustice. The same year Gwenwynwyn came to Shrewsbury to speak with the king's council, where he was detained prisoner: Whereupon Prince Llewelyn conquered all his country, took all his towns and castles, and garrisoned them for his own use. This expedition of Prince Llewelyn mightily alarmed the usurping Maelgon, and the more, because he had intelligence that Llewelyn was on his march towards South Wales; therefore he now puts himself in the best posture he could to receive him; but finding

self not able to abide the Prince's coming, and to withstand his forces, he demolisheth his castles of Aberystwyth, Ystratmeyric, and Dinerth, which before he had fortified. Notwithstanding which, the Prince comes to Aberystwyth, and rebuildeth the castle and puts a garrison therein; after this he seized upon the Cantref of Penwedic and the land betwixt Dyfi and Aeron which he gave to Maelgon's nephews, the sons of Gruffydh ap Rhys, and then returned home with great joy and triumph. Not long after Rhys Fychan, son to Prince Rhys, besieged the castle Lhangadoc, and took it, contrary to the promise and league he had made with his nephews, forgetting likewise how freely and readily they had administered to him in his necessity; therefore to be revenged of this ingratitude and breach of promise, Rhys and Owen no sooner heard of it, but they furiously attacked the castle, and took it by assault; and put to the sword, or took prisoners all the garrison, and then burnt the castle to the ground.

A. D. 1209. This year King John levied a powerful army with which he made a voyage to Ireland; but as he was on the borders of Wales on his journey thitherwards, there was a criminal brought before him who had murdered a priest. The officer desired to know the king's pleasure, how he would have the delinquent punished; but the king, instead of ordering any punishment to be inflicted upon him suitable to the heinousness of his crime discharged him with a *Well done* thou good servant, thou hast slain mine enemy; for such he reckoned the clergy of those days, who were very ill-affected to his usurped, arbitrary government, and therefore he slightly regarded any injuries that were done them, nay, thought those did him good service who did them wrong. He had not been long in Ireland, but he got into his clutches the unfortunate William de Bruce the younger, and his mother Mawd de Saint Valerike, whom we have mentioned before to have quitted England for fear of him, and to have fled here for shelter. Upon his return to England he brought these in triumph along with him, and committed

mitted them to Windſor caſtle, where, by his orders, not long after they were inhumanly famiſhed. The reaſon of King John's diſpleaſure againſt William de Bruce Lord of Brecknock, Matthew Paris delivers, to be this ;

Page 303.

When the Pope had excommunicated the realm of England, the king, to prevent any inconveniencies that might enſue thereupon, took pledges of ſuch of his nobles as he thought were diſaffected to him, and would be like, if occaſion offered, to countenance and promote a rebellion. Amongſt others, he ſends meſſengers to William de Bruce to demand his ſons for pledges, to whom Mawd, de Bruce's wife, being the readier ſpeaker, answered, (though what ſhe ſaid was no leſs her husband's ſentiment than her own) That the king, who had proved ſo baſe a guardian to his nephew Prince Arthur, whom inſtead of ſetting in, he deprived of his right, ſhould have none of her children. This anſwer the meſſengers delivered to the king, whereat he was ſo highly diſpleaſed, that he ordered ſome ſoldiers ſhould be ſent to ſeize this lord ; but he having timely intelligence of this order, fled into Ireland with his wife and children, where now his wife Mawd, with her ſon, were unfortunately taken by King John, but he himſelf eſcaped, and fled into France, where not long after he died.

This year the Earl of Cheſter rebuilt the caſtle of Dyganwy, ſituate on the ſea-ſhore, eaſt of the river Conway, which Prince Lhewelyn had before demolish- ed. He likewiſe fortifies the caſtle of Treffynon or St. Wenefrid. Upon this Lhewelyn enters into the Earl's land, which when he had ravaged ſufficiently, he returns home with conſiderable booty. About this time, Rhys Fychan ſon to Prince Rhys, fearing leſt Prince Lhewelyn ſhould fall upon him for the wrong he had done to his nephews, whom he, Prince Lhewelyn, ſtiſſly defended in their right ; made his application to the king of England, who readily granted him what ſuccours he deſired ; and with theſe he be- ſieged the caſtle of Lhanymdhyfri ; the garrifon for ſome time made a vigorous defence, but having

no hopes of any relief, they thought it their wisest course to capitulate, and so they desired they might march out with their arms, bag and baggage, and all that belonged to them, which was granted them. About this time likewise Gwenwynwyn was set at liberty, whom the king had hitherto detained prisoner, and withal lends him some forces to attempt the recovery of his country which Prince Llewelyn had seized upon during his imprisonment; and though by his own strength he was not able to cope with the Prince, yet by this assistance granted him by the king, he soon re-possessed himself of his dominions. This success of Gwenwynwyn encouraged Maelgon likewise to endeavour the recovery of that part of his country which the Prince had taken from him in the same expedition. Now he makes his application to the king of England, and swears allegiance to him. Hereupon the king grants him a considerable army as well English as Normans; to these he joins what forces he could raise in Wales, and then contrary to the oath and agreement he had made with his nephews Rhys and Owen, he in an hostile manner enters their country; when he was come to Cantred Penwedic, he encamped at Cilcenny where he staid some time to take measures for the better accomplishment of his designs; by this time his nephews had got together about 300 chosen well disciplined men, but with so small a number durst not oppose their uncle's numerous army in open field; therefore they were to endeavour to overthrow those by a stratagem which they could not do by main force. Herein they proved very successful, for coming as near their enemies as they could without being discovered, they sent out their spies that night for intelligence, who brought back the good news, that all was quiet in Maelgon's camp, and that they kept no strict watch, being not aware of an approaching enemy. This intelligence mightily encouraged the brothers to prosecute their designs, and now they march as silently as they can towards their enemies camp, where they met with no opposition, being not discovered because all were fast asleep.

asleep. When they were advanced as they thought as far as Maelgon's tent, they furiously fell on, and slew a great number of his men before they awaked; the rest being frightened with the noise and shouts of their enemies, and withal thinking their numbers to be far greater than it was, were glad to make use of the darkness of the night to quit the field, only Maelgon's guard valiantly kept their post, and defended their lord till he had time and opportunity to escape. But Maelgon's army suffered very much in this action, his nephew Conan ap Howel with his chief counsellor Gruffydh ap Cadwgan were both taken prisoners, and Eineon ap Caradoc with a great number more were slain upon the spot. About the same time Gilbert Earl of Gloucester fortified the castle of Buelht, where a little before he had lost a considerable number of his men, by reason that the place was not very strong and tenable. And towards the conclusion of this year, Malt or Mawd de Bruce, the wife of Gruffydh ap Rhys departed this life, and was interred by her husband in a monk's coul in Ystratflur.

But the following year a great storm threatened North Wales, by reason that the Marchers made frequent and grievous complaints to King John how that Prince Llewelyn perpetually molested their country, slew their men, and committed all the waste and destruction possible as he passed along. The king hearing of such intolerable depredations continually exercised by the North Wales men, thought it high time to redress his subjects, and therefore he raised a mighty army throughout all England, and called to him all the lords and princes of Wales as held their lands and patents from him, as Howel ap Gruffydh ap Conan ap Owen Gwynedh, whom Prince Llewelyn had banished out of North Wales: Madoc ap Gruffydh Maylor lord of Bromfield, Chirke and Yale, Meredith ap Rotpert Lord of Cydewen, Gwenwynwyn Lord of Powis, Maelgon and Rhys the sons of Prince Rhys and governors of South Wales. With this formidable army he came to Chester, intending to enter

into North Wales by that way, and being fully resolved to execute the severest vengeance upon the inhabitants, and not to let one living soul remain alive throughout the whole country. But matters of this nature are easier resolved upon, than accomplished; Prince Llewelyn was no sooner informed of these mighty preparations against him, comprehending the whole strength of the English nation, and what was worst of all, being assisted by his own countrymen, but he issued forth his orders, commanding all his subjects of the inland counties of Denbigh and Flint, together with them of the island of Anglesey, to remove for a time all their cattle and other effects to Snowden-hills, where they were sure to remain securest from their enemies. But King John marched his army along the sea-coast to Ruthlan, and there passing the river Clwyd, he came to the castle of Teganwy, where he encamped for some time to refresh and recreate his army, which by reason of the long marches they made, was in a great measure weary and fatigued. But what the more augmented their misery, Llewelyn getting behind them, cut off all their hopes of provision from England, and the Welch by the advantage of being acquainted with the straits and narrow passages, cut off all that straggled from the English camp, so that in time, they were glad to take up with horse-flesh, and any thing were it never so mean, which might fill up their greedy and empty stomachs. At last King John finding no other remedy, and perceiving it impossible to continue longer there so hungry and faintly, thought it his wisest way to march for England, and leave the Welch to themselves, and so he decamped in a great fury, leaving Llewelyn to bury that great number of dead, which had starved in this successful expedition. But to recover the honour he had now lost, he was resolved to try another touch with the Welch, but possibly not with the same confidence and assurance of victory. And therefore returning to Wales in the next August, he entered with such another terrible army of English, and was as-

sisted

lifted by the same Welch lords, at Blanch monastery, now Oswestry, being in the lordship of John the son of William Fitzalan. In this expedition, King John passing the river Conwey, and encamping at the other side towards Snowden hills, sent part of his army conducted by guides who were acquainted with the country, to burn Bangor, which they effectually did; and taking Rotpert bishop of that see out of church, they carried him prisoner to the English camp, where he continued for some time, till he obtained his ransom for a present of two hundred hawks. But Prince Llewelyn finding the whole strength of England and almost Wales to fight against him, and judging it impossible for himself alone, to withstand so great a multitude, thought it his best way to endeavour to find out some method or other, to reconcile himself to the king. And no better measures could possibly be thought of, than to send Joan his wife, King John's daughter, to intreat with her father about a peace, and a cessation of all hostilities; who being a prudent, sly woman, so prevailed upon the king, that he granted Prince Llewelyn her husband, a safe conduct to come to him, and to renew the former peace and amity that was betwixt them. And so Llewelyn having done homage, promised the king towards his expences in this expedition, 20,000 head of cattle and 40 horses, and what was more than all, he granted all the inland countries of Wales, with the appurtenances, to him and his heirs for ever. And then King John having received better success in this, than the former expedition, returned to England in great triumph, having subdued all Wales, excepting that part which Rhys and Owen the sons of Gruffydh ap Rhys, still kept and maintained against the English. But having no leisure to march against them himself at his departure out of the country, he gave strict charge to Foulke Viscount of Caerdyff, warden of the marches, a cruel tyrant, though well beloved and favoured by the king, to take an army with him, and so joining with Maelgon and Rhys Fychan, to compel the sons

of Gruffydh ap Rhys to acknowledge him for their soveraign, and to do him homage. Foulke having received so positive a command, presently raised his forces, and calling Maelgon and Rhys, came to the Cantref of Penwedic; which when the young lords Rhys and Owen heard of, and being assured that this blow was levelled against them, which they knew they were not able to bear, before the stroke was struck, they sent to Foulke to sue for peace, and a safe conduct for them to pass to the court of England. This being granted, they came to London, and making their submission to the king, and requesting his pardon for all former misdemeanors, they gave up all pretence to their lands betwixt Aeron and Dyfi; and so paying their homage, they were dismissed very graciously. But Foulke before his departure out of the country, fortified the castle of Aberystwyth, and placing a strong garrison therein, kept it for the king's use. But Maelgon and Rhys Fychan, a couple of headstrong, inconstant people, quickly repented them of the peace they had made with the king of England, and thereupon, without the least reason or provocation, they laid siege to Aberystwyth castle, and with much ado having made themselves masters of it, they destroyed those fortifications, which Foulke had lately erected, and defaced the castle to the ground. But they paid sauce for this another way, for as soon as Rhys and Owen had heard that their uncles had broken and violated the king's peace, they made inroads into Isaeron, which was Maelgon's country, and having slain a considerable number of his men, among whom was one brave and lusty youth called Bachglas, they returned with very rich booty.

A. D. 1211.

Maelgon and Rhys Fychan were quickly followed by the North Wales men in their revolt from the king of England, for Prince Lhwelyn being not able to endure any longer the tyranny and oppression which the king's garrisons exercised in his country; called together Gwenwynwyn from Powis, Maelgon ap Rhys from South Wales, Madoc ap Gruffydh Maylor from Bromfield, and Meredith ap Rotpert from Cydewen, and

plainly declared before them the pride and insolency of the English, and how that they who were always used to have a prince of their own nation, were now by their own wilfulness and neglect become subject to strangers. However, it was not too late to recover their ancient liberty, and if they did but unanimously agree among themselves, they might easily cast off that yoke which was so intolerably burdensome to them. Then the lords being sensible of the truth and reasonableness of what Prince Llewelyn delivered, and being conscious to themselves that their present slavery and subjection to the English, was wholly owing to their own fear and cowardice, swore fealty to Prince Llewelyn, and swore to be true and faithful to him, and to stick by each other to the utmost of their lives and fortunes. And so joining their forces together, they took all the castles in North Wales which were in the hands of the English, excepting Ruthlan and Dyganwy; and then going to Powis, they laid siege to the castle which Robert Uspont had built at Mathrafal. But King John being informed how the Welch had conspired against him, and that they had taken and seized upon almost all his castles in North Wales, and how that they were now in actual besiegement of Mathrafal, presently drew up his army, and coming to Mathrafal, quickly raised the siege, and to prevent the Welch from coming any more against it, he burnt it to the ground and so returned to England, having no time to stay any longer in Wales, by reason of the differences that happened betwixt him and his nobility. But being afterwards at Nottingham, and hearing how that Prince Llewelyn cruelly harrassed and destroyed the marches, he caused all the Welch pledges which he had received the last year to be hanged, among whom were Howel the son of Cadwalhon, and Madoc the son of Maelgon, with many others of the nobility's sons; to the number of twenty-eight. And about the same time Robert Vepont caused Rhys the son of Maelgon to be hanged at Shrewsbury, being a youth of about seventeen years of

of age, and so cruelly murdered the innocent child to revenge the crimes and offences committed by his father and others.

But though King John was so severe to the Welch; yet the Princess of North Wales was more dutiful and favourable to him, for whilst he staid at Nottingham, she sent him an express, declaring how that the barons had entered into a conspiracy with the French king against him, and that the latter was preparing and raising an army to come over to England, upon pretence that the king was a rebel, and bid open defiance to the Holy Church, in as much as he would not condescend nor yield to the Bishop of Rome's request. And in confirmation of all this, she told him that Robert Fitzwalter, Eustace de Vescey and Stephen Redell, were secretly fled into France, to promote and carry on this intrigue. And that this design against King John was no feigned surmise, the next

A. D. 1212.

year Pope Innocent the Third detached one of his nuncios to Wales, who absolved Prince Llewelyn, Gwenwynwyn and Maelgon from their oaths of allegiance to King John, and withal gave them a strict command under the penalty of excommunication, to molest and annoy him with all their endeavours, as an open enemy to the church of God. Prince Llewelyn, you may be sure, was not in the least troubled at this, for now he gained the fittest opportunity imaginable, to restore such lands as he had formerly much against his mind delivered up to the king, being in the inland country of Denbigh and Flint, which Llewelyn at this time repossessed himself of. And well it was he was so quick, for within a little while after, King John by the persuasions of Pandulph the Pope's legate, granted his Holiness all his request, and so obtained absolution at Pandulph's hands, and upon performance of his promises, an assurance of a release from that Ecclesiastical Bull, which had so formidably roared against him.

1213.

South Wales had now been quiet for a considerable time, and they that used to be commonly very turbulent and contentious, were now pretty easy and amicable.

amicable. But it was impossible that such a peaceable course of life should hold long, where injustice and oppression had so much liberty, and where people were wrongfully kept out of their just and rightful inheritance. And this was the occasion of the breach of that quietness, which for the two or three years last past they had so satisfactorily enjoyed. For Rhys the son of Gruffydh ap Rhys, who was right heir to Prince Rhys, finding he could have no share of his father's estate, but that his uncles forcibly kept all from him, thought it his best way to make his case known to the king of England, and to desire a remedy and redress from him. King John in compassion of the young man's hard condition, sent to his deputy Foulke Viscount of Caerdyff warden of the marches, and to the Steward of Hereford, commanding them to take away all Ystratywy from Rhys Fychan, by some called Rhys Gryg, unless he would permit his nephews to enjoy Lhanymchfry castle, with all the lands and privileges thereunto belonging. Foulke having received such orders from his master the king of England, sent to acquaint Rhys of the proposals, and so demand of him whether or no he would deliver up Lhanymchfry to his nephews, according to the king's command; who returned answer, that he did not know of any such obligation due from him to the king of England as to part with his lands at his command, and therefore assured him peremptorily and in plain terms, that he would not willingly part with one foot of what he was in present possession of. Foulke therefore having received this resolute answer, was likewise as resolute to get that by force which he could not obtain by fair means; and so having raised a great army, he marched to Talhwynelgain to meet with young Rhys, who was to come thither with all the forces he could raise in Brecknock; and from thence they marched in three battles towards Dynefawr, the first being commanded by young Rhys, the second by Foulke and Owen brother to Rhys led the third, Rhys Fychan was not in the least dismayed at their number, but
thinking

thinking it more adviseable to meet them in the field, rather than suffer them to block him up at Dynefawr, came out very boldly, and gave them battle, but after a warm engagement on both sides, Rhys Fychan in the end got the worse, and after a loss of a great number of his men, he was glad at last to make his escape by flight. And so retiring to Dynefawr, he doubled the garrison of that place, but thinking the town of Lhandeilo-fawr not to be tenable, he burnt it to the ground, and then kept himself private in the woods and other desert places. But young Rhys and Foulke laid siege to Dynefawr, and in the first assault came on so fiercely, that they forced the garrison to retire to the castle, which for some time they defended very manfully. But the besiegers began to play so violently with their battering engines, and to undermine the wall in such a manner, that the governor after a short defence began to capitulate, giving three pledges for security, that if they received no relief by the morrow at noon, the castle should be surrendered up, conditionally that the garrison should march out with all the tokens of honour, and carry their arms and all other implements of war along with them. No relief being arrived, the castle the next day was accordingly surrendered, and all the articles of the capitulation observed; and so young Rhys being possessed of Dynefawr, in a little time afterward, brought all Cantreffawr to his subjection. When Rhys Fychan was sensible how the stream run violently against him, he thought it his wisest way to remove his wife and children, and all his other effects, to his brother Maelgon's country, and so leaving Lhanymdhyfry castle well manned and fortified, he departed towards Aberystwyth. But as soon as Foulke was returned to the marches, young Rhys came with an army consisting of Welch and Normans before Lhanymdhyfry, intending to besiege that place, but before they were encamped before the town, the governor thought it his best way to surrender, upon condition only, that the garrison should depart away with their lives. And
shortly

shortly afterwards, Rhys Fychan was taken at Caermardyn, and committed to the king's prison, and so all the disturbances and troubles of South Wales came to a peaceable issue. But it was not so in North Wales, for Prince Llewelyn being desirous to rid his country from the insupportable tyranny and oppression of the English garrisons, laid siege to the castles of Dyganwy and Ruthlan, the only places now remaining in the hands of the English, which he took without any great opposition, and so freed his country from any title or pretence the king of England might claim in North Wales. King John indeed was engaged another way, and consequently in no good condition to help himself, for having repented of all the indignities and stubbornness he expressed against Pope Innocent; at this time he received penance at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to atone for all the severities he had practised against the church. And to restore himself the more to his Holiness's favour he made the kingdom of England tributary to the church of Rome, to be holden of the Pope, in paying him the sum of 1000 marks yearly for ever; and withal recalled and restored to their former preferments and places all such as had been banished, or had voluntarily fled the kingdom upon the account of their strict adherence and submission to the Pope of Rome.

Nor was this all, for the next year King John with A. D. 1215. two of his nobility, the Earls of Chester and Derby, was resolved upon a voyage to the Holy Land, but was unfortunately prevented of his journey, by the rebellion of his barons, which now broke forth violently by reason that the king would not grant them some antient laws and privileges, such as their forefathers always enjoyed. Therefore the barons entered into a confederacy with Prince Llewelyn of North Wales, desiring him to make what diversion he could on his part, which they were resolved to do on theirs; and so having raised an army, they appointed Robert Fitzwalter their general. Coming to
Bedford

Bedford, they were honourably received into the castle by William Beauchamp, and from thence marching to London, they were entertained with all the expressions and tokens of joy. King John perceiving how powerful they were like to prove, and how that the country did in a great measure favour their cause, thought it his wisest way to nip them in the bud, and to fall upon them before they grew too strong; and therefore having levied his forces, he marched together with William Marshal Earl of Pembroke, towards the castle of Rochester. Being arrived there, he laid close siege to the castle, but the governor William de Abbineto so bravely defended it, that it could hardly be taken after three months siege, but at length the king's men bore on so violently, that they took it by storm, where besides William de Abbineto, the king took several of the barons prisoners. This was an ill beginning to the design of the confederates, and what did not add a little to their misfortune, the Pope presently issues out his Bull of Excommunication against Llewelyn Prince of Wales, and all the English barons as made war against King John, who was under the protection of the Church of Rome. But Prince Llewelyn did not regard his threatening anathemas, and therefore having raised an army, he came to Shrewsbury, which was delivered up to him without any resistance. And whilst Llewelyn remained there, Giles de Bruce bishop of Hereford, one of the chief of this conspiracy, sent his brother Reynold to Brecknock, whom all the people readily owned for their lord; and so without the least grumbling or opposition he received the castles of Abergefenny and Pencelhy, the Castell Gwyn, or the White Castle, together with Grosmont castle and the island of Cynuric. But when the bishop came thither in person, he had the castles of Aberhondhy, Hay, Buelht, and Blaenlhyfny, delivered up to him; but thinking he had enough himself, and being rather desirous to secure his interest, and to strengthen his party in the country, then to heap more upon his own shoulders than he was well able to support, he bestowed

bestowed Payn castle, Clune and all Eluel upon Walter Fychan, the son of Eineon Clyd.

In the mean time, young Rhys the son of Gruffydh ap Rhys, and his uncle Maelgon were reconciled and made friends, and so coming both to Dyfed, they destroyed Arberth and Maenclochoc castles, and recovered all such lands as formerly belonged to them, excepting Cemais. But Rhys's brothers Maelgon and Owen went to North Wales, and did homage and fealty to Prince Llewelyn, whilst their brother Prince Rhys marched forward to Cydwely, and having rased the castles of Carnwylheon and Lhychwr, brought all the country about under his subjection. But this was not enough to satisfy the ambitious humour of that young prince, for having once tasted the pleasure of victory, and the taking and demolishing of towns, he was resolved to prosecute his conquest whilst Fortune seemed to favour his undertakings; and therefore he led his army against Talybont castle, which belonged to Hugh de Miles, and forcing his entrance into the same, he put a great number of the garrison to the sword. The next day he marched to Sengennyth castle, but the garrison which kept it, thinking it fruitless and to no purpose to oppose him, burnt the place and departed to Ystymlywynarth. But he followed them at the heels, and the next day took it, and rased it to the ground, and over-ran the country in such a violent manner, that in three days time, he became master of all the castles and fortresses in all Gowerland and Morgannwg, and so returned home with great victory and triumph. At the same time Rhys Fychan, otherwise Rhys Gryg, young Prince Rhys's uncle obtained his liberty from the king of England, leaving his son with two more for pledges for his modest and peaceable behaviour towards his subjects, whom at other times he was wont to molest and oppress. About this time the abbots of Tal y Llecheu and Tuy Gwyn, were consecrated bishops, the former of St. David's, and the other of Bangor. But the bishop of Hereford who seemed to be the most violently inclined against

against King John, and was otherwise unwilling to part with what he had got in Wales, could not for all that refuse the injunction of the Pope, by whose express command he was constrained to make peace with the king, which being concluded, in his return homeward, he died at Gloucester, leaving his estate to his brother Reginald, who had married the daughter of Prince Llewelyn.

But for all that, Giles de Bruce bishop of Hereford was fallen off, and reconciled to King John, yet Prince Llewelyn did not think it convenient to follow his example, and therefore with his whole army he marched against Carmardhyn, and took the castle in five days, having rased it to the ground, he successively laid siege to the castles of Lhanstephan, St. Cleare, and Talacharn, which he used after the same manner. From thence he went to Cardigan, and winning Emlyn castle, he subdued Cemaes, and then laying siege to Trefdaeth castle, in English called Newport, he quickly took it, and afterwards rased it to the ground. His next design was upon Aberteifi and Cilgerran castles, but the garrisons which defended them, finding it to no purpose to wait his coming, and so to withstand all his attempts against those places voluntarily surrendered, and by that means prevented all the mischief, which in opposing him, would in all probability unavoidably attend them. And so Prince Llewelyn having successfully over-run and subdued all Carmardhyn and Cardigan, triumphantly returned to North Wales, being attended by several of the Welch nobility, such as Howel ap Gruffydh ap Conan, Llewelyn ap Meredith, Gwenwynwyn Lord of Powis, Meredith ap Rotpert, Maelgon and Rhys Fychan the sons of Prince Rhys of South Wales, Rhys and Owen the sons of Gruffydh ap Rhys, together with all the power of Madoc ap Gruffydh Maylor Lord of Bromfield.

A. D. 1216. But the next year Prince Llewelyn returned to Aberteifi to compose a difference, which since his departure, had happened betwixt Maelgon and Rhys Fychan, Prince Rhys's sons on the one side, and Rhys and Owen, Gruffydh ap Rhys's sons on the other.

There-

Therefore to make up this quarrel, and to reduce all matters to a quiet and amicable issue, Prince Llewelyn made an equal distribution of South Wales betwixt them, allotting to Maelgon, three Cantrefs in Dyfed, viz. Gwarthaf, Penlhwynoc, Cemaes, and Emlyn with Cilgerran castle; to young Rhys, two castles in Ystratywy, Hiruryn and Maelhaen, Maenor Bydfey, with the castle of Lhanymdhyfry, and two in Cardigan Gwynionyth and Mahwynëon. His brother Owen had to his share the castles of Aberteifi and Nant yr Arian, with three Cantrefs in Cardigan; and Rhys Fychan, otherwise called Rhys Gryc, had Dynefawr castle, the Cantref Mawr, the Cantref Bychan, excepting Hiruryn and Midhfey, together with the Comotes of Cydwely and Carnwylhion. This division being accomplished to every one's satisfaction, and all the lords of South Wales being amicably reconciled, Prince Llewelyn took his journey for North Wales; but he had not advanced very far, when news was brought him that Gwenwynwyn lord of Powis was revolted, and was become again the king of England's subject. This unwelcome news struck very deep in the prince's mind, by reason that Gwenwynwyn was a man of great power and strength in the country, and went a great way to repel the incursions of the English upon the marches, which now he being gone off, could not, he feared, be so well effected. But however, to make the best of a bad market, he endeavoured to take him off from the English, and to restore him to his former allegiance due to himself as his natural prince; and to that end, he sent to him some bishops and abbots to put him in mind of his oath and promise, how that he with the rest of the lords of Wales, had obliged himself to oppose the English to the utmost of his power, and had delivered pledges for the sure performance of what he had then by oath engaged in; and lest he should have forgot what he had then promised, he was desired to read his own hand writing, whereby it was apparent that he had very unjustly violated both his oath and promise. But all the rhetorick the bishops could make use of, was not

of force enough to work Gwenwynwyn to a reconciliation with the Prince, and an aversion to the king of England; and therefore seeing nothing would do, Prince Llewelyn was resolved to make him incapable of serving the English, and so entering Powis with a strong army, he subdued the whole country to himself, Gwenwynwyn being forced to fly for succour to the Earl of Chester.

Whilst these things passed in Wales, Lewis the Dauphin of France being invited by the English barons against King John, landed in the island of Thanet, and marching forward to London, he there received homage of all the barons, that were in actual war against the king. And then setting forward to Winchester, where King John then lay, he took in his way the castles of Rygat, Guildford and Farnham, and coming to Winchester, had the town presently surrendered to him. King John did not think fit to abide his coming, but removing to Hereford, in the marches of Wales, he sent to Prince Llewelyn and Reynald Bruce, desiring their friendship, and imploring their aid and assistance against the French. But they refusing to hearken to his proposals, he destroyed Radnor and Hay castles, and marching forward to Oswestry, which belonged to John Fitzalan, he burnt it to the ground, and then departed towards the North. But after that he had settled his affairs there, and appointed governors in all the towns and places of strength; whilst he was making all necessary preparations at Newark to confront the barons, he fell sick, and in a short time died, and was buried at Worcester.

After his death his son Henry was by several of the English nobility proclaimed king, and in a little while, most of the barons, who upon their hatred to King John, had maintained an open war against him, came in, and owned their allegiance to his son Henry, though contrary to their oath to Lewis the Dauphin.

A. D. 1217. But what was most pernicious to the Welch, Reynald de Bruce who had all this while maintained a confederacy with Prince Llewelyn his father-in-law against
King

King John, underhand made his peace with King Henry. But he suffered severely for his treachery; for young Rhys, and Owen his nephew by his sister, seeing that he in whom they put their greatest confidence, had deceitfully forsaken them, came upon him with all their power, and took from him all Buelht, excepting only the castle. Prince Lhwelyn was presently made acquainted with Bruce's revolt, but as soon as he was informed that his son-in-law was gone over to the king of England, he went in great fury to Brecknoc, and laying siege to the town of Aberhondhy, he was with much ado prevailed upon by young Rhys to raise the siege for the sum of a hundred marks; and then crossing the mountainous part of Glamorgan, called the Black Mountains, where his carriages suffered very much, he came to Gwyr, and encamping at Lhangruc, Reynald Bruce with six knights in his company, came to meet him, desiring his pardon for his past offence, assuring him that for the future, he would be true and faithful to him, and would do his endeavour to assist him against the King of England. Prince Lhwelyn was too good natured to reject his submission, and so did not only receive him to his favour, but bestowed upon him also the castle of Senghennyth, which Reynald committed to the custody of Rhys Fychan.

Prince Lhwelyn having settled all things in good order in Gwyr, marched to Dyfed and being at Cefn Cynwarchon, the Flemings sent their agents to him to desire peace, which the Prince, by reason that they always adhered to the English interest, would not grant them. And so young Rhys, being the first man, passed the river Cledeu to storm the town, Iorwerth bishop of St. David's, with the rest of his clergy came to the prince to intreat for a peace for the Flemings, which after a long debate, was granted, and concluded upon these terms; first, That all the inhabitants of Rhos, and the country of Pembroke should from thence forward swear allegiance to Prince Lhwelyn, and ever after acknowledge his sovereignty; secondly, That towards the defraying of

charges in this expedition, they should pay one thousand marks to be delivered to him before the ensuing feast of St. Michael; thirdly, That for the sure performance of these articles they should deliver up twenty hostages, who were to be some of the most principal persons in their country. Then Prince Llewelyn having now brought all Wales subject to himself, and put matters in a settled posture in South Wales, returned to North Wales, having purchased very considerable honour and esteem for his martial achievements in this expedition.

And now all matters of differences being adjusted, and the Welch in good hopes of a durable freedom from all troubles and hostilities; another accident unhappily fell out to cross their expectation. Lewis the Dauphin perceiving the English barons to slight and forsake him, concluded a peace with King Henry, and returned to France; and then the barons, the king promising to answer all their requests, and to redress their grievances, made their submission, without including the Welch in their articles. They had all this while gladly embraced the friendship and aid of the Prince of Wales; but now upon their reconciliation to the king, thinking they had no farther need of him, they very basely forsook him, who had been the principal support and succour of their cause. And not only so, but they conspired together to convert their arms against Wales, thinking they could without any breach of equity or conscience, take away the lands of the Welch, to make addition to what some of them had already unjustly possessed themselves of. William Marshal Earl of Pembroke opened the scene, and coming unexpectedly upon the Welch, took the town of Caerlleon. But he got nothing by this, for Rhys Fychan perceiving what he would fain be at, rased Senghennyth castle, and all the rest in his custody in that country, and banishing the English with their wives and children, divided the country betwixt the Welch, who kept sure possession of it. Prince Llewelyn also finding those to become his foes, who had but

but lately courted his friendship, and fearing lest that the English being now in arms should make any attempt upon his castles, augmented the garrisons of Carmardhyn and Aberteifi, to make them capable of withstanding the English, in case they should come against them. But though the Welch and English were at open variance and in actual hostility one against another, yet young Rhys with Prince Lhwelyn's approbation and consent, thought it adviseable to go and do homage to the king of England, for his lands in Wales. This might be thought a matter of supererogation, to make courtship to one who was declared enemy to all the Welch, and one that would not in all probability, suffer him to enjoy a quiet possession of his estate, in case he had ability and opportunity to eject him. But the Welch interest was in a great measure augmented by a new alliance with some of the most powerful among the English; Rhys Gryc, Prince Rhys's son, being married to the Earl of Clare's daughter; and Marret, Prince Lhwelyn's daughter, to John Bruce.

A. D. 1219.

The Prince of Wales had quickly an occasion to experience his power, for the Flemings in Dyfed, who had lately sworn allegiance to him, began now to repent of what they had but a little time ago gladly submitted to, and contrary to their oaths, and the league they had sworn to observe, they fell upon Aberteifi castle, which they took. Prince Lhwelyn being highly displeas'd with the treacherous practices of these perjured Flemings, marched with all speed to Aberteifi, and having recovered the castle, which he afterwards rased, he put all the garrison to the sword. Gwys was served in the same manner, and the town of Haverford was burnt to the ground, and overrunning Rhos and Daugledhau, he committed a lamentable destruction throughout the whole country. This the Flemings received as the due reward of their sinistrous dealing, which made them quickly apprehensive of their folly, and their imprudent behaviour towards the Prince of Wales; and therefore

1220.

being sorrowfully sensible how unable they were to put a stop to his farther progress by force of arms, they made overtures for cessation of all hostilities till the May following, which being granted them upon strict conditions, Prince Lhewelyn returned to North Wales. In the mean time some Welch lords besieged Buelht castle, which was in the possession of Reynald Bruce, but before they could take it, King Henry brought an army to the marches and raised the siege, and then marching forward to Montgomery, built a new castle in that town.

A. D. 1221.

The next year an unhappy dissention fell out betwixt Prince Lhewelyn and his son Gruffydh this latter having kept himself in possession of the Cantref of Merionyth, contrary to the consent and well-liking of his father. The Prince therefore having now no great matter of moment abroad, was resolved to curb the insolency of his son, and therefore sent to him to command his appearance, and to wish him to deliver up the Cantref quietly, lest he should be forced to take it violently out of his hands. Gruffydh was not in the least dismayed at his threatenings, but being resolved to keep what at present he enjoyed, would neither go to his father, nor deliver up the Cantref to him. The Prince being enraged that he should be so slighted by his son, made a vehement protestation, that he would be severely revenged both of him and all his accomplices; and therefore coming to Merionyth with a great army, was resolved to drive his son out of the country. But Gruffydh made all possible preparations to oppose his father, and drew up his forces to give him battle, but when both armies were ready to join, the differences betwixt them was happily composed, and Gruffydh prevailed upon to make his submission to his father. But the Prince, though he forgave his son his offence, and received him to favour, would not however, permit him to enjoy Merionyth and Ardydwy; but taking them away from him, and building a castle in the latter, returned home. But he had not continued long at his palace at Aberffraw, when another

occasion

occasion called him abroad; for young Rhys being disappointed of Aberteifi, which in the division of South Wales was allotted to his share, forsook the prince, and put himself under the protection of William Marshal Earl of Pembroke. Prince Llewelyn hearing this, marched in great haste to Aberystwyth, and being desirous to punish Rhys for his desertion from his allegiance due to him, seized to his own use that castle, together with all the domain and lands belonging to it. When Rhys understood what the prince had done, he presently made his complaint to the king of England, who coming to Shrewsbury, and sending for Prince Llewelyn, adjusted matters so betwixt them, that the Prince promised to treat with Rhys for Aberteifi, after the same manner as he had done with Maelgon for Caermardhyn. And towards the close of the year, John Bruce, Prince Llewelyn's son-in-law, obtained leave to fortify Senghennyth castle, which in right to the prince's grant to Reynald Bruce, belonged to him. But young Rhys did not long survive the agreement betwixt him and Prince Llewelyn; for he died the following year, and was buried at Ystratflur; after whose death, the prince divided his estate betwixt his brother Owen and his uncle Maelgon.

William Marshal Earl of Pembroke was now in A.D. 1212. Ireland, and very busy in prosecuting the war against the king of England's enemies in that kingdom; the opportunity of whose absence Prince Llewelyn taking advantage of, won the castles of Aberteifi and Caermardhyn, belonging to the Earl; and putting both the garrisons to the sword, placed in their room a strong party of his own men. But when the Earl was informed of what the Prince of Wales had done, he presently left Ireland, and landed at St. David's with a great army, and having recovered his castles, he treated the Welch after the same manner, as Prince Llewelyn had used his garrisons, and passing forward into the prince's country, destroyed all before him as he went along. The Prince understanding how violently he came forward, sent his son Gruffydh with a

considerable body of men to check his fury; who coming to Cydwely, and receiving intelligence that the magistrates of that place, had a private design to betray him to the enemy, he put the whole town in flames, and burnt it to the ground, without sparing either churches, or other religious houses. The Earl of Pembroke had passed the river Tywy at Caermardhyn, where Gruffydh met him, and gave him battle; but the victory proved so uncertain, that the night was forced to part them; and so the English retired over the river. Matthew Paris writes, that the Earl obtained a very signal victory, and that of the Welch there were nine thousand slain and taken; though the Welch account, which in this case is in all likelihood the best, makes the whole army of the Welch to consist but of that number. But both armies having lain for certain days in that posture, and the river Tywy being betwixt them; Gruffydh, by reason that provision began to grow scarce in his camp, returned back; and then the Earl decamped, and marched to Cilgerran, where he began to build a very strong castle. But before he could have time to finish it, he received an express from the king, with orders to come to him; and so he went by sea to London, leaving his army at Cilgerran, to continue the work which he had begun. Shortly after, the king, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury, came to Ludlow, and sending for Prince Llewelyn thither, they had good hopes to adjust all differences, and to make an amicable composition betwixt him and the Earl. But when this could not be effected, both parties sticking close to their private interest; the Earl being assisted by the Earl of Derby and Henry Pyggot Lord of Ewyas, designed to pass by land to Pembroke; but his purpose being discovered to the prince, he detached his son to secure the passage of Carnwylhion, and came in person to Mahedryd; which when the Earl understood, finding it dangerous to prosecute his design any further, he returned to England; and then the prince marched to North Wales. The next ac-

tion that passed in Wales, was somewhat rare, and A. D. 1227. not redounding much to the credit and esteem of the Welch; for Rhys Fychan, having by some sinistrous means or other, taken his father Rhys Gryc, contrary to all filial affection and duty, detained him prisoner, and would not set him at liberty, till he had delivered up Lhanymdyfri castle to him. About the same time, Meredith Archdeacon of Cardigan, Prince Rhys's son, departed this life, and was honourably interred at St. David's, by his father.

But a while after, a great storm threatened the 1228. Welch; King Henry having raised a great army, was resolved to make a violent prosecution of the Earl of Pembroke's quarrel against the Prince of Wales, and if possible, to make all that country, for ever subject to the crown of England; and so being advanced into the marches, he encamped at Ceri. Prince Llewelyn on the other hand, being informed of these mighty preparations in England, and understanding that they were intended against him, did use all the endeavours possible, to make a vigorous resistance; and having drawn together all the forces he was able to levy, thought it his wisest way to meet the English upon the marches, and not to permit the enemy to enter his country. Both armies being come in sight of each other, frequent skirmishes happened betwixt them; but one day, almost the whole armies engaged, and after a vigorous attack of both sides, the English at last got the worst, and were forced to retire, having a great number of men slain and taken prisoners. Among the latter, was William Bruce, Reynald's son, who offered for his ransom all Buelht, together with a considerable sum of money, which the prince would not accept of. But King Henry finding that his army was worsted in this rencounter, thought it best to make peace with the prince of Wales, which being concluded, Llewelyn came to the king, and having paid him all other respects, besides that of submission and allegiance, he returned in great honour to North Wales. But this action is somewhat other-
wise

wife laid down by Matthew Paris, who writes, that this skirmish betwixt the English and Welch happened upon another account; for the garrison of Montgomery issuing out of the castle, to enlarge a certain passage leading through a wood, where the Welch were wont to rob and kill all passengers; began to fell the timber, and cut down all the bushes which lessened the road, thereby to make the passage more clear and secure. The Welch receiving intelligence of this, came presently upon him in great numbers, and surprizing the enemies, being busy at their labour, forced as many as could escape, to betake themselves for refuge into the castle, which afterwards, having first cast a deep trench about it, they smartly invested. Hubert de Burgh, Lord Chief Justice of England, and owner of the castle, having notice of this, sent presently to King Henry, desiring his speedy help against the Welch, who thereupon came in person with part of his army, and raised the siege. Then, the rest of his forces being arrived, he marched into the wood, which was five miles in length, and by reason of the thickness of the growth, impassable; and for an easy passage through it, caused it to be burnt down. After that, he led his army farther into the country, and coming to an abbey called Cridia, which the Welch were wont to take for refuge, he caused it to be burnt down; but finding it a very convenient place for a fortress, he granted leave to Hubert de Burgh to build a castle there. But whilst the work was going on, the Welchmen gauled the English, and skirmished with them frequently, so that many were slain on both sides; but at last William de Bruce with many others that went abroad to fetch provision, was intercepted by the Welch, and taken prisoner, and most of his company were slain, among whom, one who was knighted a few days before, seeing some of his fellows in great danger, rushed boldly into the midst of his enemies, and after a manful defence, bravely lost his life. Several of King Henry's men were corrupted by Prince Llewelyn, and upon that account took no great pains to repulse the enemy;

which

which when the king perceived, and finding withal that provision was grown very scarce in his camp, he was forced to conclude a dishonourable peace with the Welch, consenting to demolish that castle, which with so great an expence both of men and money was now almost finished, upon his own charges, Prince Llewelyn paying only three thousand pounds towards it. Then both armies separated, Prince Llewelyn marching to North Wales, and the king leaving William Bruce prisoner with the Welch, returned to England, having purchased no small discredit in this expedition.

William Bruce was brought to Wales, and there A. D. 1230. had an honourable confinement in the prince's palace; but he had not continued there very long, when he began to be suspected of being too familiar with the princess, King Henry's sister; and as the report went, was taken in the very act of adultery; for which the prince caused him to be hanged forthwith. About the same time, Llewelyn, Maelgon's son died in North Wales, and was buried at Conwey: and Maelgon, Prince Rhys's son in South Wales, and was buried at Ystratflur; whose estate descended to his son Maelgon. And a little after, William Marshal Earl of Pembroke 1231. died, one that ever entertained an inveterate enmity to the Welch, and upon whose account King Henry had chiefly brought his army into Wales. He was succeeded both in his title and estate by his brother Richard, who was much more favourably inclined towards the Welch, and never attempted any thing against them. But the king of England was resolved to retrieve the honour he had lost in the late expedition against the Welch; and therefore being returned from France, whither he had made a descent, to recover what his father had lost in that kingdom, he came to Wales; and having remained some time in the marches, he returned again to England, leaving his army under the command of Hubert Burgh Earl of Kent, to defend the marches against any in-road which the Welch might attempt. And he had not remained there long when he received intelligence, that

that a party of Welch had entered the marches near Montgomery, whom he forthwith pursued, and setting upon them surprisely, he put a great number of them to the sword. Prince Llewelyn hearing this, came in person with a great army to the marches, and sitting before Montgomery castle, he forced Hubert to withdraw, and then making himself master of the place, he burnt it to the ground, and put the garrison to the sword; the like fate attended the castles of Radnor, Aberhonddy, Rhayadr Gwy, Caerlleon, Neth, and Cydwely; though Caerlleon held out very stubbornly, and the prince had several of his men destroyed before the place. King Henry being informed of what miserable desolation the Prince of Wales so successfully committed upon his subjects in these countries, had him presently excommunicated; and then coming to Hereford with a mighty army, he detached the greatest part of it, with a great number of his nobility to Wales. These by the direction of a friar of Cymer, unexpectedly as they thought, fell upon a party of Welch; who at the first encounter seemed to fly, till they had allured the English to pursue them to a place where a greater party of Welch lay in ambuscade; who rushing of a sudden upon the English, put them in such a confusion, that the greatest part of them was cut off. The king being sensible, that this was a treacherous insinuation of the friar, was resolved to be revenged, by burning the abbey of Cymer; but the prior, for three hundred marks, prevented it; and so the king returned to England, having effected nothing in this expedition, besides the building of Mawd castle. In the mean time, Maelgon, son of Maelgon ap Rhys, laid siege to Aberteifi, and having by force got entry into the town, he put all the inhabitants to the sword, then destroyed all before him to the castle gates, which were so strongly fortified, that it seemed almost impracticable to take it in any short time. But Maelgon, being joined by his cousin Owen, Gruffydh ap Rhys's son, was resolved to try the utmost that could be effected; and therefore taking with him some of Prince Llewelyn's most experienced officers,

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he broke down the bridge upon the river Teifi, and then investing the castle more closely, he so battered and undermined it, that he became in a little time master of it.

The year following, Prince Lhwelyn made a de-A. D. 1232.scend upon England, and having committed very considerable waste and destruction upon the borders, he returned to North Wales with a rich booty both of men and cattle. King Henry, to correct the Welch for these grievous devastations, and to prevent their further incursions into England, demanded a very great subsidy of his subjects to carry on the war against the Welch; which being granted him, he made all possible preparations for his expedition to Wales. In the mean time, Randolph Earl of Chester died, and was succeeded in that honour by John his sister's son, who was afterwards married to Prince Lhwelyn's daughter. But the English in Wales being in expectation of King Henry's coming thither, began to repair and fortify their castles; and particularly, Richard Earl of Cornwall rebuilt Radnor castle, which the prince had lately destroyed. 1233. Prince Lhwelyn was sufficiently sensible, that the king of England intended an invasion, and therefore to be before hand with him, he came with an army to Brecknock, destroyed all the towns and castles throughout the country, excepting Brecknock castle, which held out so manfully, that after a month's sitting before it, he was at last constrained to raise the siege. In his return to North Wales, he burnt the town of Clun, recovered all that country called Dyffryn Tefeidiat, in the possession of John Fitzalan, destroyed Red castle in Powis, and burnt Oswestry. But what happened very fortunately to the Welch, Richard Marshal Earl of Pembroke being fallen at variance with King Henry, took part with Prince Lhwelyn; with whom joined Hubert de Burgh, who had lately made his escape out of the castle of Devizes, where the king, upon some articles of information brought against him, had committed him to prison. But the Earl of Pembroke, attended by Owen ap Gruffydh ap Rhys, came to St. David's; and

and being very glad of an opportunity to revenge himself upon the king, slew every one that owned any dependance upon the crown of England. Maelgon and Rhys Gryc, with all the forces of Prince Llewelyn, quickly joined the Earl; who in their march through the country, took the castles of Cardyff, Abergevenny, Pencelhy, Blaenlhyfyni, and Bwlch y Ddinas, which all, excepting Cardyff, they burnt to the ground. The king receiving intelligence, that the Earl of Pembroke had entered into a confederacy with the Prince of Wales, and that he was now in open hostility against his subjects in that country, gathered a very formidable army, consisting, besides English, of Flemings, Normans, and Gascoigns; and coming to Wales, he encamped at Grosmont, where the Earl, with the Welch army met him. But when the English would have endeavoured to advance further into the country, the Welch opposed them, and so a battle ensued, wherein the English lost five hundred horse, besides a far greater number of their infantry. The Welch having gained a considerable victory in this action, the king was advised to withdraw his forces, for fear lest that the Welch should again set upon them, and so sustain a greater loss, which counsel the king willingly hearkened unto, and so he returned for England. The English being withdrawn, the Earl likewise decamped, and marched to Caermardhyn, which he besieged; but after three months vain assault, the garrison most bravely defending the place; and the English fleet, having thrown in new provisions, he thought it most advisable to raise the siege. Shortly after, Rhys Gryc, son to Prince Rhys died at Lhandeilo Fawr, and was honourably interred by his father at St. David's. About the same time, Maelgon Fychan, Maelgon ap Rhys's son, finished Trefleian castle, which was begun in his father's time.

A. D. 1234. King Henry was not willing to hazard any more campaigns in Wales, and therefore he appointed John of Monmouth, a great soldier and general of the English forces, warden of the marches of Wales; who
 thinking

thinking to get to himself an eternal name in conquering the Welch, raised all the power he could; and imagining that the Welch could not be privy to his purpose, he apprehended he could fall upon the Earl Marshal unexpected. But in this, he was to his sorrow most widely mistaken; for the Earl having received private intimation of his design, hid himself in a certain wood, by which the English were to march; and when they were come so far, the Welch of a sudden gave a great shout, and leaping out of the place they had absconded themselves in, they fell upon the English, being unprovided; and putting their whole army to flight, they slew an infinite number both of the English and their auxiliaries. John of Monmouth himself made his escape by flight; but the Earl Marshal entering his country, destroyed it with fire and sword. And what added to the misery of the English, Prince Llewelyn in the week after Epiphany, joining the Earl Marshal, made an incursion into the king's territories, destroying all before them, from the confines of Wales to Shrewsbury; a great part of which they laid in ashes. King Henry was all this while with the bishop of Winchester at Gloucester, and for want of sufficient power or courage to confront the enemy, durst not take the field; of which being at length perfectly ashamed, he removed to Winchester, leaving the marches naked to the mercy of the enemy. And now, there being no apprehension of fear from the English, the Earl of Pembroke, by the counsel of Geoffrey de Marisco, transported his army into Ireland, thinking to obtain a conquest in that kingdom; but in the first encounter with the Irish, he was unfortunately slain through the treachery of his own men: and so his estate and title descended to his brother Gilbert.

But King Henry finding it impracticable to force the Welch to a submission, and being in a great measure weary of continual wars and incessant hostilities, thought it his best prudence to make some honourable agreement with the Prince of Wales; and therefore he deputed Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, the
bishops

bishops of Rochester, Coventry, Litchfield and Chester, to treat with Prince Lhwelyn about a peace. When the king came to meet with them in their return from this negotiation, being at Woodstock, he was certified of the death of the Earl of Pembroke, which he took so much to heart, that he presently melted into tears, being afflicted for the death of so great a person, whom he openly declared had not left his second in all his kingdom. Going from thence to Gloucester, he met with the archbishop and bishops, who delivered to him the * form of the treaty of peace with Prince Lhwelyn, which he would not conclude, unless upon this condition; That all the English nobility who were confederated with him, and by evil counsel were exiled, should be recalled, and restored to the king's favour. The Archbishop further acquainted his Majesty with what difficulty he had brought the matter to this conclusion, being sometimes forced to add threatenings on the king's behalf, with his clergy; to which menaces the prince is said to have answered, That he bore more regard to the king's charity and piety, than he did fear his arms, or dread his clergy. But the king, who was very desirous of a peace, readily consented to what the prince required; and therefore he issued out his letters, recalling all the nobles who were outlawed, or otherwise exiled, requiring them to appear at Gloucester, upon Sunday next before Ascension-day, where they should receive their pardons, and be restored to their estates, which the king had taken into his own hands.

The peace being thus concluded betwixt the English and Welch, Prince Lhwelyn set his son Gruffydh at liberty, whom for his disobedient and restless humour he had detained in close prison for the space of six years. About the same time, Cadwalhon ap Maelgon of Melienydh, departed this life, who was quickly followed by Owen, Gruffydh ap Rhys's son, a person of great worth, and exceedingly beloved, and was buried at Ystratflur, by his brother Rhys. And the year following died Owen ap Meredith ap Rotpert

* See the
Appendix.

A. D. 1235.

of

of Cydewen; and not long after him, Madawc theA. D. 1236.
 son of Gruffydh Mayelor, Lord of Bromfield, Chirk,
 and Yale, who was buried at the abbey of Lhan Eg-
 west, of Vale Crucis, which he had built; leaving is-
 sue behind him one son, called Gruffydh, who suc-
 ceeded into the possession of all these lordships. A
 little after, Gilbert Earl of Pembroke, got by treachery
 Marchen castle, which belonged to Morgan ap Howel,
 and fortified the same very strongly, for fear of Prince
 Lhewelyn. The next spring Joan, King John's daugh- 1237.
 ter, and Princess of Wales, departed this life, and was
 buried, according to her own desire, upon the sea-
 shore, at a place called Lhanfaes; in the isle of An-
 glesey; where the Prince, in memory of her, after-
 wards founded a religious house, for the order of
 mendicant friars. About the same time also died John
 Scot, Earl of Chester, without any issue, upon which
 account the king seized that earldom into his own
 hands. Hugh Lupus was the first that enjoyed this
 honour, who coming over to England with the Con-
 queror, was by him created Earl of Chester, and
 sword-bearer of England; *Habendum & tenendum dic-
 tum comitatum Cestrie, sibi & heredibus suis, ita libere
 ad gladium, sicut ipse rex totam tenebat Angliam ad coro-
 nam*: To have and to hold the said county of Chester,
 to him and his heirs by right of the sword, so freely
 and securely as the king held the realm of England in
 the right of the crown. After five descents, Randulph
 Bohun came to be Earl of Chester, who was uncle
 to this John, the last Earl. This Randulph had se-
 veral encounters with Prince Lhewelyn, and was in
 continual agitation against him; but once more par-
 ticularly, meeting with the Prince, and being sensible
 of his inability to withstand him, he was obliged to
 retire for refuge to the castle of Ruthlan, which the
 prince presently besieged. Randulph perceiving him-
 self to be in danger, sent to Roger Lacy, constable
 of Chester, requesting him to raise what strength he
 could possible, and come to succour him in this extremi-
 ty. Wherefore Lacy having received this express, called
 to him presently all his friends, desiring them to make

all the endeavours imaginable to rescue the Earl from that imminent danger which so severely threatened him: at whose request, Ralph Dutton, his son-in-law, a valourous youth, assembled together all the players and musicians, and such as then, being fair-time, had met to make merry; and presenting them to the constable, he forthwith marched to Ruthlan, raised the siege, and delivered the Earl from all his fear. In recompence of this service, the Earl granted the constable several freedoms and privileges; and to Dutton the ruling and ordering all players and musicians within the said country, to be enjoyed by his heirs for ever.

A. D. 1238. In the year 1238, Prince Llewelyn being discomposed in body, called unto him all the lords and barons of Wales to Ystratflur, where each of them swore to remain true and faithful subjects, and did homage to David, Llewelyn's son, whom he had named to succeed him. Matthew Paris writes, That Prince Llewelyn being impotent by reason of a palsy, and fore disquieted by his son Gruffydh, sent ambassadors to the king of England, signifying to him, that for as much as he could not expect to live long, by reason of his age, he was desirous to lead the remainder of his days in peace and tranquility: and therefore now purposed to submit himself to the government and protection of the king, and would hold his lands of him; promising withal, that whenever the king should stand in need of his help, he would serve him both with men and money, to the utmost of his power. The bishops of Hereford and Chester were sent mediators in this behalf, though some of the nobility of Wales openly and peremptorily withstood it, and upon no condition whatsoever would accept of such a peace. But David being declared successor to the principality, began to plague his brother Gruffydh, who though elder, was yet base-born; and took from him Arustly, Ceri, Cyfeilioc, Mowahwy, Mochnant, and Careneon; and let him only enjoy the Cantref of Lhyn. But a little afterwards he dispossessed him of all, and contrary to his oath to the bishop of Bangor, in whose protection Gruffydh then remained, took him prisoner; having

having upon promise of no violence, obtained to speak with him, and sent him to Cricieth castle. But whilst these A.D. 1240. two brothers continued to entertain an irreconcilable odium one to another, their father Prince Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, to the great grief and dissatisfaction of all the Welch, departed this life, and was very honourably interred in the abbey of Conwey, after he had reigned six and fifty years. He was a prince of great courage and audacity, and had no less prudence in contriving, than boldness in executing any martial adventure; he was a great support to the Welch, and no less a plague to the English; he made very considerable conquests upon the borders, and extended the frontiers of Wales, much beyond their former limits. He had issue by his only wife Joan, daughter to King John of England, one son called David, who afterwards succeeded in the principality of Wales; and a daughter named Gladys, who was married to Sir Ralph Mortimer. He had also a base son, named Gruffydh, whom his brother David kept a close prisoner to his dying day.

DAVID AP LHEWELYN.

PRINCE Llewelyn ap Iorwerth being deceased, his only legitimate son David, whom all the barons of Wales had, as is said, in his father's life-time sworn to obey, legally succeeded in the government; wherein being actually confirmed, he went to the king of England to Gloucester, and there did him homage * for his principality. Then all the barons, both English and Welch who held any lands in Wales. in like manner did homage and fealty for the same. But the English could not long refrain from their wonted hostilities towards the Welch; and thereupon Gilbert Marshal, * See Appendix.

taking advantage of this revolution, before matters were thoroughly settled, brought an army before the castle of Aberystwyth, which being delivered up to him, he fortified with a strong garrison. Prince David was as yet too weak to appear in the field; and indeed the more, by reason that several of his nobility and others, could not affectionately love him, for that unnatural spleen he shewed to his brother Gruffydh, whom, for no visible reason, he detained in close custody. But above the rest, Richard bishop of Bangor, stormed at the Prince, and finding that he violated his promise, in setting his brother at liberty, whom under pretence of an amicable consultation he had fraudulently seized upon in the bishop's presence, without more ado excommunicated him; and then retiring to England, made a very querimonious relation of the whole matter to the king, desiring to release Gruffydh out of prison, before the rumour of so heinous a fact should reach the court of Rome, and so reflect upon his Majesty's reputation. King Henry thereupon sent to his nephew Prince David, blaming him highly for such a treacherous action, and dealing so severely with his brother; and then earnestly requested him to deliver Gruffydh out of custody, both to save himself from perpetual defamation, and to deserve an absolution from the severe sentence pronounced against him. But David absolutely refused to comply to the king's desire, assuring him, that Wales could never enjoy a peaceable time, as long as his brother Gruffydh had his liberty.

Gruffydh being acquainted with his brother's resolution, and thinking that thereby he had unavoidably displeas'd the king of England, privately sent to King Henry, assuring him, that if by force he would deliver him out of prison, he would not only hold his lands for ever from him, but also pay him the yearly acknowledgment of three hundred marks; offering both to give his corporal oath, and deliver up sufficient pledges for the performance of it; and withal to assist the king with all his power in bringing in
the

the rest of the Welch to his subjection. Moreover, Gruffydh ap Madawc, Lord of Bromfield, positively assured the king, that in case he would lead an army into Wales, to revenge the falsity and injurious practices of David, he would give him all possible aid and assistance. Indeed, King Henry, besides this solemn invitation, had no weak pretence to come to Wales; for Richard, bishop of Bangor, a fiery man, had prosecuted the matter so warmly at Rome, that he obtained of the Pope also to excommunicate David, which excommunication being denounced against him, his lands were pretendedly forfeited. But the king being chiefly allured with the promises of the Welch in the behalf of Gruffydh, levied a very formidable army to lead to Wales; strictly commanding by proclamation, all the English, who owed him any martial service, to repair armed to Gloucester, by the beginning of Autumn. This rendezvous being accordingly performed, the king came thither in person at the time appointed, and having regulated his troops, and put all matters in convenient order, he marched to Shrewsbury, where he remained fifteen days to refresh his army. During his stay there several of the nobility became suitors unto him on behalf of Gruffydh, whose condition they desired he would commiserate; among whom were, Ralph Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, Walter Clifford, Roger de Monte Alto, Steward of Chester, Maelgon ap Maelgon, Meredith ap Rotpert Lord of Cydewen, Gruffydh ap Madawc of Bromfield, Howel and Meredith the sons of Conan ap Owen Gwynedh, and Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn Lord of Powis. These noblemen prevailed so far with King Henry, that a league was concluded between him and Senena the wife of Gruffydh. For the performance of these articles, the aforesaid noblemen offered to be securities, and bound themselves by their several writings. But as if all things had conspired together against Prince David, several persons that had been at continual variance and enmity among themselves to this time, were now, by reason that they equally favoured Gruffydh's cause,

See Appendix.

pendix.

See Appendix.

pendix.

made friends among one another: Morgan ap Howel Lord of Cery, made his reconciliation to Sir Ralph Mortimer, and his submission to King Henry, in a very solemn manner: in the same form several others of the nobility, submitted to the king; as, Owen ap Howel, Maelgon ap Maelgon, Meredith ap Meredith, Howel ap Cadwalhon, and Cadwalhon ap Howel. David finding himself thus relinquished by the greatest part of his nobility, and particularly by Gruffydh ap Madawc, Lord of Bromfield, whom he chiefly feared, by reason of his great wisdom and power, and that he was much esteemed by the king of England, could not easily conclude how to carry himself in this perplexity of affairs. But in fine, considering with himself what a puissant army King Henry brought against him, and how himself was considerably weakened by the defection of his subjects, he thought it most adviseable to truckle to the king; and therefore with all speed sent him his submission.

Prince David having given a plenary submission to the king, desired, that being his nephew, and the lawful heir and successor of his father Prince Llewelyn, he should enjoy the principality of Wales, rather than Gruffydh, who was illegitimate, and in no wise related to the king; assuring him further, that the war would never be at an end, if he was set at liberty. King Henry knowing well the truth of all this, and withal being assured that Gruffydh was not only valiant himself, but had likewise very powerful abettors and promoters of his cause, was very inclinable to assent to David's request, and to prevent any farther troubles, willingly granted it. Therefore David in a while after sent his brother Gruffydh to the king, together with the pledges promised for the performance of the articles lately agreed upon; who were all sent to the tower of London to be kept in safe custody; Gruffydh being allowed a noble a-day to provide himself with necessaries. Shortly after, David came himself to London, and after he had done his homage, and sworn fealty to the king of England, returned to Wales, being honourably and peaceably

peaceably dismissed. But as soon as Gruffydh found out King Henry's mind, and that it was the least part of his design to set him at liberty, having flatly denied the bishop of Bangor his request therein; he began to set his brains a-working, and to devise means whereby he might make his escape out of the tower. Whereupon, having one night deceived his keepers, he let himself down from the top of the building, by a line which he had composed out of the sheets and hangings of the room; which being too weak to bear his weight, being a heavy corpulent person, let him down headlong to the ground; by the greatness of which fall he was crushed to pieces, and so presently expired. King Henry being informed of this unhappy accident, severely punished the officers for their inexcusable carelessness; and ordered that his son, who was kept prisoner with him in the tower, should be more narrowly observed.

After this King Henry fortified the castle of Dyferth in Flintshire; and for their past service, or rather to oblige them to the like after, granted to Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn all his estate in Powis, and to the sons of Conan ap Owen Gwynedh their lands in Merioneth. And the next year Maelgon Fychan fortified the castle of Garthgrugyn, John de Mynoc the castle of Buelht, and Roger Mortimer that of Melyenyth. A. D. 1242.

But all these preparations were to no purpose; for the following year early, King Henry came with an army into Wales, and began very unreasonably to molest the Welch, and without any just pretence forcibly to seize upon their lands and estates. Indeed, after the death of Gruffydh, he had a mind no longer to keep his promise to David, and therefore entitled his eldest son Edward to the principality of Wales, whom he thought to oblige the Welch to obey. 1243.

But Prince David understanding his design, levied all his power for the defence of his just right; yet finding himself unable to withstand the army of the English, purposed to effect that by policy which he could not attain by force. He sent therefore to

the Pope, complaining how that King Henry of England compelled him unjustly to hold his lands of him, and that upon no legal pretence he seized the estates of the Welch at his pleasure; telling him moreover, that Prince Llewelyn his father had left him and the principality of Wales to the protection of the see of Rome, to which he was willing to pay the yearly sum of five hundred marks, obliging himself and his successors by oath, for the due performance of this payment, The Pope (you may be sure) gladly accepted of the offer, and thereupon gave commission to the two abbots of Aberconwey and Cymer, to absolve David from his oath of allegiance to the king of England, and having enquired into the whole state of the quarrel, to transmit an account of it to him. The abbots according to their commission, directed a very positive mandate to the king of England. King Henry admiring the strange presumption and confidence of these abbots, or more the unsatiabable avarice and greediness of the Pope, sent also to Rome; and with a greater sum of money, easily adjusted all matters: his Holiness being very desirous to make the best advantage of both parties.

See Appendix.

But Prince David finding that the Pope minded his own gain, more than to justify his complaints against the king of England, thought it to no purpose to rely upon his faith, but judged it more adviseable to vindicate himself by force of arms. Having therefore gathered his forces together, (being now reconciled to, and followed by all the nobility of Wales, excepting Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn and Morgan ap Howel, who also shortly after submitted to him,) he drew up his army to the marches, intending to be revenged upon the Earls of Clare and Hereford, John de Monmouth, Roger de Monte Alto, and others, who injured and oppressed his people; with whom he fought divers times, and with various success. But in the Lent-time next year, the Marchers and the Welch met near Montgomery, between whom was fought a very severe battle; the governor of that castle being general of the English, and having cunningly placed

A. D. 1245

an ambuscade of men, pretended, after some short engagement, to flee, whom the Welch daringly pursued, not thinking of any treachery. But as soon as they were past the ambushment, up rises an unexpected party of men, who falling upon the backs of the Welch, put them to a very great disorder, and killed about three hundred men, not without a considerable loss of their own side, among whom was slain a valiant knight called Hubert Fitz-Matthew. But King Henry being weary of these perpetual skirmishes and daily clashings between the English and Welch, thought to put an end to the whole with one stroke; and therefore raised a very great army of English and Gascoigns, and entered into North Wales, purposing to waste and destroy the country. But before he could advance very far, Prince David intercepted him in a narrow pass, and so violently set upon him, that a great number of his nobility and bravest soldiers, and in a manner all the Gascoigns were slain. The king finding he could effect nothing against the Welch, invited over the Irish, who landing in Anglesey, began to pillage and waste the country; but the inhabitants gathering themselves together in a body, quickly forced them to their ships: after which, King Henry having victualled and manned all his castles, returnest dissatisfied to England.

But concerning this expedition to Wales, and the continuance of the English army therein, a certain person in the camp, wrote to this effect to his friends Mat. Paris. in England: 'The king with his army is encamped at Gannock, and is busy in fortifying that place, sufficiently strong already, about which we lay in our tents, in watching, fasting, praying, and freezing. We watch for fear of the Welch, who were used to come suddenly upon us in the night-time: we fast for want of provision, the halfpenny loaf being now risen and advanced to five pence: we pray that we may speedily return safe and scot-free home: and we freeze for want of winter-garments, having but a thin linen shirt to keep us from the wind. There
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is a small arm of the sea under the castle where we lye, which the tide reached, by the conveniency of which, many ships bring us provision and victuals from Ireland and Chester: this arm lies betwixt us and Snowden, where the Welch are encamped, and is in breadth, when the tide is in, about a bow-shot. Now it happened, that upon the Monday before Michaelmas-day, an Irish vessel came up to the mouth of the haven, with provision to be sold to our camp, which being negligently looked to by the mariners, was upon the low ebb stranded on the other side of the castle, near the Welch. The enemy perceiving this, descended from the mountains, and laid siege to the ship, which was fast upon the dry sands; whereupon we detached in boats three hundred Welch of the borders of Cheshire and Shropshire, with some archers and armed men, to rescue the ship: but the Welch, upon the approach of our men, withdrew themselves to their usual retirements in the rocks and woods, and were pursued for about two miles by our men afoot, who slew a great number of them. But in their return back, our soldiers being too covetous and greedy of plunder, among other sacrilegious and profane actions; spoiled the abbey of Aberconwey, and burnt all the books and other choice utensils belonging to it. The Welch being distracted at these irreligious practices, got together in great number, and in a desperate manner setting upon the English, killing a great number of them, and following the rest to the water-side, forced as many as could not make their escape into the boats, to commit themselves to the mercy of the waves. Those they took prisoners they thought to reserve for exchange; but hearing how we put some of their captive nobility to death, they altered their minds, and in a revengeful manner scattered their dilacerated carcasses along the surface of the water. In this conflict, we lost a considerable number of our men, and chiefly those under the command of Richard Earl of Cornwall; as Sir Alan Buscell, Sir Adam de Maio, Sir

Geoffry

Geoffry Estuemy, and one Raimond a Gascoign, with about an hundred common soldiers. In the mean time, Sir Walter Bisset stoutly defended the ship till midnight, when the tide returned; whereupon the Welch, who assailed us of all sides were forced to withdraw, being much concerned that we had so happily escaped their hands. The cargo of this ship, was three hundred hogheads of wine, with a plenty of other provision for the army, which at that time it stood in very great need of. But the next morning, when the sea was returned, the Welch came merrily down again to the ship, thinking to surprize our men; but as luck would have it, they had at full sea the night before relinquished the ship, and returned safe to the camp. The enemy missing of our men, set upon the cargo of the ship, carried away all the wine and other provisions; and then when the sea began to flow, they put fire to the vessel, and returned to the rest of the army. And thus we lay encamped in great misery and distress for want of necessaries, exposed to great and frequent dangers, and in great fear of the private assaults and sudden incursions of our enemies. Oftentimes we set upon and assailed the Welch, and in one conflict we carried away an hundred head of cattle, which very triumphantly we conveyed to our camp. For the scarcity of provision was then so great, that there remained but one hoghead of wine in the whole army; a bushel of corn being sold for twenty shillings; a fed ox for three or four marks; and an hen for eight pence; so that there happened a very lamentable mortality both of man and horse, for want of necessary sustenance of life.

The English army having undergone such miseries as are here described, and King Henry, as is said, perceiving it was in vain for him to continue any longer in Wales, where he was sure to gain no great credit, he returned with his army into England, being not very desirous to make another expedition into Wales. Then all the nobility and barons of Wales, and those that had favoured and maintained Gruffydh's

Gruffydh's cause, were made friends and reconciled to Prince David, to whom they vowed true and perpetual allegiance. But the Prince did not long survive this amity and agreement between him and his subjects: for falling sick toward the beginning of this year, he died in March, at his palace in Aber, and was buried at Conwey, leaving no issue to succeed.

A. D. 1246. The only thing unpardonable in this prince, was his over jealousy and severity against his brother Gruffydh, a person so well beloved of the Welch, that upon his account their affection was much cooled, and in some entirely alienated from their prince. Indeed thus much may be said for David, that Gruffydh was a valourous and an aspiring man, and if set at liberty, would bid fair to eject him out of his principality; which King Henry of England too (who thought he might bring over David, a milder man, to what terms he pleased,) was sensible of, when he would by no persuasion dismiss him from custody in the tower of London. But this occasioned all the disturbances that happened in his time, the Welch themselves, for the love they bore to Gruffydh, inviting the king of England to come to invade their country, and to correct the unnatural enmity their Prince expressed to his brother. But when all differences were over, the king of England returned with his army shamefully back, and the Prince and his nobility reconciled; the Welch might have expected a very happy time of it, had not death taken the Prince so unnaturally away, before he had well known what a peaceful reign was.

LHEWELYN

LHEWELYN AP GRUFFYDH.

PRINCE David being dead, the principality of North Wales legally descended to Sir Ralph Mortimer, in right of his wife Gladys, daughter to Llewelyn ap Iorwerth. But the Welch nobility being assembled together for the electing and nominating a successor, thought it by no means adviseable to admit a stranger to the crown, though his title was never so lawful; and especially an Englishman, by whose obligations to the crown of England, they must of necessity expect to become subjects, or rather slaves to the English government. Wherefore they unanimously agreed to set up Llewelyn and Owen Goch, the sons of Gruffydh, a base son of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, and brother to Prince David; who being sent for, and appearing before the assembly, all the nobles and barons then present, did them homage, and received them for their sovereigns. But as soon as the king of England understood of the death of the Prince of Wales; he thought the country being in an unsettled and wavering condition, he might effect great matters there; and therefore he sent one Nicholas de Miles to South Wales, with the title of Justice of that country, with whom he joined in commission Meredith ap Rhys Gryc, and Meredith ap Owen ap Gruffydh; to eject and disinherit Maelgon Fychan of all his lands and estate in South Wales. The like injurious practices were committed against Howel ap Meredith, who was forcibly robbed of all his estate in Glamorgan by the Earl of Clare. These unreasonable extortions being insupportable; Maelgon and Howel made known their grievances to the Princes of North Wales, desiring their succour and assistance for the recovery of their lawful inheritance from the encroachments

ments of the English. But the king of England understanding their design, led his army into Wales; upon whose arrival, the Welch withdrew themselves to Snowden hills, where they so tired the English army, that the king finding he could do no good, after some stay there returned back to England. Within a while after, Ralph Mortimer, the husband of Gladys Dhu died; leaving his whole estate, and with it a lawful title to the principality of North Wales, to his son Sir Roger Mortimer.

A. D. 1247.

M. Paris,
page 739.

The next year nothing memorable passed between the English and the Welch, only the dismal effects of the last year's expedition, were not worn off; the ground being incapable of cultivation, and the cattle being in great measure destroyed by the English, occasioned great poverty and want in the country. But the greatest calamity befel the bishops; St. Asaph and Bangor being destroyed and burnt by the English, the bishops thereof were reduced to that utmost extremity, as to get their subsistence by other mens charity; the bishop also of St. David's deceased, and he of Landaff had the misfortune to fall blind. In the bishoprick of St. David's succeeded Thomas, surnamed Wallensis, by reason that he was born in Wales; who thinking himself obliged to benefit his own country what lay in his power, desired to be advanced from the archdeaconry of Lincoln to that see: which the king easily granted, and confirmed him in it. The next summer proved somewhat more favourable to the Welch; Rhys Fychan son to Rhys Mechyl, won from the English the castle of Carrec Cynnen, which his unkind mother, out of malice, or some ill opinion entertained of him, had some time before privately delivered up to them. And about the same time the body of Gruffydh ap Lhwelyn base son to Lhwelyn ap Iorwerth, was recovered from the king of England, by the earnest solicitations of the abbots of Conwey and Ystratflur; who conveying it to Conwey, bestowed upon it a very pompous and honourable interment.

1248.

After this, the affairs of the Welch proceeded A. D. 1255. peaceably for a long while, and the country had sufficient opportunity to recover its former plenty; but at last, to make good the proverb, that *Plenty begets War*; they began, for want of a foreign enemy, to quarrel and fall out among themselves. Owen was too high and ambitious to be satisfied with half the principality, and therefore must needs have a sting at the whole; wherein fortune so far deceived him, that he lost his own stake, as will afterwards appear. But the better to encompass his design, by sly insinuations he persuaded David his younger brother to second his cause; and they with joint interest levied their power, with intention to dethrone their elder brother Lhwelyn, But that was no easy matter; for Lhwelyn was prepared to receive them, and with a puissant army met them in the field, and so was resolved to venture all upon the fortune of a battle. It was strange and grievous to behold this unnatural civil war; and the more grievous now, by reason that it so manifestly weakened the strength of the Welch to withstand the incursions of the English, who were extremely pleased with so fair an opportunity to fall upon them. But they were too far engaged, to consider of future inconveniencies; and a trial of war they must have, though the English were ready to fall upon both armies. The battle being joined, the day proved bloody on both sides, and which was like to conquer was not presently discovered; till at length Owen began to give ground, and in fine was overthrown, himself and his brother David being taken prisoners. Lhwelyn, though he had sufficient reason, would not put his brothers to death; but committing them into close prison, seized all their estates into his own hands, and so enjoyed the whole principality of Wales.

The English seeing the Welch at this rate oppress and destroy one another, thought they had full liberty to deal with them as they pleased; and thereupon began to exercise all manner of wrong and injustice against them; insomuch that the next year, all 1256.

the lords of Wales came in a body to Prince Llewelyn, and declared their grievances, how unmercifully Prince Edward (whom his father had sent to Wales) and others of the nobility of England dealt with them, how without any colour of justice they seized upon their estates, without any room for appeal; whereas, if themselves offended in the least, they were punished to the utmost extremity. In fine, they solemnly declared, that they preferred to die honourably in the field, before to be so unmercifully enslaved to the will and pleasure of strangers. Prince Llewelyn was not a stranger to all this; and now having happily discovered the bent and inclination of his subjects, was resolved to prosecute, if possible, the expulsion of the English, and to be revenged upon them for their most cruel, and almost inhuman practices towards the Welch. Having therefore drawn all his power together, being accompanied by Meredith ap Rhys Gryc, in the space of one week he recovered out of the hands of the English all the inland country of North Wales, and then all Merionyth with such lands as Prince Edward had usurped in Cardigan, which he bestowed upon Meredith the son of Owen ap Gruffydh. Having also forced Rhys Fychan out of Buelht, he conferred it upon Meredith ap Rhys; and in like manner bestowed all the lands which he recovered, between his nobles; reserving nothing to his own use, besides Gwerthryncon, the estate of Sir Roger Mortimer. The next summer, he entered into Powis, and made war against Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, who always had taken part with, and owned subjection to the king of England, which he totally overcame, excepting the castle of Poole, some small part of Caerneon, and the country lying upon the banks of the Severn.

A. D. 1257.

But Rhys Fychan was not satisfied with the loss of Buelht, and therefore was resolved to try to recover it; to which end, he went to the king of England, of whom he obtained a very strong army, commanded by one Stephen Bacon, which being sent by sea, landed at Caermardhyn in the Whitfun-week.

From

From thence the English marched to Dynefawr, and laid siege to the castle, which valiantly held out, until Llewelyn's army came to its relief. Upon the arrival of the Welch, the English decamped from before the castle, and put themselves in posture of battle, which the Welch perceiving, they made all haste to answer and oppose them. Whereupon there ensued a very terrible engagement which lasted a very long while; this being for number of men the greatest battle that had been fought between the English and the Welch. But the victory favoured the Welch, the Englishmen being at length forced to fly, having lost above two thousand men, besides several barons and knights who were taken prisoners. After this the prince's army passed to Dyfed, where having burnt all the country, and destroyed the castles of Aber-eorran, Lhanstephan, Maenclochoc and Arberth, with all the towns thereunto belonging, returned to North Wales with much spoil. But as soon as he was arrived, great complaints were exhibited to Prince Llewelyn against Jeffrey Langley lieutenant to Edward Earl of Chester, who without any regard to equity and conscience, most wrongfully oppressed the inhabitants of Wales under his jurisdiction. Whereupon the prince to punish the master for the servant's fault, entered with some part of his army into the Earl's estate, burnt and destroyed all his country on both sides the river Dee, to the gates of Chester. Edward had no power at present to oppose him, but being resolved to be revenged upon the Welch with the first opportunity, he desired aid of his uncle, then chose king of the Romans, who sent him a strong detachment, with which he purposed to give Prince Llewelyn battle. But finding him too strong, he thought it more adviseable to desist from hostility, the prince's army consisting of ten thousand experienced men, who were obliged by oath, rather all to die in the field, than suffer the English to gain any advantage over the Welch. But Gruffydh ap Madoc Maelor, Lord of Dinas Bran, a person of notorious reputation for injustice and oppression, basely for-

took the Welch his countrymen, and with all his forces went over to the Earl of Chester.

A.D. 1258.

The next year Prince Llewelyn passed to South Wales, and seized into his hands the land of Cemaes, and having reconciled the difference betwixt Rhys Gryg and Rhys Fychan, he won the castle of Trefdraeth, with the whole country of Rhos, excepting Haverford. There he marched in an hostile manner toward Glamorgan, and rased to the ground the castle of Lhangymwch, and then returning to North Wales, he met by the way with Edward Earl of Chester, whom he forced precipitously to return back. But before he would put an end to this expedition, he must needs be revenged upon that ungrateful fugitive Gruffydh ap Madoc Maelor, and thereupon passing through Bromfield, he miserably laid waste the whole country. Upon this the kings of England and Scotland sent to Llewelyn requiring him to cease from hostility, and after that unmerciful manner to devour, and forcibly to take away other mens estates. The prince was not over sollicitous to hearken to their request, but finding the time of the year very seasonable for action against the English, he divided his army into two battles, each of these consisting of 1500 foot and 500 horse, with which he purposed to enlarge his conquest. Edward Earl of Chester, to prevent the blow which so desperately hung over his head, sent over for succours from Ireland, of whose coming Prince Llewelyn being certified, manned out a fleet to intercept them, which meeting with the Irish at sea, after a sharp dispute, forced them to return back with loss. King Henry being acquainted with the miscarriage of the Irish, resolved to come in person against the Welch, and having drawn together the whole strength of England, even from St. Michael's mount in Cornwall to the river Tweed, marched with his son Edward in a great rage to North Wales, and without any opposition advanced as far as Teganwy. But the Prince had stopped his farther progress and prevented any long stay he could make in Wales, having before hand caused all manner

of provision and forage to be carried over the river, and then securing the strait and narrow passages whereby the English might get farther into the country; the army was in a short time so mortally fatigued, that the king for want of necessary subsistence was forced to retire in haste to England with considerable loss.

The prince after that sending for all the forces in South Wales, came to the marches, where Gruffydh Lord of Bromfield finding that the king of England was not able to defend his estate yielded himself up, and then passing to Powis, he banished Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, and took all the lands in the country into his hands. Proceeding farther, he was encountered with by Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester, who with a choice party of English gave him battle. But Lhwelyn's army exceeding both in number and courage, easily vanquished and overcame the English, and so the victory being quickly obtained, the prince presently reduced to his power all the castles belonging to the Earl of Gloucester. King Henry hearing of the Earl's overthrow, was much concerned at the loss of so many brave soldiers, in whose valour and experience he always put a very great confidence, and therefore to revenge their deaths, he was again resolved to march against the Welch. Having called his forces together, and received supply from Gascoign and Ireland he came to Wales, but not daring to venture far into the country, for fear of being forced to make another shameful retreat, he only destroyed the corn near the borders, it being harvest time, and so returned to England. But Lord James Audley, whose daughter was married to Gruffydh, Lord of Bromfield, did more mischief and hurt to the Welch, who having brought over a great number of horsemen from Germany to serve against the Welch, so terrified them with the unusual largeness of the horses, and the unaccustomed manner of fighting, that in the first encounter the Welch were easily overcome. But minding to revenge this disgrace, and withal being better acquainted with their method of arms,

the Welch in a little time after made in-roads into the Lord Audley's lands, where the Germans presently set upon them, and pursued them to certain straits, which the Welch discovered for a politick retreat. The Germans thinking they had entirely drove the Welch away, returned carelessly back, but being set upon of the sudden, without any thought of an enemy behind, they were all in a manner slain by the rallying Welch. This year a very great scarcity of beefs and horses happened in England, whereof several thousands yearly were supplied out of Wales, by reason of which, the marches were perfectly robbed of all their breed, and not so much as a beast to be seen in all the borders.

A. D. 1259 The next spring all the nobility of Wales convened together and took their mutual oaths to defend their country to death, against the oppressing invasions of the English, and not to relinquish and forsake one another upon pain of perjury; though notwithstanding, Meredith ap Rhys of South Wales violated this agreement, and put himself in the service of the king of England. King Henry was ready to fall upon the Welch, to which purpose he summoned a parliament, wherein he proposed to raise a subsidy towards the conquest of Wales, being not able of himself to bear the expences of this war, by reason of several losses he had already received, the country of Pembroke being lately destroyed and taken by the Welch, where they found plenty of salt, which before they were in great necessity of. But William de Valentia accusing the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester as the authors of all this mischief quite broke all their measures, so the king was forced to prorogue the parliament for a time without any grant of a subsidy. But within a while after, it sat at Oxford, where King Henry and Edward his son took a solemn oath to observe the laws and statutes of the realm, and the same being tendered to Guy and William the king's brothers, and to Henry son to the king of Almain, and to Earl Warren, they refused to take it, and so departed. In this parliament

liament the lords of Wales fairly proffered to be tried by the laws for any offence they had unjustly committed against the king, which was mainly opposed by Edward, who caused one Patrick de Canton (to whom the lordship of Cydwely was given, in case he could win and keep the same) to be sent to Carmardhyn as lieutenant for the king with whom Meredith ap Rhys was joined in commission. Being arrived at Carmardhyn, Patrick sent to the Prince, to desire him to appoint commissioners to treat with him concerning a peace, which he consented to, and without any suspicion of treachery, sent Meredith ap Owen, and Rhys ap Rhys to Emlyn, if possible, to conclude the same. But Patrick meaning no such thing, laid an ambuscade for the Welch, who coming honestly forward, were by the way villainously set upon by the English, and a great many slain; but those that happily escaped, calling up the country, presently gave chase to Patrick and his accomplices, who being at length overtaken, were almost all put to the sword. But Prince Lhwelyn was now altogether bent upon a peace, and did not only desire it, but was willing to purchase it for a sum of money, to which purpose he offered to give the king 4000 marks, to his son 300, and 200 to the queen, which the king utterly refused, replying, That it was not a sufficient recompence for all the damages he had suffered by the Welch. Matthew of Westminster reporteth, that about Michaelmas this year, the bishop of Bangor was commissioned by the prince and nobility of Wales to treat with the king of England about a peace, and to offer him 16,000 pounds for the same, upon these conditions, that according to their antient custom, the Welch should have all causes tried and determined at Chester, and that they should freely enjoy the laws and customs of their own country; but what was the result of this treaty, my author does not mention.

There being no hopes of a peace, Prince Lhwelyn A. D. 1266. early next year appeared in the field, and passed to South Wales, and first fell foul upon Sir Roger Mortimer,

timer, who contrary to his oath, maintained the king of England's quarrel. Having forcibly dispossessed him of all Buelht, and without any opposition taken the castle, where was found a plentiful magazine, he marched through all South Wales, confirming his conquest, and afterwards returned to his palace at Aber, betwixt Bangor and Conwey. The year following, Owen ap Meredith Lord of Cydewen died. But the next summer was somewhat more noted for action, a party of Prince Llewelyn's men took by surprize the castle of Melienyth, belonging to Sir Roger Mortimer, and having put the rest of the garrison to the sword, they took Howel ap Meyric the governor with his wife and children prisoners; and after that, the castle was demolished by the prince's order. Sir Roger Mortimer hearing of this, with a great body of lords and knights came to Melienyth, where Prince Llewelyn met him, but Sir Roger not daring to hazard a battle, planted himself within the ruins, and finding he could do no good, desired leave of the prince to retire peaceably. The Prince upon the account of relation and near consanguinity betwixt them, and withal because he would not be so mean spirited as to fall upon an enemy, who had no power to resist him, let him safely depart with his forces, and then passing on himself to Brecknock at the request of the people of that country, who swore fidelity unto him; so passed on and returned to North Wales. And now being confederate with the barons against King Henry, he was resolved to practise something in the prejudice of the English, and so set upon the earldom of Chester, destroyed the castles of Tygannmy and Diferth belonging to Edward, who coming thither, was yet not able to prevent the mischief done to him by the Welch.

1263. The next year John Strange junior, constable of Montgomery with a great number of marchers, came a little before Easter by night, through Ceri to Cydewen, intending to surprize the castle, which when the people of the country understood, they gathered together, and setting upon them, slew two hundred of his men, but Strange with a few got safely back.

Within a while after, the marchers and the Welch met again near a place called Clun, where a hot engagement happened between them, in which the Welch were worsted, and had a great number of their men slain. After this, nothing remarkable fell out for a considerable time, unless it were, that David being released out of prison by Prince Lhwelyn his brother, most ungratefully forsook him, and with all his might, sided with his enemies the English; also Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn having taken the castle of Mold, demolished it to the ground. During this quiet and unactive interval in Wales, Meredith ap Owen, the main support and defender of South Wales died, to the great disadvantage of the affairs of that country. A. D. 1268; now indeed, the Welch were like to be made sensible of the loss of so considerable a person, for King Henry was resolved once more to lead an army into Wales, and to see if he could have better success than he had hitherto against the Welch. But when he was prepared to undertake this expedition, Ottobonus, Pope Clement's legate in England, interposed and meditated a peace, which was concluded upon at the castle of Montgomery, wherein it was articulated, that Prince Lhwelyn should give the king thirty thousand marks, and the king was to grant the prince a charter, from thenceforth to receive homage and fealty of all the nobility and barons of Wales, besides one, so that they could hold their lands of no other but himself, and from thence forward he was to be lawfully stiled Prince of Wales. This charter being ratified and confirmed as well by the authority of the pope, as the king's seal; Prince Lhwelyn desisted from any farther acts of hostility, and punctually observed all the articles of the agreement betwixt him and King Henry, so that nothing more was outrageously transacted between the English and Welch, during the remainder of this king's reign. Within that space, died Grono ap Ednyfed Fychan one of the chief lords of the prince's council, and shortly after him Gruffydh Lord of Bromfield, who lies buried at Vale Crucis.

A. D. 1272. But the death of King Henry put an end to the observations of the peace betwixt the English and Welch, who dying on the sixteenth day of November this year, left this kingdom to his son Edward. Prince Edward was then in the Holy Land, and very active against those enemies of christianity, the Turks, where he had already continued above an year; but understanding of his father's death, and that in his absence he was proclaimed king of England, he made all haste to return to receive the solemnity of coronation. But what by the tediousness of the journey, and what by being honourably detained at princes' courts in his way, it was two years before he could get into England, then upon the fifteenth of August, and in the year 1274, he was crowned at Westminster. Prince Llewelyn was summoned to attend at his coronation, but he flatly refused to appear, unless upon sure terms of safe conduct, for having offended several of the English nobility, he could not in safety pass through their country without the danger of exposing his person to the inveterate malice and acceptable revenge of some of them. And therefore without the king's brother, the Earl of Gloucester, and Robert Burnell Lord Chief Justice of England, were delivered up as pledges for his safe conduct, he would not come to do his homage and fealty at his coronation, according to the writ directed to him. And indeed, seeing King Edward had broke the peace lately concluded upon before the Pope's legate, and did receive, and honourably entertain such noblemen of Wales, as for their disloyalty were banished by Prince Llewelyn, by whom he feared some treachery; there was no reason that the prince should pay him any subjection, but by the breach of peace was exempted from all homage. However, Prince Llewelyn to shew that it was not out of any stubbornness or disrespect to the king of England, that he refused to come, sent up his reasons by the abbots of Ystratflur and Conwey to Robert Kilwarby archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the bishops then sitting in convocation in the New Temple at London, which were to this effect.

To the most Reverend Fathers in God, Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Metropolitan of all England, the Archbishop of York, and the rest of the Bishops in Convocation; Llewelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowden, fendeth greeting.

WE would have your Lordships to understand, that whereas formerly most terrible and incessant wars were continually managed betwixt Henry king of England and Ourself; the same were at last composed, and all matters of differences were adjusted by the means of his Excellency Cardinal Ottobonus, the Pope's legate, who having drawn the articles and conditions of the peace agreed upon, they were signed and swore to, not only by the king, but also the prince his son, now king of England. Among these articles were comprehended, that We and our successors should hold of the king and his successor, the principality of Wales, so that all the Welch lords, one baron excepted, should hold their baronies and estates *in capite* of Us, and should pay their homage and fealty for the same to Us; We in like manner doing homage to the king of England and his successors. And besides, that the king and his successors should never offer to receive and entertain any of Our enemies, nor any such of Our own subjects as were lawfully banished and excluded our dominions of Wales, nor by any means defend and uphold such against Us. Contrary to which articles, King Edward has forcibly seized upon the estates of certain barons of Wales, of which they and their ancestors have been immemorably possessed of and detains a barony, which by the form of peace should have been delivered to us; and moreover, has hitherto entertained David ap Gruffydh our brother, and Gruffydh ap Gwenwyn-

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wyn, with several other of Our enemies who are outlaws and fugitives of Our country, and though We have often exhibited Our grievances and complaints against them, for destroying and pillaging our country, yet We could never obtain of the king any relief or redress for the several wrongs and injuries we received at their hands; but on the contrary they still persist to commit wastes and other outrages in Our dominions. And for all this, he summons Us to do him homage at a place which is altogether dangerous to Our person, where Our inveterate enemies, and which is worse, Our own unnatural subjects, bear the greatest sway and respect with the king. And though we have alledged several reasons to the king and his council, why the place by him assigned, is not safe and indifferent for Us to come, and desire him to appoint another, whereto we might with more safety resort, or else that he would send commissioners to receive Our oath and homage, till he could more opportunely receive them in person; yet he would not assent to Our just and reasonable request, nor be satisfied with the reasons We exhibited for Our non-appearance. Therefore We desire your lordships earnestly to weigh the dismal effects that will happen to the subjects both of England and Wales upon the breach of the articles of peace, and that you would be pleased to inform the king of the sad consequence of another war, which can no way be prevented, but by using Us according to the conditions of the former peace, which for Our part, We will in no measure transgress. But if the king will not hearken to your counsel, We hope that you will hold Us excused, if the nation be disquieted and troubled thereupon, which as much as in Us lieth We endeavour to prevent.

King Edward would admit of no excuse, nor hearken to any manner of reason in the case, but was unmercifully enraged, and conceived an unpardonable displeasure against Prince Llewelyn, which yet he thought convenient to conceal and dissemble for a time. Indeed, he could never abide Llewelyn,
since

since the time that he was vanquished and put to flight by him at the marches, so that the chief cause of King Edward's anger, originally proceeded from a point of honour, which this refusal of homage served sufficiently to increase. But to prosecute his revenge, which upon this score is in princes very fierce and unforgetful, in a short time he came to Chester, meaning to recover by force what he could not obtain by fair means. From hence he sent to the Prince of Wales, requiring him to come over and do him homage, which Lhewelyn either absolutely refusing or willingly detracting to do, King Edward made ready his army to force him to it. But there happened an accident A. D. 1277 which took off a great part of Prince Lhewelyn's stubbornness; for at this time the countess of Leicester the widow of Simon Montfort who lived at Montargis a nunnery in France sent over for Wales her daughter, the Lady Eleanor, (whom Lhewelyn extremely loved) with her brother Aemerike, to be married to the prince, according to the agreement made in her father, Earl Montfort's time. But Aemerike fearing to touch upon the coast of England, steered his course towards the islands of Scilly, where by the way they were all taken by four Bristol ships, and brought to King Edward, who received the lady very honourably, but committed her brother prisoner to the castle of Coff, whence he was afterward removed to the castle of Shirburne. The king having obtained this unexpected advantage over Lhewelyn, began boldly to fall upon him, and so dividing his army into two battalions, led one himself into North Wales, and advanced as far as Ruthlan, where he strongly fortified the castle. The other he committed to Paganus de Camutiis, a great soldier, who entering into West Wales, burned and destroyed a great part of the country. But the people of South Wales, fearing that his next expedition was levelled against them voluntarily submitted themselves to the king, and did him homage, and then delivered up the castle of Yfstratywy to Paganus.

Prince

Prince Llewelyn hearing of this and finding his own subjects to forsake him, but more especially being desirous to recover his espouse the Lady Eleanor, thought it likewise adviseable to submit, and therefore sued to King Edward for a peace, who granted it, but upon very severe conditions upon Llewelyn's side. The agreement consisted of ten articles, which were, I. That the prince should set at liberty all manner of prisoners, that upon the king's account were detained in custody. II. That for the king's favour and good-will; he should pay 50,000 marks, to be received at the king's pleasure. III. That these four cantreds or hundreds, viz. Cantref Rôs, where the king's castle of Teganwy stands; Ryfonioc, where Denbigh; Tegengl, where Ruthlan; Dyffryn Clwyd, where Rhuthyn stands, should remain in the king's hands. IV. That the Lords Marchers should quietly enjoy all the lands they had conquered within Wales, excepting in the isle of Anglesey, which was wholly granted to the Prince. V. That in consideration of this island, the prince should pay 5000 marks in hand, with the reserve of a 1000 marks yearly to begin at Michaelmas; and in case the prince died without issue, the whole island should return to the king. VI. That the prince should come every year to England to pay his homage to the king for all his lands. VII. That all the barons of Wales, excepting five in Snowden, should hold their lands and estates of the king, and no other. VIII. That the title of Prince should remain only for his life, and not descend to his successors, and after his death, the five lords of Snowden should hold their lands only from the king. IX. That for the performance of these articles, the prince should deliver up for hostages ten persons of the best quality in the country, without imprisoning, disinheriting, and any time of redemption determined. And farther, that the king should chuse twenty persons in North Wales, who besides the prince, should take their oaths for the due performance of these articles, and in case the prince should swerve and recede from them, and upon admonition thereof not repent, they

they should forsake him, and become his enemies. X. The Prince was obliged to suffer his brethren quietly to enjoy their lands in Wales, whereof David for his service was dubbed knight by the king, and had the Earl of Derby's widow given in matrimony, and with her as a portion, the castle of Denbigh in North Wales, besides a 1000 pounds in lands. His other brother Roderic was lately escaped out of prison into England, and the younger called Owen, was upon his composition delivered out of prison.

King Edward having imposed these severe and unmerciful conditions upon Prince Llewelyn, and for a better security for the performance of them, built a castle at Aberystwyth, returned very honourably into England; upon whose arrival, the people willingly granted him a subsidy of the twentieth part of their estates towards his charges in this war. But it seems very probable that Prince Llewelyn submitted to these intolerable conditions, more upon the account of his amours, and to regain the Lady Eleanora out of the king of England's hand, than that he was apprehensive of any considerable danger he might receive by the English troops. For it is hardly conceivable, that a prince of such notorious conduct and valour, would so easily accept of such hard terms, and in a measure deliver up his principality, when there was no necessity so to do, without resisting an enemy, whom he had frequently overcome, and forced to retire back with greater inequality than the English had at present over him. But the force of love worked wonders, and in this case proved most irresistible, which to obtain, Llewelyn did not think hard to forfeit his proper right to his inveterate enemies, and for ever to exclude his posterity from succeeding in their lawful inheritance. The next year A.D. 1273 therefore, he had his wish accomplished, and was married to Eleanora at Worcester, the king and queen, with all the nobility and persons of quality in England, honouring the wedding with their presence.

But

But this specious amity, and the peace lately concluded betwixt them did not last long, the English governors in the marches and in-land countries of Wales, presuming upon the prince's submission to the king, grievously oppressed the inhabitants of the country, with new and unheard of exactions, and with intolerable partiality openly encouraged the English to defraud and oppress the Welch. These insupportable practices moved the Welch to go in a body to David Lord of Denbigh, to endeavour a reconciliation between him and his brother the prince, that they both being at unity, might easily deliver themselves and their country from the unmerciful tyranny of the English. David was not ignorant of the miseries of his countrymen, and therefore gladly submitted to be reconciled to his brother, with promise never to side again with the king of England, but to become his utter enemy. This happy union being thus effected, David was chose general of the army, with which he presently marched to Hawarden, and surprizing the castle slew all that opposed him, and took Roger Clifford prisoner, who had been sent by King Edward, Justitiar into those parts. From thence, being joined by the prince, he passed to Ruthlan, and laid siege to the castle; but upon notice given that the king was marching to raise the siege, he thought convenient to withdraw, and to retire back. At the same time Rhys ap Maelgon and Gruffydh ap Meredith ap Owen, with other lords of South Wales, took from the English the castle of Aberystwyth, with divers others in that country, and spoiled all the people thereabouts, who owned subjection to the crown of England. In the mean while, John Peckham archbishop of Canterbury, perceiving how matters were like to proceed between the king and the prince, and how the kingdom was effectually involved in a war, of his own proper motion came to Prince Llewelyn, to endeavour a re-submission from him and his brother David to King Edward, and so to put a stop to any farther hostilities.

But

But he sent before-hand to the prince and people of Wales, intimating to them, 'That for the love he bore to the Welch nation, he undertook this arbitration, without the knowledge, and contrary to the king's liking; and therefore earnestly desired, that they would submit to a peace with the English, which himself would endeavour to bring to pass. And because he could make no long continuance in those parts, he wished them to consider, how that if he should be forced to depart before any thing was brought to a conclusion, they could hardly find another who would so heartily espouse their cause; and farther threatened, that in case they contemned and derided his endeavours, he would not only instigate the English army, now greatly strengthened and increased, to fall upon them, but also signify their stubbornness to the court and bishop of Rome, who esteemed and honoured England, beyond any other kingdom in the world. Moreover, he much lamented to hear of the excessive cruelty of the Welch, even beyond that of the Saracens and other infidels, who never refused to permit slaves and captives to be ransomed; which the Welch were so far from practising, that even some time they slew those for whose redemption they received money. And whereas they were wont to esteem and reverence holy and ecclesiastical persons, they are now so far degenerated from devotion and sanctity, that nothing is more acceptable to them than war and sedition, which they had now great need to forsake and repent of. Lastly, he proposed, that they would signify to him, wherein, and what laws and constitutions of their's was violated by the English, and by what means a firm and a lasting peace might be established; which, if they rejected, they must expect to incur the decree and censure of the church, as well as endure the violent in-roads and depredations of a powerful army.'

To these, partly admonitions, and partly threatenings of the archbishop, Prince Llewelyn returned an answer :

answer: 'That he humbly thanked his Grace for the pains and trouble he undertook in his, and his subjects' behalf; and more particularly, because he would venture to come to Wales, contrary to the pleasure and good liking of the king. And as for concluding a peace with him, he would not have his Grace be ignorant, that with all readiness he was willing to submit to it, upon condition that the king would duly and sincerely observe the same. And though he would
 A.D. 1281. be glad of his longer continuance in Wales, yet he hoped that no obstructions would happen of his side, why a peace (which of all things he most desired) might not be forthwith concluded, and rather by his Grace's procuring than any others; so that there would be no farther need of acquainting the Pope with his obstinacy, nor moving the king of England to use any force against him. And though the kingdom of England be under the immediate protection of the see of Rome, yet when his Holiness comes to understand of the great and unsufferable wrongs done to him by the English; how the articles of peace were broken, churches and all other religious houses in Wales were burned down and destroyed, and religious persons unchristianly murdered, he hoped he would rather pity and lament his condition, than with addition of punishment encrease and augment his sorrow. Neither shall the kingdom of England be anywise disquieted and molested by his means, in case the peace be religiously observed towards him and his subjects. But who they are that delight themselves with war and bloodshed, manifestly appears by their actions and behaviour; the Welch being glad to live quietly upon their own, if they might be permitted by the English, who coming to the country, utterly destroy whatever comes in their way, without regard either to sex, age, or religious places. But he was extreme sorry that any one should be slain, having paid his ransom; the author of which unworthy action he did not pretend to maintain, but would inflict upon him his condign punishment,

punishment, in case he could be got out of the woods and defarts, where as an outlaw, he lives undiscovered. But as to commencing a war in a season inconvenient, he protested he knew nothing of that till now; yet those that did so, do solemnly attest that to be the only measure they had to save themselves, and that they had no other security for their lives and fortunes, than to keep themselves in arms. Concerning his sins and trespasses against God, with the assistance of his Grace, he would endeavour to repent of; neither should the war be willingly continued by him, in case he might save himself harmless; but before he would be unjustly dispossessed of his legal property, he thought it but reasonable, by all possible measures to defend himself. And he was very willing, upon due examination of the trespasses committed, to make satisfaction and retribution of all wrongs committed by him and his subjects; so that the English would observe the same on their side; and likewise was ready to conclude a peace, which he thought was impossible to be established, as long as the English had no regard to articles, and still oppress his people with new and unwarrantable exactions. Therefore seeing his subjects were unchristianly abused by the king's officers, and all his country most tyrannically harrassed, he saw no reason why the English, upon any fault of his side, should threaten to bring a formidable army to his country, nor the church pretend to censure him: seeing also, he was very willing upon the aforesaid conditions, to submit to a peace. And lastly, he desired his Grace, that he would not give the more credit to his enemies, because they were near his person, and could deliver their complaints frequently, and by word of mouth; for they who made no conscience of oppressing, would not in all probability, stick to defame, and make false accusations; and therefore his Grace would make a better estimation of the whole matter, by examining their actions, rather than believing their words.'

Prince Llewelyn having to this purpose replied in general to the archbishop's articles, presented him with a copy of the several grievances, which himself and others of his subjects had wrongfully and unjustly received at the hands of the English, and these, though somewhat tedious, are thought necessary to be particularly inserted in the appendix, by reason that they demonstrably vindicate the Welch nation, from the unreasonable aspersions which the English of these times cast upon it. For, the breach of peace, and the occasion of those dismal disturbances in the kingdom, are, by the English writers of those times wholly attributed to the restless and rebellious humour and unconstant temper of the Welch: whereas, had they looked at home, they might have found the original of all these troubles, to have proceeded from the intolerable extortions and insupportable oppressions of their own nation. For whoever considers these unmerciful grievances, and the manifold wrongs the Welch endured, it cannot in reason be expected, but that they would endeavour to vindicate themselves, and repel force by force. For had the English the liberty of dispossessing them wrongfully of their proper inheritance and estates, and it was not lawful for the Welch to endeavour the defending and keeping of their own? and must they be reckoned disobedient, and promoters of sedition, upon the account that they would not be trampled under, and enslaved by the English? these measures were too hard and intolerable, and scarce allowable in an infidel nation; to oppress, (and what in them lay) eradicate a people, for no other reason, than because they were weaker and more helpless than themselves; and then, what is worse, to accuse them of being authors of sedition, because they would not suffer themselves to be peaceably enslaved, but endeavoured to vindicate their right by main force. But it is highly probable, that King Edward had no inclination to observe, what articles of agreement soever were concluded upon; and therefore encouraged his deputies in the marches and inland country of Wales, in all their oppressions and

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sinistrous dealings towards the Welch. This was the best method, and the most expedient means to reduce the country of Wales to subjection to the crown of England, which the king had long ago intentionally effected; and to accuse the Welch of not observing the conditions of peace, was a specious pretence to bring that actually to pass, and to lead an army into the country. But whatever the English might pretend, it is evident the Welch had the greater occasion to complain, as appears from the grievances committed as well against the prince himself, as others of his subjects.

See the
Appendix.

The archbishop having read over these grievances, and finding the Welch to be upon good reason guiltless of that severe character, which by the malicious insinuations of the English, he had conceived of them, went to King Edward; requesting him to take into consideration the unjust wrongs and injuries done to the Welch; which if he would not redress, at least he might excuse them from any breach of obedience to him, seeing they had so just a reason for what they did. The king replied, That he willingly forgave them, and would make reasonable satisfaction for any wrong done; so that they had free access to declare their grievances before him; and then might safely depart, in case it would appear just and lawful they should. The archbishop upon this thought he had obtained his purpose, and therefore, without any stay, posted it to Snowden, where the prince and his brother David resided; and having acquainted them with the king's mind, earnestly desired that they, and the rest of the nobility of Wales, would submit themselves, and by him be introduced to the king's presence. Prince Llewelyn, after some times conference and debate, declared that he was ready to submit to the king, with the reserve only of two particulars; namely, his conscience, whereby he was obliged to regard the safety and liberties of his people; and then the decency of his own state and quality. But the king understanding by the archbishop, how

that the prince stood upon terms, positively refused to consent to any more treaty of peace, than that he should simply submit without any farther conditions. The archbishop had experience enough, that the Welch would never agree to such proposals; and therefore desired of his Majesty, that he would give him leave, with the rest of the English nobility present, to confer and conclude upon the matter; which being granted, they unanimously resolved upon the following articles, and sent them to the prince by John Wallensis, bishop of St. David's.

I. The king will have no treaty of the four cantreds, and other lands which he has bestowed upon his nobles; nor of the isle of Anglesey.

II. In case the tenants of the four cantreds submit themselves, the king purposeth to deal kindly and honourably with them; which we are sufficiently satisfied of, and will, what in us lies, endeavour to further.

III. We will do the like touching Prince Llewelyn, concerning whom we can return no other answer, than that he must barely submit himself to the king, without hopes of any other conditions.

These were the publick articles agreed upon by the English nobility, and sent to Prince Llewelyn; besides which, they sent some private measures of agreement, relating both to him and his brother David; promising, that in case he would submit, and put the king in quiet possession of Snowden, his Majesty would bestow an English county upon him, with the yearly revenue of a thousand pound sterling. And moreover, his daughter should be provided for, suitable to her birth and quality, and all his subjects according to their estate and condition; and in case he should have male issue by a second wife, the aforesaid county and a thousand pound should remain to his posterity for ever. As for David, the
prince's

prince's brother, if he would consent to go to the Holy Land, upon condition not to return but upon the king's pleasure, all things should be honourably prepared for his journey with respect to his quality; and his child maintained and provided for by the king. To these the archbishop added his threats; That in case they did not comply, and submit themselves to the king's mercy, there were very severe and imminent dangers hanging over their heads; a formidable army was ready to make an in-road into their country, which would not only gaul and oppress them, but in all probability totally eradicate the whole nation: besides which, they were to expect the severest censure and punishment of the church.

But all this could not force so unlimited a submission from the prince, but that he would stick upon some certain conditions; and therefore by letter he acquainted the archbishop, 'That he was with all willingness desirous to submit himself to the king; but withal, that he could not do it but in such a manner as was safe and honest for him. And because the form of submission contained in the articles sent to him, were by himself and his council thought pernicious and illegal for him to consent to, as tending rather to the destruction, than the security of himself and his subjects, he could in no wise agree to it; and in case himself should be willing, the rest of his nobility and people would never admit of it, as knowing for certain the mischief and inconveniency that would ensue thereby. Therefore he desired his lordship, that for a confirmation of an honest and a durable peace, which he had all this while earnestly laboured for, he would manage matters circumspectly, and with due regard to the following articles. For it was much more honourable for the king, and far more consonant to reason, that he should hold his lands in the country where he was born and dwelt in, than that by dispossessing of him, his estate should be bestowed upon strangers.' With this was sent the general

neral answer of the Welch to the archbishop's articles, viz.

I. Though the king would not consent to treat of the four cantreds, nor of the isle of Anglesey; yet unless these be comprehended in the treaty, the prince's council will not conclude a peace; by reason that these cantreds have ever, since the time of Camber the son of Brutus, properly and legally belonged to the Princes of Wales; besides the confirmation which the present prince obtained by the consent of the king and his father, at the treaty before Cardinal Ottobonus, the Pope's legate, whose letters patent do still appear. And more, the justice of the thing itself is plainly evident, that it is more reasonable for our heirs to hold the said cantreds for money, and other services due to the king, than that strangers enjoy the same, who will forcibly abuse and oppress the people.

II. All the tenants of the cantreds of Wales do unanimously declare, that they dare not submit themselves to the king's pleasure; by reason that he never from the beginning took care to observe either covenant, oath, or any other grant to the prince and his people; and because his subjects have no regard to religion, but most cruelly and unchristianly tyrannize over churches and religious persons; and then, for that we do not understand ourselves any way obliged thereunto, seeing we be the prince's tenants, who is willing to pay the king all usual and accustomed services.

III. As to what is required, that the prince should simply commit himself to the king's will, we all declare, that for the aforesaid reasons, none of us dare come, neither will we permit our prince to come to him upon those conditions.

IV. That some of the English nobility will endeavour to procure a provision of a thousand pounds a-year in England; we would let them know, that we can accept of no such pension; because it is procured for no other end, than that the prince
being

being disinherited, themselves may obtain his lands in Wales.

V. The prince cannot in honesty resign his paternal inheritance, which has for many ages been enjoyed by his predecessors, and accept of other lands among the English, of whose customs and language he is ignorant; and upon that score, may at length be fraudulently deprived of all, by his malicious and inveterate enemies.

VI. Seeing the king intends to deprive him of his antient inheritance in Wales, where the land is more barren and untill'd; it is not very probable that he will bestow upon him, a more fruitful and an arable estate in England.

VII. As to the clause, that the prince should give the king a perpetual possession of Snowden; we only affirm, that seeing Snowden essentially belongs to the principality of Wales, which the prince and his predecessors have enjoyed since Brute, the prince's council will not permit him to renounce it, and accept another estate in England, to which he has not equal right.

VIII. The people of Snowden declare, That though the prince should give the king possession of it, they would never own, and pay submission to strangers; for in so doing, they would bring upon themselves the same misery, that the people of the four cantreds have for a long time groan'd under; being most rudely handled and unjustly oppress'd by the king's officers; as woefully appears by their several grievances.

IX. As for David, the prince's brother, we see no reason, why against his will he should be compelled to take a journey to the Holy Land; which if he happens to undertake hereafter upon the account of religion, it is no cause that his issue should be disinherited, but rather encouraged.

Now seeing neither the prince nor any of his subjects upon any account whatsoever, have moved and

begun this war, but only defended themselves, their properties, laws, and liberties from the encroachments of other persons; and since the English, for either malice or covetousness to obtain our estates, have unjustly occasioned all these troubles and broils in the kingdom, we are assured that our defence is just and lawful, and therein depend upon the aid and assistance of heaven; which will be most cruelly revenged upon our sacrilegious and inhuman enemies, who have left no manner of enormities, in relation to God and man, uncommitted. Therefore your Grace would more justly threaten your ecclesiastical censures, against the authors and abettors of such unparalleled villanies, than the innocent sufferers. And besides, we much admire, that you should advise us to part with our own estates, and to live among our enemies; as if, when we cannot peaceably enjoy what is our own unquestionable right, we might expect to have quiet possession of another man's: and though, as you say, it be hard to live in war and perpetual danger; yet much harder it is, to be utterly destroyed and reduced to nothing; especially, when we seek but the defence of our own liberties from the insatiable ambition of our enemies. And seeing your Grace has promised to fulminate sentence against all them that either for malice or profit would hinder and obstruct the peace; it is evident who in this respect are transgressors and delinquents; the fear and apprehension of imprisonment and ejection out of our estates, the sense of oppression and tyrannical government; having compelled us to take up arms for the security of our lives and fortune. Therefore as the English are not dispossessed of their estates, for their offences against the king, so we are willing to be punished, or make other satisfaction for our crimes, without being disinherited; and as to the breach of the peace, it is notorious that they were the authors, who never regarded either promise or covenant, never made amends for trespasses, nor remedy for our complaints.

When the archbishop saw there was no likelihood of a mediation, and that a peace was impossible to be concluded as long as the Welch stuck upon conditions; he presently relinquished his pretended affection towards them, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the prince and all his adherents. It was a subject of no little wonder, that a person of so reputed a sanctity, who esteemed the several grievances done to the Welch to be intolerable, should now condemn them for refusal of unlimited submission to the king of England; whereas he had already owned it to be unreasonable. But this ecclesiastical censure was only a prologue to a more melancholy scene; King Edward immediately upon it, sending an army by sea to Anglesey, without any great opposition, conquered the island, and without any mercy, put all that withstood him to the sword. From thence designing to pass over to the continent, he caused a bridge of boats covered with planks to be built over the Menay (being an arm of the sea which parteth the isle from the main land) at a place called Moel y don, not far from Bangor, where the water is narrowest. The bridge being finished, which was so broad as that threescore men might pass in a breast, William Latimer, with a strong party of the best experienced soldiers, and Sir Lucas Thany, commander of the Gascoigns and Spaniards, whereof a great number served the king, passed over, but could discover no sign, or any the least intimation of an enemy. But as soon as the tide began to appear, and the sea had overflowed beside the bridge, down come the Welch fiercely out of the mountains, and setting upon the disheartened English, killed or drowned their whole number, excepting Latimer, who by the swimming of his horse got safe to the bridge. In this action, several worthy soldiers of the English side were lost; among whom were Sir Lucas Thany, Robert Clifford, Sir Walter Lyndsey, two brothers of Robert Burnel bishop of Bath, with many others; in all to the number of thirteen knights, seventeen young gentlemen,

men, and two hundred common soldiers. A little after, or as some say before, another engagement passed between the English and the Welch, wherein the former lost fourteen colours, the Lords Audley and Clifford the younger being slain, and the king himself forced to retreat for safety to the castle of Hope.

And while these things passed in North Wales, the Earl of Gloucester and Sir Edmund Mortimer acted vigorously with their forces in South Wales; and fighting the Welch at Lhandeilo Fawr, overthrew them with the loss of no considerable person, saving William de Valence the king's cousin-german, and four knights besides. Prince Llewelyn was all this while in Cardigan, wasting and destroying all the country, and principally the lands of Rhys ap Meredith, who very unnaturally held with the king of England in all these wars. But being at length tired with action, with a few men privately separated himself from his army, and came to Buelht, thinking to ease and respite himself there undiscovered. But coming to the river Wye, he met with Edmund Mortimer and John Gifford, with a considerable party of the people of that country which Mortimer was lord of. But neither party venturing to assail the other, Prince Llewelyn with one only servant retired to a private grove in a neighbouring valley, there to consult with certain lords of the country, who had appointed to meet him. In the mean time Mortimer descends from the hill, with intention to fall upon Llewelyn's men; which they perceiving, betook themselves to the bridge called Pont Orewyn, and manfully defended the passage he was to cross. Mortimer could effect nothing against them, till he had gained the bridge, the river being impassable; and to force them to quit it, seemed altogether impracticable. But at last, the river was discovered to be fordable a little below, and so Helias Walwyn was detached with a party through the river, who unexpectedly falling upon the backs of the defendants, easily forced them to leave the bridge, and save themselves by flight. Prince Llewelyn all this while in
vain

vain expected the lords of Buelht, and in fine continued to wait so long, till Mortimer having passed over the bridge, surrounded the wood he was in with armed men. The prince perceiving himself to be betrayed, thought to make his escape to his men; but the English so closely pursued him, that before he could come in, one Adam Francton, not knowing who he was, run him through with his sword, being unarmed. The Welch still expected the arrival of their prince, and though but a few in number, so gallantly maintained their ground, that in spite of the far greater number of the English, they were at length with much ado put to flight. The battle being over, Francton returned to plunder his dead; but perceiving him to be the prince of Wales, he thought himself to have obtained a sufficient prize, and thereupon presently chopt off his head, and sent it to King Edward at Conwey, who very joyfully caused it to be placed upon the highest pinnacle of the tower of London. And thus fell this worthy prince, the greatest, though the last of the British blood, betrayed most basely by the lords of Buelht, and being dead, most unworthily dealt with by the king of England; who, contrary to all precedents, treated a lawful prince like a traitor, and exposed his crowned head to the derision of the multitude.

Not long after, David the prince's brother was delivered up by the Welch themselves, and in a parliament for that purpose assembled at Shrewsbury, was condemned to die; his head to be sent to accompany his brother's upon the tower of London, and his four quarters to the four cities of Bristol, Northampton, York, and Winchester. Then the king for the easier keeping the Welch in due subjection, built two strong castles in North Wales; the one at Conwey and the other at Caernarvon. There was none that now stood out besides Rhys Fychan of Ystratywy; and he finding David was gone, and himself like to do nothing to purpose, fairly yielded himself up to the Earl of Hereford, who by the king's orders committed him
prisoner

prisoner to the tower of London; and so all the country of Wales became ever since subject to the crown of England.

The PRINCES of WALES of ENGLISH BLOOD.

Anno 12.
Edw. I.

PRINCE Llewelyn and his brother David being so basely taken off, and leaving no body to lay any specious claim to the principality of Wales; King Edward by a statute made at Ruthlan, incorporated and annexed it to the crown of England; constituting several new and wholesome laws; as concerning the division of Wales into several counties, the form and manner of writs and proceedings in trials, with many others not very unlike the laws and constitutions of the English nation. But all this could never win the affection of the Welch toward him; who by no means would own him as their soverèign, unless he would condescend and agree to live and reign among them. They had not forgot the cruel oppressions and intolerable insolencies of English officers; and therefore they flatly told him, they would never yield obedience to any other, than a prince of their own nation, of their own language, and whose life and conversation was spotless and unblameable. King Edward perceiving the Welch to be resolute and inflexible, and absolutely bent against any other prince, than one of their own country, happily thought of this politic, though dangerous expedient. Queen Eleanor was now quick with child, and ready to be delivered; and though the season was very severe, it being the depth of winter, the king sent for her from England, and removed her to Caernarvon castle, the place designed for her to lye in. When the
time

time of her delivery was come, King Edward called to him all the barons and chief persons throughout all Wales to Ruthlan, there to consult about the publick good and safety of their country. And being informed that his queen was delivered of a son, he told the Welch nobility, that whereas they had oftentimes intreated him to appoint them a prince, he having at this time occasion to depart out of the country, with their request, upon condition they would allow of, would comply and obey him whom he should name. The Welch readily agreed to the motion only with the same reserve, that he should appoint them a prince of their own nation. King Edward assured them, he would name such an one as was born in Wales, could speak no English, and whose life and conversation no body could stain; whom the Welch agreeing to own and obey, he named his own son Edward, but little before born in Caernarvon castle.

King Edward having by these means deluded the Welch, and reduced the whole country of Wales to his own devotion, began to reward his followers with other mens properties, and bestowed whole lordships and towns in the midst of the country upon English lords, among whom Henry Lacy Earl of Lincoln obtained the lordship of Denbigh; Reginald Grey, second son to John Lord Grey of Wilton, the lordship of Ruthyn. This Henry Lacy was son to Edmund Lacy, the son of John Lacy, Lord of Halton Pomfret, and constable of Chester, who married Margaret the eldest daughter, and one of the heirs of Robert Quincy Earl of Lincoln. This Henry Lacy lord of Denbigh married the daughter and sole heir of William Longspear Earl of Salisbury, by whom he had issue two sons, Edmund and John, who both died young, one by a fall into a very deep well within the castle of Denbigh; and a daughter named Alicia, who was married to Thomas Plantagenet Earl of Lancaster, who in right of his wife was Earl of Lincoln and Sarum, Lord of Denbigh, Halton Pomfret, and constable of Chester. After his death, King Edward

ward II. bestowed the said lordship of Denbigh upon Hugh Lord Spencer Earl of Winchester, upon whose decease, King Edward III. gave it, together with many other lordships in the marches, to Roger Mortimer Earl of March, in performance of a promise he had made, whilst he remained with his mother in France, that as soon as he should come to the possession of the crown of England, he would bestow upon the said Earl of March, to the value of a thousand pound yearly in lands. But within few years after, Mortimer being attainted of high treason, King Edward bestowed the said lordship of Denbigh upon Montague Earl of Salisbury; but it was quickly restored again to the Mortimers, in which house it continued, till the whole estate of the Earls of March, came with a daughter to the house of York, and so to the crown, Richard Duke of York, grandfather to Edward the fourth, having married the sole daughter and heir of the house of the Mortimers. And so it continued in the crown to Queen Elizabeth's time, who in the sixth year of her reign, bestowed the said lordship upon her great favourite Robert Earl of Leicester, who was then created Baron of Denbigh. After him it returned again to the crown, where it has continued to this present year 1696, when his present Majesty granted a patent under the Great Seal to William Earl of Portland, for the lordships of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale. Some of the Welch representatives, perceiving how far such a grant encroached upon the properties and privileges of the subject, disclosed their grievances to the honourable House of Commons, who after some consideration, resolved (*nemine contradicente*) that a petition should be presented to his Majesty by the body of the whole House, to request him to recall his grant to the said Earl of Portland; which was accordingly done in the manner following:

May it please Your Most Excellent Majesty,

WE Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgessees in parliament assembled; humbly lay before Your Majesty, That whereas there is a grant passing to William Earl of Portland, and his heirs, of the manors of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, and divers other lands in the principality of Wales; together with several estates of inheritance, enjoyed by many of Your Majesty's subjects by virtue of antient grants from the crown :

That the said manors, with the large and extensive royalties, powers, and jurisdictions to the same belonging, are of great concern to Your Majesty and the crown of this realm: and that the same have been usually annexed to the principality of Wales, and settled on the Princes of Wales for their support: and that a great number of Your Majesty's subjects, in those parts, hold their estates by royal tenure, under great and valuable compositions, rents, royal payments, and services to the crown and princes of Wales; and have by such tenure great dependance on Your Majesty and the crown of England; and have enjoyed great privileges and advantages with their estates, under such tenure.

We therefore most humbly beseech Your Majesty, to put a stop to the passing this grant to the Earl of Portland, of the said manors and lands; and that the same may not be disposed from the crown, but by consent of parliament: for that such grant, is in diminution of the honour and interest of the crown, by placing in a subject, such large and extensive royalties, powers, and jurisdictions, which ought only to be in the crown; and will sever that dependance, which so great a number of Your Majesty's subjects in those parts, have on Your Majesty and the crown, by reason of their tenure; and may be to their great oppression in those rights which they have purchased, and hitherto enjoyed with their estates: and also, on occasion

sion of great vexation to many of Your Majesty's subjects, who have long had the absolute inheritance of several lands (comprehended in the said grant to the Earl of Portland) by antient grants from the crown.

His MAJESTY'S Answer.

Gentlemen,

I Have a kindness for my Lord Portland; which he has deserved of Me, by long and faithful services; but I should not have given him these lands, if I had imagined the House of Commons could have been concerned; I will therefore recall the grant, and find some other way of shewing My favour to him.

The lordship of Ruthyn continued in the possession of the Greys, till the reign of Henry VII. when George Grey Earl of Kent, and Lord of Ruthyn, upon some bargain, passed the same over to the king, since which it has been in the possession of some of the Earls of Warwick, and afterwards came to the Middletons of Chirk castle in the county of Denbigh, where it still continues; being now enjoyed by the right worshipful Sir Richard Middleton, baronet.

But besides Henry Lacy and Reginald Grey, several other gentlemen of quality came at this time with King Edward to North Wales, who in some time became to be men of great possessions and sway in the country, whose posterity enjoy the same to this time. But he that expected to fare best in the distribution of these lordships and estates in Wales, was one Rhys ap Meredith a Welchman, and one that, contrary to the allegiance sworn to his prince, and his duty to his native country, had served the king of England, in all these wars, and done the greatest hurt of any man to the interest of Prince Llewelyn. For these great services done to King Edward, Rhys expected no less than to be promoted

to the highest preferments; whom the king after the Prince of Wales's overthrow first dubbed knight, and afterwards fed him with fair words and great promises.

But when he, and all his neighbours and countrymen had submitted themselves to the government of the king of England; it happened that the Lord Pain Tiptoft, warden of the king's castles which joined to Rhys's country, and the Lord Alan Plucknet, the king's steward in Wales, cited Sir Rhys ap Meredith, with all the rest of the country, to the king's court; which he refusing to do, alledging his antient privileges and liberties, together with the king's promises to him, the aforesaid officers proceeded against him according to law. Whereupon Sir Rhys being greatly A. D. 1289. vexed to be thus served by those whose interest he had all this while so warmly espoused, thought to be revenged of Pain Tiptoft, and the rest of the English. And to that end, having drawn together some of his tenants and countrymen, he fell upon the said Pain Tiptoft; between whom several skirmishes afterwards happened, and several men were slain on both sides. King Edward was now at Arragon to compose the differences betwixt the kings of Arragon and Naples; but being informed of the disturbances which had happened in Wales, betwixt his ministers there, and Sir Rhys ap Meredith; he wrote to his latter, requiring him to keep the peace, till his return; at what time he would redress all grievances, and reduce matters to a good and reasonable order. But Sir Rhys having already waited sufficiently upon the king's promises, and being now in a good condition to offend his enemies by force of arms, would not give over the enterprize he saw so promising, but marching with his forces to his enemies' lands, burnt and spoiled several towns belonging to the English. Upon this, the king sent to the Earl of Cornwall, whom he had appointed his deputy during his absence, to march with an army into Wales, to repress the insolencies, and to prevent any farther disorderly attempts of the Welch. The Earl accordingly prepared

pared an army and went against Sir Rhys's, whose army he quickly dispersed, and overthrew his castle of Drefolan, but not without the loss of some of his chief men. For as they besieged and undermined the said castle, the walls unexpectedly fell down, by which unlucky accident, several of the English were oppressed and bruised to death, among whom were the Lord Strafford, and the Lord William de Monchency. But within a while after, Robert Tiptoft Lord Deputy of Wales, raised a very powerful army against Sir Rhys, and after a slaughter of 4000 of the Welch, took him prisoner, who the Michaelmas following, at the king's going to Scotland, was condemned and executed at York.

A. D. 1293. But the death of Sir Rhys did not put a final period to all the quarrels betwixt the English and Welch, for in a short time after, there happened a new occasion for the Welch to murmur against, and upbraid the government of the English over them. King Edward was now in actual enmity and war with the king of France, for the carrying on of which, he wanted a liberal subsidy and supply from his subjects. This tax was with a great deal of passion and reluctance levied in divers places of the kingdom, but more especially in Wales, the Welch being never acquainted with such large contributions before, violently stormed and exclaimed against it. But not being satisfied with villifying the king's command, they took their own captain Roger de Pulesdon, who was appointed collector of the said subsidy, and hanged him up, together with divers others who abetted the collecting of the tax. Then the West Wales men chose Maelgon Fychan for their captain, and so entering into Caermardhyn and Pembroke shires, they cruelly harrassed all the lands that belonged to the English, and then returned laden with considerable booty. The Glamorganshire men, and they towards the south parts, chose one Morgan for their leader and set upon the Earl of Gloucester, whom they forced to make his escape out of the country; and so Morgan was put in possession of those lands which the ancestors of the Earl

1294.

Earl of Gloucester had forcibly taken away from Morgan's forefathers. On the other side, the North Wales men set up one Madoc related to the last Llewelyn slain at Buelht, who having drawn together a great number of men, came to Caernarvon, and setting upon the English who in great multitudes had then resorted thither to a fair, slew a great many, and afterwards spoiled and ransacked the whole town. King Edward being acquainted with these different insurrections and rebellions in Wales, and desirous to quell the pride and stubbornness of the Welch, but most of all to revenge the death of his great favourite Roger de Pulesdon, recalled his brother Edmund Earl of Lancaster, and Henry Lacy Earl of Lincoln and lord of Denbigh, who with a considerable army were ready to embark for Gascoign, and countermanded them into Wales. Being arrived there, they passed quietly forward, till they came to Denbigh, and as soon as they drew near unto the castle, upon St. Martin's day the Welch with great fury and courage faced them, and joining battle, forced them back with a very considerable loss. Polydore Virgil says, (but upon what authority is not known) that the Welch obtained this victory rather upon the account that the English army was hired with such money as had been wrongfully taken out of the abbies and other religious places, so that it was a judgment from above, more than the force of the Welch, that overcame the English army. But be the cause of it what it will, it is certain the English were vanquished, upon which account King Edward came in person to Wales, and kept his Christmas at Aberconwey, where Robert Winchelsey archbishop of Canterbury being returned from Rome, came to him, and having done homage, returned honourably again to England. But as the king advanced farther into the country, having but one part of his army with him, the Welch set upon and took most of his carriages, which contained a great quantity of victuals and provision, so that the king with all his followers were constrained to endure a great deal of hardships, in so much that at last water mixed with honey, and very

coarse and ordinary bread with the saltest meat, were accounted the greatest delicacies for his Majesty's own table. But their misery was like to be greater, had not the other part of the army come in time, because the Welch had encompassed the king round, in hopes to reduce him to the utmost distress, by reason that the water was so risen, that the rest of the army could not get to him. But the water within some time after abating, the remainder of the army came in, whereupon the Welch presently retired, and made their escape. One thing is very remarkable of King Edward during his distress at Snowden, that when the army was reduced to very great extremity, a small quantity of wine was found, which they thought to reserve for the king's own use. But he to prevent any discontent, which might thereupon be raised in his soldiers absolutely refused to taste thereof, telling them, 'That in time of necessity all things should be common, and as he was the cause and author of their distress, he would not be preferred before them in his diet.'

But whilst the king remained in Snowden, the Earl of Warwick being informed that a great number of Welch were assembled, and had lodged themselves in a certain valley betwixt two woods, chose out a troop of horse, together with some cross-bows and archers, and set upon them in the night-time. The Welch being thus surpris'd and unexpectedly encompassed about by their enemies, made the best haste they could to oppose them, and so pitching their spears in the ground, and directing the points towards their enemies, endeavoured by such means to keep off the horse. But the Earl of Warwick having ordered his battle so, as that between every two horses there stood a cross-bow, so gauled the Welch with the shot of the quarrels, that the spear-men fell apace, and then the horse breaking easily in upon the rest, bare them down with so great a slaughter, as the Welch had never received before. After this, King Edward to prevent any more rebellious attempts of the Welch,
cut

cut down all the woods in Wales, wherein, in any time of danger, they were wont to hide and save themselves. And for a farther security, he repaired and fortified all the castles and places of strength in Wales, and built the castle of Bewmoris in the isle of Anglesey, and so having put all things in a settled posture, and punished those that had been the occasion of the death of Roger de Pulesdon, he returned with his army into England. But as soon as the king had left the Welch, Madoc, who, as it is said before, was chosen captain by the North Wales men gathered some forces together, and came to Oswestry, which presently yielded to him. And then meeting with the Lord Strange near Knookine, who with a detachment of the marchers came to oppose him, gave him battle, vanquished his forces, and miserably ravaged his country. The like success he obtained a second time against the marchers, but at last they brought together a very great number of men, and met Madoc marching towards Shrewsbury, upon the hills of Cefn Digolh, not far from Camrs castle, where after a bloody fight on both sides, Madoc was taken prisoner, and his army vanquished and put to flight. Then he was sent to London, and there sentenced to remain in perpetual imprisonment in the Tower; though others affirm, that Madoc was never taken, but that after several adventures and severe conflicts, whereby the Welch were reduced to great extremities, he came in and submitted himself to the king, who received him upon condition he would not desist to pursue Morgan captain of the Glamorganshire men, till he brought him prisoner before him. Madoc having performed this, and the whole country being peaceable and undisturbed, several hostages from the chiefest nobility of Wales for their orderly and quiet behaviour were delivered to the king, who disposed of them into divers castles in England, where they continued in safe custody till the end of the war, which was presently commenced with Scotland.

In the 29th year of King Edward's reign, the prince of Wales came down to Chester, and received homage of all the freeholders in Wales as follows, Henry

A. D. 1301

Earl of Lancaster for Monmouth; Reginald Gray for Ruthyn; Foulke Fitzwarren for his lands; the Lord William Martyn for his lands in Cemaes; Roger Mortimer for his lands in Wales; Henry Lacy Earl of Lincoln for Rhos and Rhyfonioc; Robert Lord Montalt, for his lands, and Gruffydh Lord of Poole, for the lordship of Powys, at the same time paid their homage Tudor ap Grono of Anglesey, Madoc ap Tudor archdeacon of Anglesey, Eineon ap Howel of Caernarvon, Tudor ap Gruffydh, Lhewelyn ap Ednyfed, Gruffydh Fychan son of Gruffydh ap Iorwerth, Madoc Fychan Dengfield, Lhewelyn bishop of St. Asaph, and Richard de Puleston. This last in the twelfth year of King Edward was constituted sheriff of Caernarvon for life, with the stipend of forty pounds sterling yearly. At the same place, Gruffydh ap Tudor, Ithel Fychan, Ithel ap Blethyn, with many more did their homage. Then the prince came to Ruthlan, where the Lord Richard de Sutton Baron of Malpas, paid homage and fealty for the said barony of Malpas. Thence the prince removed to Conwey, where Eineon bishop of Bangor, and David abbot of Maynan did their homage; as did Lewis de Felton son of Richard Felton, for the lands which his father held of the prince in Maelor Saefneg, or English Maelor. John Earl Warren swore homage for the lordships of Bromfield and Yale, and his lands in Hope-Dale, at London in the chapel of the Lord John de Kirkby sometime bishop of Ely; as also a while after, Edmund Mortimer for his lands of Cery and Cydewen.

But besides all these, there paid homage to the prince of Wales at Chester, Sir Gruffydh Llwyd son of Rhys ap Gruffydh ap Ednyfed Fychan, a stout and a valiant gentleman, though not very fortunate, and as Florus says of Sertorius, he was *magnæ quidem, sed calamitosæ virtutis*. He was knighted by King Edward the First, upon his bringing the first news of the queen's safe delivery of a son at Caernarvon castle, the king holding then a parliament at Ruthlan. This Sir Gruffydh continued for some time very gracious with

with the king of England, but observing at length the intolerable oppression and tyranny exercised by the English officers, especially by Sir Roger Mortimer Lord of Chirke and Justice of North Wales, towards his countrymen the Welch, became so far concerned and discontented with such unwarrantable practices, that he presently brake out into open rebellion against the English. And the better to effect what he purposed, he treated with Sir Edward Bruce brother to Robert then king of Scotland, who had conquered Ireland, to bring or send over some forces to assist him in his design against the English, upon which account he sent him the following letter.

Nobili in Christo conquestori domino
EDVARDO, illustrissimo regi Hiberniæ,
suus, si placet, GRIFFINUS LLWYD in
North-Wall: reverentiam debitam in
honore.

AUDITA nobis vestri in terrarum conquestione fama egregia in partibus nostris præcipue debelland. æmulos nostros & vestros, qui tam vos quam nos ab hæreditatibus vi injuste expellendo destruxerunt, & nomen nostrum memoriamque in terris delere conati fuerunt, ab initio supra modum applaudimus, ut merito debemus, omnes unanimiter in partibus nostris, unde vobis ex parte Wallensium nobilium significo per præsentem, quod si ad Walliam cum hominibus vestris dignemini venire, vel si vos in propria persona accedere illuc non poteritis, aliquem nobilem Albanen. comitem, baronem vel miletem, cum paucis, si plurimi nequeant adesse, ad dictas partes nostras volueritis mandare. Parati erimus omnes unanimiter dicem eo quod nomen vestrum celebre ubique publicetur expugnat; si quid Saxonibus in Albania, per illustrem regem fratrem vestrum ultim. per vos in Hibernia, per vos & nos in Wallia statum vestrum pristinum per Brutum conquestum recuperabimus, ipsisque suppeditatis, confusis

fufis & difperfis, Britannia juxta difcretam veftræ dominationis ordinationem inter Britones & Albaneos in pofterum divifa cohæreditabitur. Valeat dominatio veftra regia per cuncta sæcula.

To this letter of Sir Gruffydh Llwyd's, Sir Edward Bruce returned the following answer.

OMNIBUS defiderantibus a fervitute liberari salutem in eo. Qui defiderant in fe relevat. & liberat. ab anguftiis, temporibus opportunis, quia quilibet christianus obligatur fuo proximo in omni anguftia fubvenire, & præcipue illis qui ex una radice originis five parentelæ & patriæ primitus procefferunt, ideo compatientes veftræ fervituti & anguftiæ, jam Anglicana moleftia indigenti decrevimus (auxiliante altiffimo) veftro gravamini occurrere, & innaturalem & barbaricam totis viribus Anglicanam de veftris finibus expellere fervitutum, ut fic fic a principio Albanicus et Britannicus populus expulfis hoftibus in perpetuum fiet unus. Et quia nullus inimicus faciliter relevatur libenter præcipimus, fi jugum Anglicanum in tantum vos deprimit, quantum nuper deprefferat populum Scotianum, ut fic ex veftro concordiamine, & noftro fuperveniente (juvamine difponente femper divino) pofitis jura veftra & juftitiam recuperare & proprietatem hæreditatem pacifice poffidere. Veruntamen dei cum omnia ferviunt in ifto propofito filium invocamus, quod non ex præfumptione & ambitione injufti dominii talia attemptamus, fed ex mera compaffione effufionis innocentis veftri sanguinis & fubjectionis intollerabilis & fignant: ad hoc quod vellemus inimicorum veftrorum & noftorum vires reprimere, qui nec pacem nec concordiam defiderant. Imo veftram & noftram finalem deftructionem, fic a principio ingreffionis eorum in Britanniam inceffanter diebus ac noctibus molientur, & quia nullo modo eft noftre confcientiæ quemquam decipere, nec etiam decipi a quocunque, noftram intentionem & propofit. fine tergiverfatione aliqua declaramus quod libenter fciremus veftram voluntatem, fi rationem noftri laboris

laboris & conaminis intuitu revelationis vestræ acceptare decrement. nobis committere prosecutionem querelæ vestræ & justitiæ nec non capitale dominium vestri pro ut alius hæctenus princeps vester liberius habere consuevit. Ita quod vos omnes & singuli cujuscunque extiteritis conditionis pristinis hæreditatibus, terris, libertatibus, possessionibus consuetis, & omnibus conditionibus ad vos expectantibus integre & finaliter gaudeatis. Vestram igitur voluntatem super hiis & quibuscunque aliis in quibus vos consolari poterimus, si videatur expediens caute & celeriter nobis remandetis. Valetè domini in domino.

But for all that these letters passed betwixt them whether by reason that Bruce's terms were conceived unreasonable, nothing however was concluded upon, and the whole treaty came to nothing. But Sir Gruffydh, though without any hopes of assistance from the Scots, would not lay aside what he had once undertaken, and therefore having gathered all the forces he could, desperately set upon, and almost in an instant over-ran all North Wales and the Marches, seizing upon all the castles and strong holds through the country. But all to no purpose, for as the most violent stream is quickly over, so Sir Gruffydh's army was presently spent, and then being met with by a strong detachment of English, his party was easily discomfited, and himself taken prisoner.

The same year being the 15th of the reign of King Edward the Second, his eldest son Edward born at Windsor, in a parliament holden at York, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitaine, and Earl of Chester. This prince succeeded his father in the kingdom of England, by the name of Edward the Third, one of the greatest and most powerful monarchs that ever sat upon the English throne. A. D. 1322

Edward born at Woodstock, eldest son and heir to King Edward the Third, was created prince of Wales, upon the 12th day of May in the 17th year of his father's reign, being then about fourteen years of age. 1343

He

He was a prince of incomparable qualifications, but so signally famous in martial affairs, that upon the account of the several actions he was engaged in, he received the name of Black Prince. He took John the French king prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, and shamefully vanquished the French army in the battle of Cressy. He did not live to enjoy the crown, but died one year before his father in the forty-sixth year of his age; no prince was in his lifetime better beloved, and after his death more lamented by the English nation, who had he lived to sit at the helm, no one doubted but that he would have exceeded as to all qualifications, the most glorious renown of the greatest of his ancestors.

In the time of Edward the Third, lived Sir Tudor Vaughan ap Grono, descended lineally from Ednyfed Vaughan, a person as to estate, power and interest, one of the chiefest in North Wales. Upon some motive, either of ambition or fancy, he assumed to himself the honour of knighthood, requiring all people to call and stile him Sir Tudor ap Grono, as if he did prognosticate and foresee, that out of his loins should arise those that should have power to confer that honour. King Edward being informed of such unparalleled presumption, sent for Sir Tudor, and asked him, with what confidence he durst invade his prerogative, by assuming the degree of knighthood, without his authority, Sir Tudor replied, That by the laws and constitution of King Arthur, he had the liberty of taking upon himself that title, in regard he had those three qualifications, which whosoever was endued with, could by those laws claim the honour of a knight. First, he was a gentleman. Second, he had a sufficient estate. And thirdly, he was valiant and adventurous; adding this withal, If my valour and hardiness be doubted of, lo, here I throw down my glove, and for due proof of my courage, I am ready to fight with any man, whatever he be. The king approving and liking well the man's forwardness and resolution, was easily persuaded to confirm the honour of knighthood upon him. From
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this Sir Tudor lineally descended Henry the Seventh, king of England, who was the son of Edmund Earl of Richmond, the son of Sir Owen Tudor, son to Meredith, the son of this Sir Tudor ap Grono.

After the death of the Black Prince, his son Richard born at Bourdeaux in France, being but ten years of age, was created prince of Wales at Haverling at Boure, on the twentieth day of November, A. D. 1377. and in the fiftieth year of Edward the Third, his grandfather's reign, whom he succeeded in the crown of England.

Henry born at Monmouth, son and heir to Henry the Fourth, king of England, upon the fifteenth of October, in the first year of his father's reign, was created prince of Wales at Westminster, who succeeded his father in the English crown by the name of Henry the Fifth.

Whilst Richard the Second reigned, one Owen ap Gruffydh Fychan, descended of a younger son of Gruffydh ap Madoc Lord of Bromfield, was not a little famous. This Owen had his education in one of the Inns of Court, where he became barrister at law, and afterwards in very great favour and credit served King Richard, and continued with him at Flint Castle, till at length the king was taken by Henry Duke of Lancaster. Betwixt this Owen and Reginald Lord Gray of Rhuthyn, there happened no small difference touching a common lying between the lordship of Rhuthyn, whereof Reginald was owner, and the lordship of Glendowrdwy in the possession of Owen, whence he borrowed the name of Glyndwr. During the reign of Richard the Second, Owen as being a courtier, and in no mean esteem with the king, did overpower Reginald, who was neither so well befriended at court, nor beloved in the country as Owen was. But after King Richard's deposal, the scene was altered, and Reginald as then better befriended than Owen, entered upon the common, which occasioned Owen in the first year of Henry the Fourth to make his complaint in parliament against him, for thus divesting him of his right. No redress
being

being found, the bishop of St. Afaph wished the lords to take care, that by thus slighting his complaint, they did not irritate and provoke the Welch to an insurrection, to which some of the lords replied, That they did not fear those rascally barefooted people. Glyndwr therefore perceiving how his petition was slighted in parliament, and finding no other method to redress himself having several friends and followers, put himself in arms against Reginald, and meeting him in the field, overcame and took him prisoner, and spoiled his lordship of Rhuthyn. Upon this many resorted to him from all parts of Wales, some thinking him to be in as great favour now, as in King Richard's days, others putting in his head, that now the time was come when the Britains by his means might again recover the honour and liberties of their ancestors. But Reginald being thus kept prisoner, and very severely handled by Owen, to terrify him into compliance with him in his rebellious actings, and not permitted to have his liberty, under ten thousand marks for his ransom, whereof six thousand to be paid upon the feast of St. Martyn, in the fourth year of Henry the Fourth, and to deliver up his eldest son with some other persons of quality as hostages for the remainder; the king at the humble suit of Reginald, seeing no other way for his enlargement, gave way thereto, authorising Sir William de Roos, Sir Richard de Grey, Sir William de Willoughby, Sir William le Zouche, Sir Hugh Huls, as also, John Harvey, William Vaus, John Lee, John Langford, Thomas Payne, and John Elneftow, to treat with Owen and his council, and to conclude in what they should conceive most expedient and necessary to be done for his redemption. Whereupon they consenting to give the sum demanded by Glyndwr for his deliverance, the king gave licence to Robert Braybroke bishop of London, as also to Sir Gerard Braybroke the father, and Sir Gerard the son, then feoffees of divers lordships for this Reginald, to sell the manor of Hertelegh in the county of Kent, towards the raising of that money. And for the better enabling him to pay so great

a fine, the king was pleased to grant, that whereas it was enacted, that such persons who were owners of lands in Ireland, and did not there reside, should for such their neglect, forfeit two parts of the profits of them to the king; that notwithstanding this act, he should forfeit nothing for non-residence there, during the term of six years next ensuing.

This good success over the Lord Gray, together with the numerous resort of the Welch to him, and the favourable interpretation of the prophecies of Merdlyn, which some construed very advantageously, made the swelling mind of Glyndwr overflow its banks, and gave him some hopes of restoring this island back to the Britains. Wherefore he set upon the Earl of March, who met him with a numerous party of Herefordshire men, but when they came to close, the Welchmen proved too powerful, and having killed above a thousand men of the English, they took the Earl of March prisoner. King Henry upon this was frequently requested to ransom the Earl but to no purpose, for whether by reason that Mortimer had a juster title to the crown than himself he being the next heir in blood after King Richard who was as yet living, or because of some other private odium, the king would never hearken to his redemption, alledging that he wilfully threw himself into the hands of Glyndwr. But about the midst of August, to correct the presumptuous attempts of the Welch, the king went in person with a great army into Wales; but by reason of extraordinary excess of weather, which some attributed to the magic of Glyndwr, he was glad to return safe.

But the Earl of March perceiving that he was not like to obtain his liberty by King Henry's means, whether out of compliance, by reason of his tedious captivity, or affection to the young lady, he agreed to take part with Owen against the king of England, and to marry his daughter; with them joined the Earl of Worcester, and his brother the Earl of Northumberland, with his son the valiant Lord Percy, who conspiring to depose the king of England, in the house of the archdeacon of Bangor, by their deputies divided

the realm amongst them, causing a tripartite indenture to be made, and to be sealed with every one's seal: by which covenant all that country lying betwixt the Severn and the Trent, southward, was assigned to the Earl of March; all Wales, and the lands beyond the Severn, westward, were appointed to Glyndwr; and all from the Trent, northward to the Lord Percy. This was done (as some said) through a foolish credit they gave to a vain prophecy, as though King Henry was the execrable moldwarp, and they three the dragon, the lion, and the wolf which should pull him down, and distribute his kingdom among themselves: After that they had exhibited articles of their grievances to King Henry, and divulged their reasons for taking up arms; at length they marched with all their power towards Shrewsbury to fight the king, depending mainly upon the arrival of Glyndwr and his Welchmen. But the matter was gone so far, that whether he came in or no, they must fight, and so both armies being joined, the king's party prevailed, young Percy being slain upon the spot, and Douglas, besides most of the English of quality, who with a party of Scotch had come to the aid of the confederates, was taken prisoner, but afterwards honourably set at liberty by the intercession of the prince of Wales. In the mean time the Earl of Northumberland was marching forward with a great party from the North, but the king having settled matters about Shrewsbury, coming to York, and sending to him to lay down his arms, he voluntarily submitted and dismissed his forces. Then the king returning from Yorkshire, determined to pass over to North Wales, to chastise the presumptuous practices of the immorigerous Welch, who after his departure from Shrewsbury, had made in-roads into the marches, and done much hurt to his English subjects. But other business of greater consequence intervening, he detached his son the prince of Wales, who took the castle of Aberystwyth, which was quickly again retaken by Owen Glyndwr, who

who thrust into it a strong garrison of Welch. But in the battle of Huske fought upon the fifteenth of March, the Welch received a very considerable blow from the prince's men, Glyndwr's son being taken prisoner, besides fifteen hundred more taken and slain. After this, we hear little of Glyndwr, excepting that he continued and persisted to vex and plague the English upon the marches, to the tenth year of King Henry's reign, when he miserably ended his life; being as Hollinsh.
Hollinsh. reporteth towards his latter days driven to that extremity, that despairing of all comfort, he fled and lurked in caves and other the most solitary places, fearing to shew his face to any creature, till at length being starved for hunger and lack of sustenance, he miserably ended his life.

But these rebellious practices of Glyndwr, highly exasperated King Henry against the Welch, insomuch that several rigorous and unmerciful laws were enacted, relating to Wales, which in effect destroyed all the liberties of the Welch subject. They were made incapable of purchasing any lands, or to be elected members of any county or borough, and to undertake any office, whether civil or military in any town incorporated. If any suit at law happened betwixt an Englishman and a Welchman, the former could not be convicted, but by the sentence of an English judge, and the verdict of an English jury; besides that any Englishman who married a Welchwoman was thereby forthwith disfranchised from all the liberties of an English subject. It was further enacted, that no Welchman should be in possession of any castle, or other place of strength, and that no victuals or armour should be brought into Wales, without a special warrant from the king or his council; and farther, that no Welchman was capable of undertaking the office of justice, chamberlain, sheriff or any other place of trust in any part of Wales, notwithstanding any patent or license heretofore given to the contrary. These, with many others most rigorous and unjust laws, particularly that forbidding
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any Welchman to bring up his children to learning, or to bind them apprentices to any trade or occupation, were enacted by the king against the Welch; so that nothing could cool his displeasure, but that a whole nation should be wrongfully oppressed, for the fault and miscarriage of one person. But one might think, that this was no politic method to secure a nation in its allegiance, which upon lighter affronts was used to defend its privileges; and therefore we may well attribute the quiet disposition of the Welch towards this time, to the moderation of Henry the Fifth, who within a little time succeeded his father in the crown of England.

Contemporary with Glyndwr was Sir David Gam, so called by reason he had but one eye, the son of Lhwelyn ap Howel Vaughan of Brecknock, by Mawd the daughter of Iefan ap Rhys ap Ifor of Eluel. He was a great stickler for the Duke of Lancaster, and for that reason became a mortal enemy to Glyndwr, who having his education as is said before, at one of the Inns of Court, got to be preferred to the service of King Richard the Second, who, as Walsingham, says, made him his *Scutifer*, or shield-bearer. But being informed that his master Richard was deposed and murdered, and withal being provoked by several wrongs and affronts done him by his neighbour the Lord Gray of Rhuthyn, whom King Henry greatly countenanced, and looking upon Henry as an usurper, he caused himself to be proclaimed Prince of Wales. And for a better grace of the matter he feigned himself to be descended by a daughter from Lhwelyn ap Gruffydh the last prince; whereas in truth, he came paternally but from a younger brother of the house of Powys. But as ambition has no moderation, so Glyndwr for a time acted the part of a prince, and summoned a parliament to meet at Machynlleth, whither the nobility and gentry of Wales appeared, and among the rest Sir David Gam, but not upon the same design with the rest, having an intention in
this

this meeting to murder Glyndyfwr. But the plot being discovered, and Sir David secured, he had liked to undergo present execution, had not Glyndyfwr's best friends, and the greatest upholders of his cause, pleaded in his behalf, by whose intercession he was prevailed with to grant Sir David both his life and liberty upon condition he would ever after continue true and loyal to him. Sir David promised very loudly, but with the reservation never to perform; for as soon as he came to his own country, where he was a person of very considerable sway and interest, he did exceedingly annoy and molest those that any way favoured or adhered to Glyndyfwr. While Sir David lay in prison at Machynlleth, for his attempt against Owen's life, this Englyn was made upon him.

Dafydd Gam dryglam dreigl, iti yn wan frwydr,
 Fradwr Riffiart Bhrenin,
 Llwy'r y rhoes Diawl (hawn hwyl Flin
 Y fath yftad) ei fys ith Din.

i. e. David Gam thou wilt be a wanderer and an ill end will come to thee. Thou wilt be weak in battle, thou traitor to King Richard. So eagerly vexatious in thy station that the devil wholly entered thy heart.

But Glyndyfwr receiving information how that Sir David Gam contrary to the promise he had made at his releasement, endeavoured all he could to destroy his interest among the Welch, entered the marches, and among other tokens of his indignation, burned the house of Sir David, and as the report goes, calling to him one of Sir David's tenants, spake to him thus merrily in verse;

O Gweli di wr côch Cam
 Yn ymofyn y Girnigwen
 Dywed ei bôd hi Tan y Lan
 A nôd y glo ar ei Phenn.

i. e. If thou seeft a red-haired, fquint-eyed * man looking for the loft ſheep, tell him ſhe is below the hill, and he may know her as ſhe is marked with fire.

But Sir David had the luck to eſcape his reach, and was conſtrained to retire to England, where he lived for the moſt part at court, till the death of Glyndyſwr.

When King Henry the Fifth went with an army to France againſt the French king, Sir David Gam brought into his ſervice a numerous party of ſtout and valourous Welchmen, who upon all occaſions expreſſed their courage and reſolution. In the battle of Agincourt, news being brought to the king that the French army was advancing towards him, and that they were exceeding numerous, he detached Captain Gam, to obſerve their motions, and to review their number. The Captain having narrowly eyed the French, found them twice to exceed the Engliſh, but not being in the leaſt daunted at ſuch a multitude, he returned to the king, who enquiring of him what the number of the French might be, he made answer, An't pleaſe you my liege, they are enough to be killed, enough to run away, and enough to be taken priſoners. King Henry was well pleaſed, and much encouraged with this reſolute and undaunted answer of Sir David's, whoſe tongue did not expreſs more valour than his hands performed. For in the heat of battle, the king's perſon being in danger, Sir David charged the enemy with that eagerneſs and maſculine bravery, that they were glad to

* *Squint-eyed* is *Gam* in Welch, from which he took his name, and his family continue it to this day, and all ſquint with one eye: Sir David Gam was the perſon who Shakeſpeare deſcribed in the character of Captain Flucllin.

give ground, and so secured the king, though with the loss of much blood, and also his life, himself and his son-in-law Roger Vaughan, and his kinsman Walter Llwyd of Brecknock, having received their mortal wounds in that encounter. When the king heard of their condition, how that they were past all hopes of recovery, he came to them, and in recompence of their good services, knighted them all three in the field, where they soon after died; and so ended the life, but not the fame of the signally valiant Sir David Gam.

Edward of Westminster, the sole issue of that unfortunate prince King Henry the Sixth, by Margaret the daughter of Rayner duke of Anjou, and titular king of Jerusalem, Sicily, and Arragon; was created Prince of Wales, in a parliament held at Westminster, on the fifteenth day of March, in the thirty-second year of his father's reign. When the day was lost at Tewkesbury, this young prince thought to make his escape by flight, but being unfortunately taken, and brought to the presence of King Edward the Fourth, who then sat upon the helm, made such resolute and unexpected replies, that he put the king into such a passion, that he smote him on the mouth with his gauntlet; and then his brother Richard the Crouchback, ran him into the heart with his dagger.

Edward, born in the Sanctuary at Westminster, the eldest son of King Edward the Fourth, was, after his father's expulsion out of England, in the forty-ninth year of King Henry the Sixth, created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, in the eleventh year of his father's reign. Upon the death of Edward the Fourth, this young prince being then at Ludlow in the marches of Wales, was presently sent for to London, and proclaimed king of England, but never lived to be crowned; for his uncle Richard duke of Gloucester, who was appointed his protector, most villainously made him away, together with his brother the duke of York; and afterwards was himself proclaimed and crowned king.

Edward the Fourth, in his wars against Henry the Sixth, was very much assisted by the Welch; in recompence of which service, he designed to reform matters so in Wales, as that intolerable oppression which they had hitherto endured, should be regulated and taken off. And to that end, he meant to establish a court within the said principality, and constituted John bishop of Worcester president of the prince's council in the marches; who, together with Anthony Earl of Rivers, sat in the town-hall of Shrewsbury, and constituted certain ordinances for the public good and tranquility of that place. But the matter proceeded no farther; for the troubles and disquietness of his kingdom, coming heavy upon him, and the shortness of his reign after his establishment not permitting, he was forced to leave that to others, which himself thought once to bring about.

Edward, born at Middleham near Richmond in the county of York, the only son of King Richard the Third, was at ten years of age created by his father Prince of Wales, and died soon after.

Arthur, the eldest son of King Henry the Seventh, born at Winchester, was in the seventh year of his father's reign created Prince of Wales. About the fifteenth year of his age, being then newly married to Katherine the Infanta of Spain, he was sent by his father into Wales, that by his presence he might keep that country in better awe. With him King Henry sent Dr. William Smith, afterwards made bishop of Lincoln, as president of his council; together with Sir Richard Pool, his chamberlain, Sir Henry Vernon, Sir Richard Crofts, Sir David Philip, Sir William Udal, Sir Thomas Englefield, Sir Peter Newton, and others, to be his counsellors and directors in his management of affairs. But the prince had not continued long there, but he fell sick at his castle at Ludlow, of which indisposition he shortly after died, and was buried with great solemnity in the cathedral church of Worcester. But the creating of his brother Henry duke of York Prince of Wales in his

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stead, was deferred for about the space of a month, to discover whether the Lady Katherine was with child by Prince Arthur. But when it appeared for certain, she had not conceived; on the eighteenth day of February, in the nineteenth year of his father King Henry the Seventh's reign, Henry duke of York was created Prince of Wales.

King Henry the Seventh, being by his grandfather Owen Tudor descended out of Wales, and having sufficiently experienced the affection of the Welch towards him; first of those, who upon his first landing, opportunely joined him under Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and then of those, who under the command of Sir William Stanley, Lord of Bromfield, Yale, and Chirkland, aided him in Bosworth-field; could not in honour and equity, but bear some regard to the miserable state and condition of the Welch, under the English government. And therefore this prudent prince, finding the calamities of the Welch to be insupportable, and seeing what grievous and unmerciful laws were enacted against them by his predecessors, he took occasion to redress and reform the same, and granted to the Welch a charter of liberty and immunity, whereby they were released from the cruel oppression, which since their subjection to the English government, they had most cruelly sustained. And seeing the birth and quality of his grandfather Owen Tudor was called in question, and that he was by many upbraided of being of a mean and ignoble parentage; King Henry directed a commission to the abbot of Lhan Egwest, Dr. Owen Pool canon of Hereford, and John King herald at arms, to make inquisition concerning the pedigree of the said Owen; who coming to Wales, made a diligent enquiry into this matter; and by the assistance of Sir John Leyas, Guttyn Owen Bardh, Gruffydh ap Lhwelyn ap Efan Fychan, and others, in the consultation of the British books of pedigrees, they drew up an exact genealogy of Owen Tudor, which upon their return they presented to the king.

Vide Appendix.

Edward, son to Henry the Eighth, by the Lady Jane Seymour, his third wife; was born at Hampton Court, on the twelfth of October; and upon the eighteenth of the said month, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester.

King Henry the Seventh, had already abrogated those unreasonable and intolerable laws, which the former kings of England, particularly Henry the Fourth, had made against the Welch; and now, King Henry the Eighth, willing to make a plenary reformation of what his father had wisely begun, thought it necessary towards the good and tranquility of both nations, to make the Welch subject to the same laws, and the same government with the English. He understood that the usual hostilities and depredations were still continued and kept up by both sides upon the borders; and though his father had eased the yoke of the Welch, yet he perceived, that it did contribute but little towards the disannulling of that inveterate and implacable envy and animosity which raged in the marches. Therefore to remedy this, otherwise unavoidable, distemper, he concluded that it was the only effectual method, to incorporate the Welch with the English, that they being subject to the same laws, might equally fear the violation of them. And accordingly, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, an act of parliament passed to that purpose, which together with another act in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, made a plenary incorporation of the Welch with the English, which union has had that blessed effect, that it has dispelled all those unnatural differences which heretofore were so rife and irreconcilable.

When the Reformation was first established in Wales, it was a mighty inconveniency to the vulgar people, such as were unacquainted with the English tongue, that the bible was not translated into their native language. Queen Elizabeth was quickly apprehensive of the inconveniency which the Welch incurred, for the want of such a translation; and there-
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fore in the eighth year of her reign, an act of parliament was passed, whereby the bishops of Hereford, St. David's, St. Asaph, Bangor, and Landaff, were ordered to take care that the Bible containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, be truly and exactly translated into the British or Welch tongue, and that the same so translated, being by them perused and approved, be printed to such a number at least; as that every cathedral, collegiate and parish church and chapel-of-ease within the said diocese where that tongue is vulgarly spoken, might be supplied before the first of March, anno 1566. And from that time forward, the Welch divine service should be used in the British tongue, in all places throughout those diocesses, where the Welch is commonly spoke, after the same manner as it was used in the English tongue; and that the charge of procuring the said Bible and Common Prayer, should equally depend betwixt the parson and the parish: the former being obliged to pay one half of the expence; and that the price of the book should be set by the aforesaid bishops, or by three of them at the least. But this act of parliament was not punctually observed; for the Old Testament was wholly omitted, and only the New, with the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, then translated, which translation was chiefly owing to Richard bishop of St. David's, who was assisted by William Salusbury, a perfect critick in the Welch tongue, and one excellently conversant in all British antiquities. But in the year 1588, Dr. William Morgan, first bishop of Landaff, and then of St. Asaph, undertook the translation of the whole Bible; and by the help of the bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor, Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster, David Powel, D. D. Edmund Price archdeacon of Merionyth, and Richard Vaughan, he effectually finished it. This was of singular profit and advantage to the Welch, to have the whole Scripture read and perused in their own native tongue; by which means they received a clearer demon-

demonstration of the corruptions of the church of Rome, when they saw many of their principles apparently contradicting, and others not very firmly founded upon the Holy Scriptures. And on the other hand they perceived the necessity and advantage of the Reformation, they easily discovered that the whole doctrine of the church of England was sound and orthodox, and that they were now happily delivered from that popish slavery which their forefathers ignorantly adored; and therefore being convinced of the truth of their religion, they became, and continued generally, very strict adherents and firm observers of the doctrine and discipline of this church.

And here by the bye, I cannot but observe what a reverend writer has lately insinuated, relating to the christian religion planted in Wales. For that learned person in his funeral sermon upon Mr. Gouge, would fain induce the world to believe, that christianity was very corrupt and imperfect among the Welch, before it was purified by that, whom he terms apostolical man. Whereas it is notoriously evident, that since the Reformation was settled in that country, and the Bible, with the Book of Common Prayer, translated into the Welch tongue, no place has been more exact, in keeping to the strict rubrick and constitution of the Church of England, both as to the substance and form of worship. But what may more truly be attributed to Mr. Gouge, is that since his travels into Wales, and the propagating of his doctrine among the ignorant of that country, presbytery, which before had scarce taken root, has daily increased, and grown to a head.

Henry, eldest son of King James the First, being arrived to the age of seventeen years, was created prince of Wales, on the 30th of May, anno 1610, but he dying of a malignant fever, about two years after; his brother Charles being fifteen years of age, was created prince of Wales in his room, anno 1615. For joy of this new creation the town of Ludlow, and city of London, performed very great triumphs; and the
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more to honour this solemnity, the king made twenty-five knights of the Bath, all lords' or barons' sons; and the Inns of Court, to express their joy, elected out of their body forty choice gentlemen, to perform solemn jousts and barriers.

Charles, eldest son of King Charles the First, by Henrietta Maria, daughter to King Henry the Fourth of France, was born May 29, 1630, and afterwards created prince of Wales.

Since the happy incorporation of the Welch with the English, the history of both nations, as well as the people is united; and therefore I shall not repeat that which is so copiously and frequently delivered by the English historians; but shall conclude with Dr. Heylyn, 'That since the Welch have been incorporated with the English, they have shewed themselves most loyal, hearty and affectionate subjects of the state; cordially devoted to their king, and zealous in defence of their laws, liberties and religion, as well as any of the best of their fellow-subjects.'

A P P E N D I X.

The return of a Commission sent into Wales by King Henry the Seventh, to search out the Pedigrees of Owen Tudor.

HENRY the Seventh, king of England, &c. son of Edmund Earl of Richmond, son of Owen ap Meredith, and of Queen Catherine his wife, daughter to Charles the Sixth, king of France. This Owen was son of Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw ap Tudor, ap Gronw, ap Ednyfed Fychan, baron of Brinfeingle in Denbigh-land, Lord of Kriceth, Chief Justice and chief of council to Llewelyn ap Iorwerth Drwyndwn prince of all Wales. And in the time of Prince Llewelyn grew a variance between King John of England and the said prince; whereupon Ednyfed came with the prince's host, and men of war, and also a number of his own people, and met these English lords in a morning, at what time these English lords were hostied and slain; and immediately brought their heads, being yet bloody, to the said Prince Llewelyn. The prince, seeing the same, caused Ednyfed Fychan, from thenceforth to bear in his arms or shield, three bloody heads in token of his victory, where he had born in his arms before a Saracen's head; and so
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ever after this Ednyfed bore the said arms, his son, and his son's son, unto the time of Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Ednyfed Fychan. And after this Ednyfed wedded one Gwenllian daughter to Rhys prince of South Wales, and had issue by her Gronw: which Ednyfed Fychan had in Wales divers goodly houses, royally adorned with turrets and garrets; some in Anglesey, some other Caernarvonshire, and some in Denbigh-land; but his chiefeft manor-house was in the commot of Crythin in Caernarvonshire, which was a royal palace, now decayed for want of reparations. Also he builded there a chapel in the worship of our lady, and had license of the pope for evermore to sing divine service therein for his soul, and his ancestors' and progenitors' souls always; and had authority to give his tythes and offerings to his chaplain there * starving; which Ednyfed Fychan was son to Kyner ap Iers ap Gwgan, ap Marchudd, which was one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales, and son to Kynan ap Elfyn, ap Mor, ap Mynan, ap Isbwis Newintyrche, ap Isbwis ap Cadrod Calch Efyndd, Earl of Dunstable and Lord of Northampton, ap Cywyd Cindion, ap Cynfelyn ap Arthuys, ap Morydd ap Cynnaw, ap Coel Godeboc king of Britain, of whom King Henry the Seventh descended lineally by issue-male, and is son to the said Coel in the thirty-first degree, as it is approved by old chronicles in Wales. Which Coel was son of Tegfan ap Deheufraint, ap Tudbwyl, ap Urban, ap Gradd, ap Rhyfedel, ap Rhydeirne, ap Endigant, ap Endeyrn, ap Enid, ap Endos, ap Enddolaw, ap Afalach, ap Aflech, ap Beli mawr king of Britain, of whom King Henry the Seventh descendeth by issue-male, and is son to him in forty-one degree. Which Beli was son to Monnogon king, ap King Kaxor, ap King Pyr, ap King Sawl Benniffel, ap Rhytherch king, ap Rydion king, ap Eidol king, ap Arthafel king, ap Seifilt king, ap Owen king, ap Caxho king, ap Bleuddyd king, ap Meirion king, ap Gwrgust king, ap Elydno king, ap Clydawc king, ap Ithel king, ap Urien king,

* Vide an
servig.

king, ap Andrew king, ap Kereni king, ap Porrex king, ap Coel king, ap Cadell king, ap Geraint king, ap Elidr king, ap Morydd king, ap Dan king, ap Seiffilt king, ap Cyhelyn king, ap Gwrgan king (alias) Farsdrwch, ap Beli king, ap Dyfnwal king, ap Dotion king, ap Enyd, ap Kwrwyd, ap Cyrdon ap Dyfufarth Prydain, ap Aedd mawr, ap Antonius ap Seiffilt king, ap Rhegaw daughter and heir of King Lyr, and wife of Henwin prince of Cornwall. This Lyr was son of Bleuddyd, ap Rhunbaladr brâs, ap Lleon, ap Brutus darian lâs, ap Effroc Cadarn, ap Mymbyr, ap Madoc, ap Lochrine, ap Brutus which inherited first this land, and after his name was called Britain, and had three sons Lochrine, Kamber, and Albanactus. Lochrine the eldest, parted the isle with his brethren, and kept half the land for himself, and called it Leogria. Kamber second son had the land beyond Severn, and named it Kambria, in English, Wales. Albanactus had Scotland, which he then called Albania after his own name. Of which Brute King Henry the Seventh is lineally descended by issue-male, saving one woman, and is son to Brute in fivescore degrees.

How Owen grandsire to King Henry the Seventh, cometh of Beli mawr by Angharad, mother to Ednyfed by issue-female, by Gittin, Owen, and Sir John Leiaf's books.

THE mother of Ednyfed was Angharad, daughter of Hwfa, ap Cyner, ap Rhywallon, ap Dinged, ap Tudor Trefor, ap Mymbyr, ap Cadfarch, ap Gwrgenaw, ap Gwaethiawc, ap Bywyn, ap Biordderch, ap Gwriawn, ap Gwnnan, ap Gwnfiw frych, ap Cadell Dehurnlluc, ap Pasgan, ap Rhydwf, ap Rhudd Fedel frych, ap Cyndeirn, ap Gwrtheirn Gwrthenau, called in English Vortiger, by whom King Henry the Seventh, by the aforesaid Angharad, mother to Ednyfed Fychan, and wife to Cyner ap Iers, ap Gwgon, is son

to the said Vortiger in thirty degrees. Which Vortiger was son to Rhydeyrn ap Deheufraint, ap Eidigant, ap Endeirn, ap Enid, ap Endos, ap Eddolau, ap Afallach, ap Afflech, ap Beli mawr, to whom King Henry the Seventh is son by Angharad, mother to Ednyfed Fychan in forty degrees.

How King Henry the Seventh cometh of Beli mawr by Gwenllian wife to Ednyfed Fychan, and daughter to the Lord Rhys, called Arglwydd Rhys, by issue-female.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor, ap Gronw, ap Gwenllian, daughter to Rhys prince of South-Wales, ap Gruffydh prince, ap Rhys prince, ap Tudor mawr prince, ap Cadell prince, ap Rodri mawr, prince of all Wales. This Rodri had three sons, and divided the principality of Wales between them in three parts; to Merfyn his first son, prince of North Wales, all North Wales, who died without issue; and Anarawd prince of Powys, and Cadell prince of South Wales, of whom King Henry the Seventh descendeth, by Gwenllian daughter to Prince Rhys, called Arglwydd Rhys, wife to Ednyfed Fychan; and the said King Henry the Seventh is son to Rodri mawr in the seventeenth degree; which Rodri mawr was son to Merfyn first king of Man, which wedded Effilt daughter and heir to Cynan Dyn-daethwy.

This Merfyn frych was son to Gwriad ap Elidur, ap Handdear Alcwn, ap Tegid, ap Gwiar, ap Dwywc, ap Llywarch hên, ap Elidur Lydanwin, ap Meirchion, ap Grwft, ap Cenaw, ap Coel Godeboc king of Britain as before. This Coel was king of Britain and Earl of Colchester, a right worthy king, to whom King Henry the Seventh is son, by the said Gwenllian wife to Ednyfed Fychan, in the thirty-first degree, by the said Gittin Owen, and Sir John Leias's books.

How Owen Grandfire to King Henry the Seventh cometh of Beli mawr, by Effillt daughter to Cynan Dyndaethwy.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Gwenllian daughter of Prince Rhys, ap Gruffydh ap Rhys, ap Tudor mawr, ap Engion, ap Owen, ap Howell Dda, ap Cadell, ap Rodri mawr, ap Effillt daughter of Cynan Dyndaethwy and heir, Prince of Wales, ap Rodri Moelwynoc, ap Idwal jwrch, ap Cadwalader Fendigaid King of all Britain, to whom King Henry the Seventh is son in the twenty second degree. Cadwalader was son to Cadwallan King, ap Cadfan King, ap Iago, ap Beli, ap Rhun, ap Maelgwn Gwynedd King, ap Casswallan Lawhir, ap Eineon irth, ap Cynnedda weledig, ap Edeirn, which wedded Gwawl, Ferch Coel Godeboc King, which Edeirn was son to Padarn Peisfydd, ap Tegid, ap Iago, ap Genedawc, ap Cain, ap Gwr-gain, ap Doli, ap Gwrtholi, ap Dufu, ap Gorddufu, ap Amwerid, ap Omwedd, ap Duve Brichwain, ap Owen, ap Affalach, ap Afflech, ap Beli mawr, to whom King Henry the Seventh is son by the said Gwenllian in the fiftieth degree.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Gwenllian, daughter to Arglwydd Rhys, son to Gwenllian daughter of Gruffydh Prince, ap Cynan Prince of North Wales, son of Iago Prince, ap Idwall Prince, ap Meuric Prince, ap Idwall Foel Prince, ap Anarawd Prince, ap Rodri mawr Prince of all Wales, to whom King Henry the Seventh is son by Gwenllian mother to the Arglwydd Rhys in the seventeenth degree.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor, ap Gronw, ap Gwenllian, Ferch Arglwydd Rhys, ap Gwladis, Ferch Rhywallon ap Cynfyn Prince of Powys, and Angharad wife to Cynfyn, daughter and heir to Meredith Prince of Powys, son of Owen Prince of Powys and South-Wales, son to Cadell Prince there. Which Owen ap Howell Dda, had two sons, Meredith and Eineon, and Owen their father gave the
 principality

principality of South Wales. to Eineon his son, and the Principality of Powys to Meredith his other son. Which Meredith had issue Angharad, that wedded Cynfyn, by whom he was Prince of Powys, which Cadell was son to Rodri mawr Prince of all Wales, son to Merfyn frych, &c. to Beli mawr, as above written by Guttin Owen's book.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor, ap Gronw, ap Gwenllian, Ferch Arglwydd Rhys, ap Gruffydh, ap Rhys, ap Tudor, ap Eineon, ap Howell Dda, ap Cadell, ap Angharad, wife to Rodri mawr, daughter to Meyric ap Dyfnwal, ap Arthen, ap Seiffilt, ap Clydawc, ap Artholes, ap Arnothen, ap Brothan, ap Seirwell, ap Uffa, ap Caredic, ap Cwnedda weledic, ap Edeirn, ap Padarn Peisfrydd, which Edeirn wedded Gwawl ferch Coel Godeboc, Mother to Cwnedda weledyc, &c.

How Owen cometh of Meuryc Lord of Gwent, by Morfydd's daughter, wife to Gronw ap Ednyfed Fychan.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor, ap Morfydd, Ferch Meuryc L. of Gwent.

How Owen cometh of Rodri mawr, by Angharad, daughter to Ithel Fychan, ap Ithel Llwyd, and wife of Tudor ap Gronw, ap Ednyfed Fychan.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Angharad, ferch Ithel Fychan, ap Ithel Llwyd, ap Ithel Gam, ap Meredith ap Vchdrud, ap Edwin King of Tegengle in Flintshire.

How Owen cometh of Rodri mawr by Adleis, wife to Ithel Fychan, daughter to Ricart.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Angharad Ferch Adleis wife to Ithel Fychan, daughter to Ricart, ap Cadwalader, ap Gruffydh, ap Kynan Prince

Prince of North-Wales, ap Iago, ap Idwal Foel, ap Anarawd, ap Rodri Mawr, &c. all this by Gytin Owen's book.

How Owen cometh of Beli Mawr by Gwerfill Ferch Madawc, o'r hen dwr, wife to Gronw ap Tudor, ap Gronw, ap Ednyfed Fychan.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gwerfill Ferch Madawc o'r hen dwr, ap Iers, ap Madawc, ap Meredith, ap Bleddyn, ap Kynfin prince of Powis, &c. and so to Beli Mawr.

How Owen cometh to Beli Mawr by the mother of the said Gwerfill Ferch Madawc.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Tudor, ap Gwerfill Ferch Madawc o'r hen dwr, ap Lleucu Ferch Angharad, Ferch Meredith, ap Madawc, ap Gruffudh Maelor prince of Powis. This Madawc ap Gruffudh Maelor, built the abbey of Valacrucis, in Welch, Manachlog Llan Egwestl, the year of our Lord 1200, and lieth there buried, and this Gruffudh Maelor was son to Madawc, ap Meredith, ap Bleddin, ap Cynfin, ap Gweristan, ap Gwalthfoed, ap Gwrydor, ap Cariadawc, ap Lles Llaw Ddeawc, ap Edwal, ap Gwnnan, ap Gwnnawc Farf Sych, ap Keidic, ap Corf, ap Cadnawc, ap Tegonwy, ap Teon, ap Gwinaf Daufreuddwyd, ap Powyr Iew, ap Bywdec, ap Rhun rhudd baladr, ap Llary, ap Casfar Wlediç, ap Lludd, ap Beli Mawr king of all England and Wales, to whom King Henry the Seventh is son this way by Ludd in thirty-six degrees.

How Owen cometh to Beli Mawr by the mother's side of Gwerfill Ferch Madawc.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Tudor, ap Gwerfill Ferch Eya, Ferch Llewelyn ap Gruffydh, ap Gwenwynwin, ap Owen Cyfeilioc, ap Gruffydh ap Madawc, ap
 Z Meredith

Meredith of Powis, ap Bleddyn, ap Cynfin, &c. to Beli Mawr.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gwerfill Ferch Eva, Ferch Margret, Ferch Meredith gôch, ap Meredith, ap Iers Fychan, ap Iers gôch, ap Meredith ap Bleddyn, ap Cynfin, &c. to Beli.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor, ap Gwerfyll, Ferch Eva, Ferch Margret, Ferch Meredith gôch, ap Christin, ap Bledrws, ap Edwal Owen Bendew one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales, son to Cynan Fieniard ap Gwalthfoed, ap Gwlyddien, ap Gwridor, ap Caradawc, ap Lles Llaw ddeawc, ap Edwal, ap Gwnnan, ap Gwannawc Farf fych, ap Ceidio, ap Corf, ap Cadnawc, ap Tegonwy, ap Teon, ap Gwinan dau Freud-dwyd, &c. and so to Beli.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret Ferch Tomas, ap Lhwelin, ap Owen ap Meredith Lord Iscoed, ap Owen, ap Gruffydh, ap Rhys prince of South Wales, so to Rodri Mawr.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Tomas ap Llewelyn, ap Angharad, Ferch Arglwydd Sion, John of Haffon by William ap David ap Gruffydh. Dubium.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Tomas ap Llewelyn, ap Angharad Ferch Margret, Ferch Philip, ap Ifor Lord Iscoed by William ap Gruffydh. Dubium.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Tomas ap Llewelyn, ap Angharad, Ferch Margret, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Llewelyn ap Iers drwyndwn prince of all Wales. This Llewelyn wedded Inet daughter of King John, who was son to Henry the Second, son to Mawd the empress, daughter to Henry the First, son to William the Conqueror, son to Robert duke of Normandy.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Tomas ap Elinor Ferch. . . . Lord Barre by Gytin Owen, by information of Dr. Owen Pool, and Mr. Lingam's wife by an old pedigree.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Tomas, ap Elinor, Ferch Elinor, Ferch Edward Longshanks king of England.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Tomas ap Elinor Ferch Elinor, Ferch Elinor second to King Edward aboveſaid. Dubium.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Elinor Ferch Meredith, ap Owen, ap Gruffydh, ap Rhys prince of South Wales, by Madawc ap Llewelyn ap Howel his books.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Elinor, Ferch Catrin, Ferch Llewelyn ap Gruffydh laſt prince of Wales.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Elinor, Ferch Llewelyn ap Gruffydh, ap Tangwiſtl, Ferch Llywarch gôch, ap Lhowarch ap Pyll, ap Cynan, ap Einion ap Gwridor gôch, ap Helic, ap Glannawc, ap Gwgon Gledlyfrudd, ap Cariadawc Freichſas, ap Lllir Merini, ap Einion irth, ap Cunedda wledic.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Elinor, Ferch Caterin, Ferch Elinor ap Gruffydh ap Tangwiſtl, Ferch Tangwiſtl, Ferch Llowarch, ap Bran, ap Dinawal, ap Efnydd, ap Alawe, Alſer, ap Tudwal, ap Rodri mawr : ap Gyttin Owen.

Gwen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Elinor Fychan. Ferch Simon Montford earl of Leiceſter : by Gyttin Owen.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Elinor, Ferch Caterin, Ferch Elinor Fychan, Ferch Elenor, Ferch John king of England.

Hereafter followeth the ancient lineage of the ſaid Owen's mother Margaret wife to Meredith ap Tudor.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Dafydd Llwyd, ap Cyner, ap Gronw, ap Cyner, ap Iers, ap Hwfa, ap Cwmus, ap Cillin, ap Maeloc dda, ap Gredel, ap Kwmus du, ap Cillin Ynad, ap Predur

Teirnee, ap Meilir Eryr, gwyr gorfedd, ap Tiday, ap Tyfodde, ap Gwybfiyw, ap Marchwin, ap Branap Pill, ap Cerfyr, ap Meilir Meilirion, ap Goron, ap Cunedda wledic, ap Gwawl Ferch Coel Godeboc as before.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Dafydd Llwyd, ap Ceyner, ap Gronw, ap Cyner, ap Iers, ap Hwfa, ap Generis Ferch Ednowain, Bendew, ap Cynon Finiaid, ap Gwarthfoed, ap Gwridr ap Cradoc, ap Lles llaw ddeuawc, ap Edwal, ap Gwynnan; and so to Ludd, ap Beli mawr, as before by Gytin Owen.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Dafydd Lhwyd ap Cyner, ap Llayfedd daughter to Sir William Twychet, knight, by William. Indub.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Dafydd Lhwyd, ap Alis, Ferch Robert, ap Turstan Holland captain of Harlech: by William.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Dafydd Lhwyd, ap Alis, Ferch Margret, Ferch Alan Norris, knight, by William. Indub.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Angharad, Ferch Howell ap Meredith, ap Iers, ap Cadwgan, ap Llywarch, ap Bran, as before, &c.

Owen ap Margaret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Angharad Ferch Howell ap Meredith, ap Iers, ap Gwennlian, Ferch Cynan ap Owen Gwynedd, ap Gruffydh ap Cynan, &c.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Angharad, Ferch Owen ap Bleddin, ap Owen Brogenwnn, ap Madawc, ap Meredith, ap Bleddin, ap Cynfin prince of Powis; these three by Gytin Owen.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Angharad, Ferch Gwladis, Ferch Llewelin gethni, ap Edwal, ap Gruffydh, ap Meuric, ap Cadhayarn, ap Gwrydd, ap Rhys goch one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales; which was son to Sandwr ap Iarddwr, ap Mor, ap Tegerin, ap Aelaw, ap Gredres, ap Cwmus du, ap Cillin Ynad, &c. to Coel Godeboc.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Angharad, Ferch Gwladus, Ferch Mali Llwyd, Ferch Iers

Iers ap Engion, ap Geraint, ap Tegwared, ap Cynfawr, ap Madawc diffaeth, which were rulers and great men in Pentraeth.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Nest, Ferch Jermy, ap Gruffydh, ap Howell, ap Meredith, ap Engion, ap Gwgon, ap Merwydd, ap Golwyn, one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales, son to Tangno, ap Cadfael, ap Lludd, ap Llen, ap I. laminod Angel, ap Pasgen, ap Urien Rheged, ap Meirchion, ap Grwft, ap Cennaf, ap Coel Godeboc king as before,

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Nest, Ferch Jermy, ap Gwerfill, Ferch Gwladus, Ferch Edwal Fychan as before.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Nest, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Gruffydh, ap Dafydd goch, ap Gruffydh, ap Llewelyn prince of Wales.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Nest, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Gruffydh ap Dafydd goch, ap Dafydd, ap Gruffydh, ap Tangwistl, Ferch Llowarch goch, ap Llowarch Holbwrch, ap Pill, ap Cynan, ap Gwridor goch, ap Helic, ap Glannoc as before.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Nest, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Gruffydh, ap Dafydd goch, ap Rhanullt, Ferch Rheinalt king of Man.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Nest, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Gruffydh, ap Angharad, Ferch Heylyn, ap Tudor, ap Ednyfed Fychan.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Nest, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Gruffydh, ap Angharad, Ferch Heylyn, ap Adleir, Ferch Ricart, ap Cadwalader, ap Gruffydh, ap Cynan prince. These four by Gyttin Owen.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Nest, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Gruffydh, ap Angharad, Ferch Heylyn, ap Adleis, Ferch Ricart, ap Cadwalader, ap Gruffydh, ap Cynan, ap Afandrec wife to Iago, daughter to Gwair, ap Pill, ap Cynan, ap Cynddelw gam, ap Elgudi, ap Grwynad, ap Diwgludd, ap Tegawc, ap Cyfnerth, ap Madoc Madogion, ap Sauddl bryd Angharad, ap Llylwarch hên, ap Elidor Ludanwin, ap Meirchion

irchion gûl, ap Erwft galedlwm, ap Cenaw, ap Colô Godeboc king as before.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Nest, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Marret, Ferch Tudor, ap Iers, ap Ewrgwnon, ap Cyfnerth, ap Rhuon, ap Nefydd hardd, one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Nest, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Margret, Ferch Tangwistl, Ferch Madawc, ap Cyfnerth, ap Cyhelyn, ap Llywarch Fychan, ap Llywarch gôch, ap Llowarch Holbwrch, ap Pill, ap Cynon, ap Gwrydr gôch, ap Helic ap Glannoc, ap Gwgon gleddyfrud, ap Cariadoc freich frâs, ap Glir Meirini, ap Engion yrth, ap Cynedda wledic, by Gytin Owen.

Abstracted out of the old Chronicles of Wales, by Sir John Leias, priest, Guttin Owen, Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Jermv, Fychan, Madawc ap Llewelyn ap Howell, Robert ap Howel ap Thomas, John King, with many others, at the King's Majesty's costs and charges. The abbot of Llanegwestle, and Dr. Owen Pool, canon of Harf, overseers.

A P P E N D I X.

Rex omnibus, &c.

SCIATIS quod cum Lewelinus princeps de Aberffraw & dominus Snawerden, nobis concesserit & firmiter promiserit, quod stabit provisioni venerabilium patrum Redulphi Cicestrensis episcopi & cancellarii nostri, & Alexandri Conventrensis & Lichfield episcopi, & dilectorum & fidelium nostrorum Richardi Marefchalli comitis Pembroch, Joannis de Lascey comitis Lincolnæ & constabularri Cestriæ, Stephani de Segrave Justiciarii nostri Angliæ, & Radulphi filii Nicholai Seneschalli nostri, una cum Idnevet Seneschallo ipsius Lewelini & Werrenoc fratre ejus, Inmano Vachan & David Clerico, quam ipsi facturi sunt super congruis emendis nobis faciendis, de omnibus excessibus nobis & nostris, ab eo & suis factis & de restitutione nobis & hominibus nostris faciendâ de omnibus terris & possessionibus nostris & nostrorum per ipsum Lewelinum & Wallenses occupatis, occasione Werræ inter nos & ipsum motæ; simul etiam de recipienda restitutione a nobis & nostris, de omnibus terris ipsius Lewelini & hominum suorum per nos & nostros occupatis, occasione Werræ prædictæ, & de assignando David filio ipsius Lewelini & Isabellæ uxori ejus primogenitæ filiæ & hæreredis. Gullielmi de Breus, rationali portione ipsam Isabellam contingente, de terris quæ fuerunt prædicti Gullielmi partis sui, & de refusione pecuniæ nobis, faciendâ, pro prædictis excessibus congrue

grue emendandis & portione prædicta assignanda; provisiva tamen super hoc ab eisdem sufficiente securitate de fideli seruitio nobis præstando & de tranquillitate nobis & regno nostro Angliæ, observanda. Ita quod dampnum vel periculum, nec nobis nec regno nostro inde possit evenire. Et si pendente provisione prædicta, aliquid de novo emerferit emandandum, idem Lewelinus voluerit & concesserit, quod per prædictos provifores emendetur. Nos provisionem eorundem quam facturi sunt super omnibus præmissis, gratam habemus & acceptam pro nobis, & nostris sicut præfatus Lewelinus pro se & suis & in hujus rei testimonium has literas patentes inde fieri fecimus. Teste me ipso apud Salop septimo die Decembris & decimo septimo anno regni nostri.

Rex, &c.

LEWELINO principi de Aberfraw salutem. Sciatis quod recipimus in gratiam nostram, Gilbertum Mareschallum & omnes qui fuerunt imprisii Richardi Mareschalli tam de Angliâ quam de Walliâ qui ad pacem nostram venire voluerunt & eis reddidimus omnes terras & tenementa sua quæ de nobis tenuerunt, & de quibus disseffiti fuerunt occasione guerræ motæ inter nos & prædictum comitem, & nobis remanent quieta quæcunque super nos & nostros per prædictum comitem, vel suos imprisios occupata fuerunt quæ vobis duximus significanda. Volentes quod vobis innotescant quæ penes nos acta sunt in hac parte, & quia per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum & co-episcopos suos captæ sunt treugæ inter nos & vos sub firma spe tractandi de pace inter nos & vos formanda & fortius firmanda. Mittimus propter hoc prædictum archiepiscopum & venerabiles patres Alexandrum Coventrensem & Lichfieldensem & Henricum Roffensem co-episcopos suos ad partes marchiæ; ita quod erunt apud Salop die Lunæ in crastino sanctæ trinitatis;

trinitatis : et rogamus vos quatenus sicut noſtram deſideratis amicitiam non omittatis quin in craſtino die Martis loco tuto & competenti, quem prædictus archiepiſcopus vobis ſignificabit ipſi archiepiſcopo & coepiſcopo ſuis occuratis ad tractatum cum eis habendum ſuper præmiſſis. In quorum etiam ore quædam quæ non duximus ſcripto commendanda poſuimus vobis plenius exponenda ; rogantes quatinus ſicut decet taliter ea quæ reformationem pacis reſpiciunt & quæ ipſi plenius in hac parte vobis explicabunt audire cum effectu & eiſdem adquiſcere velitis, quod non ſtet per vos quin firmum & ſtabile pacis vinculum inter nos & vos roboretur ad noſtrum pariter & veſtrum commodum & honorem.

Rex, &c.

DILECTO & fideli ſuo Richardo comiti Cornubiæ & Piſtaviæ ſalutem. Sciatis quod treugæ captæ ſunt inter nos & Lewelinum principem de Aberſraw per venerabilem patrem Edmundum archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem & epiſcopos ſecum adjuntos & quosdam alios fideles noſtros propter hoc ad partes Walliæ deſtinatos duraturæ a feſto Sancti Jacobi anno regni noſtri decimo octavo uſque in duos annos ſequentes in hac forma. Quod omnes injuriæ & damnæ hinc inde facta infra ultimam treugam captam per venerabilem patrem Henricum Roſſenſem epiſcopum in media quadregiſſima proximo præterita per dictatores ejuſdem treugæ emendabuntur, quod omnes terræ hinc inde occupatæ per ultimam guerram motam, reſtituentur hiſ quibus poſtea ſint oblatæ, homines etiam illi qui hinc inde receſſerint a fidelitate dominorum ſuorum & ſe tenuerunt ex parte adverſa libere revertantur. Ita quidem quod durantibus treugis prædictis in nullo occaſionabuntur nec aliquid dampni vel mali eis fiet occaſione prædicta. Adjectum eſt etiam in eadem proviſione treugarum ; quod ſi vos & dilectus & fidelis noſter

noster Radulphus de Thorny nolueritis sub eisdem treugis comprehendere bene placebit eidem Lewelino. Sin autem nihilominus, quod ad nos & alios fideles nostros eas firmiter observabit. Et sub tali conditione quod si forte tenere non velletis contra vos se defendet. Ita quod contra ipsum & defensionem suam nullum vobis faciemus nec facere poterimus per nos vel per aliquem de marchia vel alium interim consilium vel auxilium ad ipsum gravandum, & taliter sunt treugæ prædictæ ex parte ipsius Lewelini juratæ & affecuratæ & in adventu prædicti archiepiscopi ad nos similiter ex parte nostra eas jurari faciemus & affecurari, & ideo vobis mandamus firmiter injungentes, quatinus prædictis treugis sine difficultate aliquâ adguiescentes eas teneatis & ex parte vestra eas teneri faciatis. Quia modis omnibus volumus quod eas teneatis & firmiter observetis. Quid autem inde facere proposueritis aperte responsum vestrum nobis sub festinatione scire faciatis. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium tricesimo die Junii.

Radolphus Herefordensis episcopus, decanus Herefordiæ, Walterus de Clifford & Walterus de Bello Campo iterum constituti sunt dictatores emendarum, faciendarum & recipiendarum de interceptionibus factis, ut dicitur Lewelino principi de Aberfraw, &c. et Morganô de Carleon quoad castrum Carleon & eisdem dictatoribus associati sunt prior de Wenloc & Joannes extraneus & debent convenire in crastino clausi Paschæ apud vadum de Montgomery ad consequendum quod priore die ad hoc constituto debuisset fuisse executum. Teste rege apud Northampton sexto die Martii.

REX omnibus ad quod præsentēs literæ pervenerint. Sciatis quod concessimus bona fide & sine malo ingenio & ratas habemus et gratas treugas captas apud Theoksburiam die Veneris in festo Sancti Benedicti, anno regni nostri vicesimo per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum inter nos et omnes homines et imprisios nostros apertos ex una parte, et Lewelinum principem de Aberfraw et doninum de Snaudā et omnes homines et imprisios suos apertos tam Wallenses quam alios ex alia parte duraturos a festo Sancti Jacobi, anno eodem usque in unum annum completum. Ita scilicet quod tam nos et nostri quam prædictus Lewelinus et sui simus in eisdem terris et tenementis, hominibus et homagiis in quibus fuimus prædicto die captionis treugarum istarum. Salva Morgano de Carleon restitutione sua tam de terris quam de bonis et mobilibus suis quæ comes Gilbertus Marefchallus occuparerat, super eum infra treugas alias inter nos et ipsum Lewelinum ultimo captas. Siquid autem interim fuerit foris factum per captionem terrarum vel castrorum vel bonorum mobilium et manifestum de captione terrarum vel castrorum illorum terræ; et castra statim reddantur non expectata aliqua correctione emendatorum treugæ, sed de bonis mobilibus ita captis per ipsos correctores fiant emendæ, treugis nihilominus durantibus in suâ firmitate in forma prædicta. Ita quod hinc inde nulla namia capiuntur pro aliqua interceptione facta infra treugas istas de bonis mobilibus, nec pro aliqua contentione ante captionem hujus treugæ orta, sed per ipsos correctores fiant. Nullus etiam receptet in potestate suâ imprisios alterius inde emendæ sicut prædictum est durantibus treugis. Nullum etiam castrum novum firmetur in marchia vel dirutum reficiatur durantibus treugis, et terræ sint communes secundum formam treugarum quæ ultimo captæ fuerunt inter nos et ipsum
Lewelinum.

Lewelinum. Juraverunt autem in animam nostram ex parte nostra in hanc treugam bona fide, et sine malo ingenio fideliter observandam usque ad prædictum terminum dilecti et fideles nostri Henricus de Aldithely. Joannes Lefstrange et Henricus de Stafford, in cujus. &c. Teste me ipso apud Theokesburiam, undecimo die Julii, anno regni nostri vicesimo.

Sciunt præsentēs et futuri, quod ita convenit inter dominum Hentricum regem Angliæ illustrem ex una parte, et David filium Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ et dominum de Aberfraw ex altera, apud Gloucestriam die Martis proximo ante festum Sancti Dunstanni, anno regni ipsius regis vicesimo quarto, de homagio ipsius David quod ipse offerrebat eidem domino regi pro jure suo Norwalliæ et de terris quas barones ipsius domini regis scilicet Griffinus filius Wenuwan et alii barones domini regis petebant versus ipsum David ut jura sua excepta de monte alto secundum quod continetur in scripto nuper confecto apud crucem Griffini per Seneschallos domini regis, quæ ad præsens excipitur ab arbitrio, salvo tamen in posterum jure seneschalli Cestriæ in terra illa si quod habent. Scilicet, quod prædictus dominus rex cepit homagium præfati David de prædicto jure suo Norwalliæ, et quod tam idem dominus rex pro præfatis baronibus suis de consensu eorundem quam præfatus David pro se et suis et hæredibus eorum super omnibus terris prædictis se submiserunt, arbitrio venerabilium patrum Ottonis Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diaconi, cardinalis apostolici sedis legati; Wigornix et Noriveci episcoporum, et nobilis viri Richardi comitis Pictaviæ et Cornubiæ, fratris ipsius domini regis et Joannis de Monemue ex parte ipsius domini regis, et venerabilis patris episcopi de Sancto Asaph Idnevet Vaghan, Eynguan Vaghan ex parte præfati David. Ita quod quomodo libet ab ipsis omnibus vel à majori parte eorundem, super præmissis fuerit arbitratum, utraque pars ipsorum stabit arbitrio et illud in perpetuum firmiter observabit; et ad hæc fideliter sine fraude servanda Guilielmus

lielmus de Cantelupo de præcepto regis juravit in animam ipsius regis et idem David in propria persona sua corporate præstitit sacramentum. Et insuper se submiserunt jurisdictioni et inordinationi præfati domini legati quamdiu in Anglia legationis fungatur officio, ut partem contra præmissa venientem per censuram ecclesiasticam modis omnibus quibus melius viderit expedire, tam ad prædictum arbitrium observandum quam ad transgressionem contra illud perpetratam emendandam valeat coercere, ordine juris observato. Dum tamen idem David vel sui, si forsitan contra prædicta venire presumpserint prius coram dicto domino legato vel aliquibus aliis ad hoc ab ipso deputandis et partibus merito non suspectis in confinio marchię loco eidem David et suis tuto legitime communicantur, si ad hoc vocati venirent: vel si legitime vocati non venerint pro contumacibus habeantur nisi rationabile et sufficiens habeant impedimentum, finito vero prædictę legationis officio sub forma prescripta et coercioni et jurisdictioni domini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et successorum suorum et ecclesię Cantuariensis se partes prædictę submiserunt. Et sciendum quod per hanc pacem remanent domino regi et hæredibus suis omnia homagia baronum Wallię quæta, et remittuntur omnia incendia, homicidia, et alia mala tam ex parte Anglicorum quam Wallensium perpetrata; ita quod ad invicem plene reconcilientur. Salvo præfati David jure suo, si quod habet in aliis terris. Et si forte aliquis prædictorum arbitratorum ante hoc arbitrium completum in fata decesserit, vel per impedimentum rationabile prædicto arbitrio faciendo non possit interesse: alius loco suo substituetur qui neutri partium merito suspectus habeatur: ad hoc præfati episcopus de Sancto Asaph Idnevet et Ignari et Griffinus filius Rotherich præstiterunt sacramentum, quod quantum in eis est, prædicta fideliter observabunt et ab ipso David et suis modis omnibus quibus poterant, facient observari: ad majorem autem hujus rei securitatem factum est hoc scriptum inter ipsos regem et David in modo chirographi. Ita quod parti remanenti penes ipsum dominum regem appositum est sigillum ipsius una cum sigillo prædictorum

prædictorum episcopi de Sancto Afapho Idnevet, Ignan et Griffini, et parti penes ipsum David remanenti appositum est sigillum domini regis: his testibus venerabilibus patribus Ottone Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diacono, cardinali apostolicæ sedis legato; Waltero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, Waltero Careleolensi, Waltero Wygornensi et Gulielmo Norwicensi episcopis; Richardo comite Pictaviæ et Cornubiæ fratre domini regis, venerabili patre episcopo de Sancto Antando; feneschallis nostris Joanne extraneo. Ede-nyfet Watham, Griffino filio Rotherich, David archidiacon de Sancto Afaph et aliis.

Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewelini salutem. Bene recolimus qualiter nos vobis nuper in mandatis dedimus, quod coram nobis apud Wigorniam compareretis ad providendum arbitros qui loco eorum qui primo ad hoc electi fuerint et qui ad partes recesserunt transmarinas, justitiam secundum formam pacis inter et vos provise singulis conquerentibus exhiberent; et in arbitrio prædicto secundum formam debitam procederent et similiter ad justitiam recipiendam de portione uxorem vestram contingente de hæreditate suâ: et similitar ad standum recto super his de quibus feneschallus de monte alto et aliis de vobis sunt conquesti. Et quia ad diem et locum vobis præfixos non accessistis, sed literas vestras nobis misistis; continentes quod tres ex vestris ad nos loco vestro destinastis, ex quibus tantum unus ad nos accessit qui ad præmissa adimplenda nullam potestatem habuit; unde quibusdam ex nostris visum fuerat quod hoc malitiose et ut subterfugium quæreretis per vos factum fuit. Nos tamen hoc non credentes sed fidelitatem vestram adhuc magis probare volentes, vobis mandamus in fide qua nobis tenemini, præcipiendo quatinus omni occasione postposita personaliter

naliter compareatis apud Salop, die dominica ante dominicam palmarum coram fidelibus nostris quos illic duxerimus transmittendos ad consentiendum in personas certas, ad procedendum in arbitrio prædicto loco eorum qui ad partes transmarinas recesserunt et ad faciendum in eodem arbitrio id quod adhuc restat faciendum; et ad recipiendum justitiam de portione uxorem vestram de hæreditate sua contingente et ad standum recto seneschallo Cestriæ et aliis de vobis conquerentibus, Quod si personaliter ad hoc faciendum venire non possitis tales loco vestro mittatis qui plenam potestatem habeant hæc omnia nomine vestro faciendi. Nos enim vobis et vestris per eos quos ibidem mittimus aut per nosmet ipsos salvum et securum provideri faciemus conductum. Teste rege apud Wudestock decimo nono die Februarii.

Anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo primo, die dominica proxima ante inventionem sanctæ crucis assignata, David filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ et marchionibus ad consentiendum in arbitros substituendos loco absentium et ad faciendam et recipiendam justitiam secundum formam pacis conventæ inter dominum regem et dictum David comparuit Thudius seneschallus ipsius David, cancellarius et Phillippus filius Ibor clericus ex parte David procuratores; ostendentes literas ipsius David, in quibus dictus David promittebat se ratum habiturum quicquid per ipsos fieret secundum formam pacis supradictæ. Radulphus vero de mortuo mari et Rogerus seneschallus Cestriæ et Griffinus pro se et aliis marchionibus comparuerunt; petentes instanter quod secundum dicta testium productorum coram domino Stephano de Segrave, et conjudicibus suis vicem domini regis gerentibus apud Salop eisdem exhiberetur justitiæ complementum. Sed contra procuratores præfati David asserabant dictos testes non esse receptos secundum formam pacis. Quare secundum dicta eorum non dicebat nec poterat judicari. Tandem continuata die et altercatione magna super hoc et aliis habitata inter partes,

partes, forma pacis prædictæ producta in medio vifaque et perfecta loco absentium arbitrorum fcilicet domini Ottonis Sancti Nicholai in carcere Tulliano diaconi cardinalis, domini Papæ quondam legati in Anglia Wigornensis et Norwicensis episcoporum subrogati sunt per dominum regem de consensu dictorum procuratorum episcopus Coventrensis, Joannes filius Galfridi et Herebertus filius Mathæi, et Walterus de Clifford: quibus data est eadem potestas quam haberent absentes si præsentés essent secundum formam pacis prædictæ et assignata est dies partibus à die Pentecostes proximo in unum mensẽ apud pontem de Maneford ultra Salop ad probanda hinc inde sive per productos testes; non obstante productione jam facta per alios et quolibet probationis genere sive per instrumenta, sive alio modo quæ voluerunt et sibi noverint expedienda; et illa die dabitur alia ad iudicium audiendum secundum probata coram eisdem arbitris juxta formam pacis superius prælibatæ.

Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ salutem, Ex certâ quorundam relatione didicimus quod vos contra juramentum nobis præstitum quosdam fratres Griffini filii Madoc et etiam quosdam homines nostros de Keri, qui homagia nobis fecerunt vobis confœderatis et ab obsequio et fidelitate nostra subtraxistis et fratres prædicti Griffini contra nos in terra vestra receptatis. Tres quidem de seneschallis vestris in succursum eorum qui expugnant dilectum et fidelem nostrum Radulphum de mortuo mari destinastis cædes et incendia per vos et vestros in terra sua et terris aliorum fidelium committendo, terras etiam quæ in curia nostra abjudicatæ fuerunt Oweno Vaghan et nepotibus suis, eis contra justitiam deforciatis, non permittentes quod executio fiat de his quæ in curia nostra

stra sunt considerata. Quendam etiam navem Cestriæ quæ in potestate vestra applicuit cartata blado et aliis victualibus arestari fecistis per vos et gentem vestram, in nullo his quorum bladum et victualia fuerint inde satisfaciendes super quibus non modicum admiramur et movemur; et multo fortius quod cum nuper misissemus nuntios vestros solempnes usque Salop, utpote venerabilem patrem Henricum Coventrensem et Lichfieldensem episcopum, et dilectos et fideles nostros Joannem filium Galfridi, et Henricum de Aditheleg paratos ad emendas faciendas et recipiendas de interceptionibus factis, tam ex parte nostra, quam ex parte vestra, vos tanquam in contemptum nostrum prædictis fidelibus nostris non occurristis, nec per aliquos de vestris in eorum occursum mittere curastis, quod quidem ægre nos movet cum tot et tantas injurias quas longum esset enumerare contra nos et nostros nullo modo attemptare debuistis: et ideo vobis mandamus quod prædictos fideles nostros tam fratres prædicti Griffini quam homines nostros de Keri quos a fidelitate nostra subtruxistis ad fidem nostram redire faciatis. Non impediendes quin prædictus Owenus Vaghan et nepotes sui secundum abjudicatum est in curia nostra terris suis gaudere possint et eas pacificè possidere. Id etiam quod contra dilectum et fidelem nostrum Radulphum de mortuo mari et alios fideles nostros et etiam quod de navi illa Cestrensi attemptastis, sic emendari faciatis; quod nobis non relinquatur materia injurias prædictas gravius ulciscendi quod nollemus. Nec omitatis quin citra festum Sancti Petri ad vincula nobis significetis qualiter dampna et injurias prædictas, quæ nullo modo dissimulare poterimus nobis emendare volueritis. Teste rege apud Merlebergh, quarto decimo die Julii.

Sciant præsentis et futuri quod ita convenit inter dominum Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem ex una parte et senanam uxorem Griffini filii Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, quem David frater ejus tenet carcèri mancipatum cum Owen filio suo nomine

eiusdem Griffini ex altera; scilicet quod praedicta Senana manucepit pro praedicto Griffino viro suo quo dabit domino regi sexcentas marcas, ut rex eum et praedictum Owen filium suum liberari faciat a carcere detineri. Et ut rex postea iudicio Curiae suae secundum legem Walensem ei et haeredibus suis habere faciat super portione quae eum continget de haereditate quae fuit praedicti Lewelini patris sui et quam praedictus David ipsi Griffino d'forciavit. Ita si quod idem Griffinus vel haeredes sui per considerationem curiae domini regis reciperent portionem quam se dicunt contingere de haereditate praedicta, eadem Senana manucepit pro praedicto Griffino et haeredibus suis quod ipse et haeredes sui imperpetuum inde reddent domino regi et haeredibus suis trecentas marcas annuas. Scilicet tertiam partem in denariis et tertiam partem in bobus et vaccis, et tertiam partem in equis per aestimationem legalium hominum liberandas vicecomiti Salop, apud Salop, et per manum ipsius vicecomitis ad faccharium regis deferendas et ibidem liberandas scilicet unam medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis et aliam medietatem ad pascham. Eadem etiam Senana manucepit pro praedicto Griffino viro suo et haeredibus suis quod firmam pacem tenebunt cum praefato David super portione quae eidem David remanebit de haereditate praedicta; manucepit etiam Senana pro praefato Griffino et haeredibus suis, quod si aliquis Walensis aliquo tempore regi vel haeredibus suis rebellis extiterit, praefatus Griffinus et haeredes sui ad custum suum proprium ipsum compellent ad satisfaciendum domino regi et haeredibus suis. Et de his omnibus supradictis observandis, dicta Senana dabit domino regi David et Rothery filios suos obsides: Ita tamen quod si de praefato Griffino et Oweno filio suo qui cum eo est in carcere humanitus contingat antequam inde deliberentur; alter praedictorum filiorum eidem Senanae reddetur reliquo obside remanente: juravit insuper Senana tactis sacro-sanctis evangeliiis pro se et praefato Griffino et haeredibus suis quod haec omnia firmiter observabunt. Et manucepit quod praefatus Griffinus
idem

idem jurabit cum à carcere liberatus fuerit, et super praemissis se submitit nomine dicti Griffini jurisdictioni Herefordensis et Conventrensis episcoporum. Ita quod praefati episcopi, vel alter eorum quem dominus rex elegerit ad requisitionem ipsius regis per sententias excommunicationis in personas et interdicti in terras eorum coherceant ad omnia praedicta et singula observanda. Haec omnia manucepit praedicta Senana et bona fide promisit se facturam et curaturam quod omnia impleantur, et quod praefatus Griffinus cum liberatus fuerit, et haeredes sui hac omnia grata habebunt et complebunt et instrumentum suum inde dabunt domino regi in forma praedicta. Ad majorem siquidem hujus rei securitatem factum est hoc scriptum inter ipsum dominum regem et praefatam Senanam nomine praefati Griffini viri sui. Ita quod parti remanenti penes ipsum dominum regem appositum est sigillum praefati Griffini per manum praefatae Senanae uxoris suae una cum sigillo ipsius Senanae; et parti remanenti penes ipsam Senanam nomine praefati Griffini appositum est sigillum ipsius domini regis: de suprascriptis etiam omnibus complendis et firmiter observandis dedit praedicta Senana nomine praefati Griffini domino regi plegios subscriptos, viz. Radulphum de Mortuo Mari, Walterum de Clifford, Rogerum de Monte alto senescallum Cestriae, Mailgun filium Mailgwn, Mereduc filium Roberti, Griffinum filium Maddoc de Baunfeld, Howel et Mereduc fratres ejus, Griffinum filium Wennwen, qui haec omnia pro praefata Senana manuceperunt et cartas suas ipsi domino regi inde fecerunt. Actum apud Salop die Lunae proxima ante assumptionem beatae Mariae anno ipsius regis vicesimo quinto.

OMNIBUS hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de Monte Alto seneschallus Cestriae salutem. Sciatis quod ego me constituti plegium Senanae uxoris Griffini filii Leolini quondam principis Norwalliae, et manu cepi

pro ea erga dominum meum Henricum regem Angliae illustrem, quod omnia quae conventionavit eidem domino meo nomine praefati viri sui a carcere in quo David frater ejus eos detinet et pro portione quae ipsum Griffinum contingit de haereditate quae fuit praedicti Leolini patris suis et quam praefatus David frater ejus ei deforciat, domino regi firmiter observabit. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Actum apud Szlopesbury die Lunae ante assumptionem Beatae Mariae, anno regni ipsius vicesimo quinto.

Sub eadem forma fecerunt singuli plegii praescripti.

Sciant praesentes et futuri quod ego Mereducus filius Howel, tactis sacro-sanctis juravi quod ab isto die in antea omnibus diebus vitae meae ero ad fidelitatem domini regis Angliae, et serviam ei fideliter et devote cum omnibus viribus meis et toto posse meo quandoque indiguerit servitio meo, et treugam inter dominum Radulphum de Mortuo Mari et me initam usque ad festum S. Michaelis anno regni regis Henrici vigesimo quinto ex parte mea fideliter observabo: et tam ad fidelitatem domino regi in perpetuum observandum quatu ad treugas praedictas observandas usque ad terminum praedictum supposui me jurisdictioni domini Herefordensis episcopi, et domini Coventrensis et Lichfieldensis episcopi, vel alterius eorum, quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, ut si in aliquo contra praedictam fidelitatem domini regis, vel contra observantiam praedictarum treugarum venerit, liceat eis vel eorum alteri quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit personam meam et omnes meos excommunicare et terram meam interdicere, donec de transgressione ipsam satisfecero ad plenum. Et si forsitan infra praedictum festum S. Michaeli inter praedictum Radulphum de Mortuo Mari et me nulla pax fuerit formata, licet post festum illud bellum moveant praedicto Radulpho, non obligabit me praedictum juramentum dum tamen erga dominum regem fidelitatem observam continuam, sicut praedictum

praedictum est. Etsi bellum post praedictum terminum inter nos moveatur, nihilominus dominus refustinebit quod ego et mei receptemur in terra sua sicut alii fideles sui. Ad praedicta autem observanda domino regi et haeredibus suis obligo me per juramentum praedictum, et per sigilli mei appositionem quod huic scripto apposui, ad majorem confirmationem praedictorum. Actum in crastino assumptionis Beatae Mariae, anno regni regis Henrici vigesimo quinto.

Sub eisdem verbis fecerunt domino regi chartas suas,
 Owen filius Howell. Mailgon filius Mailgun.
 Mereduc filius Mereduc. Howel filius Cadwachlan, et Cadwachlan filius Howel.

OMNIBUS Christi fidelibus ad quos praesentes literae pervenerunt, David, filius Leolini, salutem. Sciatis quod concessi domino meo Henrico regi Angliae illustri filio domino Joannis regis: quod deliberabo Griffinum fratrem meum quem teneo incarceratum una cum filio suo primogenito et aliis qui occasione praedicti Griffini sunt in parte mea incarcerati, et ipsos eidem domino meo regi tradam. Et postea stabo juri curiae ipsius domini regis tam super eo, utrum idem Griffinus debeat teneri captus quam super portione terrae quae fuit praedicti Leolini patris mei, si qua ipsum Griffinum contingere debeat, secundam consuetudinem Walensium. Ita quod pax servetur inter me et praedictum Griffinum fratrem meum quod caveatur de ipsa tenenda secundum considerationem curiae ipsius domini regis, et quod tam ego quam praedictus Griffinus portiones nostras que nos contingunt de praedictis terris tenebimus in capite de praedicto domino rege. Et quod reddam Rogero de Monte Alto seneschallo Cestriae terram suam de Monthaut cum pertinentiis: et sibi et aliis baronibus et fidelibus domini regis scifinas terrarum suarum occupatarum a tempore

pore belli orti inter ipsum dominum Johannem regem et praedictum Leolinum patrem meum, salvo jure proprietatis cujuslibet pacti et instrumenti super quo stabitur juri hinc inde in curia ipsius domini regis: et quod reddam ipsi domino regi omnes expensas quas ipse et sui fecerunt occasione exercitus istius. Et quod satisfaciam de damnis et injuriis illatis sibi et suis secundum considerationem praedictae curiae vel malefactores ipsos, ipsi domino regi reddam omnia homagia quae dominus Johannes rex pater ejus habuit, et quae dominus rex de jure habere debet; et specialiter omnium nobilium Wallensium. Et quod idem dominus rex non dimittit aliquem de suis captivis quin ipsi domino regi et suis remaneant seisinæ suae. Et quod terra de Engusmere cum pertinentiis suis in perpetuum remanebit domino regi, vel haeredibus suis, et quod de caetero non receptabo vilagas vel foris banniatos ipsius domini regis, vel baronum suorum de marchia in terra mea, nec permittam receptari; et de omnibus articulis supradictis, et singulis firmiter et in perpetuum observandis, domino regi, et haeredibus suis, pro me et haeredibus meis cavebo per obsides et pignora et aliis modis quibus dominus rex dicere voluit vel dictate. Et in his et in omnibus aliis stabo voluntati, et mandatis ipsius domini regis et juri parebo omnibus in curia sua. In cujus rei testimonium, praesenti scripto sigillum meum appendi. Actum apud Atrium juxta fluvium Elvey de S. Afapho in festo decollationis S. Johanni Baptistae, anno praedicti domini regis Henrici vigesimo quinto.

Sciendum quod illi qui capti detinentur cum praedicto Griffinio, eodem modo tradentur domino regi donec per curiam suam consideratum fuerit, utrum et quomodo debeant deliberari. Et ad omnia firmiter tenenda, ego David juravi super crucem sanctam quam coram me feci deportari. Venerabilis etiam pater Howelus episcopus de S. Afaph ad petitionem meam firmiter promisit in ordine suo, quod haec omnia praedicta faciet, et procurabit modis quibus poterit, observari. Ednevet siquidem Waugam per praecceptum meum, illud idem juravit super crucem praedictam,

dictam. Actum ut supra. Præterea concessi pro me et hæredibus meis quod si ego, vel hæredes mei contra pacem domini regis, vel hæredium suorum, vel contra articulos prædictos, aliquid attentaverimus tota hæreditas nostra domino regi, et hæredibus suis incurratur. De quibus omnibus et singulis supposui me, et hæredes meos, jurisdictioni archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, et episcoporum Londinensis, Herefordensis, et Coventrensis, qui pro tempore præerunt, quod omnes, vel unus eorum quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, possit nos excommunicare, et terram nostram interdicare, si aliquid contra prædicta attentaverimus. Et procuravi quod episcopi de Bangor et de S. Afaph chartas suas domino regi fecerunt per quas concesserunt, quod omnes sententias tum excommunicationis quam interdicti à prædictis archiepiscopo, episcopis, vel aliquo eorum, ferendas, ad mandatum eorum exequantur.

Rex omnibus, &c.

DAVID filius Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, Salutem. Noverint universitas vestræ me spontanea voluntate mea pepegisse domino meo Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ, quod ego et hæredes mei eidem domino regi, et hæredibus suis omnibus diebus vitæ nostræ constanter et fideliter serviemus, nec aliquo tempore contra eos erimus: quod si forte evenerit, quod à fideli servitio suo, vel hæredum suorum, quod absit, recesserimus, tota terra nostra erga ipsum dominum regem et hæredes suos incurratur, et in usus eorum perpetuis cedat temporibus. Hanc autem pacificationem et concessionem sigilli mei appositione roboravi, et ad majorem hujus rei declarationem venerabiles patres Bangorenses, et de S. Afaph episcopi, ad petitionem meam præfenti scripto sigilla sua apposuerunt. Actum apud Rothetan tricesimo primo die Augusti.

ILLUSTRI viro domino Henrico Dei gratia regi Anglorum, &c. abbates Haberconwiæ, et de Kemere Cisterciensis ordinis inquisitores dati a domino Papâ, salutem in domino. Mandatum domini Papæ recipimus in hæc verba, ‘Innocentius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis abbatibus de Haberconwiæ, & de Kemere Cisterciensis ordinis Bangorum diocesis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte dilecti filii nostri nobilis viri David principis Norwalliæ fuit propositum coram nobis, quod cum inter ipsum, quem parentes ejus in alumnum Romanæ ecclesiæ donaverunt, et charissimum in Christo filium nostrum regem Anglorum illustrem bellum longo tempore perdurasset, tandem postquam fuit in venerabilem fratrem nostrum episcopum de S. Asaph et collegas ipsius de stando hinc inde eorum arbitrio super omnibus querelis juramento a partibus præstito concorditer bonis viris mediantibus conpromissum. Idem rex, non attendens quod pendente illorum arbitrio, sibi super hoc aliquid attentare non licebit in prædictum principem ex insperato hostiliter iruit ad præstandum, quod super prædictis de quibus conpromissum fuerit & juratum, ac aliis ipsius regis, mandare per vim computit, & metum qui cadere poterat in constantem.

Cum igitur ea quæ vi & metu fiant, carere debeant robore firmitatis, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus inquisita super hoc diligentius veritate, si rem inveneritis ita esse, auctoritate nostra prædictum principem ab observatione sic extorti juramenti penitus absolventes, sententia, si qua occasione ejusmodi in ejus personam, vel terram ab aliquo forsan tota fuerit, juxta formam ecclesiæ sine difficultate qualibet, sicut justum fuerit relaxetis. Testes vero, &c. Datum Januæ septimo calendas Augusti pontificatus nostri anno secundo. Hujus igitur auctoritate muniti vobis mandamus quatenus in vigilia S. Agnetis Virginis, apud Keyrus in ecclesia Gustefend coram vobis compareatis, super contentis in autentico dicto principi responsuri, si vobis videritis expedire,

Isti sunt **ARTICULI** intimati Domino **LEOLINO** Principi **WALLIÆ**, et populo ejusdem loci, ex parte Archiepiscopi supra dicti.

P R I M O, Quod propter salutem eorum spiritualem, et temporalem ad partes istas venimus, quas semper dileximus, ut plures eorum noverunt.

Secundo, Quia venimus contra domini regis voluntatem, cui etiam adventus noster dicitur plurimum displicere.

Tertio, Quia rogamus eos et supplicamus eis pro sanguine Jesu Christi, quatenus venire velint ad unitatem cum gente Anglorum, et ad pacem domini regis, quam eis intendimus, quanto melius poterimus procurare.

Quarto, Volumus eos scire quod in his partibus domini non poterimus remanere.

Quinto, Volumus eos attendere quod post recessum nostrum non invenient aliquem, qui ita velit sua amplecti negotia promovenda, qui vellemus, si placeret. Altissima vita nostra temporali corporum pacem honestam et stabilem perpetuo procurasse.

Sexto, Quia si nostras preces spreverint et labores, statim intendimus eorum pertinaciam scribere summo pontifici et curiae Romanae, propter peccata mortalia, quae multiplicantur occasione discordiae omni die.

Septimo, Noverint quod nisi citius ad pacem venerint aggravabitur eis bellum, quod non poterunt sustinere, quia crescit regia potentia omni die.

Octavo, Noverint quod regnum Angliæ est sub speciali protectione sedis apostolicæ, et quod Romana curia plus inter regna caetera diligere consuevit.

Nono,

Nono, Quod eadem curia nullo modo volet permittere statum regni Angliae vacillare, quod sibi specialibus obsequiis est devotum.

Decimo, Amarissimè plangimus hoc quod dicitur Wallenses crudeliores existere Saracenis; quia cum Saraceni capiunt Christianos, eos servant pecunia redimendos, quos Wallenses captos dicuntur illico jugulare quasi solo sanguine delectentur; immo quod est deterius, quos promittunt redimi, tradunt accepta pecunia jugulandos.

Undecimo, Quod cum consueverit deum et personas ecclesiasticas revereri, a devotione hominum videntur multipliciter recessisse, qui in tempore sanctissimo in redemptoris injuriam moverunt seditionem, homicidia et incendia perpetrantes, in quo eos nullus poterit excusare.

Duodecimo, Petimus ut tanquam veri Christiani ad cor redeant poenitentes, quia cœptam discordiam non possent continuare etiam si jurassent.

Tertiodecimo, Petimus ut nobis significant quibus modis velint et valeant turbationem pacis regiae, laesionem reipublicae, et mala alia emendare.

Quartodecimo, Ut significant nobis qualiter valeat ipsa concordia stabiliri, frustra enim pax firmari videbitur quae tam assidue violatur.

Quintodecimo, Ut si dicant leges suas vel fœdera ex pacto inito non servari, nobis significant quae sunt illa.

Sextodecimo, Noverint quod etiam posito quod eis derogatum fuisset, quod nescimus, nullo modo licebit eis quasi essent iudices in causa suâ taliter majestatem regiam impugnare.

Septimodecimo, Quod nisi modo pax fiat proceditur contra eos forsitan ex decreto militiae, sacerdoti, et populi convocati.

Reverendissimo patri in Christo domino J. de gratia cantuariensi archiepiscopo totius Angliæ primate, suus humilis et devotus filius Leolinus princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon, salutem et filialem dilectionem cum omnimoda reverentia, subjectione et honore, sanctæ paternitati vestræ pro labore vobis quasi intolerabilem quem assumpsistis ad præsens pro dilectione quam erga nos et nostram nationem geritis, omni qua possumus devotione regratiantes vobis assurgimus; et eo amplius quod contra domini regis voluntatem venistis prout nobis intimastis. Cæterum quod nos rogastis ut ad pacem domini regis veniamus, scire debet vestra sanctitas quod ad hoc prompti sumus, dummodo idem dominus rex pacem debitam et veram nobis et nostris velit observare. Ad hoc licet gauderemus de mora vestra facienda in Wallia, tamen per nos non eritis impediti quin pax fiat, quantum in nobis est, quam optamus per vestram industriam magis quam alicujus alterius roborari. Et speramus nec per Dei gratiam erit opportunum propter nostram pertinaciam aliquid scribere domino Papæ. Nec vestras paternas preces ac graves labores spernemus, sed eas amplectimur omni cordis affectu ut tenemur. Nec erit opus quod dominus rex aggravet contra nos manum, cum prompti sumus sibi obedire juribus nostris et legibus nobis ut præmittatur reservatis.

Et licet regnum Angliæ sit Curie Romanæ specialiter subjectum et dilectum, tamen cum dominus Papa, necnon et Curia Romana audiverint quanta nobis per Anglicos mala sunt illata, videlicet quod pax prius formata non fuit nobis servata nec pacta; deinde devastationes, combustiones, et ecclesiasticarum personarum interfectiones, sacerdotum videlicet et inclusorum, et aliarum religiosarum personarum passim mulierum et infantium surgentium ubera et in utero portantium, combustiones etiam hospitalium et aliarum domorum religiosarum, homicidiorum in cœniteriis, ecclesiis, et super altaria, et aliorum sacrilegorum et flagitiorum auditu etiam horribilium, auditu Pagano-

rum sicut expreſſius in aliis rotulis conſcripta vobis tranſmittimus inſpicienda.

Speramus imprimis, quod veſtra pia et ſancta paternitas clementer nobis compatietur, nec non et curia ſuper dicta, nec per nos regnum Angliæ vacillabit, dum, ut promiſſum eſt, pax debita nobis fiat et ſeruetur. Qui vero ſanguinis effuſione delectantur manifeſtum eſt factis. Nam Anglici hæctenus nulli ſexui vel ætati ſeu languori pepercerunt, nulla eccleſiæ vel loco ſacro detulerunt, qualia vel conſimilia Wallenſes non facerunt. Super eo autem quod unus redemptus fuit interfectus, multum dolemus, nec occiſorem manu tenemus, ſed in ſylvis uti latro vagatur. De eo vero quod inceperunt guerram aliqui in tempore indebito, illud ignoravimus uſque poſt factum, et tamen ipſi aſſerunt quod niſi eo tempore hoc fe-ciſſent mortes et captiones eis imminebunt, nec audebunt in domibus reſidere, nec niſi armati incedere, et ſic præ timore tali tempore id fecerunt. De eis verò quæ fecimus contra dominum, ut veri chriſtiani per Dei gratiam pœnitebimus, nec erit ex parte noſtra quod bellum continuetur, dum ſumus indemnes ut debemus. Ne tamen exhæredemur et paſſim occidemur, oportet nos defendere ut valemus. Cum verò injuria et damna hinc inde conſiderentur et ponderentur parati ſumus emendare pro viribus quæ ex parte noſtra ſunt commiſſa, dum de prædictis injuriis et damnis nobis factis et aliis emenda nobis fiat. Et ad pacem firmandam et ſtabiliendam ſimiliter ſumus prompti debitis modis.

Quando tamen regales chartæ et pacta inita nobis non ſervatur, ſicut nec hucusque ſunt obſervata, non poteſt pax ſtabiliri, nec quando novæ exactiones et inauditæ contra nos et noſtros omni die adveniunt. Vobis autem tranſmittimus in rotulis damna nobis illata et fœdera non ſervata ſecundum formam pacis prius factam. Quod verò guerravimus quaſi neceſſitas nos cogebat; nam nos et omnes Wallenſes eramus adeo oppreſſi et ſuppeditati et ſpoliati et in ſervitutem redacti per regales Juſticianos et Ballivos contra formam pacis et omnem juſticiam amplius quam ſi
Saraceni

Saraceni effemus vel Judæi, sicut credimus et sæpe denunciavimus domino regi, nec aliquam emendam habere potuimus. Sed semper mittebantur justiciarii et ballivi ferociores et crudeliores, et quando illi erant faturati per suas injustas exactiones, alii de novo mittebantur and populum excoriandum in tantum quod populus mallebat mori quam vivere. Nec oportet militiam ampliorem convocare, vel contra nos moveri sacerdotium dum nobis fiat pax et servetur modis debitis ut superius est expressum. Nec debitis sancte pater omnibus verbis credere nostrorum adversariorum; sicut enim nos factis oppresserunt et opprimunt, ita et vobis diffamant, nobis imponentes quæ volunt.

Ipsi enim vobis sunt præsentés et nos absentes, ipsi opprimentes et nos oppressi. Et ideò propter Deum fidem eis in omnibus non exhibeatis; sed facta potius examinatis. Valeat sanctitas vestre ad regimen ecclesiæ per tempora longa.

Primus Articulus est talis, cum in forma pacis sic contineatur ut sequitur. Si vero idem Leolinus jus vendicaverit in aliquibus terris quas alii præter dictum dominum regem occupaverint extra quatuor cantredos prædictos, plenariam sibi justitiam exhibebit præfatus dominus rex secundum leges et consuetudines partium illarum in quibus terræ illæ consistunt: qui articulus non fuit observatus super terris Arwyfley et inter Dyvy et ductus fluviorum, pro eo quod cum dominus Leolinus dictas terras vendicasset coram domino rege apud Ruthlan, et rex sibi concessisset causam examinare secundum leges et consuetudines Walliæ ac advocati pretium fuissent introducti coram rege ut judicarent de dictis terris secundum leges Wallicanas; parte rea comparente et respondente adeo quod eo die deberet finaliter terminari ex præfixione domini regis qui apud Gloverniam existens diem prædictum partibus assignavit, licet sæpius in diversis locis coram justiciariis fuisset dicta causa examinata, et terræ ipsæ essent in pura Wallia. Nec unquam judicata fuit super eis nisi secundum leges Wallicanas; nec dominus rex posset vel

vel deberet prorogare nisi secundum leges Walliæ: diem tamen ipsum motu proprio prorogavit et contra leges antedictas, et ad ultimo fuit vocatus ad loca varia ad quæ non debuit evocari, nec justitiam obtinere potuit, nisi secundum leges Angliæ contra illud quod in dicto articulo continetur. Et idem factum fuit coram justiciariis apud Montgomery, cum partes essent in judicio constitutæ et firmatæ, et dies datus ad sententiam audiendam, diem prorogaverunt leges memoratas. Demum apud Londinum post multos labores et expensas varias rex ipse justitiam sibi denegavit, nisi vellet secundum leges Angliæ subire judicium in causa memorata.

Secundus articulus non servatus est talis. Et omnes transgressiones injuriæ et excelsus hinc inde factæ pœnitus remittuntur usque in diem hodiernum. Ille articulus non fuit observatus quia dominus Regnialdus de Grey statim cum fuit factus justiciarius, movit varias quæstiones et innumerabiles contra homines de Tegengl, et nos super transgressis quæ factæ fuerunt in tempore domini Henrici regis, et dicti domini Leolini dum dominum in partibus illis obtinebat unde dicti homines multum timentes non audebant in domibus suis permanere.

Tertius articulus, Ubi dictus Rys Vachan filius Nefi filii Maelgon cum terra quam nunc tenet et cum post pacem initam fuit spoliatus de terra de Geneverglyn, quam tunc tenebat cum hominibus et Averis eorundem.

Quartus articulus, Item concedit dominus rex quod omnes terras tenentes in quatuor Cantredis, et in aliis terris quas dominus rex retinet in manu sua, teneant eas adeo libere et plenarie sicut ante guerram tenere consueverint, et eisdem libertatibus et consuetudinibus gaudeant quibus prius gaudere solebant, et cum contra istum articulum dictus Reginaldus consuetudines varias de novo introduxit, et hoc contra pacis formam suprascriptam.

Item quintus articulus, Controversiæ et contentiones motæ vel movendæ inter principem et quoscunque terminabantur et decidentur secundum leges Marchiæ

Marchiæ de his quæ emergunt in Marchia, et secundum leges Walliæ de rebus contentiosis quæ in Wallia orientur. Contra istum articulum venit dominus rex mittendo justiciarios usque ad Montgomery, qui ibidem judicare præsumpserunt homines dicti Leolini, vindictum ponendo super illos contra leges Walliæ, cum hoc vel aliud simile nunquam factum fuisset ibidem temporibus retroactis, quosdam incarcerando, alios in exilium mittendo, cum ipse idem princeps paratus esset de eisdem hominibus suis exhibere justitiæ complementum omnibus quærelantibus de eisdem.

Item sextus articulus. Item cum sit contentum in dicta pacis forma, quod Griffinus Vachan homagium faceret domino regi, de terra, de Yâl, et principi de terra de Edeyrnahu justiciarii domini introduxerunt, in totam terram prædictam de Edeyrnahu cujus cognitio causæ ad principem pertinebat simpliciter, et non ad illos Justiciarios; et tamen pro bono pacis princeps hoc tolerabat cum ipse princeps paratus esset eidem dominæ super hoc justitiam exhibere.

Septimus articulus, ubi dicitur et licet idem princeps se nostræ ut dictum est supposuerit voluntati, nos tamen concedimus et volumus quod voluntas nostra ultra dictos articulos se in aliquo non extendant. Contra istum articulum exigebatur aurum ad opus reginæ in qualibet solutione facta regi cum Aurum nunquam fuit exactum Wallensibus, nec in tempore domini Henrici, vel alicujus alterius regis Angliæ; quod aurum exsolvit pro bono pacis, cum tamen nihil de hoc tactum fuit in forma pacis vel excogitatum: et nunc insuper exigitur à principe aurum ad opus reginæ senioris matris videlicet domini Edvardi nunc regis Angliæ, pro pace facta in tempore domini Henrici nunc regis Angliæ, cum nihil de hoc tunc fuerat dictum vel quomodo excogitatum, videlicet duo millia Marcarum et dimidium, et nisi dictæ Marcæ solverentur, minabatur dicta regina quod bona ejusdem Leolini occuparet quæ invenire poterat in domino regis, et
homines

homines suos capere vel venundare quousque dictam summam haberet ad plenum. Item cum invitasset dominus rex dictum principem adfectum Wiggorniensem verbis blandissimis promittendo ei quod daret tunc consanguineam suam sibi in uxorem, et multis ditaret honoribus; nihilominus cum illuc venisset in die desponsationis, ante missam petiit dominus rex unam literam consignari à principe continentem inter cætera, quod idem princeps nullum omnino honorem in terra sua teneret contra regis voluntatem, vel manu teneret ex quo possit contingere quod omnes fideles principis ab eo commoverentur. Quam quidem literam sibi sigillatam tradidit, computans per metum qui cadere posset in constantem virum, cum tamen in forma pacis, ut præmissum est, contineatur quod nihil ab eo deberet exigi, ultra quod in dicta forma continetur.

Item, cum secundum eandem pacis formam consuetudines eidem principi confirmentur quibus usus fuerat ab antiquo; ac idem princeps et antecessores sui, ex consuetudine diutina et obtenta bona de naufragis in terris suis provenientia consueverant recipere, et in suos usus convertere ad libitum: Justiciarius Cestrensis namium recepit super principem pro bonis quæ recepit de naufragiis ante guerram contra dictam pacis formam per quam hinc inde erant remissa, et contra consuetudines ante dictas. Dato etiam quod hoc esset foris factum namium recepit tale, videlicet quindecim libratas mellis et plures equos ac homines suos incarceravit, et hoc ex propriis bonis principis antedicti. Preterea, accipit scaphas de Banweys quæ venerant apud Liverpool cum mercandiis per mercatores, et eas numquam deliberavit donec pecuniam pro eis accepit quantum volebat.

Item, cum quidam homines de Geneurglyn quædam bona abstulissent ab aliis vicinis suis de Geneurglyn, dum essent in domino principis de Merpyreton homines regis de Llanbadarn prædam fecerunt, et acceperunt de terra principis de Merpyreton, et cum homines sui venissent illuc ad quærendum quare dictam prædam receperant, unum de eis interfecerunt, et
alios

alios vulneraverunt, & quosdam incarceraverunt. Et cum in dicta pacis forma contineatur quod in Marchia deberent emendari quæ in Marchia committebantur, tamen dicti homines regis homines principis audire noluerunt alibi quam in castro de Llanbadarn, & hoc contra pacis formam antedictam, super quo hæctenus nullam justitiam habere potuerunt. In istis articulis injuriatus dominus rex principi & suis, & etiam in multis aliis: et licet princeps tam per se quam per suos petivisset sæpius a domino rege quod pacis formam supradictam erga se & suos faceret observari, in nullo tamen extitit observata sed omni die de novo justiciarii & ballivi domini regis in partibus illis injurias injuriis, & varia gravamina cumulaverunt: propter quod mirum non debet videri alicui si princeps præfatus assensum præstitit illis qui guerrare cœperunt, cum in his fides quam in animam domini regis sibi dominus Robertus Tibetot juraverat in nullo servabatur, & maxima & principaliter cum princeps fuisset præmunitus a personis fide dignis quod princeps foret a rege capiendus in suo primo accessu apud Ruthlan, & etiam fuisset captus si rex illuc accessisset post Natale sicut proposuerat.

Nec gravamina & alia quasi innumerabilia, sancte pater, considerantes, nobis affectu paterno compaciimini, et pro salute animæ domini regis, et nostræ, et etiam multorum aliorum, ad pacem bonam utriusque populi laboretis fructuosè.

Cum dominus David primo venisset ad dominum Edwardum tunc comitem Cestriæ, ac homagium sibi fecisset, idem dominus Edwardus eidem Davidi duas cantredas, videlicet de dyffryn-Clwyd et Cywonant cum omnibus suis pertinentiis dedit plenarie, et literas suas patentes super hoc fieri fecit, tandem etiam donationem eidem invocavit, postquam creatus est in regem, et etiam illum Davidem in possessionem illarum cantredarum induxit corporalem.

Demum domina Gwenthian de Lacy mortua, tres villas quas in dictis cantredis tenuit quoad vitam quæ ad ipsum Davidem spectabant ratione donationis su-

prædictæ dominus rex sibi abstulit minus iuste contra tenorem chartæ suæ.

Item, Cum dictus David ex donatione domini regis prædicti villas de Hope et Eston obtineret in Wallia, de quibus nulli respondere tenebatur nisi secundum leges Wallicanas; tandem justiciarius Cestriensis fecit ipsum ad instantiam cujusdam Anglici Willh. de Vanabel nomine ad comitatum Cestriensem super dictis vilulis ad iudicium evocari. Et licet dictus dominus David petivisset multoties quod injuriose contra eundem non procederetur in dicto comitatu, pro eo quod ibidem respondere nullatenus tenebatur super villis prædictis quæ sitæ erant in Wallia, sed potius tractaretur, hoc sibi plene denegavit.

Item, Idem justiciarius Cestriensis in gravamen dicti domini Davidis nemus suum de Lleweni et Sylvas suas de Hope fecit succidi tam per villanos de Ruthlan, quam per alios, cum idem justiciarius in terris prædicti domini Davidis nullam omnino haberet jurisdictionem, et non contenti quod meremium ibidem quærerent ad ædificia exigenda tam apud Rodelanum quam alibi in patria, sed nemus destruendo meremium ibidem sectum ad vendendum in Hiberniam transtulerunt.

Item, Cum idem dominus David quosdam Fortanicos de terra domini regis qui in nemoribus latitabant cepisset, ac suspendio tradidisset, idem tamen justiciarius ipsum Davidem penes regem accusabat, ac si ipse dictos malefactores defenderet et manuteneret, quod verisimile non erat cum ipse David dictos latrones suspendi faceret et occidi.

Item, Cum esset cautum in forma pacis quod Wallenses deberent in causis suis tractari secundum leges Wallicanas, istud tamen circa dictum Davidem et suos homines in nullo extitit observatum.

De præmissis vero gravaminibus et aliis petiit idem David aliquam emendationem vel secundum leges Walliæ, vel consuetudines, vel etiam ex gratia speciali; et hoc etiam petiit a domino rege, quorum neutrum potuit aliquatenus obtinere: et cum hoc præmunitus fuit a quibusdam a curia domini regis, quod in primo regressu

regressu domini Reginaldi de Gray de curia idem Das vid esset capiendus ut filii sui capiendi pro obsedibus esset, insuper spoliandus castro suo de Hope, et etiam sylva sua ibidem succidenda. Ideo cum idem David multum laborasset pro domino rege prædicto in diversis guerris tam in Anglia quam in Wallia, et exposuisset se et suos variis periculis et injuriis, ac amisisset nobiliores de suis et fortiores, ac multos nimis, nihilominus de dictis gravaminibus et aliis nullam omnino justitiam, emendationem, seu gratiam potuit obtinere. Propter quæ gravamina et pericula, timens mortem propriam aut filiorum suorum, vel incarcerationem perpetuam, vel saltem diutinam, quasi coactus et invitus incepit prout potuit se et suos defensare.

Hæc est forma quam dominus rex Angliæ promisit hominibus de Ros, antequam ipsi fecerunt sibi homagium, & illam formam eis promisit inviolabiliter observare, videlicet,

Quod ipse dominus rex concederet unicuique eorum jus suum, et jurisdictionem suam, et etiam dominium, bonæ memoriæ domini Henrici quondam regis Angliæ, secundum quod prædicti homines de Ros referent ipsos haberent temporibus prædicti Henrici.

Item, Promisit prædictus dominus rex suprædictis hominibus quod non darentur nec ad firmam ponerentur; quibus articulis concessis præfatis hominibus homagium fecerunt domino regi, et ipse eis promisit ore proprio dictos articulos observare. Hoc non obstante quidam cementarii redeuntes ad villam de Ruthlan, de loco ubi ipsi operabantur, obviaverunt cuidam nobili transeunti cum uxore sua per viam regiam super pace domini regis, qui cementarii per vim proposuerunt auferre a prædicto nobili suam uxorem, et quia ipse nobilis defendit suam uxorem ne ab ipso auferetur, prædicti cementarii prædictum nobilem interfecerunt. Ille autem cui plus opponebatur dictum homicidium perpetrasse, cum quibusdam sociis suis capti fuerunt: et cum parentela prædicti interfecti petierit justitiam a

domino justiciario Cestriensi de morte consanguinii eorum, illi de parentela ipsius interfecti fuerunt incarcerati, et interfectores fuerunt a carcere liberati.

Item, Quidam homo interfecit quendam nobilem qui videlicet filium Goronu de Heylyn nutriverat, et interfector captus fuit: et cum quidam de parentela prædicti interfecti peterent justitiam de eorum consanguineo a domino justiciario Cestriensi, quidam eorum capti fuerunt, et interfector fuit in castello domini regis liberatus, et adhuc est ibi, denegata justitia prædictæ parentelæ.

Item, Quidam nobiles vindicaverunt jus in quibusdam terris, et de mobilibus suis obtulerunt domino regi magnam summam pecuniæ pro justitia habenda per rationem et veredictum proborum et legalium hominum de patria; quæ quidem terræ adjudicatæ fuerunt, prædictis vendicantibus totam terram prædictam cum omnibus ædificiis biadis, et aliis bonis in ipsis contentis. Dominus Reginaldus de Grey; et sic amiserunt primo pecuniam quam pro terra pacaverunt, et postea terram.

Item, Jurisdictionis nostræ est quod nullus extraneus extirparet sylvas nostras, nisi prius habita licentia nostra; hoc non obstante, proclamatum fuit apud Rodolanum quod liceret unicuique Anglicano extirpare sylvas nostras sine nostra licentia ad libitum eorum voluntatis, et quod nobis fuit prohibitum dictas sylvas nostras extirpare.

Item, Terras quas probi homines a domino Davide filio Leolini bonæ memoriæ habuerunt per donationem prædicti Davidis abstulit prædictus justiciarius a prædictis probis hominibus.

Item, Quando aliquis ad villam de Ruthlan veniret cum mercandiis suis, si refutaret illud quod Anglicus eidem, offerret pro suis mercandiis, statim duceretur ille Wallensis ad castrum, et emptor ibidem haberet rem quam larginaverat, et dominus rex haberet pretium dictæ rei, tunc castellam dictum Wallensem ipoliatum et atrociter verberatum deliberabant, pacatis prius portario castri quatuor denariis. Si vero aliquis Wallensis emeret aliquam rem in villa de Ruthlan,

Anglicus qualiscunque superveniret, et rem venditam dicto Wallensi auferet ab ipso pro minori pretio quam dictus Wallensis solverat pro eadem.

Item, Contra promissionem domini regis prædictis hominibus de Ros, ipse dedit territoriam villæ de Maenam in Penmayn et Lhysfaen.

Item, Taurus cujusdam probi hominis deprehensus fuit in pratis domini regis apud Ros, et captus, et dominus ejus vocatis fuit ad placitum usque Rodolanum, et fuit condemnatus in quinque libris occasione dicti tauri; bis adivit Londinium pro justitia petenda, et nullam fuit assecutus, et in illis duabus vicibus expendidit prædictus homo tres libras.

Item, Quidam nobiles de cantreda de Ros emerunt officia pro certa summa pecuniæ; pacata pecunia, meritis suis non exigentibus, dominus justiciarius Cestrensis abstulit ab eis eorum officia.

Item, Quidam rusticus Goronow ab Heylyn condemnatus fuit in 17 l. bonæ et legalis monetæ juris, ordine non servato.

Item, Goronow filius Heylyn accipit ad firmam territorium de Pennmaen et Lhysfaen a magistro Godfrido M. pro certa pecuniæ summa, usque ad finem quatuor annorum, quo factò dominus Robertus de C. cum equis et armis, et cum viginti quatuor equitibus venit ad inequitandum prædictum Goronow, occasione dictæ terræ, ita quod sic non fuit securus transitus nec usque Rodolanum, nec usque ad justiciarios nisi cum forti Warnistura de sua parentela et etiam de suis amicis.

Item. In reformationem pacis ultro factæ et firmatæ inter dominum regem, et suos ex una parte, et dominum principem et suos ex altera expresse continebatur; quod omnes injuriæ et transgressiones factæ ex utraque parte penitus remitterentur; hoc non obstante, oppositum fuit contra quosdam nobiles quoddam fore factum tempore guerræ, et statim capti fuerunt, nec potuerunt a carcere liberari antequam ipsi pacarent fedecem marcas.

Item, Cum causæ debent tractari et terminari secundum legem et consuetudinem terræ nostræ compellun-

tur homines cantredæ nostræ ad jurandum in causis prædictis contra suam conscientiam, nec aliter jurare patiuntur.

Præ nos coustavimus trecentas marcas eundo ad dominum regem pro justitia petenda in prædictis articulis, ibidem morando, et ad propria redeundo; et cum nos credebamus habere plenam justitiam de singulis articulis prædictis, dominus rex transmisit ad partes nostras dominum Reginaldum de Grey, cui dictus dominus rex totam terram ad firmam concessit, ad tractandos homines prædictæ cantredæ prout suæ placeret voluntati; qui compulsit nos jurare per manum suam cum deberemus jurare per manum domini regis, et ubi crux domini regis levari deberet, quod crux prædicti Reginaldi levaretur, in signum quod ipse erat verus dominus. Dictus vero Reginaldus in suo adventu ad partes Walliæ vendidit quibusdam servientibus domini regis officia sua, quæ prædicti servientes prius emerant a dom. rege pro 23 Marcis, et illa officia non deberent vendi nisi cum dominium dominorum mutaretur.

Item, Dominus rex dedit Maredudo filio Madoc magisterium satellitum pro suo servitio, dominus Reginaldus de Grey abstulit ab eo suum officium, nec a domino rege assequi potuit aliquam justitiam.

Item, Unus de consilio prædicti Reginaldi nobis dixit ore tenus, scilicet Cynwricus Fychan, quod in adventu prædicti Reginald ad partes Walliæ, viginti quatuor homines de probioribus hominibus cujuscumque cantredæ caperet ad incarcerandos ipsos perpetuo vel decapitandos: propter ista gravamina, et alia quæ dictus Reginaldus nobis fecit, et etiam propter minas quas ipse nobis intulit, videlicet quod si mitteremus aliquos nuncios ad curiam domini regis pro justitia petenda decapitarentur. Multa alia damna nobis allata, et injuriæ factæ; et quando mittebamus ad curiam domini regis, nuntii non permittebantur nec ausi fuerunt intrare, sed expendebant multa inutiliter; ob ista gravamina æstimabamus nos esse liberos a juramento facto domino regis coram deo.

Item, Bledyn Seis et Anjanus filius Genaf de Ros quoddam malefactum fecerunt temporibus David filij
Lewelini

Lewelini, & Henrici regis, de homicidiis factis tunc satisfactionem et emendam satisfacere monstraverunt; et modo de novo Reginaldus de Grey veilet et cogetet illam emendam renovare, donec oportuit ipsos terram proprias relinquere.

Item, Census et obventiones quos solvimus de veteri moneta per medietatem unius anni ante adventum novæ monetæ, cogerunt nos reddere eis novas monetas pro veteri et hoc sub eodam numero.

Ista sunt gravamina per dominum regem & suos iusticiarios illata Rheso parvo de Ystrad Tywy.

Primum est, Postquam dictus Rhys dedit et concessit domino regi castrum suum apud Dynefowr post ultimam pacis formam: qui dictus Rhesus tunc temporis erat in tentilio domini Payn de Gadfry, eodem tempore interfecti fuerunt sex nobiles viri domini Rhys, de quibus satisfactionem nec iustitiam unquam habuit quod fuit eis damnum et gravamen.

Item, Johannes Giffard calumniavit cum Rhesum super hæreditatem propriam apud Hirwryn, quicquid Rhesus inquisivit a domino rege legem patriæ suæ, aut legem comitatus Caermarden, in quo comitatu antecessores dicti Rhys solebant habere leges, quando fierent in unitatem Anglicorum, et sub eorum dominis; quod idem Rhys nullas leges habuit, et suam terram prædictam totaliter amisit; vellent ipsum infringere in comitatu Herefordiensi, ubi numquam antecessores ejus responderunt.

Præterea in terris præfati Rhesi talia gravamina fuerunt per Anglicos facta, maxime pertinent ad ecclesiasticos, videlicet in ecclesia Sancti Davidis quæ vocatur Llangadawc fecerunt stabula, et meretrices collocaverunt, et omnia bona quæ in ea continebantur omnino asportaverunt atque totos domos combusserunt; et in eadem ecclesia juxta aram percusserunt capellanum cum gladio ad caput ejus et eum reliquerunt semivivum.

Item, in eadem patria ecclesiam Dyngad et ecclesiam Llantredaf spoliaverunt et combusserunt; cæterasque

ecclesias ex partibus illis omnino spoliaverunt calcibus, et libris, ac omnibus aliis ornamentis et rebus.

Gravamina Lewelini filii Rhys, & Howeli fratris eius per dominum regem illata sunt hæc.

So long as.

Postquam in formam pacis inter dominum Henricum tunc temporis regem Angliæ et dominum principem apud Rhydchwnna, tunc præfatus rex concessit, et per cartas suas confirmavit præfato principi homagium prædictorum nobilium *exos*. Prædicti nobiles fuerunt fideles et constantes cum præfato principe, juxta eorum donationem et cartarum suarum confirmationem: Edwardus nunc rex Angliæ prædictos nobiles dehæreditavit, denegando eisdem omnes leges et consuetudines Walliæ; ita quod non habuerunt terras suas nec per legem, nec per gratiam.

Ista sunt gravamina, damna, seu molestia per Anglicos illata filiis Maredui, filii Oweni.

Primum est quamquam dominus rex concessit prædictis nobilibus suas proprias hæreditates post pacis formam, videlicet Geneur'glyn et Creudhyn; præfatus vero rex, contra suam donationem et pacis formam, terris suprædictis antedictos nobiles dehæreditavit, denegando eidem omnes leges et consuetudines Walliæ, et Angliæ, atque comitatus Caermardhyn.

Secundum est, Quod præfatus rex in suo comitatu de Cardigan, per suos justiciarios antedictos nobiles compellit, ut ipsi traderent judicium super ignobiles ac subditos patriæ, et quod tales homines e comisso judicium super ipsos opponerent, ubi numquam antecessores eorum ab Anglicis talia sustinuerunt.

Tertium est, Quod justiciarii domini regis curiam eorum nobilium abstulerunt, compellendo homines suos proprios coram eis satisfacere quia de jure coram prædictis nobilibus deberent satisfacere.

Quartum est, Quod quoddam naufragium in terris antedictorum nobilium fuit, qui quidem nobiles boua naufragii receperunt, sicut antecessores eorum fecerunt, et hoc non fuit eis prohibitum per aliquos

ex parte regis : antedictus vero rex contra eorum consuetudinem et legem, occasione illius Naufragii eisdem damnavit in octoginta Marcis sterlingorum; atque bona quæ in Naufragio continebantur omnino asportaverunt.

Quintum est, quod nullus nostrum in comitatu Uffegd de Cardigan ausus esset venire inter Anglicos propter timorem carceris et nisi fuisset propter periculum Nobilibus Metrop. nihil contra honoram domini regis moverent.

Significant vero quod omnes Christiani habent leges et consuetudines in eorum propriis terris; Judæi vero inter Anglicos habent leges, ipsi vero in terris suis, et eorum antecessores habuerunt leges immutabiles et consuetudines, donec Anglia post ultimam guerram ab eis leges suas abstulerunt.

Memorandum de quærelis omnium nobilium virorum de Ystradatuy eisdem latis ac factis per Rogerum de Clyfford, & Rogerum Grosfil vicem domini Rogeri de Clyfford gerentem contra privilegium, justitiam, et consuetudinem prædictorum virorum de Ystratuy, ut dicunt et probant.

Primus articulus est quod cum dicti Rogeri cogerunt dictos homines de Ystradatuy reddere sibi pro consuetudinibus suis viginti Marcas sterlingorum, et post solutionem dictæ pecuniæ cito fregerunt in hunc modum, quod posuerunt super 17 viros judicantes secundum jus Angliæ; quod nunquam fuit consuetudo nec privilegium dictæ patriæ.

Item. Madecus filius Bledyn condemnatus fuit in quatuor Marcio injustè.

Item. Lewelinus Rufus condemnatus fuit in quinque Marcis et 17 averiis contra privilegium et consuetudinem patriæ.

Item. Quod ipsi Rogeri fecerunt forestam super terram propriam virorum patriæ: et propter pedem unius cervi inventum id ore canis alicujus, tres homines fuerunt spoliati omnino.

Item.

Item. Michael ab Ygustyl condemnatus fuit in decem solidis pro facto patris sui, quadraginta annis elapsis.

Item. Cogerunt parentes Ennii à Strabonis ad reddendum suum relevagum in vita sua.

Item. Quod ipsi posuerunt super nos omnes satellitos de Anglicis, quod nunquam fuit nostra dimidietas.

Item. Dati fuimus domino Mauritio de Crumy, et vinditi fuimus domino Rogero de Clyfford, quod nunquam fuit super parentes nostros.

Item. Roberti de Monte alto petiit, à domino rege tertiam partem terræ de Monte alto in Ward, et dijudicata fuit coram domino rege quod nunquam dicta terra fuit in Ward data.

Hi sunt articuli quæstionum illati ab hominibus de Penllyn, injuste per constabularium Albi Monasterii & suos cives.

Primo. Cynwric filius Madoci fuit spoliatus ab eis tempore pacis octo libris, et quatuor bobus, et blado laboris unius aratri, per duos annos et valore trium librarum à tribus hominibus ejusdem; affirmat etiam quod solvit 16 libras per octo in valore, et majorem habuit injuriam imponendo manus in ipsum quam totum quod amisit, quia tunc erat constabularius domini principis apud Penllyn: non fuit alia causa dictæ spoliationis nisi quia dicebatur invenire 24 garbas de decimis in domo cujusdam hominis dicti Cynwrici.

Item. Adam Preco condemnatus fuit in septem solidis & octo denariis, et equa valoris unius libræ, imponendo manus in ipsum et liberando latronem dictæ equæ, quia ipse venerat ibidem cum dicto latrone capto.

Item. Endevot ab Gruffydh condemnatus fuit in 27 s. nec fuit causa nisi quia vendidit equam unam ad unum miliare citra villam, sicut solebant à tempore quo non extat memoria, quando veniebant ad nundinas.

Item. Adaf Ddu condemnatus fuit in 30 s. eo quod duo boves quos proposuerat vendere in foro Albi Monasterii

Monasterii exhibant villam ipso conveniente, et captus fuit et detentus usque ad solutionem 30 s. nec ipsi boves exierant nisi da Plateo qua stabant usque ad aliam Plateam.

Item. Biryf filius Gwyn, condemnatus fuit in quinque solidis, et in carcerem ductus; eo quod percussit unum bovem indomitum ipsum calcantem in foro.

Item. Yorwerch ab Gorgonon condemnatus fuit 7 s. eo quod evaserat quondam de carcere eorum tempore guerræ, et in tempore pacis inventus fuit in dicta villa, et hoc contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum regem, et dominum principem.

Item. Duo famuli Kenwric ap Gruffydh condemnati fuerunt in duabus Marcis, eo quod dicebant ipsos non solvisse toletum postquam solverant.

Item. Caducanus Niger famulus constabularii de Penlyhyn captus fuit et condemnatus in 6 s. et 4 d. eo quod nolebat recipere veterem monetam pro nova.

Item. Gruffydh ap Goronow *tercinarius* domini ^A Servant. Principis spoliatus fuit uno bove valoris 11 s. et 8 d. et postquam arraveret constabularius cum dicto bove per septem menses, solvit dictus Gruffynus pro dicto bove, 40 d.

Item. Howel ap David spoliatus fuit per satellites albi Monasterii duobus solidis extra villam, eo quod denegaverat prius munera ut solent satellites petere.

Item. David ab Gronow ab Eynion spoliatus fuit 30 s. eo quod quidam cives albi monasterii dixit, quod quidam de Penlhyn, qui mortuus fuerat, denegabatur ei in quibusdam rebus.

Item. Duo famuli Y bongam capti fuerunt et condemnati in duabus libris, eo quod posuerunt manum in quendam latronem qui spoliabat eos in villa per noctem, et liberaverunt latronem.

Item. Eneyon filius Ichael captus et verberatus fuit, et spoliatus duobus bobus valoris, 24 s. et 6 d. nulla alia de causa, nisi quod boves ipso conivente moverunt se de platea ad iliam plateam,

Item.

Item. Adaf ap Ychael condemnatus fuit in duabus libris pro una libra, et ipse posuerat in juramento cujusdam civis de albo monasterio quod non tenebatur nisi in una libra pro principe, nec voluit jurare, et ideo spoliatus fuit una libra.

Item. Guyan Maeftran spoliatus fuit 5 s. eo quod dicebat quod quidam Mercator de Ardydwy tenebatur eis in quibusdam rebus, cum ipse nec erat de dicta Balliva: item condemnatus fuit in 8 d. quia dicebant ipsum vendere quasdam oves extra villam cum ipse non vendiderat.

Item. Famulus Lewelini ab Gwyn spoliatus fuit septem ovibus, et 5 s. et suo pallio, eo quod dicebant ipsum esse de domino Griffydh ab Gwyn cum ipse non erat.

Item. Iorwerch ab Meylir captus fuit et condemnatus in 15 s. cum pallio, eo quod denegavit dare munus satellitibus quod petebant, ipsi sinxerunt eum in villa pernoctare.

Item. Cives albi monasterii rapuerunt à Madoco Rufo filio Ychael unum bovem valoris, 11 s. et 6 d.

Ista omnia facta fuerunt per Henricum Gamber dicti loci constabularium, cum aliis innumerabilibus articulis.

Item. Ybicre captus fuit in negotio domini principis, et condemnatus in 5 s. absque aliqua causa.

Hæc sunt gravamina Goronow filii Heylyn, viz.

Quod quidem Villanus dictus Coronon vocatus fuit ad curiam domini regis occasione indebitæ causæ. Tunc dictus Goronow venit ad suum villanum defendendum, et petiit pro ipso veritatem à domino justiciario, aut legem qua utuntur homines suæ patriæ; omnibus autem his eidem denegatis, dictus villanus condemnatus fuit in 27 libris, et tribus obolis: tunc dictus Goronow adivit Londonium pro justitia habenda, et expendit quinque Marcas et quatuor Solidos, et promissa fuit sibi justitia, et nullam fuit affectus.

Item. Quidam nobilis fuit interfectus, videlicet, qui nutriverat filium dicti Goronow, et ille interfecto

feñtor captus fuit et deportatus fuit apud castrum de Ruthlan : tunc dictus Goronow et quidem de parentela interfecti petierunt iustitiam de interfectore : tunc denegata eis iustitia, quidam fuerunt incarcerati, et ille interfeñtor fuit in Castello liberatus. Tunc dictus Goronow iterum adivit Londonium propter supradicta gravamina ad iustitiam petendam, et expendit, 20 Marcas, 3 s. 4 d. Et dominus rex promisit eidem plenariam iustitiam, et nullam fuit adeptus cum pervenit ad patriam suam.

Item. Tertio ex defectu iustitiæ oportuit dictum Goronow adire Londonium occasionibus supradictis pro iustitia petenda, et expendit illa vice 18 Marcas, 6 s. 8 d. bonæ et legalis Monetæ ; et tunc simpliciter promisit dominus rex eidem iustitiam perhibere ; et quando credebat habere iustitiam, tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, et dixit aperte quod ipse deberit tractare totam patriam per chartas domini regis, et abstulit totam Ballivam à dicto Goronow ; quam sibi dominus rex concessit, et vendidit illam Ballivam ad voluntatem suam, et tunc petiit dictus Goronow iustitiam à domino Reginaldo de gravaminibus supradictis, et nullam fuit adeptus.

Item. Dictus Goronow recepit terram, videlicet, Penmaen et Llysfaen ad firmam de Godfrido Merlyn, usque ad finem quatuor annorum pro certa pecuniæ summa. Tunc Robertus de Cruquer venit cum equis suis et armis ad quærendum dictam terram per vim, et quia dictus Goronow non permetteret auferre dictam terram ab eodem usque terminum præsignatum, tunc vocatus fuit ad curiam dictus Goronow illa occasione ; tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, cum viginti quatuor equitibus armatis ad proponendum capere dictum Goronow, vel ad eundem decapitandum ; et quia viderunt quod non possent implere suum propositum illo die, vocaverunt dictum Goronow crastino die apud Ruthlan, et tunc dictus Goronow habuit consilium ita quod non deberent adire dictam curiam : iterum dictus Goronow vocatus fuit ad placitum apud Caerwys, et non ausus fuit adire dictum placitum nisi per conductum domini episcopi Asaphensis,

Asaphensis, quia dictus Reginaldus et sui complures ibidem erant armati.

Item. Propter ista gravamina de quibus nullam habuit justitiam nisi laborare et expendere duas libr. quatuor Marcas, et 9 d; et quia non ausus fuit in propria persona adire curiam, misit quendam nuncium deportantem duas literas, unam ad dominum regem, et aliam ad fratrem Lewelinum, ad signandum domino regi quod amitteret totam patriam, et dictum Goronow quia non observavit illud quod eisdem promisit; et quia nullam possent homines de Ros et Arglifeld assequi justitiam, et quia noluit corrigere sive emendare ista gravamina propter hoc amisit totam patriam.

Supplicant sanctitati vestræ, domine archiepiscopi Cantuariensis totius Angliæ primas, nobiles viri de Tegengyl, et vobis demonstrant quod cum prædicti nobiles fecerunt homagium domino Edwardo regi Angliæ, ipse rex eisdem promisit quod eosdem immunes observaret et indemnes, tam in bonis, libertatibus, juribus, jurisdictionibus, privilegiis quibus usi fuerunt tempore Henrici regis per suum obtentum privilegium; ex quibus privilegiis fuerunt postmodo spoliati.

Imprimis. Juribus et consuetudinibus partiæ fuerunt spoliati, viz. prædictus Edwardus compellendo quod ipsi procederent in causis secundum legem Anglicanam, cum secundum tenorem privilegii sui secundum legem Wallicanam procedere debuissent, viz. apud Tref Edwyn, et apud Ruthlan, et apud Caerwys; et optimati de patria fuerunt manu capti quia ipsi provocabant quod ipsi procederent in causa apud Tref Edwyn secundum legem et consuetudinem Wallicanam secundum tenorem privilegii.

Secundo. Quia unus justiciarius duceret in causis peragendis, alius suus prædecessor in irritum revocaret, viz. in causa Davidis Reginaldus de Grey recitavit processum quem suus antecessor ratum habuit, et etiam approbavit.

Tertio

Tertio. Quod si unus nobilis de patria fuisset propter calumniam sibi impositam captus, quod non remitterent eundem pro *cautione fideiussoria* evadere, quod ^{Surety.} facere debuissent.

Quarto. Quod tres unius nobilis deducti ad castrum fuerunt de Flynt, propter parvam accusationem, una cum averiis suis, nec potuerunt de castro devenire, nec dilationem obtinere donec unusquisque dedit unum bovem constabulario de Flynt, et donec solverunt tres libras Kynwrico Seis pro dilatione habenda.

Quinto. Reginaldus de Grey terras virorum de Merton dedit et concessit abbati de Basingwerk ordinis Cisterciend. contra legem Wallicanam, et patræ consuetudim; et contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum Lewelinum principem et dominum regem, viz. 16 cantatas terræ.

Sexto. Mirantur nobiles et optimati patriæ pro eo quod dominus rex fecit ædificare castrum super terram et possessionem magnatum, et mandavit dominus rex justiciario suo quod ipse solveret eque bonam terram illis spoliatis et adhuc aliquam terram, nec suæ terræ æstimationem sunt consecuti in Flynt.

Septimo. Reginaldus de Grey non permetteret possessores sylvarum uti sylvis suis, donec ab eisdem pretium et præmium fuisset consecutus, et aliis rusticis gratis permetteret sylvam prædictorum abscidere, cum non debuissent secundum patriæ consuetudinem et legem Wallicanam.

Octavo. Cum homines de Cyrchynan fecerunt pactum cum domino rege, quod cum ipsi concederent dimidietatem cujusdam prati, ad hoc quod dominus rex non permetteret sylvam prædictorum abscidere Howelo filio Gruffydd præsentem, et postmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictum pratum infirmavit, viz. concedendo aliis quod absciderent sylvam prædictorum, et eosdem dimidietate prati sui spoliando.

Nono. Filius Kynwrici ab Goronow fuit captus apud Ruthlan culpa sua minime præcedente, nisi vellet pignus suum *acquiescere* a quoddam muliere, et constabularius de Ruthlan fecit eundem detradi in carcerem <sup>Redeem the
Eagc.</sup>

cerem injuriose, nec potuit exinde deliberari donec prædictus fuit condemnatus ultra suorum bonorum
Velua. hypotheca.

Decimo. Cum ballivus de Ruthlan erat in convivio apud villam Four Hutmus de Limayl quendam virum nobilem crudeliter vulneravit in præsentia ballivi supradicti; cujus vulneris occasione prædictus Hutmus fuit in octo libris condemnatus; et quum ille cui injuria fuisset facta petere voluisset prædictas libras, eundem fecit detrudi in carcerem una.

Undecimo, Nuntii Reginaldi de Grey proposuerunt facere illud quod erat absurdum et dissonum juris secundum canonicas sanctiones; videlicet petere ab eisdem quod ipsi ararent Reginaldo de Grey, et quod ipsi seminarent illam araturam; et illi fuerunt nuntii, viz. Kynwricus Seis et Hutmus de Limayl, quod prædictus vero Kynwricus in præsentia omnium de patria juravit, nisi omnes de patria ararent quod ipsi infra tempus pœniterent, et ipsi multum timuerunt metu qui potuit cadere in constantem virum.

Duodecimo. Quod præcones de Tegeyngl emerunt officium præconæ pro 30 marcis a domino rege, et postmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictos præcones tam pecunia quam præconia spoliavit contra legem et consuetudinem Anglicanam.

Tertiodecimo. Septem nobiles fuerunt interfecti minus juste ab Anglicis, et adhuc parentes prædictorum aliquam satisfactionem non habuerunt, cum illi malefactores fuerunt capti; et postmodum prædictos malefactores remiserunt prædicti constabularii impunitos.

Quartodecimo. Constabularius unus de Ruthlan detradit duos Satellites domini regis in carcere, pro eo quod ipsi tenuerunt aliquem Anglicum qui grave delictum commisit hominem alium vulnerando,

Isti omnes articuli in præmissis nominati, fuerunt perpetrati contra prædictorum virorum libertatem, jurisdictionem, et privilegium et contre legem et consuetudinem Wallicanam; videlicet, quod non erant ausi eorum quærelas domino regi per suos nuncios denun-

denuntiare, propter metum Reginaldi et timorem, qui metus potuit cadere in const. antem virum: quia prædictus Reginaldus sua voce Dilvada fuit protestatus; ^{Openly.} quod si inveniret nuntios prædictorum quod eosdem decapitaret prout nobis ex parte unius ex consilio suo fuit certive intimatum. In tantum quod lingua non potest proferre, nec penna scribere in quantum prædicti homines de Tegeyngl fuerunt aggravati.

Conqueritur vobis, domine archiepiscopo Cantuariensis totius Angliæ primas, Lewelinus filius Griffini filii Madoci de constabulario de cruce Oswaldi regis, et de hominibus ejusdem villae, qui prædictum Lewelinum tertia parte cujusdam villae quae vocatur Ledrot, et curia patris sui, sine observatione juris patriae suae vel consuetudine inequiter spoliarunt.

Praeterea. Praedictus constabularius et sui complures eundem Lewelinum communi pastura, qua prædictus Lewelinus usus fuit temporibus retroactis, ordine juris patriae minime observato, spoliarunt, et in 70 libris occasione prædictae pasturae condemnaverint. Cæterum dominu rex Angliae concessit quasdam literas cuidam Bastardo, scilicet Griffino Fychan ab Cynlhaeth, ad litigandum contra eundem Lewelinum pro toto dominio suo obtinendo, quarum literarum occasione idem Lewelinus expendit ccl. sterlingorum legalis usualisæ monetæ.

Iterum. Prædictus constabularius, compulsit prædictum Lewelinum ad mittendum duos suos nobiles ad eos suspendendos ad prædictum constabularium quicquid viri nobiles suspendi minime debuissent, quam suspensionem nollent parentes prædictorum hominum sustinuisse pro ccc libris sterlingorum. Postmodum prædictus constabularius incacerravit bis 60 homines prædicti Lewelini nulla præmissa ratione, nisi quod quidam gareo emisit quandam vocem, nec poterunt evadere suum carcerem donec quilibet eorum solvit decem solidos pro sua deliberatione.

Item. Quando homines prædicti Lewelini venient ad forum ad suos boves vendendos, prædictus constabularius faceret boves deduci ad castrum, nec postmodum boves restituerit, nec pretium solveret venditori;

venditori : præsertim idem constabularius et sui ceperunt jumenta prædicti Lewelini ad terram suam propriam, et de eisdem jumentis fecerunt suam voluntatem.

Præterea. Justiciarii domini regis compulserunt prædictum Lewelinum ad tradendum quandam villam filiis Eneoni filii Griffini; qui quidem prædictam villam, nec a se, nec a prædecessoribus fuerunt consecuti, ordine juris patriæ suæ in hac parte minime observato.

Idem. Prædictus constabularius abstulit equum ballivi prædicti Lewelini sine aliqua ratione, nec sibi aliquid debebatur; nec adhuc prædictus ballivus satisfactionem aliquam est consecutus.

Cæterum. Quando prædictus Lewelinus volebat adire villam quæ vocatur Caerlleon cum literis domini regis ad comperendum ibidem in die sibi assignata; filii Griffini filii Gwenynny et armigeri domini Rogeri Starainge ex consilio Rogeri eundem Lewelinum et suos incarcerarunt in sui injuriam et suorum non modicam læsionem; quam injuriam et læsionem nollet prædictus Lewelinus et sui sustinuisse pro ccc marcis sterlingorum; nec ab eisdem potuit evadere donec invenit pro se sufficientem cautionem.

His et aliis receptis in scriptis accessit, archiepiscopus ad dominum regem; supplicans ei humiliter ut gravamina supradicta dignetur avertere, et ea correctione debita terminare: et saltem pro tanto habere excessus Wallensium excusatos; qui respondit Wallenses injuriis sibi illatis esse excusabiles, quia omni tempore poratus extiterat omni facere justitiam conquerenti: quo audito, archiepiscopus regi iterum supplicavit ut permetteret Wallenses pro suis gravaminibus exponendis et remediis afferendis ap ipsum habere accessum liberum et regressum: qui respondit quod libere permetteret eos ad se accedere sed et redire; si secundum justitiam regressus eorum meritis responderet. Quibus auditis accessit archiepiscopus ad principem Walliæ in Snawdoniam ut tam ipsum quam Davidem fratrem suum et cæteros Wallenses ad aliquam humilitatis regulam ipsorum animos inclinaret; per quam posset qui ipsorum nuntius regiam clementiam ad ipsos admittendos in gratiam inclinare. Post varios autem

autem tractatus respondit princeps: quod paratus erat voluntati regiae se supponere duobus præsuppositis, salva scilicet conscientia sua qua populo suo assistere tenebatur; salva etiam condescenduntia status sui. Quæ cum archiepiscopus retulisset domino regi, respondit dominus rex quod nullum alium de pace volebat cum principe ac subditis suis habere tractatum, nisi quod ipsi supponerent se in omnibus regiae voluntati: et cum constaret archiepiscopo Wallenses nullo modo velle se regiae voluntati supponere, nisi præcite in forma eis tolerabili et accepta, tractatum habuit ex permissioni domini regis cum magnatibus tunc præsentibus, qui omnes consenserunt in articulos infra scriptos, quos per fratrem Joannem Wallensem inscriptos principi et suis archiepiscopus destinavit.

Primo. Quod dominus rex de quatuor cantredis et terris ab eo datis, magnatibus suis nullum vult habere tractatum, nec etiam de insula Anglesey.

Idem. De tenentibus eorum cantredorum si ad suam pacem venerint, proponit facere prout concedet regiam majestatem, credimus tamen quod aget cum eis misericorditer si ad pacem venerint, et ad hoc proponimus una cum cæteris amicis efficaciter laborare, sperantes efficaciter exaudiri.

Item. De facto domini Lewelini nullum potuimus aliud habere responsum nisi quod simpliciter et absolute conformet ad domini regis voluntatem, ut credimus firmiter quod dominus rex cum eo aget misericorditer, et ad hoc intendimus cum totis viribus laborare cum cæteris amicis exaudiendis ut confidimus cum effectu.

Primo. Quod proceres hanc formam gratiæ regiae conceperunt; ut videlicet domino Lewelino se regiae gratiæ submittente, provideatur ei per regem honorifice in mille libratibus sterlingorum de aliquo honorifico comitatu, in aliquo loco Angliæ; ita tamen quod prædictus Lewelinus ponat dominum regem in Seyfina Snaudonum absolute, perpetue et quiete. Et ipse rex filiae principis secundum condicestiam sui proprii sanguinis providebit, et ad hoc sperant se posse regis animum inclinare.

Item. Si contingat Lewelinum ducere uxorem et habere de ea puellam masculam, intendunt impetrare proceres a domino rege, ut proles illa succedat perpetuo hæreditario Lewelini in terra masculorum liberorum videlicet comitatu.

Item. De populo principi immediate subjecto tam in Snaudon quam alibi providebitur secundum deum prout complete salutis ejusdem populi et honori; et ad hoc est regia clementia satis prona, populo desiderans consolabiliter providere.

Primo. Quod si ad honorem Dei et suum juxta crucis assumptæ debitum velit in terræ sanctæ subsidium proficisci, providebitur ei honorifice secundum condescendentiam status sui, ita tamen quod non redeat nisi per regiam clementiam vocatus: rogabimus etiam dominum regem, et speramus efficaciter exaudiri, ut provideat proli suæ.

His omnibus motu nostro subjungimus Wallensibus omnia pericula imminere longe gravius quam eis diximus oraculo vivæ vocis: scribimus dure valde sed longe durius est obrui vi et armis, et in fine totaliter extirpari, quoniam omni die pericula nobis imminetia aggravantur.

Item. Longe difficilius est omni tempore in guerra esse in angustia cordis et corporis vivere, et semper in insidiis malignari, et cum hoc vivere et mori in peccato mortali continuo et rancore.

Item. De quo doleremus valde si ad pacem minime veniatis, indubitanter timemus contra vos debere sententiam ecclesiasticam intolerabiliter aggravari pro excessibus vestris; de quibus non poteritis vos aliquatenus excusare in quibus invenietis misericordiam, si ad pacem veniatis et de his nobis respondeatur in scriptis.

Reverendissimo in Christo patri ac domino J. Dei gratia Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi ac totius Angliæ primati suus in Christo devotus filius Lewelinus princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon, salutem cum desideriis benevolentiæ filialis ac reverentiis multimodis et honoribus,

SANCTE pater, sicut vosmet consulistis, ad gratiam regiam parati sumus venire sub forma tamen nobis secunda et honesta: sed quia forma contenta in articulis nobis missis minime secunda est et honesta prout nobis et consilio nostro videtur; et de qua multum admirantur omnes audientes, eo quod plus tendit ad destructionem et ruinam populi nostri ac nostram, quam ad nostram honestatem et securitatem, nullo modo permittit consilium nostrum nos in ea consentire si vellemus; alii quoque nobiles et populus nobis subjectus nullo modo consentirent in eandem ob indubitam destructionem et dissipationem quæ inde eis possent evenire.

Tamen supplicamus vestræ sanctæ paternitati quatenus ad reformationem pacis debitæ, honestæ, et securæ, ob quam tot labores assumpsistis, proinde laboratis, collationem habentes ad articulos quos vobis mittimus in scriptis: honorabilius enim est et rationi magis consonum ut de domino rege teneamus terras in quibus jus habemus, quam nos exhæredare et eas tradere alienis. Datum apud Garthicelyn.

Primo. Quod licet dominus rex de quatuor Cantredis et aliis terris ab eo datis magnatibus suis, ac de Insula Anglesey nullum voluerit habere tractatum, tamen consilium principis non permittit, si contingat aliquam pacem fieri, quin tractetur de premissis; eo quod isti Cantredi sunt de puro principis tenemento, in quibus merum jus habuerunt principes et prædecessores sui à temporibus Cambri filii Bruti, tum quia sunt de principatu, cujus confirmationem princeps

Popc.

obtinet pro bonæ memoriæ Octobonum sedis *Apostolicæ* legatum in Anglia, consensu domini regis et sui patris ad hoc intervenienti, sicut pater Chartas eorum inspicienti, tum quia etiam equius est quod veri hæredes teneant dictos Cantredos de domino rege pro pecunia et servitiis consuetis, quam eos dari extraneis et Advenis, qui et si fuerunt regere aliquam tamen per vim et potentiam.

Dicunt etiam comiter omnes tenentes de omnibus Cantredis Walliæ quod non sunt ausi venire ad voluntatem regis ut de eis disponat secundum regiam majestatem.

Primo. Quod dominus rex nec pacta, nec juramenta, nec Chartas servavit ab initio versus dominum suum principem et ipsos.

Secundo. Quia regales in ecclesias et ecclesiasticas personas inivit crudelissimam tyrannidem.

Tertio. Quod non tenentur ad prædicta, cum sint homines principis qui etiam paratus est de dictis tenementis domino regi obedire per servitia consueta. Ad id quod dicit quod princeps veniet simpliciter et absolute ad voluntatem domini regis: respondetur quod cum nulli de dictis Cantredis ausi sint venire ad talem voluntatem propter causas prædictas, nec comitas eorum permittat principem venire ad dictam voluntatem modo prædicto.

Item. Quod proceres regni procurent ut domino principi provideatur in mille libratibus in aliquo loco Angliæ; dicatur quod illam provisionem non debet acceptare cum sit procurata per dictos proceres, qui nituntur ad exhæreditationem principis, ut habeant terras suas in Wallia. Item idem princeps non tenetur dimittere hæreditatem suam et progenitorum suorum in Wallia à tempore Bruti, et etiam sibi confirmatam per Romanæ sedis legatum, ut dictum est; et terram in Anglia acceptare, unde linguam, mores et leges ac consuetudines ignorat; ubi possent etiam sibi quædam malitiori imponi ex odio inveterato à vicinis Anglicis quibus terra illa privaretur in perpetuum.

Item. Ex quo rex proponit privare principem suam pristina hæreditate, non videtur probabile quod rex permetteret ei habere terram in Anglia ubi nullum jus videtur habere. Et si etiam non permetteretur principi terra sterilis et inculta jure hæreditario ab antiquo et debita in Wallia; nullatenus permetteretur eidem in Anglia terra fertilis culta et habundans.

Item. Quod dictus princeps ponat dominum regem in Seyfino Snawdon absolute, perpetue et quiete: dicatur quod cum Snawdon sit de appendiciis principatus Walliæ, quem ipse et antecessores sui tenuerunt à tempore Bruti, ut dictum est; consilium suum non permittit eum renuntiare dicto loco, et locum nimis sibi debitum in Anglia receptare.

Item. Populus Snawdon dicit, quod licet princeps vellet dare regi Seyfinam eorundem, ipsi tamen nolent homagium facere alicui extraneo, cujus linguam, mores, legesque penitus ignorant. Quia sic posset contingere eos in perpetuum captivari, ac crudeliter tractari, sicut alii Cantredi circumquaque per Ballivos regis ac alios regales alias tractati fuerunt, crudelius quam Saraceni; prout patet in rotulis quos vobis miserunt sancte pater. Ista sunt dicenda pro Davide fratre principis. Quod cum voluerit terram sanctam adire hoc faciet voluntarie et ex voto pro Deo non pro homine, unde invitus non peregrinabitur Deo dante; qui coacta servitia Deo novit displicere. Et si contingat ipsum in posterum terram sanctam adire bona ductus voluntate, non propter hoc deberent ipse et hæredes sui in perpetuum exhæreditari; immò potius præmium obtinere. Præterea quia princeps, et sui causa odii, ad aliquos concipiendi, vel lucri captandi non moverunt guerram alienas terras invadendo; sed suam propriam hæreditatem jura libertatesque, necnon suorum defendendo; dominusque rex et sui odio inveterato, et causa lucrandi terras nostras guerram fecit: credimus in hoc justam guerram nos fovere, et speramus in hac Deum nos velle juvare, ac in ecclesiarum devastatores divinam ultionem convertere, qui ecclesias funditus destruxerunt ac combusserunt, sacra ex eis rapuerunt, Sacerdotes,

dotes, Clericos religiosos, claudos, surdos, mutos, infantes, ubera lactentes, ac debiles et miserabiles personas, ut usque sexu occiderunt; et alia enormia perpetrarunt, sicut in dictis rotulis vobis transmissis continetur: unde absit à sancta paternitate vestra sententiam aliquam fulminare in alios quam in illos qui prædicta perpetrarunt. Nos enim qui regalibus prædicta passi fuimus, speramus à vobis super præmissis paternum solatium, et remedium obtinere; et in prædictos sacrilegos eorumque fautores, qui nullo super his privilegio defenduntur, animadvertere; ne prae defectu dignæ correctionis seu ultionis in eos exercendo prædicta mala in perpetuum per alios trahantur in exemplum.

Mirantur etiam quamplures in terra nostra, quod consulistis nobis dimittere terram nostram propriam, et alienam adire inter hostes nostros comersando; quia ex quo non possumus pacem habere in terra quæ nostra est ipso jure nostro, minime poterimus in aliena terra inter hostes nostros pacifice conservari: et licet durum sit in guerra et infidiis vitam ducere; durius tamen est funditus destrui, et ad nihilum, nisi Deus avertat, deduci populum Christianum qui nihil aliud quærit nisi sua jura defendere; unde necessitas ad hoc nos cogit, et inimicorum cupiditas non offendit; et vos, sancte pater, coram nobis dixistis, quod vos sententiastis in omnes qui impediunt pacem causa odii vel lucri; sed manifestum est qui sunt illi qui guerrant istis causis.

Timor enim mortis, et incarcerationis, vel perpetuæ exhæreditationis, nulla observatio fœderum pactorum vel chartarum, tyrannica dominatio, vel multa alia consimilia cogunt nos esse in guerris; et hoc Deo et vobis ostendimus, et petimus à vobis paternum adiutorium, ut patet in literis nostris.

Ad hoc multi alii in regno Angliæ offenderunt regem et tamen nullos exhæredavit in perpetuum, ut dicitur; unde si aliqui ex nostris ipsum offenderunt injuste, dignum est ut satisfaciant prout possint sine exhæredatione; et sicut in vobis confidimus, supplicamus quod ad hoc laboretis sancte pater: nam etsi nobis imponatur quod fregimus pacem, tamen illi verius fregerunt qui nullum fœdus vel pactum nobis servaverunt;

vaverunt; qui nullam emendam de quærimoniis nobis fecerunt, ut patet in rotulis.

Primo auditis rescripsit Archiepiscopus Wallensibus in hæc verba:

IN nomine domini, Amen. Cum nos frater J. permissione divina Cantuariensis ecclesiæ minister humilis totius Angliæ primas, scientes nostro incumbere officio, pro vobis domine Leweline princeps Walliæ ac subditis vestris exponere nos et nostra spretis viarum incommodis et periculis, vestram adjuverimus præsentiam oves erroneas reducturi; et speculatoris fungentis officio vobis mysteriæ vivæ vocis diximus pericula quæ genti vestræ videbamus luce clarius imminere, subjunctis remediis eorundem; teste optantes altissimo juxta pontificale debitum cuilibet vestrum ecclesiam minimo de corpore nostro pontem facere ad salutis littora reducendo. Tandem vestris auditis precibus et angustiis eas ut necessitatis vestræ nuntius præsentavimus regiæ majestati, quem ab olim ad pœnitentes adversarios introitum scimus esse propitium; ut quidam de vestris et aliis ut nobis certis constat indiciis ipsius clementia abutantur. Tractavimus insuper cum magnatibus et proceribus Angliæ præsentibus de modificatione gratiæ regiæ ipsorum assistentia nostris vobis supplicationibus impretranda, cujus modificationis seriem per servum Dei fratrem Johannem Wallensem vobis misimus in scriptum, una cum consilio nostro quod vobis secundum deum salubrius videbatur; vos autem deliberationem vestram nobis in quadam remisistis cedula per eundem, cujus cedula perniciosas latebras vobis paterno affectu præsentibus aperimus. Primò igitur dictis vos juri nolle cedere quatuor Cantredarum, quia progenitores vestri à temporibus Cambri filii Bruti in eisdem jure plenitudinem habuerunt; sed ne simplices in vobis de successu hujusmodi gloriantur, salva in omnibus pace vestra, vobis licet inviti ipsius radicem originis ex gestis Britonum et Anglorum ad memoriam revocamus. Dispersis enim olim Trojanis pro eo quod Paridis adulterium defenserunt; fatemur progenitores

vestræ multitudinis interpositis quibusdam seditionibus fugæ sibi præsidium assumpsisse; et utinam non maneat in eis hujusmodi contagii memoria qui sic libera matrimonia parvipendunt ut spurios et incestu genitos à successione hæreditaria ut dicitur non repellunt, quin potius uxores legitimæ Howeli da patrociniæ, contra Evangelium dato repudio fama teste, vel potius infamia repelluntur; qualiter demum Brutus Dianæ præfagiis non sine diaboli præstigiis per idolatriam immolato Cervæ Venatitiæ obtentis, insulam Britannicam pervaserit per famosas historias declaratur; pervaserit inquam inhabitatam insulam, agentibus statura proceris quarum peremit fortissimum Corineus. Gentibus inquam de boreali præsapia quæ non solum verum etiam Scythiam trans Danubium ab occidente nostro per Aquilonis latera usque in Orientales terminos occupavit. Quam ergo quæsumus fecerunt vobis injuriam Angli et Saxones ejusdem generis, si vos processu temporis ab usurpato dominio perturbaverunt: cum scriptum esse noveritis, vae qui prædatis in omne prædaberis. Non oportet autem simplices in radice adulterina processu idololatriæ, et usurpationis spoliis gloriari. Progenitores insuper vestri moderniores, cum enervati deliciis sibi non sufficerent defenlandis, obruentibus eos Scotis et Pictis, denegato etiam eis Romani imperii præsidio postulato, ad Germanorum refugium convolârunt, qui venientes repudiarunt, hostes usque in præsentem diem suarum labores manuum manducantes. Ex his causis quum sedet sola à vobis insula olim populo plenâ, vestro proscribente Jeremia, quia prophetae tui viderunt tibi vana et stulta; item prædictorum juribus Cantredorum confirmationem legati frivole allegatis, cum non fuerit intentionis suae jura regia, seu etiam jura civilia et Canonica, sicut nec potuit enervare: pro crimine enim læsæ majestatis, in quod vos incidisse dicimini, juxta quod scribitur sexta quæstione. Secunda paragrapho; *Si quis cum militibus*, et 22. Quæst. *ultima capitulo* de forma fidelitatis. Omne perit jus hæreditarium et expirat: in Cantredis igitur prædictis in quibus ab olim domino regi jus dicitur acquisitum, et in Snawdon ac caeteris quae teneris

jure

jure hæreditario, nihil potestis sicut nec subditi vestri, ut ex praeallegatis videtur, nisi ex sola regia clementia præstolari. Dicitur demum quod populus non vult ad gratiam regiam convolare, quia dominus rex, nec pacta, nec juramenta, nec chartarum fœdera principi conservavit. Et nos quaerimus ex cujus vel quorum istud sit iudicio declaratum, nisi per vos qui in causa propria iudicium usurpatis, et per singulas lustrales periodos pacem infringitis, innocentes jugulatis, incendia facitis, munitiones regias pro viribus vastatis; ac domini Howell da quitalia injuriarum remedia in lege sua quam vidimus instituit, autoritate quam ei diabolus delegavit. Præterea in regem impungitis, dicentes, quod regales ecclesias et personas ecclesiasticas crudeli vastavit tyrannide, et consumunt; ad quod taliter respondemus, quod dominus rex prædicta mala nec fieri mandavit, nec rata habuit, quin potius nobis obtulit ultronei, quod quam citò aderit oportunitas ecclesiarum proponit dispendia refacire; quod differt usque ad sedatam guerræ tempestatem, ne si prius fieret destruerentur iterum per latrones. Præterea timetis in Anglia honorem suscipere, ne consequenter vobis occasionata malitia auferatur, cum tamen fateamini quod dominus re nullum suum exhæredaverit inimicum; quod frustra vos timere credimus, si legaliter vivere vos et vestri didiceritis, et non a parti cum domino vestro contendere vel certare. Mores vobis et populo vestro causamini incognitos; et nos è contrario opinamur quod expediret vobis omnibus in modum alium et mores penitus transformari. Cum enim sitis sicut cæteri homines donis Dei gratuitis adornati, sed in vestro Anglo devoramini: ut nec ecclesiam juvetis contra hostes fidei militando; nec Clerum studio sapientiae, exceptis paucissimis, decoretis; quin potius major pars vestrum torpet otio et lasciviis, ut pene nesciat mundus vos esse populum, nisi per paucos ex vobis qui videntur ut plurimum in — mendicare. Deinde scribitis quod creditis altissimum vos juvare pro justitia decretantes; utinam inquam altissimus juvet vos salubriter et dirigat ad salutem. Sed ne ruinas aliquas Anglorum ex inconsideratione sua provenientes vestris velitis

velitis meritis arrogare curetis advertere qualiter qui in cœlis habitat fatuos sublimat et elevat ad modicum ut perpetuo allidat; sic certe olium populus Dei electus ante harum repertam civitatem pro unius Anathemate consortis versus in fugam quosdam suorum perdidit bellatorum: sic certe quater centena millia bellatorum duodecim tribuum Israel in suo numero et fortitudine confidentes ab unius tribus modico populo, occisis ex 40 millibus bellatorum, per vices varias sunt confusi: cum tamen purgato unius Anathemate, prædicta Civitas finaliter deleta fuerit per illos, qui prius confusi fuerant, et per lacrymas placato domino cum jejuniis, oblatis sacrificiis, tribus illa quæ praevaluerat prius, per prius confusos quasi totaliter fit deleta; sic certe aliter flagellat dominus filios quos recipit, et aliter quos decernit ut arbores steriles extirpare. Ista vobis scribimus in cordis amaritudine ab his partibus recedentes, nec prenidicare intendimus salubriori consilio, si vobis cœlitus destinetur, nec latre vos volumus quod nullum per vos invenimus excusationis sufficiens remedium, quo obstante minime debeatis in excors Irnam incidisse pernuntiari: dudum latet in Oxon consilio contra pacis regiae turbatores, viam autem pacis aliam invenire non possumus, nec adhuc in spe sumus aliud obtinendi. Sed si nobis aliquid consultius videatur agendum, vobis numquam claudemus gremium, nec auxilium denegabimus opportunum. Dat. apud Ruthelan 18 Calend. Decemb. Ann. Dom. 1282.

Lewelinus autem princeps Walliæ prædictus spretis omnibus oblationibus et pacis formis post scriptis, invasit hostiliter terram domini regis Angliæ destruendo eam incendio et rapina, nec non homines terræ illius ad se trahendo, et à bonitate pacis regiae separando. Qui tamen princeps infra mensem illum ignominosa morte primus de exercitu suo occisus est, per familiam domini Cadmundi de mortuo mari, filii domini Rogeri de mortuo mari; et totus exercitus suus vel occilus, vel in fugam conversus in partibus Montis Gomerici die Veneris proximo, ante Festum S. Lucæ, videlicet 3. Id. Decemb. sub Anno. Dom. 1282. In ——— decima litera dominicali D. currente.

A

T A B L E

OF THE

Most Remarkable Things in this
B O O K.

A.

- A** Berffraw destroyed by the Irish, Page 57.
Adelred King of the West Saxons vanquished by the Britains, 15.
Adelred married Emma daughter of the duke of Normandy, and the reasons of it, 70. The consequence of the Marriage, 71. Flies with his wife and children into Normandy, 75. Returns, *ibid.* His death, 78.
Aedan ap Blegorad having slain his competitor Conan, is proclaimed Prince of North-Wales, 69. Is slain with his four sons in battle, 79.
Alan the 2d. King of Little Britain assisted Cadwalader, 9. Advised him to obey the vision, 11.
Alfred King, an encourager of learning, and founder of the university of Oxford, 32. Routs the Danes, *ibid.* Makes them forswear the fight of English ground, 33. He caused the laws of Dyfnwal Moelmut and queen Marsia to be translated into English, &c. 43.
Alfred proposed to be sent for to be king over the English, 85. Opposed by earl Goodwyn, 68. Had his eyes put out, *ibid.*
Anarawd prince of North-Wales succeeds his father Rodri, 37. Dies, his issue, 45.

Anglesey

The T A B L E.

- Anglesey destroyed by the men of Dublin, 46. Ravaged by Madoc ap Meredith prince of Powys, but all his men were cut off, 175.
- Arthur King of Britain, his sepulchre found in the isle of Afalon, 206. The inscription upon it., 207.
- Arthur eldest son to king Henry the seventh, created prince of Wales, and dies at Ludlow, 324.
- Athelstane, tho' a Bastard, the worthiest prince of the Saxon blood, 48. His victory over the Danes, Scots and Normans, *ibid.* Removes the Britains to Cornwall, dies, 49.
- Aulase and all his Danes received baptism, 49. Swears never to molest England, 66.

B.

- B**aldwin archbishop of Canterbury, the first that made his visitation in Wales, 208.
- Bede his education and writings, 16.
- Bible, how, when, and by whom translated into Welch, 326.
- Blethyn and Rhywalhon princes of North-Wales assist Edric against the king of England, 101. A rebellion formed against them by Meredith, and Ithel ap Gruffydh, *ibid.*
- Battle wherein Rhywalhon and Ithel were slain, Blethyn murdered Rich. 104.
- Britain, how and when forsaken by the Roman forces, 1. Invaded by the Scots and Picts, *ibid.*
- Britains, their sad complaints to Ætios thrice consul, 2. The reasons of their weakness, 3 and 4. Their message to the Saxons, 5. The Britains of Stratelwyd and Cumberland settle in North-Wales, 38.
- Brochwel once prince of Powys, a great defender of the Monks of Bangor, 23.
- Bruce de William, Lord of Brecknock under pretence of friendship, barbarously murders Sitsylht ap Dyfnwal, his son and followers, 204.
- Bruce Sir Edward, his letter to sir Griffydh Llwyd, 312, and 313.

C.

- C**adelh prince of South-Wales dies, his issue, 44.
- Cadelh takes Caermardhyn, and beats the Normans and Flemings, 165. Like to be murdered, 170. Gone upon pilgrimage, 171.
- Cadwgan murdered by Madawc, 138.
- Cadwalader the last king of Britain of the British race, 8. Retires to Alan king of Little Britain, *ibid.* Learned in a vision to go to Rome, and there shorn a Monk, 10.
- Cadwalader with his brother Owen Gwynedh from North-Wales

The T A B L E.

Wales in conjunction with several South-Wales lords made an horrible slaughter of the Normans and Flemings, and drove them out of South-Wales, 157, 158.

Cadwalader forced to flee from his brother Owen to Ireland, 163. Returns with Irish forces, concludes a peace with his brother, made prisoner by the Irish, rescued by his brother, 164. Escapes out of prison, 171. Flies to England, *ibid.* His death and issue, 200.

Canterbury redeemed by the citizens from being burnt by the Danes, for 3000 l. 73. Betrayed afterwards to them and burnt, 74.

Caradoc king of North-Wales fights and is slain by the Saxons, 21. His pedigree, *ibid.*

Celibacy enjoined to the clergy in a synod held at London, 127.

Christian faith pure in the British church, 221.

Charles duke of York created prince of Wales, 328.

Charles eldest son of king Charles the First created prince of Wales, 318.

Civil war in Wales, and Edwal son of Meyric the indisputable heir set up in North-Wales, 67.

Clare, earl of, possessed himself of divers strong-holds in Cardigan, 177.

Clynnoc sawr an abby in Arfon, 11. When and by whom built, 12. Endowed by prince Anarawd, 39.

Cnut the Dane chosen king, and his cruelty to the English Hostages, 75. Returns to England, *ibid.* The Northumbers submit to him, 76. Besieges London, is routed by Edmund, *ibid.* Combats Edmund, agree and divide England between them, 78. Generously punishes Edmund Ironside's murder, *ibid.* Marries Emma Edelred's widow, 80. Requires a subsidy of the English, *ibid.* Made a pompous journey to Rome, 82. Makes the Scots do him homage, *ibid.* Dies, and is succeeded by his son Harold Harefoot, 83.

Conel prognosticating the Norman invasion, and success, 100.

Comotions in England, 158.

Conan, War between him and his brother Howel, 22. Dies, 23. His pedigree, *ibid.*

Conspiracy against William the conqueror by the English and the Welch detected, and the conspirators executed, 104.

Constable, Walter, marries Nest's daughter, and has the lordship of Brecknock, 116. A strange passage related by him to Henry the First, concerning Gruffydh ap Rhys, *ibid.*

Crogens, used as a term of reproach by the English to the Welch, 123. No reason for it, 224.

Cynric, prince Owen's son, slain 162.

D.

DAnes begin to disturb England, 20, 21. They prevail and winter in England, 28. They take and destroy Winchester, 30. Kill Osbright and Elba kings of Northumberland 31. Slew Edmund king of the Angles, *ibid.* Fought five battles with Ethelred, *ibid.* They win London and Redding, 33. Routed by the West-Saxons, 34. Are defeated by Alfred and received the Christian faith, 37. They harras North-Wales, 39. Defeated by the Armonican Britains, *ibid.* Forced to rise from before Exeter, and spoil the sea-coast of Wales, 41. Receive a great overthrow, 42. They grow powerful, not only in England but also in Ireland, 44. Thrice overthrown by the English, 45. Cruelly overthrown by Tottenhale, 46. Routed by king Edward, 48. Driven out of the kingdom by king Edmund, 52. Force the English to pay the Dane-Gelt, 65. Make a terrible havock in Wales, and had tribute paid them, 66. Make fresh devastations in Wales and England, 70. They are massacred by the English, 71. Force the English nobility to buy their peace for 30,000 l. 72. They beat Wolfkettel, 73. Slew Ethelstan and ransacked the country, 74.

Dafydh ap Owen killed his brother Howel in battle, and gets to be prince of North-Wales, 195. Secures his brother Maelgon, reduces Anglesey, and banishes his brethren, 202. Sends a band of Welch to accompany king Henry into Normandy, *ibid.* Is disposselt by his eldest brother's son Lhwelyn ap Iorwerth, 213. Ungrateful to prince Lhwelyn for his liberty, 224.

Dafydh ap Lhwelyn prince of Wales did homage at Gloucester to the king of England, 259. Is excommunicated by the bishop of Bangor for detaining his brother Gruffydh in prison, whom he refused to deliver at the king's request, 260. Submits to the king of England, 262. Cajols the king to detain his brother Gruffydh prisoner, *ibid.* Engages the Pope on his side against the king, but he proves false, 264. Fights the English often with various success, *ibid.* Dies without issue, 268.

Dauids, St. burnt by the West-Saxons, 21. Destroyed by the Danes, 45. Again by the Danes 69. Destroyed by strangers, 107. The cathedral sacrilegiously robbed, 111. Made subject to the see of Canterbury, 125.

Dunstan, St. bishop of Canterbury, his prediction and death, 61.

The T A B L E.

E.

- E** After, the Britains and Saxons quarrel about the observation of it, 18, 19.
- Edgar, advanced to the kingdom in his brother Edwin's room, 56. He wastes North-Wales, and agrees for a yearly tribute of 300 wolves, *ibid.* Regulates drinking vessels because of the Danes excess, 57. Rowed in his barge by six kings on the river Dee, 59.
- Edgar Edeling proclaimed king, forced into Scotland, 101. Received to king William's mercy, 103.
- Edmund king of England's death, and the uncertain manner of it, 53.
- Edmund Ironside slain by Edric's son, 78.
- Edwal Foel and his his brother Elis fight the English, and are slain, 49. Their issue, *ibid.*
- Edward sent for from Normandy and made king, 86. The Confessor's death, 98.
- Edward I. king of England invades Wales, and prevails, 283. Insists upon prince Lhwelyn's submission without reserve, 292. Sets prince Lhwelyn's head upon the Tower of London, and puts his brother David to death, 299. Subdues all Wales, *ibid.* Kept his Christmas at Aber-Conwey, 307. In necessity, would taste no wine for the satisfaction of his soldiers, 308. Cuts down all the woods in Wales, and builds Beaumaris-castle, 309.
- Edward of Caernarvon first prince of Wales of the English Blood, 301. Received homage at Chester of all the Freeholders of Wales, 310. Goes farther into the country to the same purpose, *ibid.*
- Edward eldest son to king Edward II. created prince of Wales 313.
- Edward eldest son to king Edward III. created prince of Wales 313. His character and death, 314.
- Edward son to Henry VI. created prince of Wales, 323. Murdered, *ibid.*
- Edward eldest son to king Edward VI. created prince of Wales, murdered, 223.
- Edward VI. inclined to favour the Welch, 323.
- Edward son to Richard III. created prince of Wales, 324.
- Edward son to Henry VIII. created prince of Wales, 325.
- Edwyn king of England vicious, dispossessed and dies, 56.
- Egbert sole monarch in Britain, 25. Calls the country England, *ibid.* He fights the Danes, 26.
- Eineon invites the Normans into Wales, and persuades them to stay, 112.
- Elfreda, Mercian queen, her valiant acts both against the

The T A B L E.

- Danes and Welch, 46. Her death, 47. Left a daughter Alfwyden disinherited by king Edward, *ibid.*
 Ethelwulph king of the West-Saxons paid Peter-pence to Rome, 29. Learned and devout, *ibid.*
 Eyes of several plucked out, a barbarous custom, 155.
 Ethelbald king of Mercia invades Wales, 16. In conjunction with Adelred, overthrow the Britains, *ibid.*

F.

- F**landers, a part of it drowned prejudicial to the Welch, 128.
 Flemings settled in part of Wales, 128.

G.

- G**allio routs the Scots and Picts, 2. Builds a wall cross the land, *ibid.*
 Gam, Sir David, imprisoned by Owen Glyndyfwr, and released, 321. Revolts from Owen, *ibid.* His answer in France to Henry V. concerning the French army, mortally wounded at Agincourt, knighted and died, 322.
 Gavelkind, that custom in Wales, 22.
 Geoffrey of Monmouth made bishop of St. Davids, 171.
 Glamorgan, lordship described, 314. The best of it Fitzhamon the chief of the Normans kept to himself, 115.
 Godwyn, earl, rebels against king Edward, 89. Invades the land, and is reconciled to the king, 90. Dies suddenly sitting at the king's table, 91.
 Gray, Reginald, lord of Ruthyn taken prisoner by Owen Glyndyfwr and ransomed, 316, 317.
 Gruffydh ap Lhwelyn declared prince of North-Wales, 84. His country invaded by the English and Danes, and routed by him, 85. Reduced all Wales under his subjection, *ibid.* Routs Howel prince of South-Wales at Pencader, *ibid.* Taken prisoner by the Irish under the command of Iago ap Edwal, and recovered by his own men, 87. Overcomes and slays Gruffydh ap Rhyderch and his army, &c. *ibid.* Concludes a peace with Harold king Edward's general, 94. His palace at Ruthlan burnt by the English, *ibid.* Prince Gruffydh murdered by Harold's contrivance after he had reigned 30 years, 95.
 Gruffydh ap Conan confirmed in the principality of Wales, 109. Refused at first an accommodation with king Henry, at last sues and obtains peace, 141. Carested by the king, and promised to deliver up Gruffydh ap Rhys, 143. Dies 158. His issue, 159.
 Gruffydh the son of Rhys ap Tudor laid claim to South-Wales, 143. Flies to North-Wales, 143. Wished with his

The T A B L E:

- his brother Howel to withdraw into South-Wales, 144. Forced to bid open defiance to the king of England, *ibid.* The Flemings and Welch lords join together to oppose him, 145. He takes Caermardhyn, 146. Invited to the government of Cardigan-shire, *ibid.* Succeeds, 147. War at Aberystwyth, 148. Invidiously dispossessed of his estate, 154. Dies, 158.
- Gruffydh son to the lord Rhys succeeded his father, 116. Plagued with his brother Maelgon, 219. A hopeful prince, dies, 222.
- Gruffydh ap Conan ap Owen ap Gwynedh buried in a Monk's Cowl, the superstition of it, 221.
- Gruffydh prince David's brother endeavouring to make his escape out of the Tower of London, breaks his neck, 263. His body recovered and conveyed to Conway and honourably buried, 270.
- Gruffydh Llwyd knighted by king Edward I. rebels, 311. Treats with Sir Robert Bruce for succours against the English with his letter to him, *ibid.* Over-runs North-Wales and the Marches, and is taken prisoner, 313.
- Gurmundus a Norwegian from Ireland, invades Britain, 7.
- Gwenwynwyn worsted by the English, 218. Refuses homages to prince Llewelyn, 222. At last consents to it, 223. Detained prisoner at Shrewsbury, 225. Set at liberty, regains his country, 228. Revolts from prince Llewelyn and is dispossessed, 242.

H.

- H**arold succeeds Canute his brother in England, 83. Dies, and is succeeded by Hardi Canute his brother, 85.
- Harold's favour with the king, envied by his brother Tosty who barbarously murdered his men at his house in Hereford, and his saying, 7. Made king, 98. Slain, 100.
- Hastling a Dane invades France, 40. His policy to obtain Limogis, 41. His cruelty, *ibid.*
- Henry I. his partiality in favour of the Normans, 127. Makes his brother Robert prisoner, and puts out his eyes, 128. Kind to Cadwgan the father of Owen, 132. Invades Wales with three armies, 140. Overcomes the French king, 151. Lost his children at sea, and marries, 152. Invades Wales, in danger, *ibid.* Agrees with Meredith ap Blethyn and returns, 153. His death and Successor, 156.
- Henry II. sends the Flemings into West-Wales, 173. Invited to the conquest of Wales, *ibid.* Repulsed and in danger of his life, 174. Concludes a peace with prince Owen,

The T A B L E.

- Owen, 175. Quarrels and concludes a peace with France, 187. Invades Wales and brings prince Rhys to do him homage, 188. Invades Wales again with a most potent army, 190. Returns without any thing memorable, and for revenge puts out the eyes of the hostages, 191. Makes a third expedition into Wales to as little purpose, *ibid.* Passes through Wales, receiving homage of prince Rhys in his way to the conquest of Ireland, 198, 199. Returns through Wales and inclined to leave it in a peaceable condition, 199, 200. Engaged in a civil war against his son Henry, 201. Makes a peace with France, and his children forced to submit, 202. Dies, 209.
- Henry III. king of England invades Wales, and is worsted, 251. Invades Wales again, 254. Makes Henry of Monmouth his general against the Welch, but with ill success, 255. Laments the death of the earl of Pembrock, 256. Invades Wales, and makes prince David to submit, 261, 262. Invades Wales, 263. Fights the Welch with no success, and invites the Irish into Anglesey, 265. Oppresses Wales, and returns dissatisfied, 269, 270. *Item*, 274. Waistes the borders, 275. Requires a subsidy to subdue Wales, 276. Dies, 280.
- Henry, eldest son to Henry IV. created prince of W. 318.
- Henry IV. makes unmerciful laws against the Welch, 319.
- Henry duke of York created prince of Wales, 324.
- Henry VII. grants the Welch a charter of liberry, and directed a commission to enquire into the birth and quality of his grandfather Owen Tudor, 325.
- Henry VIII. incorporates the Welch with the English, 326.
- Henry eldest son to king James created prince of Wales, 328.
- Howel Dha preferred to be prince of all Wales, 50. His laws, *ibid.* Goes to Rome to have them confirmed, 51. - His death and issue, 53.
- Howel ap Ievan expelled his uncle Iago, and took the government of Wales upon him, 59. At last agree, 60. Kills Edwal Fychan, and the reasons of it *ibid.* Overthrows the Danes, 61. Invades England, and is slain, 62. He is succeeded by his brother Cadwalhan, who was quickly slain, 63.
- Howel and Meredith, prince Lhewelyn's murderers invite the Irish Scots into South Wales, 82. Slew Rhydderch, and take the government, 83. Meredith slain by the sons of Conan ap Sitfyllt, *ibid.* Howel attempts the recovery of South-Wales, is overcome and slain by prince Gruffydh near Tywy-Head, 87.
- Howel ap Grono driven out of Rydcors castle by the Normans,

The T A B L E.

mans, 126. Basely betrayed to them, and murdered,
 127.
 Howel ap Owen Gwynedh won the castle of Ewyas, 167.
 with his brother Conan quarrel with their uncle Cadwalader, besiege and take the castle of Cynfael from him,
 168. Makes Cadwalader his prisoner, and posselles his
 land, ib. He lost all his country to Cadelb, Meredith, and
 Rhys ap Gruffydh, who put the garison of Llanrhyfkyd to
 the sword, 169.

I.

Iago ap Edwal recovers his right to North-Wales, 82.
 Slain in battle against Gruffydh ap Lhwelyn, 84.
 Ifor sent into Britain with an army, by his father Alan, 13.
 Routs the Saxons, ibid. Marries Ethelburga, Kentwyn's
 cousin, and succeeded him in the West-Saxon kingdom, 14.
 Founded Glastenbury Abby, ib. Died at Rome, 15.
 John, Arch-deacon of Llanbadarn dies, and is canonized,
 160.
 John, K. of England in his way to Ireland through Wales,
 discharged a criminal that murdered a priest, 226. Fam-
 ished Will de Bruce, and Maud his aunt at Windsor
 after his return, 227. The reason of his cruelty and dis-
 affection to priests, ib. Marches with a great army into
 Wales, and returns without success, 229, 230. Makes a
 second expedition, ib. Orders Foulk viscount Cardyff to
 subdue those that oppose in South-Wales, and they at last
 do him homage, but quickly revolt, 231, 232. Makes an
 expedition into Wales, 229. Makes a second and third,
 and hangs the Welch pledges, reconciles himself to Rome,
 and engages in a civil war with his barons, 237. Dies,
 and is succeeded by his son Henry, 242.
 Iorwerth ap Blethyn revolts from the earl of Salop, 124.
 Basely used by king Henry for it, the reason of it, 125.
 Delivered out of prison, 133. Forbids Owen and Madawc
 to retire to his estate, 134. Befet and slain by Madawc
 and Llywarch ap Trahern, 137.
 Joseph bishop of Landaff dies at Rome, 88.
 Ireland molested with Locusts, 42.
 Ithel king of Gwent slain, 28.

L.

Lhwelyn ap Sytffylht makes himself prince of all Wales,
 79. His good government, ib. Slays Meuric that re-
 belled against him with his own hand, 80. Suppresses ano-
 ther rebellion, 81. Basely slain, ibid.

Lhwelyn

The T A B L E.

Llewelyn prince of North Wales takes David ap Owen prisoner, 217. Receives homage of most of the Welch lords, 222. Conquers Gwenwynwyn's country, 225. Makes an expedition into South Wales, and Maelgon flees, 225, 226. Marries Joan King John's daughter, 224. Sues and obtains peace of the king by the means of his wife, 231. Animates the lords of North Wales to join with him in a revolt against the king, 233. Dispossesses the English of all their holds in his country, 237. Takes Shrewsbury, though excommunicated by the Pope, 238. Subdues Cardigan and Carmarthen, 240. Reconciles the the lords in South Wales, 241. Subdues Powis, 242. Refuses assistance to King John against the Dauphine, *ibid.* Makes Rynald Bruce, who had revolted, submit to him, 243. Receives the submission and allegiance of the Flemings in Dyfed, *ibid.* Subdues the revolted Flemings again, 246. Makes his son Gruffydh submit, *ib.* Complained of to the king of England by young Rhys, adjusts matters with him, 247. Seizes the castle of William Marshal Earl of Pembroke in Wales, and occasions a war between them, 247, 248. Worsts the English army, pays homage to Henry III. 249. Destroys the marches, 252. Makes a descent upon England, 253. Being joined by the earl of Pembroke against King Henry, routs his army, 254. Makes an incursion into the king's territories, 255. Makes peace with the king, 256. Sets his son Gruffydh at liberty, *ibid.* Buries his princess Joan, 257. Forced to quit the siege of Ruthlan, 258. Makes the Welch do homage to his son David *ibid.* Dies, his character and issue, 259.

Llewelyn ap Gruffydh, and Owen Goch his brother, declared princes of North Wales, 269. Quarrel, and Owen with his brother David made close prisoners, 271. Recovers the inland country of North Wales from the English, 272. Wastes Cheshire, *ibid.* Beats the Irish by sea, 273. Desires peace with the king, but fails, 277. Kind to Sir Roger Mortimer, 278. Makes a peace by the Pope's mediation with the king, 289. Refuses to attend upon K. Edward's coronation, 280. The reasons for his refusal, 281. An accident made him pliable, 283. Severe conditions of peace imposed upon him, 284. Married to Elianor Earl Montford's daughter at Worcester, 215. Reconciled with his brother David and join against the English, 286. Offers to submit to the king conditionally, 292. Sends a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the general answer of the Welch to his

The T A B L E.

propofals, 293, 294, 295. Betrayed in Buelht and killed, 297.
London befieged by the Danes, 65.

M.

MAhael difpoffeft of his inheritance by his unnatural mother Neft's means, and how, 115.

Madoc ap Meredith prince of Powis fticks to the Englifh intereft, 173.

Madawc reconciled to King Henry, 138. Taken prifoner by Meredith ap Blethin, 139. Has his eyes pulled out by Owen, *ibid*.

Madawc ap Owen Gwynedh fails into America, 196. Plants a colony there, *ibid*.

Maelgon difturbs South Wales, 228. Beaten by his nephews, Rhys and Owen, 229.

March, earl of, marries Owen Glyndwr's daughter, 318. Consented by indenture to divide England between Owen, Percy, and himfelf, 318.

Maud, the empress, lands in England, and is received at Arundel, 162.

Meredith ap Owen poffeft of all Wales, 64. Difpoffeft of North Wales, 67. And routed by Edwal ap Meuric their new prince, 68. Died without iffue-male, 69.

Meredith ap Owen made prince of South Wales, 96. Slain in battle againft Caradoc ap Gruffydh, 102.

Meredith and Rhys ap Gruffydh prevails in South Wales, 171. Meredith's death and character, 172.

Merfyn Frych is made king of Wales, 24. Is flain, 27.

Merlyn, Ambrofe, and Sylvefter, their time, country, and prophecies, 10, 11.

Morgan Hen dies, an hundred years old; his marriage, eftate, and iffue, 58.

Morgan ap Owen kills Robert Fitz-Gilbert and his fon, 157. Slain, 175.

Morgan ap Cadogan repents of his murder committed, 156.

Murders committed, 156. Item, 163.

N

NEwmarch, a Norman, obtains the lordfhip of Brecknock, and marries Neft, daughter to Llewelyn ap Gruffydh, 115.

Normans twice decimated and put to death in England, 86.

They wafte and plunder Dyfed, 103. They feize upon The lordfhip of Glamorgan, 113. The names of the adventurers, *ibid*. They poffefs themfelves of feveral lordfhips in Wales, 117. Divers of them flain in Cardigan, *ibid*.

The T A B L E.

ibid. Routed again by Cadwgan ap Blethyn prince of South Wales, and their castles destroyed, 118. Slaughtered divers times by the Welch, and forced to quit the country, 119, 120.
Northumberland invaded by the Scots, 109.

O.

Offa king of Mercia makes a ditch from sea to sea, 20.
His death, 21.

Owen ap Edwyn a traitor to his country, 121. Made prince of Wales by the English, but soon lost it, 122. His death and pedigree, 126.

Owen the son of Cadwgan enamoured of Nest the wife of Gerald, King Henry's lieutenant in Wales, 122. Steals her away, *ibid.* Flies into Ireland, 135. Returns and wastes the country, in conjunction with Maradoc ap Riryd, 133. His men slay an English bishop the cause of Cadwgan, his father, being dispossessed of his estate, 135. Forced to flee into Ireland with Madawc, *ibid.* Returns, and is reconciled to the king, 138. Divides Madawc's estate between himself and Meredith ap Blethyn, 139. Flees for fear of King Henry into North Wales, 140. Reconciled to the king 141. Owen is brave and knighted in Normandy 142. Employed by King Henry against Gruffydh ap Rhys, 148. Slain by Gerald, 149.

Owen Gwynedh succeeds prince of North Wales, 160. mightily concerned at the death of his son Run, 165. takes and rases the castle of Mould, 166. Pulls out his nephew Cunedah's eyes, and castrates him, 170. Being provoked invades Llandhinam, 193. Dies, his character and issue, 194.

Owen Cyfeilioc and Owen Fychan dispossess Iorwerth Goch of his estate in Powis, 192. Cyfeilioc dies, leaving his estate to Gwenwynwyn his son, 217.

Owen Glendwr, his family, education, and employment, 315. Opposed by the Lord Ruthyn without redress, takes up arms, and makes him prisoner, 316. Prevails, takes the earl of March prisoner, 317. Retakes Aberystwyth castle, 319. Summons a parliament at Machynlleth, 320. Secures David Gam upon a suspicion of a design he had to murder him, 321. Burnt his house, and his verse upon it, *ibid.*

P.

Patent of lands granted in Wales to the earl of Portland, 302. Commons address upon it, 303. King's answer, 304.

The T A B L E.

Peckham, John, archbishop of Canterbury endeavours a reconciliation of Prince Llewelyn, and his brother, with the king, 286. His remonstrance to the prince and people, 287, 288, 289, 290. Solicits the king on behalf of the Welch, 291. Sends articles to the Welch, 292, Excommunicates the prince of Wales and his adherents, 297.

Peace in general between England and Wales, except with Prince Rhys, who was forced to comply with the king, 176. Unjustly dealt with, 177.

Powis, prince of, removes his seat from Pengwern to Mauthral, 20. An account of it while a principality and a lordship, with the several divisions and possessors thereof, whether of British or English blood, 175, to 185.

R.

Rebellion in the North, caused by Earl Tosty's insolence, 97. Appeased, 89.

Rhydderch seizes upon South Wales, 82.

Rhydderch and Rhys the sons of Rhydderch ap Iestyn put in their claim to South Wales, 88.

Rhys brother to Prince Gruffydh taken by the English, and put to death at Bulendun, 91.

Rhys ap Owen and Rhydderch ap Caradoc jointly govern South Wales, 105. The latter dies, 106. A rebellion against the other, *ibid.* Invaded also from North Wales, flies, pursued, and slain, 187.

Rhys ap Theodor allowed prince of South Wales, as lawful heir, 107. A rebellion formed against him, flies into Ireland, returns and defeats his enemy, 110. Suppresses another rebellion, 111. Slain near Brecknock in a fight against the invading Normans and his own rebellious subjects, 112.

Rhys ap Gruffydh prince of South Wales takes Llanymdyfri castle, 177. Subdues Cardigan, 178. Gives Hen. II. hostages to observe the peace made between them, *ibid.* Besieges Carmarthen, then forced to quit it, 179. Possessed himself of divers lands belonging to foreigners in Wales, as did others according to his example, 189. Takes Aberteifi castle and rases it, 191. Subdues Owen Cyfeilioc, 197. Brings the lords of South Wales at enmity with King Henry to do him homage, 203. Makes a great feast at Christmas at Aberteifi, where the bards of North Wales and South Wales strive for the mastery, 205, 206. Takes advantage upon King Henry's death to enlarge his country, 209. His family diminishes, 210. Made prisoner by his own sons, 211. Escapes, 212. Takes two of his sons prisoners, 214. Enlarges his conquest, and defeats the

The T A B L E.

- English and Normans, 214, 215. Dies, his character and issue, 216.
- Rhys Fychan takes Lhanymdhyfri castle, 257.
- Rhys ap Gruffydh ap Rhys prevails in South Wales, 239. Does homage to Henry III. 145. Dies, 147.
- Rhys ap Meredith unfaithful to his country, 304. Knighted by King Edward; revolts, 305. Defeated, taken prisoner, and executed 306.
- Rhythmarch, archbishop of St. David's dies, 122.
- Richard king of England's feasts in the Holy Land, 210. Taken prisoner in Auffsria, *ibid.* Died of his wounds received at Chalons in France, 219.
- Richard of Bourdeaux created prince of Wales, 315.
- Robert Cyrthois rebels against his father in Normandy, 110.
- Robert earl of Salop rebels against Henry I. 122. Engages the Welch in the quarrel, 123. Seeks aid of Magnus, Harold's son, and fails; banished with his brother Arnulph into Normandy, 124.
- Robert de Belissimo a great disturber of the Welch committed to perpetual imprisonment by King Henry, 139.
- Roderic Molwynoc succeeded Ifor, anno 720, 15. Driven by the Saxons out of the western countries to his inheritance in North Wales, 17. Died soon after, 18.
- Roderic the Great, prince of Wales, 27. Beats the Danes out of his country, 33. Fights the English, and with his brother Gwyrriad is slain, 34. His pedigree and division of Wales between his three sons, *ibid.* His imprudence herein, 36.

S.

- S**Axons, their answer to the British message, 5. They first repel the Scots and Picts, 6. Enter into league with the Scots *ibid.* They encroach upon the Britains, 19.
- Scots and Picts invade Britain, 1.
- Siward, Earl, his saying upon his sons being slain in battle, 19. His soldierly temper at his death, 92.
- South Wales invaded twice in one year by Ievaf and Iago, princes of North Wales, 55. They quarrel, and the consequence of it, 57. Embroiled in war between Rhys ap Gruffydh and Rhys Fychan, and the former supported by the English, 235, 236.
- Stephen king of England agrees with the king of Scots, 157. Ravages Scotland, 160. Suppresses insurrections at home, and routs the Scots by his lieutenants, 161. Besieges Arundel castle in vain, 162. Takes Lincoln, is defeated and taken prisoner, *ibid.* Exchanged for Earl Robert, and overthrown

The T A B L E.

overthrown a second time at Wilton, 163. Wins the battle of Farendon, agrees with Henry the Empress's son, and dies, 172.

Stewards, the family, and their original, 91, 92.

Sulien, archbishop of St. David's dies, 111.

Sulien, a learned man of Llanbadarn dies, 165.

Swane the Dane wastes the life of Man. Lands in North Wales, 68. Kills Edwal prince of the country, *ibid.*

His success in England, and esteemed king hereof, 74, 75.

Swane king of Denmark invades England; and takes York, 102. Forced to fly, *ibid.*

T.

TRahaern Fychan strangely hanged, 217.

Trahaern ap Caradoc made prince of North Wales, 105. His country invaded from Ireland by Gruffydh ap Conan the right heir, *ibid.* They fight, and Trahern with his cousins worsted and all slain, 108.

Tribute paid by the prince of Wales to the kings of England, 48.

Tudor Vaughan ap Grono, his family, would be stiled knight and his reasons for it to King Edward III. who confirmed the honour of it, 314.

V.

Vortigern invites the Saxons into Britain, 5.

Vortimer repels the Saxons, 7.

W.

Wales wasted by the Mercians, 24. By King Egbert, *ibid.* Divided into three provinces, 27. Invaded by the English, 52. Forcibly managed by Ievaf and Iago princes of North Wales only, 56. Afflicted by the Danes, and a murrain, 65. Gives hostages to pay the antient tribute, 95. Seldom governed by the right heir, 109. Wasted by the English as far as Anglesey, 121. Embroiled with civil divisions, 151. Item, 153, 154. In great scarcity, 276. Annexed to the crown of England, 300.

Walwey, King Arthur's nephew, his tomb found, whose body was of a prodigious length, 110.

Welch quarrel amongst themselves, 22. *Ibid.* 23. They defeat the Mercians at Conwey, and call it Dial Rhodri, 38. Disable the Danes and English that invaded them, then fall out among themselves, 61. Too late, see the folly of foreign aid, 114. Miserably slaughtered, 130, 131. Being at peace from abroad, they fall to their wonted method of destroying one another, 208. Complain to their prince

The T A B L E.

- prince of their oppression from the English, 272. Beaten by the English, 279. Worst the English, 297, 298. Beaten in Buelht, *ibid.* Revolt because of an heavy tax from Edward I. every where, 306. Beat the English, 307. Take the king's carriages, *ibid.* Routed by the Earl of Warwick, 308. Beat the marchers, but are at lost overcome, and their leader Madoc made prisoner, 309. Welch minstrels reformed, whereof were three forts, 159. William duke of Normandy claims the crown of England, 98. Lands at Hastings, and defeats the English, 100. William I. goes with an army on pilgrimage to St. David's, 110. William Rufus invades the Welch without success, 118. *Idem*, 120. Killed, 122.

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