UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

THE BOHUN AND LANCASTER LORDSHIPS IN WALES IN THE FOURTEENTH AND EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis is a study of three of the greater marcher lordships of mediaeval Wales - Monmouth, Cydweli and Brecon, as well as of smaller units, both within and outside the marches, which were administratively attached to them - Ogmore, Caldicot and a few manors in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. These lordships were part of the landed inheritances of two of the greatest families of later mediaeval England - the house of Bohun (until its failure in the male line in 1373) and the house of Lancaster, and it is on the relatively abundant records of these families, supplemented wherever possible by other non-seignorial sources, that the study is based. It is essentially a study in three dimensions.

First of all, it treats of the Lancaster and Bohun lands in Wales as parts of greater estate-complexes. From the lord's point of view the primary purpose of his estates, Welsh and English alike, was to produce as much revenue as possible for his treasury. Furthermore the Welsh estates were administered integrally with the rest of the lord's inheritance; and, while it is true that at the most local level there were both problems of control and administrative offices peculiar to the Welsh estates, at a higher level not only the offices but also the officers were very much the same as those to be found on the English estates. Consequently a study of the Bohun and Lancaster estates in Wales is a case-study in seignorial history at the local level - in the growth and purposeful consolidation of estates (as at Brecon in the mid-fourteenth century), in the impact of

the lord's political ambitions on the fortunes of his local estates, in the recruitment and appointment of officials, in the interaction of the needs of the lord's household and the administrative demands of the locality (as appears particularly on Gaunt's Welsh estates), and in the general efficiency of the local administration. On all these important questions the evidence from the marcher lordships of Bohun and Lancaster casts valuable light. Furthermore a comparison between the Bohun and Lancaster estates-systems helps to highlight some of the varieties and contrasts within seignorial administration in the fourteenth century; whilst the amalgamation of the two inheritances under a single owner, and he king of England, in 1399 and the luxuriant survival of documents thereafter provides an excellent opportunity to assess on a local level the efficiency of the administration especially when face to face with a national revolt and to measure how far (if at all) the Duchy of Lancaster was affected by its union with the Crown.

The Welsh estates must certainly be studied as parts of wider seignorial inheritances; but they also exhibited certain quite distinctive features which marked them off from the ordinary seignorial estate in England. It is the study of the Bohun and Lancaster Welsh estates as marcher lordships which constitutes the second dimension of this thesis. The anomalous judicial position and wide judicial privileges of the marcher lordships have long attracted the attention of historians; but neither on their judicial position (except possibly on the holding of sessions in eyre) nor on their relations with the Crown does the evidence from the Bohun-Lancaster archives add substantially to our knowledge. While the absence

of court rolls greatly limits our knowledge of the exercise of marcher judicial powers, the comparative abundance of account-rolls makes it patently clear how valuable were these judicial rights, especially in the more thoroughly Welsh lordships. The Bohun evidence from 1337 to 1373 and the Lancaster evidence from the 1380s make it quite clear that financially the marcher lord's judicial and seignorial powers were quite as remunerative as his powers as landlord. Not only ordinary court issues but massive communal fines and grants, levied under various pretexts, figure prominently and consistently in marcher finances, and clearly distinguish the marcher lordships from seignorial estates in England. Furthermore, however much the English lords might have wished to treat their Welsh lordships as just another estate in their inheritance, they could not do so. They could not ignore Welsh custom and law, established administrative divisions and offices, traditional communal renders and above all the social structure of the lordships over which they ruled. Nor can the historian ignore them.

In its third dimension, therefore, this thesis attempts to analyse the social and economic structure of the marcher lordships. In order to do so it is necessary to overcome the limitations imposed by the various types of financial accounts, documents produced by seignorial officials primarily interested in seignorial revenue and its collection and only very indirectly concerned with the social or economic structure of the lordship. It soon becomes apparent that, with the notable exception of Caldicot manor on the Severn estuary, the seignorial manor was an intrusive institution in the marcher lordships - small in size and quite inadequately catered for in labour by the services of the customary tenants. In upland areas,

especially in Brecon, the marcher lord found that exploiting the pastoral resources of the lordship was more profitable than demesne farming of small lowland manors. Parallel with the seignorial manors and often economically more important than them were the home-farms of a class whom I have called, for want of a better word, the gentry. Needless to say this class was varied in its origin: it contained Welsh uchelwyr, old Norman families, and recently enriched persons, both Welsh and English, who had risen to the ranks of the gentry by personal initiative or with the active support of the lord. This gentry class was as varied in its wealth as in its origin; but however great the variations within the class itself, it is clear that the gentry were a distinct and powerful economic group within the lordship, exerting great power both over the local administration and over the peasantry. The term 'peasantry' is in its turn an ill-defined name for a very broad and varied class; but the evidence of fourteenth century rentals does at least suggest that the great majority of Welsh peasants, whether of upland Brecon or lowland Monmouth, held less than ten acres of arable land. In this they were at one with the English peasant, but in other respects they differed from him. Customary tenure was never important in the marches except in parts of the south-east and even there it was being converted into tenure at will by the late fourteenth century. Furthermore in upland Brecon and in distant Cydweli the tenurial connections between the lord and free tenants were often tenuous: they paid communal renders and performed suit of court, but their rights over their land were protected by kinship rights, by Welsh custom and by written charters of liberties.

It is within the context of this social and economic structure that the marcher lords worked and in many respects it was an inhibiting structure from the lord's point of view. Furthermore it was not a static structure, for the evidence from the Bohun and Lancaster estates - especially the lowland estates of the south-east - shows that the marches were profoundly affected by the adverse economic movements of the mid-fourteenth century. Seignorial income was drastically, if only temporarily, affected; the population fell sharply and, at Caldicot, dramatically; customary tenure lost much of its force and the rapid turnover on the land-market often led to even greater social and economic differentiation within the peasantry. The economic movements which so profoundly affected the lowlands of the south-east may also well have precipitated movements already afoot in the Welsh districts - movements making for the adoption of English tenurial practices and for individualism in land-holding, especially in the newly-assarted lands outside the borders of the original gwely.

Further valuable light on the Welshry is cast by a detailed study of the Glyn Dŵr revolt on the Duchy estates. An analysis of the supporters and opponents of Glyn Dŵr in the Duchy lordships and of the motives which may have impelled them provides one of the few opportunities to overcome the shortcomings of the account-rolls and to obtain an invaluable insight into Welsh society at all levels and into the tensions within it. The Glyn Dŵr revolt is in fact the most compelling reminder to the historian that the marcher lordships were part and parcel of Wales and that in order to study those lordships at all adequately one must see them not only as

units of seignorial exploitation, but also as subsidiary divisions in the economic and social structure of mediaeval Wales. It is the aim, above all, of the present thesis to combine these two approaches.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

Arch. Camb.	Archaeologia Cambrensis
B.B.C.S.	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies
B.I.H.R.	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
B.M.	The British Museum, London
B.P.R.	The Register of Edward the Black Prince
C.A.D.	Catalogue of Ancient Deeds
C.C.R.	Calendar of Close Rolls
C.Cha.R.	Calendar of Charter Rolls
C.F.R.	Calendar of Fine Rolls
C.Inq.Misc.	Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous
C.I.P.M.	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
C.P.R.	Calendar of Patent Rolls
D.N.B.	The Dictionary of National Biography
D.W.B.	The Dictionary of Welsh Biography
E.H.R.	The English Historical Review
Ec.H.R.	The Economic History Review
G.E.C.	G.E.C[ockayne]. The Complete Peerage
N.L.W.	The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
N.L.W.J.	The National Library of Wales Journal
P.P.C.	Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council
R.S.	Rolls Series
Reg.I.	John of Gaunt's Register, 1372-6
Reg.II.	John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-83

(All references to these two registers are to the numbered entries, not to the pages.)

Rot.Parl.	Rotuli Parliamentorum
T.C.S.	Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion
T.R.H.S.	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
V.C.H.	Victoria County History of England
W.H.R.	The Welsh History Review

EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. MANUSCRIPTS. All references to manuscripts, unless otherwise stated, are to manuscripts at the Public Record Office, London. Public Record Office call numbers are used in all such references; and a full guide to these call numbers is provided in the Bibliography.

2. PLACE NAMES. The spelling of Welsh place-names presents certain obvious problems. Where English forms are generally accepted (e.g. Monmouth, Brecon, and Carmarthen) it would clearly be pedantic not to use them. In other cases, and especially in cases where the English form is an obvious corruption of the original Welsh place-name, the Welsh forms as given in Rhestr o Enwau Lleoedd : A Gazeteer of Welsh Place Names (edited by Elwyn Davies. Cardiff. 1957) have been adopted.

3. MAP. For a detailed map see W. Rees, South Wales and the border in the fourteenth century, 4 sheets.

INTRODUCTION

The marcher lordships of Wales have received a fair share of attention from historians ever since the appearance in the late sixteenth-century of George Owen of Henllys' Treatise of Lordshipps Marchers in Wales.[1] George Owen was certainly one of the earliest and most acute political observers that Wales has seen; and his treatise, still the only comprehensive work on marcher rights, abounds with good sense, supported on occasion by sound historical evidence. Nonetheless his conclusions are on the whole based on deductive reasoning rather than on solid historical fact, and, balanced as were most of his judgements, he certainly shared current Tudor preconceptions about the 'thraldom and cruelty'[2] of the marcher lordships and their owners. His treatise is important today not only for its intrinsic interest and comprehensive character,[3] but even more because it still remains, along with the preambles of some of Henry VIII's statutes, the main source for most current theories about marcher lordships. It is only in recent years that some attempt has been made to place our knowledge of these marcher lordships on a more solid, factual basis.

One question relating to them which has received a fair amount of attention of late is that of the origin of the extensive liberties which were

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1. The treatise was published from a Phillipps Ms. at Llanstephan by Henry Owen in George Owen, The Description of Penbrokeshire, III, 127 et seq. The actual date of the treatise is not known.

2. Ibid., 172.

3. Other treatises on the marcher lordships, such as the seventeenth century one published in Arch. Camb., 4th series, xii (1881), 137-146 or the remarks of Sir John Dodridge in An Historical Account of the Ancient and Modern State of the Principality of Wales, 36-8, add little.

exercised by the lords marcher. 'Such liberties as they enjoyed', wrote George Owen, '... first grewe by their owne assumpcion and contynued by prescipcion';[1] and elsewhere in his treatise he ascribes the origin of these liberties to royal sufferance and to the need for the marcher lords to govern the districts they had conquered.[2] Owen's theories have had both a defender and an attacker of late. Sir Goronwy Edwards[3] has pointed out that the marcher lords were the direct inheritors of the Welsh arglwyddi whom they replaced and that they assumed the regal authority enjoyed by such arglwyddi. Professor Otway-Ruthven,[4] on the other hand, while accepting this interpretation largely agrees with George Owen that it was royal indifference or sufferance which enabled the marcher lords to assume their wide franchises. She is able to point out that in Ireland the conquerors of the late twelfth century (arriving some two generations later than the Welsh marcher lords) were unable to assume the extensive regalities of the Irish kings. Both arguments, surely, have some substance: the privileges of the Welsh antecessores may explain the content of marcher franchises (such as the right to wage private war and the rules regarding division of the spoils) whereas the conditions of any frontier society, where conquest by private enterprise is the rule of the day, certainly make for the easy assumption of extensive franchisal powers.

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1. Op.cit., 148. 2. Ibid., 139.

3. 'The Normans and the Welsh March', Proceedings of the British Academy, xlii (1956), 155-177.

4. 'The Constitutional Position of the Great Lordships of South Wales', T.R.H.S., 5th series, viii (1958), 1-20.

The powers exercised by the marcher lords were certainly greater than those exercised even in the greatest English franchises. Much work remains to be done on the precise extent of these powers and on the way they were exercised by the marcher lords.[1] To the lawyers,[2] and to the marcher lords themselves perhaps,[3] the most distinctive marcher privilege was that whereby the king's writ did not run within the lordships; consequently all manner of pleas were justiciable in the marcher courts or in the sessions held by the justices appointed by the lord. Certain cases, more especially those relating to advowsons and to the temporalities of vacant bishoprics, were reserved for royal courts, and appeals were occasionally made to royal courts and especially to the king's council in parliament.[4] Yet there is little doubt that marcher privileges in judicial affairs (as in other matters) were more extensive even than those exercised in English palatinates, which, unlike the marcher lordships, were part of the realm of England and subject to common law. Such extensive judicial privileges were certainly open to abuse, but they did not automatically make the marcher lordships into 'refuges for criminals, sources of constant trouble and corruption',[5] as so many historians

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1. Of the legal commentaries on the judicial powers of the lords marcher those in Sir John Vaughan, Reports and Arguments (1706), 403 et seq. and in Francis Hargrave, Tracts relative to the law of England (1787), 384-91, 396-404 are still the most valuable. They are the basis for the remarks in W.S. Holdsworth, A History of English Law, i, 121-2.

2. See the quotations in Otway-Ruthven, op.cit., 10-11.

3. See the two petitions submitted by the lords marcher in parliament in 1335, Rot. Parl., ii, 91.

4. W. Rees, South Wales and the March 1284-1415, 43-52 deals with these questions, but the evidence he cites does not always support his case.

5. G.R. Elton, England under the Tudors, 178.

assert. Private justice could be quite as fair and firm as royal justice; and each could be as corrupt as the other. Certain obvious abuses, it is true, arose from the absence of a central judicial power in the marches, as the frequent petitions of the men of nearby English counties throughout the fourteenth century show.[1] Furthermore the practice of disclaimer and the habit of granting letters of march[2] were certainly open to abuse; but marcher lords and communities were aware of these deficiencies and they could and did co-operate to stamp out crime and to expel criminals.[3] There is little room for believing that judicial administration was either less efficient or less equitable in the marches then in the Principality of Wales, as the Act of Union of 1536 implied. Indeed there is ample evidence to show that the sale of offices, the granting of sinecures and the buying off of sessions were quite as frequent in the Principality as in any marcher lordship.[4]

Nor, equally, is there any reason for believing that the Act of Union of England and Wales 'marked the close of a long struggle between the Crown and the marcher lords, a struggle which went back to the time of Edward I and beyond'.[5] There had never been such a struggle. If one omits the disputes about regalian rights during episcopal vacancies, the only notable occasion on which a king of England clashed directly with the marcher lords of Wales on the

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1. Rot. Parl., ii, 259 (1354), 352 (1376), 397 (date unknown); iii, 81 (1381), 272-3 (1389), 295 (1391), 308 (1393).

2. See below p.83.

3. On this subject see below Chapter II (i) pp.83-4, and T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536, 29-30.

4. See W.H. Waters, The Edwardian Settlement of North Wales in its administrative and legal aspects 1284-1343, and R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government in the southern counties of the Principality of Wales 1422-1485' (University of Bristol, unpublished Ph.D. thesis).

5. David Williams, A History of Modern Wales, 37.

question of marcher rights was in the early 1290s in the well-known dispute between Edward I and the earls of Gloucester and Hereford. The case has been discussed ad nauseam;[1] but before it is made the basis of any general theories certain considerations need to be borne in mind. Edward I was an exceptional king with a rare regard for what he cared to call the 'communis utilitas'; and having recently conquered Gwynedd he was in an unusually strong position vis à vis the marcher lords. Furthermore, the king's case against Gloucester was based originally not on the earl's behaviour as marcher lord but on his disregard for a specific royal injunction issued for a particular occasion - the king's absence overseas. It was only as the case proceeded that theories of the general good of the kingdom over-riding marcher custom were advanced; and there is every reason for believing that no marcher lord accepted Edward I's claims in full. The case was not used as a legal precedent for intervention in marcher affairs; and likewise the imposition of a national subsidy on the marcher lordships in 1292[2] was an experiment which was never to be repeated during the middle ages. One cause celebre does not constitute a long struggle. The only other clash between king and marcher lords which is at all comparable was the decision of Edward II to support the younger Despenser against his marcher opponents.[3] Questions of marcher law and custom were raised; but this was essentially a political dispute which cannot by any stretch of the imaginatio be raised to the level of a constitutional struggle over marcher rights. Indeed

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1. The most extended discussion of the case is that of J.E. Morris, The Welsh Wars of Edward I, 220-239. Cf. F.M. Powicke, The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307, 329-30 for a discussion of the case in a wider context.

2. See below p.149.

3. Vita Edwardi Secundi, ed. N. Denholm-Young, 108-9.

there can be little doubt that, on the whole, the royal attitude towards the marcher lords was one of co-operation rather then of hostility, as the negative royal replies to the various petitions against abuses of marcher jurisdiction amply show.[1] Even when the Glyn Dŵr revolt aroused royal commanders to exasperation at marcher particularism[2] and prompted the Commons to bitter attacks on marcher negligence and to patently false theories about the origins of marcher privileges,[3] the Crown refused to give ear to the complaints.[4] The notion of a fundamental conflict of interest between Crown and marcher lords indeed becomes fantastic when one remembers that Henry III had conferred marcher rights on his son Edmund,[5] that Edward I had virtually transformed Perfeddwlad and part of Powys into marcher lordships for the earls of Lincoln and Surrey,[6] and that, much later, Edward IV likewise created Raglan into a marcher lordship for his favourite, William Herbert.[7] It is quite clear that the beliefs in the essential lawlessness of the marcher lordships and in a

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1. Not a single favourable reply was given to the petitions mentioned above p. 4 n. 1.

2. See below Chapter IV, p. 304.

3. Rot. Parl., iii, 476, 508, 610, 615-616, 624-5. In the parliament of 1410 the Commons claimed that the kings of England had conquered Wales and had granted castles and walled towns there to the marcher lords on condition that they held the land 'en ferme obeisance et subjection a lour aligeance'.

4. With the exception of the plea for the abolition of the practice of disclaimer, which became a statute, 9 Henry IV c.3-4.

5. C.P.R. 1266-72, 299.

6. There seems little force, to me, in the arguments of A.J. Otway-Ruthven (op.cit., 15 n.4) on this point. The lordships of Denbigh and Ruthin were certainly held of the Principality not of the Crown (W.H. Waters, The Edwardian Settlement of North Wales, 87-90), but the most extensive marcher rights, such as that of holding sessions in eyre, were certainly practised in Denbigh, T.B. Pugh, op.cit., 39. The Warenne lordship of Bromfield and Yale was not held of the Principality.

7. C.P.R. 1461-7, 425-6.

constant struggle between these lordships and the Crown are both eventually based on Tudor propaganda. Neither theory bears close scrutiny.

It is not with general theories of the origin or extent of marcher privileges or even with the equally interesting question of the rôle of the marcher lords in England politics[1] that the present thesis is concerned. It is rather, in part, an attempt to study some of the marcher lordships as seignorial estates and as units in larger seignorial inheritances. For however much prestige was attached to the possession of marcher privileges, the marcher lord was primarily interested in his lordship and in the privileges attached to it as sources of revenue. Several recent studies of the Stafford,[2] Grey, Clare and Mortimer lands[3] in Wales have thrown considerable light on the question of marcher finance and justice, and the present thesis is yet a further instalment in the same series. The Bohun and Lancaster estates have been chosen not only because they are amongst the most diversified of marcher lordships, but also for the obvious reason that they are two of the better-documented marcher inheritances. There are indeed many grave lacunae in the evidence as will soon become painfully obvious; but, relatively speaking, the estates are well-documented as a result of the accession of their owner to the throne in 1399.

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1. For studies of this topic see T.F. Tout, 'Wales and the March in the Barons' War', Collected Papers, ii, 47-104; J.C. Davies, 'The Despenser War in Glamorgan', T.R.H.S., 3rd series, ix (1915) 21-64; H.T. Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses.

2. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, 1415-1536. I should perhaps add that the present thesis was substantially finished before the appearance of Mr Pugh's book.

3. R.I. Jack, 'The Lords Grey of Ruthin, 1325-1490' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis. University of London, 1961); G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility in fourteenth-century England; 93-107; B.P. Evans, 'The Family of Mortimer' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis. University of Wales, 1934).

The peculiarities of marcher finance and society will certainly be emphasised throughout the thesis; but every attempt will also be made not to lose sight of the fact that the marcher lordships were only one of many estates within the greater Lancaster and Bohun inheritances. The interplay of local affairs on the one hand and the general requirements of the whole inheritance and its owners on the other is indeed one of the most interesting and important themes of fourteenth century seigneurial history. The military preoccupations or political commitments of a lord, the need to maintain and reward a large familia and retinue were all factors which deeply influenced the history of the local lordship. For what is being studied here is not merely the local history of the lordships of Brecon, Monmouth, Cydweli and Ogmore, but also the nature and efficiency of the Lancaster and Bohun administrations as a whole.

Nonetheless the marcher lordships were more than seigneurial units; for as areas largely shaped by geography and history, they are also convenient units for the study of the social and economic structure of Wales in the later middle ages. It is in this sphere above all that the evidence fails us. There are a considerable number of ministers accounts for the Lancaster and Bohun estates; but, however valuable these accounts are, they have a grave limitation in that they reveal very little about the non-seigneurial aspects of the economy. This limitation is particularly clear in Wales, where the seigneurial manor was comparatively unimportant and in certain lordships, such as Cydweli, virtually non-existent. The limitations of the ministers accounts can, to some extent, be overcome by rentals and surveys and, even more, by private collections such as the ones which have been deposited at the National Library of Wales during the past few years. It is only by using such a wide range of documents, supported occasionally by contemporary Welsh poetry, that one can hope to obtain

some sort of picture of the economic and social structure of the marcher lordships as a whole, rather than exclusively from the seignorial angle. And in this context, the history of the Glyn Dŵr revolt is relevant, for not only is it interesting as a national revolt but also because, like other revolutions, it affords one a glimpse of the structure of contemporary society and of the forces at work within that society.

Altogether an attempt has been made in the present thesis to study some of the marcher lordships of Wales in the later middle ages in the widest possible terms. Certain aspects of their history, such as ecclesiastical life, have had perforce to be excluded and no attempt has been made to write a new 'treatise of lordships marcher'; but it is hoped that the present study of the Lancaster and Bohun lordships in Wales will further the historian's understanding of the rôle of the marcher lordship in both seignorial and Welsh history.

CHAPTER ONE: THE ESTATES OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER IN WALES, 1265-1399.

(i) The Acquisition and Consolidation of the Estates.

Edmund Crouchback was twenty years of age in 1265 and could therefore rightly expect to be endowed with an appanage becoming to his status as the second surviving son of the king of England. He was not to be disappointed in this hope as he had been in his earlier dream of a Sicilian crown. The death of Simon de Montfort at Evesham provided Henry III with the opportunity of endowing Edmund with a worthy title and a valuable group of estates. To this original endowment were later added, by some highly suspect legal practices, the immense Ferrers inheritance and, by royal generosity, the title of earl of Lancaster along with extensive estates in the North and the Midlands. By 1270 there could be no doubt that Edmund was among the very richest landowners in England: he held the titles of two earldoms; his lands extended into at least sixteen English counties; and he had recently married Aveline de Fortibus, a wealthy heiress in right both of her father and of her mother.[1]

But Edmund's interests were not confined to England, for already by 1270 he had acquired a strong foothold for himself in the southern marches of Wales. Even as late as the mid-thirteenth century the Welsh marches had all the attractions of a land-market in a frontier area and the further advantage of conferring the widest franchisal liberties on those who managed to acquire an estate there. It was not, however, through conquest but by a series of grants from his brother Edward that Earl Edmund established a foothold for himself in

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1. For Earl Edmund and his endowment see W.E. Rhodes, 'Edmund, earl of Lancaster', E.H.R., x (1895), 19-40, 209-37; and R. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, i, 1-16.

the Welsh marches. In December 1265 he was granted the castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan, along with the two counties which pertained to them.[1] The two castles were of obvious strategic importance, and were surrounded by districts which had still not been thoroughly conquered. The grant was, therefore, in large part tantamount to a military commission; but it also brought with it considerable opportunities for territorial conquest and acquisition. This can be adequately seen in further royal grants in 1266 which gave Edmund the right to hold in perpetuity all the lands he should conquer from the Welsh,[2] and extended to him the full rights of other marcher lords in his new estates.[3] A new marcher lordship was coming into being with the full royal blessing; but its growth was cut short by the new king. Edward I soon decided that if his Welsh policy was to succeed, the crown must reacquire control of the vital castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan; and so in 1279, after fourteen years in Edmund's control,[4] the two castles and the adjacent counties were surrendered to Edward I in exchange for lands in Derbyshire, and never returned again into Edmund's possession.[5]

The grant of the two castles in west Wales had been more in the nature of a military command than of a territorial gift; not so the estates in the

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1. C.Chs.R., vi, 287; C.P.R. 1258-66, 513; DL 10/96. See also J.G. Edwards, 'The early histories of the counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan', E.H.R., xxxi (1916), 90-8.

2. C.P.R. 1258-66, 672-3.

3. C.P.R. 1266-72, 299.

4. For appointments made by Edmund to offices in Carmarthen and Cardigan see C.P.R. 1266-72, 516; 1272-81, 189.

5. C.Chs.R., ii, 215, 216; Littere Wallie, ed. J.G. Edwards, 140-1.

Monmouth area with which the lord Edward endowed his brother in 1267. Edward had been in possession of two separate but contiguous estates in the Monmouth district since the 1250s. The three lordships of Grosmont, Skenfrith and Whitecastle, collectively known as Threecastles, had passed into his control in 1254.[1] Their history during the thirteenth century had been chequered, passing from the de Braose family into the possession of royal favourites such Hubert de Burgh (who was primarily responsible for the reconstruction of the three fine castles) and Peter des Rivaux before reverting to the Crown. They remained in Crown possession until 1254 when they became part of the lord Edward's estates. Next to the Threecastles lay the lordship of Monmouth, which had been in the hands of the Fitz Baderon family for generations.[2] The last member of the family, John of Monmouth, agreed to transfer the lordship to Edward; and when, as had been anticipated, John died without an heir in 1257, Edward entered into possession of the lordship.[3] The honor of Monmouth consisted not only of the lordship of Monmouth itself, but also several important demesne manors, as well as knights' fees, in the two neighbouring border counties - Ashperton and Stretton in Herefordshire and Tibberton, Hope and Huntley in Gloucestershire.[4] It was these two separate groups of lordships, Threecastles and Monmouth, which Edward bestowed on Earl Edmund in June 1267.[5] Edward's own accounts for these districts for 1256-7[6] show how thoroughly

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1. For the boundaries of these lordships see A Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster lordships in Wales 1609-13, ed. W. Rees, 27-9, 72, 92, 111; and William Rees' map, South Wales and the Border in the fourteenth century, S.E. sheet. For a brief description of the Threecastles and their history see Arch.Camb., 4th series, vii (1876) 299-311.
2. For the descent of this family, I.J. Sanders, English Baronies, 64-5.
3. C.P.R. 1247-58, 500, 545. 4. Book of Fees, i, 50, ii, 808, 815.
5. C.Ch.R., ii, 78; DL 10/109-111.
6. SC 6/1094/11. The Welsh sections of this account have been published, with an introduction and translation, by A.J. Roderick and W. Rees in South Wales and Monmouth Record Society, ii, 68-125; iii, 21-47; iv, 6-29.

manoralised they were; and this is not at all surprising when one remembers their geographical position and the fact that they had been in Norman possession for over a century and a half. Admittedly a few Welsh renders were being paid and the tenantry was largely Welsh by birth and by language; but nevertheless the lordships of Monmouth and Threecastles, as will become apparent later, were much more closely bound, economically and financially, to the estates of the house of Lancaster in south and central England than to the lordships which were to be acquired in south-west Wales later.

As soon as he acquired these valuable estates in Monmouth and Threecastles, Edmund set about establishing his position there more firmly.[1] A series of royal grants remitted all the debts which he had inherited in the lordships.[2] It was much more difficult, however, to undo the grants which the lord Edward had made in lavish fashion to his friends and followers out of the lordship of Monmouth, more especially to Roger Clifford,[3] Reginald Grey and Richard Talbot.[4] Such alienations of land were difficult to reverse, especially during the lifetime of the beneficiaries; and Edmund had to be satisfied with the homage and services due for the land alienated, and with a compensation of 1,700 marks from his brother.[5]

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1. For the sake of brevity, 'Monmouth' in this thesis will be used to refer to the receivership of Monmouth, i.e. the lordships of Monmouth and Threecastles and the border manors in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. When Monmouth denotes only the manor or town of Monmouth, this will be made clear in the text.

2. C.P.R. 1266-72, 418; 1272-81, 208.

3. For the Clifford lands see C.Ch.R., ii,246-7; C.P.R. 1307-13, 273, 279, 408; Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales, ed. J.G. Edwards, 182.

4. C.P.R. 1272-81, 422. For the descent of the Grey lands in Dingestow (or Llanddingad) see R.I. Jack, 'The Lords Grey of Ruthin, 1325-1490', (unpublished thesis. University of London. 1961), 398.

5. C.P.R. 1272-81, 422, 438, 440.

But while Edmund could not resume the alienations which his brother had effected, he could bargain with local landowners and tenants for holdings which he considered essential for the consolidation of his estates. This process of consolidation, of buying out the rights of others, and of exchanging land for the sake of more efficient estate organisation is common enough in the early history of every estate. The process can be followed in some detail in the lordship of Monmouth, especially in the years 1273-81, in the Duchy Cowchers.[1] Occasionally only a meadow or a granary might be involved; but sometimes a whole estate or rights in a large area of land might be acquired and in such cases considerable monetary compensation was demanded. Earl Edmund and his advisers were particularly determined to consolidate the seignorial position in the area between the rivers Troddi and Monnow near Monmouth and in Grosmont, the two districts where the most extensive demesnes of the earl lay. Local English gentry families were firmly entrenched in the lowlands around Monmouth and could only be bought out at a considerable price. At least £45 was paid to buy out the rights of three claimants to the manor of Wonastow;[2] and an even stiffer price had to be paid to persuade Sir William de Coleville, a member of a powerful Monmouth family,[3] to part with his rights in Rockfield, Baileypit and Monmouth.[4] In Grosmont, the favourite residence of the earls of Lancaster in Wales, Earl Edmund bought the services, rents and holdings of six bond tenants of

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1. On the Duchy Cowchers see R. Somerville, 'The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster', E.H.R., li (1936), 598-615.

2. DL 42/1 f.20, f.24.

3. Sir William de Coleville was a frequent witness of the charters of John of Monmouth and Earl Edmund; and a William Coleville still held one knight's fee in Perthir and Rye in 1330, DL 40/1/11 f.36v.

4. DL 42/1 f.20v.

Madoc Hen, a Welsh landowner; and likewise persuaded Dore Abbey to grant him the rents and services of eleven of its tenants in Grosmont in exchange for considerable rent remittance elsewhere.[1] This process of consolidating the earl's control of his Monmouth estates was well-nigh over by 1281, though an occasional addition was made thereafter. It was not a process which brought any apparent addition to the extent of the inheritance; but it did mean that when Earl Edmund died in 1296 his control over Monmouth was more complete and more profitable than it had been when he received the lordship from his brother in 1267.

Edmund was survived by three sons. To the eldest, Thomas, went the bulk of the Lancaster estates and the expectation of the vast Lacy inheritance, including the rich lordship of Denbigh,[2] on the death of his father-in-law, the earl of Lincoln. But Earl Edmund had also provided an ample estate for his second son, Henry Tortcol. In 1292 when Henry was only a child of eleven, his father settled the reversion of the lordships of Monmouth and Threecastles and the manors of Rodley and Minsterworth upon him.[3] Consequently in March 1297 the young Henry was able to enter into possession of his father's Welsh estates, and henceforth frequently entitled himself lord of Monmouth.[4] He had also received an even more valuable gift from his father in the form of

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1. DL 42/1 f.17v., f.21v-22.

2. For the descent of the lordship of Denbigh in the fourteenth century see Survey of the Honour of Denbigh 1334, ed. P. Vinogradoff and F. Morgan, ix-xv.

3. C.C.R. 1288-96, 263; C.Ch.R., ii, 423; DL 42/11 f.39v.

4. C.F.R. 1272-1307, 384; G.E.C., vii, 397.

a rich heiress as his future wife. Maud de Chaworth was only one year old when her father, Patrick, died in 1283 leaving her an heiress to a fair inheritance in south and west England and in Wales.[1] The Welsh estates consisted of the two commotes of Cydweli[2] and Carnwyllion, the lordship of Ogmore, and the mesne-lordship of Ebbeth near Newport; and in Gloucestershire the Chaworth lands included the rich manors of Kempsford and Chedworth with some land in Etloe. The Chaworth inheritance in Wales was quite different in character from the lands which descended to Henry by the enfeoffment of 1292. There were small burghs, it is true, at Kidwelly and Llanelli, and a rich stock-rearing demesne on the fertile marshlands within sight of the magnificent castle of Kidwelly; but, apart from these features, Cydweli and Carnwyllion were as Welsh in law, customs and population as could be, and remained so throughout the middle ages. Halfway, both in distance and in character, between Monmouth and Cydweli lay the small lordship of Ogmore. Its upland area was wild and rugged, fit only for Welshmen and for the flocks of the Cistercians of Margam abbey; but the lowland half of the lordship, lying to the east of the castle of Ogmore and the small Norman priory of Ewenni, must have been one of the finest and most productive manors of the rich Glamorgan plain.

Henry had, indeed, been well treated, for his lands in Wales alone - both from his father's grant and through the Chaworth marriage - must have been worth

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1. Edmund of Lancaster secured the custody of Maud and the right to marry her to one of his sons in 1291, C.P.R. 1281-92, 464. For the extent of the Chaworth estates see C.I.P.M., ii, no.477.

2. The Welsh form 'Cydweli' will be used throughout the thesis to refer to the commote of Cydweli and to the receivership which included the three commotes of Cydweli, Carnwyllion and (after 1340) Iscennen; the English form 'Kidwelly' will be reserved for the town.

at least £1,000 per annum.[1] He soon developed an administration for the management of his estates; and Grosmont castle with its extensive deer-park and ample demesne, was one of his favourite residences.[2] He steered a careful course through the political turmoil of Edward II's reign, and after 1322 he was able gradually to recover most of the estates which had been confiscated after his brother's execution. His own lands were twice taken into royal hands, in the autumn of 1326[3] and in January 1329,[4] but they were quickly recovered on both occasions; and with the fall of Mortimer in autumn 1330 Henry of Lancaster became one of the most trusted advisers of the young king. He recequired control of the whole Lancaster inheritance whose very existence had been threatened by the political turmoil of the last eight years. That is the measure of his achievement.

But already in 1330 Earl Henry's sight was failing and his fame as a soldier was being overshadowed by that of his only son, Henry of Grosmont. As his name suggests, the young Henry had probably been born and bred in the Welsh marches;[5] and during the last fifteen years of his father's life, he

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1. This calculation is based on the valors for 1331-2, DL 40/1/11 f.44v., f.50.

2. One of his charters of July 1306 is dated there, E 326/11045; as is a letter of his in November 1325, E 326/8707. He also stayed at Kidwelly on more than one occasion, Arch.Camb., 3rd series, ii (1856), 277; C.P.R. 1313-17, 222.

3. C.F.R. 1319-27, 418-20, 422.

4. C.F.R. 1327-37, 116. For the dating of this revolt see G.A. Holmes, 'The Rebellion of the Earl of Lancaster, 1328-9', B.I.H.R., xxviii (1955), 84-9.

5. He was staying at Grosmont in June 1328 and again in 1332, DL 41/9/1 m.14; DL 40/1/11 f.52v. The archaeological evidence (see the Ministry of Works guide) suggests that considerable additions to Grosmont castle were undertaken in the early fourteenth century; and the deer-park there was kept in a good state of repair throughout the century, DL 29/594/9506; DL 29/615/9838.

built a considerable estate for himself there. Hitherto he had lived in his father's household and received assignments from him; but it was now felt that he should enjoy a small inheritance and maintain a household of his own. So it was that in September 1333 his father settled a number of his estates upon him.[1] Among these estates the most valuable were Cydweli, Carnwyllion, Ogmore, Skenfrith and Grosmont; and as a token of the importance of his Welsh lands Henry assumed the title of lord of Kidwelly, just as his father in his younger days had been known as lord of Monmouth. His active career as one of the most successful of Edward III's war captains took him away from England for much of the time during the next few years; but his career as a soldier did not preclude him from consolidating his territorial inheritance. Indeed his very success as a military campaigner was the surest key to the king's favour and to those wardships and grants of land which Edward III dispensed so lavishly. Thus in May 1334 the young Henry secured the custody of the lordship of Abergavenny during the minority of the heir to the earldom of Pembroke.[2] Abergavenny lay next to Henry's own lands in Threecastles and could be conveniently administered along with them.[3] He paid an annual farm of 500 marks at the exchequer for the custody of the lands; but it can be confidently assumed that he could collect at least another 300 marks a year from the lordship for

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1. R. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, i, 38-40.

2. C.F.R. 1327-37, 401.

3. Thomas Codrington had been appointed receiver of Abergavenny by 1335. DL 25/981.

his own profit.[1] As a special favour he kept the custody of Abergavenny until 1341, whereas the rest of the Hastings lands had been restored to the heir in February 1339.[2]

A custody was at best no more than a temporary, if highly lucrative, windfall; but Henry's next addition to his Welsh estates was to be a permanent one. Bordering on his lands at Cydweli and Carnwyllion was the commote of Iscennen. The commote was in the hands of its Welsh lords until the conquest of 1282-3 and had remained almost untouched by Norman or English influences. It had no burgh to compare with Kidwelly or Llanelli; and its only castle, the imposing fortress of Carregcennen, lay in wild country to the south of the Tywi valley. Since 1283 the history of the commote had been rather unsettled.[3] It had been granted in turn to the Giffards, the younger Despenser and Sir John Mautravers, all of whom had fallen victims to political confiscation between 1322 and 1331. For six years thereafter it was in the hands of Maurice Berkeley, until Edward III in 1337 granted it, by way of reward, to Ralph Wilington and his heirs.[4] The Wilingtons had no other estates in this distant and outlandish part of Wales, so Henry had little difficulty in persuading Ralph Wilington to surrender Iscennen to him in June 1340.[5] Henry

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1. The value of the lordship of Abergavenny on the death of the earl of Pembroke in 1348 was given as £667.4.0; and in 1366 and 1367 it yielded in clear value, after payment of all expenses, £504.12.6 and £529.2.0 respectively, W. Rees, South Wales and the March 1284-1415, 242; DL 43/15/1.
2. C.F.R. 1337-47, 117; C.C.R. 1341-3, 77, 95.
3. Details of the commote's history will be found in A History of Carmarthenshire, ed. J.E. Lloyd, i, 231-4.
4. C.P.R. 1334-8, 560, 563.
5. C.P.R. 1338-40, 549.

doubtless had to recoup Wilington for his loss; but he had the satisfaction of having rounded off his estates in west Wales and of knowing that his landed income would now be increased by some £130 per annum. His claim to Iscennen, it is true, was constantly challenged by the Talbots of Archenfield, descendants by marriage of the last Welsh lords; and it was not until 1362 that the Talbots finally consented to surrender this claim in return for a gift of 200 marks from John of Gaunt.[1] But to all intents Iscennen was part of the Lancaster estates in Wales from 1340; and, though it preserved some of its separate character,[2] it was henceforth administratively part of the receivership of Kidwelly. Across the Tywi from Iscennen lay the Principality lands in Carmarthen and Cantrefmawr; and these two were temporarily added to Henry of Grosmont's estates while he was still earl of Derby. In February 1342 he acquired the lease of Carmarthen and Cantrefmawr for ten years at £190 per annum;[3] and here again he was doubtless able to reap a handsome profit for himself. Indeed near-contemporary accounts suggest that Carmarthen and Cantrefmawr could yield at least £400 in a single year.[4]

Thus by grants from his father, by purchase and by lucrative wardships Henry of Grosmont had made himself into one of the leading marcher lords of south Wales during his father's lifetime. Indeed the south Wales estates alone

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1. C.C.R. 1339-41, 445; 1343-6, 582; 1360-4, 401, 402, 418.

2. It was held of the Principality of Wales and on occasion paid fines to the exchequer at Carmarthen, e.g. SC 6/1166/11 m.13.

3. C.F.R. 1337-47, 263, 335. Walter atte Bergh was Henry's steward of Carmarthen and Cantrefmawr by 1344, DL 25/339.

4. W. Rees, 'Ministers' Accounts of West Wales, 1352-3', B.B.C.S., x (1939-41), 60-83.

by the 1340s must have provided him comfortably with the thousand marks a year which was then regarded as the minimum competence to maintain the status of an earl, to which he had been elevated in 1337. When Henry finally succeeded his father in 1345, the Lancaster estates in Wales had already taken the shape which they were to preserve until the death of Gaunt in 1399. Such additions as were to be made in the future were largely by way of recovering lands which had been alienated at an earlier period. For the earls of Lancaster, like so many of their contemporaries, were in the habit of granting outlying manors and estates as rewards to their more deserving followers.[1] In this they contrast somewhat with John of Gaunt, who preferred to keep the estates in his own hands and to assign heavy money annuities on their receipts. No manors were more suitable as rewards than the Lancaster estates in the border counties of Wales: they were too small and too scattered to be worth exploiting directly; and, furthermore, for long periods they were in the hands of junior members of the Lancaster family anxious to keep the loyalty and service of their landless followers with grants of manors on which they could settle.

The twin manor of Ashperton and Stretton in eastern Herefordshi was a case in point. It was granted by Earl Edmund in 1284 to one of his closest confidants, William de Grandison, and his wife Sibyl;[2] and it remained in the possession of the family for eighty-four years until John of Gaunt finally recovered it from the bishop of Exeter in 1368. During that period the

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1. For lists of annuitants of earl Henry and duke Henry see G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the higher nobility in fourteenth century England, 66-9; neither list is quite complete.

2. It was doubtless given in exchange for the surrender of Rodley and Minsterworth in April 1284, DL 42/2 f.193v., f.213.

Grandisons made Ashperton their home, and the name of Stretton Grandison still preserves the memory of its connection with the family.[1] The history of the Lancaster estates in Gloucestershire was very similar to that of Ashperton. The manor of Minsterworth, famous for its fisheries, was granted successively in the early fourteenth century[2] to two Lancaster retainers, Peter de Bea and Sir William de Walkington.[3] It was only on Walkington's death, sometime before 1351, that Minsterworth reverted to the house of Lancaster. Likewise the two other Gloucestershire manors of Rodley and Tibberton were monopolised for half a century by the Blounts, one of the most faithful of Lancastrian families.[4] The family made full use of their life-interest in these two border manors, for when Rodley and Tibberton reverted to Duke Henry in 1358, on John Blount's death, the demesnes were still being directly exploited.[5]

Duke Henry followed John Blount to the grave three years later, succumbing to a second outbreak of the plague in England. His estates were partitioned

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1. On the Grandison family and its connection with Ashperton see G.E.C., vi, 60-5. For the surrender of the manor to Gaunt see C.F.R. 1356-68, 74 and DL 25/968.

2. Henry Tortcol granted Roger Gascelyn an annuity on the manor, C.F.R. 1317-21, 505; C.C.R. 1318-23, 613.

3. C.P.R. 1307-13, 339, 1327-30, 258. Walkington was also granted a £10 annuity from Rodley in 1330, DL 40/1/11 f.45v.

4. Tibberton was granted to Thomas Blount for life in 1309, and Rodley in 1317, C.P.R. 1313-17, 222, 620. On Thomas Blount's death they passed to John son of Walter Blount, C.P.R. 1327-30, 543; 1330-4, 321. For the early Blount connection with the house of Lancaster see R. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, i, 82 n.2.

5. C.I.P.M., x, no.431. New rentals were compiled at Tibberton and Rodley as soon as they returned into duke Henry's hands, DL 43/3/33, 35.

between his two young daughters, Maud and Blanche.[1] The Welsh estates were allotted to the Duchess Maud, wife of William of Hainault; but she only enjoyed them for a few months before she also fell victim to the plague. On her early death, the whole of the vast Lancaster inheritance passed, in right of his wife, to John of Gaunt, to be added to the estates he already held as earl of Richmond. The period of territorial expansion for the Lancaster estates in Wales was over by 1362; only small additions were made to the size of the inheritance there during John of Gaunt's years as earl and duke. The Lancaster claims to Iscennen and to Ashperton were firmly established;[2] the reversion of John Eylesford's lands in Munsley and Ledbury, close to the Lancaster manor of Ashperton, was secured in 1380;[3] Newland castle and manor in the forest of Dean passed into Gaunt's hands in 1391 soon after the death of their owner Sir Richard Burley, one of the closest and most devoted of the duke's retainers;[4] whilst another Lancaster retainer, John Greyndour, was persuaded to part with his estates in Hadnock during his lifetime in 1392 so that the Lancaster estates in the Monmouth district could be made more compact.[5]

None of these acquisitions was of major importance, for there was little room for territorial expansion in Wales in the late fourteenth century; but at least Gaunt's political connections enabled him to reap the fruits of some

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1. For details of the partition see R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, i, 338.
2. See above pp.20,21.
3. DL 42/2 f.214v.
4. C.C.R. 1389-92, 483-4. Newland was certainly in Gaunt's hands by 1395, DL 29/728/11986.
5. DL 42/1 f.38v; DL 29/728/11986. For the Greyndour family see below pp. 206-9.

of the rich wardships which were at the disposal of the Crown. So it was that in 1384 he and Sir Richard Burley, his steward of Monmouth, secured the custody of the lordship of Abergavenny during the minority of John Hastings; and on Hastings' death as a minor in 1389 the whole of the Pembroke inheritance was placed in Gaunt's hands. Abergavenny may not have been so valuable as it had been in the days of Henry of Grosmont; but it was a welcome windfall which the Lancastrian officials exploited to the full. Gaunt held it for eight years until the question of the claim to Abergavenny was finally settled in favour of William Beauchamp.[1]

In the field of territorial expansion the years from 1362 to 1399 were uneventful on the Lancaster estates in Wales; but in other spheres more exciting, and indeed crucial, developments were taking place. The economic contraction of the last half of the fourteenth century struck hard at the seignorial estates and entailed some radical re-thinking on questions of estate management and economic policy. On the Lancaster estates, the Welsh manors because of the limited size of their demesnes and the difficulties of marketing which their very distance presented were the first obvious target in any economic reorganisation. From the late 1360s, the duke of Lancaster was no more than a rent-collecting landlord in Wales. It is, of course, true that the earls and dukes had always been primarily - and at Cydweli exclusively - rentiers as far as their Welsh estates were concerned; but the final passing of demesne exploitation was, nonetheless, an important development with considerable economic and social implications.[2]

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1. C.F.R. 1383-91, 42, 80, 312; 1391-9, 15-17. Valors and arrears accounts of Abergavenny while it was in Gaunt's hands are in DL 43/15/1 and DL 29/737/12071.

2. These developments are considered more fully in chapter IV.

The duke of Lancaster could withdraw from active participation in the economic life of his Welsh estates; but he could not avoid his responsibilities as guardian of his lordship, particularly in military affairs. Since the revolt of 1294-5 the Welsh had been remarkably peaceful. There had been a few local troubles, and fear of the 'lightheadedness' of the native Welsh caused sporadic alarms amongst English settler families; but on the whole service with English armies in France satisfied the warlike passions of most Welshmen.[1] From the 1360s, however, the tide began to turn in the struggle between England and France; and one clear indication of the change was the fairly constant English fear of a French invasion of Wales in which, so it was thought, the Welsh would be passive or even active supporters of the enemy. Alarm was considerable and precautionary measures were taken. The Lancaster castles in Cydweli and Monmouth were repaired and garrisoned in 1369-70,[2] and again in the spring of 1377 when a new invasion of Wales, to be led by Owain Lawgoch, was anticipated.[3] The French forces never reached Wales and Owain was assassinated by an English agent in France in 1378; but the fear of invasion survived. In 1381 alarm at the course of the peasants' revolt in England and fear of disaffection in Wales brought garrisons to the Duchy

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1. For the contribution of marcher lordships, including Lancaster estates, to the English armies of the period, reference may be made to N.B. Lewis, 'The English forces in Flanders, August-November 1297', Studies in medieval history presented to F.M. Powicke, 310-18; A.E. Prince, 'The Strength of English Armies in the reign of Edward III', E.H.R., xlvi (1931), 353-71, esp. 362-6; and D.L. Evans, 'Notes on the history of the Principality of Wales', T.C.S., 1925-6, esp. 46-65.

2. C.C.R. 1369-74, 61, 158; ~~Rec. R., 1011~~; DL 29/584/9236; DL 29/615/9837. The garrisons were extremely small - 3 at Carregcennen, 2 at Grosmont and 1 at Whitecastle. Considerable garrisons were placed in the Black Prince's castles in Wales in 1370. Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum, ed. E. Owen, iii, 601-2; and in marcher

(contd. at foot of p.26).

castles in Monmouth once more.[1] The last of these recurrent 'war-scares' came in 1385-6 and was common to England and Wales.[2] It was soon followed by a three-year truce between the English and the French; the fears that Wales would be used as a bridgehead by the French duly subsided and the Welsh castles of the Duchy lapsed into a state of unpreparedness until the revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr overtook them.[3] Altogether the period from 1362 to 1399 had not been an easy one for the marcher lords, combining as it did the threat of invasion from without with economic difficulties and adjustments at home. It was to the credit of Gaunt and his officials that, in spite of these difficulties, they had consolidated their hold on the Duchy estates in Wales and had kept the income from them at a fairly consistent level.[4]

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1. Reg. II, 530-2 (19 June 1381). Cf. C.P.R. 1381-5, 17.

2. C.C.R. 1381-5, 549; West Wales Historical Records, iii, 65. Considerable repairs were undertaken at Grosmont and Whitecastle in 1384-5, DL 29/615/9838.

3. This is suggested by the frantic repairs of 1401-2; but residential quarters were not neglected, e.g. £83.9.9 was spent on the construction of a new hall and chamber in Monmouth castle from 1391 to 1395. DL 29/615/9839.

4. See below pp. 69-71.

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2. (contd. from p.25)
castles, such as that of Chirk, 'tempore suspecionis guerre', N.L.W. Chirk Castle Collection, D.32.

3. C.C.R. 1374-7, 487; DL 28/3/1 m.7. On Owain Lawgoch see E. Owen, 'Owain Lawgoch - Yeuain de Galles: some facts and suggestions', T.C.S., 1899-1900, 6-105; and also the very important letter in Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions, ed. M.D. Legge, 162-6.

The story of the Lancaster marcher lordships between 1267 and 1399 is not an exciting one; it could be paralleled by that of many great estates in England. It had been built by royal favour, by fortunate marriages and by an occasional purchase; and it was temporarily augmented by the grant of lands in crown possession. There is little trace of that process of internal consolidation which transformed the lord's power in the lordship of Brecon in the fourteenth century on the Lancaster estates. Nevertheless it was no inconsiderable achievement that the house of Lancaster had remained in unbroken possession of its Welsh lands for 132 years. That achievement came to an end with the death of Gaunt on 3 February 1399, because for the first time in their history the Welsh lands of the house of Lancaster failed to pass to their rightful heir.

(ii) The Administration of the Estates, 1267-1399.

The years between the accession of Edmund Crouchback to the earldom of Lancaster in 1265 and the death of John of Gaunt in 1399 saw interesting and significant changes in the field of seignorial administration; and in this movement the Lancaster estates played a considerable, though by no means unique, part. The movement - which to prejudiced observers appears as 'the growth of a disproportion'[1] - is to be particularly noticed at the central level, in the growing sophistication and nationalisation of the financial machinery and the documents of the landed estate.[2] At the local level, however, seignorial administration during this period was characterised by more stability and by a greater degree of uniformity in the administration of different estates. On the Lancaster estates, the assimilation of the different honors and lands into one Lancastrian inheritance certainly necessitated some interesting administrative adjustments at the local level, and the economic policies of the earls and dukes in the fourteenth century likewise involved some small administrative reorganisation; but once the local area or bailwick had been fixed, the pattern of local estate administration remained largely unchanged thereafter. The general pattern of local seignorial administration and the various duties of the local officials have

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1. The phrase is that of N. Denholm-Young in Seignorial Administration in England, 5.

2. The development of the central administration on the Lancaster estates is discussed by R. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, i, 71-110; and in articles by J.F. Baldwin in E.H.R., xlii (1927), 180-200 and B.I.H.R., iv (1927), 129-43.

already been adequately described;[1] and competent studies also exist of the functioning of the Lancaster administration at local level.[2] It is not proposed here to repeat these exercises, but rather to emphasise those features and problems which were peculiar to local seigneurial administration in the Welsh marches, to study the efficiency of that administration, to see how it was staffed, and to measure how far it was influenced by the central demands of the Lancaster inheritance.

The first obvious and striking feature of Lancaster administration in Wales is the contrast between the Monmouth and the Cydweli groups of estates. The estates which Earl Edmund acquired from his brother in Monmouth and Three-castles already had a full-fledged administration of their own, largely geared to the manorial economy of the area. The lordship was divided into manors, each under the authority of a reeve. In 125? there were six such manors in the Monmouth area - at Grosmont, Whitecastle, Monmouth 'cum membris' (with two reeves), Dingestow, St. Maugham's and Newelsfield in the forest of Dean. The farmers of the mills and the reeve of Monmouth town made up the complement of seignorial officials. These local officials were responsible to two higher financial officials, the bailiffs of Abergavenny and Monmouth, who in their turn paid the issues of their bailiwicks to the lord Edward's household officials or to his exchequer at Bristol.[3] Such was the system of administration at

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1. For a study of the administrative structure of marcher lordships in Wales, reference may be made to W. Rees, South Wales and the March 1284-1415, 68-109.

2. See especially Levi Fox, The Administration of the Honor of Leicester in the fourteenth century, and D. Oschinsky, 'Notes on the Lancaster estates in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol.100 (1949), 9-32.

3. These details are taken from the accounts printed in South Wales and Monmouth Record Society, ii-iv. See above p.12 n.6.

Monmouth and Threecastles when they came into Earl Edmund's hands in 1267. It was a system which was well adapted to a lowland district which had been fairly thoroughly Anglicised in its economic institutions and customs. There was no trace at Monmouth of that distinction between the English manorial unit of the lowland and the Welsh administrative unit of the uplands which was characteristic of so many other marcher lordships in Wales.[1] Only a few minor changes took place in the pattern of local administration as it had been established at Monmouth by 1267 during the next century or so. The gradual contraction in the area of demesne land being directly exploited doubtless explains why the manors of St. Maugham's and Dingestow had disappeared by 1331. By that date the whole of the area around Monmouth had been re-divided into two reeveships, Monmouth manor and Hadnock.[2] Moreover all the local officials of the area were now answerable to a single official, the receiver of Monmouth, rather than to two bailiffs as earlier. Former royal lands (Threecastles)[3] were now welded with the inheritance of the fitz Baderon family (Monmouth) into a single administrative unit, and to them were added the manors of Montfort (Rodley and Minsterworth), fitz Baderon (Tibberton, Ashperton and Stretton), Chaworth (Etloe), and, later, Bohun (Newnham and Haresfield) in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire. Traditions of historical descent and ideas of preserving the integrity of the feudal honor were rudely

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1. For such an arrangement in the lordship of Usk, G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility, 102-3, and in Newport lordship, T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536, 153.

2. DL 40/1/11 f.40v. Hadnock reeveship contained the vills of Hadnock, Worthybrook, Llanfaenor, Rockfield, Osbaston and Llangatwg Feiblon Afel, DL 43/13/7; Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to Wales, ed. E. Owen, iii, entry 1217.

3. They occasionally had their own steward under Earl Edmund; see Appendix A i.

overridden by the needs of administrative efficiency in the formation of the receivership of Monmouth as of other Lancaster receiverships.

Much less is known of the pattern of local administration in Cydweli than in Monmouth; but the contrast between the two is sufficiently sharp and significant. When Henry Iorteel acquired Cydweli by marriage in 1297 the area had been under the firm control of the Chaworths for some time; but the essentially Welsh pattern of local government was still to the fore and remained so throughout the middle ages.[1] Cydweli was occasionally divided by contemporaries into Englishry (or foreignry)[2] and Welshry; and the division was a fair one for economic and administrative purposes. A small borough with an active trade had grown in the shadow of the castle at Kidwelly; and the rich lands on either side of the river Gwendraeth had been taken over by the Chaworths and other English settler families and had been divided into large open fields. This was the area known as the Englishry and it was divided into three administrative units: the town of Kidwelly, like that of Llanelli, had its own portreeve, whilst the responsibilities for collecting the revenue from the rest of the Englishry fell on the castle reeve (prepositus castri) and the reaper (messor patrie).

This semi-manorial organisation was limited to the Englishry, for in the rest of Cydweli, Carnwyllion, and, after 1340, Iscennen, the units of local government were of Welsh origin and were arranged for the collection of Welsh dues and renders, not for the exploitation of a seignorial demesne after the

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1. Details on the local administrative units of Cydweli will be found in A History of Carmarthenshire, 1, 227-234.

2. As in 1381 when separate stewards were appointed for the Englishry and the Welshry, Reg.II, 617, 619.

the manorial fashion. The basic Welsh units of government in the Ystrad Tywi region were the old divisions of gwestfa and maenor or quarter[1] (which usually consisted of two or more gwestfeydd). There were six such maenorydd in the commote (another and larger Welsh division) of Cydweli, five in Iscennen, and four in Carnwyllion. The gwestfa and the maenor were still important as the units upon which the Welsh renders, especially the cowmorth, were assessed and as such appear in the rentals of Cydweli from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries;[2] but for administrative purposes they had been superseded by larger units. Thus in the commote of Cydweli only one maenor, Penrhyn, survived as an administrative unit; the remaining five maenorydd had been swallowed into two larger units, Quart Cadwgan and Iscoed Moris. Elsewhere in the lordship the process had been taken even farther and the commote had become the sole unit of local administration as well as the unit upon which communal fines were levied[3]: one beadle catered for the whole of Carnwyllion commote and the same was true for the commote of Iscennen, except for the demesne land of the old Welsh llys at Maerdref, which was controlled by its own Welsh reeve.

Administration in the Lancaster lordship in south-west Wales was thus based essentially on centuries-old Welsh units, modified to some degree by

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1. For the gwestfa see W. Rees, South Wales and the March, 223-5, and T.J. Pierce in Ceredigion, iii, 274-9; for the maenor see especially D. Jenkins, Llyfr Colan, 161-3.

2. As can be seen by comparing DL 43/12/14 a late fifteenth century rental with the early Stuart rentals published by W. Rees in A Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales 1609-13, 197 et seq.

3. For a communal fine being levied upon the commotes see DL 29/728/11986.

the financial needs of an absentee English landlord; it stands in marked contrast with the manorially-centred organisation at Monmouth. In between the two, in distance and administrative character, stood the small mesne-lordship of Ogmore. The fertile demesne lands of lowland Ogmore were still being directly worked by the earls of Lancaster and thus, like the Monmouth estates, called for an organisation adapted to manorial farming. So it was that a reeve was placed in charge of Ogmore's local administration, aided by two other typically manorial officials, the reapers- one of whom (messor borealis) was in charge of the vills of St. Bride, Seaton, Pitcote, Oldcastle, North Down, South Down and the tenantry of Ogmore, while the other (messor australis) was responsible for Broughton and Wick. The upland half of the lordship lay along the steep hillsides of Glynogwr and was inhabited by rent-paying Welsh freemen. No manorial official was called for here, but rather a beadle as in the commotes of Cydweli. So Ogmore combined in one small lordship the manorial organisation of lowland England with the survival of a Welsh unit and official for its upland half.[1]

Local Lancaster administration in Wales had clearly adapted itself to the miscellaneous local units which it already found in existence in the lordships, ranging from the manors of Monmouth and Threecastles to the thoroughly Welsh units of Cydweli lordship. Such a hybrid local administrative system called for different types of officers to run it. In the areas organised on a manorial pattern the chief official was the reeve (prepositus), occasionally helped by other more specialised officers such as the reaper and the woodward. The reeve in Monmouth was chosen from the local villeins of the

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1. This organisation is clear in the earliest Ogmore account, that for 1362-3, DL 29/592/9444.

manor and his duties obviously corresponded to those of his counterpart on any manor in England. In spite of certain rewards, such as rent remission, which were appurtenant to the post, the office of reeve was no more popular in Wales than in England; collecting money from one's fellow-tenants was often a difficult process, while failure to do so incurred the wrath of one's lord. Ieuan Cheppyn, a Whitecastle tenant, considered it worthwhile to pay an annual increase of 5s.2½d. in his rent so that he could be exonerated from collecting the lord's rents, farms and court issues.[1] One may well understand his fears when one remembers that Nicholas Tudor, the reeve of Grosmont in 1367-8, was reduced to such straits that he had to sell his messuage and twenty two acres of land in order to raise the money to pay his arrears.[2] The office of reeve was clearly still an onerous one, even though the duties had largely been reduced to those of a rent-collector.[3] The reeve was the chief officer in the lordship of Monmouth, in Ogmore, and in those parts of Cydweli, the foreignry and Iscennen, where there were demesne lands and customary tenants.

The counterpart of the reeve in the free, non-manorial areas of the lordships was the beadle (bedellus), whose duties from the first were confined to collecting the lord's rents and dues. The beadle appears as an officer in Whitecastle, and was the most important local official in the lordship of

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1. DL 29/594/9506 m.4.
2. DL 29/594/9506 m.3.
3. In Monmouth and Whitecastle by 1399 the office had been divided into two, one man to collect the rent and the other to collect the issues of the courts and of the mills, DL 29/615/9840. The chief steward and the council abolished the office of reaper at Minsterworth in 1370, DL 29/594/9506 m.1v.

Cydweli, where many of his duties had doubtless been inherited from the old Welsh rhaglaw.[1] Like the reeve, he was expected to hold office for a year only, and in November 1374 Gaunt expressly enjoined that the office was not to be held for a longer period.[2] The office was occasionally attached to a particular holding;[3] but it was more usual for it to be farmed for a sum, generally about 15s. per annum, to a local man by the steward and the receiver. It was clearly an office which brought its holder opportunities for gain and for using his official position for his own profit. Consequently steps had to be taken to ensure that the beadle did not exploit his position too ruthlessly: on assuming office he had to take an oath and find sureties for his good behaviour;[4] his period of office was limited to a year at a time and he was often moved from one part of the lordship to another.[5] Local men were quite frank about the profits of the office, and soon refused to farm the beadleships once a ban was imposed on the taking of cowortha or extortionate aids from the tenantry.[6] The men who occupied the office of beadle are little more than names in genealogies today; but there can be little doubt that they were powerful men in their own home districts.

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1. See. W. Rees, South Wales and the March, 95-6.
2. Reg.I, 1567.
3. Such was the Andrew holding in Whitecastle, DL 43/13/8 m.6.
4. Reg.I, 1587; DL 29/573/9063, sub Cadwgan.
5. Thus Thomas ap David ap Gwilym was beadle of Cadwgan 1387-8 and 1403-5 and of Iscoed 1389-90, 1400-1, 1404-5.
6. Thus in 1399 the beadle of Penrhyn, who usually paid 15s. for the farm of the office, had to be paid a pound to undertake the office, DL 29/573/9063.

We have been concerned so far with seignorial administration at its most local level; and we have seen that at that level the administration of the Lancaster marcher lordships was profoundly affected, both in the unit of organisation and in its officials, by the deeply Welsh traditions which it had inherited. At the next level, that of the receivership or bailiwick, such local influences and traditions are far less apparent. For the receivership was a unit of administrative convenience whose shape and size paid little respect to historical traditions, whether English or Welsh, or to feudal arrangements. It has already been noticed how the receivership of Monmouth embraced not only the lordship of Monmouth and Threecastles but also a series of demesne manors and knights' fees in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire.[1] Likewise the receivership of Kidwelly consisted not only of the contiguous commotes of Cydweli, Carnwyllion, and (after 1340) Iscennen, but also of the lordship of Ogmore (though Ogmore often had its own constable and steward) and the even more distant manor of Ebboth near Newport. The receivership and its officials exercised much the same functions in Wales as in other parts of the Lancaster inheritance, and that is why a brief study of its personnel and efficiency will tell us a good deal about Lancastrian seignorial administration in general.

At the head of each receivership stood the steward.[2] The evolution of the office of land-steward and the duties of its holder are sufficiently well

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1. There were occasionally two stewards, as in 1395 when Sir William Lucy was steward of Monmouth, Threecastles, Ashperton and Stretton, and Sir Hugh Waterton was steward of Radley and Kinsterworth.

2. A list of stewards, receivers and constables on the Welsh estates of the house of Lancaster before 1399 is given in Appendix A I, because Sir R. Somerville's lists for this period (The Duchy of Lancaster, i, 347 et seq.) are inadequate.

known to need no repetition here. In brief he was the lord's representative in the local lordship. He supervised the administration of the lordship and kept an eye on its officials; he presided at the local courts and was the chief agent for receiving and executing his lord's orders in the bailiwick. His was an office of considerable importance and great responsibility, and the efficiency and equity of the local administration depended very much on the man who was chosen to occupy the office of steward.

What type of men were chosen for this crucial office on the Lancastrian estates in Wales? Few generalisations can be made about them for they are a motley group; but at least they do fall into certain broad categories. First of all, there were occasions in the history of the estates when close confidants of the earl or men with experience at the centre of seignorial administration were placed in charge of a local bailiwick. Thus the first known steward of Monmouth was Sir Thomas Bray, a Buckinghamshire knight and a close confidant of Earl Edmund whom he was later to serve as steward of the honors of Leicester and Tutbury.[1] During the first few years after Monmouth and Threecastles had been granted to Edmund, the experience and general trustworthiness of Bray must have been invaluable in establishing the lord's authority in the area. Likewise Cydweli when it first passed into Henry Tortcol hands was placed under the firm stewardship of Richard de Rivers, one of the most trusted, faithful and well-rewarded of Henry's followers.[2] Rivers retained the steward-ship of Cydweli for at least twenty four years, even after he had been raised

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1. For his career see R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, i, 348; and C. Moor, Knights of Edward I (Harleian Society), i, 136-7.

2. There is an incomplete outline of his services to Henry of Lancaster in Somerville, op.cit., 354.

to the post of auditor of all the Lancaster estates. Rivers' career in the service of Henry Tortcol is paralleled by that of Walter atte Bergh in the service of Henry of Grosmont. Bergh was rewarded for his services by being created steward of Carmarthen, Cantrefmawr and Cydweli, the most extensive of Earl Henry's estates before his father's death in 1345;[1] and he retained the office throughout his life, though he was also made chief steward of Lancaster lands for both Duke Henry and John of Gaunt successively.[2]

Richard de Rivers and Walter atte Bergh were, in fact, exceptional in that they were granted the stewardship of Cydweli when it was the most important post at the disposal of junior members of the Lancaster family; and retained the post when they were given higher offices and wider responsibilities. Under ordinary circumstances the duties of central officials were too heavy for them to be spared for local administration; and the experiment of combining the stewardship of the Welsh bailiwicks with the chief stewardship of the south parts of the Lancaster estates in the person of Sir Thomas Hungerford[3] was a short-lived experiment which was not to be repeated. Moreover, the duties of the local steward on the Lancaster estates were still taken too seriously for the office to be regarded as a sinecure. It was generally granted to a small country gentleman who might well be attracted by the pay and the perquisites and who could spend a good deal of his time attending to

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1. N.L.W. Muddlescombe Deeds, 2247 (5 May 1345); DL 25/339 (18 November 1344).

2. For his career see R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, i, 359-60: one needs to add to this biography that Bergh was certainly Gaunt's 'senescallus terre' in 1363. DL 29/592/9444 m.3.

3. His career has been described by J.S. Roskell in 'Three Wiltshire Speakers', Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, lvi (1955-6), 274-300.

the duties of the office in person. In Wales this often meant calling on the service of men from nearby border counties, for in mediaeval as in Tudor Wales[1] a high proportion of the local administrators were drawn from the counties of Gloucester, Hereford and Shropshire. Thus the two clerics who were successive stewards of Monmouth both held livings in the bishopric of Hereford - Ralph Hathewy at Huntley[2] and Master Philip Talbot at Credenhill before he was made archdeacon of Shropshire.[3] Clerics were rare exceptions as stewards on the Lancaster estates, and most of the border-county recruits for the post were laymen. Two such were doubtless Roger de Lye and John de Lodelowe, who were stewards of Monmouth in the early fourteenth century; and another was Richard Shell, a Herefordshire man of small means,[4] who was Duke Henry's steward at Monmouth for at least nine years. His successor was John Lascelles of Gloucestershire, who found plenty of scope for his abilities as an administrator in the Welsh marches: not only was he Gaunt's steward of Monmouth, he was also steward of the prior of Llanthony's courts at Caldicot and Llantrisant and steward of the Bohun manor at Caldicot while it was in royal custody.[5] In Cydweli the office of steward was monopolised for a good part of the century by Richard de Rivers and Walter atte Bergh; but here also one interesting

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1. Cf. Penry Williams, 'The Welsh Borderland under Queen Elizabeth', W.H.R., i, 19-37.

2. Registrum Ricardi Swinfield, 535.

3. C.P.R. 1292-1301, 280; 1301-7, 434; Registrum Ricardi Swinfield, 532. He was dead by 1309, Hereford Cathedral Archives no.1438.

4. For his part in Herefordshire government C.C.R. 1346-9, 504; C.P.R. 1361-4, 159; and for Duke Henry's intervention on his behalf C.P.R. 1354-8, 117.

5. C 115/A.12, f.11j; C.P.R. 1370-4, 420.

border gentleman held the office briefly. He was William Banastre of Hadnall in Shropshire. He took an active part in the government of his home county as a frequent commissioner, justice of the peace, escheator and knight of the shire;[1] but he made an even greater mark in the service of the English higher nobility. His path to fame was by distinguished service to the Black Prince on his Welsh estates - as legal counsel, justice in eyre, steward of Builth, and finally as justice of the principality lands in south Wales.[2] So outstanding were his services on a local level that he was made a leading member of the Prince's council by 1361,[3] and attracted the attention of other nobles. Richard earl of Arundel used his services on more than one occasion;[4] and by November 1368 he had accepted Gaunt's invitation to become steward of Cydweli. Unfortunately his services to Gaunt were cut short by his death less than two years later.

These border men have, with the exception of Banastre, left virtually no record whereby their achievements as stewards can be judged. Paradoxically, the paucity of evidence itself suggests that they were not so important or preoccupied that they could not attend in person to the duties of their office. There was certainly much to be said for this type of steward with his experience of service on local commissions in the border counties and often with the even more valuable experience of administrative work in other seigrorial

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1. C.C.R. 1360-4, 252, 440; 1364-8, 273; C.P.R. 1350-4, 284; 1354-8, 60, 388, 392; 1361-4, 64, 285, 292, 529.

2. B.P.R., iii, 268, 304, 406, 440, 463-4; iv, 505; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 303-4; SC8/1156/7.

3. B.P.R., iii, 415, 472; iv, 419, 542, 544.

4. C.P.R. 1364-7, 198; C.I.P.M., x, no.203.

organisations; but he did lack one quality which mediaeval administration occasionally found to be indispensable, namely local influence and prestige. This is why representatives of Welsh gentry families and English settlers in Wales were occasionally preferred to experienced men from the border counties. Thus Adam ab Ifor, the holder of a considerable estate in the Abergavenny area,[1] was placed in charge of the administration in Monmouth in the 1330s. At the same time Richard de Penres, a junior member of a powerful Gower family with interests also in the lordships of Llanstephan and Cydweli, was chosen as steward of Cydweli by Henry of Grosmont.[2] Cydweli, indeed, presented considerable problems to the Lancaster administration because of its distance from the other estates and because of its essentially Welsh social and economic structure. John of Gaunt seems to have decided that the only way to guarantee efficient government in the Welsh lordships was to appoint men of standing in local society to the key offices. Gruffydd ap Cadwgan Fychan, Henry ap Philip,[3] Henry Don and William Gwyn ap Rhys[4] all served Gaunt as stewards and deputy-stewards in Cydweli. Outside the financial accounts and the Welsh genealogies these men are little more than names; but there are a few hints, fully supported by later evidence, of their power in the community. Indeed they frequently abused their power and position; and Gaunt tried to limit their power by

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1. C.I.P.M., vi, no.612; ix, no.118; C.Inq.Misc. 1307-49, no.1334.

2. Penrice and Margam Manuscripts, ed. W. de Gray Birch, i, esp. nos.296-7.

3. He held, in turn, the offices of steward of the Welshry, receiver, and Gaunt's attorney in the principality court at Carmarthen. He was a member of Gaunt's retinue, Reg.II, p.12.

4. For the careers of Henry Don and William Gwyn ap Rhys, see below pp. 271, 279-82.

by keeping them in office for short periods, by moving them from one post to another,[1] and by taking them to France as members of his retinue.[2] The little that is known of Gruffydd ap Cadwgan Fychan gives a glimpse of their power. He had probably served Duke Henry in the local administration of Cydweli, for he appears in an official capacity as early as 1362.[3] During the next twenty five years he served, spasmodically, as receiver and deputy-steward in the lordship. He used his official position to his own profit at the expense both of the duke of Lancaster and of the local tenantry; but his crimes did not remain undetected and in 1380 he was fined a hundred marks for his various offences.[4] Nonetheless even this proof of his untrustworthiness was not sufficient to discredit him, for he was soon reappointed to his old post of receiver. There were many men like Gruffydd ap Cadwgan Fychan, men whose social prestige and local power made them indispensable in spite of their professional misconduct and easy abuse of office.

All the different types of stewards mentioned so far had some kind of qualification to recommend them to their office - experience of central administration, proven worth as commissioners in the border counties or the influence of local prestige. Under John of Gaunt, however, a new type of

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1. See Appendix A I. pp. 390-1.

2. Henry Don went with Gaunt to France in 1372, Reg.I. 922; and Gruffydd ap Cadwgan Fychan was summoned to go in Gaunt's retinue to Gascony in 1369, DL 29/615/9837.

3. C.C.R. 1360-4, 418.

4. Reg.II. 1153.

steward began to appear in the form of the man who was primarily a military retainer of the duke, and for whom a post as local steward was no more than another reward from his master. Military and administrative careers were certainly not mutually exclusive in the fourteenth century; but in the increasingly complex system of seignorial service, there was a growing tendency to look on the local stewardship much in the same way that churchmen regarded cathedral canonries - primarily as non-resident benefices for deserving followers. This tendency is admirably exemplified in the career of Sir Richard Burley, one of the most trusted retainers of John of Gaunt and his steward of Monmouth for at least six years.

Sir Richard Burley came of a small north-west Herefordshire family. The family was altogether undistinguished, until the prowess of its members in the warfare of the mid-fourteenth century brought with it both fame and fortune. Both Sir Richard's father, Sir John Burley and his uncle, Sir Simon Burley,[1] distinguished themselves in the English campaigns in France and rose to be knights of the royal chamber in the reign of Richard II. All of Sir John Burley's sons, with the exception of Simon, who entered the church and ended life as canon of Hereford,[2] followed in their father's footsteps, preferring the profession of arms and foreign adventure to the quiet life of rural Herefordshire. Two of the sons, the younger John and William, entered the

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1. There are biographies, not altogether adequate, of Sir John and Sir Simon Burley in G.F. Beltz, Memorials of the Order of the Garter, 257-60, 285-9. Sir John Burley's will is published in Registrum Johannis Gilbert, 34-6.

2. His will is to be found in Hereford Cathedral Archives, no.2822; he died in 1390. He is occasionally confused with his uncle and namesake, Sir Simon Burley.

royal service,[1] whilst the other two, Richard and Roger,[2] became retainers of the duke of Lancaster. Richard Burley's military career may have begun as early as 1355 in the Black Prince's expeditionary force;[3] he was certainly distinguished enough to be placed in charge of the van at the battle of Auray in September 1364 and fifteen years later he accompanied the earl of Arundel on his ill-fated Breton expedition.[4] In the meantime his military prowess had caught the eye of John of Gaunt whose service he had entered by at least 1369. He accompanied his master on the chevauchée in France in 1370-2 and went abroad on his service in 1379.[5] He must have been deeply involved in the various plans which Gaunt put forward for going to Spain; and when the expedition eventually materialised in 1386, Burley was the marshal of the Lancastrian army.[6] It was while he was on this campaign that Sir Richard Burley died.

War was more than an exciting game for Burley and his fellow-campaigners. He expected to be rewarded by his lord, and he was not to be disappointed. Until the death of his father's and his own marriage soon afterwards, he was

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1. C.P.R. 1377-81, 281, 283.

2. He was drawing an annuity of 20 marks on Monmouth in 1385, DL 29/615/9838.

3. He may have been the Richard Burley who appears in the records of the expedition, H.J. Hewitt, The Black Prince's expedition 1355-7, 199.

4. G.F. Beltz, Order of the Garter, 292; Foedera, IV, 69.

5. Reg.I, 1042; Reg.II, 128.

6. For his part in Gaunt's Spanish expedition, see E. Perroy, L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'occident 1378-99, 241, 245-6, 250. He had also been to Spain with the Black Prince in 1367, P.E. Russell, The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II, 88 n.2.

resident at Gaunt's court and was paid at the rate of two shillings a day when he was occupied on his lord's business elsewhere.[1] So his daily expenses were catered for; but a good retainer was worth more than his keep. Already by 1369 Burley had been granted an annuity of £30 from Cydweli and by 1375 the annuity had been increased to £100.[2] By the end of his life Sir Richard Burley was receiving far more by way of annuities than any other retainer in the southern auditorship of the house of Lancaster, and it can be confidently estimated that he drew £1,500 from this source alone in the seventeen years from 1369 to 1387. Gaunt's growing confidence in Burley was also shown to him in the offices to which he was appointed. Burley started with the lowly post of constable of Kidwelly castle; but in the late 1370s he was appointed to the much more important office of steward of Monmouth. His personal affairs, his role in local government in Herefordshire,[3] his position as a member of Gaunt's council[4] and, above all, his military enterprises certainly prevented him from giving much attention to his new post. Many of the letters in Gaunt's register which deal with Monmouth lordship during this period were in fact addressed to John Sergeant, Burley's deputy as steward; and it was his deputy who often presided at courts and witnessed transactions in land.[5]

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1. DL 28/3/1 m.4; Reg.I, 911, 969, 1042, 1176.

2. DL 29/584/9236; Reg.I, 835, 690.

3. He was justice of the peace 1382-4, C.P.R. 1381-5, 138, 246, 348.

4. Cf. a letter sent from Monmouth 'versus Leycestr'Ricardo Burle militi et aliis de consilio domini', DL 29/615/9838.

5. Reg.II, 79, 190, 225, 532, 718; Cartularium Sancti Petri Gloucestriae (R.S.), ed. W.H. Hart, iii, 259; N.L.W. Milborne Collection, 107-8; N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1499.

Nonetheless it should not be too easily assumed that the stewardship of Monmouth was nothing but a sinecure, for Monmouth was within easy reach of Burley's newly acquired estates in Herefordshire, and especially of his new home at Newland castle in the forest of Dean.[1] Indeed it may well be no coincidence that Burley was appointed to the stewardship only after he had acquired a territorial foothold in his native county. This he had done in 1376 when the death of his maternal uncle, Sir Richard Pembridge, left him as one of the co-heirs of the considerable Pembridge estates.[2] Burley's new estates were, admittedly, widely scattered; but at least they provided him with a worthy seat and an independent territorial position during his father's lifetime. He soon began to add to them by investing the profits of war and of service in the land market in Herefordshire. He bought out the rights of the Tyberton family in the manor of Tyberton and other nearby lands;[3] and he probably paid at least 700 marks for the castle and manor of Dorstone which he bought from William Solers.[4] These two acquisitions were especially valuable as they lay near the heart of the Burley family lands in western Herefordshire. Sir Richard Burley was already, therefore, a considerable landowner in his own right when he acquired the family estates on his father's death in 1383. He could proudly claim to have doubled the extent of the Burley lands in Herefordshire and elsewhere, either through inheritance or purchase. He further improved his position by acquiring, with others,

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1. In April 1386 he and his wife were given permission to have mass celebrated in Newland castle, Registrum Johannis Gilbert, 91.

2. C.I.P.M., xiv, no.192; C.F.R. 1369-77, 311; C.C.R. 1374-7, 350-1; 1377-81, 215; 1389-92, 136.

3. C.C.R. 1377-81, 217. 4. CP 25(1)/83/48 nos.17-18; C 136/49 no.5.

some highly lucrative wardships in the area: in 1383 the custody of Mortimer manors in Brecon and Herefordshire; three months later the lands of the Gloucestershire priory of Deerhurst, and in June 1384 the right to share the custody of all the countess of Pembroke's lands with Gaunt.[1] The influence of Gaunt must have been indispensable to him in acquiring these custodies, and, indeed, the grant of Deerhurst priory was specifically stated to have been made 'by the advice of the king's council and especially of John, king of Castile and Leon'.

Burley's services to Gaunt were clearly paying handsome dividends. Had he been content to spend his life in his native Herefordshire he would have inherited the Pembridge and Burley estates; but he would hardly have had the money to acquire new lands or the opportunity to pick up lucrative custodies. His success and dependence on Gaunt were both symbolised in the rich London house[2] which he bought for himself. For it was only by having a residence in London, as well as in Newland castle, that Burley could fully attend to Gaunt's affairs and keep his ear close to events at court.

A high military reputation, membership of the Order of the Garter, the close friendship of the duke of Lancaster, and a handsome estate in Herefordshire were considerable qualifications in Richard Burley's search for a wife. He had left the matter rather late in his life for he must have been well in his forties when he secured himself a bride in 1384 or 1385; but Beatrice, the daughter of the earl of Stafford, was a lady worth waiting for.[3]

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1. C.P.R. 1377-83, 333, 351; 1383-91, 42.

2. According to his will the house was to be offered to his uncle or brother at 500 marks, Registrum Johannis Gilbert, 111.

3. For Beatrice and the date of the marriage G.E.C., xi, 101.

She was already twice widowed and a mother of two sons by her second marriage. Thomas lord Roos of Helmesley, her second husband and himself a Lancaster retainer, had jointly enfeoffed her with most of his lands, extending into ten English counties;[1] and it was doubtless this vast territorial wealth which won the heart of Sir Richard Burley. The marriage transformed his position from that of a rich Herefordshire gentleman to that of a countrywide landowner. He quickly sought to make his newly-won position watertight in law, by appointing feoffees who granted the Roos lands to Beatrice and himself for their lives.[2] There is no need to enter into the details of the marriage arrangement here, except to suggest that Gaunt's influence was probably invaluable in securing Beatrice's hand and estates for Sir Richard Burley and that Sir Simon Burley may also have played a leading and not altogether disinterested part in the marriage and the consequent territorial arrangements. At least Sir Simon Burley figures unusually prominently in the enfeoffments and testamentary dispositions of Sir Richard Burley's last few years and took a share of his nephew's lands on the latter's death.[3]

Sir Richard Burley enjoyed the company and lands of his wife for less than three years before he died in Spain in 1387, leaving no heir to succeed to his enlarged estates and mourned by his <u>familia</u> of two esquires, two valets, a groom, a chamberlain and a cook. The possible executors of his will[4] were life-long Herefordshire friends, two of whom, Sir Peter de la

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1. <u>C.C.R. 1381-5</u>. 487-9.

2. <u>C.P.R. 1385-9</u>. 57, 127, 148-9; <u>C.C.R. 1385-9</u>. 286-7.

3. Until these last few years Sir Simon Burley rarely appears together with either Sir John Burley or Sir Richard Burley. For the lands he acquired after Sir Richard Burley's death see <u>C.P.R. 1385-9</u>. 553-4.

4. His will is published in <u>Registrum Johannis Gilbert</u>. 109-112.

Mare and Roger Partrich, had been in the service of the earl of March. Close as were the ties of friendship, the bonds of lord and retainer could be even closer. They were expressed in touching fashion in the first wish of Burley's will, that he should be buried in St. Paul's 'en le mure encontre la sepulture de mon tresdoute seigneur de Lancastre'. The wish remained unfulfilled,[1] but Gaunt showed his respect for Burley by taking his leading squire, Richard Eton, into his service after Burley's death. The admiration and respect of the two men for one another was mutual. To Gaunt, Burley was one of his most trusted servants,[2] the marshal of his army, and, in Froissart's words, 'his principal adviser'.[3] To Richard Burley, Gaunt was the ideal lord to whom he owed not only profitable offices and annuities, but also much of his standing in local and even in national society, his military renown, a good deal of his landed wealth, especially lucrative custodies, and even possibly the hand of his wife.

The career of Sir Richard Burley is interesting in the present context for in it one sees how the different rôles of a military retainer, a local landowner and a steward on Lancaster estates were inextricably related to, and dependent upon, one another. His career is meaningless if it is studied in a vacuum merely as that of a local seignorial official in the service of the house of Lancaster. It is a career which can be paralleled by that of many other stewards on Lancaster estates, not least by Burley's own successor

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1. He was buried in Spain, but a tomb was erected for him in St. Paul's. There is an engraving of this fine tomb in W. Dugdale, The History of St. Paul's Cathedral, 69.

2. Thus in 1375 he was entrusted with the carriage of some of Gaunt's personal possessions; and during the panic of June 1381 he alone was allowed to enter the Welsh castles without a warrant from the duke, Reg.I. 1730, Reg.II. 1530-2.

3. Jean Froissart, Chronicles, ed. T. Johnes, ii. 270.

as steward of Monmouth, Sir William Lucy. Lucy[1] was, indeed, Burley's cousin by marriage and had been brought up in the household of Sir John Burley, his guardian.[2] He had followed his cousin into Gaunt's service by at least 1381, and it was while he was with Gaunt's expedition in Spain in 1386 that he was invested with the post of steward of Monmouth on Burley's death.[3] The careers of the two men ran on broadly parallel lines, but Lucy's was less colourful and less successful, and the comparative peace of the 1390s meant that he could spend more time than his predecessor on his work as steward of Monmouth.[4] It was while attending to his official duties that he was killed in the nearby lordship of Abergavenny in 1401.[5]

The appointment of such men as Sir Richard Burley and Sir William Lucy to posts as local stewards is clearly a reflection of the fact that the Lancaster estates system under Gaunt was becoming increasingly preoccupied with the problem of maintaining and rewarding a body of retainers more numerous than ever before. Before such a system of appointments is condemned out of hand, certain important factors need to be borne in mind. In the first place it would clearly be misleading to think of the functions of the mediaeval steward as those of a full-time civil servant in the modern sense. His duties were, above all, to supervise the local administration and to dispense seignorial justice; his continuous presence at his post was not necessarily called for.

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1. For the Lucys of Charlecote and their estates see W. Dugdale, The Antiquities of Warwickshire, i, 395-501 et seq.

2. C.Inq.Misc. 1348-77, no.766. 3. Reg.II, 41, 1240.

4. He also took an active part in the local government of Herefordshire and Warwickshire.

5. Chronicon Adae de Usk 1377-1421, ed. E.M. Thompson, 63.

Nor was administrative competence the only, or necessarily the most important, quality which was looked for in a steward; local prestige, experience in local government, or proven worth as a military retainer were equally valuable qualities. Furthermore while more military retainers were appointed as local stewards by Gaunt, he controlled the new departure carefully, at least in Monmouth, by appointing as stewards retainers who had territorial interests and local standing in the border counties and who could be expected at least to keep an eye on the lordship from their family homes. The office of steward was certainly not a sinecure on Lancaster estates as yet.

Nonetheless the burden of responsibility and of the day to day supervision of the local estates fell increasingly on the receiver. The duties of the mediaeval receiver are sufficiently well-known to need no repetition here. He was not only the chief accounting official, responsible for the issues of the local reeves and bailiffs as well as for the yield of his own bailwick; he was also often, either in fact or in name, the deputy-steward of the lordship charged with the duty of supervising its day to day administration. What sort of men did the earls and dukes of Lancaster appoint to this key office with such heavy responsibilities and exacting routine-work? The clear advantages of literacy for such an office meant that clerks were often appointed to the post (much more than to that of steward) and could hope, in return, to be presented to a living in the lord's advowson. Such were John Joie, the receiver of Cydweli who was presented to the Lancaster living of Tibberton in 1330, John de Campden, rector of St. Ishmael and receiver of Cydweli in 1376-7 and his successor there in 1390, John Cressenny,

former vicar of Monmouth.[1] Other clerical receivers included David the Clerk who was Earl Henry's receiver in Wales in 1329-30 and John Becot who had succeeded him as receiver of Cydweli by 1336.[2]

But the office of receiver was not monopolised by local clerics, for constant attendance and, above all, local prestige and knowledge were even more important qualifications than literacy for the post of receiver. This was especially true at Cydweli where Gaunt found it expedient, as with the post of steward, to select his receivers from the local population and to change them frequently. He could choose them from the burgesses and settler-families of the Englishry - as was the case with Thomas Hervy, Roger Aylward, William de Tuttebury and Robert Don, or from reputable and influential Welshmen such as Gruffydd ap Cadwgan Fychan, William ap Philip and Henry ap Philip. The frequent changes of receiver at Cydweli and the apparently conscious efforts to balance English and Welsh appointments there are further hints of the difficulties which the Lancaster administration found in managing this distant marcher lordship. It contrasts sharply with the position in Monmouth where the post of receiver was held for over thirty years by one man. John Sergeant[3] came of a local landed family whose seat was at Newton, a mile or so from Monmouth.[4] His father was probably the John Sergeant who was Earl Henry's steward in Wales from 1327 to 1332. Such a family tradition of service was reinforced by the younger John Sergeant's undoubted abilities, for he was

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1. Registrum Thome de Charlton, 76, 91; C.P.R. 1377-81, 33; DL 28/3/1 m.1.

2. See Appendix A I; and for Becot C.P.R. 1334-8, 443.

3. He was almost certainly not the same as John Sergeant of Stone in Gloucestershire who figures prominently as a royal commissioner in that county.

4. John Sergeant senior was granted land in Newton in 1333, Monmouth Record Office, Llanarth Court Collection, 26; and the landed interests of the family in the Newton-Dixton area is clear from fifteenth century evidence. DL 42/17 f.165; N.L.W. Badminton Collection 1506, m.5.

steward of Abergavenny in 1379 and feoffee of Richard Talbot of Archenfield as well as Gaunt's receiver of Monmouth for over thirty years.[1] His heavy duties as receiver were rewarded not so much by the modest annual fee of £6 13s.4d. as by being given the first optian on some of the lucrative leases of property in the Monmouth area. In 1363 he acquired the lease of Monmouth fisheries for seven years; from 1367 he farmed the town and mills of Monmouth for five years at £88 per annum; and soon after, he secured the farm of the pasture of 'Blacknorlesmede' to the north-east of the town.[2] These leases and his own paternal inheritance made John Sergeant into a member of the smaller gentry; and had he lived in one of the nearby border counties, he would doubtless have appeared as a justice of the peace and a frequent local commissioner. His services were fully appreciated by both Gaunt and Sir Richard Burley, whose deputy as steward he was.[3] He was indeed the key-man in the Lancaster administration in Monmouth; and he and his like formed the backbone of both local government and seignorial administration in England and Wales in the fourteenth century.

The steward and the receiver were in charge of the administration of the lordship; but the duty of defending and maintaining the castles fell to the constable or the janitor. The post of constable in Wales could be an important one; but for most of the fourteenth century conditions were so peaceful that the post became a virtual sinecure. Frequently the constableship

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1. Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to Wales, iii, 582; C.P.R. 1396-9, 38.
2. DL 29/594/9506-7; DL 29/615/9836.
3. He was also one of Burley's feoffees and possible executors.

at Monmouth or Kidwelly was held by the steward, and he in turn might appoint a deputy or allow his duties to be performed by the janitor or the master-sergeant. At the five other Duchy castles in Wales - Carregcennen, Ogmore, Grosmont, Skenfrith and Whitecastle - the post was often granted to a local man with military experience in the duke's service, such as Raulyn Greyndour at Whitecastle[1] or John Wrench at Carregcennen,[2] or increasingly under Gaunt to a deserving military retainer such as Richard Eton, constable of Grosmont after 1394 and John French, constable of Skenfrith. The career of one of these constables, William atte Hall of Grosmont, may be briefly mentioned as yet another illustration of the close interdependence of military service, official position and territorial wealth in the Lancaster administrative system under Gaunt. By origin probably a landless English squire,[3] his military service to Gaunt was rewarded not only with the constableship of Grosmont but with the lease of the local mill, the grant of the lordship's demesne lands and the services of its customary tenants free of charge, and the right of appointing the reeve and the sergeant of the peace.[4] By this series of grants Hall had become, in fact if not in name, lord of the manor of Grosmont; and he soon consolidated his position as a small country squire in the Welsh marches by securing the hand of Margaret de Dene, the heiress of Mitheldean in Gloucestershire.[5] William atte Hall,

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1. For the Greyndour family see below pp. 206-9.

2. John Wrench was a local landowner who frequently appears as a commissioner in Cydweli; he had also been abroad with Gaunt and was rewarded by him with an annuity of £[illegible]. Reg.I, 257, 351, 749, 922, 1264, 1344, 1765; DL 29/584/9238; DL 29/615/9837.

3. Either William atte Hall of Higham Ferrers who was with Gaunt in 1373 or his namesake of Kent who was in Gaunt's retinue in 1374. Reg.I, 49; Foedera, III, ii, 1011.

4. DL 29/594/9506 m.3. 5. C.P.R. 1381-5, 404.

like Sir Richard Burley, could say that service to the duke of Lancaster had not only given him military experience and an administrative post, but had also brought him territorial wealth and social prestige.

This survey of the appointments to Lancaster administration at receivership level in Wales has brought out the fact that the officials were drawn from several broad groups - from clerics, from men of standing in the border counties, from local men of prestige and authority, and, increasingly, from military retainers of the duke. This latter feature of appointing military retainers to administrative posts, as seen in the careers of Sir Richard Burley, Sir William Lucy and William atte Hall, certainly appears to have grown more common under Gaunt, at a time when the Lancaster estates-system was more than ever preoccupied with the problem of rewarding its large corps of military retainers. Certain of the features that have been emphasised were certainly peculiar to the administration and needs of a marcher society, more especially in the lordship of Cydweli; but broadly speaking much the same pattern of appointment and rewards would doubtless emerge from a study of Lancaster lordships in England in the same period.

Three main questions remain to be asked about this administration: what were its chief functions, how well was it supervised and controlled from the centre, and how efficiently did it perform its tasks? Clearly the primary aim of every seignorial administration was to collect its lord's revenue as expeditiously as possible. Its next function was to keep order in its bailiwick primarily through the seignorial courts; and as the judicial powers of a marcher lord were extraordinarily wide and his financial benefits therefrom particularly luerative, a good part of his officials' time would be spent in organising his courts and collecting the issues. With two

exceptions,[1] no court rolls have survived from the Lancaster estates in Wales until the reign of Henry VI so that it is impossible to give a detailed analysis of the different types of courts and of their functions. On the whole, however, it may be assumed that the functions of the manorial courts of lowland Monmouth were akin to those of like courts in England, whilst recent studies of the power and functions of the various courts in the Principality of Wales provide valuable guides to what might have been expected from the courts of Cydweli in the same period.[2] Each local unit had one or more courts of its own. The economic organisation of the Monmouth estates called for manorial courts of the English type, and at Whitecastle and Monmouth there were also hallmoots. Alongside these manorial courts were to be found the hundred courts, where all the tenants of the lordship, regardless of who their immediate lords were,[3] were justiciable for certain kinds of offences. In the Englishry of Cydweli the pattern of the courts was similar to that at Monmouth: there were hundred courts in the burghs of Kidwelly and Llanelli; the tenants of the Englishry in the vicinity of Kidwelly were suitors at the 'curia forinseca';[4] and as at Monmouth there were liberties, such as those of the Botelers of Penbre or the prior of Kidwelly, whose owners claimed the right to hold courts baron.[5] Outside the Englishry, however, the courts of

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1. The Hadnock court roll of 1345 summarised in Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to Wales, iii, entry 1217; and the Ogmore court roll for 1400-1, DL 30/132/2036.

2. W.H. Waters, The Edwardian Settlement of North Wales in its administrative and legal aspects (1284-1343), 99-133; R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government in the southern counties of the principality of Wales, 1422-85' (University of Bristol. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. 1963), 43-98.

3. The bishops of Llandaff had a court at Llandeilo Gresynni and the Greys of Wilton at Dingestow, N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 582; Monmouth Record Office, Llanarth Court Collection,7.

4. N.L.W. Muddlescombe Deeds 2143, 2194, 2244 for references to this court.

5. JI1/1153 m.27, m.29, m.33, m.39.

Cydweli were the direct descendants of the old Welsh courts, and the procedure in them was often quite different from that used in the English courts. Whereas English legal practices or the law of the march[1] were the norm for the English courts, Welsh civil and even criminal law was still administered in the Welsh courts at Cydweli.[2] Most of these courts seem to have met every three weeks, and were generally presided over by the steward, or his deputy, and another local official. Seignorial justice was not confined to the local courts for the earls and dukes of Lancaster could also exercise their jurisdiction in Wales through the chief steward in his tourn, through justices in eyre sitting in sessions, or through the seignorial council adjudicating on local plaints forwarded to it.

Control of local administration from the centre was not confined to the field of justice; it was exercised in regular fashion over the whole field of local administration, at least by the time of Gaunt. The most obvious liason between central and local administration lay through the auditor, who was expected to visit each lordship at least twice annually, to audit and emend the accounts, to draw up a valor and even a certificate of account from the local documents,[3] and to submit a list of recommendations to the council

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1. For a contemporary reference Reg.I. 352.

2. An important example of a criminal case being tried by Welsh law is to be found in JI 1/1153 m.42. Cf. the reference to 'challenge de Galesserie' in Reg.II. 62. For civil cases see T.J. Pierce in T.C.S., 1963, part i, 7-32, esp. 31. Dosbarthwyr or men learned in Welsh law were used to reverse judgements in Cydweli as in other parts of south-west Wales, DL 29/584/9237, 9239.

3. For these documents see below p.65.

and the lord.[1] It was also his duty to revise the extent, on which the local accounts were based, when conditions required it;[2] it was with justified pride that the auditor remarked that the new rental he had compiled for Whitecastle in 1386 added £4 10s.0d. to Gaunt's annual income from the lordship and that the duke had lost £105 16s.0d. by not compiling a new rental when the lordship originally came into his possession in 1362![3] Nor was the auditor merely a financial official, for he was often charged by the seignorial council with the task of performing local duties, such as supervising the repairs to castles or expediting the collection of seignorial debts. Furthermore his familiarity with local conditions meant that petitions from local tenants were often sent to him and adjudicated by him; while, on the other hand, the fact that he was very much the archivist of the seignorial accounts meant that he was constantly been asked by the council to produce exact evidence on local affairs. Altogether the auditor was the most obvious and regular channel of communication and control between the centre and the localities.[4]

But he was not the only connecting link. The chief steward - of whom there were two by the time of Gaunt - could exercise a wider if less regular supervision over the affairs of the lordship.[5] From time to time he held a

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1. For one such list of recommendations see G.A. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, 126-8.
2. Cf. the comment at the foot of the Ashperton account for 1378: 'memorandum ad faciendum unum novum rentalem quia dicitur quod multum proficiet domino', DL 29/594/9507.
3. DL 43/13/8 m.9.
4. Examples of his manifold duties are to be found throughout the two published registers of John of Gaunt.
5. On the duties of the chief steward see R. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, i. 111-15.

tourn at which the affairs of the lordship were thoroughly scrutinised and heavy fines imposed on defaulting officials and tenants.[1] Sir Thomas Skelton, the chief steward of the south parts, held such a tourn at Kidwelly in 1395, and collected £153 in fines, £8 in confiscated goods and £155 in subsidies from the local communities.[2] The chief steward might visit the local estate in person or along with the auditor; but he might equally well visit it as a member of the seignorial council. Sir Robert Somerville has already dwelt at length on the composition and function of the councils of the earls and dukes of Lancaster,[3] so that there is little which needs to be added here. The council could visit the Welsh estates, as it did in 1363 (when it consisted of the receiver-general, the chief steward, the two auditors and others) and in 1370,[4] in a purely administrative capacity. But in the Welsh marches it could also appear in a judicial guise, for the justices in eyre whom Gaunt appointed to hold the sessions in Cydweli and Monmouth were often members of his council and took the sessions as an opportunity to transact administrative as well as judicial business.[5] Nor was the influence of the seignorial council on local affairs confined to its visits there, for it was kept in constant touch with local affairs by the auditor and chief steward, by news brought by

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1. An excellent idea of the nature of the chief steward's tourn can be obtained from the record of that held on the Stafford estates in 1385, Staffordshire Record Office, D 641/1/2/3.

2. DL 29/728/11986.

3. R. Somerville, 'The Duchy of Lancaster Council and the Court of Duchy Chamber', T.R.H.S., 4th series, xxiii (1941), 159-77; Duchy of Lancaster, 1, 81-4, 121-30.

4. DL 29/592/9444 m.3; DL 29/584/9236.

5. See below p. 68 and cf. p. 367

messengers, and by and by a constant flow of petitions and private visits by local tenants and officials. Altogether there can be no doubt that the local administration in Wales, at least by Gaunt's day, was under the close and constant supervision of central officials; and the supervision probably increased during the fourteenth century as the central organisation became more sophisticated, the division between central and local officials more distinct, and the personal visits of the earls and dukes more rare.

This brings us to the final question of the efficiency of the local administration in the Lancaster marcher lordships in Wales. Unfortunately even under John of Gaunt there hardly exists sufficient evidence to answer this question; and any final decision will have to be deferred until we discuss the much fuller post-1399 evidence. Nonetheless a clear contrast between Monmouth and Cydweli emerges in this, as in so many other, fields. In Monmouth Gaunt could use the stewardship, as he did in England, to reward his military retainers; and he was quite content to leave the receivership in the hands of one man for thirty years. In Cydweli, on the other hand, there is clear evidence to show that Gaunt was far from being satisfied with the local administration. Neither receivers nor stewards were kept in office for any length of time and were moved from one post to another; Englishmen were balanced as officials by Welshmen, some of whom such as Gruffydd ap Cadwgan Fychan and Henry Don proved far from trustworthy; ample regard had to be paid to local prestige and the experiment of appointing the chief steward, Sir Thomas Hungerford, in charge of local affairs was soon abandoned. So unsatisfactory had the position become by the late 1380s and so large were the arrears of officials that John Bromwich and William Bagot were appointed as 'supervisores

maneriorum domini in partibus istis', probably with the express purpose of investigating and overhauling the local administration.[1] The trouble in Cydweli lay partly in the fact that its social structure and historical tradition were ill-adapted to the needs of seignorial administration, but also partly in the heavy and even excessive financial demands which Gaunt made upon the lordship. The question of administrative efficiency, indeed, can only be answered in the light of these financial demands and it is to this problem that attention must now be turned.

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1. DL 29/584/9239; see below p. 72.

(iii) The Finances of the Estates to 1399.

Certain obvious questions immediately pose themselves as soon as one tackles the problem of the finances of the local seignorial lordship and of the marcher lordships in particular: what were the main sources of revenue; how far did these sources differ from those of a seignorial bailiwick in England; did the main sources of revenue change over a given period of time; how efficiently were the seignorial dues collected and on what were they spent; and finally what was the share of the marcher revenue in the general finances of the house of Lancaster? These questions may be elementary ones, but, because of the state of the evidence, they are far easier to ask than to answer; and before even the most tentative answers are suggested to them the nature and limitations of the evidence, upon which such answers are based, must be briefly stated.

Until the later years of John of Gaunt remarkably few documents have survived which shed any light on the finances of the Lancaster estates in Wales; they are certainly far less in number than those which have survived for the Clare and Bohun inheritances for the same period. As the South Wales group of estates never passed into the possession of Earl Thomas they do not appear in the fine counter-roll of his possessions for 1313-14;[1] and it is not until around the year 1330 that a collection of financial documents has survived for the Lancaster inheritance which include the Welsh estates within

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1. For this roll see J.F. Baldwin's article in E.H.R., xlii (1927), 190 et seq.

their purview.[1] Such of the accounts of the local Lancaster receivers as have survived for this period do not suggest a high degree of sophistication in financial organisation.[2] Nonetheless the auditors of Earl Henry Tortcol could not only estimate the profit of individual manors in the contemporary fashion;[3] they were also able to compile a fairly comphrehensive account of the yield of the earl's landed estates and of the main items of his local and central expenditure. Two such valors, as they are called, have survived for the financial years 1330-2;[4] and they are the first reliable source of information on the value of the Lancaster estates in Wales. They mark a considerable advance on the Lacy and early Lancaster counter-rolls as a comprehensive and brief guide to the major sources of seignorial income and expenditure; but they are far inferior to, and quite different in aim from, the contemporary valors of Elizabeth de Burgh, lady of Clare.[5] Moreover the valors of 1330-2 raise almost as many questions as they answer. They merely state in bald terms the value of a manor or a lordship; and it is by no means clear what these 'values' do or do not contain.[6] Consequently the

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1. More especially DL 40/1/11 f.43-f.55; DL 41/9/1-6; DL 41/10/34. For Earl Henry's financial administration see R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, i, 84-8, and N.B. Lewis, 'A Certificate of the earl of Lancaster's auditors, 1341', E.H.R., lv (1940), 99-103.

2. For example, the account of the receiver of Knaresborough for 1341-2, DL 29/481/7741.

3. There is a note on 'proficuum manerii valet hoc anno' in DL 29/481/7741. For discussion of such auditorial glosses see N. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration in England, 128-30, and especially E. Stone, 'Profit-and-loss accountancy at Norwich Cathedral Priory', T.R.H.S., 5th series, xii (1962), 25-48.

4. DL 40/1/11 f.43-f.55.

5. SC 11/799, 801. The differences cannot be elaborated here, and, anyhow, are obvious.

6. If later Lancaster valors are any guide, these figures probably contain the value of a manor or lordship, less local reprises.

two valors are not of immediate value to the historian of the local lordship, except in so far as they show that the Welsh estates contributed almost 20% of Earl Henry's landed income in 1331 and 1332;[1] their real value only becomes apparent when they are compared with later documents for the same estates.

Unfortunately it is not until the late 1380s that a similar series of documents appears in the Lancaster archives; andthe intervening fifty years is almost completely undocumented as far as Lancaster finances are concerned. The appearance of a new series of valors, of very varying kinds, in the Lancaster archives in the 1380s is something of an unexplained phenomenon which calls for a brief mention. It is rather strange that the wealthiest inheritance in England should have failed to produce statements of the financial yield of its estates, comparable with the earlier Clare ones, until such a late date.[2] The fairly finished form of some of the earliest of Gaunt's detailed valors[3] suggests that they were no innovation, and an earlier series may possibly have been lost or burnt at the Savoy in 1381. On the other hand, the varying format and content of the valors and certificates of accounts, while possibly attributable to the whims of individual auditors, seem to suggest a period of experiment; and the appearance of an auditor's list of arrears for the first time in 1390 is likewise suggestive. It may be

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1. The figures (to the nearest £) are £990:£5,517 (1331) and £1,043:£5,459 (1332).

2. The claim of C.D. Ross and T.B. Pugh in Ec.H.R., 2nd series, vi, 192 that 'the development of the valor as a regular feature of private financial systems may probably be traced to the skilled officials of the Duchy of Lancaster in the latter part of the fourteenth century' is hardly tenable.

3. These remarks on the early Lancaster valors cannot be elaborated here; they are based on an examination of all the pre-1399 valors in the Duchy archives.

that a major reorganisation of auditorial practices took place in Gaunt's administration in the 1380s, and that it was some time before a satisfactory series of valors was evolved. These valors of the 1380s and 1390s certainly do not raise problems of interpretation as serious as those of the 1330 valors. The detailed and summary valors yield their information fairly readily once their purpose is borne in mind.[1] The certificates of account,[2] which are peculiar to John of Gaunt's period, are more difficult of interpretation; but most of the problems they pose can be solved if they are studied in the light of the detailed valors. The 'valet' of each individual manor or local unit as given in the certificates almost certainly consists of the clear value as given in the detailed valor, that is the gross charge less manorial reprises.[3] These individual 'valets' (which sometimes specify the major sources of revenue) are added together to give the 'valet' of the receivership; and then follows the discharge of the receiver, as in an ordinary receiver's account.

Such are the main sources for the study of the Lancaster finances in Wales in the fourteenth century. How far do they answer the questions which were posed at the beginning of this section? The later, but not the earlier,

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1. The problems posed by these valors are discussed below, pp.360-2.

2. The three certificates for Wales, DL 43/15/1-3, show considerable differences from one another.

3. It may be well to make clear the meaning in which two important terms are used throughout this thesis: (a) 'gross charge' is taken as the total yield of a manor or lordship, less only fictitious revenue such as decay and allowance of rent; (b) 'clear yield' or 'clear value' is the gross charge less the expenses paid by the local officials (reeve or beadle) and is equivalent to the sum which should have been paid to the (local) receiver.

valors are sufficiently detailed to tell us what the main sources of marcher revenue were, and the results have been incorporated in Table I. It will be seen that in Monmouth receivership rents and farms formed between two-thirds and three-quarters of the revenue, very much the same proportion as on the English estates of the house of Lancaster. The structure of finances in Cydweli and Ogmore was markedly different. There, also rents and farms were the most important single source of revenue; but they formed only half or so of the seignorial income. Most of the rest of the revenue came from perquisites of courts and heavy fines from communities and individuals. This dependence on judicial profits - that is, on the lord's rights as judge rather than as landowner - is one of the basic features of marcher finances in the later mediaeval period and one that can be noticed in many other Welsh marcher lordships of the time.[1]

Many of the fines and amercements were levied in the local courts of the lordships; but others, including some of the larger ones, were the fruits of one of the most treasured of marcher privileges - the right of holding sessions in eyre within the lordship.[2] Justices were certainly holding such sessions in eyre in the Principality and in some marcher lordships in the mid-fourteenth century; but no references to the sessions in the Lancaster estates appear until 1380, and it may be that their appearance

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1. For Brecon see below p. 148 , and for Usk see G.A. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, 146. Like instances could be given from other lordships.

2. For a general discussion of this subject see T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536, 3-48, and the works cited there.

TABLE I : An analysis of the main sources of revenue in Cydweli and Monmouth, 1386-1395

Monmouth Receiver	1386	1387	1388	1391	1395
Rents and Farms	£452 . 14 . 6	£452 . 14 . 8	£445 . 11 . 0	£439 . 12 . 0	£491 . 13 . 11 [1]
Court Issues and local fines	£ 87 . 9 . 0	£150 . 8 . 4	£177 . 15 . 0	£ 89 . 5 . 7	£102 . 2 . 2
Other Issues	£ 72 . 16 . 3			£ 54 . 16 . 4	-
Communal fines and subsidies	-	-	-	-	£ 47 . 19 . 8 [2]
	£612 . 19 . 11	£603 . 3 . 0	£623 . 6 . 0	£583 . 13 . 11	£641 . 15 . 9 [3]
Cydweli Receiver					
Rents and Farms	£336 . 18 . 1	£336 . 18 . 0	£301 . 15 . 10	£356 . 16 . 4	£386 . 18 . 7 [1]
Court Issues and local fines	£241 . 7 . 11	£236 . 11 . 0	£691 . 8 . 2	£305 . 18 . 1	£208 . 10 . 6
Other Issues	£ 23 . 11 . 9	£ 48 . 12 . 0		£ 9 . 10 . 9	-
Communal fines and subsidies	£ 55 . 16 . 8	£110 . 0 . 0	-		£195 . 5 . 10
	£657 . 14 . 5	£732 . 1 . 0	£993 . 4 . 0	£672 . 5 . 2	£790 . 14 . 11

Sources : DL 43/15/1-3; DL 29/728/11986.

Notes : 1. This figure includes 'other issues'.

2. This contains the subsidy and the chief steward's fines; other local fines classed as 'casuals' in the account have been added to the court issues.

3. The clear yield of Monmouth town has been included in this table; but the £20 outstanding arrears have been excluded as in Table II.

at that date is to be interpreted as part of Gaunt's attempt to make good the fall in revenue in the area. The first known sessions in Cydweli were those held in 1380 by the chief steward, the receiver-general and the auditor.[1] Like sessions are known to have been held in 1386 and in 1390; while the chief steward is recorded as holding tourns there in 1395 and in June 1397.[2] Heavy individual and communal fines were imposed at these sessions and tourns, and collected in instalments over a number of years. A fine of 800 marks, equivalent to the annual yield of the lordship, was imposed on the community of Cydweli receivership at the 1380 sessions; and likewise after the 1395 tourn individual fines of £222 15s.0d. and communal subsidies of £235 5s.0d. appear on the Cydweli and Ogmore accounts.[3] Like fines were levied on other occasions.[4] Furthermore it is clear that Cydweli was contributing far more than Monmouth towards these large fines and subsidies; whereas Monmouth contributed a subsidy of only £66 13s.4d. to the duke in 1395, Cydweli and Ogmore were expected to pay £222 15s.0d. on the same occasion. It is clear that in the later years of John of Gaunt the lordship of Cydweli, much more so that Monmouth, was being taxed to a maximum by means of extraordinary fines and subsidies which had every appearance of becoming ordinary, and even annual, in their incidence. It will later be seen that much the same pattern is repeated in Brecon under the Bohun earls of Hereford

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1. Reg.II, 1066.

2. Cartularium Prioratus Johannis Evangeliste de Carmarthen, nos. 124-6; DL 29/728/11986.

3. DL 29/584/9237; DL 29/728/11986.

4. The Welsh lordships were expected to contribute towards the aid of 1372, Reg.I, 231-2; a tallage was exacted from Ogmore in 1381 and subsidies from Cydweli in 1386-7, DL 29/592/9445 m.4; DL 43/15/1.

and under Henry Bolingbroke. At a time when seignorial revenue from ordinary sources was quite possibly declining, the marcher lords of Wales were able to make good their losses by exploiting their judicial and franchisal rights to the full.

This growing dependence on court issues and casual revenue may go a good way to explain the increase in the yield of the Lancaster estates in Wales between 1330 and 1390. Such an increase is suggested by comparing the valors of the 1330s with those of the 1380s and 1390s, as is done in Table II. Detailed comparison of the two sets of figures may be invidious and misleading; but general comparison is both fair and significant, as both sets of figures almost certainly represent the clear yield of the Lancaster estates in Wales at an interval of almost sixty years. The most obvious conclusion to emerge from the Table is that the value of the estates as a whole had increased by some 25% between 1330 and 1390.; The value of Monmouth lordship had remained stable at about £530 per annum; and the increase in its value was due almost entirely to the fact that Ashperton, Minsterworth and Tibberton were now in the duke's hands rather than in those of annuitants. The value of Ogmore, on the other hand, fell about 20% between 1330 and 1380; and this remains so even if one assumes that Ebboth was included with Ogmore in Earl Henry's valors. The fall in the value of the lordship may be attributed in part to the ending of demesne farming and in part to the disastrous effect which the Black Death seems to have had on the economy of lowland Glamorgan.[1] The story in Cydweli is quite otherwise: in 1330 the lordship was producing about half the income of Monmouth receivership; by the 1380s it was yielding

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1. See below pp.232-4.

TABLE 11 : The clear yield of Lancaster estates in Wales 1331-1395

	1331	1332	1386	1387	1388	1391	1395
1. Monmouth, Threecastles, Rodley, Ettelo	£513. 10. 4	£ 619 . 4 . 2	£ 536 . 10 . 8	£ 523 . 14 . 0	£ 542 . 8 . 0	£ 504 . 17 . 6	£ 508 . 16 . 6 [2]
2. Ashperton, Stretton, Minsterworth, Tiberton, Newland	-	-	£ 76 . 9 . 3	£ 79 . 9 . 0	£ 80 . 18 . 0	£ 78 . 16 . 5	£ 92 . 1 . 8
3. Ogmore	£143 . 10 . 3	£ 133 . 9 . 7	£ 101 . 18 . 4	£ 93 . 17 . 0	£ 99 . 19 . 8	£ 95 . 15 . 6	£ 95 . 4 . 10
4. Abbeth	-	-	£ 13 . 2 . 1	£ 7 . 7 . 0	£ 9 . 16 . 0	£ 13 . 8 . 3	£ 16 . 3 . 9
5. Cydweli and Carmyllion	£333 . 7 . 11	£ 290 . 10 . 2	£ 293 . 18 . 0	£ 489 . 8 . 0	£ 749 . 16 . 4 [1]	£ 436 . 6 . 10	£ 521 . 13 . 3
6. Iscennen	-	-	£ 148 . 16 . 0	£ 141 . 9 . 0	£ 133 . 12 . 0	£ 126 . 14 . 7	£ 157 . 12 . 11
	£990 . 8 . 6	£1043 . 3 . 11	£1270 . 14 . 4	£1335 . 4 . 0	£1616 . 10 . 0	£1255 . 19 . 1	£1391 . 12 . 11

Sources : DL 40/1/11 fs. 45v., 50; DL 43/15/1-3; DL 29/728/11986.

Notes : 1. Includes £252 from the confiscated lands of Henry Lon.

2. Excludes £20 outstanding arrears paid this year, and £40. 5. 9 from Monmouth town (as Monmouth town seems to be excluded from the other valors).

as much and often more than the Monmouth group of estates. This change had been largely brought about by the acquisition in 1340 of the commote of Iscennen, which yielded about £140 annually. But there had also been a marked rise in the income of Cydweli and Carnwyllion commotes, a rise which had almost certainly been brought about by increased court issues and communal fines. It is indeed significant that at a time when income from Monmouth and Ogmore was constant or falling, Gaunt was able to make good his losses in Wales by exploiting his judicial and franchisal powers in Cydweli to the full. It is a theory which fits in with recent suggestions of a parallel recovery of seignorial revenue in England in the same period.[1]

How efficiently was this revenue collected? The answer largely evades us in the pre-1399 period for lack of adequate evidence; but at least there are certain hints, especially from the lordship of Cydweli. It is clear from the 1380s onwards that the financial burden on Cydweli was becoming greater than the lordship could bear[2] and that the administration was consequently finding it difficult to collect the revenue. The arrears there rose from £1,175 in 1388 to £1,530 in 1390; they stood in fact at 2⅓ times the clear yield of the lordship, a proportion which appears even more alarming when compared with like figures for Monmouth and for the southern receivership in England.[3] Gaunt's reaction to this situation was not to relent the

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1. G.A. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, 114-17.

2. There was apparently a protest against the huge communal fine of 1380. Reg.II, 407.

3. The proportions of arrears (1390) to clear yield (1391) were as follows: Cydweli £1,530:£672; Monmouth £358:£584; Southern receiver £182:£762, DL 29/737/12071; DL 43/15/3.

financial pressure, but to appoint William Bagot and John Bromwich as special commissioners to supervise the administration of the lordship and to expedite the collection of the revenue.[1] Their efforts certainly bore fruit: in 1391 £133 of arrears in Cydweli were cleared and 1394 was a bumper year with the receiver paying over not only all the issues of the current year but also a lump sum of £500 of arrears. Gaunt's tough policy certainly paid short-term dividends; but the more one examines the evidence the more clear does it become that this constant financial pressure and the increased exaction of communal fines and subsidies go a good deal of the way to explain why the local population was so prepared to support Glyn Dŵr when he broke into revolt.

Most of the revenue which was so relentlessly collected from the local population was not spent locally. Some of it, it is true, was used to meet the needs of local administration - in the wages and fees of officials, in estate and administrative expenses, and in repairs to castles and mills. Repairs to castles could be an expensive item in Wales as is shown by the sum of £133 spent on repairs to Kidwelly and Carregcennen in 1391; but on an average local expenditure rarely exceeded 15% of the clear yield. Another item which was paid locally but not for local purposes was the annuities assigned on local revenue. Here the Welsh estates stand apart from the rest of the Lancaster estates. The annuities paid by the house of Lancaster

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1. DL 29/584/9239. Both men were in fact closely connected with Derby's household; and their appointment is doubtless explained by the fact that Gaunt's subsidy to Derby had been assigned on the Welsh estates.

leaped from about £400 in 1330[1] to about £3,000[2] in the later years of Gaunt; and most of them were paid by assignments on local revenue. To this total the Welsh estates made a very small contribution: thus in 1391 only 3½% of the clear yield of Cydweli and Ogmore and 11% of the yield of Monmouth were paid in annuities, whereas in the south parts (restricted) annuities in money and in land consumed as much as 40% of the yield. The distance of the Welsh estates, especially of Cydweli, and the uncertainty of claiming money assigned on them doubtless made them unpopular with Gaunt's annuitants. After the payment of local expenditure and annuities, the surplus revenue was paid to the central accounts of the duke; but by no means all of it passed to the receiver-general. Some of it might be paid to Duchy creditors, though this practice was less common than in the 1330s; some of it was earmarked in advance for a certain household officer, such as the clerk of the great wardrobe; and some might be assigned to meet a specific demand, such as the payment of Derby's 'subsidy'' in the late 1380s. To whatever office it was paid, it remains true that most of the surplus revenue of the Welsh estates - more than 70% of the 'discharge' in the later years of Gaunt - found its way to the creditors and officials of the house of Lancaster in England.

One final question needs to be asked as to how much the Welsh estates contributed towards the landed revenue of the house of Lancaster in the in the fourteenth century. Until the later years of John of Gaunt the answer must of necessity be rather tentative; and it must further be remembered that for 37 years of the period, 1296 to 1399, the Welsh lands were not in

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1. DL 40/1/11, f.45v. 2. See E.H.R., lxx (1955), 110-111.

the hands of the senior branch of the house of Lancaster. The first sound estimate comes from the valors of 1331-2 where the Welsh estates are said to contribute 18-19% of the landed income of Earl Henry,[1] and the significance of this proportion remains even though it is not altogether clear whether all the landed revenue and casual income of the Lancaster estates were included in the valors. The next figures come from the extremely reliable partition estimates which were made of the Lancaster lands in 1361.[2] According to this partition the Welsh and border estates formed more than a half of the Duchess Maud's pourparty, and were valued at a quarter of the whole estate which was partitioned between Maud and Blanche. The figures have to be adjusted to take account of the lands which had been granted to Duke Henry's feoffees, and one would probably not be far wrong in estimating the value of the Welsh estate in the Lancaster inheritance as a whole as about 15% in 1361. With the re-acquisition of the Lacy estates and other lands by Earl Henry and his son, the proportionate value of the Welsh estates was falling, and it had fallen even further by the end of the century. Table III[3] shows the exact contribution which the Welsh estates were expected to make to the clear yield of John of Gaunt's landed income in 1394 and 1395; and it will be seen that for these two years the Cydweli and Monmouth receiverships were expected to yield 12.4% of Lancaster revenue. It should

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1. See above p. 64 n. 1.

2. DL 41/4/12; C.F.R. 1356-68, 163-6. The Duke's inquisition post mortem on the other hand grossly underestimates his revenue.

3. Because of the varying details of the valors, it was considered wiser to compile statistics of the clear value (including casuals) rather than of the gross yields. The comparable tables given in R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, 1, 92, are misleading.

be added that these are, of course, the sums payable to the various receivers, each receiver would spend a good proportion of them in fees, wages, administrative and estate expenses, and, especially, annuities; and only the remainder would be payable to the duke and his officials.

TABLE III: The clear yield of the Lancaster estates, 1394-5.

	1394	1395
North parts	£4,781 . 7 . 8	£4,841 . 14 . 6
South parts	£4,193 . 5 . 11	£3,593 . 8 . 5
Restricted south parts	£ 593 . 16 . 10	£ 592 . 9 . 4
Wales	£1,237 . 0 . 1	£1,452 . 10 . 7
	£10,805 . 10 . 6	£10,480 . 2 . 10

Sources: DL 29/728/11980-6.

It has only been possible to give tentative answers to several of the questions posed at the outset of this discussion. The dearth of documents has prevented us from giving more definite answers and, in particular, from being able to trace even the most elementary movements in marcher finance on the Lancaster estates in the fourteenth century. These deficiencies will be made good in part by the much fuller Bohun evidence for the mid-fourteenth century and in particular by the abundant documentation of the post-1399 period. But at least the evidence of the 1380s and 1390s enables us to see that the main features of marcher finance on Lancaster estates, as they appear clearly in the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V, were firmly established at least by the time of John of Gaunt and probably much earlier.

CHAPTER TWO: THE LORDSHIP OF BRECON[1] 1299-1399

(i) The Lord and his lordship

'There is a very fine and great lordship in those places', so wrote John Barham to Edward I in 1302 of the Bohun lands in Wales, 'which will be worth at least two thousand marks a year if it is well managed'.[2] The Bohun estates in Wales were certainly one of the richest marcher inheritances of the time and already contributed over a third of the landed income of the Bohun family; but economically they were much less developed than the Bohun lands in England and financially, as John Barham noted, their contribution to seignorial income was far from being fully realised.[3] They were, furthermore, a very varied group of estates. The twin manors of Caldicot and Newton on the flats overlooking the Severn estuary were thoroughly Anglicised units and had been organised as manors for several centuries. It is little wonder that the earls of Hereford, and Thomas of Woodstock later, considered Caldicot castle to be their only really congenial and acceptable residence in Wales; and they spent considerable sums on repairing it and redesigning it for greater

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1. Throughout this chapter the term Brecon will be used to refer to the complex of lands which had their administrative centre at Brecon: the lordship of Brecon (including Bronllys and Cantrefselyf), Hay and Huntington. The officials of Caldicot and Newton were also generally answerable to the receiver of Brecon; but as they were so different from the other Bohun estates their history will be dealt with separately, see below Chapter III, pp.217-29. If the term Brecon is used to refer to the lordship or town of Brecon alone, this will be made clear in the text.

2. C.Inq.Misc. 1219-1307, no.1870.

3. For the general distribution of the Bohun lands see G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility, 19-25.

comfort.[1] They certainly preferred Caldicot castle to the much more gloomy castles at Brecon[2] and Huntington,[3] the only other Bohun residences in Wales.

Caldicot looked eastwards towards the Bohun estates in England; but the rest of the Bohun lands in Wales were focussed on the castle of Brecon, the caput of the feudal honor of Brecon and the headquarters of the Bohun administration in Wales. The more anglicised of these estates were the two lordships of Huntington and Hay, both of which were divided - partly on geographical and partly on racial lines - into Englishries and Welshries. The lordship of Huntington, divided from Hay and Brecon by the small lordship of Clifford, contained the three parishes of Huntington, Kington and Brilley.[4] Economically its closest ties were with the lowlands of Herefordshire, into which it was finally absorbed by the Act of Union of 1536 and part of which its inhabitants already claimed it to be in 1302. Hay, on the other hand, was firmly part of the marches and one of the main gateways into Wales. Its flourishing market town and the fertile lowlands of the Wye valley were firmly in the hands of English settler families; but the foothills and uplands of the lordship were still tenanted by Welshmen, paying their ancient communal renders to their own beadles.

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1. Earl Humphrey IV stayed at Caldicot in 1337 and again from September 1344 to November 1345 when considerable repairs were made to the castle, DL 29/671/10810 m.1, m.10. Thomas of Woodstock spent more than £300 on the repair of the castle 1384-9, DL 29/680/11007-10; C.P.R. 1385-9, 511.
2. There are references to 'camera domini' and 'camera comitisse' in Brecon castle in DL 29/671/10810 m.2, m.3, m.15. Bolingbroke stayed at Brecon castle in November 1397, DL 28/1/10 f.7v.-f.8.
3. Earl Humphrey stayed at Huntington August-September 1342, DL 29/671/10810 m.6. The deer park there was still in a good state of repair in 1374, SC 6/1156/21.
4. See R.W.B[anks], 'Notes on the early history of the manor of Huntington, Herefordshire', Arch.Camb., 3rd series, xv (1869), 226-46; 4th series, i (1870), 46-50.

The lordship of Brecon proper was much more thoroughly Welsh in character than either Hay or Huntington.[1] It had been originally conquered by Bernard of Neufmarché in the late eleventh century; but while control of the castle of Brecon was rarely wrested from the Norman and English lords, the lordship itself was far less firmly in their control. It is true that a few English manors had been introduced along the Usk and Llynfi valleys, that the followers of Neufmarché and Braose had established themselves in the fertile lowlands of Penoelli and Bronllys, and that a community of merchants had made its home under the shadows of the castle and priory of Brecon; but in the rest of the lordship seignorial control was recent, spasmodic and precarious. When Humphrey de Bohun III succeeded his father as earl of Hereford in 1299, Brecon had been in the hands of the Bohuns for a mere two generations, and for much of that time seignorial control hardly extended beyond the lowlands. Even there the control was very uncertain for Llywelyn ap Gruffydd's claim to the lordship was recognised by Henry III in 1267; and the support which the Welshmen of Brecon gave to the revolts of 1287 and 1294 demonstrated quite adequately that, even after Llywelyn's death, the victory of the English lords could not be taken for granted. As it happened the revolt of 1294 was to be the last major uprising of the Welsh for over a century; but throughout the fourteenth century the lords of Brecon had to treat their Welsh subjects with circumspection. The revolt of Llywelyn Bren in 1316 and the depredations

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1. On the early history of Brecon see W. Rees, 'The Mediaeval Lordship of Brecon', T.C.S., 1915-16, 165-224 and D.G. Walker, 'The Earldom of Hereford in the twelfth century' (University of Oxford, D.Phil. thesis, 1954), chapter vii, and ibidem 'The "Honours" of the earls of Hereford in the twelfth century', Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, lxxix (1960), 174-211.

on the estates of Despenser in 1321 and of Mortimer in 1330 were a clear warning to other ~~to other~~ marcher lords of the consequences of exploiting their Welsh tenantry in a ruthless fashion.[1]

Even if the threat from the Welsh had receded, there remained other problems in the lordship of Brecon of which the royal commissioner of 1302 showed little appreciation. Brecon was indeed a very fine and great lordship, but the direct control which the earl of Hereford exercised within it was extremely limited in many directions. That this was so was partly for historical reasons, which need only be mentioned briefly here. When the earlier earls of Hereford had established themselves in the lowlands of Herefordshire and the adjacent Welsh marches they had been liberal in the grants of land they had made to their followers. Altogether, 18¾ knights' fees had been created in lowland Brecon for the military followers of the early Norman lords of the area.[2] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the military service performed by these tenants may well have been invaluable in establishing seignorial authority within the lordship; but by the early fourteenth century the need for such service and the value of it had largely disappeared. While the military value of the knights' fees had steadily declined, the territorial rights of their holders had become proportionately more secure and indefeasible.[3] In Brecon this was particularly true of some

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1. For the revolt of Llywelyn Bren see below pp85-6; for the support given by local Welshmen in Glamorgan to the marcher alliance see T.R.H.S., 3rd series, ix (1915), 45 et seq.; and for the attitude of Welshmen to the Mortimers, Rot.Parl., i, 400, and The Extent of Chirkland 1391-3, ed. G.P. Jones, xii.

2. Lists of knights' fees held of the honor of Brecon will be found in Book of Fees, part ii, 800-11; C.I.P.M., xiii, no.167 (pp.140-1).

3. This question will be discussed more fully below, pp. 117 et seq.

of the richest areas of the lordship, more especially Pencelli and Bronllys. In 1299 the barony of Pencelli, held of the honor of Brecon by the service of 4½ knights, was in the possession of three co-parceners, the most powerful of whom was Roger Mortimer of Chirk, an up-and-coming marcher lord who challenged the earl of Hereford's authority in Pencelli in several directions. In 1292 the barony of Pencelli had been assessed quite separately from Brecon by the royal tax commissioners,[1] and so was Bronllys, held at this time by John Giffard of Brimpsfield in the right of his wife, Maud Longespée.[2] The inquisition on Giffard's lands in 1299[3] leaves little doubt that he was lord of Bronllys and that the rights of the earls of Hereford there were no more than the occasional and contingent powers of feudal overlords. Pencelli and Bronllys were the greatest but not the only mesne-lordships held of the earls of Hereford in Brecon; and within each of these mesne-lordships the powers of the earls were strictly circumscribed by feudal practice and custom. There was a danger that the rights of the earls in Brecon would become as limited as they were in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, where only two manors were held in demesne and where the power of the earls elsewhere was limited to feudal incidents and suits of court.

The feudal history of the lordship of Brecon was one reason why the lordship did not yield as much income as might have been expected to its lords; but it was not the only reason. In addition to the mesne-lordships there were

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1. E 179/242/48.
2. For the Giffards of Brimpsfield see G.E.C., v, 639 et seq.
3. C 133/91 no.2, calendared in C.I.P.M., iii, no.544.

large enclaves, owned by ecclesiastical corporations, which were outside the purview of seignorial finance and jurisdiction. Around the town of Brecon, the Benedictine priory of Brecon, founded by Bernard of Neufmarché as a cell of Battle Abbey, had been liberally endowed by the earls of Hereford and the gentry of the lordship with estates, tithes and advowsons.[1] To the east of the town the priory of Malvern had a small estate at Llanspyddid,[2] while the bishop of St. David's had several considerable manors in the lordship - at Garthbrengi, Newtown, Trallwng, Aberbran and near the episcopal residence at Llanddew.[3] But much the most extensive ecclesiastical estates were the granges and sheep runs owned in Cantrefselyf by the Cistercian abbey of Dore. They extended over vast tracts of the Epynt Hills and made the abbey easily the most important landowner in the mesne-lordship of Bronllys.[4]

Besides these mesne-lordships and ecclesiastical estates there were also the Welsh communities. John Barham had been thrilled in 1302 by the sight of two thousand Welshmen swearing fealty to the king at Brecon through an interpreter; and, duly impressed by such a fine sight, he wrote his sanguine letter on the value of the lordship to Edward I. He had almost certainly jumped to wrong conclusions. The Welshmen of Brecon were prepared to pay homage and to perform suit of court once a month, and they were even willing to serve in English armies at a price; but they resisted attempts to bring them within an English rent-paying system. It was extremely difficult - as

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1. See the cartulary of the priory edited by R.W. Banks in Arch.Camb., 4th series, xiii (1882), 275-308; xiv (1883), 18-49, 137-68, 221-36, 247-91.
2. Ibid., xiv (1883), 235-6.
3. The Black Book of St. David's, 1326, ed. J.W. Willis-Bund, 290-329.
4. See below Chapter III, pp. 181-2.

the earls of Hereford were to discover - to persuade the Welsh communities, devoted to their charters of liberties and age-old renders in kind, to enter into closer and more remunerative tenurial bonds with their lord.[1]

Not only were the power and control of the earl of Hereford within his lordship severely limited in many directions, but the very extent of the lordship itself was far from being clearly defined. As in so many other frontier areas, the boundaries of Brecon lordship had never been adequately or systematically demarcated; and this lack of definition gave rise to particularly acute problems at the end of the thirteenth century. The marcher lords may well have been the inheritors of their Welsh predecessors;[2] but the content of the arglwyddiaeth which they had inherited was often more apparent to them than the geographical area of their lordships. Thus in the famous dispute between the earls of Gloucester and Hereford over the borders of Brecon and Glamorgan in 1290-2, both the earls and the jurors were agreed on the nature of marcher privileges;[3] but the question of the actual frontiers of the lordship could only be solved by private agreement or, failing that, by private warfare. Nor was the dispute with Gilbert de Clare the only frontier quarrel in which the lord of Brecon was involved during these years: there were similar disputes with the men of Builth in 1289 and with Roger Mortimer's men in Penceli in 1292.[4] The disappearance of the threat from an independent Welsh principality and the attempt of Edward I to bring marcher

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1. The question is discussed below pp. 131-5.
2. J.G. Edwards in Proceedings of the British Academy, xlii (1956), 155-77.
3. See above p. 5.
4. C.P.R. 1281-92, 317, 515; The Welsh Assize Roll 1277-84, ed. J.C. Davies, 32.

disputes within the cognizance of his courts possibly explain why an attempt was apparently being made in the 1290s to determine the borders of the lordship of Brecon; but the problem was far from being solved then. As late as 1357 the Welshmen of Brecon were fined the enormous sum of £720 'pro insultu facto per eosdem tenentibus principis de Buelth apud Crosslleuk', an attack which, one suspects, might well have had the secret support of the earl of Hereford himself.[1]

But private warfare was only resorted to after other methods of settling border disputes had failed; and chief among these methods were the marchdays or lovedays which were held on the borders of two lordships from time to time by the leading officials and gentry of the lordships.[2] The sheriff of Brecon held such a marchday with the lordship of Abergavenny in 1339, while it was the receiver and the constable who led the Brecon deputations to marchdays with the men of Morgannwg and Ewyas Lacy; and as late as 1394 there is mention of a marchday between the lordships of Huntington and Radnor.[3] It was doubtless at these marchdays that frontier disputes were settled or deferred,[4] that letters of march - a virtual form of passport - were checked or confirmed,[5] and that agreements for the mutual extradition of evildoers

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1. DL 29/671/10810 m.23.

2. For contemporary descriptions of love days see Placitorum Abbreviatio, 226, and Calendar of Public Records relating to Pembrokeshire, i, 51.

3. DL 29/671/10810 m.3, m.6d, m.13; DL 29/652/10545.

4. A case which was deferred was that of Rhys ab Owen whose land was 'in calumpnia' between the lords of Brecon and Glamorgan, DL 29/671/10810 m.6d.

5. References to such letters of march are to be found in DL 29/633/10317 Hay (1398) and JI 1/1152 m.18. Cf. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, 1415-1536, 59, 65.

were reached.[1] There was almost bound to be a degree of uncertainty with regard to borders in an upland area where there was no common public authority to enforce agreements; but, on the whole, marcher lords came to working agreements to overcome the worst abuses of a frontier society. In this context, it is significant that by the fourteenth century the earls of Hereford had been able to establish a series of tolls along the boundaries of Brecon, a sign both of marcher privilege and of the fact that the frontiers of the lordship were not as fluid as they had once been.[2]

Such then was the inheritance into which Humphrey de Bohun entered in Wales in January 1299. It was indeed a fair inheritance; but its full potentialities were yet to be realised. The borders of the lordship were far from being clearly defined, and the powers and territorial control of the earl within his lordship were severely restricted in several directions. It is well to appreciate this situation, for it was to be the achievement of the last Bohun earls of Hereford, before the extinction of the direct male line in 1373, that they radically changed this situation and vastly increased the power of the lord within his lordship. To this achievement Earl Humphrey III (1298-1322) contributed very little. He was deeply involved in the stormy political disputes of Edward II's reign and consequently had little time to consolidate his position in Brecon. His career as lord

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1. Examples of such agreements are mentioned in E.P.R., 111, 149, 490; and a further example of such an agreement for five months in 1451-2 between the communities of Elfael on the one hand and those of Hay, Dinas, Talgarth and Blaenllyfni is to be found in N.L.W. Kentchurch Collection, 1027.

2. These tolls were at Ystradfellte, Penderyn, Tir Ralph, Glyntawe, Penpont and 'Maenorydd Bychein', DL 29/730/12015 m.15.

of Brecon is indeed primarily interesting as showing the profound influence that national politics and marcher affairs could have upon one another.

Several of the political crises of the period 1290-1330 were focussed on the Welsh marches; and during these crises the attitude of the marcher communities was as crucial as that of the marcher lords. Earl Humphrey III of Hereford knew well how to win and keep the support of his Welsh tenantry, and their support was to stand him in good stead throughout his life. It was a tradition which he had inherited from his father, who had successfully scotched Edward I's attempts to undermine the loyalty of his Brecon tenants in 1297, by confirming their charters and pardoning their fines.[1] The value of Welsh support was shown once more in 1312, during the crisis after Piers Gaveston's death, when Humphrey de Bohun's retinue contained a crowd of Welshmen, 'wild men from the woodlands' as the author of the Vita Edwardi Secundi calls them.[2] Even more revealing of the earl of Hereford's attitude towards Welshmen is his conduct during and after the revolt of Llywelyn Bren in 1316.[3] The revolt proved to be a purely local affair and was almost exclusively confined to the Clare lordship of Morgannwg; but there was fear that it would become a national and even a pan-Celtic revolt; and the earl of Hereford was naturally anxious to suppress an uprising which might easily spread into his own lordship. He was placed in charge of the army to crush the revolt,[4] and captured Llywelyn Bren at Istradfellte within the lordship of

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1. Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales, 101. This letter belongs to 1297, not to 1321-2 as the editor thinks. Cf. C.P.R. 1292-1301 293. Philip ap Hywel, mentioned in the letter, was steward of Brecon in the 1290s; ~~see Appendix A ii.~~ E179/242/49.
2. Ed. N. Denholm-Young, 32.
3. There is no modern work on Llywelyn Bren's revolt; but most of the obvious material is easily available in the chancery rolls, especially Calendar of Chancery Warrants 1244-1326, 437-40.
4. C.P.R. 1313-17, 432.

Brecon. His attitude towards his prisoner was far from vindictive. He may well have believed that there was some basis to Llywelyn's complaints about the behaviour of Payn de Turberville; he may well have admired Llywelyn's personal bravery;[1] or he may have already suspected the younger Despenser of ambitions in South Wales. Whatever the reason, Hereford and the Mortimers vouched for Llywelyn's safety and dispatched John Walwayn, then the royal escheator but formerly Bohun's steward and still his confidant, to the king in an attempt to prevent any harsh decision being taken against Llywelyn.[2] The attempt failed. Llywelyn fell into the clutches of the Despensers, who had him executed at Cardiff. Bohun did not forget their callousness when the charges against the Despensers were drawn up in 1321;[3] but what is interesting in the present context is the tact with which Bohun treated Llywelyn and his supporters. Llywelyn's widow, Lleucu, and her seven sons were among Hereford's supporters in 1322, and Lleucu was still drawing an annuity from the Bohuns in 1346.[4] Nor did the Welshmen of Glamorgan forget Bohun's kind treatment of their leader, for their hostility to the Despensers and their sympathy for the marcher alliance of 1321 was soon evident to all.[5]

It is the crisis of 1321-2 which above all others reveals the springs of Humphrey de Bohun's policy in Brecon and the nature of the support upon

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1. As suggested in Vita Edwardi Secundi, 66-8.
2. Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales, 68.
3. Rot. Parl., iii, 364.
4. C.P.R. 1321-4, 77; DL 29/671/10810 m.13-m.16.
5. Cf. Vita Edwardi Secundi, 110; 'nec Walenses, dominationem Hugonis execrantes'; also T.R.H.S., 3rd series, ix (1915), 45 et seq.

which he could rely in his marcher inheritance. Like so many other crises it brings to the surface forces whose existence one could otherwise only suspect. The origin and course of the war against the younger Despenser in the marches of Wales in 1321 are sufficiently well-known,[1] and need only be briefly mentioned here from the viewpoint of the lord of Brecon. Humphrey de Bohun shared the general fear of the younger Despenser's ambitions in the Welsh marches and of his threat to marcher privileges;[2] but he had a further and more private bone of contention with Despenser in the dispute over Gower. There is no reason to doubt the story of the chroniclers that the earl of Hereford had bought the lordship of Gower from William de Braose as an endowment for his son Edward, and had sealed the contract by giving Braose a deposit as a guarantee of further payments.[3] Gower was continguous with the south-western boundary of Brecon lordship and would be an important check on Despenser's expansionist policy in the southern marches. When the earl of Hereford realised that he was being deceived by William Braose on the one hand, and baulked of his purpose by the king and Despenser on the other, breaking point had been reached and a marcher alliance against Despenser was formed. There is little doubt from Despenser's letters of January-March 1321[4] that he regarded Bohun as the most important and most dangerous member of this alliance. Spies were to watch the border with Brecon; soldiers were to

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1. J.C. Davies, 'The Despenser War in Glamorgan', T.R.H.S., 3rd series, ix (1915), 21-64.

2. For this threat to marcher privileges see Vita Edwardi Secundi, 108.

3. Thomas Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, i, 158-9; 'Annales Paulini' in Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, i, 293.

4. The letters are chronologically as follows: 18 Jan. 1321 (Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales, 219); 16 Feb. 1321 (ibid., 220); 27 Feb. 1321 (ibid., 180); 6 March 1321 (ibid., 259); 21 March 1321 (Cartae et alia munimenta, ed. G.T. Clark, iii, 1074-6).

be sent to guard it; no more march-days were to be held; and every effort was to be made to prevent Despenser's Welsh tenants from making an alliance with the Brecon Welshmen.

In the struggle which followed, it was the support which Bohun and his fellow marchers derived from their tenantry, high and low, which made the marcher campaign against the Despensers such an overwhelming success.[1] For there can be no doubt that in the crisis of 1321 the attitude of the marcher gentry and communities was crucial; and their attitude can best be appreciated by looking briefly at the career of Master Rees ap Hywel, the man whom Despenser regarded with justice as one of his more persistent and dangerous opponents. Master Rees came of a family of border gentry, which held land of the earl of Hereford in the lordship of Huntington.[2] His father, Hywel ap Meuric, had served the Mortimers as constable of Cefnllys and thereafter had become one of the most reliable representatives of royal authority in the marches of Wales.[3] With such a family tradition of royal and seignorial service and with the sound education which his title of magister implies, Rees ap Hywel's vocation in life was obvious: he would be one of that small group of administrators and commissioners upon whom the sound government of the Principality and the marches depended. He and his brother, Philip, figure prominently as royal commissioners in Wales from the later years of Edward I; and neither his education nor his tonsure prevented Master Rees from leading

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1. See the list of those given a pardon on Hereford's word, C.P.R. 1321-4, 16

2. Arch.Camb., 3rd series, xv (1869), 229.

3. Brut y Tywysogyon, Red Book of Hergest Version, ed. T. Jones, 252; for details of Hywel ap Meuric's career see The Welsh Assize Roll 1277-84, ed. J.C. Davies, 117-9.

a contingent of Welsh infantry to the Scottish wars.[1] When the Principality was granted to Edward of Caernarvon in 1301, Master Rees soon ingratiated himself with the young prince and secured from him an important commission to revise the extents of North Wales in 1305.[2] He continued in Prince Edward's service after 1307, acting as deputy-justiciar of South Wales and organising the defence of the country against the threatened invasion from Ireland in 1315.[3] By that date Master Rees could look back on a career of twenty years' distinguished service to the kings of England in the Principality of Wales; it was not to last much longer.

Soon after 1315 Master Rees ceases to appear as a royal commissioner, and one may well believe that Despenser's ambitions had upset him, like so many other people in the southern marches. With his education and undoubted ability he was very welcome in other circles; and, indeed, he had never confined his services exclusively to members of the royal family. Like his brother Philip, he was fully in the confidence of the two leading marcher barons of the time, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore[4] and Humphrey Bohun. He never seems to have enjoyed an official position in the earl of Hereford's service; but there can be no doubt whatsoever that he was high in Bohun's regard. He and his brother delivered the Bohun lordships in Wales to the royal commissioner in 1302; he acted on special commissions at the earl's request and witnessed the earl's charters;[5] and when his loyalty was put to the test in 1321-2 Master Rees made no secret of his sympathies for the marcher cause.

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1. C.P.R. 1292-1301, 598; C.Inq.Misc. 1307-49, no.68; Rotuli Scotie, i, 85, 156.
2. Letters of Edward Prince of Wales 1304-5, ed. H. Johnstone, 141; Record of Caernarvon, 214.
3. SC 6/1218/11 m.8 (I owe this reference to Dr R.A. Griffiths); C.C.R. 1313-18, 253.
4. B.M. Harleian 1240 f.39v. printed in part in Holmes, op.cit., 121-2.
5. C.C.R. 1296-1302, 603; Arch.Camb., 4th ser., xiii, 302; DL25/1594, 1609.

So far the career of Rees ap Hywel has revealed the opportunities which lay open for a well-educated cleric in early fourteenth century Wales, in the service of marcher lords and king alike. Even in this context Master Rees' decision to support the marcher cause in 1321 would be significant; but he was more than an ubiquitous commissioner or civil servant. He was in his own right one of the smaller lords of the march. He shared with his brother a considerable paternal inheritance, mainly in the north west Herefordshire and the adjacent marcher lordships;[1] and during his lifetime he added new estates of his own to these inherited lands. The opportunity to acquire new lands came with the (as yet unexplained) decision of John fitz Reginald, one of the lesser marcher lords, to sell most of his Welsh inheritance.[2] Master Rees was certainly in John fitz Reginald's confidence,[3] and doubtless had first option on the lands when they came on the market. He bought the manor of Pontesbury in Shropshire for £100 in July 1305, and in the following year acquired a share of the manor of Talgarth on the borders of Brecon.[4] Talgarth lay conveniently near Rees ap Hywel's other estates, and in 1309 he was able to persuade the crown to grant him the reversion of the remaining third of Talgarth manor in exchange for Pontesbury.[5] Soon after he consolidated his position in the area even further, by acquiring the town and manor of Bronllys from one of the Giffard heiresses.[6] By this series of well-

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1. C.I.P.M., v. no.614; vi, no.54. 2. For this sale see G.E.C., v. 467.
3. Letters of Edward Prince of Wales 1304-5, ed. H. Johnstone, 141.
4. R.W. Eyton, Antiquities of Shropshire, vii, 134; C.P.R. 1301-7, 447; Calendar of Chancery Warrants 1244-1326, 313.
5. His petition is SC 8/218/10895, and the successful outcome of it can be traced in C.P.R. 1307-13, 154; C.Ch.R. 1300-26, 125; C.F.R. 1307-19, 37-8.
6. See below p. 112 . He also acquired land in Usk, C.Inq.Misc. 1307-49, no.497.

judged purchases and exchanges, Master Rees ap Hywel had established himself as a considerable landowner and as a near neighbour of the earl of Hereford. It was as a marcher landowner quite as much as a confidant of the earl of Hereford that Master Rees organised the resistance to Despenser's ambitions in south Wales and joined Humphrey de Bohun's retinue in 1322.[1]

Master Rees ap Hywel is primarily interesting in the present context as the best-documented member of that gentry class upon whom the marcher lords depended so much. Very little is known of this class usually; but it does make a brief and welcome appearance in the records during the crisis of 1321-2. Among Humphrey de Bohun's followers at that time were Meuric ap Rees[2] and William ap Rees,[3] both respected landowners in Bronllys and in nearby Herefordshire; Master Rees' brother, Philip ap Hywel, the earl of Hereford's former steward who, in the terms of a later accusation 'adhered to Humphrey de Bohun and had worn Humphrey's robe for a long time';[4] his nephew, Philip Clanvow who held land in Yazor, Hergest, and the lordship of Hay;[5] Thomas ap Eynon, a Welsh uchelwr from Cantrefselyf;[6] and Thomas and Richard Baskerville, both members of a family which had close territorial ties

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1. For his part in the troubles of 1321-2 see C.C.R. 1318-23, 285, 287; Calendar of Chancery Warrants 1244-1326, 517; T.R.H.S., 4th series, ix, 46 n.4; JI 1/1388 m.5.

2. For Meuric ap Rees see C.C.R. 1318-23, 420 and Appendix A II for his official position in the lordship.

3. Some impression of William ap Rees' landed wealth can be gained from C.C.R. 1318-23, 428; DL 25/1624; JI 1/1452 m.60d.

4. C.F.R. 1318-23, 582. For a brief outline of Philip ap Hywel's career see below pp.141-2.

5. C.I.P.M., vii, no.389; xiii, no.167 for his lands; C.Inq.Misc. 1307-49, no.1643 for the relationship with Rees and Philip ap Hywel.

6. C.P.R. 1374-7, 240.

with Brecon and Herefordshire.[1] It was upon the support of such men as these and the power they commanded that Humphrey de Bohun and his fellow marchers relied in 1321-2, just as the king depended on the invaluable support of such men as Sir Gruffydd Llwyd and Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd.[2]

The men who had supported Humphrey de Bohun in victory in 1321 stood with him in defeat in 1322. The list of contrariants after Boroughbridge[3] is an eloquent testimony to the solid support which the earl of Hereford and his fellow-marchers had received from the gentry of Herefordshire and the Welsh marches. The list contains such familiar Brecon family names as Parpoynt, Harvard and Baskerville and individuals such as Philip ap Hywel, Meuric ap Rees and Hywel ap David,[4] many of whom suffered arrest and temporary confiscation of their lands. Master Rees ap Hywel, the arch trouble-maker, was more severely punished than the others: all his newly-accumulated estates were granted to the younger Despenser and he himself was lodged in Dover prison for the next few years.[5] Not all the earl of Hereford's followers showed the same faithfulness as did the Brecon tenantry; but the deserters came mainly from the official class, men such as John Walwayn, the earl's confidant and erstwhile steward,[6] and Richard Wroth, the

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1. The Baskervilles were among the leading benefactors of Brecon priory in the thirteenth century, and they certainly still held land in Pencelli in the later fourteenth century, DL 29/633/10317.
2. On Sir Gruffydd Llwyd see J.G. Edwards in E.H.R., xxx (1915), 589-601, and on Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd, D.L. Evans in A History of Carmarthenshire, ed. J.E. Lloyd, i, 243-5, 249-50.
3. C.C.R. 1318-23, 488; C.P.R. 1321-4, 77.
4. For his son, Hywel Fychan, see below pp.121,291.
5. C.Ch.R. 1300-26, 451; C.C.R. 1318-23, 427; C.A.D., iii, no. A.4883.
6. For his career see N. Denholm-Young, 'The Authorship of Vita Edwardi Secundi', E.H.R., lxxi (1956), 189-211.

constable of Brecon. Both were beneficiaries under the earl's last testament;[1] but when they had to decide between earl and king in 1322 both chose to support the king and, with a fine sense of irony, were ordered to destroy Brecon castle.[2] John Walwayn seems to have betrayed his former master even further, for he used the misfortunes of the Bohuns to further his own interests and those of his family in Brecon.[3]

Not only the gentry families of Brecon but also the populace of the lordship as a whole suffered, both directly and indirectly, as a result of the defeat at Boroughbridge. Royal troops under Sir Gruffydd Llwyd invaded the lordship in January 1322, inflicting considerable damage wherever they went.[4] Until July 1322 the lordship was kept in royal custody and the livestock and produce of the manors sold.[5] After thus systematically wasting the Bohun estates in Wales, Edward II granted them, along with Talgarth and Blaenllyfni, to the younger Despenser for an annual rent of £600.[6] Despenser's dreams of territorial power in the marches had been more than amply realised; and he was determined to exploit his new power to the full, for political victory only served to increase his greed.[7] The king gave him permission to

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1. The earl's will was published in The Archaeological Journal, ii (1846), 345-7.

2. C.P.R. 1321-4, 75; C.C.R. 1318-23, 526. Both men had a common interest in a commercial enterprise, C.P.R. 1321-4, 250.

3. He was accused of using his position as royal escheator to effect tortious enfeoffments in favour of his relatives in Brecon, DL 7/1, appendix volume, no.10 (1327).

4. C.P.R. 1319-27, 92; SC 6/1145/7.

5. The account for Hay and Huntington for these months is SC 6/1145/7.

6. C.P.R. 1319-27, 143; C.C.R. 1318-23, 617; C.P.R. 1321-4, 191. G.A. Holmes, (The Estates of the Higher Nobility, 20) is mistaken in saying that the younger Despenser did not add any of the Bohun lands to his own.

7. Cf. G.A. Holmes, 'A protest against the Despensers', Speculum, xxx (1955), 207-12.

cut and sell timber within Brecon lordship,[1] and he doubtless made full use of his privilege. Furthermore, past sins were the source of present profit: a fine of 3,000 sheep was exacted from the tenants of Brecon for the support they had given to the earl of Hereford, and as late as April 1324 Despenser raked the ashes with a commission to enquire of those who had supported the rebels of 1321-2.[2]

Despenser clearly exploited his advantage to the full; and it was little wonder that when John de Bohun recovered his Welsh estates in November 1326 the king should admit that they had been 'in divers ways destroyed and wasted'.[3] John de Bohun was only restored to his inheritance when Edward II's power had already collapsed; and it was fitting that in this last crisis the king and the younger Despenser sought refuge in the southern marches of Wales and that the force which effected their capture was led, amongst others, by Master Rees ap Hywel.[4] The wheel had indeed come full circle, and Master Rees was at last amply rewarded for his years in prison. He recovered his lands in Brecon[5] and was rewarded with two prebends, the one in St. David's and the other in Finsbury.[6] He was given an ideal opportunity to wreak his vengeance by being appointed justice in south Wales and commissioner to

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1. C.F.R. 1319-27. 262.

2. Cartae et alia munimenta, ed. G.T. Clark, iii. 1104; C.P.R. 1321-4. 449. Despenser also received 2,000 sheep from the people of Gower.

3. C.P.R. 1324-7. 345.

4. Thomas Walsingham, Historia Anglicana (R.S.). i. 184.

5. The petition is SC 8/58/2619 and the result is to be found in Rot. Parl., ii. 423.

6. C.P.R. 1327-30. 273; Registrum Radulphi Baldcock etc., 278.

investigate the malpractices of royal officials there.[1] The strain of such a sudden reversal of fortune was too much for an old man; and by August 1328 master Rees was dead.[2] His death in many ways closes an epoch in the history of Brecon, an epoch in which the fate of the lordship was closely bound with the political fortunes of its lord. It was moreover an epoch which provides the historian with one of his few glimpses into marcher politics and society, and of the extent to which the greater marcher lords depended on the support and co-operation of the gentry and communities of their lordships.

There could be no greater contrast than that between the politically tumultuous career of Earl Humphrey III and the politically and militarily uneventful careers of his two eldest sons, Earl John and Earl Humphrey IV.[3] Earl John (1326-36) suffered from poor health and has left virtually no record of himself as lord of Brecon. His brother, Earl Humphrey IV (1326-61) also suffered from life-long infirmity[4] and took no part in the politics and military campaigns of Edward III's reign. He was a pious bachelor, much given to the company of priests and Augustinian canons.[5] He travelled around his estates assiduously every year, choosing Pleshy in Essex, Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire, Oakley in Wiltshire and Caldicot on the Severn estuary as

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1. C.C.R. 1327-30, 271; C.P.R. 1327-30, 72-3.

2. C.C.R. 1327-30, 315; C.I.P.M., vii, no.177.

3. For outlines of their careers G.E.C., vi, 470-2.

4. He was ill while in royal custody, P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, xi, 106; and in 1338 he granted the office of constable to his brother 'tam ob corporis sui imbecillitatem quam propter infirmitatem diuturnam', G.E.C., ix, 666, n.(c).

5. See his will in Royal Wills etc., ed. J. Nichols, 44-56; and A. Gwynn, The English Austin Friars in the age of Wyclif, 108-13.

BUILTH

ELFAEL

Gwenddwr

R. Clerwy

Crucadarn

UPPER FOREST

R. Seithwen

Llanerchcoedlan

R. Wye

HAY

Llanigon

Maesgarn

R. Bran

R. Ysci

COMMOS

Llaneglwys

Llangoed

Pipton

CANTREF BYCHAN

CANTREFSELYF

Bryndu

Bronllys

Trawscoed

Talgarth

Tre Henri

HAY WELSHRY

R. Hondu

Garthgrengi

R. Llynfi

Llywel

Trallwng

Llanddew

Llandefaelog

R. Usk.

Jefyn og

FFOREST FACH

R. Crai

BRECON

Llanspyddid

Llechfaen

Llanfihangel

BLAENLLYFNI

R. Senni

R. Tarell

Llantrynach

Pencelli

PENCELLI

Sceithrog

Llansaintffraid

FFOREST FAWR

Pencelli Welshry

Llanfeugan.

Llanddeti

R. Neath

R. Taff

Ystradfellte

Faenor

Scale: 4 miles to 1 inch

Contour line at 800 feet marked.

—— New reeveships added by earl of Hereford 1847–1357 underlined

---- Land acquired by Earl of Northampton 1351–8 underlined

-·-·- Borders of lordships.

LORDSHIPS OF BRECON AND HAY

his favourite residences.[1] Just as his father had increased the size of the Bohun inheritance in England by 'a policy of deliberate, piecemeal expansion of existing estates',[2] so it was to the credit of Earl Humphrey IV that he employed the opportunities of his politically quiescent life to increase the power of the earl of Hereford in the lordship of Brecon decisively.

The task that faced him in Brecon has already been outlined. Basically it was a problem of extending the control of the lord within his lordship, more particularly in the two districts of Bronllys and Pencelli. Already in 1320 the Bohuns had secured a foothold in the barony of Pencelli, when Maud the daughter and co-heir of Roger Burghill surrendered her share of the paternal inheritance in Llanfilo and Trostref, along with the advowson of Llanfilo church, to Earl Humphrey.[3] Further additions of land in this same area were made in the 1340s: in 1345, William Haraz, Earl John's former barber, and the two heirs of Richard Low surrendered their land in Llangors, and in 1349 the Andrew family followed suit by surrendering its claim to the Harvard lands in the same district.[4] The earl made quite sure that his titles to these new acquisitions were beyond reproach by securing quitclaims from all possible claimants to them.[5]

Piecemeal acquisitions such as these were certainly not to be despised; but they were small fry compared with the dramatic opportunities for

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1. A list of the favourite residences of Earl Humphrey V can be compiled from DL 29/671/10810; cf. the list of houses he was allowed to crenellate, C.P.R. 1345-8, 450.

2. G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility, 113.

3. DL 25/1594, 1607. He also acquired land in Tyle-crwn in 1313. DL 36/1 no.93.

4. DL 25/1608, 1610; DL 29/671/10810 m.10, m.16.

5. DL 25/702-3, 1614-5; DL 29/671/10810 m.9.

territorial expansion which came the way of the Bohun earls as a result of the political misfortunes of Roger Mortimer of Chirk and his descendants. Mortimer had gradually consolidated his position as lord of Fenoelli within the lordship of Brecon during the opening years of the fourteenth century; and his position there had been further improved both by royal grant and by his own purchases.[1] Furthermore his position as head of the royal administration in the principality of Wales and the high regard in which he was held by Edward II brought their own rewards, more particularly the grant of the two lordships of Blaenllyfni and Dinas which lay adjacent to Fenoelli.[2] He was well on the way to becoming one of the most powerful of marcher lords; but all his hopes, and the future fortunes of his family, were undone by the events of 1321-2. Mortimer had hitherto been unflinching in his loyalty to the crown; but in 1321, offended by the character and ambitions of the younger Despenser, he threw in his hand with Lancaster and his confederates. It was to be an irreversible error of judgement. He was imprisoned along with his nephew of Wigmore; and in August 1326 the lord of Chirk and Fenoelli died in the Tower, a few weeks before the political revolution which might have restored him to his former position and estates. The chief beneficiaries from his untimely death were neither Edward II nor the younger Despenser but his own nephew, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, and, to a lesser extent, the earls of Arundel and Hereford. The story is a remarkable one.

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1. For his acquisitions in Fenoelli, B.M. Add. Mss. 6041 f.34v.; and for the royal grant of free warren there C.Cha.R. 1300-26. 181.

2. For his political career G.E.C., ix, 251-4, and D.N.B., xlii, 1032-3.

Roger Mortimer of Chirk was certainly survived by a male heir, another Roger;[1] but the claim of the son to succeed to his father's estates was shamelessly overridden by the greed and political power of his cousin, the earl of March. The whole Chirk inheritance was seized into March's hands; and the young Roger Mortimer was only able to salvage the lands which he had inherited from Lucy Wafre, his mother - namely Pencelli and Tir Ralph within the lordship of Brecon and Tedstone Wafre in Herefordshire.[2] His son, John Mortimer,[3] appealed to the king against such a wholesale spoliation of his inheritance;[4] but the Mortimers of Wigmore were once more too powerful in the royal court in the 1340s and 1350s for the appeal to be given a fair or sympathetic hearing. Like so many other claimants to Mortimer lands during these years,[5] John Mortimer was compelled to concede defeat; and in August 1359 he quitclaimed most of his grandfather's lands to the earl of March and the lordship of Chirk to the earl of Arundel.[6] Thus the bulk of the lands of the Mortimers of Chirk passed out of the hands of the

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1. According to one source Roger Mortimer was dead by October 1333, C.P.R. 1340-3, 477-8; but elsewhere he is noted as being alive in January 1341, ibid., 78. He was certainly dead by April 1347, Registrum Johannis de Trilleck, 374; but his widow, Joan de Turberville, was still alive in August 1349, ibid., 379.

2. C.P.R. 1327-30, 141. In March 1328 the earl of March quitclaimed all his right in Pencelli and Tir Ralph for life to his cousin, Roger son of Roger Mortimer of Chirk, B.M. Harleian 1240, f.43v.

3. I would not identify John Mortimer of Pencelli and Tedstone Wafre with John Mortimer of Kent (or Suffolk), as G.E.C., ix, 256, suggests. The descent of the Mortimers of Chirk is discussed below, and I hope to deal with the case in more detail elsewhere.

4. SC 8/263/13104 quoted in G.E.C., ix, 255; C.P.R. 1340-3, 477-8.

5. G.A. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, 15-17.

6. B.M. Harleian 1240 f.43v., f.50.

rightful heirs for good. John Mortimer had to console himself with an annuity of a hundred marks from the manors of Marden and Wynforton (both of them former manors of his grandfather)[1] and with the bad conscience of the elder Mortimer line. For a bad conscience the earls of March certainly seem to have had: at least that seems to be the only explanation of the gift of £500 which Earl Edmund (ob. 1381) left in his will for Roger, son of John Mortimer and great-grandson of Roger Mortimer of Chirk.[2]

The only substantial estate which was left to the Mortimers of Chirk after this disinherison was the barony of Pencelli, and soon even this was to fall victim to the ambitions of the earl of Hereford, anxious to take full advantage of the misfortunes of the Mortimer family. The details of the struggle between Earl Humphrey IV and the heirs of Mortimer of Chirk in Pencelli often elude us; but the nature and result of the struggle are not in doubt. Already in 1349-50 the earl's officials were giving their attention to the case of John Mortimer, and by February 1351 he was in Bohun's custody at Brecon castle, possibly as a minor but more probably as a prisoner.[3] By July 1351 the Mortimer lands in Pencelli, Llanfilo, Mora and Llandefaelog were in the earl's hands and had been leased to two leading Brecon Welshmen for an annual farm of £66 13.4.[4] By the following year Bohun had appointed a bailiff to be in charge of the lands formerly of John Mortimer and to answer for the issues to the exchequer at Brecon. In the meantime Mortimer himself was kept in custody in Brecon castle on a pension of threepence a day;

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1. C.C.R. 1360-4, 47. 2. Royal Wills etc., ed. J. Nichols, 104.
3. DL 29/671/10810 m.16, m.17, m.19.
4. DL 25/1627.

but he succeeded in escaping from captivity in 1352.[1] These disparate facts point to the conclusion that John Mortimer, the legitimate heir of the Mortimers of Chirk, was being kept in honourable custody in Brecon castle, after he had been forcibly disseised of a good part of his lands in Pencelli.

The story is of a piece with Bohun's ambitions in Pencelli and with the way in which John Mortimer was likewise treated by the earls of March. Moreover it is a story which is amply confirmed by later evidence. In the first place, by 1373 the advowson of the churches of Llanfilo and Llanfrynach, which had previously belonged to the Mortimers of Chirk, was now in the hands of the earl of Hereford.[2] Even more significant is the earliest reeve's account for Pencelli, that for 1374-5, which records that most of the income of English Pencelli and a good part of that of Welsh Pencelli came from rents and farms 'quondam Rogeri de Mortuomari', who was either Roger Mortimer of Chirk or his son.[3] Further evidence makes it clear that a third of the barony of Pencelli had been permanently confiscated by the earl of Hereford and henceforth was an integral part of the lordship of Brecon.[4] The descendants of the Mortimer of Chirk kept a third of the barony and were still in possession of it in the mid-fifteenth century.[5] So it was that Humphrey de

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1. DL 29/671/10810 m.20, m.21. 'In expensis Johannis le Porter cum j homine de Brec' usque Kynb' ad certificandum dominum de fractione...castri per Johannem de Mortuomari'.

2. Taxatio Ecclesiastica, 273; C.I.P.M., xiii, no.167 (p.141).

3. SC 6/1157/2.

4. DL 41/2/3 (memoranda sent by the earl of Derby to duke of Gloucester c.1390) refers to the escheat of a third of the barony of Pencelli into the earl of Hereford's hands.

5. Roger Mortimer who held Pencelli in 1373 (C.I.P.M., xiii, 141) was the son of John Mortimer (DL 41/2/3), who was in turn grandson of Roger Mortimer of Chirk (ob.1326). The son of Roger Mortimer of 1373 was Sir John Mortimer who died in 1416 (DL 42/17 f.120), and he was succeeded by Sir Hugh Mortimer who died seised of Pencelli in 1460, J. Lloyd, Historical Memoranda of Breconshire, i, 136.

Bohun forcibly wrested a good part of Pencelli from the ill-fortuned junior line of Mortimer; but his conscience, like that of the earl of March, gave him trouble for in his will he left £100 with which his executors were to buy land to be settled on John Mortimer and his heirs in perpetuity.[1] There, to all intents, the story ends. The Mortimers of Chirk had clearly been the victims of systematic disinhersion carried through by quasi-legal methods. They had been reduced from the position of leading marcher barons to that of an insignificant gentry family within a generation; and the principal beneficiaries of their dramatic fall were the earls of March and Hereford.

That the confiscation of the Mortimer estates in Pencelli was part of a wider plan on the part of Earl Humphrey IV to consolidate his position in the area becomes apparent when the cases of Pichard, Devereux and Sowton are considered. Unfortunately even less is known about these cases than about that of John Mortimer. The Pichards were originally a Herefordshire family which had settled in Pencelli and Seethreg. The family had been closely connected with the Bohun earls of Hereford since at least the mid-thirteenth century;[2] and its representative in Pencelli in the early fourteenth century, Miles Pichard, had lost his lands for supporting Humphrey de Bohun in 1322.[3] Miles Pichard remained in Early Humphrey IV's confidence and appears as a witness to several Bohun charters in the period.[4] But by 1348 Earl Humphrey was already casting eager eyes over the Pichard lands in Pencelli; and Miles

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1. Royal Wills, etc., 55

2. A Milo Pichard was Bohun bailiff in Haverford in the mid-thirteenth century Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales, 211.

3. C.P.R. 1321-4, 77; C.C.R. 1318-23, 458.

4. DL 29/671/10810 m.4; DL 25/1616, 1624.

Pichard and his son were summoned for an interview with the earl at Caldicot. The legal ground on which Bohun chose to challenge Pichard was whether he would recognise Bohun's jurisdiction over his lands at Scethrog and Pencelli.[1] No details of the case are extant; but the end result, as in Mortimer's case, was confiscation. By 1356 Milo Pichard's lands were in the earl's hands and a reeve had been appointed to collect the issues from them.[2] This was the second case of confiscation by the earl in the 1350s in the fertile lowlands of Pencelli; it was clearly part of a preconceived plan.

No definite date can be given for the acquisition of the Devereux and Sowton lands, both of which were also concentrated in the Pencelli area. The Devereux were a prolific Herefordshire family, one branch of which held land in Bodenham and Moccas whilst another branch had its seat at Staunton-on-Wye; but the family also had land in Pencelli since at least the mid-thirteenth century.[3] In 1359 John Devereux surrendered his Pencelli estates to Roger Mortimer;[4] and it may well be that it was about the same time that the earl of Hereford also acquired a share of the Devereux inheritance in Pencelli, for by 1373 more than a third of the Bohun rents in Pencelli came from tenants formerly of John Devereux and his wife, Gwerfyl. It is also reasonable to

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1. DL 29/671/10810 m.15, m.19, m.22. The phrase used in the 1354 account makes the point clear: 'ad certificandum dominum an Milo P[ichard] vellet recognoscere se esse tenentem domini an non'.

2. DL 29/671/10810 m.23, m.18. Between Michaelmas 1356 and Michaelmas 1358 the reeve paid £19 from Milo Pichard's lands.

3. For references to the Devereux in connection with Pencelli, B.M. Add. Mss. 6041 f.34v. (1287), and E 179/242/48 (1292).

4. B.M. Harleian 1240 f.43v.

conjecture that the demesne lands of Sowton at Llechfaen came into the earl's possession about the same time.[1]

Altogether there can be little doubt that the earl of Hereford had greatly consolidated his position in the Pencelli district during the 1350s; and this conclusion, which is based on all too fragmentary evidence, is amply confirmed by the series of receivers' accounts. Prior to 1347 there had only been one seignorial bailiff for the whole Pencelli area; but by 1357 there were nine reeves answering for bailiwicks in the area. A reeve of Mora appeared in 1347 possibly to deal with the lands acquired from the Andrews and William Haraz; in 1350 four new reeves were appointed for Scethrog, Llandefaelog, Llansanffraid, and Llanfrynach almost certainly to deal with the confiscated lands of John Mortimer; by 1356 the old office of bailiff of Pencelli had been divided into two new reeveships, one for the Englishry and one for the Welshry; and finally in 1357 a reeve appeared for Llechfaen, which suggests that it was then the Sowton lands were acquired. This addition of eight new reeveships over a period of ten years suggests not only that a very extensive area of new land was brought under the direct control of the earl of Hereford, but also that it was being farmed directly by the earl himself.[2] By 1373 demesne farming had been abandoned in Pencelli, and the number of reeveships had accordingly contracted; but even so the remarkable success of Earl Humphrey IV in extending seignorial control in the area remained.

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1. SC 6/1157/2, for both the Devereux and the Sowton lands in Pencelli.
2. The earl had demesne land at Mora as late as 1370, SC 6/1156/18.

The earl of Hereford could cajole and bully the gentry of his own lordship to surrender their lands to him; but he had to adopt different tactics and could not hope for such easy success when his opponent was a leading figure in national politics. He had such a series of opponents to contend with in his claim to the lordship of Builth. The Bohun connection with Builth began on 20 September 1317 when the castle and lordship - which had been in the custody of a series of royal keepers during Edward II's reign - was granted to Earl Humphrey III for his good service to the king.[1] The grant was in doubt from the first, for in June 1318 the custody of Builth was granted to John Walwayn at a fixed farm.[2] Furthermore, at the parliament of May 1319 it was alleged that the earl of Hereford was claiming a right to Builth prior to the royal charter of September 1317 and that the lordship had been granted to him for a farm far below its actual value.[3] In spite of these accusations, which may well have originated with the younger Despenser, Bohun retained possession of the lordship, for the order to Roger Mortimer in June 1319 to take Builth into the king's hands was countermanded.[4] But the reprieve was not to last for long. When relations between the earl and the king were strained almost to breaking point in the early months of 1321, Edward II - doubtless at Despenser's instigation[5] - ordered once more that

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1. C.Ch.R. 1300-26, 367. 2. C.F.R. 1307-19, 370.

3. Documents Illustrative of English History in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, ed. H. Cole, 10. For the possible source of the prior claim to Builth see The Welsh Assize Roll, ed. J.C. Davies, 25.

4. C.F.R. 1307-19, 402; C.C.R. 1318-23, 77.

5. Cf. Despenser's references to the earl of Hereford in his letter of 21 March 1321, Cartæ et alia munimenta, ed. G.T. Clark, iii, 1075.

Builth should be resumed into royal hands, together with the issues thereof from the date of the original grant of the lordship to the earl.[1] The pretext given for the confiscation was that the king was bound by the Ordinances not to alienate any of the royal estates, and that the confiscation had only been delayed at the instigation of the Earl Marshal. The ascendancy of Bohun and his allies in the marches in 1321 prevented the order from being carried out immediately; but with the collapse of the baronial cause in the area in January 1322, Builth, along with Bohun's goods there, was seized by a royal keeper and kept in royal hands for the rest of the reign.[2]

Thus Builth lordship had only been in Bohunpossession - and uncertain possession at that - for a mere four years; but throughout their lifetimes Earl John and Earl Humphrey IV undertook long and determined efforts to recover what they regarded as part of their paternal inheritance. There is no doubt that Builth would have been a valuable addition to the Bohun estates, especially as it lay next to the lordship of Brecon. The attempt to recover it began immediately with the restoration of the Bohun family to favour on the accession of Edward III. In the first parliament of the new reign, John de Bohun claimed the lordship on the grounds that the younger Despenser had torn up the charter granted to Humphrey de Bohun in 1317.[3] His claim was not altogether disingenuous, for in the Northampton parliament of April 1328 the earl decided to produce a copy of the Builth charter from the family archives at Pleshy castle.[4] But charter or no charter, the Bohun family could make no

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1. C.F.R. 1319-27, 50; Calendar of Chancery Warrants 1244-1326, 519.

2. C.F.R. 1319-27, 92; C.Inq.Misc. 1307-49, no.669.

3. Rotuli Parliamentorum hactenus inediti, ed. H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, 157.

4. His letter to his brother asking for the charter to be brought from the Bohun archives at Pleshy is in HL 34/1 no.24.

headway with its claim to Builth so long as the ruling party at court was interested in the lordship. In fact Edward III had granted Builth to his mother soon after his accession, and she had conveyed it to the earl of March as part of the earl's vast new empire in the Welsh marches.[1] In spite of the fluctuations of politics, this Mortimer claim to Builth - which was basically as weak as that of the earl of Hereford - was to prove an insuperable barrier to the Bohun attempt to recover the lordship.

The weakness of the Bohun case was clearly revealed in 1330 when John Bohun failed to recover the lordship on the fall of the earl of March. Instead Builth was granted to Alice Lacy and her second husband, Sir Ebulo Lestraunge, in exchange for certain Lacy lands which the king retained.[2] It was probably the death of Lestraunge in September 1335 which prompted the next Bohun petition, for in October of that year Philip Clanvow and Adam Lucas were appointed to investigate the Bohun claim to Builth in detail.[3] The findings of their enquiry have not survived; but the end result was clearly not favourable to the Bohuns, for Builth remained in the hands of the countess of Lincoln until it was granted, along with the principality of Wales, to the king's son Edward in August 1343.[4] This grant of Builth to the prince of Wales roused the earl of Hereford to action in defence of his claims. In 1344 his Brecon officials were in consultation with Philip Clanvow and Adam Lucas, the two commissioners of 1335, on the best tactics to adopt with

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1. C.F.R. 1327-37, 147. For other lands in Wales granted to the earl of March see G.A. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, 13-14.

2. C.P.R. 1330-4, 74; 1334-8, 34.

3. C 145/127 no.11, imperfectly calendared in C.Inq.Misc. 1307-49, no.1437.

4. The grant is recited in SC 6/1156/1.

regard to Builth;[1] and in 1345 appears the first of a series of petitions with which earl Humphrey pestered the councils of the king and of the prince of Wales during the next few years.[2] Both councils gave due attention to his case and the earl felt sure that they had been convinced by his arguments. He was consequently all the more annoyed that nothing had been done to implement the council's decision ('de qei riens nest fait uncore').[3] He petitioned parliament in 1347 in hope of better results, but in vain;[4] and in November 1348 the Black Prince granted the custody of Builth to Richard de la Bere for life.[5] Humphrey de Bohun had failed in his efforts to recover Builth not for want of trying but because he was not sufficiently high in Edward III's favour to secure a direct royal intervention on his behalf. How royal favour could have transformed the situation was amply shown when Builth was granted to Roger Mortimer, earl of March, as part of his grandfather's inheritance, in the 1350s.[6] Royal favour had secured in an instant what constant petitioning had failed to secure in years. On Roger Mortimer's death in February 1360, earl Humphrey made a final effort to recover Builth from the prince of Wales,[7] to whose custody it had been granted;[8] but no success attended this attempt any more than earlier ones.

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1. DL 29/671/10810 m.9. 2. SC 8/34/1693-5.

3. SC 8/244/12200. Part of this petition is printed by G.A. Holmes, op.cit., 22, n.1, but he failed to decipher the crucial phrase, and was therefore wrong in assuming that earl Humphrey recovered Builth, even for a short time.

4. Rot. Parl., ii, 185. 5. SC 6/1156/6. 6. C.P.R. 1358-61, 262-3.

7. SC 8/34/1696. This petition can be dated between February 1360, the date of Roger Mortimer's death, and October 1361, when Earl Humphrey IV died; and in this respect G.A. Holmes' reference (op.cit., 22) to it needs to be amended.

8. C.P.R. 1358-61, 447.

Earl Humphrey IV had failed in his attempt to recover Builth; but even his failure had revealed his tenacity of purpose. In his own lordship, his policies were far more successful, not only with regard to the gentry of Brecon, as has already been shown, but also with regard to the corporate communities of the lordship. The first victim of his determination to increase seignorial control was the town of Brecon. The town had been granted a series of charters by the earls of Hereford between 1276 and 1308,[1] bestowing a considerable degree of institutional independence on the burgesses and endowing them with a virtual monopoly of trade within the lordship of Brecon; but suddenly in 1340 earl Humphrey IV reversed the policy of his father and grandfather. The town was stripped of all its privileges and reduced to the position of a seignorial vill.[2] Henceforth instead of the burgesses paying a fixed annual farm, seignorial bailiffs would be appointed to collect as much money as possible from the town, and the wisdom of this move for the earl's finances was soon apparent.[3] Nor was this an isolated move. In the same year as the privileges of Brecon town were confiscated, the Great Forest, which had likewise been paying an annual fixed farm, was also taken into the earl's hands and was farmed to the highest bidder. This aggressive policy towards the town and the Great Forest is clearly of a piece with Earl Humphrey IV's policy of territorial expansion in the Pencelli area: it was part of a deliberate attempt to bring as much as possible of the lordship of Brecon under the direct control of the earl of Hereford.

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1. Printed in B.B.C.S., ii (1924), 245-52.
2. DL 29/671/10810 m.4.
3. See below pp. 153-4.

An earl who was so insistent on his own rights within his lordship would inevitably resist any attempt from outside to encroach on his rights. Thus in 1342 royal writs to levy troops for a forthcoming expedition had to be sent back to chancery, for Earl Humphrey insisted that Fencelli and Bronllys, both mentioned in the writs, were of his lordship and that his bailiffs alone had the right to array soldiers within them.[1] He won his point and the writs were duly changed. A more serious challenge to the rights of the earl of Hereford as marcher lord came from the claims put forward by the Black Prince. Prince Edward had been granted the principality of Wales in 1343 and during the next ten years his officials tried to exercise regal powers throughout Wales, in the marcher lordships as well as in the principality. They laid claim to the temporalities of vacant bishoprics within marcher lordships (a right which Edward I had successfully reserved for the crown);[2] they claimed the right to levy troops in the marches; and further insisted on the Prince's right to take a marcher lordship into his hands when its lord died.[3] These general claims were certainly sufficiently offensive in themselves; but the Black Prince clashed with earl Humphrey IV on three more specific points: in 1346 the Prince claimed exemption from paying tolls to the earl's ministers; in May 1347 he issued a strict prohibition to the earl from entering into any of the temporalities of the vacant bishopric of St. David's in Brecon lordship; and in an undated letter he forbad the earl from holding an eyre within his lordship on the grounds that it would be openly to the prejudice

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1. Foedera, II, ii, 1192; DL 29/671/10810, m.6d.

2. See Glanmor Williams, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation, 46-5 which does not, however, provide an exhaustive treatment of the question.

3. B.P.R., i, 55, 70, 144-5.

of the prince, to the diminution of his lordship of Wales, and against the dignity of his coronet.[1] These would have been remarkable claims had they come from the crown of England; coming from the prince of Wales they were quite intolerable, especially when relations between the earl and the prince were already strained over Builth. There can be no doubt that the earl of Hereford vigorously resisted all these claims;[2] and one may well believe that he was in the forefront of the movement which secured the passage of the statute of 1354 which firmly declared that the marcher lordships were held of the Crown in chief, and not of the Principality.[3] No more could the Prince of Wales and his officials put forward their high-handed claims.

It had taken a parliamentary statute to compel the Black Prince to climb down; more simple and direct methods could be used to put lesser persons in their place. Just at the moment that Earl Humphrey IV was resisting the claims of Prince Edward and bringing the pressure to bear on John Mortimer and Milo Pichard, he initiated a quo warranto inquiry against one of his more powerful tenants, Sir Philip ap Rees lord of Bronllys and Cantrefselyf.[4] Sir Philip capitulated with hardly a struggle; and by August 1351 his lands had been confiscated, and he and his wife had withdrawn to their estate in Talgarth, where they were outside the jurisdiction of the lord of Brecon. The case is a sinister one, all the more so as similar quasi-legal methods were apparently used to secure the confiscation of the lands of Mortimer and Pichard. Gentler methods were employed when the earl went to law against the

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1. B.P.H., i, 31, 77; Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales, 225-6.
2. In spite of the prince's letter, the earls justices held their sessions in Brecon in 1350, DL 29/671/10810 m.17.
3. Ivor Bowen, The Statutes of Wales, 30, 28 E.III c.2.
4. See below pp. 125-30.

dean of Hereford over the advowson of the church of Kingston. The case was heard in Herefordshire not in the court of the lord of Brecon and so the earl for once was not in the happy position of being both plaintiff and judge in his own case. Consequently bribes were judiciously distributed by the earl's officials to the sheriff and his clerk to secure a favourable jury and then to the jury to return the right decision.[1] They did not fail him.

Clearly Earl Humphrey IV spared no ingenuity or guile in his determination to consolidate his position as lord of the lordship of Brecon. During his twenty-four years as earl he had vastly increased his territorial position and income there. His lack of all military and political military ambition meant that he could devote his whole time to the task of consolidating his inheritance; and though he made no remarkable purchases and his lack of political influence served him ill in his claim to Builth, there is no doubt that to him must go much of the credit for making of Brecon 'a very fine and great lordship'.

No two brothers could be more sharply contrasted than Earl Humphrey IV and William, earl of Northampton. William de Bohun was one of the great warriors of Edward III's day and a close confidant of the king.[2] His military enterprises and friendships soon brought their reward: a grant of an extensive group of the earl of Norfolk's estates in 1332; the hand of Elizabeth de Badlesmere in 1335 with the promise of both dower and inherited lands; and the promise of an income of £1,000 a year on his elevation to the peerage in 1337. Furthermore by the late 1340s it must have become abundantly clear that he or his son would succeed to the Bohun inheritance on the death of Earl

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1. DL 29/671/10810 m.14-m.15, m.19, m.20; e.g. a gift of £5 was given to the sheriff 'pro dicto panello ordinando ad voluntatem domini comitis'. The record of the case is in C 47/61/2 no.11.

2. For his career G.E.C., ix, 664-7.

Humphrey. It was with this prospect in mind that during the last ten years of his life he began to invest the profits of his war exploits in purchases of lands. These purchases were clearly designed to fit in with the existing Bohun estates, and among the most significant were a series of acquisitions in Bronllys and Cantrefselyf, an area which had hitherto been largely outside Bohun control.

Until 1299 Bronllys had been held of the earl of Hereford by John Giffard of Brimpsfield in right of his wife, Maud Longespée; on Giffard's death that year the right to the Longespée inheritance passed to his four daughters and Bronllys fell to the lot of Maud Giffard.[1] She in turn was dead by 1311 and before 1322 Master Rees ap Hywel had acquired Bronllys with pasture rights in Cantrefselyf.[2] It was from Master Rees' son, Sir Philip ap Rees, that the earl of Northampton brought Bronllys in 1351. The circumstances of this important purchase will be described in greater detail later;[3] but they must be briefly summarised here for they show that the earl of Hereford was hand in glove with his brother of Northampton in the latter's series of purchases in Cantrefselyf. There can be little doubt that the quo warranto inquiry which Earl Humphrey IV initiated against Sir Philip ap Rees in August 1349 was meant from the beginning to be a pretext for the confiscation of Bronllys, and that this confiscation in turn would be the opportunity for the earl of Northampton to buy out Sir Philip's rights in the area. The plan was a complete success. Sir Philip failed to appear to answer the case and his lands within

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1. C.F.R. 1272-1307, 421-2; C.Inq.Misc. 1219-1307, no.1870.
2. C.F.R. 1307-19, 92; 1319-27, 92.
3. See below pp.125-30.

the lordship of Brecon were declared to be forfeit. It is against this background that one should see the series of deeds of August 1351 whereby the earl of Northampton acquired from Sir Philip ap Rees and his wife Joan the manors of Bronllys and Llangoed, rights of pasture in Cantrefselyf, and land in Talgarth in exchange for the Shropshire manor of Ideshale.[1] It can hardly be a coincidence that earl William agreed to pay 200 marks for the Talgarth lands, the very sum which the earl of Hereford demanded from Sir Philip ap Rees for the right to alienate Bronllys.[2]

After he had thus secured a strong foothold in Cantrefselyf, the earl of Northampton proceeded to consolidate his position there. A number of agents, doubtless acting on his behalf, secured the lease of the extensive Dore abbey granges and pastures in Cantrefselyf for £26 13s.4d. a year in 1351.[3] In May 1352 the earl bought a large farm at Bryndu, overlooking Bronllys, together with appurtenances in nearby vills and rights of pasture in Cantrefselyf, from John fitz William ap Rees.[4] Later in the same year, he persuaded another Welsh freeholder, Hywel ab Owen, to grant him his land in Llanerchcoedlan in the upper Wye valley in exchange for eight tenements in Triffrwd, a less accessible part of Cantrefselyf.[5] This series of purchases was completed in 1358 when earl William acquired all the lands of Richard ap Gruffydd ap Richard in Abercletwr and Sir Roger Chenney's manor at Tre Henri.[6]

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1. C.P.R. 1350-4, 258, 261, 294; DL 25/1618, 1621; DL 36/3 no.217.
2. DL 29/671/10810 m.19; CP 25(1)/83/43 no.158.
3. DL 25/1285. The lands were leased to two monks of the abbey, and to Richard Sergeant, William Wadeboef, and John Lucas. See below Chapter III pp.162.
4. DL 25/1624; DL 36/1 no.261.
5. DL 25/1626; SC 6/1156/14. For Hywel ab Owen see below p.120.
6. DL 25/1602, 1628; DL 36/1 no.219.

By this series of well-planned purchases the earl of Northampton had made himself undoubted lord of Cantrefselyf. He had certainly spent a considerable sum of money to secure this position: John fitz William ap Rees was paid £73 6s. 8d. for Bryndu; Sir Philip ap Rees was given the Badlesmere manor of Ideshale; and the other purchases must have involved like payments or exchanges; but this was money well spent. Henceforth the heir of the Bohun inheritance could count Cantrefselyf as one of his estates rather than as a mesne-lordship held of him by tenuous feudal connections. It was, moreover, a rich agricultural area. Reeves were placed in charge of the demesne at Trawscoed, Bronllys, Llangoed, Llaneglwys and Gwenddwr; a seignorial vaccary was established at Abernant; and a large seignorial flock of sheep was kept on the rich pastures of Cantrefselyf.[1] The real value of earl William's purchases will be realised when it is remembered that Cantrefselyf contributed £220 to the £1,200 which was the approximate clear value of Brecon lordship in 1372.[2]

Between them Earl Humphrey IV and Earl William had transformed the position of the earl of Hereford as lord of Brecon. There could no longer be any doubt that the earl was lord of Fencelli and Cantrefselyf, and even elsewhere in the lordship his position had been greatly strengthened. The last Bohun earl of Hereford, Humphrey V (1361-73), was to reap the fruits of these achievements. He himself does not seem to have increased the inheritance in any respect; indeed he abandoned demesne farming in Fencelli and later in Cantrefselyf; and the crop of reeveships which appeared so

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1. See below Chapter III, pp.179-85.
2. See below pp.156

suddenly in the 1350s disappears equally quickly by 1372. On the other hand, he integrated the new lands in Penoelli and Cantrefselyf fully into the administrative organisation of Brecon, and appointed a single supervisor to be in charge of agricultural policy throughout the lordship.[1] Unfortunately these policies were cut short by the premature death of Earl Humphrey V in January 1373. The royal commissioner who took charge of the lordship in 1374 is not known to have written a report comparable with that of his predecessor in 1302; but the accounts which he sent to the exchequer were themselves the best testimony to the fact that Brecon was indeed 'a very fine and great lordship'. And the credit for making a reality of John Barham's claim must go to Earl Humphrey IV of Hereford and his brother Earl William of Northampton.

(ii) The lord and his tenants

So far an attempt has been made to describe how the earls of Hereford increased their power as lords of Brecon during the fourteenth century; but even at the height of their power in the 1350s and 1360s the direct territorial control of the earls was small when compared with the size of the lordship as a whole. It is the aim of the present section to consider who exercised immediate control in the rest of the lordship and what sort of relationship existed between them and the earl, to look, that is, at the lordship as a whole and not merely from the seigneurial point of view. The documentary material for such a study is grossly insufficient; but it is relatively more abundant for Brecon than for the Lancaster lordships and the problem is of

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1. SC 6/1156/18.

such major importance that it cannot be ignored. Broadly speaking the land of Brecon, other than that in seignorial hands, was in the immediate control of two bodies[1] - the gentry of the lordship and the communities of Welsh inhabitants.

Of the importance of the gentry in the social structure of the lordship there can be few doubts. The commissioners who assessed the subsidy of 1292 recognised that they were a separate class;[2] and on at least four occasions during the fourteenth century they and their tenants granted the lord of Brecon gifts and fines quite separately from the other inhabitants of the lordship.[3] Again, writing in the early fifteenth century the Welsh poet Sion Cent, by no means uncritical of his social superiors, could congratulate Brecon on its wealth and on its squirearchy.[4] And yet this class which looms so large in the poetry and literature of the period hardly makes an appearance in the seignorial accounts on which the historian so often relies. The

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1. Ecclesiastical corporations are excluded here; for them see above p. 81 and the references there.

2. E 179/242/48.

3. DL 29/671/10810 m.5, 'de dono quorundam mediorum dominorum del Comot'; ibid., m.8, 'de fine maiorum tenentium de Commot'; SC 6/1156/18 m.3, 'de dono hominum militum de Brek''; SC 6/1157/4, 'per tenentes et residentes feodorum militum'.

4. 'Uchaf gwlad, wyd ben cadair
O Gymru oll, gem ar air,
O wyr, o ysgwieriaid,
O blant, o gyfoeth, o blaid'.
Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill, eds. H. Lewis, T. Roberts, I. Williams, 268.

explanation of this paradox rests largely in the nature of manorial accounts. These accounts are very revealing of the economy of the lord's demesne; but outside this extremely limited sphere they are singularly unrevealing and even misleading.[1] Consequently one has to turn for evidence to more disparate and indirect sources.

Many of the leading gentry families of Brecon in the fourteenth century were the direct descendants of the knights and squires who had followed the earlier Norman earls into Herefordshire and from there had penetrated in the footsteps of the earls down the valleys of Wye, Llynfi and Usk into the heart of the Welsh lordship of Brycheiniog. The cartulary of Brecon Priory shows that many of the families, such as the Pichards, Devereux, Baskervilles, Burghills, Parpoynts and Waldbeofs, which figure prominently in the history of Brecon under the last Bohun earls, had already established themselves in the lordship as early as the twelfth century. Many of them, as one might expect, held lands both in Herefordshire and in Brecon.[2] Some Brecon place-names, such as Pentre Sollars and Tregunter, still retain the memory of famous Herefordshire families; and the connection between the two areas is even more amply proved by the historical evidence. Thus Thomas Baskerville who paid a nominal rent for land in Pencelli was a member of a very old Brecon family which also had lands in Herefordshire and Shropshire;[3] William Waldeboef who lost his lands in Gattertop (co. Hereford) for his support of

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1. Cf. the remarks of E.M. Carus-Wilson in 'Evidences of Industrial Growth on some fifteenth century manors', Econ.H.R., 2nd series, xii (1959), 190-205 esp. pp.196-7.

2. Cf. the works by D.G. Walker mentioned above p. 76 n.1 ; and also his 'Charters of the earldom of Hereford 1095-1201', Camden Miscellany, xxii, 1-75.

3. See above p. 92 n.1.

Humphrey Bohun in 1322 also held a knight's fee at Llanhamlach;[1] Roger Burghill held land both in Tillington and Burghill and in Llanfilo and Trostref, and his ancestors had once been lords of Y Fenni, near Brecon;[2] The Devereux family, with its manifold branches, is traditionally connected with Bodenham and Staunton on Wye, but it also held lands of the earl of Hereford in Pencelli, Llanfrynach and Pipton;[3] Sir Roger Chenney who sold his manor of Tre Henri, not far from Bronllys, to the earl of Northampton in 1358 was a member of a Shropshire family which had had an interest in the Bronllys area since at least as early as 1322;[4] while the Pichard family, as its name suggests, was originally an eastern Herefordshire family which had early on established itself in Ystradyw in the lordship of Blaenllyfni and in Seethrog on the borders of Brecon.[5] The connection between the Herefordshire and Brecon lowlands was a living as well as an historical connection, as the case of the Aubreys will show. The Aubrey family was well established in the lordship of Brecon by at least the end of the thirteenth century,[6] and so numerous were its members that it is impossible to disentangle its various branches. It was clearly a distinguished family, holding land of the earl of Hereford at Mora and of the bishop of St. David's at Llanddew;[7] and one of

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1. SC 6/1145/6; C.I.P.M., xiii, no.167. Cf. Registrum Thome Charlton, 112.
2. C.I.P.M. iv, no.246; DL 25/1594, 1607; Arch.Camb., 4th series, xiv, 278-9
3. DL 29/633/10317 Pencelli Wallicana; DL 7/1 Appendix volume, no.22.
4. C.C.R. 1318-23, 461; Foedera, II, ii, 690; DL 25/1602.
5. See above p. /01 ; and for an early member of the family, D.G. Walker, 'Ralph son of Pichard', B.I.H.R., xxxiii (1960), 195-202.
6. Welsh Assize Roll 1277-84, 349.
7. DL 25/1608-9; C.I.P.M. vi, no.348; SC 6/1157/4; The Black Book of St. David's, 1326, 295.

its members was sufficiently important to secure a tomb for himself and his wife in the priory church at Brecon.[1] Perhaps the most important member of the family was John Aubrey who in 1299 held a quarter of a knight's fee at Brecon and titled himself lord of Alexanderstone. He married the sister of John Walwayn, the earl of Hereford's steward, and through his marriage secured a share in the Herefordshire manors of Great Cowarne and Tattington. John Aubrey sold Alexanderstone to the earl of Hereford and settled in Herefordshire[2] but other members of the Aubrey family stayed in Brecon[3] and were to be amongst the leading gentry families of the area in Tudor times.

What the story of the Aubreys and similar families shows is that the origin and interests of many of the gentry families of fourteenth century Brecon lay in Herefordshire. They often kept estates in both counties and were as much at home amongst their Herefordshire kinsfolk as on their estates in Brecon. These were the men who constantly appear in the witness lists of the Bohun charters of Brecon and who were also frequently entrusted with commissions in Herefordshire. There was already an English squirearchy in Brecon, and it was this class above all which was responsible for establishing the social and economic pattern of the Herefordshire lowlands in the river-valleys of Brecon.

Important as were these Anglo-Norman families, they were not the only members of the gentry class in the lordship of Brecon. Alongside them there

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1. The Official Progress of the first Duke of Beaufort through Wales in 1684 212.

2. C.I.P.M. iii, no.552; C.P.R. 1313-17, 264; DL 7/1 Appendix volume no.10 CP 25(1)/82/33 nos.133, 136.

3. Other Aubreys specifically connected with Brecon during this period were Thomas son of Thomas Aubrey c.1327 (P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, xxxii, 200); and Walter Aubrey, C.P.R. 1324-7, 142.

existed a class of indigenous Welsh gentry. These were the men whom the Welsh poets addressed as '_uchelwyr_', '_barwniaid_' or '_ygwieiriaidi_' and though very little is known of them, their power within the lordship and the extent of their lands must have been considerable. Such a one was Gruffydd ap Meuric who paid a rent of 12s.2d. for the lordship ('_dominium_') of Cilian in the valley of the Cletwr,[1] or Hywel ab Owen of Llanerchcoedlan who conveyed all his lands, rents and tenants to his daughter Gwenllian in 1361,[2] or Sir Philip ap Rees who sold most of his extensive estates in Bronllys and Talgarth to the earl of Northampton and whose daughters married into the wealthy gentry folk of Shropshire and Staffordshire. The social and economic position of others of the Welsh gentry has to be inferred from the official posts they held in the lordship. Such a one was Dafydd ap Hywel. He was one of the _agistatores_ of the Great Forest in 1350 and one of the three keepers of the lordship in 1361; and when the king took charge of Brecon in 1374 he appointed Dafydd ap Hywel as sheriff there.[3] No man of mean wealth was appointed to such responsible posts, and it may well be assumed that Dafydd ap Hywel's official duties were a tribute to his territorial power. The same is doubtless true of Hywel Fychan ap Hywel ab Einion, constable of Brecon in 1338-9 and sheriff of the lordship from 1332 to 1348. He was a man whom the earl of Hereford trusted and duly rewarded. Some idea of his wealth can be gauged from the fact that he was expected to contribute £6 6s.0d. towards a communal fine of £50 on the Commos; and he was also one of the two

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1. SC 6/1157/3.
2. N.L.W. Quaritch Deeds, 1-2.
3. DL 29/671/10810, m.17; _C.F.R. 1356-68_, 173; _C.P.R. 1370-4_, 382.

Welshmen to whom the valuable Mortimer lands were granted on lease in 1351.[1] His standing in the lordship is all the more significant in that he was almost certainly David Gam's grandfather, and so the ancestor of the Games family which still played a leading role in Breconshire in the sixteenth century.[2] His career can be paralleled by that of Hywel Fychan ap Hywel ap David, who shared the Mortimer estates with him and whose father had lost his lands for supporting Bohun in 1322, or Llywelyn ap David, who in 1343 farmed the fulling mill at Llywel, the agistement of the Great Forest, and the leyrwit and who paid the considerable rent of 20s.11d. for his lands.

These men must all have exercised considerable power in the lordship, both in respect of their territorial wealth and their official position. Some of them could trace their genealogies back to the Welsh lords of Brecon and even further if need be. Only glimpses of their power appear in the seignorial accounts, but to many of the inhabitants of Brecon the power of the gentry was far more immediate and pressing than that of the earl of Hereford. Nor should the distinction between English gentry on the one hand and Welsh uchelwyr on the other be overemphasised. There was no deep cleavage between the two groups; for bonds of class were often deeper than those of race and language. The Welsh squires had little difficulty in adapting themselves to the standards of the border gentry: the daughters of Sir Philip ap Rees married into the Peshales of Shropshire and the Wrottesleys of Staffordshire;[3] and John fitz William ap Rees (his name is in itself

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1. The facts about his life are gathered from DL 29/671/10810 and DL 25/1615, 1624, 1627.

2. See below p.292.

3. C.I.P.M. xii, no.313; Historical Collections of Staffordshire, new series, ii, 80-9.

significant) must have felt equally at home on his estates at Chilson and Madley in Herefordshire or at his mansion at Bryndu in Bronllys.[1] Conversely English families quickly adopted the social habits of the Welsh circles in which they turned; no Welshmen were more lavish in their patronage of the bards in fifteenth century Brecon than the Harvards, Aubreys, Whitneys, Waldboefs and Sourdevales. Milo Pichard is found serving on a commission with Sir Philip ap Rees, and of the five men who came to claim the liberties of mesne lords from the earl of Hereford in 1348 three were English and two Welsh.[2] Border society at the gentry level was one; and it would be difficult to say whether it was the Welsh uchelwyr who were being Anglicized or whether the English settler families, like their counterparts in Ireland, were 'going native'.

The evidence for the importance of the gentry, both English and Welsh, in the lordship of Brecon is cumulative. Some justice has been done of late to the role of the squirearchy in mediaeval Wales,[3] and in no part of Wales would one expect this class to be more powerful than in lowland Brecon, so near to the English border and so open to the social and economic influences of Herefordshire. These were the men who, had they lived in England, would have served on local commissions or been appointed justices of the peace. Evidence of their position in Brecon is more circumstantial. Some of them

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1. DL 25/734, 1624; CP 25(1)/82/42 no.132; JI 1/145 m.8.

2. Foedera, II, ii, 1192; DL 41/6/11.

3. See especially the articles by Glyn Roberts mentioned in the bibliography, and also the excellent thesis by J.E. Jones, 'The development of the Penrhyn estate up to 1431' (University of Wales, M.A. thesis, 1955).

were so powerful in certain areas that they could regard themselves as almost independent of the earl of Hereford: the Burghills called themselves lords of Y Fenni, John Mortimer was known as lord of Llanfilo, and even royal officials acknowledged Roger Mortimer as lord of Pencelli.[1] Likewise the tax commissioners assessed the moveables of Richard Bret, one of the gentry of Bronllys, as considerably more valuable than those of John Giffard, the lord of the area.[2] Most of these lords must, like the Sowtons and Pichards, have had their own demesne farms, their own rent-paying tenants, and their own manorial courts.[3] It is little wonder that the seignorial officials regarded them as a separate class within the lordship; they were right to do so.

The connection between these squires and the earls of Hereford was frequently very tenuous: sometimes they paid a small rent or gave a nominal gift annually to him; and sometimes they held their land of him by knight service. Altogether 18¾ knights' fees were held within the lordship of Brecon; and while their military value was no longer a reality they could still be a profitable, if spasmodic, source of income. The earl of Hereford, as one might expect, was fully alive to the possible profits of his position as feudal lord. He had a feodary to guard his feudal interests in Brecon and Herefordshire,[4] and he took his duties as guardian of his feudal minors

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1. Arch.Camb., 4th series, xiv, 278-9; DL 25/1606; E 179/242/48.

2. C.I.P.M., iii, no.544; E 179/242/60.

3. One of the few documents which deals directly with this subject is a covenant, DL 36/1 no.215, of September 1329 whereby Richard Low leased his lands in Brecon to John Russell for twelve years. The services of Richard Low's tenants were also transferred; but cases of trespass were to be heard in Low's court.

4. DL 29/671/10810, m.3 et seq.

seriously - they were clothed and fed at the expense of the receiver of Brecon.[1] It was not pure benevolence which led the earl to treat these minors well; they were a valuable financial asset. The wardship of Rees ab Ieuan was sold for £40 in 1338; and the wardship of the Whitney and Devereux heirs each brought in £20 annually to the earl's exchequer at Brecon.[2] It is little wonder that Earl Humphrey IV, so insistent on his rights in every field, should be prepared to pay £82 over two years to defend his claims to have the wardship of Roger de Radnor of Bredwardine.[3]

However welcome feudal incidents may have been as financial windfalls, they were at best no more than a spasmodic opportunity for the earl of Hereford to assert his control over the mesne lords of his lordship of Brecon. Some of these mesne lords, more especially Roger Mortimer of Chirk and John Giffard of Brimpsfield, were men of note in national politics. They were naturally anxious to secure judicial independence within their mesne lordships,[4] and resisted the attempts of the earls of Hereford to interfere in the affairs of their estates. The Bohuns, on the other hand, were equally insistent on their rights as lords of the honor of Brecon[5] and on the wide regality which their position as marcher lords gave to them. In 1290 earl Humphrey II had successfully claimed, in a dispute with Roger Mortimer, that

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1. DL 29/671/10810, m.17, m.19, m.21.

2. DL 29/671/10810, m.2, m.17, m.21; SC 6/1156/18.

3. DL 29/671/10810, ~~m.18, m.23~~ m.21-2.

4. ~~For like cases of independence claimed by mesne lords see Littere Wallie, 181, Ing.Ed.I, ii, 215-16.~~

5. Earl Humphrey III had claimed successfully in 1299 that he ought to have had primer seisin of Bronllys on John Giffard's death and that a royal inquisition ought not to have been held there, C 133/91 No.2. inq.23.

all cases between the marcher lord and his tenants were justiciable in the first instance in the lord's court, and that an appeal to the royal courts only lay in cases of default of justice.[1] In effect this decision meant that the earl would be both plaintiff (or defendant) and judge in his own case; and such extensive judicial rights could clearly be abused to the lord's advantage. It has already been seen that Earl Humphrey IV had probably used quasi-legal methods, based on his right to be both plaintiff and judge, to secure the confiscation of the lands of John Mortimer and Milo Fichard; but much the best-documented and most interesting case is that of Sir Philip ap Rees. It is, moreover, a case which tells us a great deal of the relative judicial powers of lord and mesne-tenant in a marcher lordship in the mid-fourteenth century.

Sir Philip ap Rees was the son and heir of Master Rees ap Hywel; but the fact that he was the son of a clerk and therefore illegitimate was overlooked during his lifetime,[2] From his father he inherited considerable estates in the Welsh marches, cancentrated on Bronllys within the lordship of Brecon and on Talgarth just outside the borders of the lordship.[3] His territorial power assured him a leading place in military commissions in the marches;[4] but neither his own temperament nor the politics of Edward III's

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1. T. Madox, Baronia Anglica, 154-5. The case was clearly a cause célèbre as a copy of it was made by Derby's lawyers in 1393. DL 28/3/4 f.24v.

2. But was remembered later, C.P.R. 1405-8, 144.

3. Talgarth was quitclaimed to Sir Philip ap Rees by Mathew fitz Herbert (the grandson of John fitz Reginald) in 1353. I.H. Jeayes, Descriptive Catalogue of the charters and muniments at Berkeley Castle, 166.

4. Rotuli Scotie, i, 332; Foedera, II, ii, 1192; C.P.R. 1340-3, 450; Arch.Camb., 4th series, iv (1873), clxiv.

reign gave him the opportunity to play such an important rôle in marcher affairs as his father had played. The close friendship which had certainly existed between Master Rees ap Hywel and Earl Humphrey III doubtless gave Master Rees the opportunity to claim and exercise wide franchisal powers within his estates in Brenllys and Cantrefselyf. Such wide franchisal powers could only be exercised at the expense of the lord of Brecon; and Earl Humphrey IV, always a stickler for his rights, was not one to suffer any infringements of his powers as marcher lord, least of all from one of his own mesne lords. He first began to be irritated by Sir Philip ap Rees' territorial and jurisdictional powers in Brenllys in the late 1340s. It may be that he was genuinely nettled by the excessive claims of Philip ap Rees and his bailiffs; but one suspects that even from the beginning he was looking for an excuse to confiscate Brenllys and Cantrefselyf so that his brother, the earl of Northampton, could buy out Sir Philip ap Rees' rights there. The dispute first came into the open in the parliament of March 1348 when Sir Philip ap Rees and other mesne lords of Cantrefselyf, through their tenants, petitioned for a remedy for certain grievances allegedly committed by the earl of Hereford.[1] Above all the earl of Hereford was accused of compelling the tenants of Cantrefselyf to appear before the bailiffs of Brecon when summoned to do so and of imprisoning them without trial when they failed to appear. Earl Humphrey must have been infuriated by this appeal to parliament and he soon compelled Sir Philip ap Rees to repent his folly. Sir Philip appeared before the earl's justices at the exchequer at Brecon on 30 September 1348 and conceded four important points: his tenants of Cantrefselyf were to appear before the earl's bailiffs whenever a royal writ came

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1. Rot.Parl., ii, 218-9.

to the earl to select Welshmen for the king's army; they were also to answer the bailiffs' summons to come to a marchday; they were to pay toll on all commercial transactions; and they were not allowed to brew or to bake.

It was a complete submission on all the immediate points at issue; but soon the earl and his councillors decided on a much more drastic onslaught on the rights of Sir Philip ap Rees as mesne-lord in the form of a comprehensive quo-warranto inquiry.[1] The earl had decided to go in for the kill, well knowing that a case conducted in his own court by his own officials could only end in victory for him. He may even have been prompted to his course of action by the series of quo-warranto inquiries which at that moment were being conducted by the Black Prince's officials in North Wales.[2] The quo-warranto inquiry of August 1349 reveals above all the extreme jurisdictional independence which was claimed within the mesne-lordship of Bronllys. Sir Philip ap Rees claimed cognisance of almost all pleas, including crown pleas, in his free court of Bronllys; he claimed the right to pardon accused persons even before they were convicted as well as the right to have the chattels of his tenants convicted elsewhere; none of his tenants answered for any crime committed by him outside the lordship of Cantrefselyf unless he had been caught redhanded and except for theft of the earl's goods; he claimed assize of bread and ale, raising of hue, deodands,

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1. The original copy of this case is doubtless the one in Staffordshire Record Office D 641/1/5 no.1. The copy in the Lancaster archives, DL 41/6/11, was probably made in 1420 on the occasion of the partition of the Bohun inheritance, for the Duchy council certainly asked for a copy of the case to be sent to London in February 1420, DL 42/17 f.156v.

2. Record of Caernarvon, 133 et seq.

forstal, hamsoen and various other liberties, including the right to hear most civil cases; he further claimed the right to hold days of the march, to have advowries, to have forest and free warren in his lordship, and also to have freedom from tolls for all his tenants for the goods they bought or sold in the lordship of Brecon. It is an extensive category of claims which includes not only an advanced degree of jurisdictional independence for Philip ap Rees within his lordship of Bronllys and Cantrefselyf, but also considerable privileges for his tenants within the earl's lordship of Brecon. It must be admitted that not all the rights which are listed in the inquiry were specifically claimed by Sir Philip ap Rees and his lawyers; but even those which were specifically claimed were quite extensive by contemporary standards.

It is unnecessary to discuss the legal arguments used by the earl's counsel to challenge these claims; but the theoretical basis of the arguments is important in that it reveals the attitude adopted by the earl towards the mesne lords within his lordship. Philip ap Rees was not the lord of an honor and therefore had no right to pleas of the Crown nor had he any power to compel witnesses from outside his lordship to appear in his court; he had no chancery or writs (since he was only a mesne lord) and was therefore not competent to deal with civil or appellate cases nor could he compel a defendant to appear in his courts; as his court of Bronllys was not a court of record he had no power to grant pardons; he had no charter to exempt him or his tenants from toll and both he and his tenants were bound to answer the summons of the earl's bailiffs; he did not claim view of frankpledge or a hundred court and so his claims to such privileges as hue and cry and forstal were groundless; his rights to hold days of the march was 'contra consuetudinem

marchie', while his right to have advowries was condemned as 'contra statum et dignitatem domini et similiter contra defensionem Principis et omnium aliorum dominorum qui tenent de Rege in marchia et eciam contra legem et consuetudines Wallie'. Such were the main arguments advanced by the earl's lawyers. Sir Philip ap Rees could hardly hope to win a case in which his opponent was judge as well as plaintiff; and he recognised the hopelessness of the situation by not appearing to answer the charges and by withdrawing from Bronllys to Talgarth. His lands, goods and liberties within Brecon lordship were duly seized by the earl's officials.

The case against Sir Philip ap Rees is instructive in several respects. It shows, in the first place, the extensive privileges which some of the greater mesne lords of the march claimed within their estates. The rights left to the earl of Hereford in Bronllys and Cantrefselyf were minimal; and the earl's bailiffs could do no more than ask Sir Philip's officials to execute the writs and summonses which they delivered to them. The case also reveals by implication the rights which a marcher lord regarded as peculiarly his own, more especially the rights to hear crown pleas, to hold a hundred court, to have a chancery and a register of writs, and to have full control of all commercial transactions within his lordship. Marcher privileges had never been adequately defined; and it is interesting to see that the earl of Hereford's counsel occasionally defended the earl's rights on feudal lines as pertaining to the lord of an honor, but was also occasionally driven to make appeal to wider and more abstract notions such as the custom of the march and the estate and dignity of a marcher lord. The quo warranto inquiry into Sir Philip ap Rees' liberties was clearly part of earl Humphrey IV's campaign to assert his rights as lord of Brecon. Sir Philip ap Rees was the

one who suffered most from the campaign; but four other mesne-lords also meekly submitted themselves to the lord's will as regard their franchisal rights in August 1348. There is no doubt that in the 1340s and 1350s the earl was very much on the initiative in his relations with his mesne-lords and the fruits of that initiative were still being reaped by later lords of Brecon. But with the end of the male Bohun line in 1373 and with the withdrawal of the lord of Brecon from direct participation in the economic life of the lordship, the squires and uchelwyr were once more in a position to augment their estates,[1] to re-assert their control, and to assume that position in the lordship which was to be theirs during the coming centuries.

When John Barham came to Brecon in 1302 he received the homage not only of the feudal tenants of the earl of Hereford, but also of two thousand Welshmen. It was a significant act and a tacit admission of the importance of the community of Welshmen in the social and tenurial structure of Brecon. This Welsh community was bound to the earl of Hereford by only the loosest of tenurial connections and his control over it was extremely limited. The Welshmen certainly recognised the earl's dominium and superioritas over them, if only by paying him a recognitory gift on his accession to the earldom. Furthermore they did not deny his judicial powers over them, as exercised in his monthly courts and sessions in eyre. They did, however, seek to define and limit the lord's dominium by extracting charters of liberties from him. Several such charters of liberties granted to marcher communities

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1. See for example the series of deeds about the Harvard family which are mentioned by Theophilus Jones, History of Brecknock, ii, 146. The Harvards also acquired lands from the earl of Derby in Brecon in 1395. SC 6/1157/4.

in Wales during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have survived;[1] but unfortunately the Brecon ones cannot be traced.[2] The charters are comparable in some ways to borough charters or to the customs which regulated the relations between the homage and its lord on an English manor; but they are even nearer to the charters of franchises which are common in France and Germany during this period.[3] They are a tribute to the cohesion of the Welsh communities and to the powers they could exercise through their proctors.[4]

Not only was the Welsh community able to define and limit the seignorial power of the earl by securing charters of liberties from him; their economic relationships with him were also extremely tenuous and occasional. The community and the members of its kindred groups had virtual allodial rights over the land on which they lived, and certainly were not bound to the lord by the close tenurial bonds so characteristic of landlord-tenant relationship in England. In the lordship of Brecon such close tenurial bonds, expressed in terms of individual services and rent in money or kind, were largely confined

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1. There is need of an edition of the charters of liberties of other marcher lordships, some of which are in print and some of which are not. The Cydweli charters are discussed below p. 244.

2. They are mentioned in 1297, Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales, ed. J.G. Edwards, 101.

3. Reference may be made to M. Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française, ii, 92-3, 139-41; and G. Duby, L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans l'occident médiéval, ii, 477-80.

4. For examples of proctors acting on behalf of the three commotes of Cydweli in 1415 in negotiations with the Duchy council see DL 25/1661.

to the river valleys of Usk, Tarell and Llynfi.[1] Elsewhere in the lordship the financial connections of the Welsh tenantry with the earl were confined to a biennial cowmorth of cows, to annual sums paid for the farms of the forests, the mills and the leyrwite, and to occasional communal fines and subsidies. Financially these various issues were highly remunerative, but economically they were more in the nature of renders rather than of rents. The earl was bargaining with a community for a common tribute, not with individuals for rent for a specific piece of land; and the internal arrangements for the distribution and collection of the seignorial renders and fines were entirely in the hands of the community.[2]

The community of Welshmen in Brecon was clearly a corporate body with definite rights and with only the most tenuous tenurial and economic connections with its lord. If the earl was to increase his control within the lordship, it would be clearly one of his aims to weaken the power of this community and to establish a firm tenurial connection with the Welsh tenants as individuals, for individuals are much more amenable to economic control

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1. The rents of assise paid to the receiver from places as far apart as Llywel and Llanfilo are only explicable as a measure of the penetration of English economic methods into the lordship. They were sometimes paid by Welsh family groups (e.g. 'ij s. de redditu heredum Velyn in le Commot'); sometimes by geographical areas (e.g. 'xvs. de redditu Kylwhiblat et Modruth', i.e. Cilwhybert and Modrydd in the Tarell valley); and sometimes by specific individuals both English and Welsh (e.g. Ralph Winchester paid 18s. for Ffrwdgrech and Hywel Tal and his brother paid 2s. for land in Glyn Tarell).

2. There is no direct evidence as to how fines and subsidies were raised in Brecon, other than a reference to an assessment made 'par discrecioun de de lour voysyns', JI 1/1152 m.8v.; but evidence from other parts of Wales makes clear that communities could appoint their own taxatores, e.g. Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society, 1930, 34; SC 6/1216/1. The subject of community representation in Wales calls for further investigation.

and pressure than a community. This is what Earl Humphrey IV tried to do. Already there were tendencies in Welsh society itself which were preparing the way for such closer, individual relations with the tenantry.[1] The Hay rental for 1340[2] shows that individual rents had been attributed to Welsh holdings, even though the commorth remained as a communal render; and in Brecon, as elsewhere in Wales, the strength of older tenurial institutions was being undermined. The escheat or confiscation of a holding was an ideal opportunity for withdrawing the land from the 'tribal' structure of renders and leasing it to an individual at a specific rent. For example, when the lands of Gruffydd ab Ieuan Llwyd were confiscated for his part in the murder of Dafydd Goch, they were leased to his brother for a rent of four shillings 'ad voluntatem domini'; and in a like case the lands of Ieuan Meredydd, which hitherto had contributed half a cow towards the communal, biennial commorth, were leased in 1350 to their new owners for an individual, annual rent of five summe of oats.[3] In both these cases land which had hitherto been under the control of the community and which had contributed towards a communal render to the lord was now leased by the lord for a specific, individual rent.

Such individual cases were certainly significant; but if the earl was to make major advances in his control over the Welsh community, he would need

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1. See the seminal article of E.A. Lewis, 'The Decay of Tribalism in North Wales, T.C.S., 1902-3, 1-75; and the more recent articles of T. Jones Pierce, especially 'The Gafael in Bangor Ms. 1939', T.C.S., 1942, 158-88; and 'Some Tendencies in the Agrarian History ofCaernarvonshire during the later middle ages', Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society, i (1939), 18-36.

2. Cardiff Free Library, Brecon Documents, 2.

3. SC 6/1157/4; DL 29/671/10810 m.17v.

to tighten his tenurial relationships <u>en bloc</u> rather than individually. This Earl Humphrey sought to do, and with some measure of success. In 1341 166 men from Cwmwd Commos attorned to the earl for their services for the first time and gave him a gift of £100 as a token of the new relationship. In 1345 a further group of Welshmen became the earl's 'novi tenentes' and gave him a recognitory gift of £40; while another group of tenants who paid homage to Earl Humphrey for the first time in 1344 were pardoned their contribution to the <u>commorth</u> because, as the clerk quaintly put it,'predicti tenentes sunt in statu pristino'. Equally significant is the case of the tenants of Rhydymaen who were persuaded to change over from a contribution of three quarters of a cow towards the biennial <u>commorth</u> to an annual rent of 4s.1d.[1]

These examples point to a conscious effort on the part of Earl Humphrey IV to bring whole new Welsh communities within a closer and more satisfactory rent-paying system. The earl certainly cast his net widely; but occasionally he met with stubborn and successful resistance. The new rent of £10 which he imposed on the tenants of Commos went unpaid from year to year, as did the increased rent of £1 13s.4d. due from the tenants of Uwchydyfnant. On the whole the earl's officials were careful to persuade rather than to compel in their relations with the Welsh tenantry, for they must have known that threats to withdraw from the lordship or to retire into the woods were not merely empty words. In 1345 the heirs of Iorwerth ab Walter were excused their contribution towards a communal fine on condition that they recognised that they were legally bound to make such a contribution; and

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1. DL 29/671/10810 m.5, m.6v., m.9, m.10.

John ap Rosser was likewise excused his <u>commorth</u> - payment because he had acted as an intermediary between the earl and the Welshmen of the lordship in a commercial deal.[1] The impression that is left by the documents is that in his relations with the Welsh community of Brecon the earl of Hereford, whilst he was eager to reap the financial rewards of a closer tenurial connection, was also very much alive to the dangers of pressing his claims too far. Earl Humphrey IV had certainly been successful in bringing more Welsh tenants within the financial purview of his officials; but further developments in this direction would have to depend on social and economic tendencies within the Welshry itself.

Earl Humphrey IV's policy towards the mesne-lords of Brecon and the Welsh community there are of a piece with one another and with the rest of his policies within the lordship. If he was to increase his direct control in Brecon it would largely have to be at the expense of these two bodies. The confiscation of the lands of John Mortimer, Milo Pichard and Sir Philip ap Rees and the submission of other squires to the earl on the question of their franchises are the most telling tributes to his success in his campaign against the mesne-lords. The problem of the Welsh community was much more intractable and the earl's success with regard to it more limited; but even her he was able to increase the farm of the Great Forest and to bring many Welshmen into a tenurial relationship with the lord of Brecon for the first time. His relations with his tenants, both the squirearchy and the Welsh community, was based on a keen appreciation of the social structure of his Welsh inheritance; and his attitude towards them was an essential part of his policy to make of Brecon 'a very fine and great lordship'.

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1. DL 29/671/10810 m.6, m.10.

(iii) The administration of the lordship.

The success of a seignorial inheritance depended quite as much on sound administration at the local level as on the purposeful policies of its owner. The general pattern of such administration in a marcher lordship has already been described in some detail for the Lancaster estates; and as the differences between the Bohun and Lancaster administrations at the local level were largely a matter of degree, there is little need to do more here than to emphasise those features of administrative organisation and recruitment which were peculiar to Brecon and in which it presents a contrast with the Lancaster estates.

Broadly speaking[1] the lordship of Brecon was divided for administrative purposes into three major regions. In those parts of the Wye, Llynfi and Usk valleys in which the earl of Hereford had his own demesne lands, the unit of administration was quite naturally the manor. The number of manors in Brecon had increased quite rapidly in the 1350s and 1360s as the earls acquired new demesne farms in Penceli and Cantrefselyf; but when demesne farming was abandoned after 1373 the numbers contracted once more. Only Bronllys and Brecon manors survived as administrative units after 1373; the rest of the lordship's manors, including the five manors of Cantrefselyf, were absorbed into larger administrative areas.

Even in the 1360s the manors of Brecon had only covered a very small fraction of the surface of the lordship. Much of the rest of the lordship had been divided into larger administrative districts, such as Penceli, Hay

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1. The main sources for this section are DL 29/671/10810; SC 6/1156/13-22; SC 6/1157/4; DL 29/633/10317.

and Cantrefselyf, whose unity lay probably in the seignorial court or in a territorial tradition extending far into the past. Thus Hay and Huntington were self-contained lordships centred on their respective castles and boroughs; Pencelli was a barony with an unbroken feudal history; while Cantrefselyf, and possibly Pencelli also, were old Welsh administrative units considerably reduced in size by the intrusion of English manors.[1] Each of these large districts was in turn subdivided for administrative convenience, as in other lordships, into Welshries and Englishries, the basis of the division being geographical or economic as much as racial. Unlike the manors, these larger units were basically units for the collection of rent rather than for the exploitation of the demesne.

Pencelli, Hay and Cantrefselyf cover much of the eastern half of the lordship of Brecon; in the rest of the lordship, and especially in the vast area to the south of the river Usk, the seignorial administrative system was virtually non-existent. The receiver of Brecon collected a few rents from tenants in the valleys of the Usk and its tributaries, and from 1346 a forester was placed in charge of the Great Forest; but elsewhere, as has already been emphasised,[2] the earl and his officials dealt directly with the Welsh community and its proctors. There was no need for administrative districts or rent-collecting officials in an area where the connections between the lord and his tenantry were largely confined to monthly suits of court, a few annual farms and a biennial commorth. The only time that administrative divisions might be necessary in these upland areas was for

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1. See J.E. Lloyd, A History of Wales, i, 271-3 for the Welsh divisions of Brecon.

2. See above pp. 130 *et seq.*

the assessment of communal subsidies; and in such cases the old Welsh unit of the cantref or the ecclesiastical unit of the parish could be used in an ad hoc fashion.[1] The Welsh community clearly reserved a large measure of autonomy over its own affairs. Altogether the administrative pattern of Brecon was clearly a very hybrid affair with the cantref and the rhingyll jostling side by side with the manor and its reeve; and in large parts of the lordship seignorial administration was much more inchoate than even in the lordship of Cydweli.[2]

Primitive as was the organisation of Brecon lordship in many respects, the basic pattern of administrative office and duties at the higher levels was very much the same there as in other marcher lordships. The chief offices of the lordship, with a fee of £20 a year, bore the name of constable or, occasionally, of steward. Next to him in importance was the receiver whose bailiwick was even wider than that of the steward for it included Caldicot and Newton as well as Brecon, Hay and Huntington. As well as receiving the dues of other local officials in his exchequer at Brecon, the receiver was himself also a local bailiff collecting a series of rents and farms from different parts of the lordship. Apart from the constable and the receiver, the only other central officials of the lordship were the janitor or master-serjeant in charge of Brecon castle, the clerk of the courts, and, by 1371, a salaried stock-keeper who supervised the running of the earl's manors. Many

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1. In 1340-1 a fine was imposed on the community of Cantref Tewdos, whilst in 1353 the parishes of Llanfeugan, Llanfrynach, Llanddeti and Faenor were employed as units for the imposition of a communal fine.

2. This may possibly be due to the fact that the Lord Rhys re-organised the administration of Ystrad Tywi, T.J. Pierce, Ceredigion, III (1959), 265-79.

of the local bailiffs and reeves also received a stipend; but the wage-packets which the earl of Hereford paid to his officials in Brecon are unlikely to have exceeded £60 a year in all.

This small body of men was charged with the duty of collecting a thousand pounds or so each year from the earl's Brecon group of estates; and, as will be seen later, a good part of this revenue came from the issues of the courts. As in Cydweli, so in Brecon our knowledge of judicial administration is very scanty; but it is quite clear that the judicial privileges of the lord were very wide indeed. The earl of Hereford had cognizance of all cases, with very few exceptions, in his courts of Brecon; and as lord of the honor of Brecon he could compel his mesne-tenants to bring their cases before him.[1] He had his own chancery for the issuing of his writs and his own sheriff to execute those writs within his lordship.[2] It was his steward who presided at the seignorial courts which met, usually once a month, at specific centres in the lordship.[3] So heavy and lucrative were the fines imposed at these courts that special officers were appointed, at a price, to secure their collection - the bailiff in eyre in the Englishry and the rhingyll in the Welshry.[4] And in addition to these local courts the earl of Hereford, like other marcher lords, could and did appoint justices in eyre to hold sessions within the lordship, regardless of any prohibitions which the Prince of Wales sought to impose upon him.

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1. See above p.125.
2. For a case being summoned 'per brevem domini Comitis' see DL 36/1 no.260; and for a list of sheriffs see Appendix A II.
3. Thus all the various courts of Cantrefselyf met at Bronllys.
4. DL 29/671/10810 m.18; C.F.R. 1370-4, 382.

The holding of such sessions was one of the occasions on which the central officers of the Bohun estates could supervise the efficiency of the local administration in Wales, but it was by no means the only one. Hardly a month went past without either a messenger or an official going from Brecon to the earl's residence or without ~~without~~ some of the earl's council visiting Brecon either to collect money, to audit accounts or, frequently, merely to supervise the affairs of the lordship. For example in 1340, John Coggeshall, one of the auditors, spent almost two months of the year at Brecon and his colleague, John Stanes, was there for six weeks. These constant visits by members of the earl's council were supplemented by periodic visits by the earl himself. In a comparatively small inheritance whose owner took no part in politics or war, there could be a far greater degree of intimacy and personal contxl in administration, and much closer contact between centxl and local officials. The household of the earl was still very much the centre of administration; and while a receiver-general was taking charge of the estate revenue of the house of Lancaster, local Bohun officials still paid their issues to the earl's wardrobe and, after 1350, to his chamber[1] or even directly to the earl himself. It was from the earl's household clerks that many of the officials, including the local officials, of his estates were recruited. There was an absence of those bureaucratic distinctions which are so noticeable in more sophisticated administrations; and altogether one is left with the impression that the Bohun administration under earl Humphrey IV was, as one would expect, a much more intimate and closely-knit organisation than the

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1. For the reverse process in the Clare administration at the same time, see T.F. Tout, Chapters in Mediaeval Administrative History, iv, 310-11.

Lancaster administration under Gaunt. Already under Earl Humphrey V, himself devoted to the pursuit of war, much of this intimate control had been lost; and, as a symbol of change, the keeper of the chamber had become transformed into the receiver-general.[1]

The contrast between the Bohun and Lancaster administrations is further apparent when one examines the question of administrative personnel.[2] Broadly speaking Bohun officials came from one of two categories, either from the smaller landed gentry or from amongst a group of clerks. The earls and dukes of Lancaster had also appreciated the qualities of the smaller landed gentry: they were men of some standing in their own area and often had experience of local government; but they were not so wealthy in land that they could not be persuaded to spend a good deal of their time in seignorial service. Among such men were John Coggeshall, an Essex sheriff and one of Bohun's auditors in the 1340s,[3] and Walter Shockenhurst, who combined the posts of sheriff of Worcestershire and constable of Brecon from 1340 to 1342. The Welsh as well as the English gentry figure prominently among the earl of Hereford's administrators. The steward of Brecon in the 1290s was Philip ap Hywel, the brother of Master Rees at Hywel. Philip's family background, his territorial standing and his education (for like his brother he was in minor

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1. Philip Melreth is referred to as a receiver-general in 1365-6 and Henry Wakefield as 'nuper recepter generalis' in 1371; but the claim made by C.D. Ross and T.B. Pugh, (Econ.H.R., 2nd series, vi (1953-4), 190) that 'the position of the receiver-general as the chief financial officer of the private estate system was well established by 1350' certainly does not apply to the Bohun administration.

2. For a list of central and Brecon officials of the Bohun earls 1299-1373 see Appendix A II. 392-5.

3. Possibly the same man as John Coggeshall, auditor of the earl of March in 1357, N.L.W. Slebech Collection, 97.

orders) ensured him a successful career in marcher administration. He was in the service of both the Bohuns and the Mortimers as steward of their Welsh lands[1] and retained the confidence of both families throughout his career.[2] His outstanding qualities also recommended him to the English kings, whom he served well both as royal commissioner and as constable of key-castles in Wales.[3] Few Welshmen could hope to have the professional qualifications of Philip ap Hywel; but there were others whose social position assured them a place in the administration of Brecon. Such were Meuric ap Rees, a rich local landowner who was constable on more than one occasion, and Hywel Fychan ap Hywel ab Einion, who was sheriff of Brecon for at least sixteen years and whose son and grandson succeeded him in the post.[4] Nor were local burgesses altogether excluded from posts of responsibility: Adam Skolle, a member of a distinguished Brecon burgess family, was appointed constable of the lordship in 1339, and Henry Churchesdon graduated from the post of bailiff of Brecon town in 1339 to that of receiver in 1343 and eventually to that of constable in 1344.

Local influence was certainly not at a discount in the Bohun administration; but one of the features which distinguishes that administration from the Lancaster organisation is the heavy dependence on clerks and graduates.

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1. E 179/242/48 (1292); C.P.R. 1292-1301, 290-1.

2. C.C.R. 1307-13, 52, 246; C.P.R. 1313-17, 491; G.A. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, 121.

3. J.E. Morris, The Welsh Wars of Edward I, 148, 299; Littere Wallie, ed. J.G. Edwards, 184; C.C.R. 1307-13, 3; 1313-18, 253; C.P.R. 1307-13, 82; C.P.R. 1307-19, 46, 76; Rotuli Scotie, i, 68, 84-5.

4. See below pp. 291-2.

They were appointed not only as keepers of the wardrobe and clerks of the chamber, but also as local receivers and even chief stewards of all the earl's estates. The most distinguished of them was John Walwayn, the Herefordshire civil lawyer who became steward and chief confidant of earl Humphrey III;[1] but they really came into their own in the days of the devout Humphrey IV. They were the chief administrators of his estates as well as the sole executors of his will:[2] master Nicholas Newton, canon of Hereford, was keeper of his wardrobe and steward of his lands; Thomas Walmesford, parson of the Bohun living of Kimbolton, was his faithful auditor from 1336 to 1361; and Stephen Roche, parson of Pertenhall, was keeper of his wardrobe.

One of the most significant consequences of this dependence on clerical recruits was the remarkable mobility of the Bohun administrative personnel. Bohun officials, with no territorial affiliations to bind them, were constantly being moved from post to post both within the central administration and from the household to the local estates:[3] Ivo Sandhurst had been chamberlain and Philip Melreth receiver-general before both were promoted to be auditors; Thomas Amondesham had experience as constable of Brecon before being appointed auditor; likewise John Waltham was a clerk of the wardrobe before he was sent in November 1337 to take over the duties of receiver of Brecon, the constable of Brecon for 1342-4 and again for 1351-8 was John Stanes, who had hitherto been one of the earl's auditors; Roger Foleyn who spent the best part of 25 years as receiver of Brecon under the last two Bohun earls and

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1. See above pp.92-3.
2. For his will see Royal Wills etc., ed. J. Nichols, 44-56.
3. The following statements are based on DL 29/671/10810.

later under Thomas of Woodstock[1], came to his post after experience as receiver of Wiltshire; whilst John Chertes, one of his predecessors as receiver of Brecon, had a reverse process of promotion for he left Brecon in 1352 to become Bohun receiver in Essex.

This remarkable mobility of personnel within the Bohun administration meant that the distinction between local and central administration was far less clear-cut on Bohun than on Lancaster estates. A similar mobility and intimacy of control from the centre can be noticed on other inheritances of similar size, such as those of Roger Bigod and Elizabeth de Burgh.[2] That clear distinction between local and central administration and those bureaucratic definitions of office and function which are so characteristic of Lancaster accounts of the time of John of Gaunt are absent from the Bohun administration. This contrast between the Bohun and Lancaster administrations is significant and instructive in several respects; but it should not be carried too far. It is in part the contrast between the seignorial administration of the earlier and later fourteenth century: a comparison of the accounts of Earl Humphrey IV of Hereford and Duke Henry of Grosmont would bring out many similarities which had been lost by the later years of John of Gaunt. It is also in part the contrast between a stay-at-home earl whose administration was still very much a household affair under his own

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1. For his service under Thomas of Woodstock, EL 29/680/11004-9.

2. See N. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration in England, esp.13-25; and C.A. Musgrave, 'Household Administration in the fourteenth century with special reference to the household of Elizabeth de Burgh, lady of Clare' (University of London. M.A. thesis. 1923), 58 et seq.

supervision, and a duke who took an active part in politics and war,[1] whose estate affairs were left in the hands of his officials, and whose appointments to local office were influenced as much by the needs of the largest seignorial retinue in England as by purely administrative considerations. As such the contrast between the two administrations is a further reminder of how dangerous it is to consider the local lordship and appointments to local office in isolation from the general needs of the inheritance. Significant as are the differences, the aim of both administrations was the same - to raise as much money as possible for the use of their lord; and the question which now needs to be answered is how far the Bohun administration in Brecon succeeded in this task.

(iv) The finances of the lordship.

The documents for the study of Bohun finances in Wales in the fourteenth century are much greater in quantity than those for the Lancaster estates in the same period; but like most seignorial financial records of the middle ages they rarely answer, at least, directly, the questions which the historian asks of them. The earliest and most important source is a series of twenty-two receivers' accounts for Brecon for the years 1336-54 and 1356-8.[2] Not only do these accounts have all the limitations usually connected with the receivers' accounts;[3] they are furthermore only in draft form. This means

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1. Denholm-Young, op.cit., 45, draws a similar contrast between the administrations of the active earl Marshal and of the dowager countess of Aumale.

2. DL 29/671/10810. This is the source of all statements in this section unless otherwise stated.

3. On the limitations of receivers' accounts, T.B. Pugh, Marcher Lordships of South Wales, 1415-1536, 157-62.

that many of the figures in the main body of the account have to be altered in the light of extra charges or allowances entered at the foot of the document, where also is to be found the final analysis of the arrears for the year. It hardly needs to be added that these accounts do not provide figures of the gross or clear income of the lordship of Brecon; they are a personal account of the liability (or charge) and discharge of the receiver. This set of receivers' accounts can be supplemented with an almost complete series of ministers' accounts for the year 1371-2,[1] the last full financial year of Bohun rule in Brecon. This series of accounts provides the only opportunity for assessing the gross and clear income of the lordship of Brecon and for estimating the value of the Welsh lands which Earl Humphrey V had inherited from his uncle and from his father. Whatever the deficiencies of these Bohun accounts, they do provide a valuable opportunity for investigating marcher finances in the mid-fourteenth century; and their contents have been summarised in Appendix C I. It will be possible to see from them whether the tendencies in financial policy which were suggested by the valors of John of Gaunt's later years are confirmed for this earlier period or not; and to this extent the Bohun accounts neatly fill the gap in the Lancaster archives between 1330 and 1380.

The Bohun receivers' accounts do not by their very nature provide a detailed or satisfactory answer to the question of what were the main sources of marcher revenue in Brecon. Nonetheless they do provide valuable indications of the proportionate roles of various types of revenue with which the receiver was charged. Both in Appendix C I and in the following summary table for the years 1337-46 this revenue has been divided into four categories

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1. SC 6/861/1; SC 6/1156/13-19.

the local charge, foreign receipts, court issues, and extraordinary income - each of which calls for further explanation. The local charge consisted partly of rents of assise collected by the receiver[1] and partly of farms which were paid directly to him - such as the farms of the mills, of the

TABLE I: SHORT ANALYSIS OF THE RECEIVER OF BRECON'S CHARGE AND DISCHARGE 1337-46.

Charge		Discharge	
Arrears outstanding, Mich.1336	£691 (8.2%)	Local expenses	£1,363 (16.2%)
Local charge	£833 (9.9%)	Payments to earl's treasury or creditors	£5,899 (70.3%)
Foreign Receipts	£2,964 (35.3%)	Revenue allowed or pardoned	£791 (9.4%)
Court Issues	£1,506 (17.9%)	Arrears outstanding, Mich.1346	£313 (3.7%)
Extraordinary income	£2,394 (28.5%)		
	£8,388		£8,366

various forests and of the town of Brecon. Certain sharp fluctuations are explained either by the transfer of certain items to the foreign receipts[2] or, after 1348, by the biennial sale of cows which the Welsh community gave to the earl as a commorth every other year.[3]

The second item in the tables, the foreign receipts, consisted mainly of sums paid by the reeves and bailiffs of the local units within the lordship, and so contained the sale of agricultural produce and stock as well as income from rents, farms and local courts. These foreign receipts were considerably

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1. See above p.102A.1.

2. For the transfers of the farms of the Great Forest and of Brecon town, see below pp.163-4.

3. This biennial render of cows was increased from 123 to 134 cows in 1354.

augmented in 1340 when the earl took over direct control of the mills, the forests and Brecon town; and they were also swollen by such occasional windfalls as wardships, escheats, income from honor courts, and the earl's annual fee from the county of Hereford.

The court issues, which appear next in the tables, were in fact part of the receiver's local charge; but they have been itemised separately here because of the considerable interest which attaches to them. In fact they consist only of the issues of the monthly court held at Brecon, as the issues of the various other courts in the lordship are hidden in the foreign receipts paid to the receiver. If the proceeds of these other courts were known, it can be confidently predicted that all the court issues of Brecon in the mid-fourteenth century would account for at least 25% of the clear value of the lordship. This suggestion is confirmed by the fuller evidence for 1371-2 when court issues accounted for £520[1] out of the clear value of £1,286 for the lordship of Brecon. The Bohun evidence thus amply confirms that of the Lancaster valors in emphasising the major rôle played by court issues in the structure of marcher finances, and takes the story back to the mid-fourteenth century. It also confirms another suggestion already made in an earlier chapter, namely that the court issues weighed far more heavily on the Welshry than on the Englishry. Thus in the Anglicised manor of Bronllys in 1371-2 court issues accounted for only £4 10s.0d. out of a gross income of £62, whilst in the adjacent Welsh lordship of Cantrefselyf in the same year they formed two-thirds of the gross income, £32 out of £47.

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1. They total £483; but the figures for Pencelli, Trawscoed, Llaneglwys and Gwenddwr are missing and would probably add another £40.

Furthermore the figures suggest that from 1345 the size of the court issues in Brecon was increasing quite sharply and steadily, indicating that in this sphere also the earls of Hereford were exploiting the resources of the lordship to the full.

Many of these fines were individual amercements;[1] but others were communal fines. Wherever these communal fines have been separately specified and attributed to a definite year in the accounts, they have been separately entered on the tables as extraordinary or casual revenue, because they form an item peculiar, in their magnitude and frequency, to the Welsh marcher lordships. Tallages were occasionally granted by tenants, especially customary tenants, in England and they could form a very substantial windfall; but as far as is known they were never an important or recurring item of seignorial revenue.[2] In Welsh marcher lordships, on the other hand, seignorial subsidies, gifts and communal fines bear comparison with English parliamentary taxes in their size and frequency. Indeed the fact that marcher communities, except on rare occasions, did not contribute towards English parliamentary subsidies[3] may in itself have been an incentive (and a justification) for their lords to demand extraordinary grants from them. The valors for Cydweli have already demonstrated the importance of such casual revenue in the Lancaster lordships in the 1380s. and 1390s; and the Bohun

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1. Some of these were very heavy, e.g. the fine of £252 imposed in 1354 on Treharn Llwyd ap Thomas and his brother.

2. See especially C. Stephenson, 'The Seignorial Tallage in England', Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne, ii, 465-74, and S. Painter, Studies in the history of the English feudal barony, 168-9.

3. See the not altogether satisfactory article by J.R. Strayer and G. Rudisill jnr. in Speculum, xxix (1954), 410-16.

evidence amply confirms this picture for the mid-fourteenth century. Table I shows that for the decade 1337-46 well over one quarter of the charge of the receiver of Brecon came from extraordinary income; and the fall in proportion thereafter is almost certainly due to the fact that many of these communal grants have been lost sight of in the general court issues.

Many different reasons were found for demanding extraordinary grants from the marcher communities, though a specific reason is by no means always given. A new earl entering his marcher inheritance expected, like many a bishop in England,[1] to be given a gift by his tenants as a recognition of his new lordship and, possibly, as a preliminary to confirming their charters of liberties.[2] Such a practice probably explains the gifts given to Earl Humphrey IV by various communities in Brecon between 1337 and 1341, the donum given to earl Humphrey in 1361,[3] part of the huge gift of £1,800 granted to Edward III when he took the lordship into his custody in 1374,[4] and the gifts given by the tenants of Caldicot to their lord on his first appearance in the lordship.[5] Just as a lord expected to be recognised by his tenants, so new tenants attorning to their lord for the first time generally gave him a recognitory gift as a token of the new relationship: such was the occasion for the £40 given to the earl by the new tenants of Commos in 1345, while the

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1. M.E. Howel, Regalian Right in Medieval England, 121-42; The Medieval Customs of the manors of Taunton and Bradford on Tone, ed. T.J. Hunt, xl-xlii.
2. Cf. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, 145-7.
3. SC 6/1156/18 m.3.
4. SC 6/1156/22.
5. DL 29/680/11007, 11012.

acquisition of the Mortimer lands probably explains the 'novus finis' of £100 paid by the parishes of Llanfeugan, Llanfrynach and Llanddeti and £66 13s.4d. by the parish of Faenor in 1353.

Another group of extraordinary grants was closely connected with the earl's judicial powers and in particular his right to hold sessions in the marcher lordships. Cydweli has already provided evidence of the profits to be made from these privileges; and the Bohun evidence confirms this impression. Marcher communities, like their English counterparts,[1] often paid common fines to their lord in order to avoid his misercordia and the consequences of their own remissness. The Brecon accounts abound with references to such communal fines though their exact nature is rarely described: £890 was paid in fines to the receiver in 1339; four years later the greater tenants made a fine for £262 13s.4d. with the earl; the communitas of Tir Ralph likewise agreed to pay a fine of 600 marks in May 1348; the community of Brecon town was fined £66 13s.4d. in 1344 for returning a false judgement; and in 1352 the suitors of the court of Brecon were likewise amerced in the same sum 'pro variacione judicii'. The judicial privileges of a marcher lord were clearly a fertile source for extraordinary revenue.

A final category of casual income can probably be classed as the communal fines which were levied for crimes committed against the lord's dominium and in derogation of his authority. Thus in 1353 a communal fine of £400 was levied for the acquisition of lands in the forest without the earl's permission; in the same year the community of Penpont, Cadlan,

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1. Cf. the discussion by C.A.F. Meekings in Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1249, 113-5; and for another example E.H.R., lvii (1942), 473-82.

Hengantref and Nedrydd was fined for hunting in the forest without first securing the earl's permission; in 1352 the community of the lordship was fined £500 for evading payment of the earl's tolls; and five years later it was amerced to the tune of £720 for making an attack on the tenants of the nearby lordship of Builth. No direct information has survived as to how these huge gifts and fines were levied; but, as in England, the marcher community doubtless evolved its own machinery and assessed fines, in the words of a later document, 'par discrecieun de lour voysyns', whilst on other occasions the earl may have followed the example of the Principality government by appointing his own taxatores.[1] However assessed and raised, extraordinary grants were a highly important source, and a flexible one at that, of the revenue of the lords of Brecon. Indeed, the proceeds of the courts and extraordinary grants together brought in half of the revenue of Brecon in the 1340s and the proportion was to become even greater later in the century. This is surely the most significant aspect of marcher finance in the later middle ages.

So much for the main sources of revenue which came into the hands of the receiver of Brecon; what happened to it thereafter is much more briefly told. Some of it - some 16% in the decade 1337-46 - was spent locally on the normal round of local expenses, more especially fees, wages, repairs, and administrative and judicial expenses. These local disbursements were occasionally augmented by central assignments on the local revenue; but, in marked contrast with the Lancaster lordships, almost no annuities were

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1. See above p.132 n. 2 . The fine on Tir Ralph in 1348 was paid through the hands of Hywel Fychan ap Hywel ap Dafydd.

assigned on the local Brecon revenue. The remainder of the revenue was paid to the Bohun central treasury - mainly to the wardrobe before 1350 and to the chamber thereafter; but payments were also made directly to the earl himself or to one of his creditors such as Robert Gyene, the Bristol merchant. Payments to the central treasury fluctuate violently from year to year and too much attention should not be paid to individual figures; but taken over a number of years these figures do provide a rough estimate of how much the earl of Hereford could expect to receive from the issues of his Welsh estates in the fourteenth century.[1] The average annual payment to the central treasury from Brecon during the decade 1337-46 was £589 and for the decade 1347-58 £773.[2] These figures are interesting, and the increase in the average annual payment between the two decades is significant as one of the few indications of the effect which the aggressive policies of Earl Humphrey IV had on the finances of the lordship.

This tentative picture of an increase in the annual yield of Brecon under Earl Humphrey IV is confirmed by other details, for it is one of the advantages of a series of accounts that it gives information not only of the sources of revenue but also of trends in seignorial income. The town of Brecon and the Great Forest provide the most remarkable examples of increase in seignorial income. Until 1340 the burgesses of Brecon paid an annual fixed farm of £86 13s.4d. to the earl; in that year the liberties of the town were confiscated and henceforth seignorial bailiffs answered for as much as they could raise from the burgesses. The results were soon apparent: during the next ten years the average annual yield of the town was £119, some 40% higher than the pre-1300 figure. The town recovered

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1. The reeve of Caldicot was answerable to the receiver of Brecon, but paid virtually nothing to him between 1339 and 1353, quite possibly because of expenditure on the castle there.
2. Based on the figures for eight years only as those for 1348 and 1354-6 are missing.

its liberties under the last Bohun earl, but its annual farm was raised to £120 and by 1399 the earl of Derby had raised it even higher to £180. The story of the farm of the Great Forest is much the same: before it was seized into seignorial control in 1340 the Forest yielded an annual farm of £46 13s.4d. during the next ten years the seignorial officials succeeded in raising this figure to an annual average of £56 5s.0d.; by 1371 the right to pay an annual farm had been restored to the inhabitants of the Forest but at the increased rate of £66 13s.4d. which had been further raised to £109 13s.4d. by 1399. Thus in the case of two of the more substantial sources of income in Brecon, seignorial revenue had more than doubled between 1337 and 1399. A similar increase, on a smaller scale, can be traced in other fixed farms within the lordship: the farm of the leyrwit rose from £5 in 1336 to £10 in 1371 and had been fixed at £11 18s.8d. by 1399, and the farm of the Little Forest had likewise increased from £4 to £6 13s.4d. These increased farms are clear testimony to the determination of the lords of Brecon to increase seignorial revenue from the lordship, and in almost every case the movement begins in the early years of Earl Humphrey IV.

Moreover the seignorial administration on the whole showed remarkable efficiency in gathering this increased revenue. Table I shows that during the decade 1337-46, when the figures are particularly reliable, 85.6% of the receiver's charge had been collected, and if one ignores the revenue which had been specifically pardoned by the earl's permission, the proportion is considerably higher. The arrears had fallen by half between 1336 and 1346; and the actual arrears, as opposed to the sums to be collected in instalments, were equivalent to less than 2% of the receiver's charge over the last ten years. These figures are a remarkable tribute to the efficiency of the Bohun

administration in Brecon, especially in a country where ready cash cannot always have been readily available.[1] They bear comparison with the figures quoted below for the Duchy of Lancaster administration under Henry V.[2]

The other side of the coin to this increase in seignorial revenue and to the efficiency of the administration was the unremitting financial pressure on the tenantry of the lordship. The account rolls leave one in no doubt of the hardship which frequently came in the train of such financial pressure; and no instance is more telling than the 'crisis' of 1340. In Michaelmas 1340 the receiver of Brecon claimed that he could not collect £618 of his revenue (mainly a contribution of £590 towards a communal fine) 'propter inopiam quia [tenentes] nihil habent'. The earl's immediate reaction was to institute a series of administrative reforms: a new steward was appointed; new extents were ordered to be compiled;[3] and central officials paid frequent and prolonged visits to Brecon throughout 1340-1. Eventually in Michaelmas 1341 the earl relented by cancelling debts to the grand total of £663; but at the same time he demanded a gift of £693 6s.8d. from the lordship, thus ensuring that he lost almost nothing by his generous gesture. The 'crisis' of 1340 may well have been a reaction to the unprecedented demands made on Brecon by Earl Humphrey IV; if so, it had no effect for the earl persisted in his aggressive financial policies in the lordship throughout his life. The hardship certainly continued: in 1349 at least 568 head of livestock were impounded from the earl's debtors in Brecon and a further 167 oxen and steers were bought out of the proceeds of a sale of debtors' goods.

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1. Cf. the letter in Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales, 179.
2. See below pp. 341-3.
3. Part of the Hay rental compiled as a result of this order survives in Cardiff Free Library, Brecon documents, 2.

Further evidence both of the general financial pressure and, paradoxically, of the relative efficiency of the administration is to be obtained from the lists of arrears which figure so prominently in the accounts and which have been tabulated in Appendix K I. Of the various categories into which the arrears have been classified there, only the 'debet de claro' entry provides a guide to the indebtedness of the lordship, for the pardoned revenue naturally disappears from the accounts and the respited revenue consists of money to be collected in instalments or whose payment has been temporarily postponed. Two conclusions emerge from a study of these figures. On the one hand, it is clear that from 1350 the arrears grow steadily until by 1372 they had passed the £2,000 mark, suggesting that the lordship's financial resources were being taxed beyond their limit. On the other hand, the fact that the arrears in 1372, after a prolonged period of financial pressure, were still within manageable proportions is a further tribute to the efficiency of the Bohun administration. Altogether the evidence from Brecon confirms and amplifies the conclusions that Gaunt's valors suggested for Cydweli: the marcher lords were clearly increasing their financial pressure on their lordships during the fourteenth century and collecting their increased revenue with considerable efficiency, regardless of the hardship they caused.

So far the accounts have provided information on the sources of income and expenditure in Brecon and on the main trends in seignorial revenue there; but on the question of the actual value, both gross and clear, of the lordship they give no direct answer. The seignorial auditors certainly made assessments of the value of the lordship; but their cryptic notes of 'proficuum' or 'valor' defy analysis.[1] There also survive two general assessments of the

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1. Such notes are to be found on the receivers' accounts for 1341-6 and 1357 as well as on local reeves' accounts. SC 6/1156/13 m.3, 14 m.2.

value of the lordship, the one made in 1302 and the other after the division of the Bohun inheritance between the two daughters of Earl Humphrey V;[1] but while both extents are interesting in revealing the proportionate value of the Welsh and English estates of the Bohun family,[2] they are not sufficiently detailed or accurate to provide a fair estimate of the gross or clear value of the lordship of Brecon. The only way to arrive at such an estimate is to compile one's own valor from the surviving accounts for 1371-2; and this attempt has been made in Appendix C II. Even this valor is imperfect in several respects: several figures are tentative because not all the accounts have survived; it is not always possible to disentangle the income and expenditure of the current year from that of previous years; and on manors where demesne farming was practised the accounts do not permit us to calculate the profit from <u>wainagium</u> as opposed to the profits of the manor.[3] Furthermore it must be remembered that because the receiver of Brecon was himself a local bailiff his account has been amalgamated with other accounts in the valor; and this means in effect that the clear value in the valor is the sum payable to the earl, <u>not</u> (as on the Lancaster estates) the sum payable to the local receiver. In spite of the need for such tedious qualifications, the significance of the figures in the valor certainly still stands.

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1. C 145/61 no.1 (not published in <u>C.Inq.Misc. 1219-1307</u> no.1870) and DL 41/4/18. The figures for the Duchy share of the Bohun estates in this latter document are in fact based on the figures in the Duchy valor for 1412, DL 29/731/12016.

2. The proportionate value of the Welsh to the English estates in the 1302 assessment was £266 : £709; the figures are clearly hopelessly inaccurate.

3. The purchase of livestock and the sale of wool was the responsibility of the receiver, not of the local reeves.

The gross value of the lordship of Brecon in 1372 stood at £1,543; and when the receiver and the local bailiffs had paid the local expenses a clear yield of £1,224 was left for the earl. Certain interesting conclusions emerge from a closer analysis of these figures. The first is that the Cantrefselyf group of estates, which had been added through the purchases of the earl of Northampton, contributed more than a sixth of the clear yield of Brecon by 1372. A more tentative conclusion is that the clear yield of Brecon excluding Cantrefselyf had probably increased some 40% between 1337 and 1372. This conclusion is based primarily on a comparison of the average annual payments to the centre 1337-46 (£589) and the clear yield of Brecon less Cantrefselyf in 1372 (£1002); but it is a conclusion which is also supported by the clear evidence of the increase in the farms of the Great Forest and Brecon town (£133 6s.8d. : £186 13s.4d. and by the fact that Earl Humphrey's territorial acquisitions in Pencelli must obviously have increased his revenue from Brecon. Altogether one will not be far wrong in saying that the clear value of Brecon lordship as a whole had doubled between 1337 and 1372; and in spite of the considerable additions to the Bohun inheritance in England which were made during the fourteenth century, especially by the earl of Northampton,[1] the Welsh estates continued to contribute about a third (or more) of the landed wealth of the earls of Hereford. It is the financial evidence which clinches the argument that Earl Humphrey IV and Earl William of Northampton between them had indeed made of Brecon 'a very fine and great lordship'.

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1. G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility, 22-3.

(v) The lordship of Brecon 1373-99.

The death of Earl Humphrey V on 16 January 1373 naturally marks a definite cleavage in the history of Brecon, as of the Bohun inheritance as a whole. The continuity and integrity of the inheritance were broken by a period in royal custody and by the division of the lands between the dowager countess and her two young daughters. The group of officials, whose common policies had done so much to unite and improve the estates, no longer had a focus for their service and gradually drifted into the employ of other landowners. In Brecon seigniorial participation in the arable and pastoral farming of the lordship came to an abrupt end, as did the policy of increasing seigniorial control within the lordship, which had been such a distinctive feature of Bohun policy for the last forty years.

The Bohun inheritance[1] was not immediately seized into the king's hands on Earl Humphrey's death, for Edward III had agreed that as a special favour the earl's executors should have custody of his lands for one year after his death free of charge.[2] The executors in turn deputed their powers to Philip Meireth, the late earl's auditor, who wound up the estate, sold all the stock and implements and paid the outstanding debts of Earl Humphrey and his father the earl of Northampton. At the end of the year, royal officials took over the custody of Brecon along with other Bohun lands: William Genet was sent to make a report on the condition of the lordship in January 1374, and John Hunt, an

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1. The account of the descent of the Bohun inheritance after 1373 in G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility, 75, is not quite correct.

2. C.P.R. 1370-4, 233, 291-2; C.C.R. 1369-74, 505. The executors gave the king a gift of £100 for this privilege, SC 6/1166/22 m.2.

exchequer official, headed a commission to survey all the demesne lands there.[1] Bohun officials were temporarily kept in office; but before the year was out several of them were replaced by royal appointees. Philip Melreth took his auditorial experience into the service of John of Gaunt and Richard Sergeant was replaced as steward of Brecon by William Genet, a royal attorney. When the sessions in eyre were held in the lordship in May 1374 the commission was headed by John Gosebourn, an auditor of the exchequer, and Michael Skillyng, a royal attorney and justice of gaol delivery. Of the leading Brecon officials only Roger Foleyn, the receiver of twenty years' standing, remained at his post and later passed into the service of Thomas of Woodstock.

Although most of the leading officials were changed, the administration of Brecon remained essentially the same under Crown as under Bohun control. Every effort was made to keep the essential pattern of a highly efficient seignorial administration. A few administrative changes were introduced and there was some unnecessary multiplication of office;[2] but the seignorial accounts were used as the basis of the royal ones and, very significantly, the receiver was made answerable to a royal auditor, not to the barons of the exchequer[3] (though his account was ultimately enrolled among the foreign accounts of the exchequer[4].) The values in Appendix C III show that the system was on the whole successful, for the clear yield of the Brecon group of estates for 1372 (£1,224) was largely, though not entirely, maintained for the two years that the estates were in royal control (1374: £1,194; 1375: £1,033). The end of demesne farming brought a fall in the revenue of

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1. SC 6/1156/22.
2. Especially the appointment of a separate steward and receiver for Cantrefselyf.
3. C.F.R. 1369-77, 382. 4. E 364/8 m.G; E 364/9 m.I.

the leading manors and the courts of Brecon did not yield as much as under the Bohuns; but this fall in revenue was in large part made good by the imposition of a communal gift of £1,800 at the sessions of May 1374, to be raised in annual instalments of £300. Courts and casual revenue continued to contribute about half of the lordship's clear yield; and the king certainly made full use of the marcher privilege of holding sessions in eyre.[1] Altogether the documents leave few doubts that administration of the Bohun lands in Wales while they were in royal custody from January 1374 to May 1377 was both efficient and highly profitable.

The Bohun lands did not remain in Crown possession for long. From April 1374 onwards they were gradually granted piecemeal to Thomas of Woodstock, for whom the hand of Eleanor Bohun had been reserved. In May 1377 he was granted the custody of the Welsh lands of the Bohun inheritance, at a favourable annual rent of 800 marks, pending the division of the inheritance between the two sisters.[2] That division took place in June 1380, when Thomas of Woodstock was given livery of his wife's share of the lands, including the lordship of Huntington, one third of the barony of Pencelli, and the manors of Caldicot and Newton.[3] Earl Thomas may indeed have hoped to secure the whole Bohun inheritance by placing his sister-in-law, Mary, in a nunnery;[4] but if so, the attempt failed. John of Gaunt was granted the marriage of Mary for his son Henry earl of Derby, in July 1380; and by

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1. One was held in May 1374 and the commission for another was issued in May 1377. C.P.R. 1370-4, 481; 1374-7, 496.

2. C.P.R. 1369-77, 403. 3. C.C.R. 1377-81, 390.

4. The most satisfactory account of this incident is in G.A. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, 24 n.6.

February 1381 the two were married. Thomas of Woodstock had to be satisfied with holding Mary's lands until she proved her age in December 1384, when her husband eventually secured livery of her estates.[1] The main part of Mary's pourparty consisted of the Bohun lands in Wales and the border counties - the lordships of Brecon and Hay, one third of the barony of Pencelli, and the manors of Haresfield and Newnham in Gloucestershire.[2]

But the problem of dividing the Bohun inheritance did not end with the Henry of Bolingbroke's entry into Mary's share in December 1384. A final division of the inheritance would have to take account of the dower and jointure lands of the dowager countess of Hereford, and this was not possible until the death of Joan Bohun at a ripe old age in April 1419. But even the temporary division of the truncated inheritance between the two daughters of Earl Humphrey V in 1380 gave rise to prolonged difficulties, especially with regard to the Welsh estates. From 1391 to June 1395 the legal advisers and the councils of both the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Derby were much preoccupied with the problem of defining the exact extent of the Welsh lands mentioned in the settlement of June 1380.[3] Records in the Tower and in the Exchequer were assiduously searched and transcripts made: the receivers' rolls of the last earl of Hereford were carefully examined; memoranda and counter-memoranda were prepared and dispatched;[4] and the councils

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1. C.C.R. 1381-5, 511.

2. A later valuation estimates that the Welsh and borderlands contributed £665 to the £913 at which Mary's share was assessed, DL 41/5/18.

3. DL 28/3/3 f.5; DL 28/3/4 f.11, f.24v.-25.

4. Two such memoranda are DL 41/2/3 and DL 41/5/1. There is a clear account of the issues concerned in DL 25/1629.

of the two lords were kept busy discussing the affair.[1] It was not until 20 June 1395 that a settlement was finally reached. The dispute revolved primarily around two separate pieces of land in Brecon, namely Bronllys and Pencelli;[2] and of the two the case of Bronllys is the more complicated.

Bronllys was certainly held of the honor of Brecon by the service of five knights fees and the Bohuns had strongly and successfully resisted all attempts to treat Bronllys as a separate lordship held of the king in chief.[3] Nonetheless a feudal connection was at best tenuous and spasmodic; and Bronllys did not really come within the Bohun orbit until the series of purchases made in the area in the 1350s by Earl William of Northampton. The lands of Earl William passed in 1360 to his son Humphrey, who also succeeded his uncle as earl of Hereford in 1361. Henceforth the two inheritances were amalgamated and the seignorial officials of Bronllys were made answerable to the receiver of Brecon; but the duke of Gloucester could rightly claim that in the 1390s Bronllys was not, until very recently, a parcel of the lordship of Brecon. The matter was further complicated by the fact that five days before his death in January 1373 Earl Humphrey V had granted his lands in Bronllys, Cantrefselyf and Llangoed to six feoffees,[4] so that they were not included in the inquisition post mortem of the earl. This defect was made good by an inquisition ad melius inquirendum of October 1380 which came to the conclusion that Bronllys was not a parcel

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1. The two councils met to discuss the issue at the Winchester parliament of January 1393. DL 41/10/12.

2. The question has been discussed briefly by R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, i, 68, and G.A. Holmes, op.cit., 24-5; but neither account is entirely accurate or adequate.

3. See above p.124 n.5.

4. DL 25/1622.

of the lordship of Brecon.[1] As a result of this inquiry, Bronllys was divided into three parts between the two Bohun daughters and the dowager countess of Hereford; but it was not until 1386 that Bolingbroke secured seisin of his share.[2] Derby accepted the decision at the time; but from 1390 onwards he and his lawyers made a determined effort to lay claim to the whole of Bronllys and Cantrefselyf. They could rightly claim that Bronllys had been administered as part of the lordship of Brecon while it was in royal custody; but the fact that it was not included in the inquisition post mortem of 1373 and the clear verdict of the inquisition of 1380 were telling answers to their claims.

Derby's case with regard to Pencelli was even weaker, for the division of this barony into three equal parts had certainly been accepted at the settlement of June 1380. His case almost certainly rested on the territorial acquisitions which Earl Humphrey IV had made in the area; for he claimed that a third of the barony of Pencelli had escheated into Bohun hands, that it was therefore a parcel of the lordship of Brecon and that consequently it could not be a subject of partition. His case may have been historically valid though he did not provide chapter and verse to support it; but as he had accepted the settlement of June 1380 his claims with regard to Pencelli were as weak as his claims to Bronllys.

There were further disputes between Gloucester and Derby over the allocation of knights' fees in Brecon;[3] but Bronllys and Pencelli were certainly the main bones of contention and on both issues Bolingbroke and

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1. C.I.P.M., xv (unpublished), p.86.
2. C.C.R. 1377-81, 439-40; 1385-9, 56-7.
3. Listed in DL 41/15/1.

his lawyers had eventually to accept defeat. An agreement was reached on 20 June 1395[1] whereby the duke of Gloucester, in exchange for the manors of Westcott (co. Bucks.) and Newnham (co. Glouces.), half of the manor of Wethersfield (co. Essex) and a third of the manor of Ruthampstead (co. Herts.) surrendered to the earl of Derby a third of the manor of Bronllys and the lordship of Cantrefselyf and a third of the barony of Pencelli. It was a sensible agreement, for it meant that Derby could consolidate his estates in the Welsh marches; but he was still not in full possession of the Bohun lordships there, as a third of both Bronllys and Pencelli remained in countess Joan's hands by way of dower.

Derby's Welsh estates were easily the most important part of his landed inheritance during his father's lifetime, contributing, according to the settlement of 1380, some 70% of his share of the Bohun lands. It is unfortunate that the history of the estates during these years is so ill-documented. Hitherto Derby had lived on grants from his father; but from December 1384 he had an inheritance of his own in right of his wife, and he soon gathered around him an able group of men to administer it for him.[2] His officials in Brecon were drawn largely from the locality - such men as John ap Harry of Poston and John Skidmore of Kentchurch[3] who served as deputy stewards of Brecon in the 1390s, or Andrew le Hore, a local cleric and receiver there 1390-5.[4] and John Fairford, the university-trained clerk

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1. DL 27/170. The agreement was to end on the death of Derby or Gloucester; but Derby renewed it in March 1399 with Gloucester's widow, DL 28/4/1 f.2.

2. There is no adequate account of Derby's household and administration; but see R. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, i, 131-3.

3. See below pp.397-8,399-400. 4. C.P.R. 1392-6, 32.

who succeeded him as receiver and who was duly rewarded with several comfortable livings.[1] But as Brecon was easily the most important of Derby's estates, important posts in its administration were often reserved for some of his closest followers. His chamberlain, the faithful Hugh Waterton, was appointed constable of Brecon and Hay and keeper of all the forests there in June 1387; and in 1391 he was made steward of the lordship. Likewise John Leventhorpe, his receiver-general, simultaneously held the post of receiver of Brecon for a time.[2]

As Brecon was the most important of Derby's estates it was bound to bear the brunt of any attempt to increase the value of the earl's landed revenue. And there was certainly need to increase the earl's revenue. His income from his share of the Bohun lands cannot have been much in excess of £1,500 per annum, and in an ordinary year the disbursements of his treasurer of the household alone often exceeded £2,000.[3] The extravagances of two crusades in the early 1390s and the need to pay annuities to an ever increasing band of retainers[4] further strained his finances. His father certainly gave him considerable help, by granting him loans, by giving him assignments on the Lancaster estates,[5] by subsidising his crusades in a lavish fashion,[6] by

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1. For his career A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, ii, 663-4.
2. For a list of Derby's officials in Brecon lordship see Appendix A III.
3. For example, Simon Bache's expenses in the year 1397-8 were £2,206.
4. The ~~arrears~~ annuities paid by his receiver-general rose from £77 in 1391 to £184 in 1395. DL 28/3/3 m.4; DL 28/3/4 f.35v.-36.
5. Derby received a total of £1,453 13s.4d. from Gaunt's Welsh estates 1385-7. DL 43/15/1. Later his assignments of a thousand marks a year were transferred to Tutbury and Bolingbroke, DL 28/1/10 f.1v.
6. The Earl of Derby's Expeditions, ed. L.T. Smith, lxxxvii, 3-4, 149.

surrendering a number of Lancaster manors to him,[1] and by sharing the services of some of the ablest Lancaster officials with him.[2] But Derby also sought to make good some of his own indebtedness by increasing his revenue from Brecon lordship. He rearranged the administration of Cantrefselyf and compiled a new rental for Hay;[3] he increased the two most lucrative farms of the lordship - those of Brecon town and the Great Forest - by more than half;[4] his officials were sent to expedite payments of arrears in the lordship;[5] and when he visited Brecon in person in November 1397 he compelled the tenants of the lordship to give him a massive gift of £1,233 6s.8d.[6] He certainly achieved his object, for the clear yield of Brecon in 1397-8 stood at £1,179, though Huntington and a third of Pencelli and Bronllys were not included; and two-thirds of this sum (£778) came from casual revenue and court issues.[7] There can be little doubt that Derby was more exacting in his financial demands from Brecon than even the Bohun earls had been and that financial pressure on the lordship in the years before the Glyn Dŵr revolt, especially in court issues and casual revenue, was more intense than it had ever been.

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1. R. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, i, 68 n.5.

2. For example, Thomas Hardwick the auditor.

3. DL 29/633/10317, Hay and Cantrefselyf accounts. 4. See above p.154.

5. DL 41/10/12, 'propter plures defectus in compotis ministrorum ibidem audiendos et emendandos'.

6. The record of the visit is in DL 28/1/10 f.7v-8, and of the gift in SC 6 /1157/4.

7. See Appendix C IV, p.408.

If John Barham had been able to revisit Brecon in 1399 he would have noticed at once how much seignorial power there had increased during the last century. The value of the lordship had doubled within a period of forty years, and had almost reached the two thousand marks, which he had estimated to be its true value when he made his survey in 1302. The earls of Hereford had brought large areas of the lordship firmly under their authority and had successfully asserted their control over their mesne-tenants. The transformation was clear for all to see and was largely the work of Earl Humphrey IV and his officials. What may not have been so clear was that the unremitting and ever-increasing seignorial pressure on the financial resources of the lordship was creating an ideal seed-bed for disaffection and revolt.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE BOHUN AND LANCASTER MARCHER LORDSHIPS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Hitherto this thesis has been concerned almost exclusively with two marcher inheritances as units of seignorial exploitation; it has concentrated on their growth, administration and finance and on the part they played in the Lancaster and Bohun estate-organisations as a whole. It is now proposed to look at these marcher lordships from a different angle, to look at them, as it were, from within and to study their social and economic structure as a whole rather than exclusively from the lord's point of view. For such a study the marcher lordship is in many ways an ideal unit for it was an entity shaped by geography as well as by history, and a study of its social and economic structure is a study of the structure of Welsh mediaeval society in microcosm. In this chapter each individual lordship will be studied separately as an economic unit, and no attempt will be made to conflate the evidence into general conclusions applicable to a whole geographic region. This is a decision which calls for an explanation. The conflative method, if we may so call it, has been employed by Professor William Rees in his book South Wales and the Marches 1284-1415 (Oxford, 1924). This book was a remarkable piece of pioneering, but it has also revealed the dangers of the conflative method:[1] the congestion of evidence has blurred the picture on the one hand whilst over-simplifying it on the other; and the attempt to make evidence which is historically and geographically disparate into a consistent whole has left the impression of a homogeneous and static society.

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1. Cf. the reviews of the book by J.G. Edwards in E.H.R., xl (1925), 601-3; and by T.F. Tout in History, new series x (1925-6), 59-60.

Moreover each generation must, to a great extent, write its own history; and in this chapter an attempt has been made to bear in mind at least some of the questions which have been exercising the minds of historians of the later mediaeval economy during the last few years.

A word must also be said about the methods and purposes of the different sections which follow. Hitherto seignorial evidence has been used to answer questions about seignorial affairs - about the growth, finance and administration of the lord's estates; and whatever the deficiencies and pitfalls of the evidence, the original documents were at least meant to answer the sort of questions which the historian still asks of them. It is quite otherwise when one turns to analyse the social and economic structure of the marcher lordships, for then one is often looking for evidence of extra-seignorial society in what are, primarily, seignorial documents. The manorial accounts tell us a great deal of the organisation of the lord's manor, but when one ventures outside this extremely limited unit - and one which was of course much less important in Wales than in England - the grave limitations of the documents are obvious. Moreover, there is a further limitation in the Bohun and Lancaster evidence: in no case, except that of Caldicot, is there a chronological series of documents comparable with the ones which Dr. Holmes found for the lordship of Usk.[1] Consequently it is impossible to trace the fluctuations of prices, wages or income from one year to the next, or to study economic developments or cycles over a period of years with any degree of certainty. Nonetheless a study of the Bohun and Lancaster estates has itsadvantages as well as its disadvantages. The evidence from one lordship

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1. G.A. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, 102-7, 161-3.

or manor complements or supplements that from another, and so varied are the five units studied here that one may well believe that, overall, all the basic features of the economic and social structure of South Wales in the fourteenth century are reproduced here. Moreover, a conscious attempt has been made to study the economic and social structure of each lordship as a whole, rather than to confine attention to the seignorial manor; and it is hoped that what is lost by being unable to trace chronological developments in full is made good by a picture which will gain in depth and detail.

(i) The lordship of Brecon

The lordship of Brecon is the largest and in many ways the most interesting lordship with which this thesis deals. Its geographical and geological diversity has meant that within its ample boundaries the most divers of societies and economic practices have jostled side by side.[1] Its lowlands contain some of the best agricultural land in Wales and have always been open to Anglicising influences from nearby Herefordshire. It was in these rich river-valleys that the earls of Hereford established their manors and that their followers built up estates for themselves. Upland Brecon, on the other hand, consists largely of inaccessible pastureland and rolling mountain ranges, and here throughout the later middle ages the Welsh communities still clung to their old forms of land-tenure and agriculture. It is to the lowland manor, especially the seignorial manor, that attention must first be turned, for it is far and away the best documented institution of Brecon lordship.

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1. Recent surveys of value are H.M. Thomas, 'The Geomorphology of Brecknock', Brycheiniog, v (1959), 55-157; and J.F. Dodd, 'The Brecknockshire Crop Returns for 1854', ibid., vi (1960), 79-93.

Seignorial manors had usually appeared in Wales in the vicinity of the Norman castles, largely with the purpose of meeting the needs of those castles rather than of producing for an outside market. And it was in the shadow of the castles of Brecon, Hay, Huntington and (later) Bronllys that the four major manors of the earls of Hereford were to be found in Brecon lordship. Each of the manors had a modest arable of 300 acres or so, and a proportionate amount of meadow and pasture.[1] There are stray, but ample, indications that the earls of Hereford pursued demesne farming actively on all these manors throughout the fourteenth century.[2] Indeed the area of demesne land in the earls' possession in Brecon increased considerably during the course of the century, for amongst the lands which the earl of Northampton acquired in Cantrefselyf in the 1350s[3] were a number of demesne manors. Foremost amongst these new acquisitions was the old Giffard manor of Bronllys, about which we are particularly well-informed and which can be taken as an example of the nature and extent of the seignorial manor in fourteenth century Brecon.

The manor of Bronllys[4] lay around Bronllys castle, not far from where the river Dulas flows into the Llynfi, in one of the most fertile areas of modern Breconshire. The manor contained 300 acres of so of arable land, mingled almost certainly with strips of tenant land. Such open fields did not, of

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1. Details may be found in the inquisitions of 1299 and 1336, C 133/92 no.13 and C 135/48 nos.21-3 summarised in C.I.P.M. iii, no.552 and C.I.P.M. viii, no.55 respectively.

2. SC 6/1145/7; DL 29/671/10810 m.4 (repairs to the barn at Brecon), m.10 (purchase of oxen for the demesne ploughs), m.17 (sale of corn).

3. For these purchases see above p. 113.

4. The main source for this paragraph is SC 6/1156/13.

course, necessarily imply a rigid two-or-three-field system:[1] thus in 1372 16 acres of peas as well as 9 acres of oats were sown in one field and the 74 acres of oats sown that year were scattered in as many as 12 different places.[2] The considerable amount of wheat which was grown at Bronllys, as at Hay and Brecon,[3] is a tribute to the good quality of the soil there, for in most of Wales the farmer had to be satisfied with oats and maslin. In addition to the arable, there was much pasture both along the banks of the Llynfi and on the gentle slopes to the north west of the castle; but by 1372 little of it was needed and the rest had been leased to the manorial tenants. Even more valuable than pasture in the eyes of the mediaeval farmer was the meadowland on which hay was grown for the upkeep of the stock during the winter months. The lord's meadowland in Bronllys lay in seven fields carefully enclosed, unlike the pasture, with ditches and hedges.[4] Both meadow and

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1. Cf. the diagram of the rotation system at Llantrisant 1323-6, W. Rees, South Wales and the March 1284-1415, 192-3.

2. Of these places two are called 'meads' and one a 'field'; the rest are placenames such as 'le Sandepitt', 'inter aquas' and 'Holebrok'. Cf. the remarks of R.H. Hilton in 'The Social Structure of rural Warwickshire in the middle ages', Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, 9, pp.21-3.

3. The acreages of crops sown on the four major Brecon manors in 1372 were as follows:

	Wheat	Oats	Barley	Rye	Peas
Brecon	46	50	4	-	2
Bronllys	56½	74	-	-	16
Hay	66	62	-	-	3½
Huntington	-	64	-	12	-

4. Cf. DL 29/633/10317 Brecon account: 'vij s. de herbagio prati de Byffeld, sic dimisso ... sub condicione quod ipse fodeat et ponat salices circa dictum pratum'.

pasture were primarily used to feed the lord's stock; but by 1372 the seigniorial stock, apart from sheep, kept on all the Brecon manors was small, only large enough to meet the agricultural needs of each manor. At Bronllys the total stock consisted of no more than 33 oxen, 2 mares, a foal and a few poultry. Bronllys by 1372 was, in fact, little more than a small grain- and wool-producing unit; and the earl of Hereford's officials must have seriously considered whether it might not be more profitable to lease the lord's arable there instead of going to the trouble of organising the cultivation of the demesne each year.

Brecon, Hay and Huntington manors were very similar to Bronllys in their size and character; but some of the newly-acquired manors of the Wye valley - Gwenddwr, Trawscoed, Llangoed and Llaneglwys - were much smaller in size[1] and still preserved the character of Cistercian granges, which until recently they had been. Each manor was under the care of a reeve or a bailiff; but he was allowed very little initiative by the Bohun officials. The earl had appointed a 'supervisor stauri et gaynagi' to be in charge of directing and co-ordinating agricultural policy throughout the lordship; and moreover his central officials paid frequent visits to the manors, not only to audit the accounts but also to give advice on the policy to be pursued. Their tight-fisted emendations and additions fill the margins of the accounts; and the local bailiff could expect little mercy from them if he failed to reach certain fixed quotas either of yield or of price.[2] Thus in 1372 the bailiff of Hay claimed that he had been overcharged to the tune of £13 4s.2d. by the

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1. Only 46 acres were sown at Llangoed in 1372, SC 6/1156/19.

2. Cf. J.S. Drew, 'Manorial Accounts of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester', E.H.R., lxii (1947), 20-41.

auditors, but he was lucky to be allowed as much as £7 18s.2d. of this sum.[1] The Bohun auditors were hard and exacting taskmasters; but that was the only way to make demesne farming pay and to ensure that it was run in the interests of the lord, not of his officials.[2]

Between them the Bohun manors in Brecon cannot have covered much more than 2,000 acres in a lordship whose total area must have been at least 350,000 acres; but their importance in the economic structure of the area was out of all proportion to their size. Demesne farming meant that the earls of Hereford and their officials kept an active interest in the affairs of the lordship other than merely collecting seignorial revenue from it. Furthermore the Bohun manors occupied some of the most fertile land in the whole lordship, and were obvious channels whereby English economic habits and agricultural practices could beintroduced into a pre-eminently Welsh area. Nor was the rôle of the seignorial manor in the lordship's economy a purely passive one, for in its demand for labour it impinged decisively on the economic life of the area, acting in very much the same fashion as a small rural industry would do today.

A study of the labour organisation of the Brecon manors brings out clearly the fact that the manor was still very much an alien institution in this marcher lordship. On none of the Brecon manors were the labour services of the customary tenants numerous or important. On Brecon manor

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1. These lists of 'peticiones', with auditorial comments, have been sown to the accounts, SC 6/1156/13-17.

2. Cf. N. Denholm-Young, Collected Papers on Mediaeval Subjects, 100; and E.M. Halcrow in Econ.H.R., 2nd series, vii (1954-5), 347-8.

there were 42 customary tenants who owed a maximum of 10 *opera* each a year; at Bronllys there were only four such customary tenants; and at Hay there were none. The lightness of the labour services and the fewness of the villeins were not due to any lack of demand for customary works. In 1372 all the customary works at Bronllys and 283 out of the 361 *opera* at Brecon were used; but clearly they were insufficient to meet the labour demands of even these small manors. These demands were solved in two ways: by harnessing the labour resources of the Welshry to the needs of the Anglicised manors and by employing full-time *famuli*. Outside the small Brecon manors was a large labour force of Welshmen, always willing to augment their incomes by migrating to the lowlands during harvest time.[1] Thus at Hay the only labour services were 576 harvest works owed by the tenants of the Welshry; and it was these tenants who reaped the 128 acres of corn on the demesne in 1372. Likewise the Welshmen of Cantrefselyf were expected to come down to the valley of the Llynfi twice a year to help plough the lord's demesne and to reap his corn; and a similar pattern was repeated in Brecon manor. Thus the Bohun manors in Brecon were very dependent for their labour supply on the nearby Welshries, more particularly for those communal activities - reaping and ploughing - which could not be performed by the small corps of customary tenants.

But the services of both the manorial customary tenants and the Welshmen were confined to a few duties at the peak-periods of agricultural activity; they did not perform the day-to-day agricultural duties. During most of the

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1. On labour migration from the Welsh marches to the English lowlands during harvest time see *Rot. Parl.*, ii, 234; ~~iii, 81~~.

year the work on the manor was performed by paid famuli and, to a lesser extent, by piece-work labourers. Some of the services rendered by the villeins were indeed not wholly unpaid, either in money or in kind;[1] but these supplementary payments for customary service were small when compared with the sums spent on paid labour. The importance of the famuli in the labour market of the mediaeval manor has now been adequately recognised;[2] and they certainly performed most of the agricultural duties on the Brecon manors. At Bronllys, for example, there were nine full-time famuli in 1372 - a reaper, six ploughmen, and two shepherds as well as two temporary servants. They were the men who performed the ordinary agricultural duties and looked after the stock of the manor; but at exceptionally busy periods, such as the ploughing, reaping and sheep-shearing seasons, they were also helped out by temporary labourers hired at piece-rates. Most of these full-time and part-time labourers were doubtless drawn from the large class of cottars, whose own land was hardly sufficient for the upkeep of their families. They were paid for their services both in money and in kind;[3] and they, rather than the customary tenants, were the men upon whom the running of the manors depended. Indeed the accompanying table shows quite clearly that in the three manors of Hay, Brecon and Bronllys in 1372 payments for full-time and part-time labour were four times (or more)

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1. Thus the 384 Welsh customary tenants who worked in the harvest at Hay were paid 1½d. each; and the customary tenants of Y Fenni were given food worth ¾d. for each of their ploughing services on Brecon manor.

2. See especially M.M. Postan, The Famulus: The Estate Labourer in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and R.H. Hilton, The Economic Development of some Leicestershire estates in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. 46, 69-70, 138-48.

3. For example, at Bronllys the money wages of the famuli amounted to £2 5s.2d. and their food allowances in tollcorn (converted at current market prices) to at least £11 2s.6d.

TABLE A1 LABOUR SUPPLY ON BRECON MANORS, 1371-2

	BRONLLYS	HAY	BRECON
Value of manorial customary works	19. 4	-	£2 . 5. 9
Value of Welsh customary works	£4 . 4.10	£2 . 8 . 0	£2. 2. 0
Number of full-time famuli	nine	six	seven
Payments in money and kind to famuli	£13. 7. 8	£8 .13 . 4	£14. 0. 2
Payments to part-time labourers	£ 6. 0. 8	£3 . 2 .10	£ 3. 3. 0

Sources: SC 6/1156/13, 15, 18.

the value of the customary labour services,[1] even when the Welsh customary services have been added. And this still remains true even when one adds the caveat that the conventional valuation for labour dues was often lower than current wages for similar paid work.[2] This heavy reliance on paid labour certainly meant that wages were a major item of expense on the Bohun manors in Brecon; but it also meant that those manors, unlike Caldicot and many English manors, had never relied heavily on customary labour services and so did not suffer so severely from the loss of those services in the post-Black Death period.

The manor was essentially a lowland, grain-producing unit and thus, within a lordship almost half of whose total acreage is still designated as rough pasture, the limits of its expansion were severely restricted. But highland pasture could also be profitably exploited by the lord by rearing herds of cows

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1. The value of these services was further reduced by the fact, already noted, that customary tenants were often given a payment for their services.

2. The discrepancy between the two rates varied from duty to duty and place to place. For this problem see M.M. Postan, The Famulus, 42, n.4.

or flocks of sheep on it; and this is how the earl of Hereford turned the pasture of Brecon to his advantage. Throughout most of the fourteenth century, the pasture of Fforest Fach, which lay between the rivers Senni and Crai, was reserved for the cattle and pigs of the earl,[1] and a full-time stock-keeper was appointed to be in charge of the animals there. The stock of seigneurial cattle could be replenished from the biennial <u>commorth</u> paid by the Welsh tenants (90 cows came from this source in 1344 and a further 92 in 1346)[2] or from the large number of cattled distrained for non-payment of debts, as in 1349 when the earl's stock-keeper received as many as 700 head of cattle from this source.[3] During most of the fourteenth century the seigneurial herd in Fforest Fach must have numbered on an average some 300 cows and calves; and so successful and profitable had the enterprise proved that by 1371 further vaccaries had been established by the earl in Fforest Fawr, at Trawscoed overlooking Bronllys, and at Abernant high up the Wye valley.[4]

From this large stock of cattle, many were sent to meet the needs of the earl's household. All such transfers have not been recorded in the Brecon documents; but sufficient references appear on the receivers' accounts to indicate the extent of the cattle trade.[5] Thus in 1340, 160 animals were sent

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1. DL 29/671/10810 m.9. 'De pastura parve foreste hoc anno nil quia depascebatur per vaccas domini et porcos domini. De feno in parva foresta nil hic quia faleatur pro sustenacione vaccarum et vitulorum domini in anno futuro'.

2. DL 29/671/10810 m.9. m.13. 3. DL 29/671/10810 m.16.

4. SC 6/1156/18; SC 6/1157/2.

5. All these examples are taken from DL 29/671/10810.

to the earl's residence at Oaksey (co. Wilts.); in 1347, 60 cows and 10 oxen were sent to Oaksey and to Wheatenhurst (co. Glouces.); in 1349 as many as 20 drovers were employed to drive 400 head of cattle from Brecon to Essex; and in the following year an equally large herd of 310 oxen, 34 cows and 34 steers was driven to Kimbolton (co.Cambridge) and to Oaksey. Some of these animals may have been used to re-stock the Bohun manors in England; but the majority of them were specifically said to be destined for the earl's larder. The long cross-country journeys of the cattle - for even as the crow flies Kimbolton is some 130 and Oaksey some 60 miles from Brecon - show clearly how closely bound a mediaeval noble household was to its estates for its supplies of beef. Already the Welsh cattle trade was assuming the importance which it was to retain for centuries;[1] and in its early stages a good deal of it was based on the demands of English seignorial households. Just as the Bohun household depended on its Brecon estates for its beef; so the royal household at Windsor and the Black Prince's household at Berkhamp-stead, the lady of Clare's household at Bardfield and the Mortimer household at Wigmore, all looked to their various Welsh estates for good and cheap supplies of cattle.[2]

Seignorial stock-rearing in Brecon was a factor of the household's demand for beef; its sheep-farming enterprises, on the other hand, were an

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1. H.P.R. Finberg, 'An early reference to the Welsh cattle trade', Agricultural History Review, ii (1954), 12-14; C.A.J. Skeel, 'The Cattle Trade between Wales and England from the 15th to the 19th centuries', T.R.H.S., 4th series, ix (1926), 135-58.

2. For the royal household C.P.R. 1307-13, 511; the Black Prince's household, B.P.R., i, 72; ii, 279, 307, 393; DL 36/2 no.107; the lady of Clare's household, C.A. Musgrave, 'Household Administration in the 14th century' (M.A. Thesis. University of London), 133; and the Mortimer household, B.P. Evans, 'The Family of Mortimer' (Ph.D. thesis. Wales), 403, n.2.

attempt to make profit from the national and international markets in wool. On these markets the wool of the Welsh march was considered among the best produced in Britain;[1] and, of course, sheep-farming had the added attraction that, compared with arable cultivation, its labour-costs were exceptionally low. The earls of Hereford had certainly practised sheep-farming in their Brecon estates in the early fourteenth century;[2] but it was the acquisition of the Bronllys group of estates in the 1350s that gave the greatest stimulus to seigneurial sheep-rearing in Brecon, for with these estates the earls inherited the sheep-farming tradition of the Cistercian abbey of Dore.

That tradition went back almost to the earliest days of the abbey, and certainly to the late twelfth century when Walter de Clifford (ob. 1190) granted the Dore monks extensive land and pasturing rights in Cantrefselyf.[3] Given the fine pasturing potentialities of the area, royal support,[4] and the enterprising character of the Cistercians, it was natural that the abbey should embark on a policy of large-scale sheep-farming. The enterprises of the monks flourished in spite of the opposition of local landowners

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1. E. Power, The Wool Trade in Mediaeval English History, 22-3; Studies in English Trade in the fifteenth century, ed. E. Power and M.M. Postan, 357-8.

2. SC 6/1145/7 shows that there were 290 sheep at Hay and a further 80 at Huntington in 1322. Cf. DL 29/671/10810 m.9: 'In xxvij ulnis de canabo emptis pro saccis inde factis ad lanam de Haya et Huntyndon et Hore impenendam'; and m.2: 'In stipendiis ij gareionum cum ij equis cariantium lanam de Hore et Hota et Penkell' usque Wookes'.'

3. W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, V, 555, no.viii.

4. The abbey was given the royal right to assart in Llaneglwys and Gwenddwr in 1251, CP 25(1)/283/13 no.272.

and tenants;[1] and the settlement which the abbey reached with Walter de Clifford III in 1240 provides an indication of its extensive powers in Cantrefselyf:[2] it had entire and sole possession of the lands of Nanteglwys and Gwenddwr; it also had pasturing facilities for its flocks in a large area to the north west of Bronllys; it had granges at Trawscoed, Werndyfwg and Gwenddwr; and its animals and shepherds enjoyed considerable privileges and seignorial protection. As well as its flocks of sheep, the abbey also had a herd of cows and a stud of horses in Cantefselyf. It is little wonder that the commissioners of Pope Nicholas in 1290 decided that Dore was far and away the richest religious house in the archdeaconry of Brecon or that the royal tax-assessors of 1292 found that the abbey was eight times as wealthy as any lay landowner in Bronllys.[3]

It was into the inheritance of the Cistercians of Dore in Cantrefselyf that the Bohun earls in the 1350s and 1360s. During the early 1350s William Bohun bought out the rights of several leading Welsh uchelwyr in the Bronllys-Cantrefselyf area; and in 1351 he persuaded Dore abbey to grant him a lease of the abbey's pasturelands in Cantrefselyf for £26 13s.4d. a year and in exchange for the advowson of Shifnal church.[4] Along with the lands went the

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1. For this opposition Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to Wales, iii, 532-3, 625; E 326/10246; Bodleian Library Mss. Dodsworth XXX f.41; and for Gerald of Wales' vitriolic remarks on the abbey's depopulation in Trawscoed, Opera (R.S.), iv, 206.

2. C.Cha.R., i, 260½; Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to Wales, iii, 535. Not all the placenames mentioned in the agreement can now be identified.

3. Taxatio Ecclesiastica, 274; E 179/242/60.

4. The details of the lease and exchange are in DL 25/1285, 2081 and DL 36/1 no.4, DL 36/2 no.20.

granges and probably also the flocks and their shepherds: a mediaeval take-over bid had been successfully effected. It was these acquisitions in Bronllys which formed the central scene of the Bohun sheep-farming enterprise as it is seen in the accounts of 1372. At that date the earl of Hereford had a flock of just over 3,000 sheep in Brecon lordship: 621 at Brecon and Llanfrynach, 268 at Hay, 185 at Huntington, 745 at Bronllys, about 825 at Trawscoed, 240 at Llaneglwys and 160 at Gwenddwr.[1] These scattered granges were closely bound together by an integrated system of sheep-breeding, which may well have been inherited from the Cistercians:[2] ewes were kept for the lambing season in the upland granges and the lambs were brought to the lowland pastures during the summer to fatten. As on other seigniorial estates,[3] the control of the flocks was kept out of the hands of the local bailiffs; the 'supervisor stauri et gaynagi' was responsible for keeping up the numbers and quality of the flock throughout the lordship by purchase and exchange,[4] and the receiver took charge of the purchase of sheep and the sale of their fleeces. The fleeces were taken to Blauncheappleton, the Bohun headquarters in London, where their sale brought in about £65 in cash each year. Sheep-rearing and wool-production were, on the whole, profitable; and the costs in

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1. The figures for Trawscoed, Llaneglwys and Gwenddwr are only approximate, as no accounts have survived for these bailiwicks. The figures provided have been taken from the list of fleeces sent to the receiver of Brecon, SC 6/1156/16 m.1d.

2. Cf. E.G. Bowen, 'The Monastic Economy of the Cistercians at Strata Florida', Ceredigion, i (1950), 34-7.

3. Cf. the instaurarius in control of Isabella de Fortibus' ~~estates~~ flocks in Holderness, E. Denholm-Young, Seigneurial Administration in England, 58.

4. For example, some sheep were sent from Brecon to Trawscoed before the shearing period in 1372 'quia grosse lane', SC 6/1156/15 m.1d.

upkeep and in labour were small. This explains why the Bohuns, Lancasters and Mortimers continued to keep sheep long after they had abandoned arable cultivation;[1] and obviously there could be no better method for the earl of Hereford of exploiting the vast pasturelands of Brecon.

So far we have given a largely static picture of demesne farming in Brecon in 1372, and we have seen that sheep-rearing and cattle-breeding were quite as important in seignorial exploitation as was arable cultivation. But it would be wrong to assume that the pattern of seignorial exploitation had remained unchanged in Brecon during the fourteenth century; in fact there can be little doubt that the nature and aim of seignorial farming had changed radically during the course of the century. The inquisitions of 1299 and 1336 show that demesne cultivation at those dates was confined to Huntington, Hay and Brecon and was primarily aimed at producing food for the respective castles. Under Earl Humphrey IV and his brother William the situation changed quite radically: demesne exploitation was greatly extended and diversified with the aim of exploiting the economic resources of the lordship for the lord's profit and not merely to meet the needs of a few scattered castles. Seignorial manors were established in the lands acquired by Earl Humphrey IV in Pencelli; vaccaries were organised in Fforest Fawr and Fforest Fach and in the upper Wye valley; and the territorial acquisitions of Earl William in Cantrefselyf in the 1350s brought several new manors and vast tracts of pasture into the eventual possession

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1. For sheep-farming on the Lancaster estates see E. Power, The Wool Trade in mediaeval English history, 38-9; and on Mortimer estates B.P. Evans' unpublished thesis, op.cit., 453-4.

of the earl of Hereford. In the economic field, as in so many other spheres, the earls of Hereford were very much on the initiative in Brecon in the mid-fourteenth century.

Some of this initiative had been lost by 1372, for by then manorial exploitation was on the retreat in certain parts of the lordship: considerable land had been leased in Brecon manor, and demesne farming had been totally abandoned on the small manors of Kora, Bryndu[1] and Llangoed.[2] But in spite of this retreat from the subsidiary manors, there is little indication in the 1371-2 accounts of any intention of abandoning demesne farming on the main Brecon manors; and the seigniorial flock was still growing. It was the death of the last Bohun earl of Hereford on 20 January 1373, rather than any deep economic causes which put an end to seigniorial agriculture in all its forms on the Brecon manors.[3] The sudden end of demesne farming meant that some 2,000 acres of the best land of the lordship came on the land-market, to be leased within a matter of a few months. In certain cases, it is true, some attempt was made to preserve the identity of the manor. Thus at Bronllys all the demesne-pasture and meadow as well as arable - and the customary works were leased <u>en bloc</u> for £13 6s. 8d. a year to Richard Sergeant

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1. Note in margin of SC 6/1156/18 reads, 'onerandus est de vendicione omnium domorum de Bryn exceptis aula, capella, grangia, bovaria, ij bercariis et exceptis sclatis eorundem que ordinantur pro domibus de Brenlez' et Lanegoit coopertendis et similiter mutatur campana in capella ibidem usque Hunt'.'

2. The demesne lands at Llangoed were given to the bailiffs of the Upper Forest, 'nomine vadiorum suorum ad colendas custibus suis sub certis condicionalibus', SC 6/1156/19.

3. Professor William Rees in <u>South Wales and the March</u>, 254-5 has entirely missed this point.

the last Bohun steward of Brecon; and at Huntington in 1386 all the demesne lands and stock were leased to two tenants for £6 annually for seven years.[1] In both cases an attempt was being made to preserve the integrity of the manor, possibly in the hope that seignorial agriculture would eventually be resumed there. This was not to be so; and on most manors the situation was recognised for the demesne was divided among the lessees and appropriated to their individual holdings. As might have been expected the burgesses of the English towns and the seignorial officials were amongst the leading bidders for these demesne lands. Most of the 120 acres of demesne in Brecon manor were leased to enterprising burgesses from the nearby town; and likewise at Hay in 1386 the demesne lands were leased to John Budel, David Piperton 'et aliis tenentibus ville'.[2] Away from the towns the Welshmen were given their opportunity: at Llanfrynach the demesne was leased to Thomas ap Dafydd on condition that he kept the buildings there in a fit state of repair, and the arable around the sheep-granges on the Epynt foothills was likewise leased to local Welshmen.[3] By 1399 the seignorial manor had been completely absorbed into the economic structure of the lordship; henceforth the lord of Brecon would be no more than a <u>rentier</u> landlord and both he and his lordship would, in different ways, be the poorer.

The men who were most likely to profit, both socially and economically, from the wholesale leasing of the seignorial demesne were not the ordinary tenantry, but the smaller gentry and <u>uchelwyr</u> whose important rôle in the

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1. SC 6/1156/21 Bronllys account; DL 29/652/10545.
2. SC 6/1156/21 Brecon account; DL 29/633/10317 Hay account
3. SC 6/1157/2.

life of the lordship has already been emphasised.[1] It remains to assess their economic importance. They often owned large farms or manors which were hardly distinguishable, in size or economic structure, from the seigneurial manors. Perhaps the best description of one of these manors is that given in a deed of 1352[2] recording the purchase of the estate of John fitz William ap Rees. The estate is described as 'un mies appelle Bryndu, qatre charuees de terres, vint acres de pree, dys acres de pasture, douze acres de boys, et trent south' de rente over lour appourtenances es villes de Brentles, Talgarth, Piperton', Philpeston', Pauntewall, Landevalthe, Lambiliou, Tretref et Leswen ove commune pasture ove tout manere des bestes et mortboys en tout temps de lan en la forest de Cantreselif'. Bryndu was clearly similar in every respect to the seignorial manor of Bronllys, complete with arable, meadow, pasture rights and rent-paying tenants; and Bronllys itself, it should be remembered, was the demesne manor of a Welsh uchelwr until the earl of Northampton bought it from Sir Philip ap Rees in 1351. The manor ('manerium')[3] which William Bohun likewise bought from Sir Roger Chenney in 1358 was doubtless very similar in character, as must have been Tre Durn (Duyneston) which appears as a separate unit in the Bronllys account of 1387 and which Henry Solers acquired as the marriage portion of his wife.[4]

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1. See above pp.116-123.
2. DL 25/1624.
3. DL 25/1602.
4. SC 6/1157/3. Theophilus Jones in his History of Brecknock, iii, 79 mentions a document whereby John le Bret settled land in Tre Durn and Llanfilo as a gift on his daughter when she married Henry Solers.

Of the internal economic structure of these non-seignorial manors there is very little direct evidence. The best evidence comes from the three major manors which the bishop of St. David's held in Brecon[1] - at Llanddew, Aberbran,[2] and Garthbrengi. The demesne at the three manors together covered well over 400 acres; and two of the manors had their own water-mills and granges. Each manor had a settlement of customary tenants,[3] owing agricultural and carrying services; but, as on the seignorial manors, these services were extremely light. The manors of the gentry of Brecon lordship must have been very similar in their economic structure to these three episcopal manors. Thus John Sowton is known to have had demesne lands at Llechfaen and Roger Mortimer at Pencelli.[4] Again, when Richard Low leased some of his lands to John Russell in 1329,[5] he also transferred to him the services of his villeins, but reserved the right to try those villeins in his own court, presumably a court leet. Richard Low has the right to be called the lord of a manor, and so has Walter Devereux who owned 38s. in rent and the services of 15 customary tenants in Pipton within the lordship of Bronllys.[6]

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1. The Black Book of St. David's 1326, ed. J.W. Willis-Bund, 290-329. The editor's introduction and translation have to be used with care. There is a recent re-appraisal of the Black Book by J.C. Davies in B.L.W.J., iv (1946), 158-76.

2. 'Bran' should almost certainly be identified with Aberbran, not with Llanfihangel Nant Bran as the editor suggests.

3. Aberbran was a pure demesne manor and depended for its villein services on the nearby estate of Trallwng.

4. DL 29/633/10317 sub Pencelli Anglicana and Pencelli Wallicana.

5. DL 36/1 no.215.

6. His inquisition post mortem of 1419 is in DL 7/1 Appendix volume, no.22.

Another indication of the relative importance of the gentry of lowland Brecon may be found in the fact that whereas the earl of Hereford had only 4 villeins on his manor of Bronllys, the tenentes milites of the district had 21 customary tenants who were expected to help with the ploughing on the earl's demesne.[1] In fact the gentry of the area had far more customary tenants than this, for the account for Cantrefselyf refers to as many as 173 customary tenants from dependent lordships as owing harvesting duties on the seignorial manors.[2] The evidence for the existence and extent of the estates of the gentry and uchelwyr in Brecon is purely cumulative; the historian often has to depend on accidental hints in the accounts and on the official posts held by the gentry for any knowledge about them. Furthermore many questions - such as those relating to the distribution and mobility of this class, its impact upon the economic life of the lordship, and its reaction to the economic changes of the fourteenth century - must forever remain unanswered, at least for Brecon. Perhaps the importance of a gentry class in the economic and social structure of Brecon has been overemphasised here; but that is partly a reaction against the tendency to regard marcher lordships merely as spheres of seignorial influence.

A dearth of evidence also beset the historian when he attempts an elementary analysis of the lower classes of marcher society. No more can be done here than to concentrate on one lowland and one highland region in Brecon

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1. 'L arure provenientes de iiij custumariis de Brenlez' et de xxj custumariis de tenentibus militibus', SC 6/1156/13 m.2d.

2. 'Celvij opera messionum provenientes de xlij custumariis dominorum patrie ... et de cxxxj custumariis de tenentibus militibus', SC 6/1156/14 m.2d.

where the evidence is at least sufficiently detailed to allow of certain tentative conclusions. The lowland district is that of Bronllys, where the organisation of the seignorial manor has already been studied. The first question which the economic historian must ask relates to the population of the area he is studying; but it is a question which has scarcely been asked, let alone answered, for Wales.[1] The evidence is indeed extremely thin, but it is not altogether wanting. According to the assessment of 1292[2] there were 123 taxable persons in the lordship of Bronllys, which at the rate of 4 persons per household[3] gives a population of 492 for the area. This is not necessarily a satisfactory or correct estimate: the poorer inhabitants were exempt from the tax; the exact extent of the lordship is not defined nor would tax assessment be an easy matter there; and, finally, much of the district was rough pastureland under the control of Dore abbey. Nonetheless even a rough assessment is helpful, especially as it is supplemented by an inquisition of 1298.[4] According to this inquisition there were on the manor, not the lordship, of Bronllys some 300 acres of seignorial demesne and about 300 acres of tenant land, along with an unspecified amount of common and pasture. The tenant population of the manor numbered 59; but the land was by no means equally divided between them. The inquisition divides them into

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1. The section on Wales in J.C. Cox, British Mediaeval Population, 321 et seq. is too short and too full of elementary errors to be of much use.

2. E 179/242/60.

3. The household multiple of four is about half way between the conservative estimate of J.C. Russell and the estimate of his critics, especially J. Krause and H.E. Hallam. Needless to say the calculations made in the text are only of the most approximate character.

4. C 133/91 no.2 m.13.

free tenants (25), villeins (14), Welshmen (13) and cottars (7); but economically a more realistic division - especially in view of the lightness of labour services - would be between the tenants with a little and those with much land. Of the total tenant population of 59, almost two-thirds of them (36) held less than five acres of land. This strongly suggests not only considerable inequality in the size of tenant-holdings but also a considerable population pressure on arable land in Brecon in the opening years of the fourteenth century. A rather similar conclusinn is suggested by the episcopal extents of 1326. Thus in the manor of Llanddew there were some 260 acres of tenant land, about a third of which was free, while the remainder was held by 22 customary tenants. But the bulk of the tenant population of this manor consisted of 31 cottagers, some of whom held customary land but the majority of whom had to be satisfied with a cottage and a curtilage. Some indication of the possible origin of this class can be gained from the fact that one of them was the son of a wealthy freeholder, and at least two others had relatives, possibly brothers, holding customary land in the manor.

Many of these landless or virtually landless peasants must have eked out their existence with the help of the waste and common pasture which was so extensive in Brecon or by working as full- or part-time labourers in the seignorial and mesne manors of the area. And after all it needs to be remembered that holdings of five acres or less were by no means uncommon on many manors in fourteenth century England.[1] The evidence from the Brecon

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1. See, for example, E.A. Kosminsky, Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the thirteenth century, 214 et seq., and H.E. Hallam, 'Some Thirteenth Century Censuses', Econ.H.R., 2nd series, x (1957-8), 340-61.

lowlands is clearly too meagre for one to advance any definite conclusions as to the population of the area; but at least it does suggest that in the lowlands of the Welsh marches, as in England, population pressure on cultivable land was nearing saturation point in the early fourteenth century. If evidence is meagre on population, it is almost non-existent on other matters relating to the tenantry. As far as is known, Brecon escaped the worst effects of the Black Death, and it was certainly not so severely affected as the lowland areas of Monmouth and Glamorgan.[1] Customary tenure had never been particularly widespread or onerous in the lordship; but with the end of demesne farming it lost most of its <u>raison d'être</u> and was quickly replaced by tenure at will. Thus by 1387 ~~all the~~ much customary land at Bronllys had been farmed for a fixed rent which included a compounding sum for labour services; and an extent of Hay compiled between 1376 and 1397 divided the tenantry, not as of old into free and customary, but into those who held freely and those who held by copyhold.[2]

Furthermore the end of demesne farming may also have furthered the process of social differentiation within the tenantry itself, by giving the more prosperous and better-placed tenants an opportunity to lease seignorial lands at favourable rates. This was an opportunity which was particularly open to seignorial officials.[3] Thus at Hay, Richard Mogholom, the local bailiff,

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1. It may be no accident that no court issues for 1349 are mentioned in DL 29/671/10810; but the plague does not figure at all in the Brecon accounts for the 1370s, in marked contrast with the accounts for Monmouth, Caldicot and Ogmore.

2. SC 6/1157/3; DL 29/633/10317 Hay account.

3. Cf. M.M. Morgan, <u>The Estates of the Abbey of Bec</u>, 115-17.

leased the two mills of the lordship along with the Wye fishery for £8 a year and he was also one of the four men to whom 150 acres of demesne land was leased for a modest £5 annually;[1] while in Brecon itself John Yonge prospered so much by his purchase of land and leasing of seignorial demesne that he became bailiff of his home town and receiver of the lordship.[2] These men and their like were the land-speculators of their day, and by dint of their enterprise in buying peasant lands and securing leases of seignorial demesne they could certainly rise into the class of the local landed gentry, as the story of the Boldes and Bulkeleys in north Wales adequately shows.[3]

Our information about the structure of the lowland peasantry and of chronological developments within it are certainly inadequate; but attention must now be focussed on the uplands of Brecon lordship. The earls of Hereford and the lords of the plain were certainly interested in tapping the resources of these highland pastures; but their interest there was secondary to that of the native Welsh. Here again the first question that must be asked relates to population. The general impression which one gains from the documents is that upland Brecon was relatively thickly populated, and it is an impression which gains support from a single surviving rental for Hay Welshry for 1340.[4] This rental covers nine Welsh <u>trefi</u>[5] in an area where most of the land is well over a thousand feet above sea-level. In these <u>trefi</u> there was a total of

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1. SC 6/1156/21 Hay account.

2. On John Yonge's territorial purchases and official position, see Theophilus Jones, <u>History of Brecknock</u>, ii, 146; DL 29/671/10810 m.22; SC 6/1156/15, 18.

3. T.J. Pierce, 'The Gafael in Bangor Ms. 1939', <u>T.C.S.</u>, 1942, 158-9.

4. Cardiff Central Library, Brecon documents, 2.

5. Several of these are farms today, e.g. Wenallt and Maesgarn.

551 acres of land, which was doubtless arable land, and 119 tenants in possession of it. Two-thirds of the tenantry (79) held less than 5 acres each and most of the rest (28) had holdings of less than 10 acres. There can be little doubt that in relation to the quality of the soil the area was over-populated; and if one assumes a total population of 476 the district was certainly much more thickly populated than it is today. The evidence from Hay Welshry thus confirms the impression left by the Bronllys and Llanddew evidence that Brecon as a whole was, by mediaeval standards, thickly populated in the early fourteenth century.

Such a dense population could to a large extent make good the lack of arable land by the systematic exploitation of the extensive pastures and forestland of Brecon. Too often Cistercians and lay lords have monopolised the credit for bringing pasture and forest into agricultural use, whereas a good deal of the praise should go to the unrecorded efforts of mediaeval peasants. The monks of Dore, it will be remembered, met with opposition from the men of Cruesdarn and Cantrefselyf when they brought their flocks to pasture in the Epynt foothills.[1] Equally suggestive is the fact that in 1353 the community of Brecon was fined £400 'pro terris perquisitis in foresta sine licencia'.[2] There were certainly several extensive forests in which the Welshmen of Brecon could pasture their cattle: to the south of the Usk valley lay Fforest Fach and Fforest Fawr, for which the Welsh communities usually paid an annual fixed farm; but the forest about which most is known in the Upper Forest which lay north of the river Scithwen among the rolling hills of

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1. See above p.181 n.1.

2. DL 29/671/10810 m.21.

Rhynydd Epynt.[1] It was in this district that the Cistercians had established their granges and vaccaries and it was here that the Welshmen of north Brecon sent their cattle and sheep to graze in the summer months. It was the duty of the ranger of the Upper Forest to count the stock which the Welshmen sent there and to assess a cyfrif of two capons and two hens for each head of cattle that was grazing there.[2] In 1372 some 135 Welshmen were assessed in 63½ cyfrifau and a further 38 were fined for not paying their agistement dues. The Welshmen came from settlements on the edge of the Forest, from Cilian, Ysceir, Gwernisaf, Crucadarn and Cwmwd Commos. The evidence from Cydweli will later be adduced to support the impression from Brecon that the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Wales, as elsewhere, saw a considerable movement of assarting and systematic use of pastoral resources to meet the needs of an expanding population.[3]

The economy of the Welsh communities was certainly dependent on the vast pasturelands of Brecon. Their chief rent to their lord was a biennial commorth of 136 cows; when they were in arrears it was on their cattle that distress was levied, as in 1349 when 534 animals were seized in this fashion;[4] and many of the large herds of cattle sent to the earl's larder must originally have been brought from the Welsh tenants. Sheep were also widely reared; when the younger Despenser wanted to fine the community of Brecon in

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1. The account for this area for 1371-2 is in SC 6/1156/16.

2. The terms are made clear by later documents, J. Lloyd, The Great Forest of Brecknock, 7. 19-21; and Records of the Court of Augmentations relating to Wales, ed. E.A. Lewis and J.C. Davies, 203.

3. See below pp. 248-9.

4. DL 29/671/10810 m.16. When Meuric ap Rees was convicted of a felony in 1340 60 animals were seized from his wife, ibid., m.4v.

1323, he did so by demanding 3,000 sheep from it;[1] and the presence of fulling mills at Brecon and Llywel as early as 1336 shows that the Welsh were not altogether ignorant of recent technological developments.[2] Pastoral farming was certainly predominant in Brecon as it was bound to be in an area half of which must always be designated as rough-grazing; but arable agriculture was not altogether ignored in the Welshry as is often thought. The belief that Welshmen were exclusively pastoral and even nomadic farmers in mediaeval times is a belief based essentially on a catch-phrase in Giraldus Cambrensis' Descriptio Kambrie[3] and on a singular disregard for other obvious sources of evidence such as the Welsh Laws, the poetry and the account rolls.[4] The Brecon evidence certainly leaves one in no doubt that the Welsh could and did practise arable agriculture. Seignorial mills were to be found not only in the lowland manors, but also deep in the heart of the Welshry. At least six of these Welsh mills were situated in remote valleys of Fforest Fach and Fforest Fawr at Llywel, Crai, Defynnog, Ystradfellte, Cadlan and Glyn Tawe; and their lessees paid 300 summe of oats as an annual farm.[5] It is also significant in this context that some Welsh rents were

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1. See above p.

2. C.I.P.M., viii, no.55. Llywelyn ap Dafydd was commissioned to build a new fulling mill at Llywel in 1342, DL 29/671/10810 m.6d.

3. Opera, (R.S.), vi, 179-80.

4. For recent attacks on this belief see L. Alcock, Dinas Powys, 195-9; D. Jenkins in Llaufer, xvii (1961), 23; and the excellent article on the evidence of the poetry by F.G. Payne, 'Cwysau o Foliant Cyson', Y Llenor, xxvi (1947), 2-24.

5. SC 6/1156/17.

paid in oats,[1] and that Brecon tenants occasionally preferred to pay their fines in corn than in money.[2]

Another belief about the Welsh economy in the later mediaeval period which diehard is the belief that all land in the Welshry was held through membership of a kindred-unit known as the gwely and that the land was divided according to the rules of cyfran.[3] One would probably be right in assuming that gwely-tenure was common in much of Brecon Welshry;[4] but one would be mistaken in believing that it was the exclusive form of tenure even for freemen. On the one hand, there was still a fairly strong nomadic element amongst the Welshmen, as is witnessed by the existence of as many as a hundred advowry tenants at Cantrefselyf, living on the margin of settled agricultural life and prepared to wander off to a nearby lordship if prospects seemed better there.[5] On the other hand, there were growing individualistic elements in the Welshry, bringing it increasingly into line with the tenurial practices of the lowlands. Assarting, as will be emphasised later,[6] could be a highly individual enterprise; and in Brecon, as we would expect, Welshmen

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1. SC 6/1157/4 m.1d. - the lands of Philip ap Hywel being farmed to five Welshmen in 1393 for fave summe of oats.

2. E.g. Llywelyn ap Dafydd preferred to pay a fine of £9 in corn, DL 29/671/10810 m.16.

3. Dafydd Jenkins has some valuable remarks on land division in Wales in his notes to Llyfr Colan, esp. 147-50. The role of the gwely in Welsh tenure will be discussed more fully below pp. 245-9.

4. For references to the gwely in Brecon see Black Book of St. David's 1326, 322 et seq. Cf. C.C.R. 1330-3, 404 for the gwely in Bwlchyddinas.

5. DL 29/671/10810 m.21. By 1372 a high proportion of the advowry tenants had either died or withdrawn from the lordship ('recesserunt a dominio'), SC 6/1156/14.

6. See below pp. 248-9.

were soon influenced by English tenurial practices and customs of land-conveyance. In 1312 Hywel ap Madoc ap Hywel acquired the lease of Madoc ap Ieuan's lands in Brecon for twelve years for 20 marks paid in advance; and ~~twelve~~ fifteen years later be bought out the rights of another Welshman in Penoelli.[1] Two further stray deeds from Brecon may be instanced: one dated at Bolgoed in Glyn Tarell in 1362, and witnessed exclusively by Welshmen, is a conveyance of land by a Welshman to another Welshman and his wife for life; and the other, dated 1387, is a grant in tail by Hywel Fawr to Gruffydd ap Thomas Fawr and his wife of lands and tenements in Faenor, one of the more inaccessible parts of south Brecon.[2] What these few deeds show - and others could be instanced[3] - is that by the fourteenth century some of the Welshmen of Brecon (and even of the remoter parts of the lordship) were using methods of land-conveyancing recognised in English law and practice - leasing for a period on specific conditions, alienation without any apparent consideration for the rights of other gwely-members, and grants both for life (with arrangements for reversion) and in fee tail. The Brecon evidence seems to suggest that social and tenurial organisation in the Welshry in the later medieval period was not so archaic as is often thought, and this view will later be amply supported by evidence from Cydweli.

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1. DL 25/918, 920.

2. Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to Wales, iii, 595-6. Like deeds for Welsh-owned land in Cantrefselyf are in N.L.W. Quaritch Deeds, 1-2.

3. Cf. Adam Lamb who bought 40 acres of land in Llanddew from the heirs of Ieuan ap Iorwerth, Black Book of St. David's 1326, 294.

Many questions with regard to upland and lowland Brecon remain only partly answered, because of the nature of surviving evidence; many others - such as those relating to market conditions and the internal organisation of the Welshry - remain unasked, because no evidence exists even for tentative answers. No more has been attempted here than to portray the main features of the economic and social structure of the lordship as a whole from the surviving evidence; and, whatever the deficiencies of this evidence, Brecon, with the variety of its geography, society and economy, still provides an admirable microcosm of life in post-conquest Wales.

(ii) The lordship of Monmouth

Geographically and economically the lordship of Monmouth was more akin to nearby lowland lordships such as that of Usk, already analysed by Dr. Holmes, than to more upland and Welsh lordships such as Cydweli and Brecon. The accidents of estate growth and administrative organisation had added to the central group of estates at Monmouth and Threecastles the outlying manors of Tibberton, Rodley and Minsterworth in Gloucestershire and Ashperton and Stretton in Herefordshire; but in fact these outlying manors do not form a serious anomaly in the structure of the lordship, for Monmouth was closely attached to the border counties both economically and socially. Its fertile, undulating countryside was ideal for the pursuit of demesne agriculture.[1]

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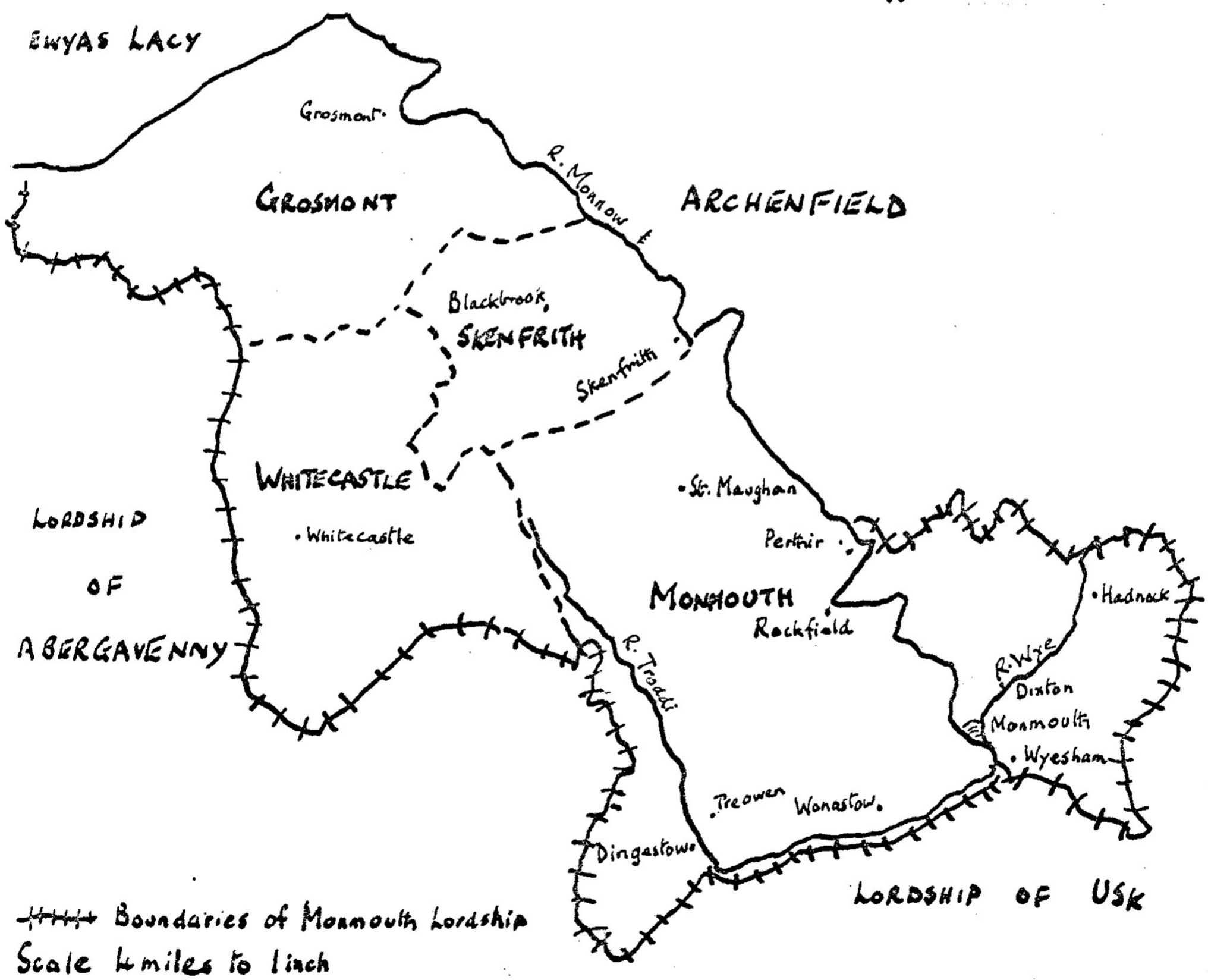
1. The manor of Kempsford was also in Gloucestershire; but economically and administratively it was bound to the Lancaster estates in Wiltshire and Dorset. It was given to Newarke College, Leicester in 1355.

THE LORDSHIP OF MONMOUTH



Boundaries of Monmouth Lordship

Scale 4 miles to 1 inch

It is in 1256-7, ten years before the lordship was granted to Edmund Crouchback, that one catches the only glimpse of demesne organisation in the lordship.[1] Each of the five demesnes of the lordship was then about 500-600 acres in size,[2] and each one was being farmed directly by the lord. Seignorial agriculture in the area was primarily concentrated on arable farming; little attention was paid to pastoral husbandry. All told at least a thousand acres of demesne land was sown in Grosmont, Whitecastle, Monmouth, St, Maugham's and Dingestow, and oats was easily the most important crop.[3] As in Brecon, the labour for the working of these demesnes came mainly, not from the services of customary tenants, but from hired labour, both permanent and seasonal. No details of labour services, exactable or exacted, are given in the 1256-7 accounts; but their contribution to the labour market can be estimated from later sources. Thus at Whitecastle, according to the rental of 1386,[4] the majority of the customary tenants owed no more than 14 days of agricultural services each year, and only a few of them owed as many as 23 days of services a year. This was a comparatively light collection of agricultural duties, clearly insufficient to meet the demands of a sown

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1. SC 6/1094/11. See above p.12 n.6.

2. Cf. C.Inq.Misc. 1219-1307, no.89. A description of the exact distribution of much of the demesne arable in Monmouth manor is given in DL 29/594/9516.

3. The acreages sown are not given in the Monmouth (unlike the Brecon) accounts; but one can arrive at rough estimates of the acreages from the quantity of corn known to have been sown: oats (at 6 truggs per acre) 704 acres; wheat (at 3 truggs per acre) 429 acres; maslin (at 5 truggs per acre) 115 acres; barley (at 3 truggs per acre) 26 acres.

4. DL 43/13/8.

demesne of some 350 acres. In fact there was a full-time staff of 10 ploughmen, 2 carters, a reaper and a swineherd in Whitecastle in 1257; and even this permanent staff had to be supplemented by a large force of part-time labourers during the peak periods of agricultural activity. This dependence on hired labour meant that labour costs on the manor were high, amounting to 25% (£30 1s. 11d.) of the gross yield of Whitecastle in 1256-7 and considerably reducing the margin of profit from manorial revenue. Nor was Whitecastle an exception: there were permanent agricultural staffs of 13 at Monmouth, 12 at Grosmont, 6 at St. Maughan's and 6 at Dingestow. High as were manorial labour costs, they were apparently worthwhile: the figures in Appendix F show that in both Grosmont and Whitecastle the rent of tenants was secondary to the sale of manorial produce in the total income of the manors.

By 1370, when the next accounts survive,[2] the situation had been totally reversed: demesne farming had been abandoned on all the manors and well over half the seigneurial revenue from them came from rents of assise[3] and the sale of labour services (now virtually a form of rent). The change can be seen most clearly in Grosmont and Whitecastle, where the increase in rent over a period of a century is strikingly obvious.[4] The sources of this increase in rent are largely a matter for conjecture: it may have been due

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1. Similar figures cannot be given for Monmouth because the lord Edward did not gain possession of it until March 1257.

2. DL 29/594/9506.

3. Some Welsh renders, such as cylch and gwestfa, and a few rents in kind were also paid.

4. See Appendix F pp. 419-20.

to the inclusion of certain commuted labour services in the rent, or it may be due - as were increases in the fourteenth century - to the acquisition of lands from the demesne and the waste. Both reasons were probably operative. The sources for the remainder of the seignorial income varied from manor to manor and showed more continuity from the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries: the fisheries of the Severn were the most important item in the revenue of Hodley and Tibberton, whilst the orchards of Ashperton, the woods of Hadnock Chace, and the meadow land along the Wye at Monmouth contributed substantially to the annual yield of these respective manors.

The end of demesne farming must now command somewhat more detailed attention, for it is the key to other major economic developments in the period. There is no direct evidence as to when the house of Lancaster abandoned demesne exploitation in Monmouth; but one may well believe that it was during the decade or so after the Black Death. The demesne was still being worked directly in 1338;[1] but if the accounts of the nearby lordship of Usk are a reliable guide,[2] the acreage sown was diminishing from the 1320s onwards and a comparison of the acreages sown in 1256-7 with the size of the demesne leased in 1363 certainly suggests that considerable areas of the demesne had been leased piecemeal in the meantime. As the farthest of the demesne-worked estates of the house of Lancaster, those of Monmouth and Threecastles would obviously be among the first to be abandoned in the

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1. DL 41/9/6 m.16 - order from Earl Henry to reeve of Monmouth 'qe de nostre grange de Monem' facez liverer a les freres menours de Heref' deux quartors de furment de nostre doun'.

2. G.A. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, 161.

unfavourable economic conditions of the fourteenth century. The death of Duke Henry in 1361 and the subsequent short-lived division of the inheritance probably dealt the final blow to demesne farming there.[1]

The abandonment of demesne farming is the most obvious, but by no means the only, indication that the lordship of Monmouth had been hit by the economic recession which characterises the second half of the fourteenth century. Indeed the rates at which this demesne was leased suggests not only that it was very much a buyer's market, but also that Monmouth had been more adversely influenced by the economic recession than had the manors of the English border counties: at Whitecastle and Skenfrith demesne arable only fetched 1s. an acre whereas it was leased for 1s. 7d. an acre in Rodley, and the rates at which the demesnes at Monmouth and Radnock were leased likewise compare unfavourably with the £24 paid for the lease of the Ashperton demesne. The condition of the land market is only one of the many indications that the economy of Monmouth had been badly damaged by the Black Death and, later, by the outbreak of plague in 1369.[2] The accounts for 1370 show that many holdings were empty, and that there was an insufficient demand on land for these holdings to be occupied by new tenants. At Grosmont[3] the loss of rent was equivalent to 12½% of the gross annual yield in 1370, at Whitecastle 10½%,

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1. As at Ogmore, see below p. 233.

2. The accounts for 1423 suggest that the plague of 1369 was particularly damaging to the economy of Monmouth lordship, e.g. DL 29/594/9516 Skenfrith account: 'In acquietancia reddituum et operum cum kilgh in manus domini existentium pro defectu tenencium per primam pestilenciam hiis partibus emergentem xliij Edwardi tercij...'

3. For these figures see Appendix F.

at Skenfrith 10%, at Hadnock 8% and at Monmouth 4%. An average loss, throughout the lordship of 9% of the gross yield, and that from the most stable form of income, was considerable. Nor was that all. No accounts survive to analyse in detail the fall in income from other sources, but there are occasional indications of its extent. At Skenfrith the office of miller remained unfilled 'causa pestilencie'; the income from the offices of reaper and sergeant had fallen by two-thirds and from the tolls of the fair by a third; the fulling mill brought in no revenue 'quia totus in decasu'; and the land in the lord's hand yielded no revenue except 6s. for herbage. The total loss of seignorial income at Skenfrith must have been at least 20% or even 25%. Similar difficulties were experienced at Grosmont, where not only escheated land but also demesne pasture (usually the most sought-after land) could not be leased 'pro defectu firmarii'; and at Whitecastle where the reeve found it impossible to collect all the manorial income.[1]

The accounts, few as they are, leave one in no doubt that both the seignorial revenue and, by implication, the general economy of Monmouth had been profoundly affected by the economic contraction of the mid-fourteenth century. The figures in Appendix F show that the fall in seignorial income had been checked by the mid-1370s (as at Ogmore), and that for the remainder of the century the lord's revenue remained stable. This stability was quite possibly due in part to a successful seignorial effort to maintain the income at the 1370 level; but it must also have been due even more to the economic recovery of Monmouth in the later fourteenth century.

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1. The debts of the reeve of Whitecastle amounted to £64 10s. in 1378 and were respited because they consisted 'de antiquis decasibus per diversos annos ante annum quinquagesimum', DL 29/594/9507.

The seignorial manors in Monmouth had certainly been shaken by the adverse economic forces of the mid-fourteenth century; but it is unfortunately impossible to decide whether the estates of other landowners in the area suffered to the same degree. For while the earl of Lancaster was undoubted lord of the lordship of Monmouth, territorially he was only one of several important landowners within the lordship. Not only did such religious houses as the priories of Monmouth,[1] and Grace Dieu and the abbey of Dore own estates there; but there was also, as in Brecon, a class of rich local landowners whom one can call no other than gentry. Some of them were prosperous farmers from well-established local families, such as Madoc Hen, a Welsh uchelwr of Grosmont who transferred 6 of his bond tenants along with their 51 acres of land and 23s. 2d. rent to Earl Edmund;[2] or Robert Bruht, lord of Dixton as he was called, who owned at his death in 1327 a messuage, 100 acres of arable, 2 acres of meadow, 3 acres of forest, half a water-mill, and 42s.3d. of rent;[3] or John Marmion, 'dominus de Monwardstowe', whose wardship and marriage were worth £66 13s. 4d. and whose heirs were still living at Monastow in the 1330s.[4] Others were members of English families who had been rewarded with land in Monmouth by the lords of the district: such were Roger

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1. There is a damaged late-fourteenth century rental of Monmouth priory in SC 11/462.

2. DL 42/1 f.17v.

3. The writ for the inquisition is in DL 41/10/17 and the inquisition itself in DL 42/1 f.21v. His descendant, William Bruht, calls himself lord of Dixton in a deed of December 1347, Monmouth Record Office, Llanarth Court Collection, 25.

4. DL 42/1 f.20-20v., f.24; DL 40/1/11 f.36v.

Clifford, on whom the lord Edward bestowed land worth 100 marks in Monmouth;[1] or the Greys of Wilton who were given the manor of Dingestow in the late thirteenth century and who still had a court and a steward there in the late fourteenth century;[2] or Edmund Waldeboef, an annuitant of Earl Henry who was endowed with an estate in Monmouth by his master;[3] or his colleague Philip Castlemartin who, with his wife Maud, built a comfortable estate for himself on the outskirts of Monmouth with the blessing and support of Earl Henry and his son.[4]

The gentry class has never been a closed caste; it has always been possible to rise into it through marriage or through wealth. In Monmouth the story of the Greyndour family provides a clear example of the rise of such a gentry family. The Greyndours can be traced in Hadnock from at least the late thirteenth century;[5] but there is no reason to believe that they were a family of more than modest importance. It was by military prowess that the family first rose from obscurity. It was probably as a reward for military service that Henry of Grosmont granted some land in Hadnock to Richard Greyndour in 1337;[6] and during the next generation this tradition of service to the house of Lancaster was continued. Thomas Greyndour transferred from the service of Clarence into that of John of Gaunt and received an annuity of 10 marks

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1. See above p.13.

2. See DL 42/17 f.79v. for an inquisition on Grey lands at Dingestow in 1396; and Monmouth Record Office, Llanarth Court Collection 0007 for Grey's steward and the court at Dingestow (early fourteenth century).

3. DL 40/1/11 f.52; DL 42/1 f351.

4. His indenture of service with Earl Henry in 1333 is in DL 25/3397. His territorial acquisitions around Monmouth can be traced in DL 29/594/9506 m.2, m.6; E 210/1667, 9253; SC 11/462.

5. DL 42/1 f.30v.; E 179/242/59. 6. DL 42/1 f.22r.

from his new master;[1] his brother, Ralph,[2] accompanied Gaunt on his chevauchee in France in 1373 and was appointed guardian of Skenfrith;[3] Ralph's son, another Ralph Greyndour, followed his father into Gaunt's service and acted as keeper of Whitecastle during the crisis of June 1381.[4] The profession of arms clearly had a strong appeal to the members of the Greyndour family, and with their Hadnock connections they naturally enlisted in the service of the house of Lancaster.

But it was by the profits of marriage rather than by profits of war that the main line of the family won for itself a comfortable territorial position. Laurence Greyndour, brother of Thomas and Ralph, married Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Sir Ralph de Abenhall; and on the death of his father-in-law in 1358 he came into possession of the manor of Abenhall and a share of the manor of Mitcheldean in right of his wife.[5] Nor was his enterprise confined to the wise selection of a wife. The close connections of the Greyndour family with the house of Lancaster[6] probably meant that the family was in a favoured position in the scramble for leases after the end of demesne farming.

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1. C.F.R. 1364-7, 13-14; DL 29/615/9837. He paid an increased rent for 6 acres of unfree land in Hadnock in 1355. DL 29/594/9506 m.2.

2. The relationship is established by a deed of 1346 concerning land in Hadnock, H.L.W. Milborne Collection, 58.

3. Reg.I. 973, 1176; Reg.II. 530; C.C.R. 1374-7, 445.

4. DL 29/615/9837; Reg.II, 530. He was later an archer in the service of Richard II, C.P.R. 1381-5, 33.

5. C.C.R. 1354-60, 477; C.I.P.M., ix, no.13.

6. Laurence Greyndour was one of the men who took seisin of Isceunen on behalf of Gaunt in 1362, C.C.R. 1360-4, 415.

Laurence Greyndour certainly took his fair share: in 1363 he secured the farm of the manor of Bayscourt (not far from Abenhall) for £3 6s. 8d. per annum, and in the same year he received, along with two others, the farm of 267 acres of demesne at Monmouth for twelve years.[1] It was through the enterprise of Laurence Greyndour that the Greyndour family had risen from the rank of humble Hadnock folk into the ranks of the border gentry. Nor did the process end with Laurence Greyndour's death in 1372 or earlier.[2] His son, John Greyndour, contributed his share to the building of the Greyndour inheritance, more especially by taking as his second wife, Isabel the widow of John Joce of Newland. For Isabel brought with her to her second husband the estates which the Joce family had built for itself in the fourteenth century in the forest of Dean, particularly around Clearwell.[3] It is true that John Greyndour sold Hadnock to John of Gaunt in 1392;[4] but he could well afford to do so for on his death he held the manor of Abenhall, a share in the manor of Mitcheldean, land in Bicknor, Newland, and the forest of Dean, and a burgage in Chepstow from where he could follow the activities, legal and illegal, of his barge in the coastal waters of South Wales.[5] His territorial wealth won recognition in local circles for he served on local commissions, acted as justice of the peace, knight of the shire for Herefordshire in 1401 and 1404

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1. DL 29/594/9506 n.1, m.6. He also held 12 acres of land in Hadnock of Monmouth priory, SC 11/462.

2. In that year Robert Huntley, Margaret Greyndour's second husband, presented to the living of Abenhall, Registrum Willelmi de Courtenay, 13.

3. There is a good deal of interesting information about the Joce family and its estates in B.L.L. Dunraven Collection, bundles 324-6, 339 (unsorted). John Greyndour had certainly married Isabelle Joce by January 1395. ibid., 324.

4. See above p. 23

5. C.C.R. 1413-19, 338; C.P.R. 1408-13, 178-9.

and sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1405 and 1411-2.[1] The Greyndour family had been fully accepted into county society, and it continued to rise socially during the next two generations. The social apogee of the family came with Elizabeth, Sir John Greyndour's grand-daughter, who took her hand and her lands into two of the noble families of fifteenth century England - those of de la Marr and Tiptoft.[2]

The Greyndours, it is true, eventually broke their connections with Monmouth lordship;[3] but it was as a Hadnock family that they originally rose to prominence. Moreover no rigid distinction should be drawn between the gentry of the border counties and those of nearby marcher lordships, for the history of the Greyndours, like that of several Brecon gentry families, shows how closely alike and indeed inter-related they were. Furthermore the story of the Greyndours is by no means unique; it could doubtless be paralleled by that of other families who stayed in Monmouth but whose history is not so well preserved. One of them deserves a brief mention. On the death of Laurence Greyndour in 1372, his widow Margaret de Abenhall took as her second husband Robert Huntley, a member of a Monmouth family which was certainly quite as respectable in its lineage as the Greyndours of Hadnock. The name of the family suggests that it originally came from Gloucestershire; but by at least the late

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1. For his career after 1399 see below pp. 401-2.
2. G.E.C., xii, part 2, 845.
3. A junior branch was still living there in 1406, DL 42/16 f.158.
4. There is a good deal about the family in N.L.W. Milborne Collection.

thirteenth century Sir Thomas Huntley was calling himself 'dominus de la Moutone prope Monemutham'. The family probably had its seat at Treowen near Monmouth;[1] and it can be connected, territorially or officially, with the lordship of Monmouth throughout the fourteenth century until the confiscation of the lands of Thomas Huntley there in 1403.[2]

The evidence for the existence and distribution of a class of land-owning gentry in Monmouth lordship in the fourteenth century is scanty and unrevealing; yet it seems considerable enough to warrant special attention being paid to this group as a distinct social and economic class. One can catch only the most occasional glimpse of the wealth of the gentry. Nicholas de Clare, who held a knight's fee of the earl of Lancaster, complained in 1327 that three men had entered his manor of Ferthir, some three miles from Monmouth, and carried away 3 horses, 26 oxen, 8 cows, 100 sheep, 120 lambs and 22 pigs - a not inconsiderable stock.[4] Almost a century later John ap Gwilym died seised of two manors (so described) at Garth and Wonastow, worth a minimum of £2 13s. 4d. a year in clear value, as well as 5 burgages in Monmouth town.[5] What is entirely missing is any knowledge of economic developments within this class, except of a genealogical character as in the case of the Greyndours. There must have been considerable shades of wealth

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1. N.L.W. Milborne Collection, 82. Walter Huntley had moveables worth £23 7s. 6d. in Monmouth in 1292, E 179/242/59; and he and his family were frequent witnesses to Lancaster deeds there at the turn of the thirteenth century. C.P.R. 1272-81, 371; DL 42/1 f.18v.-24; E 326/11045.

2. Thomas Huntley held a quarter of a knight's fee at 'Iwanieston' in 1330, DL 40/1/11 f.36v.

3. C.P.R. 1401-5, 328. 4. C.P.R. 1327-30, 86.

5. DL 7/1 entry 46. For his official career see below pp.346-7.

and social status within the gentry class itself, as between, for example, a wealthy baronial family such as the Greys of Wilton and a purely local family such as the Clares of Perthir.[1] And within the gentry class in Wales, as elsewhere in Europe, there must also have been considerable social mobility: some of the families - such as the Greyndours, the Greys and the Huntleys - had a fairly continuous history; others - such as Castlemartin and Waldeboef - do not seem to have maintained their position for more than a generation. The rise and fall of the gentry are not phenomena peculiar to the early modern period. On the whole it is probably true to say that the local gentry, living on the spot and conversant with local conditions, may well have weathered the economic storms of the fourteenth century better than the greater marcher lords; and the withdrawal of the great lords from demesne farming almost certainly enhanced the position and power of the gentry in the social and economic structure of the lordship.

In its lower ranks the gentry merged imperceptibly into the peasantry, and of the territorial pattern and distribution of this peasantry in Monmouth there is a surprising amount of information. At Whitecastle - where there was a taxable population of 147 in 1292 - there were 112½ burgages, 20½ messuages, 950 acres and 5 bovates of free land, and 13 messuages, 600 acres and 32½ bovates of customary land, according to the rental of 1386.[2] To this should be added at least 134 acres of demesne land as well as common

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1. Hen Gwrt near Llandeilo Gresynni, which has recently been excavated (Arch.Camb., cxii (1963), 159-83), may well have been the home of one of these gentry; there are signs that it was occupied in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

2. DL 43/13/8.

pasture and wasteland. The distinction between the different classes of land was by no means so rigid as at first appears from the rental. Most of the burgage-holders held land elsewhere in the lordship; and there was certainly no rigid barrier, socially or economically, between the freeholders and the customary tenants. Almost 100 tenants held free land only; a further 40 held customary land only; but the remaining 55 tenants held both customary and free land. In fact by the late fourteenth century the distinction between the two types of tenures was almost purely monetary,[1] especially in an area where customary labour services had never been very heavy. Moreover, all such services had been converted into money-payments by 1363 and possibly much earlier, and there was little likelihood of their being used again.

In fact, the tenantry of Whitecastle was preponderantly free in character and the tenurial distinction drawn in the 1386 rental has little relevance to the economic structure of the peasantry. A much more illuminating distinction is that based on the amount of lands the tenants and an analysis of the rental based on this distinction is incorporated in Table A. The table shows clearly the territorial inequality among the tenantry at Whitecastle: 66% of the tenants there held less than 10 acres of land, and 45% had less than 5 acres each. A broadly similar picture emerges from an undated Hadnock rental,[2] probably of the late fourteenth century. In the

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1. Not entirely so, of course, especially when it came to the transfer of land. An unfree tenant had to pay a heriot on leaving his land, while his successor was expected to pay an entry fine, e.g. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 582; Milborne Collection, 52, 69.

2. DL 43/13/7.

TABLE A: THE TERRITORIAL PATTERN OF THE TENANTRY AT WHITECASTLE, 1386.

Size of holding	Number of tenants	Number of tenants with more than one holding	Number of tenants holding burgages
Bovate-holders	11	5	3
40 acres	2	1	-
30 acres	4	4	4
20 acres	11	6	3
10 acres	29	17	12
5 acres	45	18	9
1 acre	60	4	12
1 acre or less	28	-	7
Burgage tenement only	12	-	-

four vills of Hadnock, Llanfaenor, Osbaston and Rockfield, 100 tenants held almost exactly 2,000 acres of arable, 52 of them holding more than 15 acres each and the remaining 48 less than 15 acres a head. In both Hadnock and Whitecastle the size of the average holding was certainly not large, and the population was still quite dense. Nonetheless the size of the holdings in both lordships was markedly larger than in both lowland and upland Brecon in the early fourteenth century. This disparity between the two areas may always have existed; but it is equally likely to have been due in part to the fact that the Brecon evidence comes from the early and the Monmouth evidence from the late fourteenth century.

And this leads naturally to the further conclusion that many of the peasantry in Monmouth were increasing the size of their holdings in the later fourteenth century. Thus of the 190 land holders in Whitecastle in 1386 at least 55 of them held more than one holding, and 38 out of the 100 tenants in the four Hadnock vills had likewise added to their tenements. This accumulation of tenements must have been made easier by the fact that

most of the peasant land in Monmouth lay in large, open fields;[1] and the explanation of such accumulation must surely rest in large part in the fact that the population had contracted, leaving many peasant holdings unoccupied.[2] By 1386 sufficient time had elapsed since the plague for the peasant population to have readjusted itself to the new conditions and to have occupied the empty holdings. Furthermore the general tendency of this accumulation of tenements was to increase the gap between the wealthier and the poorer tenants, for it was the wealthier tenants who were able to take fullest advantage of the fluid land market. Thus in Llanfaenor more than a third of the 400 acres of tenant land was held by two wealthy farmers who held four tenements each, the one having 80 and the other 63 acres; and there was a somewhat similar example at Rockfield where two tenants held 111 acres out of the total area of 458 acres. The fluid market in both tenant and seignorial land was the ideal opportunity for an ambitious tenant, and such a one was Meuric ap Adam of Whitecastle. By inheritance he was the owner of 2½ burgages and some 40 acres of land, and this alone would class him among the wealthier tenantry. His enterprising nature can be seen in a number of early acquisitions: in 1353 he secured a piece of waste in order to straighten the course of a ditch; in 1363 he out-rivalled his competitors for the land of Dafydd Saie by agreeing to pay an increase of 60% in the old rent; and in the next few years he acquired further pieces of pasture and arable in the area. All these acquisitions were additions to his inherited

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1. For evidence of open fields in the Monmouth area see, for example the reference to 6 acres of land in 3 parcels in 'Hodnakesfeld', N.L.W. Milborne Collection, 58.

2. Thus in Hadnock in the four years 1363-7, 10 messuages and 100 acres of land changed hands, DL 29/594/9506 m.2.

holding; but after 1363 the withdrawal of the lord from demesne farming brought excellent opportunities for speculating in short term leases and the profits which could come thereby. In 1363 Maurice ap Adam was among the three farmers of the Whitecastle demesne and by 1377 he had also acquired the farm of the two water mills and of the pannage. He was clearly one of the most important and wealthy men in the lordship of Whitecastle. His territorial fortunes brought him official recognition, for he was supervisor of the repairs to the castle and was one of the two men entrusted with its defence during the French threat of 1369-70.[1] A number of individual examples - and others could certainly be added - do not necessarily make an economic movement; but, in so far as the documents show anything, they suggest that the territorial fluidity of the period - in which both the decline in population and the leasing of the demesne lands played their part - accentuated the inequality of landed wealth within the lower orders of society.

Another important movement within the ranks of the peasantry in the later fourteenth century was the gradual disappearance of customary tenure, a movement which has already been seen at work on the Brecon manors. With the abandonment of demesne farming, the economic advantages of customary tenure to the lord were nil, while the temurial and personal disadvantages to the tenants themselves were certainly irksome. During the days of demesne farming, if labour services were not required temporarily, they were sold (venditio operum); after the abandonment of demesne exploitation they were generally sold en bloc (opera arrentata). This latter method had been adopted

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1. DL 43/13/8; DL 29/594/9506-7; DL 29/615/9837.

at Monmouth from at least 1363, and prepared the way for the final abandonment of customary tenure. Increasingly during the fourteenth century a new tenant taking up a holding which his father had previously held would pay an increase in rent exactly equivalent to the sum previously paid for the commutation of customary services. Henceforth he would be said to be holding his tenement not by customary tenure but at will (ad voluntatem domini). This change of tenure was certainly taking place throughout the fourteenth century, and goes a large part of the way to explain the increase in rent in Monmouth lordship between 1257 and 1370. But the movement was given a special impulse by the mass escheat of peasant holdings after the Black Death; and the statistics in Table B show that a very considerable area of land was converted

TABLE B: THE CHANGE FROM CUSTOMARY TENURE TO TENURE AT WILL
(DL 29/594/9506-7)

	Area	Period of change
Hadnock	10 messuages 109 acres	1353-7
Monmouth	8 messuages 108 acres	1352-7
Skenfrith	6 messuages 48½ acres	1357
Grosmont	11 messuages 150 acres	1353-7 (except for 7 acres)
Whitecastle	13 acres	1353-75

from customary tenure to tenure at will during the 1350s. This evidence reinforces once more how crucial the mid-fourteenth century was in the economic development of Monmouth. The movement to tenure at will was accelerated and largely completed during the fifteenth century.[2]

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1. For example in Skenfrith seven bovates of land held previously by customary tenants 'dimisit eisdem tenentibus libere per litteram...de tempore domini H[enrici]' (either Henry Torteol lord of Monmouth 1297-1330 or his son lord of Monmouth 1330-61). DL 29/594/9506 m.5.

2. By the fifteenth century most sons on entering their fathers' lands paid a fine to convert the holding into one held freely. N.L.W. Badminton Collection, 633 f.3 et seq. (Copy of the roll of the justices in eyre at

Both the accumulation of large tenant holdings and the change from customary tenure to tenure at will are themselves the manifestations of an economic movement which had led to the withdrawal of the lord from demesne farming and to the growing social importance of the gentry in the lordship. The disappearance of the seignorial manor and of customary tenure are the surest signs that a major re-orientation in the whole structure of the economy was taking place in the lordship of Monmouth.

(iii) The manor of Caldicot

The economic developments which could only be dimly seen in the large lordship of Monmouth can be much more adequately traced in detail in the small manor of Caldicot.[1] Situated on the levels overlooking the Severn estuary, Caldicot was a thoroughly English manor[2] in size and character. Its demesne of 300 acres of arable and pasture lay intermingled with the land of the peasants in the large open fields which remained a feature of Caldicot well into the nineteenth century.[3] The labour supply for the manor

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1. This section is based on the reeves accounts for Caldicot largely summarised in Appendix G; and a list of them is given here for convenience: DL 29/680/10999-11003 (1362, 1366-8, 1370); SC 6/921/6 (1372); SC 6/1156/21 (1374); SC 6/1157/2 (1375); DL 29/680/11004-11013 (1381-4, 1386-8, 1398, 1420); SC 6/921/17 (1423).

2. There was another manor in the township of Caldicot, owned in the fourteenth century by John fitz Reginald, John de Sapy and the Gamage family successively. C.I.P.M. V, no.205; C.Inq.Misc. 1307-49, no.712; C.P.R. 1377-81, 608-9.

3. Margaret Davies 'Common lands in south-east Monmouthshire', Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society, lxxxv (1955-6), 5-15; 'Rhosili Open Field and related south Wales field patterns', Agricultural History Review iv (1956), 80-96. A good insight into the field pattern is given by an early fourteenth century deed which refers to 1½ acres in Southfield between land of Sir John Fitz Reginald and land of Walter Thedrich and extending in length from land of the earl of Hereford on the west to the land of Adam Movy on the east, Monmouth Record Office, Newport Coll. 5559.

was drawn from a group of some 40 bond tenants and 20 cottars. The holdings of the bond-tenants were neatly divided into half- and quarter-virgates after the fashion of demesne-centred manors in England, and the customary services which were owed by the serfs were certainly far heavier than those owed by customary tenants in Brecon or Monmouth. The half-virgates were expected to work on the lord's demesne for three days of every week, and the quarter-virgates for a day a week with additional duties during the harvest season.[1] The week-work which was owed by the customary tenants in Caldicot was elsewhere considered to be the hall-mark of servile status, and the labour of the bond tenants must have been sufficient to meet the major agricultural demands of the manor.

Such is the picture of Caldicot manor which is drawn in the detailed inquisition of 1275; and while the inquisitions of 1299 and 1336 confirm the main outlines of this picture they also show that there were some interesting developments on foot within the manor.[2] The area of demesne arable had contracted to 220 acres, and as a result many of the heavier labour services were now commuted into rent. The chief beneficiaries of this commutative movement were a class of rich bond-tenants known as gafolmen.[3] Each gafolman held a messuage, 20 acres of land and 2 acres of moorland; his services were confined to ploughing for 3 days, hoeing for half a day, carrying hay, and 3 bederipes in the autumn. The extent of the commutation can be gauged

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1. Except for the three feast weeks and four weeks allowed for sickness.

2. The inquisitions are in C 133/10 no.9; C 133/92 no.8, and C 135/48 no.2 calendared in C.I.P.M., ii, no.131; ibid., iii, no.552; ibid., viii, no.55. A less reliable source is the inquisition for the lands of both the earl of Hereford and John Sapy in 1322, C 145/93 no.18.

3. For this term see W. Rees, South Wales and the March 1284-1415, 174-6.

not only by the fact that these gafolmen no longer owed week-work (as they did in 1275); but also by the fact that their rent in 1362 amounted to £2 14s. 5d. while the value of their customary works was only 16s. 9d. The semi-virgates, holding a messuage and 16 acres each, also benefited from this movement towards commutation: their services were reduced from three works a week together with heavy duties in the harvest in 1275 to two works a week along with four boon works in the autumn by 1362. Only the quarter-virgaters were unable to improve their position between 1275 and 1362; their rent was still only 11s. compared with the value of their labour services at 49s. It was the wealthier villeins who were able to free themselves from the heavy demands of week-work and to concentrate their attention on their own holdings and assarts. Thus at Caldicot we can see in some detail the gradual change of emphasis from labour services to money rent which was probably taking place in Monmouth lordship at very much the same time.[1]

In spite of this tendency towards commutation, the bond-men of Caldicot still owed over 2,000 customary works each year; and these services were certainly quite sufficient to meet most of the agricultural needs of the lord's demesne. We might have expected the earls of Hereford, who were still working their Brecon demesnes in 1372, to have continued working the rich manor of Caldicot, especially to meet the needs of the castle which was one of their favourite residences. But in fact demesne farming was abandoned at Caldicot in Michaelmas 1362. The reason why the demesne was abandoned in that particular year is, of course, closely bound with the

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1. See above p. 216 . For commutation tending to favour virgate-holders cf. A.E. Levett in Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, v, 39.

death of the earl of Hereford in October 1361 and the temporary custody of his lands by the crown; but that was only the immediate reason. The long-term cause lay much deeper, and is to be found in the catastrophic effects which the Black Death had on Caldicot.[1] By 1362 36 out of the customary population of 40 tenants in the manor had died of plague; and the 2,000 labour services had likewise been cut overnight to 114. The slow commutative process which had hitherto been strictly controlled by the earl had now been rudely wrenched out of his control, and his labour force on the manor had been reduced overnight by 90%. Few manors in England or in Wales could have been more disastrously hit by plague than the manor of Caldicot.[2] Such a catastrophic fall in the main source of labour was bound to have a profound effect on the seignorial attitude towards direct agricultural exploitation; and it is now generally realised that the comparative immobility of the labour market and, more especially, the high cost of hired labour were the main reasons for the widespread abandoning of seignorial tillage in the mid-fourteenth century.[3] The truth of this claim can be illustrated from the Caldicot accounts. In 1361-2 the sale of wool, corn, cattle and services yielded £10 7s. 3d.;[4] whilst the costs of the upkeep of the manor (£5 9s. 1d.) and labour costs (£4 18s. 4d.) together totalled £10 7s. 5d. Thus, but for the

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1. It is not clear whether the reference to 'prima pestilencia' in the 1399 account refers to the plague of 1349 or that of 1361, though the former is more likely.

2. Cf. the manor of Standon where the number of defected customary works multiplied threefold between 1348 and 1355, G.A. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, 150.

3. See, for example, Lord Beveridge, 'Westminster Wages in the Manorial Era', Econ.H.R. 2nd series, viii (1955-6), 18-35; N. Ritchie, 'Labour Conditions in Essex in the reign of Richard II', ibid., iv (1934), 429-51; and for a recent general survey, G. Duby, L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans l'Occident médiéval, ii, 556 et seq. (footnote 4 on page 221).

labour expenses, a profit of some 45% would have been made on demesne exploitation in Caldicot in 1361-2; indeed the profit would have been nearer 70% because the corn consumed by the famuli was worth another £6 3s. 10d. As it was, the income from demesne exploitation and the expenditure on it were almost exactly equal; and seigniorial tillage was consequently abandoned. The disappearance of more than 90% of the usual source of labour led to a dependence on hired and casual labour; in a manor of about 250 demesne acres there was a staff of 7 full-time labourers. Such labour was both expensive and doubtless difficult to obtain as is indicated by the fact that almost all the opera, which were not in decay in 1362, were actually employed. It was the difficulties and expense of the post-Black Death labour-market rather than any inherent unprofitability in direct exploitation which necessitated the abandoning of demesne farming at Caldicot.

Hitherto we have been concerned with the effect of the high mortality of the 1350s on the seigniorial demesne; we must now consider whether this extraordinary death-rate led to a catastrophic decline in the general value of the manor and whether it occasioned a fundamental change in the economic structure of the area as a whole. There can be little doubt that many tenements were empty in 1362 and that the value of the manor (other than the loss on demesne exploitation) had fallen considerably. Thus the mill had fallen in value from £7 in 1336 to £3 6s. 8d. in 1362; and, much more important, there is the evidence of the empty tenements. Before this evidence can be adduced a word must be said of the method used to arrive at it. The customary

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4. (continued from p.220) The sale of 140 sheep for £6 13s. 4d. has not been included, as it was an extraordinary source of income, occasioned by the ending of seigniorial farming.

holdings which came into the earl's hands through the deaths of the villeins were not granted to the new tenants on the old terms, viz. a low rent and heavy labour dues; instead they were leased at will to the new owners for a fixed rent only. Consequently the old rent was in decay and is almost invariably registered as such in the 'defectus redditus' entry. If to this defected rent is added the value of the labour services, as recorded on the dorse of the account, and a contribution towards the villein tallage of 40s. per annum, one should arrive at a fair estimate of the value of villein-holdings before the plague. Working on this basis one calculates that the 'decay' in the value of villein holdings in 1362 was almost exactly £11, while the income derived from the leasing and farming of these empty tenements was £9 11s. 9d, a decline in value of some 13%. Not all the empty tenements were filled and some were divided into small pieces so that they could be leased the more easily.[1] But what is remarkable is that in a manor which had suffered a 90% mortality rate among its nativi, there should only have been a decline of 13% in the value of their land in 1361. Of course, immediately after the plague and throughout the 1350s the loss of income may have been much greater; the figure for 1361-2 represents the extent and rapidity of the recovery in just over ten years.

Nor was the recovery at an end, for by 1366 the position was even better. The decay in the value of villein holdings had increased to £12 6s. 4d.; but much more significant is the fact that the entry known as 'terra nativa

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1. Thus of Nicholas Sherl's property one cottage and three acres were leased to Robert Merth, another acre to John Combe, a second cottage to William Seamery, while some of his land remained unoccupied 'pro defectu venditionum'

arrentata'[1] had almost doubled since 1362 to £15 17s. 2d. Thus not only had the 13% decline in value of 1362 been cancelled, but in fact the customary land was being leased to its new tenants on entirely different terms at what was almostan increased rate of 25% over the pre-plague total figure. An individual example will perhaps make the movement clearer: Thomas Danyell was one of the four semi-virgatere in the manor; he owed 106 opera worth 6s.4½d. per annum, a rent of 2 hens and 12 eggs worth a further 5d. per annum, and an annual assised rent of 2s.6d. His tenement can thus be estimated to be worth 9s.3½d. a year, and this calculation is confirmed by an allowance to the reeve of 9s.3½d. for the services and customs of Thomas Danyell. When the half-virgate was leased at will to Danyell's widow in 1366 and later to William Balle, the rate had been increased to 14s. per annum, an increase of more than 50% over the pre-plague total. There is every indication that by 1366 all the tenements left empty by the mortality of the plague had been occupied. Nor are the high prices which were paid for vacant holdings the only sign of the return of prosperity to Caldicot in the 1360s: the demesne, which in 1362 had yielded no profits because of the high labour costs, was farmed in parcels for £6 13s. 1d; and the water mill, which in 1362 only yielded £3 6s. 8d. 'pro defectu firmarii' was farmed for £6 13s. 4d. by 1366. Thus in all spheres it is clear that the temporary economic collapse occasioned by the high plague mortality had largely been overcome by 1366. Indeed there can be little doubt that by 1370 the manor was in a healthy economic position as far as the lord's interests were concerned. The disappearance of manorial

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1. For 'terra arentata' being introduced after the plague of 1349 as an inducement to tenants cf. J.A. Raftis, The Estates of Ramsey Abbey, 251, and Selected Historical Essays of F.W. Maitland ed. H.M. Cam, 23 et seq.

expenditure more than offset the decline in revenue from the sale of manorial produce: if one deducts agricultural expenses (£10 14s. 10d.) from the gross yield of Caldicot in 1362 one finds that the earl of Hereford was left with £39, whereas during the years 1366-1372, when there were no agricultural expenses to be deducted, the gross yield from the manor averaged more than £48 a year.[1] Caldicot manor was perhaps not so profitable as a seignorial unit as it had been in the early fourteenth century; nonetheless it had recovered from the effects of the plague with remarkable speed.

The most simple explanation of such a rapid recovery of manorial fortunes is that the manor was over-populated before the plague and that it was the excess population which took over many of the empty peasant holdings after the Black Death. Such a Malthusian explanation of the misfortunes of the fourteenth century economy has had its supporters of late, and the evidence from Caldicot certainly seems to sustain such an explanation. There existed in Caldicot before the plague not only the ordinary free and villein tenements, but also considerable areas of land which had been assarted from the waste and the moor; they accounted for 15s. 11d. out of a total defected rent of £3 6s. 2d. in 1362. An analysis of these assarts shows that 16 out of 30 of them were the property of men who are known to have held half or quarter virgates and who had obviously been anxious to increase the size of their holdings; but the remainder, except for 2 held by cottars, were held by men who are not known to have held land elsewhere in the manor. This fact, together with the appearance of 10 advowry tenants by 1367, suggests that there was a considerable population living on the borders of the manorial

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1. For these gross yields see the values of Caldicot manor in Appendix C, p.421.

economy in Caldicot. It was quite probably from this fringe-population, as well as from younger sons and relatives, that most of the new tenants of the 1360s were drawn. A later account refers to the new tenants as 'extranei'; but the phrase can hardly have been meant literally, for of the 36 new tenants of 1366 only 10 did not bear the name of Caldicot families. One can well apply to Caldicot Miss Levett's conclusion about the manors of the see of Winchester: 'It is useless to deny that the population was greatly decreased; it seems equally useless to deny that the surplus and surviving population was able to meet the new demands made upon it, and to fill, to a very large extent, the gaps left in its ranks'.[1] What certainly cannot be doubted is that around 1360 there was an exceptionally active land-market in Caldicot: about 380 acres of customary land, together with unspecified assarts and lands attached to cottages, as well as 220 acres of demesne acquired new owners. Such a fluid land-market provided an excellent opportunity for enterprising individuals to accumulate substantial estate for themselves: such a one was John Cole who acquired a quarter-virgate in 1362, a gafol-land and a cottage in 1366, the lease of the mill for seven years in 1369, and a share of the lease of 100 acres of demesne land in 1372. But in Caldicot - in contrast with Ogmore after the Glyn Dŵr revolt[2] - the pressure of population made the competition for land too keen to prevent any <u>general</u> movement towards the accumulation of holdings in fewer hands.[3]

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1. A.E. Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the see of Winchester', <u>Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History</u>, v. 86.

2. See below pp. 320-1

3. Thus the number of quarter-virgaters had only been reduced from 24 to 19 by such accumulation.

Hitherto the changes occasioned in Caldicot by the high mortality have been considered only from the point of view of seignorial income and of the land market; their effect on the social and economic structure of the tenantry itself must now be briefly noticed. It has already been seen that in the early fourteenth century commutation was at work among the wealthier villeins of Caldicot; this process was precipitated in a revolutionary fashion by the high mortality of the plague. Prior to the plague the great majority of the tenants held their land in villeinage; by 1366 almost all this customary land was held at a fixed annual rent at the will of the lord, with no labour services or tallage attached. However considerable the population pressure, the new tenants were not willing to accept land on the old terms. That this position was forced on the lord is suggested by a phrase which appears in the account for 1367-8: after stating that a holding had been leased at will rather than 'ad antiqua servicia', the accountant adds, 'permitteatur hoc anno quia nullus vult illud tenere per servicia et consuetudines'. The lessee in question was the son of the previous customary tenant, a fact which adds more point to the phrase. The almost total disappearance of the villeins of Caldicot in the plague enabled the manor to change overnight from a seignorial unit focussed on the demesne into a collection of copyhold tenures, from mediaeval to modern tenurial structure. A change, which elsewhere took several generations to fulfill,[1] had been completed in Caldicot in a few crowded years; and was fully recognised in the

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1. But the change had taken place on the other manor in Caldicot township a long time ago. See C 145/93 no. 18 (1322): 'De quibus [tenentibus] xxv sunt nativi; nichil faciunt pro serviciis et consuetudinibus suis nisi tantum denarium, quia dominica terra tradita est eis'.

rental which was compiled for the manor between 1388 and 1397.[1] In this rental the old division between free tenants and villeins had been replaced by a new division between free tenants and tenants at will. The demesne had largely disappeared as a separate unit and had been assimilated with the land of the tenantry. The reeve, previously chosen by the villeins and unpaid, was first given a reward (which soon became annual) in 1370, and by 1419 he had been replaced by two paid officers - a collector of rents and farms and a collector of court issues. The wheel had turned full circle: Caldicot had changed from a demesne-centred manor under the charge of a reeve into a collection of tenant farms under the charge of a paid rent-collector. And the catalyst in the change had been the Black Death.

There can be no question of the profound effects of the plague upon the economy of Caldicot and of the equally remarkable recovery of the manor during the 1360s. One final question needs to be asked: how sustained was this recovery? It has often been suggested of late that, whereas many manors recovered quickly and fairly completely from the Black Death, further outbreak of plagues finally undermined their economy and compelled landlords to adopt extraordinary measures to keep up their income.[2] This suggestion seems to derive support from the Caldicot evidence, for the economy of the manor certainly seems to have been less healthy in the 1380s than it was in the 1360s It is true that the valors of the manor show that the potential gross yield remained fairly constant between 1366 and 1398, especially if one ignores the fluctuations of court issues; but underneath this apparently steady surface there is little doubt that during the 1380s there was considerable pressure fm

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1. The rental does not exist; but its nature can be gathered from the account for 1397-8.
2. For a recent statement see G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility, 115 et seq.

the lord to try to keep up his income and a distinct failure to respond to this pressure on the part of the manor and its reeve. This is seen, in part, in the habit of the auditors in deleting low leases and replacing them by much higher figures. Thus 3 acres of meadow had been leased in 1384 by the reeve for 1s.6d., but the auditor thought them to be worth much more and substituted the old figure of 4s. 6d. More illuminating is the fact that in 1382 only 11½ acres of the 32 acres in Caerwentmede could be leased and that at the rate of 1s., rather than 1s. 6d., per acre, 'pro defectu emptoris'. The seigniorial response was to charge the reeve with the fall in income on the 11½ acres and to charge him with the lease of the remaining 20½ acres 'super compotum'. Similarly in 1385 it proved impossible to lease demesne land in Upfield 'pro defectu emptoris'; the auditor's reply was to charge the reeve with a sum of 5s. 1½d., 'ut respondet ad tantam summam acrorum et denariorum sicut in compotis [precedentibus]'. The phrase epitomises the seigniorial attitude to manorial income: every attempt must be made to keep it to its existing level. However, to charge the reeve with every fall in income was only to defer the problem. The reeve may, indeed, have been in part to blame; but there is undoubted evidence to show that the fall in revenue was in fact due to an economic recession in Caldicot during the 1370s. The farm of the mill, worth £6 13s. 4d. annually from 1366 to 1376, had fallen to £5 by 1381; and, even more significant, from 1377 onwards the reeve of Caldicot was allowed a respite of an annual average of £2 12s. 6d. for decayed rents and works and for the fall in the value of leases. Whereas manorial income, excluding court issues and casuals, from Caldicot had averaged £41 2s. 10d. annually for the period 1367-72, by the period 1380-4 it had fallen to £35 12s. 0d.,

a fall of over 14%. The recovery of the 1360s and 1370s had not been sustained in Caldicot; but the recession of the 1380s was, in its turn, overcome, for the valors show that by 1398 seignorial income had once more recovered and it stood at much the same level in 1420. On the whole, the crisis in seignorial income in Caldicot had been that of the 1350s and it had been successfully overcome; allowing for fluctuations such as that of the 1380s, seignorial income there remained remarkably stable between 1370 and 1420. Caldicot had entered the post-manorial period.[1]

(iv) The Lordship of Ogmore

The traditional division of Glamorgan into upland (Blaenau Morgannwg) and lowland (Bro Morgannwg) regions is a profoundly significant one, and it is applicable, on a smaller scale, to the lordship of Ogmore.[2] There could be no greater contrast between two areas within easy reach of one another than between upland and lowland Ogmore. The upland district or Welshry lay on the upper reaches of the river Ogwr, in rough mountainous country which has remained virtually uninhabitated until the development of the coal industry. Here the Welsh could follow their own methods of farming with a minimum of interference from the duke of Lancaster's officials. The area was of necessity given over almost entirely to pastoral farming, and

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1. Professor William Rees, South Wales and the March 1284-1415, 249-52, has made considerable use of the Caldicot evidence; but the table (p.250) on which his conclusions are based, has to be used with great caution.

2. The lordship of Ogmore has been examined by J.B. Smith, 'The Lordship of Glamorgan' (unpublished M.A. thesis. University of Wales. 1958), 295-344; but not from the same angle as in the present chapter.

COETY

R. Ogwr

R. Ewenni

Merthyr Mawr

NEWCASTLE

Ewenni

Corntown

Brocastle

Ogmore

Old Castle Down

Sutton

Wallas

Colwinston

Llanffa

St. Brides

Pircot

Southerndown

Slade

Dunraven Castle

MORGANNWG

Wick

Broughton

St. Donat's

Scale: 1 mile to 1 inch

LOWLAND OGMORE.

extensive tracts of the pastureland were occupied by the flocks of the Cistercian abbey of Margam.[1] To descend from Glynogwr and Llangeinor into the plains of the lordship of Ogmore proper was to enter a different world. Much of the land here, it is true, was open down; but there was also a fair proportion of the rich arable which has always made the vale of Glamorgan famous for its agriculture. Moreover the area had been as thoroughly Normanised as any in Glamorgan; and the castle of Ogmore and the fortress-like walls of the Benedictine priory of Ewenni were lasting memorials of the early Norman settlement of the area. The tenantry of the area was English in name and in agricultural organisation; and it is on the economic structure of this lowland Englishry that attention must now be focussed.

The seignorial manor at Ogmore was very similar to the manor of Caldicot, though it was rather larger than it. The demesne was concentrated around the two vills of Broughton and Wick, and covered an area of some 350 acres or so. Closely geared to the demesne was the land of the customary tenants, which according to the fine rental of 1428[2] consisted of some 850 acres of land, concentrated, like the demesne itself, in the vills of Broughton and Wick. Most of the 87 customary tenements were divided neatly into units of 12 or 6 acres each ('plena' and 'dimidia tenura'), after the

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1. Extensive lands in Eglwysgeinor were granted to Margam Abbey in April 1432, DL 42/18 f.124, f.137v.-139.

2. DL 42/107. This rental, a volume of 25 folios, is the basis of the table at the end of this section on the geographical and tenurial distribution of tenant land in Ogmore (p.239).

fashion of demesne-centred manors in England. This neat division of the customary tenements into full and half tenures suggests that a careful allocation of lands, to meet the requirements of the demesne, was made at an early period. The labour services required of the holders of customary land were light compared with those exacted in Caldicot, even the holders of a 'full tenure', performing no more than 28 days of agricultural service on the demesne each year. In fact by 1363, when Ogmore came into the hands of John of Gaunt, all the labour services had already been commuted into their cash equivalents and formed by far the most important item in the rent of the nativi.[1] When the services of the customary tenants were called upon, as they still were for mowing and harvesting, they were paid for in the same way as any other hired labour. The customary tenants of Ogmore were thus virtually tenants ad censum already in 1363; and there was therefore not the same impulse as at Caldicot to change over from customary tenure to tenure at will. It is true that there still remained certain disabilities attached to customary tenure, especially with regard to the exchange[2] and conveyance of land;[3] but these disabilities were not sufficiently irksome to persuade more than a few

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1. Thus of the total rent of 5s. 6d. which was paid by the holders of a messuage and six acres of land in Oldcastle, 4s. was by way of commutation of agricultural and carrying services, 1s. for money rent, and 6d. as a contribution 'ad lardariam' (possibly an old Welsh due which had been converted).

2. DL 42/107 f.6v.: 'Et debit domino herietem videlicet melius averium si habuerit et si non habuerit v.s. Et simili modo si se dimisserit de tenura sua'. An example is provided by the court roll for 1401: John Aylmer paid a heriot of 5s. on demising his tenement to John Beste, who likewise paid an entry fine of 5s., DL 30/132/1036.

3. A widow on re-marrying paid a fine for her lands e.g. 'Margareta Gye dat domino vjs viijd, pro licencia maritandi cuidam Johanni Seys et pro licencia tenendi illa terras et tenementa quae prius tenuit...causa viduatis', DL 30/132/2036.

of the villeins of Ogmore to pay an increase in their rent in order to enjoy the benefits of free tenure.[1] The reason for this may well be that most of the villeins of Ogmore, in addition to their customary holdings, held land and cottages elsewhere within the lordship;[2] and here they were not inhibited by the restrictions of customary tenure and were free to farm as they pleased.

The commutation of labour services, such as had taken place at Ogmore, was not necessarily the result of adverse economic forces; but, on the other hand, it was often closely related to the withdrawal, partial or total, of the lord of the manor from demesne farming.[3] The latter was probably the case at Ogmore, for there is no doubt that Ogmore, like Monmouth and Caldicot, was badly hit by the adverse economic forces of the fourteenth century. Demesne farming was still being practised on the manor in 1363, but on a very reduced scale. The reeve's account for the year[4] shows that the cost of working this reduced demesne was far in excess of agricultural income;[5] and even if 1363 were an exceptional year,[6] it is very doubtful if demesne-farming would ever

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1. For example, 'ijs. de incremento firme Ricardi Toukesbyour pro xij acras terre native...oneratur super ipsum pro operibus ut tenet libere sas', DL 29/592/9445 (1381), or 'Rogerus Stereneo' tenet xviij acras terre... libere et omnibus servicilis preter sectam curie et molendini et heriettos cum acciderint per copiam rotuli curie', DL 42/107 f.8.

2. For example, the twelve customary tenants of Wick held 26 cottages and 1 parcel of land in addition to their customary holdings.

3. Cf. E.A. Kosminsky, Studies in the Agrarian History of England, 172 et seq.

4. DL 29/592/9444.

5. The labour bill was £12 7s. 1d.; repair of farm implements cost £2 3s. 1d., and the purchase of seed corn £3 1s. 9d. This gives a total expenditure of £17 11s. 11d. as opposed to only £4 15s. 10d. from the sale of manorial produce.

6. Only a very small acreage seems to have been sown while the manor was in the hands of the Duchess Maud (1361-2), so that the initial outlay on seed corn may have been unusually high.

be a profitable enterprise in Ogmore in view of the high labour costs. It comes as no surprise that the duke of Lancaster had abandoned demesne farming there during the 1360s or early 1370s. At first the demesne was leased at an annual rate, suggesting the possibility that it might be resumed into the lord's hand if conditions improved; but by 1381 this hope had been abandoned and most of the demesne had been leased for a period of seven years. The contraction and eventual abandonment of demesne agriculture was only a reflection of economic difficulties in other spheres in Ogmore and the consequent undermining of seignorial revenue there.[1] The rent had fallen by 19% or more, and was only in part made good by leasing the empty tenements as pastureland until a tenant could be found.[2] Nor was this the only decay, for the mills were yielding 25% less than usual and there was a similar fall in the yield from leasing of meadowland. Altogether the loss of income to the lord in 1363 cannot have been much less than 30%, and there can be little doubt that this fall in income must largely have been occasioned by a heavy visitation of plague. The concurrence of evidence from Monmouth, Caldicot and Ogmore makes it quite clear that the lowlands of south-east Wales were suffering from profound economic dislocation in the mid-fourteenth century. The total lack of any manorial accounts prior to 1362 makes it impossible to decide whether the origins of this economic dislocation ought to be traced, as some historians now think, to the early fourteenth century; but even if this is so - and the movement towards commutation at least suggests it - there can

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1. See the detailed tables on Ogmore in Appendix H, pp. 422-3.

2. The decay in rent and respite of rent totalled £14 9s. 8d., whereas the income from leasing of decayed lands was only £2 7s. 0d.

be little doubt that it was the successive visitations of the plague which had reduced the seignorial revenue, and by implication the whole economy, to the straits it was in when the accounts of 1363 were compiled. It is little wonder than an auditor of the period should agree to a reduction in the rate of a lease with the plaintive phrase 'quousque saeculum emendetur'.[1]

The Ogmore accounts are also at one with the Caldicot and Monmouth accounts that times were better by the 1370s, if not earlier. The rents of assise and the leases of pasture were maintained at the 1363 level, with slight increases, and the actual decay in rent (if respited rent is included)

Leases of meadow in Ogmore, 1363-81. (DL 29/592/9444-5)

Place and Acreage		1363	1381	Place and Acreage		1363	1381	
Stenbrugge	9a.	15s.	22s.	Newmede	1a.	8d.	1s.	(1366)
Le Pyle	2a.	1s. 5d.	3s. 4d.	Merchesmede	2a.	3s. 4d.	5s.	(1366)
Broadmede	8a. 3r.	14s. 2d.	19s. (1365)	Watkynsmede	1a.			
Ffosse	1a.	2s.	2s.	Hendwer	1a.	6s.	9s.	
Holmede	6a.	10s.	12s.	Estmore	3r.			
Edwardesmede	2a.	2s. 6d.	3s.	Longmede	2a.			

had fallen from £14 9s. 8d. to £6 18s. 2d. by 1381. There were even more encouraging signs elsewhere. The farm of the mills had increased from £15 0s. 8d. to £20 6s. 8d., and the accompanying table shows that where leases of meadow can be compared they had often risen by half between 1363 and 1381. But however great the degree of recovery, there are indications that the economic recession which was so apparent in 1363 was never wholly overcome.

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1. The phrase is in DL 29/594/9516.

and that a permanent contraction in population had occurred. The decayed rents remained high up to the end of the century, as much as 13-15% of the rent seems to have been permanently lost. The arrears were also ominously high, and such high arrears might of course conceal a substantial fall in income which had not yet been acknowledged by the auditors.[1] The Ogmore evidence seems to point to very much the same conclusion as the Caldicot accounts: there was clearly an extensive degree of recovery from the economic set-backs of the mid-century, but seignorial pressure to keep up the income from the lordship tended to exceed the degree of recovery, especially in the later decades of the century.

So far only such land as was held by the lord himself or by his customary tenants and cottars has been examined. It formed only 28% of the total acreage of the lowland half of the lordship (1,679 acres out of 5,63¾ acres); but it is with it alone that the manorial accounts are concerned. The remainder of the land was held by free tenants, generally paying only a nominal rent to the lord. There were 32 free tenants in Ogmore in 1428, holding between them almost exactly 4,000 acres; and in fact most of this land was held by a very few large tenants whom again one can have little hesitation in calling gentry. This is a class in marcher society to which attention has been drawn throughout this chapter; but in the case of Ogmore the suggestion as to its relative power and position can be placed on a more secure basis. No financial accounts of this class have survived; but certain

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1. In Michaelmas 1381 the arrears stood at £226 15s. 10d., of which £41 9s. 3d. was respited as decayed rent of the last six years. This leaves clear arrears of £185 6s. 7d., more than one and half times the gross annual yield.

private and ecclesiastical collections of deeds shed valuable light on its growth and power.[1] Attention will be focussed on two of the more powerful and inter-related gentry families of Ogmore - those of Berkerolles and Stradling.

The family of Berkerolles held some 840 acres of land of the house of Lancaster in Ogmore, more especially the mesne manor of Llanffa (Lampha). The family may originally have hailed from Somerset;[2] but already in the twelfth century it had acquired a foothold in Wales at Basaleg in present-day Monmouthshire and from there it pushed westwards acquiring the manor of East Orchard in the vale of Glamorgan and, by the early fourteenth century, the mesne-manor of Llanffa.[3] The Berkerolles family had established a modest territorial position for itself in fourteenth-century Glamorgan; and greatly enhanced this position when Roger Berkerolles took to wife one of the heiresses of the great Turberville inheritance. The eldest son of this marriage, Sir Laurence Berkerolles,[4] enjoyed a comfortable inheritance in Glamorgan by descent from his father and his mother, and could proudly call himself lord of Coety. But in spite of taking two wives,[5] Sir Laurence failed

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1. Most of them have been edited by G.T. Clark, Cartae et alia munimenta quae ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent, henceforth Cartae.

2. C.P.R. 1281-92, 466.

3. Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriae (R.S.), ii, 55; C.I.P.M., iii, no.371; v, no.538; Cartae, iii, 1047.

4. There were two sons, Laurence and Gilbert, both of whom were enfeoffed with their father's estates. Cartae, iv, 1273; C.C.R. 1349-54, 442-3.

5. His first wife was called Elizabeth; but I have failed to trace her maiden name. His second wife was Ismay Hanbarra, for whom EH.R., lx (945) 334, and Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to Wales, iii, 705.

to produce a much-wanted male heir; and so with his death in October 1411 the male line of the Berkerolles came to an end.[1] The estates which had been so carefully and successfully built up by acquisition and wise marriages over more than a century were now themselves the subject of division.

The Turberville lands, concentrated on the lordship of Coety, passed after a long struggle to the Gamages, a family whose seat was at Caldicot and whose history was very similar to that of the Berkerolles. The remainder of the Berkerolles inheritance - East Orchard, Merthyr Mawr and Llanffa - came to John Stradling and Sir Edward Stradling, respectively the son and grandson of Sir Laurence Berkerolles' two sisters. Altogether the Stradling family in 1426 held 1,680 acres of land within the lordship of Ogmore, that is almost exactly the same amount as the duke of Lancaster held there. Partly because of its literary and recusant connections, the Stradling family has received its fair share of attention from local historians,[2] and there is no need to do more here than mention its history briefly in so far as it affects the lordship of Ogmore. Like the Berkerolles, the Stradlings were probably a Somerset family which had established a foothold across the Bristol channel in Glamorgan by the late thirteenth century. It soon consolidated its territorial position around the new family seat at St. Donat's;[3] but, again as in the case of the Berkerolles, it was the good fortune of a marriage which brought the family into the front rank of the gentry of Glamorgan.

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1. His inquisition post mortem is printed in full in Cartae, iv, 1466-9.

2. See G.T. Clark, The Castle of St. Donat's and especially R.A. Griffiths, 'The Rise of the Stradlings of St. Donat's', Morgannwg, 1964, 15-47, where full references are given.

3. Cartae, iv, ~~1256-7~~, 1369, 1372.

The marriage of Sir Edward Stradling and Gwenllian Berkerolles was not immediately fruitful; but, when Sir Laurence Berkerolles died without offspring in 1411, the son of the marriage, another Edward Stradling, became one of the co-heirs[1] to Llanffa in Ogmore, East Orchard[2] and Merthyr Mawr.

Llanffa was not the only, nor the most important, estate owned by the Stradling family in Ogmore lordship in 1428. The manor of Colwinston, consisting of 1,200 acres on the northern boundaries of the lordship, was in the possession of Sir John Stradling, brother of Sir Edward. Colwinston had come to the Stradlings by a tortuous route: until 1355 it was part of the Bavent estates;[3] thereafter the issues of the land had been granted by Edward III to the Dominican nuns of Dartford;[4] and it was probably as part of the inheritance of his wife, Joan Dauntsey, that Sir John Stradling came into possession of Colwinston in the early fifteenth century.[5] The intricacies and details of the family's history do not concern us here; what needs to be emphasised is how the Stradlings, starting from a very modest foothold at St. Donat's in 1300, had by 1428 - partly through purchase but mainly by a series of fortunate marriages - made themselves one of the most important families of the vale of Glamorgan.

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1. According to the inquisition post mortem of Sir Laurence Berkerolles the two heirs were John Stradling (aged 60) and Edward Stradling (aged 22); but according to the rental of 1428 the Berkerolles inheritance was being shared by 'Edwardus Stradlyng miles et Jorwerth' Vaghan et Elizabeth, uxor eius', DL 42/107/ f.10.

2. As early as 1561 the Stradlings believed that East Orchard was theirs since the conquest of Glamorgan by the Normans, Stradling Correspondence, ed. J.M. Traherne, 122-3.

3. DL 40/1/11 f.42. 4. V.C.H. Kent, ii, 182.

5. In 1373 Sir John Dauntsey, who had married a member of the Bavent family, acknowledged a recognisance of a thousand marks to the prioress of Dartford, C.C.R. 1369-74, 590; for Sir John Stradling's marriage to Joan Dauntsey, C.P.R. 1416-22, 120.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND TENURIAL DISTRIBUTION OF TENANT LAND IN OGMORE, 1428.

	Liberi Tenentes	Nativi Tenentes	Coterelli	Total	Liberi Tenentes in decasu	Nativi Tenentes in decasu	Coterelli in decasu	Total in decasu	Total
Oldcastle	1m. 35a.	5m. 30a.	3m. 37a. 7c.	9m. 102a. 7c.	-	6m. 42a.	4m. 28½a. 1c.	10m. 70½a. 1c.	19m. 172½a. 8c.
St.Bride's	6a.	57a.	1m. 9a. 15c.	1m. 72a. 15c.	-	1m. 40a.	6c.	1m. 40a. 6c.	2m. 112a. 21c.
Pictot	315a.	4m. 45a.	8m. 12a. 11c.	12m. 372a. 11c.	87a.	3m. 24a.	1m. 12a. 1c.	4m. 123a. 1c.	16m. 495a. 12c.
'Corveton'	2m. 120a.	-	-	2m. 120a.	-	-	-	-	2m. 120a.
Colwinston	1920a.	-	-	1920a.	-	-	-	-	1920a.
'Brocastle'	240a.	-	-	240a.	-	-	-	-	240a.
Seaton	-	-	-	-	1m. 24a.	3m. 18a.	10m. 42a. 6c.	14m. 84a. 6c.	14m. 84a. 6c.
Northdown	2m. 106½a.	-	3m. 2a. 4c.	5m. 108½a. 4c.	-	4m. 42a.	2m. 25½a. 3c.	6m. 67½a. 3c.	11m. 176a. 7c.
Wallas	120a.	-	-	120a.	-	-	-	-	120a.
Southerndown	2m. 75a.	2m. 30a.	17a. 12c.	4m. 122a.	-	4m. 78a.	13m. 60a. 14c.	17m. 138a. 14c.	21m. 260a. 14c.
Broughton	2m. 90a.	8m. 390a.	4m. 4a. 5c.	14m. 484a. 5c.	-	-	5m. 2a. 8c.	5m. 2a. 8c.	19m. 486a. 13c.
Ogmore	2m. 36a.	4a. 1c.	1m. 51a. 15c.	3m. 91a. 1c.	-	8m. 3½a.	12m. 7¾a. 11c.	14m. 178a. 11c.	27m. 269a. 12c.
Wick	1m. 636a.	12m. 192a.	27a. 26c.	13m. 849a. 26c.	-	11m. 126a.	4½a. 13c.	11m. 130½a. 13c.	24m. 979½a. 39c.

m = messuage; a = acres; c = cottage.

Nor were the Berkerolles and the Stradlings the only important families within the lordship of Ogmore. There were other large landowners there - such as the Butlers who had already made Dunraven castle[1] their home and held 662 acres of land of the house of Lancaster, or the Flemings who had settled in the lordship from at least the early thirteenth century.[2] What is clear is that already such families were socially and economically powerful; that they were a distinct class whose members intermarried with one another and with gentry families in England and thus transferred their inheritances from one family to the other; and that in a lowland marcher lordship such as Ogmore they owned almost 75% of the land. Glamorgan antiquarians of the sixteenth century showed an excess of zeal in tracing the genealogy of the leading families of the county to the followers of Robert fitz Hamon; but at least they were right in emphasising that the ancestors of many families in Tudor Glamorgan had been firmly established as gentry there for generations.[3]

(v) The lordship of Cydweli

The lordship of Cydweli, consisting of the three commotes of Cydweli, Carnwyllion and Iscennen, was the most thoroughly Welsh lordship with which this thesis is concerned. Geographically most of the lordship was under

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1. John le Botiller held one and a half knight's fees of the duke of Lancaster at Dunraven, Durfot and Pitcot in 1361. C.I.P.M., xi, no.118 (p.113).

2. LL 42/107;[illegible] for their lands in Ogmore in 1426.

3. The economic development of Ogmore after 1399 is considered in detail below, pp. 316-21.

400 feet above sea level; but it was sufficiently distant from the English border to be almost free from the penetration of English economic customs. The only district which had been the subject of considerable English settlement was the lowland area around the estuary of the Gwendraeth, an area known as the foreignry, which was organised under a quite different administrative and financial organisation from the rest of the lordship.[1] It was here that the Normans had established a castle and small Benedictine priory, under whose shadows had grown a flourishing burgh. The country around Kidwelly town contains both rich arable and excellent pastureland where, in Leland's opinion, 'the best woolle of Hye Walys' was grown.[2] It was in this rich agricultural country that the Londres and the Chaworths had organised a demesne manor;[3] and though demesne farming was soon abandoned by the Lancaster family, other English families continued to exploit the agricultural riches of the district. Large flocks of sheep, such as the flock of 360 sheep which Morys Nicol kept at Pynet,[4] produced excellent wool for Kidwelly merchants to export through the staple at Carmarthen. The grain-producing arable was divided into large open fields,[5] and the high prices which were paid for leases of the demesne show of

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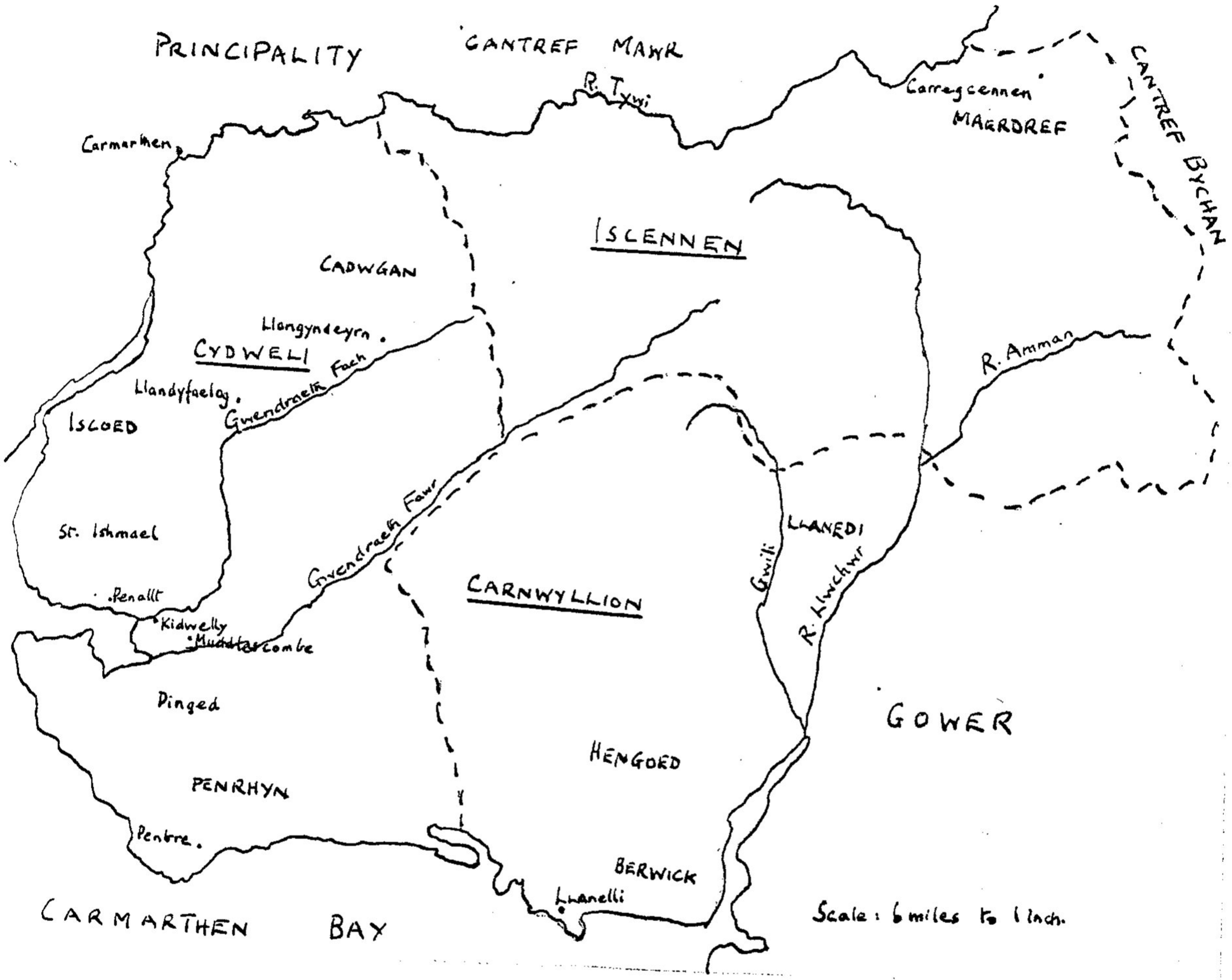
1. See above p. 31.

2. John Leland, Itinerary in Wales, ed. L.T. Smith, 60.

3. An inventory of the goods of Patrick de Chaworth at Kidwelly in 1283 included 48 oxen, 43 steers, and sown corn worth £30, C 133/35 no.10 m.20.

4. JI 1/1152 m.6v.; for other large sheep farmers in the area see JI 1/1158 m.26.

5. Contemporary deeds provide ample evidence of open-field patterns in Cydweli Englishry, e.g. N.L.W. Muddlescombe Deeds 2145 for 9 acres in Pengau (St. Ishmael) in 4 strips; ibid., 2175 for transfer of 2 pieces in a field called Langelond in Penallt.



THE LORDSHIP OF CYDWELI

what high quality the land must have been.[1] Some of the English settlers of the area had made a considerable fortune for themselves and had built small estates such as the manor (so called) of Muddlescombe, which is described in 1409 as containing 12 messuages, 4 carucates of arable, 12 acres of meadow, 8 acres of marsh and 100 acres of wood.[2] In geographical size the foreignry of Cydweli was small, barely extending farther than St. Ishmael in the north and Penbre in the south; but its economic importance was out of all proportion to its size, for it served as a bridgehead for the penetration of English economic habits into the surrounding Welshry.

And it is on the economic and social structure of this Welshry that attention must now be concentrated. It is here, above all, that the problems posed by the nature of surviving accounts and the absence of other types of documents prove most intractable. Nor are the problems peculiar to Cydweli; and indeed an appreciation of the attitude adopted by historians towards similar problems elsewhere in Wales is an essential preliminary to a discussion of the Cydweli evidence. The main texts used by historians in an attempt to analyse the economic and social structure of post-Conquest Wales are the royal and seignorial extents compiled mainly during the early fourteenth century and interpreted in the light of the Welsh Laws. It is largely, though not exclusively, on the basis of these extents that considerable advances have recently been made in the study of the structure of the gwely, the basic

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1. For example 38½ acres of demesne land in St. Ishmael were leased for £11 13s. 6d., DL 29/573/9063 sub messor patrie.

2. N.L.W. Muddlescombe Deeds, 2194.

tenurial institution in much of Welsh Wales during the period.[1] Nonetheless certain obvious weaknesses are attached to this method. Extents are often archaic documents, revealing more about the past than the present; and the picture of society they provide is of necessity a static one. Moreover they were compiled, not to analyse social structure, but to define on whom or on what unit seignorial rents or dues were to be levied. Finally, the gwely and the gafael which figure so prominently in many of the extents are essentially tenurial institutions; and an analysis of their structure often evades the realities of social and economic history. It is as if English economic historians were to write the economic history of England around the theme of free and customary tenure, especially in the period when the distinction between the two types of tenure had lost much of its force. Recent attempts to re-interpret the evidence from the point of view of the historical geographer have largely concentrated on the question of settlement patterns; but interesting as are some of the conclusions, the cavalier manner in which historical evidence is treated will hardly recommend the method to the historian.[2]

This very brief critique of the current state of studies into the later mediaeval Welsh economy has a direct relevance to the Cydweli evidence, for here again one is faced with the problem of interpreting unsatisfactory and even apparently contradictory evidence. The vital question to be asked is

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1. The most important recent contributions are, of course, those of Professor T. Jones Pierce, for which see bibliography. The views of Timothy Lewis in 'The Tribal System in Wales', Econ.H.R., 2nd series, vi (1953-4), 297-304 on the subject of the gwely are not convincing.

2. Especially the articles of G.R.J. Jones, especially 'The Tribal System in Wales: a re-assessment in the light of settlement studies', W.H.R., i (1960-3), 111-32 where references to the author's other articles on the subject will be found.

whether Welsh society was as static and as archaic in its customs as the evidence seems to imply. Cydweli certainly provides evidence of the survival of Welsh customs and practice well into the early modern period. Welsh civil and even criminal law was used in the area into Tudor times;[1] and the charter of liberties which Duke Henry granted to the Welsh communities of Cydweli in 1356 shows how deeply attached they were to their ancient customs and laws.[2] According to this charter the Welsh were given the right to use the law of Hywel Dda, except in the vexed question of escheats; the old Welsh <u>camlwrw</u> or fine was fixed at 7s. 6d.;[3] and the Welsh practice that bastards and their heirs were to have the right to inherit land, if there were no legitimate heirs, was confirmed. A similar impression of conservatism is given by the local accounts (based in turn on the extents), which show the survival of such old Welsh communal renders as 'potura satellitum' and the great and small <u>commorth</u>.[4] From the accounts one certainly gets the impression that Welsh society was almost immutable in its customs; but here again the archaism of the accounts can certainly be misleading. Almost exactly the same rents or renders were being paid in 1500 as in 1399,[5] and this itself is not surprising

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1. See above p57 esp. n. 2.

2. DL 42/16 f.43v.-f.45v. Different charters were granted to the three commotes of Cydweli, Carnwyllion and Iscennen; but the main provisions are common to all.

3. There is a similar provision with regard to gwestfa in the charter granted by Edward II to the Welshmen of West Wales in 1316, <u>Foedera</u>, II, i, 283-4.

4. A summary of these rents and renders in Cydweli is given in <u>A History of Carmarthenshire</u>, ed. J.E. Lloyd, i, 227-34; and for the general distribution of these various rents in south Wales see W. Rees, <u>South Wales and the March 1284-1415</u>, 222 <u>et seq</u>.

5. As a comparison of the account for 1399, DL 29/573/9063 and a rental of the lordship of c.1500, DL 43/12/14 immediately shows.

when one remembers that one of the provisions of the charter of 1356 was that rents should remain fixed and never be increased. One must obviously get behind the facade of the accounts to arrive at the economic and social realities of the Cydweli Welshry.

One of the cardinal features of the later mediaeval Welsh economy is that in large parts of the country much of the free land was held through membership of a kindred-unit known as the gwely and that the rights of descent to and alienation of such land were rigidly regulated by Welsh law and custom. There is no direct evidence of the gwely in Cydweli; but the sole rental for the lordship - an undated and tattered rental for Carnwyllion[1] - suggests that land in the area of original settlement was held through membership of kindred-groupings, at least akin to the gwely.[2] One can see several examples of such kindred-groupings within the rental, and one of these groupings will serve as an example. It consisted of at least five men, Gruffydd Don and four brothers Hywel, Henry, Dafydd and Walter ap Cadwgan. The group held 15 acres in Gwestfa Llanedi, 11 acres in Gwestfa 'Treffin Waret', 3 parcels in Gwestfa 'Oerentlyn', and a fourth parcel of 100 acres. Altogether these five men held 159 acres in 3 gwestfa units, and the fact that they always appear as a group (though they are never said to be holding

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1. LL 43/13/14. The rental is later than 1279 for there are several references in it to lord Pain [de Chaworth], who died that year.

2. The inquisition taken in Iscennen in 1299 provides several examples of similar kindred-groupings, e.g. 'Cadogan ap Gorgennou, Ithel ap Gorgennou, Madok Cok, Yoruard ap Lewelyn, Madok ap Ithel, Yona (sic) ap David, Tangustel vedd Gronou tenent 1 messuagium, 1 carucatam terre...', C 133/91 no.2.

land in common[1]) shows the strength of the family unit in the area. Several similar examples could be given; and they are as near as one can get to the gwely in Cydweli.

One may believe that the gwely was an important tenurial unit in later mediaeval society in Wales without believing in the concepts of clan organisation and primitive economy which are often associated with it. In the first place it needs to be emphasised that the habit of partible inheritance[2] is not at all peculiar to Wales; it was a custom which was widespread in mediaeval England also.[3] Nor did partible inheritance and kindred-groupings imply any equality in the size of holdings: thus of the 660 acres of free land in Gwestfa 'Oerentlyn' occupied by 82 holdings, a third of it was occupied by 5 tenants holding between them 220 acres, whilst most of the other tenants held less than 10 acres each. Above all, it needs to be emphasised that gwely tenure was not the exclusive form of land-holding which it is often made out to be. Welsh tenants could and did acquire land outside their tir-gwelyawg holdings, in spite of the rigid limitations on land transfer in Welsh law. They could do so by the mortgage method known as tir prid;[4] and deeds relating to Welsh land draw a clear

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1. The rental of 1500 shows that heirs sometimes held land in common, e.g. 'Heredes Tankyn Ieuan tenent certas terras ibidem de eorum hereditate quas ipsi adhuc tenent indivise', DL 43/13/14 f.8.

2. DL 43/13/14 abounds with references to 'coheredes' and 'coparcionarii'.

3. See especially G.C. Homans, 'Partible Inheritance of Villagers' Holdings', Econ.H.R., viii (1937-8), 48-56 and H.E. Hallam, 'Some Thirteenth Century Censuses', ibid., 2nd series, x (1957-8), 340-61.

4. On tir prid see especially T. Jones Pierce in T.C.S., 1963, 23-5.

distinction between tir gwelygawg which had to descend according to strict rules of inheritance, and tir prid which could be disposed of by will.[1]

Such a distinction is clearly implied in the Carnwyllion rental where land 'de hereditate' is contrasted with land acquired by purchase or by assarting.[2] A few examples from the rental will serve to illustrate the point. Walter ab Ieuan held 10 acres in Llanedi as one of a group of seven brothers; but his territorial interests were wider than those of his family lands, for he had acquired 6 acres of assarted land, 17 acres of land formerly of William 'Scoleheyg' and 21 acres late of Dafydd ap Henri. Thus of the 54 acres which Walter ab Ieuan held, only 10 acres can be said to fall into the category of family-inherited land; the remaining 44 acres had apparently been acquired by his own individual initiative. Again, Gruffydd Don, whose territorial interests as a member of a kindred-group of five men has been traced above, held 29 7/8 acres in respect of his membership of this group; but this did not entirely exhaust his landed wealth. He also held in his own right 1½ acres in Gwestfa 'Oerentlyn' and a further 3 acres of assarted land in Gwestfa Hengoed. Like instances could easily be multiplied; but one final example from the rental sums up the point neatly: Ieuan ap Gron' - vii acras et dimidium prati de hereditate, et iii acras et dimidium de terris Anghar' verch Ieuan et ii acras de terris Meuric ap Idenerth'.

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1. For example, C.A.D., v, 550-1; N.L.W. Sotheby Collection, 26; the will of Gwilym ap Gruffydd ap Tudur (1375) in J.R. Jones, 'The Development of the Penrhyn Estate to 1431' (University of Wales, M.A. thesis, 1955), 236-8.

2. A similar distinction is drawn in DL 43/12/14.

The enterprising Welshman could add to his landed inheritance either by purchasing vacant holdings (either from the lord or from his fellow-tenants) or by asserts in the unclaimed wasteland. The importance of asserting in the tenurial development of the Brecon Welshry has already been emphasised,[1] and the conclusion can now be reinforced from the Cydweli evidence. Welsh historians have frequently emphasised that as the population expanded the members of the gwely had to look for new land away from the area of the original settlement;[2] but what has perhaps not been fully appreciated is that this search for new or additional land could, as elsewhere in Europe, be a highly individual enterprise, quite as disruptive of old kinship bonds as the escheat of holdings. Gwestfa Llanedi on the river Llwchwr provides an instructive example. The area of primary settlement consisted of 685 acres divided into 80 holdings of unequal size; and for this land the tenants owed a number of ancient communal renders to the lord - a cow towards the triennial cowcorth, a contribution towards the 'potura satellitum', and certain military and labour services.[3] But outside this area of primary settlement there were a further 196 acres of land gained from the waste ('terra affirmata de vasto'), and for each acre of this the tenant, as an individual, paid a rent of twopence. All the tenants who held land within the

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1. See above pp. 194-5.

2. For an interesting North Wales example of an area of primary settlement and expansion therefrom see T.J. Pierce, 'An Anglesey Crown Rental of the Sixteenth Century', B.B.C.S., x (1940), 156-76.

3. For the services see A Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales 1609-13, ed. W. Rees, 263-4, which quotes from a lost extent of 1417.

assarted district can also be identified as holding land within the area of primary settlement. Similarly there were 392½ acres of assarted land ('terris assartis') attached to Gwestfa Hengoed, and here also the annual rent was twopence an acre. No assarted land was attached to the other two gwestfau mentioned in the rental, but in fact tenants from them held assarted land in Hengoed. Furthermore the local accounts show that this assarting movement was still afoot in the fourteenth century and that it was largely the work of individuals winning land acre by acre from the forest and the waste.[1] The importance of these assarts in the economy of the Welshry is obvious: proportionately they were equal, in Carnwyllion, to about a fifth of the area of primary settlement (588½ acres:3,155½ acres); from the lord's viewpoint the tenant of assarted land was in a more satisfactory tenurial relationship in that he paid a fixed, annual and individual rent for a specific piece of land; and from the tenant's point of view assarted land offered a means, other than purchase or escheat, whereby he could expand his landed estate outside the narrow limits of his tir gwelyawg.

So, returning to the question posed at the beginning of this section, the economic and social structure of the Welshry according to the Cydweli evidence was sufficiently flexible to allow of considerable movement and of consolidation of holdings. The archaic and static picture, which is at first suggested by the account-rolls, is belied by more convincing evidence especially from the

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1. The account for Carnwyllion in BL 29/573/9063 (1399) shows that at least 144 acres of land had been added there by assarting between the 1340s and the 1390s. It was almost exclusively the work of individuals; and, of course, there may also have been many concealed encroachments on the wasteland and forests.

Carnwyllion rental, just as the picture in other parts of Wales is being considerably changed by recently-acquired collections of Welsh deeds. And it would have been strange had it been otherwise. After all it is within the pattern of later-mediaeval Welsh society that Gwilym ap Gruffydd built his estate at Penrhyn, that Gruffydd ab Aaron established the foundations of the Peniarth estates, and that Rhys ap Thomas expanded the territorial power of the house of Dinefwr in Ystrad Tywi;[1] and such estate-building would hardly have been possible if one assumes too rigid and static a picture of the gwely and of 'tribal' tenurial arrangements. In Cydweli itself the small free-holder probably still held most of his land 'de hereditate'; but the system was sufficiently flexible to allow of the rise of such men as Henry Don and William Gwyn ap Rhys whose fortunes will be traced in a later chapter. The terms of reference in this section have been wide and the conclusions are no more than tentative; but the justification must be that it is only be seeing the history of the local society in its wider context that one can avoid the misleading myopia imposed by the local accounts and contribute in some small measure to a solution of crucial problems with regard to the later mediaeval Welsh economy.

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1. For Gwilym ap Gruffydd see J.R. Jones' unpublished thesis cited above p. 247, n.1 ; and for the building of the Peniarth estates see N.L.W. Peniarth Collection, 496. There is a good deal of material about Sir Rhys ap Thomas' landed acquisitions in DL 43/12/14. T. Jones Pierce has described how one estate in Caernarvonshire was built partly by Welsh and partly by English tenurial methods in his introduction to Clenennau Letters and Papers, vol.i. Cf. also E.D. Jones, 'Rhannu tir Rhys ab Elise', N.L.W.J., iii (1943-4), 23-8.

(vi) Towns and Trade

Hitherto in this chapter attention has been devoted exclusively to agriculture and territorial organisation; but before bringing the chapter to a close a few words must be said about towns and trade and their rôle in the economic life of the lordships. Each of the three major lordships of Brecon, Monmouth and Cydweli had a central town and several subsidiary vills at which fairs and markets were held. The towns were the centres of seignorial administration, where the lord's exchequer and chancery were housed; they were also centres of defence, each with a castle of its own. But the presence of a castle, whether as a defensive outpost or as an administrative centre, did not in itself lead to the existence of a town, as the cases of Bronllys and Carregcennen show; while a town, such as Llanelli, could grow up where there was no castle. It was economic demand, backed by seignorial support, which brought a town into existence and ensured its prosperity. It is only at those points where the welfare of the town affected seignorial economy or policy that historical evidence has usually survived; and it is only on the institutional side that the history of marcher towns is at all well-documented.

Most of the towns of the Welsh marches had come into existence soon after the earliest Norman penetration of the area; but they did not generally acquire a corporate existence, as something more than groups of merchants living under the protection of the seignorial castle, until the second half of the thirteenth century. As one would expect, Monmouth town led the way in the movement. The burgesses of Monmouth were granted a short charter of

liberties by Henry III in 1256,[1] and the account for that year suggests that it was already a town of some size, for over a period of nine months it yielded almost £49 to the lord.[2] It was the only incorporated borough in the lordship; but fairs were also held at Skenfrith, Grosmont and Whitecastle. The lordship of Brecon had two sizeable towns, the one at Hay and the other at Brecon. Hay stood on the borders of England and Wales, and its position on one of the major routes into Wales ensured it a considerable importance. It had 184 burgage tenements within its walls in 1299, and the handsome income which the earls of Hereford drew from it annually is ample evidence of its prosperity.[3] There had probably been a community of merchants living in the shadow of Brecon castle from the early days of the Norman penetration of the lordship; but it was not until the late thirteenth century that the town - a religious as well as an administrative and commercial centre- achieved a corporate existence. The series of charters[4] granted to the town between 1276 and 1308 were essentially based on the liberties of Hereford. They greatly enhanced the position and power of the burgesses: they were allowed to farm the town at £86 13s. 4d. per annum; they were permitted to form a gild merchant; the inhabitants of the

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1. C 146/9843. For a description of the mediaeval town of Monmouth and its defences see the Ministry of Works guide by A.J. Taylor. There is a well-preserved example of the town's common seal in N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 790 (October 1391).

2. SC 6/1094/11.

3. C 133/92 no.13 (1299), C 135/48 no.21 (1336).

4. The charters of Brecon town have been published in B.B.C.S., ii (1923-5), 245-52. See also above Chapter II, p.106.

subsidiary settlement at Llywel were deprived of their rights and made subject to the burgesses of Brecon; the townsmen were granted extensive legal privileges and considerable rights of jurisdiction over members of their community, and they were given a monopoly of trade within the whole lordship of Brecon. Thus in a period of thirty years the merchant community which had grown up around the castle of Brecon had formed itself into a trading hanse with franchisal rights towards its lord and with monopolistic trading rights in the lordship of Brecon. The borough of Brecon in the later middle ages must have been one of the most populous and attractive inland towns in Wales.[1]

In the very year that Brecon completed its institutional growth as a mediaeval borough, Kidwelly received its first known charter from Henry of Lancaster, lord of Monmouth.[2] The charter shows clearly, as one would expect, that Kidwelly was considerably behind Brecon and Monmouth in its burghal development. A small community of merchants had lived on the banks of the Gwendraeth Fach in the days of the de Londres and the Chaworths; but the growth of the borough may well have been hampered by the early development of Llanstephan and, especially, of Carmarthen. In October 1268 Fain de Chaworth received royal permission to hold two weekly markets and an annual fair at Kidwelly;[3] but this was a grant to a seigneurial borough

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1. For the popularity of the rood at Brecon and its attraction to pilgrims see G. Williams, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation, 425, 477.

2. This charter only survives in a damaged, and often erroneous, attested translation copy of 1792 printed in Arch.Camb., 3rd series, ii (1856), 274-81.

3. C.Ch.R., ii, 113.

not to a community of burgesses. The town did not receive its first charter until 1308; and what this charter shows above all is that Kidwelly was still very much a rural borough. The burgesses were granted certain specifically burghal privileges; but most of the charter is concerned with the rights of the burgesses in the pasture and woods of the lordship, the pannage of their pigs and their fishing rights. There is virtually no mention of trade in the charter and certainly none of a monopolistic guild as at Brecon.

The granting of charters was of course a reflection of the growing maturity and importance of these marcher boroughs; but a study of the towns from the constitutional angle alone is clearly a deficient one. What one would dearly like to know is what commercial and economic impact these towns had on the surrounding countryside, what rôle they played in the vital process of rural exchange, and who were the people that populated them. A glance at the remains of the town walls[1] or at John Speed's maps from the early seventeenth century will immediately show how modest in size were the boroughs of the Welsh marches. An inquisition of 1441 estimated the population of Monmouth town at 189 burgesses,[2] while the burgess population of Brecon rose from 86 in 1411 to 115 in 1443.[3] In fact by contemporary standards in Wales, both were towns of substantial size;[4] and the figures

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1. Cf. the remarks of C.A. Ralegh Radford on the town walls of Kidwelly in the Ministry of Works guide to the castle and town.

2. DL 7/1 nos. 60-60A. 3. B.B.C.S., ii (1923-5), 245-52.

4. Cf. I.J. Sanders, 'The Boroughs of Aberystwyth and Cardigan in the early fourteenth century', B.B.C.S., xv (1952-4), 282-93. He gives the burgess population of Aberystwyth as 144 and of Cardigan as 129.

do not of course contain the chensers who paid a small sum for participating in the trade of the town but who were not burgesses.[1] The terms of the foundation charters of the towns often stated that the burgesses were to be English,[2] and a good proportion of the townsmen were certainly English by blood if not always by language. But even in the boroughs of the Principality Welshmen formed a substantial proportion of the population;[3] and the same was equally true of the marcher boroughs. Duchy officials were anxious to restore racial purity to the towns both before and after the Glyn Dŵr revolt;[4] but even they themselves must have known that this was neither possible nor perhaps desireable. Many of the Welsh-born burgesses excelled themselves in their opposition to Glyn Dŵr,[5] and Welshmen certainly still figured prominently amongst the lists of Brecon and Monmouth burgesses of the mid-fifteenth century.

What part did these small marcher boroughs play in the economic life of their respective lordships? The question is more easily asked then answered, for the documentary evidence is extremely sparse. The burgesses were certainly farmers as well as traders, prepared to invest the profits of trade in the rich agricultural land which usually lay around the towns.

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1. The number of chensers could be substantial as is witnessed by the fact that they paid £3 10s. 8d. in Monmouth in 1382, whereas the burgess paid rent of £10 1s. 2d., DL 29/594/9508.

2. At Kidwelly the burgesses were to be 'ydoneos et fideles Anglicos', DL 41/10/49.

3. I.J. Sanders loc.cit. shows that 43% of the burgesses of Aberystwyth in the early fourteenth century were Welshmen.

4. The Brecon charter of 1411 was granted 'burgensibus ville predicte quos Anglicos reputamus et heredibus suis Anglicis ex parte patris quam ex parte matris'. Cf. the reference in the Kidwelly charter of 1443 to the 'malice of Welshmen'.

5. See below pp. 196-7.

Burgesses from Brecon and Hay leased the demesne lands near their towns when they were abandoned in 1373;[1] and the flocks of the Brecon burgesses were sent to pasture in the foothills of the Brecon Beacons.[2] It has already been noticed that the Kidwelly charter of 1306 suggests that the burgesses were primarily interested in agriculture and only secondarily in trade. Nonetheless, the very existence of a town implied that its burgesses were trying to meet demands which agricultural society could not fully or conveniently provide for itself. Thus of the population of Brecon in 1443, 5 were butchers, 4 shoemakers, 2 fishmongers and 2 brewers; and the proportion was doubtless similar elsewhere. Already in the early fifteenth century there is mention of 'misteries' in Monmouth;[3] but on the whole the marcher towns were too small for there to be any need for the few craftsmen to be organised into guilds.

These marcher boroughs were primarily market towns serving the needs of agricultural communities; but their trade was not merely local, for Wales exported considerable quantities of wool, hides and cattle during this period.[4] Here was the opportunity for the burgess who was willing to chance his hand at something more than local bartering with the Welsh. Such a one was John Owen of Kidwelly who, as well as farming the mills of the district and owning a considerable flock of sheep, ventured into the export trade.[5] In

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1. See above p. 186.

2. For a dispute about the pasturing rights of the burgesses, DL 42/17 f.79.

3. DL 42/18 f.271.

4. For a general discussion see E.A. Lewis, 'The Development of Industry and Commerce in Wales during the Middle Ages', T.R.H.S., new series, xvii (1903), 121-73.

5. His lease of the rich pastureland of Caldecote marshes in Kidwelly for 24 years in 1399 is in DL 25/2478. See DL 42/16 f.26v., f.72, f.254 v. for his lease of local mills.

1397 he exported as much as 50 sacks, 13 stones of wool through the staple of Carmarthen,[1] and one may assume that most of the wool had been bought from the sheep-farmers of Cydweli. He was not the only Kidwelly merchant who appears in the records, for earlier in the century Walter Aylward of Kidwelly is recorded as exporting hides to Gascony.[2] The Aylwards were a leading Kidwelly family who rose to be reeves of the town and receivers of the lordship. In 1341 Henry of Grosmont gave a loan of £100 each to Walter and Adam Aylward 'ad mercandizandum', on condition that they returned the capital and any profits they had made within the year.[3] The loan is a welcome example of seignorial investment in trade in Wales. Long-distance trade was confined to a few men in the marcher boroughs, and set those men apart from the ordinary retail trader and craftsman. It was these merchants who could afford to lend money to the king[4] and who plied between the south Wales ports and Bristol during the critical months of the Glyn Dŵr revolt, bringing provisions to beleaguered castles.

During the fourteenth century the marcher towns enjoyed a period of peace which allowed them to expand internally; but they, like the rest of the area, suffered also from the economic setbacks of the second half of the century. The gross value of Monmouth fell from £59 in 1382 to £41 in 1399;[5]

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1. C.P.R. 1396-9. 158.
2. SC 6/1158/8 m.6.
3. DL 25/3578-3580.
4. Thomas ap David and Walter Bace, both burgesses of Brecon, lent Henry V £53 6s. 8d. in 1417 towards his French campaigns, DL 42/17 f.127v.
5. DL 29/594/9508-10.

and likewise Hay which had yielded £40 on an annual farm in 1372 only yielded £33 by 1399. The smaller market towns suffered likewise: Grosmont had yielded £11 in toll and rent in 1256 but by the 1370s the petitions of the inhabitants had reduced the sum to £3, and the market of Skenfrith likewise declined.[1] The decay was in part a reflection of general economic recession; but it was also in part the result of the burgesses' attempt to evade seignorial supervision and municipal control. Many of the burgesses of Brecon lived outside the town walls,[2] and so far had the situation deteriorated in Kidwelly that the Duchy council felt compelled to issue a series of ordinances in the autumn of 1401.[3] The burgesses were ordered to take up residence within the walls before Michaelmas on pain of forfeiting their houses there; they were forbidden to sell any of their goods either gross or retail outside the town walls; and likewise they were prohibited from holding the markets outside the town and at any other time than on the fixed days. Clearly in the eyes of the Duchy council, the blame for the decay of Kidwelly lay squarely on the shoulders of the burgesses themselves; but, however much the officials might fulminate, the decay of the old walled town, as opposed to the new town outside the walls, continued and by Leland's day it was 'nere al desolatid'.[4]

The inadequacy of the surviving evidence is nowhere more apparent than in the question of the towns and the impact they had on the economy of the

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1. Reg.I, 1574. By 1423 the lease of Skenfrith market had fallen to a mere 13s. 4d., DL 29/594/9516.
2. C.P.R. 1401-5, 26. 3. DL 41/10/49.
4. The Itinerary in Wales, ed. L.T. Smith, 59.

Welsh marcher lordships; but the same inadequacy has determined the limits of the discussion in other sections of this chapter. Some compensation has been derived from the fact that the evidence from one quarter often supplements that from another less well-documented area; and certain similarities in the economic and social structures of the lordships studied here have certainly emerged. It is clear, for example, that the seignorial manor was on the whole unimportant in Wales except in the lowlands of the east and that the labour services for the agricultural exploitation of the demesne were, with the exception of Caldicot, remarkably light and quite inadequate. It is equally clear that in all the lordships the gentry (that most varied of groups) was socially and economically very powerful, whether its members were Welsh uchelwyr, or of old Norman stock, or more recent families which had established themselves by their own initiative or with the blessing of the local lord. Within the peasant class there was likewise a wide range of wealth between the five-acre holder, who predominated in both the uplands of Hay and in the fertile lowlands of Whitecastle, and the richer freemen who leased the local demesne and often rose into the ranks of the local gentry. All these classes were in some way affected by the adverse economic movements of the mid-fourteenth century, for Wales, especially the south-east lowlands, seems to have suffered quite as acutely from these movements as did England. Demesne farming had been abandoned on all the marcher manors by 1373; customary tenure consequently lost much of its raison d'être and had largely given way to tenure at will by the end of the century; and the combined evidence of Caldicot, Monmouth and Ogmore agrees on the loss of

seignorial revenue, on the considerable degree of recovery by the 1370s, and on the opportunity for the accumulation of vacant tenements for the more ambitious and better placed peasants.

On many facets of economic and social life in fourteenth-century Wales the evidence from the Bohun and Lancaster estates speaks with a fair degree of unanimity; but, as one would expect, there were also sharp contrasts both between and within the various lordships studied here. There is, first of all, the contrast introduced by geography between the largely pastoral agriculture (both peasant and seignorial) of upland Brecon and the rich arable farming of Monmouth and Caldicot; and the pastoral-arable contrast is naturally accompanied by marked differences in social structure and tenurial organisation. Furthermore there is the obvious contrast between a thoroughly Welsh lordship (such as Glynogwr, Cydweli and upland Brecon) with its own ancient tenurial customs and its own communal renders and a lowland lordship (such as the Usk and Llynfi valleys, Monmouth and Ogmore) with its manors, its Norman and English gentry class, and a peasantry which had been Anglicised in many respects though it was still Welsh by blood and by language. It was not a contrast which should be overdrawn, for as has been emphasised earlier in this thesis not only did Welsh uchelwyr and English gentry often intermarry, but even the Welsh peasantry was already consciously and voluntarily adopting English tenurial practices. The picture is clearly a complex one; but so varied is the area which extends from Cydweli in the west to Monmouth in the east, from Brecon in the north to Caldicot in the south that one may confidently believe that the lordships studied here provide a reasonably accurate cross-section of the economic and social structure of south Wales as a whole in the fourteenth century.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE REVOLT OF OWAIN GLYN DŴR AND THE DUCHY LORDSHIPS IN WALES.

Hitherto in this thesis we have studied the Bohun and Lancaster lordships in Wales during the fourteenth century from two different angles, either as inheritances of two powerful English noble families or as units for the study of Welsh society and economy. These two separate approaches can be combined in a study of the lordships during the years of the Glyn Dŵr revolt, for, as in so many other cases, a period of revolt reveals much more clearly and incisively than a period of peace both the nature of local administration and the structure of Welsh society. On the career of Glyn Dŵr himself and on the actual course of the revolt there is very little in the local accounts to supplement or correct the definitive biography of Owain Glyn Dŵr by J.E. Lloyd; but by close and detailed attention to the local evidence one can pose and even answer certain obvious questions about the revolt which call for urgent attention. One needs to know what impact the rebellion had on organised society and how far it disrupted the machinery of government in later mediaeval Wales. It is also important for any understanding of Welsh society to know what sort of men supported or opposed Glyn Dŵr in his rebellion and what motives impelled them in their choice of sides. Finally the generally accepted claims of Tudor historians about the catastrophic financial and social consequences of the revolt on Welsh society need to be tested against the not inconsiderable mass of contemporary evidence, however unsatisfactory much of that evidence may be. To none of these crucial questions did Sir John Lloyd directly address himself; nor have any considerable advances in the study of the Glyn Dŵr revolt been made since the appearance of his

biography in 1931.[1] It is the aim of the present chapter to tackle these questions primarily from the rich evidence of the Duchy of Lancaster estates, supplemented, where evidence permits and argument demands, by occasional evidence from other parts of Wales.

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1. The only articles of note which have appeared since 1931 are two by Professor Glyn Roberts, 'Wyrion Eden', Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society, 1951, 34-71; and 'Teulu Penmynydd', T.C.S., 1959, 9-37. A number of documents relating to the revolt have recently been published: Glyn Roberts, 'The Anglesey Submissions of 1406', B.B.C.S., xv (1952-4), 39-61; R.A. Griffiths, 'Some Partisans of Owain Glyndŵr at Oxford', ibid., xx (1963), 282-292; and idem, 'Some Secret Supporters of Owain Glyn Dŵr', B.I.H.R., xxxvii (1964), 77-100; J.C. Davies, 'Some Owen Glyndwr Documents', N.L.W.J., iii (1943-4), 48-50.

(1) Prelude to revolt, 1400-1403.

Owain Glyn Dŵr broke into revolt on 16th September 1400, but it was to be more than two years before his movement was to be transformed from a conspiracy of a few closely-related North Welsh noblemen and ecclesiastics into a national revolt, receiving popular support and affecting the whole country. During this period the obvious policy for the English government was to contain the revolt and to prevent it from developing into a national rebellion. On the whole it must be admitted that the reaction of Henry IV and his council to the outbreak of the revolt was both swift and sensible. Indeed some members of the royal council and of parliament thought that the revolt was being taken too seriously and that the king was adopting too alarmist an attitude towards a local uprising.[1] After all the English government was quite accustomed to the 'lightheadedness'[2] (levitas cervicosa) of unstable Welshmen, and the history of the fourteenth century was too full of alarmist letters and revolts manqués for hardened officials at Westminster to be much concerned at the news of another uprising in Wales. Furthermore the accession of a new lord or of a new king had often been the occasion for local disorder and for a sudden bout of crime and violence; and some officials in London quite naturally equated the Glyn Dŵr rebels with the local robbers and outlaws whose activities in the marches were worrying the government during the opening years of the reign.[3] The king and other members of his

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1. For this attitude see P.P.C., i, 134; and Eulogium Historiarum, (R.S.) iii, ed. F.S. Haydon, 388.

2. e.g. C.C.R. 1330-3, 150; 1337-9, 542.

3. C.P.R. 1399-1401, 518; DL 42/15 f.32v., f.105v. See also Rot. Parl., iii, 509.

council, on the other hand, took the revolt more seriously and adopted precautionary measures even in south Wales. Of the Duchy estates there, the lordship of Brecon was by far the most vulnerable during these early stages of revolt. Consequently by 1401 the castle of Brecon had been garrisoned with 60 soldiers and amply stocked with food and with arms, including five guns. Similar, but smaller, garrisons were placed in Monmouth and Threecastles and considerable repairs were undertaken at the castles of Hay, Bronllys and Brecon.[1] Even such busy Duchy officials as John Leventhorpe and Sir Hugh Waterton took time off from their administrative tasks to lead expeditions against the Welsh rebels.[2] But the fact that Duchy officials, doubtless on tour of the estates, should be in charge of such expeditions suggests that the government's measures in south Wales were very much of an ad hoc and precautionary character. Indeed some castles, such as Kidwelly, which were not as yet directly threatened by the revolt, were only defended at rare intervals by a few men delegated for the task.[3]

This policy of containing the revolt by garrisoning strategic castles and by leading royal expeditions into Wales continued throughout 1402 and 1403. Nonetheless the situation was deteriorating[4] and the revolt was proving

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1. P.P.C., i, 173-6; DL 29/729/11993-4; DL 42/15, f.104.

2. DL 29/729/11993-4. Leventhorpe spent 18 days at Brecon in September-October 1400, organising the defence of the castle.

3. DL 29/584/9241. Cf. Chronicon Adae de Usk, ed. E.M. Thompson, 70. There is a fairly competent account of the revolt in the Cydweli district by W.H. Morris in The Carmarthen Antiquary, iii (1959), 4-16.

4. The first confiscation of land in Brecon occurred in November 1401, DL 42/15 f.190.

a serious drain on the finances of the lordships: whereas in 1400-1 some £575 was spent on repairing and victualling Duchy castles and on paying soldiers to garrison them, the figure leapt to £1,795 in 1401-2.[1] No longer could the defence of the castles be left to ad hoc forces raised by the local constable or even to the general supervisory authority of a royal lieutenant.[2] Individual captains were now hired by indentures of war to serve on specific terms and with a definite number of men. Thus on 20 October 1401 Philip Skidmore[3] was engaged to guard the castle of Carregcennen with 12 archers; but he was soon superseded by John Skidmore[4] who was to defend the castle at the height of the revolt in 1403. And from at least July 1402 Richard Grey of Codnor was retained to guard the key castle of Brecon with 40 men-at-arms and 200 archers.[5] These specific indentures show that by 1402 the government had come to realise that the revolt of Glyn Dŵr could not be tackled piecemeal by amateur soldiers and

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1. DL 29/729/12998 (summary valor). Weekly accounts of repairs to Kidwelly and Carregcennen castles during 1401-3 are to be found in DL 41/9/8 m.39-m.52.

2. The earl of Worcester had been acting as royal lieutenant in south Wales from at least November 1401, P.P.C., i, 173; though his appointment is not dated until March 1402, C.P.R. 1401-5, 53.

3. His indenture of service is in DL 41/9/8 m.38. He was master-sergeant of Monmouth castle in 1392 and was in some way connected with Raglan castle in 1398, Monmouth Record Office, Monmouth Collection, 5145, N.L.W. Badminton Collection, 1573. There is no definite proof that he was the same man as Philip Skidmore of Troy who was put to death in 1410 for his support of the revolt (J.E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower, 142): but the identification is likely.

4. His indenture of service is dated 2 May 1402, DL 25/3477; but he was in charge of Carregcennen by at least 20 October 1401, DL 41/9/8 m.6.

5. DL 42/15 f.130v.

local officials; it was a serious uprising and its defeat called for the service of professional soldiers serving on strictly military terms.

The government's policy during these early years of revolt consisted not only of attempting to contain the actual area of rebellion but also of trying to retain the loyalty of the unaffected parts of the country, more especially by the re-introduction of some of Edward I's policies in Wales. The Commons, especially in 1402, were loud in their praise of the policies of good king Edward[1] and were quite clearly suggesting that there would have been no revolt in Wales had those policies been kept in force. Though the government did not give its full blessing to the rather pointed requests of the Commons, several Edwardian policies[2] were certainly revived as a deterrent against revolt. Most prominent of these policies was that of binding over the leading men of each district in a recognisance that they would not support or succour any revolt in Wales.[3] The effectiveness of this policy clearly depended on the social power which the uchelwyr exercised in the community and on the particularly strong appeal of the tie of kindred to the Welsh. It was a policy which Henry IV's government revived in an attempt to prevent Glyn Dŵr's revolt from spreading into south Wales. Thus when the Duchy justices visited Cydweli in October 1401, they not only exacted pledges from

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1. Rot. Parl., iii, 509.

2. One of these policies, that of arresting the nearest and most powerful relatives of confirmed criminals (cf. Rot. Parl., iii, 509, 666), had certainly been employed during the fourteenth century e.g. Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales, ed. J.G. Edwards, 234, 254, and cf. Carta etc., ed. G.T. Clark, iii, 1074-5.

3. For bonds to keep the peace in Wales in Edward I's time see, for example, Littere Wallie, ed. J.G. Edwards, nos. 267, 273-7; B.B.C.S. xiii (1948-50), 142-44.

six convicted criminals that they would not join the rebels; but they also bound over seventeen of the leading inhabitants of Iscennen commote in a massive recognisance of 10,000 marks that no one from the commote would join Glyn Dŵr's revolt.[1] It was very much a case of taking out an insurance policy when the house was already on fire.

In the military sphere the English government had taken the necessary steps to prevent the spread of the revolt; but in the civil sphere, on the contrary, its policies were extremely short-sighted and were calculated to foster rather than to prevent rebellion. Like all governments faced with revolt, it tried to maintain the status quo ante bellum as long as possible. It did its best to keep the machinery of local administration in Wales in motion and to ensure that the Welsh lordships should continue to yield their maximum revenue. And in both objects a considerable measure of success was temporarily achieved. The clear value of the Duchy estates in Wales in 1401-2 was up by more than a third on that of the previous year, thanks mainly to the profits of the sessions which were held in the autumn of 1401.[2] In Cydweli alone the profits of this session reached £1,790; and of this huge sum (more than four times the gross yield of the lordship) £1,575 comprised gifts and communal fines which weighed on the population as a whole. Furthermore the accounts make it quite clear that these communal fines and dues were levied promptly and expeditiously, some of the smaller communal fines being

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1. JI 1/1152, m.5v.

2. See tables in Appendix C 2.

paid within twenty days.[1] This increase in local revenue meant that though local defence costs rose sharply during these years, they could still be met out of the ordinary revenues of the local lordships without resort to central funds. Indeed at Brecon the Duchy officials went a step further and tried to prevent even ordinary local revenue from being used for defence purposes. They suggested that the inhabitants of the lordship should contribute a 'war loan' of £210 towards the expenses of Lord Grey and his troops; and only after this 'loan' had been spent was the local receiver authorised to spend the ordinary revenue of the lordship for defence.[2]

In the short run, this policy of keeping up financial pressure on Welsh lordships, regardless of the threat of revolt, worked. The Duchy lordships continued to yield their financial dues promptly and efficiently; and as late as the financial year February 1402-February 1403 as much as £898 was sent to the central treasury of the Duchy from the Welsh lordships.[3] In the long run, however, there could be little doubt that this continuing financial pressure would only exacerbate an already delicate position, and prepare a fertile ground for the spread of rebellion. As ~~a royal official~~ Prince Henry remarked in a letter ~~to the government~~ in 1401, the expectation of a rebellion was taken by the people of south Wales as a reason for not paying their debts; to squeeze the financial resources of the lordships to their limit at this juncture was to ask for trouble.[4] The trouble came soon after Easter 1403, and with it opens the second phase of the Glyn Dŵr rebellion in south Wales.

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1. See below Chapter VI, pp.379-80, for the fines raised within 20 days, DL 41/9/8 m.8, n.55.

2. DL 42/15, f. 130v. 3. DL 28/4/2 f.17-f.17v.

4. Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions, ed. M.D. Legge, 294. Sessions were also held in North Wales in May 1401 and subsidies of more than £1,300 were imposed, SC 6/1216/1.

(ii) The Revolt at its height, 1403-6.

The outbreak of revolt in south Wales in 1403 seems to have started around Easter,[1] and during late June-early July it spread like wild fire along the valleys of the Usk and the Tywi.[2] This remarkably rapid extension of the revolt in so short a time suggests, as does other evidence,[3] that the movement of 1403 was carefully planned beforehand. Indeed Glyn Dŵr's concentration on this hitherto loyal part of south Wales may well have been intended to turn the king's attention hither, thus diverting it from the combined Franco-Welsh attack on Caernaven castle[4] and affording Hotspur an ideal opportunity to begin his revolt. That the uprising of 1403 was well-planned is also suggested by the fact that it seems to have taken the local administration completely by surprise. The constable of Kidwelly castle was

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1. The receiver of Kidwelly made a payment of £100 to the receiver-general of the Duchy on 1 February 1403, DL 28/4/2 f.17v.; but the mills of the district yielded no revenue after Easter, ML 42/15 f.194v. On 16 June 1403 there was a report that Glyn Dŵr was about to enter Carmarthenshire, C.P.R. 1401-5, 280.

2. A series of contemporary letters provides a fairly full narrative of events in the Tywi valley in early July 1403. The letters have already been extensively used by J.E. Lloyd in Owen Glendower, 63-8; and there is little point in repeating a well-known story here.

3. Especially the famous letter to Henry Don, to be found in Welsh Records in Paris, ed. T. Matthews, 105-6. In spite of the reasons given by Lloyd, op.cit., 40-41, I find it difficult to accept his early date for this letter. There is no evidence that Don or anyone else in Cydweli joined the revolt until 1403; and if the evidence of JI 1/1152 m.7 is to be believed, Don was still loyal to the crown in September 1402.

4. Lloyd, op.cit., 77.

certainly taken off his guard. He immediately sent two local men by ship to Bristol to carry news of the outbreak to the king; and his small garrison of one man-at-arms and 6 archers at the castle had to be increased at short notice by an emergency force of 14 local townsmen, serving at his request for a purely nominal sum.[1] This force was sufficient to hold the castle against the rebels, but could not prevent much of the town, including the 'Schirehall', from being destroyed. So terrified were many of the townsmen that they sought refuge by fleeing to England.[2]

Thus the first characteristic of the outbreak of 1403 was its suddenness and its well-planned character; it is this which made it the turn of the tide in the history of the revolt in south Wales. The immense success of the movement made it an acid test of loyalty for all the Welshmen of the area. Men who had hitherto held responsible office and had been conspicuous for their loyalty to the king of England now espoused the cause of Glyn Dŵr. Such was Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Llywelyn Foethus, a wealthy Carmarthen landowner, co-sheriff of his county, and the recipient of many honours from the king. During the early months of the revolt he had been unflinching in his loyalty to the royal cause, and was rewarded with rebel lands in Carmarthenshire; but later, probably in 1403, he followed his brother's example and defected to the side of Glyn Dŵr.[3] He was joined in his revolt by Lewis Ddu ap David

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1. DL 29/584/9242.

2. Royal and Historical Letters of Henry IV (R.S.), i, ed. F.C. Hingeston, 160-3.

3. For his position before the outbreak of the revolt see SC 6/1221/5; SC 6/1164/9; SC 6/1222/9; and after the outbreak, C.P.R. 1401-5, 22, 52; 1405-8, 45, 318; 1408-13, 138.

ap Ieuan, ex-sheriff of Carmarthen in 1400-1 but a partisan of Glyn Dŵr by October 1403.[1] An even better example of what the outbreak of 1403 meant in terms of allegiance to the Welsh uchelwyr of south-west Wales is William Gwyn of Llanstephan. He owned part of the lordship of Llanstephan himself through marriage and was steward of the rest of it while it was in the hands of Sir Simon Burley. He had moved in the highest social circles of his area, and was a man to be trusted with responsible office by the government. His loyalty was not in doubt, for in 1400 he was deputy justice of south Wales and as late as June 1403 he was on a commission to investigate rebel activities in Carmarthenshire. The movement of 1403 doubtless took him by surprise, and a desire to save his own lands from being ravaged by the rebels as well as a crise de conscience probably explain why he had defected to the Welsh cause by September 1403. Once he had made the choice he never wavered from his decision. He died for Glyn Dŵr's cause, and his son, true to his father's form, fell fighting for the French at Agincourt.[2] The examples given so far have deliberately been chosen from districts bordering on the lordship of Cydweli; like examples of men who underwent a similar volte-face in the crucial summer months of 1403 can easily be found in Cydweli itself. The first confiscations of rebel lands in the district in December 1403 show what a fateful year it had been.[3] Amongst those who defected was

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1. SC 6/1222/9; C.P.R. 1401-5, 327.

2. For the careers of father and son, see West Wales Historical Collections, xii, 111, 117; Ibid., xiii, 46; C.P.R. 1401-5, 280, 293; 1413-16, 395; SC 6/1165/10. It is not always easy to differentiate William Gwyn of Llanstephan from William Gwyn ap Rhys Llwyd of Cydweli. Lloyd in Owen Glendower, 56, did not realise that there were two men of this name.

3. C.P.R. 1401-5, 319.

William Gwyn ap Rhys Llwyd. He was a man of no mean wealth in the Cydweli area; and it was doubtless out of respect for his territorial power and social influence that he was chosen steward of the lordship 1392-6 and again Michaelmas 1400-May 1401. His Welsh connections and name may well explain why he was removed from office soon after the outbreak of the revolt, but this did not shake his allegiance to the royal cause, for he was still loyal in November 1402. A year later his estates were confiscated for his rebellion, and his career thereafter was distinguished by his exploits on Glyn Dŵr's behalf. In August 1404 he led the attack in which the town of Kidwelly was captured and burnt; and he ended his life far from his native district, killed by a cannon-ball while defending Aberystwyth castle.[1]

The careers of these men - and William Gwyn ap Rhys Llwyd was only one of several important men who defected to Glyn Dŵr in Cydweli in 1403 - show how fateful the summer months of 1403 were in the history of the revolt in south Wales. For the next three years the Duchy lordships in Wales were in the throes of a national rebellion which threatened their very existence as seignorial inheritances. On the narrative history of the revolt during these three crucial years the Duchy sources have very little new to add; but on two vital questions - about support and opposition to the revolt and about the impact of the revolt on local administration and society - the Duchy evidence suggests conclusions of considerable interest. And it is to these two questions that attention must now be turned, beginning with that of the support and opposition to Glyn Dŵr's movement in the localities.

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1. His career has been pieced together from the following sources: N.L.W. Muddlescombe Deeds, 2127, 2248; DL 29/584/9241; DL 42/15 f.63; DL 41/9/8 m.2?; JI 1/1152 m.5v.; C.P.R. 1401-5, 319; 1405-8, 111; 1408-13, 324.

One thing which is abundantly clear about the Glyn Dŵr revolt is that it was not, in the usual sense of the term, 'a 'peasants' revolt'.[1] The Welsh peasantry certainly supported the revolt; but on the other hand they were neither the leaders of the revolt nor its sole supporters. Indeed the revolt started as a conspiracy of a closely-related group of well-to-do gentry, and throughout its course it was led and sustained by this class of native gentry or uchelwyr. Owain Glyn Dŵr himself was of such a class; he had all the qulifications and training of an uchelwr and was considered a model member of his class by the poets of the day. And those who joined him during the early years of revolt were likewise uchelwyr, very often related to him by blood or by marriage.

This general theory about the nature of the Glyn Dŵr rebellion can be adequately sustained by evidence from south Wales and in particular from the Duchy estates. Thus Adam of Usk gives a vivid description of one of the early leaders of revolt in Carmarthenshire, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd Fychan of Caio, as 'a man of gentle birth and bountiful who yearly used sixteen tuns of wine in his household'.[2] It is a description of the status and characteristics of an uchelwr which could have come straight out of a contemporary poem. A man of very similar standing was Meredydd ab Owen ap Gruffydd ab Einion of Ishirwaun, a member of the same stock as the poet Dafydd ap Gwilym; his lands and goods were farmed for more than £14 a year in 1406 and at the end of the revolt he could pledge himself in £300 for the

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1. C.A.J. Skeel, The Council in the Marches of Wales, 11.

2. Chronicon Adae de Usk, ed. E.M. Thompson, 70. His son was beadle of Caio 1400-1, SC 6/1222/9.

hostages of Aberystwyth.[1] These examples of rebel uchelwyr have been taken from the Principality lands in south Wales; but similar examples can easily be gleaned from the Duchy estates. In the Cydweli district the revolt was led by William Gwyn ap Rhys Llwyd, whose career has already been outlined and who owned, amongst other land, the 'manor of Pyburne with Hardwick';[2] William Gwyn who owned half of the lordship of Llanstephan across the Tywi estuary from Cydweli; and Henry Don whose career will be traced in detail below.[3] In their little worlds these uchelwyr were both masters and leaders of society; and it was through their influence and power in the localities that the revolt lasted so long and was such a success. Their defection to Glyn Dŵr's cause brought with it the support of scores of lesser folk, for they knew well enough how to employ the tactics of social pressure to secure obedience amongst the populace. During peacetime the practice of cymmortha was the expression of the social influence of these uchelwyr; under war conditions more ruthless methods could be employed. In this context it is significant that of the seventeen leaders who are named as being with Henry Don on the siege of Kidwelly castle in August 1403, at least half of them were later convicted of cymmortha.[4] The same men led - and oppressed - Welsh society in war as in peace. On the other Duchy estates likewise men of means

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1. Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym, ed. T. Parry, xiv; SC 6/1165/11 m.9; SC 6/1222/12 m.2.

2. 'Pyburne' may well be Pibwr Wen, one and a half miles to the south of Carmarthen town. William Gwyn also owned the 'manor' of Llangynheiddon valued at £5 6.8. annually, SC 6/861/21.

3. See below pp. 279-82.

4. JI 1/1153 m.6, m.20.

and substance appear amongst the supporters and leaders in revolt. In Brecon lordship one can mention David ap Hywel Fychan ap Hywel ap David who came of one of the established uchelwyr families of the district,[1] or Ieuan ap Gilbert who had a share in half a knight's fee in the district,[2] or (for a time at least) Thomas ap Harry, brother of a leading Duchy official and owner of the rich manor of Talgarth.[3] In lowland Glamorgan the rebels won the support of John Fleming of Cowbridge, deputy-steward of Ogmore;[4] and in the Monmouth area they attracted such men as Thomas Huntley[5] and Philip Skidmore of Troy,[6] both men of considerable wealth and influence.

The leaders of the revolt in the localities were thus drawn largely from the same class - that of the native gentry or uchelwyr; and these ties of class were frequently reinforced by ties of marriage. Professor Glyn Roberts has already traced the genealogical ramifications of the leading rebels of north Wales and shown what a closely intermarried group they were.

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1. His lands were estimated to be worth £20 annually, C.P.R. 1401-5, 320. For his father see above p. 121; and for his family relationship see the genealogical table on David Gam and his family, below p. 291.

2. C.I.P.M. xiii, no.167 (p.141), C.P.R. 1401-5, 320.

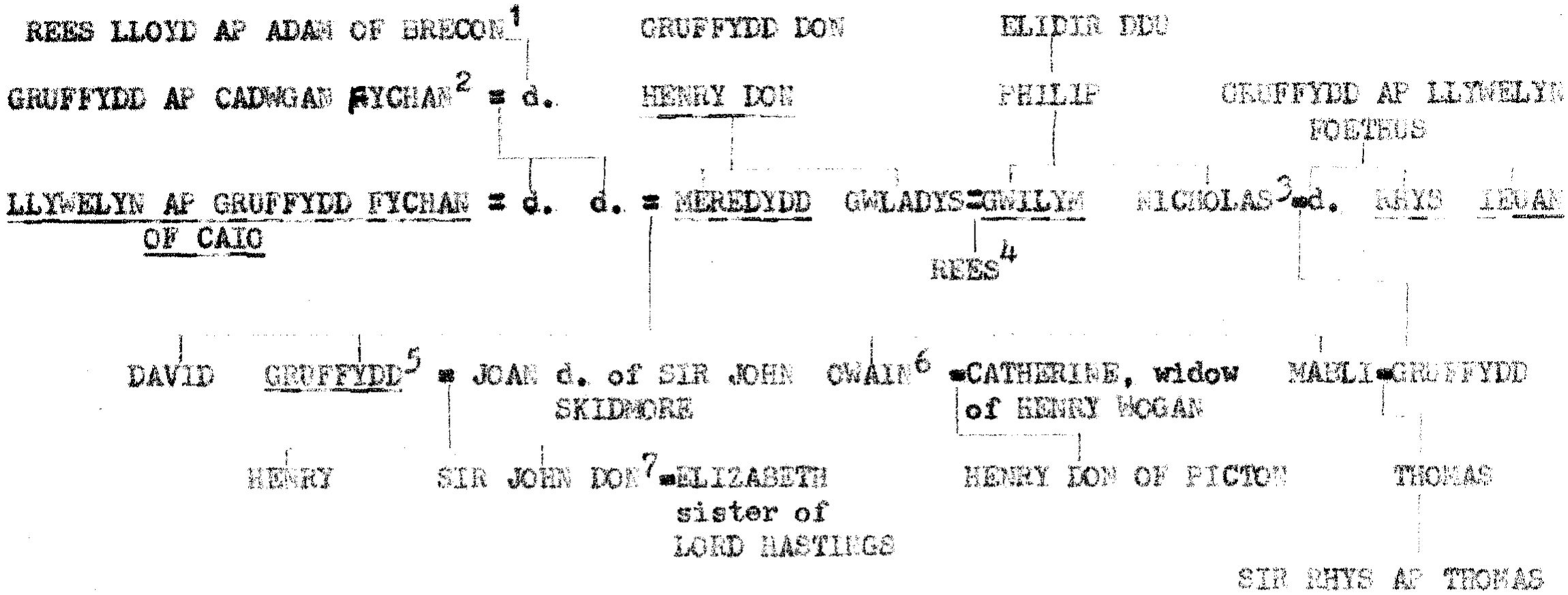
3. C.P.R. 1401-5, 347. His rebellion was short lived, and he was back in royal service by May 1406, C.P.R. 1405-8, 176. For his right to Talgarth see C.P.R. 1408-13, 73, and The Register of Henry Chichele, ed. E.F. Jacob, ii, 82.

4. DL 30/132/2036; C.P.R. 1405-8, 112.

5. His lands were confiscated in November 1403, C.P.R. 1401-5, 328; PSO 1/1A nos. 30A, 49A.

6. See above p. 244 n.3.

A SIMPLIFIED GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF LEADING REBELS IN CYDWELI



d. = daughter.

All the male persons in this table are verifiable historical personages; and those underlined in red are known to have supported Glyn Dŵr during the revolt. The marriages are based, where no authority is quoted, on Lewis Dwnn, Heraldic Visitations of Wales, ed. S.R. Meyrick.

1. vide the genealogical table on David Gam and his family, p.291.

2. He was probably the same man as the receiver of Cydweli in the late fourteenth century.

3. The sole authority for this marriage is Dwnn; but it may be worth noting that in the later fifteenth century Sir Rhys ap Thomas was holding land in Cydweli late of Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Llywelyn Foethus, DL 43/12/14 f.28v.

4. Attorney in the courts of Cydweli and collector of fines, DL 42/18 f.88, f.199v.; SC 6/1166/11 m.13.

5. For this marriage see below p.310 n.4. 6. C.P.R. 1436-41, 200.

7. William of Worcester, Itinerarium (ed. J. Nasmith), 118.

Very much the same pattern emerges from a study of the leading south Wales rebels. In a letter of July 1403 John Harvard, the constable of Dinefwr castle, remarked that the revolt in the Tywi valley was led by Rhys ap Gruffydd, William ap Philip, Henry Don and his son.[1] The accompanying genealogical table shows that all these men - and some other leading Carmarthenshire rebels - were closely linked to each other by marriage. Unfortunately there exists no known evidence by which many of these marriage connections can be confirmed; but the general reliability of Lewis Dwnn's genealogies, especially where his own ancestors were concerned, and the agreement of all genealogies on these marriages suggest that the table is fairly accurate. It adds a new dimension to the study of the rebel leaders. Revolts, it is true, often cut across family allegiances;[2] but in a society which placed such great emphasis on ties of kinship as did Welsh society, marriage connections were more likely to give added cohesion to the rebel cause.

Drawn as they were from the same class and further united by the bonds of marriage, the leaders of the revolt also drew on a common fund of experience and background. Many of them had considerable military experience, having fought with the English armies in Scotland or Ireland or on the continent. This was true of Glyn Dŵr himself and of Hywel Coetmor and Rhys ap Tudur; it was also true of Henry Don who had fought on campaigns in

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1. Royal and Historical Letters of Henry IV, i, 138. Cf. the list of leaders in Original Letters, 2nd series, i, ed. H. Ellis, 14-15.

2. The most famous example is that of Ieuan ap Maredudd and his brother Robert, Sir J. Wynn, History of the Gwydir Family, ed. J. Ballinger, 21-2. Cf. the case of Meredydd ap Madoc Maelienydd, C.P.R. 1401-5, 212.

France long before he took to the field in Wales.[1] For many of the uchelwyr war was a semi-professional occupation, becoming to their rank and status; and several of those who campaigned with Glyn Dŵr later found a place in the ranks of Henry V's army at Agincourt. This military experience was invaluable for the success of the revolt, and to it was often added a measure of administrative ability. For as a tribute to their territorial wealth and social influence, many of the uchelwyr had been chosen to hold responsible offices in the marcher lordships or in the Principality. Henry Don had been steward of Cydweli lordship; and one of his accomplices in 1403, William Gwyn ap Rhys Llwyd, had likewise held the office for several years and had only been relieved of his post in May 1401.[2] William Gwyn's companion first as receiver of Cydweli and later as rebel was William ap Philip. He was probably the grandson of Elidir Ddu; if so, his father had been much in favour with John of Gaunt and the family owned extensive estates in Iscennen.[3] Every Welsh member of the Cydweli administration had thus defected to Glyn Dŵr's side by 1403, taking with them some measure of administrative ability and, much more important, their social influence in the community.

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1. For Hywel Coetmor see Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill, ed. H. Lewis, T. Roberts, I. Williams, 107-8 and Lloyd, Owen Glendower, 66 n.6; for Rhys ap Tudur Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society, 1951, 55; and for Henry Don below pp. 279-82.

2. See Appendix AI, p. 390.

3. William ap Philip was receiver of Cydweli until Michaelmas 1401, but he had joined the rebels by 1403. He was probably of Iscennen, DL 29/573/9063 mab Maeardref; JI 1/1153 m.3d; and, if so, he was probably the son of Philip ap Elidir Ddu (for whom see DL 43/15/1-2) and should be identified with William ap Philip ap Elidir, tax-collector of Iscennen 1407-8, SC 6/1166/11 m.13. I owe this last reference to Dr R.A. Griffiths.

If such trusted higher officials as these should so easily succumb to the tide of revolt, it is little wonder that the less important commotal officials should defect to Glyn Dŵr's cause wholesale. William Gwyn ab Ieuan, the beadle of Iscoed 1399-1400, was later condemned to death at Carmarthen for his rebellion;[1] Thomas ap David ap Gwilym, who had a long record of service as a local official and who was in fact beadle of Iscoed and Quart Cadwgan at the height of the revolt in 1403-5, found his loyalty to the king strained to breaking point and had defected to the rebels before January 1406.[2] Walter ab Ieuan Llwyd, beadle of Quart Cadwgan 1400-1, and his successor in the office, Gruffydd ap Gruffydd Fychan, both died for the rebel cause.[3] Even more interesting is the case of Walter ab Ieuan Fychan: he had been a local official in Cydweli since 1381 and was still trusted by the government in 1401 for in that year he stood pledge that a criminal would not join the revolt. But the events of 1403 were too much for his loyalty and he joined Henry Don in the siege of Kidwelly castle. Later in the revolt he was captured and imprisoned at Windsor castle; and it was not until 1411 that he was pardoned for his lapse from loyalty.[4] These examples have all been taken from Cydweli; but Brecon lordship could doubtless yield like cases of local officials defecting to Glyn Dŵr's cause.[5]

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1. DL 29/584/9241; C.P.R. 1408-13. 32.

2. DL 29/737/12071; DL 29/584/9241-2; C.P.R. 1405-8. 111.

3. DL 29/737/12076; DL 28/27/4.

4. DL 29/584/9237 (beadle of ~~Iscoed~~ Cadwgan before 1381); DL 29/737/12071 (beadle of Penrhyn by 1390); DL 29/573/9063 sub 'Prepositura Castri'; JI 1/1153 m.13, m.20r, C.P.R. 1408-13. 295; C.C.R. 1409-13. 6; DL 42/16 f.62v.

5. For example Hywel ap Madoc ap Philip, the reeve of Hay Welshry in 1397-8, had defected to the rebels by 1404, DL 29/633/10317; DL 42/16 f.22v.

Clearly the Glyn Dŵr revolt in south Wales was neither merely a peasant's revolt nor a rebellion of those who had been denied the fruits of office. It was led and sustained by uchelwyr and by men who had long been in the service of the marcher lords as local officials. Perhaps the best way to appreciate this is to look at the career of Henry Don, the leader of the revolt in the Cydweli district. Don came of a powerful Cydweli family.[1] His father Gruffydd had led a contingent of Welsh troops from Henry of Lancaster's estates to the French wars in the 1340s.[2] This military tradition was to be continued by Henry Don who first appears in the records in John of Gaunt's chevauchée in France in 1370-2.[3] The family lands probably lay in the Iscoed district of Cydweli, though the genealogies connect the family with Croesasgwrn in Llangyndeyrn.[4] Don's estate must have been one of the largest in the lordship, for when his lands were confiscated in 1388 they were said to yield £252.[5] The reason for the confiscation is unknown; but what is clear from the evidence is that Don was in constant trouble with the local authorities for abusing his social power in the community. In 1383 he had been bound over in a recognisance of £200 to enter prison at Kidwelly, and sometime before 1398 a further fine of £100 was imposed on him by Thomas Percy.

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1. For the poetry about the family see G.H. Hughes, 'Y Dwnsaid', T.C.S., 1941, 115-149.

2. Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales, ed. J.G. Edwards, 189, 193.

3. Reg.1, 922.

4. DL 29/373/9063 sub Iscoed (1354); T.C.S., 1941, 115.

5. DL 43/15/2 m.2; for references to his tenants see JI 1/1153 m.2.

the justice of South Wales.[1] These fines may have been occasioned by his illegal seizure of the lands of other tenants in the lordship, for there is no doubt that he used his power and wealth to augment his estate in Cydweli by illegal as well as legal methods.[2] He also acquired valuable leases, such as that of the altarage and grange of Llangyndeyrn church; and his appointment as steward of the lordship in 1388 was no more than a recognition of his social and territorial power in the area.[3] The picture one gets of Henry Don before the outbreak of the Glyn Dŵr revolt is that of a land-grabbing, wealthy and experienced Welsh uchelwr coercing and even terrorizing the local community. He could well have been the prototype for Sion Cent's famous and penetrating description of the oppressing and ruthless squire.[4]

Don must have been well advanced in middle age when Glyn Dŵr's revolt started, for with him on the siege of Kidwelly in 1403 were both his son Meredydd and his grandson Gruffydd. Once he had joined the rebel cause, Don by virtue of his power, influence and military experience became its leader in the Cydweli district. His exploits included two unsuccessful sieges of Kidwelly castle and the capture of the ship of a rich Llanstephan merchant.[5] In February 1407 his extensive lands in Carmarthenshire and Cydweli were

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1. Reg.II, 621, 827; SC 6/1165/8 m.4. I owe this last reference to Dr H.A. Griffiths.

2. For legal acquisitions by him see DL 29/573/9063 sub Carnwyllion and DL 29/573/9065 sub Iscennen. For illegal disseisin of other tenants see DL 42/16 f.59v., f.67v, both cases date from before the rebellion.

3. JI 1/1152 m.7; DL 29/584/9239. 4. Iolo Goch ac Eraill, 288-92.

5. JI 1/1153 m.20v, Royal and Historical Letters of Henry IV, i, 160; C.P.R. 1401-5, 293.

granted to Walter Horton, constable of Kidwelly castle; and Don was later to accuse Horton of using this grant as an excuse for wasting the property and for exacting heavy entry fines from Don's tenants.[1] But in spite of losing his lands and seeing them being ravaged, Henry Don remained faithful to Glyn Dŵr's cause unto the bitter end; indeed as late as 1413 he was still prepared to shelter a fugitive rebel in his household.[2] For his part in the revolt he was imprisoned at Kidwelly and at Gloucester; and it was only after promising to pay a fine of 300 marks that he was pardoned by Henry V in May 1413 and restored to his lands.[3] He had been treated very leniently by the government in view of his prolonged support of Glyn Dŵr's cause. He had in fact been fully rehabilitated to his pre-revolt position in the Cydweli district; and his actions during the next few months show quite clearly that he had not been in the least sobered by the failure of the revolt or by his stay in prison. Indeed it is <u>after</u> the revolt that his tactics of social pressure and coercion in the lordship are most clearly revealed. Accompanied by his <u>plaid</u>[4] - a retinue of supporters bound to him by ties of reward or tenancy or social pressure - he soon made it quite clear that he was master of the area once again. He reverted to his old habit of seizing the lands of poor tenants; and he even assembled a gang of 30 armed men and rode with them into the nearby lordship of Gower to take possession of some land, to

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1. DL 42/16 f.188v.; JI 1/1153 m.2. 2. JI 1/1153 m.20.

3. <u>C.F.R. 1413-16</u>, 29, 44; DL 42/17 f.71-71v.; SC 6/1222/13 dorse. The fine was in fact never paid. It was still being charged on his grandsons, Gruffydd and Owain, in 1444; but by a writ of privy seal of 8 February 1445 the debt was cancelled, SC 6/1168/6 m.10. (I owe this reference to Dr R.A. Griffiths).

4. I have borrowed this term from the contemporary poetry.

which he had a claim. Taking other people's land was only one form of social pressure. The power that Henry Don exercised in the community can be more accurately gauged by the fact that he, a pardoned rebel, could now exact fines from over 200 Welshmen who had failed to follow him in his revolt and who had occupied his land during the uprising. He spent his first few months out of prison riding around the countryside with his plaid, threatening and bullying his opponents and even plotting the murder of Sir John Skidmore, steward of the lordship.[1] If he and his fellow uchelwyr wielded such authority after the revolt, their power must have been well-nigh irresistible at the height of Glyn Dwr's rising.[2] For Henry Don clearly was lord within his district - before, during and after the revolt. But his long reign was drawing to a close; by November 1416 he was dead.[3]

Uchelwyr like Henry Don gave the revolt of Glyn Dŵr much of its distinctive character; without their support and leadership the revolt would have been virtually impossible. Yet it was the essence of the revolt, especially after the critical months of 1403, that it ceased to be a purely aristocratic conspiracy and became a truly national revolt, drawing on the support of all classes in society. It appealed to the intellectuals and ecclesiastics of the day - not only to the higher clergy such as Bishop John

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1. The original indictment (in French, with corrections) is to be found in JI 1/1153 m.16-m.17; the charges and sentences in final form are in JI 1/1152 m.6v. Don was found guilty of all the charges, except that of riding with a group of armed followers in Cydweli in June 1413.

2. Some of his tenants certainly followed him in the revolt, JI 1/1153 m.2, m.8; DL 42/16 f.62v(Cadwgan ap Gwilym).

3. DL 42/17 f.121v.

Trefor or Gruffydd Young,[1] but to lowly clerics like Geoffrey parson of 'Landefey' and John ab Ieuan, a Monmouth chaplain.[2] The great mass of support for the revolt had, of course, to come eventually from the Welsh peasantry itself; and there can be little doubt that during the peak years of the revolt the peasantry was solid in its support for the rebel cause. Thus John Fairford, the experienced receiver of Brecon, informed the government in July 1403 that all 'the Welsh nation' of Brecon lordship, with few exceptions, were sworn supporters of Glyn Dŵr; and likewise a contemporary indictment speaks of Kidwelly castle being besieged in August 1403 by Henry Don 'cum omnibus aliis communibus Wallensis de commotis de Ked' et Carn'.'[3] So strong was local support for the revolt that Glyn Dŵr was confident that he could safely delegate the task of besieging the castles and towns of the south to the local inhabitants themselves.[4] It was from the peasants that the marauding armies of the revolt were drawn, such as that army of 8,240 spearmen which a frightened John Harvard saw marching down the Tywi valley in July 1403.[5] It will never be possible to analyse or even to estimate the crowd in the Glyn Dŵr revolt;[6] but their motives for supporting the rebellion

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1. Cf. G. Williams, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation, 317 et seq.

2. DL 7/1 no.10; DL 42/16 f.195.

3. Royal and Historical Letters of Henry IV, i, 138-40; JI 1/1153 m.20v.

4. Original Letters, 2nd series, i, 19-20 (John Skidmore to John Fairford): 'for he[Glyn Dŵr] halt hym siker of alt the Castell and Townes in Kedwelly Gowerslonde and Glamorgan for the same cuntrees have undertake the seges of hem til thei ben wonnen'.

5. Ibid., 15-16.

6. In the lordship of Bishopscastle alone 77 Welshmen were indicted of treason for supporting Glyn Dŵr, PSO 1/1 no.41A.

were doubtless very varied, ranging from mere convenience to high idealism. They formed the essential numerical basis without which the movement would have been little more than an aristocratic conspiracy.

But as in all revolts support for the cause varied in proportion with success. There are trimmers in every rebellion, and the Glyn Dŵr revolt was no exception, as the Duchy evidence shows. Many adopted the attitude of a Denbigh man who 'for the safety of his goods was in the company of Owen Glyn Dŵr until he had put his goods in safe keeping'.[1] Such a one was Ieuan Crach ab Ieuan Moel. He had been amongst those who accompanied Henry Don on the siege of Kidwelly in August 1403; but his enthusiasm for the rebel cause was short lived. Within a year of his exploits under the walls of Kidwelly castle he was respectably leasing two altarages in the district from St Mary's abbey, Leicester; and by 1405 he was firmly ensconced in the local administration as beadle of Iscoed.[2] Nor was Ieuan Crach in any way an exception. Gruffydd Iscoed was said to be at Henry Don's side in 1403, but was back in office as beadle of Iscoed by 1404; and John ap Hywel, who was with the rebels for a time, had returned to the loyalist fold by 1406.[3] There must have been many others like them, men who were swept into revolt out of fear or convenience, but whose support did not outlast the original success. And what was true of individuals was likewise true of communities. Just as the men of Whittington or Pembroke were willing to come to terms

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1. C.P.R. 1405-8. 326.
2. JI 1/1153 m.20v; JI 1/1152 m.7; DL 29/584/9242.
3. JI 1/1153 m.20v; DL 29/584/9242.

with Glyn Dŵr when their lives or property were in danger,[1] so many of the Welsh rebels quickly rediscovered their loyalty to the English crown whenever a royal army approached their district. The men of Ystradfellte, Faenor, and Glyntawe in the mountainous districts of south Brecon were quite frank about it: on 7 February 1404, at the height of the revolt, they made an agreement with the king whereby they promised to submit to the king if he should defeat the rebels in Glamorgan; if he failed to do so, then they could not be expected to submit ('ne pourront venir al pees') and would forfeit the hundred marks they would have paid to the exchequer of Brecon in the meantime.[2] The men of upland Brecon were clearly going to have the best of both worlds; like many others throughout Wales, they were terrorised into supporting Glyn Dŵr,[3] and consequently their support for his cause was uncertain and vacillating.

Such were the kind of men who supported Glyn Dŵr in the Duchy lordships, whether out of conviction or out of convenience. The motives which impelled them and the hopes or fears they entertained must have varied immensely; but they contained a sufficiently representative cross-section of the Welsh population for us to term the movement a national revolt. Yet even at the apogee of its success the Glyn Dŵr rebellion failed to win the support of all

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1. For Whittington P.P.C., i, 236 and C.P.R. 1408-13, 30; and for Pembroke J.E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower, 107. Cf. also C.P.R. 1405-8, 56: licence for Dore Abbey to treat with the rebels.

2. DL 42/15 f.182v. The agreement probably followed from a commission to grant pardons in the district, issued in September 1403, C.P.R. 1401-5, 299.

3. For an example C.P.R. 1401-5, 407 and cf. Original Letters, 2nd series, i, 36-7.

the local inhabitants; and some attempt must now be made to discover what kind of men within the lordships resisted Glyn Dŵr and his followers.

As one would expect, the class which was most solid in its resistance to the revolt was the burgess class in the towns of Wales. Most of the burgesses were English by birth and by language, and had been the most obvious target for Welsh resentment, political as well as commercial, throughout the fourteenth century, as they were to be again in the fifteenth. They were the obvious target for the attacks of Glyn Dŵr's followers and suffered heavily at their hands. Thomas Dyer, a burgess of Carmarthen town, claimed that he had lost goods to the value of £1,000 as a result of rebel activity; John Sely, a leading Llanstephan merchant, had his ship stolen by Henry Don and William Gwyn; many Kidwelly burgesses lost their houses as a result of the attacks of the summer of 1403 when most of the town was burnt and ravaged by Henry Don and his men; and several Brecon burgesses likewise registered heavy losses as a result of rebel attacks.[1] The list of woes could easily be lengthened, for the burgesses suffered as much from loss of business as from the destruction of their property. Yet in spite - or possibly because - of the losses and the intimidation, the townsmen, with very few exceptions,[2] were unanimous in their opposition to the revolt. And this is true even of those who were clearly Welsh by descent. Such a one was Thomas ap David of Brecon town. He was bailiff of Brecon throughout the emergency years of the revolt, and so

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1. C.P.R. 1401-5, 293, 295; DL 42/15 f.158v.; f.159v.; JI 1/1152 m.5v.; Royal and Historical Letters of Henry IV, i, 155-6. Cf. the figures from contemporary accounts for North Wales towns in E.A. Lewis, The Medieval Boroughs of Snowdonia, 184-5, 191, 202, 204, 208.

2. Such an exception was David ap Hywel Fychan of Brecon, C.P.R. 1401-5, 321; cf. 1405-8, 43.

public-spirited a burgess was he that, in the terms of a royal grant, he neglected his own affairs in order to put all his ability and energy into the defence of his home town. His own business was utterly destroyed, and he had to console himself with his conscience and a meagre royal annuity of 20 marks.[1]

Nor was the rôle of the burgesses a purely negative one, for they formed the backbone of local resistance to the rebellion. During the peak years of the revolt, and especially during the critical summer months of 1403, Kidwelly castle was defended by an amateur home-guard force drawn largely from local burgess families - Balhedes, Castiels, Hiedons, Aylwards, Hodes and Jordans. It was in their own interest to defend their towns and castles and to rebuild the town-walls;[2] and even if they did not undertake the tasks free of charge, they could always be enticed by the promise of confiscated rebel lands.[3] Moreover, they contributed loans to pay for the wages of soldiers,[4] and at the height of the rebellion they travelled to and from English ports to secure victuals for the besieged castles.[5] The services of

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1. DL 42/15 f.32v., f.179v.; DL 42/16 f.116, f.220v., f.244.

2. C.P.R. 1401-5. 319 (the 'foreign English' repair the town walls of Kidwelly after Henry Don's attacks); DL 42/15 f.120 (king promises £10 towards the repair of the walls of Monmouth town, provided the burgesses contribute £50); ibid., f.179v. (Brecon burgesses encouraged to spend 100 marks on repair of the town walls and town gates).

3. For examples from Kidwelly see C.P.R. 1401-5. 310-20. Cf. Roger Aylward, half of whose arrears were cancelled, on condition that he remained on the defence of Kidwelly castle, DL 42/15 f.159v.

4. Thomas Rede and Llywelyn Fychan ap Llywelyn Goch lent £400 to prince Henry for the defence of Carmarthen town, DL 42/18 f.11.

5. C.P.R. 1401-5, 297, 486; DL 29/584/9242; DL 42/17 f.155. Much of the victualling, however, was undertaken by Bristol merchants, because the government was always suspicious of the activities of Welsh merchants during the revolt.

the burgesses were indeed invaluable to the crown in the Duchy estates as elsewhere; they formed a hard and reliable core of local opposition to the rebellion, personally interested in ensuring its defeat.

Outside the towns, so little is known about the local resistance to Glyn Dŵr that it is difficult to detect any particular pattern in the opposition. Even there much of the opposition came from Englishmen who had settled in the area as farmers. Thus in Cydweli the resistance to Glyn Dŵr was organised by Walter Morton a member of a local family which probably lived in the Englishry near Kidwelly town;[1] he was appointed constable of the castle in October 1403 and for his services against the rebels was rewarded with the extensive estates of Henry Don.[2] Likewise in the Hay district a considerable share in the defence of the town and of the castle was taken by John Bedell and his son, members of an old-established family in the area.[3] John Bedell farmed some of the rich agricultural land along the banks of the Wye and was also in charge of two mills and of the demesne, and both he and his son had held office as town bailiffs.[4] In the Usk valley a similar rôle was played by the Harvards of Pontgwilym, another old-established family which had figured prominently in the history of Brecon during the fourteenth century.[5] The main representative of the family at the

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1. Hugh Morton, prior of Evermi and receiver of Ogmore, Michael Morton and Thomas Morton were other members of the family.

2. DL 42/15 f.98v.; DL 42/16 f.188v. When Henry Don's lands were restored to him in 1413, Walter Morton was compensated with a gift of £100 from Brecon, DL 29/731/12018 m.12.

3. A member of the Bedell family held 4 burgages in Hay in 1340, Cardiff Public Library, Brecon Documents, 2.

4. DL 29/633/10317; C.P.R. 1401-5, 487; 1408-13, 307.

5. Theophilus Jones, History of Brecknock, ii, 146-7, DL25/1616; C.C.R.1318-23,458.

time of the Glyn Dŵr revolt was John Harvard, who had probably entered the service of Henry IV when the latter was earl of Derby. He and his son played a notable part in resisting the rebels both in Brecon and in the Tywi valley, and were richly rewarded with confiscated lands for their services.[1] Resisting Glyn Dŵr and his companions was for them both a duty they owed to their master and a means of preserving their own lands and livelihood. For the Mortons, the Bedells, the Harvards and their like were all rich English settler families who had taken possession of some of the most fertile parts of Wales; they were now faced with the prospect of losing the comfortable homes and rich estates which their ancestors had built over the last few generations. They must have believed that it really was Glyn Dŵr's intention 'to destroy the English language',[2] and to expel them and their like out of Wales.

But much as the legislation of the time and the above evidence suggest that the division in Wales at the time of the Glyn Dŵr revolt was a clear-cut racial or at least linguistic one, this was not in fact quite so. Not only did many Welshmen return to the loyalist fold early in the history of the revolt, but throughout the course of the rebellion the ranks of Glyn Dŵr's opponents contained not a few Welshmen. The most famous perhaps were Hwlcyn Llwyd, the ancestor of the Glynnes of Glyn Llifon,[3] and Ieuan ap

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1. C.P.R. 1399-1401, 49; 1401-5, 10; DL 42/15 f.148v., f.179v., DL 42/16 f.258v. J.E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower, 65 n.2, is mistaken in thinking that he was of a Pembrokeshire family.

2. The phrase is frequently used, e.g. P.P.C., ii, 55, 60; Eulogium Historiarum (R.S.), iii, ed. F.S. Haydon, 393. Cf. with this Adam of Usk's statement that the Welshmen of Cardiganshire after their subjection in 1401 were allowed to use their own language, Chronicon Adae de Usk, 71.

3. Glyn Roberts in Transactions of the Carnarvonshire Historical Society, ix (1948), 25-40.

Maredudd, who was rewarded with a place in Sir John Wynn's History of the Gwydir Family; but the Duchy estates in south Wales produced an equally interesting group. In Cydweli one such loyal Welshman was Gruffydd ap David ap Thomas, who occupied the three beadleships of Penryn, Iscoed and Quart Cadwgan even at the height of the rebellion. In Ogmore the Welsh deputy-steward Robert ap Rees remained faithful to the royal cause whilst his English superior, John Fleming, defected to Glyn Dŵr's side.[1] In eastern Wales, Thomas ap David of Skenfrith proved himself to be, in spite of his unmistakeably Welsh name, one of the most bitter opponents of the revolt and suffered much at the hands of the rebels there.[2]

But it was in Brecon that the most famous and redoubtable Welsh opponent of Glyn Dŵr was to be found in the person of David Gam. A web of fanciful legend surrounds the name of David Gam, both as to his activities during the revolt and as to his death on the field of Agincourt. Little of this legend gains support from the historical sources; but nonetheless David Gam's career remains interesting and significant, especially when compared with that of Henry Don. David Gam claimed descent from the old Welsh lords of Brycheiniog; but his family had long since adapted its interests to those of the English rulers of the lordship.[3] The little that is known of the territorial interests of the family strongly suggests that its estates were

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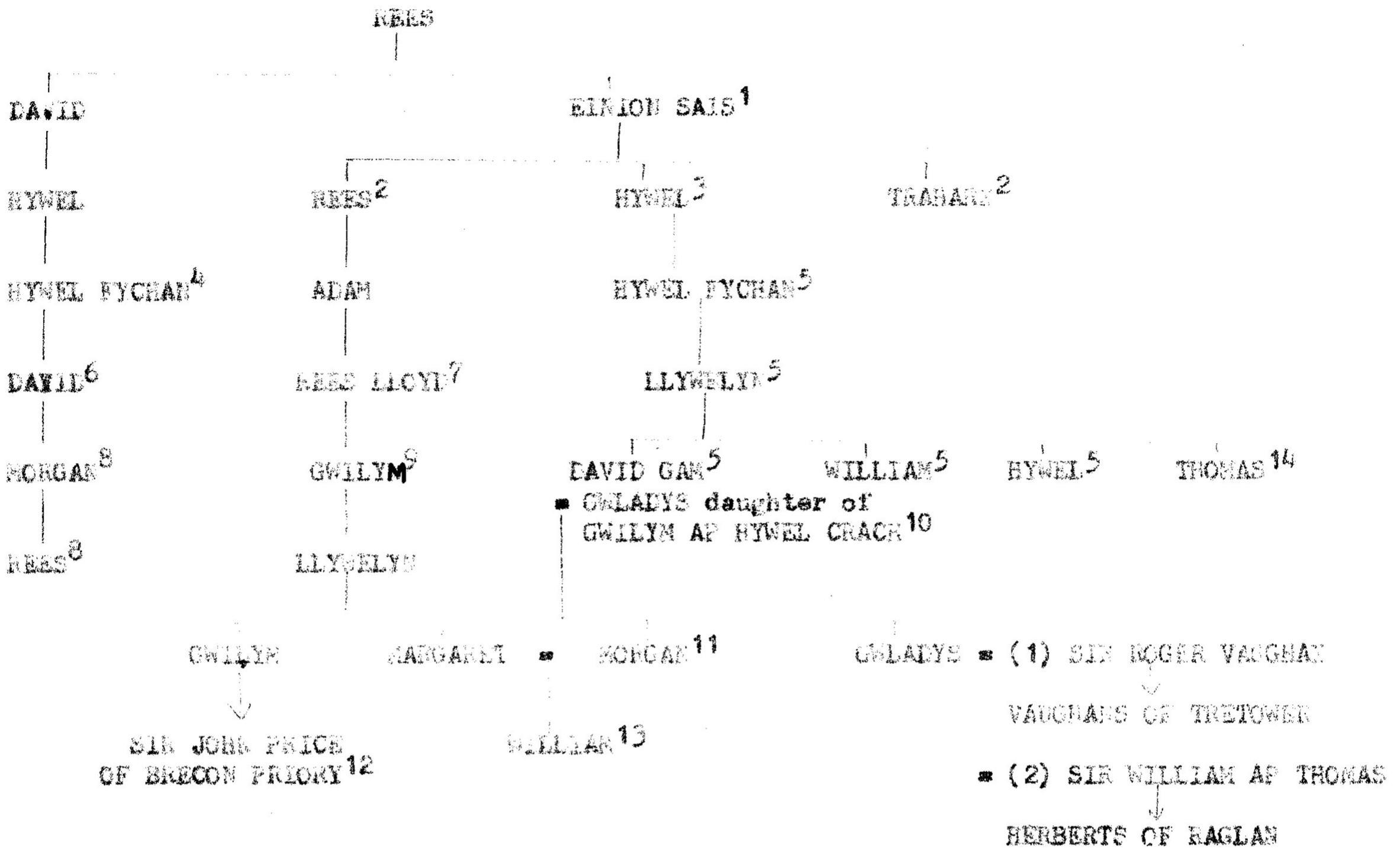
1. C.P.R. 1405-8, 112. 2. DL 29/594/9507 sub Skenfrith, DL 42/16 f.146.

3. See the accompanying genealogical table. T.F. Tout (D.N.B., vii, 832) gets David Gam's genealogy rather confused, by missing out one generations in the history of the family.

DAVID GAM AND HIS FAMILY



The skeleton genealogical table above is based essentially on sixteenth century genealogies; but as can be seen from the notes below, and the text, it gains confirmation at almost every point from historical evidence.

1. Littere Wallie, (ed. J.G. Edwards), 28, 334(1271). 2. C.I.P.M., III, no.552 (1298).
3. Ibid., loc.cit., (1298); DL 36/1 no.93 (1313).
4. DL 29/671/10810, m.20, m.21; DL 25/1627. 5. vide text.
6. C.P.R. 1401-5, 320. N.L.W., Penlle'rgaer Collection 143 (1418).
7. DL 29/671/10810 m.21-m.23; SC 6/1156/18 (1372).
8. N.L.W. Penlle'rgaer Collection 124, 697.
9. SC 6/1157/4 (1398). Died 1416, DL 42/17 f.109.
10. Bailiff of Pencelli 1374-6. SC 6/1156/22; SC 6/1157/2.
11. For poems in his honour vide Peniarth Ms. 67, (ed. E. Stanton Roberts), 114-16, 132-6; Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi, i, (ed. E.D. Jones), 80-81. Gwaith Huw Cae Llwyd ac Eraill, (ed. Leslie Harries), 55-57. The editor of the latter has misinterpreted the genealogical references.

12. For poetry confirming the above genealogy Balliol College Ms. 353 f.21b, f.24. (I owe these references to Miss Llinos Davies).

13. C.P.R. 1452-61. 367. Gwaith Huw Cae Llwyd. 33-34. ~~66-68.~~

14. IL 42/17 f.156v.

situated in the upper Usk valley;[1] and this is confirmed by the fact that several members of the family appear as farmers of the Great Forest of Brecon. Throughout the fourteenth century the family had distinguished itself by its service and loyalty to the successive lords of Brecon. David Gam's grandfather had been sheriff of the lordship for sixteen years during the days of the tenth earl of Hereford, and there is every indication that he was a man of considerable territorial power and influence.[2] His son, Llywelyn ap Hywel, had likewise entered the service of the last Bohun earl of Hereford; and became chief-sergeant of the lordship when it passed into royal custody in 1374.[3] When the lordship was later assigned to the earl of Derby as part of his pourparty, Llywelyn once more transferred his allegiance to the new lord of Brecon and so passed into royal service after 1399.[4] A firm family tradition of service to the lords of Brecon had been established and it was only to be expected that it should be continued in the third generation. And so it was to be. One son, Hywel, followed in his father's footsteps as master-sergeant of the lordship.[5] Another son, William, was certainly in Bolingbroke's service before he came to the throne; for William appears as a royal esquire as early as 30 October 1399 and was later one of the first recipients of rebel lands in Cardiganshire.[6] By April 1409 he had been chosen to be sheriff of Brecon, an office which his grandfather had held some eighty years earlier.[7]

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1. The deed of Einion Sais (Littere Wallie, ed. J.G. Edwards, 28) was dated at Rhyd y Briw, near Defynnog; and tradition connects the family with Llanspyddid, some two miles to the west of Brecon.
2. See above pp. 120-1.
3. SC 6/1156/18; C.P.R. 1370-4. 382.
4. DL 42/15 f.159.
5. DL 42/16 f.52v., f.95.
6. C.P.R. 1399-1401. 37; 1401-5. 8; SC 6/1165/11 m.8. The latter reference confirms that William ap Llywelyn of Brecon and William ap Llywelyn ap Hywel were one and the same person.
7. DL 42/16 f.95, f.246v.

But by far the most distinguished of Llywelyn ap Hywel's sons was David Gam. Like his father and brothers, he was almost certainly in Bolingbroke's service before 1399, for immediately on Henry IV's accession he was given the considerable annuity of 40 marks from the issues of the city of London. This grant[1] suggests not only that David Gam was well in favour with the king, but also that he was resident in London rather than in Brecon. The revolt in Wales, however, was soon to take him back to his native country where legend at least suggests that he was one of Glyn Dŵr's most bitter and persistent opponents. He was involved in resisting the revolt early in its history, for he was rewarded for his services with rebel lands in Cardiganshire as early as November 1401 and in his own lordship of Brecon later, in March 1403.[2] He had now transferred his interests and attention to Wales, and consequently surrendered his London annuity. A Scottish chronicle mentions him as taking part in the defeat of Glyn Dŵr's forces at Pwll Melyn, near Usk, in May 1405, so that there is every reason for believing that he was in the thick of the fight against the rebels.[3] With the end of the revolt he returned to his ancestral home at Brecon, and by August 1410 he had been appointed master-sergeant of the lordship.[4] But he was not to enjoy a peaceful retirement during which he could put the family estates in order after the devastation of the revolt,[5] for during the course of 1412 he was captured by a remnant party of rebels.[6]

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1. C.P.R. 1399-1401, 76. 2. C.P.R. 1401-5, 11, 14; DL 42/15 f.148v.
3. Scotichronicon, ed. W. Goodall, ii, 452 quoted by J.E. Lloyd, D.N.B., 101.
4. DL 42/16 f.59.
5. His brother was given timber to rebuild his houses after the revolt, DL 42/16 f.55v., f.62, f.84.
6. St. Alban's Chronicle 1406-20, ed. V.H. Galbraith, 61, 67.

The capture and ransom of David Gam was no isolated incident. It formed part of a prolonged campaign by the Welsh rebels after the end of the revolt to exact vengeance from those Welshmen who had dared to oppose the Glyn Dŵr movement. Some loyalist Welshmen were captured and ransomed; others were subjected to the antiquated and biassed processes of Welsh criminal law. So intensive was the campaign against them that statutes had to be promulgated in the early parliaments of Henry V to protect them from the vengeance of their enemies.[1] The misfortunes of David Gam and his family show quite adequately that the preambles to these statutes were no mere empty claims. The enemies of the family had hounded David Gam's father, Llywelyn ap Hywel, and had tried to have him convicted under the terms of Welsh law; and he had only escaped this fate by securing a comprehensive royal pardon.[2] So David Gam's capture, sometime before June 1412,[3] was only the culminating blow of a prolonged vendetta against the family for its opposition to Glyn Dŵr. He was not kept long in captivity; by August 1412 he was free once more and under an obligation to pay a ransom variously estimated at 200 and 700 marks.[4] The ransom must have been a heavy drain on his finances, already much depleted by war expenses and by the devastation of the rebels; and in consideration of this and of the good services he had rendered to the king, he was granted permission

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1. Rot.Parl., iii, 666; iv, 329. Statutes of Wales, ed. Ivor Bowen, 37-9.

2. DL 42/16 f.89-f.89v. (25 May 1411). The Welsh form of trial was that of compurgation (rhaith). In this pardon, Llywelyn ap Hywel is described as being very old (la graunt age), and he must have died soon after. According to Theophilus Jones (History of Brecknock, iv, 190) his tomb was in Brecon Priory.

3. C.P.R. 1408-13, 406.

4. DL 42/16 f.115v; DL 42/17 f.80v.-f.81.

to levy gwmwrtha on all the tenants of the Duchy estates in Wales. This unusual grant was in fact tantamount to permission to levy a private tax to pay for David Gam's ransom.

Within three years of this humiliation at the hands of the rebels, David Gam's career came to an end, in characteristic fashion, fighting for Henry V on the field of Agincourt. He served in the battle with three men at arms, and was sufficiently distinguished to be retained individually rather than with the men of Brecon as a group.[1] He was one of the few men of squire's rank or above on the English side to be killed in the battle, and this in itself was sufficient reason for his death to be commemorated in several contemporary chronicles.[2] Like his father and grandfather before him David Gam had lived and died in the service of the lords of Brecon; and there could be no more fitting epitaph than the description of him by a Welsh antiquarian as 'a great stickler for the Duke of Lancaster'.[3]

The careers of Henry Don and of David Gam reveal in microcosm the dilemma which must have presented itself to many Welshmen, more especially amongst the higher ranks of society, at the time of the Glyn Dŵr revolt. Were they to side with the English whom they had served as local officials and military leaders for generations? Or were they to be tempted to support that anti-English, idealistic nationalism which runs as a strong under-current throughout the history of Wales in the fourteenth century? The dilemma had

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1. N.H. Nicolas, History of the Battle of Agincourt, 379.

2. St. Alban's Chronicle 1406-20, 97; Chronicon Adae de Usk, 126; Chronicles of London, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 71. The story that David Gam and his son-in-law Roger Vaughan, were knighted on the field is given some substance by the fact that one chronicler mentions that two recently-dubbed knights were killed at Agincourt, Gesta Henrici Quinti, ed. B. Williams, 58.

3. David Powel, History of Wales, 320.

always been present for Welshmen since 1282 and even earlier, but it was with the Glyn Dŵr revolt that the majority of them had to face it as an immediate problem.[1] The attitudes of Henry Don and David Gam towards the revolt show how two men of very similar background and experience reacted to the problem in diametrically opposite ways. Henry Don, though he had served the house of Lancaster in a military and administrative capacity, was now prepared to break with his past. He was ready to risk all in order to fight for the vision, so relentlessly fostered by the bards, of an independent Wales delivered from the yoke of the Saxons by a Messianic leader. David Gam, who was equally Welsh by descent and sentiment,[2] reacted quite differently; to him the ties of service and loyalty to his English lord were far more compelling and real than any irresponsible poetic vision. He had no doubts where his duty lay.

Such then were the type of men who supported and resisted the revolt of Glyn Dŵr according to the evidence of the Duchy lordships. It is obvious that there is no simple formula which will tell us why one man should join the revolt and another resist it: why, for example, Thomas Huntley should apparently support Glyn Dwr whilst his uterine brother, John Greyndour, should distinguish himself by service against the rebels;[3] or, again, why David Gam and his family should be so bitterly opposed to Glyn Dŵr and his cause whilst

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1. Cf. Glyn Roberts, 'Wales and England: Antipathy and Sympathy, 1282-1483', W.H.R., 1 (1960-3), 375-96.

2. See the poetry to his children and grandchildren by Lewis Glyn Cothi, Huw Cae Llwyd and others.

3. For the relationship see above Chapter III, p.208-9. There is mention of a pardon for Thomas Huntley, though possibly not for the revolt, in DL 42/17 f.110v. (13 February 1416). The taint of revolt had already been removed by February 1411 when Huntley appears as Greyndour's deputy as steward of Usk, N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 65.

a collateral and equally distinguished branch of the family, represented by David ap Hywel Fychan ap Hywel ap David, should lose its lands for its support of the revolt.[1] Different persons were impelled by different motives; and the more closely one looks at the evidence the more obvious does it become that the division between supporters and opponents was neither one of class nor of background nor entirely of language and race.

A national revolt which enjoyed a great measure of success throughout Wales for three whole years and which received the active support of a great part of the country's population was bound to have profound effects, while it lasted, on both local society and local government. One can plot on a map, with a fair degree of accuracy, the areas in which Glyn Dŵr and his supporters held the upper hand during any particular year of the revolt;[2] but one needs to know more exactly what this predominance meant, how far organised life came to a standstill and whether the local administration collapsed or not under the impact of revolt. These are vital questions and some attempt must now be made to answer them from the evidence of the Duchy estates.

Cydweli, Brecon, Ogmore and Monmouth were well and truly within the area of revolt during Glyn Dŵr's years of triumph from 1403 to 1406; and there is no denying the devastation which they suffered during those years. The rich manor of Ogmore in the vale of Glamorgan succumbed entirely and

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1. For the relationship see above p.291

2. See William Rees, An Historical Atlas of Wales, plates 50-51.

produced no revenue whatsoever from Michaelmas 1402 to Michaelmas 1405,[1] and this is not at all surprising when itis remembered that the nearby castle of Coety had to be relieved by government forces in November 1404 and again in September 1405.[2] The official accounts likewise show that in the lordship of Cydweli, the commote of Carnwyllion was in rebel hands until April 1406 and that of Iscennen for even longer.[3] By 1404 the revolt had spread into the eastern lordship of Monmouth and Threecastles: no courts could be held in Whitecastle and Grosmont during the year because the tenants were rebels; half of the income of Grosmont for the year 1403-4 had to be respited and in fact no more than 20% of it was ever collected. In March 1405 the Welsh rebels, it is true, were signally defeated outside the walls of Grosmont; and such a decisive royal victory no doubt alleviated rebel pressure on the district. But even so the revenue of Monmouth receivership during 1405-6 was by no means sufficient to meet the defence costs of the area and had to be augmented by outside subsidies.[4] In fact from Easter 1403 (somewhat later in Monmouth) until Michaelmas 1408, the Duchy estates in Wales were to be a financial liability: and it was not until 1409-10 that they were able to send money once more to the receiver-general.

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1. DL 29/592/9446: '[Nichil] de proficuis domini ibidem a festo sancti Michaelis anno tercio...usque festum Michaelis anno eiusdem regis sexto per tres annos integros pro eo quod tota patria ibidem combusta et destructa fuit per rebelles Wallenses prout satis constat patrie ibidem'.

2. J.E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower, 89, 105-6. 3. DL 29/584/9242.

4. DL 29/729/12003; DL 42/15 f.195; DL 29/737/12076; DL 29/615/9842; P.P.C., i, 248-50. The valors for these years for Monmouth lordship are doubly misleading: on the one hand they given far too rosy a view of the financial situation in 1403-4; and on the other hand they suggest that Monmouth lordship yielded no revenue in 1406-7, which was certainly far from being the case.

These facts show quite adequately what a profound effect the revolt had on Duchy income, and by implication, of course, on ordinary day to day life in the Duchy lordships of South Wales. But the conclusion should not be drawn too hastily from them or from the valors that organised life came to a complete halt in south Wales for five whole years. The receiver of Monmouth was able to collect some revenue without a break through the peak years of the revolt;[1] and Ogmore was well on the way to recovery by 1405, not 1408 as the valor suggests. But the most telling evidence comes from Cydweli, which, with the possible exception of Brecon, was the Duchy lordship most completely under the control of Glyn Dŵr and his men. Large parts of the Welshry were firmly in rebel control; and the Englishry, concentrated on the town and castle of Kidwelly, was open to recurring attacks from the rebels. The castle was besieged in August and in October 1403;[2] much of the town was captured and burnt by William Gwyn ap Rhys Llwyd and his men in August 1404;[3] the whole district must have been endangered a year later by the combined Franco-Welsh forces as they marched from Milford Haven to Woodbury Hill, capturing Carmarthen en route;[4] and the town of Kidwelly was again attacked by Henry Don and his followers in August 1406.[5]

These recurring rebel threats and attacks must have meant that daily life in the Cydweli area was extremely unsettled from 1403 onwards.

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1. For example wood worth £14 was sold in Hadnock in 1405-6, DL 29/615/9842.
2. Royal and Historical Letters of Henry IV, i, 160; JI 1/1153 m.20.
3. JI 1/1152 m.5v.
4. J.E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower, 103-4.
5. JI 1/1152 m.4v., m.6.

Nevertheless, this did not mean that organised life or local administration came to a complete halt there. The evidence shows that, apart from the summer months of 1403, the local administration never completely failed to function in the district, though its hold over the people must have been weak and uncertain. Courts were still held there in 1403-4; the hundred court, for example, is known to have met on 12th December 1403, just two months after Henry Don had besieged the town.[1] The fortunate survival of the receiver's account[2] for the crucial years 1404-7 enables us to see quite clearly that the local officials were able to gather some revenue even during the peak years of the revolt. Most of that revenue came, it is true, from the Anglicised areas around Kidwelly town; but such Welsh districts as Iscoed, Cadwgan and Penrhyn also made contributions. Very much the same conclusion is supported by an agreement of September 1404 - drawn up only a month after William Gwym's attack on Kidwelly town - whereby the abbey of St. Mary's, Leicester was able to persuade a local Welshman (and a former rebel) to lease the altarages of the two churches of Llangynheiddon and Llandefaelog in the heart of Welsh Cydweli. A proviso was added that the lessee should be ~~totally~~ exonerated from payment of the rent if the district were destroyed by rebels. The interesting point is that the lease could be arranged at such a time, and that revolt is considered as a contingency, not as an actual fact. In fact a local jury later testified that the lessee had been able to raise the revenue throughout the period of revolt.[3] Thus such scraps of evidence as

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1. JI 1/1153 m.3v. 2. DL 29/584/9242.

3. JI 1/1152 m.7. A land transaction in Kidwelly in December 1405 is recorded in N.L.W. Muddlescombe Deeds, 2107.

exist for the Cydweli region suggest that rebel attacks were spasmodic and seasonal;[1] and that even in districts apparently in Glyn Dŵr's orbit, rebel control was often loose and uncertain.[2] The absence of any well-organised military or civil administration on Glyn Dŵr's side prevented the rebels from acquiring firm control even of those districts which they had conquered.[3]

But though rebel control was loose and occasional, Glyn Dŵr's attacks were nonetheless sufficiently serious to disrupt the local administration of the lordships. Local civil administration as such largely disappeared in Cydweli and Brecon, and was replaced by a series of military lieutenancies. In Brecon there was a series of such lieutenancies from the appointment of Richard, lord Grey in September 1402 onwards. Grey's authority extended to civil as well as to military affairs, for he was entrusted with judicial as well as with military commissions.[4] The office of steward was in abeyance; and John Fairford, instead of being the local receiver accountable to the

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1. In a letter of 1404 one of the keepers of Conway castle implies ~~reserved~~ that the rebel attacks were confined to the summer, Original Letters, 2nd series, i, 36; and it will be noticed that all the known attacks (except one) on Kidwelly castle took place in August.

2. It is worth noting in this context that it was while he was attempting to collect royal revenue at the height of the revolt in 1404 that the sheriff of Anglesey was captured by the rebels, J.E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower, 80.

3. Cf. the remarks of Glanmore Williams, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation, 253, on the ecclesiastical evidence.

4. Grey's original appointment was in September 1402, C.P.R. 1401-5, 122, 139. He was succeeded by the earl of Warwick and lord Audley in October 1403, but they only stayed until February 1404, ibid., 311, 370. The next we hear of Brecon is Grey as lieutenant there in October 1405; But he seems to have been in charge in the meantime also, C.P.R. 1405-8, 6, 84; P.P.C., ii, 68. For his judicial commissions there see C.P.R. 1401-5, 317; 1405-8, 148, 359.

Duchy auditors, was now the receiver of the royal lieutenant of the lordship.[1] The position was similar in Cydweli: the office of steward was declared to be unoccupied (John Skidmore, the steward, was in fact guarding Carregcennen castle);[2] and the offices of receiver and constable were merged.[3] Thus in the west Wales lordships from 1403 onwards, such administrative machinery as existed was military in character. Even in Monmouth much of the civil administration was temporarily suspended and replaced by a series of military commanders with extensive civil as well as military powers. Thus in February 1405 Sir John Greyndour was entrusted with authority to collect all revenue in Monmouth receivership and to use it for the maintenance of adequate garrisons at Monmouth and Skenfrith castles.[4] In May 1406 very similar, but more extensive, commissions were granted to him for the lordship of Whitecastle and to Sir John Skidmore for the lordship of Grosmont.[5] The overall result of these commissions was to suspend ordinary civil government in all the Duchy estates in Wales[6] and to entrust the local military commanders with full civil as well as military powers. On the whole this was

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1. C.P.R. 1405-8, 107, 149. 2. DL 29/584/9242.

3. Thomas Fernyclogh, a personal servant of Henry IV, was appointed to both offices on the same day, DL 25/3488; DL 42/16 f.29. He was succeeded by Walter Morton on 12 October 1404.

4. The grant is in DL 25/3482; but this was not the first commission, DL 29/615/9842.

5. DL 42/16 f.25; DL 25/3515.

6. The Gloucestershire and Herefordshire manors were temporarily detached from the receivership of Monmouth and placed undera separate receiver.

a sensible solution under conditions of revolt and one which was administratively convenient and financially wise[1] for the English government.

The virtual suspension of the local administrative machinery of the Duchy estates in Wales is a measure of the impact of the Glyn Dŵr revolt on the country; but it does not exhaust the administrative interest of the years 1403-6. A national revolt not only called for the introduction of military rule to the country; it also necessitated a fully co-ordinated plan by the English crown to tackle the uprising. Such a plan would inevitably endanger not only the great degree of independence which the marcher lordships as a whole had enjoyed in the past but also the peculiar administrative position which the Duchy estates enjoyed in Wales, as elsewhere, after 1399. The famous charter of October 1399[2] had decreed that the Duchy inheritance should preserve its separate identity and should not be merged administratively or financially with the other Crown estates. This attempt on the part of Henry IV to keep his private inheritance separate from his Crown possessions was given a very early and severe testing in Wales by the measures adopted to counter the Glyn Dŵr revolt. Until the summer of 1403, the attempt was largely successful. The revolt was still well contained in south Wales and each of the Duchy estates was able to meet its defence needs without recourse to central funds or to direction from the government in London. Arms and victuals for Duchy castles in Wales were purchased and transported at the expense of the

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1. Thus John Greydour was expected to repair the castles and keep an adequate garrison there, 'saunz rien demander du Roy'.

2. For a discussion of this charter see R. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, i, 138-53.

receiver-general; and when Thomas Fernyelogh was retained on the custody of Kidwelly castle in 1403 it was carefully provided that his wages should come not from the royal exchequer, but from the receiver-general of the Duchy.[1] Early appeals from the Duchy estates for military help went to Duchy officials, not to the royal council;[2] and likewise the musters of soldiers in the castles of Monmouth lordship were taken separately from the general musters of royal troops.[3]

This attempt to preserve the separate identity of the Duchy inheritance in Wales continued until 1403; but the general uprising of that year soon dictated that, both militarily and financially, the Duchy estates in Wales should temporarily be merged more closely with the royal ones and administered by royal officials. The movement for amalgamation did not take place without a struggle, for Duchy administrators, both at the centre and in the localities, naturally resented and resisted the interference of royal officials in Duchy affairs. So vigorous was the resistance that in December 1402 Richard Grey of Codnor, the royal commander in south-west Wales, submitted two memoranda to the government[4] complaining bitterly that Duchy officials refused to obey any mandates for payment which prejudiced the financial independence of the Duchy estates and that the council of the Duchy refused to allow him to have assignments on the rich lordship of Monmouth.

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1. DL 28/4/3 f.15-f.15v.; DL 25/3488.

2. Original Letters, 2nd series, i, 19-20. 3. DL 42/16 f.30.

4. P.P.C., i, 277-9. These petitions from Lord Grey and the council's remarks upon them should be dated December 1402, not 1405 as the editor suggests. This is proved by Grey's original warrant, C.P.R. 1401-5, 122, 139; and by the survival of the receipt dated 12 November 1402 for the £200 from Kidwelly which Grey mentions in his memorandum, DL 41/9/8 m.27. This invalidates the use made of the document in J.E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower, 107.

But this professional opposition to the virtual union of Crown and Duchy finances and administration could not long withstand the emergency conditions in Wales; and on the whole the union came to be tacitly accepted during the years 1403-6. Measures for the defence of the Duchy castles in Wales were often formulated by the royal council rather than by the councillors of the Duchy;[1] and the task of victualling the castles was frequently entrusted to the royal Exchequer rather than to the Duchy's receiver-general.[2] The Principality and Duchy lands were often coupled under the same military command, such as that of the duke of York who was commissioned to defend the Principality castles in South Wales and the two Duchy castles of Kidwelly and Carregcennen.[3] Perhaps the best example of this disregard for the constitutional niceties of the Duchy position was manifested in the appointment of the earl of Warwick and lord Audley as keepers of Brecon lordship in October 1403: not only was their indenture of service issued under the great seal but they also accounted for their term of office not to the Duchy auditors but to the barons of the Exchequer.[4] Nor was this merging of Duchy and Crown affairs limited to the sphere of military appointments. The confiscations of the lands of Duchy tenants, their pardons for revolt, and their rewards for opposing the rebels all came to be entered on the Chancery Rolls rather than in the Duchy registers.[5] In part this gradual amalgamation of Crown and Duchy affairs was the inevitable

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1. P.P.C. i, 251-3; ii, 68.
2. C.P.R. 1401-5, 486, 502.
3. B.M. Cotton Charters, xxv, 13; C.P.R. 1401-5, 311.
4. C.P.R. 1401-5, 311, 370; E 364/40 m.4.
5. C.P.R. 1401-5, 26, 295, 319, 487; 1405-8, 111; 1408-13, 32, 166, 295. For an example of a pardon to a Duchy tenant being issued under both the royal and the duchy seal cf. C.P.R. 1408-13, 307 and DL 42/16 f.103.

result of the union of Crown and Duchy in 1399; and as such it was not peculiar to the Welsh lands of the Duchy nor to the period of revolt.[1] But as a major administrative feature in the Duchy's history it is confined to the Welsh estates and to the period 1403–6; and as such it was caused by the emergency conditions of a national revolt.

For there can be no doubt that the Glyn Dŵr revolt during its peak years 1403–6 was a national rebellion. Not only was it national in its aims and in its avowed policies; it was also national in the sense that it forced the great majority of the people of Wales to adopt a definite attitude for or against it. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that its control of 'conquered' areas may have been loose and uncertain, it was a national movement (even more so than the campaigns and policies of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd) in that its stage was nothing less than the whole of Wales. Such a revolt called forth a co-ordinated military and even civil policy from the English government. Statutes applicable to all Welshmen alike were issued; a general military policy for the whole country was evolved; and even the very existence and nature of the marcher lordships were called in question.[2] In a word, the English government for the first time since Edward I's day had to evolve a general policy towards the Welsh question. That is the measure of the national character of Glyn Dŵr's revolt and of the degree of success it achieved.

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1. See, for example, the commission to justices on Duchy lands in Wales which appears in C.P.R. 1413–16, 112; and the petitions from Duchy tenants to the royal council in E 28/13 no.106 and E 28/33 nos. 25, 27. The question of the separate identity of the Welsh lands of the Duchy was, significantly enough, raised in parliament in 1415, Rot.Parl., iv, 91. On this question in the Duchy as a whole see R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, i, 158–9.

2. See above p. 6 esp. n. 3.

(iii) The aftermath of rebellion.

'Owen Glyndwrs warres beginninge in Anno 1400 contynewed fifteene yeares w'ch brought such a desolacion that greene grasse grewe one the market place in llanroost called Brin y Botten'. In this sentence Sir John Wynn of Gwydir[1] graphically described the material consequences of the Glyn Dŵr revolt, and his verdict has almost invariably been accepted by modern historians as correct. Alongside it they generally place the famous words of Wynn's contemporary, George Owen of Henllys, on the aim and consequences of the anti-Welsh laws which Henry IV's parliaments issued during the course of the revolt, 'to keepe [Wellshmen] poore, to depryve them of good education and make them uncivill and brutish'.[2] Similar sentiments on the material and cultural consequences of the Glyn Dŵr revolt are to be found in the writings of several other Tudor Welshmen.[3] They certainly deserve attention, but as examples of Tudor historical propaganda rather than as serious verdicts on the aftermath of Glyn Dŵr's rebellion; for sixteenth century writers, anxious to sing the praises of the house of Tudor and of its achievements in Wales, naturally highlighted the desperate state of the country and its people under Lancastrian rule. From the colourful verdicts of the Tudor writers the historian must turn to the more humdrum evidence of contemporary documents for a balanced view of the consequences of the revolt. The conclusions derived from such a

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1. The History of the Gwydir Family, ed. J. Ballinger, 52.

2. George Owen, 'The Dialogue of the Goverrment of Wales' in The Description of Penbrokeshire, ed. H. Owen, iii, 37.

3. Cf. Rice Merrick, A Booke of Glamorganshire Antiquities, 75-6; and Bishop Richard Davies' letter to the Welsh in Rhagymadroddion 1547-1659, ed. G.H. Hughes, 24.

study are often meagre and unsatisfactory (for at best the historian can hope to do no more than measure the material consequences of revolt); but at least they have the virtue of being fairly unbiased and based on the evidence.

Several questions as to the aftermath of the revolt immediately pose themselves; and foremost amongst them is that of the fate of the convicted rebels. On the whole the government's policy was a remarkably lenient one; there was certainly no campaign of mass recrimination. Certain of the rebels and their families, it is true, did suffer for their support of Glyn Dŵr. The best known example is, of course, the Tudor family of Penmynydd; but there are similar examples in the Duchy lands in south Wales. William Gwyn ap Rhys Llwyd died during the siege of Aberystwyth in 1408; and his lands in Cydweli were lost forever to his family, being granted to one royal favourite after another.[1] The same fate befell Gruffydd ap Walter ap Ieuan, William Gwyn ap Ieuan, and John ap Hywel ap Gruffydd. But on the whole most of the upper-class rebels recovered both their lands and their status soon after the revolt. The lordship of Cydweli provides several interesting examples of such men: Hywel ap Thomkyn had fought with Henry Don at the siege of Kidwelly castle in 1403, but by 1410 he had been reinstated in official favour as beadle of Penrhyn and was later to distinguish himself in the king's service in France;[2] Hywel ab Ieuan ap Hywel graduated through Windsor gaol to Agincourt and to a place in the local administration;[3] and, in

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1. C.P.R. 1401-5. 319; 1405-8. 111; DL 42/16 f.106; DL 42/18 f.12v., f.92v.
2. JI 1/1153 m.20; DL 29/737/12085.
3. JI 1/1153 m.20; C.C.R. 1409-13. 6; E 101/46/20; DL 29/584/9243.

Brecon, David ap Hywel Fychan ap Hywel ap David, who had earlier lost his lands for supporting the revolt, was already adding to his estates by 1413.[1] The muster rolls for the king's campaign in 1415 show further that many of Glyn Dwr's warriors were later in the ranks of Henry V's army at Agincourt.[2] Many of these men must have lost a great deal by their support of Glyn Dŵr; but they were able to recover their estates, social power and official positions with remarkable speed once the revolt was over.

The government's wrath had been short-lived; it had acted on the principle that mercy was more likely to eradicate the memory of revolt than revenge. The success of its policy becomes apparent if one looks at the story of the Don family in the generation after the revolt. It has already been noticed how Henry Don was pardoned and restored to his lands in 1413, though he had been one of the most diehard of the rebels. On his death in 1416 he was succeeded by his grandsons, Gruffydd and Owen. Gruffydd had been with his grandfather at the siege of Kidwelly castle in 1403; but after his pardon in May 1413 his career was to be notable for unwavering loyalty and respectability. He redeemed much of his reputation by accompanying Henry V on the Agincourt expedition and before the end of his life he was to show considerable prowess in the English campaigns in France.[3] By 1421 he had so clearly and decisively displayed his new-found loyalty that he was granted exemption from the statute prohibiting Welshmen from purchasing land in

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1. C.P.R. 1401-5, 320; JI 1/1152 m.15.

2. E 101/46/20. Amongst them were Gruffydd ap Meredydd ap Henry Don, Meredydd ap Owain (see above pp272-3) and Rhys ap Llywelyn ap Gruffydd Fychan, whose father had been put to death by Henry IV (see p.272).

3. E 101/46/20. For his capture of the French captain, Gaucourt, see H.T. Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, 51.

England.[1] The rewards for his loyalty came in the reign of Henry VI: he was chosen receiver and constable of Cydweli, and in May 1427, 'for his service to Henry V and Henry VI', he was appointed sheriff of Carmarthenshire.[2] So dim were the memories of the rebellion in his mind that he even secured the lease of the estates of William Gwyn ab Ieuan and William Gwyn ap Rhys Llwyd, both of whom had almost certainly fought at his side in August 1403.[3] Moreover, like several other Welshmen anxious to redeem their reputations after the revolt,[4] he took unto him an English wife, Joan the daughter of Sir John Skidmore, the man who had led the resistance to the Glyn Dŵr revolt in the Tywi valley and whose death Gruffydd's grandfather had plotted in 1413.[5] The wheel had indeed come full circle. By the end of his career Gruffydd Don was the epitome of loyalty and respectability; no one could impugn the character of the lord of Penallt.[6] His brother, Owen, was lord of nearby Muddlescombe and he likewise showed exemplary loyalty to the government in the post-Glyn Dŵr period, though he did also inherit some of

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1. Rot. Parl., iv, 130:1. 2. C.P.R. 1422-9, 397; DL 42/18 f.13, f.211.

3. DL 42/18 f.72v.

4. The best known example is, of course, Gwilym ap Gruffydd of Penrhyn who took Joan Stanley of Cheshire as his second wife.

5. Joan was certainly the name of Gruffydd Don's wife, Calendar of Papal Letters 1431-47, 369; and the marriage is proved beyond doubt by the fact that in 1489 Sir John Don claimed the right to the advowsom of Laugharne church in virtue of the fact that Sir John Skidmore was his maternal grandfather, The Genealogist, new series, xxiii (1907), 32.

6. So described in Calendar of Papal Letters 1431-47, 369.

the lawlessness and impetuosity of his grandfather.[1] The English goverrment's policy of leniency had yielded ample dividends in the case of the Dons as in that of so many other families. It had realised that the Dons and their fellow-uchelwyr were the masters of Welsh local society, and that it was wiser to employ them rather than to penalise them for their support of Glyn Dŵr.

On the whole the Welsh uchelwyr recovered rapidly and successfully from their misplaced support of Owain Glyn Dŵr,[2] but the picture is far less rosy where the Welsh peasantry is concerned. For with the end of the revolt the peasants were subjected to a new wave of financial oppression and had to pay dearly for their part in the rebellion. In the first place, large communal fines were extorted from them in return for royal charters of pardon.[3] The subsidy of £552 which was raised in the session at Brecon in 1410 probably included such a fine; and the tenants of Cydweli paid 180 marks and those of Ogmore £50 to secure charters of pardon from their lord.[4] Elsewhere in Wales even larger fines were paid.[5] In addition to these communal fines for pardon, each individual member of the community had to pay an entry fine to secure a legal title to his lands, which had escheated as a

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1. There is a great deal about Owen Don in the folios of DL 42/18.

2. For another example see The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536, ed. T.B.Pugh, 291-3, where the history of the Kemeys family is briefly traced.

3. As the revolt was treason against the king, pardons were extended by the crown not by the marcher lords, and consequently the fines were paid into the royal treasury, e.g. C.P.R. 1405-8, 203, 376, 390; 1408-13, 28; E 401/641 sub Tuesday 14 June 1407.

4. DL 29/730/12015 m13; DL 42/16 f.62v.

5. The tenants of Abergavenny paid 500 marks for their pardon and those of Glamorgan £500, whilst in the Principality lands even larger fines were exacted, C.P.R. 1405-8, 365, 337; SC 6/1216/2; SC 6/1222/10-11.

result of his revolt. The financial value of these entry fines was immediately grasped by hard-headed seignorial officials;[1] and they became a major item of revenue in the first few years after the rebellion. Thus in Carmarthen and in Cardigan south of the river Aeron as much as £906 13.4d. was levied from this source ~~in the year 1409-10 alone~~.[2] Likewise the community of Brecon in 1413 made a fine of a thousand marks with its lord not only to secure a pardon for its offences but also in order to have a legal title to its lands.[3] The importance of these entry fines in the years immediately after the revolt is also brought out clearly in the table of Cydweli revenue: in the commote of Carnwyllion alone during the five years 1408-12 as much as £162 was paid by the tenants by way of entry fines for escheated lands.[4]

Nor was financial oppression all: for the end of every revolt brings with it a difficult period of readjustment and rehabilitation, and greater opportunities than usual for social oppression and exploitation. Ex-rebels were particularly liable to such extortion and virtual blackmail. It was one of the charges against Rhys ab Ieuan Fychan, the deputy-steward of Cydweli, that he collected for himself fines from ex-rebels and the widows of rebels before he allowed them to enter upon their lands.[5] Charges of having supported the revolt were bandied about in an irresponsible fashion, and the

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1. See the letter in Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions, ed. M.D. Legge, 373-4; and cf. P.P.C., i, 287.

2. SC 6/1222/10; cf. C.P.R. 1413-16, 137, 195.

3. JI 1/1152 m.9v. £63 18.8d. was realised by one Brecon escheator from the sale of escheated rebel lands, DL 42/17 f.162v.

4. See Appendix D.2, where fines are entered separately from normal court issues.

5. JI 1/1153 m.3, m.8.

lands of people who were no more than alleged rebels were confiscated without a hearing.[1] The active land market, which is bound to be the result of any major and prolonged civil disturbance, provided an ideal opportunity for land speculators to build compact estates for themselves quickly, cheaply and ruthlessly. Technically the land of every man who had supported the rebellion was an escheat in the lord's hands and would remain so until it was legally recovered. If the rebel had survived the revolt he was given priority over other buyers in the purchase of his lands,[2] and in the event of his having died during the revolt the right of recovery would pass to his heir.[3] In many cases, however, the heirs were dead or not forthcoming; and in such cases the lands - or rather the tenant rights in the land - would be offered to the highest bidder. Thus in the courts of Carmwyllion in 1411 and 1412[4] the land of at least 36 tenants who had died as rebels came on the land market, involving probably some 500 or so acres.[5] Only in 11 cases can the new tenant be identified as a direct relative of the deceased tenants; in many cases the new tenants

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1. For possible examples, DL 42/16 f.195 and ~~(possibly)~~ f.260, D47/1no.10.

2. For example: 'Dd' Person' ap Dd' Lloyde dat domino C.s.' pro iure domini in vij acris terre cum pertinenciis quas idem Dd' perdidit eo quod rebellis fuit', DL 28/27/4. According to another source a pardoned rebel in Cydweli was expected to pay a heriot of 10s. before having seisin of his land, DL 42/16 f.62v.

3. For example: 'Ieuan ap Henri' ap Ieuan ap Cad' dat domino xls. pro jure domini in sex acris terre cum pertinenciis quondam Henr' ap Ieuan ap Cadogan qui obiit rebellis', DL 28/27/4. Other examples can be found in DL 42/16 f.86, f.260.

4. DL 28/27/4 - a document containing extracts from the Carmwyllion courts for 9-13 Henry IV. It is the basis for most of the next paragraph.

5. The actual acreage cannot be determined, because often only a general phrase such as 'tota tenura' is used.

were certainly not direct heirs, for they can be traced buying the lands of several rebels over a number of years. These figures are for one commote alone over a period of two years.

Such an active land market offered a fine opportunity for the more enterprising tenants who had managed to survive the revolt and who were now anxious to increase their estates. Thus Walter ap Jankyn secured the right to the lands of Ieuan ab Ieuan Fychan and to them in 1411 he added all the lands of Ieuan ap Dafydd ab Walter who had died a rebel. Even more extensive acquisitions were made by Ieuan ap Jankyn. He was by all accounts a man of some means living in the Llanelli area; and, according to a later accusation, he had supported Henry Don during the siege of Kidwelly castle in 1403.[1] But in spite of his past associations with the rebel cause, Ieuan ap Jankyn had no scruples about taking full advantage of the market in rebel lands as soon as the revolt was over. During the years 1407-9 he bought out the rights of 3 tenants in 5 virgates, 3 acres and 2 houses in Carnwyllion; and he later acquired the substantial estate of Gruffydd ap Hywel ap Gruffydd Don for the considerable entry fine of £8 13. 4d. Other similar instances of the accumulation of rebel property by a few land-grabbing tenants could easily be given, especially from the Cydweli evidence; and it will be remembered that confiscated rebel lands formed much of the basis of the landed fortunes of the Gruffydds of Penrhyn in North Wales.[2] What one would dearly like to know is how considerable was the redistribution of peasant holdings and the accumulation of larger estates in the immediate post-Glyn Dŵr period. A

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1. JI 1/1153 m.20; DL 29/573/9063 sub Carnwyllion.

2. J.R. Jones, 'The Estates of the Penrhyn Family to 1431' (University of Wales. Unpublished M.A. thesis), 136-40; C.A.D. v. 549-50.

satisfactory answer to this question will always evade us because of the paucity of the evidence; but at least it is clear that the Glyn Dŵr revolt and its aftermath further undermined the territorial stability of Welsh society, already weakened by the mortality of the Black Death and by frictions within that society itself.

The end of the Glyn Dŵr revolt clearly brought with it a good deal of financial hardship and social dislocation, especially for the lower orders of society; but how far was the economic life of the country disrupted and permanently damaged by the revolt in the way that Sir John Wynn's dramatic description implied? The answer to this question must obviously be looked for in the contemporary account-rolls, and nowhere is there a richer collection than for the Duchy estates. Nonetheless, valuable as are the Duchy accounts and valors for a study of the fluctuations of seignorial income in the period, by their very nature they reveal very little about the fortunes of the peasantry, except in an incidental fashion. In the lordship of Ogmore alone is the evidence in any way varied enough to cast some light on this vital question. There, a detailed rental of 1426[1] supplements a fairly full series of local accounts[2] and enables one to get beyond the question of seignorial income to that of the economic life of the area in the post-Glyn Dŵr period. And so Ogmore will be taken as a case-study, though not of necessity a typical example, of the effects of the revolt on rural society in Wales.[3]

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1. DL 42/107 on which the table of the tenurial and geographical distribution of tenant land in Ogmore (above p. 239) is based.

2. The contents of the local accounts and valors for Ogmore for the period have been tabulated in Appendix E, pp. 422-3.

3. Professor William Rees in South Wales and the March 1284-1415, 277, has used the Ogmore accounts briefly; but his figures have to be used with great caution.

The lowland districts of Glamorgan suffered severely from the attacks of Glyn Dŵr's men, and Ogmore was no exception in this respect. During the three years from 1402-1405 the lordship was utterly devastated by the rebels. Many of the English inhabitants were killed during the revolt or otherwise fled to England; only a few of them are known to have sided with the rebels.[1] With the failure of the French expedition of 1405 and with the series of defeats inflicted on Glyn Dŵr's forces in south Wales, the revolt began to subside in Glamorgan; and already in 1405-6 the reeve of Ogmore was able to answer for a little revenue from his war-scarred bailiwick. By 1409-10 a considerable measure of recovery in the economy of the district had been achieved; and it might have been expected that Ogmore was well on the way to a complete and fairly rapid recovery from the devastation of the revolt. That was not to be so, as the statistics for the period 1410-40 adequately show. The two fulling mills of the lordship, which had been destroyed during the rebellion were never rebuilt; nor did the water-mills reach their pre-rebellion lease rates during the next thirty years - at best they only yielded 75% of the revenue they had yielded in 1401. Much more telling is the evidence of rents and farms. Already in the late fourteenth century some 10% of Ogmore's rent was uncollectable, suggesting, along with other evidence, that the area was underpopulated and economically depressed.[2] This under-population was accentuated in a catastrophic fashion by the rebellion, for by

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1. But they did include three rich tenants, John Fleming the deputy-steward, John Merlawe who came of a Sutton family, and Isabelle Lanfey who owned considerable land in Colwinston, C.P.R. 1405-8, 112.

2. See above Chapter III, part iv *esp.* pp.232-4

1423 35% of the rent was recognised as being in decay.[1] Nor is this the full measure of the fall in revenue which had occurred; the heavy arrears which are a constant feature of the Ogmore accounts after 1405 show that the auditors had not been prepared to recognise the full extent of the economic decline of the district. As in the fourteenth century, some of these arrears were certainly due to the remissness of the accounting officials; but others, forming probably a far larger proportion of the whole, were equally certainly due to the fact that some of the revenue could no longer be collected.[2] In 1420 many of the older arrears, dating back to the days of the revolt, were recognised as being desperate and were cancelled in return for a fine of £50.[3] But the arrears continued to accumulate and in 1426 the tenants of Ogmore complained to the Duchy council that they were being overcharged for rent. They sent four representatives to discuss their complaints with the council and came to an agreement to compound for their arrears for the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI by a fine of £60.[4] These recurring arrears and compounding fines reveal that the rental of Ogmore, compiled in 1395,[5] was anachronistic in the post-revolt condition of the lordship and that the figures for gross

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1. The fact that the 'decessus redditus' item shows an increase between 1417 and 1420 may mean that Ogmore tenants were using the devastation of the revolt as an excuse in later years to avoid paying their rents. On the other hand, it may also mean either that tenements becoming vacant after the revolt could not be tenanted, or that the Duchy auditors were tardy in recognising the full extent of the decline in rent which had followed the rebellion.

2. In February 1417 Henry V ordered all arrears due from the Welshry of Ogmore before his accession to be respited, DL 42/17 f.111.

3. DL 29/732/12030-1. 4. DL 42/18 f.264v., f.269.

5. For a reference to this extent see DL 29/592/9446.

potential income in the accounts were too high. It was in face of these defects that a new rental was compiled in September 1428.[1]

This rental is invaluable for the historian, for it enables him to see what were the economic facts which account for the sharp decline in seigneurial income in the post-Glyn Dŵr era. The first fact which emerges clearly from it is the catastrophic effects which the rebellion had had on the economic structure of Ogmore. In the lowland, Anglicised area of the lordship, more than half the land of the customary and cottager tenants (71 messuages, 63 cottages, 623 acres out of 122 messuages, 159 cottages, and 1230 acres) was untenanted, and the fall in rent in the area was parallel - £21 3.5d. out of £44 14.3d. Certain of the smaller vills were almost completely deserted: there were no tenants at Seaton where there had previously been nine tenants, and at Norton the tenant population had fallen from eleven to two. These vills were assuming the character of 'deserted villages'; and there can be little doubt that most of the depopulation had been caused, directly or indirectly, by the Glyn Dŵr revolt. At least, many of the tenements vacant in 1428 can be shown with a fair degree of confidence, to have been occupied in 1400. For example, Thomas Best was married and acquired some land in 1400, but by 1428 his tenement of 12 acres was vacant; and the same was true of Jac Stephen, William Smyth and John Hyot senior. These are only a few examples from the many which could be cited; at least 200 acres of the land vacant in 1428 can be traced as being occupied in 1400 or later, and doubtless the figure would be much higher if the documents were

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1. This rental had been commissioned as early as February 1422, DL 42/17 f.172.

more abundant.[1] Even tenants who had survived the rebellion and were still living in the lordship were vacating some of their poorer land, doubtless because of the abundance of better land elsewhere at cheaper rate.[2] Altogether the evidence of the 1428 rental is quite clear and conclusive: the revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr, coming so soon after the depression of the mid-fourteenth century, had a profound and catastrophic influence on the economic life of Ogmore and was primarily responsible for the fall in population and the consequent extensive abandonment of cultivation which is so clearly revealed in the pages of the rental.

Some of the land thus left vacant after the revolt was soon leased to the surviving tenants of the lordship; but it is indicative of the slow recovery of the district that no income was derived from this source before 1416 and that even in 1422 revenue from such leases made good less than a quarter of the loss in rent.[3] The 1430s show a decided improvement in this respect:[4] a considerable amount of the vacant land had been leased by then and was bringing in a substantial share of the lordship's income. It was, of course, very much a buyer's market, and the tenants of Ogmore took full advantage of the opportunity offered to them. Holdings, especially customary holdings, were leased for prices well below those of the pre-rebellion

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1. These details have been arrived at by comparing names which appear in an Ogmore court roll of 1408 (DL 30/132/2036) with details of vacant tenements in DL 42/107.

2. Thus David Aleyn still held a cottage and 18 acres of land in Pitcot, but he had dispensed with 9 acres of land on the down.

3. In 1417 a commission was to enquire how many tenements were occupied in Ogmore Welshry and when they had been occupied. Vacant tenements were to be leased at the best possible prices, DL 42/17 f.111.

4. Partly due, perhaps, to the efforts of John Laurence the receiver who was rewarded for his zeal, DL 42/18 f.64.

period: at Wick, for example, 9 customary holdings of 12 acres each, which had previously been rented at 8/9d. each (£4 7.6d.) were leased in 1440 at varying prices and realised less than half their previous rent (£2 2.5d.)[1] Not only was land cheap; it was also plentiful for those who were able and willing to undertake the work of reclaiming it; and a leading feature of the economic life of Ogmore by the mid-fifteenth century was the accumulation of large tracts of vacant land in the hands of a few enterprising and ambitious farmers. Thus John Kyott leased all the empty cottages and vacant land (some 67 acres) of Northdown for £1 11.8; Thomas Aythan, who was in his own right the most powerful farmer in the vill of Ogmore with his collection of 9 messuages and 22 acres of land, made himself master of the area by securing the lease of all the vacant tenements of the vill, comprising 11 cottages and 78 acres of land, for a rent of only £1; and likewise Thomas Kyot, starting with a modest holding of his own of 22 acres in Southerndown, acquired in 1433 a sixteen-year lease of all the vacant lands of Seaton and Southerndown (20 cottages and 198 acres all told) and added to them a further 18 acres of vacant land in Oldcastle in 1440. These three men may well have sub-let

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1. Other examples:

	Previous rent	1440 lease price
Northdown	£2. 2. 9.	£1. 11. 8.
Broughton	3.10.	2. 7.
Oldcastle 'native'	£1.18. 6.	£1. 8.10.
Oldcastle 'coterelli'	10. 3.	8. 4.
St. Bride's	£1. 0. 2.	£1. 0. 0.
Fiddot	12. 2.	12. 2.

considerable areas of vacant lands to others; but they might equally well have exploited them themselves, especially by sheep-farming. By their initiative in a highly attractive land market, they were setting themselves apart in society; they bear comparison with that class of rich farmers which some historians have noticed as emerging in other parts of the country at this time.[1] Society was polarising around them, and the movement was accentuated by the contraction in the size of the population. In the vill of Ogmore, to take one example, where there were previously 22 tenants in possession of 27 cottages and 133 acres of arable, by 1440 the same area of land was in the hands of 6 men, one of whom (Thomas Aythan) owned all of it except 7 cottages and 33 acres. A veritable revolution in the tenurial pattern and social structure of the vill had taken place, and was repeated to a lesser extent in the other vills of the lordship. By 1440 lowland Ogmore had indeed overcome the major consequences of the Glyn Dŵr revolt; but in the process the economic character and social structure of the district had been profoundly changed.

The survival of a variety of documents for the lordship of Ogmore for the years 1410-40 has enabled us to study the economic fortunes of the lordship in the post-Glyn Dŵr period with a considerable measure of detail. Moreover it has been possible to study the economy from within and not merely to be satisfied with the fluctuations of seigneurial revenue. In no other Duchy lordship in Wales has such a wide and illuminating range of documents survived. In Brecon, Monmouth and Cydweli one has to be satisfied with the

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1. R.H. Hilton in Studies in Leicestershire Agrarian History, ed. W.G. Hoskins, 35, and in V.C.H. Leicestershire, ii, 185-7. Cf. the remarks of M.M. Postan in The Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences: Relazioni, vi, 943-5.

bald figures of the seignorial valors. The Duchy valors, it is true, survive in a virtually unbroken series after 1399, buf by their very nature they tell us far more about seignorial income than about the economic life of the lordships, particularly in the Welsh districts where communal renders of a fixed kind were among the leading items of revenue. Nevertheless the valors are the only documents to hand and so have to be used;[1] indeed they have certain advantages. As will be shown later, their figures of potential income are extremely reliable and bear a close relation to the revenue actually collected.[2] Furthermore, they speak with considerable unanimity on the financial effects of the Glyn Dŵr revolt in the three lordships of Monmouth, Cydweli and Brecon, and suggest that Ogmore was the exception rather than the rule in its slow recovery from the devastation of the rebellion.[3]

The valors certainly agree with other evidence that the revolt left a trail of devastation throughout south Wales. As a rich lowland lordship Monmouth was a natural object for the foraging sallies of Glyn Dŵr's troops, and contemporary petitions bear witness to the damage caused there by the rebels. The tenants of Monmouth were so hard pressed by the depredations of the rebels on the one hand and by the relentless exactions of the seignorial officials on the other that they found salvation from both in flight.[4] At

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1. See Appendices D-E, pp. 404-14. 2. See Chapter V, iii pp. 282-3.

3. The rapid recovery of Ogmore Welshry (as opposed to lowland Ogmore) reinforces this argument: the decay of rent there was only 20% compared with 50% in the lowland district in 1406, and already in 1406 the water-mill was working again. This rapid recovery may be explained not only by the greater resilience and adaptability of upland communities, but also by the fact that most of the Welshry in Ogmore probably supported Glyn Dŵr and so were immune from the depredations of his followers.

4. DL 42/16 f.157v.

Skenfrith the tenants took refuge in the castle when the rebels attacked the lordship. After the revolt had died down, they asked not only that their arrears should be cancelled but that they should also be allowed remission of their rents for the next two years so that they could get the land back into cultivation.[1] There was doubtless an element of exaggeration in these petitions; but that they were not without some basis of truth is amply proved by the accounts. In the three manors of Monmouth, Hadnock and Skenfrith the decayed rent had risen from £26 4.4d. in 1401 to £63 11.0d. in 1409 and now constituted more than 42% of the original rent. There was a similar, though less sharp, fall in the farms of such manors as appear in the account for 1409.[2] The fall in actual income was even heavier than the valors suggest, as is revealed by the arrears account for 1421.[3] This account shows that a large proportion of the revenue charged on the local officials during the peak years of the revolt had never been collected and was in fact uncollectable. The two cases of Grosmont and Skenfrith will illustrate this point well. At Grosmont the actual income for the years 1402-7 cannot have been more than £10 per annum where previously it had averaged some £65 each year; and likewise at Skenfrith the pre-revolt average annual income of £53 was reduced to £26 at most (and probably far less) for the years

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1. Ibid., f.196v.-197; for a case of a remission of rent for seven years at Skenfrith ibid., f.146.

2. See Appendix E, 5-6, below. Farms from Monmouth manor, Hadnock, Skenfrith and Monmouth town had fallen from £115 4.2d. in 1400 to £96 12.10d. in 1409.

3. DL 29/737/12085.

1406-11. These figures show quite adequately how dire were the consequences of the revolt for the economy of the area, not only during the peak years of rebellion but also during the period of resettlement from 1406 to 1411.

Much the same story is repeated in the more thoroughly Welsh lordships of Cydweli and Brecon, though the communal renders, which were so prominent in the revenue there, were far less susceptible to economic fluctuations than were annual rents. In the lordship of Cydweli the rent of Llanelli fell from £14 in 1401 to £6 in 1409, and as late as 1421 the rents of the commote of Cydweli as a whole were still some 24% lower than they were in 1400. Here again, as in Monmouth, the arrears accounts show the officials struggling with large uncollectable debts many of which dated back to the days of the rebellion and were eventually written off as desperate.[1] Thus Gruffydd ap David ap Thomas, beadle of Iscoed 1406-10, still owed £118 in 1417, most of which was uncollectable and which reduced the actual income from Iscoed in 1409, for example, from £72 to £3 13.0d; and in Carnwyllion the beadle for the period of the revolt was constantly petitioning for pardons and respites, as well he might for his arrears still totalled £78.[2] In the lordship of Brecon the rents, or more correctly renders, show very little movement either way; but the farms reflect more faithfully the devastation which must have been caused by the revolt.[3] In 1410 the farms

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1. Many of the debts appear for the last time in 1417, DL 29/737/12079.

2. DL 42/16 f.70-70v., f.264. The tenants of St. Ishmael were given a respite of £105 out of a fine of £188 because of the losses they had suffered in the revolt, ibid., f.89v.

3. There are frequent references to the destructiveness of the revolt in the earliest account for the lordship after the rebellion, that for Cantrefselyf and Penealli 1425-6, SC 6/1157/5.

Rents and Farms from the five major Manors of Monmouth, 1400-1416.

	1400 £	1401 £	1409 £	1410 £	1412 £	1413 £	1415 £	1416 £
Monmouth	107. 7. 8	111. 7. 9	86.13. 0	94. 4. 3	96.18. 2	99. 6. 4	96.15. 7	110.10. 3
Hadnock	59.11. 8	61. 1.11	44.17. 6	48.18. 7	57. 3.10	64. 0. 2	52. 9. 0	67. 0. 5
Whitecastle	52. 1. 3	51.19. 7	Annuity	Annuity	Annuity	Annuity	45.15. 0	46. 0. 0
Skenfrith	46.16.11	46.17. 3	36.15. 2	36.10. 9	44. 8. 1	46. 3. 6	46. 1. 5	47. 3. 8
Grosmont	63. 7. 9	59.15. 4	Annuity	Annuity	Annuity	61. 9.11	62.19. 4	62.19. 4
	329. 5. 3	331. 1.10	166. 5. 8	179.13. 7	198.10. 1	320.19.11	304. 0. 4	333.13. 8

or leases (excluding Brecon town) were only half of their rates in 1400; and even as late as 1420 they were still 26% down on the prev-revolt level. The figures from Monmouth, Brecon and Cydweli are sufficiently full and representative to show the vast devastation which the Glyn Dŵr revolt and the English recriminations must have caused throughout south Wales.

But if the statistics reflect quite adequately the devastation caused by the revolt, they also show the very considerable degree of recovery made in all three lordships between 1412 and 1420. In this their evidence contrasts with that of Ogmore, and suggests that lowland Anglicised Glamorgan may have suffered much more severely than any other part of south Wales from the devastation of the revolt. The statistics leave no doubt that the eastern lordship of Monmouth - very similar geographically and agriculturally to lowland Ogmore, but much more Welsh in its population - had almost completely recovered by 1416. This rapid recovery is masked in Appendix C by the fact that several manors in the lordship were granted as life annuities from 1409 onwards and therefore yielded nothing. If, however, we look at a table of the rents and farms (the two most important items of revenue for a study of economic conditions) for the five major majors of Monmouth lordship, it is quite clear that a considerable measure of recovery had been achieved by 1413, and that by 1416 seignorial revenue from these sources was back to its pre-revolt level.

And it was maintained at that level thereafter. A similar measure of recovery was achieved in the upland and more thoroughly Welsh lordships of Brecon and Cydweli. The Cydweli rents, it is true, were still some 12% lower than the pre-rebellion figures in 1421; but the farms, on the other hand, exceeded the 1400 level as early as 1414. The recovery was not quite so extensive in Brecon lordship where, on an average, the revenue from farms 1412-20 was more than a quarter lower than the pre-revolt level; but even here - where there were virtually no arrears and where seignorial revenue had increased sharply between 1373 and 1399 - a marked recovery can be noticed from 1412. This considerable measure of recovery in the three major Duchy lordships[1] in so short a time is largely a tribute to the efficiency of the seignorial administration in the reign of Henry V; it hardly supports the view that the hold of the marcher lords on their Welsh estates was 'permanently weakened'[2] as a result of the Glyn Dŵr revolt. On the Duchy estates, in fact, the weakening came not in the 1410s but in the 1430s. with the growing laxity of local administration and lack of adequate supervision.[3] The rapid recovery of the 1410s is also, surely, in part a commentary on the remarkable resilience and powers of recovery which the Welsh lordships, like so many other mediaeval agrarian communities,[4] displayed at periods of calamity. For if this recovery

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1. For figures of total rents and farms for all Duchy lordships see below Chapter V, iii, p.364.

2. G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility, 101.

3. The extent of the fall in revenue after 1422 cannot be discussed here, but it can be quickly grasped by comparing the figures for 1420-1 in Appendix D with those for 1436-7 in DL 43/15/3.

4. Cf. the general remarks of G. Duby, L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes, ii, 949-52.

of seignorial revenue were due merely to the zeal of officials and the efficiency of the administration, the fact would surely be revealed in constantly large arrears and heavy decay of rent as at Ogmore and, to a lesser extent, in Denbigh lordship.[1] Local accountants still cited the revolt as the cause for decline in revenue well into the fifteenth century,[2] and Tudor writers such as Sir John Wynn and John Leland[3] could still point to the scars left by the revolt; but, in so far as one can rely on the Duchy evidence, the economy of South Wales had generally achieved a very considerable measure of recovery from the devastation and dislocation caused by the rebellion by 1420.

One cannot of course measure the consequences of revolt in purely material or economic terms, for every revolt leaves behind it a legacy of bitterness and tension which is not easily removed.[4] Welshmen were treated more harshly and with more suspicion than ever before. The penal statutes of Henry IV may not have been the Draconian measures which Tudor writers claimed them to be; but local edicts show clearly enough that they were not dead letters. For example, the steward of Cydweli was reminded in 1407 that no Welshman was to be allowed to hold office in the town, and ~~that~~ no one except a burgess or a high official was permitted to carry arms within Wales.[5]

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1. For figures for Denbigh lordship see G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility, 101.
2. See W. Rees, South Wales and the March 1284-1415, 276-9.
3. For a reference in Leland see Itinerary in Wales, ed. L.T. Smith, 111.
4. For this subject generally see H.T. Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, chapter ii, which has to be used with care. For anti-English feeling in Wales in the fifteenth century as expressed in the poetry see D.J. Bowen, 'Y Gymdeithas Gymreig yn niwedd y canol oesoedd fel yr adlewyrchir hi yn y farddoniaeth uchelwrol'. (University of Wales. Unpublished M.A. thesis. 1951), 112 et seq.
5. DL 42/16 f.95v., f.204.

Likewise in November 1408 a strict order was issued to the deputy-steward of Brecon that no Welshman was to be a burgess of Brecon town and that all Welshmen in the lordship were to be compelled to perform their ancient carrying duties.[1] Even Owen Don, powerful Welshman that he was, could be reminded that as a Welshman he had no right to a burgage in Kidwelly town.[2] Welshman, it is true, were admitted into English boroughs in Wales soon after the revolt,[3] and a few uchelwyr were exonerated from the terms of the penal statutes. But those statutes were always at hand to be employed and reinforced whenever necessary. They are a reminder that the consequences of the Glyn Dŵr rebellion cannot be measured in economic or statistical terms alone; indeed to write the history of the aftermath of the revolt adequately would be in large part to write the history of Wales in the fifteenth century.

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1. Ibid., f.252v.
2. DL 42/18 f.269 (1427).
3. E.A. Lewis, The Medieval Boroughs of Snowdonia, 254 et seq.

CHAPTER FIVE. THE BOHUN AND LANCASTER ESTATES IN WALES, 1399-1422.

(1) The combined inheritance 1399-1422

On 3 February 1399 John of Gaunt died at Leicester; just over a month later the banishment of Henry Bolingbroke was extended for life and the inheritance of Lancaster confiscated. The Welsh estates were granted to the duke of Exeter,[1] just as the other Lancaster lands were given to other royal favourites. Towards the end of June, Bolingbroke arrived in England to claim his inheritance and succeeded beyond his expectations. The full story of the fate of the Lancaster estates during these three and a half crucial months has never been told; and while many facts must forever remain hidden, sufficient evidence exists for the story to be told in outline. The account of the Duchy's receiver-general shows that money was being paid from the Lancaster estates to John Leventhorpe as late as May-June 1399, and that Bolingbroke's officers, John Bonington and Sir Peter Buckton, were touring his estates well after they were confiscated.[2] Money thus gathered from the estates after February 1399 was transferred to Paris by the agency of Italian merchants.[3] Moreover Henry kept in touch with Richard II through Thomas Yonge and Edmund Bugge, and was even assigned the considerable sum of £1566 13s.4d. out of the issues of the Lancastrian inheritance in June 1399.[4] Ironically Richard II was financing the very expedition which was to prove his undoing.

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1. C.P.R. 1391-9, 293. 2. DL 28/4/1 fs.2, 3v., 12v., 10v. 3. Ibid., f.6.
4. Ibid. f.6 f.15; J.H. Wylie, History of England under Henry IV, i,7; A. Steel, The Receipt of the Exchequer 1377-1485, 81.

Nor was support for Bolingbroke confined to the flow of money to Paris, for the Lancaster estates throughout England and Wales were obvious centres of ready support for him when he arrived in England. Sir Robert Somerville has recently pointed out[1] that from early June the castle of Kenilworth was held for Henry by his esquire, Roger Smart; and similar support for his campaign may well have come from his other estates, including those in Wales. The Welsh estates had been granted to the duke of Exeter, but he followed Richard II to Ireland in May 1399, and there is no evidence that he or his followers derived any profit from the estates. The only ones to profit from the confiscations, according to the evidence, were the royal escheators who had to answer for their profits in the next reign.[2] The accounts for Cydweli and Monmouth[3] run from 3 February 1399, though this is no guarantee that Lancaster officials were in charge from March to July of that year. Nevertheless this may well have been so, for at Monmouth the considerable sum of £54 was spent on men guarding the castles of the lordship, 'ad resistenda inimicos [domini] per longum tempus'; and at Kidwelly castle the gates were stopped up with stones and mortar 'pro meliore defensione in resistenda malicia Ricardi nuper Regis et aliorum inimicorum domini.' These measures may possibly have been taken after the surrender of Richard II; but it is equally likely that the defence of the Welsh castles was undertaken by Henry's followers as soon as they heard of his arrival in England.

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1. Duchy of Lancaster, i, 136.
2. DL 29/573/9063 sub ~~'Mossor Patrie'~~ 'Prepositura Castri'; DL 28/4/1 f.24v.
3. DL 29/615/9840; DL 29/584/9240; DL 29/573/9063.

This is more likely to have been so because the lordship of Brecon, like the rest of the Bohun inheritance, probably never passed out of Henry's possession,[1] and formed an excellent base for organising resistance to Richard II and his supporters in Wales. The account for Brecon runs from Michaelmas 1398 to Michaelmas 1399, and there is every indication that its administration during that period remained unbroken in the hands of Henry's officials.[2] Support for Henry within the lordship was well-organised. The moats around the castles of Hay and Brecon were cleaned so that they would present more of an obstacle to the lord's enemies; and the muniments of the lordship were placed in the safe custody of four leather bags, 'pro inimicis domini venientibus de Hibernia'. Brecon castle was garrisoned for six weeks in anticipation of an attack from Richard II's followers, and a large contingent of Welshmen from Cantrefselyf, Llywel and Brecon rode to meet Henry as he arrived at Gloucester.[3] Brecon was clearly the centre of support for Bolingbroke in the Welsh marches, and that support was organised by his faithful receiver there, John Fairford. It was Fairford who rode with a group of Brecon men to take over the Lancaster castles of Kidwelly and Carregcennen for Henry, and it was he who was responsible for sending spies to check the movements of Richard II.[4] The men of Brecon and Monmouth were

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1. R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, 1, 135.

2. SC 6/1157/4. Money from the lordship was paid over to the receiver-general in London on 24 March 1399, and in May the lease of the Great Forest was renewed at an increased rate.

3. 'In diversis vadiis et rewardis solutis ... diversis hominibus de Cantreselly Brechon et Luell equitantibus et euntibus usque Gloucestriam ad obviando domino pro defensione eiusdem contra inimicos suos', SC 6/1157/4 m.3.

4. 'in diversis nunciis missis in diversis locis tam pro insidiacione inimicorum domini quam ad premuniendum dominum de diversis rumoribus,' ibid.

probably trying to cash in on the success of Henry in 1399 and the claims they made should perhaps be treated with some scepticism; but there can be little doubt that the support of the Bohun and Lancaster lordships, including the Welsh ones, contributed in no small way to the success of Bolingbroke's expedition.

With Henry IV's coronation the Hereford and Lancaster inheritances became the private estates of the king of England; and Henry IV made it quite clear early in the new reign that they were to be regarded as, and legally to be, private inheritances of the house of Lancaster, not yet another addition to the crown lands. The separate legal and administrative existence of the Lancaster inheritance was ensured by the charter of 14 October 1399.[1] Like provision was made for the Hereford inheritance; and though the two inheritances were not legally united as yet, they were administered henceforth by a common group of councillors and officials under the Duchy seal. The final step was taken by Henry V in 1414 when the Hereford lands, which he had inherited from his mother, were formally annexed to the Duchy, and it was decreed that all the liberties of the Duchy should be extended to them. Just as the Ferrers, Montfort and Lacy lands had earlier been welded into a single inheritance under the first four earls, so under Henry IV and his son the twin inheritances of Lancaster and Bohun were welded into a single unit, the duchy of Lancaster. Nowhere is the contrast between the Duchy as a private inheritance of the king on the one hand and the crown lands on the other more obvious than in Wales.

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1. For the Duchy charters of 1399 and 1414 (amended in 1420) see Somerville, op.cit., 138-53, 177-8; and compare the comments in E.H.R., lxx (1955), 109.

Along the banks of the Tywi the Duchy lordship of Cydweli bordered with the royal lands of the Principality of Wales; yet between the two there was no administrative connection. There was certainly interchange of administrative personnel;[1] but the two administrative systems remained entirely different - the one, with its receiver and steward, received its orders from the Duchy Council; the other, with its chamberlain and justice, was answerable to the exchequer at Westminster. At times of crisis there was some blurring of the distinctions;[2] but to contemporaries there was no doubt that the Duchy lands were just another marcher lordship, which happened to be in crown possession;[3] and the point was re-emphasised in Henry V's reign when it was made quite clear that letters under the Duchy seal alone had authority in the Duchy estates in Wales.[4]

Both the Lancaster and Hereford estates, whose status as private lordships was thus ensured, had long reached their full extent in Wales before 1399. Only one question remained unsolved - that of the final partition of the Bohun inheritance. A temporary division of the Hereford lands between the two Bohun sisters had been made in 1380, pending the reversion of the estates which were in the possession of their mother. Even the temporary division of 1380 had not been entirely satisfactory, and the outstanding problems had been settled in an agreement of June 1395, whereby Derby secured Gloucester's share in Bronllys, Cantrefselyf and Pencelli.[5] Even

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1. See below pp. 342-3.
2. See above pp.305-6.
3. Cf. the memoranda from Richard Grey of Codnor in P.P.C., i, 277-8, discussed above p.304.
4. Hot. Parl., iv, 91.
5. See above Chapter II, pp.165.

after this agreement - which probably lapsed with the death of the widowed duchess of Gloucester[1] - some lands in the lordship of Brecon still remained outside Derby's control. The dowager countess, Joan Bohun, enjoyed a third of Bronllys, Cantrefselyf and Pencelli as part of her dower-lands, and it was only in March 1411 that Henry IV was able to persuade her to surrender these lands.[2] So it was thirty-eight years after the death of Humphrey Bohun in 1373 before the integrity of the lordship of Brecon (less Huntington) as a territorial unit was restored.

But sooner or later an even greater problem - that of the redivision of the whole Bohun inheritance - would have to be faced. A widow of 46 years standing, Joan Bohun died in April 1419, having survived both her daughters and sons-in-law. The estates she held at her death were extensive, as they consisted not only of her dower-lands, but also of lands granted to her and her husband in jointure and estates which had been granted to her by the last earl's feoffees.[3] In law these lands should have been held after her death by Henry V and Anne, countess of Stafford jointly (as the heirs of Mary and Eleanor Bohun), until a new partition had been undertaken; but in fact for two years all the issues of the lands were monopolised by the king.[4] It was not until 1433 that Anne was given compensation for the loss she

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1. At least Newnham which had been granted to Gloucester in 1395 was in Duchy possession from 1399.

2. DL 25/3379-3380; DL 42/16 f.62.

3. For earlier trouble over Joan Bohun's estates and her right to them see G.A. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, 56-7.

4. In fairness one should add that Joan Bohun's lands were surveyed in June 1419 by John Bonington, one of the Duchy auditors, and Thomas Laurence, receiver-general of the countess Anne. DL 43/14/4.

had suffered during these two years.[1] Eventually in May 1421 the complete repartition of the Bohun inheritance was agreed upon in Parliament.[2] The valuations given in the settlement were exactly the same as those used in the division of June 1380;[3] but there is no evidence that the king's share alone was purposely undervalued. Indeed the division of the inheritance had been the work of the countess Anne's officials, so that there is no reason to believe that the division was deliberately unfair. By this new partition Henry V gave up, in Wales and the borders, the lordships of Brecon and Hay, and the manors of Haresfield, Newnham and Southam; and in return he received the manors of Caldicot, Newton and Wheatenhurst. ~~Southam; and in return he received the manors of Caldicot, Newton and Wheatenhurst.~~ On the whole there is no doubt that the king chose wisely; for whatever may have been the advantages of Brecon with its rich resources in casual revenue, they were probably outweighed by its distance, its military liability so soon after the Glyn Dŵr revolt, and the advantages to be derived from a steady income from the solid bloc of Bohun estates in east Anglia.

Though the partition of 1421 was, to all appearances, quite fair and Anne immediately entered into her share, it cannot be said that she was treated either with fairness of generosity in the settlement of some of the problems which were left unsolved by the partition. She could justly

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1. C.C.R. 1429-35, 203.

2. Rot. Parl., iv, 135 et seq.; for details of the settlement see R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, 1, 178-82.

3. And as such the valuations are hopelessly inaccurate, as can be seen if one compares the 1421 figures with those of the Duchy valors (see Appendix D) or of DL 41/4/18. The latter is a copy of the partition of 1381 with values, in the case of Bolingbroke's share taken from the Duchy valor of 1412. G.A. Holmes' reference to this document (Estates of the Higher Nobility) calls for some emendation.

claim that her own generosity as the daughter of the eldest Bohun heiress had hardly been reciprocated.[1] The problem which was solved with the greatest speed was that of a division of the muniments, which had been settled by July 1421; but Anne was still petitioning in 1433 for a partition to be made of such fees and advowsons as had not been apportioned with the purparties in 1421. Two other problems concerned the lordship of Brecon. The first, and easiest of solution, was the payment of a debt of 3,000 marks which the king claimed was due to him in Brecon and Hay when he surrendered his claim to the lordship. Anne agreed in July 1421 to comply with any arrangements which the Duchy council should make for levying these debts.[2] Nonetheless even in this matter the king was exacting the full pound of flesh and even more. £968 of these outstanding debts consisted of fines imposed by Duchy officials at the sessions held in Brecon in October 1420, when the Duchy council had already probably decided that it would surrender Brecon and when it was certainly known that the Bohun lands would have been repartitioned long before the fines would have been fully paid. And even the claim to a debt of £2000 may have been excessive, for, by the testimony of the Duchy accounts themselves, Brecon arrears in 1421 stood at only £1,640.[3]

An even thornier problem was that of the lands of Bronllys, Cantrefselyf, Alexanderstone, and one third of the barony of Penoelli. This was the old problem which had exercised the minds of the councillors of Derby and Gloucester in the 1390s, and which had been shelved by the agreement of 1395.[4]

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1. Rot. Parl., iv, 176-7.
2. P.P.C., ii, 298.
3. DL 29/737/12085.
4. Above pp. 163-5.

Stated in its simplest form, the problem to be solved was whether these lands were part and parcel of the lordship of Brecon or not. The Duchy council was already aware in February 1420 that the problem would inevitably be discussed, for it asked for an important piece of evidence, the 1349 quo warranto proceedings against Sir Philip ap Rees, to be sent to it.[1] What is ironic, though perfectly understandable, is that the Duchy council, in 1421, once it had decided to abandon Brecon, should use exactly the same arguments that the duke of Gloucester had used against Derby in the 1390s. It now argued vigorously that Cantrefselyf and Bronllys were not part of the lordship of Brecon and that therefore they ought to be the subject of a separate partition. Like the question of fees and advowsons in gross, this small but irritating problem was allowed to drag on from year to year, probably because it suited the Duchy councillors. Keepers and farmers were appointed to collect the issues of the disputed lands and to divide them between the two claimants;[2] and the countess of Stafford went to her grave in 1438 with the problem still unsolved.

Nonetheless these were minor points of dispute. The partition of 1421 marks the end of a chapter in the history of the duchy of Lancaster estates in Wales, and is in some ways more important as a milestone in the history of the estates than 1399. For after a period of 40 years the rich lordship of Brecon had finally passed out of the hands of the house of

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1. DL 42/17 f.156.

2. C.F.R. 1422-30, 33; C.C.R. 1435-41, 410; C.P.R. 1422-9, 542. The accounts of Sir Edward Stradling as keeper of these lands are in SC 6/1157/5-7. By May 1431 the officials were being appointed by the countess Anne; and the terms of their appointment are to be found in Staffordshire Record Office, D 641/1/5 no.2.

Lancaster; and the Duchy lands in Wales had taken the final form which they were to retain for centuries.

(ii) The administration of the joint inheritance, 1399-1422.

The machinery of local administration on both the Bohun and the Lancaster estates in the fourteenth century has already been described in some detail; and as this machinery remained essentially unchanged after the union of the two inheritances there would be little point in repeating the exercise for the post-1399 period. Nonetheless there remain certain questions with regard to Duchy administration after 1399 which call for consideration, and the Welsh estates provide a case-study for the investigation of these questions. The raw material for answering several of these questions rests in the biographies of Duchy officials, especially the stewards; and consequently brief biographical notes on the Duchy stewards in Wales have been incorporated in Appendix B and will form the basis of much of the ensuing discussion.[1]

The first obvious problem which poses itself is how far Henry IV after 1399 succeeded in amalgamating the officials and retainers of Gaunt with his own officials and retainers as earl of Derby to form a single body of administrators for the joint inheritance known as the Duchy of Lancaster. Bolingbroke was in no way obliged to retain the service of his father's officials; but there was every reason for him to do so. For Gaunt had

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1. See below pp.397-402. For lists of other Duchy officers in Wales see R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, i, 635 et seq. Somerville's lists for the post-1399 period are much more accurate and complete than those for the pre-1399 period.

attracted to his service a group of able administrators whose wealth of experience was essential to the running of the vast Lancaster estates. It is not at all surprising therefore that many of Gaunt's former servants should be found in office under Henry IV, in both local and central administration.[1] In Wales most of Gaunt's officers were removed, but only temporarily during the crisis months of 1399. Sir Hugh Waterton, one of Derby's closest confidants, took over the stewardships of Cydweli and Monmouth from William Gwyn and Sir William Lucy respectively; but both men were restored to office early in the new reign. Likewise John Fairford, Bolingbroke's receiver in Brecon since 1397, took over the receivership of the Lancaster lordship of Cydweli for a few months in 1399; but William ap Philip, the receiver under Gaunt, was restored to his post at Michaelmas. Not only was continuity with Gaunt's personnel maintained during the first few years of the new reign; Henry IV continued to reward his father's retainers with annuities and official posts in the Duchy throughout his reign. Sir John Blount, steward of Monmouth 1409-12; his successor there Sir John Greyndour, and John Luttrell steward of Cydweli 1415-17 were all men who had started their careers as retainers of Gaunt but who were only promoted to posts of responsibility in the Duchy under his son and grandson.

From Henry IV's point of view it was obviously wise to retain the services of men who had shown loyalty and gained experience under Gaunt and who often came - as in the case of Sir John Blount and Sir John Greyndour - from families with a long tradition of service to the house of Lancaster. But

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1. For changes in the central officials of the Duchy after 1399 see R. Somerville, op.cit., 155-7.

when Bolingbroke succeeded his father he already had a group of followers, both officials and retainers, many of whom had been in his service for the last fifteen years and who naturally felt that they had the first claim on Henry's generosity when he became both duke of Lancaster and king of England. They were not disappointed. Amongst the most fortunate was Sir Hugh Waterton whose exemplary services to Bolingbroke brought rich rewards both in offices (including the stewardships of Monmouth and Brecon and several minor posts in Cydweli) and annuities (including Duchy manors in Gloucestershire and Herefordshre). Waterton's son-in-law, John ap Harry, also reaped his share of the fruits of victory: not only did he keep his post as deputy-steward of Brecon, he also received annuities, wardships and the stewardships of several key marcher lordships from the bountiful hands of Henry IV. One of John ap Harry's predecessors as deputy-steward of Brecon in the 1390s rode even higher on the tide of the victory of 1399: John Skidmore was appointed to the stewardship of Cydweli in May 1401 and during the next thirty years he had a most distinguished career as Duchy and royal official in south Wales and managed to improve his territorial wealth and social standing in marcher society as a result. There were others in the Duchy administration in Wales after 1399 who, like John ap Harry and Sir John Skidmore, had started their careers with Bolingbroke when he was no more than earl of Derby and who now shared in the success of their master: Thomas Fernyclogh, constable and receiver of Cydweli during the critical years of the Glyn Dŵr revolt;[1] John Fairford, who had acted as Bolingbroke's

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1. His connection with Derby in the 1390s is established by DL 28/1/6 f.13; whilst his indenture as constable of Kidwelly is in DL 25/348.

receiver in Brecon since 1397 and who was now given an opportunity for wider service in royal lordships throughout south Wales;[1] and Sir John Tiptoft, steward of Brecon 1409-14, whose meteoric rise to power in the early fifteenth century must have owed much to the fact that he was among Bolingbroke's close friends in the 1390s.

The pattern of Henry IV's appointments on his Duchy estates in Wales is clear: he retained the services of his father's experienced officials and loyal retainers, while at the same time richly rewarding the men who had served him as earl of Derby and duke of Hereford. A similar pattern of appointment would doubtless be repeated if one investigated Duchy appointments in England after 1399. The problem of amalgamating two groups of retainers and officials which had faced Henry IV in 1399 faced his son in 1413, for as prince of Wales Henry V had attracted a coterie of household officials, estate administrators and military retainers, all of whom expected a wider field of service and of reward now that their master was king of England. Some major changes in the key posts of Duchy administration soon followed the new king's accession;[2] and, while most local officials in the Duchy were confirmed in their posts, room was also soon found in the local administration for some of Henry V's own personal retainers. The two most obvious examples from the Welsh estates of the Duchy are John Merbury and Thomas de la Hay. Merbury had started his career as a retainer of

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1. For his offices and rewards after 1399 C.P.R. 1396-9, 568; 1399-1401, 149, 526; 1401-5, 208, 238. He died in 1409, DL 42/16 f.255v.

2. For changes in the central officers of the Duchy on Henry V's accession see R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, i, 176-7.

Gaunt and had soon been seconded by Henry IV into the service of the young Henry of Monmouth. He occupied the important post of chamberlain of the southern principality of Wales for the young prince and was well rewarded with annuities for his services. The accession of his master to the throne in 1413 brought him further opportunities to show his skill as an administrator: he retained his posts in the Principality but added to them the stewardships of Cydweli and Brecon and so became one of the most powerful royal officials in South Wales during Henry V's reign. His colleague as Duchy steward in Monmouth from 1416 and in Caldicot from 1421 was Thomas de la Hay, a Herefordshire squire who first appears in the records as a member of Prince Hal's retinue in 1409.

A study of the personnel of Duchy administration in Wales from 1399 to 1422 thus shows that the personal retainers of both Henry IV and Henry V before their accession were given a prominent share of the appointments in the Duchy, but that both kings also leaned heavily on the services of the group of Lancaster retainers and officials which they had inherited from Gaunt. This leads us to ask a further question: how far, if at all, was the pattern of appointment and reward in local Duchy administration changed after 1399, now that the Lancaster inheritance was a private estate of the king of England? The answer lies once more in a study of the biographies of Duchy officials in Wales, starting with the stewards who stood at the apex of the local administration.

The first feature that one notices in common about the stewards who are the subject of the biographies in Appendix B is that in no case was their field of service confined to the Duchy estates. This is one of the

most obvious effects of the revolution of 1399 on Duchy administration: it was natural, in spite of the fact that the administrative identity of the Duchy as a private estate was ensured, that henceforth Duchy officials should be employed on the administration of Crown estates and of lands in the Crown's custody, and vice versa. In Wales this meant that Duchy officials were frequently employed in the Principality and on lands in royal custody. For example John ap Harry was steward of Builth and of Dinas as well as deputy-steward of Brecon; John Greyndour was steward of a whole series of marcher lordships in royal custody as well as guardian of Monmouth, Skenfrith and Whitecastle; John Merbury shared the chamberlainship of the southern Principality with the stewardships of Brecon and of Cydweli; and Sir John Skidmore held offices in Carmarthen as well as in Monmouth and Cydweli. Such plurality of offices should not be condemned out of hand, for in many cases it was a rationalisation of labour and a wiser deployment of experienced officials. This gradual and inevitable merging of the personnel of royal and Lancaster lordships was the first step towards a more logical administrative arrangement of royal estates in Wales. The next major step was taken by Edward IV when he placed a whole complex of lands in Wales, regardless of what inheritance they originally belonged to, under the control of a single receiver-general.[1]

Another feature which was common to all the stewards of Brecon, Cydweli and Monmouth from 1399 to 1422, with the exception of William Gwyn, John Luttrell and Sir John Blount, is that they all had territorial interests and

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1. E.H.R., lxxi (1956), 4-5; for a list of these lands see P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, V (i), 501-2.

usually homes in the English border counties, either through inheritance or by marriage. This is a feature which could doubtless be paralleled from other marcher lordships for earlier and for later periods, and it has already been noticed as a feature of Lancaster administration in Wales under Gaunt. The explanation is simple. In the fifteenth century, as in bishop Rowland Lee's days, Welshmen were generally considered unsuited for the most responsible posts in the local administration of their own country; and the mistrust was further increased by the Glyn Dŵr revolt.[1] The obvious alternative was to recruit to the higher posts in Wales from the gentry of the English border counties, for these border squires lived close enough to Wales and were sufficiently interested in its affairs to take their offices there seriously. If Wales was ruled from Ludlow in the sixteenth century, it is already true in the later middle ages that it was largely being governed by English border squires.

Duchy stewards shared another feature in common in that they, unlike the receivers and other lower officials, were almost without exception Duchy retainers. The question which inevitably arises is whether they regarded their stewardships merely as a form of reward for service or whether they took their administrative duties seriously, whether in fact they were resident incumbents or not. One must admit at once that the habit of making appointments (and occasionally joint-appointments)[2] to stewardships

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1. Gaunt's policy of appointing Welshmen to key-posts in Cydweli was brought to an end, doubtless under the impact of the Glyn Dŵr revolt, when William Gwyn, the steward, and William ap Philip, the receiver, were removed from office in 1401. The policy was not revived thereafter.

2. DL 42/15 f.3v., f.152, f.158 for examples of such appointments for life.

for life was an unhealthy development, though it was one which certainly went back to the days of Gaunt. Furthermore, the commitments, both public and private, of several of the stewards - such as Sir Hugh Waterton,[1] Sir John Blount and Sir John Tiptoft - must have meant that they were only able to devote a minimum of their time to their duties as local stewards. On the other hand, as has already been emphasised, the mediaeval steward was not a civil servant expected to be at his office day in, day out. His main duties could be performed on occasional visits; and the Duchy stewards in Wales certainly delegated many of their routine functions to deputies whom they themselves appointed.[2] Furthermore not one of the Duchy stewards there can be classed as a permanent absentee: Sir John Blount was required to surrender his stewardship of Monmouth when he was appointed deputy-admiral and likewise Sir John Skidmore gave up the stewardship of Cydweli when he decided to accompany Henry V to France and was only restored to it in 1423 when he had returned from active service overseas. Nor need plurality of office have been a hindrance to the efficient performance of the steward's duties: thus John Herbury could travel in a day or so from his home at

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1. Waterton's commitments as chamberlain of the Duchy did not, however, mean that he paid no attention to his duties as steward of Duchy estates in Wales. He led troops against the Welsh rebels; and in 1402 he fell from his horse and broke his arm at Ludlow while on his way to Wales, DL 29/729/11993-4; DL 42/15 f.125v.

2. Somerville's list of deputies in Duchy of Lancaster, i, 639-54 is by no means complete. The following are known to have acted as deputy-stewards in Monmouth: William Walwayn, Skenfrith (E 28/13 no.106); Richard Legg, 1405 (N.L.W. Milborne Collection, 128); John ap Gwilym, 1415-16 (DL 29/615/9844), and Robert Greyndour, 1416 (DL 42/17 f.104v.). Rhys ab Ieuan Fychan, 1407-13 (JI 1/1153 m.13) and William Rede, 1417 (DL 41/4/23) are mentioned as deputy-stewards in Cydweli.

Woobley to attend to his duties as steward of Brecon; a further day's journey would take him to the exchequer at Carmarthen and from there he could ride in a few hours to preside at the courts at Kidwelly. A close study of the personnel of the Duchy stewardship in Wales under Henry IV and Henry V shows that the office was occupied by much the same type of men, both in their social background and in their military and territorial interests, as had occupied it under Gaunt; and to none of them, however much their other commitments, was the stewardship merely a sinecure.

On the whole it was the lower, not the higher, posts in local Duchy administration which were granted as sinecures. Posts such as the porter of a castle or the parker of a forest had little responsibility attached to them and could safely be granted to royal servants by way of reward. Adam Eggeley, Thomas Andrew, Thomas Sohow, John Slethirst, Robert Peper and William Herry were all household servants of the king who were granted such offices in Wales and who were obviously not expected to be personally attendant at their posts. To all intents their wages were small annuities.

Between the minor sinecurists on the one hand and the stewards on the other stood a body of officials more especially the receiver and the bailiff in eyre, on whom the day-to-day running of the administration depended. This class of officials was drawn almost exclusively, as in Gaunt's time, from the ranks of the local gentry, both English and Welsh. Thus the linch-pin of the local Duchy administration in Monmouth throughout the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V was John ap Gwilym, receiver there 1399-1413 and 1418-24 and deputy-steward both in fact and in name.[1] He was a local Monmouth man

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1. He was also receiver of Chepstow and, later, receiver and deputy-steward of Usk, C.P.R. 1405-8, 34; N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 924-5.

with a small inheritance at Garth and Wonastow on either side of Monmouth town;[1] and his official position as receiver gave him an opportunity to increase his territorial fortunes by fair means and foul.[2] The receivers of Cydweli were likewise chosen from local men living in the Englishry. Such were Richard Box[3] and more especially Walter Morton,[4] a member of a wealthy local family who held the post of receiver for fifteen years to his own profit as well as that of the Duchy[5] and who played a valiant part in organising local resistance to the Glyn Dŵr rebellion. His successor as receiver, Hugh Eyton, likewise came of a local family; but the way in which he abused his official position brought him many enemies in the lordship and eventually caused his death.[6] The professional misconduct in which John ap Gwilym, Walter Morton and Hugh Eyton indulged to a greater or lesser extent was one of the risks which had to be taken when placing men with

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1. His lands are listed in his inquisition post mortem, DL 7/1 no.46. He had inherited some of them from his mother, N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1518.

2. For his legal acquisitions of land, N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 2447, 2450; DL 42/16 f.100. He secured the lease of the manor of Garth from Agnes Bryd for three years in return for a loan; but at the end of the three years he refused to return the manor and even threatened Agnes Bryd's life, E 28/33 no.27; DL 42/17 f.169.

3. He had been portreeve of Kidwelly in 1387-8, DL 29/584/9239.

4. For his family see above pp.284.

5. There is a list of charges against him in JI 1/1153 m.2.

6. The charges against him in DL 7/1 no.25 and DL 41/4/23 are discussed below p.352. For his murder see DL 42/18 f.19v; f.223v.; f.242, f.253, f.259.

local connections in positions of trust and power; but the disadvantage was generally outweighed by the local influence which these men brought to the exercise of their duties and by the fact that they were present in person in the area of their offices. The only alternative was to appoint clerics, such as John Fairford at Brecon or the priors of Ewenni at Ogmore or experienced civil servants such as William Botiller at Brecon and Monmouth.[1] Such appointments made for honesty; but they did not necessarily make for efficiency in the collection of revenue.

For in the last resort the collection of revenue depended quite as much on the local power of the officials and on the co-operation of the community as on the integrity of the receiver. That is why Welshmen, however much they might be excluded from high posts in Duchy service, were often found to be indispensable for the success of Duchy administration at local level. In Cydweli such a one was Meredydd ap Gwilym ap Padrig, forester of Cefngorath forest, proctor for the community of Carmyllion in negotiations with the Duchy council in 1415, and a military campaigner for Henry V in France.[2] Meredydd's social standing in the community doubtless recommended him to Duchy officials when they chose him to be bailiff in eyre in Cydweli in 1416. The task of the bailiff in eyre was to ensure the payment of local revenue to the receiver; and Meredydd ap Gwilym, combining both personal prestige and official power, fulfilled the task admirably and was duly

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1. His career will be discussed in a forthcoming article in Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society by Dr R.A. Griffiths.

2. JI 1/1153 m.43; DL 25/1661 (1); H.T. Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, 63.

rewarded by the Duchy council.[1] There were many others like him in the Duchy administration in Cydweli: Meredydd Bwl ap Dafydd Ddu, beadle of Iscennen twice and collector of the communal fine[2]; Henry Gwyn, proctor for Iscennen in 1415 and Duchy forester there;[3] Rhys ab Ieuan Fychan, who rose from a lowly local post to become deputy steward of Cydweli from 1407 to 1413 and who must have wielded considerable authority in the lordship until his malpractices were eventually exposed;[4] or Rees ap Thomas ap David, a powerful Cardiganshire landowner, former sheriff of his county and constable of the castle of Carregcennen.[5] The evidence no more than hints at the powerful position which these men enjoyed both in local administration and in local society; but one would be mistaken if one assumed that, because their posts were humble ones, they themselves were without power or influence.

Not only in Cydweli, but in Brecon and Monmouth likewise, the support of the local landowners was essential for the collection of Duchy revenue. In Brecon the post of sheriff was entrusted to William ap Llywelyn ap Hywel, Dafydd Gam's brother and the descendant of a Welsh noble family which had virtually monopolised the shrievalty in Brecon throughout the fourteenth

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1. DL 29/584/9243.

2. DL 29/787/12076; SC 6/1166/11 m.13. The genealogy of the family is given in Lewis Dwnn, Heraldic Visitations of Wales, ed. S.R. Meyrick, i, 26.

3. DL 25/1661; DL 29/584/9243.

4. The charges against him as deputy-steward are in JI 1/1153 m.2-3.

5. SC 6/1222/9; DL 42/17 f.24; H.T. Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, 20.

century;[1] while the office of bailiff in eyre was in the hands of Jankyn Harvard,[2] the representative of a powerful English settler family. In Monmouth the post of master-sergeant, corresponding to that of bailiff in eyre in Brecon, was held for a time by Hywel ap Thomas ap Gwilym,[3] a Welsh landowner of Blackbrook in Skenfrith[4] and close associate (and probably brother) of Sir William ap Thomas of Raglan.[5] One of his colleagues in the administration of Monmouth was Thomas Sergeant, keeper of Hadnock chace and steward of the border manors of Rodley, Minsterworth and Haresfield; he also came of a wealthy Monmouth family, whose territorial wealth was centred at Dixton and Newton.[6] Altogether there can be no doubt that local men, both native Welsh gentry and English settler families, played a leading part in local Duchy administration, especially in the vital task of ensuring the collection of local revenue.

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1. DL 42/16 f.95. For the family see above pp.291-2.

2. DL 42/16 f.62.

3. His appointment was dated June 1418, DL 42/17 f.52v.; but he was already in office in June 1416, N.L.W. Badminton Collection, 2449.

4. His son is described as 'lord of Blackbrook' in 1442, N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1102.

5. This is suggested by the patronymics (Hywel ap Thomas ap Gwilym and William ap Thomas ap Gwilym ap Jankyn) and strengthened by the fact that Hywel ap Thomas was one of Sir William ap Thomas' feoffees for the lordship of Raglan in May 1419, N.L.W. Badminton Collection, 2291.

6. DL 42/17 f.165 (assignment of dower to his wife, 1421). His son, Thomas, acquired lands in Dixton and Newton, Newport Public Library, Calendar of Deeds, Accessions 1945-8, 2-3.

This investigation of the personnel of Duchy administration in Wales during the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V has brought out clearly that the basic pattern of appointments to Duchy posts had remained largely unchanged from the days of John of Gaunt to those of Henry V. Certain changes had certainly followed from the union of Crown and Duchy in 1399: the fields both of service and of reward for Duchy retainers had been greatly expanded and so had the number of candidates for posts in Duchy administration, especially for the minor posts which did not call for personal attendance. Nevertheless the basic pattern remained unchanged and appointments fell into the two broad categories which had already been clearly defined in the days of Gaunt. On the one hand were the Duchy retainers who monopolised the key post of steward; they were drawn almost invariably from the English border squirearchy and had wide experience of service, both military and administrative, to the kings of England. On the other hand were the local men who filled the remaining local posts in the administration: socially they were generally members of the gentry class and what they lacked in experience and often in honesty was more than compensated by their local prestige and their personal attendance to their duties.

So much for the personnel of the administration. The next obvious question must be how efficient was this local administration in its primary aims? The evidence for answering this question, as for investigating the personnel of the administration, is certainly far more abundant after 1399 than before; but it is almost by definition virtually all evidence of inefficiency.[1] There certainly existed abundant opportunities for mediaeval

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1. The evidence for the next two paragraphs is drawn mainly from two sources: the charges against Sir John Skidmore, Walter Morton and Rhys ab Ieuan Fychan in JI 1/1153 m.2, m.3, m.9; and the long list of charges against and verdict on Hugh Eyton in DL 7/1 no.25 and DL 41/4/23.

officials to abuse the power entrusted to them for their own profit, at the expense both of the people whom they administered and of the administration whom they were pledged to serve.

Extortion at the expense of Duchy tenants was certainly not peculiar to Wales; but there it was given an added incentive and some measure of justification by the belief that commortha, or aid in money and in kind from tenants to officials, was legal in spite of the constant prohibitions of the English government.[1] Thus Sir John Skidmore was accused of exacting gifts and labour services from the inhabitants of Cydweli; and likewise the bailiff in eyre of Ogmore was charged with levying commortha from the tenants under his charge. Other officials did not bother to justify their malpractices by reference to old Welsh customs; they simply found in the combination of official position and local status an ideal cover for social oppression. John ap Gwilym used his power as receiver of Monmouth to prevent Agnes Bryd from recovering her land, which lay conveniently near to his own estates at Garth.[2] Even more flagrant were the abuses of Hugh Eyton, the receiver of Cydweli: he extracted money from the Englishmen of the lordship by threatening them with service in the royal army in France; he appropriated the lands of men serving overseas; and he used his official position to clear himself of complicity in the murder of John Malfaunt.

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1. For example, no one was willing to be penceisiad in Cardiganshire 'absque grandi remuneracione pro labore suo inde percipiendo postquam comortha patrie inhibita fuit', SC 6/1165/11; and likewise in Carnwyllion officials charged with taking commortha replied that it was appended to their office, JI 1/1153 m.43.

2. See above p. 347 n. 2 .

Serious as were such examples of oppression, they did not necessarily hamper the efficiency of the administration, unless of course they created local disaffection. It was financial embezzlement rather than social oppression which undermined the efficiency of Duchy administration, and this was of course peculiarly the field of the local receivers. They could sell offices at a high price; they could lease land at low rates officially, while pocketing large profits personally; they could appropriate the property of criminals and outlaws instead of declaring it at the account; they could claim much higher prices for goods they had bought than the prices they had actually paid; they could be bribed to engineer escapes for criminals and to secure safe-conducts for them; and they could hoodwink slow-witted officials by not giving tallies for money received.[1]

Altogether there is ample evidence of both extortion and embezzlement by local officials, both high and low; but there is no reason to believe that abuses were more flagrant in the Duchy than in any other seignorial administration of the period.[2] The methods used to eradicate the abuses, like the abuses themselves, must have been very similar to those of Gaunt's day. At the local level the duties and responsibilities of the officials could be more clearly defined. Thus when Richard Box was appointed receiver of Cydweli by the Duchy council in October 1401 he was placed under a recognisance which was only to be returned if he performed his duties

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1. All these abuses (except for the last, for which see DL 42/17 f.148v.) are instanced in the documents cited above.

2. On the subject generally the best introduction remains N. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration in England, 77 ff., 121 ff.

satisfactorily.[1] Apparently he did not, for within four months he had been superseded by William Langton of Gower, who had to find four sureties that he would perform his duties and be resident in Kidwelly castle most of the time.[2] And in the last resort receivers, like lower officers, could be fined and even imprisoned for negligence or tardiness in the payment of arrears.[3] The receiver was clearly the main cog in the local administrative machine; and he was increasingly helped in his task of collecting local revenue by other officials, more especially the sheriff (in Brecon) and the bailiff in eyre. Thus in 1411 it was made quite clear to the sheriff and bailiff in eyre of Brecon that the duty of ensuring that revenue was paid to the receiver was theirs; and that they, not the receiver, would be imprisoned if there were arrears outstanding at the audit.[4] The experiment was clearly a success, for by 1415 the office of bailiff in eyre had been introduced to Cydweli, with rapid results.[5] Such measures as these to improve the efficiency of the financial machine in the localities were certainly not without result; and they were complemented by directives limiting the powers (and thus the abuses) of local officials[6] and by general ordinances for the conduct of local affairs.[7]

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1. DL 41/9/8 m.5; DL 42/16 f.16v.
2. DL 25/3489. Farmers of ~~mills~~ towns etc. were also expected to find sureties and lost their leases if they failed to do so, DL 42/16 f.74v.
3. For examples see DL 42/16 f.59; DL 42/17 f.150v.; DL 7/1 no.48.
4. DL 42/16 f.62, f.70v.
5. DL 29/584/9243.
6. DL 42/17 f.79 (only stewards to grant safe-conducts).
7. For example DL 42/16 f.252v. (series of ordinances for Brecon, November 1408).

But the best guarantee of honesty and efficiency at local level remained, as in Gaunt's day, close and continuous supervision from the centre; and the unpublished Duchy registers for the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V leave one in no doubt that such central supervision was quite as close and constant as in Gaunt's day. Members of the Duchy council visited Wales at intervals, especially in their capacity as justices in eyre to hold sessions. On these occasions they surveyed the local administration, inquired into grievances against local officials, and issued general ordinances for the conduct of local affairs. Even when in London the council could and did exercise continuous control over local administration by dispatching frequent letters, by summoning local officials to report to it, by receiving appeals from local tenants, and by appointing local officials itself. It could and did take action in local matters of small importance such as the sale of land or the leasing of a mill. This general supervision exercised by the Duchy council was reinforced by the visits paid to the localities by the chief steward and the auditor as part of their routine functions.[1]

From the existing evidence - and it is considerable in quantity - there is no reason to believe that Duchy administration in Wales was either more inefficient or better supervised after 1399 than it had been before. The problems of local administration remained essentially the same as did the solutions. It remained for Henry V to attempt to overhaul Duchy administration as a whole and to introduce new answers to the old problems of administrative

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1. Cf. above pp. 57-60. Ample references to support the statements in this paragraph could easily be given from the registers (Dl 42/15-18); but it was felt that they would burden the footnotes unduly.

inefficiency and malpractice. The most important and comprehensive expression of this attempt to reform Duchy administration was the series of ordinances which Henry V issued in February 1417.[1] The ordinances tried to cure the most obvious defects in local Duchy administration, by defining more clearly the rights and duties of local officials, by ensuring that no local officers could act alone, and by tightening the technical processes of account. They were concerned above all with the duties and powers of the steward and receiver. The responsibility for the efficient conduct of the local Duchy administration was placed squarely on the steward's shoulders: he was to appoint and pay for a deputy if he were absent from his post; he was to appoint such local officials as he deemed necessary and was to be held responsible if they failed in their duties; and he was to vouch for the expenses claimed by the receiver. The duties of the receiver were likewise defined: henceforth he was to be responsible for <u>all</u> money collected in his bailiwick; he, rather than any bailiff, was to answer for such items of extraordinary revenue as wardships, marriages and agistement-dues; and he was to make a clear statement of his charge and discharge to the clerk of the king's privy purse as well as to the auditors of the Duchy.[2]

The tendency of the ordinances was certainly to make the steward and the receiver responsible for all that happened in local Duchy administration. On the other hand an excess of power in the hands of these two officials

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1. DL 42/17 f.174v.-175v. Somerville has not dealt with these ordinances in the first volume of his <u>Duchy of Lancaster</u>; that is why they have been summarised here.

2. The receiver-general was to render his account at the royal wardrobe or wherever the king should ordain. This household control of Duchy finance is paralleled by the large sums which were paid into the royal chamber from the Duchy revenue during the reign, R. Somerville, <u>op.cit</u>., 186.

could easily lead to fraud and embezzlement; and the second theme of the ordinances of 1417 was to circumscribe the powers of the local steward and receiver. The activities of the steward in the courts were confined to judicial affairs and those of the receiver to the collection of fines and amercements; local officials were prohibited from having the lease of local farms or even from estimating the value of those leases by themselves; no single commissions were to be issued so that no official could exercise power without being supervised; and the financial peccadillos of receivers were scotched by placing the right of granting allowances in the steward's hands and by making the granting of detailed tallies compulsory.

Clearly the ordinances of 1417 deal with very much the same sort of problems that would arise in the administration of any large inheritance, whether it was in the Crown's possession or not. Paradoxically they are also a tribute to the general efficiency of Duchy administration under Henry V and to the active interest which the king took in the affairs of the Duchy.[1] Indeed the ordinances of 1417 are only one of a series of reforms which Henry V initiated in an attempt to improve the efficiency of the Duchy administration, both in general and in particular. The reign opened with an extensive commission to inquire into concealments, offences and official remissness in the Duchy as a whole;[2] Duchy finances were increasingly brought under household control; money to the king's use was given priority over all annuities;[3] receivers were constantly summoned to

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1. For a decision being deferred until the king's return to England, DL 42/17 f.166.

2. C.P.R. 1413-16, 113.

3. DL 42/17 f162v, f.171.

bring their money to London by specific dates, instead of appearing haphazardly as before;[1] and in July 1419 a general inquiry into dilapidation and waste on Duchy manors granted for life was initiated.[2] These were general reforms applicable to the Duchy as a whole, including the Welsh estates. In Wales itself a whole series of new rentals was commissioned in 1415 with encouraging financial results; and enquiries into loss of revenue since the rebellion were set on foot.[3]

Altogether there can be no doubt that Henry V and the Duchy council made a deliberate attempt to improve and tighten local administration on the Duchy estates. Nor were their efforts altogether barren of results: stewards were removed from office (more so under Henry V than under his father) if they could not personally attend to their duties;[4] the steward or his deputy were certainly held responsible for the local officials they appointed;[5] and the rule in the ordinances of 1417 about the priority of payments to the king over annuities was strictly observed.[6]

The abuses which Henry V and his advisers tried to remedy were certainly not new nor peculiar to the Duchy estates; but some of them were perhaps more likely to appear in the Duchy administration than elsewhere. After all the Duchy was the largest landed inheritance in England, and the problems of supervising its administration increased rather than diminished with the

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1. DL 42/17 f.81, f.132v., f.139 etc.
2. DL 42/17 f.160.
3. See below pp.373-4.
4. This applies to Sir John Tiptoft (Brecon) and Sir John Skidmore (Cydweli).
5. DL 42/17 f.47v., f.208v., f.240.
6. DL 42/17 f.127v. (specifically refers to the ordinances of 1417), f.162, f.171.

accession of the house of Lancaster to the throne in 1399. The sort of close personal supervision which the earls of Hereford could exercise on their estates in the mid-fourteenth century or William Herbert on his lands in the mid-fifteenth century[1] was quite out of the question in the Duchy, even under an active monarch like Henry V. Abuses there certainly were in Duchy administration; but no list of such abuses or of reforms can ever be an adequate guide to the efficiency of the local Duchy administration. The most reliable criterion remains that of the efficiency of the administration in collecting local revenue; and it is to an analysis of this question that attention must now be directed.

(iii) The finances of the Duchy estates in Wales 1399-1422.

From 1399 onwards the wealth of financial documents which have been preserved amongst the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster is almost embarrassing. These documents are hardly, if at all, different from those produced during the later years of John of Gaunt; but instead of accounts for isolated years, there has survived from after 1399 more than one almost unbroken series of financial documents. This survival enables one to provide a much fuller picture of the central and local finances of the Duchy in the years after 1399 than at any time before and to confirm some of the conclusions which one could do no more than suggest tentatively for an earlier period.

Before one can use these financial documents with any confidence one needs to understand fully how and why they were produced and what relation

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1. On the earls of Hereford see above pp. 140-1 ; on William Herbert, T.B. Pugh The Marcher Lordships of Wales 1415-1536, 179-80 and the Badminton accounts deposited in the National Library of Wales.

they bear to one another. Broadly speaking they may be divided into two groups, those produced by local officials and those produced by the central officials of the Duchy. For present purposes the former class, the accounts of the local reeves, bailiffs and receivers,[1] are the least useful; for, while they yield valuable detail of local expenditure, they are too few in number and their survival is too haphazard for them to be of great value. Of the centrally-produced documents the least valuable, except for occasional detail, are the accounts of the receiver-general. Much more important are the unpublished registers of the Duchy,[2] for they reveal the attitude of the Duchy council and central officials to local affairs and provide a broad outline of Duchy financial policy. But by far the most important source for the study of Duchy finances in the locality are the two kinds of documents which were produced annually by the Duchy auditors.

The most important of these documents was the valor. After a period of uncertainty and experiment during the 1390s[3] the Duchy valor had assumed its final form by the opening years of Henry IV's reign. The valor was compiled each year by the auditor after he had completed the audit of his circuit.[4] Draft valors for each individual receivership were probably first drawn up from the local accounts and were then cancelled when the final valor for the whole of the auditor's circuit had been written.[5] In its final form

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1. There are also some incidental documents such as the file of 55 writs etc. touching the account of the receiver of Kidwelly for 1401-2 in DL 41/9/8.
2. The unpublished volumes for the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V are DL 42/15-17.
3. See above pp.64-5.
4. Cf. the reference to the auditor going to London 'pro valoribus ingrossandis', DL 29/615/9841.
5. Such a draft valor is DL 29/734/12046 for Monmouth receivership; it is included in its final form in DL 29/729/11993-4.

the Duchy valor presented a convenient summary of the great mass of local ministers accounts produced by Duchy officials in England and Wales. Each individual account - issues, expenses and allowances - is carefully summarised; thereafter follow the totals in issues and casual revenue for each receivership, accompanied by a list of 'foreign payments' (i.e. money disbursed by the local receiver in the form of wages, annuities, building and administrative expenses, and payments to central officials and creditors); and finally the valor closes with the gross totals of gross and clear yield for the whole circuit. Two such valors were generally produced each year, one for the north parts and one for the south parts of the Duchy, and the final figures from these two valors were then abstracted to give an overall picture of Duchy landed finances in a short, summary document known as the 'conclusion des values'. The carefully written valors of the Duchy in the early fifteenth century are a far cry from the untidy and cryptic documents produced by Earl Henry's auditors in the 1330s. Indeed they surpass all contemporary valors in their format and in the detailed review of seignorial finances which they provide.[1] Moreover they survive in unparalleled abundance. For the period 1399-1422 fifteen valors for the south parts and Wales and six 'conclusions des values' have survived; and for the ten years 1411-21 only one valor is missing.[2]

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1. For a review of some fifteenth century valors and the differences which distinguish them see C.D. Ross and T.B. Pugh, 'Materials for the study of baronial incomes in fifteenth century England', Ec.H.R., 2nd series, vi (1953-4), 192 et seq.

2. As this section is largely based on the valors for the Welsh estates of the Duchy, a chronological list of them is given here:
   (a) Valors: DL 29/728/11991 (1400); DL 29/729/11993-4 (1401); DL 29/729/12003 (1404, Monmouth receivership only); DL 29/739/12009 (1406, English border estates only); DL 29/730/12013, 12015, 12016, 12018 (1409, 1410, 1412, 1413); DL 29/731/12019, 12021, 12023, 12026

(contd. at foot of p.362)

It is little wonder that valors have enjoyed a great reputation among historians of late. Nonetheless they do not solve all the problems of seignorial finance; and they certainly do not 'contain all essential information concerning the greatest private estates in fifteenth century England'.[1] Their limitations and their pitfalls soon become obvious. It has already been suggested in another context[2] how utterly misleading they can be in times of crisis; nor is that their sole disadvantage. The gross values which they so conveniently provide can be extremely misleading, for the figures are not those of actual income but of the gross charge on all the local officials, including such fictitious revenue as decayed or allowed rent. Moreover the valors do not tell us how much of the revenue due in the current year had in fact been collected, for they fail to differentiate between money paid from the yield of the current year and arrears collected from the yield of previous years. It is impossible to deduce either the gross or net income of any lordship in particular or of the Duchy as a whole from the valors alone.

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1. T.B. Pugh in The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536, 154.

2. See above p. 298 n. 4.

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2. (contd. from p. 361) (1414-17); DL 29/734/12047 (1418, wrongly attributed to Henry VI in P.R.O. List and Indexes, V (i), 89); DL 29/732/12030, 12031 (1420, 1421).
   (b) Conclusion des values: DL 29/729/11998, 12000 (1402, 1403); DL 29/730/12010 (1407); DL 29/731/12025 (1417); DL 29/732/12028, 12032 (1419, 1422).

The detailed financial tables in Appendices D and E are based on these valors. A few small discrepancies have crept in; but none of them is of major proportions.

The obvious deficiencies of the valors are to some extent made good by another document produced annually by the auditors - the arrears account.[1] This document is in fact an essential complement to the valor, for by means of it alone - in the absence of a complete series of local accounts - can one arrive at any sound conclusion as to how much of the revenue listed in the valor was actually collected. Such arrears accounts were produced on other seignorial estates and were closely perused by the owners of the inheritance;[2] but nowhere do they seem to have survived in such abundance as in the Duchy archives.[3] Like the valor, the arrears account was compiled by the auditor immediately after the audit, the list of arrears being copied from a like list of arrears on the dorse or at the foot of the local official's account.[4] The arrears account not only gives the date when the arrears were originally contracted, but also provides notes (which can often be checked against the Duchy register) of the cancellation of the debt or of arrangements for paying it in instalments. Some of the arrears accounts are more summary than others;[5] but on the whole they provide an invaluable guide

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1. The earliest arrears account in the Duchy archives is one for the south parts for 1390, DL 29/737/12071.

2. For example, on the estates of Anne, countess of Stafford, an indented roll of arrears was compiled, one part being given to the receiver-general and the other 'remaint devers ma dame pur sa comusance demesne', SC 11/816.

3. The relevant arrears accounts for Wales after 1399 are DL 29/737/12075-6; 12078-9, 12081-2, 12085 (1412, 1414, 1416-18, 1420-1).

4. For example, the list of arrears on each of the Monmouth accounts for 1423, DL 29/594/9516.

5. Such a one is DL 29/737/12078, which omits details of many of the older arrears.

to Duchy arrears, to the rapidity or slowness with which they were paid, and to the number of desperate debts among them.

Such then are the main sources for a study of Duchy finance in the post-1399 period; their very bulk helps to confirm and amplify in much greater detail the conclusions about marcher finances which could be no more than tentatively suggested for the fourteenth century. The most obvious conclusions are those which relate to the major sources of Duchy revenue on the Welsh estates. The summary figures in Table I, (p.372), based on the more detailed figures in Appendix D, show that rents and farms still formed the major and most stable item of revenue, especially in Monmouth and Ogmore. Furthermore, as has already been emphasised,[1] these rents and farms had recovered with remarkable speed from the extensive devastation caused by the Glyn Dwr revolt, and by 1420 they had almost regained their 1400 level throughout the Welsh estates (£1550:£1663).

Rents and farms were certainly the most stable source of seignorial income; but it has already been emphasised that the important contribution of court issues was one of the most outstanding features of marcher finances; and the post-1399 evidence makes it abundantly clear that this was a continuous and not merely a sporadic phenomenon. Thus during the eight years, 1411-18 and 1419-20, court issues contributed £1,019 to the clear yield of £3,115 in Cydweli (i.e. 33%), and £1,852 to the clear yield of £5,856 in Brecon (i.e. 31.6%).[2] These figures are highly significant in that they reveal quite

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1. Above pp. 325-7.

2. For the terms 'clear yield' and 'gross yield' see above p. 66n.3. The figures given here are those of the proportion of the court issues to the clear yield <u>excluding casual revenue</u>. The proportion played by the court issues in the overall income of the Welsh estates (including casual revenue) will be discussed below; see also Tables I and II.

conclusively that in the truly Welsh lordships of the Duchy - and probably in other marcher lordships - court issues formed a major and recurring source of revenue, a third or so of the ordinary financial yield of the lordships. The figures are also significant when compared with the figures for Monmouth, with its much more English financial structure in every respect. There during the same period, 1411-18 and 1419-20, court issues formed only 11% of the clear yield (£75 out of £5,029); and rents and farms played a proportionately much more important rôle.

This contrast between the receivership of Monmouth on the one hand and those of Brecon and Cydweli on the other is further confirmed when one moves from ordinary to extraordinary or casual revenue. Here again the effect of the post-1399 evidence is to confirm and simplify the conclusions about the importance of casual revenue in the finances of the marcher lordships which the fourteenth century evidence could no more than suggest. The casual revenue falls into several main categories as has already been noticed;[1] and there was a growing tendency for it to become increasingly fixed in quantity and regular in incidence.

This is obvious when one looks at the recognitions or 'mises', as they were later known, which were granted to the lord when he entered into possession of his lordship for the first time, 'pro recognicione superioris et novi dominii et regalie sue', as the phrase ran.[2] Such recognitions had

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1. See above pp. 66-9 and pp. 149-52. There is a discussion of the various types of casual revenue in The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536, ed. T.B. Pugh, 145-9.

2. DL 29/615/9843; JI 1/1152 m.1v.

certainly been granted in the marcher lordships in the fourteenth century; and a comparison of the mises of 1400-1 and those of 1413 show that they had already becom fixed in their amount on the Duchy estates. In Cydweli they stood at £241 13s.4d.; in Brecon and Hay at £513 6s.8d.; and in Monmouth at £66 13s.4d.[1] In addition to these recognitions, the new lord could also expect to extract substantial grants for the confirmation of the charters of liberties enjoyed by the community[2] and also for confirming the tenurial rights of those who had acquired their lands by purchase or escheats.

Welcome as were these mises, they were highly irregular in their incidence and could not compete with the casual revenue which the lord derived from his sessions in eyre.[3] The financial value of the sessions in eyre had already been fully realised by Gaunt; but it was to be even more systematically and ruthlessly exploited during the fifteenth century. The sessions had not altogether lost their judicial value as yet, as the roll of the Duchy sessions in 1413 shows;[4] and the presence of the Duchy's leading councillors in Wales for a month at a time[5] certainly gave them an opportunity

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1. The figures for Cydweli are to be found in DL 41/9/8 m.55 and JI 1/1152 m.4; those for Monmouth in DL 29/615/9841, 9843; and those for Brecon in JI 1/1152 m.9.

2. See, for example, the sums paid for the confirmation of the Cydweli charters, DL 41/9/8 m.55; DL 42/16 f.43v.-f.45v.; JI 1/1152 m.8v.

3. For a general discussion of sessions in eyre in marcher lordships see Pugh, op.cit., 36-48. Duchy practice on procedure etc. in the sessions corresponds so closely to the practice of the Stafford sessions that there would be little point in repeating the details here.

4. JI 1/1152.

5. The sessions of 1413 started in Monmouth on 9 September, and, proceeding via Ebbeth, Ogmore, Kidwelly and Brecon, ended at Hay on 21 October. The importance of the sessions is indicated by such notes as that which mentions that John Leventhorpe went to Windsor in 1401 to discuss the forthcoming sessions in Wales with the king. DL 28/4/2 f.10v.

to investigate the whole administration as well as to sit in court.[1] Nonetheless there can be no doubt that the primary aim of sessions was financial. They were becoming little more than occasions when the justices, in accordance with the terms of their commission,[2] bargained the price of the 'gifts' paid by the community for a comprehensive pardon of offences. Indeed the sessions were becoming so much a formality, that it was increasingly becoming the habit - as occasionally in fourteenth century in England[3] - to buy off the sessions before they were actually held, by paying a large communal fine in advance. The true nature and aim of the sessions was neatly expressed by the Duchy council early in Henry VI's reign when it threatened either to hold the sessions in Wales 'or eles that ye king may be contended and answered of as good a fyne or betre as he hath be at oyere sessions yere holde before yis tyme'.[4] Those fines were already 'good' in the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V, and constituted a major source of Duchy revenue in Wales. Exact figures are difficult to arrive at;[5] but even approximate ones give ample indication of the financial importance of the sessions. Thus the sessions of 1413, particularly lucrative as they came

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1. For example the justices issued ordinances about Kidwelly town during the 1401 sessions, DL 41/10/49.

2. DL 42/17 f.204v. (Powers to the justices to agree to 'general' or 'particular' fines).

3. For examples of buying off of sessions in fourteenth century England see J.G. Edwards in E.H.R., lvii (1942) 479-80; and The English Government at Work 1327-36, eds. J.F. Willard, W.A. Morris and W.H. Dunham jnr., iii, 14-15.

4. DL 42/16 f.146.

5. Because revenue from sessions was often lumped together with other casual revenue.

at the beginning of a new reign, yielded £2,991 from the three receiverships of Cydweli, Brecon and Monmouth; those of May 1418 produced £2,196; and those of October 1420 yielded at least £1,327. Moreover during the course of the fifteenth century the number of sessions became increasingly regular and fixed,[1] as did the fines for redeeming them.[2] Henceforth fines for the redemption of sessions were a virtual form of taxation in many marcher lordships, and it is little wonder that the Tudors were able to make political capital out of abolishing them.[3]

Important as were the mises paid at the entry of a new lord and the communal fines granted in the sessions in eyre, they do not altogether exhaust the sources of casual revenue from the Welsh lordships of the Duchy. Wales was exempt, except on rare circumstances, from English parliamentary taxation throughout the middle ages;[4] but on occasion both king and marcher lords were able to persuade their Welsh tenantry to grant them extra subsidies towards their campaigns abroad.[5] Henry V was not a man to overlook such profitable precedents; and he asked for money subsidies, as well as

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1. Cf. Pugh, op.cit., 20 n.2, 37-8; and for the regularity of sessions in the Principality see R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government in the southern counties of the Principality of Wales, 1422-85', 57 et seq.

2. Thus at Brecon the session fine was fixed at £422 4s.5d. at least by 1448, Longleat 6410 m.17 (I owe this reference to Mr K.B. McFarlane).

3. For the abolition of the fines see the excellent pages in Pugh, op.cit., 43-8.

4. See above p.149 and n.3.

5. Richard II received gifts from the Principality towards his Irish expedition, Speculum, xxix (1954) 414; and the earl of Arundel received a small subsidy from his Chirk tenants in 1412 towards his projected French expedition, N.L.W. Chirk Castle Collection, 76 m.1. The gift which was requested from Flint in 1346 by the Black Prince was partly to meet the cost of his forthcoming expedition, E.P.R., i, 34.

infantrymen,[1] from the Duchy lordships in Wales. In March 1417 John Russell, a leading Duchy lawyer,[2] and John Merbury, steward of Cydweli and Brecon, rode with thirty men to the lordships of Monmouth, Brecon and Cydweli to treat of a subsidy to be given by the tenants to meet the needs of the king's forthcoming campaign in Normandy.[3] The grant was clearly not an automatic one and was almost certainly given in return for postponing the sessions due in that year.[4] Bargaining with local communities was tough[5] but worthwhile, for the war subsidy brought in £773 6s.8d. from Brecon, £300 from Cydweli and £100 from Monmouth.[6] So successful was the experiment that it was repeated in 1420. The results of the commission of 1420[7] are not known; but it remains of considerable interest that the king should claim that the fact that Wales was exempt from the taxes granted in parliament in October 1419

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1. 158 archers were enlisted from Brecon and Hay alone, E 101/46/20.

2. For his career see R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, i, 453, and J.S. Roskell, The Commons in the Parliament of 1422, 214-5.

3. Details of the visit are to be found in DL 42/17/f.126, DL 29/615/9845; and DL 29/731/12026.

4. This is suggested by the fact that whereas the receiver's account says that the £100 from Monmouth was given as a war-subsidy, the valor states that it was granted 'pur respit dune sessione'. Likewise the £773 6s.8d. from Brecon.

5. The commissioners spent 6 days at Kidwelly, 4 at Brecon and 3 at Monmouth. John Russell was given £13 13s.4d. for his work, in addition to his ordinary wages. Cf. the bargaining with Welsh communities mentioned in Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions, ed. M.D. Legge, 163-4.

6. Henry V obtained £1000 from the communities of Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire towards the same expedition, Pugh, op.cit., 42.

7. DL 42/17 f.238v.-239.

was in itself a reason for asking the communities to contribute, in money or in men serving at their own expense, to his French campaign. Clearly the anomalous financial position of the Welsh lordships had not escaped the attention of the government at Westminster.

Two further categories of casual revenue remain to be mentioned. In Cydweli (and to a much lesser extent in Monmouth) fines imposed in the courts were entered separately from ordinary court issues. Some of these fines were those imposed by the chief steward at his tourn and others were fines imposed for returning wrongful judgements; but the great majority of them were entry fines[1] and this explains why they reach their peak in the years immediately after the Glyn Dŵr revolt. Fines figure most prominently in Cydweli, whereas feudal revenue - the last category of casual income - was most important in Monmouth. The earls and dukes of Lancaster had always kept a careful eye on their feudal income; and some of the earliest accounts to survive in the Lancaster archives are those of feodaries.[2] Knights fees were naturally few in Cydweli and Brecon and no special officer was placed in charge of them. They were much more numerous and financially important in the receivership of Monmouth; and in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire feodaries were appointed to collect feudal dues and to hold the honorial courts. Land which came into the possession of the Duchy during the minority of an heir was occasionally placed under the care of a bailiff, as was the case with the manor of Dingestow from 1396 to 1414

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1. Lists of such entry fines are to be found in DL 41/9/8 m.55 and DL 28/27/4.

2. An early example of a feodary's account is that for Gloucester for 1346-7, DL 29/725/11843.

during the minority of Richard Grey.[1] But it was much more usual for the wardship and marriage of a minor and the custody of his lands to be sold for a lump sum. Such a solution may have been less profitable in the long run; but it dispensed with the cost of administration and with the financial loss incurred if the ward died. And there were certainly plenty of eager bidders for such wardships. Thus John Merbury paid £80 for the wardship of Walter Vaughan whose father had been killed at Agincourt; Elizabeth Sergeant paid £40 for the custody of her son; and the wardship of Walter Devereux in 1420 fetched as much as £100.[2] It was these occasional wardships which made it worth while to keep an eye on homage and to compile lists of knights fees held of the Duchy.[3]

Such were the main categories of casual revenue on the Duchy estates in Wales. A mere list of the categories is in itself impressive; but the main advantage of the post-1399 evidence is that one can confidently assess, over a number of years, the contribution which casual revenue made to the gross yield of Duchy estates in Wales (see Tables I and II). Thus in the lordships of Cydweli and Brecon during the years 1411-20 casual revenue from various sources formed 39% of the Duchy's gross income. The proportion of casual revenue in fact varied greatly from year to year; but as the communal fines and aids were generally paid in instalments over a number of years, casual revenue had become virtually a regular form of income. And in this respect the Glyn Dŵr revolt had not in the least deterred the English government from

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1. Grey paid £10 for entry into Dingestow when he came of age in 1414, DL 42/17 f.79v.

2. DL 42/17 f.60v., 163, 241, 242v.; DL 29/732/12031 m.9.

3. On the exploitation of feudal dues in the Duchy as a whole see R. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, i, 173-4, 189.

TABLE I: SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF GROSS REVENUE, 1411-1420
(to nearest £)

	1412	1413	1414	1415	1416	1417	1418	1420
CYDWELI								
Rents and Farms	237	240	272	246	249	303	270	309
Court Issues	146	161	159	103	91	128	109	122
Casual Income	130	73	616	186	175	458	180	166
	513	474	1,047	535	515	889	559	597
BRECON								
Rents and Farms	576	487	547	484	572	500	544	551
Court Issues	181	125	300	204	403	328	141	170
Casual Income	102	305	796	739	218	773	438	584
	859	917	1,643	1,427	1,193	1,601	1,123	1,305
MONMOUTH								
Rents and Farms	599	611	601	588	615	623	611	597
Court Issues	116	47	64	76	57	86	61	68
Casual Income	2	4	114	105	6	104	51	33
	717	662	779	769	678	813	723	698
OGMORE AND EBBOTH								
Rents and Farms	75	81	79	)	86	87	92	87
Court Issues	16	11	6	) 93	2	6	8	7
Casual Income	5	10	-	-	-	-	-	20
	96	102	85	93	88	93	100	114

TABLE II: PERCENTAGE ANALYSIS OF GROSS REVENUE, 1411-20

	Gross Revenue	Rents and Farms	Courts	Casuals
CYDWELI	£ 5129	£2126 (41.4%)	£1019 (19.8%)	£1984 (38.6%)
BRECON	£10,068	£4261 (42.3%)	£1852 (18.3%)	£3955 (39.2%)
MONMOUTH	£ 5839	£4845 (82.9%)	£ 575 (9.8%)	£ 419 (7.1%)
OGMORE	£ 771	£ 674 (87.4%)	£ 62 (8.0%)	£ 35 (4.5%)

exacting heavy subsidies and fines from its Welsh lordships. This heavy dependence on casual revenue once more differentiates Cydweli and Brecon on the one hand and Monmouth and Ogmore on the other; for whereas 39% of the former's gross revenue came by way of casual income, only 7% of Monmouth and 4.5% of Ogmore revenue came from this source. Furthermore this dependence on casual revenue is one of the most striking differences between the Welsh lordships of the Duchy and its English possessions in the financial sphere. Thus of the £7,870 of casual revenue from the southern parts of the Duchy during the years 1411-20 (excluding 1419) as much as £6,393 of it came from Welsh lordships. When to this casual income are added the profits of court, it is seen that in Cydweli and Brecon 58% of the gross income of the duke of Lancaster came from non-territorial resources. Altogether the valors make it quite clear that in the truly Welsh lordships of the Duchy the judicial and seignorial powers of the lord were more important financially than his territorial rights.

Such was the nature of Duchy income in Wales, and up to this stage the valors have provided the main source of information. But how much of this revenue was actually collected? It is in answering this crucial question that the valors fail us, and we have to turn to two other sources for answers - the Duchy registers and the arrears accounts. The Duchy registers show clearly how the Duchy council constantly tried to keep the local administration up to the mark and what measures it took to increase revenue and to speed collection of it. Thus in 1416-17 new rentals were compiled in Monmouth and Cydweli with the help of local and central officials

much to the king's advantage.[1] Constant watch was kept on any fall in revenue,[2] and every effort was made to ensure that receivers paid over their revenue promptly.[3] Likewise attempts were always being made to ensure that no payments were made without clear instructions from the centre.[4] Nor was this unending flow of commands and instructions mere pious words, for the Duchy council could and did act severely against defaulting officials of all kind. Such officials were fined; their goods and their lands were distrained; and in the last resort their bodies could be committed to prison.[5]

The major problem which faced every mediaeval administration was the collection of arrears. As has already been noticed, arrears in mediaeval accounts are of several kinds: they may be cash in hand, or income which has not been realised through the negligence of officials, or desperate debts. It is often difficult to decide to which category any particular set of arrears belongs; but on the whole it is true to say that mediaeval officials approached the question of arrears with much more optimism and

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1. For the making of this rental DL 42/17 f.101, f.111v., DL 29/615/9844-5. As a result of it the rents of Monmouth and Hadnock rose from £80 to £102.

2. For example, DL 42/17 f.77, f.111v.

3. Ibid., fs. 78v., 86, 132v., 139, 150v.

4. DL 42/15 f.113i. ~~DL 42/17 f.157~~.

5. For examples of all these punishments see DL 42/16 f.59 (two Brecon officials fined £40 and 100 marks for negligence), DL 42/17 f.150v. (receiver of Monmouth imprisoned until he has satisfied the king with regard to his arrears); ibid., f.157v. (order to distrain £44 14s.5d. from goods of steward and master-sergeant of Monmouth).

pertinacity than do modern historians who study their accounts. And what is true of mediaeval auditors in general is true of Duchy auditors in particular; for the Duchy registers and accounts show that the attitude of the council and the auditors to arrears was at once firm and considerate. The mediaeval memory for arrears was a long one and patience in listing them from one year to the next almost boundless. Nor were these Herculean efforts always in vain. The arrears of Andrew Hore, receiver of Brecon 1391-5, were being collected in 1411; and the collection of the fines imposed in the autumn sessions of 1400 was restarted in 1410 after the Glyn Dŵr revolt had subsided.[1] Henry V showed even more pertinacity in the pursuit of arrears than his father. One of his first acts was to appoint a special commission to collect all arrears in Brecon due to Henry IV at his death, and he gave his commissioners powers to distrain and to use all other legitimate means to raise these debts.[2]

But while Duchy officials showed inexhaustible patience in listing and pursuing arrears, their minds were not so rigid that they did not consider each case on its merits and decide how it could be dealt with most equitably. Occasionally it was wiser to suspend the campaign for the collection of arrears while the issues of a current year or of a large communal fine were being collected. This was the policy adopted by Henry V in Cydweli in 1413; and it was revived by Duchy officials in May 1415 when they came to a series of agreements with the proctors of the communities of Cydweli and Carnwyllion for the rapid collection of fines imposed in the sessions of 1413 and for a

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1. DL 42/16 f.59v., f.70v.
2. DL 42/17 f.194.

temporary respite of the collection of older arrears in the meantime.[1] Furthermore, however reluctant mediaeval auditors were in conceding any fall or loss of revenue, they were prepared to admit that arrears might arise from some temporary hardship, personal or communal, as well as from negligence and evasion; and in such cases their policy was a lenient one. Several courses were open to them. They could pardon part or all of the outstanding arrears at the request of the debtors. Thus due consideration was shown to the tenants of Monmouth, Skenfrith and Grosmont for the hardships they had suffered at the hands of the Welsh rebels;[2] and many individual debtors as well as communities (such as the tenants of St. Ishmael who were pardoned £105 out of a fine of £168 in 1411) were likewise pardoned their debts.[3] Arrears were also pardoned for officials who deserved well at the hands of the government - such as William ap Llywelyn, sheriff of Brecon, and Thomas ap David, the long-suffering bailiff of Brecon town, both of whom had done valiant service in resisting the Glyn Dŵr rebels, or Hywel ap Thomkyn, the reeve of Cydweli who was wounded on active service in Normandy.[4] If the petition for such a pardon of arrears was not altogether convincing to the Duchy council, the auditor and chief steward could be sent to study the merits of the case on the spot.[5]

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1. DL 42/17 f.73v.; DL 25/1661.
2. DL 42/15 f.195; DL 42/16 fs.157v., 196v.-197.
3. DL 42/16 fs.60, 66v., 70, 85v., 89v., 203 etc.
4. DL 42/16 f.84, f.116; DL 42/17 f.141v.
5. For examples DL 42/16 f.197;(DL 42/17 f.73v., f.86).

Pardon, partial or complete, of arrears was an act of grace, exercised in cases of dire hardship or given as a special reward. A more normal concession, and one which did not involve any financial loss, was the grant to the defaulting official of the right to pay his arrears in instalments. The registers abound with such concessions; but only one case need be taken as an example. Rees ap David ap Gwilym, beadle of Carmyllion, is a typical example of an official who enjoyed the benefits of the Duchy coundil's leniency. His arrears in 1414 stood at £83 and he was committed to prison; but the Duchy council took a kinder view of his predicament than did local officials. He was released from prison; a specific order was issued not to cause him any undue hardship in collecting his arrears and not to sell his lands and tenements; and he was given permission to pay his debts in instalments over four years and later over ten years at £3 16s.0d. a year. Nor was this policy without results: by 1421 his arrears had been reduced from £83 to £30 and he was still paying his annual instalments regularly.[1] His case is an instructive example of how long-drawn-out the business of collecting arrears could be, but also of how dangerous it is to write off arrears as desperate and uncollectable.

Paying in instalments was certainly a common way of clearing arrears; but occasionally the Duchy council decided that certain arrears were virtually uncollectable and would involve more trouble than worth in the gathering. In such cases the Duchy auditors cut their losses and arranged for the arrears to be cancelled in return for a fine. Thus the debts of Gruffydd ap Dafydd ap Thomas, beadle of Iscoed 1406-10, Cadwgan 1406-8, and Penryn 1404-6,

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1. DL 42/17 f.106, f.149v.; DL 29/737/12076-85.

1407-10, still stood at £255 in 1417. Most of them were obviously desperate debts from the years after the Glyn Dŵr revolt, and at last in May 1418 the Duchy council recognised the hopelessness of ever collecting them. Gruffydd was released from prison and pardoned all his debts for a fine of £23 6s.8d.[1] Such cancellation of debts was popular with communities as well as with officials, especially as a method of being rid of their debts at the beginning of a new reign. In 1415 the tenants of Iscennen agreed to pay a fine of 500 marks for a pardon, among other things, of all debts and recognisances to Michaelmas 1412; and likewise in 1420 the tenants of Ogmore paid a fine of £50 for the cancellation of their older, and more desperate, arrears.[2]

The Duchy registers provide ample evidence, therefore, both of the tenacity of Duchy auditors and also of their readiness to use pardons, instalment-payments, and fines to alleviate the burden of paying arrears. But the question still remains as to how successful were Duchy officials in raising the revenue listed in the valors. This question of how much of seignorial income was actually collected is one of the most important and also one of the most intractable of problems in seignorial history. A satisfactory answer can only be given where there has survived an unbroken series of ministers accounts over a number of years; and not even on the Lancaster estates is there such an unbroken series. In default of this historians sometimes tend to the view that all the income listed in the valors was realised. This is an optimistic view and one which is certainly

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1. DL 42/17 f.135v.
2. DL 25/1661(iii); DL 29/732/12030-1.

open to criticism.[1] But the pessimistic view - that the liveries to central officials represent the net yield of a particular year - is equally wide of the mark, for these figures only reveal how much money was handed over in a particular year, not how much of the yield of that year was eventually realised.[2] On most seignorial estates insufficient evidence survives to resolve this problem; but on the Duchy estates after 1399 sufficient accounts have survived to give an approximate, if not altogether an accurate, answer.

The first satisfactory evidence comes from the financial years 1399-1401, when it is possible to compare the sums of potential revenue from the valor with the sums paid to the receiver according to his account (where sums paid from the current year's yield are generally distinguished from those paid from the arrears of earlier years). In Cydweli in 1399-1400[3] (excluding Iscoed and Cadwgan[4]) £286 (to nearest £) out of £302, i.e.

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1. Cf. the very pertinent remarks of T.B. Pugh on the Stafford valors of 1447-8 and 1520-1, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536, 157, 259-60.

2. These criticisms are applicable to some of Pugh's remarks in Econ.H.R., 2nd series, xiii (1960-1), 111 and in his book, op.cit., 160, 176, 258-9 Cf. the remarks in J.M.W. Bean, The Estates of the Percy Family, 86.

3. These calculations have been based on a comparison of DL 29/573/9064; DL 29/584/9241; and DL 29/615/9841 with the relevant valors. The 'clear yield' here refers to the 'vaut de dier' and the local fines in the valors. Sums charged on the receiver, especially casual income, are not included in the present calculations for obvious reasons; but sums expended by local officials but included as accounting fictions in the receiver's account have been included (as they were technically handed over to the receiver).

4. Because arrears are not differentiated from yield of current year.

94.7% of the clear yield, had been paid to the receiver by the time the accounts were drawn up. In the following year for the whole receivership £360 out of a clear yield of £396 (i.e. 91%) had likewise been paid by the time the accounts were compiled. In the receivership of Monmouth in the same year (excluding Ashperton and Stretton, Etloe, Newnham, and the border feodaries)[1] £465 out of a clear yield of £510, i.e.91%, had been paid in the same manner. These sums, even allowing for small errors, are most revealing. They show that the Duchy financial machinery in Wales was working extremely efficiently and swiftly in the early years of Henry IV's reign, in the months immediately before Glyn Dŵr's revolt swept over these lordships. Indeed the very efficiency of this financial machinery may in itself have been one reason why so many Duchy tenants were willing to give a helping hand to the rebels.[2]

The next comparable figures come from the reign of Henry V, when the administrative and financial machine was getting back into order after the revolt. In the financial year 1415-16 in Cydweli (excluding Llanelli) £232 out of £319 (i.e. 72.7%) had been paid by the audit, and in the same year in Monmouth £366 out of £508 (i.e. 72%) had likewise been paid. The fall in the clear yield still reflects the damage caused by the Glyn Dŵr revolt, and a like fall in the proportion of the clear yield which had been realised by the time of the audit is doubtless a reflection of the difficulty which Duchy officials experienced in the post-revolt years. But already the finances of the Duchy in Wales were well on the way to being mended.

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1. See preceding note.
2. Cf. above p.267.

and by 1417 the receiver of Monmouth was able to collect 90% of the clear yield of his bailiwick by the time of the audit.

These figures from isolated years reveal the general efficiency of the Duchy financial machinery in Wales, but figures over a number of consecutive years would provide even more valuable and convincing evidence. Fortunately such figures can be provided for a period of six years, for the figures of potential revenue for the years 1411-17 can be compared with the figures of arrears for those years still outstanding in 1421. These figures have been incorperated in Table III, which calls for a word of explanation. The arrears of the pre-1411 period have been separately

TABLE III: AN ANALYSIS OF THE ARREARS IN THE AUDITOR'S ACCOUNT, 1421

	Arrears to 1411	Arrears 1411-17	Arrears 1417-21
CYDWELI	£438. 3. 8.	£136. 12. 4.	£692. 0. 2.
BRECON	£146. 6. 1.	£ 95. 3. 7.	£1397. 11. 3.
MONMOUTH	£479. 4. 2.	£247. 13. 5.	£764. 11. 2. [1]

Proportion of arrears to ~~clear~~ gross yield 1411-17

	Arrears 1411-17	Gross Yield 1411-17
CYDWELI	£137	£3891
BRECON	£ 95	£7640
MONMOUTH	£248	£4417

entered, because most of them were obviously desperate and were part of the backlog from the days of the Glyn Dŵr revolt. Likewise the arrears for the four years ending in 1421 have been entered separately, but for different reasons. In the first place a good deal of them doubtless

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1. Excluding £105 9s.4d. allowed on the Monmouth account, DL 42/17 f.166.

represent revenue in hand, especially on the Monmouth estates where the disturbing habit of keeping local officials in office for several years at a time (thus encouraging them to accumulate arrears) had appeared. Secondly many of the post-1417 arrears consisted of communal fines imposed in the sessions in 1420 and not yet collected - £981 out of £1398 in Brecon and £246 out of £692 in Cydweli. These are only technically speaking arrears, for they were in fact dues which were to be paid in instalments during the coming years. But while it is too soon in 1421 to pass any judgement on the arrears of the last four years, the same is not true of the arrears of the six years 1411-17. By 1421 all instalments of fines due to 1417 should have been collected, and the auditors had had plenty of time to expedite the collection of the other arrears of the period. In Monmouth only 5.6% of the gross yield of the years 1411-17 remained unrealised in 1421; in Cydweli 3.5%, and in Brecon 1.2%. It may be that some pre-1417 arrears have been included, and therefore concealed, in post-1417 arrears; but the proportion cannot be high and would not radically alter the percentages given here. Indeed these percentages of the clear yield realised by 1421 are confirmed by the foreign payments entered in the valor for the same period. During the years 1411-17 £3868 should have passed into the hands of the Cydweli receiver; and in fact his 'foreign payments' (i.e. expenses, wages, annuities paid locally and all liveries of money to the centre) for this period amounted to £3472. In Brecon during the same period the receiver's foreign payments (£8002) actually exceeded his gross charge (£7449), so that he must have collected not only most of his current revenue but also some outstanding arrears. Furthermore, of the arrears for

1411-17 still uncollected in 1421 a good deal were caused by the inefficiency of one particular official rather than by the laxness of a whole system or any general economic decline;[1] and others were uncollectable revenue not yet allowed by the auditors.[2] Altogether these figures provide a sure guide to the general efficiency of the Duchy financial machine in Wales, for any mediaeval administration which was able to collect 94%, or more, of its potential revenue - especially when so much of that revenue was 'casual' in character - must surely be termed highly successful.

TABLE IV: A SHORT ANALYSIS OF FOREIGN PAYMENTS, 1411-17
(to nearest £)

	CYDWELI	BRECON	MONMOUTH
Annuities	19	510	1758
Costs of defence and repair of castles	664	263	69
Local expenditure of receiver	383	649	311
Liveries of money to central officers	2404	6570	1102

What happened to all this money which the Duchy financial machine collected so assiduously and so successfully? A small proportion of it was spent by the reeves and bailiffs to pay for local expenditure, fees and allowances; but as no major disbursements were made on the responsibility of a local official, by far the greater part of the revenue passed into the hands of the receiver. What happened to the revenue thereafter can be gathered from the accompanying table, which summarises and classifies the disbursements of the receivers of the three Welsh Duchy lordships 1411-17.

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1. For example the Grosmont arrears in 1421 in relation to the clear yield fluctuate as follows *: £26:£67 (1414); £9:£58 (1415); £3:£64 (1416); £7:£64 (1417).

2. For example the sum of £5 0s.10d. which appears regularly each year in the Hadnock accounts, but which the reeve consistently claimed was uncollectable, DL 42/17 f.86.

Expenditure on the administration of the estates and the upkeep of the property was nowhere heavy, around 10% of the expenses of all three receivers in fact. These running costs consisted mainly of the fees and wages of officials, along with occasionally heavy expenditure on the repairs of mills and weirs and the costs of sessions. In Cydweli a heavier item of expense than the administrative disbursements was the money spent in ensuring the safety of the lordship (19%). Considerable repairs and additions were made to the castles of Carregcennen and Kidwelly, so that a repetition of the disasters of the early 1400s would not be again experienced. Less expensive repairs were also undertaken in Monmouth and Brecon. The government was not taking any risks: the Duchy castles were securely garrisoned while the king was abroad in 1415-16, and Brecon castle was kept in a state of constant preparedness throughout these years.

But on estates where all the landed resources of the lord were being farmed by local lessees, the bill for local expenditure was never high and the rest of the revenue which came to the receiver was at the disposal of the central officials of the Duchy. In Monmouth a very high proportion (54%) of the receiver's disbursements was in the form of annuities to Duchy retainers. Even for a Duchy estate this is a high proportion to be paid in annuities; but most of it was in fact never collected, for many of the annuities were in the form of manors granted for life to faithful retainers. Here again Monmouth presents a contrast (as it had in the days of Gaunt) with the two western lordships, for in Brecon annuities charged on the receiver were small and in Cydweli they were altogether negligible. The rest of the revenue - 82% in Brecon, 69% in Cydweli and 34% in Monmouth - was destined to be exported from Wales to the coffers of the Duchy, either

to the receiver-general or, very occasionally, directly to the king himself. Altogether the Welsh estates after 1399, vastly improved by the addition of the lordship of Brecon, contributed handsomely to the Duchy finances once they had recovered from the effects of the Glyn Dŵr rebellion. The clear yield of the Duchy estates in the reign of Henry V was in the region of £15,000 per annum; and it can be confidently assessed that the Welsh lordships contributed £2,715 or 18% of this total.

The richness of the Duchy archives in the post-1399 period has enabled us to study local Duchy administration with a degree of detail which is rarely possible for any other lay inheritance in the later middle ages. The first conclusion which has emerged is the large measure of continuity from the days of Gaunt into those of Henry IV and Henry V. Not only did the Duchy's administrative machine remain essentially unchanged; but also very much the same sort of men were appointed as local officials as in Gaunt's days. The union of Crown and Duchy had not meant - as it did increasingly come to mean after 1422 - that posts in the Duchy were often no more than extra rewards for deserving royal servants. Secondly, the richness of the evidence has enabled us to measure the efficiency of local Duchy administration with a degree of accuracy and detail which was quite impossible before 1399. There were obviously many deficiencies in Duchy administration and plenty of room for reform; but in its basic task of collecting seignorial revenue its efficiency was clearly beyond dispute. It is true that the conclusions in this chapter are applicable only to the Welsh estates; but one may well believe that if the administration of these

estates (which were still recovering from the effects of the Glyn Dŵr revolt) was so extremely efficient, so also must have been local administration on Duchy estates in England. Unfortunately no study of the Principality lands in Wales during the years 1399 to 1422 has yet been undertaken, so that it is impossible to compare Crown and Duchy estate-management in the same period; but a recent study of the Principality after 1422[1] clearly suggests that Duchy administration was both more efficient and far more profitable than the administration of ancient crown lands.

The accession of Henry Bolingbroke in 1399 had consolidated and extended the Duchy estates in Wales; the death of his son in 1422, on the other hand, marks the beginning of a period of attenuation and disintegration in the history of the Duchy there. The settlement with the countess of Stafford in 1421 brought with it the loss of Brecon, the richest of the Welsh lordships; and the enfeoffments of Henry V and Henry VI and their grants of jointures to their queens temporarily deprived the Duchy of some of its most important estates. Furthermore the continuity of the Duchy administration was broken and its efficiency undermined when appointments to Duchy posts, especially to stewardships, were increasingly decided by political affiliations rather than on merit. Even in the field of archives 1422 marks the end of a period, for the almost unbroken run of auditors' accounts and valors ceases with Henry V's death. In many respects, then, 1422 is a more important date than 1399 in the evolution of the Duchy of Lancaster, in Wales as in England. It is an appropriate terminating point for this thesis.

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1. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government in the southern counties of the Principality of Wales, 1422-85', (University of Bristol, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1963), esp. 493 et seq.

APPENDIX A: LANCASTER AND DUCHY OFFICIALS IN WALES TO 1399

Note. These are lists of the major local officials only. The first date represents the first date on which the official appears in the records and the second date his last appearance there. An asterisk denotes that there is evidence that the official was in office between these two dates. The abbreviation 'apptd.' is used whenever the actual date of appointment is known.

I: THE LANCASTER ESTATES

(i) The Lordship of Monmouth

STEWARD

Sir Thomas de Bray	before Nov. 1270	C.Cha.R., ii, 155.
Geoffrey de Derhurst	c.1272-96	DL 42/1 f.19v. (Steward of Three-castles)
Durand de Tidworth	25 November 1273*	ibid., f.21.
	1 November 1281	ibid., f.18v.
Ralph Hathewy	1292	E 179/242/48.
Master Philip Talbot	before 1309	N.L.W. Milborne Collection, 1371.
Roger de Lye	11 February 1314 (?)	DL 42/1 f.22v.
John le Serjeant	Easter 1327*	DL 41/10/17.
	1332	DL 40/1/11 f.45.
Adam ab Ifor	28 September 1333	DL 42/1 f.24v.
	April 1334	Monmouth Record Office, Monmouth Deeds, 5155.
John Lodelowe	18 June 1335*	N.L.W. Milborne Collection, 59.
	1 May 1344	C.A.D., ii, B 2618.
Adam ab Ifor	December 1347	Monmouth Record Office, Llanarth Collection, 25.
Richard Sholl	March 1350*	E 210/9253
	July 1359	E 210/1662
John Lascelles	Michaelmas 1367*	DL 29/615/9836
	4 December 1374	Reg.I, 1584.
Sir Thomas Hungerford	apptd. 18 February 1375	ibid., 358. Described as co-steward of Hereford in May 1373. ibid., 1314.

Sir Richard Burley	12 May 1379*	Cartularium S.Petri Gloucestriae, iii. 259.
	Michaelmas 1385	DL 29/615/9838. Doubtless in office until death.
Sir William Lucy	apptd. 24 July 1387*	Reg.II, 1240.
	September 1395	DL 29/615/9839. Rodley and Minsterworth not in his bailiwick, 1395.
Sir Hugh Waterton	2 February 1399	DL 29/615/9840.

RECEIVER

David ap Hywel	1330	see under Cydweli.
John Sergeant	Michaelmas 1367*	DL 29/615/9836.
	Michaelmas 1395	DL 29/615/9839.
John ap Gwilym	2 February 1399	DL 29/615/9840.

OFFICIALS OF MONMOUTH CASTLE

Roger de Kentebury, constable	26 July 1301	DL 42/1 f.19v.
Robert Huntley, constable	1 May 1306	Cal. of Ancient Correspondence conc. Wales, 214.
William de Staundon, constable	before 1327	DL 42/1 f.22v.
John Seriant, constable	February 1326	E 210/8759.
Nicholas le Keu, porter	8 January 1339	DL 41/9/6 m.14.
Thomas Barbour, janitor	Michaelmas 1367	DL 29/615/9836.
	Michaelmas 1368	ibid.
Philip Piper, vigilator	Michaelmas 1369	DL 29/615/9837.
	Michaelmas 1370	ibid.
Sir Thomas Hungerford, constable	apptd. 18 Feb. 1375	Reg.I. 358.
Robert Blakewell, janitor	Michaelmas 1377*	DL 29/594/9507.
	Michaelmas 1395	DL 29/615/9839.

John Ward, master-sergeant	Michaelmas 1377 3 October 1389	DL 29/594/9507. Monmouth Record Office, Monmouth Collection, 5144.
Sir Richard Burley, constable	25 June 1382	Reg.II. 718.
Robert ap Llywelyn Huntley, master-sergeant	8 February 1385 7 February 1391	N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1499. ibid., 1191.
Sir William Lucy, constable	apptd.24 July 1387	Reg.II, 1240.
Philip Skidmore, master-sergeant	13 October 1392	Monmouth Record Office, Monmouth Collection, 5145.

CONSTABLE OF GROSMONT

John ap Llywelyn	11 September 1329	E 210/5760.
Nicholas de Upton	28 April 1353	Reg.I. 736.
William atte Halle	Michaelmas 1367* Michaelmas 1365	DL 29/615/9836. DL 29/615/9838.
Richard Eton	Michaelmas 1394	DL 29/615/9839.

CONSTABLE OF SKENFRITH

John Sulvy	Michaelmas 1367 Michaelmas 1370	DL 29/615/9836. DL 29/615/9837.
Raulyn Greyndour, snr. (guardian)	19 June 1381	Reg.II. 531.
John Rastell	Michaelmas 1394	DL 29/615/9839.

CONSTABLE OR JANITOR OF WHITECASTLE

Thomas ap Philip	Michaelmas 1367 1 February 1368	DL 29/615/9836 ibid.
John French	1 February 1368 1376	ibid. DL 28/3/1 m.7.
Raulyn Greyndour, jnr. (guardian)	19 June 1381	Reg.II. 530.
John Clifford	Michaelmas 1395	DL 29/615/9839.

(ii) The Lordship of Cydweli

STEWARD

Richard de Rivers	**August 1308*** 22 May 1332	Arch.Camb., 3rd series, ii (1856) 277. N.L.W. Muddlescombe Deeds, 308.
Richard de Penres	17 June 1336	ibid., 2130.
Walter atte Bergh	5 May 1345* December 1364	ibid., 2247. Cartularium Prioratus de Carmarthen, no.99.
John ap Nicdon	3 September 1368	N.L.W. Muddlescombe Deeds, 2143.
William Danastre	14 November 1368 dead by Mich.1369	ibid., 2225. DL 29/584/9236.
John Lascelles	Michaelmas 1369* November 1372	ibid. Reg.I, 523.
Sir Thomas Hungerford	apptd.13 Aug. 1372 5 March 1375	ibid., 269. ibid., 1744.
Gruffydd ap Cadwgan Fychan, deputy steward	30 August 1372 5 March 1375	ibid., 749. ibid., 1744.
Henry ap Philip deputy steward in Wales	7 February 1380	Reg.II, 185.
Henry ap Philip, steward of the Welshry	apptd.11 Feb.1381 Michaelmas 1382	ibid., 1090. DL 29/584/9237.
William Tuttebury steward of Englishry	apptd. 11 Feb.1381 15 April 1382	Reg.II, 1093. N.L.W. Muddlescombe Deeds, 2146.
Henry ap Philip.(under) steward Welshry and Englishry	apptd.7 April 1383 Michaelmas 1384	Reg.II, 1131. DL 29/584/9238.
William White	Michaelmas 1387 Michaelmas 1388	DL 43/15/2 m.2. ibid.
Henry Don	Michaelmas 1388 Michaelmas 1389	DL 29/584/9239. ibid.
William Gwyn ap Rhys	25 September 1392* 13 September 1396	N.L.W. Muddlescombe Deeds, 2127. ibid., 2248.
Hugh Waterton	2 February 1399	DL 29/584/9240.

RECEIVER (usually receiver of Ogmore also)

Thomas ap Robert	5 March 1319	N.L.W. Muddlescombe Deeds, 2222.
	23 July 1319	N.L.W. Haverfordwest Records, 1142.
David ap Howel or David the Clerk described variously as receiver of Cydweli, receiver of Ogmore and 'receptor in partibus Wallie'.	12 August 1328*	DL 41/10/3 m.26.
	7 August 1330	Ibid., m.32.
John Joie, clerk	22 May 1332	N.L.W. Muddlescombe Deeds, 308.
	September 1332	DL 25/1193.
John Becot, clerk	June 1336	N.L.W. Muddlescombe Deeds, 2130.
James Langley	1348	DL 25/986.
Thomas Hervy	Michaelmas 1362*	DL 29/592/9444.
	Michaelmas 1369	DL 29/584/9236.
Roger Aylward	Michaelmas 1369	ibid.
	Michaelmas 1370	ibid.
Gruffydd ap Cadwgan Fychan	Michaelmas 1370	ibid.
	Michaelmas 1371	ibid.
William Tuttebury	Michaelmas 1371	ibid.
	10 September 1375	Reg.I, 1765.
(John de Campden)) Henry ap Philip)	1376-7	DL 28/3/1.
William Tuttebury	14 November 1379	Reg.II, 108.
	September 1380	ibid., 402.
Gruffydd ap Cadwgan Fychan	apptd.11 Feb. 1381	ibid., 1091.
	Michaelmas 1384	DL 29/584/9238.
Robert Don	Michaelmas 1387	DL 43/15/2 m.2.
	Michaelmas 1388	ibid.
William ap Philip	Michaelmas 1388	DL 29/584/9239 (not Iscennen).
	Michaelmas 1394	DL 29/728/11983.
John Cressenny	1390	DL 29/737/12071 m.2.
John Fairford	2 February 1399	DL 29/573/9063.

CONSTABLES OF CASTLES

Sir Richard Burley - Kidwelly	Michaelmas 1369	DL 29/584/9236.
John Wrench - Carregcennen	Michaelmas 1369 Michaelmas 1384	ibid. DL 29/584/9238.

(iii) Ogmore and Ebboth

STEWARD. See under CYDWELI.

William Tuttebury deputy-steward	apptd. 11 Feb. 1381	Reg.II. 1093.
Gruffydd ap Cadwgan Fychan.	apptd. 8 April 1383 10 December 1383	ibid., 1132. DL 29/584/9238.

RECEIVER. See under CYDWELI.

Morgan ap Rees Gethin	Michaelmas 1381	DL 29/584/9237. Deputy-receiver.

CONSTABLES

David ap Llywelyn	May 1328	DL 41/10/34 m.27.
John ap Hicdon	Michaelmas 1362 Michaelmas 1363	DL 29/592/9444. ibid.
Maurice Milowe	Michaelmas 1369 Michaelmas 1370	DL 29/584/9236. ibid.
John Wrench	apptd.6 Aug. 1372	Reg.I. 257.
William Tuttebury	apptd. 11 Feb.1381	Reg.II. 1093.

II: THE BOHUN ESTATES

(i) Central Officials, 1299-1373

The source, unless otherwise stated, is DL 29/671/10810.

STEWARD OF ALL THE EARL'S LANDS

Master John Walwayn	1305	Arch.Camb., 4th ser., xiii (1882), 302.
	12 April 1308	B.B.C.S., ii (1923-5), 249.

Sir Robert Walkfare	before 1322	DL 7/1, Appendix, no.10.
Thomas Chabham	1336-1339	
Sir Thomas Dagworth	before 1345	mentioned as 'locumtenentis domini'.
John Colynton	c.1345-50	
Nicholas Newton, clerk	c.1350-58	
John Bampton	16 February 1365 Michaelmas 1371	B.B.C.S., ii (1923-5).250. SC 6/1156/18.
Robert Teye	1371-2	ibid.

AUDITORS

Thomas Amondesham	c.1336-40	
John Coggeshall	c.1336-49	
John Stanes	c.1339-42.	
John Colynton	1344	
Thomas Walmesford, clerk	c.1336-61	
Philip Melreth, clerk	1371-2	SC 6/1156/18
Ivo Sandhurst, clerk	1371-2	ibid.

KEEPER OF THE WARDROBE

John Mot, clerk	Febr.1337-July 1338
Master John Coq	Oct.1338-Aug.1341
Geoffrey atte Cherche, clerk	Sept.1341-March 1345
Robert de Horsyndon	April 1345-April 1346
Walter de Heremodesworth, clerk	April 1346-October 1346
Nicholas de Newton, clerk	October 1346-c.1350

Stephen atte Roche, clerk	c.1350-1358	
William Wyndesor, 'garderoberius'	1371-72	SC 6/1156/18.

CLERKS OF THE WARDROBE

John de Waltham	October 1336	
Gilbert Blount	February 1337	

CHAMBERLAIN

Thomas Beverley	December 1346-Michaelmas 1351	
John Dreve	Michaelmas 1351-Michaelmas 1354	
Ivo Sandhurst	Michaelmas 1356-Michaelmas 1358	
John Gourle, 'receptor camere'	Michaelmas 1367 Michaelmas 1372	DL 29/680/11002. SC 6/1156/18.

RECEIVER GENERAL

Philip Melreth, clerk	1366-7	DL 28/32/19-20.
Henry Wakefield, clerk	'nuper receptor generalis' in 1371-2	SC 6/1156/18.

(ii) Brecon Officials, 1299-1373.

The source, unless otherwise states, is DL 29/671/10810.

SHERIFF

Hywel Fychan ap Hywel ab Einion	September 1332* 1346	DL 25/1611. DL 25/1615.

CONSTABLE OR STEWARD

Richard Wroth, constable	April 1308 August 1319	B.B.C.S., ii (1923-5), 249. Archaeological Journal, ii (1846), 346-7.
Robert Morby, constable	February 1322	C.C.R. 1318-23, 422.
Meuric ap Rees, constable	before 1327	DL 7/1, Appendix, no.10.

John Hereford, constable	October 1327	ibid.
Thomas Amondesham, constable	May 1328	DL 7/1, Appendix, no.11.
Meuric ap Rees, constable	September 1332 6 December 1338	DL 25/1611.
Hywel Fychan ap Hywel ab Einion, constable	5 December 1338 28 July 1339	
Adam Skolle, constable	27 July 1339-25 April 1340	
Walter Shokenhurst, steward	24 April 1340-3 March 1342	
John Stanes, steward	23 March 1342-9 October 1344	
Henry Churchesdon, constable	9 October 1344-1 July 1349	
John Lucas, constable	22 August 1349-Michaelmas 1358	
Richard Sergeant, steward	Michaelmas 1371 remained in office until June 1374	SC 6/1156/18 SC 6/1156/22

RECEIVER

Thomas de Redyng	Michaelmas 1336-9 November 1337	
John Waltham	8 November 1337-1 July 1343	
Henry Churchesdon	30 June 1343-3 February 1346	
William Cok, clerk	2 February 1346-Michaelmas 1346	
Thomas Viel	Michaelmas 1346-Michaelmas 1349	
John de Chertes	Michaelmas 1349-Michaelmas 1350	
John Yonge	c.1360s.	SC 6/1156/18
Roger Poleyn	Michaelmas 1353 still in office as receiver of Brecon for Thomas of Woodstock in Michaelmas 1367	DL 29/680/11009.

III: OFFICIALS OF THE EARL OF DERBY IN BRECON, 1384-99

STEWARD

Sir Hugh Waterton	apptd.20 March 1391 Michaelmas 1399	C.P.R. 1396-9, 70-1. SC 6/1157/4 m.4.

DEPUTY STEWARD

John Skidmore	1393-4	DL 28/3/4 f.23v.
Roger del Hay	1395	SC 6/1157/4 m.2.
John ap Henry	1396 Michaelmas 1399	ibid., m.4.

CONSTABLE OR JANITOR

Sir Hugh Waterton	apptd.26 June 1387	C.P.R. 1396-9, 70-1.
Thomas Totty, porter	apptd.17 Oct.1388 Michaelmas 1399	ibid., 122. SC 6/1157/4 m.4.

RECEIVER

Thomas de la Hay	1388-9	DL 42/16 f.96.
Andrew le Hore	October 1391 February 1395	DL 28/3/3 m.1. DL 28/3/4 f.28.
John Leventhorp	1395-6	SC 6/1157/ 4 m.2.
John Fairford	Michaelmas 1397 Michaelmas 1399	DL 29/633/10317. SC 6/1157/4.

APPENDIX B: BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON DUCHY STEWARDS IN WALES, 1399-1422.

(The following notes are not meant to be exhaustive; they are designed primarily to answer the questions asked in Chapter V (ii). They supplement the notes provided by Sir Robert Somerville in Duchy of Lancaster, i, 639, 646-7; but wherever an adequate biography already appears in print, I have been satisfied with giving a reference to it.)

A. CYDWELI.

SIR HUGH WATERTON. He occupied the office temporarily 2 February 1399-29 September 1399. For a brief biography of him see sub Brecon.

WILLIAM GWYN AP RHYS LLWYD. A local landowner who had been steward since at least 25 September 1392 (see Appendix A I). His career is discussed above pp.271. Probably restored to the stewardship at Michaelmas 1399.

SIR JOHN SKIDMORE. He was appointed steward for life 30 May 1401 (DL 42/15 f.35v.) and his appointment was renewed during pleasure 5 April 1413 (DL 42/17 f.190v.). There is a brief biography of him in J.C. Wedgwood, History of Parliament, i, 753-4; but it is incorrect in several respects. The Skidmores were a prolific Herefordshire family with branches at Rowlstone, Holme Lacy, The 'Fern', and Rogyat and Troy. John Skidmore did not belong to any of these main branches of the family. He was quite possibly a younger son and was connected with Kentchurch in north-west Herefordshire, overlooking the Lancaster lordship of Grosmont. He is often distinguished as 'of Kentchurch' until 1407, when he was knighted. He saw early service with two local families, the Talbots of Castle Goodrich, and the Beauchamps of Abergavenny (C.P.R. 1396-9, 28, 145, Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to Wales, iii, 583-4), and he kept his connections with both families, for he appears as steward of Castle Goodrich in 1413 and as an annuitant of Joan Beauchamp in 1419 (JI 1/1152 m.18; J.A. Bradney, History of Monmouthshire, ii,4). But the services of neither satisfied his ambitions: he joined the following of the young Henry Bolingbroke and by 1393 was acting as his deputy steward of Brecon (Appendix A, III). Even this did not entirely satisfy him for by 1396 he appears as a squire in Richard II's retinue.

After 1399 he saw active service, both military and political, for the house of Lancaster, especially in Wales. He was in the thick of the fight against the Glyn Dŵr rebels as guardian of Carregcennen and Carmarthen; accompanied Henry V on the Agincourt campaign; and was later appointed guardian of Harfleur (N.H. Nicolas, Battle of Agincourt, 384; P.P.C., ii, 320). In the civil sphere the revolution of 1399 brought him wider scope for service than ever before. In May 1401, as well as an annuity of 20 marks he received the stewardship of Cydweli which, according to a series of accusations in 1413 (JI 1/1153 m.2), he used for his own profit. He was relieved of this office when he went to France in 1415, but was restored to it on 14 June 1423 (DL 42/18 f.173v.). From 2 August 1425 (ibid., f.199) he was also steward of

Monmouth and as such was the most powerful man in the Duchy administration in south Wales. This was not the limit of his power for he was also steward of Widigada, Elfed and Cantrefmawr, constable of Carmarthen castle, and sheriff of the county of Carmarthen (C.P.R. 1422-9, 63; SC 6/1165/11; P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, ix, 245).

His private as well as his public life prospered. He was able to add to his estates at Howton (co.Heref.) between 1407 and 1419 (N.L.W. Kentchurch Collection, 995, 1562, 673, 996); and his standing in his home county was amply recognised by his being chosen twice as sheriff and six times as knight of the shire. But matrimonial and territorial interests also bound him closely to the Welsh gentry. He himself had married Alice, the daughter of Owain Glyn Dŵr (the date of the marriage is unknown in spite of J.H. Matthews, Continuation of Duncumb's History of Herefordshire, ii, 12), while his daughter married Gruffydd Don (above p. 310) and his son married the daughter of Gruffydd ap Nicolas (H.T. Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, 95). These matrimonial ties with Wales were reinforced by Skidmore's interest in a group of rebel lands which he had been granted at Penallt, Pibwr, and Llangynheiddon in Cydweli (C.P.R. 1408-13, 32; SC 6/861/21). His Welsh connections brought him under suspicion on more than one occasion: an informer accused him of being Glyn Dŵr's receiver (BL.H.R., xxxvii (1964), 77-100); and eventually in May 1433 he was belatedly removed from all his offices in Wales, at the instigation of Edmund Beaufort, because of his marriage to Glyn Dŵr's daughter (Rot. Parl., iv, 440; DL 42/18 f.9v.-10; C.P.R. 1429-36, 286). Two years later he died ('iam defunctus', DL 42/18 f.72v.).

JOHN LUTTRELL. He was appointed steward during pleasure 20 July 1415 (DL 42/ 17 f.38d). His father had started his career under Gaunt and was well rewarded with annuities and offices by both Henry IV and Henry V. His own career is described in full by H.C. Maxwell-Lyte in History of Dunster, i, 108-14.

JOHN MERBURY. He was appointed steward 15 February 1417 and his appointment was renewed 1 October 1422 (DL 42/17 f.203; DL 42/18 f.194). He was of a Cheshire family and was in Gaunt's service by 1395 (DL 42/15 f.46v.). He received considerable rewards from Henry IV and was soon seconded into the service of Henry of Monmouth (C.P.R. 1399-1401, 187; 1401-5, 51, 116, 280; 1413-16, 321). From March 1400 he was chamberlain of the Principality lands in south Wales and keeper of the prince's seal there (SC 6/1222/9); and for his services he was rewarded with an annuity of a hundred marks as well as rebel lands in Wales (C.P.R. 1401-5, 51; 1413-16, 320). After Henry V's accession further offices were conferred on him: the stewardship of Brecon in 1414 and of Cydweli in 1417 and the office of justice of the southern principality later (C.P.R. 1416-22, 368; 1422-9, 3). He served on many local and judicial commissions in the Duchy lordships in Wales and was clearly the most important man in their administration in Henry V's reign. After 1422 Merbury began to withdraw from his life as a busy civil servant in Wales, though he continued to appear on an occasional commission there.

Though of a Cheshire family, his marital fortunes brought him into the front ranks of the gentry of Herefordshire. His first wife was Alice Pembridge, widow of Thomas Oldcastle and heiress of the Pembridge estates in western Herefordshire. On her death in 1415 he took to wife Agnes Crophull, widow of Sir Walter Devereux and John del Par successively. She was the heiress of the Crophull inheritance centred at Weobley in Herefordshire; but including lands and rents in six other English counties (C.C.R. 1381-5, 324; C.F.R. 1437-45, 31-3). As a result of these marriages he was soon accepted into county society, and took an active part in local government, serving on local commissions galore, acting as sheriff seven times, and representing his adopted shire in parliament on five occasions. His wife died in 1435 and he himself in February 1438 (their wills are in Registrum Thome Spofford, 225-7); and their alabaster effigies, with an SS. collar on Merbury, lie in the chancel of Weobley church (Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, Herefordshire, iii, 195).

B. BRECON.

SIR HUGH WATERTON. He was appointed Bolingbroke's steward of Brecon 20 March 1391 (See Appendix A III) and remained in office until his death in July 1409. There are short biographies of him in R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, i, 385, 416-7 and The Earl of Derby's Expeditions, ed. L.T. Smith, 293-4; and accounts of his offices in the Duchy will be found there.

After 1399 as well as being steward of Brecon, constable of Brecon and Hay castles and master forester of the lordship, he also held the stewardship of Monmouth from 30 May 1401 and several minor sinecures in Cydweli - constable of Kidwelly and Carregcennen castles and forester of Cefngorath. He was exempted from having to attend to his offices personally (DL 42/16 f.37).

He himself was of a Lincolnshire family; but his second marriage to Katharine, the widow of Sir John Bromwich, brought him a handsome family seat at Eaton Tregose (for a contemporary description of the manor house there see J.H. Matthews, Continuation of Duncumb's History of Herefordshire, i, 139), which henceforth served as his home (see for example DL 28/1/10 f.6v. - travelling from Eaton Tregose, and DL 28/4/2 f.2v. - receiving money there). His sons-in-law were Robert Chalons, also one of Bolingbroke's retainers in the 1390s, and John ap Harry.

JOHN AP HARRY. He served as deputy-steward of Brecon for his father-in-law from at least 1396 until November 1408 (SC 6/1157/4 m.4; DL 42/16 f.252v.) He was of Poston in western Herefordshire. His mother was Efa, the daughter of Ieuan ap Rees of Elfael (C.C.R. 1409-13, 211; JI 1/1152 m.15v.) and as such he was the cousin of David Gam (for the genealogy of the

family see B.M. Harleian 5058, f.5v., f.12). He was in Derby's service by 1390 (Derby's Expeditions, 122) and there doubtless met his future wife, Elizabeth Waterton.

The revolution of 1399 transformed him into a really important man in royal administration in Wales: constable of Llanbadarn and steward of the royal lordship of Builth and the Mortimer lordship of Dinas (C.P.R. 1399-1401, 38; 1401-5, 34, 237). He also received many rewards from Henry IV - an annuity of £40 on Monmouth and a goodly share of the lands which temporarily came into the crown's custody, 'for the good and disinterested service he had given to the king' (DL 42/15 f.157; DL 42/16 f.85; C.P.R. 1401-5, 207, 215; 1405-8, 176; C.P.R. 1399-1405, 51; 1405-13, 29, 66, 232; DL 42/17 f.120). He took part in the campaigns against the Welsh rebels and served as captain of Hay (C.P.R. 1401-5, 122, 464; P.P.C., 1, 237). The good fortune which the revolution of 1399 brought him was reflected in his improved standing in Herefordshire politics: sheriff in 1399, escheator on several occasions, and knight of the shire in the 1407 parliament.

His fortunes began to wane soon after his father-in-law's death in July 1409. He held no further posts in the Duchy administration and appears on no more than a few royal commissions. The reasons for his fall from fortune are probably many: the temporary flirtations of his brothers with the Glyn Dŵr rebels (C.P.R. 1401-5, 331, 347); the death of his father-in-law; and above all his undoubted connections with Sir John Oldcastle who was clearly a very close friend of his. He was clearly suspected of complicity with Oldcastle (E.H.R., xx (1905), 651, n.64; C.C.R. 1413-19, 434-5); and this doubtless explains why he appears on no royal commission after February 1414, though he continued to act as steward of Usk (N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 229, 1724). He died in the summer of 1420 (DL 29/615/9846).

SIR JOHN TIPTOFT. He was appointed steward of Brecon 9 July 1409 (DL 42/16 f.112; Somerville, op.cit., 646, needs correcting on this point) and reappointed 5 April 1413 (DL 42/17 f.190v.). For his career see G.E.C., xii, 746-9.

JOHN MERBURY. He was in office by February 1414 (DL 42/17 f.77) and remained steward until the lordship was granted to the countess of Stafford. For his career see above sub Cydweli, pp.398-9.

C. MONMOUTH.

SIR HUGH WATERTON. He was appointed steward 2 February 1399 (DL 29/615/9840). This was a temporary appointment until Michaelmas 1399.

SIR WILLIAM LUCY. He was originally appointed steward 24 July 1387 (see Appendix A, I). His career is discussed above p. 50 He was restored to office in Michaelmas 1399 and remained steward until his death.

SIR HUGH WATERTON. He was reappointed steward, for life 30 May 1401 on Sir William Lucy's death (DL 42/15 f.88). For his Welsh offices see above p. 399.

SIR JOHN BLOUNT. He was appointed steward for life 5 July 1409 (DL 42/16 f.266v.). He came of a Worcestershire-Derbyshire family which had given loyal service to the house of Lancaster throughout the fourteenth century (for the connections of the family with Rodley and Tibberton see above p. 22). His father, Sir Walter Blount, was chamberlain to John of Gaunt and one of his executors (Somerville, op.cit., 364). John Blount was retained as a royal esquire early in Henry IV's reign and by 1406 he was drawing at least £90 by way of annuities from the Crown as well as temporary gifts and offices (C.P.R. 1401-5, 64, 161, 321, 499; C.P.R. 1405-13, 48); and the grant of the stewardship of Monmouth was obviously yet another reward for faithful service. Sir John Blount's talents lay in war rather than in administration, and he resigned his Monmouth post on 11 January 1412 when his commitments as deputy-admiral of England began to make more demands on his time (for his military career see G.E.C., ix, 333 n.i, and J.H. Wylie and W.T. Waugh, The Reign of Henry V, i, 93; ii, 332-3).

SIR JOHN GREYNDOUR. He was appointed steward of Monmouth for life in January 1412 (DL 42/16 f.110). His family background, marital fortunes and early connections with Gaunt have been discussed above pp. 206-9. During Henry IV's reign he had an active military career serving in Scotland, at the battle of Shrewsbury and against the Welsh rebels (J.H. Wylie, History of England under Henry IV, iv, 244, 248; J.E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower, 96). He was also trusted by the king with the custody of several important marcher lordships which came into the Crown's hands during the critical years of the Glyn Dŵr revolt (C.P.R. 1401-5, 120; 1405-8, 25, 160; C.F.R. 1399-1405, 41). In addition he was granted the custody of Monmouth and Skenfrith castles in February 1405 and of the lordship of Whitecastle for life in May 1406 (DL 29/615/9842; DL 25/3482, 3515). By these grants Greyndour became virtual royal lieutenant in Monmouth lordship and one of the most important royal officials in south-east Wales.

His sterling services brought their reward. He was granted an annuity of 40 marks soon after the revolution of 1399 (C.P.R. 1399-1401, 10), and the grant of the lordship of Whitecastle must have been worth another £70 a year, once the district had recovered from the effects of rebellion. His standing in royal service in Wales and his status as squire of Clearwell brought due recognition in Herefordshire circles, for he was called upon to serve on local commissions and twice sat as knight of the shire. He agreed to serve on the Agincourt campaign

(E101/69/5 no.418); but his health was already failing and in September 1416 he died in his sixtieth year (C.C.R. 1413-19, 338; for the Greyndour chantry at Newland see Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, vii (1882-3), 117-25).

THOMAS DE LA HAY. He was appointed steward of Monmouth 26 October 1416 (DL 42/17 f.208v.) and remained in office throughout the rest of the reign. He came of a Herefordshire family and frequently appears in the local government of the county: knight of the shire in the May parliament of 1413, escheator in 1418 and justice of the peace 1416-22. He was one of the group of Herefordshire squires who was retained for life by Prince Henry by at least 1409 and was in receipt of an annuity of ten marks (SC 6/1222/10).

APPENDIX C: THE FINANCES OF THE LORDSHIP OF BRECON, 1299-1399.

I. A balance sheet of the Receiver of Brecon's Accounts, 1336-1372.

Sources: DL 29/671/10810; SC 6/1156/18.

	1337 £	1338 £	1339 £	1340 £	1341 £	1342 £	1343 £	1344 £	1345 £	1346 £
Arrears	691. 5. 6.	209. 6. 0.	379. 6. 0.	913. 3. 7.	772.15. 3.	590. 6.11.	183.11. 9.	278. 6. 0.	223. 3. 1.	450.10.11.
Receiver's local charge	167.12. 2.	166. 4. 2.	168. 4. 3.	65. 4. 1.	28. 9.10.	73. 7. 6.	31. 3. 4.	50.12. 8.	41. 7. 3.	41. 3. 2. 39. 15. 10.
Court Issues	65. 1.10.	93.17. 3.	93.12. 6.	68.18. 6.	115. 4. 1.	111.13. 0.	114.13.10.	114.12. 6.	491. 1. 0.	237. 2. 4.
Foreign Receipts	161. 4.11.	236. 5. 5.	309. 2. 2.	308. 1. 2.	377. 5. 8.	224. 2. 8.	205.11.11.	331.17. 7.	298.18. 5.	511. 1. 3.
Subsidies and communal fines	20. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.	890. 0. 0.	105.18.10	633. 6. 8.	-	279.10. 0.	71.13. 4.	373. 6. 8.	-
Local expenditure	117. 7. 4.	114.12. 9.	131. 6. 0.	159.17. 3.	132. 1. 6.	173.12.11.	164. 1. 5.	130. 0. 6.	140.14.10.	93.18. 6.
Payments to centre or to creditors	663.10. 4.	231.14. 0.	748. 3. 5.	494.18. 1.	538.16. 7.	635.17. 2.	363. 7. 4.	560.11. 1.	839. 2.10.	822.12. 0.
Allowances or pardons	12. 6.10.	-	47.11.10.	33.16. 7.	663. 7. 5.	6. 8. 3.	5.18. 2.	6.19. 6.	9. 8. 7.	5. 5. 6.
Respited or placed 'in suspenso'	-	-	890. 0. 0.	580. 5.10.)	587.12. 8.	-	218.17. 9.	107.11. 2.	346.11. 8.	163.15. 6.
'Debet de claro'	311.19.10.	379. 6. 0.	23. 3. 7.	192. 9. 5.)		183.11. 9.	59. 8. 3.	52.19.10.	91.18. 6.	148.18. 4.

	1347 £	1348 £	1349 £	1350 £	1351 £	1352 £	1353 £	1354 £	1357 £	1358 £	1372 £
Arrears	314.18. 6.	524.14. 2.	546.12. 4.	704. 3. 9.	222.10. 5.	1103. 0.11.	899. 7. 7.	907. 5. 1.	1635. 8. 7.	1867. 5. 4.	2053.14. 1.
Receiver's local charge	33.15.10.	113. 4. 9.	40. 1. 7.	103. 3. 3.	40. 2.11.	137.15. 6.	48. 8. 7.	121.16. 9.	62. 5. 7.	128.5. 11.	283.19. 5.
Court Issues	319. 9. 0.	417. 7. 6.	758.12. 8.	407.17. 4.	380.14. 3.	178. 1. 5.	359. 0.10.	713.11. 5.	115. 0. 6.	102.14. 1.	371. 5. 7.
Foreign Receipts	444. 6. 4.	348. 3. 3.	180.19. 0.	296.10. 9.	393. 7. 7.	316.16. 9.	403.17. 0.	357. 9. 8.	338. 3. 5.	491.19.19.	892.18.10.
Subsidies and communal fines	-	-	-	-	633. 6. 8.	-	793. 6. 8.	-	-	-	
Local expenditure	145.10. 0.	107. 1.10.	146. 0. 9.	139. 7. 9.	115. 6. 9.	80.10. 1.	83. 6. 6.	130.14.11.	80. 3. 5.	101.10. 6.	323.16. 4.
Payments to centre or to creditors	626. 3. 4.	*	575.10. 5.	877.12. 1.	519. 7. 5.	702. 1.10.	1114.16. 7.	[1080. 0. 0.]	495.11. 4.	1272.8. 0.	2077.19. 0.
Allowances or pardons	16.14.11.	*	31. 5. 2.	41.17. 7.	1.19. 5.	4. 2. 5.	20.14.11.	*	9. 6. 9.	18.13. 6.	12. 9. 3.
Respited or placed 'in suspenso'	-	*	166. 3. 2.	444. 6. 7.	*	622.17. 9.	1154.14.11.	*	862. 0. 8.	903.11. 6.	720. 8. 6.
'Debet in claro'	324. 1. 4.	*	81. 1. 7.	*	*	*	103. 1. 4.	*	703.15.10.	294. 1. 8.	455.19. 2.

* Document damaged.

C11: Valor of the Lordship of Brecon, 1371-2.

Sources: SC 6/861/1; SC 6/1156/13-19.

	Bronllys	Cantre-selyf	Upper Forest	Lower Forest	Manor of Brecon	Hay	Hunting-ton	Receiver of Brecon
Farms and rents	8.13. 8.	15. 1. 9.	16.16. 2.	9.10. 2.	17. 1. 4.	81.16. 5.	40.15. 3.	74. 2.10.
Issues	8. 3. 11.	-	-	-	14.10. 6.	21. 4. 4.	5.11. 9.	-
Sale of manorial produce	40.18. 6.	-	-	-	48.16. 3.	15.15. 9.	19. 9. 6.	147.13. 8.[2]
Perquisites of courts	4. 9.10.	31.14. 5.	16. 0. 8.	4.11. 1.	2.12.11.	34.16. 8.	17. 3.10.	371. 5. 7.
GROSS YIELD	62. 5.11.	46.16. 2.	32.16.10.	14. 1. 3.	83. 1. 0.	153.13. 2.	83. 0. 4.	593. 2. 1.
Costs of manor and livestock	17.18. 0.	-	-	2. 9. 9.	12.18. 3.	[illegible].19.10.	10. 6. 9.	102.10. 7.[3]
Admin.expenses	1. 8. 7.	1.15. 6.	5.18.10.	1.14. 4.	12.11. 1.	3.10. 8.	24.17. 1.[1]	107. 1. 8.
CLEAR YIELD	42.19. 4.	45. 0. 8.	26.18. 0.	10. 6. 2.	57.11. 8.	135. 2. 8.	47.16. 6.	383. 9.10.

Notes: 1. Includes some allowances for previous years.

2. Excluding £65.2.11. from the sale of wool of previous years.

3. Including £26.13.4. for the lease of Lore Abbey lands in Cantrefselyf.

Appendix G II (continued)
(These districts marked with an asterisk have left no accounts; the figures are therefore tentative.)

BRECON GROUP	Gross Value £	Clear Value £
Brecon manor	83. 1. 0.	57.11. 8.
Brecon town at farm	120. 0. 0.	120. 0. 0.
Great Forest at farm	66.13. 4.	66.13. 4.
Hay	153.13. 2.	135. 2. 8.
Huntington	83. 0. 4.	47.16. 6.
Mills of Brecon	50. 4. 0.	50. 4. 0.
* 'Mairar' of Great Forest	55.11. 8.	55.11. 8.
* Pencelli	85.13.10.	85.13.10.
	697.17. 4.	618.13. 8.

CANTREFSELYF GROUP		
Bronllys	62. 5.11.	42.19. 4.
Cantrefselyf	46.16. 2.	45. 0. 8.
Upper Forest	32.16.10.	26.18. 0.
Lower Forest	14. 1. 3.	10. 6. 1.
* Transcoed	53.18.11.	53.18.11.
* Llaneglwys	20. 0. 2.	20. 0. 2.
* Gwenddwr	17. 9. 4.	17. 9. 4.
* Abernant	5. 0. 0.	5. 0. 0.
	252. 8. 7.	221.12. 6.

TOTALS		
BRECON GROUP	697.17. 4.	618.13. 8.
CANTREFSELYF GROUP	252. 8. 7.	221.12. 6.
BRECON RECEIVER	593. 2. 1.	383. 9.10.
	1,543. 8. 0.	1,223.16. 0.

C III. Valors of the Lordship of Brecon, 1374-6.

Sources: SC 6/1156/21-22; SC 6/1157/1-2.

1374-5

	Hay £	Pencelli £	Bronllys £	Receiver of Cantrefselyf £	Lower Forest £	Welsh Reeve of Cantrefselyf £	Huntington £	Brecon Manor £	Brecon Receiver £
Farms and rents	74. 2. 1.	23.18.11.	28. 7.11.	29.12. 9.	7. 0. 5.	14. 5. 7.	40. 5. 1.	19.10. 7.	133.10. 6.
Issues of manor	33.13. 0.	-	5. 3. 6.	-	-	-	15.11. 3.	16. 6. 7.	-
Courts	17. 9. 2.	24.10.10.	16.14. 3.	-	5.12. 6.	13. 0. 1.	14.15. 0.	2. 5. 0.	158.18. 8.
GROSS YIELD	125. 4. 3.[1]	48. 9. 9.	50. 5. 8.	29.12. 9.	12.12.11.	27. 5. 8.	70.11. 4.[1]	38. 2. 2.	292. 9. 2.
Costs of manor	5.12.11.	2.10. 8.	3. 1. 1.	-	-	-	-	9. 8.	-
Admin.expenses	4. 6. 4.	-	1.17. 0.	27.12. 3.[2]	3. 0. 8.	1.17.10.	9. 9. 9.	7.10. 6.	55. 0. 7.
	9.19. 3.	2.10. 8.	4.18. 1.	27.12. 3.	3. 0. 8.	1.17.10.	9. 9. 9.	8. 0. 2.	55. 0. 7.
CLEAR YIELD	115. 5. 0.	45.19. 1.	45. 7. 7.	2. 0. 6.	9.12. 3.	25. 7.10.	61. 1. 7.	30. 2. 0.	237. 8. 7.

1375-6

Farms and rents	104.18. 7.	21. 1. 0.	28. 8. 3.	37. 2. 9.	17.10. 8.	14. 5. 7.	41.10.6.	25. 4. 5.	55.16. 8.
Issues of manor	-	-	6. 2. 3.	-	2. 8. 6.	-	12. 7. 9.	10. 9. 9.	-
Courts	32.10. 2.	13.10. 9.	17. 0. 3.	-	2.16. 3.	18.13. 7.	11.17.10.	1. 1. 0.	143.18. 5.
GROSS YIELD	137. 8. 9.	34.11. 9.	51.10. 9.	37. 2. 9.	12.15. 5.	32.19. 2.	65.16. 1.	36.15. 2.	199.15. 1.
Costs of manor	-	12. 4.	12. 6.	29. 3. 8.[3]	-	-	-	-	-
Admin.expenses	18.17.11.	-	4. 1. 7.	11.14. 0.	3. 0. 8.	1.18. 8.	22.10.10.	11. 8. 1.	52.13.10.
	18.17.11.	12. 4.	4.14. 1.	40.17. 8.	3. 0. 8.	1.18. 8.	22.10.10.	11. 8. 1.	52.13.10.
CLEAR YIELD	118.10.10.	33.19. 5.	46.16. 8.	less 2.14.11.	9.14. 9.	31. 0. 6.	43. 5. 3.	25. 7. 1.	147. 1. 3.

1. £3.7.4 allowed at the foot of the account has been deducted.
2. £23.0.10. was in payment for a lease of Dore Abbey lands.
3. £26.13.4. was in payment for a lease of Dore Abbey lands.

1. Allowance of 18s.6d., granted in next year's account, deducted.

Appendix C III (continued)

	January 1374-January 1375		January 1375-January 1376	
	Gross Yield £	Clear Yield £	Gross Yield £	Clear Yield £
Brecon manor	38 2. 2.	30. 2. 0.	36.15. 2.	25. 7. 1.
Brecon town at farm	120. 0. 0.	120. 0. 0.	120. 0. 0.	120. 0. 0.
Great Forest at farm	66.13. 4.	66.13. 4.	66.13. 4.	66.13. 4.
Hay	125. 4. 3.	115. 5. 0.	137. 8. 9.	118.10.10.
Huntington	70.11. 4.	61. 1. 7.	65.16. 1.	43. 5. 3.
Mills of Brecon	31.10. 0.	31.10. 0.	86. 0. 0.	86. 0. 0.
Pencelli	48. 9. 9.	45.19. 1.	34.11. 9.	33.19. 5.
Bronllys	50. 5. 8.	45. 7. 7.	51.10. 9.	46.16. 8.
Welsh reeve of Cantrefselyf	27. 5. 8.	25. 7.10.	32.19. 2.	31. 0. 6.
Lower Forest	12.12.11.	9.12. 3.	12.15. 5.	9.14. 9.
Receiver of Cantrefselyf	29.12. 9.	2. 0. 6.	37. 2. 9.	-
Mora and Nota	-	-	5. 6. 8.	5. 6. 8.
Receiver of Brecon	292. 9. 2.	237. 8. 7.	199.15. 1.	147. 1. 3.
Extraordinary issues	400. 0. 0.	400. 0. 0.[1]	300. 0.0.	300. 0. 0.[2]
	1,312.17. 0.	1,190. 7. 9.	1,186.14.11.	1,033.15. 9.
Deducted	-	-	-	2. 4. 11.
TOTALS	1,312.17. 0.	1,190. 7. 9.	1,186.14.11.	1,031. 0.10.

1. £300 as part of a gift granted in the sessions; £100 as gift granted to the king by the executors of the Earl Humphrey de Bohun.

2. £300 as an instalment of a gift granted in the sessions.

C IV: Valor of the Lordship of Brecon, 1397-8.

Sources: DL 29/633/10317; SC 6/1157/4.

	Hay	Brecon Manor	Pencelli	Cantrefselyf	Receiver of Brecon[1]
	£	£	£	£	£
Rents and farms	89. 8. 2.	25.18.11.	23.14. 3.	43.14. 8.	85. 2. 5.
Issues of manor	12.18. 0.	9.14. 8.	16. 8.	-	-
Courts	21.12. 1.	1. 1. 0.	2.17. 8.	17. 1. 7.	182. 2.11.
GROSS YIELD	123.18. 3.	36.14. 7.	27. 8. 7.	60.16. 3.	267. 5. 4.
Local expenses	9.12. 7.	11. 5. 8.	8.	10.10. 3.	194.11. 0.[2]
CLEAR YIELD	114. 5. 8.	25. 8.11.	27. 7.11.	50. 6. 0.	72.14. 4.

	GROSS YIELD	CLEAR YIELD
	£	£
Brecon town - at farm	180. 0. 0.	180. 0. 0.
Hay	123.18. 3.	114. 5. 8.
Brecon manor	36.14. 7.	25. 8.11.
Pencelli	27. 8. 7.	27. 7.11.
Cantrefselyf	60.16. 3.	50. 6. 0.
Mills of Brecon	35.19. 0.	35.19. 0.
Great Forest - at farm	109.13. 4.	109.13. 4.
Receiver of Brecon	267. 5. 4.	72. 14.4.
Extraordinary issues	563. 6. 8.[3]	563. 6. 8.
	1,405. 2. 0.	1,179.11.10.

1. The figures for Brecon Receiver are for the year 1398-9, as the account for 1397-8 has not survived.

2. Wages of officials: £84. 7. 4d; annuities: £32.14. 8d; local expenses: £30. 6. 2d; expenses of men from Brecon supporting Bolingbroke in 1399: £47. 2.10d.

3. Instalment of a gift of £1,233. 6. 8d. granted to Henry Bolingbroke in his presence at Brecon, 6 November 1397.

APPENDIX D: THE FINANCES OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER ESTATES IN WALES, 1399-1422*

1 Summary analysis of income and expenditure in Brecon lordship, 1399-1420.

	1400 £	1401 £	1409 £	1410 £	1412 £	1413 £	1414 £	1415 £	1416 £	1417 £	1418 £	1420 £
Rents	150. 4. 3.	82. 1. 6.	111. 0. 5.	192.18. 9.	154. 1. 3.	84.17. 3.	152.14. 2.	84. 5.11.	154.12. 9.	86.15. 8.	155.10.11.	152.15. 0.
Farms and Issues	531.16.11.	542.17. 4.	204. 8. 0.	272.19. 6.	421.18.11.	402. 5.11.	394.13. 9.	400. 3. 1.	417.16. 6.	413.11. 4.	388. 5. 7.	397.18. 9.
Courts	167. 7. 3.	226. 5. 8.	84.10. 9.	203. 9.10.	180.12. 7.	124.17.11.	300. 1. 1.	203.12. 6.	403. 2. 0.	328. 7.11.	141. 4. 7.	170. 4.11.
	849. 8. 5.	851. 4. 6.	399.19. 2.	669. 8. 1.	756.12. 9.	612. 1. 1.	847. 8. 6.	688. 1. 6.	975.11. 3.	828.14.11.	685. 1. 1.	720.18. 8.
Local Payments	29. 4. 1.	32.10. 9.	36. 8. 1.	38.17. 8.	29.15. 2.	27. 1. 0.	29.18. 5.	33.15. 0.	35.11.10.	36. 8. 5.	36. 8. 2.	30.13. 3.
	820. 4. 4.	818.13. 9.	363.11. 1.	630.10. 5.	726.17. 7.	585. 0. 1.	817.10. 1.	654. 6. 6.	939.19. 5.	792. 6. 6.	648.12.11.	690.15. 5.
Casual Revenue	547. 2. 4.	207. 8. 4.	-	1010.16. 8.[4]	101.13. 4.	305. 0. 0.	795.11.11.	739. 1.11.	218. 9. 6.	773. 6. 8.	438. 1. 7.	583.17. 9.
CLEAR YIELD	1367. 6. 8.	1026. 2.1.	363.11. 1.	1641. 7. 1.	828.10.11.	890. 0. 1.	1613. 2. 0.	1393. 8. 5.	1158. 8.11.	1565.13. 2.	1086.14. 6.	1274.13. 2.
Fees and wages	80.14. 0.	77.14. 0.	75. 4. 0.	28.13. 0.	204. 1. 6.[7]	55.10. 6.	41.17. 4.	53. 0. 8.	56.14. 1.	59. 6. 0.	57.12. 9.	57. 3. 2.
Annuities and gifts	51. 3.10.	71.12. 6.	84.13. 2.	101.18. 0.	97. 8. 9.	114.15. 6.	64. 9. 2.	72.13.11.	105.16. 8.	55. 3. 4.	45. 3. 4.	39. 2. 0.
Receiver's expenses	235.10. 0.[1]	614.16.11.[3]	24. 6. 4.	189.12. 1.[5]	42.10. 9.	98.16.11.	50.17. 4.	114.18. 6.	96.17.10.	113.15. 3.[1]	126. 5. 6.[2]	106.11. 7.[3]
Payments to centre	809. 4.10.[2]	-	-	746.13. 4.[6]	900.13. 4.	691. 6. 8.	1301. 6. 8.	1184.10. 0.	972. 6. 8.	1453. 6. 8.	819. 8.10.	1060. 4. 7.
	1176.12. 8.	764. 3. 5.	184. 3. 6.	1066.16. 5.	1244.14. 4.	960. 9. 7.	1458.10. 6.	1425. 3. 1.	1231.15. 3.	1681.11. 3.	1048.10. 5.	1263. 1. 4.

Notes: 1. Of this sum £210.16.6d. went in repairs to mills and castles.
2. A further £786.13.4d. of the arrears of previous years were also paid.
3. Of this sum £132.5.5d. was spent on holding sessions, £130.12.8d. on repairs to castles and mills, and £344.12.2d. on defending and victualling the castles and on escorting the justices.
4. Of this sum £458.11.0d. came from 'douns grantez illeoques par longtemps passez'; and the remainder from the proceeds of the sessions.
5. £96 4.8d. was spent in holding the sessions and £80 11.9d. in repairing the castles.
6. Including a loan of £66 13.4d. repaid to Thomas Rede of Carmarthen.
7. No explanation of this extraordinarily high sum is given in the valor.

Notes. 1. Including the repayment of a loan of £53.6.8d. to two Brecon burgesses.
2. The main item of this expense was a sum of £102.8.2d. paid to the justices for holding the sessions.
3. The main item consisted of £59.9.11d. paid for holding the sessions.

* Sources: For a list of the valors on which this Appendix is based see Chapter V (iii), p. 361 n. 2

2. Summary analysis of income and expenditure in Cydweli lordship, 1399-1421.

	1400 £	1401 £	1409 £	1410 £	1412 £	1413 £	1414 £	1415 £	1416 £	1417 £	1418 £	1420 £	1421 £
Rents	161.14. 3.	151.13. 8.[1]	107. 5. 6.	114.14. 4.	133. 9. 4.	134.19. 4.	134.15. 1.	129.12. 7.	131. 7. 4.	125.13. 5.	143. 3.11.	175.17. 7.	142.14. 4.
Farms	115.17. 8.	112. 3. 3.[1]	63.16. 0.	76.17. 6.	103. 1. 3.	104.14. 0.	116.19. 8.	116.15. 2.	117.14. 5.	127. 3. 9.	126.19. 8.	133.11. 9.	133. 8. 9.
Courts	107.13. 2.	102.16. 7.	78.10. 7.	130.14. 4.	145.19.11.	160.10. 6.	158.17. 5.	103. 5. 1.	90.11.10.	125. 2. 7.	109. 7. 9.	121.15. 5.	110. 0.10.
	385. 5. 1.	366.13. 6.	249.12. 1.	322. 6. 2.	382.10. 6.	400. 3.10.	430.12. 2.	349.12.10.	339.13. 7.	430.19. 9.	379.11. 4.	431. 4. 9.	386. 3.11.
Local Payments	18.16. 5.	14. 5.10.	6. 2. 7.	27. 9.11.	28.12. 7.	15. 5.10.	12.10. 4.	14.11. 4.	12. 4. 7.	19.14.11.	13. 5. 6.	11.16.10.	13. 2. 4.
	366.18. 8.	352. 7. 8.	243. 9. 6.	294.16. 3.	353.17.11.	384.18.10.	418. 1.10.	335. 1. 6.	327.19. 0.	411. 4.10.	366. 5.10.	419. 7.11.	373. 1. 7.
Fines	20.16. 8.	89. 4. 7.	86.11. 6.	98.11. 3.	129.12. 7.	72.12. 0.	46. 4. 8.	23. 1. 8.	16. 6. 8.	-	-	-	-
Casual Revenue	-	-	-	-	-	-	569.15. 8.	169. 6. 8.	158. 6. 8.	458. 6. 8.	180. 6.11.	166. 8.11.	252.10. 1.
CLEAR YIELD	387.15. 4.	395.11. 5.	330. 1. 0.	393. 7. 6.	483.10. 6.	457.10.10.	1034. 2. 2.	521. 9.10.	502.12. 4.	869.11. 6.	546.12. 9.	585.16.10.	625.11. 8.
Fees and wages	-	46. 0.10.	43. 5. 6.	36.12. 2.	45.13. 6.	40.12. 3.	36. 9. 8.	51. 2. 2.	51.19. 0.	58.12. 4.	54. 6.11.	53.11.10.	55.10. 8.
Building costs	107.18. 1.	20. 0.10.	56.17. 7.	76.11. 0.	77.10. 2.	66. 5. 6.	133. 6. 6.	149. 2. 3.[2]	88. 6. 2.	146.14. 4.[4]	126.12. 5.[7]	44. 0. 0.	118.12. 8.
Other expenses	2.13. 4.	18.11. 8.	62.11.0.[4]	120.13. 2.[6]	17. 6. 4.	49. 9. 0.[1]	11.19. 2.	29. 3. 8.[3]	3.19. 8.	10.10. 8.[5]	50. 3. 1.5	14. 2. 5.[5]	-
Payments to centre	366.13. 4.	253.11. 2.[2]	193.17. 9.[5]	106.13. 4.	228. 6. 8.[7]	61.18. 0.	495.13. 4.	383. 0. 0.	584. 5. 9.	651. 9. 3.[6]	380. 0. 0.	380. 0. 0.	400.16. 7.
	476.14. 9.	338. 4. 6.[3]	356.11.10.	340. 9. 8.	368.16. 8.	218. 4. 9.	677. 8. 8.	612. 8. 1.	728.10. 7.	867. 6. 7.	611. 2. 5.	491.14. 3.	574.19.11.

Notes. 1. These figures are partly conjectural because of the state of the valor.
2. Including £27.6.5d. paid to receiver of Brecon.
3. Of the arrears of £103.7.9d., £81.10.0d. was allowed for surplus payments in preceding year.
4. Of this sum £38.6.8d. was in payment of annuities, and £18.12.8d. for expenses of soldiers and for buying victuals.
5. This was paid to the receiver to cover the surplus payments in his earlier account.
6. Including £93 6.8d. paid to John Burford for the arrears of his annuity.
7. Including an allowance of £15 to a burgess of Kidwelly.
8. Including £39.14.2d. on the expenses of justices holding the sessions.

Notes. 1. Including £39.14.2d. on the expenses of justices holding the sessions.
2. Mainly repairs to the castle of Carregcennen, £113.15.4d.
3. Of this £25.4.0d. was in wages for 12 archers guarding Carregcennen castle.
4. Mainly repairs to the castle of Carregcennen, £117.12.5d.
5. This was entirely for the expenses of the justices holding the sessions.
6. Including £433.6.8d. paid directly to the royal coffers at Tichfield.
7. £116.12.11d. on repairs to Carregcennen castle.

3. Summary analysis of income and expenditure in Monmouth lordship, 1399-1420.

	1400 £	1401 £	1404 £	1409 £	1410 £	1412 £	1413 £	1414 £	1415 £	1416 £	1417 £	1418 £	1420 £
Rents	319.16. 7.	320.12. 8.	316.14. 5.	164. 9. 4.	175.17. 4.	191.17. 5.	238. 0. 2.	269.18. 6.[45]	273. 0. 7.	295.18. 0.	303. 8. 9.	308. 6. 0.	352. 0.11.
Farms	277.18. 5.	264.19.11.	251. 7. 4.	391.3. 0.	398.19. 7.	407. 3.11.	372.15. 5.	331. 9. 9.[45]	314.12. 8.[45]	318.14. 3.[45]	319.18. 6.[45]	302.15. 8.[45]	245. 1. 5.
Courts	77.17.10.	114.10. 4.	19. 4. 2.	39. 4. 1.	34.10. 6.	116. 2. 0.	46.16. 4.	63.16. 4.	75.13. 3.	56. 17. 7.	86. 7. 3.	60.10. 3.	68. 5.10.
	675.12.10.	700. 2.11.	587. 5.11.	594.16. 5.	609. 7. 5.	715. 3. 4.	657.11.11.	665. 4. 7.	663. 6. 6.	671. 9.10.	709.14. 6.	671.11.11.	665. 8. 2.
Local Payments	47. 7. 2.	42.18. 5.	48.19. 1.	33.10. 4.	64.15. 0.	40. 4. 6.	43. 1.10.	45. 7.10.	55. 7. 6.	40. 1. 0.	68. 2. 5.	50.11.10.	48.11. 7.
	628. 5. 8.	657. 4. 6.	538. 6.10.	561. 6. 1.	544.12. 5.	674.18.10.	614.10. 1.	619.16. 9.	607.19. 0.	631. 8.10.	641.12. 1.	621. 0. 1.	616.16. 7.
Feudal Income	-	57.12. 0.	-	-	-	-	1. 6. 8.	26.10.11.	5. 6. 6.	2.16. 8.	3.15. 8.	8. 9. 8.	-
Casual Revenue	85. 9. 8.[1]	112.12. 0.	-	6. 9. 7.	34. 6. 3.	2.10. 0.	3. 0.10.	87.18. 7.	100. 0. 0.	3. 2. 8.	100. 0. 0.	42. 5. 4.	33. 6. 8.
CLEAR YIELD	713.15. 4.	827. 8. 6.	538. 6.10.	567.15. 8.	578.18. 8.	677. 8.10.	618.17. 7.	734. 6. 3.	713. 5. 6.	637. 8. 2.	745. 7. 9.	671.15. 1.	650. 3. 3.
Fees and wages	42. 5. 4.	50.10. 8.	32.12. 4.	23. 3. 0.	18. 3. 5.	27.17. 8.	25. 8. 1.	31.18. 9.	26. 3. 4.	32. 4.10.	39.17. 3.	38. 6. 2.	47.13. 2.
Annuities	106. 2. 2.	113. 0. 8.	93.15.11.[3]	374.12. 1.[5]	400.19. 0.[5]	382. 7. 7.[1]	175. 7. 1.[2]	328.18. 1.[2]	313. 4. 3.[2]	283. 3. 4.[2]	275.17. 6.[2]	277.17. 4.[2]	163. 0. 8.
Expenses of Receiver	13.11. 2.	73.17. 4.[2]	194.14. 3.[4]	-	-	-	51.16. 2.[3]	16.19. 6.	51.10. 2.[6]	51.14. 5.[7]	26. 8. 1.	56. 6. 3.[8]	25.11. 1.
Payments to centre	440. 0. 0.	464. 0. 0.	-	-	106.10. 0.	173. 6. 8.	110. 0. 0.	166.13. 4.	263. 0. 0.	112.13. 4.	276. 0. 0.	40. 8. 4.	339.13. 4.
	601.18. 8.	701. 0. 8.	321. 2. 6.	397.15. 1.	525.12. 5.	583.11.11.	362.11. 4.	544. 9. 8.	653.17.19.	479.15.11.	618. 2.10.	412.18. 1.	575.18. 3.

Notes. 1. £66.13.4d. from a subsidy granted by the tenants and £18.16.4d. from the sale of wood.
2. £45.19.7d. on expenses of soldiers and victuals; £11.19.6d. on expenses of justices holdingthe sessions.
3. £25.0.8d. in money annuities; the rest in grants of manors or the issues of manors.
4. £189.2.2d. of this sum was by way of wages to soldiers defending Monmouth.
5. Mainly in grants of whole manors.

Notes. 1. Mainly in grants of whole manors.
2. Mainly in grants of whole manors.
3. Of this sum, £47.16.2d. was the expenses for holding the sessions.
4. Includes £20 from the fee farm of Herefordshire.
5. Includes £94.16.8d. as the value of Ashperton and Tibberton granted as annuities to dame Catherine Bromwich.
6. Including £25.16.8d. for soldiers garrisoning the castles.
7. Including £30.11.0d. as expense of holding the sessions.
8. Repairs to castles account for £42.4.2d. of this sum.

4. Summary analysis of income and expenditure in Ogmore and Ebboth, 1399-1421.

	1400	1401	1410	1412	1413	1414	1416	1417	1418	1420	1421
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Rents	60.18. 8.	61. 5. 8.	62.13.10.	45.17. 3.	51.15.11.	51.16. 4.	48. 3. 10.	48. 4.10.	48. 5. 5.	42. 8. 3.	42. 8. 4.
Farms and Issues	41. 4. 7.	40.13. 2.	16. 8. 1.	29. 0.10.	29.14.11.	26.19. 9.	37. 8. 6.	38.17. 1.	43.12. 7.	44. 3. 3.	43. 5. 9.
Courts	14.11. 6.	14. 0. 3.	15. 4. 3.	16. 8. 6.	10.19.11.	6. 9.10.	2. 1. 8.	6. 9. 8.	8. 5. 0.	7. 0. 4.	13. 0. 4.
	116.16. 9.	115.19. 1.	94. 6. 2.	91. 6. 7.	92.10. 9.	85. 5.11.	87.14. 0.	93.11. 7.	100. 3. 0.	93.11.10.	98.14. 5.
Local Payments	8.12. 0.	6.16. 5.	14. 6. 5.	3.14. 8.	3. 8. 7.	6. 6. 6.	2.15.11.	2.15. 6.	2.15.10.	3. 1. 2.	3. 3. 2.
	108. 4. 9.	109. 2. 8.	79.19. 9.	87.11.11.	89. 2. 2.	78.19. 5.	84.18. 1.	90.16. 1.	97. 7. 2.	90.10. 8.	95.11.3.
Casual Revenue	-	14.18. 4.	50. 0. 0.[1]	4.19. 0.	10. 7.10.[1]	-	-	-	-	20. 0. 0.	28.10. 0.
CLEAR YIELD	108. 4. 9.	124. 1. 0.	129.19. 9.	92.10.11.	99.10. 0.	78.19. 5.	84.18. 1.	90.16. 1.	97. 7. 2.	110.10. 8.	124. 1. 3.
Fees and wages	9. 0. 0.	9. 6. 8.	10. 0. 0.	10. 0. 0.	6.13. 4.	9. 6. 8.	5.17. 5.	10. 0. 0.	10. 0. 0.	11.15.10.	12. 1. 4.
Receiver's expenses	5. 0. 7.	-	1. 1.11.	-	5.10. 2.	-	-	-	-	10.12. 3.[1]	23. 6. 0.[1]
Payments to centre	94. 0. 0.	40. 0. 0.	41. 6. 8.	38. 2. 0.	10. 0. 0.	-	38. 6. 8.	28. 0. 0.	55. 0. 0.	33. 6. 8.	31. 6. 0.
	108. 0. 7.	49. 6. 8.	52. 8. 7.	48. 2. 0.	22. 3. 6.	9. 6. 8.	44. 4. 1.	38. 0. 0.	65. 0. 0.	55.14. 9.	46.13. 4.

Notes. 1. This fine was paid for a charter of pardon for rebellion.
2. £6.13.4d. from a 'conisaunce' paid by the tenants of Ebboth and £3.14.6d. from the lands of minors.

1. Mainly expenses on repairs of Ogmore castle.

APPENDIX E: DETAILED ANALYSES OF RENTS, FARMS AND ISSUES IN THE LORDSHIPS OF BRECON, CYNELI AND MONMOUTH TO 1422.

1. Rents in Brecon receivership, 1372-1420.*

	1372[1] £	1375[1] £	1400 £	1401 £
Receiver of Brecon	28. 4.10.[2]	110. 5. 0.[2.3]	71. 8. 0.[3]	14. 9.10.
Reeve of Brecon	9.19. 5.	9.13. 9.	13.10. 6.	13.10. 6.
Pencelli	-	9.18. 1.[3]	9.10. 6.[3]	8. 1. 4.
Cantrefselyf	-	18.13. 6.	13. 3. 7.	13. 8. 3.
Hay Town)		10. 9. 8.	12. 9. 3.	12. 9. 3.
Hay Castle)	24. 1. 5.	9.19. 6.	11.15.10.	11.15.10.
Hay Welshry)		16.17. 3.[3]	18. 6. 7.[3]	8. 6. 6.

	1409[1] £	1410[1] £	1412 £	1413 £	1414 £	1415 £
	8.10. 9.	71. 4. 2.[2]	72.17.11.[2]	15.15.10.	72.13.11.	15.15.10.
	11.10. 1.	12.15. 5.	13.10. 9.[2]	13.10. 9.	14.12. 9.[2]	14.12. 9.
	7. 9. 6.	8. 6. 4.[2]	9. 0. 4.[2]	7.12. 2.	9. 5. 6.[2]	7.14. 9.
	8. 5. 2.	10.18. 4.	17.19. 4.	17.16. 7.	17.14. 9.	17. 2. 4.
	12. 9. 3.	12. 9. 3.	11. 0. 6.	11. 5. 3.	11. 3. 9.	11.7. 2.
	11.15.10.	11.15.10.	11.15.10.[2]	9.15.10.	8.16.11.[2]	9. 6. 7.
	18. 6. 6.	18. 6. 7.[2]	17. 6. 7.[2]	9. 0.10.	18. 6. 7.[2]	8. 6. 6.

	1416 £	1417 £	1418 £	1420 £
Receiver of Brecon	73. 2.11.[3]	16. 4.10.	72.15. 7.[3]	71.13. 3.[3]
Reeve of Brecon	14.12. 9.	14.12. 9.	14.12. 9.	14.12. 9.
Pencelli	9.12.11.[3]	7.14. 9.	9. 5. 6.[3]	9.15. 6.
Cantrefselyf	15. 2. 2.	15.19. 9.	17. 6. 0.	17.14. 5.
Hay Town	11.14. 4.	11.14. 4.	11.14. 4.	11. 3. 0.
Hay Castle	12. 1. 1.	12. 2. 9.	12. 2. 9.	9. 9. 5.[3]
Hay Welshry	18. 6. 7.[3]	8. 6. 6.	17.14. 0.[3]	18. 6. 8.[3]

Notes. 1. The statistics for these two years are tentative as they are taken from draft reeves accounts, and as the accounting unit for certain areas changed between 1375 and 1400.
2. These figures should probably be lower as a considerable proportion of the Brecon receiver's rent was respited annually.
3. Includes triennial commorth.
4. ~~The total rent in Appendix D.1. includes the rent of Brecon town. See below Appendix E.2.~~

Notes. 1. The total rent in Appendix D.1. includes the rent of Brecon town. See below Appendix E.2.
2. Includes triennial commorth.

* Sources: SC 6/1156/13-22, and the valors listed above p.061 n. 2.

2. Farms and issues in Brecon receivership, 1372-1420.*

	1372	1375	1400	1401	1409	1410	1412	1413	1414	1415
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Pencelli	-	14. 4. 7.	15. 0. 0.	15. 3. 5.	8. 3. 4.	9. 0. 0.	8.18. 4.	8.19. 7.	9.12.11.	8.19. 7.
Alexanderstone	-	-	(10. 0. 0.)	10. 0. 0.	3. 6. 8.	3. 6. 8.	3. 6. 8.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.
Mora	-	-	7. 6. 8.	7. 6. 8.	7. 6. 8.	7. 6. 8.	7. 6. 8.	4.13. 4.	5. 0. 0.	5. 0. 0.
Brecon Town [1]	120. 0. 0.	120. 0. 0.	180. 0. 0.	180. 0. 0.	45. 0. 0.[3]	64. 6. 8.[4]	132.19. 8.	120. 0. 0.	120. 0. 0.	120. 0. 0.
Reeve of Brecon	21 12. 4.	20.18.10.	21. 4. 0.	21.11. 9.	16.17. 3.	18.17. 1.	22.16. 4.	22.17. 5.	22. 5. 9.	24. 5. 2.
Leirwyt[1]	10. 0. 0.	6.13. 4.	11.16. 8.	11. 0. 0.	2. 6. 8.	6. 6. 8.	9.16. 8.	9.16. 8.	10. 0. 0.	10. 0. 0.
Farm of Mills[1]	50. 4. 0.?[2]	31.10. 0.?[2]	47.18. 8.	47.18. 8.	1. 0. 0.	2. 7. 0.	22.17. 6.	25. 5. 0.	25. 5. 0.	26.12. 6.
Farm of Great Forest[1]	66.13. 4.	66.13. 4.	109.13. 4.	109.13. 4.	53. 6. 8.	84.13. 4.	101. 0. 0.	101. 3. 4.	102.10. 0.	103. 0. 0.
Farm of Small Forest[1]	3. 6. 8.	3. 6. 8.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	3. 6. 8.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.
Other Farms[1]	32.12. 2.	11. 5. 6.	37. 7. 2.	37. 7. 2.	3.11.10.	5. 4. 6.	6. 1. 2.	6. 7.10.	6. 4. 2.	6. 9. 2.
Cantrefselyf	-	52. 9. 2.	29. 5.11.	31.18.10.	17.12. 2.	20. 6. 1.	33. 8. 4.	32. 9. 8.	33.19. 2.	34. 5. 1.
Hay Town)		11. 1. 2.	20. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.	13.17. 4.	16. 0. 0.	24. 0. 0.	16. 3. 0.	13. 7.10.	13.13. 1.
Hay Castle)	87. 5. 9.	37. 8.10.	40. 9. 0.	39. 2. 0.	24.17. 1.	24.14. 4.	31.11. 0.	35. 9. 2.	28.16. 3.	29.19. 8.
Hay Welshry)		8.11.10.	5. 2. 2.	5. 2. 2.	3.15. 8.	3.17. 2.	5. 3. 3.	5.14. 3.	4. 5. 6.	4.12. 2.

	1416	1417	1418	1420
	£	£	£	£
Pencelli	10. 9. 7.	10. 9. 7.	10. 9. 7.	11. 9. 7.
Alexanderstone	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.
Mora	5. 0. 0.	5. 0. 0.	5. 0. 0.	5. 0. 0.
Brecon Town	120. 0. 0.	120. 0. 0.	120. 0. 0.	120. 0. 0.
Reeve of Brecon	22.10. 8.	22.15. 1.	22.15. 3.	22. 2.11.
Leirwyt	10. 0. 0.	10. 0. 0.	10. 0. 0.	10. 0. 0.
Farm of Mills	57. 0. 0.	58. 0. 0.	29. 0. 0.	38.18. 8.
Farm of Great Forest	97. 6. 8.	93. 6. 8.	94.13. 4.	93. 6. 8.
Farm of Small Forest	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.
Other Farms	5.15.10.	6. 2. 6.	6. 2. 6.	6. 2. 6.
Cantrefselyf	26.11. 9.	25.19. 8.	30.19. 6.	31. 9. 8.
Hay Town	12.12. 6.	12. 3. 8.	11. 8. 5.	10.12. 7.
Hay Castle	32.10. 8.	31.18. 6.	29.18. 1.	30. 4. 8.
Hay Welshry	4.12. 2.	4. 8.10.	4.12. 3.	5. 5. 6.

Notes. 1. All these farms were collected by the receiver of Brecon; but they have been entered separately here, because they were the most important farms in the lordship and because they show the fluctuations of seignorial income most clearly.

2. These figures are uncertain.

3. The town was in the king's hand, and yielded £42.14.4d. in rents, £45 in farms and £30.14.0d. in court issues. The rents and courts issues have been included in the respective totals in Appendix D.1.

4. See note 3. Rent: £47.2.10d.; Farms: £64.6.8d.; court issues: £38.18.8d.; Total £150.8.2d.

* Sources: SC 6/1156/13-22, and the valors listed above p. 361 n. **

3. Rents in Cydweli lordship, 1395-1421.*

	1395 £	1400 £	1401 £	1409 £	1410 £	1412 £	1413 £	1414 £	1415 £	1416 £
Iscoed	42. 9. 7.	42. 9. 9.	33.10. 0.[2]	23.13. 3.	23.13. 3.	24.13. 3.	23.16. 5.	33.17. 7.[1]	18.11. 5.	21.10. 3.
Penrhyn	11.19. 0.	11.19. 0.	7.17. 2.	8. 2. 4.	6. 2. 6.	10.13.10.	9.18. 6.	11. 4. 9.[1]	7.11.11.	7.11.11.
Quart Cadwgan	7. 4.11.	7. 5. 5.	5.18. 9.	4.17. 9.	4.17. 9.	4.13. 9.	4.13. 9.	6.11. 1.[1]	5. 6. 9.	5. 6. 9.
Castle Reeve	2.14. 1.	2.14.11.	2.14.11.	1.19. 0.	2.14. 0.	2.14. 0.	2.14. 0.	2.14. 0.	2. 14. 0.	2.14. 0.
Town Reeve	15.16. 6.	15.16. 6.	15.17.6.	12. 7. 8.	12. 7. 8.	13.12.11.	13.14. 3.	14. 2. 5.	14. 7. 5.	14. 9. 5.
Messor Patrie	9.19. 2.	10. 3.11.	9.13.11.	9.14. 5.	10. 1. 1.	9.17. 3.	10.10. 2.	10.14.11.	11. 9. 2.	8.17. 3.
Carnwyllion	29. 1. 0.	28.18. 6.	27. 5. 2.	18. 4. 2.	19.18. 3.	27. 7. 7.	27. 6. 9.	33. 5. 7.[1]	27. 7. 3.	27. 8. 1.
Llanelli	14. 1. 5.	13.19. 5.	13.19. 5.	6. 0. 0.	8.17. 3.	11. 3. 9.	13.12. 6.	13.11. 9.	13.11. 8.	13.13. 4.
Iscennen	25.15. 6.	25.15. 6.	29.15. 6.	19.14.11.	20.11. 7.	25.15. 0.	25.15. 0.	25.15. 0.	25.15. 0.	25.15. 0.
Maerdref	2.11. 4.	2.11. 4.	5. 1. 4.	2.12. 0.	2.12. 0.	2.18. 0.	2.18. 0.	2.18. 0.	2.18. 0.	4. 1. 4.

	1417 £	1418 £	1420 £	1421 £
Iscoed	38. 3. 8.[1]	30. 9.11.	37.14. 4.[1]	30. 0. 9.
Penrhyn	11.16.10.[1]	8. 4. 0.	11.16.10.[1]	8. 4. 0.
Quart Cadwgan	7.14. 8.[1]	5.17. 4.	7.14. 8.[1]	5.17. 4.
Castle Reeve	2.14. 0.	2.14. 0.	2.14. 0.	2.14. 0.
Town Reeve	14.18. 6.	14.18. 6.	14.18. 6.	14.18. 6.
Messor Patrie	7. 6. 8.	7. 6. 8.	7. 6. 8.[1]	7. 6. 8.
Carnwyllion	35.14. 5.[1]	29.15. 6.	36. 7.11.[1]	29.15. 1.
Llanelli	14. 1. 8.	14. 1. 8.	14. 1. 8.[1]	14. 1. 8.
Iscennen	39. 1. 8.[1]	25.15. 0.	39. 1. 8.[1]	25.15. 0.
Maerdref	4. 1. 4.	4. 1. 4.	4. 1. 4.	4. 1. 4.

Notes. 1. This figure includes the triennial commorth.
2. This figure is a tentative one because of the state of the valor.

* Sources: DL 29/728/11986 and the valors listed above p. 361 n. 2.

4. Farms and issues in Cydweli lordship, 1395-1421.*

	1395	1400	1401	1409	1410	1412	1413	1414	1415	1416
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Iscoed	11.18. 0.	10. 8. 0.	12. 8. 0.	4. 3. 0.	4. 3. 2.	4. 7. 6.	8. 4.11.	7.16. 3.	12.19. 4.	12.19. 8.
Penrhyn	4. 1. 8.	3. 6. 8.	7. 6. 8.	7. 8.	1. 8. 4.	2. 0. 0.	3. 6. 8.	10. 0. 0.	10. 0. 0.	10. 0. 0.
Quart Cadwgan	15. 6.	-	1. 6. 8.	-	-	1.13. 4.	1.13. 4.	1.13. 4.	1. 6. 8.	-
Castle Reeve	43.16. 4.	38. 9. 0.	39. 1. 0.	24.10. 8.[1]	25. 0. 0.[1]	40.18. 8.	40. 6. 0.	45.13. 0.	45.16. 0.	45.16. 0.
Town Reeve	6. 5. 4.	6.10. 4.	6. 10.4.	1.17. 0.	3.17. 0.	6.10. 4.	6.10. 4.	8.10.4.	8.10. 4.	8.10. 4.
Bessor Patrie	11.12. 6.	10.16. 4.	10.14. 6.	6.13. 4.	9.14. 7.	6.13. 4.	6.14. 0.	6.13. 4.	6.16. 5.	7. 8. 4.
Carnwyllion	27. 6. 9.	26. 6. 9.	21. 3. 5.	16. 1. 4.	19.11. 1.	21.10. 1.	20. 2. 9.	22.10. 5.	17. 3. 5.	18.15. 1.
Llanelli	5. 4. 0.	5.15. 0.	5.15. 0.	2. 3. 0.	5. 0. 0.	5. 5. 0.	5.13. 0.	5.13. 0.	5.13. 0.	5.13. 0.
Iscennen	14.16. 4.	10. 0. 0.	6. 0. 0.	5. 0. 0.	5. 3. 4.	11.3. 0.	9. 3. 0.	6. 3. 0.	6. 2. 8.	6. 6. 4.
Maerdref	3. 7. 6.	4. 5. 7.	1.17. 8.	3. 0. 0.	3. 0. 0.	3. 0. 0.	3. 0. 0.	2. 7. 0.	2. 7. 4.	2. 5. 8.

	1417	1418	1420	1421
	£	£	£	£
Iscoed	12.19. 8.	12.19. 8.	12.16. 8.	12.16.10.
Penrhyn	10. 0. 0.	10. 0. 0.	10. 0. 0.	10. 0. 0.
Quart Cadwgan	16. 8.	16. 8.	16. 8.	16. 8.
Castle Reeve	45.16. 0.	45.16. 0.	45.16. 0.	45.16. 0.
Town Reeve	8. 0. 4.	8. 0. 4.	8. 8. 4.	8. 8. 4.
Bessor Patrie	10. 5. 7.	10. 5. 0.	10. 7. 3.	16. 3. 3.
Carnwyllion	25. 10. 0.	25. 0.0.	27. 8. 8.	24.18. 8.
Llanelli	5.14. 8.	5.14. 8.	5.14. 8.	5.14. 8.
Iscennen	6. 6. 4.	6.17. 4.	10.13. 6.	7. 4. 4.
Maerdref	1.14. 6.	1.10. 0.	1.10. 0.	1.10. 0.

Note. 1. In both these years an allowance of £11.13.4d.made to the farmer of the mills has been subtracted, DL 42/16 f.254-f.254v.

* Sources: DL 29/728/11986 and the valors listed above p. 361 n.2.

5. Rents in Monmouth receivership, 1370-1420.*

	1370 £	1378 £	1395 £	1400 £	1401 £	1404 £	1409 £	1410 £	1412 £	1413 £	1414 £	1415 £
Monmouth Manor	47. 4. 9.	51. 5. 8.	54. 8.10.	53.13. 8.	53.10. 5.	56. 8. 1.	41. 0. 1.	45.18. 0.	48. 2. 7.	47. 4.11.	47. 7. 4.	50. 4. 4.
Monmouth Town	-	-	10. 2.11.	10. 2.11.	10. 3.10.	-	10. 2.11.	10. 2.11.	10. 2.11.	10. 3.10.	10. 3.10.	10. 3.10.
Badnock	35.14. 9.	36. 1. 6.	38. 4. 8.	38. 2. 0.	38. 2. 0.	36.19. 4.	24.13. 9.[6]	29. 1.11.[6]	32.12. 2.[6]	32.13. 6.[6]	31. 4. 8.	30. 7. 6.
Whitecastle	31.13. 8.	31. 3. 9.	34. 6.11.	34.11.11.	34.10.11.	34.13. 3.	-	-	-	-	31.16.8.	31.16. 8.
Skenfrith	32. 5. 5.	33. 4. 3.	36.17. 3.	32. 2. 1.	32. 2. 5.	32. 2. 5.	20.13. 8.[7]	21. 4. 7.[7]	29.15. 3.[7]	31.10. 8.	31. 8. 3.	31. 8. 7.
Grosmont	38.17. 5.[1]	41.15. 5.[1]	45.11. 7.	44. 6. 1.	44.19. 2.	36.19. 5.	-	-	-	44. 8. 9.	43.12. 2.	45.12. 2.
Dingestow	-	-	-	-	-	12. 4. 4.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Newland	-	-	2.12.10.	3. 4. 4.	3. 4. 4.	3. 4. 4.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ashperton	-	32. 0. 0.	32. 6.10.	32. 6.10.	32. 6.10.	32.13.10.	- [8]	- [8]	- [8]	- [8]	- [8]	- [8]
Rodley	32.12. 2.[2]	33. 6. 9.	33.13. 0.[4]	33.14. 6.[4]	34. 6. 0.[4]	34. 0. 8.[4]	33. 0. 8.[4]	34. 5.11.[4]	34. 6. 0.[4]	34. 6. 0.[4]	34. 6. 0.[4]	34. 5. 3.[4]
Tibberton	-	22. 7. 4.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Minsterworth	18. 9.10.[3]	18.10.11.	20. 0. 9.	19.12.3.	19.12. 3.	18.11. 8.	20.17. 3.	21. 3.11.	18. 3.11.	18.12. 8.	17. 7. 2.	18.12. 8.
Newnham	-	-	-	1.13. 2.	1. 7. 8.	1. 5. 8.	1.13. 3.	1. 12. 4.	1.10. 0.	1. 9. 8.	1. 7. 0.	1. 6. 0.
Etloe	1. 6. 2.	1. 5.11.	1. 6. 6.	1.16. 7.	1.16. 7.	1.16. 7.	1.16. 7.	1.16. 7.	1.16. 7.	1.16. 7.	1.16. 7.	1.16. 7.
Haresfield	-	-	-	10.11. 2.[5]	10.11. 2.[5]	- [9]	10.11. 2.[5]	10.11.2. [5]	10.11. 2.[5]	10.11. 2.[5]	10.11. 2.	10.11. 2.
Rye	-	-	-	- [5]	- [5]	- [5]	- [5]	- [5]	- [5]	- [5]	-	-
Hereford Fees co.Heref.	-	-	-	5. 7.	5. 7.	-	-	-	-	5. 7.	-	-
Ditto co.Gloucs.	-	-	-	3.11. 6.	3.11. 6.	3.14. 4.	-	-	3. 7. 6.	3. 7. 6.	3. 7. 6.	3. 7. 6.
Lancaster fees	-	-	-	2. 0.	2. 0.	1. 9. 4.	-	-	1. 9. 4.	1. 9. 4.	3. 8. 4.	3. 8. 4.

	1416 £	1417 £	1418 £	1420 £
Monmouth Manor	60. 7. 5.	60.10. 8.	61. 2. 1.	59.17. 3.
Monmouth Town	10. 3.10.	10. 3.10.	7.18. 1.	10. 3.10.
Badnock	41.17. 0.	42.17. 6.	44.10. 2.	44.10. 1.
Whitecastle	31.16. 8.	31.16. 8.	31.16. 8.	31.12.11.
Skenfrith	32.10. 7.	34.16. 2.	29.12.10.	35.15. 5.
Grosmont	45.12. 2.	48.17. 8.	48.19. 1.	48.18. 6.
Dingestow	-	-	-	-
Newland	-	-	-	-
Ashperton	- [8]	- [8]	- [8]	29. 9. 0.
Rodley	34. 6. 6.[4]	34. 6. 6.[4]	34. 6. 6.[4]	34.12. 3.
Tibberton	-	-	-	22. 0. 7.
Minsterworth	18.12. 8.	18.12. 8.	18.12. 8.	18.12. 8.
Newnham	1. 6. 7.	1. 6. 8.	1. 6. 8.	1. 0. 0.
Etloe	1.16.7.	1.16. 7.	1.16. 7.	1.16. 7.
Haresfield	10.11. 2.	10.11. 2.	10.11.10.	10.11.10.
Rye	-	-	-	-
Hereford Fees co.Heref.	-	-	-	-
Ditto co.Gloucs.	3. 7. 6.	3.11.10.	3.17. 0.	-
Lancaster fees	3. 9. 4.	4. 0.10.	3.15.10.	-

* Sources: DL 29/594/9506-7; DL 29/728/11986; and the valors listed above p. 861 n. 2.

Notes. 1. In 1370 and 1378 the farms and rents of Grosmont were smaller than usual because the demesne had been granted to the constable free of charge.
2. Includes certain farms. 3. Rents and farms together throughout.
4. Granted as an annuity to Sir Hugh Waterton.
5. Granted as an annuity to Maud Blackwell.
6. Granted as an annuity to Sir John Greyndour.
7. Granted as an annuity to Joan Beauchamp, lady of Abergavenny.
8. Granted as an annuity to lady Katherine Waterton.
9. The clear value of £25.8.7d. was granted to John ap Harry as part of his annuity.

6. Farms and issues in Monmouth receivership, 1370-1420.*

	1370 £	1378 £	1395 £	1400 £	1401 £	1404 £	1409 £	1410 £	1412 £	1413 £	1414 £	1415 £
Monmouth Manor	39. 4. 9.	72.10. 9.[2]	64.19. 2.	53.14. 0.	57.17. 4.	43. 3. 4.	45.12.11.	48. 6. 3.	48.15. 7.	52. 1. 5.	49. 4.11.	46.11. 3.
Monmouth Town	88. 0. 0.[2]	-	28. 9. 6.	22.15. 8.	21. 3. 0.	-	14.14. 8.	19.13.10.	24. 1. 0.	26.18.11.	25.12. 3.	25. 3. 9.
Hadnock	21. 8. 1.	21.18. 8.	21.12. 3.	21. 9. 8.	22.19.11.	37.13. 6.	20. 3. 9.	19.16. 8.	24.11. 8.	31. 6. 8.[4]	21.17. 6.	22. 1. 6.
Whitecastle	12.18. 9.	12. 8. 8.	12. 5. 6.	17. 9. 4.	17. 8. 8.	15.12. 0.	(58.19. 9.)[1]	(58.19. 9.)[1]	(58.19. 9.)[1]	(58.19. 9.)[1]	13.15. 0.	13.18. 4.
Skenfrith	12.14.11.	13.12. 0.	14.17. 3.	14.14.10.	14.14.10.	16.18. 2.	16. 1. 6.	15. 6. 2.	14.12.10.	14.12.10.	14.12.10.	14.12.10.
Grosmont	13. 4. 9.	10.18. 1.	12.19. 8.	19. 1. 8.	14.16. 2.	15. 7. 6.	(63.10. 6.)[1]	(63.10. 6.)[1]	(63.10. 6.)[1]	17. 1. 2.	17. 7. 2.	17. 7. 2.
Dingestow	-	-	-	-	-	3. 6. 8.	12. 6.10.	12. 9. 0.	16.10.10.	16. 5. 0.	14.11. 4.	-
Newland	-	-	4. 9. 2.	4.10. 0.	4.10. 0.	4. 7. 8.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ashperton	-	27. 7. 8.	29.12. 4.	29.12. 4.	29.12. 4.	29.12. 4.	(61.10. 0.)[1]	(61.10. 0.)[1]	(61.10. 0.)[1]	(61.10. 0.)[1]	(61.10. 0.)[1]	(61.10. 0.)[1]
Rodley	53. 6. 8.	36.13. 4.	26. 0. 0.	19.19. 7.	9. 6. 1.	21. 2. 0.	19. 0. 0.	19. 0. 0.	19. 0. 0.	19. 6. 8.	23. 6. 8.	23. 6. 8.
Tibberton	-	6.12. 2.	-	(33. 6. 8.)[1]	(33. 6. 8.)[1]	(33. 6. 8.)[1]	(33. 6. 8.)[1]	(33. 6. 8.)[1]	(33. 6. 8.)[1]	(33. 6. 8.)[1]	(33. 6. 8.)[1]	(33. 6. 8.)[1]
Minsterworth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3. 0. 4.	-	-
Newnham	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Etloe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Haresfield	-	-	-	31. 4. 8.	29. 4.11.	20.17. 6.[3]	25.10.10.	26.15. 0.	27. 7. 7.	26. 7. 0.	25.10. 1.	25.19. 2.
Rye	-	-	-	(10. 0. 0.)[1]	(10. 0. 0.)[1]	(10. 0. 0.)[1]	(10. 0. 0.)[1]	(10. 0. 0.)[1]	(10. 0. 0.)[1]	(10. 0. 0.)[1]	£10. 0. 0.[1]	£10. 0. 0.[1]
Hereford Fees co. Heref.	-	-	-	-	-	-	2. 9. 5.	2. 9. 6.	2. 9. 6.	-	15. 4.	15. 4.
Ditto co.Gloucs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	4. 8. 2.	4. 8. 3.	-	-	-	-
Lancaster Fees	-	-	-	-	-	-	3. 8. 0.	3. 8. 0.	-	-	-	-
Fee farm co.Heref.									2. 8. 0.	1.19. 0.	20. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.

	1416 £	1417 £	1418 £	1420 £
Monmouth Manor	50. 2.10.	50. 3.10.	46.18.11.	46. 2. 7.
Monmouth Town	21. 1. 5.	23. 6. 0.	22.16. 6.	22.16. 5.
Hadnock	25. 3. 5.[4]	32.17. 2.[4]	35. 0. 1.[4]	33.14.11.[4]
Whitecastle	14. 3. 4.	13.16. 6.	13. 1. 4.	13. 1. 8.
Skenfrith	14.13. 1.	14.13.1.	15. 1.10.	14.12.10.
Grosmont	17. 7. 2.	14.10. 0.	2. 1. 8.[5]	4.11. 8.[5]
Dingestow	-	-	-	-
Newland	-	-	-	-
Ashperton	(61.10. 0.)[1]	(61.10. 0.)[1]	(61.10. 0.)[1]	26. 6. 4.
Rodley	23. 6. 8.	15. 1. 4.[6]	15. 1. 4.	15. 1. 4.
Tibberton	(33. 6. 8.)[1]	(33. 6. 8.)[1]	(33. 6. 8.)[1]	9.10. 5.
Minsterworth	-	-	-	-
Newnham	-	-	-	-
Etloe	-	-	-	-
Haresfield	26.19. 0.	29.13. 3.	25. 7. 4.	22.13. 3.
Rye	10. 0. 0.	10. 0. 0.	11. 0. 0.	11. 0. 0.
Hereford Fees co.Heref.	1. 0. 8.	1. 0. 8.	1.10. 0.	1.10. 0.
Ditto co.Gloucs.	-	-	-	2. 0. 0.
Lancaster Fees	-	-	-	2. 0. 0.
Fee farm co.Heref.	20. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.

* Sources: DL 29/594/9506-7; DL 29/728/11986; and the valors listed above p. 361 n. 2.

Notes. 1. The value of the manor granted as an annuity. These values have been included in the figure for farms in Appendix D.1, and then subtracted under the heading 'Annuities'.
2. Includes the mills of the manor.
3. This was in fact paid to John ap Harry as part of an annuity of £40.
4. These figures include revenue from the sale of wood which often form an important source of income in Hadnock.
5. This fall in income is due to the fact that the demesne and mills of Grosmont were granted to Sir John Skidmore for life.
6. The farm of the fisheries of Rodley this year fell from £20 to £11.14.8d.

APPENDIX F. SOURCES OF SEIGNORIAL REVENUE AT THREECASTLES AND HADNOCK.
Sources: SC 6/1094/11. DL 29/594/9506-7; DL 29/728/11986.

WHITECASTLE	1256 £	1370 £	1378 £	1395 £
Rent (including cylch and sale of works)	11.16. 4.[1]	37.19. 6.	38. 2. 6.	38. 9. 6.
Farms	1. 0. 0.	5.10. 2.	4.12. 4.	4.12. 0.
Issues of manor	2.15. 3.	16.11.	1. 4. 8.	1. 0. 2.
Sale of manorial produce	17. 7. 5.	-	-	-
Farm of demesne	-	6.11. 8.	6.11. 8.	6. 13. 4.
Court Issues	25.13. 4.	10.15. 2.	18. 5. 8.	14.16. 0.
	53. 4. 4.	61.13. 5.	68.16.10.	65.11. 0.
Allowances and decline of rent	-	c.6. 5.10.	6.18. 9.	4. 2. 7.
Gross annual yield	53. 4. 4.	55. 7. 7.	61.18. 1.	61. 8. 4.

1. This is the figure in the account but it looks suspiciously low. According to an inquisition of 1250 the rent of Whitecastle was £24.13.7d. C.Inq.Misc. 1219-1302, no.89.

GROSMONT	1256 £	1370 £	1378 £	1395 £
Rent	32. 9. 3.	53.19. 2.	50. 0. 7.	53.18. 3.
Farms	6. 0. 0.	11.13. 4.	11.11. 7.	11.13. 6.
Issues of manor	2. 0. 3.	15.11.	1. 1. 0.	14.10.
Sale of manorial produce	41. 9. 1.	-	-	-
Farm of demesne	-	in gift	in gift	2.13. 4.
Court issues	24. 9. 6.	5. 2. 7.	12. 2. 8.	10. 8. 0.
	106. 8. 1.	71.11. 0.	74.15.11.	79. 7.11.
Decline of rent	-	14. 5. 9.	10. 9.10.	10. 8. 7.
Gross annual yield	106. 8. 1.	57. 5. 3.	64. 6. 1.	68.19. 4.

Appendix F.(contd.)

SKENFRITH	1370 £	1378 £	1395 £
Rent	34. 9. 0.	34. 9. 3.	34.17. 7.
'Opera arrentata'	4.13. 3.	4.13. 3.	4.13. 3.
Farms	2. 9. 2.	1. 9.10.	2.10. 0.
Mill	4. 2. 6.	3.10. 8.	4. 3. 9.
Issue of manor	8. 6.	8. 0.	-
Farm of demesne	5.14. 9.	8. 3. 6.	8. 3. 6.
Issues of court	6. 2. 7.	5. 9. 8.	6. 6. 0.
	57.19. 9.	58. 4. 2.	60.14. 1.
Allowance and decline of rent	6.16.10.	6. 0. 3.	2.13. 9.
Gross annual yield	51. 2.11.	52. 3.11.	58. 0. 4.

HADNOCK	1370 £	1378 £	1395 £
Rent of assise	38. 4. 7.	38. 4. 8.	38. 6. 2.
Rent of customary works	6. 6. 3.	6. 6. 3.	6. 6. 3.
Rent of hens	1. 3. 5.	1. 3. 5.	1. 3. 5.
Sale of meadow and pasture	6. 5. 1.	6. 8. 9.	6. 5. 1.
Farm of demesne	14.17.11.	14.17.11.	14.17.11.
Issues of manor	16.15. 1.[1]	19.10.	9. 3.
Purchase of courts	3. 5. 1.	4.18. 9.	4.11. 5.
	86. 7. 5.	72.19. 7.	71.19. 6.
Allowance and decline of rent	9.19. 8.	9.13. 0.	7.11.2.
Gross annual yield	76. 7. 9.	63. 6. 7.	64. 8. 4.

1. Sale of timber. Gross annual yield less sale of timber £60.7.10d.

APPENDIX G. VALORS OF CALDICOT MANOR, 1361-1420.
(For a list of sources see above p. n.).

	1362 £	1366 £	1367 £	1368 £	1370	1372	1375	1376	1381	1382	1383
Gross chargeable rent	12. 5. 5.	12.12. 0.	12.13. 8.	12.13. 2.	12.14.11.	12.12. 7.	12. 9. 3.	12.11. 9.	12. 9. 0.	12. 6.10.	12. 6.11.
Decay and allowance of rent	3.15. 2.	4.13. 1.	4.17. 2.	4. 8.11.	4.13. 5.	4.10.4.	5. 2. 5.	4.18. 9.	4. 3. 4.	4. 3. 4.	4. 3. 4.
Collectable rent	8.10. 3.	7.18.11.	7.16. 6.	8. 4. 3.	8. 1. 6.	8. 2. 3.	7. 6.10.	7.13. 0.	8. 5. 8.	8. 3. 6.	8. 3. 7.
'Terra nativa arrentata'	8.16.11.	15. 7. 2.	15.11.2.	15.19. 2.	15.19. 2.	15.19. 2.	15.15. 1.	15.16. 2.	15.19. 2.	15.19. 2.	15.19. 2.
Lease of demesne lands	14.10.	6.13. 1.	6.13. 7.	6.13. 7.	7.10. 2.	6.18.7.	6. 4. 0.	6.14. 6.	7.19. 1.	6. 8. 4.	7.17. 3.
Tallage	15. 4.	6. 0.	6. 0.	1. 8.	1. 8.	2.11.	1. 8.	1. 8.	1. 8.	1. 8.	1. 8.
Issue of manor	4. 9.10.	1.10. 2.	1.16. 4.	2. 0. 3.	2.19. 2.	1.10. 5.	1. 1. 7.	1. 6. 0.	1. 5. 8.	1. 6. 0.	1. 4. 4.
Farm of mill	3. 6. 8.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	6.13. 4.	5. 0. 0.	4.12. 0.	5. 0. 0.
Sale of customary service	2. 2.	14. 3.	13. 4.	4.11.	3. 0.	3. 7.	3. 6.	-	3. 2.	2. 0.	2. 1.
Perquisites of courts	8. 7. 9.	6. 5. 9.	8. 5.11.	5.10. 7.	8. 8. 7.	11.17.11.	13.16. 0.	4.19. 7.	12.13. 1.	7. 9. 2.	7. 0. 8.
'Vendicio super compotum'	3. 7. 1.	4. 5.	-	-	1.10. 6.	13. 0.	1. 2.	-	1. 6.	1.13.11.	3. 2.
Sale of corn and stock	11. 3. 7.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Extraordinary issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GROSS YIELD	49.14. 5.	45.13.11.	47.16. 2.	45. 7. 9.	52. 7. 1.	52. 1. 2.	51. 3. 2.	43. 3.10.	51. 9. 0.	45.15. 9.	45.11.11.
Allowed by auditors	1.11. 0.	1. 1. 9.	1. 1.10.	-	-	-	-	-	2.14. 2.	3. 6. 8.	2. 6. 8.

	1384 £	1386 £	1387 £	1388 £	1390 £	1420 £
Gross chargeable rent	12. 6.11.	12. 7. 0.	12.13. 6.	12.17. 6.	29.18. 6.	31. 11. 1.
Decay and allowance of rent	4. 3. 4.	4. 3. 5.	4. 3. 5.	4. 5. 7.	10. 9.	4. 6.
Collectable rent	8. 3. 7.	8. 3. 7.	8.10. 1.	8.11.11.	29. 7. 9.	31. 6. 7.
'Terra nativa arrentata'	15.19. 2.	15.19. 2.	15.19. 2.	15.19. 2.	-	-
Lease of demesne lands	7. 3. 9.	7.14. 5.	7.17. 5.	7.16. 1.	-	-
Tallage	1. 8.	1. 8.	1. 8.	1. 8.	-	-
Issue of manor	19. 4.	1. 3. 3.	1. 5. 4.	1. 7. 2.	9.11. 4.	5.13.10.
Farm of mill	5. 0. 0.	5. 0. 0.	5. 0. 0.	5. 0. 0.	5. 3. 4.	5.13. 4.
Sale of customary services	2. 1.	2. 1.	2. 1.	2. 1.	-	-
Perquisites of courts	18.12.11.	12. 3. 5.	12. 5. 1.	8. 3. 9.	14.14. 1.	13.12. 3.
'Vendicio super compotum'	3. 2.	3. 2.	3. 2.	3. 2.	-	-
Sale of corn and stock	- [1]	-	-	-	-	-
Extraordinary issues	16. 0. 0.	-	-	-	8. 5. 3.[2]	-
GROSS YIELD	72. 5. 8.	50.10. 9.	51. 4. 0.	47. 5. 0.	67. 1. 9.	56.16. 0.
Allowed by auditors	2. 6. 8.	2. 7. 3.	2. 8. 4.	2. 8. 5.	-	-

1. Value of wine given to lord on his first visit to Caldicot.

2. Fines paid by tenants to have their holdings at will.

APPENDIX H. DETAILED ANALYSIS OF SEIGNORIAL REVENUE FROM OGMORE, 1363-1440.

Sources: DL 29/592/9444-9; DL 29/728/11986, 11991; DL 29/729/11993-4; DL 29/730/12015; DL 29/731/12016, 12018-9, 12021, 12026; DL 29/732/12030-1, 12036; DL 43/15/3.

	1363	1381	1395	1400	1401	1406 [6]	1407	1410	1412	1413
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Gross Chargeable Rent[1]	62. 2. 4.	62.17. 1.	63.10. 1.	61.13. 7.	63. 0. 7.	66. 9.11.	66. 9.11.	64.14.11.[8]	64.16. 4.	64.17. 0.
Decay or respite of rent	14. 9. 8.	6.18. 2.	6. 18. 2.	6. 3. 2.	6. 3. 2.	49.16. 0.	49.12. 7.	6.19. 3.[8]	24.17. 3.	19. 5.11.
Collectable rent	47.12. 8.	55.18.11.	56.11.11.	55.10. 5.	56.17. 5.	16.13.11.	16.17. 4.	57.15. 8.[8]	39.19. 1.	45.11. 1.
Farm of mills[2]	15. 0. 8.	20. 6. 8.	17. 6. 8.	17.16. 7.	18. 0. 0.	-	4. 0. 0.	6. 9. 9.	11.14. 8.	11.14. 8.
Farm of meadow, pasture and agistement	8.13. 5.	8.11. 0.	6.18. 9.	6. 8. 6.	6. 16. 0.	-	-	4. 9. 8.	4.15. 8.	4.19. 6.
Farm of demesne lands	-	7. 7. 8.	7. 6. 8.	7.13. 6.	7.13. 6.	-	-	-	5. 6. 8.	5. 6. 8.
Revenue from 'decayed' land	2. 7. 0.	1. 4. 0.	4. 6. 0.	1.19. 0.	1.19. 0.	-	3. 4.	10. 0.	-	-
Other issues	4.13. 4.	1.13. 4.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1. 5. 0.	10. 0.
Profits of court	15.18.10.	9. 3.11.	4. 5. 6.	10.14. 0.	10.14. 0.	17. 7.	3. 4. 7.	13.16.10.	16. 5. 9.	10.13. 7.
Casual income	94. 5.11.	104. 5. 6. 6. 6. 8.[3]	96.15. 6. 5. 5.10.[4]	100.2. 0.	101.19.11. 11.11. 8.[5]	17.11. 6.	24. 5. 3.	83. 1.11.	79. 6.10. 4.19. 0.[9]	78.15. 6.
GROSS ANNUAL CHARGE	94. 5.11.	110.12. 2.	102. 1. 4.	100. 2. 0.	113.11. 7.	17.11. 6.	24. 5. 3.	83. 1.11.	84. 5.10.	78.15. 6.
Arrears cancelled 1417						10.18. 0.[7]	10.14. 1.[7]	-	-	70.18. 2.[7]

Notes. 1. Allowances of rent have already been deducted.
2. Two fulling mills and two water mills with fisheries.
3. Tallage granted by the tenants in a sessions held by the chief steward.
4. Part of a subsidy of £10.11.8d. granted in the presence of Sir Thomas Skelton, chief steward.
5. A subsidy granted to the king 'pour la recognicioun de sez tenaunts en sa primere venu'.
6. From Michaelmas 1402 to Michaelmas 1405 no income whatsoever was collected in Ogmore.
7. The figures for 'arrears cancelled 1417' are taken from DL 29/737/12079; they do not appear on arrears accounts after 1417, probably because they were cancelled in return for a fine of £50 for the pardon of old arrears made in 1420.
8. These are the figures as given in the valor, DL 29/730/12015; but according to the reeve's account, DL 29/592/9447 m.2v., £14.14.1d. of the issues of this year were respited.
9. From the lands of Laurence Berkerolles while they were in the king's hands.

Appendix B.(contd.)

	1414 £	1416[2] £	1417 £	1418 £	1420 £	1421 £	1423 £	1433 £	1436 £	1440 £
Gross Chargeable Rent	64.17. 4.	64.16. 3.	64.17. 3.	64.17.11.	64.18. 2.	64.18. 3.	64.18. 3.	-	-	-
Decay or respite of rent	19. 5.11.	16.12. 5.	16.12. 5.	16.12. 5.	22. 9.11.[4]	22. 9.11.	22. 9. 11.	-	-	-
Collectable rent	45.11. 5.	48. 3.10.	48. 4.10.	48. 5. 6.	42. 8. 3	42. 8. 4.	42. 8. 4.	34.19. 6.[7]	34.18. 4.	24.11. 3.[9]
Farm of mills	8.13. 4.	8.12. 0.	7.14. 0.	10.13.4.	12.10. 4.	12. 3. 4.	11. 3. 4.	10. 0. 0.	9. 3. 4.	8. 0.10.
Farm of meadow, pasture and agistement	4.17. 8.	4.18. 2.	4.14.10.	6. 8.10.	5.15. 0.	5. 4. 6.	5.10. 2.	6. 9. 6.	7. 1. 1.	6.16. 1.
Farm of demesne lands	5. 6. 8.	5. 6. 8.	6. 0. 0.	6. 6. 8.	5. 5. 5.	5. 5. 5.	4. 7.11.	6. 0. 0.	6. 0.0.	6. 0. 0.
Revenue from 'decayed' land	-	2.13. 8.	4.10. 3.	4.13. 9.	4. 2. 6.	4. 2. 6.	4.18. 8.	10.16. 9.	11. 6. 2.	11.15. 5.
Other issues	18. 0.	18. 0.	18. 0.	10. 0.	10. 0.	10. 0.	10. 0.	1.14. 0.	1.14. 0.	1. 6. 2.
Profits of court	6. 4. 1.	2. 1. 8.	6. 9. 8.	8. 5. 0.	6.15. 4.	13. 0. 4.	9.13. 3.	2. 5. 1.	15.18. 2.	14. 4. 7.
	71.11. 2.	72.14. 0.	78.11. 7.	85. 3. 1.	77. 6.10.	82.14. 5.	78.11. 8.	72. 4. 7.	86. 1. 1.[8]	72.14. 4.
Casual income	-	-	-	-	20. 0. 0.[5]	28.10. 0.[6]	-	-	5. 6. 8.	-
GROSS ANNUAL CHARGE	71.11. 2.	72.14. 0.	78.11. 7.	85. 3. 1.	97. 6.10.	111. 4. 5.	78.11. 8.	72. 4. 7.	91. 7. 9.	72.14. 4.
Arrears cancelled 1417	40.14. 6.[1]									
Arrears owing 1423	-	16. 8. 1.[3]	5. 5.10.[3]	6.15. 5.-	18. 1. 1.[3]	64. 9.11.[3]	19. 6. 9.[3]	-	-	-

Notes.
1. The figures for 'arrears cancelled 1417' are taken from DL 29/737/12079; they do not appear on arrears accounts after 1417, probably because they were cancelled in return for a fine of £50 for the pardon of old arrears made in 1420.
2. In 1415 Ogmore and Ebboth were farmed together and yielded a clear value of £92.16.8d.
3. The figures for arrears outstanding in 1423 are taken from DL 29/592/9448.
4. See above p. 317 n.1.
5. Part of £50 fine for cancellation of old debts.
6. £3.6.8d. was part of a gift of £6.13.4d. granted to the king; £10.0.0d. was an instalment of a fine of £50 for the cancellation of old debts; and £15.3.4d. was half of the fines, both communal and individual, imposed in the sessions.
7. This is the rent according to the new rental of 1428, DL 42/107.
8. Fines.
9. Rents worth £11.6.7d. had been granted to Margam Abbey.

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C 133-139	Inquisitions post mortem, Edward I-Henry VI.
C 145	Miscelleaneous inquisitions.
C 146	Ancient Deeds, series C.

(b) Duchy of Lancaster.

DL 7	Inquisitions post mortem.
DL 10	Royal charters.
DL 25	Deeds, series L.
DL 27	Deeds, series LS.
DL 28	Accounts Various.
DL 29	Ministers' Accounts.
DL 30	Court Rolls.
DL 34	Ancient Correspondence.
DL 36	Carta Miscellanea.
DL 40	Return of Knights' Fees.
DL 41	Miscellanea.
DL 42	Miscellaneous Books
DL 43	Rentals and Surveys.

(c) Exchequer.

E 28	Council and Privy Seal Records.
E 101	Accounts Various (King's Remembrancer).
E 179	Subsidy Rolls.
E 210	Ancient Deeds (King's Remembrancer) series D.
E 326	Ancient Deeds (Augmentation Office) series E.
E 364	Rolls of Foreign Accounts (Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer).
E 401	Receipt Rolls.

(d) Judicial Records.

JI 1	Assize Rolls.
JI 3	Gaol Delivery Rolls.
CP 25(1)	Feet of Fines.

(e) Special Collections and other classes.

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