

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

I N N I N E B O O K S :

W I T H A N

A P P E N D I X.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM WARRINGTON,
CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF BESBOROUGH.

“ Wherever Nature, though in narrow space,
Fosters, by Freedom's aid, a liberal race;
Sees Virtue save them from Oppression's den,
And cries, with exultation, ' These are men;'
Though in Bœotia or Batavia born,
Their deeds the story of the world adorn.”

HAYLEY'S ESSAY ON HISTORY.

L O N D O N :
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TO HIS GRACE

W I L L I A M

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE,

IN WHOSE PERSONAL AND PUBLIC CHARACTER

ARE PRESERVED UNIMPAIRED.

THE HONOURS OF A FAMILY

ILLUSTRIOUS BY DESCENT,

AND

DISTINGUISHED, THROUGH SEVERAL AGES,

FOR A STEADY AND TEMPERATE ADHERENCE

TO THE CONSTITUTION AND LIBERTIES

OF GREAT BRITAIN,

AS WELL AS EXEMPLARY FOR THE

MILDER VIRTUES OF PRIVATE LIFE,

T H I S H I S T O R Y

OF A PEOPLE WHO LONG DEFENDED

THE RIGHTS OF NATURE AND OF FREEDOM,

IS INSCRIBED,

BY HIS GRACE'S MOST OBEDIENT

AND DEVOTED HUMBLE SERVANT,

WILLIAM WARRINGTON.

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P R E F A C E.

THE circumstances and actions of the People, whose history is related in this work, stand single and original in the annals of the world. A nation, who, from remote antiquity, were distinguished by their independency of spirit, defending for ages the rights of nature and of liberty in the bosom of their native mountains, affords a spectacle sufficiently interesting, to awaken curiosity, to excite admiration, and to call forth every liberal sentiment.

IT is therefore a just occasion of regret, as well as of surprize, that the History of Wales is no where to be found, to this day, but in the Chronicle of the monk Caradoc of Llancarvan; in which nothing farther is given, than a simple detail of facts. In this interesting field of history, no attempt has yet
been

been made, to investigate the motives of policy, to trace back effects to their causes, to delineate with just discrimination personal or national characters, and to digest the materials of the narration into that perspicuous order which is essential to the utility of historical writing.

THIS deficiency, the author has attempted to supply, in the work now offered to the world. The design will be allowed to be laudable; with what success it has been executed, it remains for the public to determine. If he has opened no new sources of information, he has been careful to examine the old; and has not servilely transcribed, or implicitly followed the modern historians. What he has done, neither precludes, nor is intended to preclude, the future labours of other writers who are deeply read in the Welsh language and manuscripts. The field is still open to a more able historian, and to the profound researches of the learned antiquary.

FROM an idea, that minute inquiries into the antiquities of a country are not properly within the province of the general historian, the author has purposely declined them; and therefore hopes he shall not be charged with deficiency, in not
having

having executed what it was never his intention to undertake.

It is not the least praise of an historian, that his writings do not discover his country : left from the sentiments which breathe through the following pages the author should be thought to have failed in this essential point, he thinks it necessary to declare that he is an Englishman ; and whatever preponderancy may be discovered in this work to the side of the Welsh, it is neither the partiality of an author to his subject, nor the prejudice of a native ; but the voluntary tribute of justice and humanity to the cause of injured liberty.

WILLIAM WARRINGTON.

T A B L E



T A B L E

O F

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W I T H

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*Necessary DIRECTIONS to the READER who is a Stranger to the WELSH
LANGUAGE ; shewing the RIGHT PRONUNCIATION of all the
LETTERS that differ from the ENGLISH ORTHOGRAPHY.*

TO read Welsh, a right Knowledge of the Alphabet is all that is necessary ; for, (not going to a nicety) all the Letters retain one invariable Sound, which must be distinctly pronounced, as there are no Mutes. Letters that are circumflexed must be pronounced long, as *Bôn* like the English Bone ; *B^ôwn*, Boon ; *Bin*, Been, &c.

C, as *C* English in *Can* ; but never soft as in *City*.

Ch, as the Greek χ properly pronounced. If instead of touching the Palate with the Tip of the Tongue to pronounce *K*, you touch it with the Root, it will effect this sound.

Dd, as *TH* English in *Them* ; that is very soft ; not hard as in *Thought*.

F, as *V* English.

Ff, as *F* and *Ff* English.

G, as *G* English in *God*, but never soft as in *Genius*.

I, as *I* English in *King*, and *ee* in *Been* ; but never as *I* in *Fine*. *Fine*, according to the Welsh Orthography, would be pronounced *Veenè*.

Ll, as *L* Aspirated ; and can be represented in English only by *Lh* or *Llh*.

Tb, as *Tb* English in *Thought* ; but never soft as in *Them*.

U, as *I* English in *Blifs*, *This*, *It*, &c.

W, as *Oo* English in *Good*.

Y, as *U* English in *Burn*, though in the last Syllable of a Word, and all Monosyllables, except *Y*, *Ydd*, *Ym*, *Yn*, *Yr*, *Ys*, *Fy*, *Dy*, *Myn*, it is like *I* in *Sin*, *It*, &c. both its Powers are nearly shewn in the Word *Sundry*, or *Syndry*.

E R R A T A.

- Page 13, note on London, for *Dias* read *Dinas*.
 23, line 9, for *Bratap-Llyr* read *Bran-ap-Llyr*.
 24, 10, for *constantly* read *instantly*.
 40, 13, for *Constantius* read *Constans*.
 54, 12, for *Leon* read *Lleon*.
 55, 16, for *Ludd* read *Lludd*.
 58, 19, for *unwarned* read *unarmed*.
 68, 21, for *Casswallon-law-Kir* read *Casswallon-law-bir*.
 73, 11, for *Cattur* read *Cattur*.
 76, 2, for *Cerdic-leak* read *Cerdic leab*.
 86, second line in the note, for *Legan-lestre* read *Legan-Cestre*.
 88, line 10, for *Mere.lyth* read *Meredydd*.
 105, 6, for *Rhydd-lan* read *Rhudd-lan*.
 127, 3, for *were rated, &c.* read *which were rated*.
 138, 5, for *the dignity* read *that dignity*.
 152, 9, for *Cantrifs* read *Cantrous*.
 153, 16, for *Merionit's* read *Meirionydb*.
 154, 17, for *Caer Run* read *Caer Rhun*.
 157, 7, for *Tegengb* read *Tegengl*.
 185, in the note, for *Bleibyn* read *Bleddyn*; for *Hoel* read *Howel*.
 207, line 16, for *into the charge* read *on to the charge*.
 222, 15, for *his country* read *the country*.
 236, 20, for *march* read *marched*.
 240, 19, for *hailed them* read *bated them*.
 282, 5, for *Rhys* read *Gryffydb ap Rhys*.
 377, 22, for *and* read *an*.
 379, 6, for *hearing* read *bearing of*.
 403, 8, for *Criccaeth* read *Cricietb*.
 406, 12, for *attended with* read *attended by*.
 412, 24, for *or forfeiture* read *of forfeiture*.
 Apperix, No. 1 to be inserted at the bottom of page 413, and connected with the letter li,
 instead of page 416.
 Page 427, title of book VIII, for *the last prince of Wales* read *Llewelyn ap Gryffydb*.
 428, line 5, for *Rhevoniac* read *Rhyvoniac*.
 430, 22, for *with an afflicted* read *with an afflicted*.
 485, 22, for *Plam Sunday* read *Palm Sunday*.
 489, 20, no comma between the lords Audley and Clifford, but after
 Clifford.
 555, 18, for *as it is natural* read *and as it is natural*.

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

B O O K I.

CONTAINING A REVIEW OF THE BRITISH HISTORY BEFORE
THE RETREAT OF THE ROMANS OUT OF BRITAIN.

IT is probable, that Britain was first colonised by the Gauls,¹ about one thousand years before the birth of our Saviour;² a period of time coeval with the reigns of David and Solomon. The names of Albion,³ and of Britain,⁴ are supposed to have been given to the island by the Belgic Gauls, who inhabited the opposite shores.

¹ Verstegan, cap. IV. p. 88. Buchanani Rerum Scoticarum historia, p. 67. Amsterdam edit.

² Whitaker's history of Manchester, second edit. vol. I. p. 7. ³ *ibid.* p. 10.

⁴ On the etymology of this name, see *ibid.* p. 11. and Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary of Britain, p. 8. N. B. He wrote in the year 1568.

IT is common to people who derive their ideas from the few objects which arise in a state of nature, to give names to persons and things, from the peculiar circumstances incident to them. Accordingly, the Gauls gave this country the name of Albion, from the eminences and chalky cliffs, which were constantly exposed to their view.¹

IT was somewhat more than three centuries before the Roman invasion of Britain, that the northern tribes of Europe began that spirit of emigration, which afterwards like a deluge overwhelmed the western world. It was likewise about that period, that the Belgæ, forsaking their native seats upon the banks of the Rhine, migrated into Britain,² and settled in the western, and some of the southern parts of the island.³

THE language of the ancient Britons, their religion and Druidical institutions, as well as their attachment to that order of men called Beirdhs, were exactly similar to those which prevailed among their probable ancestors the Gauls.⁴

¹ Whitaker's Hist of Manchester, second edit. p. 10.

² Rowland's Mona Antiqua, Dublin edit. sect. IV. p. 19.

³ Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, second edit. p.232. Buchanan Hist. Scot. Rer. p. 55.

⁴ Buchanan's Hist. Scot. Rer. p. 53, 67.

BEFORE the time of Cæsar's invasion, the island was divided into three parts, Lhoegria or England, Albania or Scotland, and Cambria or the province of Wales; ¹ and each of these were subdivided into districts under their respective *Reguli*, each of whom presided with a limited authority.² The principles of civil liberty are discerned in the polity of ancient Britain, in the restraint which was laid upon the sovereign power by general assemblies, whose concurrence with the royal authority was necessary to enact or to abrogate laws. The order of succession in the British states was commonly hereditary; the idea of indefeasible right had not, in that early period, affected the principles of government; for the line of succession was frequently broken by the king and nobility, whose concurrence for this purpose was absolutely necessary.³ The division of property by *Gavel kind* uniformly took place in the disposition of private inheritance.⁴

SUCH was the regulation of the British states in times of tranquillity, when no foreign or domestic danger threatened the public safety. But in seasons of emergency, when the

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 10.

² Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 171. Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, second edit. vol. I. p. 336. vol. II. p. 6, 92, 206.

³ Whitaker, *ibid.* vol. I. p. 335.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 363.

common-weal called for the union which results from the government of one head, the confederated princes elected a supreme sovereign; and the person who was called to this dignity had the title of *Brenhin Prydain Oll* or the king of all Britain.² This occasional honour, by a maxim of state, was originally confined to one Imperial line; and in later times was continued through its two branches, the *Cynethian* and *Cornwal* families, till it finally closed in the person of Cadwalader, the last king of the Britons. As unlimited authority was vested in the supreme sovereign, it is probable, that the Britons did not suffer such a power to continue beyond the time of necessity and danger.

THE love of glory, like every other passion, is heightened by indulgence, and becomes insatiate in proportion to the extent and variety of conquests. Under the impulse of this spirit, Julius Cæsar came into Britain; but the season of the year not allowing him to extend his conquests, he concluded a peace, having taken hostages for its observance, and suddenly embarked in the night for Gaul.⁴ The next spring he returned with a considerable reinforcement. On this occasion, Cassivellaunus was vested with the supreme command of the war, by a general assembly of the British States. Having received considerable losses, his territories

About fifty years before the Christian Æra.

¹ Rowland, p. 171. Whitaker *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 206, 207.

² Rowland's *Mon. Ant.* p. 171. ³ Rowland's *Mon. Ant.* p. 171.

⁴ Cæsar's *Commentaries*, Grævius' edit. lib. IV. p. 145, 154.

having

having been laid waste, and especially being alarmed at the revolt of the auxiliary Britons, he was soon after obliged to sue for peace.¹ Before that time Cæsar had marched into the country as far as the Thames,² and having forded that river near Windsor, he stormed Verulamium,³ the principal town in the territory of Cassivellaunus. After this expedition, being afraid of commotions in Gaul, he received the submission of the Britons, and taking with him hostages for the security of the peace, returned to the continent.⁴

THE death of Cæsar, with the succeeding troubles in the Empire, gave a long peace to the Britons; which was continued through the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, occasioned by the rational policy of restricting the boundaries of the Roman Empire.

THE great preparations which Caligula made for the invasion of Britain, ended in a vain parade upon the ocean, and in offering insult to the dignity of a Roman Senate.⁵

¹ Cæsar's Comment. Grævius, edit. lib. V. p. 176. ² Tafwyfe or Tame Water.

³ VEROLANUM takes its name from the river VVer, called in British Guernhan, Caer Municipium by the Romans, and Verlamcester by the Saxons, by whom it was destroyed. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 24.

⁴ Cæsar's Comment. Grævius' edit. lib. V. p. 161, 164, 165, 175, 176.

⁵ Dion Cassius Leunclavii edit. lib. LIX. p. 659.

IN the reign of the Emperor Claudius, the Romans gained a permanent footing in the Island, owing to the divisions, which had ever subsisted among the Britons. The Belgic inhabitants, who were engaged in commerce, and resided in the towns of the Isle of Wight,¹ and the counties upon the western coast, were with some difficulty subdued by Vespasian;² but the native Britons, more independent and brave from their different habits of life, continued their resistance against Plautius and Ostorius Scapula, who successively commanded the Roman forces. Plautius, on his arrival in his government, defeated the Britons in several actions; but finding that his victories proved indecisive, and seeing them prepared for further resistance, he desired the Emperor would take in person the command of the forces.³ When Claudius joined the army, which lay encamped on the banks of the Thames, he found the passage of that river disputed; but the Britons were at length obliged to give way, and he advanced into the country of the Trinobantes, and took the strong fortrefs of Camulodunum, which had been the residence of Conobeline. These fortunate events were immediately followed by the submission, or the conquest, of other nations. When the affairs

Ann. Dom.
45.

¹ CALLED Wight by the Saxons but Gwydh by the Britons, signifying, a conspicuous place. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 17.

² Suetonius, Oxford edit. Book VIII. p. 240.

³ Dion Cassius, Leuncl. lib. LX. p. 679.

of the Provinces were settled, the Emperor returned to Rome, leaving the newly subdued states, and the further conquest of Britain, to the direction of Plautius. The name of Britannicus which Claudius assumed, and the splendour of his triumph, shew the formidable idea which the Roman people entertained of the British arms.¹

DURING the remainder of the government of Plautius, no considerable advances were made in the conquest of the country; and he soon after returned to Rome, and was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula.

THIS general found the affairs of his province in the greatest confusion: the winter had already commenced: the Icenæ, the Brigantes, and other nations, thinking they had little to dread from a new general who was unknown to the army, revolted and had recourse to arms. After several bloody encounters, these nations were reduced to obedience, and Ostorius carried his arms into many parts of Britain which had been hitherto unknown. Ann. Dom.
50.

IN this expedition he forced his way through the Cangi² who opposed him, in whom the principal strength of each

¹ Dion Cassius, Leuncl. lib. LX. p. 679.

² EACH nation or tribe had numbers of stout young men, called Cangi, whose business was to protect the cattle, and remove them from one pasture to another.

Baxter's Glossary, p. 73.

nation consisted; and, continuing his march, he penetrated as far as the coast which lies upon the Irish sea.¹

IN the course of this war, the fate of Britain depended on the virtues and military talents of Caractacus. This prince was sovereign of the territory inhabited by the Ordovices² and Silures, and was the son of the late king Cunobeline.³ Having with infinite resources, and variety of fortunes, for nine⁴ years opposed the Roman arms, he was at length obliged to retire among the Silures: and this brave people, whom neither mildness nor severity had subdued, eagerly ranged themselves under the conduct of this gallant prince, who, in order to preserve their territories from being made the seat of war, marched into the country of the Ordovices, where he stationed his army in a situation, chosen with great military skill.⁵ At this place, he was opposed by Ostorius with the legionary troops. The few moments which preceded this important action, were employed by Caractacus in animating his soldiers; but their valour was unequally opposed to the force of discipline; and the British camp was stormed with great slaughter,

¹ Taciti Annales, Antwerp edit. lib. XII. p. 195, 196.

² Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 32, 33. ³ Baxter's Glossary, p. 67.

⁴ Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 32.

⁵ Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 33, 34, called *Caer Caradoc*, an eminence situated between the rivers Clue and Clevidia in Shropshire.

though

though not without considerable resistance. In this battle, the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners; and his brothers, soon after, surrendered themselves. Caractacus himself survived this misfortune, to experience a more cruel destiny. After his defeat, retiring to the country of the Brigantes, Cartismandua, the queen of that territory, with a view of gaining the friendship of the Romans, or afraid of their resentment, betrayed him into the hands of Ostorius; and he was sent to Rome as a prisoner of the utmost importance. A general curiosity was excited in Italy, to behold the figure of this extraordinary man, whose superior talents and virtue had been so long employed in opposing the Roman power.¹ The magnanimity of this prince, when he was exhibited a public spectacle at Rome, has been a frequent subject of encomium.

THE habits of war and of conquest, with the cruel nature of their popular amusements, had introduced into the character of the Romans a degree of ferocity, inconsistent with just ideas of heroism; and which, too frequently steeled them against the impressions of pity, and led them to disdain, as unmanly weakness, the finer feelings of humanity.

THIS defeat of the Silures was soon revenged by several victories which they gained over the Roman forces; and in this situation Ostorius died, worn out with anxiety and fatigue.²

Ann. Dom.
53.

¹ Taciti Ann. lib. XII. p. 196, 197.

² Ibid. p. 198.

IMMEDIATELY after his death, the emperor sent Aulus Didius into Britain: but the age of that general prevented any extraordinary exertions against the enemy; and he was soon succeeded by Verannius, who, dying a little time after he had taken the command, left the Roman affairs in the greatest confusion.²

Ann. Dom.
58.

IN this situation, Suetonius Paulinus came to command the forces in Britain. His first undertaking was to subdue the Ordovices, who inhabited that part of the island which is now called North Wales; and he secured the conquests he had made, by settling garrisons in the country. Suetonius was the first Roman, who penetrated as far as Mona.³ Being opposed by the Druids on his entrance into the island, and influenced by national and religious animosity, he massacred many of these people, cut down their groves, laid level their altars, and destroyed the seminary of that ancient ORDER.⁴ After this event, the Druids are said to have retired into Ireland, to the Isle of Man, and into the Orkneys and Hebrides:⁵ in a subsequent period being driven out of these retreats, by christian zeal, they are likewise said to have sought an asylum in Norway, Iceland, and other regions of the north:⁶ at length, the Druidical system was universally abolished, after

¹ Taciti Ann. lib. XII. p. 198.

² Ibid. lib. XIV. p. 250.

³ Taciti Vita Agricolaë, Op. p. 457.

⁴ Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 151. Rowland, p. 100.

⁵ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 101, 107.

⁶ Rowland, p. 110.

it had long established a boundless tyranny on the ruins of human reason.

IT was an uniform principle, in the policy of the Roman state, to exercise a mild dominion over the nations they had conquered, but this was changed to a system of severity, when the provinces, from a sense of injury or of freedom, revolted from their obedience. The nature of their government was likewise stained, by the severe administration and rapacity of individuals. Thus the Roman yoke, however lightly it might be felt by *Asiatics*, who were tamed to submission by hereditary slavery, was an oppressive burden to the Britons, bred in the ideas and habits of a wild independency. At this juncture, their native spirit, impatient of restraint and resentful of injury, was urged into fury by a train of evils, which acted equally upon their feelings, as on their national pride and superstition. An imposition of taxes on their lands and cattle, the arbitrary violation of property, with the frequent indignities offered to their women, were causes which kept alive a sense of resentment.¹ They were likewise affected by the treatment of Boadicea, a powerful sovereign of the Iceni. This princess had just become a widow, and was left to the protection of the Roman state; her husband, by his will, had made Claudius coheir with his daughters, in hopes it might render him indulgent to his family. But that prince was no sooner

¹ Galgacus's Speech, Taciti vit. Agric. Op. p. 462.

dead, than his treasures were seized, and his territories wasted; the foulness of the procedure being coloured by the indecent pretence, that the Roman law would only permit citizens to bequeath their property.² The remonstrance of the queen against these injuries, only accumulated indignities upon her house; for the chastity of her daughters was violated, and her own person dishonoured, by being publicly scourged.³

THESE evils, however enormous, were only partial, and they did not extend to every part of the island. But the late destruction of the Druids, it is probable, gave a general shock to the feelings of the Britons; and with the fury of enthusiasts, they rushed to the standard of Boadicea. The first impression of this multitude was astonishingly great: like the sea overflowing its bounds, they carried with them irresistible force, and desolated the country. The two cities, Camalodunum and Verulamium, first experienced their fury,⁴ the inhabitants of which colonies were slaughtered without any distinction of rank or sex, and under circumstances of uncommon barbarity:⁵ almost an entire legion were cut in pieces, coming to the assistance of their countrymen; and eighty thousand persons, either Roman citi-

¹ Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 251.

² Heinccius Element. Jur. lib. II. Tit. XII.

³ Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 251.

⁴ Ibid. p. 251, 252.

⁵ Dion Cassius, lib. LXII. p. 700.

zens or allies, are said to have perished in the general carnage.¹ It is to be lamented, that in attempting to recover the freedom of her country, so much cruelty should have stained the character of this princess; but some extenuation may be found in the nature of her own wrongs, in the injuries which her subjects had suffered, and in the fierceness of uncultivated life.

DURING these transactions, Suetonius was engaged in the conquest of Mona, and as soon as he heard of the revolt, he marched with confidence, through an irritated country, to London,² a place of great commercial importance.³ But, finding himself unable to keep possession of the town, he was obliged to take the field with a few cohorts of auxiliaries, with a single legion, and the *Vexillarii*⁴ of another, and to leave the women, the aged, and the infirm, to the fury of the Britons.⁵ With this army, consisting only of ten thousand men, Suetonius opposed Boadicea, at the head of two hundred and thirty thousand Britons.⁶ On this decisive day, Boadicea appeared in a chariot, with her daughters

Ann. Dom.
60.

¹ Dion Cassius, lib. LXII p. 704.

² THIS city was originally called *Troynewith* or New Troy: afterwards *Dias Beli* from having been the residence of Belus; last of all it was called *Caer Ludd* and *Lhundain*, from king Lud.

³ Humpfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 20.

⁴ VARIOUS are the opinions respecting the *Vexillarii*, the most probable is, that they were light armed troops belonging to each legion.

⁵ Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 252. ⁶ Dion Cassius, lib. LXII. p. 704.

by

by her side; and rode in a military dress through the ranks, to animate the soldiers.¹ Besides this, the Britons had another incitement to victory, as they were to fight in the presence of their wives, and for the safety of their families, who were ranged in waggons on the rear of the army.² But valour alone, unsupported by discipline, is not able to withstand the firmness of veteran troops; and after a long and obstinate resistance, the British army was entirely defeated.

NEAR eighty thousand of the Britons fell in this day's action, or in the pursuit. Boadicea, unwilling to survive the ruin of her country, suddenly disappeared, having put an end to her own life, as is imagined, by poison.³ It is astonishing, that after the severe defeats which the Britons received, they should be still able to keep their national strength unbroken, and their spirit unsubdued.

Ann. Dom.
62.

THE danger and difficulty of the war were so great, that Nero was inclined to relinquish the conquest of Britain: but being informed that the rough demeanour of Suetonius might be some obstacle to a peace, he recalled him into Italy; and he placed several officers successively in command, whose inactivity or milder temper gave time for resentments to subside.⁴

THESE generals were succeeded by others, of more active and martial dispositions. Petilius Cerealis subdued a great

¹ Dion Cassius, lib. LXII. p. 704.

² Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 252.

³ Ibid. lib. XIV. p. 253.

⁴ Ibid. lib. XIV. p. 253.

part of the Brigantes, who inhabited the northern counties of England; and Julius Frontinus, conquered from the Silures, the forest of Dean,¹ and the present counties of Hereford, and Monmouth.²

DURING the time that the Roman interest thus fluctuated in Britain, the inhabitants were exposed to every insult and injury, which might be expected from the rapacity of subordinate governors, and the will of a licentious soldiery. To remedy these evils, to give stability to conquest, to introduce peace and order, with the mild habits of social life, required the virtues, and well tempered policy of Julius Agricola.

THIS Roman was sent by Vespasian to command the forces in Britain, where he had already acquired a considerable reputation by his military services. On his arrival, he found the Ordovices revolted, who had begun their hostilities, by cutting off a squadron of horse, stationed upon the frontiers. It was late in the summer when he opened the campaign, supported only by the *Vexillarii* of the legions, and a body of auxiliary troops; and on his approach, the Ordovices, not daring to face him in the field, retired to the mountains; into which difficult places, they were immediately pursued, and the country laid waste

¹ So called from the Danes, Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 75.

² Taciti in vit. Agric. Op. p. 458.

Ann. Dom. 78. with great slaughter of the inhabitants. This success induced Agricola to attempt the second conquest of Mona. The chiefs of the Ordivices had retired into that island, in which they thought themselves perfectly secure, the Romans not having any ships upon the coast, and regarding the *Menai* as impassable: but the auxiliaries of the army, by order of Agricola, having crossed that arm of the sea on horseback, the Britons were so astonished at a sight to them altogether new, that they immediately laid down their arms.'

WHEN Agricola had finished the conquest of Mona, he directed his views to the milder designs of peace and reformation. Well instructed in the art of governing, he was more desirous of preventing the causes of discontents than of punishing their effects: equally tempering lenity with rigour, he abolished that system of tyranny which had so frequently driven the Britons to revolt, and fixed in their breasts the most fatal resentments.² To these examples of humanity and justice, he added others of an extensive and liberal policy. With the most engaging manners and address, he drew the Britons out of their deserts into social communities; and persuaded them to change their rude habits, and precarious subsistence, for the arts of peace, and the comforts of civilized life.³ The Roman people, from

¹ Taciti vita Agricola, Op. p. 458.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. p. 459.

a singular policy, were used to extend with their conquests the sciences and arts, were accustomed to soften the ferocity of war, and disarm it in some measure of its evils, by introducing their milder manners, with the refinements and elegances of life; with a view, no doubt, to enervate, and to enslave mankind.

IN attentions like these to civilize the Britons, and to alleviate their sufferings, Agricola employed the winters which he passed in the island; and in the course of seven summers' campaigns, he extended his conquests into Caledonia. He likewise erected two different fortifications, some of which were formed near the river 'Tay,' and the others along that narrow isthmus which lies between the Frith of Forth and the Clyde.² But Domitian, who hated virtues which he would not emulate, and sickened at the glory he could not attain, recalled Agricola to Rome; and this great man soon after died of a lingering disorder, with the suspicion of having been poisoned at the instigation of that tyrant.³

Ann. Dom.
85.

TACITUS, by a few strokes of his inimitable pencil, has given the portrait of this amiable Roman.

¹ Buchanan. Rer. Scot. lib. IV. p. 101, 102. Cambden, Holland's translation, p. 789.

² Langhori. Ant. Albion, p. 112, 113.

³ Taciti vit. Agricola. Op. p. 459, 465, 466.

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Ann. Dom.
93.

DURING the latter part of the life of Domitian, and in the short reign of Nerva, the Roman interest was neglected in Britain.

MORE important objects, on the eastern frontier of the empire, employed the martial genius of Trajan.

THE wise policy of limiting, and of preserving its boundaries, was the leading principle in the government of Adrian; however, in the course of his reign, he came into Britain, where, the more effectually to secure, he narrowed the bounds of the Roman conquests, ordering the more northern forts to be deserted which had been raised by Agricola, and placing their garrisons on the line of fortifications, which he formed from the Tyne to Solway Frith.¹

To preserve dominion by the influence of a just and mild administration, was well suited to the philosophic spirit, and benevolent temper of the two Antonines; but a commotion having arisen in Caledonia in the reign of Antoninus Pius, he sent Lollius Urbicus into Britain, who, after he had suppressed the insurrection, confined the Picts to their former boundary.²

¹ Buchan. Rer. Scot. lib. IV. p. 103. Spart. vit. Adriani in Scriptoribus August. p. 6.

² Julius Capitolinus in vit. Antonini Pii in Scriptoribus August. hist. p. 19.

THE dissolute reign of Commodus having had an influence on the discipline of the legions, the Caledonians broke over the wall of Adrian, and cut in pieces a Roman general with his army; but they were soon after driven back with great slaughter, and continued quiet during the remainder of that reign.¹

THE precarious situation of Pertinax and Didius Julianus, who in succession possessed the empire, gave them no leisure to attend to the affairs of Britain; in which state of quiet they remained to the latter part of the reign of Severus.

UNDER pretence of restraining the irruptions of the northern Britons, but probably to withdraw his sons from the pleasures of Rome, Severus came into the island; and though advanced in years, and so broken with infirmities as to be carried in a litter, he proceeded through forests and morasses to the farthest parts of Caledonia.² After having surmounted the difficulties of the march, and many fierce encounters with the Picts, he himself not being able to finish the war on account of his increasing infirmities, left one of his sons to conclude a peace with that people;

¹ Dion Cassius, lib. LXXII. p. 821.

² Herodian, lib. III. p. 133, 135, 137.

and on his return rebuilt with stone, and more strongly fortified the rampart of Adrian. Soon after Severus had finished this imperial work he died in the city of York.¹

Ann. Dom. 212.
Ann. 284. FROM the death of this prince to the reign of Dioclesian few incidents occur in the history of Britain, the Romans having been too much employed by convulsions at home to attend to the distant provinces. In the course of this reign Carausius,² and afterwards Allectus, assumed an independent sovereignty in Britain.³ But when Constantius was elevated to the rank of Cæsar, in that singular system of government formed by Dioclesian, he reduced the island to its former state of a province of the empire.⁴ This prince died in the city of York,⁵ soon after he had succeeded to the purple as emperor of the west, and during the greatest part of his reign, he kept the Britons in quiet, by the influence of his mild virtues.⁶ The more decisive qualities

¹ Bedes Eccl. Hist lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50. Joannis Roffi, Antq. Warwic. Hist. Reg. Angl. p. 49. Orosius, lib. VII. cap. XVII. p. 502. Hist. August. Script. Spartian, p. 71.

² Flores Historiarum, p. 91. 84.

³ Ibid.

⁴ J. Roffi. Ant. War. p. 50.

⁵ Called Eboracum by the Romans, Caer Eborac by the Britons, and Euerwyke by the Saxons. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 30.

⁶ Ranulph. Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gales Script. Flores Historiarum p. 92, 96, by Math. Westminster.

of Constantine the Great continued to secure their obedience. Ann. Dom.
326.

AT this period a storm began to gather in the north, which gradually acquiring greater force and a deeper gloom, at length overspread the British hemisphere.

As the dread of the Roman power declined with the retreat of the legions, several nations, the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons, made incursions into Britain. The Picts were natives of the island, and inhabited the country near the wall of Antonine, upon the eastern, and western coast, and on the mountains of Caledonia.¹ The Scots, were a recent colony from Ireland, and had settled by invitation of the Picts, upon the western shore of Scotland very early in the fourth century.² The Saxons, one of the most warlike nations in Germany, had emigrated from the northern parts of that country, and settled along the sea coast from Jutland to the mouth of the Rhine.³

THE history of this period is barren of important incidents, and exhibits very little agreeable information: we scarcely meet with any thing, but pictures of rude life and manners, or melancholy details of war and devastation.

¹ Whitaker, *ibid.* edit. vol. II. p. 209.

² Whitaker's *Hist.* Manchester, vol. II. p. 248, 249, 250.

³ Verstegan, chap. III. p. 20, 55, 56, 82, 84.

WITH a policy peculiar to the Romans, they had permitted the kingly office in the full extent of its ancient authority, to remain in many of the provinces of Britain.¹ In the course of this period, two princely families had arisen into preeminence, above the rest of the British Reguli; appearing in their ancient lustre on the decline of the Roman power, and attaining to that royal distinction which had formerly belonged to their ancestors.² These were the princes of the Cynethian and Cornwall families.³ The former were sovereigns of the territory belonging to the Strath-Clyd Britons, and of the principality of Gwyneth or North Wales; and were descended from Coel, a northern prince who, by his marriage with the heiress of North Wales, became the sovereign of that principality.⁴ The daughter of this prince succeeded to his dominions and was called Helena, and afterwards married the emperor Constantius;⁵ who having gained by that union a natural right to the crown, the Roman government became for a time very popular. But in after times, the line of the princess Helena becoming extinct in Britain, the succession of the

¹ Hist. Manchester, vol. I. second edit. p. 331. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 115.

² Rowland's Mon. An. p. 145, 171.

³ Rowland, p. 171.

⁴ Rowland's Mon. Antiq. p. 145, 163.

⁵ Run. Higden, lib. XIV. p. 219. Flores Historium, p. 92. Rowland's Mon. Antiq. p. 161, 162, 163, 166.

Strath-Clyd kingdom, with the principality of North Wales, devolved upon Cynetha her nephew, called Weledig, or the Illustrious.¹ The sons of this prince, leaving their northern territories to the government of one of their own family, retired to their dominions in North Wales; where their descendents supported the cause of freedom, till the royal British blood became extinct as to sovereignty in the person of the last prince Llewelyn.²

THE Cornwall family were derived from Branap-Llyr a duke of that province, who was afterwards chosen the king of Britain.³ Out of this princely family were descended the illustrious names of Aurelius Ambrosius, Uther Pendragon, Arthur and Constantine; a line of heroes who successively, but with different fortunes, opposed the Saxon arms.⁴

THE naval force of the kingdom in the preceding period, during the reigns of Constantius and his son Constantine, had been the object of policy and of regular attention; by which means the coasts had in general been secured from invasion;⁵ but as the Roman interest declined, the

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 90.

² Rowland's Mont. Antq. p. 146, 162. ³ Ibid. 145, 146, 170. ⁴ Ib.

⁵ Flores Hæstoriarum, p. 91. Selden Mare Clausum, lib. II. cap. VI. 7. Campbell Navel. Hist. Brit. vol. I. p. 26.

navy was suffered to decay ; the Britons paying no attention to this great object of national security.

AT this period the Picts acting in conjunction with the Scots, and the Saxons invaded the Roman territories in Britain.

THE distraction and misery occasioned by this invasion were astonishingly great : for not confining their ravages along the sea coast, as had hitherto been their custom, they spread wide their depredations through the interior parts of the country. They were constantly opposed by the Count of the Saxon shores ; but after that officer had done all in his power to withstand their fury, he bravely fell, where he could not conquer. The next person that opposed them was the general of the Roman forces ; who having collected such a power as the urgency of the time would allow, marched against the enemy ; but being drawn into an ambuscade, this general, likewise, experienced the same fate. These circumstances creating alarm, the emperor Valentinian sent Theodosius into Britain ; and this officer, uniting military talents with great policy and address, soon put an end to the war, and reinstated the provinces in their former tranquillity.¹ On the return

¹ Langhori. Ant. Albion, p. 224.

of Theodosius to Rome, he was attended to the sea shore by the acclamations of a grateful people.¹

THIS tranquil state of their affairs was, however, soon interrupted by the ambition of a popular individual. For the Britons, engaging in the cause of Maximus on his usurpation of the empire, rekindled the flames of war, and thus hastened their own ruin. This person had served a long time in Britain with great military reputation;² but the cause which of all others had been the means to rivet him in the affections of the natives, and more closely to unite his interests with their own, was his marriage with Helena,³ the daughter of Eudda duke of Cornwall,⁴ afterwards elected to the sovereign dignity.⁵ In consequence of which, Maximus⁶ drew to his standard the flower of the British youth; who along with the legionary foldiers were transported into Gaul.⁷ His endeavours were at first crowned with success, by an advantage he gained over Gratian one of the Roman emperors,⁸ and by the expulsion of Valentinian the other emperor out of Italy; but his army was afterwards routed by Theodosius,

¹ Appendix Post Bædam, p. 671. Ammianus Marcellin. lib. XXVIII. p. 525.

² Zoz. lib. IV. p. 248.

³ Born at Segonte.

⁴ Cornwall, called Cerniw by the Britons; by the Saxons Cornwall or the Welch of Cornavia. See Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 18.

⁵ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 90. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 166, 169. Flore's Historiarium, p. 105.

⁶ Zofimus, lib. IV. p. 248.

⁷ Flore's Historiarium, p. 106.

⁸ Zofimus, p. 248. Bede's Ecclesiastical History, p. 25.

and he himself, with his son Flavius put to death, after having been, for five years, in possession of the imperial dignity.' These princes fell victims to their ambition; and with them fell likewise the hopes, and splendid views of the Britons. The remains of this unfortunate army, for want of the means, it is probable, of returning into their own country, settled in Armorica.²

Ann. Dom.
339.

A SEASON of weakness and misery ensued; but it was not every part of Britain which had been involved in the general calamity. On the dissolution of the Roman power, the British governments (as was before observed) had reverted to those reguli who were descended from the ancient sovereigns. The most eminent of these princes, at this period, was Eneon Urdd, the son of Cynetha; who resided, like his father, in his northern territories.³ This prince united in his government the kingdom of Strath-Cluyd Britons, the principality of Gwynedh or North Wales, and it is probable likewise those parts of Cheshire and Lancashire lying upon the Irish channel.⁴ The union of these dominions, under a vigorous administration, formed a force sufficiently powerful to repel the invaders, and to keep his own kingdom in general security as long as it remained unbroken by the custom of Gavel-kind. In the course

¹ Zosimus, p. 266, 267.

² Girald. Cambrensis, lib. V. p. 41. The name is derived in the British from Ar-morica, or upon the sea. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 10.

³ Rowland's Mon. Antiq. p. 183.

⁴ Ibid. p. 146.

of this reign, however, the Irish Scots, under the command of Sirigi,¹ landed on Mona; and having defeated the natives, took possession of that island.² On this invasion, Eneon Urdd sent his eldest son *Casswallon-law-bir*³ to the relief of Mona,⁴ who soon executed his orders, by routing the enemy at Holyhead where their fleet was deposited, and slaying Sirigi in a personal encounter.⁵

DURING the reign of Theodosius, his just and vigorous administration preserved in general the public tranquillity. But on the death of that prince, and in the minority of Honorius, a more general and formidable invasion took place. The Picts, the Irish Scots, and the Saxons united their powers, and infested the southern coasts of Britain; they divided into different parties, and spread, with the fury of wild fire, over the interior parts of the kingdom. This invasion, however, was soon checked, and the peace of the island established, under the conduct of Victorinus; this officer having been sent into Britain by Stilico, who in the minority of his master directed the concerns of the Roman empire.⁶ Among other marks of his attentions to the true interest of

Ann. Dom.
393.

Ann. Dom.
395.

¹ Or the *Rover*.

² Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 146.

³ Or the long handed.

⁴ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 183.

⁵ Ibid. p. 146.

⁶ Claudian de laud. Stilicon. cap. XI. Langhorni. Ant. Alb. p. 237.

the island, he repaired the navy, which for some years preserved the coasts from being invaded.¹

A CALM interval of several years having succeeded this stormy season, an event happened the most important and decisive; which gave such a shock to the center of the Roman state, as to convulse the most distant parts of that extensive empire. This was the invasion of Italy by *Alaric the Goth*. To sustain the central parts, the legionary troops in the provinces were recalled, and of course the greatest part of those which had been stationed in Britain were withdrawn into Italy.²

Ann. Dom.
493.

Ann. Dom.
410.

IN despair of receiving assistance from Rome, the Britons themselves elected several sovereigns to take the direction of affairs in such a perilous season.³ The last of these princes named Constantine, was raised to that dignity on account of the popularity of his name; and though of mean rank, being no more than a common soldier, he was a person of spirit and enterprize, and possessed a genius above his condition.⁴

ELATED with his early prosperity, Constantine extended his views to the continent; and in order to support his claim to

¹ Secund. Paneg. de laud. Stilic. p. 516. ² Claudian de bello Getico, p. 593.

³ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 92. Zofimus, p. 371.

⁴ Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 50.

the empire, and to take advantage of the present favourable juncture, he came over into Gaul with an army.¹ Honorius, being obliged to give way to the present emergency, agreed to receive him as his associate in the empire;² but that prince having concluded a peace with the Goths, opposed the pretensions of Constantine, and finally took him prisoner, and put him to death.³ The remainder of the Britons, who followed the fortunes of the usurper, settled in Armorica, which at this time was erected into a kingdom, independent of Rome.⁴

Ann. Dom.
410.

THE Britons, still more exposed than ever to invasions, applied to Honorius for assistance; but that emperor himself, forely pressed by Alaric, left them to the management of their own affairs, and renounced the sovereignty of the island.⁵

Ann. Dom.
410.

A SHORT gleam of prosperity rising upon the Romans in the reign of Valentinian the third, a legion was sent into Britain by Ætius, who commanded in Gaul, with no view of making any permanent settlement, but only in pity to the immediate distresses of that country. When this legion had performed the necessary service, it was recalled into Italy;⁶ but before their departure the Romans fortified the

Ann. Dom.
423.

¹ Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 50. Zosimus, p. 371.

² Zosimus, p. 359. ³ Polidore Virgil, p. 350.

⁴ Zosimus, lib. VI. p. 376. ⁵ Ibid. 376, 381. ⁶ Ibid.

wall of Severus, and erected towers for observation upon the sea coasts; they exhorted the Britons to inure themselves to war, and assured them that on their own virtue and manly exertions their future safety must depend.¹

AT this period, when the Romans bade a final adieu to Britain, the country lay exposed to the inroads of numerous enemies, after its native strength had been exhausted in support of foreign wars, its numbers farther wasted by famine and pestilence,² and its navy, that natural bulwark of its safety, had fallen into decay:³ and, under all these external disadvantages, the people themselves wanted that union so necessary in times of emergency; and their princes, instead of uniting to oppose the common danger by concerted plans of operation, seemed only anxious to secure their separate interests.⁴

¹ Bede's Ecclesiastic. Hist. lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50. Gildas, p. 5. Gales Scriptorum.

² Verstegan, chap. V. p. 115, 116. Bede's, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51, 52. Gildas, p. 7.

³ Berkley's Naval Hist. Britain, p. 43.

⁴ Bede's Ecclesiastic. Hist. lib. I. cap. XII.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING A REVIEW OF THE BRITISH HISTORY FROM THE FINAL RETREAT OF THE ROMANS, TO THAT PERIOD WHEN THE ANCIENT BRITONS WERE DRIVEN INTO WALES, CORNWALL, AND ARMORICA.

IN a state of weakness and confusion it was, that the Britons regained their liberty, after having been dependant on the Roman empire four hundred and eighty years from the first invasion of Julius Cæsar.* But they were no longer that rough, brave, or virtuous people the Romans found them; they might be polished, it is true, by the Roman arts, but these had left them without valour or public spirit, enervated, indolent, and dejected. They in general were elated at the *idea* of being free; but their minds were too much debased, either to form just con-

Ann. Dom.
430.

* Selden Mare Clausum, lib. II. cap. IX. p. 1310.

ceptions

ceptions of freedom, or to enjoy the full benefit of its invaluable fruits.

AMIDST the confusion natural in such a situation, the Britons were struck with a sense of their true interests, and they determined to establish a powerful navy, as the surest means of national security. This salutary measure, though undertaken at first with great alacrity, was never carried into execution: the design, it is probable, might in some measure fail, through the natural levity of a people unacquainted with business, averse to labour, and unaccustomed to great attempts.¹

THE sudden attack made by the Picts on the wall of Severus allowed them little leisure to engage in naval designs; and those Britons, who defended the forts upon the wall, unacquainted with this kind of war, and not possessing the cool intrepidity necessary in such a situation, abandoned their stations; and, forsaking that part of the country, retreated to the south. Instead of the spoil, which had hitherto been the object of their inroads, the Picts determined to settle upon the lands which had been lately abandoned:² but this dangerous design was for the present suspended by a peace concluded with the Britons; this wretched people having purchased a temporary quiet for a

¹ Berkeley's *Naval Hist. Britain*, p. 43, 44.

² Bede's *Ecclesiastic. Hist.* lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50.

considerable

considerable sum of money. By this treaty the wall of Severus was to be the boundary between the two nations. The peace was however of no long duration, for the means that were employed to procure it were naturally the cause of its infraction;¹ and a war ensued more destructive in its consequence, than any in which the Britons had been engaged. In one battle alone they sustained the loss of fourteen thousand men; an irreparable injury in their weak situation. Reduced to extremity, they solicited peace of their conquerors,² and obtained one indeed, but upon very mortifying terms; for by the new treaty they were obliged to give up the country which lies to the north of the Humber, and on which lands the Picts immediately made settlements.³

Ann. Dom.
433.

THE Britons being thus despoiled of a great part of their territories, and sensible that every resistance of their own was vain, applied to the king of Armorica for assistance, who sent his brother Constantine, with a body of troops, into the island.⁴ That prince having defeated the enemy, was promoted, in a public council, to the British throne.⁵ But this supply only afforded the Britons an occasional

Ann. Dom.
443.

¹ Rapin, vol. I. p. 24, 25. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Girald. Cambrensis, lib. VI. p. 43.

⁵ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 171. English translation. Ranulph Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gale's Script. Math. West. Flores Hist. p. 212.

F relief;

relief; and still pressed by the increasing power of their enemies, they had recourse for the last time to the Romans, and supplicated aid from Ætius the *Præfekt* of Gaul; who with great valour, and a transient success, had suspended for some time the destiny of Rome. The British deputies carried to him the following letter of their countrymen, written in a strain of dishonourable lamentation :

“ To Ætius, thrice consul, the groans of the Britons.
 “ We know not which way to turn us. The *Barbarians*
 “ drive us to the sea, and the sea forces us back to the
 “ *Barbarians*; between which we have only the choice of
 “ two deaths, either to be swallowed up by the waves, or
 “ butchered by the sword”¹

BUT Ætius, at this time engaged in opposing Attila, was not in a situation to afford them relief.²

DEJECTED with this repulse, and still harrassed by the inroads of the Picts and Irish Scots, the Britons were reduced to despair, deserted their habitations, abandoned tillage, and relinquishing the habits of social life, retreated to the woods and mountains; in which solitary wilds they gained a precarious subsistence by hunting.³ To add another evil

¹ Bede, lib. I. cap. XIII. p. 51. Gildas, cap. XVII. Girald. Cambrensis, lib. VI. p. 42.

² Bede, *ibid.*

³ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 116.

to their sufferings, a famine ensued, owing to incessant devastation and the neglect of cultivating their lands.' To avoid this complicated misery, numbers of the Britons threw themselves on the mercy of their enemies: others more brave, still continued to oppose them from the places of their retreat; while the miserable remainder, indulging the last effort of despair and wretchedness, fell to injure and despoil one another.²

THE invaders themselves, unacquainted with the arts of agriculture, and perpetually harrassed with much slaughter by the sudden incursions of the Britons, began to feel the pressure of that famine which they had occasioned; and were obliged to relinquish their possessions and retire into their own country.³ During this interval of peace, the Britons returned to their habitations, and to their usual employments in husbandry, Favourable seasons having seconded their labours, an astonishing plenty ensued; when, forgetful of their past misfortunes and improvident for the future, they are said to have fallen into luxury, and into vices of every kind, the most atrocious; a circumstance which not only marks the manners of the age, but

¹ Gildas, p. 6.

² Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51.

³ Gildas, cap. XVII.

also proves them unworthy of that freedom they had lately recovered.¹

THERE is a point of depression as well as of exaltation, (as has been observed by an acute philosophic spirit) which in general limits the progress of human affairs, and from which they generally return, either by a slow or a rapid movement, towards the opposite extreme. Though reduced to the lowest state of weakness and misery, the Britons, roused by the virtue of succeeding princes, recovered their native spirit; and, asserting for several ages, the rights of injured humanity, arose once more into importance and freedom.

Ann. Dom.
443.

ABOUT this period, Casswallon, the prince of Cumbria, made choice of Mona² for his residence; and being the eldest branch of the *Cynetbean family* he had of course a pre-eminence in dignity; the other Cambrian princes paying him homage and obedience as their superior lord.³ From this *Æra* we may fix the date of a distinct sovereignty in North Wales.

AMONG the various evils accumulated upon the Britons, we may reckon the miseries of religious dissention. It is equally deplorable as it is strange, that a religion, so

¹ Bede, cap. XVII.

² The ruins of his palace were to be seen near Llan Elian in the Rev. Mr. Rowland's time.

³ Rowland, p. 146, 147, 148.

well adapted to soften and to meliorate the human character, should by a fatal perversion, be made the means of destroying the mildness of its spirit, and of injuring its purity, by calling into action the malignant and angry passions, and by confining the native freedom of the mind within the narrow limits prescribed to it by prejudice and the pride of opinion. The heresy of the Pelagians had, at this time spread in the Christian Church, and the disputes which it occasioned were carried on with much animosity and rancour; evils, which have always arisen from the passions whenever they mingle in theological controversy.¹

To remedy these evils, and to reduce religious opinions to one standard, the British clergy applied for assistance to a Gallican council, which deputed St. Germain attended by another bishop of the name of Lupus, upon that mission.² The former prelate, who was a man of learning and piety, and seems to have possessed a solid and extensive genius, having for the present given a check to the Pelagian innovations, fixed his residence in Cambria; where, it is probable, that at this early period, many of its inhabitants still remained in ignorance, and had scarcely any knowledge of christianity.³

Ann. Dom.

447.

¹ Matt. Westm. p. 114.

² Ibid. Bede's Ecclest. Hist. lib. I. cap. XVII. p. 54. Rand. Higden's Polychron. lib. V. p. 223.

³ Constantius life of St. Germain.

DURING the conversion of the Britons in Cambria, and while St. Germain was introducing learning with some degree of order into the church, the Saxons joined in confederacy with the Piets, and invaded that part of the country. At this juncture, many Britons were assembled to be instructed by St. Germain in the principles of christianity, and to receive baptism at his hands on the festival of Easter. Supported by this multitude, who were fired with religious enthusiasm, St. Germain calmly waited the approach of the enemy, at a place called *Maes-Garmon* near Mold in Flintshire; and at the moment when the Saxons were rushing to the attack, he ordered the Britons to call aloud, three times, *Allelujab*. The sound having increased by the reverberation of the adjacent mountains, threw the Saxons into so great a panic that they were easily routed.* We easily conceive that a superstitious people would impute this singular victory to the extraordinary interposition of the Almighty, and that they esteemed their leader, like Gideon, to be armed with celestial power. But the mind, at the present period, not seeing objects through the medium of enthusiasm, will conclude this event to have arisen out of natural causes, always under the direction of Divine Providence. The Saxons, it is possible, from the nature of the outcry, might suspect an ambush, or that the number of the Britons

* Bede's Eccles. Hist. lib. I. cap. XX. p. 57. Langhorni. Ant. Albionenses, p. 259.

was increased: besides, the mind of man, in an uncultivated state, is liable to fears the most sudden, absurd, and contagious. Having thus preserved the public tranquillity from foreign enemies, and by civil and religious regulations secured in some measure the peace of the country, St. Germain attempted before his departure to establish a naval force, assuring the Britons that it must be upon their fleets alone they could rationally depend for their future security.¹

CONSTANTINE, the king of Britain, having been murdered when he was hunting by the treachery of a Pict, his son Constans, though a monk, was raised to the throne, through the machinations of Vortigern his cousin, in hopes of directing the government of a prince, who, having been bred in the recesses of a cloister, was of course uninstructed in the management of public affairs, and in the laws of his kingdom.² There was something bold in the genius of Vortigern. He possessed qualities which usually decide in the great and turbulent scenes of life, but he was led by them into a series of crimes, which have marked his life with misfortune, and his character with infamy.

Ann. Dom.
448.

As soon as Vortigern had taken the reins of government into his hands, he chose no longer to act a secondary part

¹ Berkeley's Naval Hist. Britain, p. 44.

² Geoff. Monmouth, p. 173. Rowland, p. 169, 184. Ranulph Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gale Script. Math. Westm. Flores Hist. p. 113.

in its affairs; but, allured by the prospect of the crown, he determined to reach that point of his ambition by the murder of his sovereign.¹ In pursuance of this design, the king's guards, who had been recommended by Vortigern himself, and were instigated by rewards and his artful suggestions, entered the prince's bed chamber; and having cut off his head, carried it bleeding to the regent; who, however delighted with the spectacle, feigned the utmost astonishment and horror, wept over the ghastly visage, and by a master-stroke of policy, as if affected with honest indignation, ordered the heads of the assassins to be struck off.² The singular address of Vortigern in the conduct of this affair might cause the death of Constantius, in some degree, to remain enveloped in darkness. It removed however the obstacle to his ambition, and he immediately ascended the throne;³ but whether by his own usurpation, or that he was called to the vacant dignity by the voice of the states, is a point which remains undecided.

Ann. Dom.
448.

HERE let us pause a moment over an *Epoch* distinguished in the British annals, when the Saxons were invited into Britain to be the guardians of its safety, and point out the probable causes of a measure so delusive, and fatal. The rapid changes of several princes from the scepter to the

¹ Jo. Rofs. Ant. Warw. p. 55. Math. Westm. Flores Hist. p. 113.

² Polychronicon, lib. IV. p. 221. in Gale's Scriptorum. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 178. Evan's Mirrour of past Ages in Welth, p. 95.

³ Rowland's Mon. Antiq. p. 184.

grave had shewn the precarious tenure under which the British sovereigns had held their power. The fear, likewise, of falling a sacrifice to the justice of his country, might be a powerful motive with Vortigern to unite his cause with the ambitious views of the Saxons, whose number and valour might protect him from danger, and support their mutual interests. Superadded to these motives of a personal nature, the public safety, at this time threatened with an invasion of the Picts and Scots, served Vortigern as a plausible pretext to convene the states of the kingdom, and to propose in that assembly the necessity of such an alliance.* Nothing could so strongly mark the fear and distraction which at this time influenced the general council, as adopting so hastily a measure repugnant to every principle of sound policy. The succeeding history of the Saxon wars, replete with human misery, and the ruin of the British empire, the effect of this day's counsels, are melancholy lessons to mankind; that a people who have not themselves the virtue to defend their country, are not likely by adventitious aid to preserve its freedom.

A WEAK credulity, and a temper hasty and impetuous, were the leading qualities of the Britons, which frequently excited them to resolutions the most precipitate and ill

* Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51, 52. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55. Math. Westm. Flores Historiarum, p. 115. Gildas, cap. XXIII. p. 7. Gale's edit.

founded. These defects, which had been ruinous to their liberties in every period of their annals, laid them open to the machinations and interested views of this crafty usurper; and it was an easy matter for Vortigern, by founding the alarm of danger, to obtain the consent of the states, that deputies should be immediately dispatched to solicit aid of the Saxons.¹ Some nobler spirits, endued with greater strength of discernment, saw the fatal tendency of the measure, and exerted their utmost efforts to oppose the general opinion. But the evil genius of Britain prevailed, and deputies were sent to the Saxons to solicit their assistance against the common enemy, the Picts and the Scots.²

THE various tribes of the Saxons,³ at this period, were governed in the same manner as the Celtic nations. An assembly, composed of twelve of the most eminent chieftains formed the great council⁴ of the nation, and during peace directed the public administration; but in times of war, some one person of this body, pre-eminent in valour and other talents for command, was chosen by the common suffrages to take upon him the conduct of the state.⁴ At

¹ Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 52. Poldore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55.

² Evans Mirrour of past ages, written in Welsh.

³ So called from using military weapons that were in the shape of a *scythe*, and called in their language *seaxes*. Verstegan, chap. I. p. 21, 22.

⁴ Verstegan, chap. III. p. 62.

this period, Hengist and Horfa were princes of great distinction. They were the descendants of Woden,¹ the founder of the nation, and regarded by the Saxons as the deity who presided in war,² agreeably to the custom of the first ages, of paying divine honours to any individual, who had been the instrument of glory or prosperity to his country.

WHEN the British deputies appeared before the assembly of the Saxon states, they opened the nature of their commission, and solicited assistance.³ Struck with this favourable opportunity of displaying their valour, and gratifying their avidity, and probably discerning the consequent advantages, the Saxons agreed to send the Britons immediate aid; and a large body of troops was embarked under the command of Hengist and Horfa.⁴ The former of these warriors, by his valour and abilities, was every way qualified to support the expectations of his country. On the character of Horfa, history is silent; except that, along

¹ From Woden is derived Wednesday, being the day dedicated to the honour of that Saxon Deity. Friday likewise is derived from the Saxon goddesses Fria, being the day dedicated to her worship; and in the same manner, every other day in the week has taken its derivation from the Saxon Deities. See Veritegan, cap. III. p. 69—77. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Sammes British Ant. 352.

² Ranulph Higden Polychron. Gale's Scriptores, lib. V. p. 222.

³ Gildas, p. 7.

⁴ Gildas, cap. XXIII. p. 7. Gale's edit. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.

with his brother, he had served under Valentinian the third in the Roman armies.¹

Ann. Dom.
450.

WHEN the deputies returned into Britain, and reported the success of their embassy, there was great rejoicing in the court of Vortigern;² and soon after, the Saxon auxiliaries landed at Ebsfleete in the island of Thanet, the place, which by previous agreement was allotted for their residence.³ Under the influence of those fears which ever agitate guilty minds, it is natural to suppose the arrival of his new allies would be a matter of comfort and pleasure to the British king.⁴ To shew them greater honour, he went in person to meet the Saxons, and waited their landing on the sea shore; he there received them with extraordinary caresses, entertained them with feasts several days, and after he had settled their stipulated pay to avoid the causes of future discontents, led them against the Picts and Scots,⁵ who at this time had penetrated as far as Stamford.⁶ That they might give an early impression of their valour, Hengist placed the Saxons in the front, as the station of danger; and the Britons formed the rear of the army. In this

¹ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 118.

² Evans Mirrour in Welsh, p. 98.

³ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 117. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. Saxon Chron. by Gibson, p. 12.

⁴ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 122.

⁵ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 122.

⁶ Gale's Script. Ranulph Higden Polychron, lib. V. p. 222.

situation,

situation, they waited the attack of the enemy, who began the assault, as was their custom, by a discharge of lances and darts, which made no impression upon the Saxons, who were accustomed to fight in a closer order with long swords and battle axes. At length, after an engagement obstinately disputed and bloody, the Picts and Scots were entirely defeated.¹ By this victory the Saxon princes gained a high reputation for valour and military conduct.² A few subsequent efforts, which were always unprosperous, obliged the Picts and Scots to relinquish their conquests, and to retreat into their own country. If, upon this fortunate turn in their affairs, the Britons had united under a sovereign of virtue and ability, had enforced the immediate departure of the Saxons at a time they were few in number, and had established a naval force, they might, in a great measure, have preserved the public tranquillity, and secured, for a time at least, the national independence.

INSTEAD of these decisive and politic measures, a ruinous and irreparable one ensued. For Hengist, whose penetrating mind had seen into the designs, and critical situation of Vortigern; who had observed the luxury, negligence, and effeminacy of the Britons, and had noticed the richness of their country compared with his own, began at this time to extend his views towards a permanent settlement in it;

¹ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 122. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. Gale's Scribes, *ibid.*

² Verstegan, cap. V. p. 122.

and

and accordingly he invited a fresh body of his countrymen to assist, and partake in the fruits of the design.¹ He likewise represented to the king the necessity of being possessed of some fortified place, as a security for his troops, and a repository of their spoils; and accordingly desired that he might erect such a fortress. The request of Hengist was at first refused by Vortigern, through fear that it might excite a jealousy among the Britons; however, at length he accomplished his design, by means of an artifice, which if it be true, marked the exceeding simplicity of the times.²

Latter End
of A. D.
450.

INDUCED by the flattering description which Hengist had given of Britain, a large body of Saxons came over;³ and among these was the daughter of that prince, the beautiful Rowenna.⁴ The arrival of these troops was seen with a jealous eye by many of the Britons, who were justly alarmed at the consequences of introducing into the country so great a number of foreigners.⁵ But, Vortigern, the presiding demon in the fate of Britain, whose secret machinations it is probable introduced this reinforcement, either despised the remonstrance of his subjects,⁶ or had the address

¹ Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. Saxon Chron. p. 12. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 122.

² Fabian, p. 71. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 185. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 122.

³ Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52.

⁴ Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55. Wm. Malmesbury, lib. I. p. 9.

⁵ Math. Westm. p. 118. ⁶ Ibid.

to silence their fears; and to persuade them of the necessity of such a measure, on the plausible pretext that the first body of Saxons, from their late losses, would be insufficient to protect them from their enemies.¹

THE intercourse subsisting between Hengist and the British king had given him the opportunity of observing the constitutional character of that monarch; and on this basis he hoped to form an alliance that should serve as a cement to their common interests, and give solidity to his own future designs. Having frequently acknowledged his obligations to Vortigern, he requested the honour of his company to a feast, at the castle he had lately erected, that by every entertainment in his power he might express his respect and gratitude.² Vortigern accepted the invitation to a *supper*, and the carousal was highly magnificent. In the height of their festivity, when the wine had circulated, and the mind was open to no other impression than pleasure, the fair Rowenna appeared in the hall, magnificently dressed, holding a gold cup in her hand which was full of wine; and having gracefully presented herself upon one knee before the king, thus addressed him in her own language, "*Waes heal blaforð Cyning, or, Be of health lord king.*" Agreeably surprised with the sudden appearance of a beau-

¹ Evans Mirrour. p. 99.

² Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 56. Wm. Malmſbury, p. 9. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 126.

tiful lady kneeling before him, the king demanded of his chamberlain, who was the interpreter, the nature of her suit.' He was informed, that the princess Rowenna accosted him after the manner of her country, where it was usual at caroufals, for any one who shall drink to another to cry *washeil*; the person to whom he thus speaks shall answer, *Drynk-beil*; then he who first cried *washeil*, drinks, and presents him with the cup. While the interpreter was explaining to Vortigern the nature of this gothic festivity, that prince smiled upon Rowenna, and said to her in the Saxon language "*Drynk beil, or drink the health;*"² upon this the princess drank a little out of the cup, and presented it gracefully to the king, who then, agreeably to the custom, gave her a salute. She immediately retired, with the profoundest respect, out of the king's presence.³ The uncommon beauty of the princess, the gratefulness of her manners, and the touching singularity of the action, impressed on him when he was heated with wine, entirely fascinated the soul of Vortigern, and left no traces of any other sentiments in his mind, than those of love and desire. To increase still more this amorous frenzy, many impediments were artfully thrown by Hengist in the way of his passion.⁴ But the infatuated monarch, inflamed with desire, disregarded every

¹ Jo. Rofs. Ant. Warw. Hist. Reg. Angl. p. 56. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 127.

² Verstegan, chap. V. p. 127.

³ Fabian, p. 72. Geoffry Monmouth, p. 187.

⁴ William Malmfbury, p. 9.

obstacle which the dictates of prudence, religion, and honour had opposed to his wishes. He immediately removed the chief impediment by divorcing his wife who had borne him three sons ;¹ and having married the Saxon princess, he invested Hengist with the sovereignty of Kent, violently wresting that territory from its original proprietor ; he likewise put him in possession of the three counties of Essex, Suffolk and Middlesex.²

THE marriage of Vortigern so opposite to the ideas of a superstitious age, his late munificence to Hengist so contrary to justice, with his open partiality for the Saxons, spread in every place indignation and alarm.³ But while the Britons employed themselves only in complaints and unavailing discontent, the politic Hengist, sensible that guilt had made the king subservient, and of consequence a dupe, to his designs, induced him to give his consent for a further reinforcement of Saxons ;⁴ by infusing into his mind the danger of his situation, from the revolt of his subjects universally disaffected, and the probable design of Ambrosius,⁵ to assert his right to the crown and revenge

¹ Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 222. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 56. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 127. Warton's English Poetry from Geoff. Monmouth.

² Verstegan, cap. V. p. 128. W. Malmesbury, lib. I. p. 9.

³ Matth. West. p. 117. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 59. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 128.

⁴ Fabian, p. 72.

⁵ The son of the British king Constantine, who, after his brother's death, retired into Armorica for protection.

Ann. Dom. 452. the murder of his brother Constans.¹ In consequence of this a large body of Saxons arrived under the command of Abisa, the brother of Hengist, and of his son Oëta.² These leaders landed in the islands of the Orcades, and having subdued these, and obliged the Picts to evacuate the Northumbrian territory, settled in the country which they had abandoned.³ The Saxons, at first, only occupied the lands upon the eastern shore, which lie to the north of the Tyne; they afterwards advanced by slow degrees to the south, and dispossessed the Britons of the country as far as the Humber.⁴

A FRIENDSHIP cemented by principles so interested and base, as those which subsisted in the minds of Hengist and Vortigern, must be of necessity precarious, and was not likely to be of longer duration than the motives which formed the alliance. On the accession of strength which he received by the arrival of so considerable a force, Hengist immediately threw off the mask. He no longer paid any respect to the person of Vortigern, and under the pretence of keeping up the number of his forces, he continually increased them by fresh⁵ supplies which were sent him from

¹ Math. West. p. 117.

² W. Malmesbury, lib. I. p. 9. Verstegan, cap. V. p. 128. Saxon Chron. p. 12. Nennius, cap. XXXVII. Bertram's edition.

³ W. Malmesbury, lib. I. p. 9. Nennius, cap. XXXVII.

⁴ Rapin, Vol. I. p. 32.

⁵ Bede, lib. I. cap. XV.

the continent, without the knowledge, and even without deigning to ask the permission, of the king. When the first body of Saxons came into Britain, they had a stipulated pay allowed them,¹ which, it is probable, consisted both of money and provisions, beside the island of Thanet, which was allotted for their residence.² The first condition not having been duly performed,³ or perhaps under that pretext, Hengist at this time demanded the pay or provisions for the whole number of Saxons in his army; and insolently threatened in case of refusal, that they would do themselves justice by the force of arms. This demand, however oppressive, was instantly complied with, to take from the Saxons every plausible ground of contention. Still rising in their demands from the late concession, their hostile designs appeared without disguise, and were discovered to be of the most dangerous tendency.⁴ In this moment of danger, when the Britons seemed destitute of every manly and virtuous exertion, they suddenly rose into a degree of wisdom and spirit which, for a time, gave a fortunate turn to their affairs.

THE folly and the crimes of Vortigern had rendered him the object of universal detestation; in consequence of which

¹ Math. Westm. p. 116.

² W. Malmshury, lib. I. p. 9.

³ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 128.

⁴ Gildas, p. 8. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Verstegan, cap. V. p. 128.

Ann. Dom.
464. he was deposed from the throne by a general assembly of the states, and the crown was given to his eldest son Vortimer.¹

THE talents of this prince exercised in a vigorous opposition to the Saxons, fully justified the choice of his country. The first measures of his reign were prudent and decisive. He proposed to the Saxons, that they might retire unmolested out of Britain; he separated his own ships from theirs, and having protected his fleet with a large body of his troops, he posted the remainder of his army in a strong situation.² Alarmed at this formidable appearance and spirited activity of Vortimer, the Saxons applied to the Picts and Scots to join in alliance against the common enemy.³ These people readily agreed to the invitation; and with the Saxons already stationed in those parts, formed a considerable force in the north. In the mean time, that a junction might not be formed of the two armies, Vortimer suddenly attacked the Saxons on their own ground in Kent, under the command of Hengist and Horfa. This battle was fought at Ailsford, and disputed with great obstinacy, but at length was decided in

¹ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184. Veritegan, cap. V. p. 128. Fabian's Chron. p. 73. Matth. Westm. p. 118.

² Berkeley's Naval Hist. p. 49.

³ Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 57. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 222.

favour of the Britons.¹ Amidst the slaughter of the day, Horfa, and Cartigern the younger brother of Vortimer, fell by each other's hands.² The Britons little accustomed to the smiles of fortune, were animated by this victory to pursue their success; and in several battles which followed, they seem in general to have had the advantage.³ The last action is said to have been so decisive that the Saxons were forced to retreat into the island of Thanet.⁴ The same good fortune, likewise, favoured their arms in the north, against the combined forces of the Picts, and the Saxons under Osta.⁵ Dispirited by so many defeats upon land, Hengist, changing his plan of operation, determined the dispute should be decided at sea; and as soon as his ships were manned with the choicest of his soldiers, he sailed to the British fleet; but Vortimer, equal to every emergency, whose activity and valour infused a spirit into his soldiers, was prepared to receive him, though inferior to the Saxons in the number and size of his vessels. In this action, contending for the fate of Britain on its proper element, Vortimer gained the advantage, took several of the enemies ships, and entirely dispersed their fleet.⁶ Pur-

¹ Math. Westm. p. 119. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 129.

² Fabian, p. 75.

³ Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Scriptores.

⁴ Fabian, p. 76. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 129.

⁵ Berkeley's Navel Hist. Eng. p. 49. ⁶ Ibid.

suing

fuing his good fortune, he renewed his attacks upon land, drove the Saxons into the island of Thanet; and at length obliged Hengift with his troops, who on this occasion deserted their women and children, to retire into Germany in order to procure farther supplies.¹ After this event, he collected his fleet which had been dispersed in the late action, and his army was soon reinforced by numbers who crowded to his standard on account of his brilliant success.²

THE prosperity, which had just begun to dawn upon Britain, was soon clouded by the resentment and ambition of a woman. Since the disgrace of Vortigern, that monarch had been imprisoned in the city of Caer Leon, or Chester; and during his confinement had behaved with general propriety, having given his son wife and faithful counsels, and paid him a respectful obedience. This decent or politic conduct, and the recollection of the great qualities which he really possessed, or perhaps the natural fickleness of the people, formed a party in his favour, and drew him out of that general odium in which he had been for some time immersed.³

IN this state of affairs, Rowenna, incited by revenge, and anxious to regain the dignity she had lost, meditated the

¹ Grafton's Chr. p. 89. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 129. Matt. Westm. Flores Historiar. p. 119.

² Berkeley's Naval Hist. p. 49.

³ Fabian, p. 76.

murder

murder of Vortimer. For this purpose she engaged in her service by the promises of a great reward, a young man, who, disguised in the habit of a gardener, it is said, appeared before the king one morning, while taking the air in his garden, and presented him with a nosegay of flowers, which was sprinkled with poison.¹ As soon as the king was sensible of its effects, and that his death was inevitable, he called into his presence the nobility; exhorted them to a manly defence of their country; and required, that after his death they should erect a sepulchre on the sea shore, and fix it in the port where the Saxons usually landed;² imagining the image and relics of a dead warrior, would infuse the same terror, which he himself had inspired when alive. The British nobles, however, not adopting the idle delusion of their master, or, what is more probable, negligent of his commands, interred him at *Caer Ludd*³ or London. Ann. Dom.
468.

THE levity, which we have frequently noticed as a natural defect in the British character, appears at this juncture to have influenced the national council. For in that assembly, by an unaccountable caprice, Vortigern was re-

¹ Evans *Mirrou*, p. 106, from an old Manuscript. *Vertegan*, chap. V. p. 129. *Fabian*, p. 76. *Mat. Westm.* p. 120. *Flores Historiarum*. These writers all agree that he was poisoned.

² *Geoff. Monmouth*, p. 192.

³ *Matt. Westm.* p. 120. *Geoff. Monmouth*, p. 192.

elected

elected to the sovereign dignity ;¹ the same man who a few years before had been solemnly deposed from the throne, as a traitor to his country.

THUS far the machinations of Rowenna had succeeded to her wishes : she had at length attained to her former grandeur by wading through the blood of her son-in-law ; and what is but too probable, with the connivance of her infatuated husband. For this prince, at the instigation of his wife, sent intelligence of the late events into Germany, and desired that Hengist would come into Britain, privately, and with a small train ; lest, if he came over with a larger force, he should be opposed by the united power of the Britons.² When Hengist acquainted his followers with the news, and proposed the conquest of Britain, they expressed great reluctance to the enterprize, on account of its uncertainty and danger ; as they had found by experience that the Britons were brave when properly roused into action. Hengist had the address to remove these impressions, and to raise the hopes of his countrymen ; telling them, that though the Britons were brave, they were nevertheless inferior to themselves in policy, and in the stratagems of war.³

¹ Fabian, p. 76. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 193. Gale's Script. Polichron. R. Higden. p. 222. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 229.

² Matt. Westm. p. 120.

³ Evans Mirrour, p. 107.

THUS

THUS allured by the flattering assurances of Hengist, four thousand Saxons embarked under his command.¹ When the Saxons approached the British coast, they found that the inhabitants, under the command of Vortigern, seemed fully determined to oppose their landing.² Intelligence of this being privately sent by Rowenna to her father, the Saxon chief had recourse to an expedient suggested by his wily and fertile imagination, as well as from a knowledge of the people, with whom he had to act. In this artifice the weakness or the treachery of Vortigern was employed. Hengist sent to assure that monarch, that his purpose in coming into Britain was not to offer any violence to the kingdom; but only to make a vigorous opposition against his son Vortimer, whom, he artfully pretended, he thought had been alive.³ It was likewise proposed by Hengist, that an interview should take place between them, and that each of the chiefs should meet at the place appointed, attended by the most eminent of his train;⁴ and in order to banish every idea of hostile intention, it was artfully suggested by the Saxon, that both parties should appear without their arms. The proposal was agreed to by the king; the time of meeting was fixed for the May

¹ Matth. Westm. p. 120. Verstegan, cap. V. p. 129.

² Matth. Westm. p. 120. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 130.

³ Matth. Westm. p. 120. ⁴ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 130.

following; and the place appointed for the interview was probably at Stone-henge upon Salisbury plains.¹

IN the mean time, Hengist, having assembled his chieftains, laid open to them his design,² that under the colour of meeting the Britons for the purposes of peace, and to establish a lasting alliance, he intended to murder the chiefs who should attend Vortigern to the interview;³ that by striking so decisive a blow, he might cut the sinews of future resistance. At the same time he gave orders, that his train who attended the meeting should carry knives concealed in their sleeves, that when the signal was given, each of them should instantly stab the person who sat next to him,⁴ and he closed this infernal order by requiring them to “behave like men, and to shew no mercy⁵ to any person but to the king.”

NOTWITHSTANDING the many proofs the Saxons had given of their perfidy, the Britons, with a degree of credulity peculiar to themselves, fell into the snare, and came unwarned to the place appointed for the interview;⁶ where, by the contrivance of Hengist, they were placed with his

¹ Matt. Westm. p. 130. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 130.

² Evans Mirrour, p. 109.

³ Fabian, p. 77.

⁴ Matt. Westm. p. 120.

⁵ Fabian, p. 77.

⁶ Math. Westm. p. 120.

train alternately at the tables, under the pretence of confidence, and of a friendly intercourse with each other.¹ When the festivity was at the height, and probably in the unguarded moments of intoxication, Hengist gave the signal agreed on *Hem cower feaxes* or take your *feaxes*. At that instant every Saxon drew out his knife, and plunged it into the bosom of the person who sat next to him. Above three hundred of the British nobility, the most eminent for their talents in the council or in the field, perished in this bloody carousal.² Vortigern was spared in the general carnage, though detained a prisoner by Hengist;³ probably with no other design than as a cover to a subsequent act of the British prince, which carries with it a strong appearance of baseness; for in order to obtain his liberty, he made an assignment to the Saxon chief of the counties of Norfolk and Suffex, and also confirmed him in the possession of his former territories.⁴

Ann. Dom.
472.

THE news of this massacre, we may easily suppose, spread among the Britons the utmost astonishment and horror; which

¹ Evans *Mirroure of past ages*, p. 109.

² *Matt. Westm.* p. 120. *W. Malmesbury*, lib. I. p. 9. *Gale's Script. Ran. Higden*, lib. V. p. 222. *Verstegan*, chap. V. p. 130. *Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary*, p. 13. These writers differ respecting the number slain.

³ *Verstegan*, chap. V. p. 131. *W. Malmesbury*, lib. I. p. 10. *R. Higden*, lib. V. p. 223. *Fabian*, p. 77.

⁴ *Nennius*, cap. XLVII. according to this writer, *Essex*, *Suffex*, and *Middlesex*.

was probably heightened by a deep suspicion of their sovereign having acted a secondary part in a scene so cruel and perfidious. The evident partiality which Vortigern had shewn to the Saxons,¹ and his general flagitious conduct,² had by this time rendered him almost universally detested.³ Covered with confusion and reproach, he withdrew into the wilds of Caernarvonshire;⁴ but though that solitary desert might conceal him from his injured country, it could not protect him from the consciousness of guilt, or of folly in the most pernicious extreme.

THE Britons, having been deceived by the late appearance of friendship, and neglecting also to provide against future contingencies, had dismissed those forces, which under Vortimer, their late prince, had gained so many victories, and nearly established their freedom. At this juncture, it is said, they had only seven thousand men, who were fit for service in arms;⁵ a force which was by no means equal to the great power of the Saxons, rendered now more ferocious from a sense of their late barbarity. That event was only the prelude to a scene of a more extensive misery; for the Saxons, at this time, ravaged the whole country from the western to the eastern sea.⁶ In the course of their ravages,

¹ Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 37.

² Math. Westm. p. 128.

³ Ibid. p. 121.

⁴ Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 310, in Script. post. Bedam.

⁵ Evans Mirrour, p. 110.

⁶ Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.

private dwellings and public edifices, with the sacred altars, were levelled with the ground: the common people were put to death without mercy: even venerable prelates shared the same fate; and the priests themselves were slain, at the altar performing the duties of their office.¹ The bitter animosity, which usually attends difference in religion, increased the natural fierceness of a barbarous people. From this scene of misery some of the Britons having fled for shelter into the mountains or woods, were pursued by the enemy and there slain; others retired into foreign countries, probably to Armorica their usual asylum in distress; and many of them, driven to the last extreme of wretchedness, gave themselves up to slavery.²

VORTIGERN having deserted, or what is more probable, having been deposed from, the throne, the Britons turned their eyes to Ambrosius,³ of the house of Cornwall, and the brother of Constans, their late sovereign, who had been murdered by Vortigern. This prince, and his brother Uthur Pendragon, had retired from the tyranny of that usurper, to their uncle the king of Armorica.⁴ By the assistance of that prince, Aurelius Ambrosius, with his brother, landed in Britain at the head of a large body of forces, and was

Ann. Dom.

481.

¹ Gildas, p. 8.² Ibid. Bede. lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.³ Gildas, p. 9. Bede, lib. I. cap. XVI. p. 53.⁴ Math. Westm. p. 113.

instantly

instantly raised to the throne.¹ Influenced by motives both of a public and private nature, detesting Vortigern as a traitor to his country, and the murderer of his brother, and afraid of the cabals² of a powerful party in his favour, Ambrosius determined in his first enterprize, to free himself from a dangerous rival. By a rapid movement, he came so suddenly upon Vortigern, that the British prince had scarcely time to fly to his retreat in Caernarvonshire. To this place he was pursued by Ambrosius, and his castle invested; which was burnt to the ground, either by accident, or by the means employed in the siege.³ This prince, in his old age, and after a turbulent reign of thirty-three years, perished in the flames,⁴ together with all his women, one of which it is said was his own daughter,⁵ who lived with him in a state of incest.⁶ The odium which pursued the memory of Vortigern, mingling with the superstition of the age, hath assigned his death to the immediate interposition of heaven.

Ann. Dom.
481.

IN the mean time, many of those Britons who inhabited the country possessed by Hengist, in abhorrence of the cruel

¹ Math. Westm. p. 128. Rowland Mon. Antiq. p. 184. ² Fabian, p. 72.

³ Matt. Westm. p. 329. Geoffry Monmouth, p. 231.

⁴ Nennius, cap. XLVIII. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 132.

⁵ Nennius, cap. XXXVIII.

⁶ Fabian, p. 79. This prince had by his first wife three sons, Vortimer, Catigern, and Pascens; and he had one son named Faustus by his own daughter.

and

and perfidious scene he had lately acted at Stone-henge, fled into other provinces, and by their desertion left his territories in a great measure without people or cultivation.¹ To remedy this evil, and to oppose the popular administration, and spirited conduct of Ambrosius, Hengist invited over a fresh body of Saxons, offering them a part of his dominions for their residence. In consequence of this offer, a chieftain, named Ella, came over with a body of forces, and landed on the coast of Suffex; and after a contest of several years, established them in that country. The name of Suffex was given to this territory, on account of its being the residence of the south Saxons.² This supply having given stability to his new dominions, Hengist planted a colony to the east of his own settlement in Kent, which took the name of Effex from the east Saxons; he likewise placed another in that district which lies between Suffex and Effex, and which was from thence called Middlefex or the middle Saxons.³

THE death of his rival seated Ambrosius more firmly on the throne. So very popular was the name of this prince in Britain, that numbers crowded to fight under his standard.⁴ The Britons of Cambria likewise united

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481.

¹ Rapin Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 35.

² Gale's Scriptores, Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 224. Matt. Westm. p. 130. Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 311. Scriptor. post Bedam. Saxon Chr. p. 14.

³ Rapin, vol. I. p. 35.

⁴ Matt. Westm. p. 128.

in the common cause, and joined his army.¹ With this force he marched against the Saxons in the country beyond the Humber and intirely defeated them. Hengift their leader was taken prisoner. The Saxon prince being brought into the presence of Ambrosius, was instantly beheaded,² as an act of justice which was due to his desolated country, and to the massacre at Stone-henge; the army likewise threw a heap of stones over his grave, as a memorial of his infamy, and a monument of their indignation.³ The British prince then laid siege to the city of York, in which place, Oeta the son of Hengift, and Esca his brother had taken refuge; but these chiefs were soon obliged to surrender, upon condition, that they and the Saxon soldiers should retire into the country near Scotland.⁴

AFTER this event Ambrosius turned his arms against Ella, the king of the South Saxons, over whose forces, it appears, that at first he gained some advantage.⁵ He then with the city of York, recovered London, Winchester, and Salisbury;⁶ all of which cities had been seized by the Saxons after the massacre at Stone-henge.⁷

¹ Evans Mirrour, p. 116.

² Matt. Westm. p. 131, 132. Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Script.

³ Geoffry Monmouth, p. 240. Sammes Ant. Britain, p. 474.

⁴ Matt. Westm. p. 132. ⁵ Matt. Westm. p. 134.

⁶ Geoff. Monmouth, cap. IX. p. 243. ⁷ Matt. Westm. p. 120.

ON the disgrace or the death of Vortigern, his third son named Pascens retired into Germany, with a view to induce the Saxons to support his claim upon the crown, and join the common cause in the conquest of Britain. Having had the address to procure a body of troops, he landed on the coast of Scotland, to join the Saxons who had lately been permitted by Ambrosius to settle in that country.¹ This prince, receiving intelligence of the invasion, instantly marched to oppose the son of Vortigern, whose army he entirely routed. On this defeat, Pascens sailed over into Ireland to procure assistance from a king of that country; by this prince he was cordially received, and supplied with a body of seven thousand men. With this reinforcement he landed at Milford Haven, and from thence ravaged the city of St. Davids² in Pembrokeshire, and all the country around it.

AT this time, Ambrosius lay sick at Caer Went, or Winchester.³ The news of his sickness being brought to Pascens, he determined to derive some advantage from so favourable an incident, and instantly suggested the design of murdering the king. There was at that time in his train a Saxon, named Eppa, who was an artful person, and of great address; he had likewise some knowledge of the British language, and was acquainted with physic. This

¹ Matt. Westm. p. 135. ² Ibid. Fabian, p. 81.

³ Geoffry Monmouth, p. 252.

man was chosen as a proper instrument for his purpose, and, that he might more easily gain access to the king, appeared in the characters of a priest and a physician.¹ Under favour of this disguise, Eppa was introduced into the palace of Ambrosius, and had the address to prescribe a medicine for that prince in quality of physician, in which he had taken care privately to mix poison.² Ambrosius being dead, in consequence of the poisonous medicine he had taken, the traitor instantly made his escape.³ This gallant prince was interred in the convent of Ambrius, supposed to be on Salisbury plains.⁴ About this period, *Ann. Dom.* Cerdic, a Saxon chieftain, with his son Cenric landed in 495. Britain, and at length founded the kingdom of Wessex or the West Saxons.⁵

ON the death of Ambrosius his brother Uthur Pendragon was instantly crowned king.⁶

SOON after the accession of this prince, the Saxons having gathered strength, had again recourse to arms, and destroying

¹ Matt. Westm. p. 135. Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Scriptores. Geoffry Monmouth, p. 253.

² Geoffry Monmouth, p. 253. Fabian, p. 82.

³ Geoffry Monmouth, p. 253. ⁴ Geoffry Monmouth, p. 274.

⁵ Saxon Chron. p. 15. Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 313. Script. post Bædam. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 224.

⁶ Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 58. Matt. Westm. p. 136. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 132. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 185.

all the fortified places from Scotland to the city of York, they at length laid siege to Alclwyd, the capital of the Strath Clwyd kingdom. Uthur Pendragon instantly marched to the relief of that place, where a battle ensued, which after a doubtful conflict, at length ended in favour of the Britons.¹ In this action, the Saxon leaders, Eska and Cofa, the son and cousin of Hengist, were taken prisoners² and were confined in London: but these chiefs did not long remain in captivity; for having corrupted their guards, they escaped out of prison, and went over into Germany, whence they returned into Britain with a fresh supply of soldiers. The Saxon chiefs, once more tried the fortune of war with Uthur, in a bloody and well disputed action at Verulam.³ On that day, which once again might have given a decisive issue to their fortunes, the Britons gained a compleat victory; and the two leaders, Eska and Oeta, were slain amidst the general slaughter of the Saxons. During the action, Uthur being indisposed, was carried in a litter through the ranks to encourage the army by his presence. This event was immediately followed by the siege of Verulam, and after a bloody resistance that city was taken by the king of Britain.⁴ At length, after a reign of seventeen years of service and of glory, Uthur Pendragon ended his days by poison. His death

¹ Matt. Westm. p. 136.² Ibid.³ Ibid. p. 138.⁴ Ibid. p. 139.

happened at Verulam, immediately after the victory he had gained there. For his indisposition having increased, it was his constant custom to drink water every day from a certain fountain at a little distance from that city, into which some of the Saxons, suborned for that purpose, had contrived to infuse poison.¹ The body of this prince was carried to the convent of Ambrius, and was interred there, near the grave of his brother Ambrosius.²

THE recital of the extraordinary manner in which these princes have ended their days, may possibly be attended with the charge of credulity, or of affecting to enliven the subject by exhibiting pictures of whatever is striking or uncommon. In extenuation of this charge it is replied, that the facts have been taken from ancient writers, and are consistent with the manners of that barbarous age; and that such acts of violence were certainly frequent in the more enlightened period of the sixteenth century, at which time, it is well known, the art of poisoning had attained a high degree of refinement.

Ann. Dom. 510. AT this period, Maelgwyn, the eldest son of Caswallon-law-ker, reigned in Gwyneth or North Wales, and like his father had a pre-eminency over the other princes of Cambria.³

¹ Matt. Westm. p. 139. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 273.

² Ibid. p. 274.

³ Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 185.

This prince was nephew to king Arthur¹ by the sister of that monarch, and had received a liberal education under the care of the celebrated Iltutus;² and whatever were the vices which justly stained his character, he was eminent for stature, valour, and other talents for command, which naturally raised men, in times like these, into distinction and power.³ Maelgwyn was a formidable enemy to the Saxons, by his abilities, and by the strenuous opposition he made against them: he likewise conquered the Island of Man, and the Hebrides,⁴ and in consequence of this was stiled Draco Insularis. This prince usually resided at Diganwy in Caernarvonshire.⁵ During this period, the naval power, not only of Britain but also of Cambria, appears to have been an object of attention; and to have been established in some degree on a respectable footing.⁶

ON the death of Uthur Pendragon, his son Arthur was elected to the British throne.⁷ Divested of those illusions, that fancy or affection has raised, and which has ever attended the memory of this prince, there still remain centred in his character those qualities which form a great warrior,

Ann. Dom.

517.

¹ Langhorne's Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 90.

² One of the primitive Fathers of the Cambrian church.

³ Ranulph Higden. Gale's Script. lib. V. p. 225.

⁴ Rowland's Mon. 147, 148. ⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Seldens Mare Clausum, lib. II. cap. IX. p. 1310.

⁷ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 185. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 132.

and

and the milder virtues which constitute whatever is amiable and good.

AFTER the ceremony of Arthur's coronation was performed at *Caer Lleon ar-Wiske*¹ in Monmouthshire, he marched against the Saxons towards the north; and meeting with Colgrin, a Saxon prince, on the banks of the river Douglas, a battle ensued, in which the latter was defeated. After this, Arthur, being apprized of a meditated attack on his camp, in the following night, by Pandulph the brother of Colgrin, sent a body of forces to intercept the enemy, many of whom were slain, and the remainder put to flight. Then, king Arthur laid siege to York, but being informed that a large body of Saxons under the command of Cerdic had landed in Scotland, he raised the siege, and retreated to London.²

IN this situation, by virtue of his authority as sovereign or chief ruler of the kingdom, he demanded the assistance of Caron king of Scotland, of Maelgwyn the sovereign of North Wales, of Meiric prince of South Wales, and of Cattwr the duke of Cornwall.³ He likewise, by advice of his council, desired the immediate support of his nephew,

¹ *Caer Lleon ar Wiske* or the city of Legions upon the river *Uske*. Humfrey Lhuyd's *Breviary*, p. 82.

² Langhorn's *Chron. Angl.* p. 60. *Math. Westm.* p. 139, 140.

³ *Evans Mirrour*, p. 127, 128. from an old Welsh Manuscript.

Hoel,

Hoel, the king of Armorica.¹ The Britons had uniformly experienced from that country the most friendly assistance; and Hoel, it is said, brought fifteen thousand men to the aid of his uncle.²

Ann. Dom.
518.

THUS strongly reinforced, the British prince marched towards Lincoln, where meeting with the enemy, a battle ensued; in which the Saxons were defeated with the loss of six thousand men. The remainder flying into Scotland, took refuge in a wood, but were soon obliged to surrender to Arthur, on the conditions of giving hostages, of yielding up all their effects and spoils, and of retiring into their own country.³

REPENTING of their late submission, those Saxons who had just before been defeated in Scotland, returned with an increased strength into Britain; and having formed a junction with Cerdic, and the different bodies under the command of Pascens and Eppa, invested Bath;⁴ in hopes that the Britons, to preserve a place of such importance, would attempt to raise the siege, and of consequence bring on a battle. In

¹ Geoffrey Monmouth, p. 279.

² Matt. Westm. p. 140.

³ Matt. Westm. p. 140. Langhorn, Ch. Ang. p. 61.

⁴ Called by Ptolomy, *Aquæ Calidæ*, or hot water, by Antoninus, *Aquæ Solis*, or water of the sun, by the Britons, *Caer Badon*, and by the Saxons, *Bathe*; said to be built by king Bladud a British prince. Humfrey Lhuyd's, p. 19. Evans, p. 121. Matt. Westm. p. 141.

this

this expectation they were not deceived, as Arthur determined to run every risk rather than suffer that place to be taken.

THE critical nature of the times not admitting of delay, he immediately sent summonses to the North, to Oxford,¹ London, Cornwall, and into Wales, with orders to the different chiefs to exert themselves in this dangerous situation of their country.² His summons was instantly obeyed by a chieftain of North Wales of the name of Nathan Llwyd, who joined him with a body of five thousand men.³ Having assembled his forces, king Arthur advanced to meet the enemy near Bath. The action on the first day between the two parties was obstinately disputed, great numbers on each side being slain; and though Arthur exerted his usual bravery and military talents, neither the Saxons nor Britons obtained any advantage.⁴ Both armies kept the field, waiting for the return of day to renew the fight. The Saxons during the night had posted themselves upon a rising ground called Bannestown, a situation of great importance, though it had been neglected by both armies the day before. On the return of light, Arthur perceiving his error, and the advantage of such a post, determined to dislodge them,

¹ Called by the Britons Rhyd-Ychen or the ford of Oxen, by the Saxons Oxenford. See Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 24.

² Evans Mirrour, p. 120.

³ Ibid. p. 121.

⁴ Matt. Westm. p. 141. Langhorni Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 61.

which

which he accomplished after a very long and bloody resistance. Animated by the daring spirit of their prince, who rushed sword in hand amidst the ranks of the enemy, exhibiting astonishing proofs of valour and prowess, the Britons made a furious assault upon the Saxons; and perceiving some disorder as they retreated down the hill, pushed them with still more vigour, and in the end entirely defeated them.¹ In this day's action, two Saxon chiefs, Colgrin and Pandulph were slain. After the battle, Cerdic retreated with the remains of his army to the island of Thanet, to which place he was pursued by Cattur duke of Cornwall.²

Ann. Dom.
520.

AN unexpected incident happening at this time, gave the Saxons leisure to breathe, and probably saved them from ruin. This event was occasioned by a diversion made in the north by the Picts in alliance with the Saxons; these people knowing that Arthur was at a distance, and that his nephew Hoel the king of Armorica lay sick at Caer Alclud,³ a town standing on the river Clyde, took advantage of these favourable incidents, and laid siege to that place; concluding they should take it before any relief could be given. The activity and rapid movements of Arthur disappointed their views. Forsaking the advantage which might have arisen by pursuing his late success, in the true spirit of chivalry, he flew

¹ Matt. Westm. p. 141. Langhorni, Chr. Angl. p. 62.

² Matt. Westm. p. 141.

³ Dun Barton.

to the assistance of his nephew, and instantly raised the siege. In repentment of this act of hostility in the Picts, which had wrested from him the fruits of his victory, Arthur laid waste their country; and it was only preserved from meditated ruin by the intercession of the Scottish bishops.'

THE late victories having for the present secured the public peace, Hoel the king of Armorica returned home.²

AFTER the defeat of Cerdic, this prince had remained quiet in his own dominions expecting a supply from Germany.³ On the arrival of this reinforcement he ravaged the British territories; and Arthur, though weakened by the numerous battles he had fought, endeavoured by every means in his power to repel so formidable an enemy.

THE fortune of the war remained for sometime uncertain; but Cerdic having at length gained a compleat victory, the Britons were thrown into despair of being ever able to subdue the Saxons. Under the influence of this impression, and fearing lest he should wear out the strength of his remaining troops by continuing the war, Arthur found it necessary to negotiate with Cerdic, and

¹ Langhorni Chron. Angl. p. 63. Math. Westm. p. 141. Geoff. of Monmouth, p. 288.

² Rapin Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 37.

³ Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 225. Langhorni, Chron. Angl. Reg. p. 68.

to cede to him a part of his dominions rather than to risk the whole upon the issue of arms. In consequence of this, a peace was concluded by the surrender of the counties of Hants and Somerset. The Saxon prince, fatigued with the toils of a long war and desirous of repose, readily agreed to the terms, and at this time founded the kingdom of Wessex or of the West Saxons.¹

AT this period, the Angles arrived on the eastern coast of Britain, and in the course of time and slow progress of conquest, forced the Britons to abandon that country, on which these people settled, and founded the fifth kingdom by the name of the East Angles.²

Ann. Dom.

527.

THE peace of Armorica having been disturbed by an insurrection in that state, Hoel sent into Britain for assistance, and the martial spirit of Arthur being unemployed at this time, he went in person to the relief of his nephew, and restored the quiet of that country by slaying with his own hands the leader of the rebellion.³ Cerdic, taking advantage of the absence of Arthur, and encouraged by the late arrival of the Angles, broke the peace; and being seconded by the valour of his son Cenrick, he extended his

¹ Fabian, p. 94. Langhorni, Chr. Ang. Reg. p. 69. Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 225. Gale's Script.

² Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 73. Math. Westm. p. 142.

³ Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 74.

Ann. Dom.
527.

conquests, by gaining a signal victory over the Britons at Cerdices-leak, supposed to be in Buckinghamshire.¹ In this situation of affairs Arthur returned from the continent, but his presence in Britain composed, in some measure, the disordered state of his kingdom.²

Ann. Dom.
530.

SOON after this event, the king of Armorica, being fearful of an invasion from the *Visigoths*, once more desired the assistance of Arthur; and that prince, deserting the patriotism which in general had directed his conduct, left his own country in this perilous situation to give assistance to his kinsman. During his absence, he appointed Mordred his nephew, regent of the kingdom, and intrusted to his care Gueniver his wife.³ He had scarce left the kingdom, when Cerdic, again taking advantage of his absence, reduced the Isle of Wight.⁴ But a blow more fatal to his interests and his feelings immediately followed. The regent, being captivated with the beauty of the queen, and regardless of the duties he owed to gratitude and to honour, had a criminal intercourse with that princess, and afterwards publicly married her.⁵ There are crimes of such a nature, as to urge men, on the principle of self-preservation, to plunge still deeper in guilt. In such a

¹ Saxon Chron. p. 18.

² Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 74.

³ Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 78.

⁴ Saxon Chron. p. 18.

⁵ Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 78. Math. Westm. p. 144.

situation

situation was the regent, who had no other means of avoiding the just vengeance of Arthur, than by accomplishing his ruin. The more effectually to promote this design, he entered into an alliance with Cerdic, and to engage him more strongly in his interests, he ceded to him the dutchy of Cornwall, with the counties of Suffex and Surry, of Berks, Wilts, Devon, and Dorset.¹ Supported by such a powerful alliance, Mordred was immediately crowned at London.²

AFTER a stay of five years in Armorica, Arthur returned into Britain.³ The conduct of that prince, waiving in the spirit of quixotism such an interesting period, was so opposite to the dictates of natural feelings and of policy, sober reflection is inclined to reject it as a legendary fable. Indeed a judicious recital of events in these ages is peculiarly difficult; directed, or rather bewildered in his way by the glimmering of imperfect and partial records, the historian can only judge of the reality of incidents, by what is probable and consistent.

Ann. Dom.
535.

As soon as Arthur returned home, he was joined by many officers and soldiers, in consideration of the esteem and renown he had acquired. With this small body of troops,

¹ Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 79.

² Ibid. Math. Westm. p. 144. Fabian, p. 94.

³ Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 82. Math. Westm. p. 144.

he

he had to contend with the Saxons, the regent Mordred, and the Picts, who had lately joined in the alliance.¹ However unequal the contest in point of numbers, that deficiency was balanced by the abilities of Arthur; who by the resources of his genius was enabled to carry on the war for seven years with great advantage; till at length, pursuing his enemies from one place to another he drove them into Cornwall, and a battle ensued, at Camlan,² between the two rivals, which decided the fortune of the war.³ This action proved fatal to the Britons, as their best foldiers in both armies were slain,⁴ and the two princes, engaging with great fury, perished by each other's sword. The traitor Mordred immediately fell by the hand of Arthur,⁵ but this prince, sorely wounded, was carried to Glastonbury Abbey, and after lingering a few days was interred there,⁶ with Gueniver his second and best beloved wife.⁷ Thus died by the hand of treason, full of days and of glory, the renowned Arthur. Such was the veneration in which the memory of this warrior was held by the Britons, that for many ages they could not be persuaded he was dead, but fondly expected his return from foreign countries to reinstate once more the British empire.

Ann. Dom.
542.

¹ Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 82.

² Cambden's Brit. p. 194. Holland's Translation.

³ Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 82—88. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. p. 88.

⁷ De Antiq. Glastonb. p. 306. Gale's Script.

DURING

DURING the late reigns the Britons had reached the height of their glory, but the period assigned for the close of their empire drew nigh, though the beams which brightened its decline lingered a while in the west, till gradually receding from the sight, not a single ray remained on the horizon.

THE death of Arthur decided the fate of Britain. The splendour which had distinguished the late æra, deriving its lustre from the virtue of a few individuals, became clouded by opposite qualities in the princes of the succeeding period. Before Arthur expired, he appointed his nephew Constantine, the son of Cattwr duke of Cornwall, his successor;¹ but this elevation could only extend to his hereditary dominions, as the sovereignty of Britain was purely elective.² However he was called to that dignity by the voice of the people.³ During his reign, the Saxons, having espoused the cause of the sons of Mordred, with a view no doubt of fomenting divisions, these two princes, after bloody wars with various success, were obliged to give up the contest. One of these unfortunate youths having fled for sanctuary into the church of St. Amphibalus in Win-

Ann. Dom.
542.

¹ Ranulph. Higden. Gale's Script. p. 225. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 86. Math. Westm. p. 145. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 358.

² Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 101. Rowland, p. 171. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 132.

³ Rowland, p. 184.

chester,

chester, was there cruelly murdered by Constantine; the other, taking refuge in a convent in London, was a little time after massacred at the altar by the same prince.¹ At length, this king, being harrassed by the Saxons, retired to his hereditary dominions of Cornwall;² and, struck with remorse for the late murders, or sinking into the superstition of the age, he renounced the world and engaged in a religious life.³ This prince was the last king of Britain of the Cornwall family.⁴

Ann. Dom. 547. ENCOURAGED by the death of Arthur, and the dismay of the Britons in consequence of that event, a large body of Saxons under the command of Ida landed in Yorkshire, and with the consent of their countrymen already settled there, founded the kingdom of Northumberland.⁵

Ann. Dom. 552. AT this period, Maelgwyn the king of Gwyneth endowed the See of Bangor, with lands and franchises:⁶ he likewise, about the same time, built the town of that name;⁷ and also built or repaired Shrewsbury, and the castle of Harlech.⁸ It was at Bangor that this prince, struck perhaps with re-

¹ Ranulph. Higden, p. 225. Gale's Script. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 101. Math. Westm. p. 145. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 359. Gildas Epistola p. 10. ² Rowland, Mon. An. 146.

³ Ibid. p. 187. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 117.

⁴ Rowland, Mon. Ant. p. 170.

⁵ Saxon Annals, p. 19.

⁶ Rowland's Mon. Ant. 187.

⁷ Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 98.

⁸ J. Rossi, Ant. Warw. p. 65.

morfe for the crimes of his paſt life, reſolved to devote himſelf to the auſterities of a cloiſter; but he ſoon renounced that deſign, and returned to the affairs of government, and, as it is ſaid, to his old habits of criminal pleaſures.'

AT this period, when the Saxons had conquered a great part of Britain, and had made their approaches to the borders of Cambria, that country appears to have been divided into fix principalities; and in the preſent critical ſituation of affairs, the people of theſe diſtricts aſſembled at the mouth of the river Divy, and elected Maelgwyn to the ſovereign dignity.² The choice of the Britons, in ſuch a dangerous criſis, reflects ſome degree of honour on this prince, and ſeems to contradict the character given of him by Gildas, who has cenſured him in the true ſpirit of monaſtic ſeverity.

Ann. Dom.
560.

UPON the death of Maelgwyn, his ſon Rhun ſucceeded to the government of North Wales.³ This prince had a long and bloody war with the Saxons of Northumberland; and on his return into Wales he gave great privileges to the inhabitants of Caernarvonſhire, as a reward for detain- ing them ſo long from their families on that northern

Ann. Dom.
560.

¹ Gildas Epiſtola, p. 12. Gale's Scriptorum. Rowland's Mon. Ant. 147.

² Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 63. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132.

³ Rowland's Mont. An. 187.

M

expedition.

expedition.¹ This prince resided at Caer Rhun in Caernarvonshire;² and at his death was succeeded by his son Beli.³
 Ann. Dom. 586.

AT this period, arrived Crida with a numerous body of Saxons, and having forced the Britons beyond the Severn, he founded the kingdom of Mercia, the greatest and the last principality of the Saxon heptarchy.⁴ The establishment of these seven kingdoms narrowed the bounds of the British dominions. Pressed on every side by advancing enemies, and weakened with incessant wars, the Britons were at length obliged to retire before the Saxon arms. But they retired indignant, and by slow degrees, to make another struggle for liberty among the mountains of Wales, a country formed by nature to be the last retreat of freedom.

AT this period, likewise, many Britons retired into Cornwall and Armorica; and the latter country took the name of Bretagne,⁵ on account of the great number of British refugees who settled there.

THE native Britons being in a great measure exterminated, or forced to fly into other countries, and the Saxons having carried on their conquests with the same destructive spirit which distinguished the other northern nations, the govern-

¹ Rowland, *Mon. Ant.* p. 164.

² *Ibid.* p. 148.

³ *Ibid.* p. 187.

⁴ *Math. Westm.* p. 150.

⁵ *Verftegan*, Chap. V. p. 132, 133.

ment of the conquerors, their laws, manners and language, with the names also of many of their cities, villages, rivers and woods,¹ were of consequence introduced into Britain, and became so perfectly established, that almost the remembrance of ancient institutions was lost.

IN reflecting on the many causes which have contributed to the decline of the British empire, one will perhaps occur which may be thought more striking than the rest. This defect in the national character of the Britons was almost an uniform negligence in establishing a naval power; though experience, and the nature of their situation pointed out the expediency of this measure, as the only effectual means of contending with the Saxons, and of counteracting their designs. This mode of defence was so obvious, that it might have struck the minds of any people, more rude than the Britons, who were situated in an island, and exposed to continual invasions.

¹ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 133.

HISTORY OF WALES.

B O O K III.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE WARS BETWEEN THE SAXONS AND WELSH, TO THE DEATH OF RODERIC THE GREAT.

THE British empire being reduced to the narrow limits of Cambria, except the small territories of Cornwall and Strath Cluid, that country about this period took the name of Wales. The inhabitants, likewise, with their ancient situation lost the title of Britons, and became distinguished by the name of the Welsh. Possessed of the warlike spirit which marked the British character, they carried into their mountains that rooted inveteracy against the Saxons, which hereditary wars, heightened by every injury, would naturally excite. The same severity of fortune which distinguished the ancient Britons, awaited the descendants of that brave people in their last asylum;

as

as the conquest of this barren domain became the object of ambition, and policy, to the Saxon and Norman princes.

Ann. Dom.
599.

ABOUT this period, the province of *Cymmry Wallia*, or Wales, seems to have been divided into six principalities, and governed by so many Reguli,¹ acknowledging, however, the supremacy of the kings of Gwynedh, or North Wales. This region extended two hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth;² and was separated from *Llboegr*, or England by the rivers Severn and Dee, and surrounded on every other side by the Irish ocean.³ The inhabitants in the British language were denominated *Cymmry*, and they called the Saxons *Saisón*; and their language *Saesonaeg*.⁴

Ann. Dom.
603.

AT this period Jago ap-Beli reigned in North Wales, and founded the Deanry of Bangor.⁵ His son Cadvan soon after succeeded to that dignity.⁶ The early part of this prince's reign was distinguished by the battle of Chester,⁷ and the memorable massacre of the Monks of Bangor.

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary of Britain, p. 63.

² Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 57. Verstegan, chap. I. p. 1.

³ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 50.

⁴ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 13, 51.

⁵ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 187. ⁶ Ibid. p. 188.

⁷ Called by the Britons *Caerlleon-ar-Ddwrđwy*, or the city of the legions upon the water of Dee; the Saxons called it *Legan lestre*, and afterwards by abbreviation *Chester*; it appears in Antoninus that it was called in Latin *Deva* from the river Dee. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 27.

EDELFRID the king of Northumberland having gained an advantage over the northern Britons, turned his arms against the Welsh, who were then in possession of Chester. On his arrival near that city, his army being drawn up in front of the enemy, he perceived a body of men without military appearance who were stationed in a place of security. Struck with the novelty of the sight, he enquired the cause, and was told they were monks from the monastery of Bangor, who had come to offer up their prayers for the prosperous event of the day. Enraged with an opposition so singular in its nature, and stimulated by hatred of a religion which threatened the destruction of Paganism, Edelfrid ordered his army to assault this defenceless, and pious troop, who had already fasted and prayed for the space of three days. Twelve hundred of these unfortunate Religious were cut in pieces; fifty only of the whole number present in the battle having escaped the enemy's sword. Brochmael, prince of Powis, having deserted their protection, had fled out of the field with his soldiers, on the first advance of the Saxons.

THIS unfavourable omen might naturally damp the ardour of a people less superstitious than the Welsh: but it seems they regarded this act of Edelfrid as an impious sacrilege; and though in the action which ensued, or in the pursuit, they were terribly slaughtered, it appears however, by the great loss which their enemies suffered, that they
made

made a spirited resistance.' Immediately after the battle he marched to Bangor upon the river Dee, and with a barbarism peculiar to the Goths, destructive of those arts which soften and improve human nature, he entirely laid waste that ancient and celebrated seminary of learning, and committed to the flames its valuable library.² Edelfrid then attempted to penetrate into Wales; but his passage over the Dee at Bangor was disputed by the prince of Powis, who gallantly sustained the charge till relieved by Cadvan the king of North Wales, by Meredyth the king of South Wales, and Bledrus the sovereign of Cornwall.³ When the confederated princes had joined their forces, they called in religion to their aid. Before the battle begun, Dunothus, the abbot of Bangor, made an oration to the army, and ordered, that the soldiers should kiss the ground in commemoration of the communion of the body of Christ, and should take up water into their hands out of the river Dee, and drink it in remembrance of his sacred blood, which was shed for them.⁴ Animated by this act of devotion, which in these times had a powerful influence on the mind, and stung with resentment for the disgrace and injuries they had lately received, the Welsh encountered the Saxons with

¹ Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 150. Bede, lib. II. cap. II. p. 80. Saxon Chron. p. 25. William Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 17.

² Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 151. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 71.

³ Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. 72. Geoffrey Monmouth, p. 369.

⁴ Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 151. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 72.

great bravery, entirely defeated them, with the loss of above ten thousand men, and obliged Edelfrid, with the remainder of his army, to retreat into their own country.¹ There was something singular in the fortunate event of that day, as an act of retaliative justice, and as it severely punished, in the sight of Bangor, the recent desolation of its monastery.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle, Cadvan king of North Wales was elected at Chester to the sovereignty of Britain;² but in the present loss of Empire, that dignity could extend no farther, than to command the united forces of the remaining Britons. Ann. Dom.
613.

ON the death of Cadvan, his son Cadwallon succeeded to the kingdom of North Wales,³ and carried his arms into Northumberland against Edwin the king of Deira, who had been educated in the court of Cadwallon, and a violent animosity had arisen between the two princes.⁴ The British king, advancing against the Saxon prince into Northumberland, was routed in a bloody battle by Edwin at Dinwydr or Widdrington; who pursuing his good fortune, Ann. Dom.
635.

¹ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 132. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 371. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 72. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188. Langhorni Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 151.

² Ibid.

³ Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188.

⁴ Geoff. Monmouth, p. 372, 376. Vaughan of Hengwrt's Dissertation on British Chron. taken from the Triades.

extended his conquests over all the British territories in Wales, as well as the islands of Mona and Man.¹

DURING these transactions Cadwallon had taken refuge in Ireland.² After an absence of some years, this prince recovered his dominions. An union of interests having engaged him in an alliance with Penda king of Mercia, the two princes, with their joint forces, made a rapid movement into Yorkshire, and entirely defeated the Northumbrian prince in Hatfield forest.³ Edwin and his son fell in the battle, and left their country exposed to the ravages of the confederated princes.⁴ A scene of desolation followed this victory, but Cadwallon went beyond his Pagan associate in cruelty and merciless ravages.⁵

Ann. Dom.
633.

AT this time, very probably on account of his success and ability to carry on the war, Cadwallon was chosen king of the Britons.⁶

Ann. Dom.
635.

¹ Math. Westm. p. 165. Bede's Eccl. Hist. cap. IX. p. 87. Wm. Malm-
bury, lib. I. p. 18. Script. post Bædam. Vaughan of Hengwrt's Dissertation
on British Chron. taken from the Triades.

² Ibid.

³ Bede, lib. II. cap. XX. p. 101. Brompton's Chron. p. 284.

⁴ Saxon Chron. p. 29. Langhorni Chron. Reg. Ang. p. 176.

⁵ Langhorni Chron. Reg. Ang. p. 182. J. Brompton's Chron. p. 784.
Wm. Malm-bury, lib. I. p. 18. Gale's Script.

⁶ Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188.

ON the death of Edwin, Edfridus succeeded to the kingdom of Bernicia, and being nearly related to Penda by his mother, fled to the Mercian prince for protection.¹ Cadwallon, it is supposed, retiring to York, carried on from thence his furious depredations.² At this juncture, Osric assumed the crown of Deira, and in hopes by one blow to take revenge for his desolated country, he invested that city; but, in a sally made by Cadwallon, he was slain, and his army defeated.³ His associate, the king of Bernicia, seeing their utmost exertions sink under the superior valour or fortune of the British prince, attempted to try the arts of negotiation. With this view he came to treat with Cadwallon in person with only twelve soldiers in his train, but in return for such an instance of generous confidence, the Saxon prince, with his attendants, were basely assassinated.⁴ This outrage fully justifies the character of a cruel and faithless tyrant, given to this prince by the Saxon writers.⁵

AFTER this act of violence, Cadwallon still continued to desolate the country, until his career was stopped by

¹ Bede, lib. III. cap. I. p. 103. Brompton's Chron. p. 784, 785. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 182.

² Math. Westm. p. 167. ³ Ibid. Langhorni, Chron. p. 184. Brompton's Chron. p. 785.

⁴ Bede Eccl. Hist. lib. III. cap. I. p. 103. Brompton's Chron. p. 786. Math. Westm. p. 167. Langhorni Chron. p. 184.

⁵ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 66.

Oswald; who, succeeding to the crowns of Deira and Bernicia, united them into the kingdom of Northumberland.' This prince was yet in his early youth, and had collected a small and determined band to oppose Cadwallon and his victorious army: and when that prince marched to attack the Saxons, he proceeded with all the security and insolence which a contempt of enemies, and the pride of victory, are apt to inspire. But Oswald, sensible of the greatness of the object for which he contended, acted with the utmost circumspection. With a view to heighten the ardour of his troops by religious enthusiasm, or to draw down prosperity on his arms by an act of devotion, he ordered a cross to be erected on the field of battle, to serve as the standard of the army. At this pious work Oswald himself assisted, and the moment before the trumpet sounded the charge, he kneeled at the foot of the cross with all his army, appealed to heaven for the justice of his cause, and implored its assistance to confound the insolence of his enemies. Fortified by these acts of piety in their sovereign, the Saxon troops early in the morning advanced to attack the enemy, and stormed their camp. In the action Cadwallon was slain, and the Welsh driven into confusion by the death of their prince, were routed, and almost entirely cut in pieces. This battle is said to have happened at Denisbourne in Northumberland.²

¹ Bromton's Chron. p. 785. Humphrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13.

² Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. III. cap. II. p. 104. William Malmesbury, lib. I. cap. III. p. 19.

AFTER the death of this prince, his son Cadwalader succeeded to the principality of North Wales, and to the ideal sovereignty of Britain.¹ In the course of his reign, the irruptions of the Saxons had become more frequent, and a famine, with its usual attendant a pestilential distemper, had raged in Britain;² the consequent evils of desolating wars, and of a disordered police. To avoid the common dangers of his country (a conduct which did not mark his magnanimity) Cadwalader with numbers of his nobility and other subjects retired to Alan his kinsman, the king of Bretagne; in whose court he found an hospitable reception.³ From an uniform and perhaps a singular principle of affection, we have seen this country afford an asylum to the Britons in every season of adversity.

Ann. Dom.
676.

Ann. Dom.
689.

AFTER residing sometime in the court of Bretagne, Cadwalader prepared to return into Wales; having heard that the famine and pestilence had ceased, and that the Saxons, with increasing power, were endeavouring to extend their conquests.⁴ With this view, he collected an army composed of his own subjects and his allies the Bretons, with a suitable fleet to transport them across the channel.⁵

¹ Rowland's Mon. Ant. 188. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 132.

² Wynne Hist. Wales, p. 8.

³ Baker's Chron. p. 4. J. Fordun's Hist. Scot. Gale's Scriptor. p. 647.

⁴ Baker's Chron. p. 4. Welsh Chron. by Carodoc of Llancarvon, and republished by Dr. Powel, p. 3.

⁵ Ibid.

In such a situation, a magnanimous prince would either have rescued his country from its danger, or would have buried himself in its ruins. But just at the time that Cadwalader was going to embark, he was warned in a vision, which he fancied to be a sudden impulse from heaven, which directed him to lay aside the cares of the world, and go immediately to Rome, to receive holy orders from the hands of the Pope. This illusion, the effect of a weak or a distempered mind, he communicated to the king of Bretagne; who, probably from interested motives, took advantage of this incident to act on the weakness of this prince, and on the credulity of his nation; which, in common with every other people in the same stage of refinement, always paid a high veneration to men, who, acting under the impulse of a warm and enthusiastic spirit, fancied themselves indued with the power of revealing future events.

HAVING consulted the prophetic books of the two *Merlins*,¹ which were deemed sacred as the pages of the Roman *Sybits*, Alan told him, they predicted the ruin of the British empire, until the time that the bones of king Cadwalader should be brought back from Rome. He then advised him to act up to the patriotic design, and to follow

¹ There were two of that name, Silvester and Ambrose; the first was born in Scotland, and the latter, called Merdhin by the Britons, at Caerfrydthin in South Wales. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 79.

the impulse of his vision. Thus confirmed in the delusion, Cadwalader proceeded to Rome; and agreeably to the interested views of the Roman pontiffs, was kindly received by Pope Sergius. After he had submitted to have his head shaven, and to be initiated into the order of white monks, Cadwalader lived eight years as a religious recluse;¹ exemplary in the piety of those days, but in a situation unworthy of a prince; as it secluded him from the practice of active virtue, and of consequence from promoting the interests of his people; for which great end alone princes are delegated to rule mankind.

THE death of Cadwalader closed the imperial dignity which had been annexed for many ages to the British government.² The Welsh princes of later times usually resided at Diganwy³ on the water of Conwy, and at Caer Segont⁴ near Caernarvon.⁵

Ann. Dom.
703.

CADWALADER having thus, in the weakness of superstition, abdicated his throne, and his son Edwal Ywrch,

¹ Winne Hist. Wales, p. 10, 11.

² Welsh Chr. p. 5. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 183. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 66.

³ Famous in Tacitus by the name of Cangorum (the people there being called Cangi) and called afterwards Gannock by the English. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 66.

⁴ Called by the Romans Segontium.

⁵ Caer-n-ar-von; the city opposite Mona. Humfrey Lhuyd's, p. 65. Wynne Hist. Wales, p. 12.

yet a minor, being under the protection of Alan, this latter prince appears to have thrown off the mask, and to have been desirous of realizing the prospects of ambition, which the late event had opened to his view. Under colour, no doubt, of acting for the common cause, he attached to his service those Welsh who had been the followers of the late prince; and with these troops and a body of his own subjects, under the command of his son Ivor, a descent was made on the western coast of Britain. Alarmed at this dangerous invasion, the Saxons opposed Ivor with their accustomed spirit and resolution.¹ But that prince, having defeated them with great slaughter, gained possession of Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset.² To oppose this invasion, become formidable by the acquisition of these territories to Ivor, Kentwyn, king of the west Saxons, drew together a considerable force. Each of the princes, sensible of the importance of the contest, seemed unwilling to put it to the decision of arms: in the end, the arts of love and negotiation prevailed; and Ivor, satisfied with the conquests already made, agreed to marry Ethelburga, the cousin of the Saxon prince. By this marriage, by the death of Kentwyn, and Cedwell the nephew of that Saxon prince retiring to Rome, Ivor became sovereign of the western part of Britain, including the Saxon and British

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 7, 8.

² Welsh Chron. p. 8. By Carodoc of Llancarvan, translated by Dr. Powel, about 1584.

territories.

territories. At length, wearied with the cares of government, or sinking into the superstition of the age, or, perhaps, struck with remorse for his past injustice, this prince withdrew from the cares of royalty, and buried himself in the recesses of a cloister. As a more effectual atonement for the injuries done to the family of Cadwalader, he left to Roderic Moelwynoc, the grandson of that prince, his British dominions.¹

RODERIC had no sooner taken possession of his territories, than Adelred, who succeeded Ivor in the Saxon part of his dominions, invaded Devonshire, and with fire and sword carried desolation through the country. He was proceeding with the like ravages into Cornwall, but was met upon its confines by the Britons, who defeated his forces and obliged him to retreat into his own dominions.²

Ann. Dom.
720.

Ann. Dom.
721.

AT this time, the fertile and pleasant lands which lie between the Severn and the Wy or Wye tempted Ethelbald to form the design of annexing them to his Mercian kingdom. With this view, he invaded that part of the country with a powerful army, and proceeded with the usual devastations as far as Carno mountain near Abergavenny. On this mountain he was opposed by the Welsh, and a

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 15. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188.

² Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 15.

Ann. Dom. fierce and bloody battle ensued, which was not however
728. decisive in favour of either party.¹

Ann. Dom. AT this time died the venerable Bede.²
734.

ETHELBALD having formed an alliance with Adelred, king of the West Saxons, these princes marched their united forces into Wales. Though the danger was imminent, and their powers of resistance comparatively small, the Welsh, with great spirit, opposed the combined princes; and a well contested battle and miserable slaughter on both sides ensued, until the former were overpowered by superiority of numbers. Dispirited by this defeat, and taking advantage of a rupture which had arisen between Cudred, who had succeeded to the throne of the West Saxons, and Ethelbald; the Welsh entered into an alliance with the former prince. Elated however with his late victory, and regardless of this accession to their power, Ethelbald attempted another invasion of Wales and advanced as far as Hereford.³ At that place, likewise, he met with a spirited resistance from the Welsh; and by the assistance of their allies, they gave him a signal overthrow.⁴ But a reconciliation taking place

Ann. Dom.
746.

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 16. ² Flores Histor. Math. Westm. p. 203.

³ Anciently called Henfford, or the old road of Englishmen. Humfrey Lhuys's, p. 74.

⁴ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 17.

between

between the Saxon princes, Cudred withdrew from the interests of the Welsh, and joined his forces with those of Ethelbald. The military prowess of their allies being thus taken from the Welsh, the scale was turned, and in another battle which soon after ensued with the Saxons, they were entirely discomfited.¹

A DARK cloud at this period settled over the British hemisphere; and, the few governments which still remained amidst the ruins of time, except those of Wales, became extinguished one after the other. Eadbert, the king of Northumberland, an active and valiant prince, turned his arms against the Strath-Cluid Britons, and made himself master of Ar-Cluid the capital of their dominions.² The western part of Britain, likewise, which had been under the sovereignty of Roderic Moelwynoc, the son of Idwal Iwrch, was at this time conquered by the Saxons; and that prince forced to retire into North Wales; the government of which had been possessed by the two sons of Bletricus, the prince of Cornwall, ever since Cadvan had been elected to the sovereign dignity; and, however singular the incident may appear, Roderic seems to have been quietly permitted to enjoy his right as soon as he had announced his claim.³

Ann. Dom.
750.

Ann. Dom.
750.

¹ Henry Huntingdon, p. 340. Script. post Bædam. Math. Westm. p. 206. Brompton, p. 768.

² Langhorni Chron. Reg. Ang. p. 287. Simon Dunelme, p. 105. Samme's Ant. of Britain, p. 546.

³ Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188.

This prince soon after died, and left two sons Cynan Tindaethwy and Howel: he usually resided at Caer Segont on the straits of the Menai in Carnarvonshire.²

AMIDST the continual wars which had so long harrassed the Saxons and Welsh, neither of these people had much leisure to attend to maritime affairs; and the naval power of Britain was of course inconsiderable; however the attention which was given to this necessary measure, was only to be found in the ports of Wales.³

Ann. Dom.
755.

CYNAN Tindaethwy, the eldest son of the deceased prince, succeeded to the throne of North Wales.⁴ The late success of the Saxons in the western part of Britain encouraged them in the design of extending their dominions, and inspired them with a confident expectation of being able to make an easy conquest of Wales. In the pursuit of this design they proceeded as far as Hereford; but on that frontier they were fiercely received by the Welsh; and the battle very probably ended in favour of the latter, history being silent as to the event and further progress of the invasion.⁵

Ann. Dom.
763.

AT this time Offa reigned in Mercia.⁶

² Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 17, 18.

Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 172.

³ Berkeley Naval Hist. of Brit. p. 58.

⁴ Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188.

⁵ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 18.

⁶ Saxon Annal. p. 59.

THE easiness of approach to the fertile plains of South Wales invited continual inroads; and consequently, that country was more harrassed, and sooner narrowed in its boundaries, than the mountainous territory of North Wales. At this period, the inhabitants of South Wales, fired with resentment at reiterated injuries, rose up in arms, entered Mercia with fire and sword, and retaliated on their enemies their usual devastations. In a little time after, they made other successful inroads, obliging the Saxons to retire beyond the Severn, and returning home loaded with a considerable quantity of cattle. Animated by their late success, and allured by the prospect of spoil, instead of acting on the defensive, which had hitherto been the utmost exertion of the Welsh, a new plan of operation took place; a spirit of enterprise ensued; and by sudden and frequent incursions into Mercia, they revenged their national injuries, enriched themselves, and filled the Saxon borders with continual alarm, and devastation.¹

Ann. Dom.
776.

THESE unusual and formidable exertions in the Welsh induced Offa to enter into a league with the other Saxon princes; that with their united strength they might at once destroy, or give a check to this enterprising spirit.² In consequence of this alliance, a considerable army passed the Severn into Wales; but the Welsh, too weak to en-

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 19.

² Ibid.

counter so great a force, retreated into the mountains; and the Saxons likewise, unable to penetrate with advantage the natural fortifications of the country, returned into Mercia.¹ Offa, sensible of the evils produced by these inroads, and unable to prevent them, agreeably to the policy of his military ancestors, planted a colony of Saxons in the country near the Severn and Wye;² whose immediate interest it became, to confine within the mountains the valour and restless activity of the Welsh. To mark the confines of each country, or to give greater security to his own, he likewise caused a deep dyke and a high rampart to be made, which extended a hundred miles over rocks and mountains, and across deep vallies and rivers, from the water of Dee to the mouth of the Wye.³ This great work still retains the ancient name of Clawdh Offa, or Offa's Dyke, and is an evidence of the ignorance and barbarism of the age, having been raised with immense labour, but directed to no important use, either to mark the boundaries, or as a line of defence between hostile nations. The large towns and cities situated to the east of the Severn and Dee, were probably built at this period, to check the irruptions of the Welsh by a strong line of frontier posts.⁴

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 19. ² Langhorni Chron. Reg. Ang. p. 292.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 19. Langhorni Chron. Ang. p. 292. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 51.

⁴ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 26.

The villages likewise on the east side of Clawdh Offa, whose names terminate in *ton* or *ham* were about this time inhabited by Saxons,¹ who were usually called G'wyr-y-mers, or the men of Mercia; though in after times the Welsh settled on each side of the Dyke.²

THE change which this innovation had made in Powis, by narrowing its boundaries, and Shrewsbury having been lately taken by the Saxons, made it necessary to remove the royal residence of the princes of Powis, from that town to Mathraval in Montgomeryshire;³ situated five miles from the town of Poole.⁴

THOUGH an interval of peace had given Offa the opportunity of finishing this celebrated Dyke, the Welsh were not insensible of the dishonour and injury done to their country. But concealing their feelings under the mask of indifference, they secretly concerted the plan of its destruction; and acting, by previous agreement, with the kings of Northumberland and of the South Saxons, with whom they were then in alliance, they suddenly beset Clawdh Offa in the night of St. Stephen's day, the night

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 51.

² Ibid. p. 50.

³ Its ancient name was Pengwern, or the head of a place where alders grow, and was the seat of the kings of Powis; whence the Saxon term Schrewsbury is derived. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 27.

⁴ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 70.

itself being extremely dark; and assisted by the country people, broke down the rampart, and in a short time filled up and levelled the Dyke to the length of a bow-shot. Then, early in the morning, they assailed king Offa,¹ and slew great numbers of his people; who, depending on the truce, were either asleep or unarmed, or had given themselves up to the pleasures, or to the religious observance, of the festival.²

THE Saxon prince instantly rallied his forces, and rushed into the midst of the enemy; but his troops, all in confusion and not properly armed, were intimidated, and could not sustain the onset of the Welsh; and it was not without great difficulty and slaughter, that they were able to bring off their leader, and recover their camp. After this disaster, Offa retired into his own dominions, meditating vengeance. The first impression of his anger, on his return, for this insulting violation of the truce, fell upon the hostages that were given by those persons who had lately broken the peace, whom he ordered to be more strictly confined; and, still unsatisfied with this severity, their wives and families also were either sold, or reserved for perpetual slavery.³

¹ Supposed to be at Sutton Wallis near Hereford.

² Math. Paris Monachi Albanensis Vitæ Duorum Offarum Merciorum Regum, p. 975, 976.

³ Ibid. p. 976.

SOME time after, Offa, still breathing revenge, marched into the confines of Wales, with a well equipped and formidable army; but for some years he was greatly annoyed by the Welsh, who, from their woods and mountains made continual irruptions upon his forces.¹ At length, both parties coming to a general engagement upon Rhydd-lan marsh; the Welsh, under the command of Caradoc, a chieftain or prince of the country, and descended from the house of Cornwall, were entirely defeated² with a dreadful slaughter; and their leader slain in the action.³ Besides this great loss which the Welsh had suffered, the Saxon prince ordered all the men and children, who unfortunately fell into his hands to be massacred in cool blood; the women themselves, scarcely escaping his fury.⁴

Ann. Dom.
795.

THE memory of this tragical event has been carried down to posterity, by an ancient ballad called *Morva Rhydd-lan*, the notes of which are most tenderly plaintive.

SOON after this memorable event, died Offa, king of Mercia.⁵ Some historians say he was slain in the battle of Rhydd-lan, with Meredith the prince of Dyved.⁶

¹ Math. Paris *vita Duorum Offarum*, p. 976. ² Welsh Chron. p. 20.

³ According to tradition, the remaining Welsh who had escaped the enemies sword, flying with precipitation over the marsh, perished in the water by the flowing of the tide.

⁴ Math. Paris *vita Duorum Offarum*, p. 976. ⁵ Welsh Chron. p. 20.

⁶ Cambden's *Britannia*, Gibson's *Notes on Flintshire*, p. 690, from Mss. of Vaughan Hengwrt.

IT may not be unnecessary here, after a tedious recital of inroads and battles, to give some relief to the reader's mind, by opening to his view the modes of life and private manners of the Welsh, whose national character will appear in the course of the following pages.

THE Welsh (according to Giraldus Cambrensis,¹ who was himself a native of the country, and wrote in a period when their native manners were pure and unadulterated by foreign intercourse) were a nation light and nimble, and more fierce than strong; from the lowest to the highest of the people they were devoted to arms, which the plowman as well as the courtier was prepared to seize on the first summons. Their chief employment in works of husbandry was, that for oats they opened the soil, once only in March and April; and for wheat or rye, they turned it up, twice in the summer, and a third time in winter about the season of thrashing.

THE chief sustenance of this people, in respect of their food, was cattle and oats, besides milk, cheese, and butter; though they usually ate more plentifully of flesh meat than of bread.

As they were not engaged in the occupations of traffic either by sea or land, their time was entirely employed in

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis Itiner. cap. IV. V.

military affairs. They were so anxious for the preservation of their country and its liberties, that they esteemed it delightful not only to fight for them, but even to sacrifice their lives : and agreeably to this spirit, they entertained an idea, that it was a disgrace to die in their beds, but an honour to fall in the field. Such was their eager courage, that although unarmed, they often dared to engage with men entirely covered with armour ; and in such engagements, by their activity and valour, they usually came off conquerors. That their activity might not be impeded by any unnecessary incumbrance, they made use of light armour ; such as smaller coats of mail, shields, and sometimes of iron greaves ; their offensive weapons were arrows and long spears. Their bows were usually made of light twigs joined or twisted together, and though rude in their form, they discharged an arrow with great force. The people of North Wales were remarkable for spears so long and well pointed, that they could pierce through an iron coat of mail ; the men of South Wales were accounted the most expert archers. The chieftains when they went to war, were mounted on swift horses, bred in the country ; the lower sort of people, on account of the marshes, as well as the inequalities of the ground, marched on foot to battle ; though, whenever the occasion or the place rendered it necessary for the purposes either of fighting or flying, the horsemen themselves dismounted and served on foot.

THE Welsh either went with their feet entirely bare, or they used boots of raw leather, instead of shoes, sewed together with raw skin.

IN the time of peace, the young men accustomed themselves to penetrate the woods and thickets, and to run over the tops of mountains; and by continuing this exercise through the day and night, they prepared themselves for the fatigues and employments of war.

THESE people were not given to excess either in eating or drinking. They had no set time appointed for their meals, nor any expensive richness in their cloaths. Their whole attention was occupied in the splendid appearance of their horses and arms, in the defence of their country, and in the care of their plunder. Accustomed to fast from morning to night, their minds were wholly employed on business, they gave up the day entirely to prudent deliberations, and in the evening they partook of a sober supper. But if, at any time, it happened, that they were not able to procure any, or only a very sparing repast, they patiently waited till the next morning; and in this situation, prevented neither by hunger nor cold, they were eager to take advantage of dark and stormy nights for hostile invasions.

THERE was not a beggar to be seen among these people, for the tables of all were common to all; and with them
bounty,

bounty, and particularly hospitable entertainment, were in higher estimation than any of the other virtues. Hospitality, indeed, was so much the habit of this nation, by a mutual return of such civilities, that it was neither offered to, nor requested by, travellers. As soon as they entered any house, they immediately delivered their arms into the custody of some person; then if they suffered their feet to be washed by those, who for that purpose directly offered them water, they were considered as lodgers for the night. The refusal of this offered civility, intimated their desire of a morning's refreshment only. The offer of water for the purpose of washing the feet, was considered as an invitation to accept of hospitable entertainment. The young men usually marched in parties, or in tribes, a leader being appointed to each; and as they were devoted to arms, or given up to leisure, and were courageous in the defence of their country, they were permitted to enter the house of any person with the same security as their own. The strangers, who arrived in the morning, were entertained until evening with the conversation of young women, and with the music of the harp; for in this country almost every house was provided with both. Hence we may reasonably conclude, that the people were not much inclined to jealousy. Such an influence had the powers of music on their minds, that in every family, or in every tribe, they esteemed skill in playing on the harp beyond any kind of learning.

IN the evening, when the visitors were all come, an entertainment was provided according to the number and dignity of the persons, and the wealth of the house; on which occasion the cook was not fatigued with dressing many dishes, nor such as were high seasoned as stimulatives to gluttony; nor was the house set off with tables, napkins, or towels; for in all these things they studied nature more than shew. The guests were placed by threes at supper, and the dishes at the same time were put on rushes, in large and ample platters made of clean grass, with thin and broad cakes of bread, baked every day. At the same time that the whole family, with a kind of emulation in their civilities, were in waiting, the master and mistress in particular were always standing, very attentively overlooking the whole. At length, when the hour of sleep approached, they all lay down in common on the public bed, ranged lengthwise along the sides of the room; a few rushes being strowed on the floor, and covered only with a coarse hard cloth the produce of the country. The same garb that the people were used to wear in the day, served them also in the night; and this consisted of a thin mantle, and a garment or shirt worn next to the skin. The fire was kept burning at their feet throughout the night, as well as in the day.

THE women of this nation, as well as the men, had their hair cut round at the ears and eyes. The women also, as a head dress, wore a large white robe, folding round,
and

and rising by degrees into a graceful tuft or crown. Both the men and the women were exceedingly attentive to the preservation of their teeth; by constantly rubbing them with green hazel (probably the leaves or bark) and cleaning them with a woollen cloth, they kept their teeth as white as ivory; and to preserve them still more, they abstained from every kind of hot food. The men were accustomed to shave the whole beard, leaving only a whisker on the upper lip; they likewise cut short or shaved the hair of their heads, that it might be no impediment to their activity in passing through the thick woods and forests that covered their country.

THE Welsh were a people of an acute and subtle genius; and to whatever studies they applied their minds, enjoying so rich a vein of natural endowments, they excelled in wit and ingenuity any other of the western nations. In civil causes and actions, they exerted all the powers of rhetoric, and, in the conduct of these, their talents for insinuation, invention, and refutation were conspicuous. In rhythmical songs, and in extempory effusions, they excelled to a great degree, both in respect to invention and elegance of style; and for these purposes poets or bards were appointed. But beyond all other rhetorical ornaments they preferred the use of alliteration, and that kind more especially which repeats the first letters or syllables of words. They made so much use of this ornament

ornament in every finished discourse, that they thought nothing elegantly spoken without it.

IN private company, or in seasons of public festivity, they were very facetious in their conversation, to entertain the company and display their own wit. With this view, persons of lively parts, sometimes in mild and sometimes in biting terms, under the cover of a double meaning, by a peculiar turn of voice, or by the transposition of words, were continually uttering humorous, or satirical expressions.

THE lowest of the people, as well as the nobles, were indebted to nature for a certain boldness in speech, and an honest confidence in giving answers to great men on matters of business, or in the presence of princes.

THERE were among the Welsh, what were not to be found among other nations, certain persons whom they call *Awenydbion* (a word expressive of poetical raptures) who appear to have been solely under the influence of the imagination. These persons, when they were consulted about any thing doubtful, inflamed with a high degree of enthusiasm, were carried out of themselves, and seemed as if they were possessed by an invisible spirit. Yet they did not immediately declare a solution of the difficulty required, but by the power of wild and inconsistent circumlocution, in which they abounded,

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any person who diligently observed the answer would at length, by some turn or digression in the speech, receive an explanation of what he sought. From this state of extacy they were at last roused, as from a deep sleep; and were compelled, as it were, by the violence of others to return to themselves. Two things were peculiar to these persons; that after the answer was given they did not come to themselves unless recalled by force from this apparent species of madness, and when they recovered their reason they did not, it is said, recollect any of those things which in their extacy they had uttered. And if it happened that they were again consulted about the same or any other thing, they would speak it is true, but would express themselves in other and far different words. This property was bestowed upon them, as they fancied, in their sleep; at which time it appeared to some of them as if new milk or honey was poured into their mouths, to others as if a written scroll had been put into their mouths; and on their awaking, they publicly professed that they have been endowed with these extraordinary gifts. This imaginary spirit of divination, has been in much use in the highlands of Scotland, and there known under the expressive term of Second Sight.

PRIDE of ancestry and nobility of family were points held in the highest estimation among the Welsh, and of course they were far more desirous of noble than of rich and splendid

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marriages.

mariages. So deeply rooted was this spirit, that even the very lowest of the people carefully preserved the genealogy of their families, and were able from memory readily to recite the names, not only of their immediate ancestors, but even to the sixth and seventh generation, and even to trace them still farther back; in this manner, Rhys ap Gryffydh, ap Rhys, ap Tewdur, ap Enion, ap Owen, ap Howel, ap Cadwal, ap Roderic the Great.

A WELSHMAN was considered as honourable, if among his ancestors there had been neither slave, nor foreigner, nor infamous person.¹ Yet if any foreigner had saved the life of a Welshman, or delivered him from captivity, he might be naturalized, and was entitled to the rights of Welshmen. And any foreign family, having resided in Wales for four generations, were also admitted to the same privileges.²

THE love which they felt for family connections was eager and warm; and of consequence they were keen in their resentments, and revenged deeply any injury committed on their family either of blood or dishonour. They were vindictive and bloody in their anger; and exceedingly prompt to revenge not only recent injuries, but even those which were past, and committed in a remote period. What spread still farther this spirit of revenge, was a custom prevalent among this people, of sending their

¹ Hoel's Dah's Laws

² Ibid.

children to be fostered or nursed in other families; who, in consequence, regarded themselves as interested to promote the welfare of, or revenge any injuries done to, such fostered children. This custom, it is probable, principally prevailed in the families of princes and chieftains.¹

THE Welsh did not usually reside in cities, villages, or camps, but led a solitary life in the woods.

ON the borders of their forests, it was usual, not to raise great palaces, nor sumptuous houses built with stone, but only to twist together osier coverings, suited to the different seasons of the year, with as little labour as expence. But these dwellings must surely have been confined to the lower orders of the people. They used neither orchards nor gardens, yet they freely ate of the fruits of either, when brought to them from other places. Their fields were mostly in pasture, little cultivated, seldom plowed, and scarcely ever sown or planted. Yet the Welsh, sensible of the great utility of agriculture, instituted a kind of plowing society, which consisted of persons who contributed oxen and implements of husbandry, for the purpose of tilling a stipulated quantity of ground. To this useful design, great encouragement was given by the Welsh laws.² To their ploughs and carts they sometimes joined

¹ Hist. of Qwedir Family.

² Hoel Dhas Laws.

two oxen, but more frequently made use of four; the driver going before, and, what is very singular, usually walking backwards; and on that account, if the oxen were not properly trained to the yoke, he was exposed to great danger. They made very little use of the scythe or sickle either to mow or reap; but employed a more expeditious instrument, a middle sized iron in the shape of a pruning knife, chained loosely at each end to two staves.

THEY used likewise small boats' made of osier for the purposes of fishing, or of passing rivers. These were not of an oblong form, had not any beaks, but were made nearly round, or rather of a triangular shape; and were covered both in the inside and on the outside with raw skins. But such was the form of the boat, that when a salmon was caught, the waterman was in danger of being overfet, whenever it struck the boat. The boats were so light, that the fishermen usually carried them on their shoulders.

THE Welsh were first instructed in the Christian faith by Faganus and Damianus, who were sent by Eleutherius, the bishop of Rome, at the request of king Lucius. From this period, to the time when St. Germain was sent into Britain on account of the Pelagian doctrine, no heretical opi-

¹ These kind of boats are still used in Wales, and are called curricles.

nions were found in Wales. Agreeably to the doctrines received from that missionary, as it is said, they gave to the poor a part of the bread which was served up at the altar; they sat down to table by threes in honour of the Trinity; a monk, or clerk, or any other person, on his taking the religious habit, immediately begged a blessing, with his arms stretched out, and his head hanging down. The whole people were more eager to obtain episcopal confirmation, and the chrism, by which the spirit was given, than any other nation. They gave the tenth of all that they possessed of animals, sheep, and sometimes of cattle, in the following cases; whenever they engaged in a military marriage; when they first set out on a pilgrimage; or, by the remonstrance of the church, whenever they made any amendment in their lives. This division of their property they called the Great Tithe; two parts of which they bestowed on their own baptismal church, and a third was given to the bishop of the diocese. The pilgrimage which above all others was deemed most sacred by the Welsh, was a journey to Rome, where, with devout minds, and with much reverence, they adored the thresholds of the apostles. They paid also great reverence to churches, and to the clergy; to the relics of saints, their portable bells, text books, and to the crosses. †

FROM

† As a proof of the religious spirit which about this time prevailed, three thousand Welsh, the most expert in archery and the use of the pike, engaged
to

FROM this spirit of superstitious piety, very peculiar privileges of sanctuary have been given to the Welsh churches. Not only in cœmetries or burial places, but within the precincts of certain bounds appointed by the bishop, all animals had the liberty of feeding in perfect security. The larger churches, endowed with greater privileges on account of their antiquity, extended their bounds of sanctuary still farther, as far as the cattle could go in the morning and return at night. So sacred were the privileges of sanctuary, that if any person, at mortal enmity with his prince, sought the refuge of the church; his own person, his family, and all his property remained in the most perfect security. If any attempt was made to violate the sanctuary, the parties under its protection, marched out with great boldness, and not only molested the prince himself, but grievously infested the country.¹

IT was necessary on the accession of the king, that the proprietors of ecclesiastical lands should come before him,

to go into the Holy Land, at the instance of the archbishop of Canterbury, who, accompanied by Giraldus Cambrensis, preached the Croisades in the year 1188 throughout Wales. Giraldus Camb. Itinerarii Camb. cap. XIII. p. 226.

¹ Thus far from Giraldus Cambrensis, (*Cambriæ Descriptio*, from p. 254 to 275) a learned monk, who lived in the reign of Henry the second, and was a native of South Wales. In this detail of manners, the author has given nothing more than a simple transcript of Giraldus, with scarcely any variations of his own; under the idea that such delineations, struck off by the pencil of a contemporary, would appear more pleasing in their original colours, and native simplicity.

to lay open their rights and privileges ; to whom, if their claims were just, he confirmed those privileges, and the rights of sanctuary.¹ If any offender fled to sanctuary, and an action was instituted against him there, neither the abbot nor monks could protect him, until he had made satisfaction for his offence ; if no such action was brought, they were then to conduct him to the place where he was to remain.² If any person, taking refuge in a sanctuary, committed any criminal act, he lost the privileges of that asylum, and was obliged to fly into another sanctuary, or to forfeit all his property to the religious place whose protection he had violated. If any person, carrying about him the relics of saints, committed a crime under their protection, he was not entitled to any privileges on their account ; and in such case, likewise, he forfeited all his goods to that asylum, unless he had already procured another.³ Any person who had taken sanctuary, might freely go about the cœmetry and the court of the church, without carrying relics ; and his cattle might feed with those of the monastery, and remain in security as far as the herds of the monastery were allowed to go. Disputes concerning the property of lands, when both parties were ecclesiastics, were not cognisable by the Welsh laws.⁴

If the king granted a licence to build a church in any village whose inhabitants were villains, to which a cœmetry

¹ Howel Dhas Laws. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid.

was assigned, and priests were appointed to celebrate mass, the village from that time became free.¹ The hermits and other ascetics in this country, were in a peculiar degree austere in the habits of mortification, and in their piety more spiritualised than the Religious in any other nation. As it was the disposition of this people to pursue every object with vehemence, none were elsewhere to be found so bad as the worst, nor any better than the good among the Welsh.²

It was natural that a warlike people would employ their leisure, during the short intervals of peace, in the habits of domestic festivity, or in the pleasures of the field. A variety of exercises, some more violent, others more gentle in their nature, were in common use among the Welsh. Of these, many which were the more peculiar diversions of men, were feats of strength; namely pitching a bar of iron, throwing a sledge, a large stone or quoits, running, leaping, swimming, wrestling, riding, archery and throwing the javelin; fencing with sword and buckler, the two handed sword, and playing with the quarter staff. There were several other diversions considered as rural sports, and as less manly; such as hunting, fishing, and bird hunting; besides which sundry others were used in families as private amusements, and considered as literary; such as poetry, playing on the harp, reading Welsh, singing

¹ Howel Dha.

² Giraldus Cambrensis, p. 275.

poems with stringed instruments; singing an ode of four parts and accenting it with proper expression; heraldry, and embassy. Other amusements were in use of a more sedate kind, which employed their more tranquil hours; chess, draughts and back-gammon, or some similar game; dice, and tuning the harp. Besides these, there were various modes of hunting, distinguished in the following manner. Hunting the stag, pursuing a swarm of bees, and taking salmon; these three were deemed common diversions. Hunting the bear, the squirrel or martin, and the cock of the wood,¹ were called barking diversions. Hunting the fox, the hare, and the roebuck,² were distinguished as clamorous ones. The stag was hunted with hounds and greyhounds; and this was called a common diversion, because every person who was at his death had a right to a share. Even if a man on his journey happened to pass by at the time the stag was killed, he was entitled by the game laws to a share in common with those who had hunted him down. A swarm of bees was likewise a common property; for whoever found them on his own, or on other people's lands, unless the finder should have put a mark that he first found them, every one who passed by had a right to enjoy a share; but a fourth part went to the owner of the ground. Salmon

¹ See Mr. Pennant's journey to Snowdun.

² Iwrch or roebuck, said to have been formerly in Wales. See Richard's Welsh Dictionary on that word; and Gibson's notes on Cambden, p. 645.

were also considered in the same light, for when they were caught with a net, or struck with a spear, or taken in any other way, whoever should come to the place, before a division was made, was entitled to a part, provided the salmon was taken out of a common water.

HUNTING the bear was called a barking diversion, because from its slowness the hunting of it must be very little, and it was only baited, barked at, and then killed. The martin,¹ fitchet, polecat,² and squirrel, not being able to run far, climbed up into trees, and in that situation were barked at and baited by dogs. Hunting the cock of the wood³ was the same; for when the dogs pursued this bird, they hunted him till he flew into a tree, and there he was barked at and baited.

Fox hunting was called a clamorous diversion, as in the pursuit of this animal there was much crying of the dogs, and blowing of the horn. Of the same nature were the diversions of roebuck and hare hunting.

THE game that was most esteemed for eating was the stag, the hare, the wild boar, and the bear. If greyhounds were let loose after a stag or some other animal, and the dogs pursued him out of sight, and he was afterwards killed,

¹ Bele. ² Câthgoed. ³ See Mr. Pennant's Journey to Snowdun.

then

then the foremost greyhound in the last view was entitled to the skin. If a man, or a dog, started a hare out of her feat and killed her, she was the property of either the one or the other.

IT was necessary that every person who carried a horn should be acquainted with the nine game laws. If he could not give an account of them he forfeited his horn. Whoever went a hunting with couples, forfeited those likewise, if he could not properly give an explanation of them, but, whimsically enough, the couples were safe, if placed on his arm. No person could let loose a greyhound after any animal, which the hounds were hunting, unless he himself had hounds that were hunting at the same time; and on any person so offending, the man who was pursuing the hare, might hamstring the greyhound. No one was allowed to shoot a beast that was appropriated for the chase, when at rest, on pain of forfeiting his bow and arrows to the lord of the manor: though he might shoot at and kill any such, if he could, when the dogs were in full cry; but he was not allowed to shoot among the dogs. If any person went out to hunt, and let his dogs loose after the beast, and it so happened that he was met with and killed by some straggling dogs, the animal was then the property of the first dogs, unless the straggling ones belonged to the king. The beast that was hunted, was the property of the first hunter, unless his face was turned towards home, and

his back on the dogs. If his dogs were still hunting, and the hunter had left them, the animal did not in that case belong to him, if killed by straggling dogs, but to the owner of the latter.¹

SOME light may be thrown on the ancient administration of Wales, by laying open the various conditions, on which the Welsh held their estates under their princes or immediate lords, and by shewing in what manner the advantage arising from those tenures were directed to the support and safety of their government.

WE shall begin, by marking the several smaller divisions, which at that time, it is probable, had taken place in the country. In the lesser divisions, Wales might have been originally divided into *Bóds*, *Treus*, and *Caers*. The *Bód* is supposed to have been the mansion house of a chieftain on his first settlement in the country; the lands which he assigned for the maintenance of his dependents in the increasing colony to have been called a *Trev*; and the inclosure of such lands, for defence or convenience, whether formed of wood or stone, might have been denominated a *Caer*.² An assemblage of several *bóds* formed a *trev* or

¹ See an account of the Welsh games, printed at the end of Dr. Davies's Dictionary. He died in the year 1644; he was himself a native of Wales, and was much esteemed by his countrymen, for his knowledge of its language and antiquities.

² Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 28, 29, 31.

township; a hundred of these *trevs* constituted a *cantrev*. For the more easy and regular dispatch of business, a *cantrev* was divided into two or more *commots*; each of which consisting of a certain number of *bóds* and *trevs*, formed a distinct precinct, and was considered as a lordship, possessing a separate court and jurisdiction.*

THE Welsh princes, and other lords of particular territories, were the proprietors *in capite* of all lands, and were sovereign lords of all their subjects and bondmen. To these, the princes or the lords distributed townships, or particular tenures called *Weles* seats or dwellings, by way of martial distribution, on such conditions as those lords and princes thought proper to impose. The lands or tenures so granted, were either freeholds or villanage; and the persons to whom they were given were called freeholders or vassals; each were equally tenants to their lord, though in respect of privileges originally granted, they were in possession of different degrees of freedom or vassalage. Some of these were entirely free, and others were entirely bond; some townships in part were free, and in part were bond. In these several townships, a greater or less degree of freedom prevailed, or none at all; the tenants of the first kind of vassalage were called *nativi liberi*, that is, free natives, or the better sort of vassals; and the others were considered as *puri nativi*, or perfect slaves.

* Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 116.

THOSE lands or townships which were entirely free, gave to the possessors a rank above other tenants; qualified them for offices and employments, and entitled them likewise to a feat and a voice in courts of judicature. From this privilege of sitting higher than the other tenants in their *Gorseddau*, and of assisting in giving sentence, and passing judicial decrees, the tenants of these freeholds were called *Uchelwyr*. The king excepted, there was an equality among all the Welsh nobility.¹

THE tenants of bond lands, and villages, being inferior to freeholders, were bound to servile employments, and in many things were at the disposal of their princes or lords. A lord had the privilege of parting with his vassal either by sale or donation. There was, however, a distinction in point of privilege between such tenants. The free natives were those who possessed some degree of freedom, who might go where they pleased, might buy and sell, and enjoyed many other immunities. The pure natives were considered as the entire property of their princes or lords, were sold along with the estate, and confined within its limits; out of which, if they happened to wander, they were liable to be driven back like brutes with great severity.² The profession of any of the mechanic or liberal arts made a vassal free; but no vassal could acquire them without the permission of his lord.³

¹ Howel Dha's Laws.

² Rowland Mona, p. 120, 121.

³ Hoel Dah's Laws.

THE trevs were not all of equal dimension; some were of a larger and others of a lesser extent; but they were all subject to certain conditions to be paid to their lords, were rated and fixed at the first disposal of those tenures. These were rents, services, duties, mulcts, and attendances. These were the great sources of revenue and of power; from which the Welsh princes were enabled to support their dignity, to secure the loyalty of their subjects, and afford protection to the state.¹

THE rents of some tenures were paid in money, those of others were paid in goods and in cattle. Rents in money were fixed to be paid, either at the four quarterly payments, or the two half yearly ones; or they arose out of casualties, such as reliefs and heriots. The rents which were paid in goods and cattle, were either a certain quantity of corn, paid at certain times of the year, or a certain number of oxen and cows, which many trevs were obliged to pay at the end of the year. The Tunc Rent, was a sum of money payable by four villain townships in every commot, of five shillings a year cessable on particular Trevs. Rents of some kind or other were fixed originally to be cessable on all tenures whether free or bond, similar to the English soccage tenures.

¹ Rowland Mona, p. 121.

The freeholder had a legal right in the property of his lands, on the performance of the stipulated conditions; but that right might be forfeited, in certain cases, to the prince or lord of the fee.

THE villains or vassals, who were the tenants of the villanages, had no property in the lands assigned them; but enjoyed only the occupancy and possession of them during the pleasure of the prince or lord; they being considered only as slaves, to be placed in any situation at the will of their masters. They paid however a rent to their lord; and those rents which were charged on villain tenures were precise and stated, and payable, as the rents of freeholds were, on fixed and certain days.¹

THE nature of those services, which the several tithes, or the particular tenures in every manor, were obliged to perform, is here attempted to be explained. In general, the prince had a *Llys* or palace in every cantrev; a chapel likewise, with the necessary appendages of mills, offices, and other conveniences. In support of these, the services of tenants in the cantrev where the palace was built, were appropriated in various ways; and the lands belonging to the palace were parcelled out to tenants, on the conditions of performing such private and domestic services. Those

¹ Rowland Mona, p. 122, 123.

tenants were called in many places *Gwyr Mael*, *Gwyr tîr y Porth*, and *Gwyr Gwaith*. The service under the title of *Gwyr Mael*, is supposed to have been the prince's local guard, who were obliged to arm themselves, and to keep watch and ward about the palace. The service bearing the name of *Gwyr tîr y Porth*, was to cultivate the corn lands, reserved by the prince in every manor for his corn provision. The duty implied by *Gwyr Gwaith*, was an obligation on particular tenants of working for the prince at their own charge. The remaining tenants were obliged to repair the walls of the palace, or the hall, the chapel, or other appendages of the prince's house. In every cantrev, there were some tenants bound by their tenures to carry stones, or corn; to repair the roof of a mill, the walls, and the water-course; to carry large stones and pieces of timber for the uses of the mill. Some tenants, also, by their tenures, were obliged to repair weirs, to carry wattles and brush wood, to hedge about warrens, and some to attend the offices of the larder and kitchen.*

THE duties, which were due from other tenants, whether free or bond, to the prince or the lord, were various, and both of a civil and military nature. They were obliged to appear in the court of the prince, whenever they received a summons; which without great peril they could not dif-

* Rowland, p. 124, 125.

obey. They were under obligation to appear in the court of the cantrev in which they resided. Their appearance was equally necessary in the county court.* This was their great court of common pleas, and of high authority: its jurisdiction extended over the whole district. They were obliged to grind their corn at a particular mill, and to pay as a grist-toll the thirtieth part; which appears to have been very considerable, when it is considered that the repairs of the mill lay entirely upon the tenants. Those who were not concerned in these repairs, were yet obliged to make and to clear the water courses belonging to it; besides the different kinds of carriage that were imposed on them, especially the conveyance of the prince's own corn.

THE tenants in common were obliged to array, and to follow the prince to war whenever summoned for that purpose. This was a general obligation, equally imposed on the nobility and on the people at large. The same duties were likewise due from the tenants of inferior districts to their respective and immediate lords. This obligation of attending their prince or lord in war was not equal upon all; some tenants were only to go for a limited time, and to a limited place; while others were obliged to give their attendance during the war, without any limitation, equipped and maintained at their own expence. This duty,

* So Rowland calls it.

so indefinite and peremptory, was called *Gwaitb Milwyr*; and no doubt was a kind of knight's service.¹

THERE were five other duties, of a civil nature, incident to particular tenures. The nature of those duties are not certainly known at this distance of time; but they may perhaps be explained in the following manner. The courts of the Welsh princes being ambulatory, removing from manor to manor, and not fixed to any certain place; their houses likewise being insufficient to hold the numerous retinue which usually attended the prince; it is reasonable to suppose that a suitable provision was every where made for their reception and maintenance. The tenants of that manor, in which the prince came to reside for a certain time, were obliged of course to receive, and to support so many of the prince's officers and servants, as each of them was under the obligation of doing, agreeably to the conditions stipulated in their respective tenures. Such, it is probable, was the duty called *Cylch Stalon*, of entertaining the prince's grooms, and finding provision for so many of his horses, for such a time, and by such tenants of the manor, as were specified in the tenures of each. So, likewise, *Cylch Rbaglon*, was entertaining the prince's steward, by such and so many of the tenants as were obliged, each in his turn to receive that officer. *Cylch Hebogyddion*, was the obligation

¹ Rowland Mon. p. 126.

of entertaining and providing for the princes faulkners and his hawks. *Cylch Greorion*, as it was called, was the providing for and entertaining by turns, every tenant for a limited time, the keepers of the princes live stock and cattle; such, it is probable, as were designed for slaughter, for the use of the royal household, while the prince resided in their manor. This duty was afterwards commuted for, by the payment of a certain sum of money, called *Arian Greorion*. The last duty stiled *Cylch Dowrgon*, was the obligation on certain tenants, by turns, to receive, and provide for the huntsman and his dogs, during the prince's residence, or when he came for the purpose of hunting in any *trev* or manor. It is probable, that when the prince did not make his progress, at the usual times, among his tenants, they paid him, in lieu of such duties, a sum of money, which was called *Arian Qwestva*.¹

THREE species of mulcts were another source of revenue arising to the prince, and incident to particular tenures. *Am-wobr* was a mulct of five or ten shillings, payable by particular trevs and gavel, for the incontinency of women.² It was also a fine anciently paid to the prince or lord of the fee, at the marriage of a vassal's daughter.³

¹ Rowland Mon. p. 128, 129. Dr. Davies's Dictionary on the word *qwestva*.

² Rowland, p. 129. ³ Dr. Davies's Dictionary on the word *am-wobr*.

Obediſw, was a ſum of money rated on ſeveral trevs, and payable to the prince or chief lord, as a mortuary for the death of a tenant. This was ſometimes called *Obediſw Dietifedd*, when a ſum of money was payable to the prince or lord, for a tenant dying without iſſue. *Gober*, was a mulct of ten ſhillings, paid to the prince or lord on the marriage of a vaſſal's daughter. This is ſaid to be a commutation in lieu of that barbarous cuſtom, that was in uſe in the times of Paganism, of the right which the lord had of deſlouring a virgin on the firſt night of her marriage with a vaſſal.¹

As the lower ſorts of people were liable to perform certain ſervices to their prince or lord, ſo the nobility were bound by the expreſs conditions of their reſpective fees, to pay attendance to their ſovereign prince. This attendance was different, according to the ſeveral occaſions of the prince in peace or in war. Theſe lords had likewiſe under them, freehold and vaſſal tenants, over whom they themſelves were lords in fee. Depending on thoſe conditions, the nobility had offices and truſts both civil and military conferred upon them, as well as titles that were miniſterial and honorary.² The family of Hwfa ap Kynddelw of Prefaddfed in Angleſey held their eſtates in fee, on the condition of attending the prince's coronation, and of bear-

¹ Rowland, p. 130.

² Ibid.

ing up the right side of the canopy over his head. The bishop of Bangor, likewise, enjoyed some advantage, by his peculiar office of crowning the prince and of being his principal chaplain. In the same manner, most of the nobility were bound to particular attendances by the express conditions of their land tenures; besides those duties which they in general were obliged to perform as subjects by homage and fealty. When properly summoned, if the nobility neglected to perform these conditions, their estates were liable to forfeiture, and their persons to be banished the realm. This mode of punishment, by banishing the offender, was most commonly used by the Welsh princes.¹

THERE were many tenures in Wales,² which were held of neither prince nor lord, but under certain saints or patrons of churches; the tenants of which lands called themselves abbots. As most of these saints had the privileges of sanctuary originally established in them, it is probable, that one condition of those tenures was, to maintain and support these places of refuge, and the persons protected in them; and likewise to see that their privileges, with

¹ Rowland Mon. p. 131.

² These notices of the several divisions of the country are taken from the reports given in upon oath by those men, who were appointed by Edward the first for ascertaining the prince's rights, and the tenures in Wales.

other

other rights thereunto belonging, were from time to time preserved and kept inviolate.*

THE princes of Wales usually wore on their bonnets or helmets a coronet of gold ; being a broad lace or headband indented upwards, and set with precious stones.²

FROM the few traits which are here given of the private manners and customs of the Welsh, we may form a lively idea of their genius, and, in some measure, may discriminate what was peculiar in their national character. Hence, too, we are enabled to account for a variety of splendid actions which strike our wonder, and interest our feelings for the fate of a brave people, who were so often thrown into situations, sudden and rapid in their changes, and which appear to be singular in the history of nations.

THERE was something in the Saxon character, so little susceptible of those impressions which humanize and polish the rudest natures, that even at the period of which we are now treating, they retained their native barbarism. And

Powland Mon. p. 132.

² Welsh Chron. p. 36. The illegitimate children of the princes of Wales were not allowed to bear their father's arms, and if permitted, yet not without carrying on them some marks of peculiarity. British Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 31.

as the Welsh, confined in narrow limits, were scarcely considered as objects of fear, the Saxon princes turned their arms against each other; giving their enemies the vindictive consolation of seeing the miseries of war retaliated on themselves. These calamities were likewise increased by the Danes, who now, for the first time, infested the coasts of Britain;² and the Welsh, no doubt, would have seen with pleasure the effects of a storm, just breaking on the heads of their enemies, if they had not themselves been equally liable to the danger. But as a means of security, warned by the fatal remissness of the Saxons, they with great secrecy and diligence increased their naval force; reasonably expecting by such a force to repel the Danish invasions, or, it is probable, in case of necessity they might hope to secure a retreat.³

ABOUT this time the city of St. David was laid in ashes by the Saxons, and that event was preceded by an eclipse of the sun and moon; a terrible distemper likewise seized upon cattle; and the next year the city of Diganwy was destroyed by lightning:⁴ these incidents arising from natural causes, were marked by superstition as presages of national calamity. From this time,⁵ Diganwy ceased to be the residence of the princes of North Wales.

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13.

² Verstegan, chap. VI. p. 155. Welsh Chron. p. 20. Saxon Chron. p. 64.

³ Berkel y's Naval Hist. Brit. p. 61.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 21. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 66.

⁵ Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 67.

IN right of that equal distribution of property which took place in Wales by the custom of gavel kind, Howel the younger son of the late prince Roderic Moelwynoc laid claim to the island of Mona as part of his father's inheritance. This claim was disputed by Cynan Tindaethwy his elder brother, and each side prepared to put it to the decision of arms; but a victory, soon after gained by prince Howel, gave him the possession of the island. The two princes, the one eager to maintain his patrimony, and the other to regain the territory torn from him, opposed each other a second time; but with the same event, the battle ending in favour of Howel.¹ Enraged at these defeats, Cynan was determined, by a vigorous effort, at every hazard of his crown and his life, to recover the island and the reputation of his arms. In pursuance of this resolution he raised an army and marched against his brother; but Howel, seeing himself unable to oppose so great a force, withdrew from the conflict, and escaped to the Isle of Man; leaving Mona in the possession of the conqueror.²

Ann. Dom.
817.

CYNAN Tindaethwy did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, for he died soon after, and left the principality of North Wales to Efylyt his daughter, married to Merfyn

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 21, 22.

² Ibid. p. 22.

Frych, the king of Man, and a descendent, by the maternal line, from the house of Powis.¹

ON the death of the late prince, Merfyn and Efwylht, succeeded to the sovereignty of North Wales;² annexing to the dignity the Isle of Man.³

Ann. Dom.
819.

IN the early part of their reign,⁴ Egbert king of the West Saxons invaded Wales with a powerful army, desolated the country as far as Snowden mountains,⁵ and seized on the lordship of Rhyvonioc in Denbigh-land.⁶ He then advanced to Mona, and took possession of that island, having fought a bloody battle with the Welsh at Llanvaes near Beaumaris;⁷ and though the island was soon recovered by prince Merfyn, and the Saxons were driven out, it lost at this period the ancient name of Mona, and was afterwards by the English called Anglesey, or the Englishmen's Isle.⁸ This formidable inroad was no sooner over, as if the Welsh were to enjoy no interval of peace, than Kenulph, king of

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 22.

² Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188. ³ Ibid. p. 173.

⁴ Math. Westm. p. 224, 227, recites three different invasions of Egbert upon Wales, in which he subdued that country, and made its kings tributary, Ann. Dom. 810, 811, 830.

⁵ Yryri in the Welsh, signifying mountains of snow. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 65.

⁶ Welsh Chron. p. 24, 25.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 172, 173.

Mercia, in two successive inroads, over-ran, with great devastation, West Wales and Powis.¹

AT this period, the policy and valour of Egbert had united the Saxon heptarchy into one kingdom;² and such an union, under a vigorous administration, might have proved fatal to the Welsh, if the attention of the Saxon prince had not been diverted from foreign conquests to the security of his own territories. To consolidate more closely the various parts of his dominions, he gave to the whole of his new kingdom the common name of England;³ and at this juncture, every species of union was necessary to oppose the formidable and increasing invasions of the Danes. A large body of these people landed about this time in West Wales;⁴ and such was the animosity of the Welsh, and the wretched alternative left them, that they united in a common interest, as the least and more distant evil, to wreak their vengeance upon the Saxons, and to establish the Danish power on the ruin of more immediate and hereditary enemies.

Ann. Dom.
833.

IN consequence of this alliance, the Welsh joined their forces with the Danes; and after having ravaged his king-

¹ Chron. of Wales, p. 25.

² Fabian, p. 184. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 172.

³ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 125.

⁴ Grafton's Chron. p. 132. Chron of Wales, p. 27.

Ann. Dom.
835.

dom, and destroyed many of his castles and fortified towns, they fought a severe battle with Egbert upon Hengist Down; but in this action, they sustained a terrible defeat, with the slaughter of a great part of their army.¹ Immediately after the victory, incensed at this invasion, and alarmed at the consequence of such alliances in future, Egbert made war upon the Welsh and invested Chester; determined they should feel the utmost effects of his resentment and power. This city had hitherto remained in the possession of the Welsh,² and was regarded as an important post upon the frontier. It was taken at this time by Egbert.³ Among other marks of his indignation against the Britons, he caused the brazen statue of Cadwallon to be taken down and defaced;⁴ he likewise issued a proclamation, that all the men, with their wives and children, who were descended from British blood, should depart his territories in six months, on pain of death;⁵ and to add injury to insult, he made another law, as savage as it was unavailing; which affixed the penalty of death to every Welshman, who passed the limits of Offa's Dyke and should be taken on the English borders.⁶ More coercive restraints were necessary than such a feeble barrier and futile law,

¹ Saxon Chron. p. 72. Math. Westm. p. 227. ² Chron. of Wales, p. 27.

³ Grafron's Chron. p. 132. Fabian, p. 184.

⁴ Stowe's Chron. p. 77. ⁵ Chron. Wales, p. 27, from Ranulph Cestr.

⁶ Speed's Chron. p. 318, from Joa. Beverlensis.

though

though the hand of power had drawn an arbitrary line, which insulted the feelings, and entrenched on the rights of a warlike and irascible people.

THIS prince died soon after the siege of Chester; and his death might probably suspend for several ages the destiny of Wales.

A SHORT cessation of the Danish inroads gave leisure to Berthred, the king of Mercia, to renew hostilities against the Welsh;¹ and a severe battle was fought by the two princes, at a place called Kettel, upon the frontiers; in which Merfyn the king of North Wales was slain; who left an only son, named Roderic, to succeed to his dignity.²

Ann. Dom.
843.

THE prospect now opens under a new point of view; the memorable reign of Roderic Mawr, or the Great. This young prince succeeded to his father's throne with a greater extent of territory than had fallen to the share of any Cambrian sovereign. He enjoyed by the right of his father and mother the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, with the territories of North Wales and Powis; and having married Angharad the heiress of South Wales, of course the whole province of Cambria centered in his person.³ The firmness resulting from this union, the nature of the country and

¹ Saxon Chron. p. 75.

² Welsh Chron. p. 27, 28.

³ Rowland, p. 173, 188. Welsh Chron. p. 35.

valour of the inhabitants, their inveteracy against the Saxons and the perilous situation of that people, were important advantages which opened with the reign of Roderic. If this fortunate combination of circumstances, had been directed agreeably to a wise policy, they would probably have secured the independency of Wales, and have fixed its government on a basis so solid and permanent, that it might have supported the storms of ages, and have fallen at length in the ruins of time, unless undermined by the arts, and the luxury of a bordering and more powerful people.

INSTEAD of taking advantage of this fortunate conjuncture, a Crisis which will never more return in the annals of Wales, a fatal and irreparable measure took place. For Roderic, early in his reign, divided his dominions into three Principalities, which during his life, were governed by chieftains acting under his authority; and this singular event seems to have arisen from the narrow idea, that the Welsh, accustomed to be ruled by their own princes, ought not to yield obedience to a common sovereign.¹

THE death of Merfyn Frych the late prince, and the victory gained over the Welsh, flattered Berthred, the king of Mercia, with the hopes of farther success from the youth and inexperience of Roderic. Agreeably to this design,

¹ Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 174.

and

and strengthened by the aid of Ethulwulph, the king of England, he entered North Wales with a powerful army,¹ and advanced as far as Anglesey; which he laid waste in a cruel manner.² The young prince on this trying occasion, neglected no exertion, which was due to his own honour and to the defence of his country; by a spirited opposition the king of Mercia was prevented from making any great progress in the island: and soon after, fortunately for the Welsh, the attention of that prince was employed in the protection of his own dominions from the increasing power of the Danes.³ The inroads of these people increasing every day, the English, fully employed in attending to their own safety, left the Welsh to enjoy for many years a season of unusual tranquillity.

Ann. Dom.
846.

IN this favourable situation, if Roderic had possessed the qualities of a truly great prince, he would at least have attempted to provide against future evils; and the nature of the country, intersected with rivers and fortified with mountains, and almost surrounded by the ocean, might have pointed out the rational means of defence. Had this prince made a proper use of the leisure which the troubles in England had given him, he would have placed garrisons

¹ Sim. Dunelme, p. 120, 139. Hist. Angl. Script. Math. Westm. p. 231.

² Chron. Wales, p. 35.

³ Simon Dunelme Ann. 874. Saxon Chron. p. 82. Chron. of Wales, p. 31.

in the frontier towns, would have collected magazines and fortified the passes, and would have endeavoured to reduce his subjects to a just subordination, by promoting among them a spirit of union, and a steady obedience to the laws : instead of which, that period seems to have been distinguished by a total neglect of every measure, which, if steadily pursued, might have given security to his dominions.

Ann. Dom.
872.

AT this time Alfred had ascended the throne of England.¹ Engaged through his reign, in affairs of war or legislation, or in introducing into his kingdom learning and the arts, this prince filled every department in the state, and those appertaining to science, with men of the greatest abilities.² Having founded the university of Oxford, he invited out of Wales two persons distinguished for their learning, John, surnamed Scotus, and Asser, who had been educated in the college of St. David ; the former of whom he appointed a professor in the university he had lately established :³ and, taught by experience the impolicy of contending with the Danes by land, and the necessity of establishing such a naval force as might enable him to oppose them at sea, he engaged in his service by rewards and artful suggestions, many Welshmen acquainted with the art of ship-building, whom he

¹ William Malmſbury, lib. II. cap. IV. p. 42.

² Polydore Virgil, lib. V. p. 106.

³ Chron. of Wales, p. 33.

appointed

appointed superintendents of the dock yards, and afterwards employed in honourable stations in the fleet.¹

THE Danes having received a repulse in England, and being by treaty obliged to leave that country, made a descent on the isle of Anglesey, where in two battles they met with a very spirited opposition from Roderic; one of which was fought at Bangole, and the other at Menegid. At the same time, South Wales was over-run with another body of Danes, who desolated that country, and laid the churches and religious houses in ruins.²

Ann. Dom.
873.

ABOUT this time Roderic changed the royal residence from Caer Segont to Aberffraw in Anglesey.³ It is strange, that he should leave a country where every mountain was a natural fortress, and in times of such difficulty and danger, make choice of a residence so open and defenceless as that island.

AN interval of quiet from the Danes gave the English an opportunity of making another descent on Anglesey, which they invaded with a formidable army; but the Welsh king, opposing them with his usual gallantry of spirit, at length fell in the defence of his country, being slain along

¹ Berkeley's Naval Hist. Brit. p. 69. ² Welsh Chron. p. 34.

³ Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 173.

Ann. Dom. 876. with Gwyrriad his brother, in one of those battles he fought with the English in the course of that expedition.¹

It has been already observed, that the late prince, in the course of his reign, divided his dominions into three distinct sovereignties, which he left to his sons Anarawd, Cadelh and Mervyn.² But, agreeably to the spirit and custom of gavel-kind, though each possessed a distinct authority within his own dominions, yet a pre-eminency over the other princes was established in the kings of North Wales.³ He ordained that the princes of South Wales and Powis should each of them pay yearly to the sovereign of North Wales a tribute⁴ called Maelged of sixty-three pounds, as a mark of subordination;⁵ but the royal tribute, or teyrnged, which was due from Cambria to the imperial crown of London, agreeably to the ancient laws, was ordained in future to be paid by the princes of North Wales.⁶ Regarding likewise his eldest son Anarawd as

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 35.

² Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 174.

³ British Antiquities Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 8, 25, 40. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 174, 175. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 64, 65.

⁴ These tributes, according to Vaughan of Hengwrt in Brit. Ant. Reviv. p. 39, 40, were paid in the following manner. The kings of North Wales were to pay £63 to the crown of London. The princes of Powis four tons of flour, and the princes of South Wales four tons of honey to the sovereigns of North Wales.

⁵ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64, 65. Rowland, p. 175.

⁶ Ibid.

the immediate heir of the Cynethian line, he left to him and to his successors, the title of *Brenhin Cymry Oll*, or the king of all Wales.¹

IN order to cement more closely in a common interest his sons and their successors, he enjoined, that if any two of these princes should happen to differ about their particular interests, in such case the third should interfere and finally arbitrate the matter.² It was ordained, that if any difference should arise between the princes of North and South Wales, they should all meet at Bwlch-y-Pawl, and the prince of Powis was appointed the umpire. If the princes of Aberffraw and Powis should be at variance, they were all to assemble at Morva-Rhianedd on the banks of the Dee, and the prince of South Wales was to determine the controversy. If the dispute should arise between the princes of Powis and South Wales, the meeting was appointed to be held at Llys Wen upon the river Wye, and the matter in contention was to be decided by the king of Aberffraw.³ Roderic must have been little acquainted with human nature, to imagine that such regulations were sufficient to counteract, at a distant period, the wild passions and ambition of princes.

¹ Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 174, 175.

² Ibid. p. 175.

³ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 35.

OTHER institutions better marked the strength and liberality of his mind. He ordained, that if their separate territories should be invaded by a foreign enemy, the three Welsh princes were in that case to assist, and to afford mutual protection to each other: that castles and other strong holds should be fortified and kept in repair: that the churches and religious houses should be re-built and adorned: that the British history should be faithfully transcribed and enlarged: and that the archives of Britain, the monuments of her glory, should be carefully deposited in the monasteries of Wales.*

FROM such attentions as these, or perhaps from a comparison with the other Welsh princes in extent of dominion, and in personal ability, Roderic hath gained from posterity the surname of Great. If to produce the wealth and grandeur, the safety and happiness of a state, be the means of attaining such a title, then, surely, the conduct of this prince gave him little claim to that honourable distinction. Instead of acting up to the great design of government, Roderic, without precedent to palliate or apparent necessity to enforce such a measure, yielded up the independency of Wales; enjoining his posterity by a solemn rescript, to pay to the Saxon kings, as a mark of subordination, a yearly tribute; a tribute, though arising

* Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 35.

out of ancient laws, due only from the Cambrian to the British princes; and which, no doubt, became from this period the basis on which was founded that claim of supremacy ever after asserted by the English. The division which Roderic made of his dominions, was likewise the source of civil dissensions and national weakness, and was soon the cause of a decline in patriotism, and of a striking barbarity in manners; a series of evils, which at length occasioned the ruin of the state, and scarcely ended with the conquest of the Welsh, and the loss of their political existence.

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

B O O K I V .

FROM THE DEATH OF RODERIC THE GREAT TO THE DEATH
OF BLEDDYN AP CYNVYN.

THE present æra opens a new prospect of the history of Wales, in which this country, which in the late reign had centered in one sovereign, was divided into three distinct principalities.

CADELH, the second son of the late prince, succeeded to the sovereignty of South Wales,¹ distinguished by the name of Deheubarth, as lying to the south of the other provinces.² The residence of the princes of this country was at Dinefwr,³ on the banks of the river Towi in Caer-

Ann. Dom.
877.

¹ Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 174.

² Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 64.

³ Dinas Vawr, or the great palace.

marthenshire ;

marthenshire ; where a palace had been erected by Roderic,¹ in a situation strongly fortified by woods and mountains, and more convenient, on that account, than their ancient abode at Caermarthen upon the same river ; which was probable at this time in the hands of the English.² This district, the *Demetia* of the Romans, was divided into the present countries of Cardigan, Pembroke, Caermarthen, Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecknock ; consisted of twenty-six cantrefs, and eighty-one comots ;³ and was encompassed by the Irish sea, by the Severn, and by the rivers Wey and Dyvi.⁴ The continual influx of foreigners into this country was the means of debasing the language from its original purity.⁵

Ann. Dom.
877.

MERFYN, the youngest son of Roderic the Great, succeeded to the principality of Powis.⁶ The residence of the princes of this country was at Mathraval in Montgomeryshire, at which place a palace had been built by the late prince.⁷ The principality of Powis, afterwards broken into the divisions of Powis Fadoc, and Powis Wenwynwyn ;⁸ had ten cantrevs and twenty-seven comots ;⁹ was bounded on the north by North Wales, on the east by the country

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 34.

² Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 79.

³ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 16—20.

⁴ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 75, 76.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Rowland Mon. p. 175.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 70.

⁹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 10, 11.

which

which lies between Chester and Hereford, on the south by England, and on the west by the river Wye, and mountains which divide it from South Wales.' The open situation and fertility of this country, exposed it to continual invasions; and having more to dread from the arms of the English, than to expect from the regular support of their countrymen, the princes of Powis took an early and frequent part in the interests of England.

ANAWRAWD, the eldest son of Roderic the Great, succeeded to the sovereignty of North Wales.² This territory was the *Venedocia* of the Romans,³ and was by the Britons called Gwynedh.⁴ The residence of the sovereigns of this district was at Aberffraw in Anglesey, in a palace which had been erected during the life of prince Roderic.⁵ The principality of North Wales, in the four divisions of Anglesey, Arvon,⁶ Merionith and Berfeddwlad,⁷ containing fifteen cantrefs and thirty-eight comots;⁸ was bounded on the west and north by the Irish sea; on the south west by the river Dyfi, which separated it from South Wales; and on the south and east, was divided from Powis and England

Ann. Dom.
877.

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 70.

² Rowland, p. 174.

³ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Welsh Chron. p. 36. Rowland, p. 174.

⁶ Signifying, above Mona.

⁷ The inward or middle part. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64—66.

⁸ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 5—8.

by mountains and rivers, particularly by the Dee.' The language spoken in this country is esteemed the most pure, and comes the nearest to that of the ancient Britons. Its inhabitants from a variety of causes, preserved their independency longer than the other principalities. Besides the valour of the people, and in general the public virtue of their princes, the natural situation of the country of Snowdun, a range of mountains extending from one sea to the other, and guarded by two rivers discharging themselves into the sea at Traeth Mawr, and Cynwy or Conway, formed a rampart exceedingly strong; over which the Welsh usually retreated when they were pressed by the English arms. The principal defiles likewise which opened through that range of vast mountains were secured by strong fortifications. The castle of Diganwy was placed opposite to the water of the Conway, an arm of the sea which opened into the country; that of Caer Run was situated at the pass of Bwlch y ddau-vaen, with a fort at Aber; Dolwyddelen castle and a watch tower were placed at Nant Frankon; Dolbadern castle at Nant Peris; and the fort at Kidom was fixed at Nant tal-y-Llyn. The other pass of Traeth Mawr was guarded by the strong castles of Harlech on one side of the bay, and of Cricieth on the other; with a watch tower at Kafel Gyfarch, and a fort at Dolbenmaen.² These

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64.

² Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 148.

defences,

defences, all of them placed in the most advantageous situations, marked, for a rude age, great military sagacity.

THE fatal policy of Roderic appeared early in the reign of Cadellh, the prince of South Wales, who took possession by force of the territory of Powis on the death of his brother Merfyn; incited by ambition, or the jealousy natural to brothers who enjoy an equal share in their father's dominions and dignity.¹

Ann. Dom.
876.

AT the same time Anarawd, the prince of North Wales, had an opportunity of affording to the northern Britons, the like friendly protection, which his ancestors had so often received from their countrymen in Armorica. The remains of the Strath-Clwyd Britons, having been harrassed by the Danes, Saxons and Scots, and after severe conflicts with them, having lost Constantine their king in battle, applied to Anarawd for an asylum in his dominions.² This prince offered to receive them on the only tenure incident to these turbulent ages, which was to obtain and preserve a settlement by the power of the sword.

UNDER the conduct of Hobart, these northern Britons came into Wales, and having every motive of resentment and interest to urge them to valour, they easily dispossessed

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 35.

² Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 31.

the Saxons of that country between the Dee and the Conway.¹

Ann. Dom.
878.

THESE Britons remained for a time in quiet possession of their new kingdom, till Eadred, the duke of Mercia, mortified with the disgrace his arms had suffered, made preparations to recover the country which had been so easily torn from him.² The Britons, having early intelligence of his design, removed their cattle and other valuable effects beyond the river Conway. To support his allies, and expel from the bosom of his country its hereditary enemies, Anarawd exhibited a spirit and activity suitable to the importance of the occasion; and having encountered the Saxons at Cymryd, about two miles from the present town of Conway, by his own gallantry and the bravery of his troops, gave them an entire defeat. With a pious and honest exultation, the young prince called this memorable action Dial Rodri,³ expressive of the vengeance he had taken for his father's death.⁴ Pursuing their victory, the Welsh instantly followed the Saxons into Mercia, laid waste the borders, and returned home loaded with valuable spoils.⁵ After their return, Anarawd, agreeably to the piety of those days, and to express his gratitude for the late prof-

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 38. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 31, 32.

² Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 38.

³ Or Roderic's revenge.

⁴ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 38.

⁵ Ibid.

perous event, endowed the collegiate church of Bangor, and that of Clynnoc Vawr in Arfon with lands and great possessions.¹ These northern Britons, by an unaccountable and singular policy, were allowed to establish a separate state in the vale of Clwyd, in *Rhos*, and in the conquered² country.³ Part of this country had been called Tegenia by the Romans, Englefeld by the Saxons, and Tegengb by the Welsh, but being now united with the other territories, the Britons gave to their new kingdom the name of Strad Clwyd; part of it being situated on the banks of the river Clwyd.⁴

AT this early period, civil dissention, an evil naturally springing out of the weak conduct of Roderic, which soon set aside the futile regulations of that prince, had taken root in the breasts of his sons. For Anarawd, after the late storm was dispersed, probably on account of the tribute not having been duly paid,⁵ united with the English against his brother the prince of South Wales, and with their joint forces invaded his territory, and laid waste the country of Cardigan and Ystradgwy.⁶

Ann. Dom.
893.

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 38. Cambden's Brit. p. 671.

² The country from Conway along the Dee to Chester.

³ Humfrey Lhuyd's Notes on Powel's Hist. of Wales from Vaughan of Hengwrts, p. 31, 32.

⁴ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 69.

⁵ British Antiquities Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 13.

⁶ Chron. Wales, p. 41.

THE Danes, at this time, being obliged to flee before the arms of Alfred, made a descent on the coast of Wales, and advanced into the country as far as Buellt;¹ and sometime after being again discomfited by that prince, they laid waste the country of Brecknock, and other districts in South Wales.²

Ann. Dom.
896.

AT this time a large body of Danes landed in Anglesey; but this invasion seems only to have been distinguished by a battle fought at Meilon, and by the death of Merfyn the prince of Powis.³

Ann. Dom.
900.

IN this year Cadell, the prince of South Wales died, and was succeeded in that dignity by his eldest son Howel, who likewise became the sovereign of Powis, very probably on the death of his uncle Merfyn, who was slain in Anglesey.⁴

Ann. Dom.
907.

THE city of Chester, which appears to have lain in ruins ever since it had been deserted or demolished by the Danes in the year 895,⁵ was rebuilt and much improved by Elfreda, the wife of the tributary sovereign of Mercia:⁶ she likewise repaired the walls, and enlarged their circuit round the castle, which before this time had been situated without the city.⁷

Ann. Dom.
908.

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 41, 42.

² Ibid. ³ Chron. Wales, p. 42.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 44, 46.

⁵ Saxon Annals, p. 95.

⁶ Math. Westm. Flores Hist. p. 269.

⁷ Brompton's Chron. p. 838. Fabian's Chron. p. 224. Printed at London Ann. Dom. 1559.

A FEW years after this event, Anarawd, the king of North Wales died, and left two sons, Edwal Voel and Elife.

EDWAL VOEL, the eldest son of the late prince, succeeded to the sovereignty of North Wales, and was married to the daughter of his uncle Merfyn, prince of Powis.¹ Early in his reign the Irish made a descent on Anglesey, which they laid waste in a cruel manner.²

Ann. Dom.
913.

AT this period, Athelstane the king of England, having in several victories triumphed over the Danes and Scots, marched with an army into Wales, and at Hereford imposed on the princes of that country a yearly tribute of twenty pounds in gold, three hundred pounds in silver, and two thousand five hundred head of cattle, besides a certain number of hawks and hounds.³ This arbitrary tribute, extorted from the Welsh, while under the influence of power, was no longer regarded than while the kings of England had the means of enforcing its observance.

Ann. Dom.
933.

A WELSH nobleman having been imprisoned in England, and his confinement being resented by Edwal Voel, pro-

¹ British Antiquities Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 4.

² Welsh Chron. p. 45, 47.

³ Brompton's Chron. p. 838, with respect to the tribute, with the difference only of doubling the number of cattle. Stowe's Chron. p. 82. Welsh Chron. p. 50. Grafton's Chron. p. 149, published Ann. 1569.

Ann. Dom. 940. bably as an insult offered to the independency of his crown, that prince, with his brother Elise, attempted by hostilities to revenge the affront, but in the contest they were both slain fighting against the English and Danes.¹ The prince of North Wales left six sons, Meyric, Jevaf, Jago, Cynan, Edwal and Roderic; and his brother Elise a son called Cynan, and a daughter named Trawst.²

Ann. Dom. 940. THE love of power is an active and commanding principle in man: to attain and preserve it, he will employ his utmost sagacity, and bend the full force of his various faculties. Even the wise and temperate mind of Howel, prince of South Wales, was not exempt from its influence. The great esteem into which this prince had arisen from a just administration, had probably gained him, some years before, the sovereignty of Powis; and enabled him, at this time, by the accession of North Wales, to unite into one kingdom the three principalities.³ Whether he attained that dignity, solely, by the efforts of ambition, or was called to it by the voice of the people, or that talents for government, in these disordered times, occasionally set aside the regular course of succession; it is certain, the sons of the late prince, immediately on their father's death, were superseded by Howel, without any farther opposition on their

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 51.

² Welsh Chron. p. 51. British Antiq. Reviv. by Vaughan Hengwrt, p. 14.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 52

part, than unavailing murmurs and discontent.¹ Whatever were the means by which he attained the sovereignty of North Wales, his early attention to the common weal, and the mild tenor of his government, will, in some measure palliate, though it can never vindicate upon any principle of expediency, an act of injustice.

To reduce his subjects to a sense of order, and to render them subordinate to civil authority, Howel determined to collect into one code the ancient customs and laws of Wales, which had nearly lost their efficacy and weight in the lapse of ages, and in the confusion, and turbulency of the times. In pursuance of this design, he convened the archbishop of St. David's, and other bishops and clergy to the number of one hundred and forty, with the principal barons of Wales: out of every comot were likewise summoned six persons, distinguished by their talents and virtues. This assembly, forming a great national council, met upon the banks of the Tâf, at the white palace belonging to prince Howel.² In order to give the meeting a greater solemnity, and to implore the Divine Wisdom to influence their counsels, the prince himself, with the whole assembly, remained during Lent in the continual exercise of prayer and other acts of devotion. As soon as this solemn preparation was finished, Howel selected twelve persons who

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 52.

² Ibid. p. 53.

were eminent for wisdom, gravity, and experience; and he joined in the commission Blegored, the archdeacon of Llandaff, a person highly distinguished for learning, and a knowledge of the laws. This committee entered immediately into a strict examination of the customs and ancient institutions of Wales. With a judicious and discriminating eye they abolished every law become injurious or unnecessary; those, likewise, which time had rendered confused and unintelligible, were explained with greater perspicuity; and by a proper digest of the whole, a system was framed, which, allowing for limited ideas in jurisprudence, was wisely adapted to the genius, necessities, and situation of the Welsh.¹

THIS code was formed on the basis of the ancient national laws.²

AFTER the new laws had been read, proclaimed, and ratified by the public approbation, three copies of them were put into writing; one of which was designed for the use of the prince, and to follow his court, and the others were deposited in the palaces of Aberffraw and Dinefwr. This may be considered as a tolerable advance in juridical

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 53.

² Said to have been originally framed by Moelmutius, who reigned in Britain 441 years before Christ. Holinshed, p. 177.

policy, for that age, when private rights and public laws had been, in a great measure, transmitted by local customs and immemorial tradition. To add still greater authority to the laws, and to stamp them as objects of religious veneration, the archbishop of St. David's denounced excommunication on all who should violate them. Influenced, likewise, by the spirit of the age, or desirous of rendering such a ceremony subservient to his views, Howel, attended by the archbishop of St. David's, the bishop of Bangor and St. Asaph, and thirteen other persons of distinction, proceeded to Rome; where the new system of legislation was solemnly ratified by the Pope; and having thus given the last sanction to his laws, he returned into Wales.¹

The mild temper of this prince seems, in some measure, to have influenced the transactions of his reign; few military incidents having disturbed it during a period of forty years. At this time, however, the English, with a considerable force, invaded North Wales, and after they had laid waste the small territory of Strad-Clwyd, returned into their own country.²

Ann. Dom.
944.

A FEW years after this event king Howel died, leaving four sons, Owen, Run, Roderic, and Edwyn; who, dividing among themselves the principalities of South Wales and

Ann. Dom.
948.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 54.

² Ibid. p. 58.

Powis, relinquished North Wales to the right heirs, Jevaf and Jago, the fons of Edwal Voel.'

THE death of this amiable prince, who had long enjoyed the mild honours resulting from peace, and the public esteem, spread univerfally the deepeft forrow.

As a grateful memorial of his virtues, pofterity have given him the furname of Dha, or the Good. His code of laws is the beft eulogium of his memory, and raife him as much above the reft of the Cambrian princes,² as peace, and gentlenefs of manners, and a regulated ftate, are preferable to the evils infeparable from war, to the fiercenefs of uncivilized life, and to the habits of a wild independency.

THE LAWS OF HOWEL DHA were divided into three parts, each of which had a diftinct and feparate objeët; the king's prerogatives, with the œconomy of his court; the affairs of civil jurisprudence; and the criminal law.

THE king poffeffed, by virtue of his prerogative, the patronage of monafteries, the protection of public roads,

¹ Welſh Chron. p. 58.

² From this comparifon it is the author's meaning to except thoſe Britiſh and Cambrian princes who defended their country from the rapacity or ambition of foreign enemies: a conduct than which nothing can be more meritorious, or ſcarcely any thing have a higher claim on the reſpect and gratitude of mankind.

the right of creating laws with consent of his people, of coining money within his dominions, and of presiding in the principal causes that related to himself, his crown, and its appendages. He was empowered to lead an army only once a year, and for no longer time than six weeks, out of his kingdom ; within his own territories he might at any time muster his subjects and conduct them to battle. He was privileged to hunt in any part of his dominions. He had a power of compelling any of his subjects to build the royal castles.

If any person addressed the king with unbecoming and insolent language, he was constrained to pay a fine of six head of cattle. Offences against the king were, to commit adultery with his queen, to kill his substitute, and violate his protection. The judges were considered as the king's substitutes. The fine for these treasons consisted of a rod of gold of the king's stature, a bull, and a hundred cows, from every cantred or district belonging to the attainted person. For assassinating the king the penalty was made threefold.

THE witness or debtor who followed the sound of the military horn, when the king went to war, was excused from obedience to a legal summons. At his accession he confirmed the rights of places of asylum ; and it was also his prerogative to fix the bounds of cantreds and trevs or townships. He had likewise

likewise a power of bringing to immediate trial causes in which the crown was concerned, and of setting aside a written law to make room for a traditional custom. There were species of offences which gave the king the privilege of felling the offenders. The king was not amenable to his own judges.

To moderate these excesses of authority, some limitations were thrown into the opposite scale. If complaint was made that the king, or any of his substitutes, had violated the laws, and exercised oppression, the matter was then to be decided by a verdict of the country; that is, a jury of fifty men holding lands, sworn to do justice; if the accusation was found to be just, they ordered reparation to be made. The king had no power to punish his subjects for offences committed out of his kingdom, or in the time of his predecessor. Though he had granted to an abbey rights or privileges by which his prerogative was infringed, yet the law ordained that the grant should never be revoked; alledging that it is safer to diminish than increase the royal power.

THE Welsh, engaged in a roving and military life, had little leisure to exercise the arts, or cultivate the ground; and of consequence were, in some degree, in a state of poverty. They had many usages, however, which tended to make their princes opulent, and to supply them with the means of displaying that unrestrained hospitality by which their residence was always rendered conspicuous.

THE king was the original landlord of the whole of his dominions. The services by which lands were held under him were of three kinds; military service, service in the courts of law, and the payment of the public tribute; which in ancient times was made with horned cattle. When lands, by neglecting the service for the performance of which they were granted, or by deserting them without the king's leave, were forfeited, they reverted to him. His subjects were obliged to build the royal palaces, and, in a great measure, they maintained his household; he was entitled to all treasures wherever found; to all goods not claimed by any owner, and the possessions of deceased bishops. Among the various productive sources of revenue, was the sale of honourable and lucrative places; and the escheat of goods exceeding one pound in value, such as horses, oxen, cows, gold, silver, and embroidered garments; escheated goods of inferior price belonged to the royal officers and domestics. According to the ancient division of Wales, settled by its laws, a cantredh contained two commots, a commot twelve manors, a manor four townships or parishes. A yearly tribute of one pound was due from every free manor, and was paid to the king in money; or in lieu thereof, a horse load of the best flour, a slaughtered ox, a cask of medh or mead, one hundred and sixty sheaves of oats for the provender of the king's horses, a sow, a fitch of bacon, and a vessel of butter. This tribute was paid in the summer. In winter the royal household was in a great measure supported.

ported by the free manors; each of which paid likewise two shillings in money, to be divided among the domestics. Those manors which were not emancipated, but remained in a state of vassalage, paid twice in the year a smaller tribute, consisting of ale, butter, cheese, bread, corn for provender, hogs and sheep. In every commot of Wales two townships remained ungranted to any subject, in the king's private possession. A mayor and a chancellor superintended the king's demesne; the latter officer had the privilege of being preceded by a virger; he had also the power of imprisonment, and was not liable to be taxed. Shipwrecks and all things thrown up by the sea on the shore of the king's personal estates, became his property: when on the coast of a bishop, abbot, or any other lord, that lord was obliged to divide them with the king.

BESIDES these sources of advantage arising to the king, there were many others which were considered as the fruits of his prerogative. He had the escheat of the goods of suicides. Strangers, who were vagabonds, and were found in any part of his dominions, were the property of the king. He was the proprietor, likewise, of wastes, forests, and the sea. He had the power of commanding a workman from every town in villanage to erect his tent. The villains of the crown were obliged to build for the king nine apartments of his palace: the hall, the royal bed-chamber, the pantry, the stable, dog kennel, the barn, the kiln, privy,

privy, and the dormitory. Young women were reckoned among the sources of the king's revenue, and to him a fee was paid on their marriage or violation. A fine was paid to the king on any breach of contract. A toll was also to be paid by every merchant ship which came into the ports of Wales; and if any ship, which had not paid toll, happened to be wrecked, its cargoe was forfeited to the king. Vassals, in a state of villanage, were obliged nine times in the year to furnish the king's horses and dogs with provender, and his foreigners with provision. They were likewise constrained to yield up all their honey and fish to the use of the court, and to provide horses to carry the baggage and ammunition of the army. A third part of all military plunder was yielded to the crown.

THE QUEEN had a right of patronage, or protection; and received a third part of the revenues of the royal manors. The violation of her person was reckoned among the treasonable offences, with the addition of a moiety to the ordinary penalty. A present of money was due to her, when her daughter was married. She had also a power to dispose of a third part of what she had received from the king.

THE HEIR APPARENT was either the son, brother, nephew, or cousin of the king: and it was believed that the king's private promise or appointment could secure the succession to either of these relations, without regard to nearness of kindred. The laws placed him near the king's person, and

under his authority : he sat at the king's table, and was served by the royal attendants. The king, the heir apparent, and the master of the palace, paid no portion with their daughters : the honour and influence derived from such an alliance was deemed a sufficient portion. Deformity of person, as well as incapacity of mind disqualified the king's son or next of kindred from the government, as they did any subject from public offices and the inheritance of lands.

THE OFFICERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD, and twelve gentlemen whose tenure of land was by military service, composed the royal guard, and were mounted on horses furnished by the king.

THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD consisted of the following officers and domestics.

THE MASTER OF THE PALACE. He was sometimes the heir apparent, always of the royal blood. His authority extended to every person of the household, and when any of them fell under the king's displeasure, this officer entertained him till a reconciliation was effected. He received a share of all military plunder, and, on three festivals in the year, was obliged by his office to deliver the harp into the hands of the domestic bard. He was also, it is probable, the king's treasurer.

THE DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN, was by his office appointed to say grace, to celebrate mass, and to be consulted in matters
of

of conscience. He was also secretary to the king, and to the principal court of justice. In the king's absence, the domestic chaplain, the judge of the palace, and the steward of the household, supported the royal dignity, and exercised the authority annexed to it.

THE STEWARD OF THE HOUSEHOLD, superintended the inferior domestics; receiving, among other emoluments, the skins of lambs, kids, and fawns, and all other creatures from an ox to an eel, killed for the use of the king's kitchen. He was the king's taster; and drank, but did not eat, at the king's table. He distributed among the household their wages, he assigned them proper seats in the hall of the palace, and allotted the apartments where they were to lodge.

THE MASTER OF THE HAWKS, was required to sleep near his birds: he had his bed in the king's granary, where they were kept, and not in the palace, lest they should be injured by the smoke. He was restricted to a certain measure of mead and ale, that he might not neglect his duty. In spring he had the skin of a hind, and in autumn that of a stag, for gloves to guard his hands, and thongs for the gesses of his hawks. The eagle, the crane, the hawk, the falcon, and the raven, were considered as royal birds; when any of these were killed without authority, a fine was paid to the king. The king owed three services to the master of the hawks; on the

day when he took a curliou, a hern, or a bittern. He held the horse of this officer while he took the bird, held his stirrup while he mounted and dismounted; and that night honoured him likewise with three different presents. If the king was not in the field, he rose from his seat to receive this officer upon his return; or if he did not rise, he gave him the garment he then wore.

THE JUDGE OF THE PALACE. The court in which this judge presided, was the principal court of Wales. It is said that he always lodged in the hall of the palace, and that the cushion on which the king was seated in the day, served for his pillow at night. On his appointment, he received an ivory chess-board from the king, a gold-ring from the queen, and another gold-ring from the domestic bard; which he always kept as the insignia of his office. When he entered, or departed out of the palace, the great gate was opened for him, that his dignity might not be degraded by passing under a wicket. He determined the rank and duty of the several officers of the household. He decided poetical contests; and received from the victorious bard, whom he rewarded with a silver chair, the badge of poetical pre-eminence, a gold-ring, a drinking horn, and a cushion. If complaint was made to the king, that the judge of the palace had pronounced an unjust sentence, and the accusation was proved, he was then forever deprived of his office, and condemned to lose his tongue, or pay the usual ransom for
that

that member. The other judges were also subject to these severe but salutary conditions. A person ignorant of the laws, whom the king designed to make his principal judge, was required to reside previously for a whole year in the palace, that he might obtain from the other judges, who resorted thither from the country, a competent knowledge of his duty and profession. During this year, the difficult causes which occurred, were stated and referred by him to the king: at the expiration of this term he was to receive the sacrament from the hands of the domestic chaplain, and to swear at the altar that he would never knowingly pronounce an unjust sentence, nor ever be influenced by bribes or intreaties, hatred or affection: he was then placed by the king in his seat, and invested with the judicial authority; and afterwards received presents from the whole household. It was reckoned among the remarkable and peculiar customs of the Welsh, that the tongues of all animals slaughtered for the household were given to the judge of the palace.

THE MASTER OF THE HORSE. His lodging was near the royal stables and granary; and it was his duty to make an equal distribution of provender among the royal horses. From every person on whom the king had bestowed one of his horses, this officer received a present. To him and to his equerries belonged all colts, not two years old, included in the king's share of spoils taken in war. To him also belonged the riding caps, saddles, bridles, and spurs, which
the

the king had used and laid aside. The spurs, we are told, were of gold, silver, and brass. It was part of his duty, to produce the horse belonging to the judge of the palace in good condition and in his complete furniture. The judge, in return for this care, instructed him in the nature of his rank and privileges. The extent of his protection was, the distance to which the swiftest horse in the king's stables could run.

THE CHAMBERLAIN, was obliged to eat and sleep in the king's private apartment, which he was appointed to guard. It was his duty to fill, and present to the king, his drinking horn; and to keep also his plate and rings, for all of which he was accountable. When the king's bed-furniture and wearing apparel were laid aside, they were given to the chamberlain. If a person, walking in the king's chamber at night, without a light in his hand, happened to be slain, the laws gave no compensation for his death.

THE DOMESTIC BARD, was considered as next in rank to the chief Bard of Wales. He was obliged, at the queen's command, to sing in her own chamber, three different pieces of poetry set to music, but in a low voice, that the court might not be disturbed in the hall. At his appointment he received a harp from the king, and a gold ring from the queen. On three great festivals in the year, he received

ceived and wore the garments of the steward of the household, and at those entertainments sat next to the master of the palace. He accompanied the army when they marched into the enemies country; and when they prepared for battle, he sung before them an ancient poem called Unbenniaeth Prydain, or the Monarchy of Britain; and for this service was rewarded with the most valuable beast of the plunder which they brought back from these incursions.

AN OFFICER TO COMMAND SILENCE. This he performed first by his voice, and afterwards by striking with his rod of office a pillar near which the domestic chaplain usually sat: and to him a fine was due for every disturbance in the court. He took charge of the implements of husbandry, and of the flocks and herds belonging to the king's demesne, in the absence of the bailiff, or during the vacancy of his place. He was also a collector of the royal revenues.

THE MASTER OF THE HOUNDS. In the hunting season he was entertained, together with his servants and dogs, by the tenants who held lands in villanage from the king. Hinds were hunted from the middle of February to midsummer, and stags from that time to the middle of October. From the ninth day of November to the end of that month he hunted the wild boar. On the first day of November he brought his hounds and all his hunting apparatus

apparatus for the king's inspection : and then the skins of the animals he had killed in the preceding season were divided, according to a settled proportion, between the king, himself, and his attendants. A little before Christmas he returned to the court, to support his rank and enjoy his privileges. During his residence at the palace he was lodged in the kiln-house, where corn was prepared by fire for the dogs. His bugle was the horn of an ox, valued at one pound. Whenever his oath was required, he swore by his horn, hounds, and leafes. Early in the morning, before he put on his boots, and then only, he was liable to be cited to appear before a court of judicature. The master of the hounds, or any other person who shared with the king, had a right to divide, and the king to choose. It was his duty, to accompany the army on its march with his horn; and to sound the alarm, and the signal of battle. His protection extended to any distance which the sound of his horn could reach. The laws declared, that the beaver, the marten, and the stoat were the king's wherever killed, and that with the furry skin of these animals his robes were to be bordered. The legal price of a beaver's skin was stated at ten shillings.¹

THE MEDD OR MEAD-BREWER. This liquor, which was the wine commonly used by the Welsh, was made

¹ Lord Lyttelton, surely, was not apprised of the testimony of Howel's laws, when he ridiculed Giraldus's account of beavers in Wales as fabulous.

with

with honey mixed in a vat with boiling water, and spiced. The wax separated by this process from the honey, was partly given to the mead-brewer, and partly applied to the uses of the hall, which was the refectory of the palace, and to those of the queen's dining apartment.

THE PHYSICIAN OF THE HOUSEHOLD, was also a practitioner of surgery. In slight cases he cured the king's domestics without a fee. When he healed a common wound, he claimed the torn and bloody garments of the wounded person. When the brain was laid open, the bowels in sight, or a thigh, leg, or arm was fractured, he received one pound for the cure. He was entitled to a bond from the family of his patient, by which he was indemnified, if death ensued from his prescriptions: if he did not take this precaution, and the patient happened to die, he was liable to a legal prosecution. He always attended the army on its march.

THE CUP-BEARER, had charge of the mead-cellar, and filled and presented the drinking horns.

THE DOOR-KEEPER, whose duty it was to carry messages to the king and his court. His station and lodging was the gate-house. He was required to know personally all the officers of the household, that he might not refuse admittance to any of them, which refusal was considered

and punished as a violation of privilege. If he deserted his post, and happened to receive any insult, he could obtain on that account no compensation. He cleared the way before the king, and with his rod kept off the crowd. He preserved the hall of the palace free from intruders, and did not sit, but kneel in the king's presence. The door-keeper of the palace, and the door-keeper of the royal chamber, lodged with the gate-keeper in the gate-house.

THE COOK, to whose office appertained the skins of all animals slaughtered for the use of the kitchen. He always carried the last dish out of the kitchen, and placed it before the king, who immediately rewarded him with meat and drink.

THE SCONCE-BEARER, who held wax tapers when the king sat in the hall, and carried them before him when he retired to his chamber.

THE STEWARD TO THE QUEEN; this officer was also her taster. He superintended her domestics, and was entertained at her table.

THE QUEEN'S CHAPLAIN, who was also her secretary, and received a fee for every grant or instrument which bore her seal. He was also entertained in her dining apartment, and sat opposite to her at table. He was entitled by his
office

office to the penitential robes which the queen wore during lent. He lodged together with the king's chaplain, in the sacristan's house.

THE MASTER OF THE HORSE TO THE QUEEN, was in several respects upon the same footing with the king's officer of the same name.

THE QUEEN'S CHAMBERLAIN, transacted every business between her apartment and the hall, and kept her wardrobe. His lodging was near the royal chamber, that he might be at hand when ever he was wanted.

THE WOMAN OF THE QUEEN'S CHAMBER, whose office it was to sleep so near her mistress as to be able to hear her speak though in a whisper. She was entitled to the queen's linen, hairlaces, shoes, bridles, and saddles, when they were laid aside.

THE DOOR-KEEPER to the queen, lodged in the gate-house.

THE QUEEN'S COOK.

THE QUEEN'S SCONCE-BEARER.

THE GROOM OF THE REIN, who, when the master of the horse was absent, supplied his place. He led the king's horse to and from the stables, brought out his arms, held

his stirrup when he mounted or dismounted, and ran by his side as his page.

AN OFFICER TO SUPPORT THE KING'S FEET AT BANQUETS: he was the foot-stool of his throne, and the guard of his person. There was one in every cantred.

THE BAILIFF of the king's demesne. It was his province to judge and to punish the king's private vassals, and to him their heriots and amercements were paid. The servants of the chancellor and the officers of revenue drove into his custody the tribute-cattle, and by him the king's household was supplied with provision.

THE APPARITOR, as an officer of the household, stood between the two pillars in the hall, and had the charge of the palace during entertainments, that it might not suffer any damage by fire or otherwise. He appeared likewise in another capacity, conveying the summonses and citations of the principal court of justice. He carried a rod or wand as the badge of his office, and claimed entertainment at every house to which he was sent: when the judges were sitting, it was the apparitor's duty to silence, or take into custody, those offenders who disturbed the court.

THE GATE-KEEPER claimed by custom a share of several things carried through the gate house to the palace.

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State prisoners were committed to his custody. He acted as apparitor in the king's demesne. He provided straw for the beds and other uses of the household, and took care that the fires were lighted.

THE WATCH-MAN of the palace was a gentleman who guarded the king's person while he slept. To him were given, as symbols of his duty, the eyes of all animals slaughtered for the use of the palace kitchen. When the king and the household retired to rest, a horn was sounded, which was a signal to the watch-man to go upon duty. In the morning, when the palace gate was opened, he was relieved. From that time till the horn was sounded again at night, he was permitted to sleep, and was under no necessity of performing any other service, unless he voluntarily undertook it for a reward. If he was found negligent or asleep during his watch, he was subject to heavy punishments.

THE WOOD-MAN procured fuel for the uses of the household. He also slaughtered the cattle for the royal kitchen with his axe.

THE BAKER-WOMAN.

THE PALACE-SMITH was obliged to work without a reward for the household, except when he made a boiling pot, the point of a spear, the wood-man's axe, the iron work

work of the gate of the palace, or royal castle, and the iron work of the mill. It was his duty to strike off the shackles of prisoners released by the court of justice, and he received a fee for that service. No other smith was allowed to exercise his trade in the same commot with himself, without his permission.

THE LAUNDRESS.

THE CHIEF MUSICIAN was chosen into and seated in the chair of music, for his superior skill in that science, by the session of the bards at the end of every third year. When his term expired, if he had maintained his superiority, he was re-chosen. He was the only person, except the domestic bard, who was allowed to perform in the king's presence. He was lodged in one of the apartments belonging to the heir apparent. In the hall he sat next to the judge of the palace. When the king desired to hear music, the chief musician sung to the harp two poems; one in praise of the Almighty, the other in honour of princes and of their exploits; after which a third poem was sung by the domestic bard. His emoluments arose out of fees given by brides on their nuptials, and from those of novices in music, when they were admitted to the practice of their art. The Welsh bards accompanied their songs with the harp, the crwth and the flute. They frequently addressed poems to their princes and lords, in which they asked for presents, such as a horse, a bull, a sword, or a garment,

garment, and they were seldom, if ever, refused. The controller of the revenues had the privilege of bringing three guests to banquets in the palace. This officer and the chancellor received all the honey, the fish, and wild creatures, which were paid as tributes, or forfeited to the king. They also received a third part of the income arising to the king from his tenants in villanage.

THESE were the different officers, of whom the royal household was composed. They were free-holders by their offices, and in consequence of this they all enjoyed the right of protection, by which they granted criminals a temporary safety. On the heads of these persons, and on all their members, a price was fixed by the laws. They received for their wearing apparel woollen cloth from the king, and linen from the queen. They were all called together by a horn.

CIVIL JURISPRUDENCE.

THERE were three species of courts, each of them enjoyed a distinct prerogative, with power to take cognisance of offences, and to punish them: the royal, the episcopal, and the abbatial. When a person, subject to one of these jurisdictions, litigated with a person subject to another, the cause was tried by the judges of the respective courts conjunctively.

THE royal courts, those in which the judges sat as the king's substitutes, were distinguished into four kinds; the principal court, the courts of cantreds, courts of commots, and extraordinary courts. The principal court was usually held at the king's chief residence.

FOR the administration of justice in the commots and cantreds remote from the principal court, inferior judges were appointed, with the title of chancellors, who also assisted the officers of revenue, called Meiri, in collecting the taxes. Extraordinary courts were appointed by the king to hear and determine extraordinary causes, and to remedy the abuses which had arisen from a perversion of the established laws.

WHEN the ordinary judges differed in points of law, the regular and secular canons were appointed in that case extraordinary judges.

THE principal courts of North Wales and Powis consisted of the following officers appointed by the king: a judge, a chancellor, a provost, a clerk to register the decrees of the court, and an apparitor to execute them. The courts of South Wales had the four last mentioned officers, with several judges who held their offices by virtue of the lands they possessed, and received no fees.

ALL the courts were shut in spring, that plowing and sowing might not be hindered, and in autumn on account of
the

the harvest. The judges were guided in their decisions, not only by the code of national laws, but also by the Brawd-lyfr' or Book of Reports, which contained precedents of the proceedings and decrees of their predecessors, and by the writings of Welsh lawyers which were held in great estimation. A legal cause was that in which four persons or parties were concerned: the king to preside, the judge to examine and determine, the prosecutor, and the party accused. The accusing party was bound over to prosecute; the party accused was obliged to find sureties, who were imprisoned during the pendency of the suit. In any suit civil or criminal, a clerical plaintiff must proceed against a lay defendant in the king's court; and of consequence a lay plaintiff must prosecute his suit against his clerical adversary in the ecclesiastical court.

DISPUTES concerning hereditary right were frequently decided by single combat. Three sorts of persons, by the laws of Wales, might be killed with impunity; a madman, a stranger, and a leper. No person was allowed to leave his property by testament; unless to the church, and for the payment of debts.

¹ The Book of Triads, and the Book of Reports, were private volumes written by Welsh lawyers. There was likewise a code of Welsh laws, called the laws of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, a prince posterior to Howel. If an action was brought forward according to the laws of Blethyn, the judge could not frame his judgment by the laws of Hoel, and *vice versa*.

A WIFE was not allowed by law, to be a surety for her husband, or an evidence for or against him. A married woman had no disposal of any part of her husband's property, either by sale or purchase. A daughter was only entitled to a moiety of a son's share of the father's personal property. Lands and buildings were the only property which descended by hereditary succession. Personal effects, under the regulation of the laws, were divided among the wife and children.

OF CAUSES BETWEEN SURETIES AND DEBTORS.

A DEBTOR was obliged to indemnify his surety by payment of the debt, or giving a pledge, or disavowing the bail. In a cause of debtor and surety, the surety was required to swear that he had given bail, and was discharged from his suit and bail; if he refused to swear, he lost the cause, and was obliged to pay the debt. A surety was indemnified, only by payment of the whole and not a part of the debt. The surety was not bound to discharge the debt, till the debtor had refused or failed; but the law provided against such refusal or failure, by empowering the surety to take a pledge from the debtor more than equivalent to the debt. If a debtor found a surety, and afterwards fled to an asylum to evade payment, the law in that case deprived him of his right of asylum. Utensils of the church could not be pledged. The bail of a responsible person

person could not be refused. Notorious drunkards, lunatics, hermits, foreigners, and persons in holy orders were incompetent to give bail, or to enter into any covenant, action, or personal obligation; as were likewise monks without the consent of their abbots, vassals without the consent of their lords, scholars without the consent of their preceptors, sons under the age of fourteen without the consent of their fathers, and wives without the consent of their husbands; except ladies of manors, giving bail for their vassals.

O F C O M P A C T S.

A LEGAL compact was made by the meeting of the parties before a witness, declaring to him the nature of their compact, and joining their hands to his, under a promise of abiding by it. So very sacred was a compact considered, that it could not be annulled even by an express law.

O F T H E S E V E R A L C A S E S I N W H I C H A S I N G L E W I T N E S S W A S A D M I S S I B L E.

A LORD, in a cause between two of his vassals, in which he himself was not concerned. An abbot, between two of his monks. A father, between two of his sons. A judge, concerning his own adjudication. A surety, in a cause concerning a matter for which he had given bail. A donor, in a cause concerning his own donation; or (according to other

manuscripts) a priest between two of his parishioners. A young woman concerning her own virginity. The public herdsman of a township concerning the herd or flock under his care. A thief at the gallows concerning his accomplices.

IT was usual for a husband to give presents to his wife on the first morning after her marriage, and before she arose out of bed; which presents were considered as her own property; but if the wife neglected to seize this favourable opportunity, she could never afterwards demand them.¹ This present was called Egweddi or Cowyll.

IN cases of divorces among the Welsh, an equal division of property took place, under certain limitations. If a wife was separated from her husband before the expiration of seven years she was entitled to enjoy her egweddi. If separated after seven years she divided with her husband all his property. If a wife separated from her husband for just causes she retained her egweddi,² paraphernalia, and a fine called gofyn. A widow on the death of her husband divided with his heirs the personal property. When a husband, who had repudiated his first, took a second wife, the former was free to marry again. A woman was allowed to leave her husband for the three following causes, leprosy, bad breath, and impotency; but in these cases the husband was under no obligation of dividing his property with the woman.

¹ Howel Dha, chap. I. lib. II. p. 80, 88.

² Ibid. p. 73.

C R I M I N A L L A W.

AN injury done to a single woman was to be compensated by half of that fine paid on the like occasion for any injury done to her brother. The murder of either a married or single woman was to be attoned for by half of the fine paid for the murder of her brother. For adultery, or even for indecent familiarities with a married woman, a fine was to be paid to the husband by the male offender. The forcible violation, or carrying away a married woman, was compensated by a triple augmentation of the mulct. A married woman, allowing indecent familiarities, or committing adultery with another man, might be divorced by her husband, and in that case lost her dower. The person who forcibly violated the chastity of a woman, was to pay a fine of twelve cows to the king, and the customary fine to the lord; and if the woman was a virgin, he was then to pay to her her paraphernalia, and the greatest dower that could be exacted by law, together with the mulct usually paid for violated chastity.¹ If either a man or a woman were accused of adultery, and denied the charge, the party accused

¹ The several particulars, for which the author is indebted to the laws of Howel, are here inserted from the text and Latin translation of that curious code published by Dr. Wotton, folio, London. Ann. Dom. 1730. The author subjoins no references to the chapters or pages of that work; which is the only edition of the Welsh laws, because the copious and accurate index annexed to it, will be a ready direction to the reader, who is desirous of enquiring more particularly into the subject.

might

might prove his innocence by the oaths of fifty persons of the same sex, who were neither slaves, captives, nor aliens.

PERJURY was punished by the payment of a mulct of three cows to the king.

WHOEVER bailed a criminal, and did not produce him at the time of his legal appearance, was obnoxious to all the penalties to which the criminal himself was liable.

THE sole object of the law concerning the maiming of animals, was complete restitution to the owner; no other penalty being annexed to it.

ON the death of Howel Dha, the late sovereign of the united principalities of Wales, Jevaf and Jago, the second and third sons of Edwal Voel, setting aside from the succession their elder brother Meyric, assumed the government of North Wales.¹ To revenge on the sons of Howel Dha the injuries which these princes had received from the father, they invaded South Wales with a powerful army, laying claim to its sovereignty as the elder branch of the CYNETHIAN line; and though they met with a spirited opposition on the Carno mountains, they gained a complete victory.²

¹ Welch Chron. p. 59, 60.

² Ibid.

The year following, having renewed hostilities, the same princes again invaded South Wales, and desolated by two successive inroads the country of Dyvet. The sons of Howel Dha, then, collecting their utmost force, laid waste, in their turn, the territory of North Wales as far as the river Conway. To check this invasion, the two princes Jevaf and Jago, opposed them at Llanrwst in Denbighshire; where, after an obstinate battle, in which many on each side of considerable rank were slain, fortune decided as before in their favour; and pursuing their enemies into South Wales, they destroyed the country of Cardigan with fire and sword.¹ At length, the sons of Howel Dha, with a kind of retaliative justice, were obliged to submit to the power of Jevaf and Jago; and in consequence of this superiority, these princes remained for some years the entire sovereigns of Wales.² Ambition and the love of power universally prevail, and in the conquest of barren mountains inspire an ardour, like that with which Alexander contended for the sovereignty of the world.

Ann. Dom.
952.Ann. Dom.
958.

DURING this usurpation, and probably elated with the success of their arms, the kings of North Wales had neglected to pay the tribute which was due to the crown of England, agreeably to the impolitic institution of Roderic the Great, and the more recent, but no less imprudent regulation in

¹ Welsh Chron, p. 60, 61.² Ibid.

the laws of Howel Dha. To preserve such an ornament to his crown, and a badge of subordination so flattering to his pride, Edgar, the king of England, invaded North Wales, and as he marched through the country spread around the usual devastations. At length, being acquainted with the injuries both countries had received from the wolves, which then abounded in North Wales, and destroyed sheep and other cattle; he remitted, with some degree of liberality, the ancient tribute, and only exacted the yearly payment of the heads of three hundred of those animals.^a This demand, so singular in its nature, was paid by the Welsh princes during three or four years; after that time, the wolves being nearly extirpated, this country, agreeably to the liberal design of Edgar, ought to have been released from the payment of any future tribute.^b Soon after this event, the Irish made a descent on the isle of Anglesey, destroyed the palace at Aberffraw, and slew Roderic the youngest son of Edwal Voel.^c

Ann. Dom.
961.

Ann. Dom.
966.

THE union, so long subsisting between the princes of North Wales in a joint administration of twenty years, was at this period fatally dissolved; an event soon followed

^a Stowe's Chron. p. 83. Printed at London, Ann. Dom. 1614. Fabian's Chron. p. 249.

^b W. Malmesbury, p. 59. Fabian, p. 249. Stowe's Chron. p. 83. Welsh Chron. p. 62. excepting only the number.

^c Welsh Chron. p. 62.

by a series of crimes, the consequences of a divided sovereignty, and of bosom friendship soured into deadly hate.^d

SOON after this disunion, by force of arms, Jago seized the person of his brother Jevaf, and consigned him to a tedious imprisonment; and Eineon, the son of Owen, prince of South Wales, availing himself of these domestic feuds, annexed to his father's dominions the territory of Gwyr, in Glamorganshire.^e To add still more to the distresses of the country, the Danes landed in Anglesey, and laid waste the district about Penmon; and soon after, in another enterprize, they gained for a time the possession of that island.^f

Ann. Dom.
969.

THESE commotions having subsided, Howel, the son of Jevaf the captive prince, raised an army to deliver his father out of prison, and to take vengeance on his uncle for the late outrage against natural affection and justice. Under the mask of filial piety, which, however, covered the most fatal ambition, Howel succeeded in his enterprize, having defeated the forces of Jago, and obliged him to abandon his territories. He likewise took prisoner in the action, Meyric, his eldest uncle, and to render him incapable of obstructing his designs he put out his eyes; a species

Ann. Dom.
972.

^d Welsh Chron. p. 62.

^e Ibid.

^f Ibid.

of barbarity common in that age; and in this miserable condition suffered him to languish in prison. Within a little time after his captivity this prince fortunately died, and left two sons Edwal and Jonafal. After these events, Howel, having proceeded so far in the progress of ambition, and being too much enamoured of power to relinquish it easily, deposed his father, though he released him from the horrors of a tedious imprisonment.^a

UNDER colour of revenging the injuries of his father, Howel, by acts of the deepest injustice and cruelty, at length attained the sovereignty of North Wales.^b

ANN. Dom.
973.

IT was an evil, peculiarly fatal to the independency of Wales, and produced by its civil dissensions, that the weaker party usually fled for protection to the kings of England, and engaged in their interests with all that energy, which arises from a sense of injury, or is natural to men who have much to hope from the confusion of a state, or to fear from its justice.

SOON after the defeat of Jago, that prince retired into England, and easily engaged Edgar to re-instate him upon the throne; who being desirous of fomenting the divisions of the Welsh, or of giving them a sovereign subservient to his will, immediately entered Wales with an army, and

^a Welsh Chron. p. 62, 63.

^b Ibid. p. 64.

advanced as far as Bangor. At that place, Howel, unable to oppose so great a force, was obliged to accede to the demand of the English prince, of allowing an equal share in the sovereignty to his uncle Jago. In consequence of the ascendancy which Edgar had gained, he founded a new church at Bangor, on the south side of the cathedral, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary; and assuming a sovereign authority, he confirmed the ancient privileges of that See, and endowed it with lands and other gifts.^a He then obliged Jevaf and his nephew Howel to accompany him to Chester; where, agreeably to his direction, he was met by six other princes; who, all of them, with great solemnity did him homage, and took the customary oaths of fealty as to their lord paramount. After this ceremony was finished, Edgar, attended by great numbers of the nobility, seated himself at the helm of his barge; and as a farther mark of subordination, commanded these eight independent princes to row him up the Dee, from his palace to the church of St. John the Baptist; whence he returned in the same state, after divine service was ended.^b This instance of feudal arrogance, so disgraceful to regal dignity, marked a fastidious spirit in the English king, and a degree of barbarism still remaining in the Saxon manners.

^a Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 59.

^b Selden's *Mare Clausum*, p. 1315. Brompton's *Chron.* p. 869. *Math. Westm.* p. 287.

AT this period, Dunwallon, the prince of Stradclwyd, intimidated by the cruel ravages of the Danes, or influenced by the pious spirit of that age, retired to Rome, and engaged in a religious life:^a after his retreat, that small state was annexed to the principality of North Wales.^b

Ann. Dom.
976.

EINEON, the son of Owen prince of South Wales, made a second inroad into the country of Gwyr; and having laid waste that territory, returned home. This affront would have been severely resented by Howel, the king of North Wales, if his arms at this time had not been directed against his uncle Jago, who was in open hostilities against him. With an army consisting of English and Welsh, Howel pursued the friends of that prince to the extremity of Wales, and at length took him prisoner; exhibiting an instance of generosity very inconsistent with himself, by allowing his uncle Jago to enjoy, during life, his portion of territory.^c But so capricious was this tyrant in his ideas of policy or in his feelings of humanity, that soon after this event, he caused his uncle Edwal Vychan to be murdered, without any apparent cause, except what arose from the suggestions of jealousy or from a consciousness of guilt. This murder, instead of giving tranquillity to Howel, produced fresh causes of fear, and a new object of terror sprung from the Hydra's head.

^a Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 69. Welsh Chron. p. 65.

^b Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 32. ^c Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 60.

FIRE^d with the deepest resentment, and with the hopes of dispossessing him of the crown, Cyftenyn Dhu, or Constantine the Black, (the son of Jago, who at this time was a prisoner to his nephew) collected an army of Danes; and, to revenge the injuries his family had received, invaded North Wales, and laid waste the island of Anglesey. But, Ann. Dom. 979. Howel, who was not deficient in bravery though destitute of other virtues, collected his forces, and gave the Danes a signal defeat in a battle fought at Gwaith Hirbarth, in which young Constantine his cousin was slain.^a

THE Danes, mortified with the disgrace their arms had received, renewed hostilities; and invading South Wales, desolated the lands of Dyfed, with the church of St. David's; but having fought the celebrated battle of Llanwanoc, Ann. Dom. 981. in which the Welsh army was probably commanded by prince Eineon, they were forced to retire out of the country.^b The next year duke Alfred, with a large body of English, invaded South Wales. After he had destroyed the town of Brecknock, he was encountered by the united forces of the Welsh, under the command of Howel, king of North Wales, and Eineon the son of Owen, prince of South Wales: in this battle the Mercian prince was defeated, and the greater part of his army cut in pieces.^c

^a Welsh Chron. p. 65.^b Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 61.^c Welsh Chron. p. 66.

This occasional junction of the Welsh princes, and the prosperous exertion of their force, might have taught them the salutary effects produced by union, and the expediency of consolidating the national strength, instead of weakening their separate powers in civil dissensions, or by ambitious designs against each other.

Ann. Dom.
983.

A COMMOTION having arisen among the inhabitants of Gwent, in Monmouthshire, who were aiming at independency, Owen, the prince of South Wales, sent his son Eincon to endeavour by persuasion to reduce them to obedience; but that gallant youth found a raging multitude as little capable of reason or pity as the stormy ocean; and regarding him as the heir to the crown, and consequently as the object of their fear and indignation, they suddenly tore him in pieces. Thus perished, by an ignoble fate, a young prince, whose military talents and other virtues, had for some time supported the cause of his country. He left two sons, Edwyn and Tewdwr Mawr, from whose loins have descended several of the princes of South Wales.^a

DURING this transaction, Howel, king of North Wales, availing himself of the leisure the late commotion had given him, increased his army; and the next year marched into England, to retaliate on that country the devastations which

^a Welsh Chron. p. 66.

the incursions of the English had brought upon Wales. In this expedition he was slain,^a fighting against the enemies of his country with a gallantry of spirit worthy the justice of his cause, but little suited to the tenor of his life, which has marked him to posterity as a savage and ruthless tyrant.

Ann. Dom.
984.

A LITTLE before this period, terms of agreement were entered into by the legislatures of England and Wales, for securing the peace of the borders, which might seem to put the two countries on an equal footing of independency.^b

THE late prince dying without issue, his brother Cadwalhon, the second son of Jevaf, took upon him the sovereignty of North Wales, setting aside the rightful succession of Edwal and Jonaval, the sons of Meyric his eldest uncle. After this act of injustice, to fix himself more securely upon the throne, he determined on the destruction of his cousins; a practice very common with usurpers, who, besides the usual incitements of ambition, are urged to that barbarous policy by the principle of self-preservation. Jonaval, the eldest of these princes, fell into his hands, and was privately murdered; but Edwal had the good fortune to

^a Welsh Chron. p. 66.

^b Saxon laws published by Wilkins, p. 125. from lord Lyttelton's life, Henry II. vol. II. p. 39. It appears that, during the reign of Howel Dha, this prince had dispossessed Morgan Hen, the lord of Glamorgan, of certain districts in that country, and that this dispute was tried by Edgar, king of England, in a full court of the prelates and nobility both of England and Wales, when the lands in dispute were adjudged to Morgan Hen, and his heirs. Spelman's Concilia, p. 414.

make

make his escape, and to see deserved chastisement fall on the heads of those, whose injustice and cruelty had brought such calamities on his family. For Cadwalhon had only been in possession of the government one year, and his hands were scarcely cold from the blood of his kinsman, when Meredith, the son of Owen, prince of South Wales, invaded his dominions, and slew that usurper with his brother Meyric.^a

IN consequence of his victory, Meredith, who ruled in Powis by right of his mother, took possession of the kingdom of North Wales.^b But the Danes invading Anglesey some time after this event, and having taken Lhywarch his brother prisoner, with two thousand of his men, they with great cruelty put out his eyes. Meredith, shocked at this disaster, and terrified by the fate of his brother, fled into his own country, leaving his new subjects exposed to the ravages of the Danes: and, to heighten their calamities, without a sovereign or probably without any regular police, a distemper fell on their cattle, which raged with so much fury, as to leave very few remaining in the country.^c

AT this time, Jevaf, the son of Edwal Voel died, closing the evening of his days in peace and retirement, after he

^a Welsh Chron. p. 67.

^b British Antiq. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 5, 14.

^c Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 65.

had spent the greater part of his life in action, and amidst the storms of ambition.^a

THIS event was soon followed by the death of Owen, the son of Hoel Dha, and prince of South Wales.^b Upon his decease, Meredith his youngest son, disregarding the rights of his two nephews the sons of Eineon his elder brother, assumed the reins of government; agreeably to the licentious spirit of the times, and the irregular course of succession.^c In the beginning of his reign, the Danes invaded South Wales, laid waste the country, and destroyed, with a marked animosity, the churches of St. David's, Llanbadarn, and other religious places. Unable to check their devastations, Meredith agreed to pay them, on condition of their leaving the country, one penny for every person within his dominions.^d But this tribute,^e so delusive and dishonourable, and so miserable a substitute for valour and exertion, was never paid, it may be recorded to their honour, by any of the princes of North Wales. Soon after this event, Edwyn, the nephew of Meredith, and eldest son of Eineon the right heir to the principality of South Wales, having engaged in his interest the Saxons and Danes, overran that country with a great army, and obliged the principal lords to acknowledge his sovereignty, and to give him

Ann. Dom.
988.

^a Welsh Chron. p. 70.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

^d Welsh Chron. p. 71. ^e It was called Glwmaen the tribute of the black army.

- Ann. Dom. 990. hostages for their future fidelity. To retaliate upon Edwyn this invasion, Meredith laid waste the lands subject to the authority of his rival; but on a sudden, when the flames of civil war had desolated the country and had produced a famine, an accommodation took place. The death of the only son of Meredith, which happened soon after, cemented more closely the union of these princes.^f
- Ann. Dom. 991.

DURING this contest, North Wales had been left without a sovereign, exposed to the ravages of every invader; and in consequence the Danes landed again in Anglesey, and laid waste the whole island. On this emergency, but not on the desertion of Meredith, a caprice only to be accounted for from the singular levity of the times, the people placed Edwal, the son of Meyric, the right heir, in the sovereignty of North Wales; the lineal succession having been set aside by the late usurpations.^g

Ann. Dom. 992.

ON the accession of this prince, he began to regulate the affairs of his kingdom, and to place his subjects in such a posture of defence, as might secure them from the incursions of the Danes, or of other invaders; and he soon experienced the salutary effects of such a wise and spirited conduct.^h For, Meredith, unwilling that his new dominions should be so easily torn from him, invaded North Wales with a

^f Welsh Chron. p. 71. ^g Ibid. ^h Ibid. p. 72.

powerful army; and having advanced as far as Llangwm, in Denbighshire, he was there met by Edwal, and entirely defeated; losing in the action his nephew Tewdwr Mawr, the younger son of the late prince Eineon.ⁱ The prosperity of Edwal was of short duration. He had scarcely returned home, elated with success, and exulting in the hope of enjoying his dominions in peace, when Swane, a Danish chieftain, landed in North Wales. Edwal, disdainful to purchase an uncertain tranquillity at the expence of his honour, determined to expel the Danes by force of arms, or to perish in the enterprise. In this gallant attempt he was slain, leaving an only son called Jago.^k

Ann. Dom.
993.

SOON after this event, the Danes ravaged again the city of St David's, slew the bishop of that diocese, and meeting with no resistance, laid waste with fire and sword the adjacent territory. Meredith, unable to give a check to their ravages, and perhaps ashamed of his late timid and unavailing policy, sunk under the calamities of his country, and died of grief; leaving only a daughter named Angharad, married to Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, and after his death to Cynfyn Hirdref. By each of these husbands she had children, whose different claims occasioned great civil commotions in Wales.^l Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, by right of his wife, succeeded to the principality of South Wales.^m

Ann. Dom
998.

ⁱ Welsh Chron. p. 72.

^k Ibid. p. 73.

^l Ibid.

^m Ibid. p. 83.

THIS part of the history of Wales is only a recital of reciprocal inroads and injuries, a series of objects unvaried and of little importance, which pass the eye in a succession of cold delineations, like the evanescent figures produced by the *camera obscura*. The characters and events are not brought distinctly into view, nor sufficiently explained, to enable the historian to judge of their proportions, their beauty, or defects; whence he can neither develop the principles of action, nor trace the connection of causes with effects, by leading incidents, or the general springs which direct human affairs. In pursuing this detail, there is therefore danger lest the reader, whose eye has been accustomed to more brilliant scenes, should turn away in disgust from a field, so sterile in itself, and which yields so little to the arts of cultivation.

JAGO, the son of Edwal, being set aside in the succession on account of his tender years, several competitors arose; and in consequence North Wales exhibited for many years a scene of the utmost confusion. The most eminent of these rivals were Cynan, the son of Howel, descended from the royal line, and a chieftain of the name of *Ædan ap Blegored*, who founded his pretensions to the crown solely on his ambition and valour. Two rival chiefs, of warlike and irascible manners, are seldom disposed to adjust their claims by the slow procedures of negotiation or policy, but refer them to the more prompt decision of the sword, the
chief

chief arbitrator of rights in these turbulent ages. In a battle which immediately ensued Cynan was slain, and in consequence Ædan ap Blegored was proclaimed sovereign of North Wales. Ann. Dom.
1003.

HAVING assumed the government, no remarkable incident happened for twelve years, till the prince of South Wales invading Ædan's dominions, dispossessed him of his royalty and life. His four sons were also slain in the battle which Llewelyn fought with the usurper.^a

IN consequence of his victory, Llewelyn ap Seisyllt disregarding the rights of Jago, the son of Edwal, took upon him the government of North Wales; annexing that dignity to the two other principalities. This prince, maternally descended from the royal blood of Wales, had some colourable pretence for his ambition; his mother Trawst being the daughter of Elife, the second son Anarawd, who was the eldest son of Roderic the Great.^o Ann. Dom.
1015.

THE wise administration of Llewelyn soon produced national prosperity. To express the felicity of his reign, contrasted with the preceding times, we are told "the earth brought forth double, the people prospered in all

^a Welsh Chron. p. 74.

^o Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 14. Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 79.

their

“ their affairs, and multiplied wonderfully ; the cattle increased in great numbers ; so that there was not a poor man in Wales, from the south to the north sea ; but every man had plenty, every house a dweller, and every town inhabitants.”^p The slight touches which history has given of the character of Llewelyn, present him in an amiable point of view. His talents for war and command, his love of order and of justice, which had enabled him so early to diffuse happiness among his subjects, ought to have rendered him the object of their warmest affections. But so little civilized, so turbulent were the Welsh, delighting more in war than in the habits of cultivated life, that they treated with coldness and ingratitude a sovereign, whose qualities, in a milder period, would have rendered him the object of veneration.

Ann. Dom.
1019.

THE first appearance of disaffection broke out in the rebellion of Meyric, a chieftain of eminence, but was easily checked by Llewelyn, who slew the traitor with his own hands, and defeated his forces.^q So alienated from their loyalty were the people of South Wales, that they engaged a Scotsman of mean birth to be the instrument of their design, imposing him on the world as the son of their late prince Meredith ; and the nobility immediately proclaimed him their sovereign by the name of Rhun.^r The annals of

Ann. Dom.
1020.

^p Welsh Chron. p. 84.

^q Welsh Chron. p. 85.

^r Ibid.

these

these times do not explain the motives of this extraordinary procedure, nor are we able from such a chaos to throw any light upon the causes of the revolt; except from the repentment his subjects there might feel, because Llewelyn, having been many years their sovereign, had for some time taken up his residence in North Wales. As soon as that prince had intelligence of the rebellion, he collected his forces, and instantly marched into South Wales, to check the evil at the source; and having advanced to Abergwili in Caermarthenshire, he there found the whole power of the country, waiting his approach, under the command of the impostor. Just as both armies were going to engage, Rhun encouraged his soldiers by a confident assurance of victory; after which he privately retired out of the battle. While Llewelyn, boldly confronting the danger, at the head of his troops led them into the charge, calling aloud upon the impostor, whose cowardice so little justified the character he had assumed. This battle was bloody, and disputed on each side with great spirit; for strange as it may appear, the rebels fought, with a determined bravery, for a despicable coward and an idol of their own raising; while the other side were scarcely animated in the cause of their sovereign, a native of their country, and of such incomparable merit. At length, the troops of Llewelyn, fired with the extraordinary valour of their prince, and ashamed to be defeated by men over whom they had been often victorious, made a vigorous effort, which put the enemy

to

to flight, and pursuing Rhun, notwithstanding the address he had made use of to save his life, he was overtaken and slain. Having thus happily ended the rebellion, Llewelyn returned into North Wales loaded with valuable spoils.*

Ann. Dom.
1021.

THE small remainder of his days this prince passed in tranquillity; but his great and amiable qualities could not exempt him from the destiny which usually attended the princes of Wales. For Howel and Meredith, the sons of Edwyn ap Eineon ap Owen' ap Howel Dha, whose family for some years had been set aside in the succession of South Wales, engaged in a conspiracy against Llewelyn; and either by their emissaries, or with their own hands, assassinated this prince. He left only one son of the name of Gryffryth.[†] This prince built the castle of Rhuddlan, in which palace he usually resided; and which afterwards continued to be the royal residence during the life of his son.[‡]

THE principle of evil which eventually destroyed the British empire, still remained in the political constitution and national character of the Welsh, preying, like a worm at the root, on the vital powers of the state, and by uniform

* Welsh Chron. p. 85, 86.

† The word *ap* which so frequently occurs in Welsh names, signifies a *son*.

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 85, 86.

§ Dr. Powel's Notes on Giraldus Cambrensis Itiner. Cambræ, Cap. X. p. 213. Cambden's Brit. p. 687.

and slow degrees working its decline and dissolution. Besides other causes of national decay, there was one, which, though a striking defect in their ancestors, was not inherent in their own government or manners; and that was, except in a single instance, a total inattention to their naval power, although its utility was apparent from their maritime situation, and the late example of Alfred. That a prince, like Llewelyn, of ability and vigour, and not wanting inattention to the common weal, should have neglected such an obvious mode of defence, is a proof that either his genius or resources were limited.

THE odium naturally excited by the murder of Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, precluded Howel and Meredith from any chance of attaining to the sovereignty of North Wales; and afforded Jago the son of Edwal ap Meiric, whose title had sunk under the popularity or vigour of the late prince, a favourable opportunity of taking possession of the crown; from which his family, lineally descended from Roderic, had long been unjustly excluded.*

Ann. Dom.
1021.

AT the same time, Rhytherch, the son Jestyn, by force of arms had assumed the government of South Wales. The two brothers Howel and Meredith, disappointed in their views upon one principality, and excluded their rightful

* Welsh Chron. p. 87, 88.

Ann. Dom.
1031.

ſucceſſion in the other, were forced, through mere inability, to remain for ſome years in quiet; but having engaged in their ſervice a body of Irifh Scots, they defeated and flew the uſurper; and in their joint names took upon them the government of South Wales. Immediately on their father's death, the ſons of Rhytherch collected their forces; but after a ſevere battle fought at Hyarthwy, with the princes of South Wales, they were defeated and put to flight.^y Theſe victories might have ſecured to Howel and Meredith, the poſſeſſion of their dominions, if the ſpirit of revenge, kept alive in that age by every incitement which can influence the paſſions, had not retaliated on theſe princes the murder of Llewelyn; for the nephews of that prince engaged in a conſpiracy againſt them, aſſaſinated Meredith,^z and forced the other brother into exile.^a The feelings of humanity are wounded at the recital of ſuch horrid barbarities, and we haſten with pleaſure to a period, when the virtue of a few individuals influenced the tide of affairs, and turned them from the loweſt ebb of weakneſs and miſery, to a flow of national proſperity.

Ann. Dom.
1032.

By this time, Gryffydth the ſon of Llewelyn ap Seifyllt, had attained to the age of manhood; and, already weary of waſting his active ſpirit in the ſhade of retirement, he re-

^y Welch Chron. p. 87, 88.

^z Ibid. p. 88.

^a Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 85.

solved to employ it in the glorious attempt of recovering his father's throne. As soon as the resolution was known, his youth and activity, the popular memory of his father, with the pleasing and flattering prospect of novelty, united the public voice in his favour. But Jago, the reigning prince, not of a spirit to relinquish easily the charms of royalty and his indubitable right, collecting all the force he was able, attempted with great courage to oppose the popular current; his army, however, was defeated, and he himself slain in the action, leaving an only son named Cynan.^b

Ann. Dom.
1037.

GRYFFYDTH ap Llewelyn, was scarcely seated on the throne, when the united forces of the English and Danes entered Wales, and the young prince met them at Crosford upon the Severn; where, having given them an entire defeat, he forced them to fly into their own country.^c Elated with success, he proceeded thence into South Wales, and marching through that principality, received the submission of the inhabitants, having, a second time, driven Howel, the surviving brother, out of his dominions. But that prince, retiring to Edwyn, the brother of Leofric duke of Mercia, raised by his means an army of English and Danes, with which he marched into Wales against Gryffydh. Fortune, however, continuing favourable, that

^b Welsh Chron. p. 89.

^c Ibid. 90.

prince overthrew the foreigners, slew Edwyn, and again forced Howel to a precipitate flight.^d Soon after this victory, Gryffydh returned into North Wales.^e

Ann. Dom.
1038.

THE prince of South Wales, having reinforced his army, made another attempt to recover his dominions; and too sanguine of success, he brought his wife into the field, to share in the triumphs of a victory he was in full expectation of obtaining.^f As soon as Gryffydh received intelligence of this event, he marched with great celerity into South Wales; and meeting Howel at Pencadair in Caermarthen-shire, he there gave him battle, and entirely defeated his army. The unhappy prince escaped with difficulty; and, to render his fate more deplorable, his wife was taken prisoner, and fell into the hands of his rival; who, on seeing that princess, was so struck with her beauty, that he detained her as his concubine.^g In times less savage than these, such an action, measured by civilized ideas of heroism, incapable of offering violence to weakness, or of insulting the feelings of a vanquished enemy, would have been received with general abhorrence. But it does not appear, that Gryffydh lost any reputation with his subjects; the Welsh (as Lord Lyttelton expresses it) regarding whatever was taken in war, even the wives of the vanquished, as the lawful property of the conqueror. So great is the force of habit on the

^d Welsh Chron. p. 91.

^f Ibid.

^e Ibid.

^g Ibid.

human

human mind, to counteract the first and the noblest principles of nature and religion.

THE prince of South Wales, stung with the keen resentment which such injuries would naturally excite, having raised an army of English and Danes, came the third time into South Wales, in hopes of revenging the late insult upon his honour, and by another brave effort to recover his wife and his crown. He had not been there long before a large body of foreigners landed in the country, who, spreading themselves abroad, committed great depredations. Howel, though desirous of reserving his strength for the main contest with the king of North Wales, could not be indifferent to their ravages; but with much gallantry of spirit, and an honest desire of conciliating the affections of the Welsh, he suddenly attacked the foreigners, and forced them with great loss to retire to their ships.^b

Ann. Dom.
1041.

IN the course of these events the attention of Gryffyth ap Llewelyn had been engaged in an affair of some importance. For Cyнан, the son of Jago ap Edwal, who on his father's death had fled into Ireland for safety, having engaged in his interest the king of Dublin, whose daughter he had married, landed in North Wales; and either by a stratagem of his own, or by other means, contrived to take

^b Welsh Chron. p. 92.

Gryffydh prisoner. But the Welsh, being instantly apprised of the disaster, and anxious for the safety of their prince, suddenly overtook the Irish, recovered him out of their hands, and pursuing them with great slaughter to their ships, obliged them to return into Ireland.^l

Ann. Dom. 1042. AT length, Howel, the prince of South Wales, by the assistance of the Danes, and of those friends who still adhered to his fortunes, raised such a force as might enable him to make head against Gryffydh; of which as soon as that prince had intelligence, that his own country might not be the seat of war, he instantly marched into South Wales; and defeating the forces of his rival, pursued them to the source of the Towy, a river in Caermarthenshire; where, another action more bloody than the former ensued; in which Howel was slain, and the greater part of his army cut in pieces.^k Thus was the full measure of vengeance poured on the heads of Howel and his family, for the murder they had lately committed on Llewelyn ap Seifyllt.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of Howel, new competitors arose to dispute with Gryffydh the sovereignty of South Wales. These were the sons of Rhytherch ap Jestyn, who asserted their right to the principality, because their father for a little time had enjoyed the government. Gryffydh

^l Welsh Chron. p. 93.

^k Ibid. p. 92.

opposed their pretensions with his usual activity and vigour, but not with the same decisive good fortune; for after a bloody and obstinate engagement which lasted till night, both armies, equally fatigued and unwilling to renew the combat, returned to their respective countries in order to collect reinforcements.¹ After this event, excepting a slight insurrection which was easily repelled, the two states enjoyed for a time under the dominion of Gryffyd, from causes not accounted for in the Welsh Annals, a season of unaccustomed tranquillity.

VERY probably, it was during this interval of peace, that Gryffyd established some kind of a navy; by procuring (according to Lord Lyttelton) a few ships of war from some foreign country, which were manned by foreign sailors. We are unacquainted with the motives which induced him to an undertaking so novel to the Welsh, though probably it arose from the obvious design of securing from ravages the maritime parts of his dominions, and of importing corn and other provision from foreign markets.

AT this time, Cynan the son of Jago ap Edwal, having remained quiet in Ireland, since his late fruitless attempt, collected a body of troops among his Irish adherents, with a

Ann. Dom.
1050.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 92.

view to recover, if possible, his inheritance ; but approaching the coast of North Wales, there suddenly arose a violent storm, which dispersed or destroyed his fleet, in such a manner as to render the expedition ineffectual.^m

Ann. Dom. 1052. THIS interval of peace little suited the warlike spirit of Gryffydd, who at this time made an inroad into the marches about Hereford, and was opposed by the English, and the Norman garrison of that castle ; but the Welsh prince obtained the victory, and returned home loaded with the spoils of the country.ⁿ

Ann. Dom. 1053. RHYD, the brother of Gryffydd the king of Wales, a man of a bold and enterprising spirit, having committed frequent depredations on the English marches, had become, on that account, the object of particular resentment. Being defeated and taken prisoner in an incursion he had made on the borders, he was put to death at Bulundune, by the command of king Edward the Confessor, (who in this instance assumed a sovereign authority) and his head was sent to that prince, who then kept his court at Gloucester.^o

GRYFFYTH, the son of Rytherch ap Jestyn, having recovered from the blow which he had formerly received, at this time raised an army, to endeavour once again to wrest

^m Welsh Chron. p. 94. ⁿ Stowe, p. 96. Roger Hovedon, p. 442.

^o Sincou Dunelme sub. Ann. 1053. Stowe's Chron. p. 97. Math. Westm. p. 323. Histor. Angl.

the principality of South Wales from Gryffyth, the king of North Wales; but the activity of this prince defeated his design; for he instantly marched against him, and easily routed his forces, and his competitor was slain in the action.^p

Ann. Dom.
1054.

AN incident which happened soon after enabled Gryffydh to revenge, effectually, his brother's death, and the insult offered to the independency of his crown.

ALGAR, earl of Chester, having been banished from England by Edward the Confessor on slight suspicion, or on no grounds of offence, retired into Ireland; where engaging in his service eighteen vessels, he landed in North Wales, and put himself under the protection of Gryffydh. These two leaders, acting in conjunction with each other, ravaged the borders of England; and actuated with the same spirit of vengeance, proceeded into Herefordshire, and laid waste that fertile country with fire and sword. To oppose this dangerous inroad, Ranulph, earl of Hereford, raised an army composed of English and a body of Norman troops; with this force he met the confederates advancing within two miles of Hereford, and offered them battle. Gryffydh, accepted the challenge, with all that confidence which long success naturally inspires. The earl had ordered the English to fight on horseback, contrary to the custom of their nation; but being ready to begin the onset, that nobleman, and

Ann. Dom.
1055.

^p Welsh Chron. p. 98.

the Norman troops which he himself commanded, instantly fled; daunted, perhaps, by the appearance of the Welsh, or not able to stand the shock of their furious charge. The English soon followed the example of their leader; and the Welsh, pursuing them with great slaughter (four or five hundred being slain) entered into Hereford, burned the minster, and slew seven of the canons who rashly attempted to defend it: they then levelled the walls, set the city on fire, and putting to death many persons of note, and carrying others into captivity, returned home, loaded with much valuable spoil.^a

THE pacific spirit of Edward was roused by this formidable invasion, and he commanded Harold, the son of earl Godwin, instantly to collect forces from every part of the kingdom, which were to assemble at Gloucester. At the head of this army that general marched into North Wales, and advancing through the vale of Clwyd,^r without any resistance, as far as the Snowdun mountains,^s he lay there encamped, expecting the approach of the enemy. At this juncture, unable to oppose the English forces, Gryffydth, and the earl of Chester, retired into South Wales. As soon as Harold was informed of their retreat, he returned back to Hereford, leaving however the greater part of his army to keep the country in awe. He rebuilt the walls of that

^a Saxon Chron. p. 169. Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Math. Westm. p. 324.

^r Ibid.

^s Ibid.

city, and added new fortifications to that frontier post; during which time he entered into a negotiation with Gryffydth, and at length concluded a peace not much to the honour of England; as Algar was indulged with a pardon, and the full enjoyment of his earldom, and no compensation appears to have been made for the ravages, or the expence of the war.[†] As soon as the peace was concluded, that nobleman returned with his fleet to Chester, where the mariners and soldiers remained till they had received their pay.[‡] Algar immediately repaired to the court of Edward, and obtained from that prince the confirmation of his pardon and dignity.[§] It is not easy to account for the conduct of Harold, in retreating so suddenly out of Wales, after having penetrated so far into the country, and in concluding so dishonourable a peace with the Welsh, over whom his arms had gained an unusual advantage.

THE late easy victory obtained over the heavy armed troops of the English and Normans, added to the usual incitements of plunder and national hatred, induced Gryffydth ap Llewelyn, in open violation of the peace, to make another inroad into Herefordshire; in which the bishop of that diocese,[¶] was slain at Glastonbury, as well as the

[†] Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Math. Westm. p. 324.

[‡] Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Holinshead's English Hist. p. 192.

[§] Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Math. Westm. p. 324.

[¶] Math. Westm. p. 325. Roger Hovedon, p. 144.

viscompte, or sheriff of the county, and many of the English also, both laymen and ecclesiastics.²

NOTWITHSTANDING the late outrage, through the mediation of Harold, and Leofrick, earl of Mercia, the peace was renewed between the two nations.³

A PERSON in the situation of Algar, the earl of Chester, must hold the favour of his prince by a very precarious tenure, as the clemency of sovereigns is usually of uncertain duration when extorted by force or expediency. Lying again under the suspicion of treason, by the machinations, it is probable, of his enemies, he was a second time banished the realm, and sought an asylum in the dominions of Gryffydh; by whose aid, and the assistance of a fleet from Norway, which accidentally arrived upon the coast, he was once more reinstated in his earldom.^b Edward, justly incensed at the late barbarities and violation of good faith, and dreading, no doubt, the consequence if Wales should become the refuge of his malecontent subjects, determined to employ the whole force of his kingdom in the conquest of that country. He trusted the execution of this important design to Harold, the most eminent man in his court

Ann. Dom.
1058.

Ann. Dom.
1063.

² Simon Dunelme, p. 188.

³ Simon Dunelme, p. 189. Roger Hovedon, p. 444.

^b Ibid.

for valour and abilities.^c This general, having raised a very considerable army, marched with such celerity and conduct into North Wales, that he had nearly surpris'd Gryffydh in his palace at Rhudd-lan; and the Welsh prince, just apprised of his danger a moment before the English presented themselves at the gates, as the only means of safety, threw himself, with some of his attendants, into one of his ships, at that time ready in the harbour, which instantly set sail, and by that means fortunately made his escape.^d The loose annals of these times do not inform us to what country he retired in his distress.

HAROLD, mortified that the Welsh king should escape so unexpectedly out of his hands, in resentment burned his palace, and set on fire all the ships of war and the other vessels remaining in the harbour of Rhudd-lan.^e After this event he returned to Bristol, and having fitted out a fleet, on a new plan of decisive operation, he sailed round all the coast of Wales;^f preventing by this means, it is probable, the importation of corn and other provisions.

IN the mean time, a strong body of horse under the command of earl Tosti, the brother of Harold, marched, by the previous command of the English king, into North

^c Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Roger Hovedon, p. 446. Math. West. p. 329.

^d Ibid.

^e Ibid.

^f Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Roger Hovedon, p. 446.

Wales;^g and as soon as the English general had intelligence of their arrival, he landed, and joined them with his infantry; leaving his fleet, with orders to cruise as before along the coast of Wales.^h On the junction of these troops, Harold soon made himself master of the level country.ⁱ Being sensible, in such a service, of the unsuitableness of heavy armed soldiers, he provided his infantry with targets made of hides, and other lighter kinds of armour,^k more fit for a mountainous region broken with rivers, defiles and forests. His cavalry he left on the plains under the command of his brother; excepting only a few horse, which, supported by some troops of foot heavy armed, he ordered to follow as a body of reserve. Then, marching himself at the head of his troops, he advanced into the mountainous parts of his country; and having driven the Welsh, with great slaughter, out of their inmost recesses, he at length compelled them to sue for peace.^l Thus, by the united effects of vigour, activity and conduct, coinciding with other causes, did Harold subdue a people who had been hitherto invincible. In want of the animating presence and spirited activity of their prince, without the means of concerting necessary measures of defence, and probably straightened for provisions, it is no wonder that the Welsh, surprisèd and

^g Roger Hovedon, p. 446. Simon Dunelme, p. 192.

^h Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. II. p. 47.

ⁱ Ibid. ^k Historia Ingulphi, p. 68. Gale's Script.

^l Cambden's Britannia, p. 545, Gibson's edition, from Giraldus Cambrensis.

dispirited,

dispirited, should sink under the impression of the English arms. On this occasion Harold set up several pillars of stone, on each of which was engraved this Latin inscription, *Hic Fuit Victor Haroldus*, to perpetuate the glory of having passed mountains hitherto the inaccessible barriers between the spirit of freedom and the rage of conquest.^m

So totally subdued were the Welsh, that they submitted to the tribute which in ancient times they had usually paid, and gave hostages to Harold as pledges of their future obedience.ⁿ Under the impression of fear, or incensed at his late desertion, they, likewise, renounced allegiance to Gryffydh.^o

CONSIDERING his active and warlike character, we can attribute the absence of Gryffydh at a time, when his own interests, and the perilous situation of his country required his presence to no other cause, than to the general disaffection of his subjects. Whatever were his motives of absence, whether the revolt of his subjects, or inability to return on account of the English fleet, this prince came into North-Wales in the summer of the following year;^p and as soon as he landed, he attempted to raise a vigorous

Ann. Dom.
1064.

^m Camden's *Britannia*, p. 545. Gibson's edition, from Giraldus Cambrensis.

ⁿ Simon Dunelm, p. 192. Math. Westm. p. 329.

^o Simon Dunelm, p. 192. Hist. Ingulphi. p. 68. Math. Westm. p. 329.

^p Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. II. p. 48.

opposition

opposition against Harold, who, by the incitement of Caradoc, the son of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch, had invaded South Wales, and subdued a great part of that country.^q Instead of rejoicing at his presence, or eagerly ranging under his standard, this gallant prince was put to death by his own subjects, at the instigation of Harold, during his march into South Wales to oppose that nobleman.^r As the first fruits of their vassalage, they sent his head to the English general, together with the prow of the ship in which he had returned.^s Besides two sons, Meredith and Ithel, Gryffydh left a daughter called Nêst, who was afterwards married to Trahaern ap Caradoc, prince of North Wales.^t

THIS murder being perpetrated, Bleddyn and Rhywallon, the sons of Cynvyn by Angharad, the mother of the late prince, were, by the appointment of king Edward, invested with the sovereignty of North Wales and Powis.^u At the same time, that prince gave the principality of South Wales to Meredith, the eldest son of Owen ap Edwyn.^x These princes were obliged to take an oath of fealty to the king of England, and to pay the full tribute, which ever had been paid to any of his predecessors.^y A law, at this time, was

^q Welsh Chron. p. 101 ^r Ibid. ^s Sim. Dunelme, p. 191.

^t Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 95, 101.

^u Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Wm. Malmſbury, p. 94. Welsh Chron. p. 102.

^x Welsh Chron. p. 102.

^y Math. Westm. p. 329. Sim. Dunelme, p. 191. Chr. de Mailros, p. 159.

made by earl Harold, which enacts, that if any Welshman, coming into England without licence, was taken on that side of Offa's dyke, his right hand should be cut off by the king's officer. This statute shews, that, so late as in the reign of Edward the Confessor, this dyke was considered as the discriminating line between the two nations.'

IN this manner died Gryffydh the son of Llewelyn ap Seifyllt whose princely qualities entitled him to a happier fate. His talents for government, and the vigour and prosperity of his arms, soon turned the tide of affairs, vindicated the honour of his kingdom, and gave it an unusual importance: his amiable manners and abilities in war, made him equally the idol of his people and the terror of his enemies, and rendered a reign of thirty-four years unclouded by any adversity; until the late storm, which perhaps, was neither in his power to elude nor repel, in some measure shaded its glory, and deprived this excellent prince of his life, and his country of its freedom.

AN incident happened in the course of this reign, which though not very striking at first, at length arose into historical importance. Macbeth, the tyrant of Scotland, having caused Banquo to be murdered, of whose honour and influence he was jealous, his son Fleance, to avoid

^r Cambden's Britann. p. 585. Gibson's edit. Speed's Chron. p. 401.

the tyranny of that usurper, fled into North Wales,² and was kindly received by Gryffydth ap Llewelyn, in whose court he was long entertained with the warmest affection. During this intercourse, he became enamoured of Nest, the daughter, or the sister of that prince, and violating the laws of hospitality and honour by an illicit connection with her, she was delivered of a son who was named Walter. In resentment of so foul an offence, Gryffydth immediately commanded Fleance to be put to death; and reduced his daughter to the lowest servile situation, for having suffered herself to be dishonoured by a stranger. As the youth, who was the fruit of this illicit connection, advanced in years, he became distinguished for his valour and an elevated mind. An angry dispute having arisen between him and one of his companions, the circumstance of his birth was mentioned by his antagonist in terms of reproach, which so irritated the fiery spirit of Walter, that he instantly killed him; and afraid of abiding the consequences of the murder, he fled into Scotland. On his arrival in that kingdom, he insinuated himself among the English, who were in the train of queen Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling.³ Here he soon acquired a general esteem by his wisdom and good conduct; and his abilities unfolding as they were employed in the public service, he was appointed lord

² Buchannan Hist. Rer. Scot. p. 193.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 98. Dr. Powel's notes on Giraldus Cambrensis Itinar. Cambræ, lib. I. cap. II. p. 88.

steward

steward of Scotland, and receiver of the revenues of the realm. From this office, he and his descendants have taken the surname of Stuart; and from this root have sprung the royal house of that name, and many other branches of illustrious families in Scotland.^b

As Caradoc, the son of Gryffydd ap Rhytherch, had been the cause of the late invasion by Harold, he was in hopes of obtaining, on the death of the late prince, the government of South Wales. Instead of this, however, that nobleman banished him the country, from a knowledge of his subtle and deceitful temper; and besides, finding he could not obtain from him a lordship, which he was desirous of possessing near Hereford, he caused Meredith, whom he had found more compliant to his will, to be invested as before related with the sovereignty. On this lordship, Harold built a very splendid house, at Portskewith in Monmouthshire;^c and having frequently given an invitation to king Edward, who then resided at Gloucester, that prince at length paid him a visit.

THIS mark of favour excited the envy of Tosti, the elder brother of Harold, which was highly inflamed a little time after by a trifling incident. Being at a feast with the king at Windsor, that prince ordered Harold to present him with

^b Buchanan, p. 198.

^c Simon Dunelm, p. 192.

a cup of wine; which preference had such an effect on the passion and the pride of Tosti, that setting aside every sense of fear or decency, he instantly seized his brother, and dragged him to the ground by the hair of his head.^d For this offence he was banished the court.

AFTER this outrage, retiring from court in great fury, he proceeded to Hereford, where Harold was preparing an entertainment for the king; he there murdered all his servants, and cutting off their heads, legs, arms, and other parts of their bodies, he put them into the vessels of wine, metheglin, ale and beer, which were reserved for the royal entertainment; he then sent that prince a message that there was no occasion to provide any other than fresh provisions, as he himself had taken care to leave a sufficiency of preserved and powdered meats.^e For this second offence he was banished the realm for life.^f

IMMEDIATELY after this singular barbarity, Caradoc, the son of Gryffydd ap Rhytherch, came to the same house at Portaskewith; and to revenge upon Harold the disappointment he had lately received, slew the labourers who were there at work, with all the people and servants belonging to that nobleman; and then defacing the structure, he

^d Simon Dunelme, p. 192.

^e Math. Westm. p. 331. Welsh Chron. p. 104, 105. Simon Dunelme. p. 192. Cambden's Brit. p. 597.

^f Ibid.

carried away the materials, which, at a great expence, had been brought to ornament the building.[§]

AT this time, William, duke of Normandy, mounted the throne of England, in consequence of the death of Harold, and of the decisive battle of Hastings. During the conquest of England by that prince, the Welsh remained inactive spectators of the scene before them, viewing it with the same indifference, as if it had been a struggle between two foreign nations. Indeed, it was not likely they should feel themselves interested in the prosperity of either side, knowing whatever was the event, that in their turn, they themselves might become the victims of the conquerors fury; and it was certainly right conduct, to suffer two people, from whose ambition they had every thing to fear, to weaken or to destroy each other by mutual hostilities. But it is strange, that the Welsh, during the favourable moments which this contest afforded, did not, by a spirited enterprise of some effect and importance, wipe away the late national dishonour; and by wise, united, and vigorous measures, attempt to recover the independence they had lost.

Ann. Dom.
1066.

NOTWITHSTANDING the want of spirit and general inattention of the Welsh, Bleddyn and Rhywallon, the kings of North Wales, during the absence of William in Normandy, joined Edrick, earl of Mercia, in a desultory expedi-

§ Ibid.

tion

tion on the borders, and laid waste the country of Hereford as far as Wyebridge.^h

THESE princes had just returned home, when Meredith and Ithel, the sons of Gryffyd ap Llewelyn, the late king of North Wales, appeared on the stage as competitors for the crown. The young princes, in support of their rights, raised an army, and fought a severe battle with the reigning princes, at a place called Mechain in Montgomeryshire. In this action, one of the rival princes on each side, Rhywallon and Ithel, was slain; and Meredith, after seeing his army defeated, was forced to fly for safety amidst the inmost recesses of the mountains. The openings into these were strictly guarded by Bleddyn, which rendered his escape impossible; and the young prince miserably perished by cold and hunger. This victory left Bleddyn ap Cynvyn sole master of North Wales and Powis.ⁱ

Ann. Dom.
1068

CARADOC the son of Gryffyd ap Rhytherch, not brooking his late disappointment, raised a large body of Normans, and joining them with his own vassals out of the country of Gwent, suddenly attacked Meredith, prince of South Wales, on the banks of the river Rympyn; who being much inferior in point of strength, his forces were easily routed,

^h Simon Dunelme, p. 197. Welsh Chron. p. 109.

ⁱ Welsh Chron. p. 109.

and

and he himself slain in the action. Caradoc did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, as he died soon after, and left his son Rhytherch to succeed to the government of South Wales.^k

THOUGH no general and concerted measures of resistance had taken place against the tyranny of William, a few insurrections arose from the patriotism, or the discontent of the English Lords. Under cover of celebrating a marriage at Norwich between the sister of the earl of Hereford, and Ralph, earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, several noblemen conspired against William; and in the midst of their carousals, entered into a solemn engagement to defend their liberties.^l To this wedding many Welsh of distinction were invited, out of respect to the mother of the earl of Norfolk, she being born in that country, and in hopes of inducing the princes of Wales, by such an act of courtesy, to favour their enterprise.^m In the morning, when the effects of the wine had ceased, Waltheof, a Saxon nobleman, one of the conspirators, being sensible of his folly, repaired to the king in Normandy, and informed him of the conspiracy, with the part he himself had acted. On receiving this intelligence, that monarch came into England, and with his usual vigour, assisted by the spirited measures of his mini-

^k Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 103.

^l Math. Paris. p. 7. Wats's edition.

^m Welsh Chron. p. 111.

sters, put a stop to the rebellion before it was matured into strength;ⁿ and this insurrection, like all others, when they prove ineffectual, served only to render the conqueror's power more absolute. Two noblemen, and others of the conspiracy, died by the hands of the executioner;^o and many of the Welsh, under the colour of treason, were involved in the same fate, though invited to the wedding merely as spectators of the ceremony; some of whom were hanged, others had their eyes put out, and the remainder were banished the realm.^p This stroke of *assumed* justice points out the savage and decisive character of William; and the tame submission of the Welsh, without reprisals or shew of resentment, marks the low ebb of national spirit at this dishonourable period.

Soon after this event, Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, the king of North Wales and Powis, was assassinated by Rhys, the son of Owen ap Edwyn, and the nobility of Ystrad Tywy.^q

THE institution of a code of laws, and the general esteem in which Bleddyn ap Cynvyn was held by his subjects, for his amiable manners and the mildness of his government,

ⁿ Stowe's Chron. p. 105.

^o Welsh Chron. p. 111.

^p Math. Paris. p. 7. Stowe's Chron. p. 105.

^q Welsh Annals, p. 111.

might have transmitted his name with credit to posterity, if he had not betrayed the liberties of his country, and yielded up its honour, by deigning to receive his crown from the hands of its hereditary enemy, and by consenting to hold its authority as a tributary^r of the English princes.

^r *Historia Ingulphi*, p. 68. *Hovedon*, p. 446.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK V.

FROM THE DEATH OF BLEDDYN AP CYNVYN TO THE
DEATH OF GRYFFYDH AP CYNAN.

ALTHOUGH the late prince Bleddyn ap Cynvyn had left many children, Trahaern ap Caradoc, his cousin, by the consent of the people, was raised to the throne of North Wales. Besides being himself a chieftain of eminence, he had some colourable pretence to that honour, having married Nest, the daughter of Llewelyn ap Seisyllt.^a

Ann. Dom.
1073.

AMIDST other causes of evil arising to the Welsh from their indistinct ideas of government,^b the little atten-

^a Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 95, 105.

^b It may be proper here to remark, that though the lineal succession was frequently interrupted, yet the Welsh always paid a regard to the same blood royal, except in the instance of Ædan ap Blegored.

tion they paid to hereditary succession was a source of infinite misery; the jarring claims of different competitors kept the state in a continual ferment, gave a deeper ferocity to the minds of the people, and weakened their power to resist a sagacious and enterprising enemy.

SOON after the accession of Trahaern to the throne of North Wales, Gryffydd ap Cynan, the son of Jago ap Edwal, thought this a favourable opportunity of asserting his right to the crown, from which he had been unjustly excluded by the late usurpations. This prince, during the late reigns, had sought refuge in Ireland; and having procured aid from some Irish princes, his kinsmen (his mother being of that country) he landed a body of troops in Anglesey, and soon reduced that island to his obedience.^c Encouraged by his early success, and the support of some powerful chieftains,^d Gryffydd immediately passed the Menai, and encamped his army in Caernarvonshire; intending by degrees to penetrate farther into the country; but Trahaern, alarmed at this unexpected invasion, hastily raised what force he was able, and march to attack his rival upon Bron-yr-Erw, whom he defeated and obliged to retire into Anglesey.^e

^c Welsh Chron. p. 112.

^d Vita. Griff. fil. Conani, a manuscript life of that prince, written in the Welsh language, as is supposed, near the time in which he lived.

^e Welsh Chron. p. 113.

AT this time, Rhys, the son of Owen, and Rhytherch, the son of Caradoc, were joint sovereigns in South Wales. The tranquillity of their reign was early disturbed by an insurrection raised by Gronw and Llewelyn, the sons of Cadwgan^f ap Bleddyn^g ap Cynvyn; to revenge the murder committed on the late prince their grandfather. In this enterprise they were joined by Caradoc, the son of Gryffydd ap Rhytherch.^h Though a victory was soon after gained at Camdhwr by the three chiefs, it apparently produced no effect, as Rhys remained the sole sovereign of South Wales, on the murder of Rhytherch his colleague. This event was followed by another enterprise undertaken by the sons of Cadwgan; and though these princes obtained a second victory at Gwaynyttyd, it does not appear that this success produced any thing decisive in their favour, as Rhys continued for some time to enjoy his government.ⁱ

Ann. Dom.
1074.

THE king of North Wales having forced Gryffydd ap Cynan to fly into Anglesey, and regarding the distracted state of South Wales as favourable to his designs of conquest, invaded that country. Rhys, supported by all the power of his subjects, marched to oppose the invader. A very fierce action ensued at Pwlhgwttic, in which the army of South Wales was defeated; and that prince, to avoid being taken prisoner, was forced to fly from one place to another;

^f Strength of the army.

^g Image of a wolf.

^h Welsh Chron. p. 112.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 113.

till

till at length, falling into the hands of Caradoç ap Gryffydd, he and his brother Howel, were murdered in revenge of the death of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn.^k Even in these miserable times, when private resentment superseded the sober decision of the laws, the sword of justice, though usurped, seldom suffered the guilty to escape; as a keen sense of injury, and, what was deemed a sacred obligation, revenging the wrongs of their ancestors, were principles essential in hereditary feuds, and likewise deeply engrafted in the manners of the Welsh.

IN this situation of affairs, Rhys ap Tewdwr, lineally descended from Howel Dha, whose family had been long excluded from their rights by the capricious succession of the times, put in his claim to the crown, and was elected prince of South Wales by the unanimous voice of the people.^l

Ann. Dom.
1077.

DURING these transactions, Gryffydd ap Cynan had received a reinforcement out of Ireland. A similarity in situation, having inclined this prince and Rhys ap Tewdwr

^k Welsh Chron. p. 113.

^l According to Vaughan of Hengwrt, the immediate territories of this prince were only the present counties of Caerigan and Caermarthen; as Pembroke, Brecknock, Gwent, or Monmouthshire, and Glewifing or Herefordshire, being governed by their several Reguli; though, there is no doubt, but all these acknowledged the sovereign authority of South Wales. British Ant. Revived, p. 7, 8. Welsh Chron. p. 114.

to form an alliance, they joined their forces; resolving by every effort in their power to support each other, and to vindicate the rightful succession. To oppose an union so dangerous to his safety, Trahaern ap Caradoc assembled his forces, and met the two princes upon the mountain of Carno;^m where an engagement ensued, disputed with the obstinacy and valour natural to rivals who had every thing to hope and to fear. In this action Trahaern was slain, and his army entirely defeated.ⁿ This victory seated Gryffydd ap Cynan, and Rhys ap Tewdwr upon the thrones of their ancestors.^o After this event, the king of North Wales entered Powis, and laid waste that territory with fire and sword.^p

Ann. Dom.
1079.

THUS, by a sudden turn of fortune, meeting, we suppose, the wishes of the people, was the lineal succession restored; which as long as it continued, was a means of softening the asperity of the times, and of increasing the national strength.

THE prosperity of the king of North Wales was soon embittered by a sudden and deep reverse of fortune. On his return into his own dominions, a Welshman of the name

^m Called Mynydd Carn, on account of a large Carnedd upon it, covering the remains of a great warrior, who had in ancient times been slain and buried there.

ⁿ Vita. fil. Gryff. Conani. Welsh Chron. p. 114.

^o Ibid.

^p Brit. Ant. Reviv'd by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 16. Vita. fil. Griff. Conani.

of

of Meirion Goch, engaged in the design of betraying that prince into the hands of the English. In pursuance of this, a strong body of horse and foot were stationed at Rug in Edeirnion, under the direction of the earls of Chester and Shrewsbury, agreeably to the plan which had been previously concerted. This measure having taken place, Gryffydd ap Cynan was desired by the treacherous Welshman, at the instance of the two English lords, to give them the meeting under the colour of a friendly conference. With a simplicity, which neither agreed with the character of the times, nor the dictates of prudence, the Welsh king came to the place appointed, attended only by a few of his retainers whom he had brought out of Ireland. As soon as he had made his appearance, he was seized, and carried in chains to the castle of Chester. His followers were allowed to depart, without any other injury than having a thumb cut off from the right hand of each; this whimsical resentment might arise, it is probable, at the instigation of Meirion, who, from the prejudices of his country hailed them as foreigners, and on account of the partiality which this prince had always entertained for the Irish.

GRYFFYDTH remained many years in captivity; a confinement, no doubt, that was rendered more bitter, from a sense of his inability to protect his own kingdom, or to prevent the fatal innovations, which during that period, were taking place in South Wales and in Powis. The earl

of Chester, having secured so formidable an enemy, at different times made dreadful ravages in North Wales; and in order to preserve the conquests he had made, and render his inroads more safe, he erected a fortress at Aberllyenawg in Anglesey, one also at Caernarvon, another at Bangor, and another in Meirionydd; all of which he furnished with strong garrisons.^p

IN this situation were the affairs of Wales, when William the Conqueror, probably resenting the late inroad of the Welsh, invaded that country with a powerful army. The Welsh princes, unable to oppose his arms, or awed by the influence of his mighty name, submitted without resistance to pay him homage, and to take the oath of fealty, as due from vassals to a superior lord.^q

THESE hostile intentions being set aside by the peaceable demeanour of the Welsh princes, king William, agreeably to that spirit of piety which in these days tinged the minds of the fiercest warriors, marched with his army to Saint David's, and offered up his devotions at the shrine of that Saint.^r

Ann. Dom.
1079.

^p Camden's Brit. p. 655. Vita Griff. fil. Conani.

^q Math. Paris, p. 9. Lord Lyttelton says, that William, satisfied with this mark of vassalage, exacted no tribute as from a conquered country; the feudal laws regarding all as subjects who were admitted to homage, and of course exempting them from such impositions.

Lord Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II. vol. II. p. 49.

^r Welsh Chron. p. 115.

Ann. Dom.
1087.

A FEW years after this event, William the Conqueror died in Normandy. On the death of that prince, the genius of the Welsh nation revived, and with it revived also the variety of evils incident to civil dissensions.

THE three sons of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, desirous of recovering the sovereignty which they had lost by the murder of their father, and the usurpation of Trahaern ap Caradoc, raised an insurrection in South Wales against Rhys ap Tewdwr.⁵ That prince not being able to oppose a force suddenly increased by a swarm of men bred in the licentiousness of the times, retired into Ireland; and having powerful alliances in that country, procured a body of troops composed of Irish and Scots, with which he returned into South Wales, and was joined by numbers of his subjects. The three princes of Powis, sensible that dispatch was the life of such an enterprise as theirs, by a rapid movement, suddenly attacked Rhys, at a place called Lhechryd, before his army was strengthened by the numbers who were crowding to join him. In the battle which ensued, fortune decided against the insurgents. Two of the brothers Madoc and Ririd were slain, and the other saved his life by a precipitate flight. This commotion being fortunately ended, Rhys, with rewards expressive of his gratitude, dismissed his auxiliaries.⁶

⁵ Welsh Chron. p. 117.

⁶ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 110.

THE terror which had been impressed upon the minds of the Welsh, by the decisive character of the late English monarch, and which had unnerved the public arm, subsided with the death of that fierce warrior. Early in the reign of his son William Rufus an insurrection broke out upon the borders, excited by the earls of Hereford and Shrewsbury. The Welsh, eager to embrace the first favourable moment for the recovery of their liberties, joined the malecontent lords, and rushing with great fury on the English marches, like a fire which had been long pent up, they ravaged and laid waste the country about Worcester,^a to the gates of that city.^b But they were repulsed with great slaughter, by the spirited conduct of the citizens, excited by the exhortations of Wulstan their bishop.

Ann. Dom.
1088.

AN incident happened at this time, springing from a trivial occurrence, which produced a change in the affairs of South Wales the most important and decisive, and which in some measure was the cause of the final ruin of Cambria. Llewelyn and Eineon, chiefs of some eminence in South Wales, being the sons of the Lord of Dyvet, rose in rebellion against Rhys ap Tewdwr their sovereign; they likewise drew into their treasonable designs Gryffyd h ap

^a Called by the Romans Brangonia, by the Britons Caer-Vrangon, and by the Saxons Worcester. Humphrey Lhuyd, p. 26.

^b Annales Waverlenses, p. 136. Simon Dunelm, p. 214. Math. Paris, p. 12. Welsh Chron. p. 118.

Meredith, a nobleman of the country. Having joined their forces, they marched to attack prince Rhys, who then resided at Llandydoch, where an action ensued, in which the rebels were entirely defeated, and Gryffydth was taken prisoner, the two other leaders having saved themselves by flight. The rebel chief was instantly put to death as a traitor;^c the first instance we have seen, in these miserable times, of legal justice asserting her prerogative to punish.

EINEON, become desperate by the late event, and not daring to trust his safety with any of his own kindred, associated with Jestyn ap Gurgunt, lord of Morgannwc, or Glamorgan,^d between whom there was a similarity of situation and interest, he being then in arms against his sovereign. To bind them still more closely to each other, it was agreed that Eineon should marry the daughter of Jestyn, on condition that he procured a body of Normans to assist in their enterprise, as Eineon had served in the English armies, and had formed an acquaintance with the Norman nobility.^e In pursuance of this project, Eineon posted into England.

THE design was agreeable to the enterprising spirit of the age. The English princes too, had always em-

^c Welsh Chron. p. 119,

^d Or the territory of Morgan.

^e Welsh Chron. p. 119.

ployed in their various attempts of subjugating Wales, this principle of Machiavelian policy, “divide in order to command.” And at this time, the treason of two men, coinciding with the views of Rufus, introduced a fatal poison into the bosom of their country.

Ann. Dom.
1090.

ROBERT FITZHAMMON, a gentleman of the king’s privy chamber and baron of the realm, undertook the adventure. He selected for this enterprize twelve knights of considerable note, who agreed to serve under him with a large body of forces.^f These troops, early in the next year, landed in Glamorgan, and were received with great honour by Jestyn the lord of that country; who joining his forces with the Normans, invaded the territories of Rhys ap Tewdwr, and laid them waste in the most cruel manner. At the time of this invasion the prince of South Wales was above ninety years old. With a spirit and activity uncommon at his age, he marched in person against the rebels; but meeting them upon the black mountain near Brecknock, after a severe and bloody conflict, his army was vanquished, and this ancient and gallant prince was himself slain in the action.^g He left two sons by his wife, the daughter of Rhywalhon ap Cynvyn, Gryffyd, an infant, and Gronw, who at his father’s death was a prisoner in England.^h In this

Ann. Dom.
1091.

^f Welsh Chron. p. 119.

^g Wynne’s Hist. Wales, p. 112. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 80. Polidore Virgil, lib. X. p. 171.

^h Humfrey Lhuyd’s Breviary, p. 31. Welsh Chron. p. 120.

manner

manner died Rhys ap Tewdwr, fighting for the independency of his country. With this prince sunk the glory of the principality of South Wales; after whose death, betrayed by the vices of its princes, and torn in pieces by foreign adventurers, it lost its ancient importance, and gradually fell into decay.

THE treason of the Welsh chieftains having thus attained so fortunate an issue, Jestyn kept all his engagements with the Normans very faithfully; not only dismissing them with the stipulated pay, but with presents suitable to the importance of their service. Eineon instantly demanded the daughter of Jestyn, agreeably to his promise; but that lord, become insolent by prosperity, rejected his suit; and imbibbered the refusal by treating him with disdain, and even with derision. Resenting a conduct so faithless and ungrateful, Eineon posted after the Normans, in hopes of overtaking them before they had sailed. On his arrival at the sea shore, he found they were already embarked; and as he might not be heard at so great a distance, he waved his mantle as a signal for them to return. Fitzhammon and his knights immediately put to shore to know the cause of so extraordinary a procedure. As soon as they had landed, Eineon laid open his grievances, and likewise the facility of subduing a territory likely to remain unprotected by the Welsh princes, who must have seen with an eye of indignation the late conduct of Jestyn. Touched in some measure with the injuries of their friend, but still

more

more, it is probable, with the prospect of possessing so fertile a country, Fitzhammon and his knights readily engaged in the views of Eineon; and contrary to every principle of honour suddenly invaded the territory of Glamorgan. Jestyn, little expecting such a turn of fortune, was easily dispossessed of his territories.¹ They then proceeded to parcel out the domain agreeably to feudal ideas. Fitzhammon, reserving to himself the principal parts, with the feigniory of the whole, gave the rest of that province, to be held as fiefs under him, to the twelve knights^k who shared in the adventure; leaving the rough and barren mountains to the share of Eineon.¹

IN this manner were the lords of the marches^m established in Wales, possessing in all cases, except the power of granting pardons for treason, *Jura regalia*. In the castle of Caerdiff the lords of Glamorgan usually kept their chancery, ex-

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 80. Welsh Chron. p. 120. from Ran. Cest. lib. VII. cap. VII. Marianus Scotus.

^k The castle and manor of Ogmere, was given to William de Londres; the lordship of Neath, to Richard Greenfield; that of Coyty, to Paine Tuberville; Llan-Blethyan, to Robert St. Quintine; Talavan, to Richard Seward; the castle and manor of Penmare, to Gilbert Humfrevile; the castle and manor of Sully, to Reginald Sully; the manor of East Orchard, to Roger Berkrolles; that of Peterton, to Peter le Soor; that of St. George, to John Fleming; that of Fenvon, to John St. John; and the manor of St. Donats to William le Esterling. See Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 115.

¹ Camden's Brit. p. 609. Gibbon's edit. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 80. Welsh Chron. p. 120.

^m An old English word signifying *boundary*.

chequer,

chequer, and court; where the twelve knights, by their tenures, were obliged to attend one day in every month, having separate apartments in the castle for that purpose." Each of the other lordships had a distinct jurisdiction, enjoying the same rights with that of Glamorgan, except in cases of wrong judgment, when an appeal might be made to the superior court. All disputes in matters of equity arising in the several lordships, were determined by the chancellor, in the chancery court of Glamorgan.*

THE fortunate issue of the late adventure raised among the Norman nobility an ardent spirit of enterprise. The king of England threw powerful incentives in their way, alluring them by motives of interest and power, those strong incitements to human conduct. Several barons petitioned the crown for leave to possess, under homage and fealty, those lands which they might conquer in Wales. This liberty given to the English lords of obtaining at their own charge the territories of the Welsh, though apparently springing out of a wise policy, was grounded on the absurd idea of forfeiture, because that people had renounced the allegiance, to which they had submitted through necessity, during the operations of Harold, and the decisive reign of the Norman conqueror.

THE situation of South Wales, rendered defenceless by the death of Rhys, the late prince, favoured the designs of

* Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 115.

° Welsh Chron. p. 122.

these

these military adventurers. Among the foremost of whom was Bernard de Newmarche,^p who easily took possession of the province of Brecknock, containing three cantrevs; and to colour his title with some degree of popularity, he married Nest, a granddaughter of Gryffydd ap Llewelyn.^q Roger de Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury was the next who did homage to the king for Caerdigan. Arnulph, the younger son of that nobleman, obtained likewise the great lordship of Dyvet; since named Pembroke-shire.^r In this easy manner, by the defultory enterprises of a few Norman lords, was the principality of South Wales subdued, the ancient seat of the Dimetæ and the Silures, who, supported only by native bravery, had given a check to the Roman arms, and whose descendents had baffled, till this period, the utmost efforts of the Saxon and Norman princes.

THE principalities of North Wales and of Powis were not long secure from the incroaching spirit of the times. The earl of Shrewsbury did homage for all Powis, and brought under his subjection some districts in that territory, par-

^p Several gentlemen came at this time to Brecknock with Bernard de Newmarche, to whom he gave the following manors, which their heirs enjoy to this time; the manor of Abercynuric and Slowch to the Aubreys; the manor of Llanhamlach and Tal-y-Lhyn to the Walbiefs; the manor of Gilston to the Gunters; and the manor of Pontwilym to the Havards, &c. See Welsh Chron. p. 150. Cambden's Britannia, p. 590. Gibson's edit.

^q Welsh Chron. p. 148.

^r Ibid. p. 151.

ticularly the town and castle of Baldwin.³ This important fortress he fortified more strongly, and called it Montgomery, after the name of his family.⁴ The principality of Powis from this period had little concern in the interests of Wales. The policy of England soon rendered that territory, which had been for ages a barrier of defence, a dangerous neighbour upon the confines; and it became, by the defection of its princes, an instrument of mischief in the hands of the English against the national quiet and safety.

HUGH LUPUS, earl of Chester, likewise, did homage for Tegengl and Rhyvonioc, with the country extending along the sea shore from Chester, to the water of Conway. Ralph Mortimer did the same for the territory of Eluel; as did Hugh de Lacie for the lands of Ewyas; and Eustace Cruer for Mold and Hopedale.⁵ These barons endeavoured to secure their conquests by erecting fortresses,⁶ and, as far as they were able, by settling in them Norman or English inhabitants. At this time, Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, Shrewsbury, and Chester, were rebuilt, or fortified; and formed a line of military posts upon the frontiers.⁷ Thus

³ Built by Baldwyn, lieutenant of the Welsh marches, in the reign of William the first. See Camden's Brit. p. 650. Gibson's edit.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 152.

⁵ Ibid. p. 151.

⁶ Vaughan's British Ant. Reviv. p. 18.

⁷ Manuscript relating to the marches of Wales, in the possession of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Esq. of Guernhalled in Flintshire.

the last asylum of the Britons was invested almost on every side, or broken into by their enemies. The kingdom of North Wales, at this time reduced to the island of Anglesey, the counties of Mierionydh, and Caernarvon, and a part of Denbighshire, and of Caerdigan, still preserved the national character and importance. The natives of that country, aided by the virtue of their princes, became more formidable than ever to the English; and, at times, acquiring union with additional vigour from despair, their enemies, instead of being able to make new conquests, held those which they had already obtained by a precarious tenure.

THE late incidents having produced a striking change in the situation of Wales, and the lords of the marches having introduced into the country a new system of jurisprudence, some account of those lords, and of the system which they introduced, may be interesting to the reader. The conquest of Wales had always been a leading object in the politics of England, not only from the desire of more extensive dominion, but as a means of preventing in future the like devastation and misery, which the animosity of a warlike and an injured people had occasioned on the English borders. The utility, likewise, of employing in foreign enterprises a martial nobility, inclined the Norman princes to encourage, by every incitement of advantage and honour, the dangerous designs of subduing, or of making settlements in Wales.

To enable the English lords to preserve the obedience of the people they had subdued, the kings of England allowed them to assume, in their several territories, an absolute jurisdiction.² But they did not hold this authority under any grant from the crown ; it was only for the present connived at by the prince, and arose, as a wise measure, out of their particular situations. There is not, it is said, any record to be found in the tower, or in other parts of England, of a grant having been given to any lord of the marches, to possess the authority annexed to that dignity. The king's writs, issuing out of the courts at Westminster, did not extend into any part of Wales, except into Pembrokehire, accounted at this time a portion of England ; neither did the sheriffs, nor other officers of the king, execute his writs or precepts in any other part of the country.

THE high privileges incident to the lords of the marches, could not for many reasons be held by charter. The kings of England, when they gave to any baron such lands as they might conquer from the Welsh, could not fix those immunities on any certain precinct, not knowing which, or whether any would be eventually subdued. The lords themselves were not solicitous to procure such immunities ; as it frequently happened, that those lands of which they had taken possession, were afterwards recovered by the

² Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Life of Henry VIII.

Welsh, either by composition with the kings of England, or by force of arms. Another cause of their not possessing any charters of prerogative, was, that such privileges, so high in their nature, so royal and united to the crown, could not by the laws of England be disunited from the same. It was therefore thought a better course, to suffer them to establish, of their own authority, such royal jurisdictions, rather than to hold them under a grant from the sovereign, which if at any time called in question, might be adjudged of no force. Those lordships which were conquered at the expence of the English princes themselves, were subject to a more regular jurisdiction; being governed in general by the laws of England.^a

THE lords of the marches, selecting the most agreeable and fertile parts of their territories, built castles for their own residence, and towns for the accommodation of their soldiers. It was in this manner, that most of the present towns and castles on the frontier of Wales were built, and this appears by the ancient charters given to such towns by those lords who first conquered, or founded them, expressive of immunities to the burgeses, and freemen; few or none of them having purchased such liberties from the kings of England till many years after; and when that was done, which was seldom the case, they were only confirmations of privileges granted them by their ancient lords.

^a Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

Among other towns and castles about this time erected in Wales, were Pembroke, Tenby, and Haverfordwest, built by Strongbow, William de Valence, and the Hastings. Newport was built by Martin, lord of Kemmaes; the town and castle of Kydweli by Londres, and afterwards enlarged by the duke of Lancaster; the towns and castles of Swanfey, Oyftermouth, Loghor, Radnor, Buellt, and Rhaiadr, were built by the Bruces, the Mortimers, and the Beauchamps; Blaen-llyfni by Herbert; Abergaveny by Dru de Baladon; Ruthin by the lords Grey, and Denbigh by Lacie earl of Lincoln. The greatest part of these were ancient towns or castles before the Norman conquest, which had been either destroyed or injured in the lapse of time, or by the devastation of war.

THE lords of the marches held under the kings of England, by the tenure of serving in the wars with a certain number of their vassals, and of furnishing their castles with strong garrisons, and with the necessary implements of war.

THE English laws were for the most part administered in the marches of Wales; their tenures, likewise, were principally English, being transmitted by fine, recovery, feoffment, and livery of seisin. Some lords, from motives of prudence, permitted their tenants, who were natives of the country, to enjoy many of their ancient laws, which were not repugnant to those of England, or injurious to
their

their own interest. Among other concessions in favour of the Welsh, were, the usage of gavel-kind, and the transfer of lands by surrender in court; which gained admission into the jurisdiction of these lordships under the name of customs, though anciently they had formed a part of the common law of Wales. A sufficient number of people not being easily obtained to colonize the conquered countries, it was an obvious policy in the lords of the marches, to sooth the asperity of conquest, by allowing the Welsh to enjoy many of their ancient customs. As the mode of transfer, as well as the principles of succession, were different among the two people, two courts were established in many lordships, in which the custom of each nation prevailed. There were, however, a few lordships, though entirely held by English tenures, in which the tenants were permitted the custom of gavel-kind, although they transmitted their lands by feoffment. These lands were said to be held by English tenure, and by Welsh *dole*. In those lordships where the lands were thus divided, and which were held by knights service, the lord had the wardship of all the sons, as well as daughters; and as this was a point of great advantage, it might induce the lords to encourage in their tenants the custom of dividing their lands among their sons. In many lordships the Welsh laws were not in use, and English customs entirely prevailed. The whole jurisprudence depended entirely on the will of the first conquerors.

THE chief qualification of a lord of the marches, was that he should hold of the king in capite. Though conquest was the general principle on which his right was founded, in some instances his dignity proceeded from a different cause, as in the case of Powis, a great part of which was never gained by conquest, but changed into lordships marchers by the following means. The princes of Powis, seeing the perilous situation of their country, and actuated by fear or interested motives, made their submissions to Henry the first, and agreed to hold under him their several territories, paying the same obedience and duties, which the lords of the marches owed to the crown of England. Thus did several of the lordships in Powis differ from the rest; in one point, however, they agreed; that they did, and of necessity must, hold of the king in capite. This circumstance, together with renouncing obedience to the princes of Wales, was all that was at first expected by the kings of England from the lords of the marches. The baronies of Powis had not any manors which held under it, like other lordships which were gained by conquest; and for the same reason there were no knights fees, nor plow, or ox lands in those lordships; these divisions being introduced into Wales by the English and Norman lords, and entirely unknown to the Welsh and to the ancient Britons.

HAVING

HAVING thus given a short account of the introduction, and the nature of the lords marchers in Wales,² settled in the country at different periods, we shall resume the subject of the history.

IN no period of their annals have the Welsh appeared in so deplorable a situation as the present. North Wales had been left many years without a sovereign, in the power of the earl of Chester, and exposed to his merciless ravages: since the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr no chieftain had arisen in South Wales to rekindle the spirit of patriotism; and that country, wrested, in a great measure, from the hands of its native princes, had been parcelled out among Norman adventurers.³ In this state of things, the affairs of North Wales were changed on a sudden, by the enterprising spirit of a few individuals, possessed of neither power nor consequence.

GRYFFYD H AP CYNAN had languished twelve years in captivity,^b neglected by his subjects, or what is more probable, without their having had the ability to procure his release. The situation of this prince excited the compassion

² This account of the lords marchers is taken from a manuscript in the possession of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Esq. of Guernhalled, Flintshire.

³ Brady relates out of Domesday, that William the Conqueror granted to Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester, North Wales in farm at the rent of £40 per annum; besides Rhôs and Rhyvonioc. Page 201.

^b Cambden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 656.

of a young man, named *Kynwric Hir*, a native of Edeirnion; who determined, if possible, to effect his escape out of prison, though at every hazard to himself. The enterprise was bold, generous, and full of danger. Attended by a few followers he repaired to Chester, under pretence of buying some necessaries; and having gained admittance into the castle, at the edge of night, while the keepers were deeply engaged in feasting, he carried away on his back the captive prince, loaded with chains, and conveyed him with safety into his own dominions. Though Gryffyd h ap Cynan had thus fortunately escaped out of the hands of his enemies, he had many difficulties still to encounter, as his own subjects were either dispirited, or alienated from him; and the English were masters of the country.

His danger was sometimes so great, that he was obliged to lie concealed in woods or other places of security; till at length, having taken those castles which the Normans had erected during his confinement, he regained the entire possession of his kingdom.^c

It was not likely that the impatient spirit of the Welsh, their Sovereign having at length obtained his liberty, would remain quiet under the late usurpations. Gryffyd h ap Cynan, fired with resentment for the miseries which he

^c Vita Griffith. fil. Conani.

himself and his country had endured, with Cadwgan the son of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, invaded the territory of Caerdigan, and slew great numbers of the English, who had lately settled in that country.^d After this enterprize the two princes returned into their own territories.

THE Normans immediately procured a reinforcement out of England, and proposed, by a sudden inroad into North Wales, to revenge the injuries they had lately sustained. The design was discovered by Cadwgan; and that prince, suddenly intercepting them as they marched through the forest of *Yspys*, defeated their forces, after an obstinate resistance, and obliged them to retreat with considerable loss. The rapid movements of the Welsh prince did not allow his enemies leisure to breathe. For pursuing them closely in their flight, and assisted by the general consternation, he laid waste the country of Caerdigan and Dyvet, demolished every fortress lately erected, except the castles of Pembroke and Rydcors, which by their strength, or the bravery of the garrisons, baffled his power. Having thus recovered, by so fortunate an enterprize, a great part of South Wales, Cadwgan returned into Powis.^e

Ann. Dom.
1092.

ELATED with such unusual prosperity, and animated by a spirit of patriotism, the king of North Wales, and the

^d Welsh Chron. p. 152. British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 22.

^e Welsh Chron. p. 152.

sons of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, united their forces. Not content with expelling the enemies of their country, they carried their arms into the marches of England, a spirit of ferocity directing their operations. The Welsh princes divided their forces into different parties, one of which was defeated by the earl of Shrewsbury.^f The other bodies, not meeting with any resistance, with all the force and impetuosity of a torrent, spread along the English borders devastation and ruin. The counties of Chester, Hereford, Worcester, and Salop, were laid waste. The cities, the towns, and many villages were plundered, or set on fire, or levelled with the ground; and, with a cruelty that dishonoured the justice of their cause, the inhabitants, without any distinction of age or of sex, were carried away prisoners, or perished by the sword.

WILLIAM RUFUS, inflamed with resentment, that a people, who had yielded a tame submission to his father, should dare to contemn his authority, and attack him in his own dominions, raised a great army, and marched in person on a sudden, into the confines of Wales. The Welsh, however, with great spirit repulsed his attacks, and after losing great numbers of men and horses, he was forced to return with dishonour into England to reinforce his army. The Welsh princes, on the retreat of the English,

^f *Annales Waverleienfes*, p. 139. from *Ang. Script. Historiæ*.

flushed with their success, ventured to lay siege to the castle of Montgomery, reputed the strongest and the best fortified of any in Wales. The Normans gallantly defended the place for many days; but the Welsh, having found means to undermine the walls, took it by storm; and after putting all the garrison to the sword, levelled that fortress with the ground.⁵

Ann. Dom.
1093.

ONE common spirit of asserting their freedom seems to have animated the Welsh at this fortunate moment. The English, who inhabited South Wales, were instantly attacked in their different settlements, and after some desultory resistance, were at length obliged to evacuate the country. In the course of these hostilities, Roger Montgomery earl of Salop, William Fitzestace earl of Gloucester, and other English noblemen of distinction were slain.⁶ Thus at length did this gallant people, whose spirit had of late been depressed by the hand of power, recover, with somewhat like elastic force, the importance of their ancient character.

Ann. Dom.
1094.

THOUGH the Normans had been driven out of South Wales, they were in no measure reconciled to the loss of their fertile possessions. They ordered fresh soldiers to

⁵ Brompton's Chron. p. 991. Simon Dunelmæ, p. 220. Polydore Vergil p. 273. Walter Hemingford Canon of Gislebourne, p. 465. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 139. from Ang. Script. Historiæ.

⁶ Welsh Chron. p. 154.

garrison the different castles which they had erected in the country, besides furnishing each of them with a proper stock of provisions. Returning into South Wales, once more to contend for the prize with the native inhabitants, they were assaulted on a sudden by the sons of Ednerth ap Cadwgan, and driven back into England with great slaughter. Their several fortresses, after a spirited defence made by the garrisons, were yielded up to the Welsh, who for some time were left in quiet possession of a great part of the country. At the same time, two chieftains of North Wales, joining their forces with those of the sons of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, the prince of Powis, made an inroad into Dyvet, then in the possession of Arnulph the son of Roger Montgomery; and after having laid waste the whole country, they returned into their respective territories loaded with plunder. The castle of Pembroke, lately built by the above-mentioned lord, had baffled all their attempts, the Welsh not being able to take it; that fortress having been gallantly defended by Gerald de Windsor, the governor.ⁱ

THE late disasters, and the disgrace which he in person had received, excited in the fierce mind of Rufus the keenest indignation. He entered Wales, a second time, at the head of a royal army, and advanced as far as the mountains. During the march, the activity of the Welsh cut off his

ⁱ Welsh Chron. p. 154.

provisions,

provisions, harrassed his troops, and considerably diminished his numbers both in men and horses; for keeping aloof in the woods and marshes, or on the tops of the mountains, they suddenly attacked the English, with great advantage, in the defiles of the country, and in the passages of rivers.^k And such was the valour of the Welsh, and such the conduct of their leaders, so great were the difficulties likewise which Rufus found in attempting to penetrate through the country, or to draw the enemy to a battle, that in despair he gave over the enterprize, and after reafortifying some castles on the borders, returned with additional disgrace into England.^l

Ann. Dom.
1095.

THE late exertions of the Welsh, and the prosperous turn in their affairs, must surely give pleasure to every reader of sentiment, who feels a tender concern for the interests of humanity; and who has seen a spirit of private rapacity, directed by the policy of England, and acting in concert with its power, entrenching on the natural rights of a people, inferior, it is true, in every means of resource, but distinguished by the justice of their cause, and their enthusiastic love of liberty.

DISCOMFITURE and disgrace having of late attended on the arms of England, a different mode of conducting the war was adopted. A fresh body of Normans were en-

^k Brompton's Chron. p.992. Math. Westm. lib. II. fol. 12. Polydore Vergil, p.174.

^l Ibid.

couraged

couraged to undertake, at their own charge, the conquest of the Welsh; and about this time, or before, many barons had acquired considerable settlements, in those parts of Wales which were yet unsubdued, or along the frontiers of the country. Among others, Peter Corbet settled on the lordship of Caurse, Mortimer on Wigmore, Fitz Alen on Clun and Oswestree, Monthault on Hawarden, Fitzwarren on Whittington, Roger le Strange on Elfinere, Drude Baladon on Abergaveny, and Gilbert on Monmouth.^m

Ann. Dom.
1096.

AT the secret instigation of Owen ap Edwyn, lord of Tegengl, and other eminent chieftains in North Wales, a very formidable army invaded that country, under the command of the earls of Shrewsburyⁿ and Chester.^o Gryffydth, the king of North Wales, and Cadwgan ap Bleddyn of Powis, not being able on a sudden to collect a force sufficient to oppose them, and not having the necessary confidence in their troops, gave way for a time, and retired to the mountains for security. The two earls, meeting with no resistance, continued their march into that part of Caernarvonshire which lies opposite to the isle of Anglesey. When Gryffydth ap Cynan saw the danger which threatened the seat of his government, he passed over the Menai into Anglesey, attended by Cadwgan ap Bleddyn; and having

^m Manuscript treatise on the marches in possession of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Esq.

ⁿ Hugh *Vras*, or the fat earl of Chester.

^o Called by the Welsh Hugh *Goch*, or Hugh with the red head.

received a slight reinforcement out of Ireland, he seemed determined to defend the island.^p In this situation, Owen ap Edwyn, whose daughter had married the Welsh king, and who was likewise his chief counsellor, openly avowed his treason, and joined the English army with all his forces. The Welsh princes, alarmed at such an instance of perfidy, and unable to oppose this united power, withdrew into Ireland.^q After their departure, that island fell an easy prey to the enemy; who poured on the inhabitants the full measure of retaliation for the cruelties lately exercised on the borders of England. It is painful to relate the singular and savage barbarities exercised on this occasion, resembling more the deliberate malice of ruffians than the impetuosity of soldiers. Some of these people had their hands cut off, others their feet, some had their eyes pulled out, others were castrated, and great numbers were slain. A priest of the name of Kenred, venerable for his years and wisdom, having taken sanctuary in a church, the earl of Shrewsbury caused him to be taken from thence, ordered one of his eyes to be pulled out, his tongue to be cut, and caused him likewise to be deprived of his manhood.* We should have drawn a veil over such a scene of barbarity, if the design of history had been only to adorn a story, and not to point the instructive moral, or to delineate, with a faithful pencil, the portraiture of men and manners.

^p Welsh Chron. p. 155.

^q Ibid.

* Brompton's Chron. p. 994. Fabian, p. 315.

THE safety of North Wales in this perilous crisis, depended upon a train of fortuitous circumstances, which, as they baffle the sagacity of men, often decide in human affairs. Magnus the son of Olave king of Norway, having taken possession of the Orkneys and of the Isle of Man, arrived accidentally on the coast of Anglesey. Having intelligence of the cruelties committed by the English, and touched with a sense of generous pity, he determined to land his forces, to save the miserable inhabitants from destruction.* The English endeavoured to oppose the Norwegians. In attempting this, the earl of Shrewsbury was slain. The prince of Norway, observing that nobleman, whose impetuous valour had carried him into the sea, resolute in opposing his landing, levelled an arrow, which through the opening of his armour pierced his right eye, and reaching his brain, he fell down convulsed into the water. On seeing him fall, the Norwegian prince, in his own language, exultingly cried "let him dance."† This accidental stroke of justice, seen by the eye of superstition, made the Welsh conclude, that the arrow had been directed by the immediate hand of the Almighty.

THE death of the earl of Shrewsbury occasioned some disorder among the English, and obliged them to abandon

* Welsh Chron. p. 156. Vit. Griffithi. fil. Conan.

† Giraldus Cambrensis. Itin. cap. VII. Simon Dunelme, p. 223.

the shore. On this discomfiture, the earl of Chester suddenly retreated into England; leaving Owen ap Edwyn to enjoy for a time the fruits of his treason. The Norwegians, finding the English had not left any thing to plunder, immediately re-embarked.^u In the course of this expedition, the earl of Chester rebuilt the castle of Diganwy, the seat of the ancient princes of Wales.^x

AFTER an absence of two years, Gryffydh ap Cynan, attended by Cadwgan, returned out of Ireland into Wales, and concluded a peace with the English, upon terms of great disadvantage. In consequence of this, the dominions of Gryffydh were reduced to the island of Anglesey; and Cadwgan retained only the territory of Caerdigan, and a small part of Powis.^y Unacquainted as we are with the springs of action, it is not easy to account for the long absence of Gryffydh,^z or to trace in his present conduct any marks of that vigour, and decisiveness of character, which distinguished the early operations of his reign.

Ann. Dom.
1098.

AT this time William Rufus was accidentally slain as he was hunting in the New Forest in Hampshire.

^u Welsh Chron. p. 156.

^x King's Vale Royal of Cheshire, p. 48.

^y Welsh Chron. p. 156.

^z It might be owing, it is probable, to the disaffection of his own subjects, who had a strong aversion to strangers, and whom this prince had usually employed in his service, and likewise to the partiality he had always shewn for the Irish. See Vita Griffithi Conani.

His younger brother Henry succeeded to the crown of England.

Ann. Dom.
1101.

ROBERT DE BELESMO the son of Roger de Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury, and Arnulph his brother earl of Pembroke, having engaged in rebellion against Henry, drew into their designs Meredydh, Jorwerth, and Cadwgan, the three princes of Powis, and sons to Bleddyn ap Cynvyn. Henry marched in person with a large army against them, and repairing to the marches of Wales, laid siege to the castle of Brugge, or Bridgenorth. Finding this fortress too strong, on account of its situation and warlike appointments, to afford him the prospect of reducing it without great difficulty and loss of time, he sent privately to Jorwerth one of the Welsh princes, in hopes, by such motives as were likely to touch his interest, or resentment, to detach him from the rebels, and incline him to engage in his service. He offered him the territories which the two earls possessed in Wales, without paying tribute, or taking any oath of allegiance; at the same time, he recalled to his memory the many and deep injuries which his country had received from the families of those lords. These offers, artfully directed to the feelings of the Welsh prince, were gladly accepted. Jorwerth immediately joined the king, and with the usual animosity of a deserter, detached his troops to ravage the lands of the two English earls. The perfidy of his conduct threw his brothers and the rebel lords

lords into the utmost dismay ; they despaired of being able to make head against the king, and, within a little time after, the confederacy was dissolved.^a

As soon as the king had returned into England, Jorwerth arrested Meredydh, and put him in prison ; his other brother Cadwgan he took into favour, and gave him the lands of Caerdyff, and a part of Powis. He then repaired to the court of Henry, in confidence of receiving from that prince, a suitable recompence for the services he had lately performed. The king, however, wanting no longer his assistance, not only received him coldly, but deprived him of those lands which he had received as the reward of his treachery, and dismissed him from the court covered with shame and disappointment.^a Soon after, Richard de Belmarsh the bishop of London, was appointed warden of the marches. This prelate summoned Jorwerth to attend him at Shrewsbury, under pretence of consulting about public affairs ; but as soon as the Welsh prince appeared he was arrested for treason, found guilty of the charge, and committed to prison.^b The distrust of a traitor, and the dread of the effects arising from disappointed ambition, were no doubt the real causes of his disgrace.

Ann. Dom.
1102.

^a Welsh Chron. p. 158.

^a Ibid. p. 159.

^b Ibid. p. 160.

AT this period, a series of feuds and hostilities, unpleasing in the recital, arise in the history of Wales. These civil dissensions, too descriptive of the manners of the Welsh, were the means of accelerating the ruin of the state; destroying by degrees its union and its strength, and affording opportunities to the English kings of detaching the Welsh chieftains from the interest of their country.

Ann. Dom.
1108.

IN the Christmas holidays, Cadwgan ap Bleddyn invited the chieftains in his neighbourhood to a feast at his house in Dyvet. In the course of the entertainment, *medh*, or *mead*, the wine of this country, having raised their spirits, Nest^d the wife of Gerald, governor in Pembroke castle, was spoken of in terms of admiration; the beauty and elegance of whose person, it was said, exceeded those of any lady in Wales. The curiosity of Owen the son of Cadwgan was strongly excited to see her; and he had little doubt of obtaining admittance, as there was a degree of relationship subsisting between them. Under colour of a friendly visit, the young chieftain, with a few of his attendants, was introduced into the castle. Finding that fame had been cold in her praise, he returned home deeply enamoured of her beauty, and fired with an eager desire of enjoying her. The same night, returning with a troop of his wild companions, he secretly entered the castle, and

^d Camden's Brit. p. 630. Gibson's edit.

in the confusion occasioned by setting it on fire, surrounded the chamber in which Gerald and his wife slept. Awakened by the noise, he rushed suddenly out of bed to inquire into the cause of the disturbance; but his wife, suspecting some treachery, prevented his opening the door; then, advising him to retire to the privy, she pulled up the board; and still farther assisting her husband, he let himself down, and made his escape. Owen and his followers instantly broke open the door; but on searching the chamber, not finding Gerald, they seized his wife and two of his sons, besides a son and a daughter which he had by a concubine; then leaving the castle in flames, and ravaging the country, he carried off Nest and the children into Powis. This adventure gave Cadwgan the greatest uneasiness. Afraid lest Henry might revenge on his head the atrocious action of his son, he came into Powis; and requested Owen that he would send back to Gerald his wife and children, as well as the plunder which he had taken. The young chieftain, whose love was heightened by the possession of his mistress, refused to restore her. Whether she yielded to the violence of her lover from choice or from necessity, is uncertain; but he soon after sent back to Gerald all his children, at her particular request.^c

Ann. Dom.
1108.

SOON after this, Owen being afraid of receiving from the warden of the marches the punishment due to such an out-

^c Welsh Chron. p. 164. and Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 129.

rage, escaped into Ireland, with all his associates concerned in that transaction. His father Cadwgan secreted himself for a time in Powis; but having satisfied king Henry of his innocence concerning the late affair, he was permitted to remain in his own country, and to enjoy the town and lands which he held in right of his wife; ^f he was some time after re-instated in the possessions which had belonged to him in Caerdigan, on paying to the king a fine of one hundred pounds. ^g

AT this time, after many years confinement, Jorwerth ap Bleddyn was released out of prison, and restored to his territory; on his paying a fine of three hundred pounds in money, or of that value in cattle or horses.

SOON after, this prince and his brother Cadwgan went into England, to transact with Henry some affairs of their own. ^h During their absence, Owen the son of Cadwgan, who was just arrived out of Ireland, and whose turbulent spirit was always in motion, murdered a bishop, with all his attendants, on his journey to the English court; ⁱ and then retired for security into his father's territories. This transaction being reported to Henry, Cadwgan was called to answer for the behaviour of his son; but the excuses he made not satisfying the king, he took away his lands;

^f Welsh Chron. p. 165.

^g Ibid. p. 166, 168.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ Ibid.

telling him, at the same time, that his territories should be given to one, who would be able to restrain such disorders with a firmer hand. He then settled on him a pension for life, and charged him on his allegiance, not to enter any part of Wales until leave should be given.

THE territory of the Welsh prince was given to Strongbow earl of Strigal, on the usual condition of obtaining possession by the sword. This baron soon after landing in Caerdiganshire, easily accomplished his views; and to render his possessions more secure, he erected two fortresses, one of which he built on the sea shore, about a mile from Llanbadarn, and the other at a place called Dingerant, on the river Teivi.^k

Ann. Dom.
1109.

Soon after these events, Madoc ap Ririd ap Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, a cousin, and a wild associate of Owen's, returned out of Ireland. Having secreted himself in the lands of his uncle Jorwerth, that prince dreading the fate of his brother Cadwgan, gave orders to his vassals that they should treat his nephew as an enemy. Upon this, Madoc collected a body of outlaws, with whom he lay concealed amidst the rocks and the recesses of the woods, waiting for an opportunity of revenging the affront; he likewise entered into a friendship with Lhywarch ap Trahaern, between whom and the family of his uncle, there subsisted a deadly feud.

^k Welsh Chron. p. 169.

Having intelligence that Jorwerth intended, on a certain night, to lodge at Caerenieon in Montgomeryshire, the two chiefs with their followers surrounded the place at midnight. The prince and his attendants, starting from their sleep, defended the house with much spirit for a considerable time. The assailants, then, unable to make any impression, set it on fire. In this extremity, the people within endeavoured to make their escape; in doing which, some of them had the good fortune to push through the enemy, others were slain in the attempt, and the remainder were burnt in the house. Jorwerth himself, attempting to force his way, rushed on the spears of the assailants; but overpowered, he was driven back, and perished in the flames.

As soon as Henry heard of this event, calling Cadwgan into his presence, he received that prince into favour, and gave him the territory which his late brother had possessed in Powis; and, from some motives of his own which do not appear, he even extended his grace to Owen, desiring his father to send for him out of Ireland, whither he had fled on account of the late murder of the bishop.¹

MADOC, finding his uncle Cadwgan in possession of his late brother's territories, though his hands had been already stained with the blood of one relation, determined the first

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 170, 171.

opportunity to imbrue them still deeper, by the murder of his other uncle Cadwgan. This prince, having brought his territories into some degree of order, repaired to Trallwng or Pool in Montgomeryshire, attended by the elders of the country; where he began to erect the castle of Powis, in which he intended to reside. In this situation he was on a sudden assaulted and slain by Madoc, before he had time to fly, or even to prepare for his defence.

THUS died, after a variety of fortunes, Cadwgan the son of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn; dignified by Cambden with the title of the renowned Briton, a prince, whose valour, sense of justice, and other milder virtues, might, in any age but this, have exempted him from a death so cruel, and so unworthy of his character. What aggravates still more the severity of his fate, is, that he should receive that death by the hands of so near a kinsman.

AFTER the murder of his uncle, Madoc applied to the warden of the marches for lands which had been formerly promised him, and that officer, influenced by the resentment he had borne to Cadwgan and his family, granted his request; and what is still more singular, king Henry received the ruffian into his favour, upon paying a fine.^m

^m Welsh Chron. p. 170, 171.

A SERIES of retaliated injuries now arise in regular succession; evils naturally springing from the passions when they usurp the sword of justice.

MEREDYDH, the only surviving son of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, caused an inroad to be made into the country belonging to Lhywarch ap Trahaern, who had been accessory to the murder of his brothers. Passing in the night through the lands of Madoc ap Ririd, Meredydh's party, meeting a vassal belonging to that chieftain, inquired for his master; the man at first affecting ignorance, was threatened with instant death; he then gave them intelligence that he was in a place at no great distance from thence. They then, early in the morning beset Madoc on a sudden, slew many of his followers, and brought him prisoner to Meredydh; who instantly sent to his nephew Owen to decide his fate. That chief, reflecting that he had been an associate of Madoc, and that they were united by oath in the bonds of friendship, determined not to put him to death; though, with a whimsical refinement in mercy, he satisfied his revenge by putting out his eyes.^a Incidents like these, arising from the collision of contending parties, present, in sanguinary tints, a lively picture of barbarism.

Ann. Dom.
1112.

IN the course of these events, Henry the king of England had an opportunity of giving to his territories in South

^a Welsh Chron. p. 172.

Wales, an increase of security and strength, of the most stable and beneficial nature. During the reign of his father a great number of Flemings, having been driven out of their habitations by a very uncommon inundation, had come over into England. That king had entertained them with much cordiality from just notions of policy, to increase, by such a number of useful inhabitants, the riches and strength of his kingdom. Many of these people, having been dispersed in different parts, began by their numbers to create some uneasiness; which Henry removed by settling them as a colony in South Wales, where he gave them the country adjoining to Tenby and Haverfordwest, in which their posterity remain to this day.*

DURING these transactions, the king of North Wales had never done homage, or paid tribute to the crown of England. Henry, having lately overcome his foreign enemies, received complaints from the earl of Chester, that frequent devastations had been committed on his territories by Gryffydh ap Cynan, and by Gronw ap Owen ap Edwyn the lord of Tegengl. Similar complaints had been likewise made by the earl of Strigal, to whom Henry had lately given Caerdigan, that Owen the son of Cadwgan kept a number of retainers who frequently plundered and

* Wm. Malmſbury p. 158. Girald. Cambr. Itin. lib. I. cap. XI. Verſtigan, chap. IV. p. 100. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 58.

infested

infested his country.^p On these complaints, Henry swore in his anger, he would not leave a Welshman alive in North Wales, or in Powis; that he would exterminate the nation, and settle in each country new inhabitants out of his own dominions. To execute this threat, he drew together, from different parts of his kingdom, a very considerable force; and Alexander the Fierce, who then reigned in Scotland, came and served under him in person.

Ann. Dom.
1113.

THREE armies were formed; one of which, composed of a large body of Scots, and the power of the north, under the conduct of the Scottish king, and the earl of Chester, was designed for the conquest of North Wales; another, consisting of the strength of Cornwall, and a fourth part of England, led by the earl of Strigal, was ordered to invade those parts of South Wales which were still possessed by the natives; and a third, taking in the flower of his military vassals in the middle part of his dominions, was commanded by the king of England himself, with which he proposed to subdue all Powis.

NEVER were the Welsh, to all appearance, in such danger as at this period; the storm gathering from different quarters, seemed ready to burst, and overwhelm them in ruin.

^p Welsh Chron. p. 173.

INTIMIDATED at the prospect, Meredydh ap Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, delivered himself up to the mercy of Henry; and Owen his nephew the son of Cadwgan fled to Gryffydh ap Cynan. The king then changed his first design, and directing all his force against North Wales, advanced himself to Murcastelh; the king of Scots, in concert with him, penetrated as far as Pennant Bachwy. The inhabitants, as usual, retired to the mountains, and by the prudent orders of their prince, having carried away their cattle and provisions, such a large army could not pursue them for want of subsistence, or from the natural difficulties of the country: the English parties who attempted to do it, were attacked by the Welsh in the defiles of the mountains, and were either cut to pieces or repulsed with great loss.⁹

IN this difficult situation, Henry had recourse to the arts of negociation. The king of Scotland was made the first instrument in carrying on the design. He proposed to Gryffydh ap Cynan, that if he would appear and yield himself up, he should be taken into Henry's favour. But that prince, aware of the delusive nature of such promises, refused to lay down his Arms. The earl of Chester was then sent to Gryffydh to procure, if possible, his submission to king Henry; and in order more effectually to promote the design, he insinuated that Owen had already made his peace with that prince. Incensed at the supposed

⁹ Welsh Chron. p. 173.

perfidy of his confederate, (for they had taken an oath that neither party should make peace or submission without the consent of the other) the king of North Wales agreed to lay down his arms, and to pay a large sum of money to the king, as a compensation, perhaps, for the ravages lately committed in Cheshire. At the same time, Meredydh, under the pretence of treachery in the king of North Wales, brought over Owen his nephew. The means of intercourse having been prevented by Meredydh, the two princes became the dupes of this artifice; and each of them made a separate peace with the English king.' It gives us a striking idea of the valour of the Welsh, and the exceeding difficulty of subduing their country by force, to see a prince, so potent as Henry the first, glossing over by a dishonourable subterfuge, real disgrace and disappointment. For where was the advantage resulting from the war? No homage or tribute appears to have been acknowledged or paid, nor any new territory obtained; no extermination of the inhabitants, as he proudly menaced; no new colonies established in North Wales, or in Powis.

THE busy theatre of South Wales presents, at this period, a new character.

GRYFFYD H the son of Rhys ap Tewdwr, who, on the death of his father, had been conveyed for safety into

† Welsh Chron. p. 174.

Ireland, remained in that country till he was twenty-five years of age. Then, desirous of recovering the dignity which his ancestors had possessed, he came privately into South Wales, under the pretence of visiting Nest his sister, who some time before had been concubine to king Henry, and had borne two sons to that monarch.^s After her connection with Henry was at an end, Gerald de Windsor, a Gentleman of much estimation for his valour and conduct, then governor of Pembroke castle, obtained her in marriage; and, on that account, was appointed lieutenant over a part of that province. This was the same person, whose beauty had so lately excited Owen the son of Cadwgan to the act of violence already mentioned. With this lady, and his other relations, Gryffydh remained two years; but Henry's jealousy did not allow this prince to continue long unmolested; suspicions arising that he began to carry on intrigues with the Welsh, who considered him as the future deliverer of their country, and that his secret design was to recover his kingdom, orders were sent to have him arrested. When Gryffydh ap Rhys had intelligence of this design, he implored the protection of the king of North Wales, who assured him, that for the friendship he had borne to his Father, he should be cordially received, and remain secure within his dominions.^t At the same time, Howel, the brother of the young prince, having been a long time a prisoner, made his escape out of the castle of Montgomery, and though sorely

^s Giraldus Cambrensis Itin. cap. XII. says one son. Brady's Hist. Eng. reign of Henry I. p. 171, says two sons.

^t Welsh Chron. p. 175.

mained, fled, as to a friendly asylum, to the court of Gryffydh ap Cynan.^u

HENRY, having heard of these events, and dreading the effects if drawn into precedent, of the protection which had been yielded to Rhys^x in North Wales, sent a letter to Gryffydh ap Cynan, expressing in terms of courtesy and friendship, a desire of seeing him in England. Pleased with the notice of so potent a monarch, he repaired to Henry's court, and was there received with honour and much hospitality, with the addition also of presents in jewels and other things to a considerable amount: a reception likely to gratify either his avarice or his vanity. Having thus far prepared the way, king Henry, one day, laid open his design; representing to Gryffydh the evils which might arise from giving protection to the son of Rhys ap Tewdwr, whose ambition was likely to disturb the peace of all Wales; and offering, at the same time, the most splendid rewards, if he would send either the person or the head of the young prince into England.^y A mind less savage than that of a barbarian must feel some reluctance, before it could resolve to give up as a victim to the political views of Henry, an orphan who had sought his protection. On this occasion, however, the obligations of honour and of friendship, the feelings of humanity, with every idea of prudence and patriotism, were in a moment annihilated.

^u Welsh Chron. p. 175

^x Or hero.

^y Welsh Chron. p. 176.

THE friends of Gryffyd h ap Rhys, suspecting some evil from the late singular proceedings, advised him and his brother Howel to withdraw themselves, that they might have an opportunity of observing the conduct of Gryffyd h ap Cynan upon his return into Wales. That prince, as soon as he entered his palace, inquired for Gryffyd h ap Rhys; but was informed he had retired from the court. Discovering the place of his retreat, the king then sent out a body of horse-men to take him prisoner, and conduct him back; but fortunately the young prince had notice of the design, and had just time to take sanctuary in the church of Aberdaron.^z The king of North Wales, having violated more sacred laws, had no scruple to infringe the privileges of sanctuary; and ordered Gryffyd h ap Rhys to be taken out of his asylum by force. In this unpopular attempt his authority had no weight; for the clergy of that country, eager to defend their immunities, so effectually resisted the endeavours of his soldiers, that they were not able to execute his orders. In the night, the young prince was secretly conveyed away by his friends to Stratywy, a deep forest in South Wales; where having collected the adherents of his family, he meditated hostilities against the Normans and Flemings.^a

THE first enterprize of Gryffyd h ap Rhys, was to burn and destroy several castles belonging to the English. But,

Ann. Dom.

1116.

^z Welsh Chron. p. 176.

^a Ibid.

his forces increasing, he extended his ravages into Dyvet, and even menaced with a siege the castle of Caermarthen, which Henry had made the principal seat of government in that province. Those who had the charge of this fortress, judging their own strength insufficient to maintain the place, sent for the Welsh chieftains who were vassals to Henry, and, requiring each of them to defend it by turns for fourteen days, committed the castle to their custody. Owen the son of Caradoc, whose mother was daughter to Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, was the first to undertake its defence. Gryffydd ap Rhys, having sent out spies to reconnoitre the situation of the place, suddenly invested it, being told the works were assailable. A shout which his troops set up as they advanced to the attack, gave Owen notice of his danger; upon which, that chief, depending on the support of his garrison, rushed forward to oppose the enemy; but being deserted, he was slain in the action, valiantly fighting upon the ramparts. The town was immediately taken and demolished; the castle was only dismantled. Then, Gryffydd, the young prince, retreated with considerable booty to his post in the woods of Stratywy; from whence he frequently issued with the fierceness of a tiger, and ravaged the country around.

THE spoils his followers had lately obtained, and the fame which he himself had acquired, drew to his standard great numbers of young men, who, pleased with his activity and spirit, were in full confidence that he would soon recover

cover his father's dominions. Thus reinforced, Gryffydd lost no time in pursuing his success, and soon made himself master of two fortresses more belonging to the English; one of which was the castle of Gwyr, and the other the property of William de Londres. After this enterprise, he again retired to his strong situation with the cattle and plunder he had taken.

THESE successes had considerably raised the reputation of Gryffydd ap Rhys, in consequence of which, the chieftains of Caerdigan espoused his cause, and submitted to his government; looking up to him as the guardian of his country, and calling on him to free them from the odious and ignominious tyranny of foreigners. Much pleased with the invitation these chieftains had sent him, he entered their territories, and was received by them with great cordiality and honour.^b The prosperity of his arms was equal to the rapidity of his movements. He suddenly came to Caerdigan Iscoed, and laid siege to a fortress, which the earl of Strigal had built at Blaen Porth Gwithan in that neighbourhood; after a severe contest and sustaining many terrible assaults, though with the loss only of one of his own men, the place was at length taken, and burned to the ground. As far as Penwedic the same devastation attended the deserted houses of the English inhabitants, who, struck with dismay, had fled from the fury of the Welsh. He

^b Welsh Chron. p. 178.

then

then laid siege to a fortress called Stradpythylh, belonging to the steward of the earl of Strigal; which he took by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. Advancing then to Glasgrig, he there encamped to give his forces a day's rest. Near this place was the church of Llanbadarn, one of those sanctuaries which possessed very high privileges, and in which the cattle, feeding within certain precincts, were regarded as sacred.^c Out of this asylum he ventured to take some cattle to refresh his army; an impolitic, though perhaps it might be a necessary measure, as it was likely to injure his own reputation with his countrymen, by wounding their religious feelings. He then proposed on the following day to lay siege to the castle of Aberystwyth. The governor, acquainted with the design, sent to Stratmeyric, a neighbouring fortress, for a reinforcement, which during the night was safely conveyed into the castle.^d Ignorant of this, Gryffyd ap Rhys preserved no order among his troops, and confident of success, appeared before the place; but being drawn into an ambuscade laid for him by the governor, his forces were defeated with much slaughter, and compelled to quit that province.^e He nevertheless continued for some time longer to maintain himself in the forest of Stratywy.^f

^c Welsh Chron. p. 179.

^d Ibid.

^e Ibid. p. 180.

^f Lord Littelton's Life of Henry II. vol. II. p. 61.

THE conduct of this prince, which brightened his early life, promised to open with still greater lustre; but the disaster he had lately experienced, seems, on a sudden, to have given some check to his career, and to have cooled his enterprising spirit.

HENRY, unable to subdue this prince by open hostilities, had recourse to measures, which could only be dictated by the most wicked and narrow principles. He sent orders to Owen the son of Cadwgan, one of the late princes of Powis, to repair to his court: on his arrival, the king expressed much confidence in his fidelity, and desired him, on strong assurances of recompence, to assassinate Gryffyd ap Rhys, or to take him prisoner. That chief, whose savage manners rendered him fit for such an employment, gladly accepted the commission. Returning into Wales, he engaged in the design Lhywarch ap Trahaern a chieftain of that country; and with their joint forces marched towards the forest of Stratywy, to form a junction with Robert earl of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry by Nest his late concubine, whom the king his father had sent to give vigour to an enterprise, the design of which was the murder of his uncle. The ruffians being arrived on the confines of the forest, they bound themselves in a solemn engagement, not to suffer man, woman, or child, who inhabited that district, to escape alive out of their hands. The people of the country, hearing of this savage resolution, left their habi-
tations

tations to hide themselves in caves and amidst rocks and woods, while others sought refuge even in the castles belonging to the Normans.

IN order to facilitate their entrance into the forest, the approaches being narrow and difficult, the chiefs divided their force into separate parties. Owen himself at the head of about a hundred men, entered the woods; in his way, perceiving the footsteps of men, he pursued and overtook them, killed some of their number, and dispersed the rest; then, seizing on their cattle, he returned with his plunder towards the main body. At this moment, Gerald the governor of Pembroke castle, made his appearance, intending to join the king's forces. Meeting the people who had fled from Owen, they complained of the injury they had just received, and implored his assistance. In an instant the idea of revenge rushed on his mind, for the insult his honour had received some years before, by the outrage which Owen had committed on his wife. He instantly entered the forest in pursuit of that chief, who, being warned by his followers of the approaching danger, refused to fly; confident that his pursuers intended him no injury, they, like himself, being vassals of the king of England. As soon as Gerald and his forces drew near, they discharged a volley of arrows. Owen, finding his mistake, with much spirit, called on his men to support him; telling them, that though their enemies were seven to one in
number,

number, they were only Flemings, affrighted at the name of a Welshman, and distinguished by nothing but drinking deep at caroufals. In the first onset Owen ap Cadwgan was slain; an arrow having pierced his heart. His death dispirited his followers, who fled to the other part of the army; the tidings of this outrage gave them so great a distrust of the king's forces that they dispersed, and returned into their own country.^g

IN this manner died, suitably to the tenor of his life, this bold and profligate chieftain.

AT this time, the Welsh, who inhabited Powis, revolted from their allegiance to Henry, and making inroads upon the marches, did there considerable mischief; and also in Cheshire, where they demolished two castles.^h

THE English monarch, incensed at their revolt, once more marched in person at the head of a powerful army into Wales.^h When he arrived on the confines of Powis, Meredydh ap Bleddyn, and the three sons of the late Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, implored the assistance of Gryffydh the king of North Wales. But this prince, estranged from the real interests of his country, and still deluded by the artifice of Henry, refused to afford them any succour, or to allow

Ann. Dom.
1122.

^g Welsh Chron. p. 182.

^h Simon Dunelme, p. 245. Holinshed's Chron. p. 42. Roger Hovedon, p. 477. John Brompton, p. 1013. These writers say, that in this expedition, the king penetrated as far as Snowdun.

them the liberty of entering into any part of his dominions ; he being then, as he told them, at peace with that monarch.

ON this refusal, the Welsh chieftains despairing of other relief than what they might derive from their own spirit and exertions, prepared for their defence ; and with much judgment stationed bodies of men to guard the different passes into the country. Henry, having ordered his army to take a larger circuit, that the conveyance of his carriages might be rendered more easy, entered himself with a few troops into a narrow defile. The Welsh, stationed in places of advantage, began to skirmish with their arrows, killing some, and wounding many of his party. An arrow accidentally shot from an unknown hand, struck the king on the breast : he received little or no injury from the blow, the force of it being broken by the excellent temper of his *habergeon*, or coat of mail.¹ It was uncertain from whence the stroke proceeded ; but Henry, the instant he felt it, swore by the “ death of our Lord,” his usual oath, that the arrow came not from a Welsh but an English bow.² The danger he had so narrowly escaped made him desirous of ending the war ; in which a single misfortune, in so wild a country, might fully the renown he had formerly acquired. There was something fastidious in the idea, that

¹ Stowe's Chron. p. 140. Welsh Chron. p. 185.

² William Malmesbury, p. 158. Frankfurt edit. Baker's Chron. p. 40.

the glory of Henry would be tarnished, by any check his arms might receive from the Welsh; a people, who, though rude, and deriving little splendor from alliances, or the extent or situation of their country, had yet baffled the various attempts, which a powerful nation like the English, had made against their liberties.

THE king, in this situation, entered into a negotiation with Meredyth the prince of Powis, who submitted to give hostages, to pay a thousand head of cattle, and a small sum of money as a compensation for the treason committed in this insurrection by himself, and by his nephews; on which terms, Henry very willingly granted to these princes pardon and peace; and returned into England, having appointed the lord Fitz Warren to be warden of the marches.^k

Ann. Dom.
1122.

A SPIRIT of cruelty, which bordered upon frenzy, and which broke asunder the ties of nature, at this period seized on the different branches of the house of Powis; an effect produced by the custom of gavel-kind, that fatal source from which the Welsh have tasted so deeply of the waters of bitterness.¹

Ann. Dom.
1125.
1127.
1128.

ABOUT this time, Gryffydh ap Rhys was ejected out of a certain district which had been assigned for his maintenance by king Henry, on a false accusation brought

^k Welsh Chron. p. 185, 186, 187. William Malmshury, p. 159.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 186, 187, 188.

against him by the English, who were settled in his neighbourhood.^m There was something both singular and cruel, in thus driving a prince into want, dependence and despair, in the very country of which he himself was the natural sovereign.

Ann. Dom. 1133. AT this time died Meredydh prince of Powis, the last surviving son of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn; who, forsaking his own, and the true interests of his country, had long become a subject to the king of England.ⁿ

SOON after this event died Henry the first, and Stephen succeeded to the English crown.

Ann. Dom. 1135. THE news of Henry's death, arriving in Wales, excited a general commotion: a spirit of revolt and hostility was instantly diffused. Even Gryffyd h ap Cynan, who so long had deserted the dignity of his character, deluded by artifice, or influenced by a personal regard for the late king, joined in the common cause against the English. The insurrection began in the territory of Pembroke, and a very considerable body of Normans were cut in pieces. Animated with success, the insurgents over ran the whole country; putting to death all the foreigners wherever they came.^o

^m Welsh Chron. p. 187.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 188.

^o Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. I. p. 63. taken from Gest. Reg. Step. p. 930, 931, 932. & Continuat. ad Flor. Wig. sub annos, 1135, 1136, 1137.

IN the course of these events, Richard son of Gilbert de Clare, to whom the territory of Caerdigan had been given by Henry, was murdered by Jorwerth the brother of Morgan of Caer Leon.

DURING these transactions, Gryffyd ap Rhys went into North Wales, to procure a body of troops from Gryffyd ap Cynan his father-in-law. In the absence of that prince, his wife Gwenlian, a woman of a manly spirit, desirous of aiding his generous designs, took the field in person at the head of her own forces, attended by her two sons. This lady's success was not equal to her gallant spirit. Her army was defeated not far from the castle of Cydweli, by Maurice de Londres, an English lord possessed of great property in the country; Morgan, one of her sons was slain in the action, and her other son Maelgon taken prisoner; and the princess herself, it is said, was beheaded by the orders of her brutal enemy. An action so savage, without precedent even in these times, called loudly for vengeance on the spirit of the injured princes.⁹

IN this state of things, the province of Caerdigan was furiously attacked by Owen Gwynedh and Cadwalader, the

^p Giraldus Cambrensis. Itin. lib. I. cap. IV.

^q Giraldus Cambrensis. Itin. lib. I. cap. IX. and also Dr. Powel's notes on the said chapter. This circumstance clearly contradicts the assertion of Florentius Monk of Westminster, that Gwenlhian wife to Gryffyd ap Rhys, by deceitful practices, had been the cause of his death. See Welsh Chron. p. 190.

two elder sons of the king of North Wales.^q Among a people, whose manners seem to have been little refined by ideas of chivalry, we are surpris'd at the appearance of two men, whose personal qualities, and whose courteous and gentle demeanour, might have entitl'd them to dispute the palm with the accomplished knights of the feudal ages.^r These distinguished persons were the above-named sons of Gryffydh ap Cynan. As soon as the princes arriv'd in South Wales, several chieftains join'd their army; being thus reinforced, they took and destroy'd the castles of Aberystwyth,^s Dinerth, and Caerwedrofs, and two other fortresses belonging to Walter Aspec, and Richard de la Mare; all of which were very strong, and well garrisoned. Having finish'd the campaign, so much to their glory, they return'd into North Wales.^t

Ann. Dom.
1136.

DURING the late expedition, two English barons were slain. And a little time after, in revenge, it is probable, of the late devastations, Ranulph earl of Chester made an inroad into Wales; but being on a sudden intercepted by the Welsh, it was with great difficulty, that he himself, with five only of his soldiers, were able to escape; the rest of his forces having been put to the sword.^u

^q Welsh Chron. p. 189.

^r Giraldus Cambrensis, lib. II. cap. XII.

^s The word *Aber*, which frequently occurs in the Welsh history, signifies that point where a lesser river runs into a larger; or where a river discharges itself into the sea.

^t Welsh Chron. p. 189.

^u Simon Dunelme, Continuata, p. 258, 259.

ON the close of the same year, the young princes Owen and Cadwalader, came a second time into South Wales, at the head of a formidable force ; consisting of six thousand infantry, and two thousand horse, all of which were compleatly armed. The prosperous event of their late enterprize, with the desire of revenge, having excited Gryffyd ap Rhys^x who had married their sister, and several chieftains in South Wales to join them with considerable supplies, they subdued the whole country as far as Aberteivi, the present town of Caerdigan ; expelling the foreigners, and replacing the native inhabitants. To repel this formidable insurrection, the united force of the Normans, Flemings, and English in Wales or in the marches, was exerted, under the conduct of several powerful barons, who determined by one great effort to recover the territories lately torn from them, or at least, to preserve those parts which still remained.^y These were the two sons of Gerald de Windsor, with Robert Fitzmartyn, and William Fitz John, besides Stephen the governor of Aberteivi ; who, after the death of Gerald, had married Nest,^z his widow.

THE courage of the Welsh had, in various situations, been terrible to their enemies : on this occasion, it seems to have been raised above the usual standard ; fired with resent-

^x Welsh Chron. p. 190.

^y Ibid. p. 189.

^z Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. vol. I. p. 63.

ment at the late outrage, and animated by the example of leaders, whose talents rendered them so fit for command. The English; after a severe and bloody conflict, were defeated, with the loss of three thousand men; and flying to their castles for safety, were so closely pursued, that many prisoners were taken, and great numbers drowned in the Teivy; a bridge across that river having been broken down, over which they were obliged to pass.^a Never before had the English, in their various attempts upon Wales, received so terrible a blow. Having finished another prosperous campaign, the two young princes returned into North Wales; carrying with them, to grace their triumph, the horses and armour, and the rich spoils they had taken.^b

IN the course of these events, the sister of the earl of Chester, who, after the murder of her husband, Richard de Clare, had retired to one of his castles, was besieged by the Welsh in that fortress. The situation of this lady was truly deplorable. She was invested by an irritated enemy, and in want of provisions; the English were nearly all slain, or expelled out of the country; her brother was at a distance, and so employed in defending his own territories, that he could not afford her any timely relief: and, what contributed to render her situation still more wretched, she had reason to expect every hour a fate, which she might

^a Welsh Chron. p. 189. Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 4.

^b British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 22.

deem,

deem more cruel than death itself, the Welsh, like many other nations, having taken their female captives, even those of the highest rank, to be their concubines.^c In this dreadful state, Milo Fitz Walter, who, by right of his wife the daughter of Bernard de Newmarche, was the lord of Brecknock, received orders from king Stephen to use his utmost endeavours to set at liberty the unfortunate countess. There was so much difficulty and danger in the enterprise, that its success appeared almost impossible. A generous pity, which a brave mind ever feels for weakness in distress, and the gallant spirit of chivalry, made him however attempt, at every hazard, to deliver the lady out of danger. He lost no time, therefore, in marching, with a chosen body of troops, through ways which were least frequented; traversing along the tops of mountains and through the deep woods of the country; at length having had the good fortune to arrive at the castle, unseen by the Welsh, he carried away the countess of Clare, and all her retinue.^d An action so gallant and humane, equals many of the fanciful descriptions which are found in romance, and proves such pictures to have borne some resemblance to the manners of the age.

^c Lord Lyttelton's *Life of Henry II.* p. 64. Cadwalader, one of these princes, afterwards married the daughter of this countess of Clare. *Hist. Gwedir.* p. 5.

^d Lord Lyttelton's *Henry II.* vol. II. p. 64. from Girald. Cambrensis. *Itin. Cam.* cap. II. lib. I.

BUT we see not on this occasion, the same gallantry of spirit in Owen and Cadwalader ; nor in some other parts of their subsequent conduct, though these princes, it is said, were highly distinguished for humanity and courteous manners.^c

Ann. Dom. IN this year, Gryffydh the son of Rhys ap Tewdwr
1137. prince of South Wales died ; closing with his life a series of gallant actions, which reflected back the lustre he had received from a long line of ancestry.^f

SOON after the prosperous campaign which his sons had made in South Wales, Gryffydh ap Cynan died at the age of eighty-two, and was buried on the south side of the great altar in the church of Bangor.^g This prince had three sons and five daughters by his wife Angharad the daughter of Owen ap Edwyn lord of Englefield. The names of the three sons were Owen, Cadwalader, and Cadwalhon ; the latter of whom was slain before the death of his father.^h He had likewise five other children by another woman.ⁱ

IN such a country as North Wales, where so many causes conspired to render its government unstable, and the enjoyment of it often fatal to the sovereign, that the late prince should have been able to extend his reign to fifty years,

^c Welsh Chron. p. 189.

^f Ibid. p. 190.

^g Vita. Griff. fil. Conani.

^h Welsh Chron. p. 191. Hist. Gwyder family, p. 1.

ⁱ Welsh Chron. p. 191.

is an extraordinary instance of good fortune, and a proof of his possessing considerable abilities. The love of freedom, which distinguished the early part of his life, infused the same spirit among his subjects, which led them to disdain the ignominious yoke imposed on them by a foreign power. His valour, and abilities, aiding their returning virtue, delivered his country from the vassalage of England; and, in general, by his conduct with Henry, or by the vigour of his government, he preserved his dominions free from the invasions of the English, and from civil commotions. The recital of these virtues, which form the shining features of his character, is no more than a just eulogium on his memory. But other impressions appear on the reverse of the medal, expressive of a conduct which is neither amiable nor great. A just policy required him to unite in the common cause, as to one central point, the jarring interests which prevailed in the other principalities; and the importance of his situation and character, obliged him to consider himself as the great spring, which was to give life and vigour, and efficacy to the exertions of the whole. He ought to have known that the conquest of Wales was a leading principle in the politics of England, that the princes of that country would never cease to exert every effort of sagacity and power, until their ambition had been satiated by the conquest, or the entire destruction of the Welsh. Impressed with ideas such as these, he ought to have regarded every offer of friendship, made by the

English monarch, as a delusive snare to his honour : and at every gift, he ought to have exclaimed in the natural language of distrust, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. But influenced by a personal regard to Henry, or by motives of a baser nature, he was led to prefer a selfish and solitary peace with the English, to the more generous and manly conduct of sharing in the common danger, and of attempting to preserve the general freedom of his country, by uniting its strength. He was prevented, indeed, by his tedious captivity in Chester, from taking an active part, in impeding the conquests which the English were making in South Wales ; nor is it just to suppose, that in that early period of his life, he could be cold or uninterested in the fatal scene that was acting before him. The same plea, however, cannot justify another part of his conduct. Instead of giving security to Powis, a barrier of such importance to his kingdom, he left the princes of that country, on its being invaded by Henry, to abide their fate ; refusing, under a cold pretence, to afford them protection or relief. These traits of his character, with a desire of sacrificing to the jealousy of the English king an orphan prince, who had sought his protection, and whose birth and talents might have rendered him the instrument of his country's safety, evince, that the conduct of Gryffyd h ap Cynan was not entirely directed by the principles of honour, or humanity, or of a solid and extensive policy.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF GRYFFYDH AP CYNAN TO THE
ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AP JORWERTH.

ON the death of Gryffydh ap Cynan, his dominions, agreeably to the custom of the country, were divided among his sons. His eldest son, Owen, surnamed Gwynedh, under the newly adopted title of prince, succeeded as sovereign of North Wales.

Ann. Dom.
1137.

THIS active prince, in confederacy with his brothers, began his reign by a third expedition into South Wales, with the same fortunate issue which had heretofore followed his arms; destroying in his progress the castles of Stradmeyric, Stephens, and Humfreys, and burning to the ground the town of Caermarthen;^k then retaining in his possession all Caerdigan,

^k Welsh Chron. p. 193.

and

and obliging the inhabitants of Dyvet to pay him tribute, he returned into his own dominions in high reputation.¹

THE series of prosperity which of late had attended the Welsh princes, might in some measure be owing to the embarrassed situation of Stephen king of England. This prince, engaged in continual hostilities, and in supporting a doubtful title, had neither inclination nor leisure to interest himself in affairs, in which he himself had no immediate concern, and which were transacted in so remote a part of the island. In consequence of which, he concluded a peace with the Welsh, and allowed them to retain the territories they had lately recovered free of homage or tribute; at least it does not appear that either the one or the other was ever paid, during his reign, by any of the princes of Wales.^m

AN incident arose at this time, affording an example of savage manners, which proved fatal to the parties concerned, and had nearly involved the state in the same ruin. Anarawd the son of Gryffydh ap Rhys, had married the daughter of Cadwalader, the brother of Owen prince of North Wales. A violent dispute having arisen between the father and the son-in-law, they decided the contest by a single combat. In this rencounter the latter prince was slain. Owen was

Ann. Dom.

1142.

¹ Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

^m Lord Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II. vol. II. p. 66.

so incensed at this action of his brother, that he, with his son Howel, invaded the territories of that prince, set on fire his castle of Aberystwyth, laid waste the country, and obliged him to fly into Ireland; but soon engaging in his service some chieftains, and a large body of forces, he landed at Abermenai in Caernarvonshire. Owen Gwynedh opposed this invasion with a powerful army, but before any action had taken place, a peace was concluded between the brothers; which so incensed the Irish, that they detained Cadwalader, as a security till they had received their stipulated pay. That prince, to recover his liberty, gave them two thousand head of cattle. As soon as the prince of Wales heard that his brother was at liberty, he suddenly attacked the Irish, slew great numbers of them, and recovered the cattle which had been given by Cadwalader, with the prisoners also and other spoils they had taken in the country.^a

Ann. Dom.
1142.

SOON after this expedition, Howel and Cynan the sons of Owen Gwynedh made another inroad into South Wales, gave the Normans, who opposed them, an overthrow, and took possession of the town of Aberteivi or Caerdigan.^o

THIS was succeeded by an attempt made by Gilbert de Clare earl of Pembroke, to recover those territories which, it is probable, Stephen in the late treaty had ceded to the Welsh. With this view he came with a large army into

^a Welsh Chron. p. 197.

^o Ibid. p. 198.

Dyvet, and rebuilt the castle of Caermarthen, and another fortrefs.^p To defeat the design, Cadelh the son of the late Gryffydd ap Rhys, laid siege to, and won, the castle of Dinevawr. Then, joining his forces with those of his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, they invested the castle of Caermarthen, which was soon given up on condition that the lives of the garrison should be spared.^q This advantage encouraged them to appear before the castle of Llanstephan, in Caermarthenshire, to the relief of which came a large body of the enemy; but success still attending on the arms of the Welsh, the Normans were defeated and the fortrefs was taken. The Normans and Flemings who inhabited that country, under the conduct of the sons of Gerald and William de Hay, in hopes of recovering the castle, suddenly invested it; Meredydh the son of Gryffydd ap Rhys, to whose custody the fortrefs was committed, defended it with great valour, and with equal ability; for having suffered the enemy to scale the walls, on a sudden, when the ladders were crowded with soldiers, he caused them to be overturned by the means of engines he had previously provided. This discomfiture, with the loss they had sustained, obliged the Normans to raise the siege.^r

Ann. Dom.
1143.

AN affliction of a private nature, the sudden death of Rhun,^s a favourite though an illegitimate son, fell at this

^p Welsh Chron. p. 198.

^q Ibid.

^r Ibid.

^s Ibid. p. 226.

time on Owen prince of North Wales. In the bitterness of his sorrow, the afflicted father gave himself up to solitude and to tears. But the desire of assisting the operations so successfully begun in South Wales, as well as the importance of the object, reviving the spirit of an active and a gallant prince, he determined to lay siege to the castle of Mold, in Flintshire. That fortress, situated on the Welsh frontier, was exceedingly strong, and had within it a numerous garrison of English; who frequently sallying out, much infested the adjacent country. It had been frequently besieged by the Welsh, but on account of its strength and warlike appointments, every attempt had hitherto proved unsuccessful. The place was at this time invested by Owen; the garrison with great intrepidity sustained many terrible assaults; at length, the Welsh, animated by the presence of their sovereign, bore down every resistance, and entered the castle by storm. Having taken prisoners all who had escaped the sword, prince Owen levelled to the ground the walls of that fortress; in doing which he gave no proof of his military sagacity, such a place being evidently of importance, as a check to the inroads of the English on the frontier of his dominions. The glory of this achievement so raised his spirits, that he soon forgot his sorrows, and recovered the usual tone of his mind, as well as a relish for his former amusements.[†]

[†] Welsh Chron. p. 199.

Ann. Dom.
1145.

AT this time, the sons of Gryffydd ap Rhys laid siege to the castle of Gwys in South Wales; but finding their force unequal to the enterprize, they desired the assistance of Howel, the son of Owen Gwynedh, whose talents for the council or the field were high in the esteem of his country. The young prince, eager for glory, joined the three lords before Gwys; having reconnoitered the place, he caused engines to be made to batter its walls, and to annoy the soldiers by throwing large stones into the castle. Preparations so formidable, and probably so novel, intimidated the garrison, who instantly surrendered the fort. After this exploit the young prince returned into his own country.^u

A DISSENTION having arisen between Howel and Cynan, the sons of Owen Gwynedh, and Cadwalader their uncle, the young princes led a body of troops into Mierionedh. The terror of this inroad caused the inhabitants to fly into sanctuary; the princes proclaimed, that no injury was intended to any person who submitted to their authority; which made the people, accustomed to a change of masters, quietly to return to their own habitations. They then invested the castle of Cynvael, erected by Cadwalader, and left by that chieftain to the custody of the Abbot of Tygwyn. Neither menaces, nor offers of rewards, could shake the fidelity of this warlike priest; he defended the place with

^u Welsh Chron. p. 200.

great intrepidity, until the walls of the castle were beaten down, and all the garrison were either wounded or slain; he then made his escape by means of some friends which he had in the enemies army.* Some time after, another of his fortresses was taken by his nephew Howel, his territory wrested from him, and Cadwalader himself imprisoned.⁷

Ann. Dom.
1148.

ANIMOSITY against the English, and the same gallantry of spirit which distinguished the father, animated the sons of Gryffyd ap Rhys. Cadelh, one of the sons of that prince, having fortified the castle of Caermarthen, issued from thence with a body of troops, and marched to Cydwely in Caermarthenshire, the country about which he ravaged and laid waste; then, joining his forces with those of his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, they entered into Caerdiganshire, and subdued a part of that district.²

THE incidents of this reign have been hitherto confined to enterprizes of no national importance. But a transaction arose at this time, which in some measure menaced the safety of the state, and called into exercise the talents of the prince of North Wales. To recover the honour which Ranulph earl of Chester had lost by his discomfiture, a few years ago, in Wales, this lord meditated a formidable

* Welsh Chron. p. 201.

⁷ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 168.

² Welsh Chron. p. 202.

invasion of the country.^a Besides his own vassals, he collected from different parts of England a large body of troops. He engaged likewise in the design Madoc ap Meredydh, at this time the prince of Powis, who disdain-
 ing to hold his lands under the sovereignty of North Wales, joined the arms of the earl of Chester; and the two leaders, with their united forces, entered the dominions of Owen Gwynedh. As soon as this prince had heard of the invasion, he advanced into Flintshire, to give the enemy the meeting at Counfyllt, on the confines of his kingdom. This movement, as rapid as it was bold, infused a spirit into his army, and secured his own territories from the devastations of war. Contrary to the usual custom of the Welsh, of scarcely ever risking a general engagement, or of attacking an enemy unless in situations of advantage, Owen, availing himself of the ardour of his troops, faced the English and offered them battle, though their forces were superior to his own in numbers, and had also the advantage from the nature of their arms. The fortune of the day decided in favour of the Welsh, who so entirely discomfited the English, that few remained to witness their disgrace; except those who were taken prisoners, and the leaders of the army, who escaped the fury of the pursuit by the swiftness of their horses.^b

Ann. Dom.
1150.

^a Welsh Chron. p. 197. ^b Ibid. p. 202. Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 4.

THOUGH

THOUGH urged to a different conduct, by every motive of prudence, Cadelh, Meredyth and Rhys the sons of Gryffydh ap Rhys, invaded Caerdigan, which belonged to Howel the son of the prince of North Wales, and subdued the whole of that territory, except a single fortress in Pengwern. The loss of the bravest of their soldiers, which they sustained at the siege of Lhanryfyt castle, so irritated the young princes, that when they gained possession of it, they put the garrison to the sword. From thence they proceeded to the castle of Ystrat-Meyric, which, after they had taken, they fortified with new works; the princes, then, disbanding their forces, returned into South Wales.^c

CADELH, the eldest of these lords, being fond of the pleasures of the chase, engaged in a hunting party to amuse himself after the toils of the late expedition. As soon as this prince had begun his diversion, the inhabitants of Tenby, having conceived some displeasure against him, suddenly attacked his party, and, unarmed as they were, easily put them to flight. Cadelh himself, sorely wounded, escaped with difficulty to his house, where he languished a considerable time. In revenge of this treatment, his brothers Meredyth and Rhys, entered the territory of Gwyr; and having laid waste the country, they made themselves masters of the castle of Aberlhychwr, which they levelled to the ground; they then returned into their own territories,

^c Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 170.

loaded with much plunder, and rebuilt the castle of Dinevawr, the ancient palace of their ancestors. Some time after, the two princes laid siege to Penwedic castle, belonging to prince Howel, of which, after some difficulty, they gained possession; then investing the castle of Tenby in the night, they took that fortress by escalade, before the garrison was aware of any danger; obtaining revenge, by this last exploit, for the injury their brother had lately received.^d

THE custom of Asiatic sovereigns, of exterminating the younger branches of their family, was too frequently adopted by the Welsh princes; tinged more deeply by such a cruel measure, the native barbarism of their manners. Cadwalhon the brother of Owen Gwynedh prince of North Wales, having been assassinated, in the late reign, in revenge of several murders which he had committed, left a son of the name of Cynetha, the undoubted heir to his territories. To render his nephew incapable of asserting his rights, Owen had the barbarity to pull out his eyes; and refining on a savage and a detested policy, he also caused him to be castrated, that no heirs in future might lay claim to his territories, or retaliate the injuries this prince had received.^e An action so atrocious, and not to be extenuated even by the rudeness of these times, throws a deep shade over the cha-

Ann. Dom.

1151.

^d Welsh Chron. p. 203.

^e Ibid.

racter of a prince, who, in other respects was a friend to his country, and of an amiable and a gallant spirit.

AT this time, Cadwalader made his escape out of prison, having been long kept in confinement by Howel, his nephew; and flying into Anglesey, he brought a great part of that island under his subjection. The prince of North Wales, hearing of his brother's escape, and the prosperous situation of his affairs, sent against him a body of troops, which proving too formidable, that prince was obliged to fly into England, to solicit assistance from the relations of his wife, a daughter of the house of Clare.^f

AT this time died Meredydh the son of Gryffydd ap Rhys of South Wales. Ann. Dom.
1153.

SOON after this event, died likewise Stephen the king of England; and Henry the second succeeded to the throne.^g Ann. Dom.
1154.

WHILE the Welsh princes were wasting the national force in mutual hostilities, the Flemings, who had settled as a colony in South Wales, acquired an accession of strength. One of the first acts in the government of king Henry, relating to Wales, was to banish out of England the Flemish soldiers, who had followed the fortunes of Stephen; and, possessing sound principles of political wisdom, he

^f Memoirs of Gwedyr family, p. 5. Welsh Chron. p. 203. ^g Ibid. p. 204.

gave permission to these foreigners, to settle among their countrymen in the province of Pembroke.^h

SEVERAL causes conspired, with the motives of ambition and glory, in engaging the king of England, to employ at this time, the utmost exertion of his power, in attempting the conquest of Wales. Madoc ap Meredydh, the prince of Powis, conscious of having joined the enemies of his country, and dreading the resentment which that conduct had excited in the breast of Owen Gwynedh, endeavoured, as a means of his future security, to incite the English king to the invasion of North Wales. Cadwalader, likewise, since the fatal issue of the combat with his nephew, having been treated with severity by his brother Owen, and by the sons of that prince, had fled into England; and in that court, had employed in prosecution of the same design, his own solicitations, with the powerful interest of the house of Clare.ⁱ The glory to be acquired, and the importance of the object, with the apparent facility of the enterprise from the defection of such powerful princes, determined Henry to exert every means, which his great power afforded, for the conquest of the country.

Ann. Dom. 1157. WITH this design, he collected out of different parts of England, a formidable army, with which he marched to Chester; then advancing into Flintshire, he encamped

^h Welsh Chron. p. 205.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 206.

his forces on a marsh called Saltney, which borders upon the Dee. Prince Owen, with his usual activity, advancing to the frontiers of his dominions, took post at Basingwerk near Holywell in Flintshire. In this situation he waited the approach of the English. The boldness of the movement encouraged Henry to hope, that the Welsh prince intended to risque a general engagement. Agreeably to this idea, he dispatched a chosen body of troops under the command of several barons of distinction, with the design of bringing the Welsh to an action, or of dislodging them from their post. This party, in passing through the woody and broken country of Coed Eulo, near Hawarden, was attacked by David and Cynan the two sons of Owen, who, with a body of forces, had lain in ambush to intercept them. The suddenness and impetuosity of the onset, with the unusual difficulties of their situation, so intimidated the English, that they fled in great disorder, and with much slaughter, to the main body of the army.^k Alarmed at the danger, as well as mortified by the disgrace, the king of England broke up his camp, and marched along the sea shore to the town of Flint; intending by this manœuvre, to deceive the Welsh prince by leaving him upon the right, and by a nearer road to penetrate into the interior parts of the country. But in passing through a long and narrow defile at Counfyllt, he was intercepted by Owen.

^k Welsh Chron. p. 206.

THE design was conducted with temper and judgment. The English were permitted to enter unmolested so far into the strait, as to render their advance or retreat both difficult and dangerous. The Welsh, then, rushing with terrible outcries from out of the woods, assaulted them with stones, arrows, and other missile weapons. Struck with dismay, encumbered with heavy armour, and unaccustomed to fight in such situations, the English were again thrown into the utmost disorder, being unable either to retreat, or to resist so unexpected an onset.¹ In the confusion, Henry himself was obliged to fly; Eustace Fitz John, and Robert de Courcy, with other noblemen of distinction were slain.^m

THE few of the vanguard who had escaped the sword, fell back upon the main body advancing in regular order to the entrance of the defile. A rumour instantly prevailed of the death of the king; and the earl of Essex, hereditary standard bearer of England, seized with the general terror, threw to the ground the royal standard; at the same time crying aloud "the king is slain." The terror then became universal.ⁿ The Welsh, perceiving their disorder, attacked the English with such impetuosity, that a general rout must have ensued, if at this moment the king, at length extricated from his perilous situation,

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 207. Holinshead's Chron. p. 67. Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. cap. X. lib. II.

^m Stowe's Chron. p. 149.

ⁿ Holinshead's Chron. p. 67. Chronica Gervasii, p. 1380.

had not made himself known to the army, by throwing up his helmet. His presence in an instant changed the scene. The English, acquiring fresh ardour from the gallantry of their prince, who with alacrity led them on to the charge, gave a check to the Welsh forces, and drove them back into the woods.*

THE prince of Wales, after this check, retired to a post near St. Asaph called from this event *Cil Owen* or Owen's retreat. On the nearer approach of the king, Owen retired to Bryn-y-Pin a stronger post situated five miles west of St. Asaph.^p At the same time, by the orders of Henry, an English fleet, which he had assembled at Chester, infested the coast of North Wales. The king of England meeting with no resistance, advanced to Rhuddlan, where he erected a house for the knights templars; a new kind of military garrison in Wales, and appointed, no doubt, for a purpose similar to the original institution of that order in Palestine. He, likewise, more strongly fortified the castle of that town, with the fortrefs at Basingwerk; and that he might secure the conquests he had made, by rendering more easy the marching of armies, he cut down the woods, and constructed new roads through that province.^q Owen did not remain an indifferent spectator of transactions so inimical to the in-

* Holinshed's Chron. p. 67.

^p Stowe's Chron. p. 149. A manuscript copy in Welsh of Caradoc of Llancarvan.

^q Math. Paris, p. 81. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 159.

terests of his country. He descended frequently from his post on the hill, to skirmish with the king's troops, and to molest them in their designs;† but no general action ensued; the two princes had been taught prudence by their past experience, and did not chuse to risque the fate of their separate armies by engaging in improper situations. At the same time, the English fleet under the conduct of Madoc ap Meredydh, made a descent on the island of Anglesey, ravaged a part of the country, and plundered two churches: on returning to their ships, the party was attacked by the whole strength of the island, and entirely cut in pieces. Dismayed with the fate of their associates, the English fleet weighed anchor, and sailed back to Chester.* Owen derived no advantage from this fortunate incident, as the English were in force, and strongly fortified in the maritime parts of Flintshire. The wise measure likewise which Henry had employed in having a fleet on the coast of Wales, gave the Welsh prince reason to fear that his army, cooped up in the interior parts of the country, might be in danger of perishing for want of necessary sustenance, as his kingdom had been accustomed to receive from foreign countries a great part of its provisions. These motives, cogent as they may be, will scarcely justify Owen, as a magnanimous and independent

† Manuscript of Caradoc ut supra. Stow's Chron. *ibid.*

* Welsh Chron. p. 207. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. lib. II. cap. VII.* William Newburgh, *lib. II. cap. V.* Brompton's Chron. p. 1048.

sovereign,

sovereign, in concluding a peace with the king of England, upon terms so dishonorable to himself and to his country. By this treaty, he and his chieftains submitted to do homage to Henry, ¹ to yield up those castles and districts in North Wales, which in the late reign had been won from the English; ² to take Cadwalader his brother into favour, and to restore him his territories. ³ But what contributed still more to complete the humiliating scene, he was obliged to deliver two of his sons as pledges of his future obedience. ⁴

THUS have we seen the Welsh nation, by a solemn act of their sovereign, and by the means of an English fleet, reduced a second time to a dependence on the crown of England. If the long and gallant resistance which this people had made for freedom, against a power so very unequal, excite our admiration and wonder, we shall be no less surpris'd that a nation like the English, so much farther advanced in political wisdom, should not have been able sooner to terminate the contest.

THE year after this important event, a general peace took place between England and Wales. ⁵ The princes and all the chieftains of South Wales repaired to the court of England; where Henry granted them peace, on the terms

¹ Brompton's Chron. p. 1048.

² Annales Waverleienfis, p. 159.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 208.

⁴ Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 79.

⁵ Welsh Chron. p. 208.

of doing homage for their own territories, and on their ceding to him those districts which in the late reign had been recovered from the English.^a

RHYS ap Gryffydd ap Rhys, the immediate heir to the sovereign dignity in South Wales, was not included in the general pacification.

ANIMATED with the same spirit which had heretofore distinguished his family, this prince was not willing tamely to yield up to ambitious foreigners a sovereignty which had descended to him through a long line of ancestry. Under the just fears that Henry would employ his force against him, he commanded his vassals to remove their goods and cattle into the forest of Tywy, from whence unsupported by any confederate, he made war against the English.^b

PLEASED with his gallant spirit, or afraid of his power, Henry sent him an invitation to his court, under the assurance of a gracious reception; but threatened, at the same time, if he refused the friendly offer, that the whole force of England and of Wales should be employed to convey him thither.^c

THE high spirit of the Welsh prince was obliged to submit to so alarming a summons, and by the advice of his

^a Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. II. p. 80.

^b Welsh Chron. p. 208.

^c Ibid.

friends he repaired to Henry's court, where having done homage, and given up two of his sons^d as hostages for his fidelity, the district of Cantrev Mawr, the ancient demesne of his family, was promised him.^e But contrary to that promise, the king gave him only some lordships, and other lands remote from each other, and intermixed with the estates of the English; with the design, no doubt, by such a disposition of his property, to render his power less dangerous. Necessity obliged Rhys to sit down in quiet under such unjust and mortifying treatment.^f

THE situation of this prince, though little to be envied, soon excited the rapacious spirit of Walter Clifford, and another English lord; who making an inroad into his territories, slew many of his vassals, and returned home loaded with spoils. Rhys sent immediate intelligence to the king of this transaction, desiring satisfaction for the injury he had received. But Henry, partial to the conduct of his English subjects, and regarding with a jealous eye the interests of the Welsh, paid no other attention to his complaints, than to give him unmeaning assurances of redress. Incensed at a conduct so faithless, Rhys threw off his allegiance, determined that his sword should do him that

^d Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. II. p. 81. The like security was exacted from all the other Welsh chiefs and princes.

^e Welsh Chron. p. 208.

^f Ibid.

justice,

justice, which had been denied him by the English king ;^s he instantly laid siege to the castle of Llandovery in Caermarthenshire, of which he soon gained possession. At the same time Eineon nephew to the Welsh prince, alike eager to throw off the ignominious yoke, flew to arms, regarding the oath of allegiance which his uncle had taken as dissolved, the obligation on the part of the king, of doing justice and affording protection, not having been observed. He invested the castle of Humfrey, which he took by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. In this fortress, he found a number of horses and implements of war sufficient to equip a considerable body of men. Rhys, likewise, with equal rapidity and success, over-ran the whole country of Caerdigan, which he soon brought under his subjection after having levelled to the ground every fortress belonging to the English.^h

HENRY regarded this revolt of sufficient importance to demand his presence in South Wales, and entered that country by the sea coast of Glamorgan and Gwyr ; but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he was under the necessity of giving up the enterprise, and returned into his own dominions through Elencudh and Meleneudh ;ⁱ leaving Rhys in possession of his conquests, on no other condition than that of giving hostages for the preservation of the peace

^s Dr Powel's notes on Giraldus Cambren. Itin. lib. I. cap. X.

^h Welsh Chron. p. 209. ⁱ Giraldus Cambrensis, lib. II. cap. X.

during

during his absence in Normandy.^k Thus did the prince of South Wales, deserted by all his confederates, baffle the efforts of a mighty monarch.

THE conduct of Rhys in the following year, by making a sudden inroad into Dyvet, though only contending for his own rights, yet threw some stain upon his honour, as it was likely to expose the hostages^l in Henry's hands to the cruel treatment usual in these times. Having laid siege to Caermarthen, the earl of Bristol natural son to Henry, with the earl of Clare and Cadwalader his brother-in-law, besides two other barons, came to the relief of that place. Howel and Cynan, the sons of the prince of North Wales, joined in the unnatural alliance. Unable to resist so formidable an opposition, Rhys retreated to the mountains of Cefn Rester, in which strong post he remained in security. The confederate army, encamping for some time at Dynwyllhir, built there a castle; after which, having no intelligence of Rhys ap Gryffydd, they broke up their camp, and returned to their respective countries.^m

Ann. Dom.
1159.

IN this year died at Winchester Madoc ap Meredydh the prince of Powis, and was buried at Myvod, in Montgomeryshire, the usual burial place of that house. After his death that principality, one half of which called Powis Vadoc,

Ann. Dom.
1160.

^k Welsh Chron. p. 209.

^l Brompton's Chron. p. 1059.

^m Welsh Chron. p. 210.

he had held entire,ⁿ underwent several divisions by the custom of gavel-kind, and was never again united under one sovereign. This prince left three sons Gryffydd Maelor, Owen, and Elise, besides a daughter, by Sufannah his wife, who was the daughter of Gryffydd ap Cynan; he had, also, Owen Brogynton, and two other sons who were illegitimate, all of whom shared, agreeably to the custom of Wales, the paternal inheritance. Likewise Owen his nephew the son of Gryffydd ap Meredydh, stiled Owen Cyveilioc, had a district afterwards called by that name, which contained near half of Powis.^o The sovereignty of England was acknowledged by all these princes.

Ann. Dom.
1163.

HENRY being returned from Normandy, and having reduced the other Welsh princes to his obedience, turned all his attention to the affairs of South Wales, and to the hostilities lately committed against him by Rhys ap Gryffydd. That prince, still remaining unsubdued, had, during Henry's absence, continually infested the adjacent country, from his strong post on the mountains of Brecknock, encouraged by some prophecies then current in Wales, that the king would never return into England.^p Incensed at the frequent violations of the peace, Henry invaded South Wales, and advancing as far as Pencadaer, received the submission of Rhys; who, despairing of being able any longer

ⁿ Welsh Chron. p. 210, 211.

^o Ibid.

^p Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen, II. vol. II. p. 152.

to resist his power, a second time did him homage, and delivered up hostages likewise for his future fidelity.¹ This ceremony was performed the year following at Woodstock, where Rhys, attended by the other princes and chieftains in Wales, did homage to the English king, and to Henry his son.²

THE next year Rhys gained possession of Cantrev Mawr and the lands of Dinevawr. He then invaded the country of Caerdigan, which he easily brought under his subjection, making himself master of the castle of Aberheidol and another fortess; to revenge the death of his nephew Eineon, who had lately been murdered in his own house, by the instigation, as was supposed, of the earl of Gloucester.³ Eager to recover the honours of his family, and receiving, no doubt, an additional incentive from the place where he then resided, which had been the seat of his ancestors, Rhys carried his arms into Pembroke, ravaged the lands of the Flemings, and then returned to his castle of Dinevawr, loaded with spoils, and high in the esteem of his country.⁴

Ann. Dom.
1164.

FIREd by his gallant example, a spirit of revolt sprung up in Wales. With great judgment this prince, during the winter, either by his deputies, or in person, had conferences with the different princes. He called up their sleeping

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 220.

² V. Diceto. Ymag. Hist. sub Ann. 1163. Math. Paris, p. 84.

³ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 189.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 220.

virtue, and roused it into action, by such incentives as were likely to touch a warm, free, and spirited people. He pointed out the prospect of asserting their freedom, which had of late opened on their country, from the dissensions which had arisen in England between Henry and the archbishop of Canterbury; and from the probability, likewise, that this prince would soon be engaged in a war with France; that country, as well as the Pope, having espoused the cause of Becket. ^u

ANIMATED by his generous spirit, by the prosperity which had attended his arms, and by such a favourable conjuncture, the prince of North Wales and all his sons, his brother Cadwalader and the princes of Powis, joined Rhys ap Gryffyd, in hopes of regaining the independency they had lost, and of recovering that honour which of late they had forfeited. At no period, had the Welsh ever united into a confederacy like this, centering with so much energy and force, the various policies and interests, the different tempers and abilities of the princes of Wales. ^x

Ann. Dom. 1165. THE first enterprise, under the conduct of David the son of Owen Gwynedh, was an inroad into Flintshire, where he committed most grievous devastations, carrying away the cattle and inhabitants to the Vale of Clwyd. ^y

^u Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 439.

^x Welsh Chron. p. 220. British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

^y Welsh Chron. p. 221.

DURING the absence of the king in Normandy, some forces had been levied by parliament for the reduction of Rhys ap Gryffydd.^z Henry, on his arrival, marched with these troops into Flintshire for the protection of Rhuddlan castle, which fortrefs he was afraid the Welsh might besiege. The enemy having retired, and the king, not being sufficiently in force to pursue them, stayed only a few days to augment his garrisons, and marched back into England, in order, by raising new levies, to prosecute the war with greater vigour.^a

HIS British dominions, and the different territories he possessed in France, furnished him with the choicest troops; and with this combined force he marched into Powis, in the full resolution of exterminating the inhabitants.

THE English army entered the Welsh confines at Oswestry, where Henry encamped for some time,^b in expectation that the terror of his arms might, by shaking the firmness of the confederate princes, call them back to their allegiance; or at least, that the protection which such a power would naturally offer, might detach from the common cause the princes of the house of Powis, the usual adherents of his family. It might have been expected that a confederacy like this, heterogeneous in

^z Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 440.

^a Welsh Chron. p. 221. Brompton's Chron. sub. Ann. 1165. Chronica Gervasii, p. 1398. Giraldus Cambrenf. Itin. lib. II. cap. X.

^b Ibid.

itself, and forming its union from a sudden impulse rather than from steady principles of either policy or patriotism, would have shrunk from so formidable an armament. But all the Welsh princes remained firm and intrepid, determined to rescue their country from a foreign domination, or to perish in the attempt.

THE power of North Wales was collected under the command of Owen Gwynedh and his brother Cadwalader; the forces of South Wales were led by the gallant Rhys ap Gryffydh: those of Powis by Owen Cyveilioc and the sons of Madoc ap Meredydh. With these were joined the inhabitants of the country situated between the Wye and the Severn, under the leading of their chieftains the two sons of Madoc ap Ednerth.

THE combined forces assembled at Corwen, a strong country in Ederneon, in which situation of advantage they waited the approach of the English. As soon as Henry had intelligence that the Welsh army was near, desirous of bringing on an action, he advanced to the Ceiriog, a river which runs through the Vale of that name; and that he might not be liable to the ambuscades of the enemy, he ordered the woods on each side of the banks to be cut down.* It was probably on the passage of this river, that the English monarch was in imminent danger of his life. Attempting

* Welsh Chron. p. 221.

to force a bridge, an arrow aimed at him by the hand of a Welshman, must inevitably have pierced his body, if Hubert de St. Clare constable of Colchester, perceiving the danger, had not stepped before his master and received it into his own bosom, of which wound he instantly died.^d

WHILE the English were employed in cutting down the woods, a party of the Welsh acquainted with the passage of the river, without any orders from their leaders, made a sudden attack on the van of Henry's army composed of pikemen, considered as the flower of his troops. A warm action ensued; many were slain on both sides; at length Henry gained the passage, and advancing still farther, came to the mountain of Berwyn, where his forces lay encamped for several days. In this state the two armies seemed to stand in awe of each other; the English on the plain below, and the Welsh, presenting a formidable front, posted on the acclivity, or on the top of the mountain. The situation of Henry soon became critical. For the Welsh, watching every movement, and losing no opportunity of cutting off his provisions, soon reduced his army to great distress for want of victuals and forage; the soldiers being afraid to stir out of the camp. To increase the misery of his situation, there fell on a sudden such violent rains, as rendered it difficult for his soldiers to stand on their feet in that broken and slippery country;

^d Welsh Chron. p. 222. Holinhead's Chron. p. 73. who says, this accident happened at the siege of Bridge North.

such torrents of water, likewise, poured down from the hills into the vale where he lay encamped, that he was obliged to retire, with great loss of ammunition and of men, and to leave to the Welsh so glorious an occasion of triumph.^c Deeply wounded with a sense of his disgrace, the liberal spirit of Henry was thrown off its bias. To gratify a mean revenge, unworthy of a hero, of injuring those whom his arms had not been able to subdue, and that too in a manner, so wounding to sensibility; he commanded the eyes of those hostages, which had been formerly given him, to be pulled out. Among the number of these unfortunate victims were the two sons of Rhys ap Gryffydd, and two sons of the prince of North Wales.^f

THUS baffled in his operations at land, Henry had recourse to the more effectual measure of attacking the Welsh by sea. With this view he repaired to Chester, and remained there for some time, until he had collected his fleet, and had received a reinforcement of ships, which he expected out of Ireland. Then, on a sudden, having finished these preparations, without any apparent cause he gave up the design, and dismissed both his fleet and his army.^g Unacquainted as

^c Welsh Chron. p. 222.

^f Holinhead's Chron. p. 73. who says, that besides these above-mentioned, he caused the sons and daughters of several Welsh lords, to be treated with the same severity; ordering the eyes of the young striplings to be pecked out of their heads, and the ears of the young gentlewomen to be stuffed. Welsh Chron. p. 222.

^g Welsh Chron. p. 222.

we are with his motives, we can only account for this extraordinary conduct, in a prince so wise and spirited as Henry, from a just or imaginary fear that his foreign dominions would be attacked while he was prosecuting the war in Wales. Whatever were the motives of his conduct, it is certain that Henry had tarnished the reputation of his arms, and of consequence that the Welsh princes were more strongly confirmed in their revolt.

RHYS AP GRYFFYD H, suddenly investing the castle of Aberteivi, gained possession of that fortress; then turning his arms into Caerdigan, he made himself master of the castle of Cilgerran, a place of the greatest importance, which he levelled to the ground, and took Robert his cousin by Nest his aunt, prisoner. The Welsh prince then, with great spoils, returned into his own territories, with an additional lustre to his arms.

Soon after this incursion, the prince of North Wales took the castle of Basingwerk, lately fortified by Henry, which he entirely demolished.^h

Ann. Dom.
1166.

If any thing could have taught the Welsh the strong necessity of union to counteract the designs of an oppressive and hereditary enemy, it must have been the prosperity which had attended the late exertion of their

^h Welsh Chron. p. 223.

arms; and which had raised them on a sudden from an ignominious dependence, to manly resistance, and generous sentiments, and to the attainment of their freedom. But a spirit of disunion, inherent in the constitution itself, was not only a source of private misery, but precluded, also, any system of general policy; and of course, the public safety was left to depend on rude valour, on a country almost inaccessible, on the caprice of accidents, and on the springs of irregular passions.

IN resentment of an outrage committed by the lords of Powis,ⁱ the princes of North and South Wales, with Cadwalader the brother of Owen Gwynedh, breaking the ties of a common interest, invaded and took possession of the territories of Owen Cyveilioc,^k who, with the other chieftains of Powis had so lately joined the confederacy against Henry. A part of this territory Owen Gwynedh retained to his own share; the other parts he gave to Owen Vychan and to Rhys ap Gryffydd.^l But Owen Cyveilioc soon after, by the assistance of an English army, appears to have regained his patrimony; an event which served only to shew the little justice and protection to be expected from the confederate princes.^m

ⁱ Welsh Chron. p. 223.

^k Ibid. p. 224.

^l British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 5, 6.

^m Welsh Chron. p. 224.

SOON after this enterprize, the same princes, while the English monarch was absent in his foreign dominions, invested the castle of Rhuddlan, lately fortified by Henry, and a place of importance upon the English frontier. The garrison defended the place for two months with great bravery; at length it was taken and levelled to the ground. Then, with less difficulty, the princes gained possession of the castle of Prestatyn, which they likewise demolished. The fortifications of Basingwerk having been lately destroyed, this success gave Owen the possession of the maritime parts of Flintshire called Tegengl.ⁿ

Ann. Dom.
1167.

AT this time Henry was in Normandy, engaged in a war with Lewis king of France. The confederate Welsh princes, desirous of engaging the English monarch more deeply in foreign disputes, sent, in conjunction with William the Lion king of Scotland, ambassadors to the French court, with an offer of aid to carry on the war against Henry. It does not appear that this offer was accepted; though it was the first attempt we have seen of the kind, which marked the growing importance of the Welsh princes, the influence of which they were desirous of extending to the continent.^o

SOME time after this event died Owen Gwynedh prince of North Wales, after a reign of thirty-two years, and was

ⁿ Welsh Chron. p. 224.

^o Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. II. p. 534. from V. Epist. prædict.

buried in the cathedral church of Bangor. This prince married, for his first wife, Gwladys, daughter to Llowarch ap Trahearn lord of Dyvet, by whom he had only Jorwerth Drwyndwn, or Edward with the broken nose; by his second wife Christian, daughter of Gronw ap Owen ap Edwyn lord of Englefield, he had David, Rodri lord of Anglesey, Cadwallon who was abbot of Bardsey, and Angharad married to Gryffydd Maelor. He had likewise twelve other children by different women.*

IT has been often said, that in order to form a just estimate of the happiness of individuals, we must wait till the period of their lives. It is in the same manner that we must judge of the character of the late prince. We have seen him in the early part of his reign, with equal prosperity and valour, resisting the mighty efforts of a wise and powerful monarch: with a patriotism that reflected honour upon his judgment, we have seen him on various occasions aid the generous designs of Rhys ap Gryffydd. From what motive, then, shall we account for the change in his conduct? Having had the advantage in the conflict at Counsylvllt, without any apparent cause, unless it were the expediency of the moment, he himself, under humiliating circumstances submitted to become the vassal of a foreign prince, and in the consequence, reduced the chieftains of his country to the like dishonourable

* Hist. Gwydir family, p. 3.

situation.

situation. At one time we see him duped by Henry's policy, supporting for years the same degenerate conduct, wasting the national strength, and diverting its force, and tearing asunder the ties of union and confidence, by attempting to conquer the territories of Rhys ap Gryffydh, his gallant coadjutor. Inspired by the example of that prince, and joined in confederacy with the other Welsh powers, we at length see him, with an increase of importance to his country, recover independency. In this happy period of his days, full of years and surrounded by his children, he left the busy theatre of the world; and, although the mid-day of his life was clouded and inglorious, the evening became serene, and closed with honour to himself and advantage to his country.

SO whimsical and indecisive was the mode of succession, that as many sons of the late prince laid claim to the crown, as were under the influence of ambition, or of a fiery, and turbulent spirit. Jorwerth his eldest son, was unanimously set aside on account of a blemish which he had in his face, and he appears to have resigned himself quietly to the public judgment. He had however assigned him for his maintenance, a part of his father's inheritance, the hundreds of Nanconwy and Ardudwy; and resided at the castle of Dolwyddelan, situated in the south-eastern part of Caernarvonshire.^p Howel, a

^p Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 7. This prince was afterwards obliged to take sanctuary at Pennant Melangell in Montgomeryshire, where he died.

natural

natural son of the late prince, born of an Irishwoman, being the first who started for the prize, gained for a time a precarious possession of the throne. David, the eldest son of Owen Gwynedh by a second wife, regarding his own right in the present situation as indisputable, and disdain-
 ing to hold under the sovereignty of a brother, illegitimate and born of a foreign woman, raised an army, fought a battle with his rival, and slew him in the action.⁹ He then gained a quiet possession of the throne of North Wales.[†]

Ann. Dom.
 1169.

AT this time, Madoc another son of the late prince, seeing the contention which agitated the fiery spirits of his brothers, with a courage equal to theirs, but far more liberally directed, gave himself up to the danger and uncertainty of seas hitherto unexplored. He is said to have embarked with a few ships; sailing west, and leaving Ireland to the north, he traversed the ocean, till he arrived by accident upon the coast of America. Pleased with its appearance, he left there a great part of his people, and returning for a fresh supply, was joined by many adventurers, both men and women; who, encouraged by a flattering description of that country, and sick of the disorders which reigned in their own,[‡] were desirous of seeking an asylum in the wilds of America.[§]

As

⁹ Welsh Chr. p. 227. [†] Memoir Gwedir Family, p. 7. Welsh Chr. p. 227.

[‡] We know nothing of the reality of this discovery, but what is gathered from the poems of Meredydh ap Rhys, who flourished in the year 1470, of Gutwin Owen

As Henry was on his journey into Ireland, Rhys ap Gryffydh gave him the meeting, and was received into the king's peace, and confirmed in all the possessions he then enjoyed; in consideration of which he offered that monarch a considerable supply of oxen and horses towards the conquest he was meditating, and as a pledge of his future fidelity offered him likewise fourteen hostages. Henry, then, proceeded on his journey into South Wales, and having entered into Caerlleon upon Uske, ejected Jorwerth the lord of that place, whose fidelity he suspected, and took possession of it himself. On the king's departure, highly incensed at this outrage, Jorwerth sent his two sons, with other of his kindred and a number of their followers, to recover possession both of the town and the castle. They succeeded in part; the town they took and demolished; but they were baffled in every attempt which they made against the castle. The king, pursuing his journey, came to Pembroke, and there gave to Rhys a considerable extension of territory, all Caerdigan, Stratywy, Aruflwy and Eluel. Some time after, the English monarch paid a visit to that prince at one of his palaces, called the white house, or Ty Gwyn, in Caermarthenshire, where he delivered up his son Howel, who

Owen in 1480, and Cynfrig ap Gronw near the same period. These bards preceded the expedition of Columbus; and relate or allude to that of Madoc as an event well known, and universally received, to have happened three hundred years before. See Jones's *Musical Relics of the Welsh Bards*, p. 19.

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd. *Welsh Chron.* p. 228.

² *Ibid.* p. 230, 231.

had

had been long left as a hostage in Henry's hands; he excused likewise for a time the delivery of those hostages lately promised, and remitted the payment of the tribute until his return out of Ireland."

THE patriotism of the Welsh prince sunk under the influence of these mutual civilities. The gallant and independent spirit inherited from a long line of ancestors, and which had so eminently distinguished his own conduct, all that the terror of Henry's arms and a series of hostilities could not shake, was now done away by a few acts of a well directed courtesy. Forsaking the dignity and importance of his character, except in a single instance, we shall only see him in future as a *satrap* to the English monarch. Mingling in the common mass, and losing for ever the ancient honours of his name, this prince and his family retained no longer^x any marks of sovereignty.^y

Ann. Dom. 1172. ON the return of Henry out of Ireland, the expedition having been rendered fruitless by a sickness among his soldiers, he was met by Rhys ap Gryffyth at Talacharn, where he paid him the customary duties.^z

So difficult is it to eradicate the sentiments of freedom out of minds accustomed to the ideas of independence, and so

^x From this period the heads of this family were only distinguished by the title of *Arglwydhi* or lords. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 75.

^y Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 76. ^z Welsh Chron. p. 232.

natural are injustice and cruelty to men desirous of exterminating that invaluable blessing, that Henry found he had not gained the point of his ambition by disarming Rhys ap Gryffyd. Another family, stung with a sense of injury, sprung up to avenge their own private wrongs, and, if possible, for a while to stem the torrent which was overwhelming their country.

BEFORE Henry's return into England he had sent a safe conduct to Jorwerth, the chieftain whom he had so lately injured, desiring that he, his sons and all his friends, would meet him at a certain place on the Borders, that he might conclude a peace with them, and might leave that country in perfect tranquillity. Jorwerth himself paid instant obedience to the king's summons, and sent orders to his son Owen to do the same, and to give him the meeting on the road. The soldiers who garrisoned the New Castle, or Newport upon Wyse or Uske, having intelligence of this laid wait for the young chieftain, whom they met on the road, and barbarously murdered, unarmed and almost without attendance, and resting in security on the protection of a great monarch. It is not to be supposed, that a magnanimous prince like Henry had any knowledge of a transaction so cruel, so faithless, and impolitic. Some of the attendants who escaped the massacre, carried the account of it to the father; who, deeply wounded by the injury, returned home with his other son Howel, determined in

future to have no reliance on the faith of the English. Then collecting all the Welsh, whom he or his friends could engage in his domestic quarrel, he made incursions into those parts of Monmouthshire which were possessed by the English; laying waste with fire and sword those districts, and the bordering counties of England, as far as the gates of Hereford and Gloucester. ^a

Ann. Dom.

1172.

HENRY, hearing of these events, appointed Rhys ap Gryffydh chief justice of South Wales.^b He thought that the shadow of power, amusing a mind naturally capricious, might conciliate the affections of this lord, and be a means of diverting his attention from the real dignity he had lost.

THE ideas of Henry were soon justified. A civil war having broke out between that prince and his eldest son, Rhys sent a chosen body of troops to the assistance of the English monarch. A far different spirit influenced the conduct of Jorwerth the other Welsh chieftain. Taking advantage of the dissensions which then prevailed in England, he laid siege to the town of Caer Lleon, of which he was the natural lord, and gained possession of the place; he then invested the castle, which soon surrendered

^a Welsh Chron. p. 232.

^b British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

on condition of giving up the prisoners he had taken ; and pursuing his success, he brought all Gwent-Is-Coed in Monmouthshire, except a single fortress, under his subjection.^c

DURING these transactions a flagrant instance of injustice and rapacity took place in North Wales. Prince David, by force of arms, took possession of the isle of Anglesey, the property of his brother Roderic,^d whom he closely confined ; he likewise seized on the territories of the rest of his brothers and other kinsmen, whom he banished the realm.^e

Ann. Dom.
1173.

To subdue the little virtue which remained in the country, Henry employed a new mode of seduction ; a spring that was not likely to fail of success. He gave to David the Welsh prince his sister Emma^f in marriage ; thus disarming an implacable enemy, by the powerful influence of ambition and love.^g David, on his marriage with the English princess, sent over into Normandy a body of Welsh, a thousand in number, to the assistance of the king his brother-in-law ;^h Henry being then engaged in a war with France.

^c Welsh Chron. p. 234.

^d Memoir Gwedir family, p. 8.

^e Welsh Chron. p. 234.

^f By this princess David had a son named Owen. See Hist. Gwedir family, p. 12.

^g Benedict Abbas, vol. I. p. 205. Hist. Gwedir family, p. 8.

^h Holinshead, vol. II. p. 93. Welsh Chron. p. 235.

SUCH was the state of things in the principality of North Wales. The stream ran equally in favour of the English in South Wales. The old king and Henry his son held a great council at Gloucester, for settling the peace of South Wales and of the Borders. To this meeting came Rhys ap Gryffydh, just returned in the service of Henry from the siege of Tutbury castle, attended by six chieftains of eminence, all of them lords in South Wales, and connected with his family by blood or by alliance: even Jorwerth, forgetting his injuries, repaired with the rest to Gloucester, where they all did homage, and made their submissions to the English monarch.¹ In consequence of this, through the mediation of Rhys they obtained pardon of the king for all former offences. To render the favour more complete, Jorwerth was confirmed in the possession of *Caer Lleon*.^k After this, to unite more closely his vassals, both English and Welsh, who were present at the assembly, he obliged them to take an oath, that if any one should be separately attacked by the other powers in Wales, all the rest should unite in his defence.¹

Ann. Dom.
1176.

Soon after this event, David prince of North Wales, Rhys ap Gryffydh, Owen Cyveilioc and other chieftains in Powis, with many of the Welsh nobility, came, upon Henry's summons, to a parliament held at Oxford, to confer with him

¹ Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23. ^k Welsh Chron. p. 236.

¹ Benedict Abb. p. 110. Brompton's Chron. sub. Ann. 1175, p. 1102.

there

there upon the state of their country;^m a scene, flattering to the English monarch, in which the spirit of the Welsh princes is seen to bend under the influence of superior talents. At this parliament, Henry gave Elefmere in the marches to David prince of North Wales, and the territory of Mierionydh to Rhys ap Gryffydd.ⁿ

Ann. Dom.
1177.

AN instance of savage barbarity was at this time perpetrated on some of Henry's vassals in South Wales. William de Bruce lord of Brecknock, invited to an entertainment at the castle of Abergavenny in Monmouthshire, Seisyllt ap Dyfnwal, who had lately made his peace with Henry, Geoffry his son, and other chiefs of distinction in Gwent. In the midst of their festivity, with a view of inflaming their minds, and giving some colour to the baseness of his design, he told the Welsh chieftains that in future they should not travel armed either with their swords or their bows,^o and he instantly required them to take an oath for the due performance of the same. It is easy to imagine in what manner a fiery and high spirited nobility would relish so imperious a command, which they would consider only as a badge of their slavery. It was universally rejected. Then, on a signal being made, a number of soldiers ready armed in the castle rushed into the hall, and massacred the Welsh

^m Holinhead. p. 101. Benedict Abbas, vol. I. p. 111. Howedon, p. 566.

ⁿ Howedon, p. 566. Benedict Abbas, p. 205.

^o Math. Paris, p. 110.

lords.

lords.^p Not satisfied with the blood he had already shed, Bruce, attended by his ruffians, proceeded to the house of Seisyllt, where he took prisoner the wife of that chieftain, and murdered his infant son in the presence of the mother.^q As the justice of Henry did not severely punish this outrage, which every law of prudence and humanity demanded, we have the liberty of thinking, that even that great prince knew when to relax its usual vigour and firmness.

RODERIC, brother of the prince of North Wales, who had been lately imprisoned, broke out of his confinement, and fled into Anglesey, where he was universally received by the people as their sovereign, David their present prince having rendered himself odious by his cruelty, and having grown bold in the exercise of tyranny by his alliance with the English king. Having intelligence of this event, David retired for security to the English side of the Conway;^r possessing only the castle of Rhuddlan, and the territories adjacent, which he held by the assistance of an English garrison.^s The young prince Llewelyn the son of Jorwerth Drwyndwn, was at this time entertained in the court of Roderic his uncle.^t

CADWALADER, uncle to the reigning prince of North Wales having come into England to solicit assistance, was at

^p Math. Paris, p. 110.

^q Welsh Chron. p. 236, 237.

^r Welsh Chron. p. 236, 237.

^s History of Gwedir family, p. 8.

^t Ibid. p. 9.

this time murdered by an English escort, as they were conveying him by the king's orders and under his protection into Wales. This breach of public faith soon met with exemplary punishment. All the persons concerned in the murder were condemned to the gibbet." Such an act of justice, politic to the last degree, throws in this instance a lustre on the humanity and wisdom of Henry's government. This prince was the lord of Caerdigan, and usually resided at the castle of Aberystwyth.*

Ann. Dom.
1179.

A FEW years after these events, the sword of justice was taken up by the Welsh themselves, enforced by the spirit of revenge, a spirit of all others the most potent in uncultivated minds. It seems, that Ranulph de Poer the sheriff of Gloucester, had been concerned with William de Bruce in the massacre committed seven years before in the castle of Abergavenny. It is with reluctance we are obliged to relate, that this infamous transaction appears to have been perpetrated through the secret influence of the English king. The sons and the nephews of Seisyllt ap Dyfnwal and of the other chieftains, who had fallen in that scene of barbarity, being now grown up, were strongly incited to revenge on the English the murder of their parents. In pursuance of this design, early one morning, they assaulted the castle of Aber-

* Math. Paris, p. 116. Welsh Chron. p. 238.

† Memoirs of Gwedir family, p. 6, 7.

gavenny;

gavenny ; and having scaled the walls, took possession of the fortrefs, and burning it to the ground, they carried away prisoners the governor and his wife, with all the garrison. Soon after, the young chieftains, assisted by the natives of the country, stormed a fortrefs lately built by Ranulph de Poer, near Monmouth ; the garrison was defeated and driven into the fosses of the castle ; where that lord, with nine of the most distinguished persons in the county of Hereford, and many soldiers, were slain by the enemies lances.^y

INCENSED at this outrage, the king of England advanced with a large army to Worcester, with the design of punishing the offenders ; but his resentment was appeased by Rhys ap Gryffydh, who repairing to that city took fresh oaths of allegiance, and promised to deliver up, as pledges of the peace of the country, his son and his nephews.^z But the young men, having in memory the fate of those hostages, so lately the victims of Henry's resentment, absolutely refused to place themselves in the same perilous situation.^a

Ann. Dom. 1189. AT this time died Henry the second. His eldest son Richard succeeded to the throne of England.

^y Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. lib. I. cap. IV. Roger Hovedon, p. 617.

^z Holinhead. p. 108. Benedict Abbas, vol. II. p. 411. Welsh Chron. p. 240.

^a Ibid.

THIS event was followed by the death of Gryffydd Maelor, the son of Madoc ap Meredydh the son of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn. He was lord of the two Bromfields and Mochnant-Is-Rhaider, and left one son named Madoc, which he had by Angharad daughter of Owen Gwynedh, to succeed to that part of his father's inheritance which was called Powis Vadoc.^b

Ann. Dom.
1190.

THE pages of the Welsh annals are discoloured for some years by hideous pictures of savage manners. Influenced by the "spirit of the first born Cain," a brother's arm is raised in horrid succession against a brother; the parent^c and his children by a course of injuries are engaged in mutual hostilities, tearing asunder the ties of affection and of nature.^d Scenes, such as these, so expressive of horror, disgust the eye of humanity; and as they are only of a private nature and do not relate to national objects, it is with pleasure we turn to the more agreeable prospects, which are opening to our view, of justice, and order, of freedom, and national importance.

^b Welsh Chron. p. 242.

^c Rhys ap Gryffydd.

^d Welsh Chron. from page 240 to 250.

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

B O O K VII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AP JORWERTH
TO THE DEATH OF DAVID AP LLEWELYN.

JORWERTH the son of Owen Gwynedh had been set a side from the succession, on his father's decease, on account of a personal blemish. His son Llewelyn, now arrived at years of maturity, and desirous of asserting his right, solicited the assistance of his friends in Powis, his mother being the daughter of Madoc the chief of that house. With this aid, and what he received from his relations in North Wales, he demanded the crown in preference to David his uncle. The claim of the young prince, assisted by his popular talents, was allowed. In this easy manner was Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, as the right heir to the crown, placed in the sovereignty of North Wales; his uncle

Ann. Dom. David retaining only a few fortresses which were garrisoned
1194. by the English.^c

Ann. Dom. RHYS AP GRYFFYDH,^d having been engaged in a series of
1195. hostilities with his sons, and having lately gained an advantage over them, revolted from his allegiance, and laid siege to the town and castle of Caermarthen, which he took in a short time. Then, having laid waste the country, he led his army into the marches, and invested the castle of Clun; which, after a long siege, and many terrible assaults, he made himself master of, and burned it to the ground. From thence he proceeded to Radnor, which fortress he likewise took. To the defence of this place came Roger Mortimer with a considerable body of well armed and veteran troops, which were opposed by the raw and almost unarmed soldiers of the Welsh prince; who, sallying from the castle, drove the English after a bloody action out of the field. He then proceeded to Payne castle in Eluel, which having reduced, he delivered back to William de Bruce on certain conditions.^e

Ann. Dom. SOON after these events, Rhys ap Gryffydd left this
1196. world, on the stage of which he had exhibited uncommon

^c Welsh Chron. p. 245.

^d In the first year of king Richard's reign, Rhys ap Gryffydd came into England as far as Oxford, conducted by the earl of Moreton. And because the king would not personally meet the said Gryffydd, as his father had done, he fell into a passion and returned into his own country; See Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 459.

^e Welsh Chron. p. 247, 248.

versatility of character.^f He was interred in the Abbey of Strata Florida, which he himself had erected; and which became the burial place of the succeeding lords of his family.^g If there had been less of caprice in his conduct, if his patriotism, his valour, and other talents for command, had been directed by a steady and uniform principle, the name of this prince would have appeared with the highest lustre in the annals of his country, the honour and liberty of which he, at times, defended with so much zeal and success.

AT this time Richard king of England was engaged in the Holy Land, led away by his own romantic spirit and the epidemic frenzy of the age.

The archbishop of Canterbury, in the absence of the king appointed justiciary of the realm, came into the Welsh Borders^h with a large army, and laid siege to the castle of Pool, the property of Gwenwynwyn the son of Owen Cyveilioc. But finding his endeavours to take the place by storm not successful, he began to undermine the walls, which the garrison perceiving, yielded up the fortress, on condition that they should be allowed to depart with their arms. The works of the castle being strengthened,

^f Welsh Chron. p. 247, 248.

^g Manuscript of Edward Llwyd in Sir John Seabright's collection. British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 19.

^h Roger Hovedon, p. 775.

and an English garrison placed in it, the archbishop returned into England: on his departure it was retaken by the original proprietor, on the same conditions on which it had been given up before.ⁱ

DAVID the deposed prince, with an army of English and a body of Welsh who still adhered to his fortunes, made an attempt to recover the sovereignty he had lost. But the enterprise was easily disconcerted by the rapidity of Llewelyn, who advancing to give his uncle the meeting, defeated his forces, took him prisoner, and lodged him in confinement.^k

AT the close of the same year Owen Cyveilioc died, leaving the higher Powis to his son Gwenwynwyn, which territory in future was called by the name of that chieftain, to distinguish it from Powis Vadoc, the other division of that country.^l

ALTHOUGH by the combined influence of policy and power the English had at length gained the ascendancy in South Wales, individuals were hurried into a revolt by the inhuman and perfidious conduct of the lords of the marches: but the ineffectual efforts of this miserable people to recover their liberties, or to revenge their wrongs, as they acted only from the spur of their feelings, without concert or prudence,

ⁱ Welsh Chron. p. 248.

^k Ibid. p. 250.

^l Ibid. p. 250, 251. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 70.

served only more closely to rivet their chains. Trahaern Vychan, a man of distinction in Brecknock, as he was repairing to Lancors to confer on business with William de Bruce lord of that country, was arrested by order of the English baron, tied to a horse's tail, and in that ignominious manner dragged through the town to the gallows, where he was beheaded, and his body suspended by the feet three days.^m

IN revenge of this outrage, Gwenwynwyn laid siege to the castle of Matilda in Eluel, the property of William de Bruce; declaring that after he had gained possession of that fortress, he would set fire to all the country as far as the Severn; a sacrifice due to the manes of Trahaern his relation. Not having any miners in his army, or battering engines, the Welsh chieftain lay three weeks before the castle; which delay gave time to William de Bruce to send into England for succour. Geoffry Fitz Peter, justiciary of England, instantly came to his relief, having joined to his army the different powers of the lords of the marches; and as the event of war was uncertain, he was desirous of terminating the dispute by concluding a peace with Gwenwynwyn. The offer was rejected with disdain. The Welsh declared their firm resolution of revenging in this enterprise the ancient wrongs of their country. The English, then, released out of confinement

Ann. Dom.
1198.

^m Welsh Chron. p. 250, 251. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 70.

Gryffydd the son of the late Rhys ap Gryffydd, who had been lately imprisoned; between whom and Gwenwynwyn they knew, at this time, subsisted a deadly feud; and being joined by the forces raised by that chieftain, they advanced to the relief of the castle. Confident of his strength, Gwenwynwyn faced the English in an open plain, though experience might have convinced him of the prudence of a different conduct. In this action the Welsh were defeated, if that can with propriety be called an action, in which no other loss was sustained by the English army than that of a single soldier, and even that soldier slain by a random arrow from his own party. Besides the wounded and the prisoners, many of whom were of considerable note, three thousand and seventy of the Welsh were left dead on the field.^a It is not easy to account for the facility with which the English gained this victory. The rashness of the Welsh leader was probably the cause of his defeat, in fighting on the open plain, with such troops as his own, half armed, and liable to panics, against a firm and completely armed body like the English,

AT this time Richard king of England was slain at the
 Ann. Dom. siege of Chalons, an inconsiderable town in Limosin. John
 1199. his brother succeeded to the throne.

^a Math. Paris, p. 162. Welsh Chron. 252. Holinshed, p. 154.

AFTER his accession, being deeply engaged in foreign concerns, that prince sent Hubert de Burgh his chamberlain, with one hundred knights, to guard the Welsh marches.* At the same time a treaty of peace was concluded between Llewelyn prince of North Wales, and the earl of Essex justiciary of the realm. In this treaty Llewelyn, with the principal chieftains of his realm, swore to the observance of the following articles. To maintain perpetual fidelity to king John in the fulness of feudal ideas. To receive at the hands of the lord chief justice livery and seisin of his territories, which he was to hold in security until the kings return into England. On the arrival of the king, when summoned to appear, he should come and do homage to him as to his liege lord; but when that duty was paid, he was to return into his own country in perfect security, only liable to pay a strict obedience to any summons of the like nature. In consideration of this the king was to pardon all offences committed prior to the day of pacification; but if any complaints should arise in future, it was to be in Llewelyn's choice whether the cause should be tried by the laws of England or by those of Wales. If he chose that the merits of his cause should be tried according to the English law, a court was to be appointed in England, where judgment should be given agreeably to the laws of that country. If the prince was desirous that the Welsh laws should determine the controversy, and it were found on

* Roger Hovedon, p. 819. Holinhead, p. 163.

inquiry that he could hold a court to take cognifance of fuch a matter, the caufe fhould then be decided in his own court ; but if it were found otherwife, in that cafe the king was to fend fome of his own fubjects, eminent for their wifdom, into the territory of Llewelyn where the matter was in controverfy, before whom the caufe fhould be tried, and judgment given by a certain number of Welchmen, felected from places at a diftance, as being on that account not liable to the fufpicion of partiality, and their award was to be final. If after the ratification of the peace, any injury fhould be done by Llewelyn to the king or to any of his fubjects, reparation fhould be made agreeably to the award of fome of the Englifh nobility particularly mentioned for that purpofe. But it was alfo required from the arbitrators above-mentioned, that they fhould adminifter judgment with juftice, to the honour of God and of the king. If any injury was done in the Englifh territories, and the offenders fhould efcape into the dominions of Llewelyn, and the perfons fuffering the damage, or others, purfuing them into the faid dominions, that Llewelyn fhould caufe the plunder to be reftored and execute juftice on the malefactors. If the offenders fhould have efaped into the territories of Llewelyn, or concealed themfelves therein, that prince engaged to do all in his power to obtain fatisfaction, as if the injury had been done to himfelf. This peace was figned the third year of the reign of king John, by the archbifhop of Canterbury, and by the fon of the chief

chief justice ; who set their seals to the writing as a security for the due observance of the treaty, until it should be ratified by the king on his return into England. The tenor of this treaty, though in general formed on the principles of justice, was so fully expressive of vassalage, that it seems as if the independency of Wales at this period was annihilated.^p

Ann. Dom.
1201.

THE peace with England afforded Llewelyn the opportunity of exerting the native vigour of his mind. Some time before, he had confiscated the estates of Meredydh his cousin,^q and banished him the realm upon a suspicion of treason.^r He thought an interval of leisure could not be better employed than in attempting to restore the original constitution of his country ; a rude though venerable fabric, which, having long remained a monument of its ancient grandeur, had fallen into decay in the lapse of ages.

THE Welsh princes, by the laws of Roderic, and by those of Howel Dha, though independent in their own territories, yet acknowledged the sovereignty of North Wales. To connect the loose and separated parts into one system of government, Llewelyn convened an assembly of all the chieftains throughout Wales. These nobles, sensible of the advantage of union and of adhering to ancient

^p Rymer's Fædera, p. 123.

^q The Cantrevs of Llun and Evionydd, situated in the South West parts of Caernarvonshire. Hist. Gwedir family, p. 20. ^r Hist. Gwedir family, p. 20.

forms, took the usual oaths of fealty.* Gwenwynwyn, alone, the lord of the higher Powis, refused to attend the meeting, or to take the oath of allegiance. His refusal being known to the assembly, they declared that he ought to be compelled to the performance of his duty, or to forfeit his lands, as a part of the feudal obligation. One chieftain, alone, of the name of Elife, refused his consent to any mode of compulsion, and suddenly withdrew from the meeting. Deeply interested in the event, Llewelyn did not suffer the seeds of disobedience to mature by time into stronger resistance. He led an army into Powis; but that force, by the mediation of several persons, in estimation for wisdom in the country, was rendered unnecessary, and Gwenwynwyn made his submission to the prince, which he confirmed by the usual formalities. Repenting the conduct of Elife, Llewelyn, then, took possession of his estates, and obliged him to fly out of the country; but that chieftain soon afterwards yielding himself up to his mercy, had a castle, with some lands assigned him for his maintenance.

Ann. Dom. HAVING so happily finished this important measure
1203. Llewelyn returned into North Wales.†

THE English king having lost a great part of his territories in France returned into England. On his arrival, he gave Joan,

* Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23. † Welsh Chr. p. 257, 258.
a daughter

a daughter which he had by a lady of the house of Ferrars, in marriage to Llewelyn; perhaps as a reward for the due observance of the late treaty, or as a means of securing those advantages which he naturally thought would result from such an alliance. With this lady was given as a dower the lordship of Elefmere in Shropshire, in the marches of Wales."

Ann. Dom.
1204.

PRINCE LLEWELYN, in his youth, had married Tangwyftl, daughter of Lhowarch Goch the lord of Rhos, by whom he had a son, very brave, called Gryffydh ap Llewelyn; who, as heir apparent, had the Cantreys of Englefield, Rhos, Rhyvonioc, and Dyffryn Clwyd given him by his father; being the country adjoining to England, in order that the young prince might defend his own territories from the common enemy. He married in his father's life, Sina daughter of Cariadog ap Tho' ap Rodric ap Owen Gwynedh.*

DAVID the deposed prince of North Wales, having been set at liberty by his nephew, fled into England, and procured there an army to assist him in recovering the throne. The enterprize failed of success; he was met on his march

* Hist. Gwedir family, p. 22. says she was a legitimate daughter. Fabian, in his reign of John says, that she was a natural one. Welsh Chron. p. 259.

* Hist. Gwedir family, p. 24. British Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29.

by

by Llewelyn and defeated;^y and some time after, he himself, with his son Owen were slain at Conway.^z

SOME years after this event, Gwenwynwyn came to Shrewsbury, to confer with the lords of the council. On his arrival he was detained a prisoner,^a without any apparent cause, unless to extort, as conditions of obtaining his liberty, the following concessions. That he should, in the usual forms, become a vassal to the king of England; that he should serve him faithfully as holding under him his life and territories; that he should abide the justice of his courts whenever summoned to attend; that he should deliver up twenty hostages for the due performance of the treaty; and should remain in custody until those hostages were all given up. At the same time the king bound himself to take his territories under his protection, and to be responsible for any injury which they might receive.^b

Ann. Dom.
1208.

IN this situation of Powis, Llewelyn invaded that country, and gained possession of all the castles and towns in that part belonging to the imprisoned chieftain; he then marched into South Wales, and after some slight successes returned into his own country.^c The same year, in consequence of the submission of Llewelyn, as appears by his letters directed to the

^y Welsh Chron. p. 259.

^z Hist. Gwedir family, p. 13.

^a Welsh Chron. p. 260.

^b Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 151.

^c Welsh Chron. p. 261.

king

king at Bristol, a full pardon was granted him by that monarch for the depredations he had lately made on the territories of Gwenwynwyn, while under his protection;^d which pardon appears also to have been confirmed the year following; as the Welsh prince did homage, either in person or by proxy, to the king at Woodstock.^e

Ann. Dom.
1209.

THE earl of Chester this year made an inroad into North Wales, which was of no other consequence than that of rebuilding the castle of Diganwy upon the water of the Conway, which had been lately demolished by Llewelyn; he likewise more strongly fortified the castle of Treffynnon or Holywell. Llewelyn, in return, invaded the earl's territories, desolated a great part of them, and returned home loaded with the plunder he had taken.^f

INCENSED at this incursion, and breach of fidelity, John assembled a large army at Oswestry upon the Borders; where he was joined by many of the Welsh chieftains his vassals; the most considerable of whom were Madoc ap Gryffydd Maelor, and Gwenwynwyn on this occasion restored to his liberty, and the two sons of Rhys, the late prince of South Wales. With this formidable army he marched to Chester,

^d Rymer's Fædera, vol. I. p. 151.

^e Math. Paris, p. 191. who says, that this was the first homage which had ever been heard of, and that such journies were very oppressive both to the rich and poor.

^f Welsh Chron. p. 262.

in the full resolution of exterminating the people of North Wales.^g

LLEWELYN unable to oppose a force, composed not only of a foreign enemy, but of his own vassals, who had basely deserted their late engagements, thought it prudent to withdraw from the storm, and he ordered the inhabitants of the inland country, a part of Denbighshire and Flintshire, to remove with their goods and cattle to the mountains of Snowdun. The English then advanced along the sea coast to Rhuddlan, and from thence to the castle of Diganwy^h opposite to the country of Snowdun, where they remained for some time. But Llewelyn so continually infested the roads with his light parties, that John and his army were reduced to the greatest difficulties. By cutting off their provisions as they arrived out of England, the army was reduced to the necessity of feeding upon the flesh of horses; and the soldiers, whenever they stirred from the camp, were liable to be cut in pieces; the Welsh from a knowledge of the country, and from being posted on eminences, had usually the advantage in every skirmish. From this situation, John thought it prudent, after the loss he had sustained, to retreat into England, stung with disgrace, and breathing the spirit of revenge.ⁱ

^g Welsh Chron. p. 264.

^h Annales de Margan, p. 15. Welsh Chron. p. 264.

ⁱ Ibid.

A FEW months after, the king, having augmented his army, came again to Ofwestry; and being joined by his Welsh confederates advanced to the Conway; which having passed, he encamped his army upon the banks of that river; he then dispatched some troops with proper guides to burn the town of Bangor, which order was instantly executed, and the bishop of that place taken prisoner, who was afterwards ransomed for two hundred hawks. Llewelyn, seeing the force of England and Wales combined against him, and that force commanded by an English monarch, who had penetrated far into his country, himself likewise confined within the extreme verge of his dominions, thought it more prudent to sue for peace, at the expence of some important concessions, than to hazard the whole by carrying on so unequal a contest. As he had in his own person so little pretensions to favour, having lately violated the probable conditions of his pardon, Llewelyn thought it more wise to negotiate by the mediation of his wife. This princess so powerfully interceded with her father, that he was willing, on certain conditions, to take Llewelyn into favour. Hostages were sent to that prince, that he might with safety repair to the English camp, where having done homage, a peace was concluded on the conditions of giving forty horses, and twenty thousand head of cattle towards defraying the expences of the war; he likewise ceded to the king for ever the inland parts of his dominions. Twenty-eight hostages were given by

Llewelyn as a security for the observance of the treaty. After this fortunate expedition John returned into England.^k Resenting the conduct of those vassals who had not served him in the late expedition, he exacted from every knight, Ann. Dom. 1212. a scutage of two marks of silver.^l

THUS was the remnant of the British empire, after many and gallant struggles for freedom, driven almost to the verge of the ocean. But the prosperity of this injured people, though deeply clouded for the present, was not extinguished for ever. Their native spirit, confined in narrow limits, and set on fire by the agency of various causes, burst through every restraint; and, like the irruptive violence of a volcano, poured down devastation and vengeance on the heads of their hated oppressors.

THE wild disorder in the conduct of the king of England, happily for posterity, had convulsed every part of his dominions, and, aided by superstition, had loosened every spring of government, and every tie of duty or affection which binds the subject to the prince. The Pope, at this time, released Wales from the interdict under which it had lain,

^k Annales Margan, p. 15, says thirty-two hostages. Welsh Chron. p. 265. Thomas Wykes, p. 36. Chron. Walter Hemingford, p. 556.

^l Math. Paris, p. 193, 194.

and

and absolved Llewelyn from the oaths of homage and allegiance which he had taken at the late peace. ^m

A CONJUNCTURE so favourable determined Llewelyn, if possible, to extricate his country out of the vassalage, into which it had lately fallen by the necessity of affairs, and the disunion of its chieftains. For this purpose he convened before him Gwenwynwyn, and Madoc ap Gryffydd Maelor the lords of Powis, with Maelgwyn ap Rhys from South Wales, and Meredydh ap Rotpert from Cydewen. To these chieftains he represented the miserable situation of their country, owing to their own want of virtue, in having basely deserted its interest; he assured them, even now, by their spirit and united exertions, instead of living abject and voluntary vassals under the pressure of a foreign yoke, they might still enjoy their ancient liberties under the dominion of their native princes. Superstition, or the force of his reasoning, or the mingled effect of both, impressed on the minds of these capricious chieftains a momentary gleam of patriotism. They once more took the oaths of allegiance to their prince. Llewelyn, being joined by their several powers, suddenly commenced hostilities, seizing all the fortresses which the English possessed in his dominions, and putting to the sword with a barbarous rage all the knights and soldiers who defended them; besides setting on fire many villages,

Ann. Dom.

1213.

^m Math. Paris, p. 194. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 174. British Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 26.

and carrying away very considerable plunder.ⁿ Not being able to make any impression on the castles of Diganwy and Rhuddlan, he fell upon Powis, and invested the castle of Mathraval, lately fortified by Robert Vepont; but the strength of that fortress for some time delaying his operations, gave John an opportunity of coming to its relief. On his approach the confederates retired.

HAVING caused this fortress to be demolished, the king returned into England, more important objects in his own dominions demanding his attention. On his departure, Llewelyn again laid waste the marches with fire and sword.*

As soon as John heard of this incursion, of the ravages which Llewelyn had made, and of the cruelties he had exercised on his prisoners, he advanced to Nottingham with a great army of infantry and horse; in the full resolution of chastising the revolters, by extirminating the inhabitants of the country. So violent was his anger, that the moment he arrived at that place, he commanded the hostages, twenty-eight in number, to be instantly hanged; and he refused to take any refreshment until the execution was over.^p The most cruel of the Roman tyrants, those scourges of the human race, had surely, at this instant, infused his infernal spirit into that of the English

ⁿ Math. Paris, p. 194.

^o Welsh Chron. p. 267.

^p Math. Paris, p. 194.

monarch. These innocent victims,^a delivered to John at the late peace, were all of them very young, and allied to the most distinguished families in Wales.' This tragedy being finished, while he was yet at table meditating vengeance on the Welsh, he received two letters, one of which was from the king of Scotland, and the other was from his daughter^b the wife of prince Llewelyn. These letters, though proceeding from different quarters, conveyed to him the same alarming intelligence, that a dangerous conspiracy was forming against his life. This information threw the English monarch into the deepest dismay; he shut himself up in the castle of Nottingham, where he continued a fortnight in a fullen and gloomy solitude, no person whatever being admitted into his presence. Having made no farther discovery in the affair, time at length dispersed his fears, and persisting in the design of subduing the Welsh, he advanced to Chester. He once more received at this place from the princess his daughter intimations of the same alarming import, that if he advanced any farther, his ruin was inevitable, as he would certainly be either murdered by the nobility in his army, or be betrayed into the hands of the enemy. The king's firmness, and his desire of revenge, gave way to these repeated alarms; fear and distrust

^a At the same time Robert Vepont hanged Rhys the son of Maelgwyn, a child not seven years old, at Shrewsbury. Welsh Chron. p. 267.

^b Annales Margan, p. 15. Holinhead, p. 176. Welsh Chron. p. 267.

^c Welsh Chron. p. 267.

took possession of his mind ; and hearing at the same time that the Pope had dissolved the allegiance of his subjects, he dismissed his army on a sudden, and returned to London. †

THE animosity natural to men, who had just broken asunder their fetters, and who were eager to regain their liberty, was heightened still more by the spirit of enthusiasm. The Welsh had not only been released from the oaths they had taken to John, but the Pope had likewise denounced his bitterest curses, if they did not, under the banners of the church, rise up to fulminate its vengeance, by attempting the utter destruction of a prince who had presumed to contemn his authority. Influenced by these motives, the inhabitants of the inland country, which at the late peace had been ceded to John, acknowledged the sovereignty of Llewelyn.[‡] He soon after gained possession of the castles of Diganwy and Rhuddlan, places of great importance on the frontier of his kingdom.[§] Thus were the English by a sudden turn in affairs entirely driven out of North Wales.[¶] But this prince, instead of checking his fortunes took advantage of the tide that was flowing in his favour, and pressing forwards with an eager spirit after glory, enlarged the circle of his conquests, and added fresh

Ann. Dom.
1214.

† Math. Paris, p. 194. Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 482. Annal. Waverlensis, p. 173. Thomas Wyke's, p. 37. Holinshed, p. 176.

‡ Annales Waverleienfis, p. 174. Welsh Chron. p. 268, 270.

§ Ibid.

¶ Annales Margan, p. 15.

reputation

reputation to his arms. The dissensions, at this time, prevailing in England favoured his designs.

THE English barons, having renounced their allegiance to John on his refusal to confirm their constitutional rights, entered into a confederacy with Llewelyn prince of Wales.^z It seems as if this alliance had given great alarm to the English monarch, as he sent an order to Llewelyn to meet his commissioners at Griffin's Cross, that the Welsh prince might confer with them on matters of importance which related to his interest and honour.^a At the same time, with a versatility of conduct which insulted the common sense of mankind, the Pope excommunicated Llewelyn and all his adherents, for having made war upon a prince,^b recently the object of his vengeance, but who of late had been admitted into the bosom of the church; a privilege he had meanly purchased by concessions, degrading to the dignity of princes, as well as injurious to the rights of his people, and the imperial crown of his ancestors. But, in defiance of this sentence, Llewelyn marched into Powis; no longer intimidated by censures so scandalously prostituted, nor by oaths of allegiance from which he had been lately absolved. Having, with much ease taken possession of the town and castle of Shrewsbury, he returned into his own

^z Welsh Chron. p. 270. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 182.

^a Rymer's Fædera, p. 196.

^b Annales Waverleienfis, p. 182. Welsh Chron. p. 271.

dominions;

Ann. Dom. dominions; and, in order to strengthen the interest of his
 1215. family by alliance, he gave his daughter in marriage to
 Reginald de Bruce, an English lord of great power in
 South Wales.^c

SOON after this enterprize, Llewelyn, with a considerable force, invested the castle of Caermarthen, which he took after a resistance of five days, and levelled it to the ground. The same fate attended the castles of Llanstephan, St. Clair, and Talacharn. He then marched into Caerdigan, and gained the castles of Emlyn, Comaes, and Newport; then closing the campaign by the reduction of the castles of Aberteivi and Cilgerran, he returned into his own dominions. In this expedition he was attended by all the confederate chieftains, whose attachment to his interest he had hitherto secured by the wisdom and vigour of his conduct.^d

THE late fortunate campaign having given to the Welsh prince a great part of South Wales, he came again into the country as the lord paramount, to arbitrate some disputes which had arisen in the family of the late Rhys ap Gryffydd. Having adjusted the several claims by a division of the country in dispute, as he was returning into his own dominions, he received intelligence that Gwen-

Ann. Dom. 1216.

^c Welsh Chron. p. 273.

^d Welsh Chron. p. 273. Hist. Gwedir family, p. 26.

wynwyn, the lord of a part of powis, had renounced his allegiance, and was again become a vassal to the English king. This information gave Llewelyn the greatest uneasiness; he saw the evil that would arise, if a chieftain of such influence and power as Gwenwynwyn should, at such a juncture as this, desert the confederacy, when fortune had hitherto so happily favoured the united exertion of their arms. Desirous, by the mildest means, of drawing him back to a sense of his duty and honour, Llewelyn sent several bishops, and other religious persons to remonstrate with him on the nature of his conduct. They pointed out to him the oaths he had violated, shewed him the very deed subscribed by himself, which he had given as a pledge of his fidelity, the clemency also of the prince he had offended, and the danger of exposing to the resentment of Llewelyn the hostages left in his hands. These considerations were urged in vain. Gwenwynwyn was obstinate, and would listen to no terms. Llewelyn, then, that his justice might punish the delinquency of a vassal whom his mildness had not been able to reclaim, instantly invaded Powis, laid waste with fire and sword the territories of that chieftain, and obliged him to fly for assistance into the dominions of the earl of Chester.^c

AT this time Lewis the Dauphin of France, by the invitation of the malecontent barons, came into England. John,

^c Welsh Chron. p. 274.

unable to resist the confederacy formed against him, retreated to Hereford in the marches of Wales; and sent to solicit the assistance and friendship of Llewelyn his son-in-law, and of Reginald de Bruce. Neither ties of affinity, nor the emotions of pity, had, however, any influence on the conduct of Llewelyn. On just principles of policy, he rejected the solicitations of the unfortunate monarch. Experience, and the strength of his mind would inform him, that no confidence ought to be placed in a prince so weak and capricious; that the ascendancy his arms had lately gained over England was principally owing to the distracted state of that kingdom; and that it was his duty, as the guardian of the public weal, to foment its divisions; the liberties of his own country depending in a great measure on the weakness, or disunion of the English. John, resenting this conduct in the Welsh prince, demolished the castles of Radnor and Haye; after which, proceeding farther into the marches he set fire to the town of Oswestry.^f

IN a little time after these events, this weak and miserable prince ended his days. His son, Henry the third, yet an infant, succeeded to the crown of England.

Ann. Dom.
1217.

ON the accession of the young prince, Reginald de Bruce returned to the allegiance which he owed to the English monarch, deserting in a moment of caprice the solemn

^f Welsh Chron. p. 275.

engagements he had made to the prince of Wales. It seems in these miserable ages, as if oaths, and the other sacred ties of society, had lost all their power of binding the conscience.

As soon as Llewelyn heard of this event, he came into Brecknock, the territory belonging to Bruce, and laid siege to Aberhonddu its principal town; but the inhabitants imploring his mercy, he consented to raise the siege, on condition of receiving five hostages, and one hundred marks. He then continued his march towards Gwyr, and, passing over the black mountains in Glamorganshire, lost many of his carriages. While his army lay encamped at Llangruc, Bruce came attended by six knights to implore the clemency of his father-in-law; a favour he easily obtained, being received not only in the mildest manner, but having a fortress given him as an additional proof of the prince's confidence. Having regulated the affairs of that province, Llewelyn marched into Dyvet, and at Cefn Cynwarchan received proposals of peace from the Flemings who were settled in the country. He refused to listen to any terms of accommodation; and part of his army having passed the Cledheu in order to attack the Flemings, the bishop of St. Davids attended by his clergy repaired to the prince, in hopes his solicitations and the influence of religion, might soften his resentment. At length, after much debate, the intercession of the bishop prevailed, and a peace was

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concluded;

concluded; on the conditions, that the inhabitants of Rhos and Pembroke should be subject to the prince of North Wales; and, as their liege lord, should hold of him their lands under the duties of fealty and homage; that they should pay him one thousand marks towards defraying the charges of the war, and should likewise deliver twenty hostages, of the first note in their country, as a pledge of their fidelity.^g

HAVING in two fortunate campaigns made himself almost the entire master of Wales, Llewelyn returned into his own territories; encircled with more solid glory than could be derived from conquests, illustrious only from the wide sweep which their ravages had taken.

THE ardour with which the English barons had engaged in the cause of Lewis, was by this time much cooled, owing to the perfidy of that prince, and to the insolent nature of his conduct. The great talents of the earl of Pembroke seized the fortunate moment. Guided by sentiments of the purest patriotism, he drew back to their allegiance the revolted barons, and settled the distracted state of the kingdom on principles the most humane, liberal, and wise. In this treaty, equally with the king of Scotland, Llewelyn was included, on condition that he should restore all the places he had seized during the war.^h

^g Welsh Chron. p. 278.

^h Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. I. p. 225.

It is probable on this occasion, that the prince of Wales received a summons to repair with the chief of his nobility to Hereford, as an order was at that time sent to Hugh Mortimer, provided Llewelyn came there, and was absolved from the sentence of excommunication, to escort him to Northampton, where he and his attendants were to do homage to the king.ⁱ It does not appear that Llewelyn paid any regard to this summons; as at this time, the earl of Pembroke, by force of arms, took possession of the city of Caer Leon;^k and in the following year, he received a similar order to appear before the king at Gloucester, there to perform his homage in presence of the council and the Pope's legate. To this summons Llewelyn thought proper to pay obedience. Being absolved by the legate, he ratified by oath the conditions of the treaty, promising to restore, with their respective territories, the castles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan; as well as all other lands and fortresses which had been taken during the war from Henry's vassals in South Wales. Under the like solemn engagements, he promised, that all the nobility in Wales should, by every means in his power, do homage to Henry, as to their liege lord; that none of his enemies should be allowed protection in Wales; and that, whatever injuries the king might receive, he would revenge them as if they had been done to himself.^l

Ann. Dom.
1218.

ⁱ Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 225.

^k Welsh Chron. p. 278.

^l Rymer, vol. I. p. 225.

IN so prosperous a state of his affairs, we are at a loss to account for this conduct of Llewelyn. The wisdom and vigour of Pembroke's administration, or the dread of spiritual anathemas, acting upon his own superstition, or on that of his people, might shake on this occasion the firmness of his mind. If we consider his conduct as derogating only from the dignity of an independent sovereign, the idea of dishonour is lost in the nature and habits of a feudal government. Even the king of Scotland, the year before, had performed the same duty at Northampton. But the homage paid by that prince was due by mutual agreement for the fiefs he possessed in England; whereas the duties imposed on Llewelyn, had been extorted, at various times, without any equivalent. As it is opinion alone that gives dignity to princes and energy to government, these claims of the English, assuming a royal jurisdiction over Wales, and rising every day into precedent, were highly dangerous to its freedom, and were in the end the means of sapping the foundation of its power. A tacit acquiescence in claims successively made, in length of time constitutes a right. The habit of seeing the Welsh princes, passing as vassals through England, at the will of an arbitrary lord, would naturally produce, in the minds of the English, contemptuous ideas of an enemy, whom hitherto they had only heard of at a distance, or had seen spreading terror and conflagration through the frontiers. The Welsh, too, must lose much of that veneration which they themselves had been accustomed to feel for their princes, when
instead

instead of seeing them at the head of armies asserting the public freedom, they saw them, on every call which pride or policy suggested, desert the dignity of their stations; and like obsequious vassals fall at the feet of a fastidious monarch, the hereditary foe of their nation. In the habit of considering their country as a fief of the crown of England, a fond attachment to its interests, a sense of national glory, and all manly ideas of patriotism, would lose their energy and force, and sink at length into a cold indifference to its fate. Having neither empire nor freedom to contend for, their valour and their mountains would be equally useless, and no longer fed from its parent source, their native spirit, eager for liberty, and impatient of controul would naturally subside into a tame and hereditary obedience.

IN consequence of the concessions made by Llewelyn, the king sent to acquaint him that several of the Welsh nobility had done homage, and enjoined him to give them possession of their estates; he likewise required that the remaining chiefs should be sent to perform their stipulated duties.^m Agreeably to this injunction, Llewelyn sent Rhys an eminent chieftain in South Wales, to do homage to Henry. Then, with an inconsistency of conduct, accounted for only by the levity of the times, he placed new levies of

^m Rymer's Fœdera, p. 227.

soldiers

soldiers in the castles of Caermarthen and Abertievi, instead of delivering them up in conformity to his late engagements.^o

IN the same year, that prince gave another of his daughters in marriage to John de Bruce an English baron.^p

Ann. Dom.
1219.

THE Flemings having seized by force on the castle of Abertievi, Llewelyn marched into that country, and regaining possession of it, razed the fortrefs, and put the garrison to

Ann. Dom.
1220.

the sword ; he then advanced into the territory of Gwys, where, likewise destroying that castle, he set fire to the town ; and penetrating farther, he continued his ravages into Rhos and Daugleddeu^q and as far as the gates of the castle of Haverfordwest.^r

IN consequence of this, Henry wrote a letter to Llewelyn, complaining of the late violation of the peace, of his neglect to appear at Oxford, and afterwards in London, agreeably to the summonses he had received ; enjoining him, at the same time to repair to Worcester on a certain day, to answer the charges which might be brought against him.^s It does not appear that Llewelyn paid any obedience to this summons.

SOME time after, he laid siege to the castle of Buellt the property of Reginald de Bruce, who sending to the king in-

^o Welsh Chron. p. 279.

^p Ibid.

^q Or two swords. ^r Welsh Chron. p. 279.

^s Rymer's Fædera. p. 249.

telligence

telligence of his danger, that prince came to his relief ;[†] and Llewelyn seeing his forces inferior to the English, raised the siege and returned into his own territories. Then the king, returning towards the marches, rebuilt the castle of Montgomery, in a situation he thought impregnable, as a check to the incursions of the Welsh.[‡] Sometime after this event Llewelyn married another of his daughters to a Scots lord, who was nephew to the earl of Chester.[×]

Ann. Dom.
1221.

AMIDST the anxieties which attend on a public situation, the private peace of Llewelyn was embittered by the turbulent spirit of his eldest son Gryffydd. This young prince, without his father's consent, had seized on the Cantrev of Meirionydh; affecting to hold it independently of his authority. Not of a temper tamely to bear such an insult, Llewelyn commanded his son to appear before him. Gryffydd refused to obey his commands. On this, Llewelyn swore that he would take ample vengeance on his son, and all his adherents, for the dishonour they had done to his character as a sovereign and a father. With this design he marched a considerable force into Meirionydh. Gryffydd, determining to abide the issue of arms, raised his followers, and met Llewelyn in the field; but during the action and accommodation took place; the son, yielding himself up to the mercy of his father, and imploring forgiveness, was

[†] Rymer, p. 261.

[‡] Math. Paris, p. 262.

[×] Holinshed, p. 204.

received into favour. But though Llewelyn, amidst the conflict of arms, indulging the tender feelings of a parent, thought proper to pardon his son, he did not entirely forget the offence; but with a proper severity, deprived him of that district which had been the cause of so flagrant a failure in his duty.^y

RHYS the son of Gryffyd ap Rhys, lately a vassal to the prince of Wales, having revolted to the earl of Pembroke; under the influence of chagrine and disappointment Llewelyn took possession of the castle of Aberystwyth and all its dependencies. The Welsh chieftain on this repaired to Henry to complain of the injury, and to solicit his protection. The English king commanded Llewelyn to appear before him at Shrewsbury; and that prince obeying his order, the dispute was amicably settled.^z

LLEWELYN, in the absence of the earl of Pembroke then in Ireland, laid waste his lands, and took two of his castles; then, cutting off the heads of all the soldiers he had found in these fortresses, and placing garrisons in them out of his own army, he made good his retreat.^a In order to punish this outrage, Henry came with an army into the marches, but, without performing any military exploit, he soon

^y Welsh Chron. p. 280.

^z Ibid. p. 281, 282.

^a Chr. Thos. Wykes, p. 41. Chronica Walteri. Hemingford, p. 564. Math. Westm. p. 86. Math. Paris, p. 267.

returned

returned into England; the earl of Chester having interceded in behalf of the Welsh prince, and engaged for him that he should by a certain day, make restitution for the injuries he had done. But, Llewelyn, seeing the danger over, was not very attentive to fulfil the engagement.^b

IN the mean time, the earl of Pembroke, hearing the ravages committed on his territories, landed at St. Davids with a strong body of forces, and having recovered the castles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan, he retaliated on the Welsh garrisons the cruel treatment his own men had lately received from Llewelyn.^c This prince, to preserve his territories in South Wales, which his enemies were destroying with fire and sword, sent his son Gryffyddh with an army of nine thousand men. Having advanced to Cydweli, intimations were given that the inhabitants intended to betray him to the enemy; upon which, in resentment of their perfidy, Gryffyddh laid the town and all the churches in ashes.^d The earl of Pembroke then passed the Tywy at Caermarthen, and an action immediately ensued; it was fought with great valour and with doubtful success; in the evening each party retired from the field of battle, the river forming a line between the two armies. In this situation they lay several days opposite to each other, at length the

^b Chronica. Walteri. Hemingford, p. 564.

^c Welsh Chron. p. 282. Math. Paris, p. 267.

^d Welsh Chron. p. 282.

Welsh prince, in want of provisions, was obliged to break up his camp, and to return into North Wales.^e

PEMBROKE proceeding to Cilgerran, began to erect a fortress; but receiving an order from Henry to come up directly to court, he left the work to be completed by his soldiers.^f At the same time a summons was sent to Llewelyn, that he should appear before the king at Shrewsbury, attended by his wife, his son Gryffyd, and the chief of his nobility, that prince expecting that by the force of his authority alone he should be able to end the dispute.^g A truce however was only obtained; and each party, intending to renew hostilities, returned to their respective territories. The design of the earl of Pembroke, who had been joined by the forces of other English lords, of marching into Pembroke, was defeated by the rapid movements of Llewelyn, who sent his son to take possession of the pass at Carnwylhion, whilst he himself took post at Mabedryd. The openings into the country being thus obstructed, the earl returned into England, and the prince of Wales into his own dominions.^h

ON this occasion, the archbishop of York excommunicated Llewelyn, and his country was laid under an inter-

^e Welsh Chron. p. 282. Math. Paris, p. 267, who says that the Welsh were defeated with great slaughter.

^f Welsh Chron, p. 282.

^g Rymor's Fædera. vol. I. p. 287.

^h Welsh Chron. p. 283.

dict, until he had made satisfaction to Henry; which if not performed within six months, his subjects were then to be absolved from their oaths of allegiance.¹

Ann. Dom.
1225.

IN the history of these times no incident worthy of notice occurs till this year. The soldiers belonging to the castle of Montgomery, assisted by the people of the country, attempted to open a road through an adjoining forest, a deep and extensive cover of five miles, which had long afforded the Welsh a secure retreat; who frequently issuing from thence, pillaged and murdered the passengers. While the workmen were thus employed in cutting down the woods, they were suddenly attacked by a body of the Welsh, who, with great slaughter, obliged them to fly into the castle, which they invested, and laid siege to in a regular manner. In this extremity the garrison sent into England for assistance, and Henry, attended by Hubert de Burgh, on whom the castle had been lately conferred, came to its relief with all possible haste. On the approach of the English king the Welsh raised the siege.

Ann. Dom.
1228.

HAVING received a reinforcement, Henry ventured to penetrate the recesses of the forest. With infinite difficulty he opened a passage for his army by setting fire to the woods, and at length arrived at a solitary place called

¹ Rymer, vol. I. p. 282.

Cridia, an abbey belonging to the white monks. Having been informed that this house had been used by the Welsh as a place of retreat, he laid it in ashes. The situation being judged impregnable, Hubert de Burgh, with the king's consent, laid the foundation of a castle.

IN the middle of a deep forest, in an enemy's country, and surrounded by their flying parties, the situation of the English was exceedingly perilous. Three months did Henry employ his whole army and expose it to various dangers in attempting to build an insignificant fortrefs. In the course of that time, the Welsh, watching every movement, intercepted his convoys, and frequently cut in pieces his foraging parties. William de Bruce, whose ferocious manners we have often recited, having been sent into the country in search of provisions, was taken by Llewelyn and thrown into prison. Provisions at length grew exceedingly scarce. To heighten his distress, Henry had much cause to fear that treason had pervaded his camp; as several of the English Lords in the interest of Llewelyn, had sent that prince intelligence of each occurrence, and had assisted him, to the utmost of their power, in obstructing and defeating the enterprife. In a situation so critical, the pride and resolution of Henry gave way to a sense of danger. He found it expedient to give over his design, and to conclude a peace with Llewelyn, on the condition of levelling to the ground the castle he had lately finished; in the building of which he had wasted so much time,

time, and treasure, as well as the blood of his subjects. The prince of Wales on his part, agreed to pay Henry three thousand marks towards defraying the charges of the war; and also that the right owner of this territory should hold it as a fief of the crown of England.^k He also made his appearance in the English camp, to pay his respects to king Henry; but in no measure on the footing of a subordinate prince to do him homage.^l

IN this manner ended the campaign, inglorious to Henry, yet reflecting little lustre on the military talents of Llewelyn; who surely might have obtained better terms from an enemy, surrounded with difficulties, and entangled like a lion in the toils.

To inure the Welsh still more to the ideas of vassalage, Henry sent a safe conduct to his nephew to repair to his court; where David the son of Llewelyn received a pension of forty pounds a year, until a better provision could be made for him; having first done homage, and sworn to hold his reverfionary dignity as a fief under England.^m The little value of the bribe compared with the object, is a proof that scarcely the idea of dishonour was at this time annexed to vassalage.

Ann. Dom.
1229.

^k Math. Paris, 295. Math. of Westminster, p. 94. Holinshed, p. 210.

^l Rymer, p. 311.

^m Welsh Chron. p. 284.

LLEWELYN had yet another blow to sustain, which was an injury of all others the most poignant. William de Bruce taken prisoner at the affair of Montgomery, on paying a ransom of three thousand marks, had been released the following year from his captivity. He soon after, by surprise, fell again into the same situation, and having been discovered in carrying on an amour with the Welsh princess, the sister of Henry and the wife of Llewelyn, he suffered an ignominious death by the command of the injured husband.ⁿ

Soon after this event, three of the Welsh clergy were sent by Llewelyn under a safe conduct into England, most probably to account for the late transaction. That prince himself received a summons to appear before the king at Shrewsbury,^o who resented the act of justice lately exercised on Bruce. Instead of obeying the order, he led an army into the marches, and still pursuing his revenge laid waste the territory lately belonging to Bruce;^p then with the same fury continuing his march, no place scarcely on the marches was left free from his devastations.^q

ⁿ Math. Westm. p. 97, says, with other English writers, that he was put to death without reason. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2431. Chron. Walteri Hemingford, p. 572. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 193. Pol. Vergil, p. 298. Math. Paris, p. 307. ^o Math. Paris, p. 310. Holinshead, p. 213.

^p He was lord of Brecknock in South Wales, and of Pembre in Suffex. See Edward Lhuyd's MSS. in collection of Sir John Seabright.

^q Rymer, vol. I. p. 317.

To put a stop to these ravages, Henry came again with great celerity into the confines of Wales. On the king's approach Llewelyn retired to the mountains. Finding his presence no longer necessary, Henry left Hubert de Burgh with a body of forces to preserve the peace of the Borders.

ANOTHER party of the Welsh, hearing that the king was retired, made an incursion into the lands adjoining to the castle of Montgomery; but on their return, the English, having taken possession of a post which cut off their retreat, suddenly attacked them, and putting to the sword the greater part of their numbers, the remainder were brought into the castle as prisoners. The captives were instantly beheaded at the command of the justiciary; and the heads of these unfortunate men were sent into England as a present to Henry.^r The Welsh already began to taste the bitter fruits which they themselves had produced by a voluntary surrender of their rights; and by tamely submitting to be considered as the vassals of a foreign prince, they gave some colour of justice to the cruel spirit of their enemies.

Ann. Dom.
1231.

IT was not in the nature of the times to enter into subtle distinctions, or into a cool discussion of rights, which the timidity or weakness of the Welsh princes had often

^r Máth. Paris, p. 310. Polidore Vergil, p. 300.

brought into controversy ; it was more suited to the feelings of men, warm, irascible, and vindictive, to determine their merits, or to punish their infringement, by the more prompt decision of arms.

As soon as Llewelyn heard of the outrage lately committed on his subjects, he laid waste the English borders with fire and sword. Among other acts of ferocity that marked his progress, some ladies of distinction, venerable for their years, and several virgins of a tender age, having taken sanctuary in one of the churches, perished in the flames, the indiscriminate victims of his fury.^s In the general consternation Hubert de Burgh fled into England. Llewelyn, then, took by assault, the castle of Montgomery, the scene of the late transaction ; and, making himself master of the several fortresses of Radnor, Aberhonddu, and Rhaiadrgwy, he invested Caer Leon. After sustaining considerable loss in attempting to reduce its castle, the town was taken, and, with the church, reduced to ashes. The same fate attended the castles of Neth in Glamorganshire, and Cydweli. With a barbarity disgraceful to Llewelyn, the soldiers belonging to these garrisons all perished in the flames.^t

THIS act of retaliative justice, though severe, being reported to Henry, he applied to the Pope ; who, ever fond of weaving his own interests into the concerns of temporal

^s Welsh Chron. p. 287. Math. Paris, p. 310. ^t Annales Margan, p. 18.

princes, excommunicated Llewelyn, and his adherents^u Henry likewise ordered his vassals in Ireland to co-operate with his arms in the enterprise he had formed against Wales; offering them at the same time the alluring reward of possessing such lands as they might by their swords obtain from the Welsh.* In pursuance of this design, he convened at Oxford, an assembly of his military tenants, and the principal clergy in his kingdom; and drawing from thence an army of considerable force, he marched to Hereford.

LLEWELYN, at this time, was encamped in a meadow at a small distance from the castle of Montgomery lately recovered by the English, in a part of which field was a morass. Near to this place was an abbey of the Cistercian order. A friar of this house, who was a person of address, was directed by Llewelyn, if possible, to convey false intelligence to the garrison. Some of the soldiers, seeing the friar passing with that design under the walls, came out of the castle; and entering into conversation with him, seemed desirous of being informed of Llewelyn's situation. He told them, that the Welsh prince lay encamped in a certain meadow at no great distance, attended only by a small body of men, waiting for a reinforcement; and that he had broke down a bridge that kept the communication open for fear of a sudden attack. They then inquired if a body of horse could safely pass the morass, the

^u Math. Paris, p. 310.

* Rymer Fœdera, vol. I. p. 318.

bridge being demolished; he told them that they might not only pass with security, but likewise might defeat their enemies, or put them to flight, with an inconsiderable force. On this intelligence a party sallied out on horseback. Their approach being perceived, the Welsh, seemingly with great precipitation, retreated into a wood. This apparent flight animated the English to pursue them with eagerness; and deceived by their intelligence, the advanced party plunged deep into the morafs. Many of these were either drowned or suffocated. At this moment, the Welsh, perceiving their disorder, rushed out of the wood, and with their spears easily put to death the remainder, who, encumbered with their horses and armour, and entangled in the morafs, were incapable of making any defence.^y This disaster hastened the approach of the English army; and as it passed by the abbey, Henry, in resentment of the friars treachery, set fire to its *grange* or farm, and proceeding to do the same by the monastery itself, the abbot saved it from the intended ruin, by paying three hundred marks as a ransom. Having no other employment for his army, he rebuilt with stone the castle of Matilda; which had in former wars been demolished by the Welsh.^z

Ann. Dom.
1231.

^y Math. Paris, p. 317.

^z Cambden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 585, built by Matilda wife to William de Bruce lord of Brecknock. Math. Paris, p. 311.

IN the mean time, Llewelyn thought proper to consent to a short truce;^a on terms of reciprocal advantage, and on the footing of independent states.

IN this manner ended a campaign, which, considering the mighty engines employed, seemed to menace this ancient people with inevitable ruin.

SOME infractions of the peace having been made on the part of the English, Llewelyn sent complaints to Henry, that no satisfaction had been given him, though he himself had been ready to make reparation for any injury done by his subjects. Henry, in return, acquainted the Welsh prince that his own avocations at present did not allow him to attend to his complaints, but that he would in a season of more leisure come into the marches, and there render him full restitution for any injuries he might have sustained.^b For this purpose, a conference having been agreed on by the two princes, Llewelyn, under a safe conduct, came to Shrewsbury.^c At this meeting, the commissioners appointed

Ann. Dom
1235.

^a Rymer, vol. I. p. 319. Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 553.

^b Rymer, p. 320.

^c Ibid. p. 325.

reparation

reparation was to be made: That if any new matter of complaint should arise during the truce, the point in dispute should be finally decided by the commissioners; each prince engaging to abide by their award. In this treaty, Llewelyn was obliged to renew his homage, and to give security for preserving the peace of the English realm.^d

THE violent conduct of Henry and his ministers had at length driven many of the English barons into open revolt. Of the most considerable note were the lord Pembroke earl marechal, Gilbert Basset and his brothers, Richard Siward, and Walter de Clifford. These lords, withdrawing from the danger that threatened them, retired into Wales; and there entered into a firm league with Llewelyn; engaging each other by the most solemn ties not to make peace but with the common consent of the confederacy.^e Alarmed at this revolt, rendered formidable by an union with the Welsh prince, Henry convened his military tenants to meet him at Gloucester.^f

IN the mean time, the confederates laid desolate the marches, conveying away the cattle and other provisions.^g They likewise received an accession of strength on being joined by Hubert de Burgh the justiciary; who, having

^d Rymer, p. 327.

^e Math. Paris, p. 326, 328. Polidore Vergil, p. 301.

^f Ibid.

^g Ibid.

been persecuted to the utmost peril of his life, at this time escaped out of prison, and fled into Wales.^h Henry advanced into the enemies country as far as Hereford, but finding it entirely laid waste, and fearing lest his army might perish for want of necessary sustenance, he returned back, and remained for some days in the castle of Grosmont. But his army, encamped in the open field, was attacked in the night by the earl marshal; who finding no discipline in the camp, easily surpris'd it, putting to the sword five hundred of the English, and obliging the rest to fly with precipitation within the walls of that castle. He had likewise the good fortune to take possession of the money, provisions, carriages, and other furniture belonging to the king's army. Pembroke, in this critical moment, did not pursue his success. He gave an exalted proof of moderation and duty. Out of respect to his sovereign confined in the castle, he offered no further hostilities, but retired before break of day to a secure situation, loaded with the spoils of the camp. On this disaster, many of Henry's courtiers, having lost their military equipments, left the army, and returned into England. The king himself, amazed, confounded, and ashamed at this sudden and disgraceful blow, having first garrisoned the castles with foreign soldiers, made the best of his way to Gloucester; where he spent the Christmas holidays, in hopes

^h Math. Paris, p. 328.

Ann. Dom. that his presence on the Borders might be a means of keep-
 1233. ing the malecontents in awe.ⁱ

THE active spirit of the marshal, no longer restrained by Henry's presence, formed the design of laying siege to Monmouth. Baldwyn de Gysnes, a foreign knight of great valour, who was then in the town, had been left by Henry with a strong body of foreigners to protect the marches. Seeing the earl busy in reconnoitering the walls, attended only by one hundred knights, he sallied out at the head of a considerable part of the garrison. Pembroke had time to retire, but his high courage disdained to avoid the danger. A terrible conflict ensued, and though he exhibited extraordinary proofs of valour and prowess, such was the superior number of the enemy, that he was very near being carried off prisoner, if at that instant, Baldwyn de Gysnes had not received a wound, which being deemed mortal, the attention of the troops was diverted to the safety of their general, and gave an opportunity to the confederate army to come to the relief of the marshal.^k Nothing decisive taking place, Pembroke then invested Caermarthen; but the town being gallantly defended, he lay three months before it incapable of making any impression; and at length, a supply of provisions, and a reinforcement, being thrown into the place by sea, he was obliged to raise the siege.^l

ⁱ Math. Paris, p. 328. Polidore Vergil, p. 301.

^k Math. Paris, p. 329.

^l Welch Chron. p. 289.

IN order to divert the enemies attention, during these operations, Llewelyn made an inroad into the county of Brecknock, destroying all the towns and fortresses belonging to that territory; he then invested the castle of that name, and lay before it for a month; but, all his efforts proving fruitless, he raised the siege, and, setting fire to the town, pursued his rout into the marches; in the course of which, he burned the town of Clunn; then, demolishing Redde castle in Powis, and laying Oswestry in ashes, he returned into his own dominions; conflagration and ruin having marked his progress.^m It seems as if a treaty of peace had been in agitation during the late transactions; as Henry, in a letter to Llewelyn, complains that his commissioners, agreeably to appointment, had been at Colewent, but had not there met the deputies out of Wales. In answer to which, Llewelyn said, that his commissioners had been prevented from coming there by the floods and other impediments; declaring in the mean time that he himself would preserve the peace of the Borders, and requiring Henry on his part to do the same.ⁿ It is somewhat extraordinary, that a negotiation of so mild a nature should be carried on amidst the shock of arms, and under the irritation of deep and reiterated injuries.

Ann. Dom.
1257.

To oppose a confederacy, rising into importance by the daily accession of the English nobility, John of Monmouth,

^m Welsh Chron. p. 288.

ⁿ Rymer, vol. I. p. 328, 329.

distinguished for his valour and military talents, was appointed warden of the marches. That he might open the campaign with some eclat, he entered the confines of Wales with a considerable body of foreigners; in hopes that a sudden and vigorous impression might surprize the earl marshal; or that, by taking him off, he might strike at the root of the revolt. He so ordered his march, as to be ready to assail his enemies during the silence and darkness of the night. The spies of the earl of Pembroke having given him intelligence, he laid an ambuscade to counteract the design, by posting his troops under the cover of a wood adjoining to a road which the enemy had to pass. In this situation he waited their approach. The army of Monmouth marching in security, and little suspecting a surprize, was beset on a sudden by a part of the earl's forces, who rushing out of their cover, easily put them to flight, confounded by the darkness of the night, and the loud shouts of their assailants. Numbers were slain upon the spot, and many flying into the wood, were cut in pieces by the troops stationed there for that purpose by the marshal. John of Monmouth their general, with a few attendants, saved themselves by a precipitate flight.^o Pursuing his success, the earl marshal made severe reprisals on the estates of the king's foreign counsellors which lay on the Borders; and with keener animosity, laid waste

^o Polidore Vergil, p. 301. Math. Paris, p. 332.

the lordships that belonged to Monmouth, destroying several of his houses and villages. ^p

A FEW months after, Llewelyn and the marshal, uniting their forces, made another inroad into the marches, and having rendered all that country a scene of devastation, they ended their fiery career by laying part of the town of Shrewsbury in ashes. ^q

DURING the time that the confederates remained masters of the field, and had spread horror and conflagration through the Borders of England, Henry continued at Gloucester, timid and inactive, as though he had been an indifferent spectator of the scene. ^r The prelates, on this occasion, and the few English barons who still remained at his court, urged Henry to accommodate the dispute. Instead of listening to the salutary advice, that prince, equally vehement and weak, removed his court to Winchester; declaring he would make no peace with the marshal, unless he came with an halter about his neck, and on his knees before the throne, acknowledged himself to be a traitor. Pembroke rejected the proposal with disdain. ^s

HENRY'S ministers, in despair of subduing him by any other means than by fraud, excited the earl's vassals

^p Polidore Vergil, p. 301. Math. Paris, p. 332. ^q Math. Paris, p. 332.

^r Math. Paris, p. 332.

^s Ibid.

in Ireland to revolt, under pretence that all his estates were forfeited to the crown. Receiving intelligence of this, the earl of Pembroke went over into that kingdom, attended only by fifteen knights. In this country, by the perfidy of one of his vassals, he was taken prisoner in an action, after having maintained for a long time an unequal fight, and given extraordinary proofs of valour, his horse being hamstrung, and he himself dismounted and wounded in the back. This gallant warrior languished in confinement fourteen days, and then died by the treachery of an Irish surgeon.[†]

THE violence in the English administration was now risen to a crisis. The prelates of the realm, joined by the temporal lords, being assembled in parliament, called loudly on the king to redress their grievances, and to settle the distracted state of the kingdom.[‡] Necessity obliging him to listen to the voice of his people, Henry dismissed his foreign ministers, and sent the prelates of Canterbury, Chester, and Rochester into Wales, to treat with Llewelyn, and the English barons engaged in his cause;[§] the king himself repairing to Gloucester to be ready to forward their negociation. The prince of Wales was exceedingly averse to enter into terms of accommodation. To induce him to comply with their wishes, the prelates ventured to mingle

[†] Math. Paris, 333, 340.

[‡] Brady's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 559.

[§] Ibid.

threats with their other persuasions, and told him, that if he refused their offers of peace he would certainly draw upon his head the vengeance of the church. To this menace, Llewelyn replied, that he was more influenced by the piety of king Henry and the alms which he gave, than by the terror of his arms though aided by the whole power of his clergy. At length he consented that peace should be settled on the basis of justice and integrity; and that all the English lords, confederate with him in the war, should be taken into Henry's favour, and be re-established in their honours and estates. These conditions, however humiliating, were ratified by the king; who sent letters to all the malecontent lords to repair to him at Gloucester, where they received the kiss of peace from Henry as a pledge of his grace, and were likewise re-instated in their rights and inheritances.¹ At the same time, it is probable, to adjust some particulars left unfinished in the treaty, a safe conduct was sent to the deputies of Llewelyn to come into England.² With the justice due to historical truth, we have occasionally taken the liberty of censuring the character of Llewelyn; it is now with pleasure we contemplate a conduct that was wise, manly, and upright, which at the same time, that it gave his country a degree of unusual importance, placed him in the rank of the most distinguished of its princes.

Ann. Dom.
1234.

¹ Polidore Vergil, p. 302. Math. Paris, p. 340.

² Rymer's Fœdera, p. 332.

LLEWELYN's heart, it is probable, being dilated with the pleasure arising from the late event, he released his son Gryffydd out of prison, after six years confinement.^a

No event worthy of notice occurs at this period until the death of Madoc ap Gryffydd Maelor, lord of the lower Powis, or Powis Vadoc; he was buried in the abbey of Llan Egwest, or the Vale of Crucis, near Llangollen in Denbighshire, which he himself had erected; and left a son named Gryffydd to succeed to his territories.^b

Ann. Dom.
1236.

LLEWELYN having complained to Henry that William earl marshal had seized a castle belonging to Morgan of Caer Leon, and had taken his property and wasted his lands, the king expressed his displeasure at the injury done him; and appointed impartial persons to arbitrate in the dispute. He had already cited the marshal to appear before his commissioners, and he now summoned the Welsh prince likewise to attend, either in person or by his deputies.^c

A CONTINUATION of the truce for one year longer took place at Tewksbury, on the following conditions, that full restitution should be made to Morgan of Caer Leon for the injuries he had received since the commencement of the late

^a Welsh Chron. p. 292. ^b Ibid. p. 293.

^c Rymer's Fœdera, p. 353.

peace; that the subjects of both kingdoms should retain all their rights and estates of which they were then in possession; that on sufficient proof of any injury being sustained, restitution should be made to either party, the damage not being prior to the truce; that neither prince should receive into his protection the subjects belonging to the other; and that no new castle should be erected, or old one repaired in the marches.^d In consequence of this, a safe conduct was sent by the king to Llewelyn's commissioners to repair to Shrewsbury, and there to swear to the conditions of the truce, and also to name arbitrators, who were to act on his part with the English commissioners, with whom rested the final decision.^e

Ann. Dom.
1236.

THIS year died Joan the princess of Wales, and, agreeably to her desire, was buried upon the sea-shore at Llanvaes in Anglesey. To do honour to her brother the king of England, or as a tender memorial of his regard for this princess, Llewelyn erected over her grave a monastery of bare-footed friars; a testimony of respect to her memory, which may, in some degree, take away the stain that history has cast upon her fame.^f

Ann. Dom.
1237.

THE tranquillity of the times afforded leisure to Llewelyn, having with so much dignity settled his foreign concerns,

^d Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 564. Rymer's Fædera, p. 368.

^e Rymer's Fædera, p. 369.

^f Welsh Chron. p. 293. See note in Hist. of Gwedir family, p. 23.

to give some attention to the order and interior government of his own kingdom. He convened all the chieftains of South Wales and Powis to meet him at Stratflur; where they all renewed their oaths of allegiance, and likewise did homage to David, his son by the princess of England, in preference to his elder brother Gryffyth.^g King Henry regarded with an eye of jealousy this homage that was paid to the young prince, and sent him a summons to repair, under a safe conduct, to Worcester. About the same time, the peace was continued for a year longer on the same principles of mutual justice.^h

Ann. Dom.
1237.

LLEWELYN'S glory, which has appeared with so bright a lustre, resembles the last effort of the vital spirit, which acquiring force in the moment of its extinction, and exerting a transient vigour, is exhausted on a sudden, and sinks into dissolution. Worn out with cares and incessant action, Llewelyn was now grown old, infirm, and paralytic. In this melancholy close, hastened no doubt by his late exertions, he seems to have lost the vigour of his mind; giving up, in a moment of weakness, the great object for which, during a long reign, he had contended with so much valour and success. The desire of repose, with the eager wish of establishing his favourite son David in the succession, by thus insuring the protection of the English king, were

^g Brit. Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23;

^h Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 372, 373.

perhaps

perhaps, the motives which influenced his conduct. Whatever these were, he gave notice to Henry, that being in years, and desirous of peace, he was willing to put himself under his protection, and to hold his dominions in future as a fief of the English crown; offering at the same time, that whenever the necessities of England should call for assistance, he would be ready to furnish troops, and to give other aids, agreeably to the duties of a vassal.

THE bishops of Hereford and Chester on the part of Henry were employed in the negociation of this important concern.ⁱ So little of public virtue remained in the country, that many of the Welsh nobility were desirous of an union with England, although the independency of their nation sunk in the scale. Some nobler spirits rejected the idea with disdain, not inclined to gratify their sovereign's inclination, nor to indulge his infirmities, at the expence of the freedom of their country.^k

Ann. Dom.
1237.

THE archdeacon of St. Asaph was sent by Llewelyn into England. When he came to court, it appeared that he was not possessed of instructions or power sufficient to bring so important a business to a conclusion.

ⁱ Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 567.

^k Math. Paris, p. 368, 369. Math. Westm. p. 110.

HENRY, on this, sent letters to the lords of the marches, highly complaining of the homage that Llewelyn had caused his son David to receive; and commanding their attendance in Oxford, the truce with Wales being nearly expired. The king likewise sent a letter to the Welsh prince, expressive of resentment for his late conduct in regard to his son, and acquainting him, that if he was desirous of a lasting peace, he should send deputies to meet the council at Oxford; prohibiting him, moreover, under the penalty of forfeiture, from suffering his son to receive any more homage, until he had first performed that necessary duty to him, as his sovereign. So highly alarmed was Henry upon this point, that he wrote to the young prince his nephew, not to presume to receive any more homage until he had paid that duty to himself. The negotiation for peace extended no farther than to a continuation of the truce for another year, which was afterwards ratified by Llewelyn.¹

Ann. Dom.
1238.

IN the fulness of his father's favour, or taking advantage of his infirmities, David seized a great part of the territories belonging to his brother Gryffyd; leaving him only in possession of the cantrev of Lheyn in Caernarvonshire. This act of rapacity raised dissensions in the country, as Gryffyd possessed many qualities, which, among a people like the Welsh, were held in high estimation, being brave in

¹ Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. I. p. 379, 380.

war, tall and comely in his person; and, as the eldest son of Llewelyn, heir apparent to the crown.^m

To allay the ferment occasioned by such a division of interests, the bishop of Bangor proposed a conference between the two princes. And though Gryffydh came to the meeting in company with that prelate, and under the sanction of his character, he was seized on the road by his brother David; who confined him in the castle of Criccaeth, a fortress situated on the verge of the sea in Caernarvonshire.*

THE treatment of this popular prince excited the greatest commotion. The adherents of his person and family rose up in arms, resenting the many injuries done by David to his brother, their rightful sovereign, and whose spirit, manners and interests were congenial with those of his country. Another party espousing the cause of David, a civil war was the immediate consequence; in which, native ferocity mingling in the contest and heightening its fury, North Wales, for some time, was deluged with the blood of her own citizens.°

In this state of affairs died Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, after a reign of fifty-six years; and was buried in the abbey of

^m Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29.

ⁿ Welsh Chron. p. 298. Math. Paris, p. 470.

[°] Math. Westm. p. 118. Polidore Vergil, p. 305. Holinshed, p. 226.

Conway. He left two children by his first wife; Gryffydd, and Glwadys married to Sir Ralph Mortimer;^p by his second wife, the princess of England, he had David, who succeeded to his father's dominions.^q

Ann. Dom.
1240.

IN taking a survey of the history of this period, so full of the vicissitudes of fortune, Llewelyn ap Jorwerth comes forward a distinguished person on the stage. Possessed of many qualities which form the warrior and the great prince, we may also discern through the glimmering of the times, the smaller traits of his character; some of those finer springs which constitute in private life all that is just, tender, and amiable. But in characters the most eminent for their virtues and their talents, we shall still meet with some shades of human infirmity. The defects of Llewelyn, may, however, be considered as the vices of the times he lived in, more justly than his own. A few acts of ferocity, with too frequent a violation of treaties, and at times a want of firmness in his conduct, may in some degree injure his fame and shade his virtues, but cannot deprive him of the honour conferred upon him by the gratitude of his country, for a long life employed in its defence. His talents and virtues, with the fortunate direction of both, have given this prince the illustrious title of Llewelyn the Great.

^p Memoir of Gwedir family, p. 24, respecting Gryffydd.

^q Brit. Ant. Reviv'd by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 27, in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Lloyd of Caerwys, Flintshire.

SEVERAL causes conspired to promote the succession of David to the throne in preference to Gryffyth his elder brother. The partiality of Llewelyn to this favourite son had secured the allegiance of the Welsh nobility; the English king, as the uncle of David, would naturally support his cause, rather than that of his brother, a prince of a brave and active disposition, and popular in the country; but what gave the decisive turn in his favour was, that Gryffyth, the rival of his crown, was a prisoner at his mercy, closely confined in a solitary fortress.

Ann. Dom.

1240.

WITHIN a month after his accession, David, attended by all the barons in Wales, came to Gloucester; where having done homage to the king, a peace was concluded on the following conditions: That David should surrender his right to the principality of North Wales, as well as to such lands as had been claimed by several of Henry's vassals, excepting those of Montalto or Mould; which he was at present to retain agreeably to what had been settled between him and the seneschal of Chester. In order to adjust all matters in dispute that in future might arise, arbitrators on both sides were to be appointed, over whom the Pope's legate, as long as he resided in England, was to preside; and who was likewise to have the power of punishing by ecclesiastical censures, any infraction of the peace: Before David, or any of his vassals, could be liable to such censures, they had a right to justify themselves before the legate in any secure place

place upon the Borders; where they were bound to appear whenever they were cited, or be deemed contumacious if they neglected the summons, unless they shewed a sufficient reason for the neglect: If the legatine function should cease, then the same power of coercion by ecclesiastical censure, should be vested in the archbishops of Canterbury successively.

THE peace was concluded on these terms, and a general remission also took place of offences which either party at any time had committed.^p

SOON after, David received a summons to appear before the king in London, attended with the Welsh commissioners, in order to proceed before the legate in the business of arbitration.^q The Welsh prince, in no haste to have the arbitration proceed, or to name the referees, slighted the summons. He then received another order from Henry, to appear himself at Shrewsbury, or to send his deputies.^r To this summons he thought proper to pay obedience, and he sent commissioners accordingly to that place, where new arbitrators were appointed, and a certain time fixed, when their decision was to take place.^s

Ann. Dom.
1241.

^p Rymer, p. 389, 390. Brady, vol. I. p. 575.

^q Rymer, vol. I. p. 391. ^r Brady, vol. I. p. 578, says Worcester.

^s Rymer, p. 392. Brady, vol. I. p. 579.

THE submission of David was only to gain time. For it seems as if he had conceived the design of shaking off his dependence on the crown of England, as he had formed an alliance with the brothers of Gryffydd ap Madoc lord of the lower Powis, seducing those chiefs from their allegiance, as well as others of the Welsh tenants belonging to the English crown. He then laid waste, with fire and sword, the estates of Sir Ralph Mortimer, and others of Henry's feudatories; he retained in his own hands the estates of Hugh Vaughan and his nephews, contrary to the award of a late arbitration; and he likewise seized a vessel, on its voyage to Chester, loaded with wheat and other provisions. Upon these outrages, Henry sent the prince of Wales a peremptory letter, enumerating the grievances, and enjoining him to persuade the revolted chieftains to return to their duty, and that he should make restitution for all the injuries, which the king's subjects had received during the late infringement of the peace.¹

IN the mean time, the bishop of Bangor deeply interested himself in the safety of Gryffydd, the elder brother of David. He was also assisted in his generous design by Ralph lord Mortimer of Wigmore, who had married Glwadys the sister of the captive prince.² With much earnest solicitation they requested that he might be released

¹ Rymer, p. 395.

² Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 27.

out of prison; but all in vain; David did not dare to let loose among his people, a spirit like his brother's, popular and brave, and full of resentment for former injuries. The bishop then excommunicated David, and withdrew into England. He likewise sent his complaints to Rome, and had interest sufficient with the Pope to get the sentence confirmed, and to lay the prince's dominions under an interdict.^x

THE party was now increased which had been formed in favour of Gryffydd, who was become still more dear to the people, his situation having rendered him an object of their pity. His wife Sina, a woman of spirit and address, confederate with the bishop of Bangor, and with some of the most powerful of the Welsh nobility, entered into a negotiation with Henry, in hopes of interesting that prince in the cause of her unfortunate husband.^y The negotiation was supported with such powerful persuasions, that Henry, inclining to their interest, sent an order to David to release his brother out of captivity. This mandate the Welsh prince peremptorily refused to obey, alledging in his excuse, that if Gryffydd was set at liberty, such was his spirit, and the strength of his party, that he would raise the greatest commotions throughout Wales.^z On this refusal, the king, having been previously encouraged to come into Wales under assurances of aid by Gryffydd ap Madoc the lord of Powis,

^x Math. Paris, p. 506. Welsh Chron. p. 300. Brady, vol. I. p. 578.

^y Math. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578. ^z Ibid.

ordered

ordered his military tenants to meet him at Gloucester; and from thence he proceeded with a large army to Shrewsbury.^a During his stay at this place, which was fifteen days, many English and Welsh lords, his vassals, gave him the meeting; all of them friendly to Gryffydd, and who came to support Sina's negociation.^b

THAT lady stipulated with the king for the enlargement of her husband on the following terms; that Gryffydd should give the king six hundred marks, on condition that he caused the said Gryffydd and Owen his son to be delivered from prison; and that they should stand to the judgment of the king's court, whether by law they ought to have been imprisoned. That the said Gryffydd and his heirs should stand to the judgment of the king's court, for and concerning that portion of the inheritance of Llewelyn his father, which of right, he thought, ought to appertain unto him: the said Sina undertaking for Gryffydd and his heirs, that they should pay yearly for those lands, the sum of three hundred marks; whereof the one third part should be paid in money, the second in cattle, and the third in horses, by the estimation of indifferent men; and that the

^a Math. Paris, p. 506.

^b Ralph lord Mortimer of Wigmore, Walter Clifford, Roger de Mont Alto steward of Chester, Maelgon ap Maelgon, Meredydh ap Rotpert lord of Cydewen, Gryffydd ap Madoc lord of Bromfield, Howel and Meredydh the sons of Cynan ap Owen Gwynedh, and Gryffydd the son of Gwenwynwyn lord of Powis. Welsh Chron. p. 301.

same should be paid at Michaelmas and Easter, by even portions, into the hands of the sheriff of the county of Salop. Sina farther undertook for Gryffyd and his heirs, that they should observe the peace with David, and suffer him quietly to enjoy such portions of his father's inheritance as to him should be found to be due. She also undertook for her husband and his heirs, that in case any Welshman should hereafter rebel against the king, they at their own charges should compel the offender to make satisfaction.^c For the performance of these conditions she engaged to deliver to the king, David and Roderic her sons as pledges; with proviso, that if either Gryffyd or Owen, should happen to die before his delivery out of prison, it should be lawful for Sina to have one of her sons released, the other remaining with the king as an hostage. She likewise swore upon the holy Evangelists, that Gryffyd, and his heirs, should accomplish and perform all these premises; and she farther undertook, that Gryffyd on his delivery out of prison, should take the same oath. Sina, in the name of her husband, submitted herself, as to the observance of the premises, to the jurisdiction of the reverend fathers the bishops of Hereford and Litchfield; so that the said bishops, or either of them, at the king's request, should compel the said Gryffyd and his heirs to observe them, on pain of excommunication on their persons, and interdiction on their lands; and lastly, that her husband should

^c Brady, vol. I. p. 579.

deliver this instrument in writing to the king in the form aforesaid. To this compact both parties set their seals; Gryffydd and Sina to that part which remained with the king, and the king to that part which remained with Sina. In ratification of this treaty, the lords before-mentioned, swore fealty to the king, and pledged themselves for the punctual performance of its several articles.^d

A DEEP cloud at this time hung over Wales, and seemed to threaten with immediate ruin the declining fortunes of this people. The king of England advancing towards Chester, at the head of a large army, had entered the frontiers of their country; the approaches to it having been rendered easy by a drought, which, continuing this summer four months, had dried up all the marshes; many of the Welsh nobility were in confederacy against David, in favour of his rival and the object of his cruelty; but the circumstance above all others most likely to excite his terror, was the censure of the church, which hanging over his head, like a sword suspended in the air, left him only a precarious possession of his throne.^e David saw the storm as it gathered round him, and his resolution failing, he sent an offer to Henry to release his brother out of prison, provided he himself might be taken into favour, under all the security that hostages, and other ties could give for his

^d Matt. Paris, p. 550. Welsh Chron. p. 303. Brady, vol. I. p. 579.

^e Math Paris, p. 506.

future fidelity.^f Henry agreed to grant his nephew pardon and peace upon the terms he himself had offered, to which he added the following conditions: That David should deliver up his brother Gryffyd and his son Owen to the king: That he should stand to the judgment of the king's court, whether Gryffyd ought to be imprisoned; and also for the portion of his father's inheritance, which he claimed according to the custom of Wales, and should hold that land of the king in capite: That he should deliver to Roger de Mont Alto steward of Chester, his lands of Mold, with all their appurtenances: That he should restore to the barons all such lands, lordships, and castles as had been taken from them since the commencement of the wars between king John and his father Llewelyn: That he should defray all the charges of Henry in the last expedition: That he should make satisfaction for all the injuries done by him, or his subjects, to the king or his people: That he should restore unto him all the homages which king John had received, or ought to have received, especially from the noblemen of Wales: That the lordships of Ellesmere and Englefield should be conveyed to the king for ever: That he should not receive any of the king's subjects within the dominions of Wales, that were outlawed or banished: And lastly, under the penalty or forfeiture, and obligation of giving hostages, that he should enter into the most solemn engagements that he would never recede from Henry's ser-

^f Math. Paris, p. 506.

vice, that he would observe all his commands, and stand to the law in his courts.^g

THIS treaty was signed on the part of David, by the bishops of St. Afaph and Bangor, at Alnet on the river Elwey near St. Afaph. As a pledge of his sincerity, that he really intended to preserve the peace according to the treaty, the Welsh prince consented that the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Ely, Hereford, and Coventry, should be arbitrators between him and the king, and that he himself should be liable to their ecclesiastical censures, if, on his part, any of the articles were violated.^h

Ann. Dom.

1241.

THOUGH the treaty was signed, David was not divested entirely of his fears. He sent privately to Henry, desiring, that being his nephew, he might continue to enjoy the principality of Wales in preference to Gryffydh, who was not related to the king. He likewise insinuated, that by setting his brother at liberty, he let loose a spirit that would raise divisions in the country, and administer occasion for continual wars.ⁱ These reasons coincided but too well with the wishes and interested views of Henry. Having received Gryffydh from the hands of his brother, the king sent him, with the hostages lately given, to London in the custody

^g Math. Paris, p. 551. Brady, vol. I. p. 580. Rymer, p. 396, 397, 398.

^h Welsh Chron. p. 306. Brady, p. 580.

ⁱ Welsh Chron. p. 307. Math. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578.

of Sir John de Lerinton, with orders that that prince, and his eldest son Owen, should be confined in the tower:^k a conduct full of duplicity and meanness, and unworthy of a great monarch. The king likewise ordered a noble a day to be allowed him for his maintenance.^l

IN this situation Gryffydd was not entirely deserted by his friends. His faithful adherent the bishop of Bangor came up to court to intercede with the king for his liberty; but, humanity and justice not mingling in Henry's councils, he refused every solicitation made in his favour. After languishing two years in confinement, despairing of any other relief, this unfortunate prince attempted to make his escape, thinking any danger preferable to being shut up in a foreign prison during his life, the victim of state policy. With this design, one night, having deceived his keepers, he got out of the window, and with a line which he had made by fastening together pieces of the tapestry of his chamber, the sheets belonging to his bed, and the napkins that covered his table, he attempted to let himself down from the tower; but being a very corpulent person, after he had descended but a little way, his weight broke the line, and he fell into the ditch with such violence, that his head and neck were nearly driven into his body; in which situation he was found in the morning.^m His son Owen, and Sina his wife,

^k Welsh Chron. p. 307.

^l Holinshead, p. 228.

^m Math. Paris, p. 545. Stowe's Chron. p. 186.

who had shared in his tedious captivity, were the witnesses of this melancholy spectacle. This disaster, instead of raising Henry's pity, was a reason with that prince for treating his son with greater rigour.ⁿ The reader will feel some emotions of sorrow at the fate of this brave prince, who, in obedience to the first law of nature, thus fell a victim to a perfidious brother, and the interested views of his enemies.

A FEW months after the treaty was signed David came to the English court, and having done homage to Henry, and given him the strongest assurances of his fidelity, even under the penalty of forfeiture if he should ever rebel, he returned with a safe conduct into Wales.^o

THE Welsh nation, at this dishonourable period, was reduced to the lowest ebb of fortune; their independency gone, their prince the acknowledged vassal of England, and in appearance every spark of public virtue extinguished.

SOON after these events, the English king fortified the castle of Diferth in Flintshire. He likewise exercised the right he had lately acquired as the sovereign over Wales, by giving to Gryffydd the son of Gwenwynwyn his in-

ⁿ Ibid.

^o Math. Paris, p. 506.

heritance

heritance in Powis, and to the sons of Cynan ap Owen Gwynedh their territories in Meirionydh.^p

A NEW scene now opens to our view. The veil is drawn aside which had of late concealed from the Welsh princes the designs of the English monarch. They had vainly thought, though reduced to a state of vassalage, they should be able to retain the appearance of royalty, and some semblance of their ancient grandeur. They did not consider, that having lost the substance of power, its attendant shadow would soon disappear. That the Welsh might no longer be deluded with even the semblance of freedom, Henry, in possession already of the sovereignty, upon the death of Gryffydh the real heir to the crown, gave to his eldest son Edward the title of prince of Wales.^q At this intelligence David revolted from his allegiance, alive at last to a sense of shame for the ignominious situation of his country.

IN hopes of securing his subjects from the various oppressions of the English government, he solicited the Pope's protection, offering to hold his dominions under him as a fief of the holy see, and to pay likewise an annual tribute

^p Welsh Chron. p. 308.

^q Cambden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 695. Polidore Vergil, p. 311. British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29, 30. Welsh Chron. p. 309. See Appendix, No. 1. from Records in the Tower, Ann. 29 Henry III.

of five hundred marks ;^r concluding, that if he and his people must be the vassals of a foreign prince, it was his wisest course to yield obedience to a power that was superior to all the sovereigns in Europe. The Pope, acceding to the proposal, and having received a large sum of money from the Welsh prince, vested the abbots of Conway and Cymmer with full powers to sit as a court of inquiry, whether David was under the influence of terror or of force at the time he consented to do homage, and to be tied down to the late arbitrations. If an improper influence was found to have been the case, they were then to absolve him from the oaths and the other engagements he had taken. In the fulness of spiritual importance, the Welsh abbots summoned king Henry to appear before them at Caerwys,^s to answer the complaints that David might alledge against them. This indignity was highly resented by the king, and all the barons of England.^t But the negociation with Rome did not in the end produce any useful effect. Henry, acquainted with the venality of that court, and that he might not be baffled by so insignificant a prince as David, made larger offers ; which, agreeably to the versatile and unprincipled conduct of Rome, turned the scale in favour of the English.^u

Ann. Dom.

1245.

^r Math. Westmin. p. 139. Math. Paris, p. 552. Brady, p. 592.

^s Brady, p. 592. Welsh Chron. p. 309, says at Creythyn.

^t Math. Paris, p. 573, 617. J. Rossi, Antiq. Warwicensis, p. 162.

^u Welsh Chron. p. 309. Rymer, vol. I. p. 425, 430.

ENCOURAGED by the Pope's interference, and Henry's absence in Scotland, David made an incursion on the lands of the English lords in the marches; and by the king's command was opposed by the earl of Hereford, Thomas de Monmouth, and Roger de Mont Alto; in which enterprise, the Welsh had at first the advantage, but were at length repulsed with loss.*

THESE incursions, continuing to be carried on with terrible devastations, the king, on his return, sent Hubert Fitz Mathew, with three hundred horse to co-operate with the lords of the marches.^y Before his arrival, the Welsh had routed the forces of the earl of Hereford and Ralph de Mortimer; the former lord having in some measure been the cause of the insurrection, by detaining from David a certain district of land, the property of his wife.^z These disasters alarmed king Henry, and created great indignation among the English. But his finances were so much exhausted, and his credit so low, that the parliament refused him the means of carrying on the war;^a thinking, probably, that the Welsh were neither much to be blamed, nor, if allowed to remain unmolested, much to be feared.

* Math. Paris, p. 562. Polidore Vergil, p. 308, says, that in this enterprise David lost the greater part of his army, and that he repaired to Scotland, to incite that prince to turn his arms against Henry.

^y Math. Paris. p. 569.

^z Ibid.

^a Brady, vol. I. p. 592.

SOME time after, a party of the Welsh was drawn into an ambush by the constable of Montgomery castle, and three hundred of them cut in pieces.^b To revenge this loss, David fell with great fury on the estates of the English lords upon the Borders. This inroad was opposed by Hubert Fitz Mathew, at the head of the militia belonging to the marches. That general, breathing the spirit of revenge, and unacquainted with the country, soon led the English army into a difficult situation, in which they were suddenly attacked by the Welsh, who were posted on the heights adjacent, and from thence much annoyed their enemies by a shower of stones, arrows, and darts. In this rude encounter, Hubert Fitz Mathew was killed by a large stone rolled down from the mountains. The English, dispirited by the loss of their leader, retreated with precipitation out of the country. Taking advantage of the general consternation, the prince of Wales then laid siege to the castle of Mold, which he took by storm, and put all the soldiers he found in it to the sword; the owner, Roger de Mont Alto, escaped the danger, not being in the castle at the time it was taken.^c

DAVID was now summoned to appear, with all the barons of Wales, in the king's court at Westminster, to do homage, and to answer for the depredations which they had lately committed.^d About twenty of the Welsh nobility made

^b Math. Paris, p. 575.

^c Ibid. p. 576.

^d Ibid.

their appearance. Instead of obeying the summons, the prince appears to have amused the English court with a treaty; which having miscarried, the most formidable preparations were made by Henry for the entire conquest of the country.^e

THE revolt now wore a most serious aspect. The English parliament therefore, not only gave the necessary supplies, but thought proper that the king should in person go into Wales, to give an early check to David's career, and to punish the rebellion of an insolent vassal. It was on this occasion, that an extraordinary assessment of forty shillings for every knight's fee took place, called the scutage of Gannock.^f Summonses were sent to all the barons and others who held of the king by knights service and serjeantry to be ready to march into Wales, or to send thither their services.^g Orders were likewise sent to Henry's justiciary in Ireland, that a diversion should be made from thence on the island of Anglesey;^h and for that purpose he was to provide the choicest soldiers; he was also to furnish the necessary provisions for the army employed in the Welsh expedition.ⁱ

It was about the middle of August that Henry entered the confines of Wales. By that time, the Irish had made a

^e Rymer, p. 427—431.
^f Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 82, from Rotul. Pip. 30 Hen. III. Oxon.

^g Rymer, p. 433. Brady, vol. I. p. 591.

^h Welsh Chron. p. 310.

ⁱ Rymer, p. 431.

descent on Anglesey, and had dreadfully ravaged that island;^k but not being properly supported by the English king, who had been too slow in his movements, they were assailed by the inhabitants, when loaded with plunder, and were driven back to their ships.^l

Ann. Dom.
1245.

THE English army was too powerful for David to resist in the open field; he therefore retired into the mountains of Snowdon, leaving Henry's march open and unmolested, till he had advanced to the arm of the sea, opposite to Conway. Not daring to pass that river, and enter into the mountainous recesses of the country, the enemy unseen and in flying parties hovering around him, Henry halted his troops; though determined that the expedition should not be rendered entirely fruitless.

ON the point of a promontory that projects into the sea, were the ruins of an ancient fortification, once a Roman station, and which had been afterwards a fortress belonging to the Welsh, called Diganwy, and an occasional residence of their earlier princes. Thinking this a proper situation, the king began to erect a castle, the garrison of which might be able to intercept the Welsh whenever they made incursions into England.^m

^k Math. Paris, p. 599.

^l Welsh Chron. p. 310.

^m Math. Paris, p. 597. Henry de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, p. 2443.

IT is not to be supposed that the Welsh remained unconcerned spectators of a transaction of so hostile a nature; which if suffered to be completed, would prove the deadly dart that would remain and rankle in the bosom of their country.

DURING the ten weeks that Henry employed in building this fortress, his army, which lay encamped in the open field, was exposed to many inconveniences. The weather growing exceedingly cold towards the close of the year, the soldiers suffered much by being thinly clad, having no other covering than a garment made of linen; the army likewise was at times greatly straitened for provisions, receiving only a precarious supply from Chester and Ireland; they were also much harassed, and their numbers reduced, by the incessant attempts which the Welsh made in the night, to cut off their straggling parties,ⁿ and to break up their camp.

DURING this time, a vessel loaded with provisions arrived out of Ireland, and, by the negligence of the mariners, was run aground at the ebb of the tide, on the shore next to Snowdun. This being seen by the Welsh, they ran to take possession of the prize, by this time laid dry on the strand;

ⁿ In one of these conflicts, the English having the advantage, they brought in triumph to their camp, the heads of nearly one hundred Welshmen. See Math. Paris, p. 598.

but

but the vessel was gallantly defended by Sir Walter Bisset, till a reinforcement came across the river to his relief; who, driving away the assailants, pursued them six miles, with great slaughter, into the country. The English party, on their return, flushed with success, pillaged of its books and furniture the abbey of Conway, a religious house of the Cistercian order: they then set fire to all the offices. On seeing the flames, the Welsh, with a rage that bordered upon frenzy, ran down from the mountains to preserve that venerable pile, the object of their piety, and which had lately become the *mausolæum* of their princes. Finding the English overloaded with spoils, they slew a great number, and wounded others; and many soldiers, to avoid their fury, plunged into the Conway, and perished in the water: besides those who were drowned, several gentlemen of rank, and about one hundred common persons, fell by the sword. The soldiers taken alive were lodged in confinement; but the Welsh, informed that their enemies had lately put to death some lords of their nation, ordered all the prisoners to be hanged; then, cutting off their heads, and, with a barbarous rage, tearing their dead bodies in pieces, they threw them into the Conway water. Some colour of justice was indeed given to this act of ferocity, many of them being Welshmen, who, under the command of the lords of Powis,^o had joined the enemies of their country.^p The vessel before-

^o Welsh Chron. p. 311.

^p Math. Paris, p. 597, 598, 599. This account is given by an English lord serving at that time in Henry's army.

mentioned,

mentioned, still aground, was again violently assaulted, and as bravely defended, till midnight, by Sir Walter Biffet; when, on the flowing of the tide, the Welsh were obliged to retire. During the night, this party was released from their post, and leaving the ship, escaped to the English camp. In the morning, it being then low water, the Welsh returned to the vessel, and finding her deserted, carried away almost all the wine, and the rest of the cargoe. Having so far secured this valuable prize, a part of which consisted of fifty-three tons of wine, they set fire to the ship, and made good their retreat. Seven tons only were saved by the English, who drew them out of a part of the vessel which had not been consumed.

HAVING at length finished the important fortrefs of Gannock, in the face of the Welsh, and against all the efforts they had used to prevent it, Henry left there a numerous garrison; and unable to continue any longer for want of provisions, and the winter being near, he returned at the end of October, with the remainder of his army, into England.^a

Ann. Dom.
1245.

AFTER the king's departure, many causes conspired to render the situation of the Welsh deplorable. No party could move towards the Cheshire frontier, but they were liable to be cut off by the garrison of the new castle of Gannock. Anglesey, the granary of Wales, had been so entirely laid

^a Math. Paris, 597, 598, 599.

waste by the Irish, that no advantage could be derived from thence; nor could they be supplied with provisions from other parts, as orders had been given by the English king in the marches and in Ireland, that, on pain of death, no merchandize whatever, or victuals should be carried into Wales.^r He likewise ordered all the salt works to be destroyed in the country.^s What heightened still more the public distress, the territories of the Welsh prince were now reduced to Mierionydh and the present Caernarvonshire, and to the barren parts of the adjoining counties; and, besides the usual inhabitants, it is probable, those mountains were now crowded with people who had fled out of the valleys for protection. In such a situation, the Welsh seemed to have had no alternative but famine, or submission to Henry's authority.^t

IN this season of common calamity, the rage of contending parties was for a time suspended; and the Welsh nobility, no longer retaining animosity against each other, gave their prince the strongest assurances of perpetual allegiance." But their offers of aid, or vows of fidelity, had no power of affording relief to David; the miseries of his country, and the prospect that was opening on it had broken his spirit; and, a few months after, sinking under the weight of sorrow, lamented by his subjects, and rising in their esteem,

Ann. Dom.
1246.

^r Rymer, vol. I. p. 440. Math. Paris, p. 599. ^s Math. Paris, p. 599.

^t Ibid. p. 600. ^u Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 268.

he died^x at Aber, a palace in which he usually resided in Caernarvonshire. This prince left no issue, and was buried in the abbey of Conway.^y

WE have now seen the Welsh nation subject to the most distant extremes of fortune. Their annals, in rapid succession, are marked with striking vicissitudes. Influenced by sudden, and often by hidden springs, we have seen them, by exerting their united strength, rising up to the height of prosperity; and then, from causes equally capricious, falling, in a moment, into disunion and vassalage.

^x Math. Paris, p 608, 610.

^y Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 268.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK VIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF OWEN AND LLEWELYN THE SONS OF GRYFFYD AP LLEWELYN, TO THE DEATH OF LLEWELYN THE LAST PRINCE OF NORTH WALES.

ON the death of the late prince, the Welsh nobility chose Owen and Llewelyn joint sovereigns of North Wales. These young princes were the sons of Gryffydd, who some years before had been killed by attempting to escape out of the tower of London.^a

Ann. Dom.
1246.

OWEN had shared in the captivity of his father, but was afterwards taken into Henry's favour, and highly carested in the English court. Receiving intelligence of the late events, he withdrew suddenly out of England, and fortunately effected his escape into Wales.^b The young

^a Welsh Chron. p. 314.

^b Math. Paris, p. 608.

prince Llewelyn, before his accession to the throne, had resided at Maefmynan near Caerwys in Flintshire; and possessed, as the patrimony which he had received from his father, the cantrevs of Englefield, Dyffryn-Clwyd, Rhos, and Rhovonioc; all of which he had held in opposition to his uncle David, and the English monarch.^c

OPPRESSED by the hated laws of England, the Welsh, at this time, had neither opportunity nor spirit, to carry on commerce, nor to cultivate their lands, and in consequence were perishing by famine: they were likewise deprived of the usual pasturage for their cattle: and, to recite the words of an old writer, “the harp of the churchmen is changed into sorrow and lamentations: their high and ancient renown is faded.”^d

IN this situation, the two princes thought proper to conclude a peace with the English king, on the severe conditions of yielding up for ever the cantrevs of Rhos, Rhyvonioc, Dyffryn-Clwyd, and Englefield, being all the country from the frontier of Cheshire to the water of Conway.^e They were likewise obliged to serve in Wales, or in the

^c Hist. Gwedir family, p. 28.

^d The bishop of St. Davids, is said, at this time, to have died of grief, and the bishop of Llandaf to have been stricken blind: the bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph, likewise, on their bishopricks being entirely ruined, were under the necessity of supplicating alms, as a means of subsistence. Vide Math. Paris, p. 642.

^e Cynwy or Chief Water.

marches,

marches, with one thousand foot and twenty-four horse, armed and well appointed at their own expence, whenever they were called upon ; but with five hundred infantry only when the service should require that duty to be performed in any other place : The homage and services of all the barons in Wales were to remain with the kings of England for ever : If there should be any infringement of the peace on the part of the Welsh princes, an entire forfeiture of their territories was to be the consequence : For these concessions, after the princes had done homage, Henry granted them a full pardon, and the enjoyment of the residue of North Wales, to be held under the crown of England for ever.^f

Ann. Dom.
1247.

AT this time, the country from Chester to the river Conway, which had been given by Henry as an appennage to prince Edward, was let out to farm to Alan de Zouch an English baron, for eleven hundred marks.^g He superseded John de Grey, who was to have held it for the lesser sum of five hundred.^h The Welsh likewise early tasted another bitter fruit of their subjection ; a talliage having been laid on all that territory which had lately been ceded in Wales, to defray the expence of Henry's intended expedition into the Holy Land.

Ann. Dom.
1251.

FOR some years the Welsh nation, dispirited and inactive, had lost with their freedom every trace of their national cha-

^f Rymer, p. 443. ^g Brady, vol. I. p. 605. ^h Math. Paris, p. 705.

Inter. Communia. Trin. Term. 36 Hen. III.

racter,

rafter, till the demon of difcord, reviving their fpirit and genius, called it once more into action.

OWEN, the eldeft of the reigning princes, not enduring a partner in the throne, drew in David his younger brother to engage with him in hoftilities againft Llewelyn. The two brothers, in confequence of this, took the field with a confiderable force, and fighting with Llewelyn, their army, after a long and fevere engagement was routed, and they, themfelves, taken prifoners and lodged in confinement, leaving to that prince the fole poffeffion of what remained of this mutilated kingdom.*

THE eyes of the Welch nobility were at length opened, a ferief of injuries had awakened them into a fenfe of their loft condition. The nobility of North and South Wales reforted to Llewelyn, and complained of the grievances they daily endured from prince Edward, and from the lords of the marches; that their eftates were taken from them by force, without any colour of juftice; and that they were treated with feverity whenever they committed the fmalleft offence; but that they themfelves could obtain no redrefs for any injury done them by the Englifh.¹ In the moft folemn manner, and with an affected, though manly fpirit, they declared, that they would rather die in the field in defence

* Welch Chron. p. 319. Annales Burton, p. 386.

¹ Welch Chron. p. 320.

of their natural rights, than be subject any longer to so cruel and oppressive an enemy. Virtue, necessity, and despair influenced Llewelyn to second their ardour. They all determined to rescue their country from its vile dependence on England, or bravely to perish amidst the ruins of its freedom.^m

Ann. Dom.
1255.

WHEN men meet to deliberate, with a resolution to revolt, a decisive conduct should then take place of feeble and temporising measures. The conduct of Llewelyn, on this occasion, was equally rapid and decisive. He recovered by a sudden movement Meirionydh, and the inland country of North Wales lately ceded to Henry; and also such lands in Caerdigan as were in the possession of prince Edward; and the district of Gwerthryneon the property of Sir Roger Mortimer.

THE summer following he made an incursion into Powis, and subdued a great part of the territory that belonged to Gryffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, to revenge the baseness of his conduct in taking part with the English king. With a spirit, that marked a liberal and penetrating mind, the prince of Wales divided among the chiefs, his associates in the war, the lands he had conquered. It was certainly right in Llewelyn, having put his life and his crown to hazard, to secure the attachment of interested chieftains by such an act of princely munificence.

^m Math. Paris, p. 306.

HEARING of the revolt, Henry sent a large army by sea to the assistance of his vassals in South Wales, which, having laid siege to the castle of Dinevawr, was defeated, with the loss of two thousand men, by the forces of Llewelyn. After this success, the Welsh army burned and laid waste the country of Dyvet, destroying the castles of Abercorran, Llanstephan, Maenclochoc, and Arberth; and then returned with the spoils they had taken into North Wales.^m

Ann. Dom.
1256.

IT is not to be supposed, that Edward, a prince of the age of seventeen, full of fire and ambition, would see without emotion the progress of Llewelyn, and the many valuable territories, which that prince, his rival in glory, had lately torn from him. His father being unwilling, or what is more likely, unable to assist him with money, the young prince applied to his uncle the earl of Cornwall, who lent him four thousand marks to carry on the war. But the heavy rains which fell during the winter, raised the rivers so much, as to overflow the marshes, whence the progress he made against the enemy was very inconsiderable, and bore no proportion to his spirit, or his thirst after fame.ⁿ

Ann. Dom.
1257.

THE Welsh, exposed to the rapacity of a Farmer General, and their country often sold to the best bidder, experienced about this time another severe cause of complaint. Sir

^m Welsh Chron. p. 320, 321.

ⁿ Math. Paris, p. 805.

Geoffry de Langley^o had been appointed to superintend that district which lies between Chester and the Water of Conway, and to collect, in behalf of prince Edward, the revenue lately imposed upon the inhabitants of that country.^p The rigour with which he exacted this talliage raised among the Welsh the greatest uneasiness. Against every principle of justice and prudence prince Edward also attempted to introduce, on a sudden, the English laws into this part of Wales;^q and in order to give them proper force and effect, he endeavoured to establish courts of justice in every hundred, and in every county.^r The design spread a general alarm. Horror, and the keenest indignation were excited, when the Welsh saw an odious and foreign jurisdiction rising into a system on the ruins of their ancient laws; objects which they loved with a tender affection, and revered with a pious enthusiasm, as the types of their former glory, and the only remaining vestige of the British empire. Private injury and partial oppression had hitherto met with partial resentment. But there is a certain degree of oppression that will urge into resistance even men who are cowards by nature, and lost to every sentiment of virtue. What efforts then might not be expected from the Welsh; a people, brave and irascible, who were bred on their mountains the indigenous children of freedom?

^o Brady, p. 721, 810. It is probable that he succeeded Alan de Zouch, who had brought into England much treasure in carts out of Wales.

^p Math. Paris, p. 805. Brady, p. 620.

^q Brady, p. 605.

^r Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 110, from Chron. Dunstaple, p. 321.

Ann. Dom.
1257.

THE Welsh joined Llewelyn in such numbers, that he soon raised a very formidable force, equipt in all points, and armed agreeably to the custom of the country. For the greater ease of procuring provisions, he divided it into two bodies, each of which consisted of thirty thousand men, attended likewise by a squadron of five hundred horse, elegantly appointed and entirely covered with armour. With this formidable force, the Welsh prince laid waste the frontier on each side of the river Dee to the gates of Chester.^s The prince of England, unable to resist the impetuosity of this multitude, retreated to his uncle the king of the Romans. By his means having augmented his forces, he returned into Wales, but was still too weak to encounter, or even to give any check to the progress of the Welsh army, though he had lately been joined by Gryffydh ap Madoc, the lord of the lower Powis, who resided in the castle of Dinas-Bran near Llangollen.^t

THE natives of South Wales animated with the same generous spirit, had joined in the common cause.^u In support of this union, Llewelyn made an inroad into that country, and making himself master of two castles, and of several districts belonging to the enemy, he returned towards North Wales; but was met in the course of his march by the prince of England, who, attempting to oppose his pro-

^s Chron. Thomas Wyke, p. 50. Math. Paris, p. 805, 806, 810.

^t Welsh Chron. p. 321.

^u Holinshed, p. 255.

gress,

grefs, received a considerable check, and was obliged to retire before the Welsh army. After this, Llewelyn laid waste the territories of Gryffyd ap Madoc, in resentment of his late conduct.

THE vanity of Edward was wounded at the disgrace his arms had lately received, an affront which he never forgave; and if his spirit and ambition prompted him to the conquest of the country, he was equally spurred on by pride and resentment against Llewelyn, his rival for fame. In the situation of the two princes it was not likely the dispute would be of long continuance, it must soon cease by the ruin or death of one of the competitors.

AT this time, the king of the Romans, desirous of mediating between the two hostile powers, wrote to the prince of Wales, mildly requesting, that he would desist from making any farther depredations. But Llewelyn, taking advantage of the rainy season, and knowing the marshes were inaccessible,* instead of retiring from the field, laid siege to the castle of Gannock, on the attainment of which he must know the fate of his country would in a great measure depend. Alarmed for the safety of this important fortress, Henry, who had hitherto been an unconcerned spectator, resolved to go into Wales, and in

* Math. Paris, p. 810. Welsh Chron. p. 321.

person to conduct a war which had proved so unprosperous under the conduct of his son. With this view, he sent orders to his vassals in Ireland to make a descent upon Anglesey, that by despoiling that island, he might dry up the source from whence the Welsh had usually received a great part of their sustenance. He summoned all his military tenants in the north, and the middle of England, to meet him on the eleventh of August at Chester; he likewise appointed those of the west to assemble at Bristol, with orders to invade South Wales, under the command of the earl of Gloucester; in hopes, that by entering the country in several places, and in different divisions, he might distract the attention of the enemy, and divide their force.^y On the advance of the English, Llewelyn raised the siege, and retired across the river into Snowdun; having taken the precaution to break down the bridges, obstruct the roads, and remove the women, children, and cattle, with all the provisions, out of the adjacent country.^z Henry did not dare to penetrate that formidable barrier; though he was enabled to remain in his post till Michaelmas, by means of a fleet belonging to the Cinque Ports which supplied his army with provisions. His measures had been wisely planned, and this campaign might have given the fatal blow to the independence of Wales, if Henry's orders had been obeyed with fidelity. The English army in South Wales,

^y Welsh Chron. p. 322. Math. Paris, p. 817. Rymer, p. 636.

^z Math. Paris, p. 817.

instead of making a diversion in his favour, had remained inactive; not without suspicion of treason falling on the earl of Gloucester the general.^a Llewelyn no sooner heard of the intention of the Irish of making a descent on Anglesey, than he sent out some vessels to intercept them; by which their fleet was defeated, and forced back into Ireland.^b In this situation, the winter coming on, and having suffered much by a furious attack which the Welsh had made from the mountains, Henry once more left the field to Llewelyn; and instead of punishing a revolting vassal, he himself was obliged to make a precipitate, and inglorious retreat to Chester, with the shattered remains of his army.^c

IF disgrace and discomfiture attended Henry's retreat into England, Llewelyn likewise had his share of disappointment. He had been flattered with the expectation of receiving support out of Scotland; a party in that kingdom having engaged by treaty, that as soon as the Welsh were in the field, they would make a diversion in their favour, by invading the northern borders of England.^d This design being defeated, by a sudden and decisive measure of Henry's,^e the prince of Wales found himself left, unsupported by any confederate, to sustain the unequal pressure of the war.

^a Chron. Dunstaple, p. 325, 326.

^b Math. Paris, p. 815. Welsh Chron. p. 322.

^c Polidore Vergil, p. 313. ^d Brady, vol. I. p. 623.

^e Ibid.

THIS consideration, together with the miserable state of his dominions, and the injury that had arisen to his subjects from their having been of late deprived of commerce, inclined Llewelyn to put an end to their calamities by a peace, which should be grounded on reasonable concessions. With the consent of his chieftains, he made proposals, if a peace was concluded, and the Welsh were restored to their ancient laws, to give a sum of money to Henry, and to acknowledge his sovereignty; but utterly rejected the idea of allegiance, as a duty he owed to prince Edward. The English king did not accede to the proposal.^f It was not likely that the young prince Edward would be inclined to relinquish such valuable territories, and the royal dignity with which he had been lately invested. The peculiar reluctance that the Welsh expressed to the sovereignty of Edward, amidst other motives of conquest, may account for the cruel and vindictive spirit with which, in the subsequent periods of his life, he pursued this unfortunate nation. On this refusal, hostilities continued through the winter.

LLEWELYN, having summoned to his aid all the chieftains in South Wales who were his military vassals, came into the marches and took possession of Powis. He banished out of the country Gryffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, one of these chieftains; and received the submission of the other Gryffydh the lord of Dinas-Bran; who perceiving the fortunes

^f Math. Paris, 819. Brady, p. 622.

of England sinking in the scale, thought it prudent to return to the duty he had long deserted, and to court the protection of his natural sovereign.^s Llewelyn then fell with great fury on the estates of the earl of Gloucester, gained several castles belonging to that nobleman; and overthrew, with considerable loss, a party of English who ventured to oppose him.^h

To crush this revolt, now raised to a formidable head, Henry once more came in person against Llewelyn; but as if disgrace, and misfortune attended his banners, having only penetrated a little beyond Chester, he was obliged to retire with loss into England; gaining no other fruits in this inglorious expedition, than the satisfaction of destroying the corn as he marched through the country.ⁱ

Ann. Dom.
1257.

EARLY in the spring a confederacy was formed by all the nobility in Wales, who, having sworn fealty^k to Llewelyn, renewed their engagements, under the most solemn ties, to vindicate at every peril their injured liberties and laws. By this union, princes may be taught the danger of tearing up by the roots those habits that are grown venerable by time, and that by long usage are become dear to a people.^l

Ann. Dom.
1258.

^s Welsh Chron, p. 322. Math. Paris, p. 818.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ Math. Paris, p. 819, 820.

^k British Ant. Reviv. p. 23.

^l Math. Paris, p. 818. Welsh Chron. p. 323.

THE late events had given a fortunate turn to affairs. The present prosperity of the Welsh, the spoils they had taken from the enemy, the general confederacy which had been formed, and the return of Gryffydh ap Madoc to his allegiance, had diffused through every breast the hopes of better days. To raise these hopes into pious confidence, Llewelyn addressed his followers in this consolatory and animating language. “ Thus far,” said he, “ the Lord
“ God of hosts hath helped us; for it must appear to all that
“ the advantages we have obtained are not to be ascribed to
“ our own strength, but to the favour of God, who can as
“ easily save by *few* as by *many*. How should we a poor,
“ weak, and unwarlike people compared with the English,
“ dare to contend with so mighty a power if God did not pa-
“ tronize our cause? His eye hath seen our affliction, not
“ only those injuries we have suffered from Geoffry de Lang-
“ ley, but those also which we have received from other cruel
“ instruments of Henry and of Edward. From this moment
“ our *all* is at stake. We are to expect no mercy if we fall
“ into the hands of the enemy. Let us then stand firm by
“ each other. It is our union alone that can render us invin-
“ cible. You see how the king of England treats his own
“ subjects, how he seizes their estates, impoverishes their fa-
“ milies, and alienates their minds. Will he then spare *us*,
“ after all the provocations we have given him, and the farther
“ acts of hostility and revenge which we meditate against him?
“ No, it is evidently his intention to blot out our name from
“ under

“ under the face of heaven. Is it not better then at once to
 “ die, and go to God, than to live for a while at the caprici-
 “ ous will of another, and at last to suffer some ignominious
 “ death assigned us by an insulting enemy.” Animated by
 this oration, the Welsh infested the English Borders with
 incessant inroads; in the course of their ravages, by fire,
 by the sword, and by plunder, they rendered the frontier a
 scene of desolation.^m

THE confederates then made an inroad into Pembroke-
 shire, and laid waste that country; they likewise in this
 expedition had the good fortune to meet with salt, a conve-
 nience they had much wanted ever since their brine works
 had been destroyed by Henry.ⁿ Notwithstanding the spirit
 which had of late arisen among the chieftains, the calamities
 of his country still inclined the Welsh prince to renew his
 proposals for peace. The English king acceded to the terms
 offered by Llewelyn, and agreed to a truce for one year.^o
 His situation rendered a peace equally necessary to him.
 He, at this time, was deeply entangled in disputes with
 his barons: the country, along the marches of England,
 had been ruined by the ravages of war: the whole con-
 fine was become a desert, without buildings, cattle, or
 inhabitants.^p

^m Math. Paris, p. 819.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 818. Welsh Chron. p. 323.

^o Rymer, vol. I. p. 658.

^p Math. Paris, p. 822. Holinhead, p. 257.

IT may raise our surprize, that a prince like Llewelyn, possessing vigour of mind and decision in conduct, at a time when England was weak and internally convulsed, did not take advantage of this fortunate juncture, and of the rising spirit of his country, to fix on a permanent basis, by wise measures and decisive operations, its newly recovered independence. The spirit of a people, however ardent at first, and rising from the spur of oppression, will insensibly die away, if not kept alive by a course of activity and enterprise; and he might have known, that its extinction, like that of the vestal fire, would be the omen of his country's ruin.

MEREDYDH AP RHYS of South Wales, not regarding the oath he had lately taken, revolted from the Welsh confederacy, and engaged in the service of the English king.¹

IN order to confirm or enlarge the late truce, or to settle a peace upon a lasting basis, prince Edward sent Patrick de Canton, attended by the late revolted chief, into Wales, to confer on that business at Emlyn with the Welsh commissioners. David the brother of the prince of Wales, lately released out of prison, appeared with the other deputies in behalf of Llewelyn. The English commissioner having understood that his own followers were superior in number to the Welsh, could not refrain from indulging the detestation in which he held that nation. To gratify this

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 323.

malignant spirit, he placed his men in a convenient situation upon the road, and suddenly beset Llewelyn's commissioners, putting many of them to the sword; the chiefs only escaping the perfidy of the English by a precipitate flight. Fired with resentment, David, with the chieftains who attended him, having raised the country, severely revenged this perfidious conduct, by cutting in pieces Patrick and a great number of his followers. Nothing so strongly marks the animosity of the English, and the feeble hold which the claims of the Welsh had on the justice of Henry, as when we see that prince, instead of vindicating the honour of his crown, in punishing so flagrant a violation of national faith, affecting to shew resentment for so just and natural a retaliation.

SUCH however was the desire that the Welsh prince had for peace, or such the situation of his affairs, that he made fresh proposals to Henry for a truce; and more effectually to conciliate his favour, he offered to give the king four thousand marks, three hundred to his son Edward, and two hundred to the queen.^r The late affair, with a sense of former losses, had so exasperated Henry, that he at first refused to hear of any accommodation. At length a truce was settled for a year, and ratified by the commissioners of the two princes at the Ford of Montgomery.^s

Ann. Dom.
1259.

^r Math. Paris, p. 841.

^s Welsh Chron. p. 324. Rymer, p. 684.

THE spirit of patriotism which so lately animated every bosom, and which afforded a ray of hope that the sufferings of this injured people would at length find a period, appears, at this time, to be nearly extinguished. The bishop of Bangor was sent by Llewelyn, at the desire of the Welsh nobility, to solicit peace from Henry; and to offer that prince sixteen thousand pounds weight of silver, provided his subjects might enjoy their ancient customs and laws, and have all their disputes heard, and legally determined at Chester.¹ In this negociation; nothing farther was concluded than the continuation of the truce for one year, which was ratified by the commissioners of the two princes at Oxford.²

Ann. Dom.
1260.

SIR Roger Mortimer governor of the castle of Buellt, under prince Edward, in pursuance of a summons, attended his duty in the English parliament.

UNDER the alledged reason, that contrary to his oath that lord had supported the English cause, Llewelyn, in his absence, surpris'd in the night the fortrefs of Buellt, in breach of the truce then subsisting; and continuing his rout into South Wales, after committing great depredations, he returned into his own dominions.³ Insinuations on this account being thrown out against Sir Roger's conduct, who was a near relation to Llewelyn, it was thought necessary

Math. Westm. p. 148. Welsh Chron. p. 325. Holinshead, p. 261.
¹ Rymer, p. 708. ² Welsh Chron. p. 325. Rymer, p. 705.

that

that some inquiry should be made into that affair. Accordingly he was called before the English council, where he was fully acquitted, though very much to the dissatisfaction of prince Edward, who, in the council, formally entered his protest against it.^y

To check this rising spirit of revolt, and to chastise the Welsh for the late infraction of the peace, summonses were sent to the earls of Hereford and Gloucester, to assemble on a certain day at Shrewsbury with their followers. The like notices were also sent to all the tenants who held of the king in capite, in the several counties of York, Lancaster, Rutland, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick and Leicester, to form a junction at Chester, and from thence to assist in carrying on the war. The thunders of the church were likewise pointed at the head of Llewelyn. That prince was excommunicated, and his kingdom put under an interdict, in default of immediate restitution and reparation of damages.^z This formidable army was commanded by Simon de Montford earl of Leicester. That general, finding the summer too far advanced to pursue his operations, or it is probable, from some secret motives of his own, advised the court of England to grant a peace to Llewelyn; he likewise did not prevent the Welsh prince at the same time from committing depredations in South Wales.^a

^y Rymer, p. 706, 707, 708.

^z Ibid. p. 708.

^a Rymer, vol. I. p. 709, 710, 711. Guthrie's English Hist. p. 789.

Ann. Dom.
1261.

It is asserted, that Llewelyn dispersed the rising storm, by disavowing the fact which gave occasion to the war, and by employing the bishop of Bangor to solicit a renewal of the truce.^b It is certain, however, that a truce was settled for one year longer between the two princes at the Ford of Montgomery. In this treaty, the conditions of peace concluded at Oxford were ratified: That each party should keep possession of their lands, vassals, and castles: That the fords should not be stopped, nor any other communication, nor the woods be cut down; and that the castles of Gannock and Diferth, then in possession of the English, should be supplied with provisions as occasion might require.^c It is worthy of remark, that two sets of commissions were issued, to the same effect, and in the same words; except that in the one, the name of prince Edward was joined to that of his father; but in the other commission his name was omitted. This was probably owing to an idea, that as the Welsh had conceived much jealousy of, and dislike to the young prince, the insertion of his name, as a contracting party, might be some impediment to the treaty.^d

A PARTY of the Welsh having taken and destroyed the castle of Melienyth in Radnorshire, belonging to Sir Roger Mortimer; that nobleman came with a great body of lords and knights; and having taken possession of it, posted him-

^b Rymer, vol. I. p. 718.

^c Ibid.

^d Carte's Hist. England. Guthrie's Hist. England.

self within its ruins. In this situation, he was suddenly invested by Llewelyn. Finding his post untenable, Mortimer sent to the Welsh prince for licence to evacuate the castle. It was a strange request for an open enemy, or a suspected traitor to make. With a gallantry of spirit, which might have been derived from the purest ideas of chivalry, Llewelyn allowed him to depart out of the dismantled fortrefs without any molestation. The prince of Wales then proceeded to Brecknock, at the request of the inhabitants of that country; and having received their oaths of fidelity, he returned to Aber under *Penmaen Mawr*, a palace between Conway and Bangor, in which he occasionally resided.^e

Ann. Dom.
1261.

THE truce appears to have been continued between the two nations on principles of equal justice, and on the footing of independent states.^f These treaties successively renewed, did not result so much from any moderation in English politics, as from the nature of Henry's government, which was weak, and in great disorder.

Ann. Dom.
1262.

AT this time Henry was sick in France. The earl of Leicester then attending the king, and who had been deeply engaged in opposition to that prince, taking advantage of his illness, passed over into England, to reanimate his party,

^e Welsh Chron. p. 325, 326. Cambden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 585.

^f Rymer, p. 739, 750.

and

and to take measures for renewing the troubles of the nation.^g Though the earl did not stay long in the country, he seems in that time, to have formed the confederacy, which, it is universally agreed, he entered into with the prince of Wales.^h The effects of this treaty were of great moment, though of less importance than might have been expected, if Llewelyn had waited till time had fully ripened the enterprize.

THE Christmas holidays were scarcely over, when the prince of Wales; with three hundred horse, and thirty thousand foot, fell upon the marches of England; and having ravaged the country as far as Wigmore, he took two of Sir Roger Mortimer's castles.ⁱ Though Mortimer was not able to oppose the main body of the enemy, he was not wanting to himself on this occasion; but calling to his assistance the lords marchers, he attacked their detached parties, killing great numbers at a time, in various rencounters.^k For these losses the prince of Wales took ample revenge, having had the good fortune to cut off a like number of the English.^l It does not appear that Llewelyn, in this expedition, committed any ravages, but on those lands which belonged to Roger de Mortimer, and others who adhered to the king's cause. Having wasted their estates with fire and sword, he marched his forces into the earldom

Ann. Dom.
1263.

^g Math. Westm. p. 149. Math. Paris, p. 851.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ Rymer, p. 754.

^k Holinshed, p. 263.

^l Ibid.

of Chester, to make the like depredations on Edward's territories.^m

THE war becoming now alarming, Henry, who was returned into his own dominions, sent an order to his son to come immediately into England; the young prince being at this time in France, amusing himself agreeably to the taste of the age, in *jousts* and *tournaments*.ⁿ Edward, placing no confidence in the English nobility, engaged in his service one hundred foreign knights; who, leaving the semblance of war, were desirous of signalising themselves in more perilous encounters.

EDWARD on his arrival in England, lost no time in marching against Llewelyn. His presence was highly necessary to check that prince's career. For besides the dreadful devastations he had committed on the territories of Edward, through which he had marched, the prince of Wales had already taken the castle of Diferth, and the important fortress of Gannock.^o These posts were immediately destroyed. The latter was of the utmost value to the English, and highly dangerous to the safety of Wales. Situated on the coast, it was open to receive a continual supply of provision and soldiers; and, commanding one of the principal passes into Wales over the water of the Conway, its

^m Math. Paris, p. 850.

ⁿ Rymer, p. 755.

^o Jo. Ross. Ant. Warw. p. 162. Math. Paris, p. 851. Math. West. p. 149.

garrison was enabled to cut off the excursionary parties of the Welsh; and, being likewise a place of great strength, in point of situation and structure, it afforded the English a secure retreat upon any disaster.

ON the approach of the English prince, Llewelyn passed the Conway, and sheltered himself amidst the mountains of Snowdon. There was no attacking the enemy in so difficult a post; and, fortunately for Edward, as his pride might have been wounded by the issue of the campaign, he was recalled by his father on an affair of importance.^p

Ann. Dom.
1263.

SOON after this event, the castle of Mold, another place of strength upon the frontier, and usually in the possession of the English, was taken and demolished by Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, at this time returned to his allegiance to the prince of Wales.^q These three castles being taken, rendered a great part of the English confine almost defenceless. The reduction of these fortresses, strong by nature and art, lying on the frontier, and situated near the sea, was an event glorious to Llewelyn, and of the utmost importance. And if this nation had not been sinking into ruin, with a force too powerful to be resisted, it might, by these important successes, have continued some ages longer an illustrious monument to the world, of what men are capable of per-

^p Holinhead, p. 264. J. Roll. Ant. Warw. p. 162.

^q Welsh Chron. p. 326.

forming, whose native spirit is sharpened by injuries, and who, in the recesses of their mountains, are contending for freedom.

IN this situation of affairs the truce was continued a year longer.

THE discontented humours, which had been long forming among the English, were now come to a head; and under the guidance of Simon de Montford the earl of Leicester, had broken out into a dangerous rebellion.

THE two sons of Montfort were sent with a strong body of forces, to co-operate with Llewelyn in his ravages on the Borders.^r The confederate army, for a time, made a dreadful progress, though opposed by Mortimer and other lords of the marches; and at length took the castle of Radnor, and burned it to the ground.^s As soon as Edward was informed of these hostilities, he made a hasty march from London to the assistance of Mortimer, then invested by the enemy in the castle of Wigmore. That fortress was soon after taken, but not before Mortimer had made his escape; who fled for protection to prince Edward, then arrived at Hereford.^t Pursuing his rout, the young prince took the

^r Carte's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 141.

^s Holinhead, p. 266. Stowe's Chron. p. 193. Math. Paris, p. 851.

^t Ibid.

several castles of Hay, Huntington, and Brecknock, the custody of which he committed to Sir Roger Mortimer.^u The operations on both sides were suddenly interrupted by a truce; during which time a treaty was to be carried on between the king and the barons, in the presence of the French ambassador.^x In this treaty, a remission of offences took place, in which Llewelyn was included as the confederate of Simon de Montford.^y

Ann. Dom.
1264.

DAVID the brother of Llewelyn, deserting the duty he owed to his sovereign, and the ties of natural affection, fled into England, and engaged in the interests of Henry.^z The same unsteady temper, and turbulency of spirit, through every succeeding period, tinged the colour of his life.

Ann. Dom.
1264.

THE chance of war at the battle of Lewes, had thrown the king of England and his son, into the hands of the earl of Leicester.^a To subdue the only enemies which were now able to resist his arms, that general marched into the Borders, and carried Henry with him as a pageant of state; thinking that the presence of his sovereign would in some measure give a sanction to his proceedings. Mortimer, and other lords, engaged in the royal cause, expecting to be attacked, had broken down the bridge at Worcester; and

^u Holinhead, p. 266. Stowe's Chron. p. 193. Math. Paris, p. 851.

^x Rymer, p. 775, 780.

^y Ibid. p. 782, 783, 784.

^z Welsh Chron. p. 326.

^a Math. Paris, p. 853.

having

having destroyed the ferry-boats, they encamped on the opposite banks of the river Severn.^b These precautions prevented the earl of Leicester from penetrating farther than Worcester. The entrance into the country was soon opened by Llewelyn, his friend and ally; who, by a sudden inroad upon the Borders, diverted the attention, and weakened the operation of the lords of the marches.^c

THE confederate army, having entered into Hereford, left prince Edward a prisoner in that city. They then ravaged the lands of Sir Roger Mortimer, and taking the castles of Hay and Ludlow, proceeded to Montgomery.^d An admonitory bull was issued by Ottobani the legate to the Welsh prince; requiring him to restore the castles he had taken, and to withdraw from the confederacy. This mandate did not produce the desired effect. The lords of the marches, therefore, yielding to a superior force, and desirous of obtaining the liberty of Edward, submitted to the earl of Leicester. They agreed to surrender to him their estates and their castles, and to relinquish the realm for one year.^e In this enterprise David the brother of Llewelyn, taking an active part against the confederates, in conjunction with lord James Audley and some other barons of the marches, was defeated at Chester with great loss.^f Soon after the above-

^b *Chronica*, T. Wykes, p. 68.

^c Brady, p. 648. *Annal. Waverleienfis*, p. 220.

^d *Math. Paris*, p. 854.

^e Brady, p. 648.

^f *Holinhead*, p. 269.

mentioned

Ann. Dom. 1265. mentioned treaty, a general peace was concluded, at a conference held by Llewelyn and Leicester, at Hereford.^e

A FEW months after prince Edward, then resident with the English court at Hereford, escaped out of the power of the earl of Leicester.^h The young prince was instantly joined by the lords of the marches; who regaining the possession of their own fortresses, made themselves masters of all the country between Hereford and Chester.ⁱ By a sudden and rapid movement of the enemy, Leicester found himself surrounded by different bodies of troops. In this situation, he had no other resource, than to throw himself into the arms of Llewelyn. That prince resolving to make every advantage of the present conjuncture, demanded, as the only condition of affording him protection, a full restitution to the inheritance and the dignity of his ancestors. Under the sanction of the king's name, the sovereignty of Wales was restored to Llewelyn, with the homage of all the Welsh barons; he received a grant also of the lordship of Whittington and the hundred of Elefmere; with the castles of Maude, Harwarden and Montgomery.^k To strengthen the union, and to render it more lasting, the earl of Leicester made an offer to the prince of Wales of his daughter Eleanor de

Ann. Dom. 1265.

^e Rymer, p. 814.

^h Chron. Thomas Wykes, p. 67.

ⁱ Math. Paris, p. 855. Rymer, p. 810.

^k Rymer, p. 814. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 219.

Montford.

Montford. This alliance coincided too well with his present views to be refused by Llewelyn.¹

THERE is often a turn in human affairs, arising from present exigencies, which neither sagacity can foresee, nor power can prevent, and which, if taken up with spirit and wisely conducted, leads on to prosperity; and marks no inconsiderable degree of political wisdom. Thus Llewelyn obtained in a fortunate moment, by his own spirit and judgment, acting on the nice and peculiar situation of Henry, the sovereignty of Wales, and an enlargement of territory; objects which many of his ancestors, the most able and brave, had negotiated and fought for in vain.

IN consequence of this treaty, Llewelyn made an inroad into Glamorgan, the estate of the earl of Gloucester; he likewise sent a body of Welsh to form a junction with Leicester, to enable him to extend his quarters, or to force his way through the enemy.^m Leicester reaped no advantage either from the diversion made in his favour, or from the Welsh forces which had joined him. Having retired to Newport, he was there invested by Edward, and so powerfully assaulted by that prince, that his ruin must have been inevitable, had he not stolen away with his army in the dead of the night; which, being very stormy, favoured

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 234. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 219.

^m *Thomas Wykes*, p. 68, 69. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 219.

the enterprife. He had the good fortune to eſcape from the enemy, and to regain the territories of Llewelyn. The manner of living to which the Welch were accuſtomed, chiefly on fleſh and milk, and without much bread, not agreeing with his foldiers, his army daily waſted away. To preſerve the remainder, Leiceſter was forced to leave the country, and traſverſing through woods and mountainous roads, he at length with much difficulty got back to Hereford.^o

THE victory obtained by prince Edward at the battle of Eversham gave liberty to Henry his father, and reſtored the tranquillity of England. The death of Montford, the enlivening ſpirit of the whole, was a fatal blow to the confederacy. After ſome ſlight reſiſtance, the Engliſh barons laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to Henry; their ſpirit being entirely ſubdued, or ſoftened down by the moderation of his conduct. Henry had now leiſure to look back on the part which had been acted by Llewelyn. He had ſeen with a jealous eye that prince, through the courſe of the war, ably fomenting the diſcontents, and powerfully aſſiſting the arms of the revolted lords; and it was now determined, before the army was diſbanded, that the prince of Wales ſhould feel the whole weight of Henry's reſentment.^p

^o Chron. Thomas Wyke, p. 69.

^p Brady, p. 663. Math. Paris, p. 857.

IN pursuance of this design, that prince came with an army to Shrewsbury: Llewelyn, without an ally to support him, was not able to resist so formidable an enemy; and rather than hazard his crown, the lustre of which he had lately restored, upon an issue so precarious and unequal, he thought it more prudent to appease Henry's resentment by an early submission.⁹

A TREATY in consequence took place, by the mediation of Ottobani the legate, which marked the mild tenor of Henry's temper, and was more favourable to Llewelyn's interests, than might have been expected from a sovereign, warm with resentment, and giving law to a suppliant enemy. The conditions of the treaty were the following: That all lands should be restored on both sides, and that the laws or customs of the marches should still be preserved: That Henry should grant unto Llewelyn and his heirs the principality of Wales, and that they should always be stiled the princes of Wales, and should receive the homage and fealty of all the Welsh barons, who were to hold their lands of them in capite; except the homage of Meredydh ap Rhys of South Wales, which the king reserved to himself and his heirs: the king likewise granted him the four inland cantrevs, to hold them as fully as ever the king and his heirs had possessed them. For these privileges Llewelyn, and his successors were to swear fealty, to do homage, and perform

⁹ Ibid.

the usual services, due to the king and his heirs, as they had ever been paid to the crown of England; and likewise that Llewelyn should pay to the king twenty-five thousand marks:† the peace was concluded at the castle of Montgomery, and ratified by the king in person; it likewise received, at the hands of the legate, the sanction of the Pope's authority.‡

Ann. Dom.
1267.

Ann. Dom.
1270.

IN this year died Gryffydh the lord of Dinas-Bran, and was buried in the abbey which his father had erected in the Vale of Crucis near Llangollen.§

IT is with pleasure we survey this gallant nation, so long the victims of ambition and the sport of fortune, regain the importance of their station; and, freed at length from the arms of a potent enemy, again left to enjoy their liberties, for a season, upon their native rocks.

AT this time prince Edward engaged in a croifade to the Holy Land; hurried along by that fatal tide, which nearly for two centuries had deluged the east. On that elevated stage his splendid talents enabled him to act a graceful and distinguished part.

† *Heq. de Knyghton de Even. Ang.* p. 2436. *Math. Westm.* p. 164. *Rymer*, p. 843, 844. *Math. Paris*, p. 857, says £32000. *Welsh Chron.* p. 327.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Welsh Chron.* p. 327.

IN this year died Henry the king of England. His eldest son, under the title of Edward the first, succeeded to the throne. Ann. Dom.
1272.

FOR some years past, and during the time that Edward was fighting in Palestine, the Welsh enjoyed a season of unusual tranquillity; a delusive calm, which was only the preface of impending calamities.

ON the death of Henry, an order was sent to the prince of Wales by the regency of England, to repair to the Ford of Montgomery; there to take the oaths of fealty and allegiance to the absent king. Llewelyn thought proper to pay no obedience to the summons.^u Ann. Dom.
1273.

IN the course of this year the king of England, matured in the arts of policy, and renowned for exploits in arms, returned into his own dominions; where he early entered on that career of glory, so beneficial to his own empire, but so fatal to Wales.^x Ann. Dom.
1274.

SOON after his arrival in London he was solemnly crowned at Westminster. The king of Scotland, as the feudatory of Edward, did homage to the English prince; and with the duke of Bretagne, graced the coronation with his presence.^y To perform the like duties of homage and fealty, the prince

^u Rymer, vol. II. p. 2, 3.^x Math. Westm. p. 171.^y Ibid.

of Wales received a summons to appear immediately at Shrewsbury; but he refused to quit his dominions, and to venture his safety in the territories of a monarch, so hostile to him, unless hostages were given for the security of his person. The pledges he demanded were the king's brother, the earl of Gloucester, and the chief justice of England.^z This refusal was rendered still more disagreeable to Edward, as he was likely to be deprived of another fruit of vassalage; for Llewelyn appeared fully determined to solemnise his marriage with Eleanor de Montford, though he had not obtained the king's consent.^a The Pope, likewise, was so sensible of the justice of his plea, that he inhibited the archbishop of Canterbury from issuing any papal censure against Llewelyn.^b When the nature of his situation is considered, the caution of the Welsh prince was justified on the principle of self-preservation. In the bosoms of the two princes, hatred and jealousy had long mingled with the love of glory, and the desire of dominion: David and Roderic the younger brothers of the prince of Wales, were entertained in the court of England: many Welsh chieftains who had fled from the justice of their country, were under the protection of Edward; and, influenced by every motive of hope and of fear, were desirous to promote the destruction of their sovereign: Llewelyn, likewise, too well remem-

^z Rymer, p. 41. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 162.

^a Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2462.

^b Rymer, vol. II. p. 35. Math. Westm. p. 171.

bered the fate of his father Gryffydh, to place any confidence in the honour or protection of the English.^c He surely would have been guilty of folly or rashness in the extreme, if he had ventured a life, of such importance to his country, on no other security than sentiments of honour or the courteous ideas of the age, when interest and resentment so powerfully conspired his ruin.

THE king of England was now in a delicate situation ; he was unwilling to relinquish his claim of vassalage, and yet was not at present sufficiently prepared to enforce it by arms. But his genius directed him to pursue a wise and a middle line of conduct. He repaired, late in the year, to Chester, and summoned Llewelyn to do homage at Shrewsbury ; but that prince refused to appear without a safe conduct, and hostages for the due observance of it.^d Early in the next year, a parliament was held at Westminster, and the prince of Wales was again summoned to appear, and to take the oaths of allegiance.^e He refused to pay obedience to this summons, on the grounds he had heretofore alledged.^f

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ENGAGED in correcting the disorders of the kingdom ; and instituting salutary laws, Edward, for the present, affected to dissemble his resentment against Llewelyn ; and

^c Rymer, vol. II. p. 35.

^d J. Ross. Ant. Warw. p. 163. Rymer, vol. II. p. 57.

^e Ibid. ^f Holinshed, p. 278.

repaired

repaired to Chester, where he again summoned the Welsh prince to do homage;^g who still refused his compliance. He likewise rejected three other mandates of the same nature, one of which was dated in October in the same year, and the two others very early in the year following.^h To justify these refusals still more, to the clergy and to the world, he sent a memorial by the abbots of Conway and Strata-florida, to be delivered into the hands of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and other bishops then assembled in convocation.ⁱ There is a native simplicity which runs through the whole of this memorial,^k reciting his grievances and justifying his conduct, which more ably pleads the cause of the Welsh prince than the exercise of the finest talents could have done.

THE tenor of Edward's conduct with respect to Llewelyn, did not delude the sagacity of that prince. He saw, that a blow was meditating by the English king, which, though suspended for a time, would be the more severe, and fall with greater weight upon his country, from the coolness, the delay, and increasing power of that firm and sagacious monarch.

LLEWELYN, therefore, thought it prudent, at this time, to fulfil an engagement he had formerly made, and to enter

^g Rymer, vol. II. p. 57.

^h Ibid. p. 68.

ⁱ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 280. Welsh Chron. p. 329, 330.

^k See Appendix, No. II.

into an alliance which might yield him support against the formidable power of his rival. In the course of the late war, he had been betrothed to a daughter of Simon de Montford; who, at that time, it is probable, was too young to solemnize the marriage. On the death of her father, the young lady had retired into the monastery of Montargis in France. In this court her mother the countess of Leicester, and her brother the heir of the family, lived in great splendour.¹ The adherents of the house of Montford were still powerful in England; and the fame of the English monarch, had made him the object of jealousy with the French king. To unite the views of the two parties in support of his interest, or struck with the reputation of her charms, now rising into full beauty, the prince of Wales demanded of the king of France the daughter of the late earl of Leicester. Philip with much facility granted his request; and Llewelyn waited in impatient expectation of his intended bride.^m

THE pleasing ideas, which the prospect of his approaching nuptials afforded Llewelyn, were however suddenly imbittered by disappointment, and lost in the ruder avocations of war.

EARLY in this year, the young lady, who was cousin to the English king, attended by her brother Amaury a clergy-

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1270.

¹ Polidore Vergil, p. 321. Math. Westm. p. 171. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 104.

^m Ibid.

man, set sail for the coast of Wales to solemnize her marriage with Llewelyn ; but near the isles of Scilly she had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by four ships from the port of Bristol, and was conveyed to the court of England. Instead of the lady's being delivered into the hands of her lover, which the ideas of the age might have suggested, and every law of chivalry demanded, she was detained in the English court in an honourable attendance on the queen.^o Her brother, likewise, was kept in confinement many years in the castles of Corfe and Sherburn ; nor did he at length obtain his liberty, until demanded by the Pope as his chaplain ; and after he had taken an oath that he would relinquish the realm, and never be concerned in any commotion in the kingdom.^p

AFTER so decisive a conduct, lenient measures, and the arts of expediency were weak, delusive and fruitless. Edward now determined to exert every effort, which his power and his talents afforded, to obtain, what had long been the object of his ambition, the entire conquest of Wales. Before measures were taken to carry this design into execution, the archbishop of Canterbury, and other prelates and lords of the realm desired Edward, as the last expedient, to afford Llewelyn one opportunity more of acknowledging the sovereignty of England, and of yielding to its orders unconditional obedience. For this purpose, the archdeacon of

^o Annals Waverleienfis, p. 231, 232. ^p Rymer, vol. II. p. 144, 193, 197.

Canterbury was sent into Wales, with an injunction to Llewelyn to appear at court, and to perform the customary duties of a vassal.⁴

AT this time Llewelyn was in arms, and had ravaged the English Borders; resenting the conduct of Edward, and alive to the feelings of an injured prince, deeply wounded by the captivity of his expected bride.⁵

THE archdeacon of Canterbury was ordered to make his report to the next parliament, which was to be held on the thirteenth of October following. In the mean time the prince of Wales sent letters to the king, signifying that he would come to Montgomery or Oswestry to perform his homage, provided a safe conduct was allowed him, under the sanction of the archbishop and archdeacon of Canterbury, the bishop of Winton, and five other English lords.⁶ He likewise demanded that the king should confirm the articles of peace made between Henry the third and himself; and should deliver into his hands Eleanor de Montford the lady to whom he was contracted, and all her retinue, who, he said, were detained in custody contrary to the faith of nations.⁷ These just and simple demands excited in the English parliament a general indignation. They granted a fifteenth of moveables to enable the king to reduce Llewelyn by force of

Ann. Dom
1276.

⁴ Rymer, vol. II. p. 68. ⁵ Poldore Vergil, p. 321. Holinhead, p. 278.

⁶ Rymer, vol. II. p. 68.

⁷ Ibid.

arms ; the prelates, likewise, gave him a voluntary subsidy ; though their zeal in this instance did not rise above their prudence, as they made a provision, that in future it should not be drawn into precedent. In the presence of the English monarch, sitting in his court, with the lords of his council, the judges, and a great number of bishops, earls, and barons, the whole process was read on November the twelfth ; and sentence was pronounced upon Llewelyn for contumacy, for violation of the peace between him and the late king, and for the hostilities he had lately committed in the marches. It was there determined to proceed against him as a traitor, and a contumacious vassal. It was likewise resolved in the same assembly, that all the military tenants of the crown should be summoned to appear at Worcester, on the midsummer following, with horses and arms, ready for an expedition into Wales ; that in the mean time, the marches should be well guarded, and the forts supplied with ammunition ; that the king should prohibit all his subjects in England, Ireland, and Guienne, from holding any correspondence with Llewelyn, or his adherents, from giving them any assistance, or supplying them with any provisions ; and whoever violated this prohibition, was to be adjudged an adherent to the public enemies of the king and kingdom, and to suffer accordingly."

" Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2462. Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 185, from Pat. 4, Ed. I. m. 6. Rymer, vol. II. p. 72—75.

THE authority of the church was not silent on this solemn occasion. In this instance the prince of Wales experienced the versatility of her conduct. The archbishop of Canterbury sent a letter to Llewelyn, and threatened him with the severest censures that the clergy were able to inflict; and a few months after, his person was excommunicated, and his kingdom laid under an interdict.*

IN the late negotiation, the prince of Wales had offered the English king a large sum of money as a ransom for Eleanor de Montford. Edward, on his part, refused to set her at liberty, unless he would restore to the right owners the lands he had lately taken from them, and also repair all the castles he had demolished.† However ardent the desire of gaining possession of the lady might be, the duty he owed to his country prevailed, and Llewelyn rejected the proposal with disdain: upon which, the two princes proceeded in their preparations for war.

EARLY in the spring Edward sent into the marches three hundred horse well appointed, to check the incursions of the Welsh, and to guard the confine;‡ he likewise made Sir Roger Mortimer general of his forces in the counties of Salop and Hereford, and in the adjacent countries. He

Ann. Dom.

1277.

* Rymer. vol. II. p. 71, 79.

† Math. Westm. p. 172. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 231.

‡ Math. Westm. p. 172. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 232.

appointed the first day of July for his military tenants to assemble at Worcester.^a

THE experience of past ages had proved to the English kings, that a want of public virtue in its chieftains was the vulnerable part of Wales. To seduce them from their duty at this crisis, was of too much importance to be neglected by Edward. In order to encourage a defection among the Welsh lords, orders were given to the earl of Warwick, and Payen de Chaworth, the one commander in Cheshire, and the other in South Wales, to receive into favour such of Llewelyn's adherents, as were willing to submit to the authority, and become the vassals of the king of England.^b The policy of Edward fatally prevailed. Rhys ap Meredydh the lord of Dinevawr, descended from the ancient princes of South Wales, set the example of disloyalty, on the only condition of holding his lands immediately from the king, and not being the subject of any other lord.^c The defection of so eminent a chieftain as Rhys ap Meredydh had a fatal influence in the country; all the lords in South Wales followed his example; and, as a voluntary fruit of their submission, the strong fortress of Stratywy was given up to the English, who, for the better defence of the country, erected a castle at Aberystwyth.^d

^a Rymer, vol. II. p. 72. ^b Ibid. vol. II. p. 72, 81. ^c Ibid. p. 81.

^d Welsh Chron. p. 334, 336. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 162.

THE æra is now at no great distance which is to mark the close of the ancient British empire. Considering the situation of the Welsh and their unequal resources, the operations of Edward in conducting the war, planned in wisdom and carried on with vigour, must in the nature of things ensure its success.

Soon after Easter, Edward left London to regulate the measures of the ensuing campaign, in the full resolution never to return until he had entirely subdued the Welsh nation. He ordered a fleet from the Cinque Ports to cruise on the coast of Wales, with a view to intercept the commerce of the enemy, and also to reduce the island of Anglesey, that the Welsh might be deprived of their usual resource, of drawing provisions from that quarter.^e At the same time he sent a body of troops into South Wales, to reinforce the army under the command of Payen de Chaworth, in order to distract the enemies attention, and reduce that country to a perfect submission to the English government.^f Each of these manœuvres produced the desired effect. That the administration of justice might not be delayed, by the absence of the king, and the length of the war, he removed the court of exchequer, and the court of king's bench, to Shrewsbury.^g

^e Brady, vol. II. p. 7.

^f Welsh Chron. p. 324.

^g Math. Westm. p. 172.

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1277.

THESE measures being taken, on the midsummer following the king of England, at the head of a formidable army, advanced into Cheshire, intending to penetrate the enemies country, through that part of the frontier which borders on the Dec. His forces were likewise increased by numbers of country people who joined him in the marches, and who, it is likely, were usefully employed as pioneers to the army, in opening roads through a deep forest, which extended from the confines of Cheshire to Caernarvonshire.^h

DURING this tedious operation, Edward encamped his forces on Saltney marsh near Chester, which lies along the borders of the river Dec.ⁱ During this time, he rebuilt the castle of Flint, and more strongly fortified the castle of Rhuddlan, to secure the country he had already subdued, and to afford his army a safe retreat, in case he should meet with any disaster.^j

THE roads being finished, and no enemy appearing to molest them, the English advanced through the level part of the country as far as Conway. The prince of Wales, unable to face a powerful enemy pressing on by slow, cautious, and decisive operations, retired to the mountains of Snow-dun.^k Not choosing to enter the recesses of that difficult

^h Thomas Wyke, p. 105. Brady, vol. II. p. 7.

ⁱ Brady, vol. II. p. 7. Guthrie, vol. I. p. 888.

^k Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2462. Thomas Wykes, p. 105.

^l Math. Westm. p. 173. Thoms Wyke, p. 105.

country,

country, the English monarch calmly waited the result of his policy.

THE genius of Llewelyn, weighed in the balance with that of Edward, sunk in the scale. With a fatality, which had usually attended the princes of his house, he had trusted the safety of Wales to the chance of war, and to its natural situation, the strength of which had so often baffled the armies of England, unable long to subsist in a country, broken by rocks and rivers, woods, and barren mountains. Not preparing for contingences, nor observing the measures of the English king, nor the effects already produced, Llewelyn had neglected to furnish with the necessary stock of provisions an important post, to which he and his people might be forced to retire.^m The experience of past ages might have taught him the wisdom of a different conduct. Had he pursued the measures which the nature of his situation required, he might probably have seen the English army wasting away, and, at the approach of winter, abandoning all its conquests, and leaving him once more in possession of his country. But after all, there might be strong reasons, of which the annals of the times are silent, to excuse in the Welsh prince, a conduct so fatal to his interests.

THE prospect which opened to Llewelyn, on the mountains of Snowdon, was dreary and desolate. His enemies

^m Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

were masters of the country below, and seemed determined, by their perseverance, to starve him into submission. The island of Anglesey, his usual resource for provisions, was then possessed by the English.ⁿ No diversion could be made in his favour in South Wales or in England, as the former country had lately submitted to Edward's authority, and in the latter the adherents of the house of Montford^o were satisfied by having their forfeited estates restored to them. The distress of Llewelyn was heightened still more by the prospect of an immediate famine.^p

IN this situation he had no better alternative than to implore the mercy of the English king. A magnanimous prince, like Llewelyn, the freedom of his country being lost, would scarcely have wished to survive its ruin, if the sufferings of his people, crowding around him, and perishing by famine, had not claimed his pity, and inclined him to hazard his personal safety and interest from a tender regard to theirs. It is possible, too, this prince might hope, that in the event of some future day, he might again rise upon the wheel of fortune.

IN this state of his affairs, the prince of Wales sent to propose an accommodation with the king of England. There was little generosity or pity to be expected in the terms

ⁿ Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

^o Guthrie's Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 887.

^p Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

which

which were offered by Edward to the Welsh prince. As a first and necessary condition of the peace, it was required of Llewelyn, that he should submit to the mercy of the conqueror.⁹ On this basis, the peace was concluded on the following terms; and afterwards ratified, in the absence of the king, at Aberconwy, by the commissioners of the two princes.[†] It was agreed, that all prisoners who were confined by Llewelyn, for adhering to the English cause, should be set at liberty. That the prince should pay to the king fifty thousand marks, as a compensation for the injuries committed, and for being received into favour. That four cantreys should be given up to the king, and remain with him and his heirs for ever.[‡] These were the cantrev of Rhos, in which stood the castle of Diganwy; the cantrev of Rhyvonioc, the chief place of which was Denbigh; the cantrev of Tegengl, where stood the castle of Rhuddlan; the cantrev of Dyffryn Clwyd, in which were erected the town and castle of Rythyn.[§] That the adherents of the English king should be restored to all the lands they had possessed before the war. That the prince should hold the island of Anglesey, and should pay for that privilege the annual sum of one thousand marks; but if he died without issue, the island was then to revert to the king and his heirs for ever.^{||} That all the barons in Wales should

⁹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 88, 95, 97.

[†] Ibid.

[‡] J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 163. Math. Westm. p. 873. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 232.

[§] Welsh Chron. p. 334.

^{||} Chron. T. Wykes, p. 106

hold their lands immediately of the king, except five barons in Snowdun, who should acknowledge the prince as their lord during his life. That Llewelyn should come into England every Christmas to do homage to the king. That he should repair to Rhuddlan as soon as he was absolved from the censures of the church, to take the oath of fealty to the king; and likewise that he should perform the same duties in London on the day appointed for that purpose. That he should enjoy, during his life, the title of prince of Wales; and that after his death, the five barons of Snowdun should hold their estates of the English king. That for the performance of these articles, the prince should deliver as hostages ten of the most eminent chieftains in Wales. That Llewelyn should send every year twenty chieftains out of North Wales, who, with himself, should take their oaths for the due performance of these articles. If the prince should infringe any of them, and on being admonished, refuse to redress the same, they were then, by their oaths, obliged to forsake his cause and take part with his enemies.* As a personal humiliation to Llewelyn, he was likewise obliged to restore to his brother Owen his forfeited estate, and to pay Roderic an annuity of one thousand marks, and five hundred to David.† Owen by this treaty was also delivered from the confinement in which he had been kept by Llewelyn. His brother Roderic had lately escaped out

* *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 232. J. Roffi. *Ant. Warw.* p. 163, 164. Rymer, vol. II. p. 88, 90, 91.

† Rymer, vol. II. p. 88—95.

of prison, and had fled into England. David, whom we have heretofore mentioned, was in the service of the English king, who had made him a knight, contrary to the custom of the Welsh; and had given him likewise in marriage the daughter of the earl of Derby, a handsome widow, and of the queen's bed-chamber,^z whose husband was lately dead. He was appointed the seneschal, and keeper of all the castles in Wales, and received also from the king the castles of Denbigh, and of Frodsham in Cheshire, with lands to the yearly value of one thousand pounds.*

THE terms agreed upon at this treaty in favour of the prince of Wales were as follow: That if he should claim lands occupied by any other person than the king, out of the limits of the four ceded cantreys, justice should in that case be administered according to the laws and customs of those parts where such lands should lie. That all injuries and faults committed on either side should be entirely remitted, and receive a full pardon. That all tenants holding lands in the four cantreys, and in other places in the holding of the king, should possess them as freely, and enjoy the same customs and liberties as they did before the time of the wars. All controversies arising between the prince and any other person should be decided after the laws of the marches, if taking their rise in those parts; and any dispute origi-

^z Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2463, 2464.

* Welsh Chron. p. 335. Rymer, p. 89. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 232.

nating in Wales, should be determined by the laws of that country. That the advantage arising out of wrecks, on his territories, should belong to the Welsh prince; and all other customs should be confirmed to him which had been enjoyed by his ancestors; and although the prince had submitted entirely to the king's mercy, no injury should be committed, nor any demand ever made contrary to the tenor of the peace.^b

THE English king, relaxed in some degree from the severity of these terms, and remitted to Llewelyn the payment of the fifty thousand marks,^c as well as the yearly tribute of one thousand marks which he was to pay for Anglesey; though it appears that he received from that prince two thousand marks during his stay at Rhuddlan.^d

AFTER the late fortunate campaign, Edward returned into England, amidst the applauses of his subjects. His triumph, on this occasion, was heightened by Llewelyn's attending him to London, where he did homage, and swore fealty on Christmas-day in the presence of many prelates and of the nobility of England.^e

THE barons of Snowdon, with other chieftains of the most considerable families in Wales, accompanying their

^b Welsh Chron. p. 346, 347, 348.

^c Rymer, vol. II. p. 91, 92.

^d Holinhead, p. 277.

^e Rymer, vol. II. p. 96. Math. Westm. p. 173. Chron. T. Wyke, p. 106.

prince to London, brought large retinues with them, as was the custom of their country, and were lodged in Islington, and the adjacent villages. Many causes conspired to make their situation disagreeable. These places did not afford a sufficiency of milk for such numerous trains: they liked neither the wine, nor the beer of London. Though entertained with plenty, they were not pleased with their new manner of living, which suited neither their taste, nor, perhaps, their constitutions. They were still more displeas'd with the crowd of people who attended them, whenever they came out of their quarters; eying them with the utmost contempt as savages, and laughing at their foreign garb, and unusual appearance.^f To be made the subject of derision, and to be pointed at by the finger of scorn, in their various journeys through England, at the will of an arbitrary lord, could not be pleasing to a people, proud and irascible, who, though vanquish'd, were still alive to injury or insult, to a sense of their own valour, and to the fond idea of their native independence. They privately entered into an association to revolt on the first opportunity; resolving to die in their own country as freemen, rather than come any more as vassals into England, to be the sport of a haughty and contemptuous nation. As soon as they returned home, they diffus'd this spirit throughout Wales, and it became the common cause of the country. This incident, of no great moment

^f Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 191. from MS. No. 39. inter MSS. Thomas Moltyn, baronetti, p. 315.

in itself, acting with other causes, produced in time a change in affairs, of the highest importance to Wales.

IT was now manifest that Edward intended, on the death of Llewelyn, to unite to the English crown the country he had lately subdued. A popular delusion stood in the way of his views. An idea had been fondly kept up in the imaginations of the Welsh, that the celebrated Arthur was still alive, that he was one day to return, and restore to the remnant of the Britons the empire of their fathers. To set aside this idle fancy, cherished by the vulgar, and which might have been fatal at this juncture, Edward, and Eleanor his queen, early in the year, undertook a journey to Glastonbury, where the remains of that hero lay interred.^g Under colour of doing honour to this British king, and affording his bones a more magnificent interment, Edward ordered the body of Arthur to be taken out of its coffin, and, with the remains of Gueniver his queen, to be exposed to public view. They were then repositied near the high altar, with an inscription on the coffin, signifying, that these were the remains of Arthur; and that they had been viewed by the king and queen of England, in presence of the earl of Savoy, the elect bishop of Norwich, with several other noblemen and clergy.^h It is easy to discern the policy of this prince in the smaller traits of his character.

Ann. Dom.
1278.

^g Malmſbury de Antiq. Glaston. Ecclesiæ, p. 306. Gales Scriptorum.

^h Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 187. from Regist. Glastonbury, penes Dom. Weymouth, p. 93. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 233. Stowe's Chron. p. 200. Guthrie's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 589.

DURING the king's stay at Glastonbury a parliament was held in that place; at which meeting Llewelyn was summoned to appear, with the probable design, that he and his retinue, having seen the late ceremony exhibited, might not carry into their country the least hope of advantage, from so whimsical a fancy. To this summons, however, the prince of Wales did not think proper to pay obedience.ⁱ

IT is easy to conceive that Edward, alive to his interests and jealous of his power, would be eager to check the contumacy of a vassal in Llewelyn's situation. With this design, attended by his queen, he repaired to Worcester; where he sent an order to the Welsh prince to appear, and account for his late conduct. The rigor of this summons was softened by an invitation to a royal feast which was to be held in that city; with an assurance, too, that he should be treated with honour, and that the lovely Eleanor de Montford should be the reward of his obedience.^k There was a decision in this mandate, which love would not suffer him to evade, nor prudence to disobey, and which soon brought Llewelyn to the English court; where, falling at the feet of Edward, and yielding himself up to his mercy, that prince ordered him to rise, and, in consideration of his dutiful demeanour, was pleased to pardon his delinquency; at the same time declaring, that if he again presumed to rebel, he should be punished with the

ⁱ Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 187. from Register Glastonbury penes Dom. Weymouth. p. 93.

^k Welsh Chron. p. 348.

utmost severity.^a Relying on the honour of a great monarch and duped by his artifice, we see Llewelyn, the brave descendant of a line of independant princes, become amenable to usurped power.^o

HAVING now succeeded in his views, and, as he thought, rendered Llewelyn docile in the duties of vassalage, Edward gave him back the hostages he had lately taken, and also delivered up Eleanor de Montford, with the estate which had been the property of her father.^p The marriage was celebrated on the thirteenth of October, the expence of which was defrayed by Edward; and, as a mark of his favour, the ceremony was graced by the presence of the king himself and his queen.^q On this occasion, Llewelyn engaged, besides other concessions, to appear twice in the year before the English parliament.^r On the very day that the marriage was to be solemnized, and just as Llewelyn and his intended bride were going to mass, the king commanded that prince to engage in a covenant, never to protect any person whatever contrary to his pleasure. The rigid sentiments of duty, put to so severe a trial, were too weak to subdue in the bosom of the Welsh prince the feelings of nature. Alive to the tender passion of love, and no doubt in fear, for

^a Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2462. • Welsh Chron. p. 348.

^p Rymer, vol. II. p. 125. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2462.

^q Holinshed, p. 277. Thomas Wyke, p. 107.

^r Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2462.

his liberty or life, the firmness of the gallant Llewelyn sunk under their influence. In this situation, the enamoured prince signed a covenant, which loosened every tie of confidence, and which might in future give up to the resentment of Edward, the most faithful adherent to his interests.*

IT is only from a motive of personal dislike that we are able to account for the insult which was offered to Llewelyn, in detaining the lady so long in the English court, and impeding the views of honourable love. In this part of Edward's character, we see no traces of heroism; no resemblance of the courteous manners, which distinguished the better period of the feudal age.

As soon as the ceremony was finished, Llewelyn, with his amiable wife, returned into Wales, to soothe the asperity of adverse fortune in the enjoyment of private felicity.

FEW incidents, worthy of notice, occur for some time in the history of Wales. The spirit of the people, pressed down by the rigour of a foreign government, wanted its usual activity. Regretting the freedom they had lost, but too weak to recover it, they were silent and dejected.

BUT the spirit of the Welsh, though depressed and rendered inactive for a time, urged by despair into manly

* Welsh Chron. p. 348.

efforts, soon recovered its native spring; and, armed with its wonted terrors, exerted itself again in the fields of war.

Ann. Dom.
1280.

THE calamities of a public nature, which surrounded Llewelyn, were rendered more bitter by domestic sorrow, in the severe loss he sustained by the death of his wife, whose mild influence, it is probable, had been hitherto the means of preventing hostilities, by restraining the angry spirit of these princes.¹ Her death loosened the only tie of union subsisting between the two nations.

WE have already noticed that a spirit of revolt had been excited in Wales, by those chieftains who had attended Llewelyn into England. Other motives of a nearer and more essential concern, assisted to fix that spirit more deeply. The Welsh, in the newly subdued country, early began to taste, in the conduct of their new master, the bitter fruits of submission. It was the design of that prince, by one decisive blow, to leave them not a trace of their ancient jurisprudence. When Edward heretofore possessed these countries by the grant of his father, he had thrown them into districts, like those of the counties of England; appointed sheriffs with power to hold courts, instituted other officers, and sent English judges to administer justice. On the recent submission of the Welsh he revived these institutions. To tear up old habits which are dear to a people,

¹ Henry de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2462. Baker's Chron. p. 95.

is often an enterprize of danger. The Welsh, as was natural, surveyed the design with indignation and horror. When laws are imposed at the point of the sword, they are always received with hatred, and must be maintained by force. Attached to the customs of their fathers, they determined to receive neither laws nor manners, judges nor juries, nor any institutions which were derived from the English.^u It is strange that a wise prince should urge on so violent a conduct before the lenient power of time had softened their spirits.

LLEWELYN himself had cause to complain of injuries the most poignant and humiliating,^t of which the following was one. There was a suit depending between him and Gryffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, respecting some lands held of the king, and lying in the marches. He was highly displeas'd with an order he had received from the judges, to attend the hearing of that suit at Montgomery, contrary to a custom established in Wales and in the marches, that all causes of this nature should be tried on the very lands that were the subject of dispute. The tenor of the late treaty, likewise, justified Llewelyn's refusal. Though the judges sent down were men of honour and integrity, he could not be prevailed on to go to Montgomery, thinking such a measure would

^u Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 191, from MS. No. 39, inter MSS. Roger Mostyn, baronetti, p. 315.

^t Welsh Chron. p. 346, &c. See Appendix, No. III.

yield up an essential article of the peace, and would derogate from the dignity of his character.^u

THE idea of this demand being in future drawn into precedent, awakened at last prince David to a sense of his own situation, who might hope to succeed to the sovereignty of what remained in Wales on the death of his brother. He had himself already experienced many causes of complaint, of fear, and of jealousy respecting the property he held under Edward.^x He was sued by William Venables, an Englishman, before the justice of Chester, for the villages of Hope and Estyn, contrary to the custom of Wales, and the spirit of the agreement under which he held them of the English king. That officer likewise had cut down his woods of Lleweny, with those about Hope, and had sold the timber, and carried it into Ireland. He was also threatened, that when Reginald de Grey the other justiciary in those parts, came into the country, the castle of Hope should be taken from him, and his children secured as pledges of his fidelity in future.^y Many chieftains, the most eminent in the country, had likewise much reason to complain of injuries which they themselves had received.^z The rigorous exactions of the English officers in Wales, so repugnant to the manners of the people, heightened their sufferings to an insupportable degree.^a

^u Rymer, vol. II. p. 172. *Leges Walliæ*, p. 524. ^x See Appendix, No. IV.

^y *Welsh Chron.* p. 350, 351. ^z *Ibid.* from p. 351 to 353.

^a *Math. Paris*, p. 805. *Welsh Chron.* p. 336.

IN this miserable state of their country, the Welsh chieftains besought prince David to be reconciled to his brother Llewelyn; calling on him by every incitement which could act on a brave or an angry spirit, to desert the cause of a merciless ravager, to retrieve the honour he had lost, to return to the duty he owed his country, and to shield her in the hour of her danger. The views of David at this time were agreeable to the wishes of his countrymen. Feeling, perhaps, remorse for the miseries he in some measure had occasioned, or a ray of patriotism springing up in his bosom, he consented to be reconciled to his brother, and to engage in the common cause.^b Sensible of the peril that awaited him, if success did not justify the revolt, or, perhaps, from a want of confidence in his brother, he required of that prince an assurance that he would never serve again the English king, nor would ever relax in his enmity against him.^c This being agreed to on the part of Llewelyn, prince David withdrew privately from the court of England, and came into Wales.^d

THE concert being made for a general insurrection, David opened the campaign by a gallant exploit, performed late in the evening of Plam Sunday. In the night, which was dark and stormy, he took by surprise the castle of Hawarden, the governor of which, Roger de Clifford, who was

Ann. Dom.
1231.

^b Welsh Chron. p. 337.

^c Ibid.

^d Grafton's Chron. p. 165. Polidore Vergil, p. 323.

also the justiciary of Wales, was taken in his bed, and, mortally wounded, was carried away prisoner in chains to Snow-dun; several knights residing in the fortresses, though unarmed, in the fury of the storm were put to the sword. This action was the signal of revolt. The Welsh, rising from every quarter, in a moment were in arms. The spirit of their fathers seemed to animate every bosom. Rhys ap Maelgwyn and Gryffydd ap Meredydh took the castle of Aberystwyth, and over-ran the counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen. Many chieftains, likewise, gained possession of other fortresses in South Wales. Numerous parties of the Welsh, fired into enthusiasm, poured on a sudden into the marches, ravaging the country as they spread along, and, with indiscriminate rage, destroying all before them. Animated with the same spirit, Llewelyn and David, having joined their forces, invested the new-erected castles of Flint and Rhuddlan, the only fortresses then in the possession of the English.^e

AT this time the king of England was at the Devizes, where he was keeping his Easter,^f not suspecting the event which had happened, nor fearing the efforts of a people, whose feelings had been urged into a dangerous extreme. The revolt of the Welsh princes determined the conduct of the

^e Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464 says, that they slew all the masons, carpenters and other workmen employed in these fortresses.

^f Thomas Wykes, p. 110. Holinshed, p. 281.

English monarch. Instead of waiting the slow issue which time, or luxury, or mildness might produce, he once more determined to make an entire conquest of Wales, and totally to extinguish that spirit of freedom, which, rising at times into dangerous exertion, not all the efforts of his policy and power had as yet been able to subdue. All other concerns were now laid aside; the credit of Edward, his talents, and the strength of his kingdom, were rendered subservient to this great design.

PREVIOUS to his military operations he sent a letter to the two archbishops, desiring them to issue spiritual censures against the Welsh prince, and all his adherents.^g John Peckham archbishop of Canterbury, before he proceeded to extremities, unknown to the king, and apparently in the true spirit of benevolence, undertook a journey into Wales, to endeavour to bring back Llewelyn, and the Welsh chieftains, to a sense of their duty.^h

IN the mean time, Edward sent a part of his forces to the relief of the besieged castles; and he issued out orders that his military tenants should assemble at Worcester, on the seventeenth of May.ⁱ He obtained from the nobility

^g Rymer, vol. II. p. 188.

^h Polidore Vergil, p. 323. Holinshed, p. 281. Welsh Chron. p. 338.

ⁱ Brady, vol. II. p. 6. Grafton's Chron. p. 165. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 110. Rymer, vol. II. p. 189.

and prelates a promise of a fifteenth of their moveables, and afterwards a thirtieth.^k The clergy, likewise, gave him a twentieth of their temporalities, to enable him to carry on this popular war.^l As these aids could not be raised so soon as the service might require, he sent to all the trading towns in England to borrow money to answer his present necessities; and desired a like loan out of Ireland from the prelates, nobility, and merchants of that kingdom.^m Such was the esteem in which Edward was held, that Gaston de Bernⁿ desired to have the honour of serving in the Welsh expedition; even the Scots, on this occasion, offered their services, little thinking that they themselves would soon be the victims of that prince's ambition.^o The barons of the exchequer, and the judges of the king's bench repaired to Shrewsbury, with orders to hold their courts in that place during the continuance of the war.^p A nation like the Welsh, small in extent, and scattered over a few barren mountains, rise in importance as we view these mighty preparations.

As soon as he had concerted his measures, the king of England set out, the latter end of April, for the marches of Wales. Finding the war more difficult than he at first imagined, he issued out summonses from Worcester, that

^k Brady, p. 11, 96.

^l Carte's Hist. Eng. p. 192, from Chron. Dunstable.

^m Rymer, vol. II. p. 220.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 206.

^o Guthrie, vol. I. p. 895.

^p Annales Waverleienfis, p. 235.

all his military tenants should meet him at Rhuddlan in the ensuing month of June; the prelates of England, and twenty-four abbots holding of the crown, were also included in these orders to send thither their services.⁹

IN his march to Chester Edward was joined by the people inhabiting the Borders, whom he employed, as before, in opening roads through the enemies country.[†] After staying a fortnight in Chester to refresh his troops, about the middle of June he invested the castle of Hope, then in the possession of David, which a little time after surrendered.[‡] On the approach of Edward, the Welsh princes raised the siege of Rhuddlan castle, and retreated slowly towards Snowdon, thinking it more prudent to seize every opportunity of cutting off his detached parties, than with unequal force to fight him in the open field.[§] The retreat of Llewelyn, for the present, was of little advantage to the enemy; like that of a lion, it was slow, fullen, and full of danger. Seizing a favourable opportunity, he put to flight a large detachment of the English army; fourteen ensigns were taken in the action; the lords Audley, and Clifford the son of William de Valence, Richard de Argenton,^{||} with many others were slain; and the king himself was obliged to retire for protection into Hope castle, the fortress he had lately taken.[¶]

⁹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 188, 199.

[†] Ibid. p. 207.

[‡] Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 193, from *Annales Cestrensis*.

[§] Welsh Chron. p. 337.

^{||} Chron. T. Wykes, p. 110.

[¶] Welsh Chron. p. 372, from Thomas Walsingham. *Cambden's Brit.* p. 688.

IT was not till the latter end of autumn, that Edward was able to perform any action of moment. In the middle of July that prince resided in the castle of Rhuddlan, and issued orders from thence to the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties, to send him, in proportion to the extent of each, a number of hatchet men, who were to cut down the woods, and open passages for his army before it could advance any farther with safety or convenience.⁷ He also gave grants to several of the English barons, of lands in the four cantreys, the late ceded country; adding the incitement of interest to the national zeal in his service.⁸

DURING these transactions the archbishop of Canterbury came a second time into Wales, and sent a monitory letter to Llewelyn and to all his adherents, in which he reproved them for their late revolt, urged them to return to their allegiance, and desired they would point out their grievances, for all of which, if just, he would endeavour to obtain them redress; at the same time holding out a menace, in case of contumacy, that they would draw on themselves the severest censures of the church, besides all the power of an irritated nation.⁹ In answer to this letter, Llewelyn, assisted by his council, thought proper to send a memorial dated at Garth-

⁷ Guthrie's Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 895.

⁸ Annales Waverleiensis, p. 235. Welsh Chron. p. 364.

⁹ J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 110. Welsh Chron. p. 338—342. See Appendix, No. V.

Celyn or Aber in Caernarvonshire, in the latter end of October.^b In a strain of eloquence, mild and persuasive, which might do honour to a more polished age, he recited the various evils which he himself and his country had suffered from Edward's ambition, and the rapine of delegated power, and with a firmness, softened by piety and meekness, he demanded that justice, from the rights of nature, and the spirit of the treaties subsisting, which the unjust conduct of the king of England had hitherto denied him.^c The like memorials were sent by David his brother, by the men of Rhos, by Rhys Vychan of Stratywy, by Llewelyn and Howel the sons of Rhys, by the sons of Meredydh ap Owen, the chieftains of Strat-Alyn, the men of Penlhyn, by Gronw ap Heilyn, and the nobles of Tegengl.^d It was likewise declared by Llewelyn and his council, that if their grievances were redressed, their native laws and rights preserved, and if their safety in future might depend on the tenor of the late treaty, they were ready to enter into a lasting peace with England.^e There is a force in these recitals, thus arranged and authenticated, expressive of the situation of the Welsh; all of them complaining of injuries, of the violation of the treaty, and of the power of the *mighty* over the *weak*.

^b See Appendix, No. VI.

^c Welsh Chron. p. 340—350.

^d See Appendix, No. VII—XV. Welsh Chron. p. 350—364.

^e Welsh Chron. p. 343, taken from the Records of Canterbury.

As soon as the princes had delivered these complaints to the archbishop, as a justification of their revolt, he returned to the king, and urged that prince to pay some regard to the complaints of the Welsh, to redress their wrongs, or at least, he desired, that the idea of their being justly founded might extenuate their faults. The answer returned by the English prince was, that though there was no excuse to be found for their conduct, yet he was still desirous of doing justice to their complaints. Availing himself of the mildness of this answer, the archbishop pressed the king that the complainants might have free access to his presence, to unfold their griefs, and to plead their own cause. The reply which Edward made was dark and evasive, and unworthy of so great a prince; he said, "they might freely come, and depart, if it should appear, that in justice they ought to return in safety."^f

THE archbishop on the strength of this answer, arbitrary as it was, and the deepest danger lurking within it, came back to the prince of Wales in Snowdon, in hopes of prevailing on him, by proper submission, to avail himself of what that prelate conceived to be, or wished to represent as the present gracious disposition of the king.^g Llewelyn and his council were not caught in the snare that was laid for their safety. They clearly saw into the design of the English monarch. They saw, at this moment, all that was dear to men and to

^f Welsh Chron. 363, 364.

^g Ibid. p. 364.

citizens at stake, their lives, their families, their country, its liberties and laws, with the customs of their fathers: they saw, too, that this was the crisis for manly resistance.

IMPRESSED with these ideas, it was not likely that any argument, delusive or friendly, in the power of the archbishop to offer, could answer his views, or could shake the firmness of Llewelyn and his council. After much conference on the subject, he was sent back to his master by the prince of Wales, with this manly and generous reply, “that, as the guardian of his people’s safety, his conscience alone should direct his submission; nor would he consent to any compliance which might derogate from the dignity of his station.” We easily conceive that the pride of Edward was wounded, and his indignation raised by an answer, so little expected, though so worthy of a patriot prince. On its being reported to the English king, he declared, “that no other terms in future should be offered than the entire unconditional submission of Llewelyn and his people.”^b

THE archbishop, knowing that the Welsh prince would not recede from the resolution he had formed, interceded with the king, that he might have a conference on the subject, with the English noblemen then present in the army. Having little to fear from this line of negotiation, Edward

^b Welsh Chron. p. 364.

consented that a conference should be held, the result of which was, that three separate proposals should be sent to the Welsh prince, as the only basis on which any peace could be established.ⁱ

THE prince of Wales, during this negotiation, still remained in his palace at Aber, and the Welsh army, it is most probable, was stationed on the heights upon Penman-Mawr.^k

THE first of these proposals which was ordered to be read before the prince and the chieftains assembled in council, signified, that no treaty whatever could take place respecting the isle of Anglesey, the four cantreys, and the lands given by the king to the English lords; that if the tenants of those cantreys thought proper to submit to their sovereign, they should then be treated in a manner becoming the majesty of the king. In respect to Llewelyn, no terms whatever were offered to him, he was to yield himself up without any condition.^l

THE second proposal was made to Llewelyn in secret, and was no doubt intended as a snare to his honour.^m It was

ⁱ Welsh Chron. p. 364.

^k It was considered as the strongest fortification which the Welsh possessed in the mountains of Snowdon, and capable of containing 20000 men. See Camden's Brit. Gibbon's edit. p. 673.

^l See Appendix, No. XVI. Welsh Chron. p. 364, 365. ^m Appendix, No. XVII.

proposed

propofed that the prince of Wales fhould throw himfelf on the mercy of Edward, and fhould quietly give up the poffion of Snowdun; as a cordial, however, to be thrown into the bitter cup, they promifed to prevail on the king, if poffible, to provide for his daughter fuitably to her ftation; to allow him one thoufand pounds a year, and a refpectable county in England. If that prince fhould happen to marry, and fhould have heirs male; they promife to entreat the king, that this annuity, and the faid county, fhould be fettled on thofe heirs for ever. That the king would alfo provide for the adherents of the Welch prince in a manner fuitable to their eftates and conditions.ⁿ

THE third propofal was ordered to be made to David, and to be read to him in fecret.^o If he would confent to take the crofs, and go into the Holy Land, he fhould have a provifion made for him agreeable to his quality; on the condition, however, that he never returned from thence unlefs he fhould be recalled; and as a farther inducement, they alfo promifed to entreat the king to provide in a fuitable manner for his child.^p

THE confeffions expected from Llewelyn, the fingular requifition made to prince David, and the general fubmiffion demanded from all, were enforced by the terror of eccle-

ⁿ Welch Chron. p. 365. See Appendix. No. XVI.

^o See Appendix, No. XVIII.

^p Welch Chron. p. 366.

fiastical censures; and in case of disobedience, a menace was thrown out, that the Welsh nation should be exterminated. These terms, proposed by an interested nobility, wanting the sanction, though under the countenance of Edward, carry with them an illiberal and suspicious aspect.

IT was not in the nature of Llewelyn, when the dearest concerns of his people were mingled with his own, to entertain an idea of interest exclusive of theirs, or to engage with the common enemy in any secret or separate negotiation. The proposals sent by the archbishop, were openly discussed in the presence of Llewelyn, of his brother, and of the chieftains who composed his council; the result of which was, that three different memorials should be returned to that prelate, which would convey their sentiments of the terms which had been offered; and would carry to the English monarch their last, solemn, and decisive answer.

IN a style of simplicity that carries persuasion to the heart, the prince of Wales tells the archbishop,⁹ that the terms he had brought, were neither honestly intended, nor could be safely confided in; that though he himself, through weakness or interest, should be inclined to listen to the separate advantage proposed, his people and the chieftains in Wales, aware of the mischievous tendency, would refuse their consent; as not being bound to yield up their rights

⁹ See Appendix, No. XIX.

to any mean compliance in their prince: He desires likewise, as the means of forming an honest and lasting peace, that the archbishop will have respect to the memorials which are now sent by himself and by his council: He says too, that it was more honourable to the king, as well as more agreeable to reason, that he should be allowed to remain in the lands of his fathers, than that his territories should be torn from him, and be given to strangers.^f

WITH a force of reasoning which innocence alone could give,^g the chieftains who formed the prince's council, declare, that no peace could be made, unless the four cantreys were included in the treaty; as they had always belonged to the princes of Wales from the earliest period of their history, and were confirmed by the sanction of the Pope, and by the treaty with Henry the third. The tenants of those cantreys declare, that they dare not submit to the king; as he had neither kept covenant, nor oath, grant, nor charter, with the prince, or with his people. Llewelyn's council tell the archbishop, that they themselves for these reasons, dare not come into the presence of the king; much less will they suffer their prince to risque his personal safety: They reject also the annuity of one thousand pounds, as being offered by men who had torn away his patrimony from Llewelyn, and were desirous of enjoying it themselves:

^f Welsh Chron. p. 368.

^g See Appendix, No. XIX.

They say, it would be unbecoming their prince to relinquish that patrimony, and to take lands in England, unacquainted as he is with its laws and customs, its language and manners : That he must likewise hold those lands, situated amidst his enemies, on a very uncertain tenure : They add, that it is not likely, that the king, desirous of taking from him his barren inheritance in Wales, would long allow him to enjoy the cultivated lands of England : They declare, they will not suffer their prince to give up to the king the possession of Snowdun, appertaining to his sovereignty from the earliest time, and meanly to take what might be thought an equivalent in England : The people of Snowdun, also, declare, that though their prince should relinquish his rights, they themselves will never do homage to strangers, with whose habits of life they are entirely unacquainted ; lest they should be as cruelly treated as the inhabitants of the cantreys had been ; a recital of whose injuries had been sent to that prelate.¹ The spirit of a free constitution, in restraining the will of the sovereign, runs through this spirited memorial.

THERE is something peculiarly touching in the answer sent by prince David.² He says, that when he feels himself disposed to see the Holy Land, his motives shall be pure and voluntary, influenced by a spirit of piety, and

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 368, 369. See Appendix, No. XX. ² Ibid. No. XXI.

not enforced by the arbitrary will of another. Devotion that is forced, he says, is displeasing to God; and, if ever he undertakes such a journey, his posterity should be rewarded for their father's piety, rather than, on that account, have their inheritance taken from them. It was not the Welsh, he says, who were the movers of the war; no lust of avarice, no rage for conquest on their part began it; they only defended their own lands, their liberties and laws, against the avarice, the cruelty, and hatred of the English king and his people. For the truth of which, he solemnly appeals to God; calling on him to revenge their wrongs, and to vindicate their cause. He forbids the archbishop to fulminate his censures against any but those who had caused these enormities; and as the Welsh had suffered such evils at the hands of the king's officers, he hopes that they shall receive at *his* hands remedy and comfort. "Very many do marvel," says he, "that you do counsel us
 " to leave our own land, and go to other men's lands among
 " our enemies to live; for as we cannot have peace in our
 " own country, what reason have we to hope that we shall
 " remain in quiet in that of our enemies? Though it be
 " hard to live in war and danger, it is still more hard," says he, "to be utterly destroyed, and be brought to nothing.
 " The fear of death, the fear of imprisonment, the fear of
 " having our estates torn from us; no keeping of promise,
 " covenant, grant, or charter, in short, a most tyrannical
 " dominion, are among the many causes which urge us to

“war.” To the remedy of these evils he desires of the archbishop his pious and charitable aid. He concludes this moving address, by saying, “If any person in England offends
 “the king, his estate is not taken away; if one of our own
 “people should commit a fault, let him be punished agree-
 “ably to justice, but not entirely to his ruin. As we trust
 “in you, we pray you, holy father, to labour to this end.
 “If they lay to our charge that it is we who have broke
 “the peace, it is evidently clear, from facts, that it is they
 “and not we that are in fault; they who never kept pro-
 “mise, or covenant, or order, or made any satisfaction for
 “trespasses, or remedy for our complaints.”*

It is with pity and admiration we see a band of heroes and patriots stationed on the only mountain that was left them, thus calmly and with firmness asserting their rights, and making their last struggle for freedom. The scene is solemn and interesting, and presents an image not unlike that of Leonidas in the Straits of Thermopylæ.

ALL conference was now at an end, the late negotiation had clearly shewn that the sentiments of the two powers were entirely incompatible. No longer pursuing, in the spirit of benevolence, the rights of this injured people, the

* These memorials were taken from the Records of John Peckham archbishop of Canterbury, who was Edward's ambassador on this occasion. Welsh Chron. p. 371.

archbishop pronounced them accursed, and thundered against them the whole force of ecclesiastical judgments.⁷

DURING these transactions, the roads being opened, and his reinforcements arrived, Edward about the first of November left Rhuddlan,^z and advanced as far as Conway; near which place he stationed his army in advantageous situations; his horse were encamped on the plains which lay at the foot of Snowdon mountains, with a view of securing the avenues of the country to the east and to the south; and the infantry were posted on the sides of the hills under cover of the woods.^a The treaty being ended, and not able to bring the enemy to action, Edward ordered a strong detachment of marines and other forces, in the vessels of the Cinque Ports, to take possession of Anglesey. The manœuvre was wisely planned, the success of which would not only deprive the Welsh of the advantage of that island, as a source of provisions, but would also confine them in narrower limits; and by dividing their attention, facilitate his entrance into the country. This service was performed with all imaginable success; the island was easily taken; the chief persons in it having sided with Edward, agreeably to the oaths they had taken at the late peace.^b With a view of getting possession

⁷ J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welsh Chron. p. 371.

^z Chron. T. Wyke, p. 110.

^a Polidore Vergil, p. 323. Holinhead, p. 281.

^b Welsh Chron. p. 371. Polidore Vergil, p. 324. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165.

of the mountains on the rear of the enemy, or forming a junction with the other part of the army, in the very heart of their country, preparations were made to pass the water of Menai, which runs between Anglesey and the main land of Caernarvon.

THERE is a point of land, nearly opposite to Bangor, called Moel-y-donn, where the water is much narrower than in other parts of the Straits. From this place a bridge was formed of boats chained together, and boarded over, wide enough for sixty men to march in front.^d As soon as the Welsh saw the design of the English, they raised entrenchments, at some distance, on their side of the river, to check the enemies advance, and to secure the passes into their mountains.^e Before the bridge was entirely finished, a party of English and some Gascon lords, who, with a body of Spanish troops, were then in the service of Edward, despising the Welsh for the easy conquest of Anglesey, passed over the Menai at low water, with a considerable force, to reconnoitre their works, or to give a display of their own valour. Richard ap Walwyn, who commanded in these posts, knowing that the tide would soon flow, and cut off the enemies retreat to the bridge, remained

^d Welsh Chron. p. 372. Holinshead, p. 281. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 235. Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464.

^e Carte, vol. I. p. 193.

quiet within his entrenchments, and neither opposed their passage, nor molested their advance up into the country.^f As soon as the Menai began to rise, so as to prevent any communication with the island, the Welsh in great multitudes rushed down from the mountains, assaulted the enemy with loud outcries, and drove them into the water of Menai, in which many were drowned, encumbered with the weight of their armour. Fifteen knights, thirty-two esquires, and one thousand common soldiers were slain, or perished in the water. Among others who fell in this day's disaster, were Lucas de Taney the leader of the foreign troops, William de Dodingeseles, and William de la Zouch. The lord Latimer, who commanded the English in this detachment, had the good fortune to regain the bridge by the stoutness of his horse.^g

THIS disaster was a severe check to the views of Edward: his situation was now become critical, dangerous, and humiliating. Besides the loss he had sustained, the winter was in advance: his two armies could have no communication by land; the design, likewise, of a diversion was rendered impracticable. The Welsh, high in spirits, and masters

^f Welsh Chron. p. 372. Guthrie, vol. I. p. 896, from Liber Peterburgi.

^g Holinshead, p. 281, says that only two hundred foot soldiers perished. Guthrie's Hist. Eng. p. 896, from Liber Peterburgi. Welsh Chron. p. 372. Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2464. Math. Westm. p. 176.

of the defiles, were strongly entrenched on their mountains; the castle of Snowdon was filled with soldiers, and furnished with plenty of provisions;^h they had seen, too, that even Edward and his foreign troops, with all their stratagems of war, were not invincible. This success they regarded as a presage of future prosperity. Their hopes began to revive, and their views to extend, which were heightened still more by a prophecy of Merlin, long cherished among the Welsh, that Llewelyn should one day wield the sceptre of Brutus, the supposed founder of their empire.ⁱ It is possible, too, the Welsh prince, himself, might indulge the same hopes, from a like delusive source, the prediction of a soothsayer. When he first began the revolt, he consulted an aged woman, who was a reputed prophetess respecting the issue of the war; who advised him to go boldly forwards, and assured him, in the end, he would ride through Cheapside with a crown upon his head.^k

In this state of things, unable to advance, and too proud to relinquish the design, Edward retired to Rhuddlan.^l From this place, on the twenty-fourth of November, he issued out summonses to the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk, to the following effect. “Whereas Llewelyn, the son

^h Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464. Grafton's Chron. p. 165.

ⁱ Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Brady, vol. II. p. 9. Math. Westm. p. 176. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 235.

^k Holinthead, p. 282.

^l Brady, vol. II. p. 10.

“ of Gryffydh, and other Welshmen his accomplices, our
“ enemies and rebels, have so often, in the times of us
“ and our progenitors, disturbed the peace of England,
“ and do still continue in the same course; and for that,
“ by the advice of our great men, and the whole community
“ of the land, we propound finally to repress their rebellion
“ and instability, so as it shall not be in their power to
“ disturb the peace of the nation when they please, although
“ that it seems to be a very great charge, and a most difficult
“ undertaking: We therefore command that you cause to
“ come before us on the twentieth of January, at North-
“ ampton, or before our commissioners, all those of your
“ bailiwick that have twenty pounds a year, and upwards,
“ who are able and fit to bear arms, and who are not
“ present with us, in our expedition against the Welsh;
“ and four knights of each county, for the community of
“ the same counties, having full power from them; and
“ also of every city, borough, and market town, two men
“ for the commons of the same; to hear and do things,
“ which, on our behalf, we shall cause to be shewn unto
“ them.” The like precept was sent to the sheriff of every
county in England; with this difference only, that the
people, so ordered by the writs of the counties of York,
Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Lancaster
were to assemble at York. The clergy and prelates of
England were also required to perform their services, in

carrying on this necessary war.^m The nature of this precept, and the warlike appointments so extensive, mark the eager spirit of Edward, as well as the idea that prince entertained of the importance and difficulty of the enterprize. But an event happened soon after, sudden and unforeseen, which closed with glory the life of Llewelyn, and decided the fate of this nation.

THE earl of Gloucester, assisted by Sir Edmund Mortimer, had been sent with an army into South Wales, to reduce that country, and to check the ravages of Rhys ap Maelgwyn, and Gryffyth ap Meredydh, the two chiefs who had taken up arms in favour of Llewelyn, and had over-ran the counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen. These chieftains had been defeated by the earl of Gloucester, near to Llandeilo-Vawr, with the loss only on the enemies part, of five knights, and of William de Valence, cousin to the English monarch.ⁿ

THE late success of the Welsh, in the action of the Menai, had set on fire their enthusiastic spirit; they considered it as a miracle which had been wrought in their favour. Confident, on the faith of the ancient prophecies, that, in the person of Llewelyn, the empire of their fathers

^m Brady, vol. II. p. 10.

ⁿ J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welsh Chron. p. 372. Humfrey Lhuyd's Sreviary, p. 60.

should be restored, they urged that prince to act with intrepidity, to seize this fortunate moment, and to assault the English in their turn, separated and dispirited by the loss they had lately sustained.* Llewelyn thought this an enterprise of too much importance, to engage in it without farther reinforcements, which he was not without hopes of receiving, as he had entered into a large correspondence with many of Edward's subjects in the marches, and in South Wales.^p In hopes, by these means, of drawing together a great body of troops, to enable him to strike so decisive a blow, or by his presence to animate his party, he determined to go into South Wales. Thinking the quarter of Snowdun safe for the winter, he left his brother David to guard the passes of those mountains; and he himself, with a body of forces, marched to the aid of his friends in that country;^q where, having over-ran the territories of Caerdigan, and Stratywy, he ravaged the lands of Rhys ap Meredydh.^r

THE king, as soon as he heard of the sudden movement of the Welsh prince, sent orders to Oliver de Dincham, and other noblemen in the west, to pass over the mouth

* Math. Westm. p. 176. Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Brady, vol. II. p. 9.

^p Guthrie's Hist. Eng. p. 897.

^q Ibid. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 235. Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Math. Westm. p. 176.

^r J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welsh Chron. p. 373.

of the Severn to Caermarthen, and give their support to his generals in that country.⁹

HAVING so far succeeded in his enterprize, Llewelyn proceeded with his forces towards the cantrev of Buellt; where, by agreement, he was to hold a conference with some lords of that district.¹ As he had not any thing to fear from the southern quarter, his only anxiety was to secure the chief pass into the country, that no danger might come from the north. With this design, having posted the main part of his army on the top of the mountain, near the water of Wy, he placed a body of troops at a bridge, called Pont Orewyn, which commanded the passage over that river.² Having thus secured himself, as he thought, from the sudden attack of any enemy, the Welsh prince, unarmed, and attended by his esquire alone, proceeded into the valley, where it had been agreed the conference should be held.³ There is every reason to suppose that the design was betrayed by the very lords whom Llewelyn had appointed to meet.⁴ In a moment after his departure, the bridge was attacked by John Gifford, and Sir Edmund Mortimer, at the head of a body of men who were natives of Buellt; the latter nobleman, or his father, being lord of that country.⁵ The post was maintained with

⁹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 223. ¹ Welsh Chron. p. 373. ² Holinshed, p. 281.

³ Henr. de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2464.

⁴ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 59. Welsh Chron. p. 373. ⁵ Welsh Chron. p. 373.

such spirit by the Welsh, that the English lords were not able to make any impression, until Elias Walwyn, who was probably a native of the country, decided the contest, by pointing out to the enemy a passage through the river, though somewhat dangerous, which lay below, at a little distance from the bridge.^a A detachment was sent under the conduct of Walwyn, to ford the river, and with some difficulty they made good their passage. Assaulted in the front and rear, the Welsh relinquished their post, and the remainder of the English army passed over the bridge.^b

THE prince of Wales, all this time, was waiting in a small grove, the place agreed on for the meeting of those chieftains, with whom he was to hold the conference. On the enemies first assault his esquire came to inform him, that he heard a great outcry at the bridge. The prince eagerly asked if his people were in possession of the bridge; and being told that they were, he calmly replied, “he then would not stir from thence, though the whole power of England was on the other side of the river.” This confidence, not improperly placed, lasted only for a moment, the grove being in an instant surrounded by the enemies horse.^c Beset on every side, and cut off from his army, Llewelyn endeavoured, as secretly as he could, to make good his retreat, and to join the troops he had stationed on the

^a Holinshed, p. 281. Welsh Chron. p. 373.

^b Ibid.

^c p. 374.

mountain; who, drawn up in battle array, were eagerly expecting the return of their prince. In making this attempt, he was discovered, and closely pursued by Adam de Francton, who, perceiving him to be a Welshman, and not knowing his quality, plunged his spear into the body of the Prince, being unarmed and incapable of defence.^d This being done, regardless of the person he had wounded, Francton instantly joined his own party then ascending the mountain to dislodge the enemy from their post.^e The Welsh, on this occasion, were steady, and acted with great spirit; neither animated by the presence of their prince, nor dispirited by a knowledge of his fate. They poured on their enemies, as they advanced up the mountain, a shower of arrows and darts; but the English having placed bodies of archers in the intervals of their horse, annoyed them in their turn, and at length gained the summit;^f the action continued doubtful for more than three hours, and was maintained on both sides with great resolution and valour,^g till at length the Welsh were obliged to give way, were entirely defeated, and left two thousand men,^h a third of their number, dead on the field. This action happened on the tenth of December.ⁱ

Ann. Dom.
1281.

^d Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 60. Welsh Chron. p. 374. Holinthead, p. 281. ^e Ibid.

^f Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Welsh Chron. p. 374. Holinthead, p. 281.

^g Polidore Vergil, p. 324.

^h Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 194, from Chron. Dunstaple.

ⁱ Polidore Vergil, p. 324.

ALL this time Llewelyn had lain on the ground, faint and almost expiring. He had just life enough remaining to ask for a priest. A white friar, who chanced to be present, administered to the dying prince the last duties of his office.^k

THE hurry of the action being ended, Adam de Francton, now at leisure, came back to strip the person he had wounded. On viewing the body, which was still breathing, it was found, to the great joy of the English army, that it was no other than the prince of Wales.^l Upon stripping Llewelyn, there were found in his trousers his privy seal, and a paper that was filled with dark expressions, and a list of names written in a kind of cypher; a letter or two was discovered at the same time, all of which evidently proved he had engaged in a confederacy with several lords, who were Edward's subjects in the marches.^m A transcript of these was sent by Mortimer to the archbishop of Canterbury, then in Pembrokehire, who transmitted them immediately to the king, as a necessary precaution to guard against their designs; but that prince thought it not prudent to make any inquiries, being desirous of not adding to a flame, which he thought must now die away of itself.ⁿ No sooner had Llewelyn expired, than his head was cut off by Adam

^k Rymer, vol. II. 224.

^l Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464. Guthrie's Hist. Eng. p. 897. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

^m Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

ⁿ Ibid.

de Francton; and, as a gift of high value, was presented to the king, at this time residing in the abbey of Conway.* The body of the prince lay unburied for some time; though his friends were very solicitous that it might be interred in consecrated ground. The lady Matilda Longespee also, among others, interested herself for a decent interment. This indulgence, small as it was, was not allowed, until he had received absolution from the archbishop, on the assurance that Llewelyn had shewn signs of penitence, by having desired the assistance of a priest in his last moments.†

THUS died Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, after a reign of thirty-six years, leaving only one daughter.‡ The historians of the times are silent respecting the character, or the personal qualities of this prince. Instead, therefore, of reciting the virtues of Llewelyn, highly marked in the conduct of his life, or regretting his rival's ambition, it is our wish to draw a veil over the melancholy scene. Gratitude could pay no tribute to his memory so expressive, as the tears which his country shed upon the tomb of their fallen prince.

* Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

† Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

‡ It appears, that the daughter of Llewelyn, and the daughter of his brother David, were confined in a nunnery; as an order was sent, on the death of their parents, seven years after, by king Edward to Thomas de Normanville, to inquire minutely into the state and safe custody of the said princeesses. Rymer, vol. II. p. 429.

An elegy composed by a Bard who lived in his court, in wild and in pathetic notes, and with a seemingly prophetic spirit, finely expresses their sorrow and despair. “The voice of lamentation is heard in every place, as heretofore in Camlan.” The copious tears stream down every cheek; “for Cambria’s defence, Cambria’s munificent lord is fallen.—Oh Llewelyn, the loss of *thee* is the loss of all. At the thought of *thee* horror chills my blood, exhausts my spirits, and consumes my flesh.—Behold how the course of nature is changed! How the trees of the forest furiously rush against each other!—See how the ocean deluges the earth! How the sun deviates from his course! How the planets start from their orbits!—Say ye thoughtless mortals, do not these things portend the dissolution of nature?—And let it be dissolved.—Let kind heaven hasten the great catastrophe.—Let a speedy end be put to the incurable anguish of our spirits: since now there is no place to which we, miserable men, may flee: no spot where we can securely dwell: no friendly counsel: no safe retreat: no way by which we can escape our unhappy doom.”

† The place where the great Arthur was slain.

‡ Gryffydd ap yr gnad Côch wrote the poem from which this passage is extracted; and if it were possible for a translation to transfuse half the excellence of the original, it would shew that the Bard was equally inspired with the true spirit of poetry, as affected with the fate of his beloved prince.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK IX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF DAVID AP GRYFFYDTH TO THE ENTIRE CONQUEST OF WALES, AND THE DEPARTURE OF EDWARD OUT OF THAT COUNTRY.

THE closing scene of the last book presented an affecting spectacle. We there saw a brave and generous prince, after many efforts to preserve the freedom of his country, falling in the conflict, and finding an honourable grave in its ruins.

As soon as the head of Llewelyn was brought by Adam de Francton to the king, that prince sent it to London; and that he might feast the eyes of his subjects with a novel and savage spectacle, it was ornamented with a silver circle^a and placed on the pillory^b in Cheapside; in ridicule of the prophecy of Merlin, that Llewelyn should

^a Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2464. ^b Guthrie, vol. I. p. 897.

one day wear the crown of Brutus. In contempt also of the late prediction of the soothsayer, that this prince should ride through Cheapside crowned with a silver diadem,^c his head was encircled with a wreath of ivy;^d and carried through the streets, by a horseman, fixed on the top of a spear; it was then placed on the highest turret in the tower of London, where it continued for a long time.^e To insult the remains of a fallen enemy, and a sovereign prince, by devices which were mean and vindictive, and more suited to the leader of a tribe of Arabs than a great monarch, denotes a spirit in Edward little softened by civilized manners.

THE late prince, as the central spring, had drawn into one point the strength of the nation, had directed its movements, and had given them energy and force; the spring being broken, all the parts became disunited, without spirit or motion. There is a palsy which for a moment seizes on the mind, when the hand of affliction strikes deep, and the blow comes unexpected. Before the Welsh had time to emerge out of the state of insensibility into which they had been thrown by the death of Llewelyn, the king of England ordered his forces to make a farther advance, and to beset them more closely on every side. His own army invested Snowdun on the side of Conway;^f

^c Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2465. ^d Math. Westm. p. 176.

^e Holinhead, p. 281. ^f Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Holinhead, p. 282.

his troops in Anglesey, not having hitherto dared to make good their passage over the Menai, had now leisure to finish the bridge, and to penetrate the country on the side of Caernarvon; ^g a body of forces, also, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, completed the investiture on the quarter towards South Wales. ^h

DAVID, all this time, in possession of the castles and strong holds of the country, not chusing to risque a general engagement, kept quiet within his posts. Regarding himself as the sovereign of North Wales, on the death of his brother, he summoned the chieftains, his subjects, to meet him at Dinebeht, where he intended to hold a consultation on public affairs at this dangerous crisis. He afterwards renewed hostilities against the English, and seemed fully determined to vindicate his rights. ⁱ There was a fortress, called the castle of Bere, very strong by art and nature, which was situated in Snowdun, in the midst of a morass, accessible only by a single causeway, and not to be approached but through rugged and narrow defiles. This fortress David had provided with a strong garrison. ^k But so dif-

^g Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 59. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165.

^h Carte, vol. II. p. 194. from Chr. Dunstaple, Ann. Cestrensis.

ⁱ Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465.

^k This fortress was probably the castle which is situated on the Lake of Llan Beris, the ruins of which still remain, and is called Castell Dolbadarn. Thomas Wyke's Chron. p. 111.

pirited were the Welsh by the death of their prince, that even this castle was surrendered to the king, after it had been closely invested for some time.^l No farther resistance was made; every other fortrefs was immediately yielded up.^m The Welsh, confounded and in dismay, fled on every side, to shelter themselves in caves, within the recesses of rocks, and in the deep woods of their country.ⁿ

THE passes being now left unguarded, Edward posted his horse at the foot of the hills; and leaving in each defile a body of troops to cut off the enemy as they attempted to escape, he himself, with the rest of his army, penetrated the recesses of the mountains. In this service he was much assisted by the foreign troops in his army,^o who, having been accustomed to serve in a mountainous country, advanced with great facility, set fire to the houses, and slew great numbers of the Welsh, discovered in the places in which they were concealed, or flying to such places for shelter.^p

Ann. Dom.
1283.

THE people who inhabited the Snowdun mountains being now entirely subdued, Edward collected his army, and spread over the more level parts of the country, of which he easily made himself master; and the miserable natives, in despair

^l Holinthead, p. 282. ^m J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Math. Westm. p. 176. Carte, p. 194, from Chr. Dunstaple, and Annales Cestrensis, p. 282.

ⁿ Polidore Vergil, 324. Holinthead, p. 282.

^o Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. ^p Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Holinthead, p. 282.

and

and unresisting, were slaughtered without mercy. More than three thousand perished in the carnage.⁹ Prince David, unable to make any resistance, was carried along the torrent which desolated his country; and he was obliged to conceal himself and his family in woods and bogs, and in other places of security.[†] He remained for some months in this situation, almost famished for want of provisions; during which time, urged by strong necessity, he frequently issued out to make depredations.[‡]

THE country being thus subdued, as a check to any future incursions of the Welsh, Edward erected the castle of Conway,[§] on the site of the ancient monastery, the religious of which, a society of white monks, he removed to an abbey which he founded at Maenan near Llanrwst, and whom he afterwards transplanted to Vale Royal in Cheshire, where he built an abbey of the Cistercian order.^{||}

IN this state of consternation, all union having been dissolved by the conquest of their country, the Welsh no longer resisted the incitements which were offered to private advantage, or to personal safety. It was therefore an easy matter for Edward to corrupt some of David's retainers.

⁹ Holinhead, p. 282. Polidore Vergil, p. 324.

[†] Thomas Wyke's Chron. p. 111.

[‡] Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238. Carte, from Annales Ceitrensis. Chron. Dunstable, p. 104.

[§] Math. Westm. p. 177.

^{||} Holinhead, p. 282.

These are supposed to be Eneon ap Ivor, and Gronw ap David, with their sons, who, in the night of the twenty-first of June, surpris'd David and his family in a Morafs, into which they had fled for security.^x That prince, and his wife, his two sons and seven daughters^y were brought prisoners to Rhuddlan castle, where the king then resided.^z When he was taken, a relic was found on him, called the Crosseneych,^a or part of the real cross, highly venerated by the princes of Wales, and which was delivered to the king, with other relics, by the above-mentioned chieftains.^b David requested he might be admitted into the king's presence. This indulgence was denied him.^c Inflexible in the design he meditated, Edward refused his repeated solicitations, not chusing, perhaps, that his own firmness should be put to the test, which the recollection of former intercourse might soften; or lest he should be melted into pity at the sight of a captive prince, who had fallen in the noblest cause, in defending the rights of his country. The Welsh

^x Rymer, vol. II. p. 247. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 238. T. Wyke, p. 111.

^y It is probable that all these children were illegitimate, excepting one.

^z Math. Westm. p. 177. Thomas Wyke's Chron. p. 112, says only his wife and two sons. Holinhead, p. 282.

^a This relic, St. Neots had brought into Wales from the Holy Land, and was voluntarily delivered up to the king by a secretary of the late prince of Wales. J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 202.

^b Besides the above relic, the crown of the celebrated king Arthur, with many precious jewels, were about this time presented to Edward. See Annales Waverleienfis, p. 238. Rymer, vol. II. p. 247.

^c J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 238.

prince was confined in Rhuddlan castle, and soon after sent in chains to Shrewsbury.^d On the captivity of David, Rhys Vychan, an eminent chieftain in South Wales, surrendered himself and his followers to the earl of Hereford, who delivered them up to the king, by whose orders Rhys was sent to London, and loaded with chains, was imprisoned in the tower.^e All the other chieftains following his example, yielded up their castles, and submitted to Edward.^f One victim remained to feel the weight of Edward's severest vengeance.

As David had been made a baron of the realm, Edward determined to proceed against him as a subject of England. With this view, he summoned eleven earls and one hundred barons, to open the process at Shrewsbury on the thirtieth of September, and to sit in judgment at his trial, the king himself presiding in person.^g By this court the prince was doomed to die as a traitor;^h a sense of interest, and the desire of pleasing their sovereign, influenced the decision of the judges, and silenced the claims of humanity and justice. There was something singular in the sentence pronounced against

^d J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 238.

^e Wyke, p. 111. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

^f Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2465. J. Rossi. p. 166.

^g Rymer, vol. II. p. 247, 248. Math. Westm. p. 177. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 238.

^h Wyke, p. 111. Math. Westm. p. 177. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 166.

him by John de Vausⁱ the chief justice of England. He was condemned to five different kinds of punishment. To be drawn at the tails of horses through the streets of Shrewsbury to the place of execution, because he was a traitor to the king, who had made him a knight. To be hanged, for having murdered Fulk Trigald, and other knights in the castle of Harwarden. His heart and bowels to be burned, because those murders had been perpetrated on Palm Sunday. His head to be cut off. His body to be quartered, and to be hung up in four different parts of the kingdom,^k because he had ~~caused~~ ^{conspired} the death of the king in several places of England.^l This sentence, cruel in the extreme, the rigour of which had refined into novelty, was executed on David in all its severity. To fast still more the eyes of the people, his head was sent to the tower of London, and being fixed on a pole, was placed opposite to that of his brother Llewelyn.^m Every generous idea, and delicate sentiment, seem to have been extinguished in national hatred, and in the frenzy of joy which had seized on the English.

Ann. Dom.
1283.

ⁱ Guth. Hist. England, p. 898.

^k Such was the pleasure which the death of David gave the English, that the citizens of York and Winchester contended, with a savage eagerness, for the right shoulder of this unfortunate prince. At length, that honour was decided in favour of Winchester, and the remaining quarters were sent, with the utmost dispatch, to the cities of York and Bristol, and to the town of Northampton. See *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

^l Carte, p. 195. from Chron. Dunstaple.

^m Math. Westm. p. 177. T. Wyke, p. 111. J. Rossi. p. 166. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

THE death of David closed the only sovereignty which remained of the ancient British empire; an empire, which through various changes of fortune, had resisted the arms of imperial Rome, and, for more than eight hundred years, had resisted the utmost efforts of the Saxon and Norman princes.

THE fall of nations, distinguished only by misfortunes, or only illustrious for conquests, may raise for a moment a sigh of pity, or a transient emotion of applause. But a people like the Welsh, satisfied with their mountains, who had been forced into a long and unequal contest, in defence of their native rights, with no other resources than valour and a fond attachment to their liberties, though falling in the ruins of their country, will be entitled to a tribute of admiration and esteem, as long as manly sentiment and the love of freedom shall remain.

EDWARD having at length reached the point of his ambition, in the entire conquest of Wales, annexed that country to the crown of England. As the leading principle in the politics of Edward, we have seen him pursue this object, with that vehemency of spirit, and unremitting ardour, which so highly distinguished his character. The features of this king, we confess, have hitherto appeared harsh, severe, and disgusting; but then we have only seen them at the moment, when they were inflamed with anger, or roughened by opposition. The

contest being ended, and the Welsh no longer resisting his power, the violence of his spirit began to subside; and, except a few starts into natural fierceness, we shall see him in future, with a milder influence, bringing into action the great talents he really possessed.

To secure the obedience of the newly subdued country, and to fix its government on the solid basis of equal laws, and the participation of common rights, he introduced into it the whole system of English jurisprudence.ⁿ He divided North Wales into counties; appointed sheriffs, coroners, and other officers in each;^o the county courts to be held once a month, and those of the sheriffs twice in the year; he settled also the forms of writs, with the methods to be used in law proceedings, which were to be carried on and decided within the principality, it being expressly provided that the Welsh should not be sued for debts and trespasses in any town of England:^p with this design Edward took up his residence at the castle of Rhuddlan, where he instituted a body of laws under the title of the Statute of Rhuddlan.^q From hence he issued out a proclamation to all the inhabitants of Wales, that he would receive them under his protection; giving them, at the same time, assurances

Ann. Dom.
1284.

ⁿ Brady, vol. II. p. 11. Math. Westm. 177.

^o Baker's Chron. p. 101. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 166.

^p Leges Walliæ, p. 531—536. Appendix.

^q Ibid. p. 542. Welsh Chron. p. 376.

of enjoying their lands, liberties, and properties, and that they should hold them under the same tenures as they had heretofore held them under their native princes.' This liberal offer was carried into execution. The king reserving to himself only the same rents, duties, and services, which had always belonged to the princes of Wales. Inquisitions were made into these rights by an order of the king; their particular nature was ascertained, and determined by the verdicts of juries composed entirely of Welshmen. The rents paid by the inhabitants of Anglesey were much reduced; they had yielded one thousand marks annually to Llewelyn, but only paid afterwards four hundred and fifty pounds a year to the English princes.'

THE archbishop of Canterbury came at this time into Wales, with a view of conciliating the minds of the Welsh clergy, by redressing their grievances, and by repairing the churches which had been damaged in the late disorder of the times.' Edward had already built a fortress at Conway;

† This valuable memoir, besides being the history of a private family, not only deduces with greater accuracy the pedigrees of several of their princes, but, likewise, illustrates the manners of the Welsh, as well as the miserable situation of that people, during the dark period which succeeded the conquest. This work was written by Sir John Wynne of Gwedir, a native of Meirioneth, and descended from the Royal House of North Wales. The world is indebted for its publication, and the ingenious notes annexed to the work, to the learned and judicious antiquary, the Hon. Daines Barrington. See Hist. Gwedir family, p. 33.

‡ Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 196.

§ Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Rymer, vol. II. p. 277, 279. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

and

and as a farther check to any insurrections which might arise in the quarter of Snowdun, he erected the castle of Caernarvon, supplying each of those fortresses with strong garrisons.^u With the same view of curbing the Welsh, and as a reward to the nobility who had served him in the war, he gave the lordship of Denbigh to Henry Lacy earl of Lincoln ; and the lordship of Ruthin to the lord Reginald Gray ; he gave lands, likewise, to many of the other English barons.^x He erected Rhuddlan, Caernarvon, Aberystwith, and other towns into corporations, granting them great privileges, to encourage trade, and to draw the Welsh from their mountains into a more sociable manner of living. He would likewise have removed the See of St. Afaph to Rhuddlan, if he could have obtained the Pope's consent.^y

THE sudden introduction of English customs into Wales, though softened by a liberal spirit and lenient measures, was not likely to suit the inclinations of a people, sore with injuries, and highly incensed at the late transactions. An event followed soon after, which had no tendency to soothe the spirits of the Welsh, nor conciliate their affections.

AMONG other causes of that ardour with which this people had so long maintained their independence, the

^u Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Rymer, vol. II. p. 277, 279. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

^x Welsh Chron. p. 377.

^y Carte, vol. I. p. 196.

English king must have known that the Bards had been the principal. To silence that voice which might revive ancient ideas, and rekindle in the Welsh their native spirit, Edward commanded that all the bards in Wales should be hanged by martial law, under pretence that they had incited the people to sedition. This edict, more cruel than the proscriptions of the Roman triumvirate, continued in all its rigour to the end of the reign of Henry the fourth;² during which period, interest and hatred conspiring its ruin, this ancient and celebrated order was nearly annihilated.³ In this business, however, no claim to originality is due to Edward. Philip of Macedon, when treating with the Athenian state, demanded as a condition of peace, that all the orators, the promoters of the war, should be delivered into his hands. An impartial recital of events, is a justice which we owe to truth, and to the manes of an injured people.

IT may not be improper, at this period, to open to the reader a short history of the Bards; a race of men, who possessed, for many ages, so great an influence over the genius of the Welsh, inspiring them with hospitable manners, and with the sentiments of freedom and of glory.

THE bards derived their origin from remote antiquity, and were ever held in high estimation. Mankind have

² Statutes at large, 4 Henry IV. Cap. 27. ³ Hist. Gwedir family, p. 62.

been early led to poetical compositions. Agreeable sounds would strike at first every ear, but poetry was necessary to give those sounds a lasting effect. Verse was made use of to preserve the memory of remarkable events and great actions; The religious ceremonies of nations, their manners, and rural labours, were also recorded in numbers. Hence it was that Greece could boast of a Homer, a Hesiod, and of many other poets, several ages before an historian had written in prose. Among the Gauls also, and other Celtic nations, there were poems composed on various subjects from the earliest ages.^b

IT is difficult to fix the etymology of the name *beirdb*, unless derived from *bâr*, which signifies *fury*; and, no doubt, has some analogy to that poetic fury, or enthusiasm, with which the poets fancied themselves, or might feign to be inspired.^c Diodorus Siculus is the first author among the ancients, who makes mention of the bards, as composers of verses; which they sung to the harp and other instruments of music; celebrating the praises of heroes, or chastising vicious characters with satirical invectives.^d Ammianus Marcellinus says, it was the province of the bards to sing, in heroic verse set to musical notes of the harp, the achievements of illustrious men. There is a

^b Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. I. p. 384.

^c Baxter's Glossary, p. 34. Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis. ^d Ibid.

passage of Posidonius, cited by Athenæus, which describes the Celtic princes going to war, having bards in their train; who celebrated the praises of their chieftains in verse, which they sung to the people.^e

GREAT respect was paid by all the northern nations to their bards, as they not only published their renown to the world, but consigned their fame to posterity. It is said, that this order of men were never guilty of flattery, and never lavished their praises on heroes, or even on kings themselves, unless deserved by their gallant exploits.^f

THOUGH the order of the bards was common to the Celtic nations, no vestige of them remains but among the Welsh, the Irish, and the ancient Caledonians.

ON the invasion of the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons, and on the decline of the British empire, many poetical compositions were destroyed, with other ancient records; hence the writings of the bards, and those of the early historians are exceedingly scarce. Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, and in the reign of prince Merfyn, is the first of our British historians, who mentions the bards. He says, that Talhaiarn was famous for poetry,

^e Evan Evans *Difertatio de Bardis*. J. Lelandi *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, p. 5.

^f Mallet, vol. I. p. 384.

that Aneurin, and Taliesin, Llywarch-hen and Cian, flourished at the same period. Of these bards, the works only of three are extant; those of Aneurin, of Taliesin, and Llywarch-hen.^e The writings of the other bards being lost, we can only bring Nennius as an evidence in their praise, who asserts, that the bards of his age were men of excellent genius.^h The poems which are extant contain many things deserving of notice, and throw a great light upon the historical events of that age. At the same time they are difficult to be understood, owing in part to the carelessness of transcribers, and in part to the language itself, become obsolete from its very great antiquity. Aneurin, to whom his country gave the honourable distinction of Mychdeirn-Beirdh, or monarch of the bards, in a poem entitled Gododin, relates that he had been engaged in a battle against the Saxons. Taliesin, called likewise Pen-Beirdh, or the prince of the bards, resided at the courts of Maelgwyn Gwynedh, and Urien Reged prince of Cumberland.ⁱ Llywarch-hen, or the aged, who was kinsman to the last mentioned prince, was himself a sovereign in a part of Cumbria, and had passed his youthful days in the court of king Arthur.^k There are extant some manuscript poems of his, wherein he recites that he was

^e Evans *Difertatio de Bardis*.

^h J. Lelandi *Comment. de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, p. 4.

ⁱ Evan Evans *Difertatio de Bardis*.

^k *Musical and Poetical Relics* by Jones, p. 6.

driven by the Saxons into Powis, that he had twenty-four sons, all of whom were distinguished by golden torques, and that they all died in defence of their country. Besides those already mentioned, there were other bards who flourished during this period, the most eminent of whom was Merddin Wylt, who composed a poem called *Afallenau* or the Orchard.¹

FROM the sixth to the tenth century it is difficult to meet with any of the writings of the bards, owing, it is probable, to the devastations of war, and to the civil dissensions among the Welsh.

SUCH was the respect in which the bards were held, that it was enacted by a law of Howel Dha, that whoever should strike any one of this order must compound for the offence, by paying to the party aggrieved one fourth more than was necessary to be paid to any other person of the same degree. The election of the bards was made every year, in an assembly of the princes and chieftains of the country; in which they were assigned precedence, and emolument suitable to their merit; but the bard most highly distinguished for his talents was solemnly chaired, and had likewise a badge given him of a silver chair.^m This congress of the bards was usually held at the three royal residences

¹ Evan Evans *Difertatio de Bardis*.

^m Evan Evans *Difertatio de Bardis*.

of the princes of Wales ; the fovereign himself prefiding in that affembly.ⁿ

THERE were three different claffes of this order in Wales. The firft was called Beirdhs, and were the compofers of verfes and odes in various meafures ; it was neceffary that thefe fhould poffefs a genius for poetry, and that genius tinctured with a high degree of enthufiafm. They were likewise the recorders of the arms of the Welch gentry, and the grand repositories of the genealogies of families. This clafs was accounted the moft honourable, and was high in the public eftimation. The fecond clafs, called Minftrels, were performers upon instruments, chiefly the harp and the crwth:^o The third were they who fung to thofe instruments, and were called Datgeiniaid.^p

IN the reign of Gryffydd ap Cynan, a law was enacted to afcertain the privileges of the bards and minftrels, and to refrain their licentious manners. This ftatute prefcribed the emoluments each was to receive, as well as the perfons on whom fuch emoluments were impofed. It was likewise enacted, that neither the bards nor the minftrels fhould lead the lives of vagabonds, nor fing verfes in houfes of public

ⁿ Jones's *Mufical Remains*, p. 14.

^o The mufical instruments in ufe among the Welch were the telyn or harp, the crwth or crowd, the pibgorn or pipe, the tabwrdd or tabret, and the corn buelin, cornet or bugle horn. See Jones's *Mufical Remains*, p. 41.

^p Welch Chron. p. 192.

refort; that they should not be intoxicated with liquor, or be quarrelsome persons, or be addicted to women; and that they should neither be thieves themselves, nor be the companions of such; they were prohibited likewise from entering into any house, or making satirical songs on any person, without the licence of the parties concerned. If a bard or a minstrel should violate these restraints on their conduct, by a singular and unexampled severity, every man was made an officer of justice, and was authorised not only to arrest and to punish discretionally, but to seize on whatever property the offender had about him. This statute, the severity of which in some degree points out its necessity, has been frequently put in force by the reigning authority of the country, as appears by several commissions directing the better regulation of the order.¹

FROM this time, under the auspicious protection of the Welsh princes, many excellent bards arose. Meilir, who was the bard of Gryffydd ap Cynan, was also employed in a military character, and was sent by that prince to transact a negociation in England. Gwalchmai the son of Meilir, in a poem entitled Gorhoffedd, glories that he had defended the marches of Wales against the English. Cynddelw Brydydd-Mawr, or Cynddelw the Great Bard, was a person eminent for his valour, and lived in the court of Madoc ap Meredydh the prince of Powis.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 192.

FROM the time of Owen Gwynedh, to the death of that great prince the last Llewelyn, several bards flourished of distinguished talents; the most eminent of whom was Llywarch-Prydydh-y-Moch, who has celebrated in many odes the victories of Llewelyn the Great; likewise Dafydd Penfras, Daniel ap Llofgwrn Mew, and Llewelyn Fardd ap Cyward. Cotemporary with these flourished Philip Brydydh, who was an eminent bard in Cardigan.^r

THE talents of the Welsh bards were not employed solely in the praise of heroes and of illustrious actions, or in ascertaining the genealogies of families.^s They also in plaintive numbers mourned over the tomb of the fallen warrior.

WE offer to the reader, as a specimen of this kind of poetry, the following translation of an Elegy which was written by Llywarch-hen, a British bard of the sixth century, on the death of Cynddylan prince of Powis.

^r About the year 1176 Rhys ap Gryffydd of South Wales made a great feast in the castle of Aberteivi during the Christmas holy days, which feast he had caused to be proclaimed throughout Britain a long time before. Agreeably to this invitation, many strangers resorted to his castle, and were entertained by him with much honour and courtesy. Besides deeds of arms, and other amusements, Rhys had caused all the bards in Wales to repair to the meeting; and placing them on chairs in the hall of the castle, he ordered them to exercise their several talents in opposition to each other, appointing great rewards to those who excelled in their several professions. In this contest, the bards of North Wales carried away the prize, and the musicians of Rhys's own household were adjudged to have excelled in the powers of harmony. See Welsh Chron. p. 237.

^s J. Lelandi Comm. de Scriptoribus Britann. p. 5.

Come forth, and see, ye Cambrian dames,
 Fair Pengwern's ' royal roofs in flames !
 The foe the fatal dart hath flung
 (The foe that speaks a barb'rous tongue,)
 And pierc'd Cynddylan's princely head,
 And stretch'd your champion with the dead.
 His heart, which late, with martial fire,
 Bade his lov'd country's foes expire
 (Such fire as wastes the forest hill)
 Now like the winter's ice is chill.

O'er the pale corse with boding cries
 Sad Argoed's " cruel eagle flies ;
 He flies exulting o'er the plain,
 And scents the blood of heroes slain.
 Dire bird ! this night my frightened ear
 Thy loud, ill-omen'd voice shall hear :
 I know thy cry, that screams for food,
 And thirsts to drink Cynddylan's blood.

No more the mansion of delight,
 Cynddylan's hall is dark to-night ;
 Nor more the midnight hour prolongs
 With fires, and lamps, and festive songs.
 Its trembling bards afflicted shun
 The hall, bereav'd of Cyndrwyn's son.*

' Now Shrewsbury, then the chief residence of the princes of Powis.

" The ancient name of Powis.

* Cynddylan was the son of Cyndrwyn.

Its joyous visitants are fled ;
 Its hospitable fires are dead :
 No longer, rang'd on either hand
 Its dormitory, couches stand :
 But all above, around, below,
 Dread fights, dire sounds, and shrieks of woe.

Awhile I'll weep Cynddylan slain,
 And pour the weak, desponding strain ;
 Awhile I'll soothe my troubled breast :
 Then, in eternal silence rest.^y

TYRANNY having erected her banner in Wales, by the cruel policy of Edward, in the massacre of the bards, that ancient feat of freedom and of poetry, was for a long time deprived of the exercise of their talents.

DURING the spirited, and for a time the prosperous insurrection of Owen Glendwrwy, the muses again appeared in the country ; encouraged by the munificence of that leader, and animated by the transitory ray which had dawned upon liberty. Among the number of those bards who appeared at the court of Glendwrwy, was Jolo Goch,

^y This Elegy was translated into English verse by the Rev. John Walters master of Ruthin school, and late fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, to whose elegant taste and judicious knowledge of the Welsh laws the author has been much indebted. The like acknowledgement is due to the Rev. John Lloyd rector of Caerwaes, from whose friendly attentions this work has received very considerable advantage. This gentleman, who possesses a critical judgement in the antiquities of his country, as well as an extensive knowledge of its history, is lineally descended from the princes of the house of Powis.

who

who celebrated in a high strain of eulogy, the magnificence and the victories of his patron. At the same time flourished Dafydd ap Gwylim, a native of Caerdigan.

THE Welsh, having made the last effort for their expiring freedom, sunk into a state of slavery, the most deep and severe. The bards were prohibited by law from making their annual progress, and from holding public assemblies; which privileges were called by the natives *clera* and *Cymbortha*. During this dark period, and the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, the genius of poetry was nearly extinguished, or was only employed in soothing the misery of the times by obscure predictions of more prosperous days.^z

A BRIGHTER prospect opening on the Welsh in the reign of Henry the seventh, a series of bards from this time arose; who, being chiefly maintained in the families of the chieftains, ascertained their genealogies; and, the causes of reciting warlike exploits having ceased, they celebrated the civil virtues of their patrons, their magnanimity, their hospitable spirit, their talents, and the graces of their persons. They, likewise, amidst other duties, had the mournful office of composing an elegy on the death of the chieftain in whose family they resided; which was sung to the surviving relations in honour of the dead; reciting

^z Evan Evans Difertatio de Bardis.

the noble families from which the deceased had sprung, and the great actions performed by himself or his ancestors.

SINCE the reign of queen Elizabeth, there has not been any regular assembly of the bards.^z The motives of emulation and reward being thus removed, and the spirit of ancient freedom being extinguished, the poetic fire, for which this nation had been so renowned, gradually declined. But some sparks of that ancient fire yet remain among the Welsh, which, in seasons of festivity, break out into a singular kind of poetry, called Pennyll;^a and which,

as

^z Evan Evans *Difertatio de Bardis*. Jones's *Musical Remains*, p. 30.

^a Even at this day some vein of the ancient minstrelsy survives amongst our mountains. Numbers of persons of both sexes assemble and sit round the harp, singing alternately Pennillion or stanzas of ancient or modern compositions. The young people usually begin the night with dancing, and when they are tired, assume this species of relaxation. They alternately sing, dance, and drink, not by hours, but by days and weeks; and measure time only by the continuance of their mirth and pleasure. Often, like the modern Improvifatore of Italy, they sing extempore verses; and a person conversant in this art, readily produces a pennill opposite to the last that was sung. Many have their memories stored with several hundreds, perhaps thousands of penillion, some of which they have always ready for answers to every subject that can be proposed, or if their recollection should ever fail them, they have invention to compose something pertinent and proper for the occasion. The subjects afford a great deal of mirth; some of these are jocular, others satirical, but most of them amorous; which, from the nature of the subject, are best preserved. They continue singing without intermission, never repeating the same stanza, (for that would forfeit the honour of being held first of the song) and, like nightingales, support the contest through the night. The audience usually call for the tune; sometimes a few only sing to it, and sometimes the whole company. But when a party of capital singers assemble, they rarely call for the tune, for it is indifferent to them what tune the harper plays. Parishes are often opposed against parishes, and even counties contend with counties. These rural usages are best preserved in the mountainous counties of Meirionedh and Caernarvon. See Mr. Pennant's journey to Snowdun. The world is indebted to this Gentleman for many

as a native art, may long survive, though time, or the influence of English manners, should erase every other original trait.

THE union of Wales with the crown of England, not having proceeded from mutual inclination, was received by the Welsh with the deepest reluctance. It was an union which they considered only as a system of slavery. Foreign laws and customs had been forced upon them; which, though better than their own, and more suited to their advances into civilization, were still the laws of a conquering nation, with which, on the footing of equality, they had so long contended. The rigour also exercised by Edward's officers in Wales, alienated them still more from an English administration; and they yet retained a fond attachment to the memory of their native princes.

To all the offers made to them by Edward of settling their government, they gave the same decisive answer. They said, they were willing to be governed by a chieftain of their own country, or by the king in person; but firmly declared that they would yield no obedience to any person who was not born in Wales, or who did not reside there. The idea struck the English monarch. He sent orders

many valuable publications respecting Wales. The countenance which they have already received from the public on account of the agreeable descriptions given of that country, and the deep and extensive researches into its antiquities, renders any eulogium, on our part, unnecessary.

to queen Eleanor to come instantly into Wales. At this time she was big with child, and it was now the depth of winter. At this season of the year, in her delicate situation, that princess travelled privately on horseback, through the roads of those times, out of England to Caernarvon. A few days before she was delivered, the king ordered the Welsh chieftains to meet him at Rhuddlan, and to take into their consideration the public concerns. Edward delayed for some time to call them into council. At length, having heard that Eleanor was delivered of a son^b on the twenty-fifth of April, he commanded the attendance of the Welsh chieftains; and told them, that as they had frequently desired he would appoint them a sovereign, he would now indulge them in their request, provided they promised to yield to the person he should name a proper obedience. They assented to the terms he offered, in case that person should be a native of Wales. The king, then, told them, that their intended prince was born in their own country, that he could not speak a word of English, and that his life was free from every stain. It is easy to suppose, that the Welsh chieftains would be the dupes of this artifice. They eagerly assented to acknowledge such a person for their sovereign. The king then coldly informed them that their future prince was his own son born in Caernarvon castle a few days before. It is natural to suppose, that the Welsh chieftains,

^b *Annales Waverleiensis*, p. 238. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2465.

though

though surpris'd at being caught in the snare, would console themselves with the hopes, that the young prince, as a native of Wales, would usually reside in their country.^c On the magnanimity which was shewn in this transaction the reader will make his own comments. But to strike out advantage from the prejudices, or peculiar attachments of the Welsh; and to render such subservient to his own views, and direct them to their ultimate benefit, was a point of nice address in the English king, and did credit to his talents.

EDWARD, having finished the affairs of North Wales, to gratify a martial nobility, and to amuse or flatter his new subjects by a spectacle unknown to the Welsh, ordered a tournament to be held at Nevyn, a town in Caernarvonshire, lying on the Irish channel.^d This joust was in imitation of those supposed to be instituted by king Arthur, called the round table, from the knights who resorted to them being seated at a table of that form;^e and which, it is said, had also been in use among the Gauls and the ancient Britons. A great number of knights, as well English as foreigners, came from all parts to share in this military entertainment;^f and here the English king had an opportunity of shewing his Welsh subjects that he was

^c Welsh Chron. p. 377. Stowe's Chron. p. 202. ^d Math. Westm. p. 178.

^e Cambden's Brit. p. 664. Gibson's edition.

^f Math. Westm. p. 178. Cambden's Brit. p. 664. Gibson's edit.

not inferior to Arthur their celebrated warrior, in feats of arms, and in knightly accomplishments. This diversion being ended, he made a progress through Caerdiganshire, where he remained a month to settle the affairs of South Wales; from thence he proceeded into Glamorganshire, on a visit to the earl of Gloucester, to whom that country belonged; and having been nobly entertained by that lord,^g he came to Bristol, in which city he remained during the Christmas holy days.^h On the second of January, he issued a writ from thence, of a conciliatory nature; by which the inhabitants of Rhuddlan, Conway, Caernarvon, and other towns, were freed from paying talliages for ever.ⁱ King Edward then returned to London, after an absence of nearly three years.^k On his arrival, he rode in great solemnity through London to Westminster, attended by the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragan bishops, dressed in their sacred vestments, besides an infinite multitude who attended the procession. The king, on this occasion, carried a part of our Lord's Cross which he had brought out of Wales, which was gilded and adorned with precious stones, and placed it upon the great altar in Westminster abbey.

Ann. Dom.
1284.

Ann. Dom.
1285.

THE joy which Edward would naturally feel on the prosperous issue of his affairs, had been highly imbibited by the

^g Carte, vol. II. p. 197.

^h Chron. T. Wyke's, p. 110. Holinhead, p. 282.

ⁱ Rymer, vol. II. p. 284.

^k Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238.

death of Alphonso¹ his eldest son, a youth of no more than twelve years of age, who died on the nineteenth of August in the preceding year; a prince much admired by the English for his beauty, spirit, and valour. By his death the young prince, Edward of Caernarvon, became heir apparent to the English crown.^m

THE idea of that prince being a native of Wales, and the expectation that he would be accustomed to speak their language and to reside in their country, were the only ties which secured the fidelity of the Welsh to the English government. These bands being loosened, and the only motives to union having ceased, every part of the newly subdued state fell again into disorder: a spirit of resistance revived in the Welsh, not under the guidance of any one distinguished person, nor upon any plan of concerted operation, but only as chance or caprice, private ambition, or national hatred directed.

AT this time the king of England was in Guienne, and had left, during his absence, the earl of Cornwall regent of the realm. In the late conquest of Wales, Rhys ap Meredydh had been active in the service of Edward; and in con-

¹ A few months before his death, coming to Westminster, he offered up at the shrine of Edward the Confessor, precious stones, and a piece of gold which had been the property of Llewelyn the late prince of Wales. See *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

^m Chron. T. Wyke, p. 112. Polidore Vergil, p. 325.

sequence of that service had been made a knight, and flattered with the hopes of receiving from the hands of that prince still farther honours. Instead of his expectations being realized, it seems as if he had been left in that cold neglect, which is often the just reward of men, who, for private advantage, forsake the paths of honour and integrity. He was cited to appear in the county courts, with other Welsh noblemen, by Robert de Tibetot, and Alan Plucknet, the one justiciary of South Wales and governor of several castles adjoining to the territory of Rhys ap Meredydh, and the other the king's steward in Wales.^m Incensed at this summons, the Welsh chieftain refused his compliance. It was too mortifying to Rhys so easily to relinquish his rights, derived from a long train of princely ancestors, or to see them mingle in the common ruin of ancient customs. On his refusal, legal measures were taken to enforce his obedience. During the process, frequent hostilities happened between the retainers of the two parties, to the great annoyance of the country; at length the disorder rose to such a height, as to make it necessary, by an order of the king, for the earl of Cornwall to come in person into Wales with an army, and endeavour to check the insurrection. At the same time the king himself wrote to Rhys ap Meredydh, to desire that he would cease from hostilities, assuring him, that, on his return, the evils he complained of should be redressed, and that all reasonable justice should be done him.ⁿ

^m Welsh Chron. p. 379. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465.
Holinhead, p. 283.

ⁿ Ibid.

But Rhys thought the king's absence a fair opportunity of rousing the spirit of the Welsh, as yet not reconciled to subjection, and of mounting the throne of his ancestors.^o In pursuance of this design, and that his followers might have no hopes of safety but in their own valour, he took the castles of Llanymddyvri and Dinevawr, and likewise set fire to several towns.^p

Ann. Dom
1237.

THE earl of Cornwall designing at the same time to attack the rebel chieftain in several quarters, summoned the military tenants of the crown to rendezvous at Gloucester, Llanbadernvawr, and Monmouth, ready to march under his own command, or under the earl of Gloucester, who was appointed general in this expedition.^q This appointment however was superseded by Cornwall himself,^r who, marching into Wales, obliged Rhys and his followers to retire into the fastnesses of the country, which gave that nobleman an opportunity of taking and demolishing the castles of the Welsh chieftain. One of these was the castle of Ruffin. It was usual in those days, in the siege of a fortress, to undermine the walls by sinking a mine, and to support it with timber till the besiegers were ready to begin the attack; they then set fire to the props, and the mine sinking, the walls fell to the ground, and the assault immediately took

^o Polidore Vergil, p. 326.

^p Rymer, vol. II. p. 343, 344, 345. Guth. Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 905.

^q Ibid.

^r Ibid.

place. During this operation, in the siege of this fortress, the lords Stafford and William de Monchency, attended by many knights and esquires, came to reconnoitre the works, but the miners, unskilful in that service, had supported the mine so weakly, that the walls suddenly falling in, they all perished under the ruins. Though the castle was taken, the expedition was rendered of little advantage, by the earl of Gloucester having remained inactive, owing, it is probable, to his being superseded in the command, or to some secret inclination he might feel to favour the enemies cause.³ The earl of Cornwall, unable to force Rhys ap Meredydh, and the season of the year advancing into winter, was obliged to relinquish the enterprize, and to grant him a truce.⁴

THE regent had no sooner arrived at Westminster early in November, than the Welsh chieftain renewed hostilities, and laid siege to the castle of Emlyn.⁵ On this breach of the treaty the justiciary set a price upon his head, and also proclaimed him a traitor: summonses were likewise issued by the earl of Cornwall for the nobility on the borders of Wales to take up arms against the rebels.⁶ The Mortimers, and other lords of the marches, taking arms under Robert de Tibetot, gained possession of a strong fortress belonging

³ Holinshed, p. 284. Math. Westm. p. 179. T. Wyke, p. 115. Annales Waverleienfes, p. 240.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Rymer, vol. II. p. 354.

⁶ T. Wyke, p. 115. Rymer, vol. II. p. 344, 345.

to Rhys, and so effectually checked his designs, that having no security in his own territories, he took refuge in those of the earl of Gloucester, by whose means he afterwards escaped into Ireland.^y

HAVING remained inactive in this retreat three years, Rhys ap Meredydh came again into South Wales, and raising a new insurrection, the justiciary opposed him with the few forces which on a sudden he was able to raise. Informed that his own troops were more in number than the English, the Welsh chieftain, with great confidence, marched to give them the meeting. The levies he brought into the field were young and raw soldiers: accustomed to no discipline, they did not preserve any order in their ranks, but attacked the English with fury in front, flank, and rear, expecting on the first onset to break their array. The English troops, forming into a close body, presented a front on every side to the assailants. The action continued for some time warmly disputed: the Welsh repeating their onsets with much bravery, and the English as bravely beating them back: at length, the assaults of the Welsh growing more weak, the English made an effort to break through the main body of the enemy, which they easily accomplished. The Welsh troops, confused and in dismay at the unexpected turn the action had taken, were beaten down on every side.

Ann. Dom.
1290.

^y Holinshed, p. 284. Math. Westm. p. 179. T. Wyke, p. 115. Annales Waverleienfes, p. 240.

Four thousand of the Welsh were slain in this engagement.^z Their leader Rhys ap Meredydh was taken prisoner; and a little time after, on the departure of the king into Scotland, he was executed at York, agreeably to the new mode of punishment, by being drawn at the tails of horses, and then hanged and quartered.^a After his death, the castles and territories of that chieftain were given to Robert de Tibetot.^b

AT this time, Edward was engaged in a dispute with the French king, and other means proving ineffectual, he determined to do himself justice by force of arms. In this design, he was assisted by the English, who granted him very liberal supplies; and he now attempted to make an experiment of taxation on his new subjects the Welsh. He appointed Roger de Puleston, a man of great eminence in the country, and who was high in his favour, to collect a fifteenth of their moveables.^c As yet little inured to the habits of a foreign government, the spirit of the Welsh was set on fire as soon as this tax was attempted to be enforced; an assent to which they considered as forming a precedent in future for impositions of the like nature.

THREE insurrections sprung up in Wales, in different places, and nearly at the same time; though it does not

^z Holinshead, p. 284. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465.

^a Polidore Vergil, p. 326, 327. Math. Westm. p. 184, says he was executed at Berwick.

^b Rymer, vol. II. p. 482.

^c Welsh Chron. p. 380. Carte, vol. II. p. 236. from Walsingham Chr. Dunstable. Pat. 22. E. I. m. 28.

appear that they were directed by any common principle of union.

THE natives of West Wales^c rose up in arms, under the leading of Maelgwyn Vychan, and plundered the counties of Pembroke and Caerdigan. Those who inhabited Glamorgan and the southern parts, also rose under the conduct of a chieftain of the name of Morgan, descended from the ancient lords of that country, and being joined by the principal vassals of the earl of Gloucester, they drove that nobleman entirely out of his own territories, and restored to the Welsh chieftain the inheritance of his ancestors. Madoc, a kinsman of the last Llewelyn,^d who had himself assumed the title of prince, was at the head of the insurgents in North Wales.^e

THE revolt opened with acts of hostility, which marked an inveteracy of spirit, and a firm resolution in the Welsh, that the sword alone should secure their safety, and determine the dispute. Seizing on Roger de Puleston, they caused him to be hanged, and afterwards cut off his head; the same fate attended all his associates concerned in collecting this odious tribute. Madoc, then, about the middle

^c Pembrokehire.

^d He is by some supposed to have been the son of Llewelyn, the last prince, but if so, he must have been illegitimate.

^e Math. Westm. p. 190, 191. Welsh Chron. p. 380. Holinshed, p. 293.

of July, proceeded to Caernarvon, at this time crowded with the English, who had assembled there on account of a great fair. These unarmed people were all slaughtered: the town was plundered and set on fire, and the castle of Caernarvon taken: ^f the fortrefs in Snowdun, likewise, fell into the hands of Madoc, who soon after gained possession of Anglesey.^g

A REVOLT opened with such daring insults, and so widely spread, determined Edward to suspend his intended views on the continent, and to recall his forces, then ready to embark under the command of his brother the earl of Lancaster, and of Henry Lacie earl of Lincoln and lord of Denbigh. The latter nobleman, with a view of preserving the castle of Denbigh, advanced before the king into North Wales, and proceeding in his route under the walls of that fortrefs, on the eleventh of November was suddenly encountered by the Welsh, who, encouraged by the situation of the English, were desirous of risking their fortunes on the issue of a single battle. The event was glorious to the Welsh; the English forces were defeated and forced to retire.^h About this time Maelgwyn Vychan was taken prisoner and conveyed to Hereford,

^f Math. Westm. p. 190, 191. Welsh Chron. p. 380. Holinshead, p. 293.

^g Carte, vol. II. p. 237. from T. Walsingham. Pat. 22. E. I. m. 28.

^h Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2471. Polidore Vergil, p. 332. Welsh Chron. 380. Holinshead, p. 293.

where

where having been drawn at the tails of horses to the place of execution, he was hanged with two of his accomplices.ⁱ

AT this time the English king was in South Wales, attempting in person to quiet the disorders of that country. The earl of Warwick had already obliged Morgan the other chieftain, with seven hundred of his men, to submit himself to the royal mercy.ⁱ That chief, and others of the Welsh nobility, who were vassals of the earl of Gloucester, disgusted with the pride and arbitrary conduct of that nobleman, had entered into a resolution never to submit to his authority, but offered to yield themselves up, provided they might hold their lands of the crown of England. Being indulged in this request, Morgan and the other chieftains laid down their arms, did homage to the king, and delivered hostages for their fidelity.^k Edward had been deceived into the expectation that the county of Caerdigan would have followed the example of the people of Glamorgan; but this submission at present not taking place, in resentment of the deception offered him by the abbot of Strata-florida, the English prince set fire to that abbey.^l

ALARMED for the safety of his new dominions, and at a revolt which was now rising into importance, Edward

ⁱ Math. Westm. p. 191, calls him Chanan.

^j Guthrie's Hist. England, p. 919.

^k Math. Westm. p. 191. Carte, vol. I. p. 237.

^l Guthrie, vol. 1. p. 919.

came into North Wales to conduct the war in person. Having proceeded in his march as far as the Conway, he crossed that arm of the sea with a part of his forces, and retiring into the castle, waited for the remainder to follow. In his passage he lost many waggons and other carriages loaded with victuals, which had been intercepted by the Welsh, who in great multitudes came down from the mountains, and invested the castle on the side of the land. A sudden rise in the water of the Conway preventing his troops from passing over, rendered Edward's situation exceedingly alarming; in great want of provisions, cut off from his army, and surrounded on every side by water and the enemy. The difficulties in the garrison were so great with respect to provisions, that Edward, in common with the soldiers, was obliged to eat salted meat, and the coarse bread which was found in the castle, and to use water likewise for his drink mixed with honey. A single flaggon of wine only remained in the castle, which being reserved solely for the king's use, that prince could not be prevailed upon to taste it, but causing it be mingled with water, he ordered the liquor to be distributed among the soldiers in the garrison, declaring, with a manly spirit, that he would share every extremity with the meanest soldier.^m Edward's usual good fortune attended him on this occasion; for the Conway suddenly subsiding, his forces were enabled to cross the water and come to his relief. The Welsh, then, abandoned the siege and retired

^m Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2472.

to the mountains. The English king passed the Christmas holidays without molestation in the castle of Conway.^m

SOON after the earl of Warwick receiving intelligence that a large body of the enemy were encamped in a valley enclosed on each side by a wood, selected for this service a squadron of horse, with a chosen body of crossbow-men and archers; with this force marching silently in the night, he suddenly surrounded the Welsh, little suspecting an assault. With much coolness, the Welsh, fixing their spears in the ground, and presenting a dangerous front, kept off the English horse. Not able to make any impression, Warwick, then, placed a crossbow-man or an archer in every interval between two horsemen, who, thus, fighting at a distance, slew great numbers with their shot and arrows; then charging the remaining body with his horse, the Welsh phalanx was broken, and was soon entirely routed with very great slaughter.ⁿ After this action, Edward, finding no enemy to resist him, marched into Anglesey, where he erected a strong fortress, which he called Beumarish,^o as a check to the natives of that island. Then having caused roads to be cut through the woods,^p and having severely punished all who were concerned in

^m Holinshed, p. 293. Welsh Chron. p. 380.

ⁿ J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Holinshed, p. 294.

^o Cambden's Brit. p. 675. Gibson's edit.

^p Holinshed, p. 294. Welsh Chron. p. 381.

the murder of Roger de Puleston, he returned with his army into England.²

ALL this time, the gallant Madoc, giving way to the storm, though still unbroken in his spirit, had retired into a place of security. The young chieftain, no doubt, on his first success, had flattered himself with the hopes of restoring his country to its ancient freedom.³ Incited by this fond idea, the Welsh in great numbers still eagerly joined his standard. On the king's departure, Madoc invaded the English borders. Having reduced Oswestry and ravaged the adjacent country, he defeated the lord Strange near Knocking; then again defeating a body of English in another engagement, he proceeded towards Shrewsbury; but during his progress his forces were routed, and he himself taken prisoner by the lords of the marches, after a long resistance, upon the hills of Cefn Digolh not far from Caurs castle.⁴ Madoc was sent up to London, and doomed by Edward to perpetual imprisonment in the tower.⁵

ON this disaster, all the Welsh chieftains laid down their arms and submitted to the king, whose conduct on this occasion was politic, and tempered in some degree with

² Math. Westm. p. 191.

³ Holinshed, p. 294.

⁴ It is said by others that Madoc was delivered up to Edward by his own army.

⁵ Welsh Chron. p. 381.

lenity. No victim was offered to the severity of his justice: he gave to the heirs of the rebellious chieftains their forfeited estates; requiring only a compensation for the damages he had sustained in the war, with an assurance likewise of implicit obedience for the future. Lest the moderation of his conduct might again incite them to revolt, he assured them, that he would entirely exterminate their nation, if they again presumed to resist his authority." The chief of the Welsh nobility were confined in different castles of England, where they remained some years, during the wars of Edward in Scotland;* that prince, no doubt, regarding their confinement as the only sure pledge of their fidelity. The greater number of these chieftains were imprisoned in the tower of London. To soothe their minds during this solitary confinement, banished from their country and friends, the Welsh nobility solicited the favour that their manuscripts might be sent to them out of Wales. They were indulged in this reasonable request; as it is natural to conclude, that they made a free use of this indulgence, in process of time the tower became the principal repository of Welsh literature. This valuable collection is said to have been committed to the flames by one Scolan,[†] a person who is only known to the world by having perpetrated

Ann. Dom.
1295.

[†] Carte's Hist. Eng. p. 237.

* Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2472. Holinshed, p. 294. Welsh Chron. p. 382.

[†] Jones's Musical and Poetical Relics of the Welsh Bards, p. 1.

so infamous an action, and who, perhaps, might have been instigated to it by no better motive than that which urged Herostatus to set on fire the temple of Diana.

THE insurrections already recited, with the revolt of Sir Gryffydd Llyud, and the rebellion of Owen Glendwrwy, were the last efforts which the Welsh made to recover the freedom they had lost. Their wild spirit of independence, and their enthusiasm for liberty from this period gradually declined. The blood of their beloved princes was nearly extinct; and their native bravery was subdued, or rendered ineffectual by their intestine divisions, and by their repeated misfortunes. When fierce valour and unregulated freedom are opposed to discipline, to enlarged views, and to sound policy, the contest is very unequal; it is not therefore surprising that the genius of England at length obtained the ascendancy. It was, indeed, an interesting spectacle, and might justly have excited indignation and pity, to have seen an ancient and gallant nation falling the victims of private ambition, or sinking under the weight of a superior power. But such emotions, which were then due to that injured people, have lost, at this period, their poignancy and force. A new train of ideas arise, when we see that the change is beneficial to the vanquished: when we see a wild and precarious liberty succeeded by a freedom, secured by equal and fixed laws: when we see manners hostile and barbarous,
and

and a spirit of rapine and cruelty, softened down into the arts of peace, and the milder habits of civilized life: when we see this Remnant of the ancient Britons, uniting in interests, and mingling in friendship with the English, and enjoying with them the same Constitutional Liberties; the purity of which, we trust, will continue uncorrupted as long as this Empire shall be numbered among the nations of the earth.

THE END.

A P P E N D I X.

AFTER the conquest of Wales by Edward the first, the concerns of that country, considered in a national light, are entirely uninteresting, as the inhabitants, until the reign of Henry the seventh, were reduced to a state of bondage the most deep and severe.^a

IN this state, actuated by few other springs than their passions, restrained by no regular police, no longer animated by the presence of their princes, nor their minds softened by the influence of native arts, the manners of the Welsh, for a long period, were marked with the deepest ferocity. Unemployed, likewise, in the arts of peace, little civilized by social intercourse, and enjoying only a narrow and partial hospitality, their eager spirit, no longer directed against a potent and hereditary enemy, naturally sunk into deadly feuds,^b or was deeply engaged in the pleasures of the chase.

^a See Statutes respecting Wales in the reigns of Henry the fourth and Henry the sixth.

^b Hist. Gwedir family, p. 78, 79, &c.

THOUGH the policy of Edward the first had allowed the Welsh to enjoy their liberties, and to hold their estates under ancient tenures, they had much reason to complain of the excessive rigour exercised over them by the officers of justice, and of the rapacity of the English lords who were settled in Wales.^c

THE powers of the lords marchers were still in their full force, and had been exercised with such severity on the Welsh, as to render an act of parliament necessary in the reign of Henry the eighth. The statute is to the following purpose; “Whereas many
“robberies, murders, and other evil practices have been daily com-
“mitted in the county palatine of Chester, and Flintshire in Wales,
“and also in Anglesea, Caernarvon, Merioneth, Caerdigan, Caer-
“marthen, Pembroke, and Glamorgan; because justice is not admi-
“nistered there in such form as in other places of this realm: for
“the remedy of this, it is enacted, that the Lord Chancellor of
“England, or keeper of the great seal, shall nominate and appoint
“justices of peace, justices of the quorum, and justices of the goal-
“delivery in the said counties, and that they shall have like power
“and authority as those in England.” This statute in some measure lessened the evils complained of, as it was the means of keeping offenders in awe, they not being able, as before, to escape, and to flee from one lordship marcher to another: it also placed the administration of justice on a more stable foundation.

ANOTHER evil had likewise arisen, which strongly marked the oppression of the times, to the remedy of which a succeeding statute was judged necessary, and was to the following effect: “Whereas

^c Hist. Gwedir family, p. 30, 31, 34.

“ in

“ in Wales and in the Marches, there are many forests belonging
 “ either to the king or to the lords marchers, wherein sundry
 “ actions have been committed for a long time, contrary to the law
 “ of God and man ; infomuch, that if any person entered the
 “ said forests without a *token* given him by any of the foresters,
 “ as a licence to pass, or unless he was a yearly *tributer* or *chenfer*,
 “ he was forced to pay a grievous fine ; and if he should chance to
 “ be found twenty-four feet out of the highway, he was then to
 “ forfeit all the gold or money which was found on his person, and
 “ likewise a joint of one of his hands, unless he was fined for the
 “ offence at the discretion of the forester, or farmer of the same.
 “ And whereas likewise, if any cattle strayed into the said forests,
 “ it was the custom of the foresters to mark them for their own,
 “ with the mark of the forest.” By this statute, it was enacted,
 that people should be allowed to pass through these forests as freely
 as in other places ; and that strayed cattle, within a year and a day
 should be restored to the right owners, they paying only a compen-
 sation for the herbage.

THESE statutes, restraining the powers of the lords marchers,
 were some years after succeeded by another statute, which rendered
 those lords no longer the objects of terror, and entirely destroyed
 their juridical authority. It was to the following effect : “ Whereas
 “ by the gifts of the kings of England, many of the most ancient
 “ prerogatives and authorities of justice appertaining to the
 “ imperial crown of this realm, have been severed and taken
 “ from the same ; it was then enacted, that no person should
 “ have power and authority to pardon or to remit treasons,
 “ murders, man-slaughters, or any felonies, or their accessaries in

“ any part of England, Wales, or in the marches of the same :
 “ That likewise no person should make justices of oyer, justices
 “ of assize, justices of peace, or justices of goal-delivery ; but
 “ they should in future be made only by the king’s letters patent :
 “ And that all original writs, judicial writs, and all manner
 “ of indictments for treason, felony, and trespasss, and all manner
 “ of process should be only made in the king’s name ; and that all
 “ offences committed against the peace, should be considered
 “ as an offence committed against the king, and not against
 “ the peace of any other person.”

THESE excessive powers, anciently vested in those persons who enjoyed counties palatine, and *jura regalia* in lordship marchers, being thus taken away, a more regular and uniform course of justice was established ; and in consequence, the disorder and mischief continually happening within those precincts were in a great measure prevented.

THOUGH these humane and salutary statutes had relieved the Welsh from many of their sufferings, the line of distinction was still preserved, and they yet remained as a separate people ; a distinction, contrary to all just ideas of government, and which could only serve to keep alive their national prejudices.

THE Welsh themselves, solicited Henry the eighth that he would extend his liberal designs, and give them a still more salutary effect. The petition itself, which they sent to that monarch, will best explain their extensive views and manly spirit, as well as the nature and justice of their claims.

“ May

“ May it please your Highness.”

“ WE, on the part of your Highnesses subjects, inhabiting that
 “ portion of the island which our invaders first called Wales,
 “ most humbly prostrate at your Highnesses feet, do crave to be
 “ received and adopted into the same laws, and privileges, which
 “ your other subjects enjoy: Neither shall it hinder us (we hope)
 “ that we have lived so long under our own. For as they were
 “ both enacted by authority of our ancient law-givers, and obeyed
 “ for many successions of ages, we trust your Highness will pardon
 “ us, if we thought it neither easy nor safe so suddenly to re-
 “ linquish them. We shall not presume yet to compare them
 “ with these now used, and less shall we contest how good and
 “ equal in themselves they are. Only if the defence of them
 “ and our liberty against the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, for
 “ so many hundred years, and lastly against the Normans, as
 “ long as they pretended no title but the sword, was thought
 “ just and honourable; we presume it will not be infamous now;
 “ and that all the marks of rebellion and falsehood, which our
 “ revilers would fasten on us, will fall on any, sooner than those
 “ who fought for so many years, and with so different nations
 “ for our just defence: Which also is so true, that our best
 “ histories affirm the christian religion to have been preserved
 “ only by us for many years that the Saxons (being heathens)
 “ either attempted or possessed this country. May your Highness
 “ then graciously interpret our actions, while we did but that
 “ duty which your Highness would have now done by all your
 “ subjects on like occasion; for when any should invade this
 “ country henceforth, we know your Highness would have us
 “ to behave ourselves no otherwise. Besides, had not the assailers

“ found some resistance, they might have despised a country, that
 “ brought none forth able enough to assert it; so that we crave
 “ pardon, Sir, if we say it was fit for the honour of your dominions
 “ that some part of it should never be conquered. We then
 “ in the name of whatsoever in your Highnesses possession hath
 “ in any age held out against all invaders, do here voluntarily
 “ resign, and humble ourselves to that sovereignty, which we
 “ acknowledge so well invested in your Highness. Nor is this
 “ the first time; we have always attended on occasion to unite
 “ ourselves to the greater and better parts of the island.

“ BUT as the kings of this realm, weary of their attempts
 “ in person against us did formerly give not only our country
 “ to those who could conquer it, but permitted them *jura regalia*,
 “ within their several precincts; so it was impossible to come
 “ to an agreement, while so many that undertook this work,
 “ usurped martial and absolute power and jurisdiction in all they
 “ acquired, without establishing any equal justice. And that
 “ all offenders flying from one lordship marcher (for so they were
 “ termed) to another, did both avoid the punishment of the
 “ law, and easily commit those robberies, which formerly tainted
 “ the honour of our parts. So that until the rigorous laws not
 “ only of the several conquerors of England, but the attempters
 “ on our parts, were brought to an equal moderation, no union,
 “ how muchsoever affected by us, could ensue.

“ THEREFORE, and not sooner, we submitted ourselves to Edward
 “ the first, a prince, who made both many and equal laws
 “ than any before him, therefore we defended his son Edward
 the

“ the second, when not only the English forsook him, but our-
“ selves might have recovered our former liberty, had we desired
“ it. Therefore we got victories for Edward the third, and stood
“ firm during all the dissentions of this realm to his grand child
“ and successor Richard the second. Only if some amongst us
“ resisted Henry the fourth, your highness may better suppose
“ the reason than we tell it, though divers foreigners openly
“ refusing to treat with him as a soveraign and lawful prince,
“ have sufficiently published it. We did not yet decline a due
“ obedience to Henry the fifth, though in doubtful times, we
“ cannot deny, but many refractory persons have appeared.
“ Howsoever, we never joined ourselves with the English rebels
“ or took occasion thereby to recover our liberty, though in
“ Richard the second’s time, and during all the civil wars betwixt
“ Lancaster and York, much occasion was given. For adhering
“ to the house of York, which we conceived the better title,
“ we conserved our devotion still to the crown, until your Highnesses
“ father’s time, who (bearing his name and blood from us) was
“ the more chearfully assisted by our predecessors in his title
“ to the crown, which your highness doth presently enjoy. And
“ thus, Sir, if we gave anciently proof of a generous courage
“ in defending our laws and country, we have given no less proof
“ of a loyal fidelity since we first rendered ourselves. In so much,
“ that we may truly affirm, that after our acceptance of the con-
“ dition given us by Edward the first, we have omitted no occasion
“ of performing the duty of loving subjects. Neither is there
“ any thing that comforts us more than that all those controversies
“ about succession (which so long wasted this land) are determined
“ in your Highnesses person; in whom we acknowledge both Houses
“ to be happily united.

“ To

“ To your Highness therefore we offer all obedience, desiring
 “ only that we may be defended against the insults of our malignant
 “ censurers : For we are not the offspring of the run-away Britains
 “ (as they term us) but natives of a country, which, besides
 “ defending itself, received all those who came to us for succours.
 “ Give us then (Sir) permission to say, that they wrong us much,
 “ who pretend our country was not inhabited before them, or that
 “ it failed in a due piety, when it was so hospitable to all that
 “ fled thither for refuge : Which also will be more credible, when
 “ it shall be remembered, that even our highest mountains furnish
 “ good beef and mutton, not only to all the inhabitants, but
 “ supply England in great quantity. We humbly beseech your
 “ Highness therefore, that this note may be taken from us. As
 “ for our language, though it seem harsh, it is that yet which
 “ was spoken anciently, not only in this island, but in France :
 “ Some dialects whereof therefore remain still amongst the *Bas-*
 “ *Bretons* there, and here in Cornwall. Neither will any man
 “ doubt it, when he shall find those words of the ancient Gaulish
 “ language repeated by the Latin authors, to signify the same
 “ thing amongst us at this day : Nor shall it be a disparagement
 “ (we hope) that it is spoken so much in the throat, since the
 “ Florentine and Spaniard affect this kind of pronunciation, as
 “ believing words that sound so deep proceed from the heart.
 “ So that if we have retained this language longer than the more
 “ northern inhabitants of this island (whose speech appears
 “ manifestly to be a kind of English, and consequently introduced
 “ by the Saxons) we hope it will be no imputation to us ; your
 “ highness will have but the more tongues to serve you : It shall
 “ not hinder us to study English, when it were but to learn how
 “ we

“ we might the better serve and obey your Highness: To whose
 “ laws we most humbly desire again to be adopted, and doubt
 “ not, but if in all countries the mountains have afforded as
 “ eminent wits and spirits as any other part, ours also by your
 “ Highnesses good favour and employment may receive that
 “ esteem.”

THE king, having considered the loyalty of his Welsh subjects, and the reasonable nature of their claim, ordered a statute to be enacted, which entirely united Wales with his other dominions; regarding, no doubt, such an union as an object of sound policy.

The statute is to this effect.

“ THAT as the dominion, principality and country of Wales
 “ is a member and part of the temporal crown of this realm,
 “ whereof therefore the king is head and ruler; yet as it hath
 “ divers rights, usages, laws and customs very different to the
 “ laws and customs of this realm, and because the language of
 “ that country is different from that which is spoken here, and
 “ that many rude people hereupon have made distinction and
 “ diversity betwixt his Highnesses other subjects, and them,
 “ to the causing of much discord and sedition; his Highness
 “ therefore, out of his love and favour to his subjects in Wales,
 “ and for reducing them to his laws, doth by advice and consent
 “ of his parliament ordain and enact, that Wales shall be united
 “ and incorporated henceforth to and with his realm of England;
 “ and that his subjects in Wales shall enjoy and inherit all singular
 “ freedoms, liberties, rights, privileges and laws which his High-
 “ nesses subjects elsewhere enjoy and inherit. And therefore
 “ that inheritances shall descend after the manner of England,
 “ without

“ without division or partition, and not after any tenure or form
“ of Welsh laws or customs. And forsamuch as there are divers
“ lordships marchers within the said country or dominion in Wales,
“ being no parcel of any other shires where the laws and due
“ correction is used and had, and that in them and the countries
“ adjoining manifold murders, robberies, felonies, and the like,
“ have been done, contrary to all law and justice, because the
“ offenders, making their refuge from one lordship marcher to
“ another, were continued without punishment and correction.
“ Therefore it is enacted that the said lordships marchers shall
“ be united, annexed, and joined to divers shires specified in
“ the said act.”^a

THIS statute was put into immediate execution, the utility of which has been fully justified by the experience of nearly three centuries. During this time, the genius of the Welsh has taken a different turn, has composed itself to rational obedience, and has been directed to those pursuits which tend to polish their manners, to enlarge their views, and to cultivate their minds; and, by consequence, to promote the best interests of the public, and as well as the happiness of individuals.

^a This account of the abolition of lordships marchers, and of the petition of the Welsh to Henry the eighth, has been taken from lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his history of the reign of that monarch.

No. I.

*Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de monte alto Senescallus Gestrise
Salutem: Sciatis quòd ego me constitui plegium, &c.*

TO all and singular to whome this writing shall come, Roger de monte alto Steward of Chester sendeth greeting: Know yee that I haue constituted my selfe pledge for Senena the wife of Gruffyth the sonne of Lhewelyn, sometimes prince of Northwales, and haue vndertaken for hir to our soueraigne lord Henrie king of England, that the said Senena shall accomplish and performe all and singular those couenants and articles, agreed vpon betweene our said soueraigne Lord and the said Senena, for and concerning the deliuerance of the said Gruffyth hir husband and Owen his son out of the prison of Dauid his brother, and the portion of inheritance due vnto the said Gruffyth, which the said Dauid keepeth from him by force. In witness whereof to this present writing I haue put my seale, Dated at Salop, the mundaie before the feast of the Assumption of the blessed virgin Marie, in the 25. yeare of the reigne of the said King.

No. II.

Reuerendissimis in Christo patribus ac D. D. Roberto Dei gratia Archiepiscopo Cantuar. totius Angliæ Primate, & Archiepiscopo Eborum, ac eorum Suffraganeis, &c.

TO the most reuerend fathers in Christ and Lords, Robert by the grace of God Archbishiop of Canturburie, primate of England, and the Archbishiop of Yorke, and their Suffraganes, being now together at London in councill: their deuout sonne Lhewelyn Prince of Wales and lord of Snoudon, greeting with due obedience,

dience, reuerence, and honor in all things. Be it knowen to your reuerend Fatherhoods, that where heretofore contention and discord (whereof warre followed and long continued) arose betwixt the king of noble memorie Henrie king of England of the one partie, and vs of the other partie: the same contentions and strife were at the last appeased by the authoritie of the sea Apostolike, and meanes of the reuerend father lord Otobonus, Deacon and Cardinall of S. Adrian Legate into England: as it appeareth in the forme of treatie and peace betwixt the said king, and Edward his first begotten son, lord Edward now king of England, and their successors on the one partie: and vs and our successors on the other partie, by the corporall othes of both parties assured. Which forme of peace was committed to writing by the said Legate, with the seale of the said king, and the seale of the said lord Edward now king, and with our seale also. In the which peace it is contained amongst other things (which you doo well know as we beleue) that we and our successors should hold of the king and his successors the principalitie of Wales. So that all Welsh Barons should hold their Baronies and lands of vs and our successors in Capite, and should doo homage and fealtie to vs and to our heires (one Baron excepted) for the which we and our successors should doo homage and fealtie to the lord the king and his successors. It is further contained in the same peate, that neither the said king nor his successors, should receiue anie of our enemies, nor anie running awaie from vs, or our successors, nor should helpe or maintaine anie such against vs or our successors. The which all are contained in the forme of peace, the tenor whereof the reuerend Fathers of Srata Florida, and Aberconwey bearers hereof can shew you.

BUT see reuerend Fathers, the lord Edward now noble king of England, after the said peace taketh into his hands certeine Barons lands of Wales, of which they and their ancestors haue beene long possessed, and keepeth a Baronie in his hands which should be ours by the forme of peace: other Barons of our land being from vs fugitiues, running to him, he keepeth, helpeth and mainteineth; as Daudid ap Gruffyth, and Gruffyth ap Gwenwynwyn, who purposed our death and destruction. Notwithstanding that since their departure they haue robbed within our land, committed slaughter, and burning of houses, and doo still dailie commit the like against the peace aforesaid: and although we haue often sent our greefes and complaints by our solemne messengers, to the said noble lord Edward, as well before he was king, as since, yet vnto this daie he neuer did anie redresse therein. Also that which is more perillous, he called vs vnto a place (not to vs safe) amongst our deadlie enemies, our fugitiues and felons and their spies and murderers, to doo him homage and fealtie: to the which place we can no waies come without danger of our bodie: especiallie seeing our enemies abouesaid be in that place at the king's table, and sometime in counsell, and openlie brag themselues. And though lawfull
and

and reasonable excuses were alledged by our messengers, before the king and his counsell, why the place was not safe nor indifferent, yet he refused to allow or appoint anie other place indifferent for vs to doo our homage and fealtie: which we were and are readie to doo vnto him, in anie safe place by him to be appointed, if he will appoint anie: and to performe the other articles of the peace concluded and sworne. And for that it pleased him not to come to anie place, where we could with safetie do him homage, we were suiters to him, to send anie from him to receiue our oth and homage, vntill it pleased him to appoint a place, where we shall doo our homage to him personallie, the which thing he vtterlie denied to doo.

WE therefore beseech your Fatherhoods earnestlie, that it please you to consider what danger should happen to the people both of England and of Wales, by reason of the breach of the couenants of peace aboue said: if now warres and discord should follow, which God forbid: attending and calling to remembrance the prohibition of the holie father the Pope latelie in the counsell at Lions, that no warre should be moued amongst Christians: least thereby the affaires of the holie land should be neglected: that it would please you also to helpe with your counsell with the lord and king, that he would vse vs and order vs according to the peace agreed vpon, the which we will no waie infringe. And if he will not harken to your counsell therein (which God forbid) that you will hold vs excused, for we will no waies as much as in vs lieth procure the trouble or disquietnes of the Realme. And if it may please you to giue credit to our messengers (which we doo send to the king at the daie by him vnto vs appointed) to alledge our lawful excuses in those things, which they by mouth shall on our part shew vnto you: resting to doo your will and pleasure, if it please you to write againe. Dated at Talybont the 6. daie of October, An. 1275.

No. III.

Certeine greefes sent from Lhewelyn, to the Archbischop: translated Word by Word out of the Records of the said Archbischop.

WHERE that it is contained in the forme of the peace, concluded as foloweth.

1 If the said Lhewelyn will claime anie right in anie lands occupied by anie other than by the lord the king, without the said foure Cantreds, the said lord the king shall doo him full iustice, according to the lawes and customes of those quarters or parts, where the said lands doo lie. Which article was not obserued in the lands in Aruſly, and betwixt the waters of Dyui and Dulas, for that when the said Lhewelyn claimed the said lands before the Lord the king at Ruthlan,

and the king granted him the cause to be examined according to the lawes and customes of Wales, and the aduocates of the parties were brought in, and the Iudges which vulgarlie they call Ynnayd, before the king, to iudge of the said lands according to the lawes of Wales. And the defendant appeared and answered so, that the same daie the cause ought to haue beene fullie determined according to the appointment of our lord the king. Who at his being at Gloucester, had assigned the parties the said daie: and though the same cause was in diuers places often heard and examined before the Iustice, and that the lands were in Northwales, and neuer iudged but by the laws of Wales, neither was it lawfull for the king but according to the lawes of Wales to proroge the cause; all that notwithstanding he proroged the daie (of his owne motion) contrarie to the said lawes. And at the last the said Lhewelyn was called to diuers places, whither he ought not to haue beene called: neither could he obtaine iustice, nor anie iudgement, vnlesse it were according to the lawes of England, contrarie to the said article of the peace. And the same was doone at Montgomery, when the parties were present in iudgement, and a daie appointed to heare sentence, they proroged the said daie contrarie to the foresaid lawes: and at the last the king himselfe at London denied him iustice, vnlesse he would be iudged according to the English lawes in the said matter.

2 ALL iniuries, trespasses and faults on either part doone, be clearelie remitted vnto this present daie. This article was not kept; for that as soone as the lord Reginald Gray was made Iustice, he mooued diuers and innumerable accusations against the men of Tegengl and Ros, for trespasses doone in the time of king Henrie: when they bare rule in those parties, wherby the said men dare not for feare keepe their own houses.

3 WHERE as it was agreed that Rees Vadhan ap Rees ap Maelgon shall enioie his possessions, with all the land which he now holdeth, &c. After the peace concluded he was spoiled of his lands of Geneu'rglyn which he then held, with the men and cattell of the same.

4 ALSO our lord the king granteth, that all tenants holding lands in the foure Cantreds, and in other places which the king holdeth in his owne hands, shall hold and enioie the same, as freelie as they did before the time of the warres, and shall vse the same liberties and customes, which they vsed before. Contrarie to this article, the lord Reginald Gray hath brought manie new customes against the forme of peace aforesaid.

5 ALL controuersies mooued, or to be mooued betwixt the Prince and anie other, shall be decided after the lawe of the marches (if they haue their beginning in the marches) and after the lawes of Wales, such as in Wales haue their beginning. Contrarie to this article, the king dooth and fendeth Iustices to Anglesey, who presume to iudge there the men and subjects of the Prince: setting

setting fines vpon them, contrarie to the lawes of Wales, seeing neither this nor anie like was euer heard in times past; imprisoning some, outlawing others, when the Prince is at all times readie to doo iustice to all men that complaine vpon anie of his men.

6 WHERE it is in the peace, that Gruffyth Vadhan should doo homage to the king for the land in Yale, and to the Prince for the land in Ederneon, the kings iustices brought the ladie of Maylor, into all the said lands of Edeyrneon. The knowledge of which cause onelie pertained to the Prince, and not to the said Iustices: and yet for peace sake, the Prince did tolerate all this, being at all times readie to minister iustice to the said Ladie.

7 AND though the said Prince submitted himselfe vnto vs and our will, yet we neuertheless will and grant, that our will in no case goo furder, than is contained in those articles. Contrarie to this article, gold was exacted for the Queenes workes at euerie paiment made to the king: which gold was neuer demanded in time of king Henrie, or anie other king of England. Which gold yet for quietnes sake the Prince paid, though it were not spoken of or mentioned in the peace. And now further it is exacted for the old Queene the kings mother that now is (for the peace concluded with king Henrie) 2000 marks and a halfe: and vnlesse it be paid, the king threatneth to occupie the goods and lands of Lhewelyn and his people, which he could find in his realme; and sell men and beafts vntill the said summe were paid.

8 ITEM when the king inuited the Prince to his feast at Worcester, promising with verie faire words, that he would giue his kinswoman to him to wife, and enrich him with much honor: neuertheless when he came thither, the selfe same daie they should be married before Masse, the king required a bill to be sealed by the Prince; containing amongst other things that he would neuer keep man against the kings will, nor neuer mainteine anie, whereby it might come to passe, that all the Princes force should be called from him. The which letter sealed, he deliuered the king by iust feare, which might mooue anie constant man; yet was not this contained in the peace, whereas the conclusion of the peace was, that the king should require nothing that was not contained in the same.

9 ITEM where in the said peace all customes be confirmed to the said Prince, as his ancestors of long and dailie obserued custome haue receiued to their owne vse, all wrecks happening vpon his owne lands: the Iustice of Chetter tooke a distresse of the Prince for goods of shipwrecke receiued by him before the warres, contrarie to the forme of the said peace. By the which all trespasses of either side were remitted; and contrarie to the customes before said: and if in case it were forfeited, yet he tooke such a distresse, fiftene pounds of honie, and manie horsses, and imprisoned his men. And this he tooke of
the

the Princes owne proper goods, and further tooke booties of Bagiers which came to Lyrpoole with merchandize, and neuer redeliuered the same, vntill he had taken so much monie for the same, as it pleased him.

10 ITEM when certeine men of Geneurglyn had taken certeine goods of some of their neighbors of Geneurglyn, when they were in the dominion of the prince in Meyreon, the kings men of Lhanbadarn did take awaie the said goods out of the said dominion of the Prince: and when the prince his men came thither, and asked the cause why they tooke the said preie: the kings men killed one of them, and wounded other, and the rest they did imprison, neither could the prince get anie iustce for the said goods to this daie.

11 AND where it is contained in the peace, that all things committed in the Marches, should be redressed in the Marches; yet the kings men would no where heare the princes men, but put them in the castell of Lhanbadarn: which is against the peace aforesaid. In these articles and diuers others, the king standeth sworne to the prince, and to his people. And although the prince as well by himselfe as by his people, haue often requested the king to cause the said peace to be kept, yet was it in no point kept, but dailie the kings Iustices doo more and more heape iniuries and griefs vpon the people of those parts. So that it can not be blamed, if the Prince did assent to them that first began the wars, seeing the oth which the lord Robert Typtost sware for the king, was kept in no point: and cheeflie seeing the prince was forewarned, that he should be taken so soone as the king came to Ruthlan, as he had beene in deede if the king had come thither after Christmasse, as he purposed.

No. IV. & VII.

These greefes folowing were done by the King and his Officers, to the Lord Dauid ap Gruffyth.

WHEN the said Dauid came to the lord Edward then earle of Chester, and did him homage, the said lord Edward did giue by his letters patents to the said Dauid, two Cantreds, Dyffryncluyd, and Ceinmeyrdh, with all the appurtenances: afterward when he was made king he confirmed the said gift to the said Dauid, and gaue him possession of them. Then afterward Guenlhian Lacy died, who held some townes in the said Cantreds for terme of life: which after hir decease appertained to Dauid, by force of the foresaid grant which townes yet the king tooke from him, contrarie to his letters patents.

2 ITEM, when the said Dauid did hold of the lord the king the villages of Hope and Eston in Wales, of the which he ought to answere no man, but accord-
ing

ing to the lawes of Wales, yet the Iustice of Chester caused the said Dauid to be called to Chester, at the sute of one William Vanable an English man: to answere for the title of the said villages. And although the said Dauid did often and instantlie desire him the said Iustice not to proceed against him iniuriouſlie in the countie of Chester, where he was not bound to answere by the forme of the peace: yet he plainlie denied him to be iudged either in Wales or after the lawes of Wales.

3 ITEM, the said Iustice of Chester to the iniurie of the said Dauid, did cut downe his wood of Lhyweny, and his woods at Hope, as well by the dwellers of Ruthlan, as others: and yet the said Iustice had no iurisdiction in those parts. And not being contented to get timber there, for building, as well for Ruthlan as other places in the countrie, but also destroyed the said woods, sold it, and carried it into Ireland.

4 ITEM, where the said Dauid tooke certeine outlawes and rousers in the woods, and caused them to be hanged: yet the said Iustice accused Dauid to the king, for succoring and mainteining the theeues aforeſaid: which was not like to be true seeing he caused them to be hanged.

5 ITEM, it is provided in the peace, that all Welshmen in their causes should be iudged after the lawes of Wales. This was in no point obserued with the said Dauid and his people. Of these foreſaid greefs the said Dauid required often amends, either according to the lawes and customes of Wales, or of speciall fauour: but he could neuer obtaine anie of them both at his hands. Further, the said Dauid was warned in the kings court, that assoone as Reginald Gray should come from the court, the said Dauid should be taken and spoiled of his castell of Hope, his woods should be cut downe, and his children taken for pledges: who seeing he had taken much paines and perill for the king in all his warres as well himfelfe as his people, both in England and in Wales, and had lost therebie the most part of the nobilitie of his countrie, and yet neuerthelesse could obtaine neither iustice, amends, nor fauour at his hands, hauing such great wrongs offered vnto him, and fearing his owne life and his childrens, or else perpetuall prison, being enforced, as it were against his will, began to defend himfelfe and his people.

No. V.

Articles sent from the Archbishop of Canturburie, to be intimated to Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, and the People of the same Countrie.

BECAUSE we came to those parts for the spirituall and temporall health of them whom we haue euer loued well, as diuers of them haue knowne.

2 THAT

2 THAT we come contrarie to the will of our Lord the king, whom our said comming (as it is said) dooth much offend.

3 THAT we desire and beseech them, for the blood of our lord Iesus Christ, that they would come to an vnitie with the English people, and to the peace of our lord the king, which we intend to procure them so well as we can.

4 WE will them to vnderstand, that we cannot long tarrie in these quarters.

5 WE would they considered, that after our parting out of the countrie, they shall not perhaps find anie that will so tender the preferring of their cause, as we would doo, if it pleased God (with our mortall life) we might procure them an honest, stable and firme peace.

6 THAT if they doo contemne our petition and labour, we intend forthwith to signifie their stubbernes to the high bishop, and the court of Rome: for the enormitie that manie waies hapneth by occasion of this discord this daie.

7 Let them know, that ynlesse they doo quicklie agree to a peace, that warre shall be aggrauated against them, which they shall not be able to sustaine, for the kings power increaseth dailie.

The greater
cause the more
loue.

8 LET them vnderstand that the realme of England is vnder the speciall protection of the sea of Rome: that the sea of Rome loueth it better than anie other kingdome.

9 THAT the said sea of Rome will not in anie wise see the state of the realme of England quaile, being vnder speciall protection.

10 THAT we much lament to heare that the Welshmen be more cruell then Saracens: for Saracens, when they take christians they keepe them to be redeemed for monie. But (they saie) that the Welshmen by and by doo kill all that they take, and are onelie delighted with blood, and sometime cause to be killed them whose ransome they haue receiued.

11 THAT whereas they were euer woont to be esteemed, and to reuerence God and Ecclesiasticall persons, they seeme much to reuolt from that deuotion: mouing sedition and warre, and committing slaughter, and burning in the holie time. Which is great iniurie to God, wherein no man can excuse them.

12 WE desire, that as true christians they would repent, for they cannot long continue their begun discord, if they had sworne it.

13 WE will that they signifie vnto vs, how they will or can amend the trouble of the kings peace, and the hurt of the common wealth.

14 THAT they signifie vnto vs how peace and concord may be established: for in vaine were it to forme peace, to be dailie violated.

15 IF they saie that their lawes or couenants be not obserued, that they doo signifie vnto vs which those be.

16 THAT

16 THAT granting it that they were iniured, as they saie, (which we no waies doo know) they which were Iudges in the cause might so haue signified to the kings majestie.

17 THAT vnlesse they will now come to peace, they shall be resifted by decrec and censure of the church, besides warre of the people.

No. VI.

To the most reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Iohn by Gods grace Archbishop of Canturburie, Primate of all England, his Humble and deuout Sonne Lbewelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon sendeth Greeting.

WITH all reuerend submission and honor we yeeld our most humble and hartie thanks vnto your fatherhood, for the great and greuous paines which at this present for the loue of vs and our nation you haue sustained: and so much the more we are beholden vnto you, for that besides the kings pleasure you would venture to come vnto vs. In that you request vs to come to the kings peace, we would haue your holinesse to know that we are most readie and willing to the same, so that our lord the king will duellie and trulie obserue and keepe the peace towards vs and ours. Moreouer, although we would be glad of your continuance in Wales, yet we hope there shall not be any delaie in vs but that peace (which of all things we most desire and wish for) may be forthwith established, and rather by your trauell and procurement than by any other mans: so that it shall not be needefull to complaine vnto the Pope of our wilfulnes: neither do we despise your fatherhoods requests and painefull trauell, but with all hartie reuerence according to our dutie do accept the same. Neither yet shall it be needefull for the lord the king to vse anie force against vs, seeing we are redie to obeie him in all things, our rights and lawes (as aforesaid) referued. And although the kingdome of England be vnder the speciall protection of the sea of Rome, and with speciall loue regarded of the same: yet, when the lord the Pope and the court of Rome shall vnderstand of the great damages which are done vnto vs by the Englishmen, to wit, the articles of the peace concluded and sworne vnto, violated and broken, the robbing and burning of churches, the murthuring of ecclesiasticall persons, as well religious as secular; the slaughter of women great with child, and children sucking their mothers breits: the destroieng of hospitals, and houses of religion, killing the men and women professed in the holie places, and euen before the alters: we hope that your fatherhood, and the said court of Rome will rather with pittie lament our case, than with rigour of punishment augment our sorow. Neither shall the kingdome of England be in anie wise disquieted or molested by

our meanes (as is affirmed) so that we may haue the peace duly kept and obserued towards vs and our people. Who they be, which are delited with bloodshed and warre, is manifestlie apparant by their deedes and behaiour: for we would liue quietlie vpon our owne if we might be suffered, but the Englishmen comming to our countrie did put all to the sword, neither sparing sex, age or sicknesse, nor any thing regarding churches or sacred places, the like whereof the Welshmen neuer committed. That one hauing paid his ranome was afterward slaine, we are right forie to heare of it, neither do we maintaine the offender, who escaping our hands keepeth himselfe as an outlaw in the woods and vnknown places. That some began the warre in a time not meete and conuenient, that vnderstood not we of vntill now: and yet they which did the same do affirme, that in case they had not done as they did at that time, they had beene slaine or takne themselues, being not in safetie in their owne houses, and forced continuallie for safegard of their liues to keepe themselues in armour: and therefore to deliuer themselues from that feare, they tooke that enterprife in hand. Concerning those things which we commit against God: with the assistance of his grace, we will (as it becommeth Christians) repent and turne vnto him. Neither shall the war on our part be continued, so that we be faued harmlesse and may liue as we ought: but before we be disinherited or slaine we must defend our selues as well as we may. Of all iniuries and wrongs done by vs, we are most willing and readie (vpon due examination and triall of all trespasses and wrongs committed on both sides) to make amends to the vttermoſt of our power: so that the like on the kings side be performed in like manner towards vs and our people: and to conclude and stablisch a peace we are most readie: but what peace can be established when as the kings charter so solemnlie confirmed, is not kept and performed? Our people are dailie oppressed with new exactions: we send vnto you also a note in writing of the wrongs and iniuries which are done vnto vs contrarie to the forme of the peace before made. We haue put our selues in armour, being driuen therevnto by necessitie: for we and our people were so oppressed, troden vnder foote, spoiled, and brought to slauerie by the kings officers, contrarie to the forme of the peace concluded against iustice, none otherwise than if we were Saracens or Iewes: whereof we haue often times complained vnto the king and neuer could get anie redresse: but alwaies those officers were afterwards more fierce and cruell against vs. And when those officers through their rauine and extortion were enriched, other more hungrie than they were sent a fresh to flea those whom the other had shorne before: so that the people wished rather to die than liue in such oppression. And now it shall not be needeful to leuie anie armie to war vpon vs, or to moue the prelat of the church against vs, so that the peace may be obserued duellie and trulie, as before is expressed. Neither ought your holie fatherhood to giue credit to all that our aduersaries do alleage against vs: for euen as in their deeds they haue and do oppresse vs, so in their words they will not sticke to slander vs, laien to our charge what liketh them best. Therefore, for asmuch as they

they are alwaies present with you, and we absent from you, they oppressing, and we oppressed, we are to desire you euen for his sake from whom nothing is hid, not to credit mens words but to examine their deeds. Thus we bid your holines farewell. Dated at Garth Celyn, in the feast of S. Martine.

No. VIII.

Greefs and Iniuries offered by the King and his Officers to the Men of Ros.

THIS is the forme of peace, which the king of England did promise the men of Ros before they did him homage, which he promised them to obserue inuiolablie. That is to saie, the king should grant to euerie of them their right and iurisdiction, as they had in time of king Henrie, according as the said men doo report that they had in the time of king Henrie.

2 **ITEM** the lord the king did promise the said men, that they should haue iustice in their sutes: after granting of the which articles, the said men did homage to the king. And then the king promised them with his owne mouth faithfullie to obserue the said articles. This notwithstanding, a certeine noble man passing by the kings hie waie, with his wife in the kings peace, met certeine English laborers and Masons going to Ruthlan where they did then worke: who attempted by force to take awaie his wife from him, and while he defended hir as well as he could, one of them killed the wife, and he who killed hir with his fellowes were taken: and when the kinred of hir which was slaine required lawe at the Justice of Chesters hands (for their kinswoman) they were put in prison, and the murtherers were deliuered.

3 **ITEM**, a certeine man killed a Gentleman who had killed the sonne of Grono ap Heilyn and was taken: but when certeine of the kinred required iustice before the Justice of Chester, certeine of them were imprisoned, the offender set at libertie, and iustice denied to the kinred.

4 **ITEM**, certeine Gentleman claimed some lands, and offered the king a great peece of monie, to haue iustice by the verdict of good and lawfull men of the countrie (then the lands being adiudged to the claimers) Reginald Gray tooke the same lands, corne, goods, and all vpon the ground, so that they lost their lands, monie, corne and cattell.

5 **ITEM**, it is our right that no stranger should cut our woods without our leaue: yet this notwithstanding there was a proclamation at Ruthlan, that it should be lawfull for all other men to cut downe our woods, but to vs it was forbidden.

6 **ITEM**, where diuerse honest men had lands of the gift of the said Dauid, the Justice taketh the said mens lands awaie.

7 ITEM, when anie commeth to Ruthlan with merchandize, if he refuse whatsoeuer anie English man offereth, he is forthwith sent to the castell to prison, and the buier hath the thing, and the king hath the price: then the soldiours of the castell first spoile and beate the partie, and then cause him to pay the porter, and let him go.

8 ITEM, if anie 'Welshmen buie anie thing in Ruthlan, and anie English man doo meet him, he will take it from him, and giue him lesse than he paid for it.

9 ITEM, the king contrarie to his promise made to the men of Ros, hath giuen the territorie of Maynan, Penmayn and Lhyfuayn.

10 ITEM, Certeine Gentlemen of the Cantred of Ros bought certeine offices, and paid their monie for the same: yet the Iustice of Chester tooke the said offices from them without cause.

See this Article againe page 585.

11 ITEM, Grono ap Heilyn tooke to farme of Godfrey Marliney, the territorie of Maynan and Lhyfuayn, for the terme of foure yeares: yet Robert de Cruquer with horses and armes and foure and twentie horsfemen, came to vex the said Grono, so that he had no safe going, neither to Ruthlan nor Chester, without a great garrison of his kindred and frends.

12 ITEM, certeine Gentlemen were arrested for trespasses doone before the warres and imprisoned, and could not be deliuered vntill they had paid xvi. markes, which was contrarie to the peace concluded.

13 ITEM, our causes ought to be decided after the custome of our lawes; but our men be compelled to sweare against their consciences, else they be not suffered to sweare: furthermore we spent three hundreth markes in going to the king for iustice in the foresaid articles. And when we beleueed to recouer full iustice, the king sent to our parties the lord Reginald Gray, to whom the king hath fet all the lands to farme, to handle the men of the said Cantreds as it pleaseth him: who compelled vs to *sweare in his name, whereas we should sweare in the kings name. And where the kings crosse ought to be erected, he caused his crosse to be erected, in token that he is the verie true lord: and the said lord Reginald at his first comming to those parts of Wales, sold to certeine seruants of the king, offices for lx. markes, which the said seruants bought before of the king for xxiiij. markes: which offices ought not to be sold at the choise of the lord.

14 ITEM, the king gaue Meredyth ap Madoc a captaineship for his seruice, Reginald Gray tooke it from him: neither could he get anie remedie at the kings hands for the same.

* To sweare by his hand whereas we should sweare by the hand of the king.

15 ITEM, one of the councill of the said Reginald, Cynwric Vadhan told vs by mouth, that as soone as the said Reginald Gray returned to Wales he would take xxiiij. men of everie Cantered, and either behead them or imprifon them perpetuallie.

16 ITEM, whereas we paid our taxes and rents in old monie halfe a yeare before the comming of new monie, they inforced vs to paie new monie for the old.

THESE greefes and the like, the said Reginald offered vs, and threatned that if we would fend anie to the king to complaine he would behead them: and when we sent anie to the king, he could neuer speake with the king, but spent vs much monie in vaine. For which greefes we beleecue our selues free before God, from the oth which we haue made to the king.

No. IX.

These Greefes folowing, the King and his Iustices offered to Rees Vachan of Stratywy.

AFTER that the said Rees gaue the king, his castell of Dyneuowr, sithence the last peace, the said Rees then being in the tent of the lord Payne de Gadersey, at the same time there were slaine fixe Gentlemen of the said Reeses men, for whom they neuer had amends, which was to him great greefe and losse.

2 ITEM, Iohn Gifford claimed the said Reeses inheritance at Hiruryn, and the said Rees requested the lawe of his countrie of the king, or the lawe of the countie of Caermardhen, in the which countie the ancestors of the said Rees were woont to haue lawe: when they were of the peace of the Englishmen, and vnder their regiment: but the said Rees could haue no lawe, but lost all his lands. They would haue had him to answer in the countie of Hereford, where none of his ancestors euer answered. Further in the lands of the said Rees were such enormities committed, which doo most apperteine to the state ecclesiasticall: that is to saie in the church of S. Daud, which they call Lhangadoc, they made itables, and plaid the harlots, and tooke awaie all the goods of the said church, and burning all the houses, wounded the preest of the said church before the high altar, and left him there as dead.

3 ITEM, in the same countrie they spoiled and burnt the churches of Dyngad, Lhantredaff, and other churches in other parts: they spoiled their chalices, books, and all other ornaments and goods.

No. X.

These be the Greefes which the King and his Iustice gaue to Llewelyn ap Rees and Howel ap Rees.

AFTER that a forme of peace was concluded betwixt Henrie then king of England, and the prince of Wales, the said king granted and confirmed by his charter to the said Prince the homage of the said noble men, so long as they stood freends with the prince, according to the said gift and confirmation: but Edward now king disherited the said Gentlemen of their lands, so that they could not haue their owne lands, neither by law nor by fauour.

No. XI.

These be the Greefes doone by the Englishmen, to the Sonnes of Meredyth ap Owen.

AFTER that the king had granted the Gentlemen their owne inheritance of Geneurglyn and Creuthyn, he contrarie to the peace disherited the said Gentlemen: denieng them all lawes and customes of Wales, and of the countie of Caermardhyn.

2 THE said king in his countie of Caerdigan by his said Iustices compelled the said Gentlemen to give iudgement vpon themselues: where their predecessors neuer suffered the like of Englishmen.

3 THE said Iustices of the king haue taken awaie the courtes of the noblemen in Wales, and compelled the people to satisfie before them for trespasses: when as they ought to haue satisfied by the said nobles.

4 WHEN a wrecke hapneth vpon anie of the grounds of the noble men, whose ancestors had wrecke, they should haue the same: yet the king forbiddeth them, and the said king by color of that shipwrecke contrarie to their custome and law did condemne them in eight markes, and tooke away all the goods of the shipwrecke.

5 THAT none of our men of the countie of Caerdigan dare come amongst the Englishmen, for feare of imprisonment: and if it had not bcene for feare of hurt, the nobles would neuer haue stirred.

No. XII.

No. XII.

The complaints of the noble Men of Stratalyn, of the Wrongs and Greefes doone to them, by Roger Clifford, and Roger Scrochill Deputie to the said Roger Clifford: contrarie to the Priuilege, Iustice and Custome of the said noble Men, as they saie and prooue.

WHEN the said Rogers compelled the said men of Stratalyn to giue them (to haue their customes and priuileges) twentie marks starling, and after the paiement of the monie, they brake by and by after this fort, to put vpon twelue men according to the lawes of England, which was neuer the manner nor custome of the said countrie.

2 **ITEM**, Madoc ap Blethyn was condemned in foure markes vniuitlie, contrarie to the lawes and vse of the countrie.

3 **ITEM**, Grono Goch was likewise condemned in fwe marks and twelue beafst, contrarie to the custome of the countrie.

4 **ITEM**, the said Rogers tooke the lands of the men of the countrie as forfeit: and for one foote of a stag found in a dogs mouth, three men were spoiled of all that they had.

5 **ITEM**, Ithel ap Gwyfty was condemned in a great sum of monie, for the fact of his father done fourtie yeares before.

6 **ITEM**, the said Rogers laid vpon vs the finding of all the English foldiours, whereof before there was but one halfe.

7 **ITEM**, we were giuen to maister Maurice de Cruny, and were sold to Roger Clifford: which was neuer seene in our parents time,

8 **ITEM**, the widow of Robert of the Mowld asked of the king the third part of the land in the Mowld in ward: whereas it was iudged before the king, that the said lands were neuer giuen in ward.

No. XIII.

These be the Articles of Greefes doone to the Men of Penlhyn, by the Constable of Henrie Chambers of the white Abbie, and his Men.

CYNWRIC AP MADOC was spoiled by them in time of peace, of eight pound, foure oxen, corne the worke of one plough for two yeares, and to the value of three pound, of three of his men, and they had the worth of xvi. pound for the said eight pound, and did beate him besides: which was more wrong, for then he was the princes constable at Penlhyn. And all the cause that they

they pretended to make this spoile, was onelie that they said they had found foure and twentie sheafes of tyth in the house of a seruant of the said Cynwric.

2 ITEM, Adam Criwr was condemned in eight shillings eight pence, and a mare, price twentie shillings, and was taken and beaten, for that he had taken the stealer of that mare, and brought him bound with him, the which theefe was forthwith deliuered.

3 ITEM, Iorwerth ap Gurgeneu was condemned in foure pound, for that he had scaped out of their prison in time of the warres, and was found in the said towne in the time of peace, and this is directlie against the peace concluded betwixt the king and the Prince.

4 ITEM, Caduan Dhu seruant to the constable of Penllyn was condemned, bicause he would not receiue the old monie for new.

5 ITEM, Gruffyth ap Grono the Princes man was spoiled of an oxe, price eleuen shillings eight pence, and after that the constable had plowed with the said oxe seuen monthes, he paid to the said Gruffyth for the said oxe, three shillings foure pence.

6 ITEM, two seruants of one named Y Bongam were spoiled of two pounds, for that they tooke a theefe that robbed them by night, and yet the theefe was deliuered.

7 ITEM, Eneon ap Ithel was taken, beaten, and spoiled of two oxen, price foure and twentie shillings and two pence, for this cause onelie, that the said oxen went from one streete to another in the towne.

8 ITEM, Guyan Maystran was spoiled of his monie, because a certeine merchant of Arduwy owed them certeine things, and yet the said merchant was not of their bailiwicke.

No. XIV.

The Greefes of Grono ap Heilyn.

A TENANT of Grono ap Heilyn was called to the kings court without anie cause: then Grono came at the daie appointed to defend his tenant, and demanded iustice for him, or the law which the men of his countrie did vse: all this being denied, the said tenant was condemned in seuen and twentie pound, i. d. ob. Then the said Grono went to London for iustice, which was promised him, but he could neuer haue anie, where he spent in his iournie fiftene markes.

2 A CERTEINE Gentleman was slaine, who had fostered the sonne of Grono ap Heilyn, and he that killed him was taken and brought to Ruthlan castell: then the said Grono and the kindred of him that was slaine asked iustice, but
some

some of them were imprifoned, and the killer difcharged. Then Grono went againe to London for iuftice which the king did promife him, but he neuer had anie, but ſpent twentie markes.

3 THE third time Grono was faine to go to London for iuftice in the premisses: where he ſpent xvij. markes, vj. s. viij. d. And then likewiſe the king promiſed him that he ſhould haue iuftice: but when he certeinlie beleeued to haue iuftice, then Reginald Gray came to the countrie and ſaid openlie, that he had all doings in that countrie by the kings charters: and tooke away all Bailiwicks, which the king had giuen the ſaid Grono and ſold them at his pleaſure: then the ſaid Grono aſked iuftice of the ſaid Reginald, but he could not be heard.

4 THE ſaid Grono tooke to farme for foure yeares of Godfrey Marliney, Maynan and Lhysfayn, then Robert Cruquer came with his horſſes, and armes to get the ſaid lands by force, and for that Grono would not ſuffer him to haue the ſaid lands before his yeares came out, he was called to the law, and then the ſaid Reginald Gray came with xxiiij. horſſemen, to take the ſaid Grono. And for that they could not that daie haue their purpoſe, they called Grono the next daie to Ruthlan: and then Grono had counſell not to go to Ruthlan. Then they called him againe to anſwere at Caerwys, but the ſaid Grono durſt not go thither, but by the conduct of the biſhop of S. Afaph, for that Reginald Gray was there and his men in harnesse.

5 FOR theſe greefes for the which he could get no iuftice, but labour and expenſes, of liij. markes and more, and for that he durſt not in his owne perſon go to the court, he ſent letters, one to the king, an other to his brother Lhewelyn, to ſignifie to the king that he ſhould looſe all the fauour of the countrie, if he kept no promiſe with them, and ſo it came to paſſe, becauſe the men of Ros and Engleſild could get no iuftice, the king negleſſing the correction of theſe things, loſt the whole countrie.

No. XV.

Hwoblie ſheweth to your Holines, Lord Archbiſhop of Canturburie, Primate of all England, the noble Men of Tegengl: that when the ſaid noble Men did their Homage to the Lord Edward, King of England, the ſaid King promiſed them to defend them and their Goods; and that they ſhould uſe all Kind of Right, Priuilege, and Iuriſdiction, which they did uſe in Time of King Henrie, of the Graunt of the ſaid King, whereof they were after ſpoiled.

FIRST they were ſpoiled of their right and priuileges and cuſtomes of the countrie: and were compelled to be iudged by the lawes of England, whereas

the tenor of that their privilege was to be iudged according to the lawes of Wales at Tref Edwyn, at Ruthlan, and at Caerwys, and the best men of the countrie were taken, bicause they desired to be iudged at Tref Edwyn, according to the tenor of their privileges, by the lawes of Wales.

2 **WHATSOEVER** one Iustice dooth, his successor dooth reuerse the same: for in Dauids cause Reginald Gray reuoked that, which his predecessor confirmed and allowed.

3 **IF** he doo take anie Gentleman of the countrie, he will not let him go vpon fuertie, which he ought to doo.

4 **IF** anie Gentleman be brought to the castell of the Flynt, vpon small accusation, and his cattell withall; they can neither be deliuered, nor haue delaie, vntill they giue the constable an oxe, and vntill they paie three pound fees to Cynwric for the hauing of the delaie,

5 **REGINALD GRAY** gaue the lands of the men of Mertou to the Abbot and couent of Basingwerke, against the lawes of Wales and the custome of the countrie, and contrarie to the forme of the peace betwixt prince Lhwelyn and the king; that is to saie, xvi. Caratatas terræ.

6 **THE** noble and best of the countrie be iniured for that the king builded the castell of Flynt vpon their ground: and the king commanded the Iustices to giue the men as much and as good ground or the price. But they are spoiled of their lands, and haue neither other lands nor monie.

7 **REGINALD GRAY** will not suffer men to cut their owne wood, vntill he haue both monie and reward, and vntill they paie for it also; but permitteth others to cut it downe freelie, which they ought not to doo by the lawes and customes of Wales.

8 **WHERE** the men of Cyrchynan couenant with the king to giue the king halfe a medow, of condition the king should not suffer the woods to be cut downe, Howel ap Gruffyth being present: yet Reginald Gray hath broken the same, permitting euerie man to cut their woods, and spoile them also of their medowe.

9 **THE** sonne of Cynwric ap Grono was taken at Ruthlan, and put in prison without anie cause at all: neither would the kings officers deliuer him, vnlesse he would redeeme the gage of a certeine woman, for the which he was constrained to paie much more than the pawne laie for.

10 **WHEN** the bailiffe of Ruthlan was at a feast, Hicken le Maile wounded a Gentleman cruellie in the presence of the said bailiffe: by the occasion of which wound, Hicken was condemned in eight pound, and when he which was hurt would haue demanded the said eight pound, he was put in prison with Hicken.

11 **THE** messengers of Reginald Gray attempted an absurditie not heard of, requiring the people of the countrie to plow his ground, and sowe the same: and the messengers were Cynwric Says and Hicken Lemayl, and the said Cynwric

fware

ware openlie before the whole companie, that vnlesse all men should plow Reginald Grayes ground, they should shortlye repent it: then the people feared much, as in that case anie constiant man would feare.

12 THE heires of Tegengl bought their offices for xxx. markes of the king. But afterward Reginald Gray spoiled them of their offices and monie, against the lawes and customes of England.

13 SEAUEN Gentlemen were wrongfullie killed by the Englishmen, but as yet the parents of the Gentlemen can haue no amends: and though the offenders were taken, yet the said constable let them go without punishment.

14 THE constable of Ruthlan kept two of the kings soldiours in prison, for that they tooke an Englishman, who had wounded a man.

ALL these things contained in these articles are contrarie to the priuilege, libertie and right of the said men, and contrarie to the lawes and customes of Wales: neither dare the inhabitants send their complaints to the king for feare of Reginald Gray (which feare anie constiant man might haue) because the said Reginald Gray said openlie, that if he could come by anie such their messengers, he would cut off their heads, as it is certeinlie told vs by one of his counsell: further neither toong can expresse, nor penne can write, how euill the men of Tegengl haue beene ordered.

HUMBLIE complaineth vnto your lordship, my lord Archbishop of Canturburie Primate of all England, Lhewelyn ap Gruffyth ap Madoc, of the constable of Oswaldes Croffe, the king and of the men of that towne, who haue spoiled the said Lhewelyn of the third part of a towne called Lhedrot, and his fathers house without anie law, or right, or custome of the countrie. Further the said Constable and his complices haue against the lawes and the custome of the countrie spoiled the said Lhewelyn of the common and pasturage, which he and his predecessors haue had and vsed time out of mind: and further condemned the said Lhewelyn for the said pasture in lxx. markes. And further the king of England granted certeine letters to a bastard called Gruffyth Vaehan of Cynlhaeth, to law with the said Lhewelyn for his whole lordship and possessions; by the occasion of the which letters, the said Lhewelyn hath spent two hundreth pound of good monie.

Lhewelyn ap
Gruffyth ap
Madoc.

ALSO the said Constable compelled the said Lhewelyn to send two of his Gentlemen to him, whom when they came to him he caused to be hanged, which Gentlemen ought not by right to haue beene hanged, whose parents had rather haue giuen him three hundreth pounds.

AFTERWARD the said Constable imprisoned threescore of the men of the said Lhewelyn (no cause alledged) but that a certeine Page spake a word: who could not be deliuered out of prison, vntill euerie of them paid ten shillings.

WHEN the men of the said Lhewelyn came to the said towne to sell their oxen, the said Constable would cause the beasts to be driuen to the castell: neither would he restore the beastes nor monie for them. Further, the said Constable and his men tooke awaie the cattell of the said Lhewelyn from his owne ground, and did their will with them.

FURTHER the kings Iustices compelled the said Lhewelyn, contrarie to the law and custome of Wales, to deliuer to the sonnes of Eneon ap Gruffyth, a certeine towne which both he and his ancestors euer had held. The said Constable tooke the horssc of Lhewelyns Bailiff: when the said Bailiff owed him nothing, who could neuer get his horssc againe, nor anie satisfaction for it.

FURTHERMORE when the said Lhewelyn should haue gone to a towne called Caerlhôn to appeare there as he was appointed, the sonnes of Gruffyth ap Gwenwynwyn, and the soldiours of Roger Strainge, by the counsell of the said Roger, tooke the said Lhewelyn and his men, and imprisoned them, to their great damage; which the said Lhewelyn would not for 300. pound starling, who could by no meanes be deliuered, vntill they had found sufficient suerties.

THE Archbishop receiuing these and other articles, came to the king, and requested him to consider these wrongs, and to cause amends to be made, or at the least excuse the Welshmen hauing so iust cause of greefe. Who answered that the Welshmen were to be excused: yet he said he was euer readie to doo iustice to all them that complained. Wherevpon the Archbishop besought the king againe, that the Welshmen might haue free accesse to his Grace to declare their greefes, and to seeke remedie: the king answered they should freelie come and depart, if it should seeme that by iustice they deserued to depart.

THE Archbishop hearing this, went and came to the Prince of Wales in Snowdon, that he might mooue him and his brother Dauid, and the other companie to submit themselues: whereby he might incline the king to admit them. Which after much talke and conference with the Archbishop, the Prince answered that he was readie to submit himselfe to the king, referuing two things: that is to say, his conscience, which he ought to haue for the rule and safegard of his people: and also the decencie of his state and calling. Which ansuere the Archbishop brought, and reported to the king. At the which the king said, that he would not anie other treatie of peace, than that the Prince and his people should simplie submit themselues. But the Archbishop (knowing well that the Welshmen would not submit themselues but in the forme aforesaid, or in other forme to them tollerable and of them liked) requested the king, that he might haue conference in this matter with all the noble Englishmen then present: who after such conference agreed all to these articles following. The which articles the Archbishop did send in writing to the Prince, by Iohn Wallensis.

*Conscientia de
salute populi.
2. Decorum.*

No. XVI.

These are to be said to the Prince before his Councill.

FIRST that of the foure Cantreds and the lands by the king giuen to his nobles, and the Isle of Anglesey, he will haue no treatie of.

2 ITEM, of the tenants of the foure Cantreds if they will submit themselues, he purpofeth to doo as becommeth a kings majestie: and we verelie beleeeue he will deale with them mercifullie, and to that end we will labour and trust to obtaine.

3 As touching the lord Lhewelyn we can haue none other answer, but that he shall submit himfelfe simplie to the king: and we beleeeue certeinlie he will deale mercifullie with him, and to that end we trauell all we can, and verilie beleeeue to be heard.

No. XVII.

These following are to be said to the Prince in Secret.

FIRST, that the nobilitie of England haue conceiued this forme of fauorable peace, that the lord Lhewelyn should submit himfelfe to the king: and the king should honorablie prouide for him a thousand pound starling, and some honorable countie in England. So that the said Lhewelyn would put the the king in quiet possession of Snowdon: and the king will prouide honorablie for the daughter of Lhewelyn, according to the state and condecencie of his owne bloud, and to these they hope to persuade the king.

2 ITEM, if it happen that Lhewelyn marrie a wife, and to haue by hir anie heire male, they trust to intreate the king, that the same heire male and his heires for euer shall haue the same thousand pound and countie.

3 ITEM, to the people subiect to the said Lhewelyn the king will prouide, as becommeth their estates and condition, and to that the king is well inclined.

No. XVIII.

These are to be said to David Brother to Lhewelyn in Secret.

FIRST, that if for the honor of God (Iuxta debitum crucis assumptæ) he will go to the holie land, he shall be prouided for according to his degrec; so that he doo not returne, vnlesse he be called by the king: and we trust to entreat the king, to prouide for his child.

2 AND these things we tell our selues to the Welshmen, that a great deale greater perill dooth hang ouer them, than we told them by mouth when we were with them: these things which we write seeme greuous, but it is a great deale more greuous to be oppressed with armes, and finallie to be rooted out, bicause euerie daie more and more their danger dooth increase.

3 ITEM, it is more hard to be alwaies in warre, in anguish of mind, and danger of bodie, alwaies fought and besieged, and so to die in deadlie sinne, and continuall rancor and malice.

4 ITEM, we feare (whereof we be sorie) vnlesse you doo agree to peace, we most certeinlie will aggrauate the sentence Ecclesiasticall against you for your faults: of the which you can not excuse your selues, whereas yee shall find both grace and mercie, if you will come to peace.

And send vs your answer of these in writing.

No. XIX.

*To the most reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Iohn by Gods Grace
Archbischop of Canturburie, and Primate of all England, his obedient
Somme Llewelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon sendeth greeting.*

MOST hartily with all reuerence and honor we are content and readie holie father as you haue counselled vs, to submit our selues vnto the kings Grace, so it be in that forme that shall be safe and honest for vs: but because that forme of submission contained in the articles which were sent vnto vs, is neither safe, nor honest, as we and our counsell do thinke (at the which articles all men do maruell:) tending rather to the destruction of vs and our people, than anie securitie and honest dealing, we may in no wise yeeld our assent vnto it, and if we should so doo, our nobles and people would not agree to the same, knowing the mischeefe and inconuenience that is like to ensue thereof. Neuerthelesse, we beseech your holie fatherhood, that for the reformation of a decent, honest and firme peace (for the which you haue taken so great paines) you doo circumspectlie prouide, hauing respect vnto the articles which we send vnto you in writing. It is more honorable for the king, and more agreeable to reason that we should hold our lands in the countrie where wee dwell, than that wee should be disinherited, and our lands giuen to other men. Dated at Garth Celyn.

No. XX.

The Answers of the Welshmen.

FIRST, though the lord the king will haue no treatie of the foure Cantreds the lands that he gaue his nobles, nor the Isle of Anglefey: yet the Princes counsell will no peace to be made, vnlesse treatie be had of them. For that the foure Cantreds be of the more tenure of the Prince, where alwaies the Princes of Wales had more right, since the time of Camber the sonne of Brutus: so that they be of the principalitie of Wales. The confirmation of the which the Prince obtained by Otobonus the Popes legate in England, by the consent of the king and his father: as it doth appeare by the letters patents. And more iust and equall it is, that our heires doo hold the said Cantreds of the king for monie and vsed seruice, than the same to be giuen to strangers, which abuse the people by force and power.

2 All the tenants of all the Cantreds of Wales altogether doo saie, that they dare not submit themselues to the king, to doo his pleasure. First, for that the king kept neither couenant, nor oth, nor grant by charter from the beginning, to the Prince or his people. Secondlie, for that the kings men doo cruellie exercise tyrannie towards the Church and Churchmen. Thirdlie, that they be not bound to anie such matter, seeing they be the Princes tenants: who is readie to doo vsed and accustomed seruice, and to obey the king, with and by the said seruice.

3 To that which is said, that the Prince should simplic commit himselfe to the kings will, it is answered, that none of vs all dare come to the king, for the causes aforesaid, we altogether will not suffer our Prince to come in that maner.

4 **ITEM**, where the great men of England would procure a prouision of a thousand pounds a yeare in England: let it be answered, that such prouision is not to be accepted, for that it is procured by them, who go about to disinherite the Prince to haue his lands in Wales.

5 **ITEM**, the Prince ought not to dismisse his inheritance, and his predecessors in Wales, since the time of Brutus, and confirmed by the sea apostolike, as is aforesaid, and to take lands in England, where he knoweth neither toong, manners, lawes nor customs, wherein he shall be soone trapped by his neighbours the Englishmen, his old malicious enimies, wherby he should lose the land too.

6 **ITEM**, seeing the king goeth about to deprive him of his ancient inheritance, it is not like that he would suffer him to possesse lands in England, where he claimeth no right; seeing that the princes lands in Wales of his owne inheritance is but barren and vntilled, it is lesse like the king would suffer him to enioie good fertile ground in England.

7 **ITEM**,

7 ITEM, the Prince should giue the king possession of Snowdon for euer. Let it be answered, that seeing that Snowdon is of the appurtenances of the principallitie of Wales, which the Prince and his predecessors held since the time of Brute (as it is before said) his counsell will not suffer him to renounce that place, and to take in England a place lesse due vnto him.

8 ITEM, the people of Snowdon doo saie, that although the Prince would giue the king possession of it, yet they would neuer doo homage to strangers: of whose toong, maners, and lawes they should be ignorant. For so they should be foreuer captiued and cruellie handled, as the Cantreds haue beene by the kings bailiffes and other the kings men handled more cruellie than Sarracens, as it dooth well appeare by the notes of their greefes, which the men of the Cantreds sent to you holie father.

No. XXI.

These are to be answered for Dauid, the Princes Brother.

WHEN he is disposed to see the holie land, he will doo it for Gods sake voluntarilie, not by such inforcement against his will: for he intendeth not to go on pilgrimage after that sort. Because he knoweth enforced seruice not to please God; and if he hereafter shall for deuotion see the holie land, that is no cause for euer to disinherit his offspring, but rather to reward them.

AND for that neither the prince nor his people, for countrie nor for gaines, did moue warre, inuading no mans lands, but defending their owne lands, lawes, and liberties; and that the king and his people of inueterate hatred, and for couetousnes to get our lands inuading the same, moued warre: wee therefore see our defense is iust and lawfull, and herein wee trust God will helpe vs, and will turne his reuenge vpon destroyers of churches; who haue rooted vp and burned churches, and taken out both all sacraments and sacred things from them, killing preefts, clarkes, religious, lame, dombe, deaffe, yonglings sucking their mothers paps, weake and impotent, both man and woman, and committing all other enormities, as partlie it appeareth to your holinesse. Wherefore God forbid that your holinesse should fulminate sentence against anie, but such as hath doone such things. We who haue suffered all these things at the kings officers hands, doo hope at your hands remedie and comfort: and that you will punish such church robbers and killers, who can defend themselues no waies, least their impunitie be cause and example for others to do the like. Uerie manie in our countrie doo much maruell that you counselled vs to leaue our owne land, and to go to an other mans lands among our enimies to liue: for seeing we cannot haue peace in our owne land, which is our owne right, much lesse should we be quiet in an other mans, amongst our enimies. And though it be hard to liue in warre aud perill,

harder

harder it is to be vtterlie destroyed and brought to nothing : especially for christians, seeking else nothing but to defend our owne, being by necessitie driuen therevnto, and the greedie ambition of our enimies.

AND your holinesse told vs, that you had fulminated sentence against all that for hatred or gaires doo hinder the peace. And it appeareth euidentlie who doo war for these causes, the feare of death, the feare of imprisonment, the feare of perpetuall prison, the feare of disinheriting, no keeping of promise, couenant, grant, nor charter, tyrannicall dominion, and manie more like compell vs to be in warre, and this we shew to God and to your lordship, desiring your godlie and charitable helpe.

FURTHERMORE, if anie in England haue offended the king (as manie doo offend him) yet none of them be disinherited : so if anie of vs haue offended the king, let him be punished and make satisfaction, as he maie, without exhereditating. As we trust in you, we praie you holie Father to labour to this end. If they laie to vs that we breake the peace, it appeareth euidentlie that they and not we breake the same, who neuer kept promise, nor couenant, nor order, made anie amends for trespasses, nor remedie for our complaints.

Rex omnibus, &c.

SCIATIS quod cum Levelinus princeps de Aberstraw & dominus Snawerden, nobis concesserit & firmiter promiserit, quod stabit provisioni venerabilium patrum Redulphi Cicestrensis episcopi & cancellarii nostri, & Alexandri Conventrensis & Lichfield episcopi, & dilectorum & fidelium nostrorum Richardi Marefchalli comitis Pembroch, Joannis de Lasfy comitis Lincolnæ & constabularri Cestriæ, Stephani de Segrave Iudiciarii nostri Angliæ, & Radulphi filii Nicholai Seneschalli nostri, una cum Idnevet Seneschallo ipsius Lewelini & Werrenoc fratre ejus, Imano Vachan & David Clerico, quam ipsi facturi sunt super congruis emendis nobis faciendis, de omnibus excessibus nobis & nostris, ab eo & suis factis & de restitutione nobis & hominibus nostris faciendâ de omnibus terris & possessionibus nostris & nostrorum per ipsum Lewelinum & Wallenses occupatis, occasione Werræ inter nos & ipsum motæ; simul etiam de recipienda restitutione a nobis & nostris, de omnibus terris ipsius Lewelini & hominum suorum per nos & nostros occupatis, occasione Werræ prædictæ, & de assignando David filio ipsius Lewelini & Isabellæ uxori ejus primogenitæ filiæ & hæredis. Gullielmi de Breus, rationabili portione ipsam Isabellam contingente, de terris quæ fuerunt prædicti Gullielmi partis sui, & de refusione pecuniæ nobis, faciendâ.

pro prædictis excessibus congrue emendandis & portione prædicta assignanda; provisâ tamen super hoc ab eisdem sufficiente securitate de fideli seruitio nobis præstando & de tranquillitate nobis, & regno nostro Angliæ, observanda. Ita quod dampnum vel periculum, nec nobis nec regno nostro inde possit evenire. Et si pendente provisione prædicta, aliquid de novo emerferit emandandum, idem Lewelinus voluerit & concesserit, quod per prædictos provisos emendetur. Nos provisionem eorundem quam facturi sunt super omnibus præmissis, gratam habemus & acceptam pro nobis, & nostris sicut præfatus Lewelinus pro se & suis & in hujus rei testimonium has literas patentes inde fieri fecimus. Teste me ipso apud Salop septimo die Decembris & decimo septimo anno regni nostri.

Rex, &c.

LEWELINO principi de Aberfraw salutem. Sciatis quod recipimus in gratiam nostram, Gilbertum Marefchallum & omnes qui fuerunt imprisii Richardi Marefchalli tam de Angliâ quam de Walliâ qui ad pacem nostram venire voluerunt & eis reddimus omnes terras & tenementa sua quæ de nobis tenuerunt, & de quibus disseffiti fuerunt occasione guerræ motæ inter nos & prædictum comitem, & nobis remanent quietâ quæcunque super nos & nostros per prædictum comitem, vel suos imprisios occupata fuerunt quæ vobis duximus significanda. Volentes quod vobis innotescant quæ penes nos acta sunt in hac parte, & quia per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum & co-episcopos suos captæ sunt treugæ inter nos & vos sub firma spe tractandi de pace inter nos & vos formanda & fortius firmanda. Mittimus propter hoc prædictum archiepiscopum & venerabiles patres Alexandrum Coventrensem & Lichfieldensem & Henricum Roffensem co-episcopos suos ad partes marchiæ; ita quod erunt apud Salop die Lunæ in crastino sanctæ trinitatis: et rogamus vos quatenus sicut nostram desideratis amicitiam non omittatis quin in crastino die Martis locuto & competenti, quem prædictus archiepiscopus vobis significabit ipsi archiepiscopo & coepiscopo suis occuratis ad tractatum cum eis habendum super præmissis. In quorum etiam ore quædam quæ non duximus scripto commendanda posuimus vobis plenius exponenda; rogantes quatinus sicut decet taliter ea quæ reformationem pacis respiciunt & quæ ipsi plenius in hac parte vobis explicabunt audire cum effectu & eisdem adquiescere velitis, quod non stet per vos quin firmum & stabile pacis vinculum inter nos & vos roboretur ad nostrum pariter & vestrum commodum & honorem.

Rex, &c.

DILECTO & fideli suo Richardo comiti Cornubiæ & Pistaviæ salutem. Sciatis quod treugæ captæ sunt inter nos & Lewelinum principem de Aberfraw per venerabilem patrem Edmundum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem & episcopos secum

fecum adjuntos & quosdam alios fideles nostros propter hoc ad partes Walliæ destinatos duraturæ a festo Sancti Jacobi anno regni nostri decimo octavo usque in duos annos sequentes in hæc forma. Quod omnes injuriæ & damnæ hinc inde facta infra ultimam treugam captam per venerabilem patrem Henricum Roffensem episcopum in media quadregissima proximo præterita per dictatores ejusdem treugæ emendabuntur, quod omnes terræ hinc inde occupatæ per ultimam guerram motam, restituentur his quibus postea sint oblatae, homines etiam illi qui hinc inde recesserint a fidelitate dominorum suorum & se tenuerunt ex parte adversa libere revertantur. Ita quidem quod durantibus treugis prædictis in nullo occasionabuntur nec aliquid dampni vel mali eis fiet occasione prædicta. Adjectum est etiam in eadem provisione treugarum; quod si vos & dilectus & fidelis noster Radulphus de Thorny nolueritis sub eisdem treugis comprehendi bene placebit eidem Lewelino. Sin autem nihilominus, quod ad nos & alios fideles nostros eas firmiter observabit. Et sub tali conditione quod si forte tenere non velletis contra vos se defendet. Ita quod contra ipsum & defensionem suam nullum vobis faciemus nec facere poterimus per nos vel per aliquem de marchia vel alium interim consilium vel auxilium ad ipsum gravandum, & taliter sunt treugæ prædictæ ex parte ipsius Lewelini juratæ & assecuratæ & in adventu prædicti archiepiscopi ad nos similiter ex parte nostra eas jurari faciemus & assecurari, & ideo vobis mandamus firmiter injungentes, quatinus prædictis treugis sine difficultate aliquâ adguiescentes eas teneatis & ex parte vestra eas teneri faciatis. Quia modis omnibus volumus quod eas teneatis & firmiter observetis. Quid autem inde facere proposueritis aperte responsum vestrum nobis sub festinatione scire faciatis. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium tricesimo die Junii.

RADOLPHUS Herefordensis episcopus, decanus Hrefordix, Walterus de Cliford & Walterus de Bello Campo iterum constituti sunt dictatores emendarum, faciendarum & recipiendarum de interceptionibus factis, ut dicitur Lewelino principi de Aberfraw, &c. et Morganò de Carleon quoad castrum Carleon & eisdem dictatoribus associati sunt prior de Wenloc & Joannes extraneus & debent convenire in crastino clausi Paschæ apud vadum de Montgomery ad consequendum quod priore die ad hoc constituto debuisset fuisse executum. Teste rege apud Northampton sexto die Martii.

REX omnibus ad quod præsentis literæ pervenerint. Sciatis quod concessimus bona fide & sine malo ingenio & ratas habemus et gratas treugas captas apud Theoksburiam die Veneris in festo Sancti Benedicti, anno regni nostri vicesimo per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum inter nos et omnes homines et imprisios nostros apertos ex una parte, et Lewelinum principem de Aberfraw et dominum de Snaudan et omnes homines et imprisios

suos apertos tam Wallenses quam alios ex alia parte duraturos a festo Sancti Jacobi, anno eodem usque in unum annum completum. Ita scilicet quod tam nos et nostri quam prædictus Lewelinus et sui simus in eisdem terris et tenementis, hominibus et homagiis in quibus fuimus prædicto die captionis treugarum istarum. Salva Morgano de Carleon restitutione sua tam de terris quam de bonis et mobilibus suis quæ comes Gilbertus Mareschallus occupaverat, super eum infra treugas alias inter nos et ipsum Lewelinum ultimo captas. Siquid autem interim fuerit foris factum per captionem terrarum vel castrorum vel bonorum mobilium et manifestum de captione terrarum vel castrorum illorum terræ; et castra statim reddantur non expectata aliqua correctione emendatorum treugæ, sed de bonis mobilibus ita captis per ipsos correctores fiant emendæ, treugis nihilominus durantibus in suâ firmitate in forma prædicta. Ita quod hinc inde nulla namia capiantur pro aliqua interceptione facta infra treugas istas de bonis mobilibus, nec pro aliqua contentione ante captionem hujus treugæ orta, sed per ipsos correctores fiant. Nullus etiam receptet in potestate suâ imprisios alterius inde emendæ sicut prædictum est durantibus treugis. Nullum etiam castrum novum firmetur in marchia vel dirutum reficiatur durantibus treugis, et terræ sint communes secundum formam treugarum quæ ultimo captæ fuerunt inter nos et ipsum Lewelinum. Juraverunt autem in animam nostram ex parte nostra in hanc treugam bona fide, et sine malo ingenio fideliter observandam usque ad prædictum terminum dilecti et fideles nostri Henricus de Aldithely. Joannes Lefrange et Henricus de Stafford, in cujus, &c. Teste me ipso apud Theokesburiam, undecimo die Julii, anno regni nostri vicefimo.

SCIANTE præfentes et futuri, quod ita convenit inter dominum Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem ex una parte, et David filium Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ et dominum de Aberfraw ex altera, apud Gloucestriam die Martis proximo ante festum Sancti Dunstanni, anno regni ipsius regis vicefimo quarto, de homagio ipsius David quod ipse offerrebat eidem domino regi pro jure suo Norwalliæ et de terris quas barones ipsius domini regis scilicet Griffinus filius Wennuwan et alii barones domini regis petebant versus ipsum David ut jura sua excepta de monte alto secundum quod continetur in scripto nuper confecto apud crucem Griffini per Seneschallos domini regis, quæ ad præfens excipitur ab arbitrio, salvo tamen in posterum jure seneschalli Cestriæ in terra illa si quod habent. Scilicet, quod prædictus dominus rex cepit homagium præfati David de prædicto jure suo Norwalliæ, et quod tam idem dominus rex pro præfatis baronibus suis de consensu eorundem quam præfatus David pro se et suis et hæredibus eorum super omnibus terris prædictis se submiserunt, arbitrio venerabilium patrum Ottonis Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diaconi, cardinalis apostolici sedis legati; Wigornæ et Norveici episcoporum, et nobilis viri Richardi comitis Picaviæ et Cornubiæ, fratris ipsius domini regis, et Joannis de Monemue ex parte ipsius domini regis, et venerabilis patris episcopi de Sancto Asaph Idnevet Vaghan, Eyn-
guan

guan Vaghan ex parte præfati David. Ita quod quomodo libet ab ipsis omnibus vel à majori parte eorundem, super præmissis fuerit arbitratum, utraque pars ipsorum stabit arbitrio et illud in perpetuum firmiter observabit; et ad hæc fideliter sine fraude servanda Gulielmus de Cantelupo de præcepto regis juravit in animam ipsius regis et idem David in propria persona sua corporate præstitit sacramentum. Et insuper se submiserunt jurisdictioni et inordinationi præfati domini legati quamdiu in Anglia legationis fungatur officio, ut partem contra præmissa venientem per censuram ecclesiasticam modis omnibus quibus melius viderit expedire, tam ad prædictum arbitrium observandum quam ad transgressionem contra illud perpetratam emendandam valeat coercere, ordine juris observato. Dum tamen idem David vel sui, si forsitan contra prædicta venire presumpserint prius coram dicto domino legato vel aliquibus aliis ad hoc ab ipso deputandis et partibus merito non suspectis in confinio marchie loco eidem David et suis tuto legitime communicantur, si ad hoc vocati venirent: vel si legitimè vocati non venerint pro contumacibus habeantur nisi rationabile et sufficiens habeant impedimentum, finito vero prædictæ legationis officio sub forma præscripta et coercioni et jurisdictioni domini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et successorum suorum et ecclesie Cantuariensis se partes prædictæ submiserunt. Et sciendum quod per hanc pacem remanent domino regi et hæredibus suis omnia homagia baronum Wallie quæta, et remittuntur omnia incendia, homicidia, et alia mala tam ex parte Anglicorum quam Wallensium perpetrata; ita quod ad invicem plene reconcilientur. Salvo præfati David jure suo, si quod habet in aliis terris. Et si forte aliquis prædictorum arbitratorum ante hoc arbitrium completum in fata decesserit, vel per impedimentum rationabile prædicto arbitrio faciendo non possit interesse; alius loco suo substituetur qui neutri partium merito suspectus habeatur: ad hoc præfati episcopus de Sancto Asaph Idnevet et Ignan et Griffinus filius Rotherich præstiterunt sacramentum, quod quantum in eis est, prædicta fideliter observabunt et ab ipso David et suis modis omnibus quibus poterunt, facient observari: ad majorem autem hujus rei securitatem factum est hoc scriptum inter ipsos regem et David in modo chirographi. Ita quod parti remanenti penes ipsum dominum regem appositum est sigillum ipsius una cum sigillo prædictorum episcopi de Sancto Asapho Idnevet, Ignan et Griffini, et parti penes ipsum David remanenti appositum est sigillum domini regis: his testibus venerabilibus patribus Ottone Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diacono, cardinali apostolica fedis legato; Waltero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, Waltero Careleolensi, Waltero Wygornenti et Gulielmo Norwicensi episcopis; Richardo comite Pictavia et Cornubiæ fratre domini regis, venerabili patre episcopo de Sancto Antando; seneschallis nostris Joanne extraneo. Edenyfet Watham, Griffino filio Rotherich, David archidiacon. de Sancto Asaph et aliis.

Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewelini salutem. Bene recolimus qualiter nos vobis nuper in mandatis dedimus, quod coram nobis apud Wigorniam compareretis ad providendum arbitros qui loco eorum qui primo ad hoc electi fuerint et qui ad partes recesserunt transmarinas, justitiam secundum formam pacis inter et vos provise singulis conquerentibus exhiberent; et in arbitrio predicto secundum formam debitam procederent et similiter ad justitiam recipiendam de portione uxorem vestram contingente de hæreditate suâ: et similiter ad standum recto super his de quibus seneschallus de monte alto et aliis de vobis sunt conquesti. Et quia ad diem et locum vobis præfixos non accessistis, sed literas vestras nobis misistis; continentes quod tres ex vestris ad nos loco vestro destinatis, ex quibus tantum unus ad nos accessit qui ad præmissa adimplenda nullam potestatem habuit; unde quibusdam ex nostris visum fuerat quod hoc malitiose et ut subterfugium quæreretis per vos factum fuit. Nos tamen hoc non credentes sed fidelitatem vestram adhuc magis probare volentes, vobis mandamus in fide qua nobis tenemini, præcipiendo quatinus omni occasione postposita personaliter compareatis apud Salop, die dominica ante dominicam palmarum coram fidelibus nostris quos illuc duxerimus transmittendos ad consentiendum in personas certas, ad procedendum in arbitrio predicto loco eorum qui ad partes transmarinas recesserunt et ad faciendum in eodem arbitrio id quod adhuc restat faciendum; et ad recipiendum justitiam de portione uxorem vestram de hæreditate sua contingente et ad standum recto seneschallo Cestræ et aliis de vobis conquerentibus. Quod si personaliter ad hoc faciendum venire non possitis tales loco vestro mittatis qui plenam potestatem habeant hæc omnia nomine vestro faciendi. Nos enim vobis et vestris per eos quos ibidem mittimus aut per nosmet ipsos saluum et securum provideri faciemus conductum. Teite rege apud Wudelock decimo nono die Februarii.

ANNO domini millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo primo, die dominica proxima ante inventionem sanctæ crucis assignata, David filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ et marchionibus ad consentiendum in arbitros substituendos loco absentium et ad faciendam et recipiendam justitiam secundum formam pacis conventæ inter dominum regem et dictum David comparuit Thudius seneschallus ipsius David, cancellarius et Phillippus filius Iber clericus ex parte David procuratores; ostendentes literas ipsius David, in quibus dictus David promittebat se ratum habiturum quicquid per ipsos fieret secundum formam pacis supradictæ. Radulphus vero de mortuo mari et Rogerus seneschallus Cestræ et Griffinus pro se et aliis marchionibus comparuerunt; petentes instanter quod secundum dicta testium productorum coram domino Stephano de Segrave, et conjudicibus suis vicem domini regis gerentibus apud Salop eidem exhiberetur justitiæ complementum. Sed contra procuratores præfati David asserabant dictos testes non

non esse receptos secundum formam pacis. Quare secundum dicta eorum non dicebat nec poterat judicari. Tandem continuata die et altercatione magna super hoc et aliis habitata inter partes, forma pacis prædictæ producta in medio visaque et perfecta loco absentium arbitratorum scilicet domini Ottonis Sancti Nicholai in carcere Tulliano diaconi cardinalis, domini Papæ quondam legati in Anglia Wigornensis et Norwicensis episcoporum subrogati sunt per dominum regem de consensu dictorum procuratorum episcopus Coventrensis, Joannes filius Galfridi et Herebertus filius Matthæi, et Walterus de Clifford: quibus data est eadem potestas quam haberent absentes si præsentis essent secundum formam pacis prædictæ et assignata est dies partibus à die Pentecostes proximo in unum mensem apud pontem de Maneford ultra Salop ad probanda hinc inde sive per productos testes; non obstante productione jam facta per alios et quolibet probationis genere sive per instrumenta, sive alio modo quæ voluerunt et sibi noverint expedienda; et illa die dabitur alia ad iudicium audiendum secundum probata coram eisdem arbitrariis juxta formam pacis superius prælibatæ.

Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ salutem. Ex certâ quorundam relatione didicimus quod vos contra juramentum nobis præstitum quosdam fratres Griffini filii Madoc et etiam quosdam homines nostros de Keri, qui homagia nobis fecerunt vobis confœderatis et ab obsequio et fidelitate nostra subtraxistis et fratres prædicti Griffini contra nos in terra vestra receptatis. Tres quidem de seneschallis vestris in succursum eorum qui expugnant dilectum et fidelem nostrum Radulphum de mortuo mari destinatis cædes et incendia per vos et vestros in terra sua et terris aliorum fidelium committendo, terras etiam quæ in curia nostra abjudicatæ fuerunt Oweno Vaghan et nepotibus suis, eis contra justitiam deforciatis, non permittentes quod executio fiat de his quæ in curia nostra sunt considerata. Quandam etiam navem Cestriæ quæ in potestate vestra applicuit cartata blado et aliis victualibus aretari fecistis per vos et gentem vestram, in nullo his quorum bladum et victualia fuerint inde satisfaciens super quibus non modicum admiramur et movemur; et multo fortius quod cum nuper misissemus nuntios vestros solempnes usque Salop, utpote venerabilem patrem Henricum Coventrensem et Lichfeldensem episcopum, et dilectos et fideles nostros Joannem filium Galfridi, et Henricum de Aditheleg paratos ad emendas faciendas et recipiendas de interceptionibus factis, tam ex parte nostra, quam ex parte vestra, vos tanquam in contemptum nostrum prædictis fidelibus nostris non occurristis, nec per aliquos de vestris in eorum occursum mittere curastis, quod quidem ægre nos movet cum tot et tantas injurias quas longum esset enumerare contra nos et nostros nullo modo attemptare debuistis: et ideo vobis mandamus quod prædictos fideles nostros tam fratres prædicti Griffini quam homines nostros de Keri quos a fidelitate nostra subtraxistis ad fidem nostram redire

redire faciatis. Non impediētes quin prædictus Owenus Vaghan et nepotes sui secundum abjudicatum est in curia nostra terris suis gaudere possint et eas pacificè possidere. Id etiam quod contra dilectum et fidelem nostrum Radulphum de mortuo mari et alios fideles nostros et etiam quod de navi illa Cestrensi attemptatis, sic emendari faciatis; quod nobis non relinquatur materia injurias prædictas gravius ulciscendi quod nollemus. Nec omitatis quin citra festum Sancti Petri ad vincula nobis significetis qualiter dampna et injurias prædictas, quæ nullo modo dissimulare poterimus nobis emendare volueritis. Teste rege apud Merlebergh, quarto decimo die Julii.

SCIANT præsentēs et futuri quod ita convenit inter dominum Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem ex una parte et senanam uxorem Griffini filii Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, quem David frater ejus tenet carceri mancipatum cum Owen filio suo nomine ejusdem Griffini ex altera; scilicet quod prædicta Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino viro suo quo dabit domino regi sexcentas marcas, ut rex eum et prædictum Owen filium suum liberari faciat a carcere detineri. Et ut rex postea judicio Curie suæ secundum legem Walensium ei et hæredibus suis habere faciat super portione quæ eum continget de hæreditate quæ fuit prædicti Lewelini patris sui et quam prædictus David ipsi Griffino deforciavit. Ita si quod idem Griffinus vel hæredes sui per considerationem curiæ domini regis reciperent portionem quam se dicunt contingere de hæreditate prædicta, eadem Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino et hæredibus suis quod ipse et hæredes sui imperpetuum inde redent domino regi et hæredibus suis trecentas marcas annuas. Scilicet tertiam partem in denariis et tertiam partem in bobus et vaccis, et tertiam partem in equis per æstimationem legalium hominum liberandas vicecomiti Salop, apud Salop, et per manum ipsius vicecomitis ad saccharium regis deferendas et ibidem liberandas scilicet unam medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis et aliam medietatem ad pascham. Eadem etiam Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino viro suo et hæredibus suis quod firmam pacem tenebunt cum præfato David super portione quæ eidem David remanebit de hæreditate prædicta; manucepit etiam Senana pro præfato Griffino et hæredibus suis, quod si aliquis Walensis aliquo tempore regi vel hæredibus suis rebellis extiterit, præfatus Griffinus et hæredes sui ad cultum suum proprium ipsum compellent ad satisfaciendum domino regi et hæredibus suis. Et de his omnibus supradictis observandis, dicta Senana dabit domino regi David et Rothery filios suos obsides: Ita tamen quod si de præfato Griffino et Oweno filio suo qui cum eo est in carcere humanitus contingat antequam inde deliberentur; alter prædictorum filiorum eidem Senanæ reddetur reliquo obside remanente: juravit insuper Senana tactis sacro-sanctis evangeliiis pro se et præfato Griffino et hæredibus suis quod hæc omnia firmiter observabunt. Et manucepit quod præfatus Griffinus idem jurabit cum à carcere liberatus fuerit, et super præmissis se submitit nomine dicti Griffini jurisdictioni Herefordensis et Conventrensis episcoporum. Ita quod præfati episcopi, vel alter eorum quem dominus rex elegerit ad requisitionem ipsius regis per sententias excommunicationis in personas et inter-

didi

dici in terras eorum coerceant ad omnia prædicta et singula observanda. Hæc omnia manucepit prædicta Senana et bona fide promisit se facteram et curaturam quod omnia impleantur, et quod præfatus Griffinus cum liberatus fuerit, et hæredes sui hac omnia grata habebunt et complebunt et instrumentum suum inde dabunt domino regi in forma prædicta. Ad majorem siquidem hujus rei securitatem factum est hoc scriptum inter ipsum dominum regem et præfatam Senanam nomine præfati Griffini viri sui. Ita quod parti remanenti penes ipsum dominum regem appositum est sigillum præfati Griffini per manum præfatæ Senanæ uxoris suæ una cum sigillo ipsius Senanæ; et parti remanenti penes ipsam Senanam nomine præfati Griffini appositum est sigillum ipsius domini regis: de supradictis etiam omnibus complendis et firmiter observandis dedit prædicta Senana nomine præfati Griffini domino regi plegios subscriptos, viz. Radulphum de Mortuo Mari, Walterum de Clifford, Rogerum de Monte alto seneschallum Cestriæ, Mailgun, filium Mailgwn, Mereduc filium Roberti, Griffinum filium Maddoc de Baunfeld, Howel et Mereduc fratres ejus, Griffinum filium Wennwen, qui hæc omnia pro præfata Senana manuceperunt et cartas suas ipsi domino regi inde fecerunt. Actum apud Salop die Lunæ proxima ante assumptionem beatæ Mariæ anno ipsius regis vicefimo quinto.

OMNIBUS hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de Monte Alto seneschallus Cestriæ salutem. Sciatis quod ego me constitui plegium Senanæ uxoris Griffini filii Leolini quondam principis Norwalliæ, et manu cepi pro ea erga dominum meum Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem, quod omnia quæ conventionavit eidem domino meo nomine præfati viri sui a carcere in quo David frater ejus eos detinet et pro portione quæ ipsum Griffinum contingit de hæreditate quæ fuit prædicti Leolini patris suis et quam præfatus David frater ejus ei deforciat, domino regi firmiter observabit. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Actum apud Salopesbury die Lunæ ante assumptionem Beatæ Mariæ, anno regni ipsius vicefimo quinto.

Sub eadem forma fecerunt singuli plegii præscripti.

SCIENT præsentis et futuri quod ego Mereducus filius Howel, tactis sacrosanctis juravi quod ab isto die in antea omnibus diebus vitæ meæ ero ad fidelitatem domini regis Angliæ, et serviam ei fideliter et devote cum omnibus viribus meis et toto posse meo quandocunque indigerit servitio meo, et treugam inter dominum Radulphum de Mortuo Mari et me initam usque ad festum S. Michælis anno regni regis Henrici vigesimo quinto ex parte mea fideliter observabo: et tam ad fidelitatem domino regi in perpetuum observandum quam ad treugas prædictas observandas usque ad terminum prædictum supposui me jurisdictioni domini Herefordensis episcopi, et domini Coventrensis et Lichfeldensis episcopi, vel alterius eorum, quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, ut si in aliquo contra prædictam fidelitatem domini regis, vel contra observantiam prædictarum

tréugarum venerit, liceat eis vel eorum alteri quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit personam meam et omnes meos excommunicare et terram meam interdicere, donec de transgressione ipsam satisfecerō ad plenum. Et si forsitā infra prædictum festum S. Michæli inter prædictum Radulphum de Mortuo Mari et me nulla pax fuerit formata, licet post festum illud bellum moveant prædicto Radulpho, non obligabit me prædictum juramentum dum tamen erga dominum regem fidelitatem observam continuam, sicut prædictum est. Et si bellum post prædictum terminum inter nos moveatur, nihilominus dominus refutinebit quod ego et mei receptemur in terra sua sicut alii fideles sui. Ad prædicta autem observanda domino regi et hæredibus suis obligo me per juramentum prædictum, et per sigilli mei appositionem quod huic scripto apposui, ad majorem confirmationem prædictorum. Actum in crastino assumptionis Beatæ Mariæ, anno regni regis Henrici vigesimo quinto.

SUB eisdem verbis fecerunt domino regi chartas suas, Owen filius Howell. Mailgon filius Mailgun. Mereduc filius Mereduc. Howel filius Cadwachlan, et Cadwachlan filius Howel.

OMNIBUS Christi fidelibus ad quos præsentēs literæ pervenerunt, David, filius Leolini, salutem. Sciatis quod concessi domino meo Henrico regi Angliæ illustri filio domino Joannis regis: quod deliberabo Griffinum fratrem meum quem teneo incarceratum una cum filio suo primogenito et aliis qui occasione prædicti Griffini sunt in parte mea incarcerati, et ipsos eidem domino meo regi tradam. Et postea stabo juri curiæ ipsius domini regis tam super eo, utrum idem Griffinus debeat teneri captus quam super portione terræ quæ fuit prædicti Leolini patris mei, si qua ipsum Griffinum contingere debeat, secundam consuetudinem Walensium. Ita quod pax servetur inter me et prædictum Griffinum fratrem meum quod caveatur de ipsa tenenda secundum considerationem curiæ ipsius domini regis, et quod tam ego quam prædictus Griffinus portiones nostras que nos contingunt de prædictis terris tenebimus in capite de prædicto domino rege. Et quod reddam Rogero de Monte Alto seneschallo Cestriæ terram suam de Monthaut cum pertinentiis: et sibi et aliis baronibus et fidelibus domini regis scissinas terrarum suarum occupatarum a tempore belli orti inter ipsum dominum Johannem regem et prædictum Leolinum patrem meum, salvo jure proprietatis cujuslibet pacti et instrumenti super quo stabitur juri hinc inde in curia ipsius domini regis: et quod reddam ipsi domino regi omnes expensas quas ipse et sui fecerunt occasione exercitus istius. Et quod satisfaciam de damnis et injuriis illatis sibi et suis secundum considerationem prædictæ curiæ vel malefactores ipsos, ipsi domino regi reddam omnia homagia quæ dominus Johannes rex pater ejus habuit, et quæ dominus rex de jure habere debet; et specialiter omnium nobilium Wallensium. Et quod idem dominus rex non dimittit aliquem de
suis

fuis captivis quin ipsi domino regi et suis remaneant seisinæ suæ. Et quod terra de Engulfmere cum pertinentiis suis in perpetuum remanebit domino regi, vel hæredibus suis, et quod de cætero non receptabo vilagas vel foris banniatos ipsius domini regis, vel baronum suorum de marchia in terra mea, nec permittam receptari; et de omnibus articulis supradictis, et singulis firmiter et in perpetuum observandis, domino regi et hæredibus suis, pro me et hæredibus meis cavebo per obsides et pignora et aliis modis quibus dominus rex dicere voluit vel dicitate. Et in his et in omnibus aliis stabo voluntati, et mandatis ipsius domini regis et juri parebo omnibus in curia sua. In cujus rei testimonium, præsentis scripto sigillum meum appendi. Actum apud Atricium juxta fluvium Elvey de S. Afapho in festo decollationis S. Johanni Baptistæ, anno prædicti domiregis Henrici vigesimo quinto.

SCIENDUM quod illi qui capti detinentur cum prædicto Giifino, eodem modo tradentur domino regi donec per curiam suam consideratum fuerit, utrum et quomodo debeant deliberari. Et ad omnia firmiter tenenda, ego David juravi super crucem sanctam quam coram me feci deportari. Venerabilis etiam pater Howelus episcopus de S. Afaph ad petitionem meam firmiter promisit in ordine suo, quod hæc omnia prædicta faciet, et procurabit modis quibus poterit, observari. Ednevet siquidem Wangam per præceptum meum, illud idem juravit super crucem prædictam. Actum ut supra. Præterea concessi pro me et hæredibus meis quod si ego, vel hæredes mei contra pacem domini regis, vel hæredium suorum, vel contra articulos prædictos, aliquid attentaverimus tota hæreditas nostra domino regi, et hæridibus suis incurratur. De quibus omnibus et singulis supposui me, et hæredes meos, jurisdictioni archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, et episcoporum Londinensis, Herefordensis, et Coventrensis, qui pro tempore præerunt, quod omnes, vel unus eorum quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, possit nos excommunicare, et terram nostram interdicere, si aliquid contra prædicta attentaverimus. Et procuravi quod episcopi de Bangor et de S. Afaph chartas suas domino regi fecerunt per quas concesserunt, quod omnes sententias tum excommunicationis quam interdicti à prædictis archiepiscopo, episcopis, vel aliquo eorum, ferendas, ad mandatum eorum exequentur.

Rex omnibus, &c.

DAVID filius Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, Salutem. Noverint universitas vestra me spontanea voluntate mea pepegisse domino meo Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ, quod ego et hæredes mei eidem domino regi, et hæredibus suis omnibus diebus vitæ nostræ constanter et fideliter serviemus, nec aliquo tempore contra eos erimus: quod si forte evenerit, quod à fideli servicio suo, vel hæredum suorum, quod absit, recesserimus, tota terra nostra erga ipsum dominum regem et hæredes suos incurratur, et in usus eorum perpetuis cedat temporibus. Hanc autem pactionem et concessionem sigilli mei appositione roboravi, et ad majorem hujus

hujus rei declarationem venerabiles patres Bangorensem, et de S. Afaph episcopi, ad pctitionem meam præfenti scripto sigilla sua apposuerunt. Actum apud Lothetan tricesimo primo die Augusti.

ILLUSTRI viro domino Henrico Dei gratia regi Anglorum, &c. abbates Haberconwiæ, et de Kemere Cisterciensis ordinis inquisitores dati a domino Papâ, salutem in domino. Mandatum domini Papæ recipimus in hæc verba, ‘Innocentius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis abbatibus de Haberconwiæ, & de Kemere Cisterciensis ordinis Bangorum diocesis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte dilecti filii nostri nobilis viri David principis Norwalliæ fuit propositum coram nobis, quod cum inter ipsum, quem parentes ejus in alumnus Romanæ ecclesiæ donaverunt, et Charissimum in Christo filium nostrum regem Anglorum illustrem bellum longo tempore perdurasset, tandem postquam fuit in venerabilem fratrem nostrum episcopum de S. Afaph et collegas ipsius de stando hinc inde eorum arbitrio super omnibus querelis juramento a partibus præfinito concorditer bonis viris mediantibus compromissum. Idem rex, non attendens quod pendente illorum arbitrio, sibi super hoc aliquid attentare non licebit in prædictum principem ex insperato hostiliter iruit ad præstandum, quod super prædictis de quibus compromissum fuerit et juratum, ac aliis ipsius regis, mandare per vim computit, & metum qui cadere poterat in constantem.

CUM igitur ea quæ vi & metu fiant, carere debeant robore firmitatis, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus inquisita super hoc diligentius veritate, si rem inveneritis ita esse, auctoritate nostra prædictum principem ab observatione sic extorti juramenti penitus absolventes, sententia, si qua occasione ejusmodi in ejus personam, vel terram ab aliquo forsan tota fuerit, juxta formam ecclesiæ sine difficultate qualibet, sicut justum fuerit relaxetis. Testes vero, &c. Datum Januæ septimo calendas Augusti pontificatûs nostri anno secundo. Hujus igitur auctoritate muniti vobis mandamus quatenus in vigilia S. Agnetis Virginis, apud Keyrus in ecclesia Gustesend coram vobis compareatis, super contentis in autentico dicto principi responsuri, si vobis videritis expedire.

*Isti sunt ARTICULI intimati Domino LEOLINO Principi WALLIÆ,
et populo ejusdem loci, ex parte Archiepiscopi supra dicti.*

PRIMO, Quod propter salutem eorum spiritualem, et temporalem ad partes istas venimus, quas semper dileximus, ut plures eorum noverunt.

SECUNDO, Quia venimus contra domini regis voluntatem, cui etiam adventus noster dicitur plurimum displicere.

TERTIO,

TERTIO, Quia rogamus eos et supplicamus eis pro sanguine Jesu Christi, quatenus venire velint ad unitatem cum gente Anglorum, et ad pacem domini regis, quam eis intendimus, quanto melius poterimus procurare.

QUARTO, Volumus eos scire quod in his partibus domini non poterimus remanere.

QUINTO, Volumus eos attendere quod post recessum nostrum non invenient aliquem, qui ita velit sua amplecti negotia promovenda, qui vellemus, si placeret. Altissima vita nostra temporali corporum pacem honestam et stabilem perpetuo procurasse.

SEXTO, Quia si nostras preces spreverint et labores, statim intendimus eorum pertinaciam scribere summo pontifici et curiæ Romanæ, propter peccata mortalia, quæ multiplicantur occasione discordiæ omni die.

SEPTIMO, Noverint quod nisi citius ad pacem venerint aggravabitur eis bellum, quod non poterunt sustinere, quia crescit regia potentia omni die.

OCTAVO, Noverint quod regnum Angliæ est sub speciali protectione sedis apostolicæ, et quod Romana curia plus inter regna cætera diligere consuevit.

NONO, Quod eadem curia nullo modo volet permittere statum regni Angliæ vacillare, quod sibi specialibus obsequiis est devotum.

DECIMO, Amarissimè plangimus hoc quod dicitur Wallenses crudeliores existere Saracenis; quia cum Saraceni capiunt Christianos, eos servant pecunia redimendos, quos Wallenses captos dicuntur illico jugulare quasi solo sanguine delectentur; immo quod est deterius, quos promittunt redimi, tradunt accepta pecunia jugulandos.

UNDECIMO, Quod cum consueverit deum et personas ecclesiasticas revereri, a devotione hominum videntur multipliciter recessisse, qui in tempore sanctissimo in redemptoris injuriam moverunt seditionem, homicidia et incendia perpetrantes, in quo eos nullus poterit excusare.

DUODECIMO, Petimus ut tanquam veri Christiani ad cor redeant pœnitentes, quia cœptam discordiam non possent continuare etiam si jurassent.

TERTIODECIMO, Petimus ut nobis significant quibus modis velint et valeanturbationem pacis regiæ, læsionem reipublicæ, et mala alia emendare.

QUARTODECIMO, Ut significant nobis qualiter valeat ipsa concordia stabiliri, frustra enim pax firmari videbitur quæ tam assidue violatur.

QUINTODECIMO, Ut si dicant leges suas vel fœdera ex pacto inito non servari, nobis significant quæ sunt illa.

SEXTODECIMO, Noverint quod etiam posito quod eis derogatum fuisset, quod nescimus, nullo modo licebit eis quasi essent judices in causa suâ taliter majestatem regiam impugnare.

SEPTIMODECIMO, Quod nisi modo pax fiat proceditur contra eos forsitan ex decreto militiæ, sacerdoti, et populi convocati.

REVEREN-

REVERENDISSIMO patri in Christo domino J. de gratia cantuariensi archiepiscopo totius Angliæ primati, suus humilis et devotus filius Leolinus princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon, salutem et filialem dilectionem cum omnimoda reverentia, subjectione et honore, sanctæ paternitati vestræ pro labore vobis quasi intolerabile quem assumpsistis ad præsens pro dilectione quam erga nos et nostram nationem geritis, omni qua possumus devotione regratiantes vobis assurgimus; et eo amplius quod contra domini reges voluntatem venistis prout nobis intimastis. Cæterum quod nos rogastis ut ad pacem domini regis veniamus, scire debet vestra sanctitas quod ad hoc prompti sumus, dummodo idem dominus rex pacem debitam et veram nobis et nostris velit observare. Ad hoc licet gauderemus de mora vestra facienda in Wallia, tamen per nos non eritis impediti quin pax fiat, quantum in nobis est, quam optamus per vestram industriam magis quam alicujus alterius roborari. Et speramus nec per Dei gratiam erit opportunum propter nostram pertinaciam aliquid scribere domino Papæ. Nec vestras paternas preces ac graves labores spernemus, sed eas amplectimur omni cordis affectu ut tenemur. Nec erit opus quod dominus rex aggravet contra nos manum, cum prompti sumus sibi obedire juribus nostris et legibus nobis ut præmittatur reservatis.

ET licet regnum Angliæ sit Curia Romanæ specialiter subiectum et dilectum, tamen cum dominus Papa, necnon et Curia Romana audiverint quanta nobis per Anglicos mala sunt illata, videlicet quod pax prius formata non fuit nobis servata nec pacta; deinde devastationes, combustiones, et ecclesiasticarum personarum interfectiones, sacerdotum videlicet et incluserum, et aliarum religiosarum personarum passim mulierum et infantium suggestium ubera et in utero portantium, combustiones etiam hospitalium et aliarum domorum religiosarum, homicidiorum in cœmeteriis, ecclesiis, et super altaria, et aliorum sacrilegiorum et flagiciorum anditu etiam horribilium, anditu Paganorum sicut expressius in aliis rotulis conscripta vobis transmittimus inspicienda.

SPERAMUS imprimis, quod vestra pia et sancta paternitas clementer nobis compatiatur, nec non et curia super dicta, nec per nos regnum Angliæ vacillabit, dum, ut promissum est, pax debita nobis fiat et fervet. Qui vero sanguinis effusione delectantur manifestum est factis. Nam Anglici hætenus nulli sexui vel ætati seu languori pepercerunt, nulla ecclesiæ vel loco sacro detulerunt, qualia vel consimilia Wallenses non fecerunt. Super eo autem quod unus redemptus fuit interfectus, multum dolemus, nec occisorem manu tenemus, sed in sylvis uti latro vagatur. De eo vero quod inceperunt guerram aliqui in tempore indebito, illud ignoravimus usque post factum, et tamen ipsi asserunt quod nisi eo tempore hoc fecissent mortes et captiones eis imminerent, nec audebunt in domibus residere, nec nisi armati incedere, et sic præ timori tali tempore id fecerunt. De eis verò quæ fecimus contra dominum, ut veri christiani per Dei gratiam pœnitentibus, nec erit ex parte nostra quod bellum continuetur, dum sumus indemnes ut debemus.

debemus. Ne tamen exhæredemur et passim occidemur, oportet nos defendere ut valemus. Cum verò injuria et damna hinc inde considerentur et ponderentur parati sumus emendare pro viribus quæ ex parte nostra sunt commissa, dum de prædictis injuriis et damnis nobis factis et aliis emenda nobis fiat. Et ad pacem firmandam et stabilendam similiter sumus prompti debitis modis.

QUANDO tamen regales chartæ et pacta inita nobis non servatur, sicut nec hucusque sunt observata, non potest pax stabiliri, nec quando novæ exactiones et inauditæ contra nos et nostros omni die adveniunt. Vobis autem transmittimus in rotulis damna nobis illata et fœdera non servata secundum formam pacis prius factam. Quod verò guerravimus quasi necessitas nos cogebat; nam nos et omnes Wallenses eramus adeo oppressi et suppeditati et spoliati et in servitutem redacti per regales Justicianos et Ballivos contra formam pacis et omnem justiciam amplius quam si Saraceni essemus vel Judæi, sicut credimus et sæpe denunciavimus domino regi, nec aliquam emendam habere potuimus. Sed semper mittebantur justiciarii et ballivi ferociores et crudeliores, et quando illi erant saturati per suas injustas exactiones, alii de novo mittebantur et populum excoriandum in tantum quod populus mallebat mori quam vivere. Nec oportet militiam amplio-rem convocare, vel contra nos moveri sacerdotium dum nobis fiat pax et servetur modis debitis ut superius est expressum. Nec debitis sancte pater omnibus verbis credere nostrorum adversariorum; sicut enim nos factis oppresserunt et opprimunt, ita et vobis diffamant, nobis imponentes quæ volunt.

IPSI enim vovis sunt præsentis et nos absentes, ipsi opprimentes et nos oppressi. Et ideò propter Deum fidem eis in omnibus non exhibeatis, sed facta potius examinetis. Valeat sanctitas vestre ad regimen ecclesiæ per tempora longa.

PRIMUS Articulus est talis, cum in forma pacis sic contineatur ut sequitur. Si vero idem Leolinus jus vendicaverit in aliquibus terris quas alii præter dictum dominum regem occupaverint extra quatuor cantredos prædictos, plenariam sibi justitiam exhibebit præfatus dominus rex secundum leges et consuetudines partium illarum in quibus terræ illæ consistunt: qui articulus non fuit observatus super terris Arwyttley et inter Dyvy et ductus fluviorum, pro eo quod cum dominus Leolinus dictas terras vendicasset coram domino rege apud Ruthian, et rex sibi concessisset causam examinare secundum leges et consuetudines Walliæ ac advocati pretium fuissent introducti coram rege ut judicarent de dictis terris secundum leges Wallicanas; parte rea comparente et respondente adeo quod eo die deberet finaliter terminari ex præfixione domini regis qui apud Gloverniam existens diem prædictum partibus assignavit, licet sæpius in diversis locis coram justiciariis fuisset dicta causa examinata, et terræ ipsæ essent in pura Walliæ. Nec unquam judicata fuit super eis nisi secundum leges Wallicanas; nec dominus rex posset vel deberet prorogare nisi secundum leges Walliæ: diem tamen ipsum motu proprio prorogavit et contra leges antedictas, et ad ultimo fuit vocatus ad loca varia ad quæ non debuit evocari, nec justitiam obtinere potuit, nisi secundum leges
Angliæ

Angliæ contra illud quod in dicto articulo continetur. Et idem factum fuit coram iusticiariis apud Montgomery, cum partes essent in iudicio constitutæ et firmatæ, et dies datus ad sententiam audiendam, diem prorogaverunt leges memoratas. Demum apud Londinum post multos labores et expensas varias rex ipse iustitiam sibi denegavit, nisi vellet secundum leges Angliæ subire iudicium in causa memorata.

SECUNDUS articulus non servatus est talis. Et omnes transgressiones injuriæ et excelsus hinc inde factæ pœnitus remittuntur usque in diem hodiernum. Iste articulus non fuit observatus quia dominus Regnialdus de Grey statim cum fuit factus iusticiarius, movet varias quæstiones et innumerabiles contra homines de Tegengl, et nos super transgressis quæ factæ fuerunt in tempore domini Henrici regis, et dicti domini Leolini dum dominum in partibus illis obtinebat unde dicti homines multum timentes non audebant in domibus suis permanere.

TERTIUS articulus, Ubi dictus Rys Vachan filius Nefi filii Maelgon cum terra quam nunc tenet et cum post pacem initam fuit spoliatus de terra de Geneverglyn, quam tunc tenebat cum hominibus et Averiis eorundem.

QUARTUS articulus, Item concedit dominus rex quod omnes terras tenentes in quatuor Cantredis, et in aliis terris quas dominus rex retinet in manu sua, teneant eas adeo libere et plenarie sicut ante guerram tenere consueverint, et eisdem libertatibus et consuetudinibus gaudeant quibus prius gaudere solebant, et cum contra istum articulum dictus Reginaldus consuetudines varias de novo introduxit, et hoc contra pacis formam suprascriptam.

ITEM quintus articulus, Controversiæ et contentiones moræ vel movendæ inter principem et quoscumque terminabantur et decidentur secundum leges Marchiæ de his quæ emergunt in Marchia, et secundum leges Walliæ de rebus contentiosis quæ in Wallia orientur. Contra istum articulum venit dominus rex mittendo iusticiarios usque ad Montgomery, qui ibidem iudicare præsumpserunt homines dicti Leolini, vindictum ponendo super illos contra leges Walliæ, cum hoc vel aliud simile nunquam factum fuisset ibidem temporibus retroactis, quosdam incarcerando, alios in exilium mittendo, cum ipse idem princeps paratus esset de eisdem hominibus suis exhibere iustitiæ complementum omnibus quærelantibus de eisdem.

ITEM sextus articulus. Item cum sit contentum in dicta pacis forma, quod Griffinus Vachan homagium faceret domino regi, de terra, de Yâl, et principi de terra de Edeyrnahu iusticiarii domini introduxerunt, in totam terram prædictam de Edeyrnahu cujus cognitio causæ ad principem pertinebat simpliciter, et non ad illos iusticiarios; et tamen pro bono pacis princeps hoc tolerabat cum ipse princeps paratus esset ediem dominæ super hoc iustitiam exhibere.

SEPTIMUS articulus, ubi dicitur et licet idem princeps se nostræ ut dictum est supposuerit voluntati, nos tamen concedimus et volumus quod voluntas nostræ
 . . . ultra

. . . . ultra dictos articulos se in aliquo non extendant. Contra istum articulum exigebatur aurum ad opus reginæ in qualibet solutione facta regi cum Aurum nunquam fuit exactum Wallensibus, nec in tempore domini Henrici, vel alicujus alterius regis Angliæ; quod aurum exsolvit pro bono pacis, cum tamen nihil de hoc tactum fuit in forma pacis vel excogitatum: et nunc insuper exigitur à principe aurum ad opus reginæ senioris matris videlicet domini Edvardi nunc regis Angliæ, pro pace facta in tempore domini Henrici nunc regis Angliæ, cum nihil de hoc tunc fuerat dictum vel quoquomodo excogitatum, videlicet duo millia Marcarum et dimidium, et nisi dictæ Marcæ solverentur, minabatur dicta regina quod bona ejusdem Leolini occuparet quæ invenire poterat in domino regis, et homines suos capere vel venundare quousque dictam summam haberet ad plenum. Item cum invitasset dominus rex dictum principem adfectum Wiggorniensis verbis blandissimis promittendo ei quod daret tunc consanguineam suam sibi in uxorem, et multis ditaret honoribus; nihilominus cum illuc venisset in die desponsationis, ante missam petiit dominus rex unam literam consignari à principe continentem inter cætera, quod idem princeps nullum omnino honorem in terra sua teneret contra regis voluntatem, vel manu teneret ex quo possit contingere quod omnes fideles principis ab eo commoverentur. Quam quidem literam sibi sigillatam tradidit, computans per metum qui cadere posset in constantem virum, cum tamen in forma pacis, ut præmissum est, contineatur quod nihil ab eo deberet exigi, ultra quod in dicta forma continetur.

ITEM, cum secundum eandem pacis formam consuetudines eidem principi confirmantur quibus usus fuerat ab antiquo; ac idem princeps et antecessores sui, ex consuetudine diutina et obtenta bona de naufragis in terris suis provenientia consueverant recipere, et in suos usus convertere ad libitum: Justiciarius Cestrensis namium recepit super principem pro bonis quæ recepit de naufragiis ante guerram contra dictam pacis formam per quam hinc inde erant remissa, et contra consuetudines ante dictas. Dato etiam quod hoc esset foris factum namium recepit tale, videlicet quindecim libratas mellis et plures equos ac homines suos incarceravit, et hoc ex propriis bonis principis antedicti. Preterea, accipit scaphas de Banweys quæ venerant apud Liverpol cum mercandiis per mercatores, et eas numquam deliberavit donec pecuniam pro eis accepit quantum volebat.

ITEM, cum quidam homines de Geneurglyn quædam bona abstulissent ab aliis vicinis suis de Geneurglyn, dum essent in domino principis de Merpyreton homines reges de Llanbadarn prædam fecerunt, et acceperunt de terra principis de Merpyreton, et cum homines sui venissent illuc ad quærendum quare dictam prædam receperant, unum de eis interfecerunt, et alios vulneraverunt, & quosdam incarceraverunt. Et cum in dicta pacis forma contineatur quod in marchia deberent emendari quæ in Marchia committebantur, tamen dicti homines regis homines principis audire noluerunt alibi quam in castro de Llanbadarn, & hæc contra pacis formam antedictam, super quo hætenus nullam justitiam habere potuerunt. In istis articulis injuriatus dominus rex principi & suis, & etiam in multis aliis: et licet princeps tam per se quam per suos petivisset sapius a domino

rege quod pacis formam supradictam erga se & suos faceret observari, in nullo tamen extitit observata sed omni die de novo justiciarii & ballivi domini regis in partibus illis injurias injuriis, & varia gravamina cumulaverunt: propter quod mirum non debet videri alicui si princeps præfatus assensum præstitit illis qui guerrare cœperunt, cum in his fides quam in animam domini regis sibi dominus Robertus Tibetot juraverat in nullo servabatur, & maxima & principaliter cum princeps fuisset præmunitus a personis fide dignis quod princeps foret a rege capiendus in suo primo accessu apud Ruthlan, & etiam fuisset captus si rex illuc accessisset post Natale sicut proposuerat.

Nec gravamina & alia quasi innumerabilia, sancte pater, considerantes, nobis affectu paterno compaciimini, et pro salute animæ domini regis, et nostræ, et etiam multorum aliorum, ad pacem bonam utriusque populi laboretis fructuosè.

Cum dominus David primo venisset ad dominum Edwardum tunc comitem Cestriæ, ac homagium sibi fecisset, idem dominus Edwardus eidem Davidi duas cantredas, videlicet de dyffryn-Clwyd et Cywonant cum omnibus suis pertinentiis dedit plenarie, et literas suas patentes super hoc fieri fecit, tandem etiam donationem eidem invocavit, postquam creatus est in regem, et etiam illum Davidem in possessionem illarum cantredarum induxit corporalem.

DEMUM domina Gwenthian de Lacy mortua, tres villas quas in dictis cantredis tenuit quoad vitam quæ ad ipsum Davidem spectabant ratione donationis supradictæ dominus rex sibi abstulit minus juste contra tenorem chartæ suæ.

ITEM, Cum dictus David ex donatione domini regis prædicti villas de Hope et Eston obtineret in Wallia, de quibus nulli respondere tenebatur nisi secundum leges Wallicanas; tandem justiciarius Cestriensis fecit ipsum ad instantiam cujusdam Anglici Willh. de Vanabel nomine ad comitatum Cestriensem super dictis villis ad judicium evocari. Et licet dictus dominus David petivisset multoties quod injuriose contra eundem non procederetur in dicto comitatu, pro eo quod ibidem respondere nullatenus tenebatur super villis prædictis quæ sitæ erant in Wallia, sed potius tractaretur, hoc sibi plene denegavit.

ITEM, Idem justiciarius Cestriensis in gravamen dicti domini Davidis nemus suum de Lleweni et Sylvas suas de Hope fecit succidi tam per villanos de Ruthlan, quam per alios, cum idem justiciarius in terris prædicti domini Davidis nullam omnino haberet jurisdictionem, et non contenti quod meremium ibidem quærerent ad ædificia exigenda tam apud Rodelanum quam alibi in patria, sed nemus destruendo meremium ibidem sectum ad vendendum in Hiberniam transfulerunt.

ITEM, Cum idem dominus David quosdam Fortanicos de terra domini regis qui in nemoribus latitabant cepisset, ac suspendio tradidisset, idem tamen justiciarius ipsum Davidem penes regem accusabat, ac si ipse dictos malefactores defenderet,

ret, et manuteneret, quod verisimile non erat cum ipse David dictos latrones suspendi faceret et occidi.

ITEM, Cum esset cautum in forma pacis quod Wallenses deberent in causis suis tractari secundum leges Wallicanas, istud tamen circa dictum Davidem et suos homines in nullo extitit observatum.

DE premissis vero gravaminibus et aliis petiit idem David aliquam emendationem vel secundum leges Walliæ, vel consuetudines, vel etiam ex gratia speciali: et hoc etiam petiit a domino rege, quorum neutrum potuit aliquatenus obtinere: et cum hoc præmunitus fuit a quibusdam a curia domini regis, quod in primo regressu domini Reginaldi de Gray de curia idem Das videt esset capiendus ut filii sui capiendi pro obsedibus esset, insuper spoliandus castro suo de Hope, et etiam sylva sua ibidem succidenda. Ideo cum idem David multum laborasset pro domino rege prædicto in diversis guerris tam in Anglia quam in Wallia, et exposuisset se et suos variis periculis et injuriis, ac amisisset nobiliores de suis et fortiores, ac multos nimis, nihilominus de dictis gravaminibus et aliis nullam omnino justitiam, emendationem, seu gratiam potuit obtinere. Propter quæ gravamina et pericula, timens mortem propriam aut filiorum suorum, vel incarcerationem perpetuam vel saltem diutinam, quasi coactus et invitus incepit prout potuit se et suos defensare.

Hæc est forma quam dominus rex Angliæ promisit hominibus de Ros, antequam ipsi fecerunt sibi homagium, & illam formam eis promisit inviolabiliter observare, videlicet.

QUOD ipse dominus rex concederet unicuique eorum jus suum, et jurisdictionem suam, et etiam dominium, bonæ memoriæ domini Henrici quondam regis Angliæ, secundum quod prædicti homines de Ros referent ipsos haberent temporibus prædicti Henrici.

ITEM, Promisit prædictus dominus rex supradictis hominibus quod non darentur nec ad firmam ponerentur; quibus articulis concessis præfatis hominibus homagium fecerunt domino regi, et ipse eis promisit ore proprio dictos articulos observare. Hoc non obstante quidam cementarii redeuntes ad villam de Ruthlan, de loco ubi ipsi operabantur, obviaverunt cuidam nobili transeunti cum uxore sua per viam regiam super pace domini regis, qui cementarii per vim proposuerunt auferre a prædicto nobili suam uxorem, et quia ipse nobilis defendit suam uxorem ne ab ipso auferetur, prædicti cementarii prædictum nobilem interfecerunt. Ille autem cui plus opponebatur dictum homicidium perpetrasse, cum quibusdam sociis suis capti fuerunt: et cum parentela prædicti interfecti petierit justitiam a domino iudiciario Cestriensi de morte consanguinii eorum, illi de parentela ipsius interfecti fuerunt incarcerationi, et interfectores fuerunt a carcere liberati.

ITEM, Quidam homo interfecit quendam nobilem qui videlicet filium Goronu de Heylyn nutriverat, et interfector captus fuit: et cum quidem de parentela

prædicti interfecti peterent justitiam de eorum confanguineo a domino justiciario Cestrensi, quidam eorum capti fuerunt, et interfectus fuit in castello domini regis liberatus, et adhuc est ibi, denegata justitia prædictæ parentelæ.

ITEM, Quidam nobiles vindicaverunt jus in quibusdam terris, et de mobilibus suis obtulerunt domino regi magnam summam pecuniæ pro justitia habenda per rationem et veredictum proborum et legalium hominum de patria; quæ quidem terræ adjudicatæ fuerunt, prædictis vendicandibus totam terram prædictam cum omnibus ædificiis biadis, et aliis bonis in ipsis contentis. Dominus Reginaldus de Grey; et sic amiserunt primo pecuniam quam pro terra pacaverunt, et postea terram.

ITEM, Jurisdictionis nostræ est quod nullus extraneus extirparet sylvas nostras, nisi prius habita licentia nostra; hoc non obstante, proclamatum fuit apud Rodolanum quod liceret unicuique Anglicano extirpare sylvas nostras sine nostra licentia ad libitum eorum voluntatis, et quod nobis fuit prohibitum dictas sylvas nostras extirpare.

ITEM, Terras quas probi homines a domino Davide filio Leolini bonæ memoriæ habuerunt per donationem prædicti Davidis abstulit prædictus justiciarius a prædictis probis hominibus.

ITEM, Quando aliquis ad villam de Ruthlan veniret cum mercandiis suis, si refutaret illud quod Anglicus eidem, offerret pro suis mercandiis, statim duceretur ille Wallensis ad castrum, et emptor ibidem haberet rem quam larginaverat, et dominus rex haberet pretium dictæ rei, tunc castellam dictum Wallensem spoliatum et atrociter verberatum deliberabant, pacatis prius portario castri quatuor denariis. Si vero aliquis Wallensis emeret aliquam rem in villa de Ruthlan, Anglicus qualiscunque superveniret, et rem venditam dicto Wallensi auferet ab ipso pro minori pretio quam dictus Wallensis solverat pro eadem.

ITEM, Contra promissionem domini regis prædictis hominibus de Ros, ipse dedit territoriam villæ de Maenam in Penmayn et Lhysfaen.

ITEM, Taurus cujusdam probi hominis deprehensus fuit in pratris domini regis apud Ros, et captus, et dominus ejus vocatis fuit ad placitum usque Rodolanum, et fuit condemnatus in quinque libris occasione dicti tauri; bis adivit Londinium pro justitia petenda, et nullam fuit assecutus, et in illis duabus vicibus expendit prædictus homo tres libras.

ITEM, Quidam nobiles de cantreda de Ros emerunt officia pro certa summa pecuniæ; pacata pecunia, meritis suis non exigentibus, dominus justiciarius Cestrensis abstulit ab eis eorum officia.

ITEM, Quidam rusticus Goronow ab Heylyn condemnatus fuit in 17l. bonæ et legalis monetæ juris, ordine non servato.

ITEM,

ITEM, Goronow filius Heylyn accipit ad firmam territorium de Pennmaen et Lhysfaen a magistro Godfrido M. pro certa pecuniæ summa, usque ad finem quatuor annorum, quo factò dominus Robertus de C. cum equis et armis, et cum viginti quatuor equitibus venit ad inequitandum prædictum Goronow, occasione dictæ terræ, ita quod sic non fuit securus transitus nec usque Rodolanum, nec usque ad iudiciarios nisi cum forti Warnistura de sua parentela et etiam de suis amicis.

ITEM, In reformationem pacis ultro factæ et firmatæ inter dominum regem, et suos ex una parte, et dominum principem et suos ex altera expresse continebatur; quod omnes injuriæ et transgressiones factæ ex utraque parte penitus remitterentur; hoc non obstantè oppositum fuit contra quosdam nobiles quoddam fore factum tempore guerræ, et statim capti fuerunt, nec potuerunt a carcere liberari antequam ipsi pacarent sedecem marcas.

ITEM, Cum causæ debent tractari et terminari secundum legem et consuetudinem terræ nostræ compelluntur homines cantredæ nostræ ad jurandum in causis prædictis contra suam conscientiam, nec aliter jurare patiuntur.

PRÆ nos constavimus trecentas marcas eundo ad dominum regem pro justitia petenda in prædictis articulis, ibidem morando, et ad propria redeundo; et cum nos credebamus habere plenam justitiam de singulis articulis prædictis, dominus rex transmisit ad partes nostras dominum Reginaldum de Grey, cui dictus dominus rex totam terram ad firmam concessit, ad tractandos homines prædictæ cantredæ prout suæ placeret voluntati; qui compulsit nos jurare per manum suam cum deberemus jurare per manum domini regis, et ubi crux domini regis levari deberet, quod crux prædicti Reginaldi levaretur, in signum quod ipse erat verus dominus. Dictus vero Reginaldus in suo audentu ad partes Walliæ vendidit quibusdam servientibus domini regis officia sua, quæ prædicti servientes prius emerant a dom. rege pro 23 Marcis, et illa officia non deberent vendi nisi cum dominium dominorum mutaretur.

ITEM, Dominus rex dedit Maredudo filio Madoc magisterium satellitum pro suo servitio, dominus Reginaldus de Grey abtulit ab eo suum officium, nec a domino rege assequi potuit aliquam justitiam.

ITEM, Unus de consilio prædicti Reginaldi nobis dixit ore tenus, scilicet Cynwricus Fichan, quod in adventu prædicti Reginald ad partes Walliæ, viginti quatuor homines de probioribus hominibus cujuslibet cantredæ caperet ad incarcerandos ipsos perpetuo vel decapitandos: propter ista gravamina, et alia quæ dictus Reginaldus nobis fecit, et etiam propter minas quas ipse nobis intulit, videlicet quod si mitteremus aliquos nuncios ad curiam domini regis pro justitia petenda decapitarentur. Multa alia damna nobis allata, et injuriæ factæ; et quando mittebamur ad curiam domini regis, nuntii non mittebantur nec ausi fuerunt intrare, sed expendebant multa inutiliter; ob ista gravamina æstimabamus nos esse liberos a juramento factò domino regi coram deo.

ITEM,

ITEM, Bledyn Seis et Anjanus filius Genaf de Ros quoddam malefactum fecerunt temporibus David filii Lewelini, & Henrici regis, de homicidiis factis tunc satisfactionem et emendam satisfacere monstraverunt; et modo de novo Reginaldus de Grey vellet et cogetet illam emendam renovare, donec oportuit ipsos terram proprias relinquere.

ITEM, Census et obventiones quos solvimus de veteri moneta per medietatem unius anni ante adventum novæ monetæ, cogerunt nos reddere eis novas monetas pro veteri et hoc sub eodam numero.

Ista sunt gravamina per dominum regem & suos justiciarios illata Rhefo parvo de Ystrad Tywy.

PRIMUM est, Postquam dictus Rhys dedit et concessit domino regi castrum suum apud Dynefowr post ultimam pacis formam: qui dictus Rhesus tunc temporis erat in tentilio domini Payn de Gadfry, eodem tempore interfecti fuerunt sex nobiles viri domini Rhys, de quibus satisfactionem nec justitiam unquam habuit quod fuit eis damnum et gravamen.

ITEM, Johannes Giffard calumniavit cum Rhesum super hæreditatem propriam apud Hirwryn, quicquid Rhesus inquisivit a domino rege legem patriæ suæ, aut legem comitatus Caermarden, in quo comitatu antecessores dicti Rhys solebant habere leges, quando fierent in unitatem Anglicorum, et sub eorum dominis; quod idem Rhys nullas leges habuit, et suam terram prædictam totaliter amisit; vellent ipsum infringere in comitatu Herefordiensi, ubi numquam antecessores ejus responderunt.

PRÆTEREA in terris præfati Rhesi talia gravamina fuerunt per Anglicos facta, maxime pertinent ad ecclesiasticos, videlicet in ecclesia Sancti Davidis quæ vocatur Llangadawc fecerunt stabula, et meretrices collocaverunt, et omnia bona quæ in ea continebantur omnino asportaverunt atque totos domos combusserunt; et in eadem ecclesia juxta aram percusserunt capellanum cum gladio ad caput ejus et eum reliquerunt semivivum.

ITEM, in eadem patria ecclesiam Dyngad et ecclesiam Llantredaf spoliaverunt et combusserunt; cæterasque ecclesias ex partibus illis omnino spoliaverunt calcibus, et libris, ac omnibus aliis ornamentis et rebus:

Gravamina Lewelini filii Rhys, & Howeli fratris ejus per dominum regem illata sunt hæc.

POSTQUAM in formam pacis inter dominum Henricum tunc temporis regem Angliæ et dominum principem apud Rhydchwnna, tunc præfatus rex concessit, et per cartas suas confirmavit præfato principi homagium prædictorum nobilium exos. Prædicti nobiles fuerunt fideles et constantes cum præfato principe, juxta eorum

eorum donationem et cartarum suarum confirmationem: Edwardus nunc rex Angliæ prædictos nobiles dehæreditavit, denegando eisdem omnes leges et consuetudines Walliæ; ita quod non habuerunt terras suas nec per legem, nec per gratiam.

Ista sunt gravamina, damna, seu molestia per Anglicos illata filiis Maredui, filii Oweni.

PRIMUM est quamquam dominus rex concessit prædictis nobilibus suas proprias hæreditates post pacis formam, videlicet Geneur'glyn et Creudhyn; præfatus vero rex, contra suam donationem et pacis formam, terris supradictis antedictos nobilis dehæreditavit, denegando eidem omnes leges et consuetudines Walliæ, et Angliæ, atque comitatus Caermardhyn.

SECUNDUM est, Quod præfatus rex in suo comitatu de Cardigan, per suos justiciarios antedictos nobiles compellit, ut ipsi traderent iudicium super ignobiles ac subditos patriæ, et quod tales homines e comisso iudicium super ipsos opponerent, ubi numquam antecessores eorum ab Anglicis talia sustinuerunt.

TERTIUM est, Quod justiciarii domini regis curiam eorum nobilium abstulerunt, compellendo homines suos proprios coram eis satisfacere quia de jure coram prædictis nobilibus deberent satisfacere.

QUARTUM est, Quod quoddam naufragium in terris antedictorum nobilium fuit, qui quidem nobiles bona naufragii receperunt, sicut antecessores eorum fecerunt, et hoc non fuit eis prohibitum per aliquos ex parte regis: antedictus vero rex contra eorum consuetudinem et legem, occasione illius Naufragii eosdem damnavit in octoginta Marcis sterlingorum; atque bona quæ in Naufragio continebantur omnino asportaverunt.

QUINTUM est, quod nullus nostrum in comitatu Uffegd de Cardigan ausus esset venire inter Anglicos propter timorem carceris et nisi fuisset propter periculum Nobilibus Metrop. nihil contra honoram domini regis moverent.

SIGNIFICANT vero quod omnes Christiani habent leges et consuetudines in eorum propriis terris; Judæi vero inter Anglicos habent leges, ipsi vero in terris suis, et eorum antecessores habuerunt leges immutabiles et consuetudines, donec Anglia post ultimam guerram ab eis leges suas abstulerunt.

Memorandum de quærelis omnium nobilium virorum de Ystradatuy eisdem latis ac factis per Rogerum de Clyfford, & Rogerum Croscil vicem domini Rogeri de Clyfford gerentem contra privilegium, justitiam, et consuetudinem prædictorum virorum de Ystratuy, ut dicunt et probant.

PRIMUS articulus est quod cum dicti Rogeri cogerunt dictos homines de Ystradatuy reddere sibi pro consuetudinibus suis viginti Marcas sterlingorum, et post solutionem dictæ pecuniæ cito fregerunt in hunc modum, quod posuerunt super

17 viros judicantes secundum jus Angliæ; quod nunquam fuit consuetudo nec privilegium dictæ patriæ.

ITEM. Madecus filius Bledyn condemnatus fuit in quatuor Marcis injustè.

ITEM. Lewelinus Rufus condemnatus fuit in quinque Marcis et 17 averiis contra privilegium et consuetudinem patriæ.

ITEM. Quod ipsi Rogeri fecerunt forestam super terram propriam virorum patriæ: et propter pedem unius cervi inventum id ore canis alicujus, tres homines fuerunt spoliati omnino.

ITEM. Michael ab Ygustyl condemnatus fuit in decem solidis pro facto patris sui, quadraginta annis elapsis.

ITEM. Cogerunt parentes Ennii à Strabonis ad reddendum suum relevagum in vita sua.

ITEM. Quod ipsi posuerunt super nos omnes satellitos de Anglicis, quod nunquam fuit nostra dimidietas.

ITEM. Dati fuimus domino Mauritio de Crumy, et vinditi fuimus domino Rogero de Clyfford, quod nunquam fuit super parentes nostros.

ITEM. Roberti de Monte alto petiit, à domino rege tertiam partem terræ de Monte alto in Ward, et adjudicata fuit coram domino rege quod nunquam dicta terra fuit in Ward data.

Hi sunt articuli quæstionum illati ab hominibus de Penllyn, injuste per constabularium Albi Monasterii & suos cives.

PRIMO. Cynwric filius Madoci fuit spoliatus ab eis tempore pacis octo libris, et quatuor bobus, et blado laboris unius aratri, per duos annos et valore trium librarum à tribus hominibus ejusdem; affirmat etiam quod solvet 16 libras per octo in valore, et majorem habuit injuriam imponendo manus in ipsum quam totum quod amisit, quia tunc erat constabularius domini principis apud Penllyn: non fuit alia causa dictæ spoliationis nisi quia dicebatur invenire 24 garbas de decimis in domo cujusdam hominis dicti Cynwrici.

ITEM. Adam Preco condemnatus fuit in septem solidis & octo denariis, et equa valoris unius libræ, imponendo manus in ipsum et liberando latronem dictæ equæ, quia ipse venerat ibidem cum dicto latrone capto.

ITEM. Endeuot ab Gruffydh condemnatus fuit in 27s. nec fuit causa nisi quia vendidit equam unam ad unum miliare citra villam, sicut solebant à tempore quo non extat memoria, quando veniebant ad nundinas.

ITEM. Adaf Ddu condemnatus fuit in 30s. eo quod duo boves quos proposuerat vendere in foro Albi Monasterii exhibant villam ipso conveniente, et captus fuit et detentus usque ad solutionem 30s. nec ipsi boves exierant nisi da Plateo qua stabant usque ad aliam Plateam.

ITEM,

ITEM. Biryf filius Gwyn, condemnatus fuit in quinque solidis, et in carcerem ductus; eo quod percussit unum bovem indomitum ipsum calcantem in foro.

ITEM. Yorwerch ab Gorgonon condemnatus fuit 7 s. eo quod evaserat quondam de carcere eorum tempore guerræ, et in tempore pacis inventus fuit in dicta villa, et hoc contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum regem, et dominum principem.

ITEM. Duo famuli Kenwric ap Gruffydh condemnati fuerunt in duabus Marcis, eo quod dicebant ipfos non solviffe toletum postquam solverant.

ITEM. Caducanus Niger famulus constabularii de Penlyhyn captus fuit et condemnatus in 6 s. et 4 d. eo quod volebat recipere veterem monetam pro nova.

ITEM. Gruffydh ap Goronow *tercinarius* domini Principis spoliatus fuit uno bove valoris 11 s. et 8 d. et postquam arraveret constabularius cum dicto bove per septem menses, solvit dictus Gruffynus pro dicto bove, 40 d.

A servant.

ITEM. Howel ap David spoliatus fuit per fatellites albi Monasterii duobus solidis extra villam, eo quod denegaverat prius munera ut solent fatellites petere.

ITEM. David ab Gronow ab Eynion spoliatus fuit 30 s. eo quod quidem cives albi monasterii dixit, quod quidem de Penlhyn, qui mortuus fuerat, denegabatur ei in quibusdam rebus.

ITEM. Duo famuli Y bongam capti fuerunt et condemnati in duabus libris, eo quod posuerunt manum in quendam latronem qui spoliabat eos in villa per noctem, et liberaverunt latronem.

ITEM. Eneyon filius Ichael captus et verberatus fuit, et spoliatus duobus bobus valoris, 24 s. et 6 d. nulla alia de causa, nisi quod boves ipso connivente moverunt se de platea ad iliam plateam.

ITEM. Adaf ap Ychael condemnatus fuit in duabus libris pro una libra, et ipse posuerat in juramento cujusdam civis de albo monasterio quod non tenebatur nisi in una libra pro principe, nec voluit jurare, et ideo spoliatus fuit una libra.

ITEM. Guyan Maestran spoliatus fuit 5 s. eo quod dicebat quod quidam Mercator de Ardydwy tenebatur eis in quibusdam rebus, cum ipse nec erat de dicta Balliva: item condemnatus fuit in 8 d. quia dicebant ipsum vendere quasdam oves extra villam cum ipse non vendiderat.

ITEM. Famulus Lewelini ab Gwyn spoliatus fuit septem ovibus, et 5 s. et suo pallio, eo quod dicebant ipsum esse de domino Griffydh ab Gwyn cum ipse non erat.

ITEM. Iorwerch ab Meylir captus fuit et condemnatus in 15 s. cum pallio, eo quod denegavit dare munus fatellitibus quod petebant, ipsi sinxerunt eum in villa pernoctare.

ITEM. Cives albi monasterii rapuerunt à Madoco Rufo filio Ychael unum bovem valoris, 11 s. et 6 d.

ISTA omnia facta fuerunt per Henricum Gamber dicti loci constabularium, cum aliis innumerabilibus articulis.

ITEM. Ybire captus fuit in negotio domini principis, et condemnatus in 5s. absque aliqua causa.

Hæc sunt gravamina Goronow filii Heylyn, viz.

QUOD quidem Villanns dictus Coronon vocatus fuit ad curium domini regis occasione indebitæ causæ. Tunc dictus Goronow venit ad suum villanum defendendum, et petiit pro ipso veritatem à dominò iusticiario, aut legem qua utuntur homines suæ patriæ; omnibus autem his eidem denegatis, dictus villanus condemnatus fuit in 27 libris, et tribus obolis: tunc dictus Goronow adivit Londonium pro iustitia habenda, et expendit quinque Marcas et quatuor Solidos, et promissa fuit sibi iustitia, et nullam fuit affectus.

ITEM. Quidam nobilis fuit interfectus, videlicet, qui nutriverat filium dicti Goronow, et ille interfectus captus fuit et deportatus fuit apud castrum de Ruthlan: tunc dictus Goronow et quidem de parentela interfecti petierunt iustitiam de interfectore: tunc denegata eis iustitia, quidam fuerunt incarcerati, et ille interfectus fuit in Castello liberatus. Tunc dictus Goronow iterum adivit Londonium propter supradicta gravamina ad iustitiam petendam, et expendit, 20 Marcas, 3s. 4d. Et dominus rex promisit eidem plenariam iustitiam, et nullam fuit adeptus cum pervenit ad patriam suam.

ITEM. Tertio ex defectu iustitiæ oportuit dictum Goronow adire Londonium occasione supradictis pro iustitia petenda, ex expendit illa vice 18 Marcas, 6s. 8d. bonæ et legalis Monetæ; et tunc simpliciter promisit dominus rex eidem iustitiam perhibere; et quando credebat habere iustitiam, tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, et dixit aperte quod ipse deberit tractare totam patriam per chartas domini regis, et abstulit totam Ballivam à dicto Goronow; quam sibi dominus rex concessit, et vendidit illam Ballivam ad voluntatem suam, et tunc petiit dictus Goronow iustitiam à domino Reginaldo de gravaminibus supradictis, et nullam fuit adeptus.

ITEM. Dictus Goronow recepit terram, videlicet, Penmaen et Lysfaen adfirmam de Godfrido Merlyn, usque ad finem quatuor annorum pro certa pecuniæ summa. Tunc Robertus de Cruquer venit cum equis suis et armis ad quærendum dictam terram per vim, et quia dictus Goronow non permetteret auferre dictam terram ab eodem usque terminum præsignatum, tunc vocatus fuit ad curiam dictus Goronow illa occasione; tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, cum viginti quatuor equitibus armatis ad proponendum capere dictum Goronow, vel ad eundem decapitandum; et quia viderunt quod non possent implere suum propositum illo die, vocaverunt dictum Goronow crastino die apud Ruthlan, et tunc dictus Goronow habuit consilium ita quod non deberent adire dictam curiam: iterum dictus Goronow vocatus fuit ad placitum apud Caerwys, et non ausus fuit adire dictum placitum nisi per conductum domini episcopi Asaphensis, quia dictus Reginaldus et sui complures ibidem erant armati.

ITEM.

ITEM. Propter ista gravamina de quibus nullam habuit justitiam nisi laborare et expendere duas libr. quatuor Marcas, et 9d; et quia non ausus fuit in proprio persona adire curiam, misit quendam nunciam deportantem duas literas, unam ad dominum regem, et aliam ad fratrem Lewelinum, ad signadum domino regi quod amitteret totam patriam, et dictum Goronow quia non observavit illud quod eisdem promisit; et quia nullam possent homines de Ros et Arglifeld assequi justitiam, et quia noluit corrigere sive emendare ista gravamina propter hoc amisit totam patriam.

SUPPLICANT sanctitati vestræ, domine archiepiscopi Cantuariensis totius Angliæ primas, nobiles viri de Tegengyl, et vobis demonstrant quod cum prædicti nobiles fecerunt homagium domino Edwardo regi Angliæ, ipse rex eisdem promisit quod eosdem immunes observaret et indemnes, tam in bonis, libertatibus, juribus, jurisdictionibus, privilegiis quibus usi fuerunt tempore Henrici regis per suum obtentum privilegium; ex quibus privilegiis fuerunt postmodo spoliati.

IMPRIMIS. Juribus et consuetudinibus partiæ fuerunt spoliati, viz. prædictus Edwardus compellendo quod ipsi procederent in causis secundum legem Anglicanam, cum secundum tenorem privilegii sui secundum legem Wallicanam procedere debuissent, viz. apud Tref Edwyn, et apud Ruthlan, et apud Caerwys; et optimati de patria fuerunt manu capti quia ipsi provocabant quod ipsi procederent in causa apud Tref Edwyn secundum legem et consuetudinem Wallicanam secundum tenorem privilegii.

SECUNDO. Quia unus justiciarius duceret in causis peragendis, alius suus prædecessor in irritum revocaret, viz. in causa Davidis Reginaldus de Grey recitavit, processum quem suus antecessor ratum habuit, et etiam approbavit.

TERTIO. Quod si unus nobilis de patria fuisset propter calumniam sibi impositam captus, quod non remitterent eundem pro *cautione fidejussoria* evadere, quod Surety. facere debuissent.

QUARTO. Quod tres unius nobilis deducti ad castrum fuerunt de Flynt, propter parvam accusationem, una cum averiis suis, nec potuerunt de castro devenire, nec dilationem obtinere donec unusquisque dedit unum bovem constabulario de Flynt, et donec solverunt tres libras Kynwrico Seis pro dilatione habenda.

QUINTO. Reginaldus de Grey terras virorum de Merton dedit et concessit abbati de Basingwerk ordinis Cisterciend. contra legem Wallicanam, et patris consuetudinem; et contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum Lewelinum principem et dominum regem, viz. 16 cantatas terræ.

SEXTO. Mirantur nobiles et optimati patriæ pro eo quod dominus rex fecit ædificare castrum super terram et possessionem magnatum, et mandavit dominus rex justiciario suo quod ipse solveret eque bonam terram illis spoliatis et adhuc aliquam terram, nec suæ terræ æstimationem sunt consecuti in Flynt.

SEPTIMO. Reginaldus de Grey non permitteret possessores sylvarum uti sylvis suis, donec ab eisdem pretium et præmium fuisset consecutus, et aliis rusticis gratis permitteret sylvam prædictorum abscidere, cum non debuissent secundum patriæ consuetudinem et legem Wallicanam.

OCTAVO. Cum homines de Cyrchynan fecerunt pactum cum domino rege, quod cum ipsi concederent dimidietatem cujusdam prati, ad hoc quod dominus rex non permitteret sylvam prædictorum abscidere Howelo filio Gruffydd præsentem, et postmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictum pratum infirmavit, viz. concedendo aliis quod absciderent sylvam prædictorum, et eosdem dimidietate prati sui spoliando.

Redeem the
gage.
Velua.

NONO. Filius Kynwrici ab Goronow fuit captus apud Ruthlan culpa sua minime præcedente, nisi vellet pignus suum *acquiescere* a quodam muliere, et constabularius de Ruthlan fecit eundem detradi in carcerem injuriose, nec potuit exinde deliberari donec prædictus fuit condemnatus ultra suorum bonorum *hypotheca*.

DECIMO. Cum ballivus de Ruthlan erat in convivio apud villam Four Hutmus de Limayl quendam virum nobilem crudeliter vulneravit in præsentia ballivi suprascripti; cujus vulneris occasione prædictus Hutmus fuit in octo libris condemnatus: et quum ille cui injuria fuisset facta petere voluisset prædictas libras, eundem fecit detrudi in carcerem una.

UNDECIMO. Nuntii Reginaldi de Grey proposuerunt facere illud quod erat absurdum et dissonum juris secundum canonicas sanctiones; videlicet petere ab eisdem quod ipsi ararent Reginaldo de Grey, et quod ipsi feminarent illam araturam; et illi fuerunt nuntii, viz. Kynwricus Seis et Hutmus de Limayl, quod prædictus vero Kynwricus in præsentia omnium de patria juravit, nisi omnes de patria ararent quod ipsi infra tempus pœniterent, et ipsi multum timuerunt metu qui potuit cadere in constantem virum.

DUODECIMO. Quod præcones de Tegeyngl emerunt officium præconiarum pro 30 marcis a domino rege, et postmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictos præcones tam pecunia quam præconia spoliavit contra legem et consuetudinem Anglicanam.

TERTIODECIMO. Septem nobiles fuerunt interfecti minus juste ab Anglicis, et adhuc parentes prædictorum aliquam satisfactionem non habuerunt, cum illi malefactores fuerunt capti; et postmodum prædictos malefactores remiserunt prædicti constabularii impunitos.

QUARTODECIMO. Constabularius unus de Ruthlan detradiit duos Satellites domini regis in carcere, pro eo quod ipsi tenuerunt aliquem Anglicum qui grave delictum commisit hominem alium vulnerando.

Isti omnes articuli in præmissis nominati, fuerunt perpetrati contra prædictorum virorum libertatem, jurisdictionem, et privilegium et contra legem et consuetudinem Wallicanam; videlicet, quod non erant ausi eorum quærelas domino regi per suos nuncios denunciare, propter metum Reginaldi et timorem, qui metus potuit

potuit cadere in constantem virum : quia prædictus Reginaldus sua voce Dilvada fuit protestatus ; quod si inveniret nuntios prædictorum quod eosdem decapitaret prout nobis ex parte unius ex consilio suo fuit certive intimatum. In tantum quod lingua non potest proferre, nec penna scribere in quantum prædicti homines de Tegeyngl fuerunt aggravati.

Openly.

CONQUERITUR vobis, domine archiepiscopo Cantuariensis totius Angliæ primas, Lewelinus filius Griffini filii Madoci de constabulario de cruce Oswaldi regis, et de hominibus ejusdem villæ, qui prædictum Lewelinum tertia parte cujusdam villæ quæ vocatur Ledrot, et curia patris sui, sine observatione juris patriæ suæ vel consuetudine inequiter spoliarunt.

PRÆTEREA. Prædictus constabularius et sui complures eundem Lewelinum communi pastura, qua prædictus Lewelinus usus fuit temporibus retroactis, ordine juris patriæ minime observato, spoliarunt, et in 70 libris occasione prædictæ pasturæ condemnaverunt. Cæterum dominus rex Angliæ concessit quasdam literas cuidam Bastardo, scilicet Griffino Fychan ab Cynlhaeth, ad litigandum contra eundem Lewelinum pro toto domino suo obtinendo, quarum literarum occasione idem Lewelinus expendit ccl. sterlingorum legalis usualisæ monetæ.

ITERUM. Prædictus constabularius compulsi prædictum Lewelinum ad mittendum duos suos nobiles ad eos suspendendos ad prædictum constabularium quicquid viri nobiles suspendi minime debuissent, quam suspensionem nolent parentes prædictorum hominum sustinuisse pro ccc libris sterlingorum. Postmodum prædictus constabularius incacerravit bis 60 homines prædicti Lewelini nulla præmissa ratione, nisi quod quidam gareo emisit quandam vocem, nec potuerunt evadere suum carcerem donec quilibet eorum solvit decem solidos pro sua deliberatione.

ITEM. Quando homines prædicti Lewelini venirent ad forum ad suos boves vendendos, prædictus constabularius faceret boves deduci ad castrum, nec postmodum boves restituerit, nec pretium solveret venditori : præsertim idem constabularius et sui ceperunt jumenta prædicti Lewelini ad terram suam propriam, et de eisdem jumentis fecerunt suam voluntatem.

PRÆTEREA. Justiciarii domini regis compulserunt prædictum Lewelinum ad tradendum quandam villam filiis Eneoni filii Griffini ; qui quidem prædictam villam, nec a se, nec a prædecessoribus fuerunt consecuti, ordine juris patriæ suæ in hac parte minime observato.

IDEM. Prædictus constabularius abstulit equum ballivi prædicti Lewelini sine aliqua ratione, nec sibi aliquid debebatur ; nec adhuc prædictus ballivus satisfactionem aliquam est consecutus.

CÆTERUM. Quando prædictus Lewelinus volebat adire villam quæ vocatur Caerlleon cum literis domini regis ad comperendum ibidem in die sibi assignata ; filii Griffini filii Gwenynny et armigeri domini Rogeri Starainge ex consilio Rogeri eundem Lewelinum et suos incarcerarunt in sui injuriam et suorum non modicam læsionem ; quam injuriam et læsionem nollet prædictus Lewelinus et
sui

fui sustinuisse pro ccc marcis sterlingorum; nec ab eisdem potuit evadere donec invenit pro se sufficientem cautionem.

HIS et aliis receptis in scriptis accessit, archiepiscopus ad dominum regem; supplicans ei humiliter ut gravamina suppradiſta dignetur avertere, et ea correctione debita terminare: et saltem pro tanto habere excessus Wallensium excusatos: qui respondit Wallenses injuriis sibi illatis esse excusabiles, quia omni tempore poratus extiterat omni facere justitiam conquerenti: quo audito, archiepiscopus regi iterum supplicavit ut permetteret Wallenses pro suis gravaminibus exponendis et remediis afferendis ap ipsum habere accessum liberum et regressum: qui respondit quod libere permetteret eos ad se accedere sed et redira; si secundum justitiam regressus eorum meritis responderet. Quibus auditis accessit archiepiscopus ad principem Walliæ in Snawdoniam ut tam ipsum quam Davidum fratrem suum et cæteros Wallenses ad aliquam humilitatis regulam ipsorum animos inclinaret; per quam posset qui ipsorum nuntius regiam clementiam ad ipsos admittendos in gratiam inclinare. Post varios autem tractatus respondit princeps: quod paratus erat voluntati regiæ se supponere duobus præsuppositis, salva scilicet conscientia sua qua populo suo assilere tenebatur; salva etiam condescenduntia status sui. Quæ cum archiepiscopus retulisset domino regi, respondit dominus rex quod nullum alium de pace volebat cum principe ac subditis suis habere tractatum, nisi quod ipsi supponerent se in omnibus regiæ voluntati: et cum constaret archiepiscopo Wallenses nullo modo velle se regiæ voluntati supponere, nisi præcite in forma eis tolerabili et accepta, tractatum habuit ex permissioni domini regis cum magnatibus tunc præsentibus, qui omnes consenserunt in articulos infra scriptos, quos per fratrem Joannem Wallensem inscriptos principi et suis archiepiscopo destinavit.

PRIMO. Quod dominus rex de quatuor cantredis et terris ab eo datis, magnatibus suis nullum vult habere tractatum, nec etiam de insula Anglesey.

IDEM. De tenentibus eorum cantredorum si ad suam pacem venerint, proponit facere prout concedet regiam majestatem, credimus tamen quod aget cum eis misericorditer si ad pacem venerint, et ad hoc proponimus una cum cæteris amicis efficaciter laborare, sperantes efficaciter exaudiri.

ITEM. De facto domini Lewelini nullum potuimus aliud habere responsum nisi quod simpliciter et absolute conformet ad domini regis voluntatem, ut credimus firmiter quod dominus rex cum eo aget misericorditer, et ad hoc intendimus cum totis viribus laborare cum cæteris amicis exaudiendis ut confidimus cum effectu.

PRIMO. Quod proceres hanc formam gratiæ regiæ conceperunt; ut videlicet domino Lewelino se regiæ gratiæ submittente, provideatur ei per regem honorifice in mille libratibus sterlingorum de aliquo honorifico comitatu, in aliquo loco Angliæ; ita tamen quod prædictus Lewelinus ponat dominum regem in Seyfina Snaudonum absolute, perpetue et quiete. Et ipse rex filiæ principis secundum condiceſtiam sui proprii sanguinis providebit, et ad hoc sperant se posse regis animum inclinare.

ITEM.

ITEM. Si contingat Lewelinum ducere uxorem et habere de ea puellam masculam, intendunt impetrare proceres a domino rege, ut proles illa succedat perpetuo hæreditario Lewelini in terra masculorum liberorum videlicet comitatu.

ITEM. De populo principi immediate subiecto tam in Snaudon quam alibi providebiter secundum deum prout complete salutis ejusdem populi et honori; et ad hoc est regia clementia satis prona, populo desiderans consolabiliter providere.

PRIMO. Quod si ad honorem Dei et suum juxta crucis assumptæ debitum velis in terræ sanctæ subsidium proficisci, providebitur ei honorifice secundum condescendentiam status sui, ita tamen quod non redeat nisi per regiam clementiam vocatus: rogabimus etiam dominum regem, et speramus efficaciter exaudiri, ut provideat proli suæ.

HIS omnibus motu nostro subjungimus Wallensibus omnia pericula imminere longe gravius quam eis diximus oraculo vivæ vocis: scribimus dure valde sed longe durius est obrui vi et armis, et in fine totaliter extirpari, quoniam omni die pericula nobis imminetia aggravantur.

ITEM. Longe difficilius est omni tempore in guerra esse in angustia cordis et corporis vivere, et semper in infidiis malignari, et cum hoc vivere et mori in peccato mortali continuo et raneore.

ITEM. De quo doleremus valde si ad pacem minime veniatis, indubitanter timemus contra vos debere sententiam ecclesiasticam intolerabiliter aggravari pro excessibus vestris; de quibus non poteritis vos aliquatenus excusare in quibus invenietis misericordiam, si ad pacem veniatis et de his nobis respondeatur in scriptis.

Reverendissimo in Christo patri ac domino J. Dei gratia Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi ac totius Angliæ primati suus in Christo devotus filius Lewelinus princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon, salutem cum desideriiis benevolentiæ filialis ac reverentiis multimodis et honoribus.

SANCTE pater, sicut vosmet consulistis, ad gratiam regiam parati sumus venire sub forma tamen nobis secunda et honesta: sed quia forma contenta in articulis nobis missis minime secunda est et honesta prout nobis et consilio nostro videtur; et de qua multum admirantur omnes audientes, eo quod plus tendit ad destructionem et ruinam populi nostri ac nostram, quam ad nostram honestatem et securitatem, nullo modo permittit consilium nostrum nos in ea consentire si vellemus; alii quoque nobiles et populus nobis subiectus nullo modo consentirent in eandem ob indubitam destructionem et dissipationem quæ inde eis possent evenire.

TAMEN

TAMEN supplicamus vestræ sanctæ paternitati quatenus ad reformationem pacis debitæ, honestæ, et secutæ, ob quam tot labores assumpistis, proinde laboretis, collationem habentes ad articulos quos vobis mittimus in scriptis: honorabilius enim est et rationi magis consonum ut de domino rege teneamus terras in quibus jus habemus, quam nos exhæredare et eas tradere alienis. Datum apud Garthcelyn.

PRIMO. Quod licet dominus rex de quatuor Cantredis et aliis terris ab eo datis magnatibus suis, ac de Insula Anglesey nullum voluerit habere tractatûm, tamen consilium principis non permittit, si contingat aliquam pacem fieri, quin tractetur de premissis; eo quod isti Cantredi sunt de puro principis tenemento, in quibus merum jus habuerunt principes et prædecessores sui à temporibus Cambri filii Bruti, tum quia sunt de principatu, cujus confirmationem princeps obtinet pro bonæ memoriæ Octobonum sedis *Apostolicæ* legatum in Angliâ, consensu domini regis et sui patris ad hoc intervenienti, sicut pater Chartas eorum inspicienti, tum quia etiam equius est quod veri hæredes teneant dictos Cantredos de domino rege pro pecunia et servitiis consuetis, quam eos dari extraneis et Advenis, qui et si fuerunt regere aliquam tamen per vim et potentiam.

Pope.

DICUNT etiam comiter omnes tenentes de omnibus Cantredis Walliæ quod non sunt ausi venire ad voluntatem regis ut de eis disponat secundum regiam majestatem.

PRIMO. Quod dominus rex nec pacta, nec juremanta, nec Chartas servavit ab initio versus dominum suum principem et ipsos.

SECUNDO. Quia regales in ecclesias et ecclesiasticas personas inivit crudelissimam tyrannidem.

TERTIO. Quod non tenentur ad prædicta, cum sint homines principis qui etiam paratus est de dictis tenementis domino regi obedire per servitia consueta. Ad id quod dicit quod princeps veniet simpliciter et absolute ad voluntatem domini regis: respondetur quod cum nulli de dictis Cantredis ausi sint venire ad talem voluntatem propter causas prædictas, nec comitas eorum permittat principem venire ad dictam voluntatem modo prædicto.

ITEM. Quod proceres regni procurent ut domino principi provideatur in mille libratibus in aliquo loco Angliæ; dicatur quod illam provisionem non debet acceptare cum sit procurata per dictos proceres, qui nituntur ad exhæreditationem principis, ut habeant terras suas in Wallia. Item idem princeps non tenetur dimittere hæreditatem suam et progenitorum suorum in Wallia à tempore Bruti, et etiam sibi confirmatam per Romanæ sedis legatum, ut dictum est; et terram in Angliâ acceptare, unde linguam, mores et leges ac consuetudines ignorat; ubi possent etiam sibi quædam malitiori imponi ex odio inveterato à vicinis Anglicis quibus terra illa privaretur in perpetuum.

ITEM. Ex quo rex proponit privare principem sua pristina hæreditate, non videtur probabile quod rex permetteret ei habere terram in Angliâ ubi nullum jus videtur

probabile quod rex permetteret ei habere terram in Anglia ubi nullum jus videtur habere. Et si etiam non permetteretur principi terra sterilis et inculta jure hæreditario ab antiquo et debita in Wallia; nullatenus permetteretur eidem in Anglia terra fertilis culta et habundans.

ITEM. Quod dictus princeps ponat dominum regem in Seyfino Snawdon absolute, perpetue et quiete: dicatur quod cum Snawdon sit de appendiciis principatus Walliæ, quem ipse et antecessores sui tenuerunt à tempore Bruti, ut dictum est; consilium suum non permittit eum renuntiare dicto loco, et locum nimis sibi debitum in Anglia receptare.

ITEM. Populus Snawdon dicit, quod licet princeps vellet dare regi Seyfinarum eorundem, ipsi tamen nollent homagium facere alicui extraneo, cujus linguam, mores, legesque penitus ignorant. Quia sic posset contingere eos in perpetuum captivari, ac crudeliter tractari, sicut alii Cantredi circumquaque per Ballivos regis ac alios regales alias tractati fuerunt, crudelius quam Saraceni; prout patet in rotulis quos vobis miserunt sancte pater. Ista sunt dicenda pro Davide fratre principis. Quod cum voluerit terram sanctam adire hoc faciet voluntarie et ex voto pro Deo non pro homine, unde invitus non peregrinabitur Deo dante; qui coacta servitia Deo novit displicere. Et si contingat ipsum in posterum terram sanctam adire bona ductus voluntate, non propter hoc deberent ipse et hæredes sui in perpetuum exhæditari; immò potius præmium obtinere. Præterea quia princeps, et sui causa odii, ad aliquos concipiendi, vel lucri captandi non moverunt guerram alienas terras invadendo; sed suam propriam hæreditatem jura libertatesque, necnon suorum defendendo; dominusque rex et sui odio inveterato, et causa lucrandi terras nostras guerram fecit: credimus in hoc justam guerram nosovere, et speramus in hac Deum nos velle juvare, ac in ecclesiarum devastatores divinam ultionem convertere, qui ecclesias funditus destruxerunt ac combusserunt, sacra ex eis rapuerunt, Sacerdotes, Clericos, regiosos, claudos, furdos, mutos, infantes, ubera lactentes, ac debiles et miserabiles personas, ut usque sexu occiderunt; et alia enormia perpetrarunt, sicut in dictis rotulis vobis transmissis contineatur: unde absit à sancta paternitate vestra sententiam aliquam fulminare in alios quam in illos qui prædicta perpetrârunt. Nos enim qui regalibus prædicta passi fuimus, speramus à vobis super præmissis paternum solatium, et remedium obtinere; et in prædictos sacrilegos eorumque fautores, qui nullo super his privilegio defenduntur, animadvertere; ne præ defectu dignæ correctionis seu ultionis in eos exercendo prædicta mala in perpetuum per alios trahantur in exemplum.

MIRANTUR etiam quamplures in terra nostra, quod consuluitis nobis dimittere terram nostram propriam, et alienam adire inter hostes nostros comersando; quia ex quo non possumus pacem habere in terra quæ nostra est ipso jure nostro, minime poterimus in aliena terra inter hostes nostros pacifice conservari: et licet durum sit in guerra et insidiis vitam ducere; durius tamen est funditus destrui, et ad nihilum, nisi Deus avertat, deduci populum Christianum qui nihil aliud querit

nisi sua jura defendere; unde necessitas ad hoc nos cogit, et inimicorum cupiditas non offendit; et vos, sancte pater, coram nobis dixistis, quod vos sententiaistis in omnes qui impediunt pacem causa odii vel lucri; sed manifestum est qui sunt illi qui guerrant istis causis.

TIMOR enim mortis, et incarcerationis, vel perpetuæ exhæreditationis, nulla observatio fœderum pactorum vel chartarum, tyrannica dominatio, vel multa alia consimilia cogunt nos esse in guerris; et hoc Deo et vobis ostendimus, et petimus à vobis paternum adjutorium, ut patet in literis nostris.

AD hoc multi alii in regno Angliæ offenderunt regem et tamen nullos exhæredavit in perpetuum, ut dicitur; unde si aliqui ex nostris ipsum offenderunt injuste, dignum est ut satisfaciant prout possint sine exhæredatione; et sicut in vobis confidimus, supplicamus quod ad hoc laboretis sancte pater: nam etsi nobis imponatur quod fregimus pacem, tamen illi verius fregerunt qui nullum fœdus vel pactum nobis servaverunt; qui nullam emendam de quærimoniis nobis fecerunt, ut patet in rotulis.

Primo auditis rescripsit Archiepiscopus Wallensibus in hæc verba:

IN nomine domini, Amen. Cum nos frater J. permissione divina Cantuariensis ecclesiæ minister humilis totius Angliæ primas, scientes nostro incumbere officio, pro vobis domine Leweline princeps Walliæ ac subditis vestri: exponere nos et nostra spretis viarum incommodis et periculis, vestram adjuverimus præsentiam oves erroneas reducturi; et speculatoris fungentis officio vobis mysteriæ vivæ vocis diximus pericula quæ genti vestræ videbamus luce clarius imminere, subjunctis remediis eorumdem; teste optantes altissimo juxta pontificale debitum cuilibet vestrum ecclesiam minimo de corpore nostro pontem facere ad salutis littora reducendo. Tandem vestris auditis precibus et angustiis eas ut necessitatis vestræ nuntius præsentavimus regiæ majestati, quem ab olim ad pœnitentes adversarios introitum scimus esse propitium; ut quidam de vestris et aliis ut nobis certis constat indiciis ipsius clementia abutantur. Tractavimus insuper cum magnatibus et proceribus Angliæ præsentibus de modificacione gratiæ regiæ ipsorum assilientia nostris vobis supplicationibus impretranda, cujus modificacionis seriem per servum Dei fratrem Johannem Wallensem vobis misimus in scriptum, una cum consilio nostro quod vobis secundum deum salubrius videbatur; vos autem deliberationem vestram nobis in quadam remisissis cedula per eundem, cujus cedulæ perniciosas latebras vobis paterno affectu præsentibus aperimus. Primò igitur dictis vos juri nolle cedere quatuor Cantredarum, quia progenitores vestri à temporibus Cambri filii Bruti in eisdem juris plenitudinem habuerunt; sed ne simpliciores in vobis de successu hujusmodi gloriantur, salva in omnibus pace vestra, vobis licet inviti ipsius radicem originis ex gestis Britonum et Anglorum ad memoriam revocamus. Dispersis enim olim Trojanis pro eo quod Paridis adulterium defenserant; fatemur progenitores vestræ multitudinis interpositis quibusdam

quibusdam seditionibus fugæ sibi præsidium assumpsisse; et utinam non maneat in eis hujusmodi contagii memoria qui sic libera matrimonia parvipendunt ut spurios et inceitu genitos à successione hæreditaria ut dicitur non repellunt, quin potius uxores legitimæ Howeli da patrociniæ, contra Evangelium dato repudio fama teste, vel potius infamia repelluntur; qualiter demum Brutus Dianæ præfagiis non sine diaboli præstigiis per idolatriam immolato Cervæ Venatitiæ obtentis, insulam Britannicam pervaserit per famosas historias declaratur; pervaserit inquam inhabitatam insulam, agentibus statura proceris quarum peremit fortissimum Corineus. Gentibus inquam de boreali præfapia quæ non solum verum etiam Scythiam trans Danubium ab occidente nostro per Aquilonis latera usque in Orientales terminos occupavit. Quam ergo quæsumus fecerunt vobis injuriam Angli et Saxones ejusdem generis, si vos processu temporis ab usurpato dominio perturbarunt: cum scriptum esse noveritis, væ qui prædatis in omne prædaberis. Non oportet autem simplices in radice adulterina processu idololatriæ, et usurpationis spoliis gloriari. Progenitores insuper vestri moderniores, cum enervati deliciis sibi non sufficerent desenlandis, obruentibus eos Scotis et Pictis, denegato etiam eis Romani imperii præsidio postulato, ad Germanorum refugium convolarunt, qui venientes repudiarunt, hostes usque in præsentem diem suarum labores manuum manducantes. Ex his causis quum sedet sola à vobis insula olim populo plenâ, vestro proscribente Jeremia, quia prophetæ tui viderunt tibi vana et stulta; item prædictorum juribus Cantredorum confirmationem legati frivole allegatis, cum non fuerit intentionis suæ jura regia, seu etiam jura civilia et Canonica, sicut nec potuit enervare: pro crimine enim lese majestatis, in quod vos incidisse dicimini, juxta quod scribitur sexta quæstione. Secunda paragrapho; *Si quis cum militibus*, et 22. Quæst. *ultima capitulo* de forma fidelitatis. Omne perit jus hæreditarium et expirat: in Cantredis igitur prædictis in quibus ab olim domino regi jus dicitur acquisitum, et in Snawdon ac cæteris quæ teneris jure hæreditario, nihil potestis sicut nec subditi vestri, ut ex præallegatis videtur, nisi ex sola regia clementia præstolari. Dicitur demum quod populus non vult ad gratiam regiam convolare, quia dominus rex, nec pacta, nec juramenta, nec chartarum fœdera principi conservavit. Et nos quærimus ex cujus vel quorum istud sit judicio declaratum, nisi per vos qui in causa propria judicium usurpatis, et per singulas lustrales periodos pacem infringitis, innocentes jugulatis, incendia facitis, munitiones regias pro viribus vastatis; ac domini Howell da quitalia injuriarum remedia in lege sua quam vidimus instituit, autoritate quam ei diabolus delegavit. Præterea in regem impungitis, dicentes, quod regales ecclesias et personas ecclesiasticas crudeli vastavit tyrannide, et consumunt; ad quod taliter respondemus, quod dominus rex prædicta mala nec fieri mandavit, nec rata habuit, quin potius nobis obtulit ultronei, quod quam citò aderit oportunitas ecclesiarum proponit dispendia refacire; quod differt usque ad sedatam guerræ tempestatem, ne si prius fieret destruerentur iterum per latrones. Præterea timetis in Anglia honorem suscipere, ne consequenter vobis occasionata malitia auferatur, cum tamen fateamini quod dominus re nullum suum exhæredaverit inimicum:

quod

quod frustra vos timere credimus, si legaliter vivere vos et vestri didiceritis, et non a parti cum domino vestro contendere vel certare. Mores vobis et populo vestro causamini incognitos; et nos è contrario opinamur quod expediret vobis omnibus in modum alium et mores penitus transformari. Cum enim sitis sicut cæteri homines donis Dei gratuitis adornati, sed in vestro Anglo devoramini: ut nec ecclesiam juvetis contra hostes fidei militando; nec Clerum studio sapientiæ, exceptis paucissimis, decoretis; quin potius major pars vestrum torpet otio et lasciviis, ut pene nesciat mundus vos esse populum, nisi per paucos ex vobis qui videntur ut plurimum in—mendicare. Deinde scribitis quod creditis altissimum vos juvare pro justitia decretantes; utinam inquam altissimus juvet vos salubriter et dirigat ad salutem. Sed ne ruinas aliquas Anglorum ex inconsideratione sua provenientes vestris velitis meritis arrogare curetis advertere qualiter qui in cælis habitat fatuos sublimat et elevat ad modicum ut perpetuo allidat; sic certe olium populus Dei electus ante harum repertam civitatem pro unius Anathemate consortis versus in fugam quosdam fuorum perdidit bellatorum: sic certe quater centena millia bellatorum duodecim tribuum Israel in suo numero et fortitudine confidentes ab unius tribus modico populo, occisis ex 40 millibus bellatorum, per vices varias sunt confusi: cum tamen purgato unius Anathemate, prædicta Civitas finaliter deleta fuerit per illos, qui prius confusi fuerant, et per lacrymas placato domino cum jejuniis, oblati sacrificiis, tribus illa quæ prævaluerat prius, per prius confusos quasi totaliter sit deleta; sic certe aliter flagellat dominus filios quos recipit, et aliter quos decernit ut arbores steriles extirpare. Ista vobis scribimus in cordis amaritudine ab his partibus recedentes, nec prædicare intendimus salubriori consilio, si vobis cœlitus destinetur, nec latre vos volumus quod nullum per vos invenimus excusationis sufficiens remedium, quo obstante minime debeatis in excors Irnam incidisse pernuntiari: dudum latet in Oxon consilio contra pacis regię turbatores, viam autem pacis aliam invenire non possumus, nec adhuc in spe sumus aliud obtinendi. Sed si nobis aliquid consultius videatur agendum, vobis numquam claudemus gremium, nec auxilium dencgabimus opportunum. Dat. apud Ruthelan 18 Calend. Decemb. Ann. Dom. 1282.

LEWELINUS autem princeps Walliæ prædictus spretis omnibus oblationibus et pacis formis post scriptis, invasit hostiliter terram domini regis Angliæ destruendo eam incendio et rapina, nec non homines terræ illius ad se trahendo, et à bonitate pacis regię separando. Qui tamen princeps infra mensem illum ignominosa morte primus de exercitu suo occisus est, per familiam domini Cadmundi de mortuo mari, filii domini Rogeri de mortuo mari; et totus exercitus suus vel occilus, vel in fugam conversus in partibus Montis Gomerici die Veneris proximo, ante Festum S. Lucæ, videlicet 3. Id. Decemb. sub Anno. Dom. 1282. In——decima litera dominicali D. currente.



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