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**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON**

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Humanities

**The Welsh Soldier: 1283- 1422**

by

**Adam John Chapman**

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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## ***Abstract***

The present thesis is a study of the reality – and the myth – of the ‘Welsh soldier’ in the later middle ages. The final defeat of the Princes of Gwynedd in 1283 was formalised by the division of the principality of Gwynedd and the ‘feudalisation’ of its territory set out in the statute of Wales proclaimed at Rhuddlan in 1284. As Morris long ago demonstrated, and as Davies and others have since reaffirmed the ‘wars of independence’ – at least in the thirteenth century – were conducted as much between Welshmen as between ‘the Welsh’, the Marchers and the English crown. The picture of Edward I’s pragmatism driven by ‘imperial’ principle – ironically achieving Llywelyn ap Gruffudd’s aim of taking Wales into the ambit of the feudal and political structure of England – without Llywelyn painted by Glyn Roberts is appropriate.<sup>1</sup> The integration of Welshmen into Edward I’s military machine was swift, but required innovations of military organisation, chiefly, the Commission of Array. Most Welshmen served at a low level in English armies, as archers, and consequently, are far harder to trace as individuals before the regular survival of full muster accounts in the years after 1369. though global figures can be deduced more readily for the armies of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III, more precise detail cannot. Despite this, patterns of the service of Welshmen, both from the Shires of the principality of Wales and the Welsh March can be generally described over the period covered by this thesis.

The concentration of military historians on the formation of royal armies has downplayed the role of military lordship and its importance in the March of Wales. Similarly, while the events of the Glyn Dŵr rebellion (1400-1410) are well understood, and the consequences of the rebellion on Welsh society have excited some interest, the immediate impact on the Welsh as soldiers has not been fully explored. The place of the Welsh at the battle of Agincourt provides a bridge between the chronological spine of this thesis and the consideration of what might be termed the cultural impression of the medieval Welsh soldier. Thanks largely to Shakespeare’s depiction of *Captain Fluellen* in *Henry V* (1599) the Welsh are

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<sup>1</sup> J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901); R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, 1987), G. Roberts ‘The Significance of 1284’ in *Aspects of Welsh History, Selected Papers of the Late Glyn Roberts* (Cardiff, 1969), pp. 281-87.

inextricably linked with this battle, though contemporary evidence suggests the sum of their involvement was extremely limited. Ironically perhaps, in fifteenth century Welsh culture, Agincourt is the silent battle; uniquely there are no poetic references to this battle in a culture where war against France and the earlier battles of Crécy and Poitiers were staple metaphors for the prowess of individuals and as a source of patronage to the bards themselves. The image of Welshmen at war, and particularly, their skill with the longbow, appears to owe much to Gerald of Wales whose accounts of the men of Gwent as archers in the twelfth century has become the province of folklore rather than a reflection of historical reality. There is a striking difference between the Welsh account of their experience at war and the perspective of outsiders. Fundamentally this was because most external commentators saw the Welsh as an undifferentiated mass. Our evidence for the corresponding Welsh view is based upon literature praising the actions of individuals. The majority of their opponents, in Scotland and in France, but also in much of England, the only Welshmen who would ordinarily be encountered were soldiers. The difference in impression was preserved by later observers and the staple depiction of the Welsh as primitive and backward, ‘Wild men from the woods’ in the words of the author of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* would have been recognisable to the pamphleteers of the seventeenth century who were themselves describing soldiers. The aim of this thesis therefore is to bring together these views of the ‘Welsh Soldier’ to give a better understanding of his role in later medieval warfare, and the place of war in fourteenth and early fifteenth century Welsh society.

## ***Contents***

v	Acknowledgements
vi	Note on Welsh personal and place names
viii	Author's Declaration
ix	Abbreviations
1	Introduction
12	Chapter 1 – The Welsh Soldier, 1283-1359
76	Chapter 2 – The Welsh Soldier, 1360-1422
140	Chapter 3 – The Shires and the March: Military Lordship and Military Participation
189	Chapter 4 – The Image of the Medieval Welsh Soldier
226	Conclusions
234	Appendix A – Select Biographies
258	Appendix B – Welshman in the English army in 1415
269	Appendix C – Welsh Naming
274	Bibliography

## ***List of Maps and Figures***

xiv	Map – The lordships of the March of Wales in the fourteenth century
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## ***Tables:***

End ch.1	1. Select examples of the size of English Armies and their Welsh constituents, temp. Edward I and temp. Edward II.
End ch. 1	2. Select examples of the size of English Armies and their Welsh constituents, temp. Edward III.
126	3. Garrison Strengths in the Shires of Wales and the March, 1415.

## ***Illustrations***

194	1 and 2. Welsh Archer and Spearman from TNA E 36/274
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My greatest debt is to my supervisor, Professor Anne Curry whose patient encouragement, depth of knowledge, kindness and, on occasion, justified and constructive criticism, has carried me through the process of producing this thesis. Diolch yn fawr iawn.

## *Notes on terminology and Welsh spellings*

### *Proper Nouns*

Attempts to standardise Welsh spelling have proved singularly ineffective until recent years which inevitably breeds confusion for non-Welsh speakers. Some attempt at standardisation will nonetheless be attempted with personal names and place names where the modern Welsh version will generally be used (where known) and where the Welsh form is generally understood by a non Welsh audience. For example:

*Caernarfon* will be used over *Caernarvon* and *Cydweli* for *Kidwelly* while *Caerfyrddin* will use the ‘English’ form *Carmarthen* for the sake of comprehensibility.

Personal names have their own challenges since English and French medieval orthography found the Welsh language something of a challenge and little consistency can be found in many cases – witness the enormous variation found in the spelling of Llywelyn.

Hence, except in direct quotations of earlier work, *Griffith* will be dubbed *Gruffudd*, *Meredith* (and variants) as *Maredudd*. Once again, exceptions will be made where this hinders understanding to a non-Welsh audience. The clearest examples of this are the personal names *John* and *Jenkin* (often dubbed *Sian* and *Siancyn* respectively in modern Welsh – with a hard ‘s’). Hence the poets *Gruffudd ap Siancyn* and *Sian Cent* would appear as *Gruffudd ap Jenkin* and *John Kent*, both consistent with contemporary, as opposed to modern, orthography.

### *Historic Welsh Terminology*

Where Welsh terms are used in the text, their meaning will be given in brackets after the first instance for ease of reference and vice-versa. For example:

*Barwniaid* (Welsh Barony)

### *Tir Prid* (Welsh Mortgage)

Where a direct quotation is given in Welsh, an English translation will be provided beneath it for the sake of clarity.

### ***Reference to the Royal Lands in Wales***

Though in general usage these are usually referred to as ‘the Principality’, this is an awkward term for the long periods in which there was no Prince of Wales (1307-1343, 1376-1399 and 1413-22).<sup>2</sup> Griffiths has utilised the form the royal counties and the March of Wales, which itself echoes a fifteenth century coinage ‘siroedd a’r mars’ and for the sake of consistency this is the form adopted in this thesis. Fuller reasoning is given in the introduction.

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<sup>2</sup> Though the style was indeed used by Richard II, his royal lands in Wales inevitably lost some of their distinction by becoming part of a very much larger royal desmesne.

## DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, ....., [please print name]

declare that the thesis entitled [enter title]

.....  
.....

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission, **or** [delete as appropriate] parts of this work have been published as: [please list references]

**Signed:** .....

**Date:**.....

## Abbreviations

Ayton, <i>Knights and Warhorses</i>	<i>Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III</i> (Woodbridge, 1994)
Ayton and Preston, <i>The Battle of Crécy, 1346</i>	A. Ayton & P. Preston (eds), <i>The Battle of Crécy, 1346</i> (Woodbridge, 2005)
BBCS	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i>
Bell, <i>War and the Soldier</i>	A. Bell, <i>War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century</i> (Woodbridge 2004)
BL Add. MS	British Library, Additional Manuscripts
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
<i>Book of Prests</i>	E. B. Fryde (ed.), <i>Book of Prests of the King's Wardrobe for 1294-5 presented to John Goronwy Edwards</i> (Oxford, 1962)
<i>Brycheiniog</i>	<i>Brycheiniog. The Journal of the Brecknock Society</i>
C	The National Archives (Public Record Office), Chancery Records
C.C.R.	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
C.I.P.M.	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>
C.P.R.	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
<i>Cal. Anc. Corr.</i>	<i>Calendar of Ancient Correspondence relating to Wales</i>
<i>Cal. Anc. Pet.</i>	<i>Calendar of Ancient Petitions Relating to Wales</i>
<i>Cal. Docs. Scot.</i>	J. Bain (ed.), <i>Calendar of Documents Related to Scotland</i> (4 vols. London, 1881-8)
<i>Cal. Fine R.</i>	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i>
<i>Cal. Inq. Misc</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous</i>
Carr, 'The Barons of Edeyrnion 1282-1485'	A. D. Carr, 'The Barons of Edeyrnion 1282 1485: a study of tenure by Welsh barony, with special reference to Edeyrnion' (unpublished MA, University of Wales Bangor, 1963)

Carr, <i>Owen of Wales</i>	A. D. Carr, <i>Owen of Wales: The End of the House of Gwynedd</i> (Cardiff, 1991)
Curry, 'The Nationality of Men-at-Arms'	A. E. Curry, 'The Nationality of Men-at-Arms' serving in English Armies in Normandy and the <i>pays de conquête</i> , 1415-1453: A Preliminary Survey' in <i>Reading Medieval Studies</i> 14 (1988)
Davies, 'The Bohun and Lancaster Lordships'	'The Bohun and Lancaster lordships in Wales in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries' unpublished D. Phil (Oxford, 1966)
Davies, 'Race Relations'	'Race Relations in Post- Conquest Wales: Confrontation and Compromise' <i>Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.</i> (1975 for 1974), pp. 32-56.
Davies, 'Colonial Wales'	R. R. Davies, 'Colonial Wales', <i>Past &amp; Present</i> , 65 (1974), pp. 3-23
Davies, <i>Lordship and Society</i>	R. R. Davies, <i>Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282-1400</i> (Oxford, 1978)
Davies, <i>Owain Glyndŵr</i>	R. R. Davies, <i>The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr</i> (Oxford, 1995)
DKR	<i>Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records</i> (London, 1880- )
DL	The National Archives (Public Record Office), Duchy of Lancaster
E	The National Archives (Public Record Office), Exchequer
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Foedera	T. Rymer (ed.), <i>Foedera, conventions, literae...</i> (10 vols. The Hague, 1739-45)
Flints. Hist. Soc. Journal	<i>Flintshire Historical Society Journal</i>
Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i>	M. le baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, <i>Oeuvres de Froissart, publiées avec les variantes des divers Manuscrits</i> (18 vols. Paris 1867-77)
Fryde, <i>The Tyranny and Fall</i>	N. Fryde, <i>The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II 1321-1326</i> (Cambridge, 1979)
Fryde, <i>Welsh Entries in the</i>	N. Fryde, <i>List of Welsh Entries in the</i>

<i>Memoranda Rolls</i>	<i>Memoranda Rolls 1282-1343</i> (Cardiff, 1974)
<i>Gascon Rolls</i>	<i>Gascon Rolls, 1307-17</i>
<i>Glam. C. H. III</i>	<i>Glamorgan County History III: The Middle Ages</i>
Gough, <i>Scotland in 1298</i>	H. Gough, <i>Scotland in 1298. Documents relating to the Campaign of King Edward the First in that Year, and especially to the Battle of Falkirk</i> (London, 1888)
Griffiths, <i>The Principality of Wales</i>	R. A. Griffiths, <i>The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages, The Structure and personnel of Government: I South Wales 1277-1536</i> (Cardiff, 1972)
Griffiths, <i>Conquerors and Conquered</i>	R. A. Griffiths, <i>Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales</i> (Stroud, 1994)
Griffiths, <i>King and Country</i>	R. A. Griffiths, <i>King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century</i> (London and Rio Grande, 1991)
<i>Gwent C. H. II</i>	<i>Gwent County History, Volume 2: The Age of the Marcher Lords</i>
Hewitt, <i>The Black Prince's Expedition</i>	H. J. Hewitt, <i>The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355-1357</i> (Manchester, 1958)
King (ed.), <i>Scalacronica</i>	A. King (ed.), <i>Sir Thomas Gray, Scalacronica 1272-1363, The Publications of the Surtees society, vol. 209</i> (Woodbridge, 2005)
<i>Lanercost</i>	J. Stephenson (ed.), <i>Chronicon de Lanercost</i> (Edinburgh, 1839)
<i>Littere Wallie</i>	J. G. Edwards (ed.) <i>Littere Wallie, preserved in Liber A in the Public Record Office</i> (Cardiff, 1940)
Lloyd, <i>Glendower</i>	J. E. Lloyd, <i>Owen Glendower/Owen Glyndŵr</i> (Oxford, 1931)
Maddicott, <i>Thomas of Lancaster</i>	J. R. Maddicott, <i>Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-22: a study in the Reign of Edward II</i> (Oxford, 1970)

<i>Mont. Colls.</i>	<i>Montgomeryshire Collections. The Transactions of the Powysland Club</i>
<i>Morgannwg</i>	<i>Morgannwg. The Transactions of the Glamorgan Local History Society</i> (1957- )
Morris, <i>Welsh Wars</i>	<i>The Welsh Wars of Edward I: A Contribution to Medieval Military History based on Original Documents</i> (Oxford, 1901)
Nicholson, <i>Edward III and the Scots</i>	R. G. Nicholson, <i>Edward III and the Scots: the Formative Years of a Military career, 1327-35</i> (Oxford, 1965)
NLW	National Library of Wales (Llyfragell Genedlaethol Cymru)
<i>Parl. Writs.</i>	F. Palgrave (ed.) <i>The Parliamentary writs and writs of military summons</i> . (Records Commission, 2 vols. in 4 parts. 1827-34)
<i>Pembs. Recs.</i>	<i>A Calendar of the Public records Relating to Pembrokeshire</i> (4 vols., London 1911-14)
<i>PPC</i>	N. H. Nicholas (ed.) <i>Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council</i> (7 vols, London, 1834-7)
Prestwich, <i>War Politics and Finance</i>	M. Prestwich, <i>War, Politics and Finance in the Reign of Edward I</i> (London, 1972)
Prestwich, 'Liberties and Military Recruitment'	M. Prestwich, "'Tam infra libertates quam extra': Liberties and Military Recruitment', in M. Prestwich (ed.), <i>Liberties and Identities in Later Medieval Britain</i> (Regions and Regionalism in History, 10) (Woodbridge, 2008)
<i>Reg. B. P.</i>	<i>Register of the Black Prince</i> (4 Parts, 1930-33)
Roberts, <i>Aspects of Welsh History</i>	G. Roberts, <i>Aspects of Welsh History, Selected Papers of the Late Glyn Roberts</i> (Cardiff, 1969)
Rogers, <i>War Cruel and Sharp</i>	C. J. Rogers, <i>War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360</i> (Woodbridge, 2000)

<i>Rot. Normanniae</i>	T. D. Hardy (ed.) <i>Rotuli Normannndiae in Turri Londinensi Asservati Johanne et Henrico Quinto Angliae Regibus</i> (London, 1835)
<i>Rot. Scotiae.</i>	<i>Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in domo capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservati</i> (2 vols. London, 1814-19)
SC	The National Archives (Public Record Office), Special Collections
Stephenson, <i>The Governance of Gwynedd</i>	D. Stephenson, <i>The Governance of Gwynedd</i> Studies in Welsh history, 5 (Cardiff, 1984)
Stoyle, <i>Soldiers and Strangers</i>	M. Stoyle, <i>Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War</i> (New Haven & London, 2005)
Strickland & Hardy, <i>The Great Warbow</i>	M. Strickland and R. Hardy, <i>From Hastings to the Mary Rose, The Great Warbow</i> (Stroud, 2005)
Suppe, <i>Military Institutions</i>	F. Suppe, <i>Military Instituions on the Welsh Marches: Shropshire, 1066-1300</i> (Woodbridge, 1994)
TNA	<i>The National Archives</i>
Trans. R.H.S.	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</i>
<i>Treaty Rolls</i>	J. Ferguson (ed.), <i>Treaty Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Volume II, 1337-39</i> (London, 1972)
<i>Vita Edwardi Secundi</i>	W. Childs (ed.), <i>Vita Edwardi Secundi</i> (Oxford, 2005)
WHR	<i>Welsh History Review</i>

MAP 1 Removed for copyright reasons

The Marcher Lordships of Wales in the Fourteenth Century, showing also the two halves of the 'Principality' and the County of Flintshire.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> From R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978)

## ***Introduction***

There is now an extensive literature on medieval armies, their equipment, organisation, leadership and administration, which has grown considerably since J. E. Morris first made systematic use of royal administrative and financial documents to analyse the armies raised by Edward I in his Welsh wars.<sup>1</sup> Morris conducted a survey that was not without its faults: there were a number of documents, printed and in manuscript form, of which he was unaware, and several that have been edited since.<sup>2</sup> It is still the most complete narrative of Edward I's Welsh wars and a sound basis for discussion of later events. Edward's victory in these wars redefined the relationships between not only the English crown and the people of Wales, but between the crown and its chief magnates, many of whom were lords of the March of Wales. The first of these relationships continued to be defined by war after the Edwardian conquest, namely by the participation of all Wales in England's wars. Merely quantifying the scale of this participation would grant an insight into the effects of war on Welsh society in the years immediately after the completion of the conquest. The place of Welshmen in the armies of English kings has much to offer the student of later medieval Welsh society. Warfare provided a key point of contact between the Welsh and the outside world, resources, personal and financial to be applied to other activities, and an opportunity for social advancement. Scholars of medieval warfare beyond Wales can learn a lot from a culture perceived to be outside the European mainstream, since the rich literary tradition surviving in Welsh offers views of war from a more personal perspective than is common in England or in France in the same period.

This is a study in three parts. The first, forming the first two chapters, is a chronological study of the involvement of Welshmen in England's wars from the defeat of Dafydd ap Gruffudd in 1283, the last prince of Gwynedd, until the death of Henry V in 1422. The division between the two falls midway through the reign of Edward III, at the end of the first phase of the Hundred Years War with the Treaty of

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<sup>1</sup> J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901).

<sup>2</sup> E. B. Fryde (ed.), *Book of Prests 1294-5. Presented to J. G. Edwards* (Oxford, 1962); J. Topham et al (eds), *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Gardrobae* (London, 1787); B. F. and C. R. Byerley (eds), *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1285-1286* (London, 1977); B. F. and C. R. Byerley (eds), *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1286-1289* (London, 1986).

Bretigny in 1360. This point has been chosen for two reasons. First, that it reflects a divide not only in the war itself, but in the historiography surrounding it. Secondly, this division also echoes the changes which took place in England's military organisation and the full adoption of armies recruited by indenture. The second part, embodied in chapter 3, is a study of the military society of later medieval Wales, split between the royal lands and the March. The third and final part, in chapter 4, is an assessment of the origins and characteristics of the image of the medieval Welsh soldier.

It is often stated, and widely believed, that the part of the Welsh archer was crucial to English success in each of the principal battles of the Hundred Years War and that the longbow was a peculiarly 'Welsh' weapon.<sup>3</sup> Professor Curry has gone so far as to call this the 'Myth of the Welsh Soldier', who single-handedly won England's wars. In some respects, this 'Welsh archer', often perceived as a particular type of soldier, has given rise to a number of key elements of Welsh popular history and to external views of the Welsh as a people in the medieval past and in the present. When I was interviewed for BBC Radio Wales on the subject of the Welsh at Agincourt, the subsequent studio discussion revealed something of the esteem in which these Welsh bowmen are still held, regardless of the actual contribution they made to the historical event. The image has become an element in the 'Welsh' narrative of their 'national' history, and is worthy of study in its own right. We are fortunate that a large body of Welsh literature from the late medieval period has survived, which allows a comparison to be made between the Welsh view of themselves and the politics in which they lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the way in which they are perceived today. Particular individuals of the later medieval period, most significantly, Owain Glyn Dŵr and Henry V, have their own mythologies. These have their place in the image of the Welsh soldier not least because, in the popular consciousness, Owain offers a different, nobler, image of the martial, medieval Welshman even though he served in English royal armies.

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<sup>3</sup> For such a view of the importance of Welsh archers in general and Dafydd Gam at Agincourt, George A. Hansard, *The Book of Archery* (London 1840), pp. 162-207. Hansard styled himself 'Gwent Bowman'.

External, that is, non-Welsh, views of the Welsh soldier are equally important, not only because it was as soldiers that the majority of outsiders experienced Welshmen between 1283 and 1422. These have been filtered and changed over the succeeding centuries, but overriding most in the contemporary mind is the character of Captain Fluellen in Shakespeare's 'Henry V', first performed towards the end of the reign of the last Tudor monarch, Elizabeth I, in 1599. Fluellen emerged from a long tradition of the Welshman – beyond simply the 'Welsh Soldier' – in later medieval culture and commentary. Fluellen forms the end of a study which begins with the twelfth-century account of Gerald of Wales. These foundations of the modern view of the medieval Welsh soldier, together with some examples of the use of this image, form the final chapter of this thesis.

### ***Wales and the Welsh in the later Middle Ages***

Inevitably, a military study must be placed within the context of the society in which it is framed. When this society has an ethnic identity and complex geographical and historical context of its own then the effects of what were, with few exceptions, foreign wars, the nature of this society assumes a far greater significance. This is especially so in Wales where the notion of the Welsh soldier has a particular place in the popular historical consciousness and where the medieval Welshman is primarily visualised in military terms within that consciousness.

Wales, it should be understood from the start, was not one country, and cannot be considered as a single polity until the Act of Union with England in 1536. The Welsh as a people, however, have, by virtue of their language and history been rightly regarded as different, though the Welsh had, by the thirteenth century, a long and complicated relationship with England. Davies provides a brief summary of the political situation of Wales in the later middle ages:

For the English, pre-Conquest Wales was divided into 'pura-Wallia', the independent areas of Wales still ruled by native princes, and the 'Marchia Wallie', the Marchland which had been conquered by Anglo-Norman lords; and after the Edwardian Conquest this contrast was largely perpetuated in the distinction drawn between the Principality (the five counties of Anglesey,

Merioneth, Caernarvon, Carmarthen and Cardigan) and the March (the rest of Wales, with the exception of Flintshire). It is perhaps inevitable that the history of what is 'pure' should occupy pride of place in the studies of Welsh historians.<sup>4</sup>

This summary, while it gives the bare bones, highlights some of the difficulties of discussing 'Wales' in this period and requires further clarification. The 'Welsh Wars' – the wars between Edward I and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, prince of Gwynedd – were a continuation of a struggle for supremacy among the princes of Wales as well as a contest of lordship between the crown of England and the Prince of Gwynedd. The desire of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (d. 1240) to be superior lord of Wales, accepting the homage of all the lords of Wales, Welsh and English, was perpetuated by his grandson, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, and ultimately was an ambition his resources could not sustain. His death in 1282, and that of his truculent brother, Dafydd, a year later settled the question with military and political victory for Edward I. The historiography of Wales has developed in some respects to serve a nationalist agenda, though in many ways it has developed from an antiquarian tradition which, often focussing on local histories, sometimes appears rather contradictory. The period from 1282 until the victory of Henry Tudor at Bosworth in 1485 has, in the nationalist tradition, long created difficulties. There is a powerful strand in Welsh historiography which places the Welsh under a colonial, English, yoke every bit as repressive as that which the Normans are supposed to have laid upon the English two centuries earlier.<sup>5</sup> To be fair, this is often the perspective also offered by contemporary Welsh literature, but there it was one perspective amongst many and reflects the ambiguities of later medieval Wales.<sup>6</sup> These ambiguities are themselves a common strand in the work of R. R. Davies and R. A. Griffiths, historians who have done more than most to integrate the history of the lands of Wales into that of the British Isles as a whole.

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<sup>4</sup> R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978), p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> For some perspectives on the development of this historiography: R. R. Davies 'On being Welsh: A Historian's Viewpoint', *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.* (2003), pp. 29-40 and N. Evans, 'When Men And Mountains Meet': Historians' Explanations Of The History Of Wales, 1890-1970' *WHR* (2004), pp. 222-51.

<sup>6</sup> This a major theme in G. Roberts, 'Wales and England: Antipathy and Sympathy, 1282-1485', in Roberts, *Aspects of Welsh History, Selected Papers of the Late Glyn Roberts* (Cardiff, 1969), see also G. Williams, *Renewal and Reformation: Wales c. 1415-1642* (Oxford, 2002), ch. 19 'Identity and Diaspora', pp. 451-70. For a more general introduction, A. O. H. Jarman and G. R. Hughes (eds) *A Guide to Welsh literature, 2: 1282-c.1550* (Cardiff, 1979).

Davies, in his articles 'Race Relations in Post-Conquest Wales' and 'Colonial Wales' made much of the intrusive impact of English overlordship, but with reference to the historical record.<sup>7</sup> Griffiths in particular has examined the after-effects of the rebellion of the first decade of the fifteenth century, and it is a theme of much of his most recent work which highlights the effects and views of the outside world upon the shires and the March of Wales. His conclusions, that the distrust of Welshmen engendered by the rebellion was outweighed by the growth and spread of economic activity, offer an interesting and persuasive contrast.<sup>8</sup> Both, however, emphasise the fact that the English kings, as the Marcher lords had done, recognised from an early stage that the Welsh elite were an indispensable element of effective government, though Welshmen were barred, both by convention and statute from holding the highest offices. Griffiths's work on the southern royal shires clearly demonstrates this, and the tensions created by absentee officials and between Englishmen and Welshmen. This work, though invaluable, does not provide a full picture and the companion volume for the Northern shires and a systematic survey of the personnel of Marcher administration would both complete the picture and provide ample basis for further study.<sup>9</sup>

The settlement imposed by Edward, the Statute of Wales, proclaimed at Rhuddlan in 1284 established the administrative framework that persisted, with only minor alterations throughout the period. The shires created from the former principality of Gwynedd, Caernarfon, Anglesey and Merionydd, were administered together and were consistently referred to as 'North Wales'. The remainder of the former principality of Gwynedd, *Perfeddwlad*, the four Cantrefs between the rivers Dee and Conwy, and part of northern Powys became new marcher lordships for the earls of Lincoln and Surrey while the remainder was transformed into the county of Flintshire, which administratively was dependent upon Chester. It is uncertain how much, if at

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<sup>7</sup> R. R. Davies, 'Colonial Wales', *Past & Present*, 65 (1974), pp. 3-23 and 'Race Relations in Post-Conquest Wales: Confrontation and Compromise' *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.* (1975 for 1974), pp. 32-56. This theme was developed more recently in R. R. Davies, 'The English state and the 'Celtic' peoples, 1100-1400', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 6 (1993) pp. 1-14.

<sup>8</sup> R. A. Griffiths, 'After Glyn Dwr: An Age of Reconciliation?', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 117 (2002), pp. 139-64; 'The Island of England in the Fifteenth Century: Perceptions of the Peoples of the British Isles', *Journal of Medieval History* (2003), pp. 177-200; 'Crossing Frontiers of the English Realm in the Fifteenth Century' in H. Pryce and J. Watts (eds), *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages, Essays in Memory of Rees Davies* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 211-225.

<sup>9</sup> R. A. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: The Structure and Personnel of Government I, South Wales 1277-1536* (Cardiff, 1972).

all, these divisions reflected the pre-conquest situation, and many of the questions surrounding this element of the settlement, raised by Glyn Roberts as long ago as 1959, have still not been answered fully.<sup>10</sup> The southern shires, Carmarthen and Cardigan, had been under English royal rule of varying effectiveness since the twelfth century and formally, and irrevocably, after 1277. Administratively, the creation of the principality to the north had relatively little impact. With the addition of Cantref Mawr, these counties formed what was known as West or South Wales in contemporary documents. The remainder of the lands of Wales, lordships established by the piecemeal Norman conquest, commote by commote of southern and eastern Wales formed the March, and the administration of these lands was largely unaffected by the conquest of Gwynedd, though royal overlordship of all Wales was clarified. The powers exercised by the marcher lords were greater than those exercised even in the greatest English franchises. While generally, these have been expressed with relation to their legal and financial qualities, the status of these estates as a military resource has been all but overlooked.<sup>11</sup>

The distinctions between the royal and marcher estates in Wales gives rise to difficulties of terminology. The royal lands of Wales are usually referred to as the 'Principality', a label inherited from the Princes of Gwynedd, who styled themselves 'Prince of Wales'. Though in general usage North Wales and South Wales are usually referred to as 'the Principality', this is an awkward term for the long periods in which there was no Prince of Wales (1307-1343, 1376-1399 and 1413-22).<sup>12</sup> Griffiths notes that 'the term 'Wales and the Marches' in the fifteenth century had an air of vagueness about it: 'The Principality of Wales and the Marches' would have been more comprehensible to modern readers of, for example, the Parliament rolls.'<sup>13</sup> A more suitable variant of this formulation, *siroedd a'r mars*, that is the 'shires and the March' can be found in a poem of the fifteenth century, however and this usage that

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<sup>10</sup> A more detailed outline of the settlement can be found in W. H. Waters, *The Edwardian Settlement in Wales in its Administrative and Legal Aspects* (Cardiff, 1935), see Roberts, 'The Significance of 1284'.

<sup>11</sup> Davies, *Lordship and Society*, ch. 3 pp. 67-85 is the standard account and focuses, understandably, largely upon obligations and marcher rights.

<sup>12</sup> Though the style was indeed used by Richard II, his royal lands in Wales inevitably lost some of their distinction by becoming part of a very much larger royal demesne.

<sup>13</sup> R. A. Griffiths, 'Wales and the Marches in the Fifteenth Century', in *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London and Rio Grande, 1991), pp. 55-6.

will be reflected in this thesis.<sup>14</sup> The distinctions between the shires and march will be emphasised throughout this thesis, but efforts will be made not to lose sight of the fact that each were elements within wider polities. The inter-relationship of the affairs of England and the political interests of crown and marcher lords and, in particular, their military preoccupations, deeply influenced both the Welsh as a people and the effects of local lordship.

More complicated is the question of who we should regard as Welsh in the context of the 'Welsh Soldier'. As already noted, Davies and Griffiths, more than any other historians, attempted to bridge the gap between Welsh and English histories of Wales, though not always with obvious success which, given their talents, highlights the complexity of the problem. Davies offers an answer, though the difficulty of definition and of race relations more generally, is the chief concern of the article from which it comes.

To declare that one was Welsh or English in fourteenth-century Wales was not to indulge in a flamboyant or inflammatory profession of faith; it was to remark upon the obvious.<sup>15</sup>

The important difficulty with such a statement is simple: how can we, at this remove, tell? As a general principle we may define the 'Welsh soldier' as one recruited from or apparently normally domiciled in Wales, rather than a man simply bearing a Welsh name, since such things can be misleading. One of the more common cognomen found in medieval Wales is *Sais* (Englishman), which invariably applies to a Welshman. This offers an insight into the nature of the man, but is in itself rather ambiguous. Actually, this is a concern that is more pressing in the second half of the period of study after 1369. Before this date, Welshmen were recruited as foot soldiers, paid and recorded separately from English shire levies, where English settlers of similar status were generally exempt from the obligation.<sup>16</sup> Those Welshmen of a higher status or Englishmen who were superior tenants of Marcher lords served within

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<sup>14</sup> From Lewis Glyn Cothi: elegy for Tomas ap Rhydderch cited by Dr Dylan Foster Evans in a paper entitled 'Poetry and Marcher Identity, 1300-1550' given at Swansea, 29 May 2009.

<sup>15</sup> R. R. Davies, 'Race Relations' p. 32

<sup>16</sup> One of the many references to English inhabitants of Wales being exempt from military service can be found in *Reg. B.P.* I, p. 55.

royal or seignorial households. Later, such strict segregation – in which language must have played a part – was lost. The surviving evidence suggests a degree of inter-mixing which coupled to an increasing degree of Anglicisation of some ‘Welsh’ communities and, significantly, the adoption of Welsh customs amongst elements of the ‘English’ community rather clouds the boundaries, such as they were.<sup>17</sup> Yet more difficult are Welshmen residing outside Wales in England or Ireland, or Norman settler families such as the Wogans, of Wiston (Pembs.) whose very Welshness has rarely been considered. Equally problematic are such ‘English’ families as the Pulestons or Salesburys of Flintshire or the Swardwals or Havards of Herefordshire and Brecon. All can be shown to have adopted many of the manners and cultural habits of the Welsh elite.

Where the line between Welsh and English was drawn is a complex question, and it has not been analysed sufficiently with reference to day-to-day relations. While a Welshmen might have been obvious to his contemporaries, it is less obvious at a distance of 500 years. Legal distinctions were certainly made within the Statute of Wales and these were reiterated, with added force, in response to the Glyn Dŵr rebellion in the Parliament of 1401. Welsh law certainly preserved the distinction too, but the military relevance of this is doubtful. For the purposes of the present study, however, the definition of Welshness will be simply, if pragmatically based on residency within the shires and March of Wales.

This is not a study in isolation. The historiography of military activity in this period is extensive and this study inevitably makes extensive use of the work of other historians. There has been a significant body of work describing the organisation of war and the origins and recruitment of armies. Michael Prestwich’s analysis of Edward’s use of his personal administration – the Wardrobe – in the organisation of his war machine, a machine inherited by his son and retained in large part by his grandson established a pattern for much of the later research on this subject. More recently, he has argued that the changes of that period were not sustained into the second half of the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth century, a result of ‘a

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<sup>17</sup> This was a far from consistent process; clear division between Welsh and English communities in Pembrokeshire persisted until the twentieth century. B. S. John, ‘The Linguistic Significance of the Pembrokeshire Lansker’, *Pembrokeshire Historian* 4 (1972), pp. 7-29.

striking failure to innovate'.<sup>18</sup> In the reign of Edward III, a number of significant changes occur together. The fundamental question perhaps is whether the kind of army available to a commander was a result of, or led by, the strategy employed. The key changes in military organisation in the period are simple. Until the campaign of 1359-60, foot-soldiers raised by commission of array played a significant role in England's external wars. After the resumption of the war with France in 1369 armies were generally smaller, wholly mounted forces formed of 'mixed retinues' of men-at-arms and mounted archers recruited by indenture from the crown. After 1369 the crown entered into indentures with its magnates to provide a specified number of men-at-arms and archers to serve for set periods at defined rates of pay. Thus in general terms, the king privatised the business of military recruitment and through the Chancery's audit process provided a range of documents, notably pay rolls and retinue rolls for analysis by the historian. The changing composition of the resulting armies has been documented in the work of A. E. Prince and more recently by J. W. Sherborne whose work mapped the scale of English armies through Edward III's reign until 1380.<sup>19</sup>

Where these developments came from and what they meant are the core of the debate. For Clifford Rogers, Edward III's change in military fortunes after 1346 resulted from the skilful use of the longbow and defensive tactics involving dismounted men-at-arms and archers.<sup>20</sup> This technological determinism contrasts with the development of the administrative reaction to war in the reign of Edward III. This has been further studied by Andrew Ayton, notably in his book *Knights and Warhorses*. His use of additional documents – notably horse valuations and inventories, in the absence of muster rolls, provides significant information about the formalisation of military organisation and participation and the development of the 'mixed retinue', of men-at-

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<sup>18</sup> M. Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance in the Reign of Edward I* (London, 1972) and M. Prestwich, 'Was there a Military Revolution in Medieval England?', in C. Richmond and I. Harvey (eds), *Recognitions: Essays Presented to Edmund Fryde* (Aberystwyth, 1996), pp. 19-38.

<sup>19</sup> A. E. Prince 'The Indenture System under Edward III' in J. G. Edwards (ed.), *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait* (Manchester 1933), pp. 283-297 and, A. E. Prince 'The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III', *EHR*, xlii (1931), pp. 353-371, J. W. Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369-80' A. Tuck (ed.) *War, Politics and Culture in Fourteenth Century England* (London and Rio Grande, 1994).

<sup>20</sup> A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge 1994); C. J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), ch. 1. Military revolution is a popular theme, see for example, S. D. Church, 'The 1210 campaign in Ireland: evidence for a military revolution?' *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 20 (1998), pp. 45-57.

arms and mounted archers.<sup>21</sup> These records however relate to the higher end of the social spectrum. The survival of muster rolls on a significant scale after 1369 enables a treatment of armies in a larger social context to be attempted, a contrast which will be reflected in this thesis.

The armies assembled for the campaigns which resulted in the best known English victories of the Hundred Years War have each received significant attention: Andrew Ayton for Edward III's expedition of 1346 which culminated in the battle of Crécy and the subsequent siege of Calais; H. J. Hewitt for the expedition of the Black Prince in 1355-6 which ended with victory at Poitiers; and Anne Curry for Henry V's victory at Agincourt in 1415.<sup>22</sup> Curry's work made great use of database technology to gather together information from a range of documents for what was one of the largest armies ever to leave England in the middle ages. Ayton too made use of such techniques while Adrian Bell's prosopographical work using similar database based analysis describes two armies in consecutive years, 1387 and 1388, by using the nominal information found in the payrolls and other documents to map the influences acting upon individual military careers.<sup>23</sup> A more thorough survey of this data has long been required as the sheer multiplicity and geographical distribution of these documents has, with few exceptions discouraged systematic exploration.<sup>24</sup> It is perhaps for this reason that relatively few attempts have been made to study regional participation in war, as opposed to the personal affinities of great magnates and commanders, men of the stature of John of Gaunt, Richard Fitz Alan, earl of Arundel (d. 1397), or the Black Prince. Curry, however, utilising data on the ethnic origins of soldiers in Lancastrian Normandy has made moves in this direction, and it is hoped that this thesis can do something similar.<sup>25</sup> To this end, the AHRC funded project, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (through which this PhD is funded), is in the

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<sup>21</sup> A. Ayton, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century' in A. E. Curry and M. Hughes (eds), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 21-38.

<sup>22</sup> A. Ayton, 'The English army at Crécy' in A. Ayton & P. Preston (eds), *The Battle of Crécy, 1346* (Woodbridge, 2005), H. J. Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355-1357* (Manchester, 1958) and A. E. Curry, *Agincourt, A New History* (Stroud 2005).

<sup>23</sup> A. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge 2004).

<sup>24</sup> An honourable exception is provided by: A. Marshall, 'The Role of English War Captains in England and Normandy, 1436-1461', unpublished MA thesis (University of Wales, Swansea 1974).

<sup>25</sup> A. E. Curry, 'The Nationality of Men-at-Arms serving in English Armies in Normandy and the *pays de conquête*, 1415-1453: A Preliminary Survey' in *Reading Medieval Studies* 14 (1988), pp. 135-163.

process of producing an online database containing all known service records from 1369 until the conclusion of the Hundred Years War in 1453.<sup>26</sup>

Overall, an attempt has been made to establish the significance of the Welsh soldier in the later middle ages in the widest possible terms. Constraints of space have prevented taking the study beyond 1422, even though the remainder of the fifteenth century was a period of great cultural and military significance in Wales, and in which its shires and marches played an important role. Neither is this thesis intended as a study of the Welsh military response to the Glyn Dŵr rebellion, but it is hoped that it develops the historical understanding of the Welsh soldier as both a character and a feature of the military landscape of the period from the conquest of Gwynedd to the death of Henry V.

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<sup>26</sup> See [www.medievalsoldier.org](http://www.medievalsoldier.org) and forthcoming publications.

## *Chapter 1*

### *The Welsh Soldier, 1284-1359*

#### *The Reign of Edward I*

The final defeat of the Princes of Gwynedd in 1283 was formalised by the division of the native principality of Gwynedd and the ‘feudalisation’ of its territory on terms set out in the statute of Wales proclaimed at Rhuddlan in 1284. As Morris long ago demonstrated, and as Davies and others have reaffirmed, the ‘Wars of Independence’ were conducted as much between Welshmen as the English crown and the Princes of Gwynedd. The Rhuddlan settlement ironically achieved what Llywelyn ap Gruffudd could not. It brought all of Wales into the ambit of the feudal and political structure of England, but without Llywelyn.<sup>1</sup> Later nationalistic histories constructed upon the unfulfilled ambitions of Gwynedd’s princes might well be overstated, since the abundance of divisions and independent political entities within Wales were preserved and remained until 1536. The shadow cast by the conquest of Edward I was a long one, however, and the first two wars in which the Welsh played a significant role as vassals of the English crown should be understood as part of the process of accommodation with the new order. The rebellions of Rhys ap Maredudd, and the more widespread revolt of 1294-5, were the consequences of the choices made by the native elite and the scale of the military resources Edward I and his successors were able to access through Edward’s victory. Ironically perhaps, the Welsh who had fought against Edward, together with those who had been his allies against the princes of Gwynedd, almost immediately became a fundamental element in his infantry revolution and in the armies of his successors. This chapter begins by exploring how this happened, and with what effect. It then follows the service of the Welsh in a chronological fashion from the campaigns of Edward I in all theatres through to the activities of Edward III, culminating in his last invasion of France in 1359-60.

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<sup>1</sup> J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901); R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest, Wales*

## **I – *Rebellions in Wales***

The revolt begun by Rhys ap Maredudd, son of Maredudd ap Rhys Gryg (d. 1271), lord of Dryslwyn, Carmarthenshire, in the summer of 1287 was a reversal of not only his, but his father's policy. After the first Welsh war in 1277, Rhys had submitted to Edward and had, suffered for his loyalty during the final rebellion of Dafydd ap Gruffudd in 1283. Edward's failure, as Rhys perceived it, to fully reward Rhys for his consistency was reinforced by the oppression of English officials, notably Payn Chaworth, constable of nearby castle of Dinefwr and lord of Ogmore and Cydweli, and subsequently, by Robert Tiptoft, the Justiciar of West Wales. In this, his revolt had something in common with the later rebellion of 1294, in that his grievances were personal in their origins, but, regional in their effects.<sup>2</sup> With the king in Gascony, his brother Edmund, earl of Cornwall, raised forces to contain the rebellion, and the Justiciar of West Wales was ordered on 2 July to seize Rhys's possessions. The initial response was local, and barring its commander, composed entirely of Welshmen drawn from the immediate surrounding area.<sup>3</sup> Morris believed that the total army raised locally by Tiptoft in defence of his administrative centre at Carmarthen eventually reached around 2,000 men. A council of war held at Gloucester on 15 July resolved to assemble a great army, which was to converge on Carmarthen at the western end of the Twyi valley in the first week of August. It was assembled in four parts, at Llanbadarn Fawr under John de Havering, at Monmouth under Earl Edmund, Brecon under Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and lord of Glamorgan, and locally recruited forces in West Wales under Tiptoft.

At its largest, the army under Edmund, earl of Cornwall, which assembled at Monmouth numbered almost 11,000 men. Of these, around two-thirds were raised from the counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan and the Marches, the remainder

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*1063-1415* (Oxford, 1991); Roberts 'The Significance of 1284', pp. 281-87.

<sup>2</sup> R. A. Griffiths, 'The Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd, 1287-88', *WHR* 3 (1966-7), pp. 121-43; J. Beverley Smith, 'The Origins of the Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd', *BBCS* 21 (1965), pp. 151-63.

<sup>3</sup> Griffiths, 'The Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd', p. 129. John de Knovill and twenty-four infantry with three Welsh captains in southern Cardiganshire, the resident Englishmen granted lands in Cardiganshire as a reward for their service, Roger, Llywelyn and Hugh Mortimer leading thirty-six men, again with the assistance of three Welshmen.

coming from English counties.<sup>4</sup> There were substantial exceptions, including ninety crossbowmen from London and Bristol and 280 foot soldiers drawn from the counties of Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Derbyshire.<sup>5</sup> The Monmouth contingent was composed of 2,412 men from the English border counties and the south eastern lordships by 30 July, and reached Carmarthen about 8 August. There they joined the men raised by Tiptoft, not only from Cardigan and Carmarthenshire, but with the 450 from the lordship of Cemais in northern Pembrokeshire. By 12 August, 4,640 men, approximately half Welsh and half English from the northern lordships of the March, with 400 from Cardiganshire, but also including men from the earldom of Chester and the counties of Shropshire and Staffordshire reached Llanbadarn Fawr. The largest single contingent in this army was 1,000 men drawn from Powys under Owain de la Pole, though Robert de Staundon, sheriff of Merionydd assembled over 2,000 men from the shires of North Wales. Men from Cheshire and the north of Wales – both the shires and Marcher liberties – initially assembled at Tywyn, Merionydd, before joining the army at Llanbadarn Fawr bringing it to 6,660 men. As in Edward I's earlier Welsh wars, this army was accompanied by twenty foresters, employed not only to widen the road through the wooded valleys of south Wales, but to assist in siege operations. Travelling via Carmarthen, they had reached Dryslwyn by 15 August, two days after the main army from the south.<sup>6</sup>

By far the largest of the armies raised, however, was that led by the earl of Gloucester which assembled at Brecon. By the time it approached Llandovery from the east on 3 August it numbered 5,600, growing to 12,500 by 7 August. Though numbers fell thereafter, a substantial number were retained until 13 September. The strategic intention of Gloucester's army was to isolate and localise the rebellion, as it did not join up with the army led by the earl of Cornwall and advanced no further. In bald numbers the total size of these armies is scarcely credible; at their largest, these armies were composed of over 22,000 men, the great majority Welsh foot soldiers, a fact which makes the scale of these forces yet more baffling.<sup>7</sup> To place this in some

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<sup>4</sup> Morris, *Welsh Wars*, p. 209, citing TNA 101/4/19, quotes only 3,740 of a force he totals at 10,635 as English, the bulk of these being drawn from Shropshire and Herefordshire. This figure does *not* include the men raised and led by Gloucester.

<sup>5</sup> Griffiths, 'The Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd', p. 131.

<sup>6</sup> TNA E 101/4/16 mm. 1-2, published in B. Byerly and C. R. Byerly (eds) *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289* (London, 1986), pp. 423-41.

<sup>7</sup> TNA E 101/4/18 and TNA E 101/4/19 cited Griffiths, 'The Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd', p. 132.

sort of perspective, the army led by William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, against the rather more potent threat posed by Dafydd ap Gruffudd in 1282-3, operated primarily in the same area, but also as far north as Merionydd, was significantly smaller. Though at times numbering over 8,000 men this army was rarely more than 3,000 strong at any one time. The foot soldiers in Pembroke's earlier army were almost exclusively Welsh and included among their ranks Rhys ap Maredudd and his men.<sup>8</sup>

The principal military action of the campaign, the siege of Dryslwyn, lasted three weeks from 13 August, and employed not only a significant army but mines – which collapsed, killing several commanders – and the construction of a great siege engine. On the conclusion of the siege, although most of his adherents surrendered, Rhys himself escaped. On 24 September, the castle, and Rhys's estates were granted to the keeping of Alan de Plucknet. Plucknet's account as keeper of Dryslwyn reveals that the garrison he installed there, while headed by men of his own household, was made up with men drawn from the locality and apparently, from the besieging army. Ten of the men concerned are described as coming from London and Canterbury. While eight crossbowmen who served for a whole year were English, the remainder of the garrison, described as archers, appear to have been split more or less evenly between English and Welsh.<sup>9</sup>

Shortly afterward his escape, on 2 November 1287, Rhys attacked and captured Newcastle Emlyn, plundering Llandovery two days later. The earl of Hereford, concerned for his lordship of Brecon, took charge of the defence of the upper Tywi valley, but only at the end of December were steps taken to recover Newcastle Emlyn. 474 men from Cardiganshire with 282 from Cydweli and Carnwyllion and a further 104 from Penrhyn were mustered at Carmarthen on 30 November 1287.<sup>10</sup> This force was bolstered by more men from lordships neighbouring Carmarthen the next day but a siege of Newcastle Emlyn was not begun for several weeks. The great siege-engine used at Dryslwyn was dragged to Emlyn by 10 January 1288, and within ten days the castle surrendered. Rhys again escaped while small detachments of Welshmen

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<sup>8</sup> R. F. Walker, 'William of Valence and the Army of West Wales, 1282-1283', *WHR* 18 (1996-7), pp. 407-429.

<sup>9</sup> TNA E 101/4/20 in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household*, pp. 477-482.

<sup>10</sup> TNA E 101/4/21 in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household*, pp. 483-4

scoured the Tywi valley looking for him.<sup>11</sup>

Politically, the chief consequence of the revolt was the fall of the last significant descendant of the line of Deheubarth, the native principality of west Wales which yielded full royal authority over Carmarthenshire to the English crown. The implications have been well analysed, notably by Griffiths, though the attention played by Smith to the men who were Rhys ap Maredudd's neighbours is as significant. The role of Rhys's own kin in the dispute which led to his eventual rebellion, and their apparent defection to the English side, tell much of the personal mechanics and self interest in response to overwhelming force and forty years of history. Rhys's capture or betrayal five years later by the sons of Madog ab Arawdr, whose father had taken the side of Llywelyn, and who fought against Rhys again in 1287, tells a story of the process of accommodation in the post-conquest environment. Naturally, such stories are of great importance, but the ability of representatives of the English crown, acting through local men, to recruit and maintain these enormous armies has been underplayed.<sup>12</sup>

The Welsh involvement in the repression of Rhys's revolt has occasionally been glossed as an act of partial retribution for Rhys ap Maredudd's failure to support the cause of Gwynedd and it seems certain that this cannot have helped his cause. That said, before 1282, his interests, rather like those of the native lords of Powys, who contributed 1,000 men against Rhys's rebellion had been in conflict with those of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. The 'Welsh friendlies' who fought against Llywelyn were in primarily men of the March whose leaders had served the interests of their Anglo-Norman lords for a considerable period of time. Rhys's cause was not without some support, from Welshmen and Englishmen alike. Thomas Wykes claimed that Gloucester and other Marcher lords urged Earl Edmund to grant a truce: they may have sympathized with Rhys's resistance to royal encroachments on their power, and Rhys's mother was related to several of them.<sup>13</sup> The English response was expensive, requiring loans from Italian merchants; according to Morris the total cost of the

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<sup>11</sup> TNA E 101/4/21 in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household*, pp. 489-93.

<sup>12</sup> Griffiths, 'The Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd', pp. 139-43, Smith, 'The Origins of the Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd', pp. 161-2.

<sup>13</sup> *Annales Monastici*, IV, pp. 310-11.

expedition exceeded £10,606.<sup>14</sup> Realistically, the scale of the army was an over-reaction, particularly considering the personal nature of the revolt and the ease with which the army that suppressed it was recruited. It was drawn from exactly the same resources that had provided troops for Edward I's earlier wars, and in terms of geography and experience, these soldiers were the ideal resource for the task in hand. That said, Rhys managed to evade capture until April 1292, and when he was taken it was through the actions of other Welshmen, not through the effort of English government.<sup>15</sup>

Following this personal rebellion, Welshmen played only a small role in England's next major military engagement, the first Gascon war of 1294-7. This was in part because it was primarily a domestic conflict fought by Gascons, against the forces of the French crown, with only relatively small numbers of men recruited from elsewhere. The enrolled war accounts reveal that the troops recruited from outside Gascony received only £17,928 over the four years of the war, less than twice the cost of the campaign against Rhys ap Maredudd, and a mere fraction of the £137,595 paid to native Gascon troops over the same period.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, any intention to employ Welshmen in Gascony in significant numbers, however, was negated by the third, and final, significant rebellion against English rule in the newly conquered shires of Wales, and in the established Marcher lordship of Glamorgan. Though men were raised in Cardigan and Carmarthen, and musters ordered in North Wales, it is unlikely that any Welshmen journeyed beyond Winchester, where the men of South Wales were halted on 8 October 1294. Their precise numbers are unknown, but were probably substantial; £160 was paid to Walter de Pederton, the deputy Justiciar of South Wales to cover their expenses.<sup>17</sup> In North Wales, there is no doubt that the beginning of the revolt coincided with the date assigned for the muster of Welshmen from the northern shires and March at Shrewsbury on 30 September 1294. While the demands for military service were oppressive, more significant is that this was the eve

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<sup>14</sup> Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I*, p. 219.

<sup>15</sup> Griffiths, 'The Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd', p. 138. The men concerned were the four sons of Madog ab Arwdr; Madoc Fychan, Trafarn, Hywel and Rhys Gethin.

<sup>16</sup> Account of John Sandale and Thomas de Cambridge, TNA E 372/160.

<sup>17</sup> Assuming a march of around ten days duration (which would probably cover both directions), and assuming a pay rate of 2d. per day, a number in between 1,500 and 2,000 men seems plausible. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 91, 93-4. The Justiciar of South Wales, Robert Tiptoft, was with the first element of the royal army which had sailed for Gascony from Portsmouth around Michaelmas 1294.

of the collection of the fourth and final instalment of the lay subsidy. The subsidy, disproportionately laid upon the lands of Wales had become progressively more difficult to collect. Even so, the third instalment, from April 1294, had yielded £2,026 7s. 10d. Though short of what was due, this dwarfed the £29 15s. 6d. received from the shires and March when the final payment was made in October 1294. It is unsurprising that many of those who led the rebellion and died during the course of it had been heavily assessed as individuals. The discontent had its roots in Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's demands for financial tribute – in effect taxation – in 1273 and 1275. The financial demands made by Llywelyn had been among the chief grievances of the *Uchelwyr* of Gwynedd immediately before his fall, and the enormous financial demands of this new taxation, coupled to an administration which Edward I himself recognised as oppressive, was the final straw. It is revealing, in this light, that the most senior casualty among the officials of North Wales was Roger Puleston. As sheriff of Anglesey he was the official in overall charge of collecting the subsidy, and was lynched in the course of the storming of the town of Caernarfon by the men of Anglesey in 1294. As with the earlier revolt in 1287, the motivations of the leaders were personal, since they felt that their support for Edward's regime had gone unrewarded.<sup>18</sup>

Three armies were recruited to suppress the rebellions, and despite the circumstances, some Welshmen were recruited. The threat of concerted military action was sufficient, at least in part. The Haganby Chronicler recorded that 10,000 Welshmen surrendered to Edward before Christmas 1294 and were pardoned on the condition that they served in France. Though the enrolled accounts show that nothing like that number did so, and that the Welsh owed their lord service in any case, the anecdote illustrates Edward's ambitions for the Welsh as a military resource.<sup>19</sup> The first army mustered under the king at Chester, a second under the earl of Warwick,

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<sup>18</sup> The overall picture is far more complicated than this, taking into account the collection of arrears in subsequent decades and the very patchy information available in the marcher lordships. K. Williams-Jones (ed.), *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll 1292-3* (Cardiff, 1976), pp. xxiv-xxxv. The picture is further confused by Williams-Jones's use of pre-1974 counties rather than medieval lordships to illustrate his explanation. Edward I set up an enquiry after the revolt to look into the 'serious' complaints of the Welsh community, *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, p. 165. Roger Puleston had settled in Emral, Maelor Saesneg (Flints.) and was of a family which later became thoroughly integrated into the Welsh community of Flintshire: *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-PULE-EST-1283.html> [accessed 6 October 2009].

<sup>19</sup> M. Prestwich, 'A New Account of the Welsh Campaign of 1294-5' *WHR* (1972), p. 90.

mustered at Montgomery and a third the south under the earls of Pembroke and Norfolk. These have been reconstructed from extant wardrobe accounts by Morris, and in more detail from documents Morris was unaware of by E. B. Fryde. Their analyses demonstrate a common problem in the discussion of Welsh history of the period; inevitably, the evidence supplies only the English perspective. Fryde's assessment includes much detailed information on the Welsh involvement on the king's side and highlights a number of individuals who were to be of key importance in the decades to come.<sup>20</sup> As such, the character of the revolt is reasonably well understood, and the account of the military response to it relatively detailed. The story of Welsh involvement in the English army raised against this rebellion has more interest in the careers of individuals than in bald numbers and, in terms of the wider picture these are less important.

The king's army, though large – 16,000 men assembled with him at Chester – was formed largely of men for the English counties bordering upon the March who had frequently provided men for Edward's earlier wars. The army led by Pembroke and Norfolk appears to have been drawn mainly from the west of England and was around 4,200 strong. Relatively little is known about its operations, though it is possible that an anecdote of a spy in English service tricking the Welshmen in the south and west to defeat on 10 March 1295 refers to the activities of this army.<sup>21</sup> What little is known of its activities suggests that its commanders concentrated upon containing the rebels in Glamorgan. Of the three armies, Warwick's which operated from Montgomery had the most significant Welsh contribution among its 14,500 men. By 6 March 1295 however when Warwick commanded the English forces which defeated Madog ap Llywelyn at Maes Madog (the field of Madoc), the majority of Warwick's 2,500 infantry were from Shropshire.<sup>22</sup> A note of caution should be added, since the site of the battle, somewhere in the parish of Castle Caereinion, to the west of La Pole [Welshpool] in Powys was in the one Marcher lordship held by its former native Princes. As such it is possible that the men of William de la Pole, who had earlier participated in Edward's army were among Warwick's forces, albeit, as Welsh law

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<sup>20</sup> E. B. Fryde (ed.), *Book of Prests of the King's Wardrobe for 1294-5 presented to John Goronwy Edwards* (Oxford, 1962), pp. xxviii-xxix.

<sup>21</sup> M. Prestwich, 'A New Account of the Welsh Campaign of 1294-5', p. 90.

<sup>22</sup> J. G. Edwards, 'The Battle of Maes Madog and the Welsh Campaign of 1294-5', *EHR* cliii (1924), pp. 1-12, p. 10.

demanding, serving their own lord at their own expense.

The 'national' character has been substantially overplayed. Though the leader of the revolt in the north, Madog ap Llywelyn revived the title 'Prince of Wales', it seems that fundamentally, 1294-5 is a period of distinct but inter-related revolts. In the royal shires of North Wales and the new Marcher lordships created out of the four Cantrefws between the River Conwy and the River Dee, as in the shires of Carmarthen and Cardigan, there was a clear reaction against their new English lords and oppressive royal officials in, as Davies described it, 'a classic, anti-colonial revolt'.<sup>23</sup> The revolt in Glamorgan appears to have been more specific in its character: there is some indication that both Welsh and English communities were involved. It was also explicitly described as a 'war against the earl', to the extent that the tenants transferred their homage to the king.<sup>24</sup> While it seems that the lordship of Glamorgan was less than enamoured with the rule of the earl in any case, it is clear that the character and career of its leader, Morgan ap Maredudd, was founded upon a personal grievance. Morgan originated from Tredegar, in the commote of Machen in the lordship of Gwynllŵg, which in turn was then part of the Clare lordship of Glamorgan. The known facts of his life up until this point are interesting enough. He was disinherited by the earl, and had been an adherent of Dafydd ap Gruffudd in his final rebellion in 1282-3 and in between had enjoyed the protection of the English crown. The prevailing attitude of the population of the Clare lands towards their earl was of animosity widespread enough to make the re-establishment of his authority impossible without royal assistance. Morgan himself was careful to come to terms with the king rather than the earl.<sup>25</sup> Despite Morgan's earlier connection to Dafydd ap Gruffudd, it seems that his cause and Madog, 'Prince of Wales' had little in common. While Morgan went on to find favour, as well as forgiveness, Madog ended his days in a royal prison, though his son retained his liberty as an esquire in Edward's household.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> M. Altschul, 'Glamorgan and Morgannwg under the Rule of the De Clare Family', *Glam. C. H.* III, pp. 59-61; Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p. 383.

<sup>24</sup> *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, pp. 207-8, in a petition of 1297, '... the war against the Earl', *Cal. Anc. Pet.*, pp. 217-9.

<sup>25</sup> His name appears in the witness list of a letter from Dafydd ap Gruffudd concerning land in Cantref Penwiddig (Cards.) and an associated charter of Gruffydd ap Maredudd ab Owain to Rhys Fychan on 2 May 1283 both dated at Llanberis, Merionydd. J. G. Edwards (ed.), *Littere Wallie* (Cardiff, 1940), no. 139, pp. 74-5 and no. 235, p. 133. For further details of his life, lands and career, see Appendix A.

<sup>26</sup> J. G. Edwards, 'Madog ap Llywelyn, the Welsh Leader in 1294-5', *BBCS* XIII, pp. 207-10.

## II - *The Wars in Flanders, Scotland and Gascony*

Edward I's first major campaign to Scotland in 1296 had obvious political significance, marking the recommencement of Anglo-Scottish hostilities, and although it was well recorded by chroniclers and poets, actual records of the nature of Edward's army are scarce. Prestwich deduced that the money spent – £21,443 on infantry alone – was sufficient for an army of around 25,000 infantry though there are no extant payrolls to confirm this.<sup>27</sup> Though enormous, this was less than half the size of that which Edward initially demanded the money for, and 10,000 fewer than the total recruited in 1294-5. In the absence of pay records the exact composition of this force is lost to us, although it is known that around 2,500 Irish served. This fact serves as a warning against the estimates of chroniclers since it is a far cry from the 30,000 suggested by Pierre de Langtoft.<sup>28</sup> As such, the Welsh contribution is obscure, but since the army appears to have been of a similar scale to that assembled in 1298, it may be that as many as 10,000 were present.<sup>29</sup>

There is some, albeit fragmentary evidence for the Welsh contribution however. Protection was granted for fifteen days for 320 Welshmen, returning home at the end of the campaign. The majority were from the earl of Hereford's lordship of Brecon, but with them were twenty men from Gower and Byrol Turberville, their constable.<sup>30</sup> It is also fortunate that a portion of an army plea roll, compiled by John Lovel survives, though this yields only a few minor details. Despite the unruly reputation of the Welsh, they occur relatively rarely. Only twenty-three Welshmen and two of their constables, both Englishmen, are named. Of the Welshmen, the majority were actually bringing suits, either between themselves or complaining of assault by third parties including the unfortunate Einion Fychan who died at Jedburgh, possibly at the hands of his comrades. Another, Llywelyn ab Ithel, is shown to have been a man of some status bringing suit against Ralph de Toggeden for the theft of a sword, valued at 4s. and a cloak at 2s. 6d. Byrol Turberville appears in the jail delivery roll of

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<sup>27</sup> M. Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London 1972), pp. 93-4.

<sup>28</sup> J. F. Lydon, 'An Irish Army in Scotland, 1296', *The Irish Sword*, V (1962), pp. 184-90.

<sup>29</sup> Prestwich suggests 25,700, of which as many as 10,900 were Welsh – see below.

<sup>30</sup> These are presumably the 300 referred to by Morris, *Welsh Wars*, p. 273. *Cal. Docs. Scot.* II, no. 839, pp. 220-1. C. J. Neville (ed.), 'A Plea Roll of Edward I's Army in Scotland, 1296' in *A*

Roxburgh for the week commencing 17 May 1296, in a case connected with supplies for the army, while the second named constable, John de la Reyl is described as a constable of Walter de Beauchamp's Welshmen.<sup>31</sup> The only prominent Welsh figures found in the rolls are Sir William de la Pole, son of Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn leading his own men from Powys.

Following the end of this campaign in December, a petition was brought to Edward by Tudor ap Goronwy, of Penmynydd, Anglesey, Thomas Daunvers, the abbot of Aberconwy, and Hywel ap Cynwrig touching rumours of possible disloyalty and further rebellion. Edward, believing them, apparently as a result of their recent good service – and it is probable that the campaign to Scotland is meant – rewarded them as 'faithful and devoted subjects'.<sup>32</sup> Men from other lordships do not seem to have been as assiduous in their military service, and in Glamorgan, several were imprisoned for desertion from the royal army in 1296. The evidence for this comes in a petition to the king, probably dating to May or June of 1297. Glamorgan was in royal hands following the death of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, on 7 December 1295 and the marriage of his widow to Ralph de Monthermer in the first quarter of 1297. The complaint of the people of the Commote of Meisgyn was not only related to the desertion of their fellows, but directed against the earl's widow who, while in possession of the lordship, effectively maintained these deserters as hostages for the community's good behaviour, despite the payment of a fine of 100 marks, until the rebuilding of the castle of Llantrisant – damaged in the war 'against the earl' of the previous year – was complete.<sup>33</sup>

Wardrobe accounts for 1297 reveal that a number of Welshmen were sent to Gascony to reinforce English efforts there. Payments made by Roger de Cottingham from the wardrobe in February 1297 detail 130 foot soldiers despatched there to serve with the earl of Lincoln, then the royal lieutenant in Gascony. Ninety of these were Welshmen drawn from south west Wales, with representatives from Cydweli,

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*Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, Eleventh Volume* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 7-133.

<sup>31</sup> Neville, 'A Plea Roll of Edward I's Army in Scotland, 1296', pp. 63-5, 81-3 (both Turberville's sureties were, in fact, Welsh), 'Therenard Barth' was the murderer, p. 83 and for John de la Reyl, p. 105.

<sup>32</sup> *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, p. 223.

<sup>33</sup> *Cal. Anc. Pet.* No. 6389, pp. 218-9.

Carmarthen and Haverford (Pemb.) under the leadership of William Martyn.<sup>34</sup> The remainder were from Ireland with a handful of Englishmen. Other payments from the wardrobe reveal that some of these men departed from Exeter on 5 April 1297.<sup>35</sup> Sixty archers and fifteen named individuals who arrived there were led by Ieuan ap Llywelyn, Henry de Rue of Handeslawe, Shropshire and Ralph de Lisle of Northumberland. All were also named in Cottingham's list.

Later in 1297, Edward's campaign in Flanders was the first where a significant number of Welshmen are known to have served overseas following the conquest.<sup>36</sup> Men had been raised from Wales in 1294, but as is noted above, it is unlikely that many actually left for Gascony. It seems that Edward's intention was that the Welsh should supply the bulk of the infantry for Flanders, supplemented by the retinues of great magnates. Mandates to the appropriate lords and royal justices were issued on 14 July 1297, seven days after the magnates of England had been requested to muster at London for an expedition whose destination was not known. The muster had proved a disaster. Before it took place, a number of the lords concerned, including Bigod, Bohun (the hereditary marshal and lord of Chepstow and constable of England and lord of Brecon respectively), the earls of Warwick and Arundel, John Hastings and Edmund Mortimer, had held a meeting at Montgomery in the Welsh March. Declaring themselves impoverished, first by the wars in Wales and in Scotland and secondly by the king's taxation, they decided that they could not serve the king overseas. Following the muster, and the dismissal of Bigod and Bohun from their hereditary offices, the political situation worsened. This demand for military service and the accompanying taxation became the focus for baronial opposition under the leadership of the earls under Bohun. Neither they, nor their retinues would serve, not even at the king's wages and thus Welsh foot soldiers formed the majority the army that eventually accompanied Edward to Flanders on 22 August.<sup>37</sup> It is possible that

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<sup>34</sup> He was lord of Cemais in Pembrokeshire and later served as Justiciar of Wales in 1315-16, TNA C 47/4/6 f. 3r.; Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 98. This may however, be an error for his brother Warin Martyn and it would perhaps explain the issuing of a pardon protecting Warin from the behaviour of Welshmen led by him in *Gascon Rolls, 1307-17*, p. 40. See below, n. 63.

<sup>35</sup> BL Add. MS 7965 ff. 13r. 54 r.

<sup>36</sup> It is my understanding that Michael Prestwich is to discuss the infantry used in this campaign in print in more detail shortly.

<sup>37</sup> This political crisis is described in more detail in M. Prestwich, *Edward I*, (New Haven and London, 1997), pp. 418-25.

Edward anticipated this and ordered additional Welsh troops accordingly.<sup>38</sup> The relative novelty of the king ordering recruitment of a royal army in the lands of Wales for service overseas might explain why Morgan ap Maredudd and Walter Hakelut (a prominent royal official in south Wales though not known to be holding an office at this date), acting in South Wales uniquely required letters of credence for their appointed task.<sup>39</sup> Since both would have been well known in the area this suggests a novel or unusual practice, though it may relate to other local factors.<sup>40</sup> Though both served in Flanders among the household, David Grant and Robert le Veel, seasoned administrators, were appointed to lead the men they had recruited. In Powys, Gwilym de la Pole performed a similar function with the aid of his brother Gruffudd Fychan (Gruffudd de la Pole, son of Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn), but as representatives of the princely line of Powys, and Welsh barons in their own right, leadership would have been an accustomed role.<sup>41</sup> The men collected in Powys, North Wales and much of the northern March were to be gathered together at Whitchurch, Shropshire, while those from the southern March, Morgannwg (the Welshry of the lordship of Glamorgan), Usk and Brecon were to be assembled with the men of the royal shires of West Wales at Llandaff.<sup>42</sup> In the event, the men of Brecon, a lordship held by the spokesman of the king's opponents, the earl of Hereford, failed to appear though men from other lordships travelled through the lordship. All were to be assembled to sail from Winchelsea a week after the feast of St Peter Vincula (1 August). The assembled infantry were led by forty-five mounted constables and the leader of the men of North Wales. Though his identity is not given, it is very likely that it was Gruffudd ap Rhys, otherwise known as Sir Gruffudd Llywd.

The absence of the men of Brecon from the foot-soldiers assembled for this campaign requires further comment, and can be traced to the relationship between the king and the earl of Hereford, his principal opponent in the dispute over the

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<sup>38</sup> Walter de Pederton, serving the place of Justiciar of West Wales was commissioned to raise 2,000 men, rather more than in fact served. For other examples, see *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, p. 294.

<sup>39</sup> For example, Walter Hakelut was originally from Herefordshire with a long career in Wales and the march, for details, see R. A. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 95-6.

<sup>40</sup> See below, *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, p. 293.

<sup>41</sup> Strictly, he was Gruffudd ap Gruffudd, by way of explanation, I can do no better than to cite J. E. Lloyd: 'For some reason or another, such forms as Gruffydd ap Gruffydd and Rhys ap Rhys were obnoxious to the Welsh ear; the invariable rule was to use instead the epithet Fychan, which has no reference to stature.' From J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower/Owen Glyn Dwr* (Oxford, 1931), p. 9, n. 3. On occasions, however, reference to the physical stature was clearly implied.

confirmation of the charters. Edward attempted to use Hereford's lordship of Brecon as leverage against him. On 13 July 1297, Morgan and Walter Hakelut were granted power to hear the complaints of the men of Brecon. Those who were loyal (or came to loyalty) after the revolts of 1294-5 seem to have received differing treatment, but were prominent throughout the remainder of the thirteenth century and onward in to the reign of Edward II. Others ended their days in royal prisons. The 1297 campaign in Flanders illustrates well the use of these men, and the loyalty that they in turn inspired from their communities. They appear as commissioners of array: Morgan ap Maredudd in Glamorgan, the brothers William de la Pole and Gruffudd Fychan in Powys Madoc and Powys Gwenwynwyn, that is, the representatives of the princely families of these areas, and as leaders (*Conductores*) of the Welsh who served on their return. It appears that an undated letter from Morgan ap Maredudd, the former rebel leader, by now king's *valettus*, noting the provisioning of the castles of the lordship of Brecon and the understanding that the earl of Hereford was proclaiming himself against the King's Peace is a report from this commission.<sup>43</sup> Davies suggests that his role was as an *agent provocateur*, in the wider dispute between Edward I and the earl of Hereford.<sup>44</sup> The earl's steward, apparently Philip ap Hywel, was equal to the challenge and at his lord's command reconfirmed the rights and tenure of his tenants. The baronial opposition to the expedition caused the king to rely upon Welshmen to overcome the shortfalls of traditional feudal approaches to the levying of armies and the political situation in England.<sup>45</sup>

Their contribution is best known from Lodewyck Van Veltham's account of the Welsh camped outside Ghent, though he was not the only chronicler to comment on their involvement. Their prominence in narrative accounts for this campaign is

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<sup>42</sup> *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, p. 294.

<sup>43</sup> *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, p. 101. The editor dates this letter to the period 1321-2, and cites the mention of Philip ap Hywel as seneschal of Brecon as reason for this. Morgan was knighted in 1306 and would not have termed himself *valettus* in 1321, however, and there is other internal evidence though Philip, son of Sir Hywel ap Meuric which suggests that this is indeed the case. See also J. Beverley Smith, 'Edward II and the Allegiance of Wales', *WHR* 8 (1976-7), pp. 139-171, in particular, p. 142 n. 16 and references cited therein, particularly, TNA C 266/4 no. 11. It is known that Philip ap Hywel was also the earl of Arundel's steward of the lordship of Maelienydd in 1297, *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, pp. 290-1. A similar seigniorial grant was made in the Clare lordship of Glamorgan, J. B. Smith, 'Edward II and the Allegiance of Wales', p. 143.

<sup>44</sup> Davies, *Lordship and Society*, pp. 268-70.

<sup>45</sup> The actions of the earl of Hereford in Brecon appear to have been among the more extreme responses at this stage of the conflict over the confirmation of the Charters. Though occasionally grudging, cooperation in the recruitment of royal armies was rarely challenged. See, F. M. Powicke, *The*

understandable as two-thirds of the army which accompanied the king were Welshmen. 5,297 of an army of 7,800 went to Flanders in 1297. The first hand description shows many of the features that were to distinguish the Welsh on campaign, though it is also a rare account of an infantry force at rest in the middle ages. Their varied equipment, apparent poverty and strange manner of dress and taste for dairy products were to become hackneyed shorthand for the Welsh for centuries to come.<sup>46</sup> Another account of their behaviour in Flanders emerges from the later fourteenth century *Scalacronica* of Thomas Gray and bears a clear similarity with the contemporary Bury chronicler suggests the original source for each account was a royal newsletter rather than a shared eye-witness account.

While King Edward was staying at Ghent, the commoners of the town started a riot and a confrontation with the king's men. The Welsh who were there swam across the Scheldt, plundering houses and doing great harm.<sup>47</sup>

In the king's absence the Scots, led by William Wallace, rose in arms resulting in the need to mount a second expedition in the winter of 1297-8. This abortive campaign, for all its lack of military impact is remarkable for other reasons. In all, 29,000 infantry were summoned from Wales, Chester and the English counties. Even allowing for the optimism of English officials this is a number so large that a significant shortfall must have been expected. Though the initial muster was to be held at Newcastle upon Tyne on 6 December, Prestwich notes that the maximum number of soldiers in pay actually peaked in late February 1298 at 18,500. Though too few, too late, this nonetheless impressive total was rapidly reduced by large scale desertion.

Prestwich, using information taken from the pay accounts, reveals that some 3,000 were raised from North Wales and its surrounding lordships with a further 300 from Powys. These accounts also reveal that the leaders of the Welsh contingent were themselves Welsh, revealing that not all leaders of the Welsh community had

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*Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 678-683.

<sup>46</sup> The Welsh taste for dairy products, particularly toasted cheese, was an essential element of caricature as late as the seventeenth century. See, for example, L. Bowen, 'Representations of the Welsh during the Civil Wars and the Interregnum', *Historical Research*, 197 (2004) pp. 358-376.

<sup>47</sup> A. King (ed.), *Sir Thomas Gray, Scalacronica 1272-1363, The Publications of the Surtees society*,

travelled to Flanders with the king.<sup>48</sup> Cynwrig Sais, Cynwrig Ddu and Gruffudd ap Tudor were deputed to lead the larger group, while the men of Powys were led, once again, by Sir Gwilym de la Pole.<sup>49</sup> In common with many of the English county levies, these men were slow to appear and many seem to have been turned back without fighting. With the leaders of the native *Uchelwyr*, men like Gruffudd Llwyd, who had filled the place of the Princes of Gwynedd, serving in Flanders with the king, however, the army cannot have been straightforward to recruit. The global figure for troops in royal pay in the winter of 1297-8 in Flanders and in Scotland is truly impressive, and demonstrates the scale of the resources made available through the conquest of Gwynedd and control of all Wales. By the time that the army in Scotland was disbanded, the king still had around 7,300 men with him in Flanders, 5,297 of these being Welsh. The total number of foot-soldiers in royal pay, however briefly would therefore have been in the region of 26,000.<sup>50</sup>

An effective English response to Wallace's insurrection was delayed until the summer of 1298. Exactly how many Welshmen were summoned to serve on the campaign which culminated English victory at Falkirk on 22 July, 1298, is uncertain. A count based upon the summons calendared in the Patent Rolls gives the number summoned from the lordships of Wales as 11,200, another from those enrolled in the parliamentary writs 10,500.<sup>51</sup> In addition to this number were 1,000 each from Chester and Lancashire. Some details of the mode of recruitment employed for this campaign are of interest; Warin Martyn had been appointed deputy Justiciar of South Wales for the purposes of military recruitment in April and May 1298 served in this role again in 1301 being entrusted with the leadership of a force from South and West Wales. This temporary appointment presumably had correspondingly limited powers,

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vol. 209 (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 17. My thanks to Dr. King for drawing this reference to my attention.

<sup>48</sup> Morris, *Welsh Wars*, pp. 284-6 and *Parl. Writs I*, p. 304. For the surviving pay accounts: H. Gough (ed.), *Scotland in 1298. Documents relating to the Campaign of King Edward the First in that Year, and especially to the Battle of Falkirk* (London, 1888), pp. 56-66.

<sup>49</sup> Usually referred to as William de la Pole.

<sup>50</sup> N. B. Lewis, 'The English Forces in Flanders, August-November 1297' in R. N. Hunt, W. H. Pantin and R. W. Southern (eds), *Studies in Medieval History presented to F. M. Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 310-318, in particular the Appendix, pp. 317-8.

<sup>51</sup> *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, pp. 342-343; Morris, *Welsh Wars*, pp. 285-294, also *Parl. Writs I*, p. 312. The totals from royal territories are revealing in themselves making up around half the Welsh contribution: 2,000 from North Wales, 500 from Anglesey, 2,300 from Cardigan and Carmarthen and 500 from Builth, giving a total of 5,300.

devolved from the Justiciar's own authority.<sup>52</sup> In 1298, He was accompanied by Morgan ap Maredudd and William de Camvill, who with their men were to assemble with the king's army at Carlisle by 30 June. Morgan ap Maredudd was still in the pay of the prince of Wales with eight others in November at Linlithgow in the service of the Prince of Wales, having been in his father's service since the end of the rebellion in Glamorgan in June 1295.<sup>53</sup>

Prestwich notes that in fact, some 10,900 Welshmen reported at the start of the expedition. Of this total, all but 400 were still serving two months later. These losses are disproportionately small; the number of English and Irish soldiers in pay on 20 July, two days before the battle of Falkirk was 14,800, a figure which had fallen to 12,600 a week later. Welshmen therefore would have represented some two-fifths of Edward's infantry which then numbered 25,700. Whether this goes some way to confirming Guisborough's story of Welsh unwillingness to engage at the battle is a moot point. His comment that the Welsh were 'quasi omnes' of the infantry serving in this campaign is therefore not entirely accurate, though they were the largest, and most easily identifiable contingent.<sup>54</sup> This by any means is a staggering number, one of the largest armies raised by the English crown in the middle ages. More remarkable is the scale of the Welsh contribution which must represent around one in ten of the men living in Wales at that time.<sup>55</sup>

In the summer of 1300, no Welsh levies were recruited, despite their experience of fighting in rough terrain and their contributions in the Scottish campaigns of the previous four years.<sup>56</sup> Rishanger's comment on the absence of the Welsh at Caerlaverock is difficult to interpret. He wrote, 'Sed pro dolor! Defecerunt nobis pedites de Wallia. Si enim tales habuissemus...' Whether by this he meant that the

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<sup>52</sup> Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p.94.

<sup>53</sup> BL Add. MS 7966a f. 101v. For Morgan ap Maredudd in more detail see ch. 3, pp. 158, 177-8, and appendix A. William de Camvill was very probably the son of Geoffrey de Camvill, lord of Llanstephan (Carms.) who also held lands in Ireland and Staffordshire, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 91.

<sup>54</sup> H. Rothwell (ed.), *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough: previously edited as the chronicle of Walter of Hemingford or Hemingburgh*, Camden Society, Third Series, lxxxix (London, 1957), pp. 272, 279.

<sup>55</sup> TNA E 101/12/17, Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, p. 95. The estimate is based the figures given in J. C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948), pp. 319-63, which suggests 200,000 as an estimate of the Welsh population before the plague of the mid-fourteenth century.

<sup>56</sup> Chris Candy, 'An Exercise in Frustration: The Scottish Campaign of Edward I, 1300' unpublished

Welsh were effectively being punished for their reticence at Falkirk in 1298 or that simply, the English army lacked Welsh troops and suffered for this absence is unclear.<sup>57</sup> Desertion was not generally a characteristic of the Welsh levies, whatever their faults as soldiers from an English perspective. None were recruited that year, 'because of all the great work which they have done in our service in the past.'<sup>58</sup> Such an endorsement was tempered by their behaviour at Falkirk two years earlier where they held back from the battle until it was essentially decided. In any case, their absence appears to have limited the overall strength of the army, which even at its maximum size, just over 9,200, in mid-July was only fifty-eight percent of the total originally requested from the English shires, and less than half the size of that fielded in either the winter of 1297-8 or the summer of 1298. Even so, this was a substantial army by any standard.<sup>59</sup> A handful of Welshmen are named in the pay accounts however. Among the men-at-arms of the household are found Cynwrig Sais, a long time royal servant, his esquire, (*socii sui*) 'Gromogh' Sais and one Madoc Wallensis.<sup>60</sup> In addition we find the small company of nine named Welshmen of the royal household under William le Wylde in pay at Caelaverock on 14 July 1300. These men who appear frequently as the 'Wallenses Regis' in the wardrobe accounts of this period and are occasionally described as the king's bodyguard.<sup>61</sup> This is not to say that the contribution of the lands of Wales was limited to a handful of men. On 1 April 1300, the Justiciar of North Wales, John de Havering, was ordered assist in the collection of a subsidy for the war from the shires of North Wales, a subsidy that was imposed throughout Wales and much of the March. The financial pressures of Edward's efforts in Scotland were often at least as arduous as the demands for men in this period.<sup>62</sup>

The campaign of 1301 reveals something of the growing familiarity with the processes of military recruitment and the rise of Welsh leaders and administrators.

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MA dissertation, (University of Durham, 1999), pp. 19-36.

<sup>57</sup> H. T. Riley (ed.) *Willelmi Rishanger, quondam monachi S. Albani, et quorundam anonymorum, chronica et annales, regnantibus Henrico Tertio et Edwardo Primo* (London, 1865), p. 442.

<sup>58</sup> The original writ is TNA E 159/73, m. 16.

<sup>59</sup> Candy, 'Frustration', p. 22.

<sup>60</sup> J. Topham (ed.), *Liber Quotidianus Controtulitoris Gardrobiae, 1299-1300* (London, 1787) p. xx. These identities are frustratingly obscure: 'Gromogh' appears to be a scribal error, though the alternative is not obvious but may be Grono or Goronwy. The cognomen *Sais* refers to the nature and manner of the individual as being of English sympathies or manners.

<sup>61</sup> BL Add. MS 35291 f. 47.

Philip ap Hywel, was charged with conducting the musters of the March and West Wales to Hereford on this occasion and one of the paymasters of the Welsh foot on this occasion. The son of a noted Marcher servant of the Welsh wars, Sir Hywel ap Meuric, Philip was employed by the earl of Hereford as steward of his lordship of Brecon and seems to have enjoyed the favour of the Mortimers.<sup>63</sup> On this occasion, he was employed in the company of Master Rees ap Hywel, his brother, and Walter de Pederton then Justiciar of South Wales.<sup>64</sup> Warin Martyn was appointed as leader of these men but he obviously had difficulties maintaining control of the troops under his command since he sought, and received, pardons for any crimes his men committed on their journey through England.<sup>65</sup> These were granted 18 November 1303 and renewed 1 February 1308.<sup>66</sup> It is possible that the Marcher lords may have taken yet more Welshmen in their own personal retinues, and at their own expense, and it is notable that some of their tenants and officials appear in the lists of those arraying and leading Welsh infantry. Just as the Welsh contribution to the infantry was disproportionately large the horse inventory for this campaign reveals disproportionately few Welsh names. Again, we find Sir Gwilym de la Pole and Gruffudd, his brother together with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Einion ab Ieuan and Meurig Atteben serving under John de Havering, Justiciar of North Wales, as part of his retinue of twenty-five mounted men; four knights, twenty esquires with one ‘brother Ednevet’ Master of the Hospitallers.<sup>67</sup> Two other Welshmen, recorded with the ubiquitous Morgan ap Maredudd, who had also been in Flanders, can be found elsewhere serving with the household.<sup>68</sup> The notable absentee was Gruffudd Llwyd, who served as commissioner of array but not in the field.<sup>69</sup>

The expedition to Scotland of 1303-4 was far smaller than those of the previous

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<sup>62</sup> *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, pp. 302, 534.

<sup>63</sup> Davies, *Lordship and Society*, pp. 205, 91, J. B. Smith, ‘Edward II and the Allegiance of Wales’, pp. 142-3.

<sup>64</sup> *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, p. 598, also *Parl. Writs*, p. 602.

<sup>65</sup> The Welsh were not only perpetrators of violence but occasionally victims. A commission of oyer and terminer to investigate the robbery and murder at Wigan of a number of Welshmen who had served with the Prince of Wales was appointed on 26 July 1302. *C.P.R. 1301-7*, p. 85.

<sup>66</sup> Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 94; *Parl. Writs*, I, p. 406; *Gascon Rolls*, p. 40.

<sup>67</sup> Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, pp. 228-9. Brother ‘Ednevet’ should probably be identified with Odo de Nevet preceptor of the Hospitaller Preceptory of Halston (Salop.) until at least 1300. A scribal error for *Ednyfed* seems likely. See *Book of Prests*, p. xxx and *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, p. 549, for the Preceptory of Halston, see: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=39933> (accessed 23 March 2009).

<sup>68</sup> Galfridus Makarewy and Rhys ap Trahaiarn; Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, p. 199.

<sup>69</sup> *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, p. 433.

seven years: only 9,500 men were summoned, all from the northern counties of England, though only 7,500 men served. This campaign is of interest as it provides an interesting comparator for the involvement of the Welsh and Irish. Here, forces raised in Ireland, and largely paid from its revenues, served mainly in the west of Scotland as a more or less independent army which, at its largest – between June and September 1303 – numbered over 3,400 men. The comparison with Ireland is probably unfair; parts of Ireland had been under English suzerainty for a century and a half, but the more varied nature of an army drawn from more distant parts of the English realm is interesting. Welsh forces, almost exclusively, were composed of foot soldiers, led in the main by a native elite which contained perhaps one or two knights among their number. The Irish forces were commanded by an earl, could support as many as eleven bannerets and over 300 knights and esquires in addition to 2,600 foot soldiers all of whom had left royal pay by February 1304 after less than eight months service. The majority in fact had departed at the end of September.<sup>70</sup>

After a decade of raising enormous armies for relatively little reward, the Scottish campaign of 1306 appears to mark a consistent change in Edward's thinking. His experience must have made clear to him that large numbers of infantry were not capable of sufficient mobility to engage an elusive enemy, which is presumably why, financial considerations notwithstanding the army raised in the summer of 1306 was strikingly reduced in scale. Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, had only 1,500 infantry with him in July at the battle of Methven, but their impact in a battle won by cavalry was negligible. Exactly how many infantry came north with the Prince of Wales is unknown, but the sum spent, £1,142, suggests that they cannot have been many.<sup>71</sup> It can be stated with some certainty that 300 of these were drawn from the three counties of North Wales. Sir Gruffudd Llwyd was granted safe conduct to lead these men through England to Scotland 27 May. This journey was funded from the issues of North Wales and can be identified as part of an allowance of £6,169 4s. 4½d. claimed against the account of Thomas Esthall, chamberlain of North Wales for this year included payments for 300 infantry from North Wales led by Gruffudd ap

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<sup>70</sup> Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, pp. 97-8. Information on the Irish contribution is taken from J. F. Lydon, 'Edward I, Ireland and the War in Scotland 1303-1304' in J. Lydon (ed.) *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven* (Blackrock, 1981), pp. 43-61.

<sup>71</sup> Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, pp. 98-9.

Rhys.<sup>72</sup>

The recruitment for Edward I's final campaign in 1307 shows something remarkable. While the trend of the previous year was repeated; only 2,700 foot soldiers were deemed necessary, these were ordered from those closest; the men of the northern counties, and those apparently the most consistent; from the Principality and March of Wales.<sup>73</sup> Some measure of this consistency and some indication of the usual route taken from Wales to Scotland is shown in a writ of pontage for five years granted to for the building of a bridge at Wychnor, Staffordshire in April 1307. The reason given being for 'the security of men coming from Ireland and Wales', a reference which can only refer to the wars in Scotland.<sup>74</sup> The strength of the army actually raised reveals something very interesting. By the end of July, following the death of Edward I, the number of infantry totalled 2,915 men, and 2,818 of these Welshmen, but by the beginning of September had reduced to 2,660.<sup>75</sup> Though the recruitment process in North Wales and West Wales shows little out of the ordinary; the leaders were to be Sir Gruffudd Llwyd and Sir Morgan ap Maredudd respectively each bringing 500 men, the remainder being drawn from the lordships of the March, by far the largest contribution, 500 men, coming from the lordships of Glamorgan and Usk, then in the king's hands. These are significant not so much for the king raising troops directly from a Marcher lordship in his possession but from the earliest survival of a muster roll from a Welsh lordship. It was compiled at Cardiff and at Usk on 3 and 4 July 1307. The men are listed and grouped by Commote suggesting some form of communal obligation from the Welsh communities of the lordship; the English community being exempt from the demands of this summons. They were arrayed by Walter de Gloucester and Robert Greyndor, sheriff of Glamorgan, and led to Carlisle by Sir Stephen de la More. None of these men can have reached Carlisle before Edward's death on 7 July and the majority only entered pay at Carlisle from 23 July.<sup>76</sup>

It is remarkable that all but ninety-seven of the foot-soldiers of this army were

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<sup>72</sup> *C.P.R. 1301-1307*, p. 435; Esthall was Chamberlain from 1302 to 1312. Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, no. 681, p. 80. Gruffudd ap Rhys was later Sir Gruffudd Llwyd.

<sup>73</sup> *Parl. Writs*, i, pp. 379-80; *C.P.R. 1301-7*, p. 529.

<sup>74</sup> *C.P.R. 1301-1307*, p. 517.

<sup>75</sup> TNA E 101/373/15 ff. 13r-19r.

recruited from Wales, a proportion not matched for any previous or subsequent campaign, but which provides a representative ending to the armies of Edward I's reign which drew so heavily upon that resource. The majority of these men were not raised from royal lordships but from the lands of the March, the king was dependent upon Marcher authority, though his claims over their military resources were only rarely overtaken by external political considerations. The men recruited to serve in Scotland are likely to have been veteran campaigners led by men who owed their prosperity to military service if not to consistent loyalty to Edward I. The examples of Sir Gruffudd Llwyd and Sir Morgan ap Maredudd are particularly apposite and present interesting parallels. Both shared noble, if not necessarily princely ancestry and had through good judgement abandoned the cause of the princes of Gwynedd in one case and to declare opposition to his lord by proclaiming loyalty to the king in the other. Their influence continued into the rule of his son and grandson. The Marchers too had their stalwarts; Stephen Baret led the Welshmen of the earl of Hereford in 1307 and remained in the earl's service until his execution for his obstruction of the Despensers in Gower in 1322.<sup>77</sup>

It is quite clear Edward I regarded the newly conquered men of Wales – at least those of his personal lordships in Snowdon and West Wales – as a private pool of potential recruits; around half the Welsh infantry to serve at Falkirk were drawn from the king's own lordships.<sup>78</sup> Edward I's reign established a pattern of military service in the shires and the march of Wales which was to persist into the reign of his grandson. His use of foot-soldiers in such enormous numbers was undoubtedly inspired not only by his campaigns in Wales, but also facilitated by his victory over the Welsh. The communities of Wales and the counties of its borders and, indeed, much of midland England, gained military experience which Edward attempted to deploy against the Scots. The falling size of armies in the later years of his reign hints at a realisation that these tactics were unlikely to be effective. As the infantry component of his final campaign illustrates, the Welsh were an integral part of Edward's military machine, a machine that was inherited and maintained by his son and grandson, and in which, the military resources of the shires and March of Wales

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<sup>76</sup> TNA E 101/13/23 and TNA E 101/373/15 f. 13r.

<sup>77</sup> N. Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321-1326* (Cambridge, 1979) p. 61.

<sup>78</sup> R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p. 399.

played an important part.

### ***The Reign of Edward II***

The death of Edward I made little difference, at least initially, to the place of Welsh soldiers in English armies. In 1308, £678 19s. 2d. was paid in advance to 2,150 Welsh infantry (presumably from North Wales and serving in Scotland) claimed by Thomas Esthall, chamberlain of North Wales (1302-1312) as an allowance against his accounts for the financial year 2-3 Edward II.<sup>79</sup> Again in 1309, the backbone of the infantry component of the army was intended to be Welsh; Walter Hakelut was ordered to array 2,000 men from south and West Wales for service in Scotland and 200 marks paid to 950 infantry sent from North Wales in October 1309 were claimed as part of an allowance of £6,169 4s. 4½d. against the account of Thomas Esthall, chamberlain of North Wales. In this period such orders and offsets of payments against accounts were annual events, as regular as the harvest.<sup>80</sup> The campaign intended for late 1310 was little different. Once again, part of an allowance of £6,169 4s. 4½d. claimed against the account of the chamberlain of North Wales included payments for 2,000 infantry selected in August 1310 by Sir Gruffudd Llwyd, Hugh Venebles, Richard Puleston (Flintshire) and Iorwerth ap Gruffudd.<sup>81</sup> For this campaign, 4,900 Welshmen were summoned from the shires of the Principality and the March. The summons are very specific, requesting only small numbers, between 100 and 200 from individual lordships, possibly as a means of ensuring that the numbers requested actually resembled the numbers in service. In South Wales there was a clear distinction between those appointed as commissioners of array and those serving as field commanders. The commission was granted to Walter de Pederton (as Justiciar of South Wales), with the clerk Philip ap Hywel and Morgan ap Maredudd serving under him, with Robert de Penres, Master Rhys ap Hywel (brother of Philip), Master William le Hore, Gruffudd de la Pole, William de Langton and Stephen de la More.<sup>82</sup> Of these, only Morgan ap Maredudd served in any capacity on this campaign, leading 479 men of Glamorgan with four esquires and a beadle. Together, these men

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<sup>79</sup> E. B. Fryde (ed.), *List of Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls 1282-1343* (Cardiff, 1974), no. 377, p. 46.

<sup>80</sup> *Foedera* I, iv, p. 148; Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, nos. 377 and 681, pp. 46, 80.

<sup>81</sup> Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, no. 681, p. 80.

<sup>82</sup> *C.P.R. 1307-13*, p. 80.

represent the most significant Welshmen with interests in or bordering upon or within the royal shires, and its most prominent officials.

The pay accounts show that there were two main forces; 838 foot soldiers under Sir Gruffudd Llwyd with two esquires and fourteen constables from the northern shires and 883 from the south under Rhys ap Gruffudd, cousin of Sir Gruffudd Llwyd. He was supported by Dafydd ap Kethyn and eight other constables with a chaplain named Gervase who received £11 3s. for his sixty days service.<sup>83</sup> Two smaller forces of unspecified Welsh origins totalling 212 foot archers provide the sum of the Welsh contribution from the shires. Among the constables of soldiers from west Wales some impact of the wars of conquest can be observed. Llywelyn and Roger Mortimer, were sons of another Roger Mortimer who had been rewarded for his service to Edward I in his wars in Wales with extensive parts of the commote of Genau'r Glyn in Cardiganshire. The family settled, as the choice of the name Llywelyn suggests, and can be traced in military and civil affairs in Cardiganshire well into the sixteenth century.<sup>84</sup> The army assembled at Berwick from the end of September 1310, and though the Welsh eventually provided around 2,600 of the 3,000 infantry present, they were only paid for sixty days from 1 November. The campaign itself was typically inconclusive. The Scots refused to fight and the army was assembled too late in the year to force the issue as winter closed in.

The army assembled in 1314 is not well recorded, but the scale of the Welsh contribution can be estimated. From a Welsh perspective, the events of this Scottish war had a political importance deriving from the deaths of the last Clare earl of Gloucester and lord of Glamorgan and the capture of the earl of Hereford, lord of Brecon. The vast bulk of the Welshmen summoned for this campaign were drawn from the royal shires of South Wales, from whence 3,000 men were summoned. The remainder were drawn from the larger lordships of south east Wales; Brecon, Abergavenny, and Glamorgan. The division of the financial burden was correspondingly uneven, with 3,000 of the 4,960 foot specified being paid from the coffers of the chamberlain of South Wales.

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<sup>83</sup> BL MS Cotton Nero C viii, ff. 6r-6v. Gervase may well be the 'Gervase le Persone de Lanmais' who served with the Welsh troops in 1297, BL Add. MS 7965 f. 82d.

<sup>84</sup> Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 11, 92. For their descendents, *Ibid.*, pp. 218, 428.

By Morris' count, 21,540 foot were summoned for this campaign, McNamee suggests a slightly larger total, 22,140 which means that the Welsh represented around one quarter of the total infantry summoned, a substantial number, if not a dominant one.<sup>85</sup> Some more specific information is available; the chamberlain of North Wales was allowed £194 13s. paid to Roger Mortimer of Chirk, John Cromwell and John Charlton for leading 2,213 Welsh infantry to the war against Scotland in 1314 by the auditors of the chamberlain's accounts. The precision of this figure suggests that this was the actual number raised. In west Wales the situation is less clear cut. Walter Hakelut was ordered to lead 1,000 men from south and west Wales to Newcastle-upon Tyne by 28 April but it is unclear how many actually went. Financial records do little to clarify the situation: the auditors allowed the prior of Carmarthen, chamberlain of South Wales between 25 August 1311 and Michaelmas 1314, £91 14s. 6d. against his account, paid to Roger Mortimer of Chirk and other leaders of Welsh troops going to Newcastle. Although neither the year nor the number of men is specified, but 1314 is probable since the sum given equates to approximately ten days wages for 1,000 foot-soldiers at 2d. per day.<sup>86</sup>

The disaster that followed at Bannockburn is well known though the Welsh role in it is unclear. The most significant impact of this campaign from a Welsh perspective was not the number of Welshmen involved; this was, by this time, unexceptional, but the death of the lord of Glamorgan, Gilbert, earl of Gloucester. Since Glamorgan was the largest of the Marcher lordships the vacuum his death created was extremely important and recorded in a contemporary Welsh chronicle; 'y bu llallfa y seison yn ystriflen yn y goggled ac y llas Jarll Clar'.<sup>87</sup> The earl of Hereford, lord of Brecon, was captured at the battle but was swiftly ransomed, but the effects of de Clare's death had a profound influence on the governance of the southern March. It led directly to the revolt of Llywelyn Bren in Glamorgan two years later and eventually to the dominance of the younger Despenser, placing the march incontestably on the national stage.

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<sup>85</sup> C. McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306 -1328*, (Phantassie, 1997), pp. 61-2.

<sup>86</sup> Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, nos. 304-5, pp. 37-8, *Cal. Anc. Pet.* p. 349.

<sup>87</sup> '... the Englishmen fighting in the north and there was killed Earl Clare' NLW Llanstephan MS 148 f. 98d. s.a. 1314 quoted J. Conway Davies 'The Despenser War in Glamorgan' *Trans. R. H. S.* third

The author of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* remarked upon the nature of the defeat and the role that Scottish foot soldiers played in it, almost as an affront to the chivalric behaviour apparently displayed by the English nobility. The Welsh, of course, had no place in this narrative. Some, however, apparently retainers of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, were led by him from the field to Carlisle. Others, apparently distinguishable by their linen clothing remained to die on the battlefield.<sup>88</sup> A later Scots prose chronicle, 'The Bruce', describes them as:

‘...Walismen; Quhair-euir thai heid, men mycht tham ken; For thai wuill neir all naked war, Or lynyng clothis had, but mair’.<sup>89</sup>

The political instability of England which followed the defeat at Bannockburn had lasting effects and called, once again, on Welsh military resources. In 1315, Aymer de Valence and Bartholomew Badlesmere were sent to secure the Scottish march evidently taking with them a large number of Welsh foot soldiers. Allowances of £202 10s. were granted against the account of the Richard Mustlewyck, Chamberlain of West Wales paid to Robert Multon, who was assigned to array 2,500 Welsh infantry in south Wales for service in Scotland.<sup>90</sup> Pembroke appears to have had significant success in his military efforts, forcing the Scots into retreat and pursuing them some way into Scotland itself. In light of Scottish attacks on Ulster led by Edward Bruce, and the preparations made against invasion from Ireland made in 1315, raising an army of such a size from Wales seems surprising.<sup>91</sup> There may have been some attempts by the Scots at exploiting Welsh disquiet, however, since letters apparently exchanged between Sir Gruffudd Llwyd and Robert Bruce offering the prospect of Welsh assistance in such an invasion show that any unease felt was very likely justified.<sup>92</sup> The author of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* compared the Scots and the Welsh directly ‘For these two races (*genera*) are easily roused to rebellion; they bear hardly the yoke of slavery, and curse the lordship of the English’. This account fails to

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series IX (1915) p. 22.

<sup>88</sup> *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. 54-7, *Lanercost*, pp. 208-9.

<sup>89</sup> W.W. Skeat (ed.), *The Bruce, or the book of Robert de Broyss, King of Scots (1286-1332)*, I (Edinburgh, 1894), p. 419.

<sup>90</sup> Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, no. 383, p. 47.

<sup>91</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.* II, pp. 18-19.

<sup>92</sup> J. Beverley Smith, ‘Gruffydd Llwyd and the Celtic alliance, 1315-18’, *BBCS* 26 (1976), pp. 463-78.

reflect the dependence of the English upon the Welsh for its military adventures and moreover the dependence of the lords of the March upon the military resources of their Welsh estates to oppose Edward's policies.

1316 witnessed a rebellion in Glamorgan, and yet another campaign in Scotland. In the disputes between the king and his barons, the Welsh March became a point of contact and contention which was most clearly expressed in the revolt of Llywelyn Bren. The rebellion led by Llywelyn Bren appears to have been a communal response to the disaffection between the Welsh of Morgannwg (that is, the 'Welshry' of the lordship of Glamorgan) and those who ruled over it. Following the death of the last Clare earl of Gloucester at Bannockburn, Glamorgan was placed in unwelcome royal custody. While the initial reception of royal control had been violent and hostile, the appointment of Bartholomew Badlesmere in September 1314 had eased the situation. His replacement from July 1315 by Payn de Turberville of Coity, seems to have been calculated to displease, and the personal animosity between him and Llywelyn, together with Edward II's handling of it, kindled a rebellion which might not otherwise have occurred. Like the earlier revolt in Glamorgan instigated by Morgan ap Maredudd it seems that Llywelyn's revolt was purely local and within Glamorgan and its independent franchises, and based upon local and personal grievances rather than 'national' ill-feeling.<sup>93</sup> The revolt was large enough and sustained enough, however, to require significant military intervention. The army raised to subdue this rebellion was large and expensive, though in the main drawn from the lordships closest to the disturbance. It was captained by the earl of Hereford whose lordship of Brecon bordered upon Glamorgan to the north. Under him served the Mortimers, Bartholomew Badlesmere, Henry de Lancaster, William Montague and John Giffard of Brimpesfield. The force was composed of some 150 men-at-arms and 2,000 foot and was successful, at least in the short-term, in restoring some form of order, though the subsequent treatment of Llywelyn Bren and his family by Despenser was a lasting and significant cause of discontent, it was one amongst many.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> This was the view of T. F. Tout, *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXIV (1893), pp. 21-2. More recent and thorough accounts of the revolt can be found in R. A. Griffiths, 'The Revolt of Llywelyn Bren' in Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered*, pp. 84-91 and J. Beverley Smith, 'The Rebellion of Llywelyn Bren', *Glam. C. H.* III, pp. 72-86.

<sup>94</sup> *Cal. Chancery Warrants, 1244-1326*, p. 440.

In the same year, the conflict between John de Charlton, lord of Powys and Gruffudd de la Pole, youngest and last surviving son of Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn, deteriorated to such an extent that the king was forced to intervene, despatching John Cromwell to Powys in March. The root of the dispute lay in the conversion of Powys into a Marcher lordship governed by English laws of inheritance. This meant that Charlton's wife, daughter of one of Gruffudd's elder brothers was the sole heir to Powys leaving Gruffudd with only the lordship of Mawddwy, the status of which was another point of contention between the two men. This was ineffective as this phase of fighting between the two men and their tenants was only settled in October of 1316 when Gruffudd surrendered his lands and received pardon after a summer of fighting.<sup>95</sup> These revolts, while responses to local factors were representative of others throughout an increasingly troubled England, subject to prolonged weakness in government in addition to famine.<sup>96</sup>

The fear of full scale rebellion at this time has been overstated by some historians, whose visions of a generalised rebellion underestimate the divisions and networks of loyalty with Wales.<sup>97</sup> Certainly, there was significant suspicion on the part of royal officials and efforts were made to secure North Wales in particular against possible attack from Ireland. Their fears were not entirely groundless. A Scottish fleet under Thomas Dun had raided Holyhead on the coast of Anglesey in November 1315 and a garrison of eight mounted men-at-arms and twelve crossbowmen had been installed in Beaumaris for much of that same year.<sup>98</sup> Edward's own concern at these riots is evident: 'If this riot be not hastily quenched much greater evil may come in other parts of Wales.'<sup>99</sup> Following consultation with representatives of the Welsh elite, Sir Gruffudd Llwyd and Sir Morgan ap Maredudd, Edward must have had his confidence in the Principality, reaffirmed particularly given the undoubted and overwhelming influence of those who had grown up in his service.<sup>100</sup> Most obvious were Gruffudd

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<sup>95</sup> *C.P.R. 1313-1317*, pp. 54, 548. A full account of this convoluted dispute can be found in R. Morgan, 'The Barony of Powys, 1275-1360', *WHR* 10 (1980-1), pp. 1-37.

<sup>96</sup> McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces*, p. 149.

<sup>97</sup> J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-22: A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1970) p. 184.

<sup>98</sup> For these and other precautions, A. D. Carr, 'Anglesey and War in the Later Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society & Field Club* (1984), pp. 16-7.

<sup>99</sup> *Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1244-1326*, pp. 436-7.

<sup>100</sup> An interesting meeting at Nottingham took place between these two men and Edward II. This is especially so in the case of Morgan ap Maredudd who is absent from official records between from the

Llwyd and Rhys ap Gruffudd, but their influence was underpinned by their relatives and followers. His fears, even with the benefit of hindsight can only have related to the March, where loyalties, both of lords and of tenants were never as clear-cut. In this light the surprise expressed by J. B. Smith at Edward's demand for 1,500 men from North Wales is misplaced.<sup>101</sup> They were arrayed and led by consistent loyalists; Gruffudd Llwyd, with his relative, Goronwy ap Tudor of Penmynydd, Anglesey and Iorwerth ap Gruffudd.<sup>102</sup> Presumably, given the distance from the disturbances earlier in the year, it was deemed that the men of North Wales were as reliable as ever, and that their lands were secure enough in their absence. A month later, on 4 August these forces were ordered to return to their own lands *ex certa causa* – apparently the defence of North Wales against the threat of invasion from Ireland – given by the community of North Wales to the king.<sup>103</sup> Perhaps in response to this was the reappointment of Mortimer as Justice of North Wales, an appointment which directly led to the imprisonment of Gruffudd Llwyd for eighteen months.

More surprising, given the rebellion in Glamorgan only recently ended, evidence of the make-up of the army arrayed to serve in Scotland from Glamorgan can be found in an audit of John Giffard's spell as custodian of that lordship between 20 April 1316 and 22 May 1317. In addition to being allowed £199 15s. 9d. for provisions and military equipment for the castles of that lordship, during the rebellion, this figure included the expenses of 1,000 Welsh infantry assembled at Cardiff and sent to Carlisle. These men were a substantial contribution to the 2,500 men of South Wales ordered for this campaign, an array conducted by the ubiquitous Master Rhys ap Hywel among others.<sup>104</sup>

The Scottish campaign of 1319 concentrated on a siege of Berwick which the Scots had regained and was important politically due to the strained relations between Edward II and Thomas of Lancaster. The number of foot soldiers summoned was extravagant, as fewer than half of the 23,596 summoned actually served.<sup>105</sup> Of the number summoned, a surprisingly small contingent of 3,000 was expected to come

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point at which he was knighted in 1306 to this point and then afterwards, until his death in July 1331.

<sup>101</sup> Beverley Smith, 'Edward II and the Allegiance of Wales', p. 51.

<sup>102</sup> *Rot. Scotiae*, I, p. 156.

<sup>103</sup> For the recall, see, *Rot. Scotiae*, I, p. 159.

<sup>104</sup> Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, no. 430, p. 52, *Rot. Scotiae*, I, pp. 156-7.

from Wales and the March which was to provide the majority with only 700 from the royal shires. Those chosen to muster these forces have a familiar appearance; in south Wales, Rhys ap Gruffudd, Dafydd ap Llywelyn Voyl and Llywelyn Ddu, and in North Wales, Gruffudd ap Rhys (Sir Gruffudd Llwyd), Goronwy ap Tudor and Hywel ap Gruffudd ap Geruarth.<sup>106</sup> All barring Dafydd ap Llywelyn Voyl are known to have served on the campaign. The actual size of the army assembled is uncertain; Bain records a total of 8,080 men in the army besieging Berwick between 1 August and 24 September 1319 under the command of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke. Morris rated the force as slightly smaller at 7,048, with the majority drawn from the north of England and Nottinghamshire.<sup>107</sup> While the exact total is uncertain, Maddicott estimated a total of around 10,000 men. Of these, around 2,500 were mounted and a further 2,000 served at the expense of Thomas of Lancaster as had his men in the campaign of 1315-6. Since fewer than 2,500 men from the royal lands of Wales and the March joined the king at Gosforth near Newcastle in early August, the Welsh contribution amounted to around one quarter of the entire army and about half of the foot soldiers in royal pay. Theirs was largest single contribution, followed by 1,740 from Yorkshire, together with other northerners, Scots and Irish.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, the extent of the younger Despenser's influence in south Wales is revealed the contribution from his lands to this army. 301 men were drawn from his lordship of Cantref Mawr and a further 500 from Glamorgan and Morgannwg. The king, by contrast could provide only 141 foot soldiers from his lands in Cardigan and the earl of Hereford 161.<sup>109</sup>

The influence of Despenser's lands in Wales had effect throughout their other lands and in Bristol – as turbulent in Edward II's reign as any Marcher lordship – the royal castle was entrusted to the younger Despenser as heir of its former Clare castellans. Interestingly during extensive building works there between 1320 and 1323 reinforcements for the large garrison maintained there were Welsh foot soldiers

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<sup>105</sup> *Parl. Writs*, II, i, pp. 517-20.

<sup>106</sup> *Parl. Writs*, II, i, p. 519.

<sup>107</sup> J. E. Morris, 'Mounted Infantry in Medieval Warfare' *Trans. R. H. S.*, Third Series, vol. VIII (1914), p. 84. His source is TNA E 101/ 15/27; *Cal. Docs. Scot.* no. 668, pp. 125-6.

<sup>108</sup> *Cal. Docs. Scot.* n. 668, pp. 125-6, Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp. 245-6, information about the Welsh contribution here and elsewhere is taken from the wardrobe book, TNA E 101/378/4, ff. 33r-38d.

<sup>109</sup> TNA E 101/378/4 f. 33r.

almost certainly drawn from Despenser's lordship of Glamorgan just across the Severn Sea.<sup>110</sup>

As was usual, the men from Wales serving in Scotland in 1319 were accounted for as a group, and appear to have served together – their pay passed through the hands of only one or two individuals – though they did not march to Scotland as one. Those from the royal lands of north Wales appear to have mustered at Conwy on 19 July arriving at Gosforth sixteen days later while the men of the Marcher estates of Oswestry and Clun, held by the earl of Arundel and of John Charlton's estates in Powys departed only on 29 July taking only eleven days over the journey. These facts appear to be related; Morris noted conflict between the men of North Wales and the men of Chester in this year, which seemingly prevented the contingent from the Shropshire march, the lordships of Clun, Oswestry and Powys, from following the same route through fear of the town's burgesses.<sup>111</sup>

The political struggles of Edward II's reign had already resulted in conflict in Glamorgan, and the concentration of Despenser's power in this, the largest of the Marcher liberties made further conflict there all but inevitable. The war waged against the younger Despenser by his Marcher neighbours in May 1321 had as much to do with his greed as the way in which he had acquired his Welsh lands, Glamorgan and Cantref Mawr through the king's favour at the expense of perhaps more deserving individuals. The dispute over the ownership of Gower was an important factor, but it was not the only one noted in chronicles of the period, nor was it necessarily the most important.<sup>112</sup> The military resources and experience of the communities of the lordships of the Welsh march, and the conflicts of their lords far more than any perceived propensity toward rebellion fomented this short, vicious and bloody war. On Monday, 4 May 1321, an army led by Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, and lord of Brecon, Hugh d'Audley and both Mortimer of Chirk and Mortimer of Wigmore with many others were tacitly supported by Thomas of Lancaster when they rode towards Newport carrying the royal standard. Within the month, they had

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<sup>110</sup> TNA E 101/15/35. The total strength of the garrison in this period was three esquires, twenty-two archers and thirty-eight foot soldiers. As many as a further fifteen Welshmen were employed at any one time.

<sup>111</sup> TNA E 101/378/4 f. 33r. Morris, 'Mounted Infantry in Medieval Warfare', p. 84. His source was TNA E 101/15/20.

subdued Glamorgan, captured all Despenser's castles there and in the lordship of Cantref Mawr causing £38,000 worth of damage in the process. Whether the army was as large as the figures given in the Close Rolls; 800 men-at-arms, 500 Hobelars and 10,000 foot is a question which cannot be answered, though even if, as is probable, they were joined by Welshmen from Glamorgan itself this figure should be taken as an upper limit rather than a reliable indication.<sup>113</sup> From the pardons granted later, it is apparent that the chief supporters of the rebel barons in their war against Despenser and his possessions in Glamorgan were the very same men employed to recruit, array and lead royal armies in earlier years and in later conflicts. The political triumph of the barons and the subsequent, albeit brief, banishment of the Despensers' was in large part a consequence of the military resources of the Welsh March and its reversal later that same year was in large part defined by the king making effective use of his own Welsh military resources.

The royal response was not long delayed. On 15 November 1321, Sir Gruffudd Llwyd and Rhys ap Gruffudd were ordered to raise forces from the Principality (both North and South Wales) for the king, and to lead attacks on the possessions of Edward's key Marcher opponents. Principally, these attacks were concentrated upon the possessions of the Mortimers and their allies; the castles of Clun, La Pole and most significantly Chirk.<sup>114</sup> These efforts were complimented by an army led by Edward crossing the Severn on 14 January 1322 and advancing north to Shrewsbury and Hereford compelling the Mortimers' surrender by 22 January. On 14 February, the king ordered Sir Gruffudd Llwyd and Giles Beauchamp to array of 2,200 men from the counties of Anglesey, Caernarfon and Merionydd ostensibly for service against the Scots. At the same time, Rhys ap Gruffudd and Walter Beauchamp were ordered to array 1,850 from the counties of South Wales. A further 7,750, including no fewer than 3,000 from Glamorgan (2,000 Welsh and 1,000 English) were requested from the lordships of the March. In the circumstances, these were astonishing and unlikely figures, particularly in lordships such as Powys held by John Charlton, and in Brecon and the other Bohun lordships whose lords were actively supporting Lancaster. Both men were directly associated with Thomas of Lancaster

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<sup>112</sup> J. Conway Davies, 'The Despenser War in Glamorgan', pp. 42-50.

<sup>113</sup> *C.C.R. 1318-23*, p. 541.

<sup>114</sup> Beverley Smith, 'Edward II and the Allegiance of Wales', p. 159. Clun, though an Arundel lordship

and it is perhaps for this reason that the commissioners appear to have been split almost equally between the Welsh and English communities.<sup>115</sup>

It was the men of North Wales who subsequently attacked and took into the king's hands the commotes of Rhos and Rhufoniog, part of Thomas of Lancaster's lordship of Denbigh. By 26 February, the lordships of Denbigh and Bromfield and Yale were subdued sufficiently to be committed to the safe keeping of Gruffudd Llwyd and Beauchamp, the Welsh forces then continuing their journey, to meet with the king at Burton-on-Trent. The compiler of the *Brut y Tywysogion* was thus quite correct, and politically illuminating, to describe this army which defeated the Marchers as 'the hosts of Gwynedd'. The use of the names of pre-conquest *Gwladodd* (lands or territories), was fairly frequent in contemporary literature, reflecting a different range of social distinctions than those immediately apparent in the records of royal and seignorial authority. Here, a generation after the conquest, Gwynedd was all but synonymous with the shires of North Wales, but carries a political resonance to the events the chronicler described. This was a conflict between English lords and an English king, but it was also between Welshmen.<sup>116</sup> The concurrent events in South Wales have been comparatively neglected, but the scale of military operations, and the place of the men of the counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan was as significant. Rhys ap Gruffudd, described as 'valettus Regis' received £171 6s. 8d. from the revenues of the chamberlain of West Wales for forty men-at-arms and 3,000 infantry with the beattles and standard bearers to seize into the king's hands the lands of Cantref Mawr, Cantref Bychan, Gower, Narberth (Pembs.) and the royal lordship of Builth with their castles and also the lands of 'Kenylak' and 'Teudour' (probably Cwmwd Deuddwr) early in 1322.<sup>117</sup> This evidently related to the order to seize the estates of John de Mowbray, lord of Gower, together with those royal lands held by the Mortimers and others deemed the king's enemies.

Two days after the defeat of Lancaster at Boroughbridge, on 18 March 1322, Edward's plans for yet another campaign against the Scots were renewed, merchants

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had been taken into the hands of Mortimer of Wigmore in the previous year, *ibid.*, n. 107.

<sup>115</sup> *C.P.R. 1321-4*, p. 73.

<sup>116</sup> Beverley Smith, 'Edward II and the Allegiance of Wales', pp. 159-61; T. Jones (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth MS. 20 Version* (Cardiff, 1952), p. 124.

<sup>117</sup> Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, no. 467, p. 56.

being ordered to come to York to supply an army.<sup>118</sup> The commission of array was not issued until 10 June, however, and unusually stresses the effectiveness of the earlier service of the Welsh leaders in defeating the rebels earlier in the year. Fryde contrasts the friendly terms of this commission with that directed to the men of Cornwall who were threatened with dire penalties for any non cooperation. The importance to Edward II of his Welsh supporters in this period cannot be understated; it is unlikely that he could have regained authority over the march of Wales without their assistance, or so readily raised such a significant army so shortly afterwards. Certainly the troops raised from Wales did not require the threats and bullying meted out on the men of Cornwall who, being situated so far from Scotland, had not frequently served in the wars there. The provisions granted by the York parliament of May 1322 for each vill to supply one foot soldier to serve between forty and sixty days also do not appear to have applied in Wales where the summons – and the result of the summons – appear to have yielded the usual efficient response.<sup>119</sup>

In the aftermath of the Welsh role in the defeat of the Lancastrian opposition, it is no surprise that around half the foot soldiers employed on this campaign were drawn from the lordships and counties of Wales. Some 6,490 men from the royal lands and the March – including fair contingents from newly confiscated lordships and with, no doubt a number of Welshmen from among the 633 drawn from the earldom of Chester can be found in the wardrobe account. These men, together with 3,500 men of the northern counties led by Andrew Harclay and 200 Gascon crossbowmen probably formed the best of Edward's troops but formed only half of the army which numbered 21,700 in addition to 300 or so earls, barons, bannerets and knights.<sup>120</sup>

The utility of the Welsh is reflected in the proportion of money spent on foot-soldiers that went to them. Welshmen received £3,675 10s. 7d. of the £7,418 15s. 11d. expended on infantry on this campaign, though part at least was provided from the revenues of the chamberlain of North Wales.<sup>121</sup> While Edward I found that the vast numbers of troops available from his new conquest enabled him to change the way he

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<sup>118</sup> The facts of this campaign are drawn from N. Fryde, 'Welsh Troops in the Scottish Campaign of 1322' in *BBCS*, XXVI (1974), pp. 82-89 based on BL Stowe MS. 5353.

<sup>119</sup> Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II*, pp. 124-5.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.

<sup>121</sup> *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, p. 176.

waged war, it is unlikely that his son could have managed to raise a meaningful army at all without this support. That the Scottish campaign of 1322 was a dismal failure of a campaign cannot be ascribed to the Welsh, though there was a limited amount of apparent desertion before the army left Newcastle; 115 men split evenly between the men of North Wales and those from the lordship of Brecon. In contrast, however, the enormous number of men from south Wales was thinned by only fifteen by the end of the campaign. Losses elsewhere in the army were larger, the Cheshire contingent in particular losing 163 from its ranks. In the losses, however, can be seen further evidence of Edward's regard for his Welsh retainers. Edward granted Sir Gruffudd Llwyd a new standard whilst in Scotland and contributed £2 towards the burial expenses of his son Gruffudd at the church of the Friars Preachers at Newcastle upon Tyne around 9 October 1322 following the return of the army into England. Though the campaign was a fiasco, with Edward himself fortunate to avoid capture by the pursuing Scots following his return to England, this disaster cannot be attributed to the efforts of the Welsh. Fryde established the significance of these Welsh connections and the importance of Wales to his, and the Despensers' tyranny:

‘Edward’s own support from the Welsh leaders, combined with Despenser’s authority in South Wales and the March threatened to create a powerful and dangerous military grouping with which no opposition would be able to deal. Under Edward I, the March had been the centre of opposition to royal authoritarianism. Under Edward II, it looked like becoming the bastion of royal support. The military power of Edward and the Despensers was the more terrifying since it was accompanied by formidable financial means.’<sup>122</sup>

The decline in England's relations with France had first been expressed militarily by conflict between the men of the Cinque Ports with first of the men of the Norman ports and then La Rochelle in Poitou. It was subsequently exacerbated by a variety of other, more political, factors before culminating in direct French royal provocation in the attempt to establish a *bastide* at Saint Sardos in the middle of the English territory of Agenais. The English military response was slow; the navy had originally been summoned to assemble at Portsmouth by 27 August 1324 but failed to arrive in

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<sup>122</sup> N. Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II*, p. 6.

Bordeaux until 3 October.<sup>123</sup>

The protracted process of recruitment for the English and Welsh army raised to assist the Gascons can be readily reconstructed. In addition to archers recruited from the counties of southern England, a great number were sent from Wales.<sup>124</sup> This was the first occasion since 1294 that any concerted attempt to raise Welsh troops for service in Gascony had been made, and the details of the process are very well recorded though few of the named leaders could be regarded as prominent individuals most appear to have been veterans of earlier Scottish campaigns. Two examples will have to suffice; the men of Brecon were initially led by Morgan ap Maredudd, prior to his replacement by Dafydd ab Owain. It is unlikely, however, that he can be identified with the knight of the same name from Tredegar in the lordship of Gwynllŵg (Newport), but more probable that he was the man who had led the contingent from the lordship of Brecon to Berwick in 1319.<sup>125</sup> Another whose identity can be more securely pinned down is the leader of thirty men of Dyffryn Clwyd, Dafydd ap Bleddyn, who held four burgage plots in Ruthin in the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd valued at 11s. 8d. in 1324.<sup>126</sup> By the time this army had arrived, however, the war they had been assembled to fight had been settled diplomatically and the wardrobe book shows that for most, their stay in Aquitaine was short. The army was sent home in a piecemeal fashion between September and December.

The support of the royal lordships – the counties of the ‘principality’ was secured by the patronage extended to their leaders, particularly the knightly cousins Sir Gruffudd Llwyd and Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd, and it was to these men that Edward turned in 1326 in response to the final crisis of his turbulent reign. In response to the threat of invasion by Mortimer and Isabella, Edward, in panic, issued writs to summon no fewer than 43,640 foot soldiers and archers from the English counties. There was absolutely no possibility of securing even a fraction of that number, Edward’s first appeal to his

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid., pp. 144-5. A more detailed consideration of recruitment for this campaign can be found in ch. 3 of this thesis under the heading of ‘Recruitment’.

<sup>124</sup> All numerical information for this campaign is drawn from Nicholas Huggate’s Wardrobe book. BL Add. MS 7967. The English counties were Kent, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Warwickshire, Gloucester, Wiltshire, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, Somerset and Dorset.

<sup>125</sup> BL Add. MS 7967 f. 92. For Dafydd ab Owain’s involvement in 1319 TNA E 101/378/4 f. 33r.

<sup>126</sup> R. Ian Jack, ‘Records of Denbighshire Lordships: II – The Lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd in 1324’, *Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions*, 17 (1968), p. 15.

Welsh supporters was issued on 28 September, two days after Queen Isabella Mortimer had landed on the coast of Suffolk.<sup>127</sup> Summonses were first issued to North Wales; to Sir Gruffudd Llwyd and to South and West Wales under Rhys ap Griffith, for as many troops of whatever type as possible to be raised.<sup>128</sup> Either Sir Gruffudd Llwyd had already made his judgement or was actively prevented from coming to the king's assistance for he failed to appear. Fryde points to a reward granted to the chamberlain of North Wales for his help 'at the time of the pursuit of Despenser' to support the latter suggestion.<sup>129</sup> Rhys ap Gruffudd at least was assiduous in this task, for he subsequently received the enormous sum of £259 2s. 8d. aid from the revenues of the chamberlain of West Wales for eight days wages for men-at-arms and infantry which he led towards Brecon (this order was dated at Gloucester on 11 October).<sup>130</sup>

On 10 October, a commission was made to Richard Wroth (Custos of Archenfield) and John de Sutton to raise 'all able-bodied men', and to commit those unwilling to the castle of St. Briavels. On the same day, similar commissions were issued to Brecon, Talgarth, Hay, Elfael (William ap Rhys named as 'custos'), Radnor, Luggerness and Pembroke where John Daniel was named as *custos*, Maelienydd (Cadwgan ap Hywel and Davy Fychan).<sup>131</sup> An exchequer official, John Langton, accompanied Edward throughout his flight bearing at least £29,000 so money, at least, was not an issue.<sup>132</sup> Some force was raised by these means as ten days later, Hugh Despenser the younger, Edmund Hakelut and Bogo de Knovill were appointed its leaders and instructed to take the lands of Henry de Lancaster into royal hands.<sup>133</sup> Rhys ap Gruffudd was still active in the defence of west Wales, receiving the Castle of Llanbadarn Fawr, 21 October 1326.<sup>134</sup>

Unsure of support elsewhere, Edward made efforts to fully mobilise the southern march. On 27 October, more writs of array were issued – mostly to Welshmen – in

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<sup>127</sup> *C.P.R. 1324-27*, p. 325.

<sup>128</sup> *C.P.R. 1324-27*, p. 331.

<sup>129</sup> Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II*, pp. 189-90.

<sup>130</sup> Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, no. 593, p. 70.

<sup>131</sup> Meleneth (*Maelienydd*), though a Mortimer lordship, was in royal hands due to Mortimer's exile.

<sup>132</sup> Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II*, p. 189.

<sup>133</sup> *C.P.R. 1324-27*, p. 332.

<sup>134</sup> *Cal. Fine R. 1319-27*, p. 414.

Kilvey (part of Gower), and in Glamorgan: Nedesland (Neath), Senghenydd, Meisgyn, Glenrotheney (Glyn Rhondda), Rhuthin, Glenogwr (the Welshry of Ogmere) Tiriarl and Aveneslonde (Afan). In addition, writs were issued to the east, to Usk, Tregrug, Edelgeon and Abergavenny. The following day Adam le Walsh was commissioned to raise 400 footmen to defend Cardiff. On 29 October, Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd was commissioned to raise forces from Pembroke with powers to arrest the disobedient and the lordships of Gower, Haverford and Morgannwg (the Welshry of the lordship of Glamorgan) were also ordered to provide men. In addition, further writs were issued to Maghay and Wenthlock, another to Senghenydd with Kybor, Meisgyn, Glyn Rhondda, Rhuthin, Glenogwr and finally to the Mortimer lands of Wigmore, Tawe and Cottisland. Once again, the effects cannot be determined but the speed at which resistance collapsed indicates that those men who were pressed into service served unwillingly or, when the occasion arose, not at all. The frantic granting of pardons to those who had already turned out against Edward and the Despensers to Welsh as well as English or Marcher continued through the first weeks of November.<sup>135</sup> Interestingly, the efforts of Rhys ap Gruffudd were not only concerned with military affairs; on 10 November, while Edward was at the Cistercian house of Neath, Rhys ap Gruffudd and others were ordered to go and meet with Isabella on his behalf. Six days later Henry of Lancaster and Master Rhys ap Hywel found Edward in the upland part of Glamorgan in the vicinity of Despenser's castle of Llantrisant and the war, such as it was reached its end.<sup>136</sup>

The one significant military action in the course of the deposition of Edward II in Wales and one which outlasted Edward's capture was the remarkable defence of the castle of Caerffili. We are exceptionally fortunate in that the names of the garrison – almost exclusively Marcher men – and a complete list of the names of the besieging army have survived. The castle was garrisoned by thirty-eight men, under its captain, Sir William de Felton and Sir Thomas Lovel, who were effectively acting as guardians to the son and heir of the younger Despenser. Alan la Zouche of Ashby, Leicestershire, was indentured to provide thirty men-at-arms to secure it, and was granted 200 marks to pay them and the large infantry force required to secure it.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> *C.P.R.* 1324-27, p. 334-6.

<sup>136</sup> Beverley Smith, 'Edward II and the Allegiance of Wales', p. 165.

<sup>137</sup> The strength of the garrison is determined from the pardon issued to them 20 February 1327, *C.P.R.*

Alan la Zouche was assisted by Robert Northburgh, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1322-1358) and John Langton together with its designated constable Roger Chandos, the siege apparently lasting until the feast of St. Gregory (12 March). Since pardons to the defenders were granted in late February, this dating, associated with later accounting, seems suspect. The bishop only received full recompense for his efforts in 1331 when 'expenses incurred in seizing the castle of Caerffili into the king's hands' were allowed against his account.<sup>138</sup>

The surviving pay-roll demonstrates that the majority of the besieging army were infantry; four Centenars, twenty vintenars leading 400 foot soldiers. As far as can be established, the infantry component was entirely Welsh and probably drawn from the locality; one of the few toponyms among them being 'Ieuan de Segenhith' (Senghenydd), the Commote in which Caerffili castle lay.<sup>139</sup> This distinction illustrates the truth of the blunt observation of the writer of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi*: 'The Welshman hated the rule of Hugh'. For all that, their hatred appears to have done relatively little to diminish his authority over Glamorgan and Morgannwg and Cantref Mawr. Welshmen from these origins provided easily as many men for Edward II's wars as did Edward's own lands.<sup>140</sup>

As it was fitting that the reign of Edward I ended on another fruitless campaign to Scotland at the head of an army composed predominately of Welshmen, so it is that his son's reign effectively came to an end in the lordship granted by him to his favourite, the younger Despenser. It is equally apposite that almost his last supporters were among the very Welsh elite who had been associated with him since his time as Prince of Wales, and who had, with the military resources at their command almost certainly prolonged his reign by their assistance in 1321-2. The accession of Edward III, was, from a Welsh perspective a difficult proposition. The influence of Mortimer, over the young king who had never been Prince of Wales, and who harboured personal animosity towards many of the leaders of the Welsh elite must have driven a

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1327-30, p. 13. A general pardon was issued to all the men present with the exception of Hugh Despenser the younger 15 February 1327. Ibid., p. 18. The indenture is mentioned several times in the Patent Rolls; *C.P.R. 1327-30*, pp. 12, 18. Alan la Zouche's account gives the strength and names of his force; TNA E 101/18/1.

<sup>138</sup> Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, nos. 685 and 777, pp. 81, 90.

<sup>139</sup> TNA E 101/18/1 m. 2d.

<sup>140</sup> *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 110.

wedge between these men of the court and the power of the crown for the first time since the conquest of Gwynedd over thirty years before.

### *The reign of Edward III*

#### **I – 1327-45**

The advent of the new king, especially in the royal shires of Wales was unlikely to be a welcome development. The role of Mortimer at the head of the government was a direct threat to the interests of the Welsh elite in both North and West Wales. It is unclear exactly what the effects of Edward II's final orders were, but it is likely that the best support was received from the royal territories whose leaders had most to lose. Sir Gruffudd Llwyd had a long standing enmity with Mortimer. He had been imprisoned on his orders when Mortimer was Justiciar of North Wales and the likely explanation is that Mortimer, perhaps rightly, perceived Gruffudd as a threat to his authority.<sup>141</sup> Despite this, he seems to have come to terms quickly for in early 1327 he can be found conducting a commission into the state of Dyffryn Clwyd. His cousin Rhys ap Gruffudd was no less threatened by Mortimer's invasion as the king's bastion in West Wales.<sup>142</sup> Both he and his cousin, Gruffudd Llwyd refused the summons to the parliament held in January 1327 at which Edward II was deposed, and both men were involved in a failed attempt to spring Edward from Berkley Castle. While Rhys escaped to Scotland, Gruffudd was imprisoned with thirteen others, each had served with Gruffudd Llwyd in earlier campaigns, and more significantly four of whom were included in the summons to parliament.<sup>143</sup> How far he actually got is not clear for he was pardoned 28 February having presumably made his peace. The pardon was reissued and Rhys's lands restored in a fairly transparent – and unsuccessful – attempt

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<sup>141</sup> J. Beverley Smith, 'Gruffudd Llwyd and the Celtic Alliance, 1315-18', *BBCS* 26 (1974-6), pp. 463-78, J. G. Edwards, 'Sir Gruffydd Llwyd', *EHR*, xxx (1915), Appendices I-III, pp. 600-1, M. T. Davies, 'The Rhetoric of Gwilym Ddu's *Awdlau* to Sir Gruffudd Llwyd', *Studia Celtica*, XL (2006), pp. 155-72.

<sup>142</sup> This seems to have happened after 16 February 1327 when he received the manor of 'Penathlen' (Penllyn, Glam. It was held by John de Norreys in 1349, *C.I.P.M.* IX, no. 428, p. 337) from Edward II, *Cal. Fine R. 1319-27*, p. 422; pardon, *C.P.R. 1327-30*, p. 238.

<sup>143</sup> Those included in the pardon were: Morgan Llwyd ap Rhys Gethin; Hywel ap Gruffudd ap Hywel; Herbert de Ferrers; Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd ap Goronwy; Dafydd Fychan ap Dafydd ab Ieuan; Gwilym Hir. *C.P.R. 1327-30*, pp. 272-3. Herbert de Ferrers and Gwilym Hir had served with Rhys in Scotland in 1322. For a fuller account of his Scottish connections, Beverley Smith, 'Edward II and the Allegiance of Wales', pp. 167-70. For the conspiracy and summons of Sir Gruffudd Llwyd, Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 166-7, the four also imprisoned were Iorwerth ap Gruffudd, Gruffudd ap Hywel, Hywel ap

to buy his loyalty in April 1328. He was implicated in the earl of Kent's plot in 1330 and of fleeing abroad with other Welshmen, his estates being confiscated and his arrest ordered in August 1330. A month later, following the fall of Mortimer his lands were restored by Parliament and by the end of the year, he was a knight of the royal household, his rehabilitation, and to an extent, that of the communities he and his knightly cousin Gruffudd Llwyd represented.

The Weardale campaign of 1327 shows something of the distrust of the Mortimer regime of the established Welsh leadership. No official payrolls exist for this campaign, though Jean de Bel (who served on it), stated that the army consisted of some 30,000 troops of various kinds. If this is the case, which seems improbable, then this army would have been one of the most substantial of the period, and certainly the largest ever despatched to Scotland. Prince points to the service of troops from a total of forty-three English cities and boroughs.<sup>144</sup> The summons issued to Wales are equally, frustratingly imprecise, though the distrust of native Welsh leaders is apparent. Rhys ap Gruffudd, only recently pardoned for consorting with the Scots and Sir Gruffudd Llwyd were commissioned to raise forty men-at-arms each from South Wales and North Wales respectively. This was the first campaign where 'Men-at-arms' are specifically requested from Welsh lordships for a Scottish campaign independent of the leadership of their levies.<sup>145</sup> They were not trusted by the Mortimer regime to carry out their accustomed role as leaders of the Welsh levies. For the men of South Wales, their place was taken by John de Hardreshall, then constable of St. Briavels Castle and custodian of the Forest of Dean.<sup>146</sup> Also among the leaders of the South Wales levies was one Roger Swynerton who was owed an unspecified sum for soldiers for the Scottish war of this year.<sup>147</sup>

This is not to say that the Mortimer regime possessed a blanket distrust of all Welshmen, for Mortimer himself still held a substantial powerbase in the March. In the period of Mortimer's regency – as for much of the preceding decade – the military resources of the royal lands of Wales and the March were employed in political

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Gruffudd and Dafydd ab Adda; each had served with Gruffudd Llwyd on several other occasions.

<sup>144</sup> A. E. Prince, 'The Importance of the Campaign of 1327', *EHR* (1935), p. 300, n. 4.

<sup>145</sup> *Rot. Scotiae*, I, p. 206.

<sup>146</sup> For his career, see, M. Jones, 'Edward III's Captains in Brittany' in, W. M. Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 99-118.

disturbances as well as in acts of war. So when a coup was attempted in 1329, Mortimer looked no further than his own estates in the March and the lands of the crown in North Wales and the earldom of Cheshire to nip the attempt in the bud. In this, his ally, the Norfolk knight Sir Oliver Ingham, then Justiciar of Chester, was a key figure responsible for gathering the men of North Wales and Chester while men from his lordship of Cydwain can be found in attendance upon him in the period immediately before his deposition in 1329-30.<sup>148</sup>

Following the establishment of Edward III as an independent ruler, normal military activity against the Scots resumed, little different in its detail or effect to the campaigns that had gone before. The first of these, the Roxburgh campaign of 1334-5, ordered in support of Edward Balliol who was threatened by a Scottish rising against him. By the time Edward began his march to Roxburgh from Newcastle, on 14 November, only 241 Welshmen, from Radnor and Merionydd with the levy from Yorkshire and 143 from the Forest of Dean of a total army of around 4,000 men.<sup>149</sup> The wardrobe accounts reveal that the Welsh elements of this army were recruited and arrived in a curiously disjointed manner. The men of North Wales (114 of whom left Radnor on 21 October, and 127 from Merionydd who departed eight days later), were led by Roger Corbet, assisted by John de Leyburn and Gruffudd ap Madoc of Glyndyfrdwy. Rogers describes the men of Merionydd as arrayed by the absentee Sheriff of Merionydd, Walter Mauny. He however, had his own retinue (twenty-seven in total; fifteen men-at-arms and twelve foot) as part of the royal household and it is unlikely in the extreme that it contained any Welshmen.<sup>150</sup> It is probable that these were the men who marched north with the king at the start of this expedition. Other forces from North Wales, from Caernarfon and Anglesey, totalling some 319 men, were not arrayed at Conwy until 27 November.<sup>151</sup> A memoranda issued showed that Robert Hambury, chamberlain of North Wales led thirty men-at-arms and 100 foot

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<sup>147</sup> Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, no. 602, p. 71.

<sup>148</sup> TNA SC 6/1206/1 (Receivers accounts for Cydwain, Montgomery and Dolforwyn, 3-4 Edw III); *C.P.R. 1327-1330*, p. 347. Ingham had been appointed to this post 28 February 1328, *C.P.R. 1327-1330*, p. 242.

<sup>149</sup> Candy, 'The Scottish wars of Edward III', pp. 162-4.

<sup>150</sup> C. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp, English Strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 82-3, n.

<sup>151</sup> R. G. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots: the Formative Years of a Military career, 1327-35* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 180-2. Candy, Nicholson and Rogers all, directly or otherwise, refer to BL MS Nero C. VIII ff. 254-254v.

soldiers from North Wales to Pontefract and thence northwards.<sup>152</sup>

From the south of Wales came Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd, described as the ‘Chief leader of the elected men of South Wales’ (*Capitali ductori hominum electorum in Suth Wall*) who left Builth on 4 November. He was accompanied by his unnamed ‘subductoris’, though both were paid at a rate of 2s. per day. Serving under them and drawn from South and West Wales were eight men-at-arms and four Centenars, each receiving 12d. per day. Of the 444 troops themselves, twenty-three were listed as Hobelars (6d.) and the remainder as foot (2d.). Included in their train were ten standard bearers, twenty vintenars, a ‘beadle’, and a doctor (all 4d. per day). Despite this late start, they served until the end of the campaign in February. The writs of summons suggest that the arrangements were a little more complicated, and indicate some interesting developments in the military organisation of the Welsh. The proportionate difference between the Welsh contribution, to the body of foot-soldiers, a quarter, and their overall contribution to the army, approximately a sixth, highlights two factors. First, the relative poverty of Wales, and coupled with it royal expectations of Welsh troops and second, though related to this, the decline of the Welsh elite, who served only in very small numbers, and at a relatively low level. Equally important, of course must be that their places had been taken by English Marchers and their military tenants.

The subsequent campaign in the summer of 1335 followed a similar pattern, with understandably, similar personnel. It is chiefly notable for marking the end of the career of Sir Gruffudd Llwyd, with eleven others pardoned from serving on that campaign.<sup>153</sup> They form a particularly interesting group and while Sir Gruffudd, the most significant man of North Wales for forty years can be easily explained by merit of his great age, (indeed he was dead by the close of July) the others cannot be dismissed so readily.<sup>154</sup> 1335, was, however, a taste of things to come. English

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<sup>152</sup> Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, no. 837, p. 96.

<sup>153</sup> *Rot. Scotiae*, I, pp. 311-2, 333-4. The twelve concerned were Gruffudd ap Rhys (Sir Gruffudd Llwyd), Gruffudd ap Madoc (his identity is uncertain; he is possibly to be identified with the man of that name among those attainted for the murder of William de Shaldeford in 1345, but may be Gruffudd ap Madoc of Glyndyfriedwy, the grandfather of Owain Glyn Dŵr, who came of age in 1324. It is not impossible that these are one and the same individual), Gwilym ap Gruffudd, Iorwerth ap Gruffudd, Hywel ap Gruffudd, Dafydd ab Adda, Tudor ap Goronwy, Gruffudd ab Ednyfed, Hywel ap Tudor, Ieuan ap Hywel, Tudor ap Hywel and Iorwerth ap Tudor.

<sup>154</sup> *C.I.P.M.* VII, p. 453.

military activities in Scotland and elsewhere became dependent upon speed and mobility rather than force of numbers, though a total of 2,668 Welsh foot soldiers served in the summer of 1335.<sup>155</sup> Scottish refusal to engage with any army of more than a few hundred, not to mention the financial burden of these enormous numbers made such forces a burden rather than a benefit. The majority of the Welsh, however, were retained for almost two months longer than the English shire levies demonstrating their effectiveness though all were discharged by 6 September 1335. Most had returned south as early as 20 August, while the levies from English towns were retained longer, the last of these, ten mounted archers from Gloucester being paid off by 28 September. The last of the Welsh contingent, the men of the shires of North and South Wales remained until October.<sup>156</sup>

Another notable feature of the Welsh component of this army is the larger number of Welshmen classed as 'Men-at-arms'. Seventy-six men, including the leaders and constables are so described, and were paid accordingly, though fifty of these were drawn from the estates of the earl of Arundel. While superficially this suggests increased prosperity for the native elite, this is refuted by the numbers emanating from a single lordship. As was so frequently the case, this was a statement of Marcher power; the number of Welshmen from the royal lands serving on horses was of a similar proportion to those found in earlier armies. What is interesting is that Welshmen, armed as men-at-arms were now demanded in the writs of array in a way that was unfamiliar a decade or so earlier.<sup>157</sup>

The military interests of Marcher lords not unnaturally took them to all parts of the English realm, but evidence of men from their Welsh estates going with them is far from common.<sup>158</sup> John Charlton, lord of Powys was appointed Justiciar of Ireland for one year on 28 July 1337, and as was customary was instructed to maintain a force of

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<sup>155</sup> Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, Appendix VII, pp. 253-4, citing BL MS Nero C. VIII f. 258v gives 76 men-at-arms, 30 standard bearers, 144 Vintenars, 87 mounted men, 2,668 foot soldiers, 3 chaplains, 3 doctors and 2 proclamators, in all 3,013 men. Those from North Wales were led by John de Vyene, named in a memorandum against the account of the chamberlain of North Wales, Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, no. 837, p. 96.

<sup>156</sup> Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, Appendices ii, iii, iv, v, vi and vii – all are drawn from BL MS Nero C. VIII.

<sup>157</sup> See above, particularly with reference to the 1322 campaign.

<sup>158</sup> An analogous example is that of the earl of Arundel, appointed keeper of the Scottish March in 1342, Davies, *Lordship and Society*, citing NLW Chirk Castle Collection, D. 9, p. 82 n.

twenty men-at-arms with barded horses. In addition, he was granted powers to retain as many troops as might be required to restore order in Ireland on the advice of the council, and protection was granted to Charlton himself and twelve others, who presumably formed his personal retinue on 10 September.<sup>159</sup> Though all of these men had origins in the Marcher lordships and neighbouring counties of England, none were Welsh. There is clear evidence that Charlton, in common with most English Justiciars in Ireland recruited men from his own resources to serve with him. In this instance, 200 Welshmen organised in the usual fashion under vintennars and constables who were not initially paid by the Irish exchequer, though the men under their command were and order to pay them was issued on 2 March 1338.<sup>160</sup>

Though the first stages of the French wars were conducted in Flanders, an unfamiliar, if not a new theatre of war, the methods employed by English armies and military organisation took time to change. The use of Welsh soldiers in this army was intended to be little different, though this campaign showed that there were limitations to the model that had been effective in raising armies for service in Scotland. On 25 February 1338, John de Langton, William Brown, John de Avene (lord of Afan, Glamorgan), Hywel ap Hywel, (Brecon) – all described, probably erroneously as knights – with Gruffudd Dwn (of Cydweli) and John de Norreys (Glam.) were commissioned to array 600 men from the royal lands of South Wales and a further 1,290 from the March. Similarly, Fulk Fitzwarin, John de Charlton (the younger), Robert Harley and Gruffudd Cragh (of Hopedale, Flints.) were appointed as commissioners of array for an accompanying levy of 200 men from North Wales and a further 500 from the lordships of the northern March. All were to assemble at Ipswich on or before Easter Sunday 1338. It seems that Edward was uncertain as to the precise military aims for this force. The choice of Ipswich as the port of embarkation suggests Flanders was the intended target, while an array from the English counties dated 1 March identifies the reinforcement of Gascony as its aim. This, at least did not materialise.<sup>161</sup> In the event, only around 800 Welshmen sailed with Edward III: fifty-one from Flintshire, 424 from North Wales, 374 from South Wales and possibly a further eighty-nine from South Wales. Rogers notes that the

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<sup>159</sup> *C.P.R. 1334-38*, pp. 476-8.

<sup>160</sup> *C.C.R. 1337-39*, p. 314.

<sup>161</sup> J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War I: Trial by Battle* (London, 1990), pp. 235-7.

army that landed in Flanders in July was a major strain on English resources, a strain which was to become more acute as this campaign continued.<sup>162</sup> The efficiency of Welsh arrayers was greater than that of the organisation of the army as a whole. In February 1338, 102 men (including two men-at-arms and a further twenty mounted Hobelars) were paid only for their march to and from Southampton; it is possible that these men were intended as part of the abortive relief force for Gascony.<sup>163</sup>

Most of the men who sailed with Edward in May 1338 returned from Flanders by the end of February 1339. More were raised, but substantial numbers travelled no further than East Anglia. 640 Welshmen from South Wales led by Ieuan ap Morgan were granted protection for their return to Wales from Colchester on 10 July 1338. Forty-six more, from north Wales under John Godenogh were similarly granted protection this time from Ipswich seven days later. Added together, the lowest estimate of Welsh raised totals 1,634, only 250 short of the target.<sup>164</sup> Further writs of array for North Wales, South Wales and the marches were issued 7 November 1338. The arrayers from North Wales appear to have all been Welsh: Hywel Ddu ap Tudor ap Goronwy; Hywel Ddu ab Iorwerth ap Gruffudd; Goronwy Llwyd ap Penwyn; David ap Gruffudd ap David; David Fychan ap David Gogh; Gruffudd ap Vyren; Gruffudd ab Iorwerth and Robert ap Gruffudd. Of these, the last can be securely identified as a member of a prominent *Uchelwyr* family of Flint whose sons and grandsons dominated the administration of that county throughout the second third of the fourteenth century.<sup>165</sup> They were instructed to raise 200 men from Anglesey, Merionydd and all other parts of North Wales and 260 foot soldiers, of which, half were to be archers and half armed with spears from the Marcher lordships north of Powys.<sup>166</sup>

Another whose service appears not to have taken him beyond Great Yarmouth was Gruffudd ap Madoc of Hendwr. He is noted as serving with five 'nobles of North Wales', for only 12 days in November 1338 at a rate of 2s. per day, in association

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<sup>162</sup> M. Lyon, B. Lyon et al (eds), *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340*, (Brussels, 1983), pp. 360-1.

<sup>163</sup> *C.C.R. 1337-39*, p. 296.

<sup>164</sup> *C.P.R. 1338-1340*, pp. 113, 118.

<sup>165</sup> A. D. Carr, 'Rees ap Roppert', *Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society* 25 (1976), pp. 163-4.

<sup>166</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, nos. 892-896, pp. 317-20.

with the infantry described above. These ‘nobilies’ are not named in the pay account, but are readily identifiable from the treaty rolls. These preserve their commission, issued at Kennington, 7 November 1338 to appear at Great Yarmouth by the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, 21 December. They were Gwilym ap Gruffudd of Anglesey, Gruffudd ap Hywel ap Gruffudd of Anglesey, Ieuan ap Gruffudd of the county of Caernarvon, Pottano Bleyz of ‘Melionnez’ (it is likely that Merionydd is meant), and Gruffudd Cragh who had also served as commissioner of array in North Wales in 1338.<sup>167</sup>

Later, such returns were explicitly a matter of available funds as two instances from the summer of 1339 demonstrate. An undated letter from Sir John de Molyns cites the selection of 80 Welshmen selected at Tilbury from a levy of 200 drawn from North Wales, led by John Turberville. In this instance then, the arrayers were not responsible for leading the men selected in the field. The letter appears to be a request for a warrant to allow for the expenses incurred by the remainder of this levy to the chamberlain of North Wales, John de Ellerker.<sup>168</sup> Those selected were to be paid one month’s wages in advance while those returning were to receive a ‘gift’ totalling £8 for their expenses. Turberville’s share of these wages equated to 6*d.* per day (14*s.* for the month), which squares with the rate paid to the vintenars and standard bearers of West Wales.<sup>169</sup> Presumably in association with the same occasion, Ellerker was granted allowances against his accounts for the transport of troops from North Wales to an unspecified destination 28 August 1339.<sup>170</sup>

The pattern of raising reinforcements beyond the numbers required continued into May 1339 when 113 men from North Wales were paid for their return from Gravesend again without serving overseas.<sup>171</sup> John Ellerker, chamberlain of North Wales was granted further allowances against his accounts for the transport of troops

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<sup>167</sup> Both Gruffudd ap Hywel and Gwilym ap Gruffudd were among those indicted for conspiracy in relation to the death of William de Shaldeford in 1345. *Treaty Rolls*, nos. 869-899, pp. 320-1. For Gruffudd Cragh as commissioner of array, see above.

<sup>168</sup> *C.C.R. 1339-41*, p. 186. For the undated letter, see *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, pp. 192-3. Edwards assigns it to 1338-43 coinciding with the terms during which John de Elleker held the office of Chamberlain of North Wales. The entry in the Close Rolls clearly refers to the same occasion. Thus this letter should be dated to late August or early September 1339.

<sup>169</sup> Lyon, Lyon et al, *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, p. 361.

<sup>170</sup> Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, no. 993, p. 111.

<sup>171</sup> *C.C.R. 1339-41*, p. 186.

from North Wales to Gravesend on 28 November 1341. This must refer to the actions of the 1340, accounted for Michaelmas 1341.<sup>172</sup>

The organisation of the Welsh troops is typically complex relative to the mass of the English forces. As had become their practice, the Welsh brought with them their own chaplains, doctors, ‘proclamators’ and standard bearers, all of whom were paid at a higher rate to the common infantry. These men appeared in addition to the Constables and Vintenars responsible for organising the infantry in the field, but separate from the leaders, mostly Welshmen, all claiming the status, and drawing the pay of Men-at-Arms. This sophistication of field organisation is noted earlier, notably in the Scottish campaign of 1322. Again, contrary to conventional historical accounts, it seems that Welsh archers were paid the standard rate for archers, 3*d.* per day.<sup>173</sup> In summary, the rates of payment for overseas service for the Welsh were exactly the same as those for the English troops. Constables or *Ductores* received 12*d.* per day, Vintenars, Chaplains, Doctors and ‘Proclamators’ 6*d.* and ordinary archers or spearmen on foot, 3*d.*

The men led by Gruffudd ap Madoc and Cynwrig ab Iorwerth, which seems to have drawn pay for only 16 days between 12 November and 27 November 1338 were paid a lower rate of 2*d.* per day *whilst serving in England*. Cynwrig ab Iorwerth and his 6 constables were paid 12*d.* per day, their standard bearer and thirty-two Vintenars 4*d.* but the 617 Welsh foot they commanded only 2*d.* per day. The implication must be that they never actually left England as they are not mentioned elsewhere in the wardrobe book. This rate of 2*d.* per day for foot archers serving in England did not only apply to the Welsh; the same rate can be seen to apply to twelve archers of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, serving between 25 March and 14 April 1340.<sup>174</sup> As noted in the writs of array, half the soldiers recruited from Wales were spearmen, a role that was a Welsh speciality, which appears to have led the Bridlington chronicler to believe that all the Welsh were in fact so armed. Their intended use as protection for the flanks of the archers at Clairfontaine on 23 October 1339 is suggested in the campaign diary, apparently written by a soldier in the English army, but included in

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<sup>172</sup> Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, no. 1023, p. 113.

<sup>173</sup> These exceptions are addressed in more detail in ch. 3 under the heading of ‘Payment’, pp. 159-62.

<sup>174</sup> *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, p. 362.

the edited works of Froissart: 'le roy... myst ses gents en arraie, les archiers a l'encoste des gentes d'armes, et les Galoys ove lour lances encoste eux'<sup>175</sup> The two companies can have been no more than forty strong; only eighty Welshmen were in pay at the time, plausibly those selected at Tilbury noted above. What this suggests is that Welsh skills with the spear, as opposed to the more familiar characterisation of them as archers were important to their commanders. This indicates that it was a skill not found amongst English county levies; archers could be found anywhere, spearmen apparently could not.

In plans for a campaign which did not occur, some possible developments in Edward III's military strategy can be discerned. The army was intended to incorporate a number of novel ideas including the use of heavily armed footmen, without any mounted archers in a total complement of 13,500, of whom 2,000 were intended to be Welshmen with lances, developing this uniquely Welsh skill utilised extensively in the preceding decade. The proposals suggest that for forty days service, these Welshmen would cost £1,000 giving a rate of 3*d.* per day, the same as that proposed for the other archers in this army, and comparable with the rate for contemporary overseas campaigns.<sup>176</sup> Prestwich suggests that the campaign Edward III intended to pursue would have been in Flanders. Given the parlous state of English royal finances it was carefully budgeted.<sup>177</sup> In the terms of the previous twenty five years or so of military development and in the context of the early stages of the Hundred Years War, however, this looks a very strange army indeed. Its primary interest from the point of view of military organisation concerns the use of contracts and magnate retinues, which may, or may not have included Welshmen, or more likely, the military tenants of Marcher lordships.

Yet another campaign against the Scots did actually take place late in 1341. A significant number of Welshmen were summoned for service in Scotland from the royal lordships, a total of 900; 300 each from the earldom of Chester, which included the county of Flintshire and the lordships of Hope and Maelor Saesneg, North Wales

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<sup>175</sup> '1339 Campaign Diary' In Froissart, *Oeuvres*, tome 18, pp. 90-2, cited in Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 169-70.

<sup>176</sup> See, for example the campaign in Flanders of 1338-40. The amount is also comparable with archers and foot drawn from the county levies.

<sup>177</sup> M. Prestwich, 'English armies in the Early Stages of the Hundred Years' War: a Scheme in 1341'

and South Wales. On this occasion, troops were also requested from the lordships of Englefield and Moldsdale. Here, the writ is directed from the king to his son Edward of Woodstock as earl of Chester, or his deputy in the lordship. In the other Marcher lordships and the lands of the principality then in the king's hands, however, commissioners of array are named. In North Wales; John de Charlton the younger, William Shaldeforde, the deputy Justiciar in North Wales, supported by two Welshmen; Madoc Clonyae (*Gloddaeth*) of Anglesey, and Robert ap Griffith ap Hywel of Flintshire.<sup>178</sup> In South Wales, the importance of Welsh leadership is striking; only two of the six commissioners appointed were English; Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd, Sir John d'Avene, lord of Afan (Glamorgan), John Norreys, Richard de Penrees, David ap Wynt' and Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Philip were the men concerned.<sup>179</sup> The contingents from North and South Wales were instructed to be at Carlisle to serve under Henry, earl of Derby, by the vigil of St. Martin (10 November). The writ from the chancery to pay these men was only received by the Chamberlain of South Wales on 5 November so it is unlikely that this contingent reached Carlisle by the appointed date, particularly since the chamberlain had no means available from his revenues to pay the men in question. Evidently, the matter was settled by payments made directly to the chamberlain from the exchequer, a payment of £105 is recorded in the chamberlain's account as being paid out to Sir Philip de Clanvowe and Owain [ap Llywelyn] ab Owain for the wages of various Welsh foot soldiers.<sup>180</sup> Whatever the success or otherwise of the campaign, for some at least it had its rewards. Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Philip of Carmarthenshire, who

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*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, liv (1983), pp. 102-113.

<sup>178</sup> Madoc Gloddaeth, (d. c. 1358) was a son in law of Sir Gruffudd Llwyd. For his career and land holdings; see A. D. Carr, 'The Mostyn Family and Estate 1200-1642' unpublished PhD thesis (University of Wales, Bangor, 1976), pp. 115-125. It is just possible that he can be identified with the Madoc Fychan serving as a Centenar under Gruffudd Llwyd in 1322. Later, he was one of those attainted for the murder of William de Shaldeford in 1345, *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, p. 228. For this commission, *Rot. Scotiae*, I, p. 618, for his son, Gruffudd ap Madoc Gloddaeth, see below. Robert ap Griffith ap Hywel was the father of Rhys ap Robert (usually dubbed 'ap Roppert'; he died 1377), Carr, 'Rees ap Roppert', pp. 163-4.

<sup>179</sup> *Rot. Scotiae*, I, p. 618. The Englishmen appear to have been representatives of English families in the lordship of Glamorgan; Richard de Penrees was brother of Sir Robert de Penrees, see Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 104, while John Norreys was in all probability the man of that name holding the manor of Penllyn (Glam.) as a knights fee in 1349; *C. I.P.M.* IX, no. 428, p. 337. For Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Philip, Griffiths, *Ibid.*, p. 366.

<sup>180</sup> *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, p. 194; TNA SC 6/1221/3 no. 2 m. 1. Owain ap Llywelyn ab Owain was, with his brother Thomas, the heir of Llywelyn ab Owain, a descendent of Lord Rhys (d. 1197) and a 'Welsh baron' of Cardiganshire who died 1308. He was also the great uncle of Owain Glyn Dwr. Llywelyn held two half Commotes of Iscoed Uwch Hirwen and Gwynionydd Is Cerdyn and a small estate at 'Starrock' in Mabwynion. Neither appears to have held administrative office though Owain clearly had

served as a leader of troops in Scotland in 1341 and again in Brittany in 1342-3 had debts of £9 from his term as Rhingyll of Caeo (Cantref Mawr, Carms.) in 1332-3 waived as part reward for his service on this occasion.<sup>181</sup> In many respects, this Scottish campaign was an unremarkable event for the Welshmen nominated, war, wherever it was fought had long since become routine.

As English interests shifted towards Brittany in 1342, a substantial number of men were recruited from Wales to serve there. They were not among the first expeditionary armies led by Sir Walter de Mauny and the earl of Northampton but were intended as elements of a secondary force to be led by the king in person. In common with the bulk of this army their service was short and the campaign inconclusive. The surviving *Vadia Guerre* accounts, which do not give a complete impression, suggest that most troops had left royal pay by Christmas 1342, and it is probable that many did not reach Brittany at all.<sup>182</sup> The situation regarding troops from the Shires and the March of Wales is equally uncertain, but can be reconstructed to some degree from other sources. The number of Welshmen who served on the campaign is of secondary importance to the process of recruitment which illustrates Edward III's attitudes to his Welsh lands and something of the strain upon the administration of them that these created, both in his lands and in the March. These shall be examined in turn as they add some much needed detail to Ayton's recent analysis of other elements of the campaign.

In South Wales, the chamberlain, Thomas de Castle Goodrich, once again complained of lack of funds. The shires of Carmarthen and Cardigan had been farmed to Henry, earl of Derby, (later first Duke of Lancaster) and the issues from them granted to another member of Edward's household, Sir Nigel de Loring. These grants left little money in the chamberlain's hands. Thus the writ which ordered him to pay 1,650 Welshmen and their leaders until their arrival at Winchelsea before 11 August was answered by a letter despatched after 25 July requesting funds. As in 1341, the situation appears to have been resolved by a direct grant from the exchequer, details

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a military career. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 9 and Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, p. 17.

<sup>181</sup> C.C.R. 1333-37, p. 377.

<sup>182</sup> Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 258-60.

of which are recorded in some detail in the chamberlain's subsequent account.<sup>183</sup> Even so, only 819 archers with five constables led by Edmund Hakelut and Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Philip were to be found. The array was supervised by Owain [ap Llywelyn] ab Owain and Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd. Owain had, with Sir Philip Clanvowe, also been responsible for collecting the subsidy of £321 8s. 5d. from the Wardrobe at Westminster, but like Sir Rhys, he does not appear to have served on the expedition itself. Unusually the Chamberlain's account also includes the wages of the masters of five ships and 121 sailors, as part of the preparations for the campaign, and presumably drawn from Welsh ports. This is an indication that the men recruited from South Wales were, unusually, intended to complete much if not all their journey by ship.<sup>184</sup> 600 Welshmen under Hakelut were first wrecked by winter storms and then stranded for twenty days 'for want of wind' on the Scilly isles. Hakelut can be found drawing pay for himself and his men in September and it seems likely this misfortune occurred on their return journey, possibly involving the same ships. This may not be a complete picture as sixty-five archers who served under Madog ap Hywel were finally paid for their service in Brittany in 1343.<sup>185</sup>

It seems very likely that the men of North Wales, or at least, those from Anglesey and Merionydd, never actually left England. They were not, as Ayton suggests, among the men stranded on the Scilly Isles since they are recorded separately in the *Vadia Guerre* account, and more importantly, can be located at Plymouth in the separate account of John de Kermond which covers the period between 5 and 25 November.<sup>186</sup> From this, it is apparent that these men almost certainly left royal pay at Plymouth. A separate *Vadia guerre* account records Cynwrig Ddu with three constables, a doctor, chaplain and proclamator leading 376 foot archers between 1 September and 17 December. This agrees with Kermond's account which records Cynwrig Ddu of Anglesey with Gruffudd ab Iorwerth of Merionydd leading 180 archers and spearmen from the two counties. The addition of an extra 100 men from Caernarvonshire to make up the difference is not implausible, though exactly where

<sup>183</sup> *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, p. 191; TNA SC 6/1221/4 m. 4.

<sup>184</sup> SC 6/1221/4 m. 4 Dafydd also served as Rhingyll of Caeo (Cantref Mawr, Carms.), 1332-3, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 366.

<sup>185</sup> In their time on the Scilly Isles they were alleged to have caused over £500 worth of damage. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 101; *Cal. Inq. Misc.* II, p. 489; *C.P.R. 1343-5*, p. 494; TNA E 403/326 m. 30; Madog ap Hywel, etc. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p. 260.

<sup>186</sup> Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 259-60; Kermond's account is TNA E 101/23/22.

they served is not known. These subsidiary accounts add a certain amount of detail to the main account maintained by William de Farley, and give greater, if occasionally contradictory information than is present in the main account. In addition to the usual provision of chaplains, standard bearers (*vexillifer*) and doctors provided by each county is an unusual figure explicitly called an interpreter (*interperatore*). Serving with the men of Anglesey, his existence highlights concern for reliable communication and his importance is obvious, he was paid 6*d.* per day, the same as the Welsh chaplains, employed presumably for the same reason, 2*d.* per day more than the vintenars, doctors and standard bearers.<sup>187</sup> The contingent from the March of Wales is rather more obscure and almost nothing is known beyond a single interesting detail. In the lordship of Chirk, red and white cloth was acquired for the earl of Arundel's Welshmen going abroad in royal service.<sup>188</sup>

## **II – 1345-7 – *Brittany, Flanders, Gascony, Crécy and Calais***

The process of recruitment in Wales is particularly well-recorded for the campaigns in this short period, though the detail of these processes are considered elsewhere in this thesis.<sup>189</sup> There are a number of reasons for this; first, that the administration of the Prince of Wales, only relatively recently entrusted with the lands of the principality appears to have been either unaware of how the mechanisms functioned in Wales or was singularly inefficient at implementing them. Second, due to the somewhat presumptuous ambitions of the prince for his influence over the march of Wales, and in turn the efforts of some of these Marchers at resisting them, this army, the first raised under the new prince was subject to some dispute. The surviving correspondence from the deputy Justiciars of North and South Wales illustrate much of the difficulties facing the principality and its officials in the mid-fourteenth century and deserve an article in their own right. The Welsh of South Wales appealed for Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd to be allowed to lead 2,000 men from that lordship to Portsmouth, an appeal supported to an extent by the Richard Talbot, the deputy Justiciar who succeeded in negotiating a compromise in which the man who had already been appointed; Owain ap Llywelyn ab Owain, an *Uchelwyr* of equal birth but with a less

<sup>187</sup> Edington's account: TNA E 36/204; other details TNA E 101/23/22 no. 1 m. 2.

<sup>188</sup> NLW Chirk Castle Collection, D. 9 (1342), cited Davies, *Lordship and Society*, p. 81.

<sup>189</sup> See Chapter 3.

sparkling career, be appointed jointly with Rhys in order to pacify the men he was to command. The numbers in the Welsh petition are clearly erroneous since Talbot describes 500 men to go in the company of the king with Rhys and Owain with a further 350 under Gruffudd Dwnn of Cydweli assigned to the army of the earl of Derby, lord of Cydweli.<sup>190</sup>

On 11 July 1346, perhaps the largest army ever to sail from England in the middle ages, departed from Portsmouth. As Ayton explains, the unusual size of the army resulted from the strategic aim of the campaign: in the first instance, the army had to be large enough to challenge Philip de Valois in the field without having to draw on expensively maintained and inconstant continental allies and mercenaries. Its exact size is, through the loss of the original pay accounts, a matter of some debate, most recently examined by Andrew Ayton and Clifford Rogers.<sup>191</sup> The payroll for the campaign, drawn up by Walter Wetwang survives only in a series of copies of varying dates which are inconsistent with each other. Moreover, the parts which concern the Welsh are the very parts which have been reduced and simplified most severely in the copying. In addition, the size and nature of the army changed remarkably over the length of the campaign.

The initial recruiting target for this army was in the order of 13,000, of whom around half, approximately 7,000, were intended to be Welshmen, half archers and half armed with lances.<sup>192</sup> Of these, 3,550 were to be drawn from the lands of the Prince of Wales, while the remainder, 3,450 were to be taken from the March of Wales arrayed from no less than twenty-nine lordships. This order, dated 3 February 1346 replaced earlier orders to the Prince of Wales for 4,000 foot from his lands (issued on 28 August 1345 and again, on 29 September 1345 and on 20 January 1346).<sup>193</sup> The total size of the army actually raised for service in Normandy is generally given in a range between 10,000-15,000 men. Rogers suggests a larger figure, some 15,250, of which 2,300 were Welsh (he describes them as spearmen). In the most recent estimate Ayton suggests that there were no more than 9,000 arrayed troops, that is, infantry drawn

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<sup>190</sup> *C.C.R. 1346-49*, p. 83; *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, p. 193.

<sup>191</sup> Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 13-4, Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 217-272 and appendix 1. A. Ayton and P. Preston, *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, (Woodbridge, 2005).

<sup>192</sup> Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p. 13.

<sup>193</sup> Ayton and Preston, *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, p. 181, n. 105.

from Wales and the English counties with the king in July 1346, a long way short of the 15,000 and more originally specified. The quality of these troops is indeterminate as the demands were sufficiently great for a number of unsuitable men were selected. Henry of Lancaster was commissioned to pick out the 'ailing and feeble' from among the Welsh troops before they embarked.<sup>194</sup> The total size of the army, however much reduced from its ambitions was no doubt impressive, numbering as many as 14,000 or 15,000. In the absence of full pay records, it is unclear how many Welshmen were among this total, and as can be seen below making sense of those records that do survive is no easy task. Naturally, with an army laying siege to Calais, the requirement changed and from the commencement of the campaign in 1346, the capture of Caen on 26 July, the battle of Crécy on 26 August, and the eleven month siege of Calais between 3 September 1346 and 4 August 1347, some 32,000 men were engaged at various times.<sup>195</sup>

By Ayton's estimate, the lump sums issued to the Welsh contingents for their march to Portsmouth were £349 for those from North Wales and £230 for those from the south. The total of men would thus have been around 5,000 men, or around two-thirds of those initially sought. Roger's suggests that the transcribed portions of Wetwang's roll describe the size of forces at the start of the campaign, which gives a total figure of 4,572 Welshmen. The two contingents; those from North Wales and South Wales are known to have marched to embark at Portsmouth separately.<sup>196</sup> Some are known to have left the army without leave – an easier task when marching to the south coast than to the borders of Scotland – but the exact numbers are unknown. In any case, the figure suggested in Wetwang's account is, if not accurate, then certainly plausible.<sup>197</sup>

In the early stage of the campaign, in July and August 1346, Ayton identifies a Welsh force of 480 foot, with the familiar organisation, including a chaplain, doctor, 'proclamator', five standard bearers and twenty-five vintenars, a total of 513 among the personal retinue of the Prince of Wales. It is probable that these men included the 100 spearmen (*hommes a lances*) arrayed from the county of Merionydd at Conwy on

<sup>194</sup> TNA C 76/22 m. 22 cited Hewitt, *The Organisation of War under Edward III*, p. 37.

<sup>195</sup> Ayton and Preston, *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, Appendix 1, pp. 230-251.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., p. 181, and also Ayton, 'The English Army and the Normandy campaign of 1346' in A. Curry and D. Bates (eds), *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages* (London, 1994), pp. 253-68.

<sup>197</sup> Desertion: *Reg. B. P. I*, pp. 8-9.

13 May 1346, and described by John de Weston, then chamberlain of North Wales as ‘of the most gentle birth in North Wales’.<sup>198</sup> If this is correct, this equates to approximately 100 men from each of the shires of the principality, and if Weston’s suggestion is to be taken at face value, then these men, at least were of a different quality to the general infantry, which might, in turn explain their attitude to the sum – which they clearly considered inadequate – that the Prince had supplied through his officials, John de Weston the chamberlain and Roger Trumwyn the deputy Justiciar.<sup>199</sup> It is presumably this group that are described in Froissart’s well known account of the behaviour of the Welsh at Crécy. He noted that:

Et lá entre ces Englés avoit pillars et ribaus gallois et cornillois, qui poursuevoient gens d’armes et arciers, qui portoient grandes coutilles, et venoient entre leurs gens d’armes et leurs arciers qui leur faisoient voie, et trouvoient ces gens d’armes en ce dangier, contes, barons, chevaliers et escuires: si les occioient sans merci, commes grans sires qu’il fust.

However, among the English there were pillagers and irregulars, Welsh and Cornishmen armed with long knives, who went out after the French (their own men-at-arms and archers making way for them) and, when they found any in difficulty, whether they were counts, barons, knights or squires, they killed them without mercy.<sup>200</sup>

The significance is not their behaviour, but the fact that Welsh and Cornish – the men of the Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, were apparently serving together on the field of battle, reflecting the independence of his military resources which was to make a significant contribution to the Prince’s later military success. The implication of this is that these men were additional to the troops assembled by commissions of array and therefore it is likely that the 4,572 mentioned above are the total of the men arrayed from the shires and the March, only around two-thirds of the total originally summoned.

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<sup>198</sup> Note that the term ‘lance’ later came to be used to describe men-at-arms. Here it clearly applies to men of a lower rank and status.

<sup>199</sup> *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, p. 235.

<sup>200</sup> Froissart, *Oeuvres*, tome V, pp. 65-6. Translation from G. Brereton (ed.), *Jean Froissart, Chronicles* (London, 1978), p. 93.

Assuming their dating is reliable, two anonymous letters which may go some way to explaining the shortfall. These letters reveal the deficiencies in the administration of the Prince of Wales regarding military recruitment. The first, speculatively dated by Edwards to late April or early May 1346 relates to a commission for an un-stated number of archers from parts of South Wales. The wording of the first writ suggests Marcher lordship rather than a royal one and stated that the men, raised ‘according to the manner of the country’, an expression which implies some form of local custom but which does not provide any detail, appear to have been waiting fifteen days for their payment. The second, referring to an unspecified number of men levied from ‘the addressees lordship of South Wales’ (the implication that this writ was directed at the Prince) arrayed by Owain ap (Llywelyn ab) Owain, Einion Fychan and Rhys Fychan, expresses concern, not just with payment, but also with leadership. In each case, it seems plausible that the unnamed author is Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd. It is certain that Sir Rhys served on the campaign, while in Normandy in 1346 he received a courser from the Black Prince as reward for his services and in April of the following year his influence was required to accelerate the recruitment of a further 1,000 men from south Wales for the siege of Calais.<sup>201</sup> Ayton raises an important question regarding the deployment of these arrayed troops, not only from the lands of Wales but the shires of England. He has no precise answers but the Welshmen clearly formed part of the Prince’s retinue, and the uniforms he provided for his men and also by the earl of Arundel for his tenants from Chirk, hint that other Welshmen may have formed part of the retinues of other lords.<sup>202</sup>

Immediately following the victory at Crécy the requirement for troops became very different and the type of infantry that Wales had been accustomed to provide were entirely suited to siege operations in the vicinity of Calais. In September 1346 – a month after Crécy – in the Commotes of Twrcelyn and Talybolion, Anglesey, thirty of the thirty-five townships were indicted and fined a shilling each at the great tourn of the sheriff of Anglesey for non payment and one, Bodayon was fined 2s. for not appearing at the muster for the army raised for that campaign held at Conwy.<sup>203</sup> The

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<sup>201</sup> *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, pp. 236-7; Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 101.

<sup>202</sup> For the use of uniforms, see ch. 3 ‘Corporate Identity I’, pp. 165-8.

<sup>203</sup> G. Peredur Jones (ed.), ‘Anglesey Court Rolls, 1346’, *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian*

communal element – in the widest sense – of the resulting army is made more apparent. Here too, traces of more obscure obligations can be observed. While the implication is that each township should send an individual to the muster (the resulting army being selected from those who appeared), this it seems was the minimum requirement. Some settlements appear to have been obliged to provide not only men, but pack horses for the king's army and it is possible – perhaps likely – that these obligations had their origins before Edward I's conquest. The reach of the prolonged siege of Calais and its impact on all parts of the English realm were remarkable even by the standards of such a militarised society as that of west Wales. The poet Dafydd ap Gwilym used the strength of its walls as a metaphor and although the solid strength of castle walls – and French ones too – is not unknown in later Welsh verse, the mention of Calais is significant.<sup>204</sup> While service at in the army at Calais would have been a common experience, familiar to Dafydd's audience, it is probable that his informant was Ifor Hael, Dafydd's chief patron who might well have served amongst the retinue of his lord, Hugh Audley.<sup>205</sup> The details of Welsh service in these two years is as confused (and confusing) as is the exact nature of the rest of the army present due to the scarcity of surviving records. The earl of Arundel summoned fifty-five mounted archers and forty-six foot archers to be arrayed at Oswestry prior to embarking at Dover for Calais. It is interesting to note that Arundel's lordships had provided eighty-seven mounted archers to serve in Scotland in 1335. Whether this is a reflection of horse-breeding within the lordship or of the relative affluence of Chirk is impossible to gauge. If, however, this was in answer to the summons issued 8 March 1347, it is woefully short of the 240 requested from his lordships.<sup>206</sup> Elsewhere in Wales large numbers of reinforcements were ordered for the siege and included for example 200 raised from Flintshire under Gruffudd ap Iorwerth ap Meilyr and 100 under Rhys ap Roppert. As ever, it is unclear how many actually answered the summons, still less, the numbers which assisted in the siege though a number of Welshmen can be found among the pardons granted

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*Society & Field Club* (1930), pp. 33-49.

<sup>204</sup> For poetic references to castles within Wales, D. Foster Evans, 'Twr Dewr Gwyncwerwr (A brave Conqueror's Tower): Welsh poetic responses to the Edwardian Castles' in D. Williams and J. Kenyon (eds), *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales: Proceedings of a conference held in Bangor 7-9 September 2007* (Oxford, forthcoming, November 2009).

<sup>205</sup> For Ifor Hael see, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-IFOR-HAE-1313.html>.

<sup>206</sup> NLW Chirk Castle Collection, D.9-D.14. – From Davies, *Lordship and Society*, p. 82; *Reg. B. P. I*, p. 56.

subsequently.<sup>207</sup>

### III – 1355-6

Following a break in campaigning activity, the next significant campaign departed in a different direction, to Gascony. The Black Prince's expedition to Gascony begun in 1355 was intended to follow a similar pattern to that of 1345 with two simultaneous campaigns launched in Brittany under Lancaster and in Gascony under the Black Prince. As a result of the weather and intervention by the Scots at Berwick, there was in fact a significant lag between the commencement of the first, that of the Black Prince and the second under Lancaster. While it is known that Edward the Black Prince recruited a significant number of foot archers from his Principality – as he did from his earldom of Cheshire and duchy of Cornwall – frustratingly little is known about these men. Illustrative of this is that the largest numbers of Welshmen known from the records known by name are those men of Flintshire who had deserted on their march to the south coast.<sup>208</sup> Inevitably, still fewer served above this level, but even so, regrettably little is known of them. The most notable were both descendants of the line of Ednyfed Fychan; Sir Hywel ap Gruffudd, the famous 'Sir Hywel of the Axe' and Rhys ap Gruffudd II, son of the Cardiganshire potentate of the same name. His rewards were significant; he was knighted on his return and acquired a valuable prisoner, Florimond de Sully at Poitiers.<sup>209</sup>

The troops initially recruited in 1355 were drawn from Cheshire, Flintshire and North Wales; all areas under the jurisdiction of the Prince of Wales. The array was for 300 archers from Cheshire, 100 from Flintshire and 140 from North Wales. The men of North Wales were led by Goronwy ap Gruffudd, who was paid 1s. per day, those of Flint, by Dafydd ap Bleddyn Fychan their seven Vintenars and their chaplain, 6d. per

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<sup>207</sup> *Reg. B. P. I*, pp. 14, 49. For other reinforcements summoned from the Principality, *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 13-14, 32, 49-53, 55-6, 63, 78.

<sup>208</sup> Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition*, Appendix C provides a useful gazetteer of those named individuals known to have served between 1355 and 1357. This amounts to some 890 individuals, some 140 or so from Cheshire. In contrast, only seven men in this list can be positively identified as Welsh, though Hewitt notes that this list is incomplete.

<sup>209</sup> Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition*, pp. 15-18, also Evans, 'Some notes on the Principality', p. 62. They were each paid different amounts, Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd, 40 marks, and Sir Hywel ap Gruffudd, £20. For the knighting of Rhys ap Gruffudd II, *C.C.R. 1354-60*, p. 529; for further details of his lands and career, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 262-3.

day.<sup>210</sup> Though their leaders were paid the same amount as the Cheshire esquires, the Welsh archers, however, were paid 3*d.* per day, half the rate of the men of Cheshire. This reflects the fact that they were expected to serve on foot. Once in France, however, the Welshmen were supplied with horses as there are payments made for their shoeing on the return from the Prince's first raid in Bordeaux.<sup>211</sup> All the archers – English and Welsh – were provided with a green and white uniform and the whole force commissioned to arrive in Plymouth by mid-July. Here can be seen an interesting discrepancy in the provision made for these three elements: While the men of Flint and Cheshire were paid for twenty-one days in advance, the men of North Wales were allowed only ten days for a longer journey. Such an obvious difference poses any number of questions which the records fail to answer. The men of North Wales were paid from the revenues of the Chamberlain of North Wales, as was the newly dubbed Sir Hywel ap Gruffudd. The men from Flint were paid from the revenues of the earldom of Chester.<sup>212</sup>

On arrival at Plymouth thirty-four of the Welsh infantry were found to have deserted: fourteen from North Wales, some ten percent of those mustered, and twenty, a fifth of their contribution, from Flint, while a further nine men were found to be too ill for further service and were sent home.<sup>213</sup> The total that actually sailed would have been in the region of 195. It appears that many others either never made the crossing or were detached from the army shortly after its arrival as Goronwy ap Gruffudd drew pay for only sixty men, the leader of the men of Flint, David ap Bleddyn Fychan, thirty. Likewise, the chaplain of the men of North Wales is not accounted for, though a chaplain from Flint was. Evans suggests that the balance may have been allocated as personal retinues of the Welsh knights, though he presents no evidence for this. The deserters are listed by name with their origin; be that North Wales, Flint or Cheshire. Rather than an indistinct injunction to the sheriff or Justiciar to pursue deserters, as found in earlier campaigns, these men were to be pursued and punished specifically, a reflection of the greatly reduced numbers and tighter administration from the armies

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<sup>210</sup> Both appear to have been esquires, paid an annuity of £5 in addition to their wages, see Evans, 'Some notes on the Principality', p. 62.

<sup>211</sup> Evans, 'Some notes on the Principality', pp. 63-4.

<sup>212</sup> *Reg. B. P.* III, p. 224.

<sup>213</sup> An order was sent out to John de Delves, lieutenant of the Justiciar of North Wales naming them and ordering the seizure of their lands, *Reg. B. P.* III, p. 215. Of those invalided home, five were from North Wales and the remainder from Flintshire, *Ibid.*, p. 216.

of Edward I's day. Their names too, are revealing of both English influence and settlement in the north of Wales. Most are typically and recognisably 'pure' Welsh in origin, and are, as such unremarkable. Others, such as Ieuan ap Madoc White and Bleddyn Arow, reveal clear influence of the English language, while John Steel appears to be something of an intruder, as well as a rarity, though presumably if serving amongst the Welsh he must have been regarded as one. While Englishmen had often led Welsh soldiers, this is a rare instance of one serving amongst his Welsh neighbours.<sup>214</sup> Once abroad, we hear little of their service, but something of their drinking, which caused the Black Prince's comptroller to pay £11 5s. 0d. to the townspeople of Castets-en-Dorthe in Gironde 'in recompense for damage done to the same by various Welshmen and other retainers of the prince.'<sup>215</sup> This payment was made in addition to the cost of 78s. 6d. for the four pipes of wine which occasioned the damage. Of the others, some received pardons for felonies including robbery and murder. David ap Bleddyn Fychan, leader of the men of Flint received rewards in kind, in the form of legal assistance and three oaks from the prince's woods at Eulowe for the rebuilding of his houses which, in his absence, had been destroyed by fire.<sup>216</sup>

Following the capture of Berwick by the Scots in 1355, a further order to the chamberlain of North Wales was issued 26 November to array 160 spearmen also armed with swords and lances to be at Newcastle on Christmas day. This order was re-iterated 23 December. In addition, the English Marchers were ordered to array some 460 infantry from their Welsh estates, specifically described as spearmen (*ad lanceas*) for the same campaign.<sup>217</sup>

#### IV – 1359-60

In Edward III's great army of 1359 the declining role of the foot soldier, regardless of their origin was plain; the initial recruitment target for the English shires was 2,600, later falling to 1,000, a number remarkably close to the number which actually

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<sup>214</sup> *Reg. B. P.* III, 215-6.

<sup>215</sup> This must have occurred on the night of October 6 1355, as they arrived on that day and the payment is dated October 7. Evans, 'Some notes on the Principality', pp. 62-5.

<sup>216</sup> *Reg. B. P.* III, p. 259. This was one of four recorded gifts in 1356. All but one (to the town of Flint for repair of its church), were to men who had served the Prince in the Gascon campaign. *Ibid.*, pp. 279, 308, 426.

<sup>217</sup> *Reg. B. P.* III, p. 491, *Rot. Scotiae*, I, pp. 784-6.

served in France. They made up ten per cent of the total strength of the army, 10,000 men split between 4,000 men-at-arms and 5,000 mounted archers, though this total includes only those who made firm contributions to the campaign. For the current purpose, this is significant as the Welsh foot soldiers left royal pay and presumably returned home within a few days of the commencement of the expedition. Sir Hywel ap Gruffudd was commissioned to attend the Prince of Wales, acting as commander of fifty 'of the best archers in North Wales' to join the prince at Sandwich. The force, of whom forty were in fact to be spearmen, was to be led by Gruffudd ap Madoc 'Clodieth' (Gloddaeth, Anglesey)<sup>218</sup> were ordered to be at Northborne, near Sandwich 30 May. The employment of Welsh spearmen appears, once again to have some significance, though archers too were recruited from North Wales, it appears that Gerald of Wales's account of a century and a half earlier retained some currency.<sup>219</sup>

The retinue of Henry, duke of Lancaster contained 100 Welsh foot, presumably from his lordships of Kidwelly or Iscennen. Whether these men in fact served at all, or were subsequently mounted is unclear, the retinue of the Prince of Wales does not appear to have contained any Welsh infantry according to the pay accounts. A further, negative example may be found in reference to twenty-nine men who paid fines in order to be excused service in the army of the lord of Dyffryn Clwyd, (Grey of Ruthin) paying, in total £12 8s. 4d.<sup>220</sup>

Sir Thomas Gray in his *Scalacronica* notes the presence of Welshmen serving as mounted archers in the personal retinue of Hugh Despenser, lord of Glamorgan, apparently separate from the main levy of troops from that lordship who served for only a very short period of time.<sup>221</sup> The mention that these Welshmen were attached to a retinue underlines an important point. Too often, there is an assumption, which is implicit in the original documents only to a limited degree that the only Welshmen present on the campaigns of this period were those summoned by commission of

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<sup>218</sup> Son of Madoc Gloddaeth, for his administrative career, see A. D. Carr 'Mostyn', p. 126-130. This appears to be the only reference to his military service, for his son, Rhys Gloddaeth ap Gruffudd ap Madoc, see below.

<sup>219</sup> A. D. Carr, 'Welshmen and the Hundred Years' War', *WHR* 4 (1968), pp. 21-46, *Reg. B. P.* III, pp. 347, 349-51, 355.

<sup>220</sup> TNA SC 2/218/7, m. 30.

<sup>221</sup> In this instance, the English who were 'put on their faith' had surrendered and allowed themselves to be taken for ransom, despite being rescued; the rules of chivalry obliged them to pay their captors. A. King, (ed.), *Scalacronica*, p. 185.

array. This has been perpetuated to a great extent by much of the secondary literature, as if the Welsh only provided a specific type of soldier; though in part this is a function of the lack of information available on the make-up of many of the retinues which would, like Despencer's, have included Welshmen from amongst their tenants. In this instance, given that most of the infantry had been released from royal pay early in the campaign, the Welsh noted above must, presumably have been mounted archers. It is likely therefore that if any served, that they are to be found amongst the 443 esquires and 900 mounted archers. Of the 920 Welsh foot soldiers under Owen Charlton paid from 23 September to 9 November, half left royal pay then and the 420 that remained served only until 27 January 1360. Only a few Welshmen remained and with the men of the English shire levies stayed with the army for only a short period; most were released from service relatively quickly. Some differentiation in pay can be observed; the Welsh foot were paid only 2 *d.* per day relative to the 6*d.* per day paid to archers from the English counties sums which presumably reflect better equipment and possibly the provision of horses. These men appear to have left pay earlier than those of North Wales.<sup>222</sup> That the men were recruited in the first place suggests some indecisiveness on Edward's part or perhaps the expectation of greater opposition in the initial stages of the campaign. The total contribution of the Welsh soldiers raised must therefore have been minimal and reduced still further by the fact that the earl of Arundel's retinue, which might have been expected to include some men from his substantial Marcher estates, does not appear to have left England at all.<sup>223</sup>

### *Conclusions*

The revelation – if such it is – of the service of the Welsh among England's armies in this period is the great extent of their service. That it began in such enormous quantity and so soon after conquest, even in those areas directly conquered, is a surprising consequence in itself. It is arguable that the experience acquired by these men in the defeat of the princes of Gwynedd was seen as a resource from the very first by Edward I, a resource which enabled him to entirely alter the way in which war was organised and conducted. More importantly, it gave him a stake in the military resources of the March, though as can be observed in the reign of Edward II this was

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<sup>222</sup> TNA E 101/393/11 f. 116r.

an involvement which could damage royal interests as well as sustaining them. Despite this, it is notable that for all the turbulence of royal and Marcher relations in this period, the conflicts of authority between king, princes and lords, the demand for troops to fight in the king's armies seems to have only occasionally been contested and more usually on the grounds of form rather than the right to make the demand in the first instance. This is especially apparent after the installation of the Black Prince whose and the difficulties faced by his administration when it fell to recruit from the liberties of the March. Not surprisingly, the lords of these lands felt the prince to be their equal, not, as he clearly felt, their superior. The Statute of Wales spelt this out of course, Wales was the province of the King, not his son and it appears that this came to include the March at least in terms of military demands.

Other, more pertinent strands emerge. The Welsh were a constant feature in English armies and in the case of Edward I and Edward II their military households. While Edward I soon realised that the enormous quantity it was possible to recruit did not equate with military success against the Scots, though it did enable him to wage war even when his barons were unwilling. This was a threat as much as an opportunity as the latter stages of the reign of Edward II demonstrates. Once Edward III became established, the manner of war was changing, the lessons of mobility were being learnt and hordes of Welsh foot soldiers, no matter how experienced, ignoring their rowdiness and linguistic distinctions, were not suitable. Their mastery of the spear was clearly considered valuable as it was explicitly asked for even as their general contribution declined in line with that of the 'occasional' soldier from Marcher lordship or English county. Whether the remaining Welshmen were serving as archers or not is a moot point. Certainly, on some occasions, they are so described and writs of array go as far as mentioning bows as part of the equipment expected by the 1320s, but where they are described simply as 'pedites' or 'Wallenses' we can do little more than guess. The military tradition engendered is, however, striking albeit difficult to track at a low level, something that, with the changing nature of England's armies, becomes very much easier in the following period.

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<sup>223</sup> Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p. 10 n. 4.

**Table 1: Select examples of the size of English Armies and their Welsh constituents, temp. Edward I and Edward II**

Campaign	Overall Size of Army	Foot Soldiers (Mounted)	Total infantry	Non Welsh	Welsh	Percentage Welsh <sup>1</sup>
1287		22,000 <sup>2</sup>	22,000	2,500	19,500	88
1294-5 (Wales)	c.50,000 <sup>3</sup>	31,000 + 16,000 <sup>4</sup>	47,000	-	-	-
1296 (Scotland)	11,000	10,000	10,000	-	-	-
1297-8 (Flanders)		7,300	7,300	2,000	5,297	72.5
1298 (Falkirk)	c. 29,000	25,700	25,700	14,800	10,900	42
1300 (Caerlaverock)	<i>Welsh exempted from the summons</i>	9,000	9,000	9,000	-	-
1301	No. Cavalry unknown	12,500	12,500	8,000	4,500	36
1303	<i>No Welsh summoned</i>	7,500	7,500	7,500	-	-
1306		1,500	1,500	1,200	300 <sup>5</sup>	20
1307		2,919	2,919	97	2,818	96.5
1314	<i>No surviving Payroll</i>		-	-	c. 3,200 <sup>6</sup>	-
1316 (Glamorgan)	2,250	2,000	2,000	-	<i>Unknown</i> <sup>7</sup>	-
1319	c. 10,000	7,000	7,000	4,500	c. 2,500	36
1322	c. 22,000	20,000	20,000	13,500	6,490	32.5

<sup>1</sup> Where calculable.

<sup>2</sup> Total number of all three armies in the field November 1287: B. Byerly and C. R. Byerly (eds) *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289* (London, 1986), pp. 423-41.

<sup>3</sup> Note, not all in field at the same time, divided between three armies.

<sup>4</sup> Maximum figures from November-December 1294

<sup>5</sup> From North Wales only, figures from South Wales and the March are unknown.

<sup>6</sup> Figures taken from references in the Memoranda Rolls, see above, pp. 34-6

<sup>7</sup> Welshmen of Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire volunteered to serve at their own expense, in return for confirmation of rights and liberties, *C.P.R. 1313-7*, p. 433.

**Table 2: Select examples of the size of English Armies and their Welsh constituents, temp. Edward III**

Campaign	Overall Size of Army <sup>1</sup>	Archers: foot (mounted)	Total Infantry	Of which Non-Welsh	Welsh	Percentage Welsh: army (infantry only)
1327	<i>No Surviving Pay Roll</i>	-	-	-	-	-
1333	<i>No Surviving Pay Roll</i>	-	-	-	-	-
1334-5	6,200	2,690 (2,270)	4,960	3,960	1,000	20
1335	15,000	4,000 (6,637)	6,637	3,647	2,990 (+87) <sup>2</sup>	45
1336	3,500	967 (1,794)	2,761	2,171	590 <sup>3</sup>	46
1338-9 (Flanders)	4,600	1,700 (1,100)	2,800	2,000	800	40
1341 ( <i>France, proposed</i> )	<i>Planned only</i>	7,952	11,558	3,952	4,000 <sup>4</sup>	35
1342-3 (Brittany)	5,500 <sup>5</sup>	1,750 (1,750)	c. 3,600	c. 2,500	c. 1,000 <sup>6</sup>	28
1345 (Derby's Army)	2,000	1,000 (500)	1,500	1,000	500	25
1346 (Normandy/Crécy)	c. 14,000 ( <i>Based on incomplete data</i> )	c. 8,000	c. 8,000	c. 3,500	c. 4,500 <sup>7</sup>	56
1347 (Calais)	c. 32,000 ( <i>though only c. 10,000 at once</i> )	25,000 (5,000)	-	-	-	-
1355-6	2,750	600 <sup>8</sup> (1,000)	1,600	1,000	600	38
1359-60	10,000	4,000 (3,000)	7,000	5,900	1,100	16

<sup>1</sup> The figure given will be an approximation based on the known maximum documented size of the army concerned.

<sup>2</sup> With 87 Hobelars, 54 of which from the Arundel estates (Chirk, Clun, Oswestry).

<sup>3</sup> From the royal shires of Wales with the exception of 100 men from Powys paid for only six days service.

<sup>4</sup> 2,000 foot archers and 2,000 spearmen.

<sup>5</sup> There is some uncertainty about this figure. See Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, Appendix 2. Of the approximately 1,000 Welshmen in pay at various times

<sup>6</sup> In common with most foot soldiers on the campaign, most had left royal pay by Christmas 1342.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps half of these armed with spears, the remainder with bows.

<sup>8</sup> There is evidence that the foot archers serving in Gascony were provided with mounts, Evans 'Some notes on the Principality', pp. 63-4.

## *Chapter 2: 1360- 1422*

The period between 1360 and 1420 was more warlike than is perhaps usually realised. There was scarcely a calendar year which did not witness some military engagement or maintenance of the boundaries of the English realm even if foreign expeditions led by the king in person were relatively unusual. There were none, for example, between 1359 and 1385, no more until 1394, but from 1394 onwards, English kings played a greater military role, and particularly in the cases of both Henry IV and Henry V, the Welsh played an important role. Most significant was the return of war to the lands of Wales; first as a departure point for Richard II in 1394 and in 1399 and after 1400, the direct experience of conflict through the revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr between 1400 and 1409. The division made here, in the middle of the reign of Edward III reflects the structure of the wars England was involved in, reflecting the impact of the peace engineered by the treaty of Bretigny.

In this period, the military aspect of Marcher lordship expressed itself, as forcefully as before, though in common with the scale of armies after 1359, the scale of Welsh involvement was much reduced. Welshmen served in relatively small numbers in the retinues of English lords, alongside their English tenants and generally under English captains; there were few really prominent Welsh soldiers before 1399, though a great many more emerged in the course of the rebellion and its aftermath. Inevitably, the character of these men tends to be viewed through the prism of the Glyn Dŵr rebellion making the more routine activities of the generation of Welsh soldiers preceding it the most neglected of the period. The general experience of those people living in the Principality of Wales and the March was a peaceful one, despite the reputation for light-headedness and rebellion of the Welsh they were, in the main no more rebellious or lawless than any other part of the English realm. Beyond a few prominent exceptions, Welshmen whose careers can be reconstructed in any detail, such as Owain Lawgogh and Ieuan Wyn who found service in the cause of France. While romantic, these men are exceptions, much in the way that Sir Hywel ap Gruffudd of Eifionydd (he is better known as Syr Hywel y Fwyall/Sir Hywel of the Axe), and Sir Gregory Sais or Goronwy ap Tudor, appointed as constable of Beaumaris immediately before his death, are exceptional. Indeed, Sir Gregory was the only Welsh captain of any note – on the English side – in this period. The reduction in

the numbers of Welsh leaders, relative to the period already discussed, can be clearly seen in a published wardrobe account for 1370 which records not one payment made directly to a Welsh commander leading Welshmen in the field. The bulk of Welsh service in this period is un-remarked, and perhaps unremarkable, so much so, perhaps reflecting the period of peace experienced in their home land, out of step with its own military traditions.

A more fundamental difference is in the quality of information sometimes available; where muster records exist it is possible to analyse Welsh involvement in any given army on a microscopic level and to follow the career of individuals or families minutely. Inevitably, there is a great deal of Welsh service for which there are few surviving records or none at all. Much of the information regarding the careers of individual soldiers and campaigns deriving from muster and retinue rolls as well as that from enrolled letters of protection in the Treaty rolls, and the Gascon and Scottish Rolls from the period after 1369 is taken from the AHRC funded ‘Soldier in Later Medieval England’ project of which this thesis is part.<sup>1</sup>

### ***Expeditions to Ireland in the Reign of Edward III***

Though the peace with France meant no expeditionary armies were sent across the channel in the 1360s, military activity continued, predominately in Ireland. Between 1361 and 1376, a distinct change is apparent in English policy towards Ireland. Before 1361 English practice had been to employ chief governors, both English and Anglo-Irish who, as John Charlton, lord of Powys, had in the late 1330s maintained small retinues at the expense of the Irish exchequer.<sup>2</sup> Between 1361 and 1376 there were five military expeditions to Ireland, the first two under Lionel of Antwerp, Edward III’s second son, earl of Ulster, and later duke of Clarence. He led two distinct forces, the first from 1361-4 and the second from 1365-6. While the war with France was in abeyance, his aim was the pacification of the country to a sufficient degree that it could make an effective contribution to England’s finances and as it had in the reign of Edward I its armies too.

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<sup>1</sup> Campaigns where this evidence is either absent or unrevealing can be found in the appendices.

<sup>2</sup> P. Connolly, ‘The Financing of English Expeditions to Ireland, 1361-1376’ in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven* (Blackrock, 1981), p. 104.

The first manifestation of this new interest in Ireland was the campaign led by Lionel of Antwerp, third son of Edward III, earl of Ulster, and later duke of Clarence in order to attempt the restoration of English lordship in Ireland.<sup>3</sup> Lionel's task was to repair the ruinous state of the English colony by a demonstration of military might: he was equipped with a force of approximately fifty knights, 300 men-at-arms, and 540 mounted archers, and provided with ample financial resources to raise additional troops within Ireland. The army which eventually accompanied Lionel, however, had fewer men-at-arms, 197, and more mounted archers, 670 than originally envisaged.<sup>4</sup> Almost as soon as he landed, the prince made a foray into Wicklow against the Gaelic forces that were challenging the English settlements around Dublin, but in the main, the army's activities were those of containment and warding with varying degrees of success until the duke's departure in 1366.

The army was raised in part through indentures, though with additional archers found by commissions of array from English counties, who were predominately mounted, and from the Welsh estates of the lords involved, who were almost exclusively on foot. Musters survive for the retinues of Lionel of Antwerp and the earl of Stafford and though there are also detailed particulars of account available for the retinues of Ralph de Ferrers and William de Windsor, these furnish few details regarding the origins of their men.<sup>5</sup> Lionel's marriage to Elizabeth de Burgh, secured parts of the Clare inheritance in the form of the Marcher lordships of Carleon and Usk and at least twenty archers in his personal retinue came from this source.<sup>6</sup> With him was Ralph, earl Stafford, who in turn was accompanied by his younger son and eventual heir Hugh (d. 1386). His retinue, in common with others involved in this force made extensive use of the military community centred on Cheshire and its tendrils in Flintshire. From a Welsh perspective, the most significant exemplars are John, Owain and Roger Puleston.

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<sup>3</sup> TNA E 101/28/13-15.

<sup>4</sup> W. M. Ormrod, 'Lionel, duke of Clarence (1338–1368)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16750> accessed 6 March 2009], Connolly 'The Financing of English Expeditions', citing TNA E 101/28/21, pp. 105-6.

<sup>5</sup> TNA E 101/28/15-23.

<sup>6</sup> Among the block of Welsh names was one 'Geoffrey de Usk'. They served for five quarters from August 1362 April 1366; TNA E 101/28/18 mm. 6-11.

The Puleston family had settled at Emral in Flintshire in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and had played an important role in the military affairs of that county for a significant period, though it was the next generation that was to make a name for itself in the Welsh cause, as adherents of Owain Glyn Dŵr. The career of Owain Puleston, however, demonstrates the family's integration into the Welsh community of Flintshire and its sympathy with their interests. The only other reference to his military career otherwise located is in the service of France, in 1386 under the command of the French seneschal of Saintonge, Guillaume de Naillac.<sup>7</sup> Stafford too was a Marcher lord holding Caus (now in Shropshire) and Glynllŵg (Newport, now in Gwent). Twenty-six archers were recruited from Glynllŵg and at least one, Ithel de Caus from the lordship of that name among a small group of Welshmen in Stafford's own retinue, though toponyms of other individuals refer to Cowbridge, Glamorgan and Castle Martyn (Cemaes, Pembs.). In addition to the large county levies of both mounted and foot archers arranged in twenties were companies of Welsh foot archers. The presence of so many foot archers is clear evidence of royal penny-pinching; all the foot archers, both English and Welsh were paid 3*d.* per day, the mounted archers, 6*d.* This is a reflection of the parlous state of Irish (and English) exchequer revenues at this time, but probably also of the unwillingness of Englishmen of any status to serve in Ireland, a theatre of war with no great prospects for fame or plunder. Also in Stafford's retinue were 113 Welsh foot archers from Brecon, Gower and Glamorgan entering pay 1 August 1362, the rolls ending at this point.<sup>8</sup> Since Stafford had no direct connection with these lordships, some explanation is necessary; Brecon was in royal hands by the time the Welsh had arrived following the death of Humphrey de Bohun in February 1362 while the men of Glamorgan appear to have served as a consequence of the order for their lord, Edward Despenser to serve in Ireland on account of his lands there. He does not appear to have done so, and presumably these foot archers went in his place. The wording of the writ suggests some form of semi-feudal obligation. Each man was ordered 'upon his allegiance and under pain of forfeiture, to make ready and array himself and his men with all his

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<sup>7</sup> BN, *Nouvelles acquisitions Françaises* 8604, nos. 76, 84 cited in Siddons, 'Welshmen in the Service of France', *BBCS*, 36 (1989), pp. 166, 78, 80. His eventual fate is unknown. A Robert Puleston testified in the Scrope-Grosvenor case in the court of chivalry and was married Lowri, a sister of Owain Glyn Dŵr. For more information on this family's known military service, see appendix A.

<sup>8</sup> TNA E 101/28/15 mm 3d-1d.

power according to his estate to cross to Ireland to Lionel, earl of Ulster, the king's son, there to abide with him and other lieges for the safety thereof'.<sup>9</sup>

No commission of array is known for the Marcher contingents, though the existence of one albeit organised by the summoned lords themselves, seems likely.<sup>10</sup> It is notable that rates of absence and desertion seem rather lower amongst the Welsh contingents than amongst the county levies, though for this campaign, relative to later ones in Ireland supplies of money were generally sufficient.<sup>11</sup> This army was very much a mixture of old and new; indentured retainers and shire levies. What is significant is the insight it gives into changes in military lordship. The Welshmen in both Clarence's and Stafford's retainers, while apparently drawn from their own lands, were intermingled with men of 'English' origins from their wider estates. They were not confined to units of Welshmen serving as a distinctive military and cultural entity.

Clarence's successor, as lieutenant, William de Windsor was in March 1369 and contracted to serve for a term of three years at a total cost to the English exchequer of £20,000 with 200 men-at arms and 300 archers in the first years, 120 men-at-arms and 200 archers in the second and eighty men-at-arms and 120 archers in the third. While financial records survive in relative abundance for the expedition, the only substantive evidence of the composition of Windsor's army during his first lieutenancy comes from its third year between 1371 and 1372, this muster referring to a force additional to the main body of Windsor's army which received a total of £2,285 in wages. Ashton, of Long Ashton, in north Somerset, near Bristol, who also held lands in Dorset and Gloucestershire, replaced Windsor in 1372, another man who had previous military and administrative experience in Ireland whose indenture specified that he maintain two forces there.<sup>12</sup> The first, of sixty men-at-arms and 100 mounted archers is that to which the surviving muster roll refers was to be paid from English revenues for one year while the second, raised and paid for in Ireland was to consist of eighty

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<sup>9</sup> *C.C.R. 1360-64*, p. 384. The order, dated 10 February, was directed widely; to Thomas de Furnivall, Despenser, Thomas, Earl of Oxford, David de Strathbogie, Earl of Athol and twenty-two others. Several Religious were included in the summons together with Mary countess of Norfolk, Eleanor countess of Ormond, five other countesses, Anne le Despenser and two other ladies.

<sup>10</sup> Twenty from Glamorgan, fifty-two from Brecon and forty-one from Gower.

<sup>11</sup> Connolly, 'The Financing of English Expeditions', pp. 106-7.

<sup>12</sup> M. Jones, 'Ashton, Sir Robert (d. 1384)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/777> accessed 6 March 2009]

hobelars and 200 foot soldiers.<sup>13</sup> Windsor's second term as lieutenant of Ireland was initially for one year serving with 200 men-at-arms and 400 archers is also recorded in surviving musters.

In each of these armies, in the absence of large troops of Welshmen from Marcher estates, Welsh involvement was limited to the Marcher squirearchy. Most significant of these was Henry Coneway, who either originated from, or settled in Rhuddlan, Flintshire appeared not only as a man-at-arms in the retinue of the duke of Clarence but subsequently in Windsor's retinues between 1371 and 1376. He is also recorded accompanying Ashton in 1372-3 and thus it seems likely that his service in Ireland was more or less continuous over nearly a decade and a half. William Seys (W. *Sais*, literally, 'the Englishman') esquire, who also served with Lionel while John Stackboll or Stakpole (possibly of Stackpole, Pembs.), seems to have remained in Ireland serving with Windsor into Windsor's second term as lieutenant in 1376. His military career appears to have continued into the wars in France being granted letters of protection in 1380 to serve with Ralph, lord Basset of Drayton in France and a year later in the company of Sir Richard Poynings for service in Brittany.<sup>14</sup> Ashton's retinue contains few men with obvious Welsh connections, despite the clear continuities between this and other forces serving in Ireland who can be traced to other expeditions. There are exceptions: Walter Somery, who served as an esquire in this army, was probably of the family which held Dinas Powys, Glamorgan – very possibly a result of Ashton's Gloucestershire connections – while it is likely that Hugh Yale had some association with the lordship of that name in north east Wales. These men are, however, merely notable individuals; in general, Ashton's was a remarkably heterogeneous force in terms of its geographical origins. Windsor's later retinues, most serving beyond their specified terms and towards the end of their service without pay follow a similar pattern. Men such as John Burghill of Llanfilo in

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<sup>13</sup> Windsor's force: TNA E 101/31/25 – sixty 'armed archers' and fifty men-at-arms; Ashton's 'English' troops TNA E 101/32/25, Connolly, 'The Financing of English Expeditions', pp. 114-5.

<sup>14</sup> William Sais: TNA E 101/28/18 and TNA E 101/32/25 m. 2; John Stackpole: TNA E 101/31/25 m. 2, TNA E 101/33/35 m. 1, TNA E 101/33/34, TNA E 101/33/38. Protections: 1380; C 76/64 m. 5, 1382; C 76/65 m. 17. His origins must remain uncertain, but the distribution of the name suggests that the family were among the early Anglo-Flemish settlers in Pembroke with interests in Ireland. A Philip de Stakpole held 4 fees in the county of Pembroke (where Stackpole itself is situated) in 1366; *C.P.R.* 1364-7, p. 264, though a Robert Stakboll was resident in Dublin by 1391, *C.P.R.* 1389-92, p. 406.

the lordship of Brecon, John and Robert Craddock of Pembrokeshire, detailed in the same muster roll, could no doubt tell similar tales.<sup>15</sup>

### ***The Resumption of the war in France***

The collapse of the English position in their possessions gained by the treaty of Bretigny came swiftly in the first months of 1369. A French army invaded Gascony from the east compelling the Rouergue and much of Quercy to submit by mid-March. On 29 April, French forces entered Abbeville, capital of Edward III's county of Ponthieu on the Somme overrunning the remainder of the county within a week. On 9 May, Charles V, addressing the Paris Parlement, renewed the war against England. Two days later, Edward III added the arms of France to those of England on his great seal and the truce of Bretigny was forgotten.<sup>16</sup>

The English response was swift and the first major expedition to France following the resumption of the war was led by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who indentured to serve for six months with 499 men-at-arms, 1,000 archers with 300 lances and bowmen from Wales – presumably from his lordships in the southern march; Monmouth and Three Castles, Iscennen and Cydweli, but possibly also from the Principality. Landing at Calais at the beginning of August, Gaunt led his *chevauchée* through Artois and Picardy but gained little for their efforts. Gaunt was accompanied by the earl of Hereford who received prebends for 300 men-at-arms and 600 archers bringing to total size of the army to over 3,000 men, 1,000 more from England's allies in northern France joining them by the beginning of August. If the evidence of Hereford's retinues for the naval expedition of 1371 and 1372 are to provide any guide, some of his archers were drawn from his estates in south east Wales.<sup>17</sup> In early September, a second army of around 2,000 men landed at Calais under the earls of Warwick, March, Salisbury and Oxford. There is no evidence regarding their retinues

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<sup>15</sup> TNA E 101/33/35. These men are not to be confused with the Craddock family resident in Cheshire, though the surname undoubtedly reveals Welsh ancestry in each case.

<sup>16</sup> J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War, Volume 2: Trial by Fire* (London, 1992), pp. 581-5.

<sup>17</sup> The fullest account of this campaign is J. W. Sherborne, 'John of Gaunt, Edward III's retinue and the French Campaign of 1369' in R. A. Griffiths and J. W. Sherborne, (eds), *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages: A Tribute to Charles Ross* (Gloucester, 1986). J. W. Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369-80' in Tuck (ed.), *War, Politics and Culture in Fourteenth Century England*, p. 3.

to suggest that men from their Welsh estates served with them, though Warwick (Gower) and Salisbury (Denbigh, Hawarden and Moldsdale), are more likely to have done so than the seventeen year old earl of March. The veteran of Crécy, and king's banneret, Lord Grey of Ruthin served with this army accompanied by a retinue of twenty-nine men-at-arms, sixty archers and 100 Welsh from his lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd while Guy, Lord Brian's connections across the Bristol Channel with south west Wales may have come into play, details are unknown.<sup>18</sup> Stafford also served on the *chevauchée* and since he held Gwynllŵg (Newport, now Gwent); it is probable that took a number of archers from that lordship with him as he had to Ireland earlier in the decade.

Gaunt's *chevauchée* succeeded in postponing any possibility of a French attack on England, but by December, a fleet and an army commanded by Owain Lawgogh (*Owain of the Red Hand*) the last direct descendant of the princes of Gwynedd and self-proclaimed Prince of Wales, had been assembled on the Seine between Rouen and Harfleur. It sailed just before Christmas with the apparent objective of making a landing in Wales.<sup>19</sup> After only ten or twelve days at sea, it was defeated by the weather. The abortive invasion plans must have been well known in England, for orders to the Prince of Wales, John of Gaunt, and other Marcher lords to arrange for the defence of their lands in Wales were made on 10 November and on 24 December.<sup>20</sup> Threats of invasion were nothing new in Wales, but the few surviving judicial records for this period and suggests that Owain's claim was well known – certainly, it was exploited keenly by Charles V. An invasion could have drawn on substantial support from elements of the North Wales squirearchy had it landed: there is evidence of some sympathy and financial and personal support.<sup>21</sup>

Owain Lawgogh had returned to France following the failure of his expedition and was among the French forces which defeated the English expedition to France which departed in the summer of 1370. The commander chosen for the expedition of 1370

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<sup>18</sup> Sherborne, 'John of Gaunt', pp. 48-9.

<sup>19</sup> Owain ap Thomas ap Rhodri, or Owain Lawgogh, despite his claims had the upbringing of a Surrey squire and the career of a *routier* before the resumption of the war. He attracted a significant number of Welshmen to serve with him in France however: M. Siddons, 'Welshmen in the Service of France', pp. 161-84.

<sup>20</sup> C.C.R. 1369-74, pp. 61-2, 158.

<sup>21</sup> Carr, *Owain of Wales*, p. 25.

was the Cheshire knight, and experienced soldier Sir Robert Knolles and the original intention seems to have been to give him sole charge of a force to invade Normandy in June and link up with Charles II of Navarre. By 20 June, when indentures were eventually sealed, however, Knolles was joined by three associate commanders, Sir Alan Buxhill, Sir Thomas Grandison and Sir Thomas Bouchier. Knolles' indenture specified a force of 2,000 men-at-arms and 2,000 archers and while an incomplete retinue list survives, this details only 1,416 men-at-arms and 1,512 archers. None of those named in these lists appear to be Welsh though the enrolled protections reveal that Knolles's connections extended into Flintshire as six of the seven Welshmen recorded appear to have originated there.

The seventh Welshman, Dafydd ap Meuric, was among the powerful retinue of 199 men-at-arms and 300 archers of the Gloucestershire knight Sir John Minsterworth. It is likely that more Welshmen served Minsterworth; he held land in the lordship of Usk and was among those who led the rebellion against Knolles's command.<sup>22</sup> The conditions of service and the appointment of a commander who had risen by his ability rather than by noble birth caused difficulties from the start. The *chevauchée* itself was a fiasco albeit initially successful beginning at Calais and proceeding through the Artois and Vermandonais to Laon and Rheims though pursued by Charles V's newly appointed constable, Bertrand du Guesclin. The campaign ended in open dissent with Knolles unable to enforce his will. Sir Gregory Sais appears once more among those who reinforced Knolles's army in the company of Sir John Chandos; an association he continued by further campaigning in Anjou and the Touraine following the recall of these reinforcements by the Prince of Wales.<sup>23</sup> Minsterworth is an interesting figure in the Welsh context of the period as his hostility against Knolles led indirectly to his defection to the French side and an association with Owain Lawgogh. Owain was actually involved in Knolles's defeat; Du Guesclin left Owain and his lieutenant, Ieuan Wyn, to defend the French gains at Saumur on the Loire.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> 755 of the 978 letters of protections enrolled in the Treaty rolls for this year appear to relate to Knolles's expedition. For Minsterworth's lands in Usk, *C.F.R. 1369-77*, p. 232; *Cal. Inq. Misc.* III 1348-77, no. 885. The vill of Minsterworth was by the fifteenth century a division within the lordship of Monmouth and Three Castles. Bleddyn ap Dafydd of Northhope, Flints.; Llywelyn ap Gruffudd Fychan; Edward ap Bleddyn of Wepre, Flints.; Dafydd ap Meuric; Dafydd ap Llywelyn of 'Merton' (possibly Mostyn) and Ieuan ap Ieuan 'Waspur', probably also of Wepre, Flints. TNA C 76/53 mm. 19-20. Dafydd ap Meuric served with Minsterworth, TNA C 76/53 m. 18.

<sup>23</sup> Carr, 'A Welsh Knight in the Hundred Years War', p. 44.

<sup>24</sup> Carr, *Owen of Wales*, pp. 25-7, 49-51.

After two years of inconclusive naval action, the next major campaign to France was launched in the summer of 1372. Significantly, this was the last occasion on which Edward III intended to lead an expeditionary army in person. Preparations began early in the year; numerous indentures of service were entered into between 24 and 25 February and by the end of March, instalments of wages had been paid for one year to approximately 4,000 soldiers. Indecision on the part of the king and resulted in sufficient delay for the men assembled at Southampton in May remaining there as late as the end of June awaiting instructions. By 10 July, the plans were hurriedly changed in response to threats of French landings on the south coast and the retinues or following the news of the defeat of the John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, by a Castilian fleet off La Rochelle 22 June. Eventually, over 6,000 troops converged on Sandwich and Winchelsea, but the expedition as a whole achieved nothing, never actually leaving England.<sup>25</sup>

Among the lords indentured to serve with the king were several with Welsh estates; the earl of March, the lord of Powys, John Charlton III, and Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford. Retinue lists survive for the latter two men and Charlton's in particular is of special interest as he was only an occasional soldier unlike his warlike grandfather. His retinue, unlike de Bohun's contains a substantial number drawn from his Welsh tenants and apparently Welshmen from within his own household as well as many from his Shropshire estates.

Notable among these is Crach Y Ffinnant (E. 'The Scab' of Ffinnant), who served Charlton as an archer, who later served with Owain Glyn Dŵr at Berwick and, in 1400 was described as his 'prophet'. There are or were two places of this name in Powys, one on the boundary of the parish of Llansantffraid in the commote of Mechain, and the second about three miles south of Caersws, both firmly in the bounds of the lordship of Powys. As such, the association with Charlton is of interest as it begs questions about the extent of the man's service and whether he served this English Marcher lord purely as an archer or as he appears to have served Owain, as a

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<sup>25</sup> Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions', p. 8

poet and seer.<sup>26</sup> At the very time Edward III had planned to launch this expedition, and clearly associated with French plans, a distraction with more important Welsh connections was proposed. On 10 May, Owain Lawgogh, known as an adherent to the French side since 1369 issued a ‘grandiloquent challenge to Edward III and the Black Prince’. Owain, as last surviving male heir to the princely line of Gwynedd set forth his claim to Wales ‘which country is and should be mine by right’. To this end, Owain headed an invasion fleet with a small army of some 360 men – a number which suggests either extreme confidence of a warm reception or impetuous recklessness. As a seasoned mercenary captain, the latter seems unlikely; this force failed to defeat the garrison of Guernsey though the circumstances of this attack are far from clear.<sup>27</sup> What is certain is that Owain’s army contained a great number of Welshmen, some of whom had certainly served in English armies before siding with a man who claimed to be Prince of Wales. Though the extent of Owain’s support in Wales is difficult to gauge, though Carr’s research suggests it was significant and certainly great enough to be a cause of concern for the effective government of the Principality. The capture of the John Hastings, the unfortunate earl of Pembroke and his meeting with Owain Lawgogh at Santander provides a colourful footnote in Froissart’s chronicle which has Owain demand homage for the earl’s Welsh lands.<sup>28</sup>

The only army to actually land in France in this year was led by John, lord Neville, steward of the king’s household and resulted from an alliance of 19 June 1372 with John de Montfort, duke of Brittany. Neville sealed his indenture to serve in France on 16 May. As neither he, nor any of the captains accompanying him, held any lands in Wales it is improbable that this army of 480 men-at arms and 480 archers, which finally sailed on 16 October 1372, contained any Welshmen, though the available documentation fails to provide any names to confirm this.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the musters of the naval forces led by Sir Philip Courtenay launched at the same time, nor that led by the earl of Salisbury in 1373 show any evidence of Welshmen.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> See Appendix A for more details and his later service.

<sup>27</sup> Carr, *Owain of Wales*, pp. 26-31.

<sup>28</sup> Carr, *Owain of Wales*, pp. 44-5 cites the results of an inquisition taken at Flint 25 September 1374 naming thirty-seven Welshmen not only from Flintshire but other parts of North Wales, South Wales and the March alleged to be in the service of Owain in France. Ten of these can be shown to have been with Owain in 1376. For the Santander episode, Carr, op. cit. pp. 32-3.

<sup>29</sup> Sherborne, ‘Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions’, p. 9.

<sup>30</sup> TNA E 101/31/31 and TNA E 101/32/36 respectively.

Gaunt's *grande chevauchée* of 1373, an army of 6,000 men, of whom a quarter served in Lancaster's retinue was intended to ride from Calais to Bordeaux. This was somewhat larger than the 4,000 or so envisaged in his initial contract. With the exception of Hugh Calveley, no captain actually completed the full year's service they had contracted for. As in 1369, Gaunt's retinue was the largest in the army, though the exiled duke of Brittany and Edward, lord Despenser, constable of the army both brought significant retinues, and contingents were led by captains from Aquitaine and from the Low Countries with a number of individuals, at least, from Spain.<sup>31</sup> There is limited evidence of the composition of the bulk of the army, though the protections offer a broader insight than the musters alone, the total number of Welshmen in this army is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy.

The retinue of the constable of the army, Edward, lord Despenser is illustrated by a surviving muster roll as are those of Ralph, lord Basset and Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick.<sup>32</sup> Basset's contains no identifiable Welshmen though Warwick, who held the lordship of Gower, clearly brought men from that lordship among his retinue. A note of caution should be raised here. Edward, lord Despenser was a prominent soldier in this period – his will suggests his death in November 1375 was a result of the hardships of campaigning – and it is highly likely that the retinue rolls used here only offer a snapshot of those men employed in his service. The two retinue lists which do survive demonstrate remarkable continuity of personnel compensating to some extent for the lack of further evidence.<sup>33</sup> Despenser again served as constable in the army led by the earl of Cambridge and duke of Brittany which campaigned in 1375 and brought with him another substantial retinue. Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, was also present and brought ninety-two archers from his Marcher estates among his retinue of twenty-four knights, 365 men-at-arms and 400 archers.<sup>34</sup>

In 1372, Despenser's retinue was second in size only to that of Gaunt himself and, as lord of Glamorgan is of particular interest. The list of men-at-arm is effectively a

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<sup>31</sup> Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions', pp. 10-12.

<sup>32</sup> TNA E 101/32/26; TNA E 101/32/38; TNA E 101/32/39 the retinue of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick has several Welshmen presumably from his lordship of Gower.

<sup>33</sup> *Glam. C. H.* III, p. 179 n. 88.

<sup>34</sup> TNA E 101/34/6.

gazetteer of the gentry of lowland Glamorgan and Despenser's wider estates in the west of England. Among those identifiable as lords in Glamorgan are Sir Laurence Berkerolles of Coity, Sir Oliver St John and John St John, sheriff of Glamorgan in 1397, William Stradling of St Donats, John and Laurence Norreys of Penllyn (Glamorgan). Such men were the backbone of an elite which straddled the Severn. In addition, and unusually office holders from Glamorgan are recognisable; John ap Rhys, farmer of the moveables of the lordship in 1376 and Thomas Broun, constable of Cardiff castle and receiver of the lordship in the same year served as esquires as did William Daventry, constable of the castle of Llantrissant. Despite this, the connection between the gentry of Glamorgan and the Despensers was always rather distant; they were Gloucestershire lords who drew much of their income and spent much of their patronage from and in Glamorgan and many officers were granted to strangers to the lordship. An exception was Sir Walter Bluet, appointed as sheriff of Glamorgan after Edward Despenser's death in 1377 but who served with Despencer in 1375. Despite his extensive interests in Somerset, he would, as lord of Raglan, have been a familiar figure in Glamorgan. His family had been long established there; Ralph Bluet, a vassal of earl Gilbert de Clare, was with his earl on his death at Bannockburn.<sup>35</sup> The wider connections of the lords of Glamorgan are easily amplified; Stephen Bawdrip of Penmark who participated in 1375 is a representative of a family whose roots were established on both sides of the Bristol Channel, but which was well on the way to accepting the manners and habits of his Welsh neighbours. His career in arms was not entirely dependent upon the Despensers since he served in France again in 1381.<sup>36</sup>

The obviously native Welsh contingent is more notable by their scarcity in this company; three esquires including the abovementioned John ap Rhys, and forty-nine archers among a total retinue of 599 men. Of the remaining two esquires, Leisian de Avene is readily identifiable. In Despenser's retinue. Despite the 'Normanised' surname he was descended from Morgan Gam, the pre-conquest lord of Afan. Leisian de Avene's connection with Edward, lord Despenser was based upon more than military service; he had surrendered his rights to the lordship of Afan with the

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<sup>35</sup> *Glam. C. H.* III, pp. 178-181; Sir Walter Bluet, TNA E 101/34/3 m. 1, E 101/34/5 m. 2; Ralph Bluet, Davies, *Lordship and Society*, p. 77.

<sup>36</sup> *Glam. C. H.* III, p. 495. Stephen Bawdrip and a Henry Bawdrip both served as men-at-arms with Sir William de Windsor in France in 1380-81: TNA E 101/39/7. The family no doubt originated from the village of Bawdrip near Bridgewater, Somerset and in common with many Somerset families held lands in Glamorgan.

borough of Aberafan in exchange for a life annuity of 10 marks some time before 1373.<sup>37</sup> It seems he remained in France subsequently since he received a war payment of £100 jointly with John Maryn for service at Calais in 1376 though the clerk, unfamiliar with his Welsh name dubbed him ‘Ludevyc’.<sup>38</sup>

Unusually, a probable pattern of military service within one family can be observed in among the Welsh archers in this retinue; Madog ap Gruffudd Hagir (E. *ugly*), whose brother Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd Hagir had served the previous expedition in which Despenser had served as constable.<sup>39</sup> Though precise origins are usually difficult to trace, Ieuan ap Hywel ab Ieuan of ‘Seintgenet’ can be located to the Commote of Senghenydd, in the east of the lordship of Glamorgan. Similarly, Grono ab Ieuan can be identified with Tiriarl and Ednyfed ap Madoc to Neath on the boundary of the lordship of Gower in the west.<sup>40</sup> Generally, as in the earlier expedition, this was an army where those with Welsh connections were drawn from the Glamorgan gentry, accompanied by an all but insignificant contingent from the Welsh community of the lordship. Other men with suggestive patronymics such as Stephen Penmark or Philip Chepstowe are present as archers, but ascertaining their ‘ethnic’ status is all but impossible.

## ***The Reign of Richard II***

### ***I – Wars in France***

No army was sent abroad in 1376, but in 1377 the threat of invasion, via Wales, appeared not only realistic but imminent. This was partly a result of the death of Edward III and the accession of Richard II as a boy, but in Wales there was another factors, most notably the existence of a claimant to the title ‘Prince of Wales’ in the

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<sup>37</sup> *Glam. C. H.* III, p. 359. The process of consolidation of seignorial authority this represents is well described by Davies, *Lordship and Society*, pp. 86-92, see also J. Beverley Smith, ‘The Lordship of Glamorgan’, *Morgannwg* 2 (1958), pp. 9-38. The third, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn Fychan is at present unidentifiable; given the Glamorgan connections of the Welshmen known from this retinue, he is unlikely to be identified with the man of this name of Cellen (Cards.) who served as joint Beadle of Cantref Mawr in 1380-1, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 297.

<sup>38</sup> TNA E 101/403/460 m. 19. Maryn himself was from Northamptonshire and can be found in Calais for over twenty years though he may not have served there continuously: TNA E 403/459 m. 4 (1375); TNA E 403/569 m. 14 (1399).

<sup>39</sup> Madoc, TNA E 101/34/5 m. 2d. Gruffudd Fychan, TNA E 101/32/26 m. 1d.

<sup>40</sup> TNA E 101/34/3 m. 3d.

person of Owain Lawgogh who was still regarded as a realistic threat. The capture of Sir John Minsterworth who had been in French service since 1373, early in 1377 may well have been at the root of the military preparations made in Wales that summer. He confessed to associating with Owain Lawgogh and assisting him in plans for a third invasion attempt. Certainly, the precautions taken around Minsterworth's custody at Bristol in March and, following his execution, dispersal of his remains suggests that support from the southern March of Wales was strongly suspected. Following his execution, two quarters of his body were despatched to Dover and Newcastle, but the remaining pair were sent to Bristol – the most important port of the Severn Sea – and most unusually, to Carmarthen. The message, if Minsterworth's identity was known would have been obvious.<sup>41</sup> Minsterworth was not the only member of the 'English' Marcher gentry to associate with Owain or to serve with the French. In 1385, seven years after Owain Lawgogh's assassination, Owain Puleston, of Flintshire, who had earlier served the English in Ireland and Geoffrey Bluet, could be found in the retinue of Guillaume de Neillac, Seneschal of Saintonge among a crowd of Welshmen.<sup>42</sup>

With this in mind special preparations against invasion were made along the Welsh coast, with special attention paid to the county and lordship of Pembrokeshire led by Sir Gregory Sais. Though no military threat was encountered on this occasion, the Pembrokeshire coast was vulnerable to invasion and Milford Haven later provided a good beachhead. The French landed there in 1405 in support of Owain Glyn Dŵr as, eighty years later, did Henry Tudor.<sup>43</sup> Owing to the capture and imprisonment of the earl of Pembroke in 1372 the lordship was in royal hands so these preparations were, unusually, a royal responsibility. Sir Gregory, a recent returnee to England following the loss of his lands in Poitou in 1375 was commissioned to repair and fortify the castles of Pembroke and Cilgerran with the town of Tenby reinforcing an earlier commission made to several of the leading men of the locality.<sup>44</sup> Local lords were

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<sup>41</sup> Carr, *Owen of Wales*, pp. 50-1.

<sup>42</sup> BN, *Nouvelles acquisitions Françaises* 8604, no. 76, cited Siddons, 'Welshmen in the Service of France', pp. 178-9. For Owain Puleston in Ireland see above; the Bluet family had extensive interests both in south west England and in Glamorgan.

<sup>43</sup> The preparations formed part of R. K. Turvey's study of the Pembrokeshire gentry and his reconstruction of the links between the men involved have proved invaluable. R. K. Turvey, 'The Perrot family and their circle in south west Wales during the later middle ages' unpublished PhD thesis, (University of Wales, Swansea, 1988).

<sup>44</sup> *C.P.R. 1374-77*, p. 501. A commission ordering the arrest of William Wyriot was made out to Sir Henry Wogan, Matthew Wogan, Peter Perrot, William Mallenfaunt, Laurence Brounhill, Richard

compelled to repair their own castles: Carew, Manorbier, Pilton and Newport (in Cemais, Pembrokeshire), were named, and to array the local community.<sup>45</sup> In addition to Sir Gregory's Sir Gregory's retinue of nineteen men-at-arms and twenty archers, an additional force of 150 men; two knights (Joce and Sir Henry Wogan), forty-eight esquires and fifty archers were recruited locally. Something of the seriousness of their task can be gauged from the fact that the payroll records some men as leaving and travelling over night, presumably to cloak their movements in a degree of secrecy.

The impression is of a local militia reinforced by professional soldiers, with Sir John Joce of Prendergast acting as Sir Gregory's local agent. The local men served *en bloc* from 21 July to 20 October, when all remaining soldiers left royal pay. Pembrokeshire society remained delineated between English and Welsh and identifiable and unambiguous Welshmen are rare in this company, particularly as Sir Gregory's retinue was composed almost entirely of Cheshire men.<sup>46</sup>

For a period of a little over one month, between 9 August and 18 September Sir Gregory's efforts were supplemented by a separate force of forty-nine men-at-arms and fifty archers under Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd II. Sir Rhys had local connections; an estate at Martletwy to the north Milford Haven, and as son of Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd, a standing in south and west Wales which quite outweighed his own more modest achievements. There is some mystery over the payment of this force as the surviving particulars of account relate to his son, Thomas Griffith (b. 1378) pursuing the account following the death of his father (25 May 1380) and quite probably after the demise of Richard II, described as 'recently king of England'. In other words, this is an account which was at least twenty-three years in arrears. The issue rolls suggest,

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Huscard, John Scurlag, Richard Wyriot, Peter Jordan, John Wydlok and Philip Sutton. Both William and Richard Wyriot are named as men-at-arms under Gregory Sais later that year, serving alongside several of those named in this commission. TNA E 101/34/29 m. 10i. Wyriot was in trouble again in April 1380 for 'maintaining a band of malefactors', *C.P.R. 1377-81*, pp. 509, 511. See Appendix A.

<sup>45</sup> Carr, 'A Welsh Knight in the Hundred Years War', p. 46-7; *C.P.R. 1374-77*, p. 495.

<sup>46</sup> TNA E 101/34/29 No fewer than seven representatives of the Massy family were present for example. Welshmen; the archers Morgan L'archer and Adam Sais and the esquires Ieuan ab Einion and Hywel ap Lewis but their origins are obscure. For the nature of the divisions in Pembrokeshire, see Brian S. John 'The Linguistic Significance of the Pembrokeshire Landsker' *Pembrokeshire Historian* 4 (1972), pp. 7-29.

however, that money was paid out in the year in question.<sup>47</sup> Four members of the Vernon family, related to Sir Rhys's through his sister's marriage and local lords were present as were Robert de Penres, lord of Llanstephan and William Martyn of Cemais.

Further afield, English military interests had spread as far as Iberia though John of Gaunt's claim to the throne of Castile. Edmund of Langley, earl of Cambridge, led the first military attempt to secure Gaunt's claim, which was initiated by his marriage to Constance of Castile, agreed in 1371. Though the military alliance which initiated this campaign was concluded 15 July 1380, the force of 1,000 men-at-arms and 1,000 archers did not depart from Plymouth until late June of the following year delayed by the need for parliamentary funding and the revolt which dominated the early summer.<sup>48</sup> No musters are known to survive for this expedition, though the protections and letters of attorney enrolled in Treaty Rolls reveal the names of 169 of those who at least intended to be involved. With the exception of David Jordan of Pembroke, just seven men with Welsh names can be found in the retinue of Sir William Beauchamp, brother of the earl of Warwick.<sup>49</sup> Jordan must have been one of a reasonably substantial – and troublesome – contingent from Pembrokeshire as several notables of the lordship of Pembroke were commissioned to arrest 'certain persons' who rebelled against Cambridge on this expedition. The only men named (who may not have been associated with this 'rebellion') were Henry Wilwehous and Robert Lylle.<sup>50</sup>

The remainder were all among the retinue of Sir William de Beauchamp and since the most prominent of these was Goronwy ap Tudor of Penmynydd, Anglesey it is probable that all were from North Wales.<sup>51</sup> Goronwy had certainly gained rewards for his service though he died on his return from this expedition at that time he was Forester of Snowdon and steward of the Bishop of Bangor's Anglesey manors. Most significant of all, on 18 March 1382 – only days before his death – he was appointed

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<sup>47</sup> For Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd II, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 262-3. The abandonment of the usual patronymic style of naming in this fashion is extremely unusual. The particulars of account are TNA E 101/37/5. See also *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, p. 239, E 101/398/8 m. 2 and E 403/463 m. 3.

<sup>48</sup> N. E. Saul, *Richard II* (London. 1997), pp. 96-7.

<sup>49</sup> All TNA C 76/65 m. 16. The other principal retinues appear to have been led by Sir Matthew Gournay (forty-seven enrolled letters) and the earl of Cambridge himself (forty-eight).

<sup>50</sup> *Pembs. Recs.* I, p. 19.

<sup>51</sup> The others were Matthew ap Dafydd, Einion ap Hywel, Ieuan ap Hywel ap Gwyn, Cynwrig ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn, Ithel ap Llywelyn ap Dafydd and Gruffudd ap Madog; C 76/65 m. 16.

constable of Beaumaris castle, a significant appointment since he was only the second Welshman to hold that office.<sup>52</sup>

## **II – Wars in Scotland and Ireland**

The recommencement of war against the Scots, and the subsequent campaigns in Richard's reign in Ireland suggests that the northern counties of the Principality should be viewed as the hinterland of the military community of Cheshire. Flintshire was slightly different, since it formed an administrative adjunct to the earldom of Chester. In Richard's reign the military significance of these connections are striking; the area under Richard's personal lordship was complimented by the estates of the earl of Arundel. As a soldier and commander, his importance was significant enough; following his execution in 1397 these estates were incorporated into the king's Principality of Chester, widening his sphere of military influence. More broadly, Welshmen appear to have occupied an ambiguous role in Richard's military infrastructure. Richard's attempts to secure influence in Wales by grants of titles and annuities are well known, though his use of such inducements in Wales has been relatively little studied.

The Welsh recipients of Richard's largesse as 'king's esquires' or royal archers are interesting in their own right and deserve fuller attention than can be afforded here. Rhys and Gwilym ap Tudor of Anglesey are easily the best known by their involvement in Glyn Dŵr's rebellion. Rhys certainly served in Ireland in 1394 and it is probable that both he and his brother were also with Richard in 1399. Both were granted pensions of £10 annually to serve Richard in person in July 1398.<sup>53</sup> It is striking several beneficiaries of such grants from the southern counties of the Principality of were more pragmatic than their fellows from Anglesey. Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Gruffudd Sais,<sup>54</sup> Llywelyn Fychan ap Llywelyn Gogh<sup>55</sup> reached swift

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<sup>52</sup> *C.P.R. 1381-5*, pp. 100, 104, 442. Both archive and poetic sources confirm the date of his death as Sunday, 23 March 1382; Iolo Gogh in his elegy to Goronwy suggests he died by drowning in Kent. For full references, Roberts, 'Wyrion Eden' pp. 199-200.

<sup>53</sup> *C.P.R. 1396-99*, p. 400.

<sup>54</sup> *C.P.R. 1396-99*, p. 281. Probably of Cantref Mawr and another whose service bridged the change of regime and whose loyalty seems to have been constant during the period of rebellion. Named as a king's esquire by 30 January 1398 (*C.P.R. 1396-99*, p. 281), and continued in royal service until at least 1417. See Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 320, 326, 359, 360, 363, 381.

and lasting accommodations with the new regime and their sensitivity to political matters may be one reason why Richard found support on his return so difficult to obtain in Wales. The Welsh involvement in the army of 1399 is unclear, and a global figure probably impossible to estimate. More interesting is the role of the relatively small number of Flintshire men, and still smaller number drawn from the Arundel lordships included in Richards Principality of Chester who can be found among Richard's bodyguard and household.

Most notable of those with a connection to the executed earl, and one of the few local officials to survive the purge instigated by Richard was John ap Gwilym of Chirk who was appointed a 'yeoman of the livery of the Crown' 23 March 1398. This attachment to Richard's new regime allowed him to confirm his title to land in the town of Oswestry. He had previously served Richard, earl of Arundel, in a great many offices in that lordship and unusually, remained in place after 1397 retaining his position and even survived the restoration of the Arundel estates after 1400.<sup>56</sup> No definite record of military service can be ascribed to him however. Another survivor was Morgan Fylkin who served in the company of Richard de Cholmundelegh as part of the king's bodyguard in 1398 and was sufficiently closely associated with old regime to be specifically exempted from the general pardon issued to the men of Cheshire in May 1400. This was far from the end of his military career: he can be found serving as an archer in the retinue of Thomas, earl of Arundel, in 1415 and with Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, two years later.<sup>57</sup> Such men were in a position to come to their own accommodations, but the lack of difference between them and men of a similar status in English society is noteworthy.

Gaunt led a short expedition to the Scottish march in April 1384 which Goodman describes as 'strongly northern in character', a judgement born out by the surviving

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<sup>55</sup> *C.P.R. 1396-99*, p. 285. For Llywelyn Fychan ap Llywelyn Gogh, probably of Anhuniog, Cards. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 114, 125, 128, 272, 285, 309, 325, 481, 531, 532, 534, 536, 545. Described as a king's esquire in 1397 (SC 6/1159/14 m. 8) His loyalty clearly transferred to the new regime, and appears to have remained loyal throughout the rebellion. He was a dominant figure in Cardiganshire society for upward of thirty years.

<sup>56</sup> At the same time he was confirmed as 'Pentreour and Keys' of Chirk. *C.P.R. 1396-99*, p. 323. See NLW Chirk Castle D 42-5. His petition names him as Jankyn ap Gwilym; TNA SC 8/251/12505, the grant confirms his identity; *C.P.R. 1396-99*, p. 318.

<sup>57</sup> Morgan Fylkin: 1398, TNA E 101/42/10 m. 3; exemption from pardon, *C.P.R. 1399-1401*, pp. 285-6; 1415: TNA E 101/47/1 m. 2d; 1417, TNA E 101/51/2 m. 3.

documents. While a large contribution from Lancashire is likely, it is far from clear what, if anything was offered by his Welsh estates.<sup>58</sup> More important was the appointment of Sir Gregory Sais as captain of the town of Berwick in December 1383, one of the most prominent military appointments in the English realm.<sup>59</sup> The muster taken 1 March 1384 shows a retinue of 322 men seemingly wholly drawn from the north of Wales, centred on Flintshire, the surrounding March and from Cheshire.<sup>60</sup> Since Sir Gregory was, for all his time abroad, a French wife and extensive military career, a Flintshire man whose father and brother had served as sheriffs of the county, this is not entirely surprising.<sup>61</sup> On 20 March he was commissioned to investigate the dilapidations and damage in Berwick and he was still present in the following August when the corporation of the town asked for Sir Gregory to be re-appointed and for the fortifications to be repaired.<sup>62</sup>

The following year, the first royal expedition to Scotland since 1359 was triggered by the arrival in Scotland of Sir John de Vienne, who had been despatched from France with 2,000 men. The threat therefore was of invasion of England from the north, while the intention of the expedition from Richard's perspective was to establish a martial reputation, while pacifying domestic opposition. Historiographically, this campaign is chiefly notable for the issue on 4 and 13 June 1385 of the last known writs of summons of the general feudal levy of the English kingdom.<sup>63</sup> N. B. Lewis's research illustrates the uncertainty surrounding this campaign; its exact length is unknown, and the precise size of the army can only be assessed through the Issue Rolls which offer only the names of the leaders of contingents.<sup>64</sup> It is unlikely that the English spent more than a fortnight in Scotland. Some useful information regarding Welsh involvement can be extracted from these

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<sup>58</sup> Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 224-5; The surviving muster roll details the retinue of the earl of Northumberland – 476 men – a further 600 from Yorkshire, with Sir Robert Hilton, sheriff of that county with a retinue of sixteen men-at-arms and 100 archers of his own. Percy's retinue, TNA E 101/40/5.

<sup>59</sup> *Rot. Scotiae* II, p. 58.

<sup>60</sup> TNA E 101/39/39.

<sup>61</sup> TNA E 101/42/14 m. 2.

<sup>62</sup> Carr, 'A Welsh Knight in the Hundred Years War', p. 50.

<sup>63</sup> N. B. Lewis, 'The Last Medieval Summons of the English Feudal Levy, 13 June 1385' *EHR* lxxii (1958), pp. 1-26, with a reply by J. J. N. Palmer 'The last summons of the feudal army in England (1385)' *EHR* lxxxii (1968), pp. 771-75; N. B. Lewis with reply by J. J. Palmer, 'The Feudal Summons of 1385' *EHR* c (1985), pp. 729-746.

<sup>64</sup> Lewis, 'The Last Medieval Summons', Appendix II, pp. 17-23.

scant resources, and some interesting questions added to the debate regarding the feudal summons.

In a Welsh context, it is known primarily through the presence of Owain Glyn Dŵr and his deposition in the Scrope-Grosvenor case in the court of Chivalry, though he had served with Gregory Sais a year earlier. He, his brother Tudor and his brothers-in-law, John Hanmer and Robert Puleston bore witness that they had seen Robert Grosvenor of Hulme and Allostock bear the arms he claimed and it is probable that all served in the retinue of Sir Gregory Sais, who Froissart suggests was at Carlisle 1385, or of Glyn Dŵr's other military patron, Richard FitzAlan, earl of Arundel.<sup>65</sup> It is notable that Glyn Dŵr and his associates were not the only Welshmen to testify in the Scrope Grosvenor case before the court of Chivalry. Another man, Morgan Yonge, later sheriff of Flintshire also did, but on the Scrope side.<sup>66</sup> Despite the historiographical attention given to this campaign the contribution of the Welsh shires has not been accurately assessed. Some 200 archers were raised from Anglesey and a further 100 from Merionydd and were listed in the Issue Roll as being paid for twenty days. They were led by Richard Massy of Cheshire, Ieuan ab Ieuan and Rhys ap Tudor of Anglesey. Paid for a similar period were forty archers were raised from the county of Flint, led by Ieuan ap Hywel, David Kellow, William Meredith and Benedict ap William.<sup>67</sup> Lewis managed to count the men of Flintshire twice in his first article and somehow managed to arrive at a figure of 840 Welshmen, which appears to come from some confusion on the part of the clerk compiling the Issue Roll who enrolled the payments twice.<sup>68</sup> The effect of this mis-counting is to reduce the size of the army by 500 men to 12,400. It is possible that other Welshmen from Flintshire were included among the forty archers of the crown or among the 100 esquires of the royal household. It is interesting to note that there was no corresponding force drawn from the southern counties of the Principality.

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<sup>65</sup> Bell, *War and the Soldier*, pp. 175-9; Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, pp. 23-4; for recent comments on Glyn Dŵr and his Scottish service, A. Breeze, 'Owen Glendower's crest and the Scottish campaign of 1384-1385' *Medium Aevum*, 73:1 (2004), pp. 99-102; Carr, 'A Welsh Knight in the Hundred Years War' p. 50 and <http://www.medievalsoldier.org/SoM/December2007.php>.

<sup>66</sup> The depositions of Owain and his circle are well known; Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, pp. 22-4. For Morgan Yonge, his lineage, subsequent career and estates, A. D. M. Barrell and R. R. Davies, 'Land, Lineage and Revolt in North-East Wales, 1243-1441: A Case Study' *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 29 (1995), pp. 46-9.

<sup>67</sup> TNA E 403/508 mm. 23-4.

<sup>68</sup> His other figures appear correct. Lewis, 'The Last Medieval Summons', Appendix II, p. 21 and 'The Feudal Summons of 1385', p. 737, n.

Beyond this selection, at least one Welshman – Llywelyn ap Llywelyn – took out letters of protection to serve with Sir Henry Coneway of Rhuddlan among his retinue of eleven men-at-arms and twenty archers, while others no doubt served among the large retinues of Richard, earl of Arundel, and John of Gaunt. Other individuals; William ap Rhys ap Hywel (probably of Carmarthenshire) and Sir Roger Lestrangle of Knockyn, Shropshire were men with Welsh backgrounds while Sir Gregory Sais was easily the most significant Welsh soldier of his age.<sup>69</sup> None led retinues of more than Sir Gregory's three men-at-arms with six archers. Another limitation on Welsh involvement arose from the nature of the levy; three earls who might have brought contingents from their Welsh estates were underage. The earls of March (aged eleven); Pembroke (thirteen) and Derby (nineteen) were in no position to exercise any great influence from their Welsh estates. Henry of Derby was not in fact summoned, but may well have served with his father, John of Gaunt.<sup>70</sup>

The recruitment of what was, for the time, a sizeable company of foot archers from Richard's Welsh principality appears anachronistic by the 1380s, levies of foot soldiers having all but ceased. It would be unwise however to look to the usual systems of recruitment and obligation, especially the feudal obligation which was cited with reference to the 1385 campaign. Perhaps it is wiser to consider these troops an adjunct to the royal household since they were, of course, subject to Richard's personal lordship as Prince of Wales. It was not the last time Richard II did so; similar contributions, this time from both the north and south of the Principality served in Ireland in 1394. In the context of the overall army, however, 380 or so archers, a knight and less than seventy (itself a generous estimate) esquires from well over 7,700 archers and over 4,000 men-at-arms cannot be called significant. Though a similar force is known to have been recruited in 1415 for service in France, there is no evidence that a similar company of Welsh foot archers was recruited for Henry IV's

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<sup>69</sup> Llywelyn ap Llywelyn, Llywelyn ab Ithel ap Llywelyn with Sir Henry Coneway *D.K.R.* 36 pp. 121, 302. Five other Flintshire Welshmen also received letters of protection: Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Bleddyn, Cynwrig ap Cynwrig ap Bleddyn, Bleddyn ap William ap Gruffudd, Siancyn ap Madoc Llwyd and Iorwerth ap Hywel ap Madoc, *ibid*, pp. 40, 209, 302, 314. From South Wales: William ap Rhys ap Hywel was granted a protection for this campaign 15 July 1385 and stated to be serving in the company of 'David ap Pounteyn', C 71/65 m. 8 (see appendix A: 'Dafydd ap Pontayn alias David Pontyng'): Roger Lestrangle of Knockyn was distantly related to Owain Glyn Dŵr through Owain's grandmother.

<sup>70</sup> Lewis, 'The Last Medieval Summons', p. 24, n. 1.

expedition to Scotland in 1400. It seems therefore that these companies were personal decisions of a king determined to impress his identity upon the army by emphasising the range of his authority.<sup>71</sup>

The events of 1386 all but destroyed Richard's finances, almost witnessed an invasion of England which had similar effects in France, and demonstrated the beginnings of a renewed interest in Ireland. Finally, there was John of Gaunt's ill-starred expedition in pursuit of his title to the throne of Castile. Wales played only a small part in these affairs partly because the king himself did not go to war. Gaunt's overseas expedition was by far the largest military enterprise; the army which sailed from Portsmouth 9 July, landing at La Coruna 25 July was around 3,000 strong. Despite initial success, conquering Galicia, Compostela and La Coruña by the end of 1386, these gains proved impossible to sustain and throughout the following year this number was reduced by lack of funds, disease and desertion. The expedition eventually returned to Bayonne from Portugal by the end of September 1387. Despite 600 surviving letters of protection and attorney among the Treaty Rolls, none relate to men bearing Welsh names and few have obvious Welsh territorial connections which is surprising given the extent of Gaunt's estates in south Wales. Service in Iberia must be the likely explanation for the presence of a Castilian, one John d'Ispaine in the household of John and Thomas Fort of Llanstephan from Easter 1387. The date suggests that they abandoned Gaunt's expedition and returned to south-west Wales and took this man into their household. Sheltering a Castilian, an enemy, and allowing him access to the castles of south west Wales was deemed sufficiently serious to require the intervention of Sir John Wiltshire, a Buckinghamshire knight, who is known to have served on this expedition and secured pardon for the two brothers exploiting in peace the connections made in war.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> A. L. Brown, 'The English campaign in Scotland, 1400' in H. Hearder and H. Loyn (eds), *British Government and Administration: Studies Presented to S. B. Chrimes* (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 40-54 and A. E. Curry, A. Bell, D. Simpkin and A. King, 'New Regime, new Army? The 1400 Campaign in Scotland', Forthcoming.

<sup>72</sup> For further details of the lives, lands and administrative careers of John and Thomas Fort see Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp.320-1; R. A. Griffiths, 'The Cartulary and Muniments of the Fort Family of Llanstephan' *BBCS* (1971), pp. 311-384. For a full account of John Fort's career and references to others in his family: A. J. Chapman, 'John Fort esquire of Llanstephan': <http://www.medievalsoldier.org/Fort.php>; Sir John Wiltshire; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, pp. 22, 146-7.

While Gaunt's ruinously expensive – if initially successful – campaign was underway in Spain, the French again prepared an invasion fleet for England. The absence of Gaunt created a political vacuum at the heart of government and the immediate result was a revival in French plans for a major attack on England's south coast. Attempts at negotiation failed over the status of Castile – a French ally – and an army of around 30,000 men was assembled on the French and Flemish coast.<sup>73</sup> In common with much of the southern coast of England, from Lynn in Norfolk as far as the coast of South Wales measures for coastal defence were put into place on the coast of south Wales where orders were made to repair the king's castles in south Wales.<sup>74</sup> Precautions were even taken in Flintshire where Sir Henry Coneway, veteran of the wars in Ireland was commissioned – with his family – to garrison the castle of Rhuddlan. The more prominent Flintshire knight Sir Gregory Sais was at this time among the garrison of Calais, with a retinue of thirty men-at-arms and thirty archers. His muster list shows sixty-three names, nine of whom had served with Sir Gregory two years earlier among a rather smaller retinue of sixty-three as part of the garrison of Calais, including David Birchore of Flint. John Birchore, presumably a brother, had been granted protection to serve with Sir Gregory in 1378 as well as serving at Berwick in 1384.<sup>75</sup> Yet another individual who served on each occasion was a Thomas Salusbury who served as an archer at Berwick and Calais and who was presumably of the Flintshire family, another of whom, Henry Salusbury was involved in a conveyance of Sir Gregory's lands after his death in 1390.<sup>76</sup>

Orders were sent to North Wales and the duchy of Lancaster to provide 200 and 400 archers respectively on 12 September to aid the defence of London. It is probable that the 360 archers from the counties of Merionydd, Caernarfon, 'the marches' and 'Wales' who received payment of £146 8s. which equated to approximately a fortnight's service were the result. A rather larger company of forty-three esquires and 818 archers had been raised from Cheshire and were paid six days wages from the

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<sup>73</sup> Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 152-4.

<sup>74</sup> *C.P.R. 1385-89*, p. 160.

<sup>75</sup> The musters are TNA E 101/40/25 and E 101/42/14. John de Birchore of Flint, protection in 1378: C 76/32 m. 12.

<sup>76</sup> Thomas Salusbury: (1384) TNA E101/39/25; TNA E101/40/25; (1386); Carr 'A Welsh Knight in the Hundred Years War' p. 51, *Knighton's Chronicle*, p. 346-7, records Sir Gregory's presence in the garrison of Calais.

revenues of chamberlain there, 1,000 had been requested.<sup>77</sup> They, together with seventy archers from Herefordshire were among the lucky ones; archers summoned from Devon, Derbyshire and Staffordshire had been sent home un-mustered and unpaid on 11 October.<sup>78</sup> Knighton noted that unpaid soldiers, not only the easily identifiable Welsh, but from Lancashire and other distant parts plagued the areas they travelled through on their return from London. Furthermore, relying on the experience of his locality, he reported damage by the men of Cheshire in Leicestershire.<sup>79</sup> What this evidence suggests is that the men of Wales were treated no differently to the men of the English counties, though, probably by luck rather than policy, they at least received pay for their endeavours.

The upheavals of 1386 resulted in the appointment of a continual council – in effect a regency led by the king's opponents – being appointed by parliament on 19 November 1386. These opponents, led by Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, and Richard Fitz Alan, earl of Arundel, lost little time in preparing a more militant policy towards France, the result of which inter-mingled military and domestic affairs for the succeeding two years. Bell's recent work on the composition of the companies which Arundel led on the naval expeditions of 1387 and 1388 forms a useful basis for a consideration of the Welsh role in these expeditions. The English estates of the earl of Arundel have been shown to have been a significant military resource in their own right. His Welsh estates were no less significant: the lordships of Bromfield and Yale, Chirk and Shrawardine, the hundred of Oswestry and Ruyton-of-the-Eleven-Towns, the castle of Dawley and its dependent fees with the reversion of the lordship of Clun formed a large and contiguous unit in the north of Wales and the county of Shropshire.<sup>80</sup> Arundel's men played a large part in his retinues and the gentry of the

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<sup>77</sup> *C.P.R. 1385-89*, p. 217. Details can be found in the Issue Roll printed in F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 231-2. From Caernarfon, 120 archers under Rhys ap Tudur and his brother Gwilym, from Merionydd, Einion ap Gruffudd ap Llywelyn and two others with forty archers. The largest force was from 'the marches' (probably meaning Flintshire): Einion ap Ithel ap Gurgennu, with one esquire and forty archers; Ithel ap Bleddyn ab Ithel, Hywel ap Tudur ab Ithel, William ap Maredudd ap Gruffudd, Dafydd Fychan ap Dafydd Llwyd, Ithel Moel ap Dafydd, each with twenty archers and Hywel ab Iorwrth with three esquires and sixty archers.

<sup>78</sup> J. W. Sherborne, 'The Defence of the Realm and the Impeachment of Michael de la Pole in 1386' 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369-80' in Tuck, *War, Politics and Culture*, p. 111. See also TNA E 403/515 for 16, 19, 27 October 1386, see also *C.P.R. 1385-89*, p. 217.

<sup>79</sup> *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 350-1.

<sup>80</sup> R. R. Davies, 'Richard II and the Principality of Chester 1397-9' in F. R. H. Du Bolay and C. Baron (eds), *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack* (London, 1971), pp. 257-8; J. L.

neighbouring counties and March were also well represented. Since one of these men was Owain Glyn Dŵr, who served with his brother Tudor and other men who were later associated with them in their rebellion the Arundel connection has been well explored.<sup>81</sup> Wider connections within the March of Wales are also evident. An example is Davy Sourdeval who served in both of Arundel's expeditions, in 1387 in the retinue of Richard Cryse and in 1388 with Robert Bland. Cryse was apparently a Devonian and Sourdeval's presence in his retinue is mysterious; his is the only name with identifiable Welsh connections in Cryse's retinue and the Sourdeval family, despite the unambiguously Norman name were from the lordship of Brecon. Cryse appears to have purchased one of the ships captured in this year, the *Seint Mariesship* of Santander and was later granted protection for service in Ireland and involved in legal proceedings surrounding gold and silver seized off its coast so involvement in the trade of the Bristol Channel and the south coast of Wales is not impossible. His connection may have been more direct, and his business more wide ranging, a Richard Cryse of Haverford was recorded as having 'behaved rebelliously and frustrated the expedition' to Portugal in 1381.<sup>82</sup>

The retinue of Sir John Wogan of Wiston, Pembrokeshire (d. 1419) in the 1388 expedition demonstrates the reach of his family's influence in south-west Wales, not only within Pembrokeshire but stretching into Carmarthenshire and westwards.<sup>83</sup> John Fort of Llanstephan and Henry Malefaunt who served as esquires were near neighbours of Wogan and well connected in his locality though other individuals; the suggestively named esquires John and Geoffrey Coneway, and archers Clement Bangor, Matthew Snowdon, Hugh and Richard Froddesham at least hint at wider links to north Wales and possibly as far as Cheshire. John Coneway was plausibly the son of Sir Henry Coneway of Rhuddlan, Flintshire, who served his father as deputy

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Gillespie, 'Thomas Mortimer and Thomas Molineux: Radcot Bridge and the Appeal of 1397', *Albion* 7 (1975), p. 170. See also TNA Chester 2/70 m. 7v.; 2/73 m. 6.

<sup>81</sup> A. E. Goodman, 'Owain Glyndŵr before 1400' *WHR* v (1970-1), pp. 67-70; R. I. Jack, 'New Light on the Early Years of Owain Glyndŵr', *BBCS* (1964-6), pp. 163-6.

<sup>82</sup> For Sourdeval, Dylan Foster Evans (ed.), *Gwaith Hywel Swrdwal a'i Deulu* [The works of Hywel Swrdwal and his family] (Aberystwyth, 2000). Richard Cryse: Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p. 186 n. 229; *C.P.R.* 1385-9, p. 315; *C.P.R.* 1405-8, p. 226; *C.P.R.* 1408-13, p. 524, for 1381, *Pembs. Recs.* I, pp. 20-1, *C.P.R.* 1381-84, pp. 256, 494.

<sup>83</sup> Though it is often difficult to be precise when dealing with the numerous cadet branches of the Wogan family in Pembrokeshire, Sir John was to only knighted member of that family (named John) active at that time. The family's Irish connections may be significant here since Henry Coneway served there in the 1360s though Coneway apparently held an empty plot in the High Street of Swansea before 1400, *C.I.P.M.* xviii no. 307, pp. 95-7.

constable there and was later escheator of Flintshire. The north east of Wales was an area with which Wogan had no known connections.<sup>84</sup>

The political context of the period and the role of men from the royal lands in Cheshire and Flintshire cannot be ignored, though information surrounding Welsh involvement is rather scanty. The battle of Radcot Bridge, fought just to the west of Oxford 20 December 1387 was the culmination of a brief civil war which was the result of the king, with the aid of Richard de Vere, duke of Ireland, attempted to re-establish political control by military force. While Myres collated the narrative of the battle from the surviving chronicles the details the constitution of the armies in what was almost a private war has not been considered.<sup>85</sup> The chronicles cannot be said to be helpful in this regard; their concern is with the leaders, and the result. The one helpful note emerges from Knighton's chronicle which describes De Vere's army, defeated and stripped of their possessions and clothing as being drawn from Wales and Cheshire. If the company of archers later assembled by Richard is any guide, it is unlikely that many men came from Carmarthen and Cardigan but were drawn from the royal demesne of Cheshire, Flintshire and possibly North Wales. Other, albeit limited evidence drawn from administrative sources would seem to confirm that de Vere's force was drawn not only from the county palatine of Cheshire but more widely from the Principality lands in North Wales and Flintshire. 4,000 marks was paid in two instalments and deposited at Chester Abbey for distribution among those who had suffered in the debacle, though not until December 1398 and it unclear how much of this money, if any, was disbursed outside Cheshire, no equivalent sums appear in the chamberlains accounts of the Welsh Principality.<sup>86</sup> Of the armies that opposed and defeated de Vere, even less is known. As proprietary concerns, drawn from the households and estates of the magnates involved they did not receive royal pay.

The first force despatched to Ireland in under Sir John Stanley had been a long time in the planning but left in 1387 and a series of muster rolls survive. Relatively few

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<sup>84</sup> All drawn from TNA E 101/41/5 m. 13. John Coneway's career is partially reconstructed by J. E. Messham, 'Henry Conewey, knight, constable of the castle of Rhuddlan, 1390-1407', *Flints. Hist. Soc. Journal*, 35 (1999), pp. 11-55; E. Roberts, 'Seven John Conways', *Flints. Hist. Soc. Journal*, 18 (1960), pp. 61-74 deals better with the differentiation of the various generations however.

<sup>85</sup> J. N. L. Myres, 'The Campaign of Radcot Bridge in December 1387' *EHR* xlii (1927), pp. 20-33.

<sup>86</sup> *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 420-3, Davies, 'Richard II and the Principality of Chester 1397-9', p. 261.

Welshmen appear to have been present, and most of these are found on a single membrane, though several others with identifiable Welsh forenames seem to have been dubbed 'Walsh', that is, Welsh. This membrane is otherwise composed of Irishmen, and there is, therefore, the possibility that these men were the descendants of earlier Welsh settlers.<sup>87</sup> A number of more plausible Welshmen or at least Welsh residents may be identified, however, and in the circumstances, both may be considered possible tenants of the Mortimer earls of March. Cynwrig ap Davy, a man-at-arms in Stanley's personal retinue and the archer Lewis Radnor who was similarly attached appear the most likely candidates.<sup>88</sup> Philip 'Enyas' (possibly Ewyas, south-west Herefordshire) is another. Their numbers are very few, and their significance is thus limited. There is some suggestion amongst the other names of considerable continuity of service between this force and the later standing force in Ireland led by Sir Stephen le Scrope between.<sup>89</sup>

The chief military consequence of the truce negotiated between England and France in 1393 was a substantially increased involvement in Ireland. Richard II personally led two campaigns to Ireland in 1394 and 1399 and maintained large standing forces in Ireland for much of the decade. The two royal campaigns are especially important in a Welsh context as each departed from West Wales. The surviving documentation for these important campaigns, however, is far from complete. Though a wardrobe book survives and can provide some useful information about the troops of the royal household in 1394 campaign, no muster rolls survive for either this campaign or its companion five years later. Frustratingly, the 1399 campaign is still more poorly served in terms of documentary evidence; the historian is compelled to rely on enrolled letters of protection for evidence of those who served. Inevitably such limited sources can only offer a small sample of the personnel involved in these campaigns though Dr Bell has identified some interesting and striking continuity in service among English knights and esquires between these campaigns and those led by the earl of Arundel in 1387-8. None of the men he noted were Welsh and a more general

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<sup>87</sup> TNA E 101/41/18 m. 27ii.

<sup>88</sup> Cynwrig ap Davy ('Kenewrek ap Davi') appears initially as an archer, but also served as a man-at-arms: TNA E 101/41/18 m. 25 and m. 25 respectively.

<sup>89</sup> Robert Dullard serving as an archer in this force and a man-at-arms in the later army is just one example.

impression of the role of Welshmen in either of these campaigns is all but impossible to establish.

The first royal expedition to Ireland for over a century departed from west Wales in 1394. The army is frustratingly poorly documented but Professor Saul comments that the surviving Wardrobe account demonstrates that the king's household in 1394-5 consisted of between 4,000 and 5,000 men of a significant army of over 7,000. From the information contained in enrolled letters of protection and attorney Dr Bell located 293 named individuals serving on this campaign. While this number can be extended by use of the wardrobe book, it is still only a snapshot of the full army.<sup>90</sup>

While several named Welshmen and Welsh residents feature serving as esquires or granted protections for putative service, the most interesting evidence concerns two forces of foot archers. The most direct analogy from Richard's reign was his liveried Cheshire archers, but these men were of an altogether different rank and status, albeit drawn from the royal demesne. The first, of sixty foot archers, with nine mounted archers, a beadle, a chaplain and a 'baneour' (possibly W. *Banewr* – standard bearer) was led by four named esquires.<sup>91</sup> Of the named leaders only one can be securely identified; Henry Don of Cydweli, whose son Maredudd Don also served separately on the campaign. A second, Roger Mortimer, had no connection to the earls of March and was probably a burgess of Cardigan whose family had been in military service in South Wales since the thirteenth century. The remaining two are problematic and altogether more anonymous.<sup>92</sup>

The first, due to damage to the manuscript, can only be identified as 'ap Hywel', while the identity of the second, Owain ap Gruffudd has been suggested to be Owain Glyn Dŵr, this is unlikely since these archers are likely to have originated in South Wales.<sup>93</sup> Eighty Welsh foot archers, presumably from the northern shires of Wales, were led by Rhys ap Tudor of Anglesey with two companions, twelve mounted

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<sup>90</sup> Saul, *Richard II*, p. 279; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, pp. 188-9.

<sup>91</sup> TNA E 101/402/20 f. 39v.

<sup>92</sup> This Roger Mortimer is almost certainly the burgess of Cardigan of that name (d. 1424-5) who served as mayor/escheator of Cardigan in 1418-9. His son Owain was recruited in to serve in France in 1415. See Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 218, 428.

<sup>93</sup> Owain ap Gruffudd ap Einion of Iscoed Is Hirwern (Cards.), is a plausible candidate. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 273, 524.

archers with two beadles, and three ‘gubernators’; presumably serving as Vintenars. Both units entered royal pay on 7 September 1394 and were released by 21 April the following year. Such a complement recalls the usual arrangement of Welsh troops serving with the three Edwards, and by this time it appears anachronistic, at least in terms of military organisation. The exact period of their service for the men led by Rhys ap Tudor is uncertain; his foot archers were not present for fifty-seven days of the campaign while two of the mounted archers were absent for fifteen days.<sup>94</sup> Few other Welshmen named in the wardrobe book; Maredudd ap Henry Don has been noted and he, like the two Cardiganshire men, Rhys ap Thomas ap Dafydd – an esquire of Richard’s household – and Owain ap Llywelyn ab Owain each served with a small retinue of two archers.<sup>95</sup> In terms of other retinues, the information is thinner still; it is likely that Thomas Gower, Burgess of Haverford going to Ireland with Roger Mortimer, earl of March, was among his following but his role and the size of the earl’s retinue are lost.<sup>96</sup> In contrast, examination of the musters for standing army maintained in Ireland under its deputy governor, Stephen le Scrope suggests no Welshmen whatsoever.<sup>97</sup> In 1405, however, an army from Ireland raised and led by him acting in the same capacity mounted a highly successful raid on Anglesey, recapturing Beaumaris Castle and returning to Ireland with one of the most valuable ecclesiastical relics present on that island which was given to Christ Church cathedral, Dublin.<sup>98</sup>

On 25 September 1397, Richard had taken into his hands the lands of the executed earl of Arundel and formed them, with the county Palatine of Cheshire and the county of Flintshire into a second Principality, that of Chester. With this large block of lands in north-east Wales under royal control, significant Welsh involvement might be

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<sup>94</sup> It is probable that one of his companions was his brother Gwilym, and entirely plausible that the third was another brother, Maredudd, father of Owen Tudor.

<sup>95</sup> TNA E 101/402/20 f. 38v. Rhys ap Thomas ap Dafydd also received a protection for half a year, at the same time and in the same place (Haverford) as Henry Don and William ap Rhys ap Hywel. *C.P.R. 1391-96*, p. 483. He was among the most significant men in the southern Principality of his generation and served not only Richard II but each of his Lancastrian successors. See Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 143-4 and references. Owain ap Llywelyn ab Owain is probably the man of this name who served as steward of Cemais throughout the later rebellion, R. K. Turvey, ‘The Marcher Shire of Pembroke and the Glyn Dŵr Rebellion’, *WHR* 15 (1991), p. 167, n. 87.

<sup>96</sup> *C.P.R. 1391-6*, p. 481.

<sup>97</sup> TNA E 101/41/39.

<sup>98</sup> A. D. Carr, *Medieval Anglesey* (Llangefni, 1982), pp. 320-1; Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, p. 99 n. 4, cites Henry of Marlborough printed in the 1607 edition of Camden’s *Britannia* (pp. 832-6).

expected.<sup>99</sup> Sources for this campaign are painfully thin, but this army appears to have been significantly smaller than that deployed in 1394. The Chester contingent was undoubtedly large, and may well have contained Welshmen in small numbers. Ten knights, 110 men-at-arms and 900 archers from Richard's Principality of Chester were paid for service on this campaign in addition to Richard's body guard also drawn from the county. Scarcely a Flintshire man could be found among this guard earlier in the decade, and the recognisance rolls of the county reveal substantial disaffection among the Welshmen of the county in the 1390s. There had been a major and violent demonstration in the Flint county court in 1394 and in 1398, many of the more prominent Welshmen of the county were bound over to keep the peace; against this backcloth it is unlikely that Flintshire provided many men for this army.<sup>100</sup> As in 1394, more promising detail can be found among the 309 persons named among the letters of protection granted in association with this campaign.

Each protection was granted individually, and does not necessarily prove military service; a contingent from Cardiganshire can be identified, representing significant men from the county. Chief among these was Rhys ap Adda Fychan who received protection to serve in the retinue of the duke of Aumâle. A prominent native of the commote of Creuddyn he had been sheriff of Cardigan in 1396 and held various other offices.<sup>101</sup> Since the expedition departed from south Wales, the presence of a number of prominent Pembrokeshire men is unsurprising, though it is uncertain whether this was in a military or logistical capacity. The sheriff of the county, Burgess of Haverford and future rebel David Perrot was most notable among these. Another is Thomas ap Rhys ap Gruffudd, described by Turvey as of Pembrokeshire, but though the son of Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd II, scion of the great Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd held the manor of Martlewy in that county Thomas was a Staffordshire man, settled on estates that had come through his mother.<sup>102</sup> Probably associated with this group was

<sup>99</sup> Davies, 'Richard II and the Principality of Chester 1397-9', pp. 256-279.

<sup>100</sup> TNA E 403/562 m. 10, m. 16, cited Davies 'Richard II and the Principality of Chester 1397-9', p. 278. R. R. Davies, 'Owain Glyn Dŵr and the Welsh Squirearchy' *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.* (1968), p. 157.

<sup>101</sup> His protection was granted 12 July at Westminster. *C.P.R. 1396-99*, p. 587, see also Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 273, 309, 459, 463, 465.

<sup>102</sup> R. K. Turvey, 'David Perrot: A Pembrokeshire Squire in the service of Glyndŵr', *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.* (1990), p. 71; Thomas ap Rhys ap Gruffudd; *C.P.R. 1396-99*, p. 546. If this identification is correct he would have been a young man (b. 1378), who later served Henry IV and Henry V both as

Llywelyn ap Philip parson of Llandysul, Cardiganshire, who had letters of attorney enrolled at Westminster on 14 April.<sup>103</sup> Among the few sure examples of men who served on both Irish campaigns were the brothers John and Thomas Fort of Llanstephan.<sup>104</sup>

It is often held that Richard returned from Ireland on 4 July and Sherborne, in his relatively recent assessment, believed this date to be if not accurate then certainly plausible. Sherborne's assessment is a systematic one, but lacks a consideration of the Welsh context. The debate surrounding Richard's actions has been a long one which need not be delved to deeply into, but some consideration of the political – and thus military – geography of the lands of Wales on Richard's return is overdue. It is clear that he returned from Ireland in some haste and that he landed somewhere in south-west Wales with much of his army, most likely in Milford Haven. Richard's personal baggage, jewels and plate were deposited in the castles of Pembroke and Haverford.<sup>105</sup> An intention to attempt to recruit reinforcements from his Principality and from Cheshire must have been in Richard's mind. The narratives of what followed are extremely confusing, but the pattern of Richard's travels – and the scale of Lancaster's estates in the south-east of Wales – suggest that most of Richard's flight from the south of Wales to the north would have been more safely undertaken by sea rather than by land.

Adam Usk suggests that Thomas, lord Despenser, earl of Gloucester, was sent to recruit troops from his lordship of Glamorgan but that the men of that lordship refused to reinforce Richard. He stated that they refused to assist.<sup>106</sup> By late July Bristol had apparently surrendered and immediately to the north and east lay Bolingbroke's own lordships claimed by right of marriage; Brecon and Hay, and as his father's heir; Cydweli, Monmouth, Iscennen. It is clear that the officials of these lordships showed,

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prince of Wales and as king, see appendix A. His protection was granted 19 May at Haverford. See Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 263.

<sup>103</sup> *C.P.R. 1396-99*, p. 520.

<sup>104</sup> Both were granted protections for service: Thomas *C.P.R. 1396-99*, p. 538; John, *C.P.R. 1396-99*, p. 546.

<sup>105</sup> J. W. Sherborne, 'Richard II's Return to Wales, July 1399' and 'Perjury and the Lancastrian Revolution of 1399' in Tuck, *War, Politics and Culture*, pp. 122, n. 17 and pp. 141-5.

<sup>106</sup> 'He [Richard II] sent lord Despenser to raise his people of Glamorgan for his cause, but they refused to follow him' (*dominum de Spenser ad sussitandumsuos de Glanmorgane, licet sibi nequaquam parentes, in sui destinans succursum*). C. Given-Wilson (ed.), *The Chronicle of Adam Usk 1377-1421* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 58-9.

in Davies's polite understatement, 'exemplary zeal' in their preparations: at Monmouth, the castle was heavily guarded 'ad resistendum inimicos domini'; at Cydweli, the gates of the castle – which Richard himself had visited on his way to Ireland – were stopped up with mortar and stones; the moats at Hay and Brecon were cleaned. Glamorgan was thus surrounded on three sides by Lancastrian territory and to the south by the sea; with hindsight it appears an unpromising recruiting ground. When Bolingbroke himself arrived at Gloucester he was met by an army of tenants from Cantref Selyf, Brecon and Llywel pledged to defend him against his enemies this reticence seems justified.<sup>107</sup> Such preoccupations may grant an insight into the behaviour of those from the southern Principality who apparently had gone with Richard to Ireland. Fear or pragmatism can certainly be deduced from the subsequent careers of many of those of the southern Principality who had benefited from Richard's generosity yet passed into Lancastrian service with barely a flutter. Many, perhaps most, of such men, some of whom are identified above were conspicuous by this loyalty in the face of Glyn Dŵr's rebellion in the following decade.

In the north of Wales, Creton, whose claims to have been close to the king seem reasonably justified, suggests that the earl of Salisbury was despatched to the north of the Principality with a view to recruiting support there.<sup>108</sup> We are told that within four days of his landing at Conwy, the earl had gathered a very large force from both North Wales and Cheshire. While the figure of 40,000 men is a significant exaggeration, the idea that significant support was available there is far from unlikely. Had Rhys and Gwilym ap Tudor been in the company of Salisbury gathering support from the locality of Conwy would, in light of their role in the later rebellion and as leaders of the squirearchy of north Wales, have been easily achieved. Though appointed for his closeness to the king, Salisbury held lands in north-east Wales; at Hawarden and in Moldsdale and was appointed to the unprecedented office of 'governor of the Principality of Chester *and* of the parts of North Wales' on 19 July

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<sup>107</sup> Davies, *Lordship and Society*, p. 85 (citing TNA DL 29/615/9840; 584/9240; SC 6/1157/4, receivers accounts for Monmouth, Cydweli and Brecon, respectively from 1399).

<sup>108</sup> Jean Creton, 'A Metrical history of Richard, king of England, with particular reference to the rebellion of his subjects and of his seizure: written by a distinguished French gentleman, who, with the permission of the king of France, followed the said king'; J. Webb (ed.), *Archaeologia*, 20 (1824), pp. 13-423.

1399.<sup>109</sup> Probably under the auspices of Salisbury, William Eggerton was appointed keeper of Harlech castle and ordered to provide it with supplies and men on 30 July. What became of the army so frantically assembled by Salisbury is another of those questions which cannot be satisfactorily answered. Creton's suggestion that a rumour of the king's death fuelled sufficient uncertainty to cause widespread desertion after a fortnight is probably less likely than the pragmatic acceptance of inevitable defeat. In this, the Welsh were no more or less fickle than were the men of Cheshire who surrendered without a fight by 9 August.<sup>110</sup>

Richard II is generally believed to have enjoyed good relations with the Welsh, though such a statement suggests a sense of 'national' feeling that is undoubtedly misplaced. This does not mean that the lands of Wales were necessarily entirely peaceful or wholly supportive during any particular phase of Richard's reign. It is true that many of the rebels of 1400 were drawn from among Richard's supporters, as was the case in Cheshire but equally revealing that many had served the king's opponents at various times in their careers; a category to which Owain Glyn Dŵr himself belonged. Moreover, a substantial number of men continued in offices and took patronage from both Richard II and Henry IV apparently without a murmur, almost exactly as was the case in much of England. His sway, particularly over North Wales was extremely significant, and in it may be discerned something of the origins of the rebellion begun there under Owain Glyn Dŵr.<sup>111</sup>

### ***The Reign of Henry IV***

#### ***I – The Glyn Dŵr Rebellion, 1400-1410***

Although the intention of the following section is to consider the Welsh involvement in the English military response to the rebellion, the nature of the rebellion itself deserves some brief attention. Owain's motives in declaring himself Prince of Wales have been long and inconclusively examined, but a few facts are significant. First is

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<sup>109</sup> TNA Chester 2/73 m. 1. For the Montague connection to Mold and Moldsdale; Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p. 471; *C.P.R. 1389-89*, pp. 408, 451.

<sup>110</sup> Creton, 'Metrical History', pp. 322-4; Davies 'Richard II and the Principality of Chester 1397-9', pp. 275-7.

<sup>111</sup> A. Goodman, 'Owain Glyndwr before 1400' in *WHR*, 5 (1970-71), pp. 67-70, Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*; R. R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr* (Oxford, 1995).

the nature of the declaration; it was made while Henry IV was in Scotland during the course of what was an exceptionally short campaign. If we are to believe some very scant evidence, it was a reaction to his neighbour, Reginald Grey of Ruthin failing to pass on a summons for service with the king, Grey had definite connections to the Ricardian regime, Glyn Dŵr was alleged to have done, and such summons were generally issued to annuitants. While there is no record of Glyn Dŵr being in the receipt of such an annuity, other Welsh associates of the executed earl of Arundel were.<sup>112</sup> Whatever the facts of the matter, a dispute between neighbours would be poor justification for the declaration of open rebellion against the crown.

Second is the date. An inquisition held after the initial defeat of the rebels at Oswestry, on 6 October 1400 stated the declaration took place 16 September 1400 and names Glyn Dŵr's accomplices together with 147 individuals involved in the initial *chevauchée*.<sup>113</sup> Its significance is simple; Henry of Monmouth, Prince of Wales was born on that day in 1386. The presence of Cragh Ffynnant, described by the Oswestry jury as 'eorum propheta' and Glyn Dŵr's consultation of the seer Hopcyn ap Tomas ab Einion in 1403, Owain's use of prophecy, mocked even by Shakespeare, suggests a man who would at least have considered the value of a symbolic date.<sup>114</sup> Surprisingly neither of Glyn Dŵr's authoritative biographers identified the date as a possible statement of intent against the new regime. His associates in this declaration bear some scrutiny too. It seems obvious that such a declaration would have been a semi-public event; the time and place together with names of the participants appear to have been well known. The best known of these were his cousins, Rhys and Gwilym ap Tudor, former king's esquires who were in Ireland with Richard in both 1394 and

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<sup>112</sup> For example, John ap Gwilym of Chirk (see elsewhere in this chapter).

<sup>113</sup> G. C. G. Roberts, 'Oswestry 1400: Owain Glyndŵr's Supporters on Trial', *Studia Celtica*, XL (2006), pp. 117-26. The gist of the conclusions of this jury with further specific details relating to John Kynaston, steward of Ellesmere are recited in a case brought before the King's Bench; *Coram Rege Rolls*, 2 Henry IV, Easter, rex m. 18, Salop; printed in G. O Sayles (ed.), *Select Cases in the Court of the King's Bench under Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V*, Selden Society, 87 (1971), pp. 116-7.

<sup>114</sup> Both Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, p. 31 and Davies, *Owain Glyndŵr*, p. 102 make note of the date of the declaration, but neither attach any significance to it. Davies does discuss Owain's use of prophecy however, op cit. pp. 55, 159-61, and there has been a great deal of interest in the subject, some of the most recent work including J. A. Doig, 'The Prophecy of the 'Six Kings to Follow John' and Owain Glyndŵr', *Studia Celtica*, XXIX (1995), pp. 257-67 and H. Fulton, 'Owain Glyn Dŵr and the Uses of Prophecy', *Studia Celtica*, XXXIX (2005), pp. 105-21.

1399.<sup>115</sup> The possibility of the rebellion as part of a wider reaction against the Lancastrian regime with a strong pro-Ricardian element cannot be dismissed.

This first flash of rebellion could be said to have more in common with the failed revolt in Cheshire and the epiphany plot early in 1400.<sup>116</sup> Its concerns were apparently personal, its scope local and short-lived. The national ambitions of the Welsh rebellion at its height can be regarded as part of the exuberance of success and not the catalyst.

### ***The Welsh military experience of revolt***

There have been several attempts at constructing a narrative of the rebellion, though relatively little attention has been addressed to the organisation of the English military response on a 'national' scale, though many local studies have examined the effects on particular towns, counties and lordships, and a selection of these are referred to below. Such a study must wait for another occasion. Davies built upon Lloyd's depiction of the military affairs of the revolt and illustrated the key themes of the royal defence of its interests. Henry IV's maintenance of strategic castles was successful; the rebels succeeded in capturing and holding only two major royal castles, Aberystwyth and Harlech for any period of time. The support of regional commanders and the maintenance of an economic blockade, albeit one flagrantly ignored by such an important official as the chamberlain of North Wales, all contributed to eventual military success.<sup>117</sup> In many ways the period of rebellion represents a reversion to the political situation before the conquest of Gwynedd. In Caernarvon, Anglesey and Merionydd, royal authority was all but usurped and its outposts within north Wales in particular were frequently isolated. The lords of the March were routinely present in their lordships – by royal command – and their role as military commanders was bolstered, as in the earlier Welsh lords by those men of their lordships who had not joined the rebels.

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<sup>115</sup> See above and K. Williams-Jones, 'The Taking of Conwy Castle, 1401' *Caernarvonshire Historical Society Transactions*, 39 (1978), pp. 6-43.

<sup>116</sup> Given-Wilson (ed.), *The Chronicle of Adam Usk*, pp. 86-92.

<sup>117</sup> Davies, *Owain Glyndŵr*, particularly ch. 9 'Guerrillas and Garrisons', for the double dealing and self-serving chamberlain, Thomas Barneby, R. A. Griffiths, 'The Glyndŵr Rebellion in North Wales Through the Eyes of an Englishman' in Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered*, pp. 123-38.

Rhidian Griffiths has done significant work on the military resources used by the Prince Henry in this period and this was furthered by R. R. Davies. The accounts of prince Henry's household coupled with even a cursory examination of the preparations made by the English crown against the impact of the rebellion reveal a heavy reliance on the border counties of England and the co-ordination of the March, its lords and officials. While it was generally the men of Gloucester, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire and Chester that bore the brunt of the military burden throughout this period, the demands for men were often more general. On 31 July 1402, in an echo of Edward I's wars in Wales, writs were issued for the array of no fewer than seventeen counties, the duchy of Lancaster and the town of Bristol.<sup>118</sup> Emphasis on the Prince's finances, household and demesne in Cheshire and elsewhere have tended to lend a rather English slant to the study of the military response to Glyn Dŵr's rebellion. Analysis of the local effects of the same rebellion has tended to draw out the costs of the rebellion to both lords and communities without always noting or understanding the military contribution of local communities.

For the present purpose, the concentration will be upon the garrison forces employed in Wales and the March rather than the three unsuccessful expeditions between 1402 and 1405. Davies provides outlines of the careers of the key men of the localities who managed the war effectively; local men such as Robert Parys and his son who led the defence of Caernarfon, experienced soldiers like Richard Arundel at Hay and local lords like Charlton of Powys or Thomas Carew in Pembroke were – like the men they commanded – defending their own interests. A prosopographical approach to the surviving accounts reveals the extent of the involvement of English and Welsh communities in the containment and repression of the rebellion. While fair coverage of the numbers of men placed in garrisons and the expenditure required maintaining them has been attempted, with some success, the origins and 'military careers' of the participants demand further study. Though admittedly an incomplete picture, the surviving accounts of castle garrisons and standing forces provide effective coverage of the height of the rebellion between 1402 and 1408. Musters survive for Montgomery and Bishops Castle (Shropshire) between 1404 and 1408, Narberth in 1404-5 and for Carmarthen and Newcastle Emlyn between 1402 and 1404. Records of

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<sup>118</sup> Rhidian Griffiths, 'Prince Henry's War: Armies, Garrisons and Supply during the Glyndŵr Rising', *BBCS* (1987), pp. 165-173.

the garrison of Brecon appear in the wardrobe book of John Spenser for 1404. For 1405 records of the garrisons of La Pole (Welshpool), Carmarthen and Llanbadarn Fawr survive, and inevitably, examples from these sources are the most accessible.<sup>119</sup> What these reveal is the breach between stated English policy as willed by parliament and military expediency. The legislation imposed by parliament in 1402 that Welshmen should not be armed, ‘except those which be lawful liege people to our sovereign Lord the King’, or that Welshmen should not have or keep castles and walled towns, be allowed to hold offices, nor even those Englishmen married to Welsh women were completely and utterly impractical.<sup>120</sup> The surviving musters show that garrisons were routinely dominated by local Welshmen, the majority population in any event, and had as much to lose by the effects of the rebellion as the English communities in their midst. This is unsurprising; war in Wales was not much like the war in France, nor even the expeditions to Scotland and Ireland. The only predictable factors were, as Davies described them, ‘bad weather and appalling terrain’. One consequence, illustrated by a report from the earl of Somerset to the king’s council, was an unwillingness to serve there. That the earl stated that his knights, esquires and other troops would not stay in Carmarthen a day longer than their contracts prescribed at any price (*pour chose du monde*), should provoke no great wonder.<sup>121</sup> Griffiths’s work on the administration in South Wales demonstrated that office holding for some Welshmen continued throughout the period of rebellion and that even attainted rebels were re-employed in very short order.

Inevitably, the majority of the known garrison and expeditionary forces appear to have been drawn from the local communities. This is particularly apparent in the Marcher shire of Pembroke, which so distant from prospects of external support had little choice but to alternately negotiate terms with the rebels or to frustrate their efforts. Turvey’s account and analysis of the revolt in Pembrokeshire needs no

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<sup>119</sup> Montgomery and Bishops Castle: TNA E 101/44/6, E 101/44/14; Narberth TNA E 101/43/23; Carmarthen and south Wales 1403: TNA E 101/43/21; Carmarthen and Newcastle Emlyn in 1404: TNA E 101/43/29; Cardigan and Llanbadarn Fawr 1405 TNA E/101/44/4; La Pole 1404-5 TNA E 101/44/3. There are a number of surviving accounts for castle constables including Denbigh and Caernarfon (1404-6) TNA E 101/43/39 which give names. Nominal evidence for other garrisons can be reconstructed from financial documents: Conwy (1403-4), TNA E 101/43/24; Cydweli (1402-8) TNA DL 29/584/9242; Brecon (1404) TNA 101/404/24 (2) m. 16d; Harlech (before its surrender to Owain 1403) E 101/404/24 (1) f. 10.

<sup>120</sup> I. Bowen (ed.), *The Statutes of Wales* (London, 1908), pp. 35-7.

<sup>121</sup> *PPC*, i, pp. 217-8, cited in Davies, *Owain Glyndŵr*, p. 241

additions; almost exclusively, it was a local affair managed by local men. The then keeper of the earldom of Pembroke, Francis de Court was almost certainly an Italian he was resident in the Lordship from 1402 onwards and is an interesting indication of the seriousness of the rebellion, as such authority was ordinarily delegated to local officials. This picture of local self-reliance was repeated by many of the smaller garrisons of Wales. The force which retook and occupied Carmarthen in 1403, though it contained local elements consisted of many men from the south west of England including the unlikely person of the bishop of Bath and Wells. Such men were necessarily a feature of the resistance to the rebellion throughout its course, particularly for re-supplying the castles of the Welsh coast by sea.<sup>122</sup>

The expeditionary army led by Sir Richard Arundell in 1405 gives a picture of a society divided by rebellion.<sup>123</sup> Though Arundell himself was an experienced soldier and commander, the bulk of the 400 men recorded under his leadership must have been amateur soldiers at best. A good number can be shown to have been drawn from the Welsh squirearchy, with others from among the merchants and burgess of the towns of south and west Wales and its neighbouring March. Many of the latter appear to have originated from the Lancastrian estates within Wales, though some are more readily identifiable than others. Hugh and Davy Brecknock probably emanated from the lordship of that name; the two William Havards – junior and senior – were most likely from Pontwilym, also in the lordship of Brecon. A relative, probably William the elder's father, John or Jankyn Havard was constable of Dinefwr (Carms.) in the Twyi valley.<sup>124</sup> Another man from Brecon was William Sourdeval whose son, encountered a few years later, was known as William Fychan ap Gwilym Sourdeval, indicating that the family had adopted something of the Welsh society in which they lived. These cultural connections were further later in the century when the Sourdevals or *Swrddwals* produced poets of their own.<sup>125</sup> Thomas Bannow, a merchant of Carmarthen engaged in the Gascon wine trade served as a man-at-arms. On his return from Gascony in 1402, he had been captured and subsequently

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<sup>122</sup> Griffiths, 'Carmarthen', in Griffiths (ed.), *Boroughs of Medieval Wales*, pp. 154-5.

<sup>123</sup> TNA E 101/44/7.

<sup>124</sup> William Havard the elder is probably to be identified with William fitz Jankyn, burgess of Brecon, who was rewarded with forfeited rebel lands in 1403 by way of compensation for lost goods to the value of £200, TNA DL 42/15 f. 158-158v. cited in R. R. Davies, 'Brecon' in Griffiths (ed.) *Boroughs of Medieval Wales*, p. 66.

<sup>125</sup> Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 248-9.

ransomed by a Scots fleet operating off the Welsh coast. Proving that not only the Welsh and Scots were the adversaries of the loyal residents of Wales on his return to Carmarthen he suffered further misfortune being detained, unlawfully, by the men of Walsall. Philip Bannow, presumably a relative, served in the same capacity as did a number of his fellow Carmarthen burgesses. Notable among these was one of Welsh origin, Hywel ap Philip, another Carmarthen wine merchant, had previously served as deputy constable of Carmarthen Castle before 1397-8 and twice as bailiff of the borough, in 1387-8, and again in 1395-6. Other parts of the southern Principality were also represented; Richard Mortimer, for example, was presumably drawn from the Cardiganshire family of that name established there since the late thirteenth century. He had also served among the men-at-arms in the garrison of Carmarthen under John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, in 1403.<sup>126</sup> Others were drawn from across southern Wales and the southern liberties in the March, men such as John Somery, lord of Dinas Powys, Glamorgan and Robert Greyndor of Monmouth and Abenhall, Herefordshire. Such examples could be easily multiplied. These men and their families were securely embedded in their localities descendants of settlers who had followed the earliest Marcher conquerors in south Wales, and also the Welsh elites of these areas.<sup>127</sup> The evidence of toponyms, more reliable – because more recently adopted in Wales than in England – suggest that the expeditionary army in southern Wales in 1405 was dominated by the men of the border counties and the lordship of Brecon. Relatively few can be shown to have had much in the way of earlier military experience, and only in a few rare cases can this experience be demonstrated to have translated into a longer career. One such man, Robert Boys, served as a man-at-arms in the retinue of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, in 1421. It is possible that this was

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<sup>126</sup> R. A. Griffiths, 'Medieval Carmarthen', in Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered*, p. 184, for his service in 1403, TNA E 101/43/21 m. 1.

<sup>127</sup> TNA E 101/44/7. The Bannow family had a far wider presence in south-west Wales; Philip Bannow (d. 1430) was resident in Carmarthen, and bailiff of the town twice, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 335, 337. John Bannow, burgess of Tenby was ordered to take corn and other foodstuffs to the castle of Cydweli in 1403; *C.C.R. 1401-5*, p. 34, and who also shipped merchandise to Spain in 1405 for which he received a general pardon in 1414. He may be have to be distinguished from John Bannow of Carmarthen; Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 290, 347, 353. Thomas himself was clearly involved in the Gascon wine trade before his capture by the Scots; *Cal. Anc. Pet.* p. 457. For William Swrdwal; Evans (ed.), *Gwaith Hywel Swrdwal a'i Deulu*, Davies, 'Race Relations', pp. . For further details of the interests of these families and others, see Davies, *Lordship and Society* pp. 413-424.

the ‘Robinet’ who served as an archer in the expedition led by Richard Arundell in 1405 but the evidence is not conclusive.<sup>128</sup>

With the shires and March of Wales in a state of war, it is unlikely that many Welshmen served abroad in this period. It can be shown that a handful did however. Two Pembrokeshire men took letters of protection to serve at Hammes Castle in the Calais March in April 1401 under Sir Thomas Swinburne. Richard Sumnour and John Wyseman were from the English community of the Marcher county which had been unaffected by the first – unsuccessful – thrust of the rebellion in North Wales in the autumn of 1400 and the spring of 1401. More surprising is the presence of ‘Ralph Tudor’ as an esquire with John Beaufort, duke of Somerset, in Calais itself in 1405.<sup>129</sup> Similarly, one Maredudd ap Madoc was granted protection to serve in Ireland with Henry IV’s son Thomas in 1403 when the revolt was approaching its height.<sup>130</sup>

### *The Prince’s Household*

While local defence depended on the actions of local men, English in background as well as Welsh, the Prince’s own household, from the available evidence was all but exclusively English. The wardrobe book of John Spenser for the years 1403-6 reveals significant detail relating to various aspects of the war in Wales: the garrisons of several of the castle of North Wales and Brecon, the role of the Prince’s household in the expeditionary army sent to North Wales in 1403 and the English relief force sent to the besieged castle at Harlech before its loss to Glyn Dŵr in 1404. It is limited by the status of those it records. The named individuals are, unsurprisingly, almost exclusively of the rank of esquire and above and the Welsh connections of many of these men were frequently somewhat tenuous. Most were the men of the border counties from Gloucestershire, northwards and from the prince’s demesne, most notably Cheshire. A notable exception was Thomas Griffith, son of Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd II who served with four archers for twenty-eight days in 1404, though by his

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<sup>128</sup> TNA E 101/50/1 m. 1.

<sup>129</sup> Sumnour and Wyseman; TNA C 76/85 m. 9. A John Wyseman served in 1415; TNA E 101/45/17 m. 4. Ralph Tudor esquire TNA C 76/88 m. 11. He might possibly be identified with Raulyn Tudor, an esquire in the retinue of Sir John Darundell in Arundel’s naval expedition of 1388; TNA E 101/41/5 m. 6.

<sup>130</sup> C.P.R. 1401-05, p. 195. An esquire of this name served in the garrison of Montgomery from 1404-08 and might plausibly be the same individual. TNA E 101/44/6 and TNA E 101/44/14.

own account he was a Staffordshire man rather than a Welshman, holding no office in Wales though his son and grandson did. It is unlikely that this single instance reflects the sum of Griffith's service, and likewise, Thomas Howell of Pembrokeshire who also appears in the same source.<sup>131</sup>

This was another burden among many for that county, and greatly increased when the men of Flintshire joined the rebellion after 1403. Prior to this point, the county of Flint had been more or less responsible for its own defence and dependent upon the county's Welsh community.<sup>132</sup> The documents of the county palatine reveal the financial dependency of the North Wales castles on Cheshire revenues, though these were insufficient to meet the demands of the garrisons, for pay, provisions or reinforcements. In consequence, the unfortunate garrisons were largely left to their own devices to ride out the storm. In the case of eight archers who survived the siege by the Welsh it seems likely that they were only paid after the castle fell, disease and starvation having compelled their surrender in 1404. Similarly, the men of Cheshire were repeatedly arrayed for their own defence whose own interests which, in common with the lordships of the March and the border counties were threatened by the existence of the rebellion to the west.<sup>133</sup>

The effect of rebellion on the Marcher gentry as a group is difficult to define with any precision. Two of the most interesting examples are Sir Laurence Berkerolles, lord of Coity in Glamorgan and East Orchard, Merthyr Mawr and Lampha in the lordship of Ogmore and John Fleming of Cowbridge who was deputy steward of the king's lordship of Ogmore by 1400. As men from established families in south Wales, their service is unremarkable; Berkerolles served with his lord, Edward Despenser in 1372, as did Fleming, and this is the only evidence of Berkerolles having perused a military career. Fleming, however, also served as a man-at-arms in Ireland in between 1389 and 1392.<sup>134</sup> In their civilian life both men were typical of their contemporaries,

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<sup>131</sup> Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 263 and also Appendix A. He served in North Wales 17 April – 18 July 1403 TNA E 10/404/24 (2) m. 16.

<sup>132</sup> Sample CoA from *DKR* 36

<sup>133</sup> A. E. Curry, 'The Demesne of the County Palatine of Chester in the Early Fifteenth Century' (Unpublished MA, Manchester, 1977), pp. 280-6 A general summary of the financial straits suffered by the princes administration, see R. Griffiths, 'Prince Henry, Wales and the Royal Exchequer, 1400-13', *BBCS* 32 (1985), pp. 202-15. For payments to the Harlech garrison in 1402-3, TNA E 101/404/24 (1) f. 10 and its surrender, Davies, *Owain Glyndŵr*, pp. 116-7.

<sup>134</sup> TNA E 101/41/18, m. 4.

men such as the Stradlings of St Donats and the de la Beres of Weobly in Gower with interests in south west England as well as south east Wales. The rebellion marked a parting of the ways: Berkerolles, whose primary residence had been Coity castle since 1384, was besieged by Glyn Dŵr between 1404-5, while Fleming, presumably for reasons of his own joined the rebels.<sup>135</sup> Such cases highlight the ambiguous place of Glamorgan in the rebellion placed in royal hands by the execution at Bristol of Thomas, lord Despenser in January 1400.

The general implication of the available evidence is that the period of rebellion produced a marked remilitarisation of the shires and March of Wales and provided a generation of men with significant, intensive, if occasionally reluctant military experience. Self-reliance rather than massed campaigns eventually proved the most effective policy and the evidence of muster and pay records implies that English interests in Wales were maintained by men who had not necessarily considered themselves career soldiers. From the records of later conflict it appears only a relatively small proportion developed this into a military career – a number of these are discussed with relation to the campaign in France in 1415 below – though the next generation of Welshmen more than made up for this deficiency. This effect on Welsh society should not be overstated, the economic devastation and degree of retreat of external administration that characterised Wales and its March were more pertinent, but the military skills and re-discovered Welsh belligerence became tools in this process.

## ***II – After the Rebellion***

Towards the end of the rebellion in Wales, negotiations between the English and the Burgundians began in August 1411, and were clearly sufficiently advanced by mid-August for Henry IV to order all those holding royal annuities to muster in London on 23 September, a tactic employed again in 1415. The resulting army was led by Thomas, earl of Arundel, (b. 1392) and chroniclers name a selection of captains serving with him; William Bardolf, lieutenant of Calais, apparently with 300 men

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<sup>135</sup> R. A. Griffiths, 'Owain Glyndŵr and the Siege of Coity Castle, 1404-1405' *Morgannwg*, xlv (2001), pp. 19-23.

from the garrison there, Sir Robert Umfraville, Gilbert Umfraville, Sir John Grey, John Phelip and William Porter. Additionally, Monstrelet noted that the earl of Pembroke – a title not held at that date – was also present. This is a confused reference to Sir Francis Court, probably an Italian, who had been granted the keeping of the lordships of Pembroke and Cilgerran for life in 1402, had been resident in these lordships and, like Arundel, had been active against the Welsh rebellion. The other man with strong Marcher connections known to have been present was the Lollard and later rebel, Sir John Oldcastle.<sup>136</sup> Chronicle sources suggest the army totalled between 1,200 and 2,600 men, but its precise composition is unknown. It is probable that men drawn from Arundel's estates in north Wales and the Marcher county of Pembroke were numerous in this force despite the state of unrest which persisted throughout Wales even though the rebellion was largely at an end. Evidence that Arundel's estates made financial contributions to the expedition can be found in a court roll for the commote of Naheudwy in the lordship of Chirk in 1411. Here, the community made a donum to their lord 'ad equitanciam suam in partibus Ffrancie'.<sup>137</sup>

There are three surviving letters which appear to relate to the military context of 1411.<sup>138</sup> The first letter dated at Ruthin 23 June was sent by Reginald, lord Grey to 'Ryght heigh and myghty Prynce, my goode and gracious lorde.' The Prince can only be Henry of Monmouth. The second is a copy of the same letter to which reference is made to another letter from Gruffudd ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd to Grey himself dated 11 June. The third is Grey's reply to Gruffudd and was clearly composed in the same month. References to preparations for an overseas expedition must refer to the recruitment of Arundel's 1411 army in September or October 1411, but the letters themselves must have been composed in June 1412 some time after its return from France, as Arundel did not serve in the subsequent campaign sent to assist the Armagnacs in 1412.

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<sup>136</sup> Curry, *Agincourt, A New History* p. 24, R. F. Walker (ed.), *Pembrokeshire County History*, II, pp. 227-8.

<sup>137</sup> L. Beverley Smith, 'Seignorial Income in the Fourteenth Century: The Arundels in Chirk', *BBCS* 28 (1978-80), p. 449

<sup>138</sup> J. Beverley Smith, 'The Last Phase of the Glyn Dŵr Rebellion' *BBCS* (1966-68), pp. 150-60. Smith also neatly summarised the debate surrounding these documents, Davies, *Owain Glyn Dŵr*, pp. 266, 297, endorses 1411 as the year in question.

The letters provide a mass of interesting information surrounding the state of the north east March in the dying phase of the rebellion where, despite the recovery of seignorial revenues, and the unusually consistent presence of Marcher lords in their lordships, everyday authority was clearly at a premium. Powell's study of Shropshire in the same period demonstrates that such difficulties were far from confined to the marcher liberties but were part of a wider malaise with Arundel and his retainers at its centre. Gruffudd's case makes this obvious; Gruffudd, though an apparently unrepentant rebel was acting with transparent impunity. In 1411 he was under the 'protection' of Maredudd ab Owain, last surviving son of Owain Glyn Dŵr and in a position – so he felt – to engineer his peace on good terms.<sup>139</sup> Gruffudd felt he had been promised a handsome arrangement, made under safe conduct in the Arundel lordship of Chirk, and negotiated through his cousins and formalised in front of John Trefor, the bishop of St. Asaph. In return for forsaking rebellion, John Wele, steward of Oswestry allegedly promised him the offices of 'maester forester and 'keyshat' in Chirk is lond' and a royal pardon. These offers were made without official sanction; similar negotiations in 1409 caught up with him in 1414 when proceeding were made against him requiring the intervention of the earl himself.<sup>140</sup> Military service was the price of the deal as Wele offered to take Gruffudd overseas in paid service. Gruffudd promptly found two men, armour and horses and contacted the receiver of Chirk, Peter Cambrey, for the agreed wages at the point of muster in Oswestry.<sup>141</sup> Cambrey, who was also planning to serve had no wages, nor place in his retinue and referred him to Sir Richard Lacon, a Shropshire knight and sometime steward of Clun who served with Arundel in 1415 and with his own retinue following Earl Thomas's death, the duke of Bedford in 1420. Cambrey and Lacon, in the company of another Arundel retainer and sheriff of Merionydd, Thomas Straunge made moves to apprehend Gruffudd, as a rebel whose safe conduct did not apply outside the lordship of Chirk.

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<sup>139</sup> The concept of 'protection' in this context really warrants more detailed study.

<sup>140</sup> Wele was steward of Oswestry 1408-1415; Smith, 'The Last Phases of the Glyndŵr Rebellion', pp. 251-2.

<sup>141</sup> Cambrey was still receiver of Chirk in 1416-7 and served in the garrison of la Pole (Welshpool) in 1403-4 as a man-at-arms: Smith, 'The Last Phases of the Glyndŵr Rebellion', pp. 251-2; TNA E 101/44/3 m. 2. The family, apparently originating in Cambrai, had been associated with La Pole as burgesses since the thirteenth century and Peter himself a bailiff of the borough in 1396, Shropshire Archives D593/A/1/16/12 cited by P. G. Barton, 'Welshpool Burgesses from 1241 to 1485: The Lilleshall Abbey Leases', *Mont. Colls.* 95 (2007), pp. 40, 54.

Forced to flee, the indirect result was the appeal contained in his letter.<sup>142</sup> There is more than the implication of collusion among these Arundel servants. Wele and Lacon were, with other servants of the earl of Arundel indicted for a variety of offences in Shropshire before the King's Bench at Shrewsbury in March 1414.<sup>143</sup>

How much Gruffudd's account should be trusted is open to question. It seems unlikely that Wele had planned to serve overseas in 1411 and certainly served in keeping the peace in North Wales four years later. This apparent attempt at buying loyalty from a former rebel with the carrot of military service is intriguing; Gruffudd ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd clearly regarded himself as a man of some substance in his own community. Paid military service in an expedition was some reward in itself; the offices in Chirk would no doubt have had their dividends and done much to buttress the damaged authority of Marcher administration.

### *The Reign of Henry V*

Henry of Monmouth's accession to the throne of England meant that he enjoyed a hitherto unparalleled dominance over Wales. The shires of the Principality and the Marcher estates of the duchy of Lancaster were united under his control. While it is unlikely that Welsh troops made any contribution to the England's interventions in French affairs in 1412, their involvement in Henry V's expedition in 1415 is beyond doubt. Since H. T. Evans produced his short account in 1915 there has been no reassessment in line with the developments in the scholarship surrounding the year of Henry V's best known achievements.<sup>144</sup> Though the association of the Welsh with the battle is strong – here the influence of Shakespeare's portrayal of *captain Fluellen* is writ large – no full analysis of the overall contribution of the Welsh to the army of

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<sup>142</sup> Sir Richard Lacon was MP for Shropshire in 1413 and 1433 and steward of Oswestry between 1420 and 1422, serving with Arundel in France in 1415 (he is not described as a knight in Arundel's retinue) and with Bedford in 1420 - 1415, TNA E 101/47/1 m. 1 and in 1420 TNA E 101/49/36 m. 7. With Thomas Straunge he was one of four men who entered into a recognisance for the keeping of Chirk Castle in 1420. Straunge also served as sheriff of Merionydd in 1415 (see below) and it is possible he served with Arundel in 1387 and 1388; TNA E 101/41/5 and TNA E 101/40/33. Smith, 'The Last Phases of the Glyndŵr Rebellion', p. 251, E. Powell, *Kingship, Law and Society: Criminal Justice in the Reign of Henry V* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 233-5.

<sup>143</sup> E. Powell, 'Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace at Shrewsbury in 1414: a supplement to the Shropshire Peace Roll', *EHR* xcix (1984), pp. 537-9.

<sup>144</sup> H. T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses* (Oxford, 1915, republished Stroud, 1998) pp. 26-8. The most recent scholarly works on 1415 are Curry, *Agincourt, A New History* (Stroud, 2004) and its companion piece, *Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* (Stroud, 2004).

1415 has been attempted. The Welshman who served in 1415 were drawn from almost all the lands of Wales; the southern Principality, the lordships of predominately young Marcher lords such as the earls of Arundel and March and interestingly, the earldom of Chester and the county of Flint. Only men from the far north-west, the northern counties of the Principality, the seat of the rebellion, were conspicuous by their absence, though many former rebels and others, adherents of Richard II found their way into Henry's expeditionary army.

Preparations for the king's absence were extensive throughout England, and particularly on its frontiers. Particular and extensive efforts were made in Wales, though the evidence is not as complete as one might wish. The accounts of the chamberlain of North Wales do not survive for the first four years of Henry V's reign and in South Wales, the equivalent Chamberlain's accounts are unavailable from Michaelmas of 1415 to Michaelmas 1416. Even in generally well documented lordships such as Chirk, the records for 1415-16 have been lost though in the Lancaster lordships of south Wales, relatively good records enable a reasonable impression of the military preparedness in this period can be obtained. For the Principality of South Wales, the county of Flintshire and the March, a clearer picture of the depth of preparations made to keep the peace in the king's proposed absence can be identified.<sup>145</sup>

A most important symbolic act of reconciliation and a practical measure towards ensuring security in the king's absence was an offer of pardon to remaining rebels; including Glyn Dŵr himself. The importance of this offer should not be underplayed. On 15 July Gilbert Talbot, Justiciar of Chester and a powerful figure in his own right was authorised to receive Owain into the king's peace, an offer which, though it appears magnanimous, was merely official recognition of the status quo. While Glyn Dŵr was no longer a threat militarily he was equally unlikely to be betrayed, though he was contactable.

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<sup>145</sup> There was also at least the perceived risk of a renewed rebellion as late as 1417, the county of Merionydd in particular was regarded almost as the 'wild west' and its security was deemed essential to the pacification of North Wales.

<sup>145</sup> The reiteration of statutes of the fourth year of Henry IV to the effect that castle constables should be resident in their posts and that they should be of English nationality, apparently on the recommendation of the constable of Harlech in 1417 demonstrates the mistrust which existed between English and Welsh.

As part of an array of Clergy made across England and Wales in response to the king's plans to be away for up to a year, the bishops of Llandaff and St. Davids were ordered to array their diocese by writs dated at Winchester 28 May. The newly installed bishop of St Davids, Stephen Patrington managed to array only forty men 'well and competently arrayed and armed and two hundred other persons who were bowmen, well arrayed and armed with bows, swords and other kinds of weapons according to their condition...'. Deeming this inadequate he compelled a further 124 to do likewise. In the diocese of Llandaff, the bishop conducted no fewer than three arrays in person at Cardiff, Magor and Usk yielding 230 men from among his clergy and their *familiares*, twenty-four equipped to the standard of a man-at-arms.<sup>146</sup> Similar returns from the northern dioceses of Bangor and St Asaph do not survive.

Other preparations were considered necessary. The measures proposed by the council are detailed, but undated. An initial force of sixty men-at-arms and 120 archers under Thomas Straunge, an Arundel retainer and sheriff of Merionydd was to serve in North Wales for a quarter, commencing 24 March. Since the account this information appears in begins on 24 June, which is the date this period of service ended, it seems the payment for this element was retrospective. From then until Michaelmas 1415, a quarter of a year and six days, 100 men-at-arms and 200 archers were to be deployed in the shires of North and South Wales under the joint leadership of Thomas Straunge and John Merbury, chamberlain of South Wales and a powerful official in the duchy of Lancaster estates in Wales. Finally, a similar number of troops, presumably the same men, were to be deployed from Michaelmas until the end of December.<sup>147</sup> The earl of Arundel was despatched to Wales to organise the musters for these forces. This choice is significant; not only was he a significant Marcher lord, he had served in the wars against Glyn Dŵr and had recently supervised judicial sessions in North Wales.

As implemented, the scheme appears to have been more complicated, though information only is available for the southern Principality where money for two,

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<sup>146</sup> *Cal. Anc. Corr.* pp. 256-8.

<sup>147</sup> For Straunge as sheriff, TNA SC 6/1203/8. The earl of Arundel was sent to carry out the musters (TNA E 404/621, m. 4.), *PPC*, ii. pp. 172-80.

apparently separate, forces is accounted for. In the royal lands of South Wales, a force of nine men-at-arms with nine mounted archers and 38 foot archers (*valletorum ad pedes*) at the standard rates of 12*d.* per day, 6*d.* per day and 4*d.* per day respectively, served between 6 July and 11 November 1415.<sup>148</sup> Four men-at-arms were named in the chamberlain's account; Henry Gwyn<sup>149</sup>; Dafydd ap Ieuan ap Trahaiarn<sup>150</sup>; Llywelyn ap Gwilym Lloit<sup>151</sup> and Ieuan Teg<sup>152</sup>. Of the four men named, all but Henry Gwyn indentured to serve among the men raised from South Wales in France. Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Trahaiarn had indentured as a man-at-arms from Carmarthenshire and, as a former rebel whose lands in Cantref Mawr had been forfeited to Dafydd Gam is the best documented of the three, and presumably had more than mere wages to gain. Ieuan Teg and Llywelyn ap Gwilym Llwyd had enlisted to serve as archers and each later held administrative offices in South Wales. It is probable that many of the men serving under them had made similar bargains, and remained in Wales. There is a second set of payments in the South Wales Chamberlain's account for a force of 60 men-at-arms and 120 archers, rather more than half of the total of 300 proposed by the council. The chamberlain, John Merbury, Richard Oldcastle (constable of Aberystwyth castle) and Sir Robert Whitney of Herefordshire were named as its leaders.<sup>153</sup> For North Wales, the Issue roll records only a payment of 263*li.* for its safe

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<sup>148</sup> For this, period of a quarter of a year plus 36 days (three-eighths if you prefer) they were paid 105*li.* 10*s.* 4*d.* *ob.* in addition to the 27*li.* 4*d.* *ob.* paid to them as a regard. TNA SC 6/1222/14, m. 3 and E 101/46/20 m. 2.

<sup>149</sup> He is probably to be identified with the man of that name receiving the wages of the Forester of Cydweli in 1415-6. TNA DL 29/584/9243.

<sup>150</sup> He appears in TNA E 101/46/20 m. 2 as a man-at-arms. He was Outlawed in 1397-8 and again for rebellion by 1401 when his property in Cantref Mawr was forfeited to Dafydd Gam, as well as bailiff itinerant in Cantref Mawr and beadle of Caeo (Cantref Mawr) in 1412-3, as bailiff again with Rhys ab Ieuan Fychan (an archer from the Commote of Widgeada, Cantref Mawr in TNA E 101/46/20 m. 2) in 1413-4 and once more in 1419-20. He was subsequently the beneficiary of a general pardon; C 64/37 m. 5. See Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 298-9, 368.

<sup>151</sup> He may be identified with an archer of that name from Ystlwyf (Oysterlow, a dependent lordship of Carmarthenshire) in TNA E 101/46/20, m. 2. He was Bailiff Itinerant of Cardigan in 1409-10 and held several other offices. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 305.

<sup>152</sup> Ieuan Teg was later reeve of Perfedd (Cards.), 1424-5. He is possibly to be identified with Ieuan Teg ap Dafydd Llwyd. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 454, a man of this name appears as an archer of Maenordeilo (Cantref Mawr), TNA E 101/46/20, m. 2.

<sup>153</sup> See Griffiths, p. 31 In all probability he is to be identified with the Sir Robert Whitney (d. 1443) humiliated at the hands of Gruffydd ap Nicholas. For the story, see R. A. Griffiths, 'Gruffydd ap Nicholas and the Rise of the House of Dinefwr' in Griffiths, *King and Country, : England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1994) pp. 195-6.

keeping made to Thomas Straunge and to John Wele, recently steward of Arundel's lordship of Oswestry.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> E 403/621 m. 6. Note that the payment for the force in North Wales was not made to the Chamberlain of North Wales, Thomas Walton but directly to Straunge, who, as sheriff of Merionydd presumably assumed military command.

<i>Castle</i>	<i>Lordship/County</i>	<i>Constable</i>	<i>Garrison</i>
Aberystwyth	Cardigan	Richard Oldcastle	12 MAA; 8 archers
Flint	Flint	Sir Roger Leche	1 MAA; 6 archers
Rhuddlan	Flint	Nicholas Saxton	1 MAA; 6 archers
Carreg Cennen	Cydweli	Rhys ap Thomas	6 archers
Cydweli	Cydweli	Walter Moreton	12 archers
Brecon	Brecon	John Merbury	12 archers
Skenfrith	Monmouth	Thomas Andrewwe	6 archers
Hay	Hay	John Philpot	6 archers
Grosmont	Monmouth	John Scudamore *	4 archers

**Table 3: *Garrison Strengths in Wales in 1415***

This table is based on very limited available information. The castles of Cardigan, Carmarthen and Dinefwr whose constables were all paid from the revenues of South Wales have no garrisons recorded for them after 1413 though in 1415, it is likely that the standing forces noted above were employed. The garrisons of Flintshire were paid from the revenues of the earldom of Chester. The respective chamberlain's accounts provide this information, though none survive for the shires of North Wales. The totals and named constables for the Lancaster castles are drawn from TNA DL 29/584/9243 (Receivers Accounts for Cydweli 2-3 Hen V) and TNA DL 29/731/12021 (Duchy of Lancaster Valors 2-3 Hen V).

\* John Scudamore was with the king in France in 1415, and it is likely that many of these constables were likewise absentees

The Welsh contribution to Henry V's expeditionary army is well recorded though it was hardly extensive; whatever their achievements, it was not Welsh archers who won the battle of Agincourt for Henry. Welshmen can be found in the substantial retinue of Thomas, earl of Arundel, though the numbers are not all that impressive considering the scale of his estates in north-east Wales; perhaps forty amongst 470. The most prominent among these was Jakke ap Gwilym, chief forester in the Arundel lordship of Chirk from at least 1407-8 until 1417. He was far from unusual among the esquires of Arundel's retinue as many were also prominent in his administration and had profited from the earl's power in the face of the disputes and rebellions of Henry IV's reign. Many such men served Arundel in 1415 apparently in return for judicial pardon. Five of the sixty men led by Sir John de Grey of Ruthin were identifiably Welshmen from Dyffryn Clwyd. Among the retinue of the duke of York are the five men identifiable as Welsh from 500.<sup>155</sup>

In addition, there were a number of minor captains with Welsh connections though few were Welsh themselves. The best known of these was Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Hywel since he is the *only* Welshmen noted by name in any near contemporary account of the battle. He indentured to serve with three archers in 1415, one of whom was his brother in law, Roger Fychan of Bredwardine who is also said to have died at Agincourt.<sup>156</sup> An esquire of the lordship and town of Brecon Dafydd had been a consistent supporter of the crown throughout the rebellion. So key a figure was he in his locality that a campaign of intimidation against his family was orchestrated by the rebels which culminated by his kidnap by supporters of Glyn Dŵr in 1412. The consequences of this reveal the importance of Dafydd Gam; he was given royal permission to raise a personal subsidy from the duchy of Lancaster estates in Wales in order to meet the ransom demand which was set between 200 and 700 marks.<sup>157</sup> The Lancastrian servant, John ap Harry of Herefordshire and his brother Thomas brought two men-at-arms and six archers each, and while Sir John Scudamore was a more typical example of the Marcher gentry he was unusual in serving independently. A London merchant of Welsh parents, Lewis John also indentured with the crown in

<sup>155</sup> TNA E 101/47/1 – though several of these appear to have served as substitutes for men who died – and E 101/47/7 respectively. For Jakke ap Gwilym, NLW Chirk Castle D nos. 56-8. Powell, *Kingship, Law and Society*, pp. 232-4. York's retainers, TNA E 101/45/2 and E 101/45/19.

<sup>156</sup> See TNA E404/31/362 (warrant for issue), E101/69/404, E101/45/5 m 5 issue roll – My thanks to Professor Curry for these references.

<sup>157</sup> R. R. Davies, 'Brecon, Owain Glyn Dŵr and Dafydd Gam', *Brycheniog* 32 (2000), pp. 51-60.

association with Sir John Montgomery, but his associations with affairs in Wales were distant and fleeting. In any case, he was among those who were victim to illness at Harfleur.<sup>158</sup>

By far the largest number were drawn from the Welsh estates of the royal demesne; the southern counties of the Principality, Cardigan and Carmarthen and their dependent lordships and also the estates of the duchy of Lancaster. Twenty-three men-at-arms, ten each from the Lancaster estates and the Principality and three from the lordship of Cydweli were accompanied by thirteen mounted archers and 146 foot archers from Brecon and thirteen mounted archers with 347 foot archers from the lands attached to the Principality of South Wales. In common with fourteenth century Welsh armies there was a chaplain, William Waldeboef of Yr Allt in the lordship of Brecon, who was presumably capable of preaching in Welsh.<sup>159</sup> North Wales, the nucleus of the rebellion was not called upon to provide any soldiers, and in general, the Welsh contribution reflects that of the remainder of the royal demesne; the duchy of Lancaster lands in Lancashire and the county of Cheshire.<sup>160</sup>

The principal source for this force raised from South Wales is a muster taken at the point of payment for which these lists form a receipt. Details of their role in the army are scarce, and why Henry should have felt the need to raise large numbers of foot archers is a question which has no ready answer. The recruitment of companies of Welsh foot archers was not entirely without precedent; Richard II had done so for his campaigns to Scotland in 1385 and to Ireland in 1394. Some flesh can be added to the bones by reference to the chamberlain's account of South Wales and the lists of men granted permission to return to England from the siege of Harfleur.<sup>161</sup> Three musters were taken, preserving the distinction between royal lands, the counties of

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<sup>158</sup> John ap Harry; Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 234-5; Scudamore, TNA E 101/44/30 no. 3 m. 2 (four men-at-arms and twelve archers); A. D. Carr, 'Sir Lewis John – A Medieval London Welshman' *BBCS* (1967), pp. 260-270, also TNA E 101/47/30. His military career may have been more extensive than Carr was aware; a man of this name appears in the Harfleur garrison in 1417 and with Sir John Barre in 1420. TNA E 101/49/36 m. 12.

<sup>159</sup> There was also one Hywel ap Y Person [Hywel, son of the parson] of Caeo serving in the stead of Iorwerth ap Gruffudd Llwyd, clearly had some clerical connections though these are unfortunately untraceable, TNA E 101/46/20 m. 2.

<sup>160</sup> Curry, *Agincourt, A New History*, pp. 60-1.

<sup>161</sup> TNA E 101/45/1. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, pp. 26-7 n. 4 suggests that five men-at-arms and fifty-four archers were among the sick. The figure for the men-at-arms is accurate, and that for the archers reflects the Welshmen listed as serving with the king, though not all can be positively identified in the original musters.

Carmarthen and Cardigan with their dependent lordships, and those pertaining to the Duchy of Lancaster. Two, made between John Merbury the chamberlain of South Wales and Steward of Brecon and the men-at-arms leading each company, were sealed on 26 June 1415. The muster of the men of the royal shires were made at Carmarthen were made there and those of the Lancaster lordships at Brecon. The third indenture of receipt made between Thomas Walter, Merbury's lieutenant, and Hugh Eyton, receiver of Cydweli, for wages for a full quarter for three men-at-arms, three mounted archers and three foot archers from the lordship of Cydweli and was dated there 20 June 1415. Their service was to commence from 1 July. Attached to this indenture is a warrant for reimbursement from the issues of the royal lands of South Wales dated 14 April 1415.<sup>162</sup> The £435 paid to the main force – equivalent to forty-five and a half days pay – originated from the exchequer; it had been delivered by the hands of William Botiller, then receiver of the lordship of Brecon, via the account of the sheriff of Hereford two months earlier.<sup>163</sup> It is noteworthy that there is no record of further payment made to these men, a matter which is particularly unfortunate as it is clear that not all of these men served in France.

How many reached Southampton, let alone France, is uncertain since no record survives of additional payment to any of their captains. This is further complicated by a decision to send those men who could not be shipped to France home without payment. Evidently, many reached Warminster, Wiltshire, before 28 July, for the Close Rolls include reference to English and Welsh soldiers refusing to pay for their victuals there.<sup>164</sup> Others definitely reached Harfleur as a significant number can be positively identified among the sick given licence to return to England. It is revealing that the men of the Principality suffered disproportionately from illness suggesting that the force was divided once it arrived at the siege and experienced different conditions. How many died is also unknown and thus it is all but impossible to ascertain how many of these men served at Agincourt itself though allowing for those

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<sup>162</sup> Thomas Walter, of Newton (Carms.) was another man who made a career in administrative service in South Wales and in the south west March, see Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 129 and references. Eyton was, in addition, janitor of the castle of Aberystwyth at this date, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 214, 216. Curry, *Agincourt, A New History*, p. 61 dubs him Edon.

<sup>163</sup> E 404/621 m. 6 He had also disbursed funds to the earl of Arundel for the standing force of 300 men for defence of the Principality. R. A. Griffiths, 'William Botiller: A Fifteenth Century Civil Servant' in Griffiths, *King and Country*, p. 181.

<sup>164</sup> *C.C.R. 1413-19*, p. 223.

men who never left Wales and the number known to have returned subsequently it is unlikely to have been many more than 400.<sup>165</sup>

The motivation for the recruitment of such a large force of foot archers is unclear although their incentives to serve seem more readily apparent. In Powell's words, Henry V's 'main instruments in restoring public order were conciliation and recruitment to military service'.<sup>166</sup> Several of those who can be readily identified among the musters of south Wales in 1415 were former rebels; they probably represent many more. Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Trahaiarn has already been noted as remaining in Wales, but Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Henry Dwinn, Rhys ap Llywelyn, and Maredudd ab Owain were also among the men-at-arms mustered at Carmarthen and each were possibly repenting for their rebellion.<sup>167</sup> While it would be unwise to regard the musters as a catalogue of South Wales rebels of the previous decade, another unusual feature of these musters is suggestive; those sealed at Carmarthen – but not at Brecon – list no fewer than 117 men serving in the place of another, named individual. At the very least this implies that the men who provided substitutes had been summoned in person. Those occupying official positions were not immune; Maredudd ap Rhys Fychan for example was serving as bailiff of Mabelfyw at this time, though another officer Adda ap Maredudd ap Rhys, beadle of Creuddyn in 1415-6 may have served in person.<sup>168</sup> It was not only the physical military resources of the royal shires in Wales, or the king's lordships that Henry V employed. Henry's father had extorted enormous subsidies in exchange for charters of pardon, not only from his own estates. The rebellion was treason against the king: the money raised filled his coffers, not those of the marcher lords. Between Henry's accession in 1413 and the end of 1414 the king raised over £5,000 in collective fines from his Welsh lands, 2,260 marks of which came from the Lancastrian estates. This compared very

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<sup>165</sup> Curry, *Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, document F9 (BL Cotton Cleopatra F. III fol. 148), pp. 448-9.

<sup>166</sup> Powell, *Kingship, Law and Society*, p. 229.

<sup>167</sup> TNA E 101/46/20 m. 2; of these only Gruffudd Dwinn remained in France long enough to serve at Agincourt, and as the grandson of the notorious Henry Dwinn received pardon with him in 1413 and letters of denizenship in 1421; Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 201-2. Rhys ap Llywelyn and Maredudd ab Owain fell ill at Harfleur and returned home; TNA E 101/45/1 m. 12. Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Trahaiarn seems to have remained in West Wales; see above. For their rebellion, Davies, 'The Bohun and Lancaster Lordships', pp. 272-3, Davies, *Owain Glyndŵr*, pp. 311-3.

<sup>168</sup> Maredudd ap Rhys Fychan, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 382; that he received two general pardons, in April 1416 and in March 1417 may not be unrelated. Adda ap Maredudd ap Rhys, *Ibid.*, pp. 310, 459, 460, 464. Confusingly, there are two men named Adda ap Maredudd from Uwch Aeron (Cards.) named in the muster; one substituted his son Philip, the other served in person.

favourably with the £1,000 annual yield which might have been expected from the Principality before the revolt.<sup>169</sup>

The extent of Welsh participation in the army which defeated the French at Agincourt was not decisive, though the recruitment of a significant company of archers from the shires and Lancaster estates of South Wales was unusual. It was probably proportionate and was demonstrably part of the process of reconciliation in the royal counties of South Wales. The recruitment of men recently in open rebellion had precedents in the reign of Henry IV, notably the involvement of the men of Cheshire in the army of 1400. It also appears to have been in line with Henry's recruitment policy of 1415 when the royal demesne in England was exploited in a similar fashion. Companies of archers were raised from the Duchy of Lancaster estates in Lancashire and the royal county of Cheshire in an expression of royal authority. For these men, burdened by the demands of war in Wales over the previous decade service in France doubtless had a different flavour. For the Welshmen, it was either a means to recover their lands and liberties or a continuation of earlier royal service. It was a foundation upon which several men built careers. Gruffudd Dwnn was the most significant of such men, but as Griffiths's study of office holders in South Wales demonstrates – and the rolls of later campaigns confirm – the militarisation of sections of the Welsh squirearchy was an important function of Glyn Dŵr's rebellion and Henry V's later wars.

The armies raised in between 1416 and 1422 followed the pattern of that of 1415. In 1417, 1418 and 1420 Henry exploited both the duchy estates and Principality lands in Wales as a recruiting ground – albeit on a smaller scale – in much the same way as the lords of the March. Only in 1420 is there any definite suggestion of an archer company drawn from Wales in the manner of 1415. It seems clear that 1415 began or illuminated military careers among Welshmen some of which can be shown to have begun in the heat of rebellion. It is noteworthy too that this period began the rise to prominence of a number of Welsh captains independent of either King or Marcher lord. To a great degree, the rebellion led by Owain Glyn Dŵr brought about a

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<sup>169</sup> Henry IV levied fines of 180 marks and £50 on the tenants of the Lancaster lordships of Cydweli and Ogmores respectively and £500 and 500 marks on the Marcher lordships of Glamorgan and Abergavenny. Davies, 'The Bohun and Lancaster Lordships', pp. 310-11. Powell, *Kingship, Law and Society*, p. 198.

remilitarisation not only of the Welsh March, but of the residents of Wales themselves and this found its flowering in the armies which fought in France in the years after 1415 and into the reign of Henry VI.

The evidence for the companies of archers raised after 1415 is fragmentary and often rather tangential. While the great army of 1415 appears to have been made up in large part of men repenting their rebellion, the evidence for the apparently smaller forces raised in subsequent years is less clear cut. In 1417 for example, there is little detail beyond that from the lordship of Monmouth where John Merbury and John Russell recruited thirty men each with a horse for the invasion of Normandy. It may be significant that no mention can be found of men from this lordship serving two years earlier.<sup>170</sup> In 1418, additional men were recruited to bolster the besieging army at Rouen. Again, there is no surviving evidence of their names, but elements of the process are traceable and hint at a degree of coercion. The receiver of Cydweli told four men that they had been assigned to go as men-at-arms to the siege of Rouen though they could be excused this service on the payment of a fine; a common arrangement which occurs in the court rolls of Ruthin in the fourteenth century. Since one of those allegedly selected was over seventy, this caused the tenants of the lordship to report the receiver for extortion.<sup>171</sup> Only in the army led by John, duke of Bedford, in 1420 is there evidence for archer companies from Wales analogous to 1415. Four retinues in particular are of interest. These were led by Sir Thomas Barre of Herefordshire, Walter de la Field, Thomas Eston and Lewis Powell. Walter de la Field's retinue of three men-at-arms and nine archers contained the constable of Whitecastle (Monmouth), Thomas Andrew as a man-at-arms, while Thomas Eston who brought three archers appears to have served with Grey of Ruthin in 1415.

The retinue of Lewis Powell consisted of twenty-five men-at-arms, all apparently Welsh, and fifty seven archers appears at first glance to be another selection of men taken from the royal demesne in South Wales and the March.<sup>172</sup> While there is insufficient continuity with other armies to test this properly, the names of one or two individuals might suggest that the shires of North Wales also provided some men.

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<sup>170</sup> TNA DL 29/615/9845 m. 3.

<sup>171</sup> Curry, *Agincourt, A New History*, p. 61. For Ruthin, see, Davies *Lordship and Society*, pp. 80-4.

<sup>172</sup> TNA E 101/49/36 m. 12 'Lewis Powell' nor any of the obvious variants (Lewis ap Hywel, Llywelyn ap Hywel, etc.) can be identified at present in any other military sources.

While trade and commercial interests around the eastern borders and the southern coast of Wales appeared to recover reasonably quickly, the relative isolation of the northern Principality appears to have slowed the process of reconciliation there and this seems especially so when it comes to issues of military service.<sup>173</sup> The first is John Bala who may have originated from the borough of that name in Merionydd. Should this be the case, a more tantalising albeit improbable, possibility presents itself. The second individual, a man-at-arms in this company, is recorded as Owen ap Maredudd. It may be that this was Owain ap Maredudd ap Tudor; that is Owen Tudor, grandfather of Henry VII. His first known appearance in English service is not otherwise until 1421 when ‘Owen Meredith’ joined the retinue of Sir Walter Hungerford, steward of the king’s household.<sup>174</sup> In addition, Morgan Fychan and John Burghull, of Llanfilo in the lordship of Brecon, who both served as men-at-arms, were among a standing force sent to Aquitaine under John Tiptoft between 1415 and 1417.<sup>175</sup> This demonstrates some continuity among the military community of south Wales, developed no doubt by attachment to the king. That said, the most notable element of Powell’s retinue, when compared to that raised five years earlier, is the number of Welshmen serving as men-at-arms. The ratio of men-at-arms to archers is almost one to two in 1420, opposed to one to twenty-four in the force drawn from South Wales and the estates of the duchy of Lancaster in 1415. Unfortunately, few of those who served in 1420 can be positively identified as men who had served as archers five years earlier; patronyms stretching back only a single generation cannot provide certainty. Among those who served in both armies are two of the men-at-arms in Powell’s retinue, Jankyn Llwyd and Hywel ap Madog.<sup>176</sup> Others, with names which are not obviously Welsh such as the archer Philip Squire, are more readily identified among the earlier army. A more convincing demonstration of continuity is the example of three archers, Rhys ap Dafydd ap Thomas, John Herry and Walter

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<sup>173</sup> R. A. Griffiths, ‘After Glyn Dwr: An Age of Reconciliation?’ *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 117 (2002), pp. 139-64.

<sup>174</sup> A man of the same name appears as an archer in Humphrey, duke of Gloucester’s retinue in 1415; TNA E 101/45/13 m. 2. The cognomen ‘Bola’ (E. Belly) is also a possibility. ‘Owen ap Meredith’; TNA C 76/104 m. 18.

<sup>175</sup> Tiptoft’s standing force: TNA E 101/48/4. Burghull may also have served in the army sent to secure South Wales under lord Grey of Codnor in 1403, the family were established at Llanfilo in the lordship of Brecon, TNA E 101/43/21, Davies, *Lordship and Society*, pp. 416-7.

<sup>176</sup> Jankyn Llwyd TNA E 101/46/20 m. 3 from the lordship of Hay; Hywel ap Madoc TNA E 101/46/20 m. 2d from the Commote of Penrhyn near Laugharne (Carms.).

Towker who were listed together, both in Powell's retinue and in 1415 as mounted archers from the lordship of Cydweli.<sup>177</sup>

The Marchers still exploited their estates to populate their retinues into this period as is apparent from the sub retinue of Richard Beauchamp, lord Abergavenny and lord of Glamorgan since 1415, in the army of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, in 1417. Beauchamp had served in France in 1416 with a substantial retinue of 150 men. A year later he raised 207 men and it is not unreasonable to suggest some degree of overlap between the two.<sup>178</sup> No musters survive for the earlier force but the 1417 retinue contained a remarkable number of men from Glamorgan, notably William Gamage of Coity and Caldecot and Sir John Stradling (d. 1435), both members of established Marcher gentry families albeit in the latter case also well established in the south-west of England. Sir John's elder brother Edward had fought in the retinue of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, at Agincourt and enjoyed a significant administrative career in South Wales and the Marches. Though Edward resided at St. Donats, Glamorgan, Sir John's interests were largely in England. Given the bickering, litigation and public disorder that had surrounded the inheritance shared between these families from Sir Laurence Berkerolles (d. 1411) it is interesting, and perhaps surprising, to note these two men serving in the same retinue.<sup>179</sup> Many of the men-at-arms were from Welsh families and some, such as Dafydd (Davy) Mathew whose effigy can be found in Llandaff cathedral were among the emerging Anglo-Welsh gentry of the lordship. The apparent length of his military career is striking. It may have begun during the rebellion; a man of this name was paid his expenses for travelling from Hereford to Henley in 1404; and saw him serve not only Beauchamp, a local lord, but also Sir Richard Woodville in 1421.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Philip Squire of the lordship of Brecon TNA E 101/46/20 m. 3; the Cydweli archers TNA E 101/46/20 m. 4. John Herry served as an archer in the retinue of Sir Richard Arundel in the Welsh expedition of 1405, TNA E 101/44/7.

<sup>178</sup> TNA E 101/52/2 m. 5. The size of his retinue in 1416 is given by his indenture; TNA E 101/48/10/139 and in the issue roll, TNA E 403/624, m. 4.

<sup>179</sup> Sir John Stradling's interests were however, primarily in the west of England and as such, is only touched upon in Griffiths's biography of the family; R. A. Griffiths, 'The Rise of the Stradlings of St. Donats', *Morgannwg* VII (1963), pp. 15-47; *Glam. C. H.* III, pp. 294-5; *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/> 'Stradling' and 'Gamage'; R. A. Griffiths, 'Stradling Family (per. c.1290-1480)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48658>], accessed 4 May 2009], also, Griffiths, 'The Siege of Coity', pp. 23-5 and references.

<sup>180</sup> *Glam. C. H.* III, pp. 307, 410; 1405 TNA E 101/404/24 f. 35; 1407 TNA E 101/49/37 m. 3

This generation of men appear to have served in a more independent fashion than had previously been usual for Welshmen in English armies. In part this may have been a consequence of service in the armies deployed against Glyn Dŵr and contacts made in that environment whilst it is also possible that the increasing size of noble estates in England reduced the importance of the March as a recruiting ground. Clearly, the military experience acquired in the rebellion was continued by some. A William Porter of Cardigan was granted protection to serve in Sir John Popham's retinue having also possibly served in 1415 and earlier as a member of the garrison at Aberystwyth under Thomas Burton in the summer of 1405.<sup>181</sup> Richard Boys, who was a man-at-arms with the army raised from the Lancaster estates in 1415 appears to have developed a subsequent military career in France. A man of this name served in the retinue of Robert, lord Willoughby in 1417. In association with Henry's invasion of Normandy, Welshmen – often the same men who appear in military contexts – found employment in its administration. Dafydd ap Rhys of Pencoed, Herefordshire who was on a commission to redress infractions of the truce with Burgundy in June 1418. At this time it is evident that he was serving with Sir Thomas Barre who had petitioned for the protection of twelve men 'his servants' including Dafydd from malicious persecution by several other Herefordshire men led by one John Aberhale. In February 1419 he was granted another protection to serve with Barre and once more in 1420. A year later, 2 June 1421 he received protection to serve with John, Lord Furnivall, Barre having died 13 February of that year.<sup>182</sup>

The most significant Welsh appointment in this period was a civilian one; Philip ap Morgan, great-grandson of Sir Morgan ap Maredudd, who had made a career in the service of the Roger Mortimer, earl of March, (d. 1398) as steward of the lordship of Usk. It has been suggested that he was the patron of Iolo Gogh who commissioned the elegy to the young earl shortly before his death in Ireland. Philip was made chancellor

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<sup>181</sup> Porter should not be confused with the Northamptonshire knight of the same name; Sir John Popham seems to have had no Welsh connections but held land in Hampshire and Suffolk. The protection was granted on 23 February 1416; TNA C 76/99 m. 5. A man of this name also took out letters of attorney in June 1415, TNA C 76/98 m. 14. For his service in 1405 TNA E 101/44/4.

<sup>182</sup> References to Dafydd ap Rhys(1418) petition by Sir Thomas Barre, *Cal. Anc. Pet.* p. 476 and references (1419) Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, p. 39 (1420) C 76/102 m. 4 (though his name does not appear in Barre's muster for six men-at-arms and eighteen archers – TNA E 101/49/36 m. 12) and (1421) C 76/104 m. 9.

of the duchy of Normandy at Bayeux 8 August 1418 a post he still held on 2 October.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> *DKR* 41, pp. 710, 801; Davies, *Lordship and Society*, pp. 205-6, 417 and Davies, *Owain Glyn Dŵr*, pp. 43-4. Dr. Foster Evans suggests the link of patronage in D. Foster Evans, 'Talm o Wenttoedd': The Welsh Language and Literature, c.1070-c.1530, in *Gwent C. H.* II, p. 288. Other Welshmen achieved administrative offices in Normandy, see Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, p. 39.

## ***Conclusions***

This long period of warfare was marked by significant military change a general decline in the numbers of Welshmen serving in English armies, which themselves were greatly reduced in size. The pattern of their service was still governed by the military interests of the lords of the March, but this influence declined with the diminishing size of armies. Welshmen serving independent captains, were, as in England, drawn from among their neighbours, friend and families and represented the wealthier members of the native squirearchy. The mechanisms of recruitment and connection were the same as in England; personal, familial and geographical, indeed there is little reason why they should have been any different.

Welshmen were rare in the forces sent to Ireland. The expeditions lead by Clarence and Richard II apart, Ireland was left to lesser men. Neither Windsor, nor Ashton were noble or enormously wealthy and could not call upon large Marcher estates. Some men – Welshmen and Marcher squires alike, among their English and Irish fellows – made military careers in Ireland, and their number is probably rather more extensive than the surviving documentation allows. Inevitably, Richard's expeditions in the 1390s, both of which departed from the Marcher shire of Pembroke, brought men from that locality into the forefront of military operations but there is little evidence that the standing forces maintained there in the remainder of that decade included many Welshmen.

Generally, the relatively small number and low status of Welshmen noted in the first stages of the war in France after 1369 reflect the changes in the conduct of war and the size of armies. Despite the enormous number of enrolled protections surviving from Gaunt's *chevauchée*, an admittedly imprecise guide to social rank, none appears to apply to a Welshman. The kind of troops that could be provided by the shires and the March of Wales had a diminishing role throughout the reign of Edward III. The Welsh population increasingly did not have the resources to supply mounted fighting men of the standard desired. 1369 confirmed the pattern of the war in France before 1359 in which foot archers – English as well as Welsh – had little place. The Welsh were therefore part of a wider pattern; commissions of array were employed only on a very small scale in 1369, as part of the contractual obligation of Lancaster in 1373 and

hardly at all for foreign expeditions thereafter.<sup>184</sup> For the remainder of the century, Welsh participation in war was tied more than ever to locality, and to specific Marcher lords and their estates. The role of the Principality as a recruiting ground was, though poorly documented and without a Prince, much diminished.

Naval campaigns, as well as those to Iberia and Ireland in the 1390s were exploited as opportunities for profit among the merchants of the towns of southern Wales, in this they seem little different to their English counterparts. At the end of the fourteenth century, Wales had been largely peaceful for upwards of seventy years, and was not, in general a heavily militarised society. Welshmen played their part in England wars but not to the disproportionate degree they had in the first half of the century. The rebellion led by Owain Glyn Dŵr changed that, but did not, at least not immediately greatly increase the numbers of Welshmen in English armies. Henry V's attitude to the Welsh as soldiers mirrored that he employed overall. If Wales was to be at peace and well-governed then Welshmen would have to do it. One lesser appreciated element of the army employed by him in 1415 was the use of military service as tool of reconciliation. It was a tactic Richard II also attempted in 1385 and 1394 employing companies of Welsh archers in Scotland and Ireland, in an attempt to utilise this part of his demesne as he had others. Whether the inspiration for Owain's rebellion was even in part Ricardian, however, is a moot point.

In the military sphere the principal effects of the remilitarisation which resulted from the revolt, both among reconciled former rebels and those who had remained loyal to the English cause were observed after 1422. The independent Welsh captains, men like Mathau Gogh, Henry Gruffudd and Sir Richard Gethin belong to this later period and though the most successful, Sir Gruffudd Dwn straddles it, having begun his career as a rebel, his prominence belonged to the period of English occupation in Normandy. In Normandy, Welshmen were a common feature of English armies, and to a lesser extent among French forces. One, Edward ap Gruffudd, presumably an exile following the collapse of the rebellion was captured and subsequently executed 'with others' at Falaise in February 1418.<sup>185</sup> He died a traitor's death, hanged, drawn and quartered with his head placed on a spear at the entrance to the town. Another,

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<sup>184</sup> Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions', p. 24.

<sup>185</sup> Hardy, *Rot. Normaniae*, I, p. 364.

Henry Gwyn of Llanstephan, a rebel and the son of a rebel, fell at Agincourt fighting on the French side, and yet more can be found in French arms in this period.<sup>186</sup> These unreconciled rebels appear very much to have been the exception, though the economics of fifteenth century Wales drove many Welshmen into military service, their careers are beyond the scope of this survey.

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<sup>186</sup> His father, William Gwyn (d. c. 1411) had in 1400 served as deputy Justiciar of South Wales in Carmarthenshire, before joining the rebel cause in 1403, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 121-2, 127; Davies, 'Bohun and Lancaster Lordships', p. 270, Curry, *Agincourt, A New History*, p. 62. M. Siddons, 'Welsh Seals in Paris – Additions and Corrections' *BBCS* (1989), pp. 234-6 mentions the seals of three such men; Edward Gogh, David Tanat and 'Gutto Guessin' (possibly Guto Gethin) surviving in Paris from 1415-16.

### *Chapter 3*

#### *The Shires and the March: Military Lordship and Military Participation*

This chapter will examine the structures and individual connections within which Welshmen functioned as soldiers. The first section is an examination of the nature of military obligation, its origins in pre-conquest Welsh custom and the post-conquest settlement. The second examines the mechanics of military organisation; recruitment, payment and the place military lordship in both the royal shires and the March of Wales. The third section examines the Welsh at war, through the physical reflection of external military lordship in terms of uniforms and standards. Equally important is the military role Welshmen played in English armies and the changes this underwent in the course of the period under discussion. Inevitably this pays some attention to the Welshmen as archers and their status within the armies they served in relative to soldiers performing a similar role from elsewhere in the English realm. The final section examines the Military society of Wales, led by a number of prominent Welshmen whose status had survived the defeat of Gwynedd and was maintained, to a great degree, by military service and leadership. Associated with this is a consideration of towns and their populations in relation to the military affairs of the shires and the March of Wales. In addition, there will be a number of detailed biographies of individuals in addition to those given in earlier chapters to serve as exemplars for the whole period. These will form an appendix which follows this chapter.

The large numbers involved in the armies of the later thirteenth century and in the first half of the fourteenth, mean that the systems devised to raise them deserve detailed attention. Prestwich and Powicke have updated earlier examinations of recruitment processes such as those developed by Morris in his pioneering study while Morgan, Hewitt and Curry have provided valuable perspectives based on Cheshire, the campaigns of the Black Prince in Gascony and with relation to 1415 respectively.<sup>1</sup> More generally, examinations of the careers of individuals and their

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<sup>1</sup> Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, pp. 58, 99-100; M. Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1962). This work has clear connections to Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, particularly, ii. pp. 297, 569; J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901); P. Morgan,

affinities in a context beyond the military have provided wider insights, particularly when discussing the second half of the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth. Few, however, have dealt specifically with Wales, though Griffiths and Davies have offered valuable insights and footholds for further research. This chapter aims to draw together the inheritance from the Welsh traditions of the military society of the shires and the March of Wales and to discuss the effects of the military experience of the Welsh on English systems of military organisation. Further it will examine how the structure of Welsh society and the machinery of government fitted into the wider shape of military organisation in England in a period of significant change. Set against this examination of military society on the macro level will be a number of case studies intended to outline something of the variety and patterns of service found within the military communities of Wales and their reaction to conflict at home and more particularly, abroad.

### ***Military Obligation***

From the earliest times, the Anglo-Norman conquest of Wales introduced a new military infrastructure, parts of which overlaid existing Welsh mechanisms. Military service, on a 'feudal' pattern was an essential part of the extension of seignorial authority over mesne lords throughout the March, both Anglo-Norman and also Welsh. These were necessarily forms of elite tenure, deriving in largely part from the rights of the overlord as successor to a Welsh predecessor or as a relict of the needs of military association and obligation. Similar processes can be identified in royal actions towards the shires of North Wales created by the settlement of 1284 and towards the March where the protection and development of royal rights and liberties has also become a profitable area of study; these largely follow recognisably English models in accordance with much of shire administration, though in places there were overlaid upon existing Welsh institutions. The preservation of several forms of Welsh elite tenure notably that known as 'Wyrion Eden' (the sons of Ednyfed) in the post-

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*War and Society in Late Medieval Cheshire, 1277-1403* (Manchester, 1987); Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition 1355-1357* (Manchester, 1958); Curry, *Agincourt: A New History* (Stroud, 2003).

conquest environment has also exercised historians with notable reference to those established in the thirteenth century by the rulers of Gwynedd.<sup>2</sup>

The basis of obligation for military service in the shires of Wales and the March was bound up with the nature of political relationships many of which descended from the process of the conquest of the March and the basis by which both Norman and Welsh lords exercised their authority. In this I would agree with Suppe's analysis, that English and Welsh systems of military obligation had overlapped and informed each other over the two centuries before the conquest of Gwynedd and that, to a degree it is possible to observe continuity past this point.<sup>3</sup> It should be remembered that while Welshness as a badge of identity and ethnicity was a widely understood in the context of later medieval England, the concept of Wales as it is understood today was not. It should be borne in mind in this light that the wars conducted by Edward I against the princes of Gwynedd after 1277 were conducted to a great degree by Welshmen against other Welshmen in a competition of local lordship, which the English, and the lords of the March were better equipped to win. It is less than surprising therefore to note that the basis of military obligation in shires and the March of Wales after 1284 varied according to region.

Welsh custom, illuminated by copies of the Welsh laws surviving from the thirteenth century may well reflect practice which had been in use for a considerable period though adapted over time. Since the codes survive in a form useful to contemporary practitioners of the law rather than as royal proclamations from the distant past they probably provide a good impression of practice in the late thirteenth century and beyond. A *Tywysog* (Prince) was constantly attended by a band of armed retainers, his *Teulu* (L. familia), and had an unlimited right to their service within his own *gwlad* (land) and outside. The *tywysog* could also call upon any of the freemen within his *gwlad* for service, unlimited within his *gwlad* and for a maximum of six weeks among his *llyud*, his army or host, but only at his request. The question of service within a *gwlad* or lordship is one that for most purposes is beyond the scope of this study, since with the exception of the period of the Glyn Dŵr rebellion, when individual

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<sup>2</sup> Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd*, particularly ch. VII 'Recruitment and Rewards', pp. 95-135; G. Roberts, 'Wyrion Eden' and 'Teulu Penmynydd' in Roberts, *Aspects of Welsh History*.

<sup>3</sup> F. Suppe, *Military Institutions on the Welsh Marches: Shropshire, 1066-1300* (Woodbridge, 1994).

lords were required to organise the defence of their lordships, it was seldom, if ever, enacted and service was owed to the lord rather than directly to the crown. This was, in contrast to a feudal fief in England a communal obligation 'owed collectively by all Welsh freemen in a *gwlad* because of their social status.'<sup>4</sup> Suppe noted the survival of this service in two of the lordships of north east Wales illustrated in fourteenth century extents and in the Quo Warranto proceedings in North Wales published in *The Record of Caernarfon*.

Suppe's case study, focussed on Shropshire suggests that 'Welsh' areas of this English county were effectively privatised, to become the Marcher lordships of Clun, Oswestry, Ellesmere, and Knockyn for strategic purposes. In these areas feudal duties of castle guard retained their currency far later than in the rest of England in response to the threat posed by the Welsh princes. Examples of this hangover can even be found after the conquest of Gwynedd. In 1311, in Bromfield and Yale, the earl of Surrey bestowed 400 acres on John Wysham, one of his retainers for an annual rent of £10 and the performance of a knight's fee.<sup>5</sup> In Brecon in 1292, royal tax commissioner acknowledged the separateness of those holding by Knight Service by allowing them to pay subsidies as a distinct group to the lord of Brecon. Such independence was yet more pronounced in the lordship of Blaenllyfni where a separate officer, the 'beadle of the knights' (*bedellus militum*), was administratively and fiscally responsible for this group.<sup>6</sup> In Glamorgan, the heirs of the original Norman conquerors of Morgannwg based their subsequent authority on their rights as successors to those they or their ancestors had defeated. This conquest was accomplished in a piecemeal fashion, commote by commote, largely independent of their theoretical overlord. The pre-conquest unit, *Gwlad Forgan* (the land of Morgan – Morgannwg) was divided and the kingly authority (W. *Brenhiniaeth*) was diluted to that of lordship (W. *Arglwdiaeth*). Thus in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the lordships of Coety, held by the Turberville family, and that of Afan, held by the descendants of Iestyn ap Gwrgant, were in the eyes of the English crown equivalent to tenure 'with royal liberty'. The Norman lord of Glamorgan had rights of wardship and

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<sup>4</sup> Suppe, *Military Institutions*, p. 126. ch. V, pp. 125-42, gives a fuller analysis.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 41-56; *C.P.R. 1307-13*, pp. 405-6.

<sup>6</sup> Davies, *Lordship and Society*, pp. 414-5.

marriage only.<sup>7</sup> Seignorial control was comprehensively extended by the Clare and Despenser lords of Glamorgan through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and their liberties, in common with those of many lords in the March of Wales were not only preserved but extended through the fourteenth century. Lieberman describes very clearly how military fees in Glamorgan generally expressed in terms of castle guard were commuted to cash by the late twelfth century. The cash renders themselves survived in Ogmore and very probably the other mesne lordships of Glamorgan well into the fifteenth century. These were, however, indicative of English landholding in the March rather than Welsh and in Glamorgan at least, nothing is known of the military obligations incumbent upon the Welsh population.<sup>8</sup> Some relics of the obligations which originated in the Norman conquest of the Welsh borderlands survived into the fifteenth century, but it is extremely improbable that any effective military obligation was attached to them.<sup>9</sup>

These English and Welsh elite tenures are insufficient to explain the mechanisms by which Welshmen were recruited in such enormous numbers into the armies of the three Edwards', or the nature of obligation which was exercised by the English crown or lords. Examples of tenure at a relatively low level based wholly or in part on military service in the March or within the shires of Wales were a near universal feature of both English and Welsh landholding and are remarkably persistent, being frequently emphasised into the fifteenth century. What the practical effect of this actually was by such a date is open to question. The changes in the recruitment and organisation of armies in the middle decades of the fourteenth century had largely made these irrelevant. It is possible that the Glyn Dŵr rebellion had reminded all those involved of their relevance, if only in the context of local self interest. A wider scale military obligation was a feature not only of the Statute of Rhuddlan, but in the new lordships created by Edward I in the north-east of Gwynedd.

Adda ap Cynwrig, an inhabitant of Bromfield and Yale – a lordship created after 1282 – is typical. Part of the service required for his messuage and half a *gafael* of land in Gwensanau was explicitly military, and not confined to Wales. '...he goes

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<sup>7</sup> J. Beverley Smith, 'The Lordship of Glamorgan', pp. 16-18.

<sup>8</sup> M. Lieberman, 'Anglicisation in High Medieval Wales: The Case of Glamorgan', *WHR* 23 (2006), pp. 12-4.

<sup>9</sup> Davies, 'The Lordship of Ogmore' in *Glam. C. H.* III p. 296

with his lord [in this instance, the earl Warenne] to war in England, Wales and Scotland as above said...’ The full terms are indeed noted earlier in the extent: ‘equipped by the earl, and [they] will remain with his person at his will.’<sup>10</sup> Far from simple annexation of existing rights of military lordship inherited from the princes of Gwynedd, John de Warenne, the earl of Surrey, had extended it to suit not only his own, but his king’s purposes. Such tenurial obligations could and were exploited by both lords and more particularly their officials. The evidence of the ‘Record of Caernarvon’ offers examples of military service performed by unfree Welshmen, something unheard of in Welsh law. Since these records relate to Quo Warranto proceedings of the 1340s it cannot be ascertained whether these obligations belong to the post-conquest period or are earlier. Certainly it is possible that they were impositions by Edward I’s regime.

Similarly, the extents of Bromfield and Yale of 1331 and of Chirk, made 1391-3 both reveal a complex set of military obligations from the Welsh tenants of each lordship though in the case of Chirk, it is highly improbable that these reflected contemporary military organisation and certainly no evidence appears to survive in military records of that period.<sup>11</sup> Other records of similar obligations appear in an extent of the lordship of Hay from 1340. The Welsh tenants of the Welshry of the lordship were obliged to go with the lord [for military service] for one day at their own cost and outside the lordship the lord’s expense. The English tenants of the military fees within the lordship and within the borough of Hay also had military components, but these were probably not derived from Welsh law.<sup>12</sup> Though such documents tend to fossilise dues and obligations and to present only a partial view of the economy and land market of such lordships it is possible that the military obligations still carried some weight in the first half of the fourteenth century. If so, it would make sense if this was to facilitate the recruitment of armies for royal service in Scotland and later in France.

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<sup>10</sup> T. P. Ellis (ed.), *The First Extent of Bromfield and Yale A. D. 1315*, Cymmrodorion Record Series XI (London, 1924), pp. 81, 87.

<sup>11</sup> G. Peredur Jones (ed.), *The Extent of Chirkland, 1391-1393* (Liverpool, 1933), p. 61; Ellis (ed.) *The First Extent of Bromfield and Yale*, p. 81, 87; For example those claimed for Penmynydd, Trecastell and Erddreiniog by Hywel ap Goronwy in 1348, H. Ellis, *The Record of Caernarvon* (London, 1838), pp. 150. Others in Anglesey are noted in E. N. Baynes, ‘Penrhôs, in Twrcelyn, in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries’, *Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club Transactions* (1921), pp. 21-33.

<sup>12</sup> R. Morgan, ‘An Extent of the Lordship of Hay 1340’, *Brycheniog* 28 (1995-6), pp. 15-21.

In the lordship of Powys in the fourteenth century there was a possibly unique survival which derived from pre-conquest Welsh military organisation. The office of *Penteulu*, literally, the head of the prince's *familia* or household can be traced there until almost the end of the fourteenth century. Amongst the Welsh princedoms it was generally held by a younger sibling of the prince, though its military role in Gwynedd at least appears to have been overtaken by the *Distain* or steward by the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Its survival in Powys is a reminder of the success of its lords, Gruffudd de la Pole and his sons in surviving the thirteenth century still in possession of most of their patrimony. The peaceful conversion, by acceptance of the overlordship of Edward I, of his patrimony into a Marcher liberty and its subsequent passage into the hands of John Charlton is undoubtedly the reason for this survival. David Stephenson suggests that the survival of the office into the fourteenth century in all probability arose from the fact that certain financial dues were associated with it. It is impossible to determine whether it was purely a sinecure, and though the Charlton's and de la Pole's before them served frequently as commissioners of array for Edward I and Edward II's wars in Scotland it would be unwise to read very much into this. What is clear is that it had a financial value. The account of the chamberlain of North Wales of 1306-7 shows '*iiii li. xiii s. receptis de exitibus eschaetrie (sic) ballive Pentaleur de Powys Gwenonwyn et ballive advocarie tocius terre per manus Roberti de Eccleshale escaetoris hoc anno xxxv*'.<sup>14</sup> Powys at this time was in the hands of Edward I through a minority following from the death of Owain de la Pole (Owain ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn), though it seems that the monies accounted for here relate only to the lord's share of the *Penteulu* levy. Such a financial incentive would explain how a decade and more afterwards, the office fell (albeit temporarily), into the hands of the descendants of the line of northern Powys. Madog ap Gruffudd, lord of Hendwr, a scion of that line and, as it happens, the grandfather of Owain Glyn Dŵr had earlier been appointed a Commissioner of Array in Powys during the civil

<sup>13</sup> The place of the office of *Distain* in the fratricidal politics of Gwynedd is discussed in S. Davies, *Welsh Military Institutions*, pp. 32-7, and in Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd*, pp. 11-20. For more complete assessments from the earliest times, S. Davies, 'The *Teulu* c. 633-1283' *WHR* (2003), pp. 413-54; A. D. Carr, 'Teulu and Penteulu' in T. M. Charles Edwards, M. E. Owen and P. Russell (eds), *The Welsh King and his Court* (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 63-81.

<sup>14</sup> J. Griffiths, 'Early Accounts relating to North Wales temp Edward I', *BBCS* 16 (1955), pp. 109-34, p. 125. I would like to thank Dr Stephenson for his thoughts on the subject and for reminding me of this reference.

war of 1321, successfully petitioned for appointment as *Penteulu* in that lordship in the temporary forfeiture of the then lord of Powys John Charlton in 1322.<sup>15</sup> The office was presumably relinquished on the rehabilitation of Charlton shortly afterwards. A more substantive definition of its value can be found attached to the Inquisition post-mortem of John Charlton III in 1374. A commission of four men headed by Thomas de Houton revealed that the profits of the office of *Penteulu* were receivable yearly from the rents and pleas and perquisites of court throughout the lordship. The total receipts reported reflect the inflation of the financial value of lordship in the March over the fourteenth century totalling £48 12s. 11¼d. and are described as not held of anyone by any service.<sup>16</sup> By this date the changes which had taken place in the organisation and funding of royal armies mean it is likely that its function was purely profit for the lord.

The conquest of Gwynedd brought, for the area directly affected, great changes, not least in terms of military organisation. Though in the remainder of Edward I's reign the burden on this territory greatly multiplied, as it did to a degree in the southern counties of the Principality, the burden in the March and in the English counties bordering upon it was simply redirected. The obligations by which free Welshmen were obliged to serve in their lord's army did not change and the burden if anything multiplied. These were obligations which like all the other privileges of lordship in Wales and its Marches were enthusiastically exploited well into the fourteenth century until superseded by the adoption of indentures as the chief means of military recruitment. It is notable that in Wales, the general pattern of service was for Marcher tenants to serve with their lords well into the fifteenth century.

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<sup>15</sup> *C.P.R.* 1321-24, p. 373, the original petition is TNA SC8/51/2534, reproduced in translation *Cal. Anc. Pet.* no. 2534, p. 73. Charlton had been temporarily dispossessed owing to his adherence to Thomas of Lancaster. Charlton's long time enemy, Gruffudd de la Pole (son of Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn), lord of Mawddwy, had also been allied with Lancaster, Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, p. 135.

<sup>16</sup> *C.I.P.M.* vol. XIV no. 19 pp. 22-3. The exact dues payable from each part of the lordship are included with the extents attached to the original. The office had been held by Owen de Charlton (d. 29 January 1368) *C.I.P.M.* XII no. 221 p. 197. The grant of this office made by John Charlton III to his brother Roger de Charlton, knight was confirmed for life April 12, 1375. *C.P.R.*, 1374-77, pp. 148-9.

## ***Recruitment***

It is in the recruitment of English Royal armies that the military reality overtakes the theory of obligation. The recruitment of armies in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has also been subject to extensive study. The general direction of change – the abandonment of feudal service and the rise of infantry in the reign of Edward I through to the near universal adoption of recruitment by indenture by the middle years of Edward III – has been established by the work of Morris and more recently, Prestwich and Ayton.<sup>17</sup> The role of the Welsh wars and of the Welsh in general in these developments has been underplayed ever since Morris produced his account of Edward I's conflicts against the princes of Gwynedd.

With the adoption of armies significantly bigger than had previously been regularly employed, more sophisticated means of recruiting them were required. It appears that the chief organisational innovation that enabled this, the Commission of Array originated in Edward I's Welsh wars. In the first Welsh war of, 1277 the sheriffs of the English shires were used to raise levies of infantry from their counties in order to 'keep the peace', the lords of the March acting in similar self-interest driven by royal command.<sup>18</sup> This was a direct extension of their traditional military duties, and in time of war in Wales, these duties had long included the finding of men for the king's army. By the time of the final Welsh war in 1282, this responsibility had passed into the hands of men drawn from Edward's own household, though in the marcher liberties, local bailiffs were employed. The use of local officials continued into at least the 1340s and can be observed in the lordship of Cydweli as late as 1415.<sup>19</sup>

Once the administration of the shires of Wales had been codified and made subject to royal control, military recruitment was placed in the hands of officials drawn from the locality for the purpose, Commissioners of Array. In the liberties of the march the

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<sup>17</sup> Most recently, A. Ayton 'Armies and Military Communities in Fourteenth Century England' in P. Coss and C. Tyerman (eds), *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 215-39.

<sup>18</sup> *C.P.R. 1272-81*, p. 218.

<sup>19</sup> M. Prestwich, 'Tam infra libertates quam extra': Liberties and Military Recruitment', in M. Prestwich (ed.), *Liberties and Identities in Later Medieval Britain* (Regions and Regionalism in History, 10) (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 114; J. Beverley Smith, 'Marcher Regality: Quo Warranto Proceedings relating to Cantrefsellyf in the Lordship of Brecon, 1349', *BBCS*, 28 (1979), pp. 270-2. Cydweli in 1415, TNA E 101/46/20 m. 4, see ch. 2.

commission was passed to the lord's steward and thus through his officers, as the king had no representatives of his own and could not compel recruitment there by his own authority. For the Welsh war of 1294-5, important royal councillors were appointed. The specific commission only emerges in the Patent Rolls in relation to the campaign in Scotland in the winter of 1297-8, though the instruction as it survives in the Close Rolls for the recruitment of Welshmen to serve in Flanders on 13 July 1297 is a commission of array in all but name, but relied primarily on the marcher lords and their officials. In common with similar English commissions, the commissioners had responsibility for several shires and liberties (usually dependent upon the two Justiciars in Wales). Recruitment for the Falkirk campaign of 1298, however, marked a change of approach, putting recruitment throughout the royal shires and the March under the control of royal officials, notably John de Havering, Justiciar of North Wales, Reginald de Grey, Justiciar of Chester and William Felton, constable of Beaumaris. The co-ordination of recruitment across the different polities of the march became part of the routine duties of royal officials, and local figures with military experience. The business of direct recruitment within the marcher liberties was co-ordinated by the lords and their officials, and distinction between the men of individual liberties was scrupulously observed in the payrolls and by the provision of standards and uniforms.<sup>20</sup>

As the scale of Welsh recruitment in the after 1283 demonstrates, the way in which Edward I waged war would not have been possible without the Welshmen not only of the shires of Wales, but also of the March. As Prestwich notes, however, 'The process of recruitment usually produced a sufficient number of men, but their quality was woeful. This is not surprising; it was tempting for a village to select those who could be most easily spared rather than those who were likely to be the best soldiers.'<sup>21</sup> To remind the reader of the potential efficiency of the processes, the army raised against Rhys ap Maredudd in 1287, admittedly mostly from within Wales, mobilised over 20,000 Welshmen; at Falkirk in 1298, 10,900 of an army of over 25,000 were Welshmen. Though chronicle evidence suggests that the Welsh were somewhat unwilling participants in this last instance, and anecdotally unruly and ill-disciplined,

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<sup>20</sup> *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, pp. 342-3, *C.C.R. 1296-1302*, pp. 44, 208. See also Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, pp. 99-100. see section headed 'Corporate Identity' below.

<sup>21</sup> Prestwich, 'Liberties and Military Recruitment', p. 113.

they were a constant feature for the remainder of Edward I's reign and into that of his son. Tellingly, of the 3,000 infantry who gathered on the south shore of the Solway Firth with Edward I on his last campaign, only ninety-seven were English. The remainder were Welsh.<sup>22</sup>

The process of recruitment of such large armies deserves more attention and the formalisation of the processes concerned appears in large part to have arisen from the Welsh wars. Prestwich has described the transition from recruitment of county levies from the hands of the sheriff, traditionally entrusted with that task, to household knights by the time of the second Welsh war and eventually consolidated into the office of Commissioner of Array. The benefits of appointing Commissioners of Array appear straightforward. Unlike sheriffs, who served only for a term of one year, they could be appointed repeatedly and for as long as was required. The convenience of this was such that in England in the fourteenth century, only six percent of those men who served as both sheriffs and arrayers did so while serving as sheriff. In the shires of Wales, the commissioners appear to have acted in the same manner as those holding similar offices in England.<sup>23</sup> Initially, such men appear to have been appointed as deputy Justiciars of either the southern or northern shires of Wales for the duration of the recruitment process – Walter de Pederton was explicitly appointed in this manner in 1298 for precisely this purpose, but on other occasions, the label 'Commissioner of Array' was explicitly employed.<sup>24</sup> One puzzle resulting from this purpose is the nature of those men appointed to array the liberties in the March. Since the right to recruit men appears to have been jealously guarded and precise evidence of their activities is rare, the most likely explanation is that they acted as royal representatives auditing the processes of the lord's steward in the selection of men from assemblies held at the castle gate since the men were to serve at the king's wages.<sup>25</sup> Naturally, commissioners were chosen for their position in their localities and many served in that capacity on several occasions. Walter de Pederton, noted above, was a royal clerk who served as Justiciar of West Wales in his own right for several periods between May 1290 and 1305 but served on Commissions of Array in

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<sup>22</sup> TNA E 101/373/15 ff. 13r-19r.

<sup>23</sup> R. Gorski, *The Fourteenth-Century Sheriff: English Local Administration in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 146-7.

<sup>24</sup> For further details of his career, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 93-4.

<sup>25</sup> Davies, *Lordship and Society*, pp. 82-3.

1294, 1297, 1308 and 1309. In 1294 he led the men of South Wales selected to serve in France as far as Winchester before the force was disbanded owing to the rebellions in Wales. As a king's clerk later serving in the household of Edward of Caernarfon, his role as a leader of troops was relatively unusual, though it was common for secular men, appointed as commissioners of array, to do so when appointed to commissions of array. The career of Warin Martyn demonstrates some of the difficulties of the job. He was appointed as deputy Justiciar in April and May 1298 to lead 2,500 men from West Wales to Carlisle by 30 May, and again, for a similar purpose in 1301. As a leader of men he twice found it necessary to secure pardons for himself indemnifying him from the actions of his men.<sup>26</sup> It seems likely that the authority of commissioners of array thus originated with the Justiciar, a theory confirmed by the role of deputy Justiciars, Gilbert Talbot and Roger Trumwyn in managing the recruitment efforts of 1345. Recruitment of men from specific English liberties was not unknown. In 1307, separate commissions were issued for some of the liberties of the north of England. Among them were Penrith, Cockermouth and Egremont, the liberty of the Bishop of Carlisle and Tynedale, all, incidentally, from the precise area where this army was to assemble.<sup>27</sup>

Several prominent royal servants, notably Sir Morgan ap Maredudd, Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd and Sir Gruffudd Llwyd, were consistently employed almost as permanent Commissioners of Array in both the shires and March of Wales. It seems likely that this was just one function of their roles as royal representatives in these communities. This is indicated by the receipt, on a near annual basis of robes from both Edward I and Edward II though it is likely that these men were seldom attendant on the king in person except when on campaign. As liveried retainers of the crown, these knights could proclaim their wider authority and status in their communities and just as importantly over their own social equals.<sup>28</sup> At a later date, the uniforms provided to troops from the Shires of Wales, the earldom of Cheshire, and independently, the estates of the March were part of a similar process.

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<sup>26</sup> Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 94.

<sup>27</sup> *Parl. Writs*, I, pp. 279-80, cited in Prestwich, 'Liberties and Military Recruitment', p. 114.

<sup>28</sup> For example, robes were granted to Rhys ap Gruffudd and Gruffudd Llwyd as valets of the king's chamber at Westminster and Langley respectively in 1310. BL Cotton Nero VIII fo. 83v. My thanks to Dr Chris Candy for an enlightening discussion on this subject.

The ability of the crown to order recruitment from the March of Wales appears to have been respected by its lords, provided that it was the king that issued the writs of array. The question of Marcher tenants serving beyond the bounds of their lordships was at first discretionary, at least in those parts of the March established before Edward I's time. The first occasion on which Edward I endeavoured to recruit men from the lordship of Glamorgan for service in a royal army outside Wales was in 1292, and the grant of 500 men was only given by Earl Gilbert de Clare on the promise that it would not be taken as a precedent.<sup>29</sup> If the lord of a particular liberty was unwilling to cooperate with the crown for whatever reason then the king could not intervene independently to recruit men from his lordship. Edward I's campaign to Flanders in 1297, against the backdrop of baronial opposition provides an obvious example; the earl of Hereford, lord of Brecon, refused to cooperate and his was the only Marcher lordship whose men were not represented in the resulting army.<sup>30</sup>

It was a process governed by consent which became vexed only when there was a Prince of Wales independent of the king and intent on exercising what he saw as his authority. The well documented process from 1345 was described in a letter by Roger Trumwyn, the deputy Justiciar of North Wales, to the Prince's central officials. Among the writs of array directed at the marcher lords was one to John Charlton, lord of Powys, sealed with the prince's seal of the Caernarfon exchequer. For that reason, the writ was refused by Charlton and returned intact to Trumwyn in direct defiance of the prince's authority. This was a typically robust action from a man who had received the status of a Marcher lord in his own lifetime, was continuously resident in his lordship and was more vociferous than most about promoting the rights attached to this status. On another occasion he proclaimed 'I am Pope; I am King, and Bishop and Abbot in my land' (*Je suis Papes, Je suis R[oys] et Abbes en ma terre*).<sup>31</sup> Such a man was not going to be disturbed by a young prince whose status within Wales, as a royal tenant in chief, was equal to his own. Even in those lordships which received the writ, Trumwyn, for the same reason, could not be sure that men from the March would serve, a concern which led him to raise a further 500 men from the northern

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<sup>29</sup> *Parl. Writs* I, p. 391.

<sup>30</sup> BL Add. MS 7965, ff. 81-5 and N. B. Lewis, 'The English Forces in Flanders, August-November 1297', pp. 310-318.

<sup>31</sup> This statement concerned the status of the Abbey of Ystradmarchell/Strata Marcella and was made 1333; *Cal. Anc. Pet.* pp. 411-12.

counties of the Principality. Three years earlier, in 1342, in similar circumstances, royal authority had tested the patience of the lord of Brecon. Sir Philip ap Rhys and Miles Pichard were ordered to array 200 Welshmen from Blaenllyfni, Pencelli and Cantrefsylyf. Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, insisted that Pencelli and Cantrefsylyf were his lordships and the process of recruitment was the province of his officials and petitioned, successfully that the two men should be appointed only to array from Blaenllyfni. To some extent the petition was not concerned with the protection of the lord's rights, but part of a systematic campaign to extend those he exercised over Cantrefsylyf and Pencelli. In other words, it was not so much the specific action as the man nominated to enact it.<sup>32</sup> The unsuccessful attempts to usurp the authority of the powerful marcher lords were only one element of the mismanagement of the recruitment efforts in 1345. The Prince's central administration appears to have had no understanding of the processes of military recruitment, processes which differed very little from those in England, but which were set amongst a rather different political backdrop with significantly more independent local lords.

There were other limitations on the ability to recruit men from the shires and liberties of Wales beyond the will of marcher lords, and the reticence of the native population. As has been noted in earlier chapters, fear of invasion of England via Wales, or the turbulence of the Welsh was a frequent concern for the English administration, and the examples of the preparations made in 1415 or in the 1370s under the threat of Owain Lawgogh are perhaps representative of the most realistic. Perhaps the most extreme example of this concern – and governmental ignorance – comes from 29 April, 1347 when men were being recruited to reinforce the siege of Calais:

Order to the Justice of North Wales or his Lieutenant – as the prince has been informed that the island of Anglesey in the principality of North Wales is surrounded by sea and that enemies from a foreign country often try to land there to do what mischief they can so that the island must needs be furnished with men to withstand them, and that he, the said justice by virtue of orders

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<sup>32</sup> Smith, 'Marcher Regality', p.271; Davies, 'The Bohun and Lancaster lordships', pp. 125-31.

from the said prince to array Welshmen in North Wales has assessed the island at too great a number of men whereby peril might easily arise to the Prince and the island, – to deduct a third part from the men assessed on the island and add the same number to the contingents of Merionnith and Caernarvan.<sup>33</sup>

While in emergencies, garrisons were frequently and hurriedly installed in Wales, and orders made to the marcher lords, permanent garrisons appear to have been relatively unusual from the middle of the fourteenth century, and beyond the administrative centres of the royal shires, Carmarthen and Caernarfon, evidence for them is scant. This is one clear contrast between the march of Wales and the march of Scotland, where the threat of military incursions was both more consistent and more immediate. In the march of Wales, as in England, ‘any rights the liberties might have had could be swept aside by the crown as far as military affairs were concerned, in times of necessity’.<sup>34</sup> In England, however, liberties were usually small and surrounded by English counties and their administration. The scale and fragmentation of government of the march of Wales and its liberties made such ‘sweeping aside’ very much more difficult to achieve. Predominately, the military affairs of individual lordships were left in the hands of marcher lords and their administrators (the latter often at their considerable financial profit), even at the height of Glyn Dŵr’s revolt. Such fragmentation and the resulting parochialism could take many forms. Richard, lord Grey of Codnor, found in 1402 that officials of the Lancaster (and therefore, part of Henry IV’s own private estates) lordship of Monmouth would not hand over money assigned to him by the king on the grounds that it was duchy rather than royal income. More seriously, other commanders were equally infuriated by the realisation that they had no authority to pursue rebel forces into neighbouring lordships without first securing written license to do so.<sup>35</sup> These examples of bureaucratic obfuscation emphasise the potential powerlessness of royal authority over the march even in a time of crisis.

The unrewarding nature of such garrison duty even in peacetime is illustrated by garrison lists from Aberystwyth in the 1420s and 1430s which reveal that the men

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<sup>33</sup> *Reg. B. P. I*, p. 73.

<sup>34</sup> Prestwich, ‘Liberties and Military Recruitment’, p. 118.

<sup>35</sup> Davies, *Owain Glyndŵr*, p. 257; M. D. Legge (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions from All Souls MS. 182* (London, 1941), no. 257.

paid for such service were drawn from the locality, citizen soldiers rather than professionals. In the period of the Glyn Dŵr rebellion, the situation was far worse. The value of the castle in Wales was in the state of its repair rather than the size of its complement. It is probably for this reason that the five men employed to garrison Criccieth from July 1347 were paid 2*d.* per day as soldiers, but 5*d.* per day as labourers engaged in works at the same castle from the following October.<sup>36</sup> Even at the height of rebellion in the first decade of the fifteenth century, most castles boasted only tiny garrisons of fewer than thirty men.<sup>37</sup>

Fundamentally, the processes employed in Wales were no different to those developed in England. Writs of array appear to have been issued through local officers to each community within the Commotes of both the shires and the March informing them of the dates of assembly. As the scale of armies gradually decreased through the fourteenth century, so the process of selection became a little more sophisticated. In the 1290s and the first two decades of the fourteenth century it seems probable that any man who appeared capable of the journey would have been selected to serve. Later, royal officials were in a position to be more discerning, selecting only the best men – both in terms of competence, and occasionally in birth – from those who turned up to the muster up to the quota imposed from above. Even then, these officials occasionally felt that the quality available – particularly of men-at-arms – left something to be desired, though at least in part this resulted from the expectations of the kings writs of array. In 1327, 1334, 1335 and 1340 large numbers of men-at-arms from the royal lands in Wales, but by 1345, it appears that they were not equipped to the standard expected. The official responsible for the muster, Roger Trumwyn, clearly unimpressed, felt compelled to inform the Prince that he would ‘not find them to be of such condition as they make themselves out to be’.<sup>38</sup>

It is probable that mechanisms of obligation, based on personal relations and locality were likely to be very similar to those employed in the array of archers to serve in the retinues of these great magnates after the adoption of indentured retinues. It is, however, extremely difficult to isolate material which illustrates recruitment at this

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<sup>36</sup> *Reg. B. P.* I, pp. 99, 156.

<sup>37</sup> Davies, *Owain Glyndŵr*, pp. 249-53.

<sup>38</sup> *Cal. Anc. Corr.* pp. 246-7. The French original is transcribed in Evans, ‘Some notes on the Principality’, pp. 102-3.

level on a routine basis. The company of 500 foot archers raised in 1415 from the Lancaster estates and the southern counties of the Principality provides an exception to this principle. In the aftermath of rebellion, the desire for personal and communal pardon made the prospect of a year's service at royal pay particularly attractive. It would probably be unwise to draw too many firm conclusions from this period immediately after the Glyn Dŵr rebellion however. The nature of the muster of men from the earl of March's Welsh estates in 1375 suggests that the recruitment of archers from March of Wales continued in a manner similar to that of the previous century. Their contribution was significant, providing seventy-five archers for the earl's retinue of 400 archers.<sup>39</sup> Recruitment of esquires and men at arms to such magnate retinues has been well examined, and Bell's analysis of the retinues of the earl of Arundel from the naval expeditions of 1387 and 1388 is one that the evidence from Wales agrees with. The analysis found in chapter two of this thesis brings together a myriad of examples of such connections. Less tangible links, such as those within households, or by tenure can be seen in the large retinues of Edward, lord Despenser in the campaigns of the 1370s were doubtless also exploited but are much more difficult to spot. Geography should not be underplayed, even among armies raised by indenture. The liberties of the March supplied their lords with archers throughout the period, and to an extent with men at arms. Y Cragh Finnant, an archer at sea with lord Charlton of Powys in 1372 and Sir Gregory Sais (and Owain Glyn Dŵr) at Berwick in 1384 clearly took advantage of his connections in the area of his birth – northern Powys – to further his military service.<sup>40</sup> There is literary evidence from the fifteenth century that connections of friendship could be important in introducing men into others service. Naturally offers of hard cash eased the process, as the example of Guto'r Glyn who served Richard duke of York as an archer in 1441 demonstrates but who was introduced to his service by Henry Griffith, known to Guto as Harri Ddu ap Gruffudd, a man whose praise he, and other poets, sang on several occasions.

Dug fi at y Dug of Iorc,  
 Dan amod cael deunawmore.

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<sup>39</sup> BL Egerton Roll, 8571 and TNA E 101/34/6 cited in Davies, *Lordship and Society*, p. 82.

<sup>40</sup> 'Y Cragh' was better known as a bard, a biography can be found in Appendix A.

He took me to the Duke of York  
With the promise that I should get eighteen marks.<sup>41</sup>

Since an archer's pay was at this date 6*d.* per day such a sum equates to full pay for well over a year, unusual, since the surviving indentures for this particular expedition were only for a year.<sup>42</sup> It is very likely that similar deals were struck in the preceding decades. Guto's case offers another intriguing possibility, that of familial connections and traditions of service. The next archer in the retinue list is 'Thomas Gitto', a name which, with the addition of 'ap' – son of, a nuance of the Welsh language often missing in English documents of this period – would certainly make Thomas his son. As was shown in earlier chapters, there are any number of examples of military service becoming a family tradition from the wars of conquest in the thirteenth century until the close of the French wars in the fifteenth.

### ***The role of royal official: the Justiciars and the sheriffs***

As we have seen, the role of commissioners of array in Wales was principally as deputies to the Justiciar, or as an extension of the role of deputy Justiciar. On occasions, as in 1415, this might have been the place of the chamberlain, as the officer actually in residence, certainly, writs of array were frequently directed at whoever was supplying the place of the Justiciar when one was not in residence in the principality. In any case, their role was principally concerned with co-ordinating the efforts of other officials. The reign of Edward III, and more particularly, the principate of Edward of Woodstock was a problematic period for the administration of the principality of Wales, and set the pattern for the remainder of the century. Frequently, key officials in the royal counties, the sheriffs of the royal shires and Justiciars of North and South Wales were absentees, their places being provided by deputies. While this provided some opportunities for Welshmen, more often than not, these deputies were drawn from the marches or the border counties of England. The impact this had upon military organisation and recruitment has been rather underplayed. The

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<sup>41</sup> J. E. C. Williams, 'Guto'r Glyn', *A guide to Welsh literature*, ed. A. O. H. Jarman and G. R. Hughes, 2: 1282–c.1550 (1979), pp. 218–42. Both Guto and Henry appear in the duke of York's retinue in 1441, TNA E 101/53/33.

<sup>42</sup> A. E. Marshall, 'The Role of English War Captains in England and Normandy, 1436–1461' (Unpublished MA, Swansea, 1974), pp. 86–9.

limitations of such remote authority are shown in the shrievalty of Merionydd; after 1331 and uniquely in the principality, Welshmen were disbarred from the office though exactly why this should have been and why it only applied to Merionydd is unknown.<sup>43</sup> If Edward III wished his sheriff to exercise more disciplined control over this most tempestuous of the counties of North Wales, such a desire was a passing fancy. In December 1332, he appointed the Hainaulter, Walter de Mauny as sheriff for an unprecedented life term. Mauny effectively received the revenues of the entire county and its officers but partook in none of the responsibilities (nor ever, as far as is known, visited Wales). The question posed by D. L. Evans is pertinent here: ‘Was Merioneth to become in fact if not in name the equivalent of a marcher lordship or barony?’<sup>44</sup> Evans maintained that this question was rhetorical, the simple answer is no and this is demonstrated by the terms of the grant. Among other caveats, Edward assigned military recruitment to *his* officials and by extension, after 1343 those of his son.

He [Edward III] grants also that if he should cause men of Wales of whatsoever condition in the said country to be chosen to serve him in his wars, the said Walter *shall not be charged with finding such men*, and that no minister of the king but he and his deputies who shall make executions of the king’s mandates there shall meddle in anything within the county.<sup>45</sup>

This specific injunction says much for the English perspective on these parts of North Wales; an officer who by definition was an absentee could not be allowed to frustrate the efficient recruitment of men for royal armies in the county of Merionydd. Military historians have not always understood the implications of this. Rogers, for example, cites Walter de Mauny as arraying 127 men from Merionydd who departed for Scotland 29 October 1334. Though Mauny’s whereabouts on this date are not certain, it is all but impossible that he was at Harlech to oversee the muster. As the wardrobe book reveals, these men were in fact led and arrayed by local officials; Roger Corbet, assisted by John de Leyburn and a notable Welshman; Gruffudd ap

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<sup>43</sup> This may, or may not, be related to the then incumbent, Gruffudd de la Pole, who was continually in dispute with John Charlton of Powys. More likely, it was, for whatever reason deemed a matter of policy.

<sup>44</sup> D. L. Evans, ‘Walter de Mauny, Sheriff of Merioneth, 1332-72’, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* (1961-4), pp. 194-203.

<sup>45</sup> *C.P.R. 1340-43*, p. 304. My italics.

Madoc of Glyndyfriedwy who had also served as a Commissioner of Array in 1333.<sup>46</sup> In 1345, it is clear that in North Wales at least, it was the sheriffs or their deputies who were responsible for disseminating the writs of array.<sup>47</sup>

War could be disruptive to local administration. Llywelyn Fychan, Rhingyll of the Commote of Penllyn in 1340 was granted dispensation to appoint a deputy during his absence on the Scottish expedition of this year. Five years later the same man, serving in the same office was pardoned; again apparently in association with military service, this time in Flanders for concealing the king's rights as Rhingyll.<sup>48</sup> John Fort of Llanstephan received protection for a year's service among the garrison of Brest in the retinue of John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, in August 1396 halfway through a two-year term as escheator of Carmarthenshire.<sup>49</sup> Assuming that he actually served, a deputy must have been employed; as is so often the case, his identity is unknown. There are, not unnaturally, counter examples of men choosing to remain in their offices rather than to go to war; in 1415 there is clear evidence that those local officers in the lands of south Wales selected to serve almost invariably provided substitutes to be arrayed in their place.<sup>50</sup> Given the potential penalties risked by errant or merely indebted officials, such precautions must have been expedient. Furthermore, such unpredictable absences can have done little for the efficiency of royal administration throughout the period under discussion.

The lords of the March were not averse to harnessing the military aspects of their lordship for their financial benefit or to offset the costs incurred by military service of their tenants. While the tenants might find the burdens of war onerous, the costs associated with it were not always welcomed by the lords themselves. In 1338, John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, protested that his lordship could not afford the demands for 100 troops made upon his lordship of Bromfield and Yale, his steward insisting to

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<sup>46</sup> It appears Rogers did not use the original source: C. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 82, n. citing R. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 173. For Gruffudd ap Madoc as Commissioner of Array *Rot. Scot.* I, pp. 228-230. For evidence of several of Walter Mauny's representatives in Merionydd and as constable of Harlech, TNA SC 6/1288/3.

<sup>47</sup> See letter from Roger Trumwyn, *Cal. Anc. Corr.* LIV. 102, p. 247.

<sup>48</sup> Evans, 'Walter de Mauny, Sheriff of Merioneth, 1332-72', p. 197. *C.P.R. 1338-40*, pp. 339, 344. For evidence of his deputies employed for other purposes, TNA SC 6/1288/1.

<sup>49</sup> John Fort was escheator from November 1395 until November 1397, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 320-1. For his protection TNA C 76/73 m. 18.

<sup>50</sup> TNA E 101/46/20. For more detailed commentary, see chapter 2, pp. 124-129.

the commissioners of array that it could only provide forty.<sup>51</sup> Coercion for the performance of military service of course took other forms, and legal proceedings could provide both carrot and stick. The patent rolls reveal any number of examples of men receiving pardon for offences or protection from litigation as a result of good service, and while the best known examples of these pardons relate to the huge army raised for the siege of Calais in 1346-7, the earlier Scottish wars can provide other examples. A fairly typical instance involved Madog ap Kerewet of Maelor Saesneg, Flintshire, pardoned for the death of Henry de Wotton. Since the pardon was made at Berwick-upon-Tweed in March 1311, towards the end of the campaign that had lasted through the previous winter, we must assume that the petition for pardon was in person.<sup>52</sup> Whether the military service in Scotland which had secured his pardon was conducted of his own free will or out of compulsion cannot be judged from the available evidence. A clear cut case emerges from the rebellion in 1294. Edward I personally granted Madoc Gogh and Nynnaw (his brother) their lives and limbs, which were forfeit for burning the Kings manor of Overton (Maelor Saesneg, Flints.) on condition of service in the king's army.<sup>53</sup> Fryde suggests that these rebels found it in their interests to switch sides, though coming to terms might be more accurate. Their rebellion was motivated by the demands of taxation. These men were far from common criminals and had been heavily assessed for the lay subsidy of 1292-3 in the townships of Overton Foreign (effectively the Welshry of the manor they burned) as well as in Bangor and Penley and maybe elsewhere in Flintshire. It is interesting to note the longer term effects on Overton were formulated in terms of security, remodelling the borough almost as an English *bastide*. Just five years later, in 1300, the borough was granted murage, though no walls were ever constructed. Furthermore, the Welshmen of Overton were encouraged to exchange their lands there for others in the royal demesne at Bangor, Erbistock and Bodidris which are around fifteen miles away and about 1,000 feet further above sea level. Royal judicial retribution could take many forms, and the one side-effect would have been Welshmen dependent not just upon royal favour, but also on royal wages from service

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<sup>51</sup> *C.P.R. 1337-39*, p. 402.

<sup>52</sup> *C.P.R. 1307-13*, p. 340.

<sup>53</sup> Issued at Conwy, 3 January 1295, *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, p. 128.

in the king's armies.<sup>54</sup> It should be noted that the pardons refer to areas subject to royal justice, that is, the royal shires of Wales, felonies committed in the March being subject to the justice of the lord of the liberty in question. With the exception of minorities, the crown had little or no say in matters of justice in the March, and this liberty, above all others was protected jealously by the lords, in military terms as a means of raising men and money. Marcher tenants could be fined, as we have seen above for royal tenants in Anglesey or make fine to avoid service. Davies offers several examples: twenty-nine men from Dyffryn Clwyd made such fines in 1359; two Welshmen paid a mark each to leave their lord's army at Portchester in 1325 and another gave a red ox to be permitted to do likewise at Pontefract in 1333.<sup>55</sup>

Unscrupulous officials like Sir John Scudamore, steward of Cydweli in 1417, could summon people who were unfit for service as a means of extorting cash from the population. Scudamore went too far on this occasion: one of those summoned was allegedly over seventy and prompted a suit to be brought against him in the sessions of that year. That said in the period after the end of the Glyn Dŵr revolt, enormous sums were extracted from the tenants of all the Welsh lordships – for the rebellion was treason against the king – for communal and personal pardons, Scudamore's actions were in keeping with the still largely lawless times. At the same sessions Scudamore was indicted, with Walter Morton, the constable of Cydweli Castle and Scudamore's deputy, Rhys ab Ieuan Fychan for a large number of other extortions by quasi-official means.<sup>56</sup> In cases of rebellion, it is clear that military service could, and did ease the path to favour. There are numerous examples from 1415 of course and these were discussed in chapter two of this thesis, but these are far from unusual. Two examples from 1294 illustrate that securing favour, through coming to peace at the right moment, as in the case of Morgan ap Maredudd, leader of the rebellion in Glamorgan in 1294-5 and Maredudd, son of Madog ap Llywelyn, leader of the

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<sup>54</sup> The men of Overton were subsequently granted murage for seven years 13 April, 1300, *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, p. 505, see also, *C.C.R. 1288-96*, p. 256, *1296-1302*, p. 349, with other examples cited R. R. Davies, 'Colonial Wales', pp. 9-10.

<sup>55</sup> Davies, *Lordship and Society*, p. 83.

<sup>56</sup> JUST 1/1152 various, cited in Powell, *Kingship, Law and Society*, pp. 199-200, and Curry, *Agincourt, a New History*, p. 61. The lack of order in Cydweli can be witnessed throughout the records of these sessions. Among the many indictments made against the notorious Henry Don at the same sessions were his (largely successful) attempts to extort fines from various tenants who had failed to join him in rebellion, or who had occupied his confiscated lands, Davies, *Owain Glyndŵr*, pp. 274-5. For Scudamore more generally, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 139-41.

corresponding rebellion in north Wales. While Madoc himself was imprisoned for the remainder of his days, his son can frequently be found in the royal household, a position which allowed him some independence, if not actual freedom, and the possibility of reward. At York, on 4 June 1312, Maredudd, 'staying in the king's service' was granted the lands of Dafydd ap Llywelyn, presumably his uncle, in 'Thlenthlibieu', Anglesey, which should have descended to his father.<sup>57</sup>

### ***Payment***

Two questions have dominated the consideration of Welsh involvement in royal armies based on levies of the shires and the March. The first is parity of reward; Welshmen are generally held to have been paid less than their fellow foot soldiers raised in the English counties.<sup>58</sup> Generally, this is not the case; from the reign of Edward I until Edward III's Reims campaign in 1359, Welsh foot-soldiers, spearmen and archers were paid at the same rate – 2*d.* or 3*d.* per day – as were English foot soldiers, though there were minor differences regarding their constables and leaders, primarily because these men appear to have occupied a superior role on account of the greater numbers under their command.<sup>59</sup> The standard bearers, chaplains, doctors, criers and on occasion, interpreters were paid at twice the rate of the general infantry, that is, at 4*d.* or 6*d.* per day. Since these roles did not generally exist in levies of English foot soldiers they must be regarded as special cases and are discussed later in this chapter. After the recommencement of the French wars in 1369, no differences have been discovered in the pay between Welsh and English members of indentured retinues, even when, as in 1415, the archers served on foot rather than with horses. Men-at-arms were paid at a rate of 12*d.* per day and archers 6*d.*

The occasions where Welsh elements of English armies were paid less relate almost exclusively to their intended military function, and barring the expeditions of 1385 to Scotland and 1394 to Ireland, all relate to the reign of Edward III. The tactical approach and geographical scale of his campaigns, first in Scotland and then in France

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<sup>57</sup> *C.P.R. 1307-13*, pp. 461-2.

<sup>58</sup> Evans, 'Some notes on the Principality of Wales', pp. 55-6, Morris, *Welsh Wars*, p. 104.

<sup>59</sup> For example, BL. Add. MS 7966 (1301), BL Add. MS 7967 (1324-5), TNA E 101/393/11, ff. 79r-116v (1359). This is discussed, with relevance to the campaign to Flanders in 1339-40 and other expeditions in the period in ch. 1, pp. 56-8.

made large forces of foot archers an expensive asset of dubious value. While such forces continued to be recruited for French campaigns as late as 1359, and for service in Ireland into the 1360s, thereafter they were exceptionally rare. As Ayton and others have noted foot archers of any origin rarely served for very long in France, if indeed they ever departed England. It is as well to examine some of these instances in detail however. In the campaign to Flanders of 1339-40, Welshmen are recorded as being paid less than their English colleagues, 2*d.* per day rather than 3*d.*<sup>60</sup> This is because they were serving in England (*quia in Anglia*); had they travelled to France then the normal rate would, and indeed did, apply to other Welshmen. Many Welshmen who were recruited never left England in the course of this campaign, in common with troops from the English counties. This was due to the availability of shipping and the requirements of the army and not through any fault of the Welsh themselves. Later, in 1355, the foot soldiers raised to go with the Black Prince on his Gascon chevauchée were again paid at 2*d.* per day relative to the 3*d.* paid to other archers in the retinues of his other commanders. This is again because they were recruited to serve on foot, though the evidence of the pay account suggests that on arrival in Gascony they were soon provided with mounts, if not necessarily with an increment to their wages.<sup>61</sup>

Evidence for the payment and organisation of levies raised from the royal shires is scarce, though enough clues survive to establish a general pattern. The responsibility for payment of these levies until such time as they reached the royal army appears to have originated in the locality, as in England. On occasion, this appears to have been by county, but more commonly according to the division between the Shires of North Wales (Anglesey, Merionydd and Caernarfon) and of South or West Wales (Cardigan and Carmarthen). The confusion present in the debate surrounding this arises from a degree of inconsistency in the application of this process occasioned by variations in the availability of funds from these localities. Where sufficient funds could not be raised from the revenues of the counties or from 'army money' levied on communities, vill by vill, the crown was obliged to make up the difference from its own central resources. Court Rolls from Anglesey in September 1346 reveal that non-payment of army money was routine. In the Commotes of Twrcelyn and Talybolion,

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<sup>60</sup> Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 259-60, A. E. Prince, 'The Strength of English Armies', pp. 353-71; Lyon, Lyon et al, *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, p. 361, [fo. 144].

<sup>61</sup> D. L. Evans, 'Some notes on the Principality of Wales', pp. 63-4, Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition*, pp. 14-22.

thirty of the thirty-five townships in these Commotes were indicted and fined a shilling each for non payment and one, Bodayon was fined 2s. for not sending a representative to the muster held at Conwy. It is entirely possible that these fines were based upon custom pre-dating the conquest, but the communal element, in the widest sense, of the resulting army is made more clearly apparent. These records also suggest that the levies from the royal shires were intended to be self-funding.<sup>62</sup> Each community was to provide money, men or horses thus minimising the administrative effort and spreading the military burden. That said administrative competence was a pre-requisite. In 1345, the Black Prince's officials completely failed to authorise the payment the troops expected for their journey to the south coast of England, and in South Wales, the king had granted the farm and revenues of the two shires to members of his household requiring funds to be released from the exchequer. The exceptional circumstances of 1415 are discussed in more detail in chapter 2, though on this occasion, it should be noted that communal fines totalling over £5,000 had been made by the royal lands in Wales in the previous two years. Davies offers several examples from the records of Marcher government which suggest similar obligations existed there and that subsidies were frequently ordered by the lords of the March to fund military expeditions. The men of Chirkland were compelled to pay war subsidies, of forty marks in 1341 and another twenty marks in 1345. Their neighbours in Bromfield and Yale were ordered by their lord, the earl of Surrey, to pay 200 marks towards his cost 'in defensione status regni Anglie' in 1339.<sup>63</sup>

The more general situation is harder to piece together, precisely because of the routine nature of the expenditure. There are frequent references in the memoranda rolls granting the Chamberlains of the royal shires allowances against their account for monies paid out to soldiers. The mechanism by which such money was distributed is only illuminated by a short run of writs to constables of infantry from North Wales and some of its neighbouring lordships in 1310. The writs order the chamberlain of

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<sup>62</sup> For examples of the survival of pre-conquest and other medieval divisions and settlement patterns in the same part of Anglesey into the sixteenth century, T. Jones Pierce, 'An Anglesey Crown Rental of the Sixteenth Century' and 'Medieval Settlement in Anglesey' in J. Beverley Smith (ed.), *Medieval Welsh Society* (Cardiff, 1972).

<sup>63</sup> G. Peredur Jones (ed.), 'Anglesey Court Rolls, 1346', *Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club Transactions* (1930), pp. 33-49. For 1415, see ch. 2 pp. 120-9. For Chirk, L. Beverley Smith, 'Seignorial Income in the Fourteenth Century: The Arundels in Chirk', pp. 448-9. For military subsidies more generally, see Davies, *Lordship and Society*, p. 83.

North Wales, Robert de Esthale to pay the infantry assembled from the shires of North Wales, and several independent lordships. These orders are the type of document notable by their absence in 1345.<sup>64</sup> The rare survival of these subsidiary documents together with a summary account confirms that money was distributed in the usual fashion to individual captains and constables by the chamberlain and thence to the troops under their command. Even when the money originated from the wardrobe or the exchequer, the mechanisms of payment appear to have been similar. The chamberlain's account for South Wales from 1345 notes payments made to Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd as captain of the men of South Wales and unusually to the masters and men of several ships presumably employed to transport the men to the ports of south west England.<sup>65</sup> In 1415, the surviving documents are of a different form (though the money paid to them was recorded in the chamberlain's account), as indentures of receipt sealed by the chamberlain of South Wales and the men-at-arms leading the force of archers to Southampton.<sup>66</sup>

### ***Troop Movements***

Once assembled, Welshmen, in common with the majority of infantry forces would be expected to march to the point of assembly. For the Scottish wars these were generally Newcastle upon Tyne, Berwick and Carlisle, while for the wars against France various ports of the south and east coasts of England were nominated. The initial musters were normally held at administrative centres, either the *caputs* of the various lordships or one of the great centres in the royal shires. In West Wales this was invariably Carmarthen, while in North Wales, the usual points appear to have been the Caernarvon and Conwy ferries. Certainly it was there that the men of Caernarfonshire, Anglesey and Merionydd gathered in 1345 and the implication being that they would march along the coast (the modern A55) to Chester and from there north through Staffordshire towards Carlisle or Newcastle or south towards Shrewsbury as required.<sup>67</sup> Each were convenient for onward journeys to the west and north.

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<sup>64</sup> TNA SC 6/1287/1.

<sup>65</sup> TNA SC 6/1221/5.

<sup>66</sup> TNA E 101/46/20.

<sup>67</sup> *Cal. Anc. Corr.* pp. 247-9. A bridge was ordered at Wychnor (Staffs.) for the explicit convenience of the Welsh and Irish, travelling to the king's wars in Scotland, *C.P.R. 1301-1307*, p. 517.

Given the fragmented nature of these musters and the organisation of the Welsh into one bloc in most English armies before 1347 secondary assemblies were often employed at convenient points on the march. This intended pattern was outlined in the writs detailing the recruitment of the army intended to serve in the war of St Sardos in 1324. In the first instance, the men of the lands of north Wales were assembled at Bala on the Friday before mid-Lent [15 March]. These were the men of the royal counties of North Wales, the lordships of Moldsdale, Denbigh, Dyffryn Clwyd, Bromfield and Yale, the lands of the earl of Arundel [Chirk and Oswestry], la Pole [Powys] and the county of Flint. There they received wages from the chamberlain of North Wales and were marched to Shrewsbury where they were arrayed – the term suggests that a selection was made from the men assembled by the sheriffs – on mid-Lent Sunday [17 March] by Alan de Charlton and Giles de Beauchamp. Those selected were then paid for a further seven days for their march to Portsmouth. The men of the lordships of Brecon, Builth, Elfael, Maelienydd, Radnor, Gwerthrynion and Abergavenny, were assembled and arrayed at Hereford on the Tuesday following [19 March]. There are two interesting asides to this process. First, that the 200 men of the royal lands of South Wales; Cardigan, Carmarthen and the Stewardship (Cantref Mawr, the stewardship was then in the hands of Sir Hugh Despenser), were to be arrayed, led and paid from the revenues of the chamberlain of these lands separately. Their leaders, Rhys ap Gruffudd and Sir Roger Pichard of Herefordshire<sup>68</sup> were to conduct these men directly to Portsmouth all to arrive there by the Sunday following mid-Lent [24 March]. The route they might have taken from Shrewsbury is largely conjectural, but it is likely that they would have followed the Severn valley as far as Gloucester before branching southwards toward Salisbury and thence to Portsmouth. This route largely follows the possibility suggested by Hewitt for the Welshmen raised to serve with the Black Prince in Gascony in 1355, though this force sailed from Plymouth, and from Salisbury they may well have taken the road west via Yeovil and Exeter. Certainly, there is evidence from 1415 that men from southern Wales travelled in this direction since complaints were made at Warminster,

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<sup>68</sup> Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 261. Pichard had also served in the retinue of Thomas de Brotherton a year earlier in Scotland. *C.P.R. 1321-24*, p. 187. Shortly after his return he was awarded the constablenesship of Dryslwyn Castle.

Wiltshire, of Welshmen and Englishmen failing to pay for provisions there.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, considering the length of the Welsh coastline, and the coastal economy based around Severnside and across the Irish Sea, there seems little evidence of Welsh soldiers making their journeys around England by ship. Unusually the South Wales Chamberlain's account for 1345 includes the wages for five masters of ships and 121 sailors, with those for foot soldiers intended to serve in Brittany. These ships and sailors, presumably drawn from the ports of the region – the majority probably from Carmarthen where the troops were mustered – indicate that on this occasion, the arrayed troops were intended to complete much if not all their journey by ship. Moreover, it is probable that these men and these ships were among the 600 led by Walter Hakelut compelled by winter storms to out in on the Isles of Scilly causing significant damage and expense to the islanders and their lord.<sup>70</sup>

Returning to February 1325, the plans appear to have changed somewhat, and Edward's writs, to the Principality in particular, indicate that it was quality and experience that was wanted rather than weight of numbers. While the bulk were again to be drawn from the men of the principality; 200 of the best men from the two halves of the principality, each with two constables, were summoned with numerous small contingents of foot from no fewer than fourteen lordships. From all but one of these lordships was drawn a man at arms to act as constable. A memorandum of 26 February 1325 establishes that the 200 selected men of North Wales were to be initially assembled at Bala, with their constables and, in addition, the sheriff of each of the three counties, their sub-sheriffs and four of the best men of each county. At Bala they were to receive their wages for the march first to Shrewsbury, there to join the forces raised from the lordships of Denbigh, Moldsdale, Dyffryn Clwyd, Bromfield and Yale, La Pole [Powys], Flint and the lands of the Earl of Arundel in Wales, on Sunday, 17 March 1325.<sup>71</sup>

As noted above wages for the journey were routinely paid from the revenues of the royal shires; the implication is that this usually applied to the men of the March too. As we saw, there is evidence from the lordship of Chirk that subsidies were levied

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<sup>69</sup> Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition*, pp. 17-8; Warminster, 1415, *C.C.R. 1413-19*, p. 223.

<sup>70</sup> SC 6/1221/4 m. 4. Dafydd also served as Rhingyll of Caeo (Cantref Mawr, Carms.), 1332-3, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 366.

<sup>71</sup> *C.P.R. 1325-7*, pp. 96-7.

upon the community of the lordship for military purposes, though whether these were intended to properly equip the men serving overseas or as wages for their travel is not explicit.

### ***Corporate identity I: Uniforms and Standards***

The most interesting detail is that which relates to the clothing of the Welsh in uniforms of green and white. It is notable that this only applied to those men of North and South Wales and the Earldom of Chester, that is, those lands under royal control. Moreover, in this instance, no distinction appears to have been made between the English of Chester and the Welsh from Flint and the Principality. The Justiciars in letter dated 14 September 1346 were instructed to provide each man with a short coat and a hat (*une courtepy et un chaperon partiez de meme le drap*) of these colours with green on the right (*le verte a destre*). Evans suggests that this was to inspire greater discipline in the ‘unruly Welsh’ so often accused of ‘light-headedness’, or, from the choice of colour to inspire a national feeling, an *esprit de corps*. Pryce Morgan says something similar, hinting at some lost earlier significance and tentatively relating the colours to the adoption, anachronistically, of the leek as a national symbol.<sup>72</sup> The provision of uniforms were, in fact part of a wider process, and shire levies had routinely worn uniforms since the 1330s, adding considerably to the costs of recruiting armies, and to the irritation of the localities since they were obliged to pay. Even in the 1330s, this provision was not entirely new, since references to white tunics or *blaunchecotes* occur with reference to recruitment of men from Launditch Hundred, Norfolk for the abortive campaign to Gascony in 1295. It is very possibly similar garments, adorning the bodies of the fallen at Bannockburn, which are described in Barbour’s ‘The Bruce’, though Barbour’s account was composed over forty years later. Though he describes these casualties as ‘Walismen’, it may well be that Welshmen and foot-soldiers in English armies had become synonymous.<sup>73</sup>

The choice of colour seems rather more likely to have been intended as a statement by the Prince of Wales, mindful of his rights, and more importantly, the opinion of his

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<sup>72</sup> D. L. Evans, ‘Some notes on the Principality of Wales’, p. 56 and appendix II, p. 106, P. Morgan, ‘From Death to a View: The Hunt for a Welsh Past in the Romantic Period’ in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 80.

<sup>73</sup> Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, p. 101, W.W. Skeat (ed.) *The Bruce*, p. 419.

neighbours in the March. Morgan, in his study of the Prince's lands in Cheshire notes that the Prince decorated a chamber in his palace at Westminster, and green cloth for his exchequer in Chester and suggests a heraldic purpose to this livery.<sup>74</sup> That the men of the earldom of Cheshire – also in the Prince's hands – were dressed in like manner, albeit based upon later evidence, would seem to lend weight to this argument.<sup>75</sup> In this way, the Black Prince could be seen to be demonstrating his superior holdings, of both land and men in Wales. In this he was visibly asserting his rights, and displaying his military prowess through not only his own mastery of arms, but through weight of numbers. A distinctive uniform such as this could serve only to heighten the impression, at the expense of the efforts made so diligently by the Marchers to remind him of their own rights in the summons for the campaign of the previous year. The lords of the March had long formed their tenants into proprietary armies, under their lord's standard and in their lord's livery, drawing pay from him, and the Prince, only recently established in his Principality understandably wished to remind his neighbours of the scale of the military resources under his control. It is possible that these uniforms were also worn by the men of the Black Prince's duchy of Cornwall, and Froissart states that the Welsh and the Cornish served together with the Prince at Crécy. Though no medieval records are available, intriguing evidence emerges two and a half centuries later from Cornwall in the early years of the Civil war. A pamphleteer in 1642 printed a letter which recorded that 'the gentry in the generality... [had] inrolled themselves in a livery of white and greene' in 1642. Mark Stoye notes that white and green were the colours of the Tudors, and that by wearing them the Cornish proclaimed their support for the crown, as 'loyal Britons'. This is a logical association, particularly in light of later 'Celtic' identities, but equally plausibly; this might have been a memory of earlier military endeavour.<sup>76</sup> Primarily, the use of these uniforms also emphasises that war on such a large scale was an opportunity for display, not only of military talent, but financial and landed resources, by means of a corporate image.

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<sup>74</sup> Red and white cloth was acquired for the Earl of Arundel's Welshmen going abroad in royal service in 1342, NLW Chirk Castle Collection, D. 9 (1342), cited Davies, *Lordship and Society*, p. 81; P. J. Morgan, *War and Society in Late Medieval Cheshire, 1277-1403* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 104-5, 107.

<sup>75</sup> For example, the force of 400 archers recruited from Cheshire for the 1359 campaign was to be dressed in this manner, *Reg. B.P.* III, p. 349.

<sup>76</sup> The quotation is from the Thomason Tracts held at the British Library, E.114 (6); [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:image:111221:4](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:111221:4) see also, M. Stoye, *Soldiers and Strangers. An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* (New Haven and London, 2005), p. 42, n. 49.

The 1340s were towards the end of the period when Welshmen served as a separate element within English armies and another feature of the organisation of these levies were the profusion of standards carried by them. Levies of English counties did not generally employ separate standard bearers, which like doctors, chaplains and criers were such a distinctive feature of the companies of Welsh foot soldiers. Their function was not linguistic but was equally wrapped up with the localities from which these men came. Banners and standards appear to have been attached to the counties or lordships and for the most part, distinct from the men who led them. Some at least were in the gift of their lords. In 1322, Edward II granted the men of North Wales, in the person of Sir Gruffudd Llwyd, new banners as reward for good service in his campaign in Scotland and previously against Thomas of Lancaster; significantly in light of the encroachment of the Black Prince and his officials in the March, the lord of Brecon bought three standards for his Welshmen going overseas on royal service in 1346.<sup>77</sup> Unfortunately, no evidence survives to my knowledge of what these banners may have looked like.

Later references to standards in the retinues of Welsh lords are unusual, but one survives in the person of Gruffudd Gogh 'Baneour' (E. *Bannerer* or W. *Banewr*) for John Charlton, lord of Powys in a muster roll for the naval campaign of 1372. A Gruffudd Gogh, aged '56 years and more' is noted in a proof of age inquisition held at La Pole, 24 July 1382 as are John Bitterly and Maredudd ap Gruffudd also both in their fifties and who were very possibly archers in the same retinue.<sup>78</sup> This is interesting for two reasons. First that the role of standard bearer is mentioned in the account at all, though this could be ascribed to clerical confusion when faced with a Welshman, and second that the lord's standard was in the hands of a Welshman in the first place, particularly in a retinue where Welshmen were in a clear minority among the men-at-arms (just four among forty bore recognisably Welsh names).<sup>79</sup> These standards were as much signals of the military prowess of the lords and the communal identity of the lordships. This is probably the key difference between the levies of the

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<sup>77</sup> Fryde, 'Welsh Troops in the Scottish Campaign of 1322', pp. 82-4; TNA DL 29/671/10810, m.13. noted in Davies, *Lordship and Society*, p. 81.

<sup>78</sup> TNA E 101/31/37 m. 1. the inquisition can be found in *Cal. Inq. Misc.* XV, pp. 268-70. Llywelyn, a probable brother of a third archer, Ednyfed ab Einion ap Kelennyn is also named.

<sup>79</sup> TNA E 101/31/37 m. 1.

English counties, and the shires and March of Wales where even in the fourteenth century. Lordship was military in character and very tightly defined geographically.

### ***Corporate Identity II: The Welsh at war***

To remark that one was Welsh or English in the context of fourteenth century Wales as Rees Davies observed, was to comment upon the obvious. The most obvious marker inevitably, was language. This is demonstrably reflected in the organisation of Welsh levies of infantry as opposed to English; the Welsh of both the shires and the March brought their own doctors, chaplains, criers and on occasion, interpreters. It is for this reason that these men were usually recorded in the pay accounts not as '*pedites*' or '*sagittarii*' but either suffixed or exclusively as 'Welsh'. Materially there was little difference between the equipment of these men and men recruited from the English counties, though clearly, there were visual differences to add to those of language. As will be shown later, these refer as much to the Welsh as a people as they do to soldiers, but inextricably the two were linked; In the north of England, in Scotland and in France the Welshmen encountered were almost always present as soldiers.

The equipment employed by what we might anachronistically call the 'Welsh battalions' of Edwardian armies deserves closer attention however. Gerald of Wales famously ascribed different preferences and martial abilities to different areas of Wales. The men of Gwent – an area Gerald knew well – were known for their skill with the bow, the men of Gwynedd – an area Gerald knew hardly at all – the spear. Both weapons, together with a form of long knife are mentioned in the Welsh laws, and by various chroniclers of the later thirteenth and early to mid-fourteenth centuries. The most famous images of Welsh soldiers depict exactly these weapons. Unfortunately, it is not known in what proportion or how effective Welsh weaponry was by the period under discussion, though by the 1330s, it is clear that the primary weapons were still the bow and the spear, specific proportions, usually half and half, of men armed with each being requested in writs of array.<sup>80</sup> It must be assumed that a proportion of Welshmen had always carried spears, but there is no evidence for the

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<sup>80</sup> For example, *C.C.R. 1339-41*, p. 186; Evans, 'Some notes on the Principality of Wales', pp. 57-60, gives a range of further examples.

crown making specific requests – for relatively small numbers – of spear-armed men 1337. Similarly, there are very few mentions of hobelars in a Welsh context before the 1330s, and even then only in small numbers.<sup>81</sup> The only spearmen (*homines ad lanceas*) explicitly requested by the English crown were recruited from Wales it must be assumed that a definite use was envisaged by their commanders, though specific evidence is rare. On at least one occasion, small companies of Welsh spearmen were employed as protection for the flanks of the archers at Clairfontaine on 23 October 1339; ‘le roy... myst ses gents en arraie, les archiers a l’encoste des gentes d’armes, et les Galloys ove lour lances encoste eux’. The provenance of this account is uncertain. Though included in an edited version of Froissart’s works, it seems probable that the campaign diary this account comes from was written by a soldier in the English army and not used by Froissart himself. The two companies can have been no more than forty strong since only eighty Welshmen were in pay at the time.<sup>82</sup> It should be remembered in this context that these men were not men-at-arms as the term ‘lance’ implies later in the century. Froissart also noted the deployment of the Welsh – with the Cornish, also men of the Prince of Wales – in despatching the wounded with long knives in the aftermath of Crécy. More often, it is fighting among the Welsh or against civilians that was recorded.

To know exactly what weapons the majority of Welshmen employed before 1369, or indeed afterwards; the first indenture to specify the equipment expected of an archer does not occur until the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>83</sup> The terminology employed in wardrobe books is far from consistent though the tendency is towards *Sagittorum*, that is, archers. In 1287, the Welshmen raised in response to the revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd in Carmarthenshire are described as *peditibus*, as are those of the English counties.<sup>84</sup> While we might assume that bows were the weapon of choice this cannot be demonstrated on this evidence, and the account does not mention the purchase of bows, arrows or bowstrings as do some later accounts of the wars in Scotland. Nicholas Huggate, treasurer of the expedition to Gascony in 1324-6 used *Vadia Sagittorum* as a header, but generally describes them, as he did the levies of the

<sup>81</sup> These were for service in Scotland, *Rot. Scotiae*, I, pp. 504-6.

<sup>82</sup> ‘1339 Campaign Diary’ In Froissart, *Oeuvres*, cited C. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 169-70.

<sup>83</sup> From the expedition to France led by Richard, duke of York in 1441: TNA C 47/10/26 no. 8, cited in Marshall, ‘The Role of English War Captains’, pp. 88-9.

<sup>84</sup> Byerly and Byerly (eds), *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-89*, pp. 424-35.

English counties, as *Hominibus Peditibus*.<sup>85</sup> Another occasional variant, common to English and Welsh levies was *Peditibus ad arma*. It is not known precisely how they were armed and the usual phraseology of the writs is unhelpful. The most common phrase being ‘*armis competentibus bene muniti*’ found between 1298 and 1333. One of the earliest specific references comes from a writ of array for eighty men of Maelor Saesneg who were to come armed with ‘*arcubus et sagittis*’, with bow and arrow. Writs for English counties of the same date were expressed in identical terms.<sup>86</sup>

The force of a dozen or so Welshmen more or less permanently present in the royal court from the 1290s until as late as 1310 are generally described as *Wallenses Regis* (Welshmen of the king), but occasionally as *Wallens’ sagittar’ hospic’ Regis*. Twenty years later, in 1342, the term *sagittar’ peditibus* was still in use and we can be more confident that the men were indeed so armed, by 1359, the distinction between mounted archers and foot archers is more apparent, and by this date, there is no mention of spearmen whatsoever. Mounted archers were, however, generally a feature of the retinues of men-at-arms; the English counties and Welsh shires and lordships provided only foot archers and are straightforwardly described as such.<sup>87</sup> Companies of foot archers from several Welsh lordships were employed in Ireland under Lionel of Antwerp in the early 1360s, but not all Welsh archers there were foot archers, a fair number were included among the ordinary retinues of several of the commanders. Equally, there were several levies from English counties, and these were a mix of mounted and foot archers.<sup>88</sup>

The homogenisation of English armies recruited by indenture and split in varying ratios between men-at-arms and mounted archers largely eliminated the ‘difference’ of the Welsh soldier in terms of his equipment. After the resumption of the war against France in 1369, companies of Welshmen – however armed – all but vanish, bar a few specific exceptions apparently recruited with precise aims in mind.<sup>89</sup> The

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<sup>85</sup> BL Add. MS 7967, ff. 90-8.

<sup>86</sup> *Rot. Scotiae*, I, p. 228. A similar writ for the same campaign addressed to the men of Lancashire can be found *Ibid.* p. 235.

<sup>87</sup> (1342) TNA E 36/204 fo. 109 v (1359) TNA E 101/393/11 ff. 80-6.

<sup>88</sup> TNA E 101/28/15, mm. 3-4d. For archers in other retinues on the same expedition, Hywel ap Einion, John Kenewrek (ap Cynwrig) and others, Welshmen in the retinue of the earl of Stafford for example, TNA E 101/28/15, m. 3.

<sup>89</sup> Refer to chapter 2, pp. ??

documents recording the administration of war make no distinctions between Welsh archers and English beyond the names of the individuals, or in a few cases during the Lancastrian occupation of Normandy in the fifteenth century, their 'nationality'. This sometimes yielded some interesting, and revealing, results. During the period in which Sir Gruffudd Dwnn was captain of the castle of Neufchatel in 1439, several men among his company bearing such obviously Welsh names as Maredudd Gam and Ieuan ap Dafydd ap Gwilym are described, presumably by themselves, as 'English'.<sup>90</sup> In this context, it is notable that Sir Gregory Sais, the most notable Welsh soldier of the second half of the fourteenth century is rarely referred to as a Welshman, but more often, as 'a foreigner'. Though the cognomen 'Sais' means 'Englishman', it was exclusively applied to Welshmen who for whatever reason had become perceived as 'English' within their own community.<sup>91</sup>

Following the resumption of the French war in the 1360s, and the privatisation of recruitment, companies of archers recruited specifically from Wales become rare and survive only as sporadic royal initiatives, notably by Henry V in 1415 and his subsequent campaigns but also by Richard II. Richard appears to have employed companies of Welsh foot archers in two expeditions, in Scotland in 1385 and to Ireland in 1394. On each occasion these men were drawn from his own holdings divided between the northern and southern shires and the county of Flint. None of these companies were especially large – numbers – and the military justification in each instance is uncertain, particularly as all the other men in these armies appear to have been mounted. These were not, it is certain of equivalent status to the famous Cheshire archers, liveried and retained for life by Richard. It is interesting to note that specific weaponry was associated with the Welsh as late as the seventeenth century. The armoury of such mock-Welshmen, a trope of mid-seventeenth century pamphleteers appears archaic but might reflect his medieval precursors. This seventeenth century soldier might own 'Welsh-bills' or 'Welsh hooks' – blades fastened to long poles – a double edged sword (or back sword), or clubs and cudgels, all obviously outmoded by the seventeenth century. Musketry and other forms of

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<sup>90</sup> BN ms. fr. 25775/1395. For more detail, see Curry, 'The Nationality of Men-at-Arms', pp. 135-163.

<sup>91</sup> Such were the confusions over his name that Sir Arthur Conan Doyle mistook a reference to Sir Gregory for one referring to the earl of Angus and included it in his book 'The White Company'. Carr, 'A Welsh Knight in the Hundred Years War', p. 42.

artillery were to be greeted with a mixture of incomprehension and fear.<sup>92</sup> All this was intended to overturn a reputation of hot-tempered courage and bravery which tempered the image established on the stage and in popular imagination of ‘a garrulous, choleric bumpkin with a foolish manner of speaking English, a name full of patronymics and an addiction for toasted cheese’.<sup>93</sup> The implication – as in much earlier portrayals – is that militarily, as in other areas of life, the Welsh had failed to move with the times.

### ***Military Society I – Welsh Leadership***

The process of aggregation and appropriation of seignorial rights in the March by its lords was exceptionally diverse in character and has been the subject of significant scholarly study, much of which lies beyond the bounds of this study.<sup>94</sup> Military lordship forms part of this extensive corpus, and its role was summarised by R. R. Davies as long ago as 1978. More recent developments are largely confined to the period book-ended by Edward I’s defeat of Gwynedd. Suppe’s work on the lordships of western Shropshire reveals a heavily militarised society developed over a prolonged period and inextricably bound to the political fortunes not only of the earls of Shrewsbury and their successors but to the fortunes of the Welsh princes and lords of Powys.<sup>95</sup>

More complicated in its origins and more limited in its scope was the form of tenure associated with the barons of Edeyrnion, descendants of the royal lines of northern Powys and similarly, descendants of the royal line of Deheubarth, the former kingdom of west Wales. The tenure called *Tir Pennaeth*, literally, barony, or land held in chief was unique to such men, but was, by inheritance and marriage extended more widely. The precise origins are unclear, though Carr suggests its formalisation at least was part of the process of feudalisation attempted over ‘pura Wallia’ by the rulers of

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<sup>92</sup> M. Stoye, ‘Caricaturing Cymru: Images of the Welsh in the London Press 1642-46’ in D. E. S. Dunn (ed.), *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain* (Liverpool, 2000), p. 164, and particularly pp. 168-71.

<sup>93</sup> Bowen, ‘Representations of Wales and the Welsh during the civil wars and the Interregnum’, p. 361.

<sup>94</sup> For example, J. Beverley Smith, ‘The Lordship of Glamorgan’; Davies, *Lordship and Society*, ch. 4, pp. 86-106.

<sup>95</sup> David Stephenson has written extensively on the Welsh perspective of this relationship in Powys, for example, D. Stephenson, ‘The Lordship of Ceri in the Thirteenth Century’. *Mont. Colls*, 95 (2007), pp. 23-31. A book is in preparation.

Gwynedd in the thirteenth century and reaffirmed by Edward I after 1284.<sup>96</sup> Other forms of privileged tenure also existed though such as *Wyrion Eden*, a set of specific privileges granted to the descendents of Ednyfed Fychan (d. 1246) by the princes of Gwynedd. Though *Wyrion Eden* tenure is the best known, by merit of the success of Ednyfed Fychan's descendents, it was far from unique, and the descendents of those men who exercised power and authority in thirteenth century were intent on retaining similar rights in the mid-fourteenth century. These tenorial privileges set those who received them apart from other freemen, but the resulting distinction provided benefits which were predominately social and had no more than the usual military obligations attached to them.<sup>97</sup>

They should, however, be differentiated from tenants in chief, the Barons – *Barwniaid* – an appropriate title reflecting for men descended from royal houses which had ruled over commotes or even kingdoms.<sup>98</sup> Military service was explicitly part of this – as for all tenants in chief – and this is spelt out in the Inquisition post mortem of Madog ap Gruffudd of Glyndyfrdwy in 1320:

‘Of the king in chief... by fealty and service of going with his men in the king's army, when reasonably warned, at the king's cost, and doing suit at the county of Merioneth for the said land.’<sup>99</sup>

Similarly, according to a jury in West Wales in 1308, Llywelyn ab Owain ap Maredudd, a descendant of the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth (d. 1197) had held his lands a below.

‘by the Welsh tenure of Pennaethium – by fealty and service, that he and all his tenants whenever necessary were bound to come at the summons of the king's bailiffs for three days at their own cost, and he owed suit at the court of

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<sup>96</sup> A. D. Carr, ‘The Barons of Edeyrnion 1282-1485: a study of tenure by Welsh barony, with special reference to Edeyrnion’ (unpublished MA, University of Wales Bangor, 1963), pp. 44-68; A. D. Carr, ‘An Aristocracy in Decline: The Native Welsh Lords after the Edwardian Conquest’; also T. Jones Pierce, ‘Medieval Cardiganshire – A Study in Social Origins’ in J. Beverley Smith (ed.) *Welsh Medieval Society, Selected essays by T. Jones Pierce* (Cardiff, 1972), pp. 309-28.

<sup>97</sup> Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd* provides several examples, pp. 102-19.

<sup>98</sup> Carr, ‘The Barons of Edeyrnion 1282-1485’, pp. 69-103.

<sup>99</sup> *C.I.P.M.* VI, no. 256, p. 150.

Cardigan called the Welsh county. After his death, the king was entitled to 100*s. Ebediw* [heriot] and according to Welsh custom the lordship should be divided between his sons. The king cannot claim wardship or marriage.’<sup>100</sup>

In each instance, military service is explicit by the nature of the tenure, though the majority of the practical rights and benefits pertaining to it were judicial. Whether the clause regarding three days unpaid service ever applied is unclear, certainly, it is not noted elsewhere and does not appear evident in surviving pay accounts where such men are noted separately; in 1335, a group dominated by such men and referred to as ‘nobiles de North Wallia’ are noted as serving together, a seemingly unique occurrence.<sup>101</sup> In general, however, the fourteenth century was a period of decline for this group of Welsh tenants in chief whose holdings, governed by Welsh laws of inheritance, were gradually dissipated or consolidated – as in the case of Owain Glyn Dŵr – by exploitation of English forms of landholding. There are a number of well examined case studies relating to this class of men and the development of their estates but for most, military service appears to have been only a small part of their activities.

Whether the frequency of such service was occasioned by the *terms* of their land holding, or through their status their land holdings granted them in native society is a moot point. Carr pointed to a gradual decline in their public significance as the fourteenth century progressed though in military terms the elite of Wales appears somewhat conservative in its composition; social mobility was generally occasioned by advantageous marriage into English families rather than by the entrepreneurial efforts of individual Welshmen, hamstrung by the hardships of partible inheritance. When called upon to discuss figures associated with military affairs, such conservatism is exceptionally apparent, particularly in the northern lands of the principality; the survival of these tenures while they may not have guaranteed economic prosperity granted social status. There are two clear examples of this 1345. At Conwy mustering the men of Merionydd, Roger Trumwyn, the deputy Justiciar of north Wales reported that the Welsh would not be led by a Welshmen unless he held of the king by barony – he explicitly records the Welsh term ‘Pennaeth’ rather than

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<sup>100</sup> *C.I.P.M.* V, no. 91, p. 42.

<sup>101</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, nos. 869-899, pp. 320-1.

other privileged tenures of similar type. He declared that the men of North Wales wished to be led by an Englishman, as they had not been led by a Welshman since the death of Sir Gruffudd Llwyd, ten years earlier:

And if the court [of the Prince of Wales] wills that they must be led by a Welshman, it were good to command that they be leaders from those who hold by franchise of barony [*Pennaeth*] in the said land and not by people of lesser estate.<sup>102</sup>

This may not be entirely correct, although it is possible that it could have applied to the men of Anglesey. Welshmen had led levies from North Wales in the intervening period, for example in 1339; Cynwrig Ddu and Gruffudd ap Madoc of Hendwr who was himself a Welsh baron.<sup>103</sup>

In 1345 there were other considerations, both for Trumwyn, wishing to maintain the peace and the Welshmen themselves. The murder of Trumwyn's predecessor Henry de Shaldeford on 14 February of the same year and the subsequent unease of the boroughs of North Wales was undoubtedly a factor. Clearly this was felt by both parties; the levy refused to enter the town to collect their wages.<sup>104</sup>

In South Wales, the commission of array – and the chamberlain's reaction to it – demonstrates a similar awareness and something of the *realpolitik* of the region. A letter from Richard Talbot, then deputy Justiciar of South Wales dated shortly before 24 May again shows concern with the leadership of the Welsh levies.<sup>105</sup> It notes the appointment of Owain (ap Llywelyn) ab Owain with Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd as leaders of 500 Welsh foot 'shortly to be sent to join the king at Sandwich'. Leadership of the Welsh arrayed for the armies employed on these campaigns was a matter of some sensitivity, particularly in North Wales: the well known letter from Roger Trumwyn, deputy Justiciar of North Wales at this time only gives some of the reasons, and these

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<sup>102</sup> *Cal. Anc. Corr.* pp. 248.

<sup>103</sup> This is not strictly accurate, though it may apply to the men of Anglesey; there is clear evidence of Welsh leadership of levies in the earlier Flanders campaign of 1338-40. Lyon, Lyon et al, *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, pp. 361-2.

<sup>104</sup> It is very probable that this was a consequence of the prohibition on Welshmen bearing arms within the boroughs of North Wales.

<sup>105</sup> For Sir Richard Talbot, see Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 105.

are detailed below. Though both were Welsh tenants in chief, *Barwniaid* of Wales, holding their lands (at least in part), by *Tir Pennaeth*, the men of South Wales insisted on being led by Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd. The difference between the men was a simple matter of martial reputation and social standing; Owain ap Llywelyn ap Owain may have been distantly descended from the Lord Rhys and was an experienced military leader who had served as a Commissioner of Array before and would again. He was not, however, the significant royal servant who received robes and other gifts from at least two kings and a Prince of Wales. Nor was he the *de facto* governor of West Wales, a knight of the king of England or the most prominent Welsh baron of his age whose status was recognised by Welsh and English alike.<sup>106</sup> Taking these examples into consideration, it is no accident therefore that the majority of those Welshmen promoted to the rank of knight in the fourteenth century were drawn from this pool of tenants in chief. The numbers concerned are tiny: only six in fact can have this status confirmed by more than one source.

Inevitably, this was a fact acknowledged and lamented by the poets, and a reflection of the decline, both in numbers and in wealth of this aristocratic element in Welsh society. Coupled to the gradual reduction in numbers of the knightly class in England as a whole over the period of this study and the rebellion of Owain Glyn Dŵr, it is less than surprising that following the death of Sir Gregory Sais in 1390, that no Welshman received the rank of knight until the reign of Henry VI, when two, Sir Richard Gethin and Sir Gruffudd Dwnn can be found. The position of men of the March is complicated by the relative paucity of information and the position of Welsh communities within the lordships. One such was Sir Philip ap Rhys, the illegitimate son of Master Rhys ap Hywel, and grandson of a thirteenth century Welsh knight, Sir Hywel ap Meuric, and relative of the Herefordshire knight and Lollard, Sir John Clanvowe (d. 1391). Sir Philip ap Rhys's military career appears to have been confined to a handful of military commissions in the 1340s.<sup>107</sup> To examine the role of knighthood with relation to the squirearchy of the March and the counties of the

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<sup>106</sup> For his descent from the Lord Rhys, see Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, p. 17. For a brief illustration of the contrast in wealth between 'Owain ap Owain', as the crown generally knew him, and Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd, see Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 9.

<sup>107</sup> *Rot. Scotiae* I, p. 332; *Foedera*, II, ii, p. 1192; *C.P.R. 1340-43*, p. 450. M. C. Seymour 'Sir John Clanvowe 1341 -1391' *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 75 (2005), pp. 35-58.

English border counties would be difficult within the title of ‘the Welsh soldier’, but I hope to return to this group of men on another occasion.

From Tregarnedd, Anglesey came Sir Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Hywel (d. 1335), better known as Sir Gruffudd Llwyd, one of the many descendants of Ednyfed Fychan, steward of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth; his cousin, Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd, born in 1283 (d. 1356) came to dominate the government of West Wales for over forty years. Of similar rank were Sir Morgan ap Maredudd, descendant of the last native lord of Gwynllŵg and several of the sons of Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn, lord of Powys and known by the splendidly Norman toponym of ‘de la Pole’. With the exception of his youngest surviving son Gruffudd Fychan de la Pole, lord of Mawddwy, however, this line was extinct by the second decade of the fourteenth century. Powys passed through marriage of Gruffudd Fychan’s niece into the hands of the ambitious Shropshire esquire John Charlton and thus to his descendants. The Welsh knights of the first half of the fourteenth century were all distinguished by holding land in chief of the crown. It is unsurprising, given how unusual this status was among Welshmen, that there were few Welsh knights in the fourteenth century. Landed resources available to the elite of the Welsh community were generally inferior to those of the shires of England, though their military experience may have been comparable. It is notable that the small number of knights reinforced their position through office holding, royal patronage and enthusiastic self-promotion as much as military leadership, but their military role should not be underplayed.

Morgan ap Maredudd of Tredegar is arguably the most interesting individual of them all, though like his contemporaries a beneficiary of Edward I’s favour he did not share their courtly background.<sup>108</sup> The son of Maredudd ap Gruffydd, the former lord of Machen, Edlogan and Llebenydd who died in 1270 he was also descended from the last Welsh lords of Caerleon. Morgan was subsequently dispossessed of these estates and two parts of the commote of Hirfryn, Cantref Bychan, Carmarthenshire by Earl Gilbert.<sup>109</sup> It was found that that Morgan was ejected – wrongfully one assumes – by

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<sup>108</sup> *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-MORG-GAN-1294.html> the precise nature of his claim and his descent from the lords of Caerleon is described in *C.I.P.M.* II, pp. 289, 164. See also Appendix A.

<sup>109</sup> J. Conway Davies (ed.), *The Welsh Assize Roll, 1277-1284. Assize Roll no. 1147 (Public Record Office)* (Cardiff, 1940), p. 165, n. 3.

Earl Gilbert while the king was in the Holy land, but the finding did not result in restitution. He was unsuccessful in his attempts at legal redress, however, and became embroiled in litigation with others, notably Bartholomew de Mora an important tenant of Earl Gilbert.

He seems subsequently to have found shelter in Gwynedd, or perhaps in the English court, with Dafydd ap Gruffudd, brother of Prince Llywelyn, since he was granted simple protection by Edward I in November 1281 and was in Dafydd's company during the final Welsh war of 1283.<sup>110</sup> From this point until his re-emergence as leader of the revolt in Glamorgan in 1294 his activities are unrecorded. Uniquely, the revolt in Glamorgan was expressed – very deliberately – not against the king, but against its lord, the earl of Gloucester, Morgan very sensibly (and to the earl's immense displeasure) came to peace with the king. Later in 1295 he survived being implicated in the treason of one of Glamorgan's minor lords, Thomas Turberville, who was captured in France in English service and was sufficiently trusted during the crisis of 1297 to be appointed to a commission enquiring into the liberties of the men of the lordship of Brecon.<sup>111</sup> Far from acting as a mere *agent provocateur*, his knighthood came at the feast of Swans (1306). His military career was comparatively low key, but frequent and comparable with many household knights of the period. He left no male heir, but his daughter Angharad was the mother of Ifor Hael (the generous), the chief patron of Dafydd ap Gwilym, a fact remembered in Dafydd's verse.<sup>112</sup> In common with most poetic references to these Welsh knights, the name Morgan is sufficient for the audience to recognise who is meant. A more distant descendant, Philip ap Morgan (d. 1435) was in time, not only a servant of the Mortimer's but appointed chancellor of Normandy in 1418, eventually becoming bishop of Worcester (1419) and Ely (1426).<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> *C.P.R. 1272-81*, p. 463. He appears among the witnesses to two charters concerning land in Cardiganshire, Edwards, *Littere Wallie*, no. 139, pp. 74-5 and no. 235, p. 133.

<sup>111</sup> H. R. Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici*, vol. IV (London, 1869), p. 526, *Cal. Anc. Pet.*, no. 6389, pp. 217-9.

<sup>112</sup> *I Fam Ifor Hael* (To the mother of Ifor Hael), edited text no. 167, <http://www.daffyddapgwilym.net>.

<sup>113</sup> Dictionary of Welsh Biography, <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-MORG-PHI-1435.html> He had served on the council of earl Roger Mortimer about the time of the latter's expedition to Ireland in 1398. TNA SC 6/1184/23 (account roll of the Mortimer lordship of Denbigh), cited in G. A. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1957), p. 76, n.

Two other notable descendants of Ednyfed Fychan also became knights: Sir Hywel ap Gruffudd ap Hywel (d. c. 1381) – better known as ‘Syr Hywel y Fwyall’ (Sir Hywel of the Axe) – and Sir Gregory Sais, were both significant military figures in their own right. Sir Hywel, as a veteran of Poitiers had more in common with his contemporary Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd II. It is likely that both owed their knighthoods to their performance there and their attachment to the household of the Black Prince, but primarily, both were figures who appear to have been more prominent in their localities than in the military sphere. That said there is relatively little surviving documentation recording the military careers of Welshmen from the principality of Wales between 1359 and the accession of Richard II. Iolo Gogh, in his praise of Syr Hywel y Fwyall described him in his retirement as constable of Criccieth. The quality of his hospitality and the wealth of his court were lavishly described and might well have reflected that of Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd at Dryslwyn in Carmarthenshire.

Sir Gregory Sais’s career is more closely analogous to many of his English contemporaries, men like Hugh Calveley or Matthew Gournay. The bulk of his career was spent in France or Spain only returning to his native Flintshire towards the end of his life. This may go some way to explaining his absence from the poetry of the period. In the surviving sources, his only mention was in Gruffudd Llywd’s praise for Owain Glyn Dŵr.<sup>114</sup> It should be noted that these men, though significant, were not creations of the English regime. Nor were they necessarily the toys of it. Sir Gruffudd Llwyd suffered imprisonment at the hands of Roger Mortimer on at least two occasions during Mortimer’s tenure as Justiciar of Wales which hints at the threat he was perceived to have posed.<sup>115</sup> This was something Mortimer remembered; it seems that in 1326, his support for Edward II was significant enough to be conveniently removed from the picture for the duration of Isabella’s invasion. The presence of such a significant a figure as Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd in West Wales is likely to have been as much a draw to Edward II in his flight as the estates of the younger Despenser. The colossal sum of £259 2s. 8d. for eight days wages for soldiers raised in October 1326 but only paid from the revenues of West Wales after the establishment of Edward III

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<sup>114</sup> R. Ifans (ed.), *Gwaith Gruffudd Llwyd a’r Llygliwiaid* (Aberystwyth, 2000), pp. 149-50. Note that the bard Gruffudd Llwyd (fl. c. 1380-1410) and the knight (d. 1335) are not the same individual.

<sup>115</sup> J. Beverley Smith, ‘Gruffydd Llwyd and the Celtic Alliance’, pp. 463-78 and M. T. Davies, ‘The Rhetoric of Gwilym Ddu’s *Awdlau* to Sir Gruffudd Llwyd’, *Studia Celtica* XL (2006), pp. 155-60. A summary of the extensive bibliography describing his career can be found in Appendix A.

has, at least in part, the air of a pay off. If that was the intention it was unsuccessful, since he was among those who attempted to spring Edward II from Berkley Castle in 1327, this having failed, he was compelled to flee to Scotland and contemplated further rebellion in 1330. Despite these tendencies, he was impossible to displace for long and his career not only recovered but attained new distinction; knighthood by 1334, the office of deputy-justicar between 1335 and 1340 and a lucrative marriage.<sup>116</sup> While Welshmen might have been officially displaced, some at least could occupy positions of quasi-princely authority with little opposition from either within Wales or effective control from royal authority.

### ***Military Society II – Urban Wales***

Urban living in Wales in the middle ages was generally an English affair, and so it was with the defence of the boroughs which was the province of the urban population. In the plantation towns associated with Edward I's castles, the English burgesses were exempt from service in royal armies by the terms of their town charters. Though the crown occasionally forgot this, the burgesses, mindful of their rights, remembered. In 1335, the burgesses of Newborough, Anglesey, complained that they had been distrained for service in Scotland, though no other town or borough in the counties of North Wales had been so treated.<sup>117</sup> The charters of boroughs in Marcher territories generally bore no such exemptions and their burgesses were required to serve in the lord's army on exactly the same terms as any other tenant.<sup>118</sup> Even from their inception, all but Caernarfon were mixed communities, though it was unusual for Welshmen to hold burgages they were not generally prohibited from doing so. Naturally, this had implications for their defence. The provisions for the service of the burgesses do not appear so different from those levied upon settlements vulnerable to the raids from other sources; in 1346, each burgess of Caernarfon was expected to do watch 'for each burgage seven times per year'.<sup>119</sup> In Conwy, similar obligations

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<sup>116</sup> Fryde, *Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, no. 593, p. 70, R. A. Griffiths, 'Gentlemen and Rebels in Later Medieval Carmarthenshire' in Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered*, pp. 54-6.

<sup>117</sup> Carr, 'Anglesey and War', p. 31, citing *Cal. Anc. Pet.*, pp. 32-3.

<sup>118</sup> For this contrast in more detail, G. A. Usher, 'The Foundation of an Edwardian Borough: the Beaumaris Charter, 1296', *Trans. Anglesey Antiquarian and Field Club*, 1967, pp. 1-16. For Brecon, E. Buckingham, 'Charters of the Borough of Brecon', *Brycheiniog* XXV (1992-3), p. 33, and for other examples see also n. 14 above.

<sup>119</sup> K. Williams-Jones, 'Caernarvon' in Griffiths (ed.), *Boroughs of Medieval Wales*, p. 88.

appear to have translated into the borough employing a watchman collectively. Precious little detail of the provisions for such defence survives and standing garrisons – almost overwhelmingly English where their details are known<sup>120</sup> – appear to have been a rarity in the fourteenth century. The well known examples of the esquires Hwlcyn Llwyd and Ieuan ap Maredudd drawn from nearby communities and who died in the defence of the town and castle of Caernarvon in 1404 are unusual.<sup>121</sup> Aberystwyth provides an alternative. It was a much more ethnically integrated borough so the service of John (or Jankyn) ap Rhys ap Dafydd as a man-at-arms in the garrison of Aberystwyth between 1425 and 1428. His is an interesting case, particularly as his familiarity with the castle dated from the time it was held by Glyn Dŵr. He was held as a hostage for its surrender in 1407, and, it seems probable, served in France in both 1415 and, as a yeoman of the king's chamber in 1419. His later career suggests he did not suffer unduly for his time as a rebel. The garrison was exclusively composed of local men, defence of the borough was necessarily a communal effort so if a community contained and accepted Welshmen, we should expect to find them.<sup>122</sup>

More pertinent are other provisions of the borough charters, namely that Welshmen were prohibited from bearing arms within the boroughs. By the mid-fourteenth century such provisions were honoured more in the breach than in the observance; by 1345 for example, levies of Welsh foot soldiers from Merionydd were expected to enter not only the town of Conwy but its castle in order to receive their wages, while in Caernarvon, Welshmen are known to have served as bodyguards for burgesses and merchants.<sup>123</sup> Urban military participation is especially evident – or at least more consistently documented – during periods of insecurity and rebellion. Even after several years of the Glyn Dŵr uprising, the town and castle of Brecon was garrisoned by local men, as were the castles of Cardigan and Llanbadarn Fawr and Cydweli, though in each case, this was out of necessity rather than a heartfelt desire for a

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<sup>120</sup> Few garrison lists from peacetime survive for any Welsh castle in the fourteenth century, though there are some relating to the years of rebellion, and for Aberystwyth in the fifteenth century.

<sup>121</sup> TNA E 101/43/24, mm. 2-3. For their origins see Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, pp. 77-8 and Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, pp. 215-6.

<sup>122</sup> Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 326-7, 424.

<sup>123</sup> *Cal. Anc. Corr.* pp. 247-8; Williams-Jones, 'Caernarvon' in Griffiths (ed.), *Boroughs of Medieval Wales*, p. 94 and references cited there.

military career.<sup>124</sup> Ships from these communities also served military purposes, though the geographical remoteness from the main theatre of war might be seen as a barrier, merchants from the Welsh boroughs were as heavily involved in the Gascon trade as those from the south west of England, many of whom also had interests in south Wales.<sup>125</sup> In 1335, with the threat of a French invasion, ships from the Welsh coast were arrested for the defence of the realm. In South Wales, this activity was the responsibility of Philip de Clanvowe; the ships included the Redecok of Carmarthen (it is interesting to note that its master, Gruffudd Fychan was a Welshman), two ships from Swansea under their masters Robert de Weston and Peter de la Bere, burgesses of Swansea, another two from Tenby, and the Cog John and the Cog George of Haverford. While their masters were paid for their service, it is likely that they incurred a loss from their usual activities plying the Severn Basin and taking their part in the Atlantic trade.<sup>126</sup>

Residents of boroughs – Welsh and English – did of course serve in English armies, often as an extension of their day to day business. This is especially noticeable in the ports of South Wales whose economies were based upon trade. Richard Cryse, a Devonian by birth, but a burgess of Haverford too evidently used his associations in south Wales and in the south west to recruit his retinues in 1387 and 1388. These included William Kidwelly, a man-at-arms, Watkin Kidwelly (possibly his son) as a bowman, together with one John Sais and a representative of the established Cardigan burgess family, William Blakeney who served with him twice as a man-at-arms.<sup>127</sup> His son Geoffrey continued the connection serving with Sir Thomas Carew, who had led the defence of Pembroke, but who also had estates in Devon in 1417. It is equally notable that the Cryse family can only be found engaging in naval expeditions, from the Irish Sea to Iberia, war served their interests.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> See ch. 2, pp. 111-5. For further commentary, see Davies, *Owain Glyndŵr*, particularly ch. 9, 'Guerrillas and Garrisons' pp. 229-62.

<sup>125</sup> R. A. Griffiths, 'Medieval Severnside: The Welsh Connection' in Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered*, pp. 1-18.

<sup>126</sup> TNA E 101/49/14.

<sup>127</sup> TNA E 101/41/5 m. 19. For Blakeney in 1387, TNA E 101/40/33 m. 19. It is possible that this William Blakeney was the man of that name who served as reeve of Cardigan in 1402-3 and as mayor and escheator of the town in 1416-7 and in 1423-4. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 421, 428-9. For the family in general, Griffiths, 'Medieval Cardigan', *Conquerors and Conquered*, pp. 287-9.

<sup>128</sup> For a more detailed biography of Richard Cryse and family, see Appendix A.

## *Conclusions*

The administration and patterns of service found amongst Welshmen differed relatively little from those of contemporary Englishmen. The lordships of the March and the divisions of the Royal estates in Wales are reflected amongst the retinues of their respective lords and examples of these are explored in earlier chapters. The mechanisms of attachment differed little; personal bonds, geographical proximity and the connections formed through business and locality brought people into armies in Wales as they did in England. The political structure of the March lent these some symbolic meaning and bolstered private power in the public sphere of conflict, but did not make for a fundamental difference between English troops and Welsh. The Welsh wars of Edward I's reign made significant contributions to the development, not only of Edward I's military strategy, but also of the mechanisms used to recruit armies – the commission of array – until 1359-60.

Welshmen are traditionally considered as archers, a picture established by Gerald of Wales, and it is quite certain that the Welsh did indeed provide archers from the immediate post-conquest period. It is important to note, however, that so did every other county of the English realm, this was not a Welsh specialism or peculiarity. The weapon that Gerald identified with Gwynedd, the spear or lance, does appear to have been something the English crown specifically requested as late as 1341. Exactly what the significance of this was is difficult to gauge. The one reference so far uncovered suggests that Welsh spearmen served to protect the wings of the army, but a single reference, describing what must have been a very small force indeed should not be trusted as a general description. The use of the spear appears to have declined, and possibly entirely eliminated – for it is never mentioned – after the 1350s, and when the term *ad lanceas* reappears, in the later fourteenth century, it definitively refers to men-at-arms. This lesser known Welsh skill, which was certainly not confined to the north of Wales, should be compared to the companies of crossbowmen raised from various English boroughs for service in Wales and in Scotland in the reign of Edward I.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Or indeed to the 'slingers' from Sherwood Forest, employed in Scotland in 1301 *C.P.R. 1301-7*, p. 1.

The position of Welshmen in positions of military authority appears to be out of step with their place in positions of civil government. As Griffiths established, Welshmen may have been rare in the higher echelons of royal government, a similar thing appears true in the March. Following the death of the first generation of post-conquest Welsh leaders, those who had made their personal fortunes from sound political judgement and the political shrewdness of Edward I, Welshmen in positions of significant military authority were exceptionally rare. Sir Gregory Sais, Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd II and Sir Hywel ap Gruffudd were all but unchallenged in their pre-eminence as military figures in a Welsh context after Poitiers, and Sir Gregory Sais was the only significant Welsh captain in France in this period. For all that the poets associated with Owain Glyn Dŵr might have protested otherwise, his military activity was entirely in accordance with a man of his, by English standards relatively modest, wealth. The reign of Richard II can produce a great many men with analogous careers, and several are detailed in chapter two. The relative poverty, and remoteness, of much of Wales also meant that the number of Welsh men-at-arms was extremely limited. The opportunity cost of military participation was, for most too great but this was not a matter of policy.

Welsh archers and spearmen would have had less free will in their service and military lordship, as a concept, and as a display of seignorial authority, was a constant presence from 1283 to 1422 and, to an extent, beyond. They were, however, dependent upon these lords for the opportunity. The modes of recruitment were very similar to those in England and the role of Welsh archers mirrored those of the English county levy. The Welsh wars of conquest created a militarised society and refined English systems of military organisation which were put to good, if not always effective use in the wars in Scotland and in the early stages of the wars in France. The men of Wales were called upon for their experience as much as those of England's northern borders. Military experience was not the sole element of continuity. The apparent preservation of communal obligations across the boundary of the conquest appears to have played a role which was significant, if difficult to precisely define from the post-conquest settlement until the close of the first phase of the wars with France in 1359. Subsequent developments, principally the adoption of the indenture system and the unprecedented absence of conflict in the lands of Wales led to a decline in the need for the numerous, if low skilled troops that Wales could easily

provide. It also, to an extent, obscures the mechanisms of recruitment employed by commanders

Urban communities in Wales appear to have played little direct role in England's wars before the second half of the fourteenth century when increasing naval activity granted new opportunities to the men of these communities and their hinterlands. The towns of south Wales, and Pembrokeshire in particular, played a key role in Richard II's campaigns in Ireland in the 1390s. Since the masters and ships of these ports were engaged in the Atlantic and Irish Sea trades it is unsurprising that they engaged in war on the same seaways as their counterparts from the south and west of England.

## *Chapter 4:*

### *The Image of the Medieval Welsh Soldier to 1599*

The Welshman as a soldier is subject to a degree of mythology, particularly with regard to the medieval period. The archers of Gwent in their Monmouth caps are shorthand for the military experiences of an entire nation to the present time. As we have seen in earlier chapters, the reality is a little more complicated than that and it is the origins of this image that are to be explored here. The intention of the following chapter is to explore the image of the Welsh soldier through the late medieval period and how this was informed both by the reality of their involvement in war in the later middle ages and by external perceptions of the Welsh as a people. Framing this study are two dominant, and much cited, works; Gerald of Wales description of Wales and his account of his journey through the country in 1188 and Shakespeare's portrayal of Captain Fluellen, and also of Henry V in the eponymous play of 1599. These works went some way to shaping the later reputation of the medieval Welsh soldier, and particularly through his involvement in the battle of Agincourt, this too shall be examined in part through the posthumous career of the only 'real' Welshman named in Shakespeare's play, Dafydd or Davy Gam. The legacy of Owain Glyn Dŵr, important though it is will only be touched upon however. Owain might, legitimately, also be perceived as part of a foundation myth for the Welsh nation as it is now perceived. His notion of the title 'Prince of Wales' appears to have been far more embracing than even that of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, and the 'ethnic' nature of his rebellion was noted in the commentary of his own time. No doubt this is partly responsible for his status as 'Welshman of the Millennium'. Glyn Dŵr also appears as the twenty-third greatest Briton of all time according to a BBC survey of 2002. Though this survey is a rather absurd exercise, it is noteworthy that Glyn Dŵr appeared forty-nine places above Henry V.<sup>1</sup> His role is rather that of a mythic hero than a medieval soldier. More important for this study is the Welsh perception of themselves in culture and literature and the place which military activity had in later

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<sup>1</sup> It should in fairness, also be noted that both Tony Blair (67<sup>th</sup>) and Margaret Thatcher (16<sup>th</sup>) appear alongside three members of The Beatles and David Bowie (27<sup>th</sup>) above Henry V so such rankings should be approached with extreme caution. The full list can be found here: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/100\\_Greatest\\_Britons](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/100_Greatest_Britons)

medieval and Welsh society and an examination of this will form the final element of this chapter.

### *The Image of the Welsh*

Not only the leaders but the entire nation are trained in war. Sound the trumpet for battle and the peasant will rush from his plough to pick up his weapons as quickly as the courtier from the court.<sup>2</sup>

A few days after Ash Wednesday in March 1188 Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury left Hereford, accompanied by one Gerald, archdeacon of Brecon, in order to preach the crusade. That the purpose of the journey described by Gerald of Wales was military recruitment, albeit motivated by piety rather than royal edict, suits our theme. The Welsh had frequently served English masters both in purely English conflicts and whilst engaging in internecine struggles. While parts had been conquered for a century or more, Wales, at this date, could only distantly be considered subject to the English crown. Perhaps because of the process of conquest and settlement in the March, and certainly because of what appeared to the settled English interminable squabbles and conflict, the Welsh have long been portrayed as a warlike people. They were bred in a society conditioned to war, an impression of Wales confirmed even by Gerald himself. His impression of the Welsh at war was, if not drawn from personal experience, then at least informed by family, friends and social equals; English and Welsh who had participated in the Anglo-Norman wars of conquest. Gerald himself, with his Cambro-Norman antecedents was particularly well-placed to make such a commentary. The reason for such awareness was the sheer propensity of warfare, occasioned by the fragmented nature of the lands of Wales, and Anglo-Norman intervention. The technical details found in his text and others have been more fully evaluated elsewhere, but it is the impression that was held by contemporary observers of the Welsh at war that concerns us here.

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<sup>2</sup> L. Thorpe (ed.), *Gerald of Wales, The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales* (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 223. For Medieval perceptions of the Welsh see R. R. Davies, 'Buchedd a Moes y Cymry' [The Manners and Morals of the Welsh]. *WHR*, 12 (1984), pp. 155-79, and for some of the origins of these perceptions and an English perspective, J. Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Values* (Woodbridge, 2000).

Naturally, in the last two centuries, the image of the Welsh soldier has been merged with mythology and the political ideology of Welsh nationalism. The default English perception was of uncivilised and violent barbarians, from the insults of Archbishop Peckham in the 1280s, through the *Scurri nudipedes* (barefooted rascals) and men of 'small reputation' described in the course of the Glyn Dŵr rebellion, to the comic figure of the Tudor stage. In the post-medieval period, the Welsh soldier retained something of these associations, linked to those of Welsh society as a whole. of equal (if not greater) importance is the impressions of the Welsh themselves, both of themselves as soldiers and also of the very nature of war set in the *British* or even *European* context.

A common approach among historians of medieval military history is to determine impressions of the nature of soldiers from chronicles. In some instances this approach has proved very successful, though its limitations in this instance are those which affect the study of the non-elite elements of medieval society and armies in particular. As outsiders, the Welsh attracted little direct attention from chroniclers when their own country was at peace. Most of those who served in English armies, English, and more particularly, Welsh served as infantry. The specific portrayal of Welsh soldiers in general in the period immediately following the conquest of Gwynedd to the end of the Hundred Years war is at best somewhat scanty and distinctly varied in its character. In order to broaden the picture, we are compelled to refer to images of the Welsh in general rather than as soldiers in particular.

The story of the Welsh archer is one that has grown in the telling over the centuries. They are said to have introduced the longbow to the English, who then took it as their own. The implication, particularly in the Welsh perception of the battles of Agincourt and Crécy, is that this was a skill peculiar to, or developed by the Welsh.<sup>3</sup> This is not necessarily supported by the sources, both historical and archaeological. Gerald of Wales, the most commonly cited of these, never suggests that archery was an unusual skill, nor that the longbow was part of the equation. Gerald merely notes that archery was a particular specialism of the men of Gwent, while Strickland and Hardy, while gathering together many examples of Welsh soldiers in English service, in the twelfth

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<sup>3</sup> Hansard, *The Book of Archery*, pp. 162-207.

and thirteenth centuries, take pains to qualify the use of Welsh soldiers by marcher lords and English kings before and during the conquest of *Pura Wallia*.<sup>4</sup> It is true that Welshmen were fixtures in English royal armies from the twelfth century onwards, their toughness and ubiquity being such that one modern biographer of Henry II termed the Welsh ‘... the Gurkhas of the twelfth century’.<sup>5</sup> If such romantic accounts are to be believed, the Welsh archers won the battle of Agincourt, and probably Crécy and Poitiers as well. Quite where this impression originated is difficult to assess. The general historiographical impression – even in the works of Morris – is that Wales could only provide a second rate sort of a soldier, paid less than his English counterpart and not fit to be trusted. This is an image drawn largely from English chronicles of the fourteenth century and later. As is shown in the earlier chapters, this has little basis in the documentary records of the Welsh in English armies of this period. If the Welsh foot-soldiers, archers or not, of Edward I’s day were a dangerous rabble, then so too were their English comrades, who were also archers.

The most famous representations of medieval Welsh soldiers inevitably appear in Shakespeare’s plays, in the person of Owen Glendower in Act 3, scene 1 of *Henry IV part 1* (1596-97) and more prosaically through Captain Fluellen [sic] in *Henry V* (1599). The character of these appearances – Welshmen with evident, if not uncontested authority – and the tradition into which they fit will be discussed further below. Though a number of military effigies survive throughout Wales, these provide us with only an idea – and a somewhat conventionalised one at that – of the elite of Welsh society, the better class of medieval Welsh soldier. As might be expected, this is the group that appears most often in contemporary literature and administrative documentation and we shall return to men of this type later.

The reputation of the Welsh at war, however, was determined by the nature of more common soldiers: the foot soldiers, archers and spearmen that served in such large numbers from the conquest of Gwynedd, the last element of *Pura Wallia* and through the first half of the fourteenth century. Gerald of Wales in the later years of the twelfth century remarked upon the militant outlook of the Welsh.

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<sup>4</sup> M. Strickland and R. Hardy, *From Hastings to the Mary Rose, The Great Warbow* (Stroud, 2005), pp. 84-94.

<sup>5</sup> W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973, reprinted 1983), p. 40.

They deem it a disgrace to die in bed, but an honour to be killed in battle.<sup>6</sup>

Yet Gerald's take was not entirely complimentary. Like so many other commentators, though spiced by his Cambro-Norman ancestry, his was a judgement coloured by the conventions of contemporary chivalry and the experience of the Marcher elite. He wrote of the Welsh of his time:

Their sole idea of tactics is either to pursue their opponents or else to run away from them. They are lightly armed and they rely more on their agility than their brute strength. It follows that they cannot meet the enemy on equal terms or fight violently for very long... they harass their enemy by their ambushes and night attacks... they are difficult to conquer in a long war, for they are not troubled by hunger or cold, fighting does not seem to tire them, and they do not lose heart when things go wrong, and after one defeat they are ready to fight again and once more face the hazards of war.<sup>7</sup>

The most famous depictions of the Welsh at war are pictorial. These images of Welsh soldiers are probably the most frequently reproduced filing aid in medieval history. They are found drawn in the margins of the *Littere Wallie*, enrolled copies of letters concerning Wales, transcribed into book form for ease of reference in the late thirteenth century and found in the archives of the exchequer. It must be said that in most books depicting war in the middle ages, these images are the only visual depictions of the Welsh and are often appropriated somewhat out of context to illustrate events as late as the fifteenth century. These embellishments, described by the editor, J. G. Edwards as 'identification marks' intended to differentiate these rolls from others held in the royal Chancery during the reign of Edward I.<sup>8</sup> They show two Welsh archers, their bows drawn and a Welsh spearman armed with a long knife (the drawing shows only a single edge) in his right hand and a spear in the left. These Welshmen are shown as long haired, wild-eyed and bare-legged and in each case only wearing a single shoe on the left foot. These aggressive images of apparently

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<sup>6</sup> Thorpe (ed.), *Gerald of Wales*, p. 233.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>8</sup> Edwards, *Littere Wallie*, pp. xxviii-xxix; F.S. Haydon (ed.), *Eulogium Historiarum* (Rolls Series, 1858-63) III, p. 388. The original sketches can be found in TNA E 36/274.

primitive people belie the extremely bureaucratic nature of the documents that bore these images; the enrolled copies of State correspondence between the English crown, its Welsh vassals and the princes of Gwynedd. The condescension of the English towards their Welsh neighbours was most pithily expressed by Archbishop Peckham in the 1280s. The Welsh, he said lived ‘in their own little corner in the far end of the world... The rest of humanity scarcely know that you are a people.’<sup>9</sup> War against the Welsh was, at least in some quarters, seen as culturally justified as well as militarily expedient.<sup>10</sup> Certainly, these images are not depictions of the kind of men who would have received the correspondence, but it reflects a prevalent image of the Welsh at the time. Chancery clerks, and it appears, English archbishops shared similar views regarding the Welsh relation to ‘proper’ English civilisation to English archbishops.



**Illustrations 1 and 2.** The Welsh soldier through English eyes from TNA E 36/274 (date: c.1282-92). This depiction makes for an interesting comparison with the literary accounts mentioned below. Crown Copyright.

<sup>9</sup> C. Trice-Martin (ed.), *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, II (London, 1882-5), p. 476.

<sup>10</sup> M. Prestwich, ‘Transcultural Warfare – The Later Middle Ages’, in H-H Kortüm (ed.), *Transcultural Wars from the Middle Ages to the 21st Century*, pp. 46-7.

In contrast to many of Edward's foot-soldiers and despite (or perhaps because of) the recent completion of what had been a drawn out conquest, the Welsh appear to have been remarkably loyal, if not necessarily consistent, troops. Their reticence in joining the battle at Falkirk in 1298 was well attested by chroniclers though generally, rates of desertion appear to have been far lower amongst the Welsh than the English.<sup>11</sup> The impression made on foreigners is an interesting one. In Flanders in 1297, their appearance and attitude was striking to the Flemish chronicler Lodewyk van Veltham who elsewhere in his chronicle seems remarkably familiar with Welsh mythology. While generally, his view of Wales and the Welsh is not to be trusted, his account of the behaviour of Welsh soldiers serving with Edward I at Ghent in 1297, is clearly based upon eye-witness testimony. Van Veltham wrote that:

Edward, king of England, came to Flanders. He brought with him many soldiers from the land of Wales, and also some from England. He came to Ghent... There you saw the peculiar habits of the Welsh. In the very depth of winter, they were running about bare-legged. They wore a red robe. They could not have been warm. The money they received from the King was spent on milk and butter. They would eat and drink anywhere. I never saw them wearing armour. I studied them very closely, and walked among them to find out what defensive armour they carried when going into battle. Their weapons were bows, arrows and swords. They also had javelins. They wore linen clothing. They were great drinkers. Their camp was in the village of St. Pierre. They endamaged the Flemings very much. Their pay was too small and so it came about that they took what did not belong to them.<sup>12</sup>

For Van Veltham, other continentals and most Englishmen particularly those from the north and east of England, Welsh soldiers were likely to be the only Welshmen they encountered. Their impressions of these men were very likely therefore to stand for the entire land from which they came. English chroniclers of this largely unsuccessful and politically fraught campaign of 1297 appear to have branded such

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<sup>11</sup> For the Welsh at the battle of Falkirk, see ch. 1. For rates of desertion amongst the foot soldiers in Edward I's armies, Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, pp. 97-9.

<sup>12</sup> From Le Long (ed.), Lodewyk van Veltham, *Spiegel Historiaal*, IV, ch. 5 (1727), quoted in Evans, 'Some Notes Principality of Wales', p. 46. For Van Veltham's treatment of Wales more generally, T. M. Chotzen, 'Welsh History in the continuation of the 'Spiegel Historaal' by Lodewijk Van Veltham', *BBCS* (1935), pp. 42-54.

men something of a liability. Such an ambivalent perspective seems to originate from preconceptions of Welsh behaviour rather than the source material, however. On this occasion, Welshmen made up the majority of the army, some 5,300 of the foot soldiers of a total of 7,800. The fractiousness of Edward's alliance with the Flemings, particularly with the citizens of Ghent is evident. One episode, describing an individual act of reckless bravery by a Welsh soldier who swam a river, climbed a palisade, killed three defenders and returned to his fellows displays much of what English documents often termed 'light-headedness' (*levitas cervicosa*). That the man was apparently rewarded with 100s. at the order of Edward himself shows that this was not always regarded as an undesirable quality. The origins of the episode, related in a chronicle compiled at the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds are uncertain, but the gist of the story is retold in Gray's *Scalacronica*, composed over fifty years later which may infer that it came from a royal newsletter – suggestive of royal favour – rather than by word of mouth.<sup>13</sup> Though a good story, it bears a strong resemblance to another, dating from 1167, when Welshmen in the army of Henry II swam the river Epte and burnt Louis VII's arsenal at Chaumont, and through their skills of ambush spreading fear among the French at other points in this campaign.<sup>14</sup> These can hardly be described as chivalric deeds, but it is somewhat unfair to regard the actions of foot soldiers by the standards of aspirational elite behaviour. The accounts of 1297, however, offer more detail than is usual of Welsh involvement in 'foreign' warfare.

More often there are only a few snippets, most of which describe the Welsh in English armies as separate, perhaps superfluous. Pierre Langtoft described an army of Edward I as consisting of 'Od xxx mil. Galés, saunz alter bone gent' (30,000 Welsh and other good men) while Knighton describes the army that landed in Flanders in July 1338 as consisting of 'an abundant host of archers and Welshmen' (*copiosam multitudinem sagittariorum et Wallensium*).<sup>15</sup> This reflects some of the payrolls for such armies which often refer the Welsh contribution simply as 'Wallenses'; Welshmen. Their precise contribution or origins are not made clear. In the same chronicle there is a reference to the most prominent Welsh soldier on the English side,

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<sup>13</sup> A. Gransden (ed.), *The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds 1212-1301* (London, 1964), pp. 143-145. King (ed.) *Scalacronica*, p. 17.

<sup>14</sup> Strickland & Hardy, *The Great Warbow*, p. 89.

<sup>15</sup> T. Wright (ed.), *The Chronicle of Pierre Langtoft*, II (London, 1868), pp. 336-337; G. H. Martin (ed.) *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 6-7.

Sir Gregory Sais, who is referred to simply as ‘a foreigner’ (*alienigena*).<sup>16</sup> Other mentions are equally sparse, and ultimately misleading. Knighton, in telling of Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland’s defeat at Radcot Bridge (1387), terms his army ‘a crowd of men of Chester, Lancastrian and Welshmen’ (*hostes pupplicos, Cistrenses, Lancastrenses, Wallenses*).<sup>17</sup> Again, a false unity is imposed relative to the Englishmen concerned as it is probable that the Welshmen concerned came only from areas under royal influence; the counties of North Wales and Flintshire.

The Welsh are frequently – though not exclusively – portrayed as either not understanding, or not following the ‘rules’ of war. This is a persistent theme; Gerald of Wales commented upon it in the twelfth century, observing that the Welsh were ‘a people which will never draw up its forces to engage and enemy army in the field, and will never allow itself to be besieged inside fortified strong points.’<sup>18</sup> Henry of Huntingdon in an account of the battle of Lincoln (1141) stated that the Welsh were ‘rash, ill-armed and ignorant of the art of war.’ Sean Davies notes that Huntingdon’s purpose was to denigrate the forces with which the Welsh were allied rather than as evidence of their inability.<sup>19</sup> Such an impression persisted into the fourteenth century. The author of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* followed this model in his description of Welshmen in the retinue of the earl of Hereford, probably from his lordship of Brecon, referring to the earl’s confrontation with the king in 1312: ‘a crowd of Welsh, wild men from the woodlands’ (*comitiva comitis Herefordie turba Wallesium vallata, silvestris et fera*). Just as the woods were a dark and dangerous obstacle on the borders of England, so were their inhabitants were a threatening presence to civilised England, by providing ‘muscle’ for their English lord.<sup>20</sup> The St Albans chronicler noted the unruliness of Welsh foot soldiers in 1337-8 burning a church in Flanders while in the service of Walter Mauny and had lit fires around Bury St Edmonds where the king held his council.<sup>21</sup> Failure to respect ecclesiastical property was a frequent accusation made against many medieval armies, and the Welsh in the first thirty years

<sup>16</sup> For an example of ‘Wallenses’, see M. Prestwich, ‘English armies in the Early Stages of the Hundred Years’ War: a Scheme in 1341’ *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, liv (1983), pp. 102-113. *Knighton’s Chronicle*, pp. 346-7.

<sup>17</sup> *Knighton’s Chronicle*, pp. 420-425.

<sup>18</sup> Thorpe (ed.), *Gerald of Wales*, p. 267.

<sup>19</sup> For the full discussion, see S. Davies, *Welsh Military Institutions*, pp. 136-140.

<sup>20</sup> Childs (ed.), *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. 56-7.

<sup>21</sup> E. M. Thompson (ed.), *Chronicon Angliae ab Anno Domini 1328 usque ad Annum 1388 auctore monacho quodam Sancti Albani* (London, 1874), p. 7.

of the fourteenth century appear to have been particularly guilty. Given the disproportionate numbers of Welshmen serving in English armies in that period such opprobrium might only have been partly deserved. Any Welsh soldier would have been readily distinguishable from their English counterparts by reason of language and thus much more noticeable. In the most famous literary account of the French wars, the *Chronicles* of Jean Froissart, the Welsh make few appearances either as individuals or *en masse*. The best known of these is in Froissart's description of the battle of Crécy, which offers a far from favourable impression:

However, among the English there were pillagers and irregulars, Welsh and Cornishmen armed with long knives, who went out after the French (their own men-at-arms and archers making way for them) and, when they found any in difficulty, whether they were counts, barons, knights or squires, they killed them without mercy.<sup>22</sup>

This was a far from universal impression however, and even their near neighbours would admit that the Welsh and English were not so dissimilar. In about 1340, the Chester chronicler, Ranulph Higden observed how the Welsh had begun to adopt English manners and habits, wearing English shoes, sleeping under sheets and cultivating gardens. They wore at least a veneer of civilisation, but even a century later, in about 1430, another Chester monk noted that it was only 'in the time of Henry V... [that] the Welsh began to live in the manner of the English. They [now] accumulate riches [and] they fear losses'.<sup>23</sup>

In this context, the French word 'gallois' – often, but not exclusively, applied to the Welsh – has resulted in a certain amount of scholarly debate, particularly in relation to 'la Compagnie de Galoiz' (the Company of Welshmen), a group identified by Siddons as those Welshmen in the service of France associated with Owain Lawgogh.<sup>24</sup> In this instance, French musters attest to the men concerned bearing Welsh names and of course, being led by a Welshman with claims to the title prince

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<sup>22</sup> Brereton (ed.), *Jean Froissart, Chronicles* (London, 1978), p. 93.

<sup>23</sup> C. Babington (ed.), *Polychronicon Ranulfi Higden*, I (Rolls Series, London, 1865), pp. 410-11; A. Wall (ed.), *Handbook to the Maude Roll* (Auckland, 1919), cited in R. A. Griffiths, 'The Island of England in the fifteenth century: perceptions of the peoples of the British Isles', *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003), pp. 181-2.

<sup>24</sup> Siddons, 'Welshmen in the Service of France', pp. 161-184.

of Wales. The debate arises from another possible reference to ‘The Company of Welshmen’ in Chandos Herald’s *Life of the Black Prince*, in conjunction with the expedition led by Bertrand du Guesclin against Pedro the Cruel in 1366.<sup>25</sup> Trotter notes that the double meaning – *galois* could, in contemporary usage, mean merry as well as Welsh – was both realised and exploited in other contexts, in the *Roman de Fauvel*, and by Froissart. While the editors of the text are far from consensual on the matter, the historians, notably Chotzen and Carr endorse the ‘Welsh’ interpretation, in Carr’s case suggesting a reputation for fast-living among Welsh troops which may not be entirely warranted.<sup>26</sup> Whatever the origins of Chandos Herald’s ‘companions’, be they a company of Welshmen or simply ‘merry companions’, Trotter stresses that in a more general sense, ‘*galois*’ was not intended as a reflection upon ‘hard drinking and wild living’ amongst Welsh soldiers, as Carr might have it, but a fortuitous conflation of phonetics. These result in a word which shares its form with another; the French for ‘Welsh’.<sup>27</sup>

Often the same sources taint the Welsh soldiers with cowardice or evasiveness in military matters, as an adjunct to their alleged lack of ‘civility’ which extended into their manner of fighting. Gerald of Wales noted this pragmatism in the twelfth century. ‘He [an English king] can never hope to conquer in one single battle a people which will never draw up its forces to engage an enemy army in the field, and will ever allow itself to be besieged in fortified strong-points.’<sup>28</sup> Such caution, it was believed was shaped by the landscape of their native land. According to Gerald, ‘the tactics of French troops are no good at all in Ireland or Wales... Against an army so mobile and lightly armed as the Welsh, who always prefer to do battle on rough terrain, you need troops with little equipment who are used to the same sort of warfare’.<sup>29</sup> If these qualities were desirable against the Welsh in the late twelfth century, so they were against the Scots in the late-thirteenth and early fourteenth. In 1300, the Welsh were excused from serving against the Scots, ostensibly for their service in earlier campaigns. In their absence, such qualities were apparently missed. Rishanger’s *Annales Regis Edwardi Primi* laments their absence in its description of

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<sup>25</sup> See Barbers edition REF.

<sup>26</sup> Carr, ‘Welshmen in the Hundred Years War’, pp. 21-46.

<sup>27</sup> D. A. Trotter, ‘Merry, Welsh, or both? A Philological Perspective on the Company of Welshmen’ *WHR* 17 (1994-5), pp. 452-461.

<sup>28</sup> Thorpe (ed.), *Gerald of Wales*, p. 267.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 269.

the battle between the English and the Scots – more accurately, the Scots retreat – immediately after the successful siege of Caerlaverock.<sup>30</sup> It should be noted that each of these descriptions places Welsh soldiers away from the extremes of pitched battle. The Welsh reluctance to engage in set-piece battles is a theme often repeated in accounts of the battle of Shrewsbury of 1403. In these accounts, however, the aim was vilification of Owain Glyn Dŵr, albeit sometimes centuries after the event. The tradition can be found in a number of nineteenth century descriptions of ‘Glyn Dŵr’s oak’, a tree from which Glyn Dwr was supposed to have witnessed the battle without participating himself. Early Welsh relations of this tradition (possibly, though not certainly informed by English prejudice), paint this as cowardice, though glossed by the eighteenth century writer Thomas Pennant as a result of impatience on the part of Hotspur (Henry Percy) and Edmund Mortimer. All suspect that Owain could have been present, but out of choice or misfortune was not.<sup>31</sup>

A more chivalric impression was given by Sir Thomas Gray in his *Scalacronica* which provides a remarkably detailed account of the Welsh in combat from the latter stages of the 1359 campaign.

Some men-at-arms, knights and squires with eight Welsh archers, of the Lord Despenser’s retinue had a fine fight in the Beauce, when the king’s army was quartered in villages. They were away from the army, near to Bonneval, guarding the millers in a mill to get some grain milled; they were spotted by the French garrisons round about, who came to attack them with twenty-six billmen and twelve archers, French Bretons. Both sides dismounted on foot and fought each other boldly; the French were defeated, three of their men-at-arms killed and twenty taken prisoner, and everyone on both sides was wounded near to death. Some of the English were put on their faith to the enemy during the mêlée, and were rescued by the Welsh, who did very well there.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> H. T. Riley (ed.), *Willelmi Rishanger, quondam monachi S. Albani, et quorundam anonymorum, chronica et annales, regnantibus Henrico Tertio et Edwardo Primo* (Rolls Series, London, 1865), p. 442.

<sup>31</sup> A full assessment of this tradition can be found in E. R. Henken, *National Redeemer. Owain Glyndŵr in Welsh Tradition* (New York, 1996), pp. 121-125.

<sup>32</sup> King (ed.), *Scalacronica* p. 185. In this instance, the English who were ‘put on their faith’ had surrendered and allowed themselves to be taken for ransom, despite being rescued; the rules of chivalry

The nationality of the archers concerned is in this instance an incidental detail, but in the context of this campaign, an important one. These archers, almost certainly drawn from Despenser's lordship of Glamorgan were an effective part of his regular retinue serving as mounted archers rather than part of a royal levy foot-soldiers (though such a levy was raised for this campaign, their service was very short).<sup>33</sup> That the Welshness of Despenser's archers, or the Breton origins of their French opponents, is mentioned at all is interesting, not least due the similarities between the Welsh and Breton languages. The nationality is incidental to the description; the archers concerned could – for all it mattered to the narrative – have originated from anywhere in Britain. In other words, they were archers who happened to be Welsh and nothing more.

It would be nice to believe that some of the men mentioned in Pierre Cochon's *Chronique Normande*, probably composed in the 1430s and here describing the 1417 campaign were Welsh, since this would mirror Lodewych Van Veltham's description of 120 years earlier.

The English King was in his own country with his prisoners. He never slept but continually looked to his own interests and made alliances and provision as he saw fit, of young men from various lands, some Irish, all with bare feet and no shoes, dressed in scruffy doublets made out of old bedding, a poor skullcap of iron on their heads, a bow and a quiver of arrows in their hand and a sword hanging at their side. That was all the armour they had. There was also a large quantity of scum (*meunes merdailles*) from several lands.<sup>34</sup>

Overall, the impression from the traditional accounts of medieval warfare tells us only a little of the involvement of the Welsh, but presents a consistent, and not wholly unfavourable impression. It is a little simplistic, but this is the inevitable result of a group portrait of what were, for contemporary historians and chroniclers, minor

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obliged them to pay their captors. My thanks to Dr King for this and the earlier reference – the only mentions of Welsh involvement in this chronicle.

<sup>33</sup> Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>34</sup> Translated from C. Robillard de Beaurepaire (ed.), *Chronique Normande de Pierre Cochon* cited in Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt. Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 112-4.

figures. The Welshman of English experience in the middle-ages was more than likely a soldier and their image in English eyes was, therefore, almost inevitably both militant and bellicose. Their own perception was, inevitably, more nuanced.

### ***The Welsh Literary Tradition***

The availability of sources, and to a lesser extent, secondary literature, are significant limitations to the study of Welsh medieval history in general. Historical writing and recording in medieval Wales does not follow the pattern of England. Wales in the post-conquest period suffers from a paucity of evidence in the form of prose chronicles of the sort common but decreasing in the same period in England. The last native chronicle, *Y Brut y Tywysogyon* (The Chronicle of the Princes) was largely without purpose after the defeat of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, yet at least one version continued, albeit in a relatively sparse form until 1332. Between that time and Adam Usk commencing his chronicle – a very personal view of contemporary affairs – there is little of this valuable evidence which provides a Welsh perspective.<sup>35</sup> The artistic interests and genealogical concerns of post-medieval century gentry, however, preserved large amounts of native language poetry and records of the descent of individual families. Each can provide some assistance, though neither is without its shortcomings. For the historian, these sources suffer in terms of accessibility because almost all the secondary writing concerning medieval Welsh language literature is for a Welsh speaking audience and is thus written in Welsh. Though much of this material has been published, a great deal is still only available in manuscript form. The pedigrees of Welsh families, while available in an edited form through the extraordinary work of Peter Bartrum, provide only a rough guide to chronology and familial relationships. Most of these pedigrees were the work of heralds from the college of arms operating in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and drew upon earlier sources. They are thus subject to confusion and inaccuracies that it is not always possible to reconcile with known historical detail.

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<sup>35</sup> T. Jones (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes. Peniarth MS. 20 Version* (Cardiff, 1932). The other most commonly cited is T. Jones (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes. Red Book of Hergest Version* (Cardiff, 1955). This ends in 1282. Both versions survive as Welsh translations of a lost Latin original.

The poetry preserves a tradition of aristocratic (and cultural) propaganda writing that is far less common in English. The ongoing project researching the Poets of the Nobility in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and recent bi-lingual editions of Dafydd ap Gwilym, and, in the near future, Guto'r Glyn have made some progress in accessibility though only a limited amount of it is available to the English speaking historians.<sup>36</sup> Personal contact with some of the scholars involved has demonstrated that this is disadvantageous to both parties who may miss connections between and nuances within each other sources, in terms of detail and chronology. The genealogical manuscripts suffer similar limitations though what they can provide, in terms of hints at geographical locators and inter-relationships between families is often valuable, but only when used with other documents. The militaristic society – and poetic tradition – these poets emerge from is evident in the tropes of such poetry, such as the late fourteenth century grammar attributed to Einion Offeriaid, (Einion the Priest) which purports to be a manual of instruction for bards and prescribes the qualities which should be praised in a lord, or in a baron. Such treatises were not uncommon in this period, and have a special significance in the Welsh tradition, notably in the context of the legal triads used by practitioners of the Welsh law until its abandonment in 1536. The text states at one point that:

*Arglwyd a uolir a uedyant, a gallu a milwryaeth, a gwrhydri, a chederynt, a balcher, ac adfwynder, a doethineb, a chymhendawt, a haelyioni, a gwarder, a hegarwch wrth y wyr a'e gyueillon, a tegwch pryt, a thelediwrwyd corf, a mawrurydwch medwl, a mawrhydri gweithredoed, a petheu ereill adfwyn enrydedud.*

*Brehyr a volir o dewrder, a glewder, a chedernit, a chryfder, a chywirdeb wrth y arglwyd, a doethineb, a chymhendawt, a haelyoni, a digrifwch, a thelediwrwyd corf, a boned, a phetheu ereill knmoledic.*

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<sup>36</sup> See [www.dafyddapgwilym.net](http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net) for the recent project on his work. For the current work on Guto'r Glyn, see <http://www.wales.ac.uk/en/CentreforAdvancedWelshCelticStudies/ResearchProjects/CurrentProjects/PoetryofGutoGlyn/IntroductiontotheProject.aspx7>. It is noteworthy that both are initially available only via the internet. For introductions to both these poets, see Jarman and Hughes (eds) *A guide to Welsh literature*, 2 (Cardiff, 1979).

A lord is praised for his possession [i.e. dominion], and ability, and power, and valour, and might, and pride, and gentleness, and wisdom, and discretion and generosity, and meekness, and amiability towards his men and associates, and beauty of form, and beauty of body, and nobility of thought, and of splendour of deeds and other gentle, honourable things.

A baron is praised for strength and prowess, and might, and loyalty towards his lord, and wisdom, and discretion, and generosity, and agreeableness, and beauty of body and of good breeding, and other commendable things.<sup>37</sup>

It should be no surprise that much of the resulting poetry is somewhat conventional in its form, though the degree of effusiveness of praise, or the colour of its imagery can tell something of the relationship between patron and poet, such information is only occasionally of use to the military historian in purely military terms. To dismiss the poets, however, would be foolish. Through them a very clear sense of their subjects standing, origins and lineage – so important in Welsh society – and offer the only clear means of comparison between the elite of Wales and their ‘English’ counterparts. Matonis remarks that the poetry of the fourteenth century – so often dedicated to men who served as administrators rather than as soldiers – was ‘colored [sic] by *hiraeth*’ (nostalgic longing) for an earlier ‘Heroic age’.<sup>38</sup> This age, the period of full Welsh independence between the seventh to tenth centuries could not compete with quasi colonial experience of the fourteenth century. Moreover, Matonis perceives the accession of Edward of Caernarvon as Prince of Wales in 1301 as the end of the native heroic warrior class, suggesting that service in English armies was incompatible with such a definition. Rowlands provides an explanation based upon the form of the poems themselves and the development of the *cywydd* to incorporate elements of the heroic praise found in the earlier *awdlau* (elegies), a form which the conquest largely robbed of its suitability.<sup>39</sup> Gwilym Ddu’s *Awdlau* to Sir Gruffydd Llwyd – the most significant Welsh military leader of the late thirteenth and early

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<sup>37</sup> From G. J. Williams and E. J. Jones (eds), *Llyfr Coch Hergest* [The Red Book of Hergest], in *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* [Grammars of the Celtic Bards] (Cardiff, 1934), p. 16, cited in A. T. E. Matonis, ‘Traditions of Panegyric in Welsh Poetry: The Heroic and the Chivalric’ *Speculum*, liii (1978), pp. 667-687.

<sup>38</sup> Matonis, ‘Traditions of Panegyric in Welsh Poetry’, pp. 686-7.

<sup>39</sup> E. I. Rowlands, ‘Iolo Goch’ in J. Carney and D. Greene (eds), *Celtic Studies: Essays in memory of Angus Matheson 1912-1962* (London, 1968), pp. 138-9.

fourteenth century – provides an example and an exception. Generally, this highly conventionalised style of praise poetry was inappropriate to most Welshmen of this period. It is, however, illustrative of the nature of a man who took upon himself the status and authority under the 1284 settlement that had previously been invested in the princes.<sup>40</sup> At the other end of the fourteenth century, the work of Iolo Goch or Gruffudd Llwyd, who both sung the praises of Owain Glyn Dŵr, not only reflected developments in poetic forms, but made great play of its subjects deeds in tournaments and on the field of battle. These poems made use of Welsh literary conventions and enriched them with the vocabulary of chivalry. Once again, it is the person and deeds of Owain Glyn Dŵr that alter our focus.

The nature of ‘Englishness’ and ‘Welshness’ in this context echoes the rather confused nature of the Anglo-Welsh relationship; Iolo Goch for example composed *cywyddau* to Owain Glyn Dŵr, to Tudor Fychan, to the sons of Tudor ap Goronwy and yet also to Edward III (no less), Roger Mortimer, earl of March – admittedly, in support of his Welsh blood and claim to the English throne – and to David Hanmer, a justice of the king’s bench.<sup>41</sup> Hanmer was father in law to Owain Glyn Dŵr but was drawn from a settler family, made his business in English service and was knighted by an English king. Yet he was a patron to the poets too, which displays something of the chameleon character of the elite. This is not the contradiction it might first appear: the elite of Wales – and the soldiers of Wales – should not, as we have seen, be viewed in isolation from their English or French fellows. They should be judged according to the same standards. There was a considerable element among the ‘English’ landholders of Wales who had intermarried with their native social equals and whose fortunes, interests and characteristics notably converged. This is a theme to which we shall return. From the earliest period of English rule in Wales Welshmen had served the Marcher lords in their armies, in Wales, in Ireland and pursuing their lord’s interests in England. Following Edward I’s final conquest of Gwynedd, there is rarely any distinction in payment, or perceived quality (though their behaviour and demeanour were frequently criticised in the early fourteenth century), of Welshmen in

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<sup>40</sup> Davies, ‘The Rhetoric of Gwilym Ddu’s *Awdlau* to Sir Gruffydd Llwyd’, pp. 155-172.

<sup>41</sup> For these and others, H. Lewis, T. Roberts and I. Williams (eds), *Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill* (Cardiff, 1972), pp. 3-91.

English royal armies. It was entirely natural for Iolo Goch to praise Owain Glyn Dŵr for his deeds as a soldier in the following manner.

*Goreugwr fu, garw agwrdd,  
Ni wnaeth ond marchogaeth meirch,  
Gorau amser, mewn gwrmseirch;  
Dwyn paladr, gwaldr gwiwlew,  
Soced dur a siaced dew;  
Arwain rhest a phenffestin,  
A helm wen – gŵr hael am win –  
Ac yn ei phen, nen iawnraifft,  
Adain rudd o edn yr Aifft.*

He was the best of men, harsh and mighty,  
He did nothing but ride horses,  
The best time in dark blue armour;  
Bearing a lance, the prince and worthy hero,  
With a steel socket, and thick jacket;  
With a spear-rest and a mail cap,  
And a white helmet – man generous with wine –  
And on his head, just and merciful lord,  
A scarlet plume of an Egyptian Bird.<sup>42</sup>

The terms in which Owain is described establish a frame of reference, which was, as Matonis has it both ‘chivalric and non-native’<sup>43</sup> This is to miss a key point; his apparel, equipment and generosity are not measured by standards that were purely Welsh, but by those of European chivalry through the conspicuous consumption of expensive imported goods, from wine and armour through, in Glyn Dŵr's case, to his education in London's Inns of Court, alluded to by Shakespeare. On this level, Iolo Goch recognised the equivalence of the Welsh military elite with the English,

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<sup>42</sup> Lewis, *et al*, *Iolo Gogh ac Eraill*, IGE. 39, pp. 34-5, the translation and comment is from Matonis, ‘Traditions of Panegyric in Welsh Poetry’, pp. 686-7. My thanks to Dr Barry Lewis for bringing the suggestion of Flamingo feathers originally made by Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, p. 22. For other exotic birdlife in fourteenth century Wales see Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem *Garlant o Blu Paun* (A Garland of Peacock Feathers) edited text no. 134, <http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net>.

<sup>43</sup> Matonis, ‘Traditions of Panegyric in Welsh Poetry’, p. 681.

something echoed in contemporary English military records, though this example, probably composed in the 1380s is not without its problems. Lloyd's suggestion — that '*edn yr Aiffi*' should refer to a Flamingo, a bird for which the modern Welsh equivalent (*fflamingo*) was not coined until 1835, has recently been reassessed. Breeze suggests that the bird in question may have been a Phoenix, a bird with clear associations, which would have been obvious to Owain Glyn Dŵr and his circle. This is a tantalising possibility, and the most straightforward idea is that it was worn in the manner of the lion born by the Black Prince, the Phoenix standing for Glyn Dŵr's singularity as a man (a notion which could be taken in a number of ways) and as a warrior, a theme Iolo Goch pursued elsewhere in his verse dedicated to Owain.<sup>44</sup>

More broadly, such poetry reveals something of the character and foibles of the elite; their predilection for hunting, wine, their swords and leadership in battle, clothes and piety. Together with this are descriptions of their halls and hospitality, lakes and parks. All are what one would expect from any branch of the medieval elite, and all were explored in the work of Dafydd ap Gwilym, most clearly in the praise poem and elegy composed for his patron (and maternal uncle) Llywelyn ap Gwilym, one of the many descendants of Ednyfed Fychan and sometime constable of Newcastle Emlyn (c. 1340-c.1346) and thus servant of Gilbert Talbot, then Justiciar of South Wales) and brother-in-law of Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd.<sup>45</sup> That he was apparently murdered – if the testimony of Dafydd ap Gwilym is to be believed<sup>46</sup> – gives some indication of the high stakes which were played for in the local politics of fourteenth century Wales.

*Llywiawdr, ymerawdr meiri—Edelffled,*<sup>47</sup>

*Llyw yw ar Ddyfed, llawer ddofî.*

*Llorf llwyth, ei dylwyth hyd Wyli—y traidd,*

*Llariaidd, brawdwrïaidd, ail Bryderi.*

*Llathrlaw ysb euraw, ysberi—gwëyll,*

<sup>44</sup> A. Breeze, 'Owen Glendower's Crest and the Scottish Campaign of 1384-1385' *Medium Aevum*, lxxviii (2004), pp. 99-102.

<sup>45</sup> It is possible that he can be identified with the Llywelyn ap Gwilym who led 100 men from Builth to Scotland in 1322 and was commissioned to array 100 men from the same lordship in 1324-5 for service in Gascony.

<sup>46</sup> See *Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gwilym* (Elegy for Llywelyn ap Gwilym), edited text 6, <http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net>.

<sup>47</sup> Excerpt from; *Moliant Llywelyn ap Gwilym* (Praise for Llywelyn ap Gwilym), edited text 5 <http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net>.

*Llid Pyll, arf dridryll, arfod Rodri.  
Llinongadr, baladr Beli—yng nghyngaws,  
Llwyrnaws Llŷr hoywdraws, llew wrhydri.*

A ruler, an emperor of Aethelfrith's stewards,  
he's Dyfed's leader, taming many.  
A tribe's pillar, his kin extends as far as Gwyli,  
benign, judge-like, a second Pryderi.  
A radiant hand giving gold to guests, splintered spears,  
wrath of Pyll, [with a] shattered weapon, the [full] smite of Rhodri.  
Mighty his lance, the spear of Beli in battle,  
in temper just like lively-mighty Llŷr, of lion valour.

Amidst what appears rather conventionalised praise, drawing on imagery found in the sixth or seventh century epic poem *Y Gododdin* there is an interesting analogy. The reference to *Edelffled*, a Welsh form of Æthelfrith, king of Northumbria in the seventh century, may refer equally refer to an anonymous *englyn* in Einion Offeiriad's grammar which compares Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd – de facto governor of South Wales in this period – to *Edelffled*/Æthelfrith. If Dafydd knew his Bede, or more typically, the tales of the *Mabinogi*, this analogy may simply be a stock metaphor of leadership and military power; Bede, in a Northumbrian context likened Æthelfrith to another Saul. If so it was skilfully employed, but it could be seen as a rather back-handed compliment to both men since Æthelfrith was chiefly noted as an oppressor of Britons, Welsh and Irish alike.<sup>48</sup> It is also possible that here the men of Deira – Saxons of Northumbria – are here made to stand in for the Scots reflecting the involvement of these *Uchelwyr*, a class to which Dafydd himself belonged, in the Scottish wars of Edward II and Edward III. The merits (or otherwise) of soldiers and the wars themselves make other appearances in the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym, and are found not only in his court poetry as might be expected but in metaphors in his love poetry which sits comfortably in a tradition of European troubadours. The

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<sup>48</sup> R. G. Gruffydd and R. Ifans (eds), *Gwaith Einion Offeiriad a Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug* (Aberystwyth, 1997) pp. 40-1, cited in notes for *Moliant Llywelyn ap Gwilym*, edited text 5, [www.dafyddapgwilym.net](http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net). For Bede's references to King Æthelfrith (Ethelfrid), see L. Shirley-Price (trans.) and D. H. Farmer (ed.) *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (London, 1990), pp. 97, 106-7, 126 and 143.

implication in the lines below according to Fulton, is that God, ‘the creator of the metaphysical fortress’ will aid Dafydd as a crusader fighting against God’s enemies and that God will thus assist Dafydd to win the love of his lady Angharad, the wife of Ieuan Llwyd of Builth.<sup>49</sup> For the current purpose, however, it is sufficient that it mentions one of the great military actions of the fourteenth century in a Welsh literary context.

Ef a roes Duw, nawddfoes nawd,  
Gaer I’m cadw, gwiwrym ceudawd,  
Cystal, rhag ofn dial dyn,  
Â’ Galais rhag ei elyn<sup>50</sup>

Of interest to the militarily minded is the fact that the metaphor employed invokes the lengthy siege of Calais between 1346 and 1347, and Dafydd employs the metaphor of the walls throughout the remainder of the poem. The metaphor would have had an obvious relevance to the poet’s audience. As *Uchelwyr*, military service and leadership was an expectation of their place in society and though it is unlikely that Dafydd served in English armies, such metaphor demonstrates his awareness of this fact.

Hard evidence about the experience of those who actually fought, or at least served in medieval armies – particularly below the rank of esquire – is rare in any context. Though several Welsh poets of this period may have had military careers; it is possible that Siôn Cent was the John of Kent who appeared as an archer in the retinue of Sir John Scudamore – known to have been among Cent’s patrons, in 1415.<sup>51</sup> Though a debate poem between Sion and Rhys Goch Eryri, probably composed in the 1420s refers to the ‘breaking’ of castles in France (*torri cestyll Ffrainc*), there is no evidence elsewhere in his poetry of military experience. Previously, it has been suggested that he was informed in such matters by the careers of professional soldiers

<sup>49</sup> H. Fulton, *Dafydd ap Gwilym and the European Context* (Cardiff, 1989), pp. 143-4

<sup>50</sup> ‘God, whose way is to protect, has granted a fortress to defend me – the heart’s fine power, the equal (for fear of man’s vengeance) of Calais against his enemy’ from *Caer Rhag Cenfigen* (A Fortress Against Envy), 17-20, edited text 122, <http://dafyddapgwilym.net>

<sup>51</sup> TNA E 101/44/30 m. 2.

such as Matthew Gogh and Richard Gethin, suggestions that are frequently made about many of the poets of this period, but are often impossible to substantiate.<sup>52</sup>

Through the poetry of Guto'r Glyn, however, we have at least one example which reveals much of interest in relation to the mechanisms of recruitment and the personal relationships that drove them. J. E. C. Williams identified the key elements some time ago and although Guto'r Glyn as yet is only known to appear on one muster roll (that of the Duke of York's retinue in 1441), it is significant that many of his patrons were present in the same retinue. Equally, the military records strongly suggest that Guto had brought his own son to the duke of York's service, something which indicates that Guto was very likely born in the first decade of the fifteenth century and must have been a very old man by the time of his death in 1493: information that is not known from his poetry.<sup>53</sup>

Much Welsh verse of both the fourteenth and fifteenth century makes conspicuous reference to heraldry and here again the existence of the elite of Wales in the wider context of the nobility of Europe can be seen. Michael Siddons has made an extremely thorough survey of Welsh heraldry, which has to an extent overturned the rather dismissive treatment it has received by English scholars. Certainly, it is true that the Welsh came to Heraldry late and did not display a comprehensive understanding of the minutiae that was apparently so obvious to some English eyes.<sup>54</sup> Yet Owain Glyn Dŵr made his deposition in the Scrope-Grosvenor trial in the court of Chivalry and according to Iolo Gogh, Sir Hywel y Fwyall displayed his arms from the towers of Criccieth Castle and other aspects of the chivalric ideal were clearly understood and widely disseminated. That said, military endeavour was only a part of the expectation of the *Uchelwyr*, and though important, it was not nearly as dominant a theme, nor the only definition of masculinity in this society.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> My thanks to Dr Ann Parry-Owen for information about Siôn Cent. J. E. C. Williams, 'Guto'r Glyn', in Jarman and Hughes (eds), *A Guide to Welsh literature*, 2, pp. 218-42. This will be superseded in the near future by another AHRC funded project. Cross-referencing with military records of this period suggests that much of what Guto had to say regarding his military career is not only very accurate, but can be reasonably closely dated.

<sup>53</sup> Thomas Gitto E 101/53/33 m. 2.

<sup>54</sup> M. Siddons, 'Welsh Heraldry' *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.* (1993), pp. 27-46.

<sup>55</sup> For Owain's deposition at the Scrope-Grosvenor trial, Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, pp. 23-4, for Sir Hywel y Fwyall, Lewis et al, *Iolo Gogh ac Eraill*, IGE. 31, pp. 25-7.

The nationalist perspective is far from novel, being cited by H. T. Evans as long ago as 1915. Between them, in the context of the Wars of the Roses, the poets praised both Owen Tudor and William Herbert and not necessarily as proponents of the house of Lancaster or the house of York; ‘to them Herbert and Tudor were nationalists, not party leaders’.<sup>56</sup> Both were scions of important *Uchelwyr* families, part of an interrelated, some might say near incestuous, elite that had profited from war and the retreat of effective royal government in Wales in the course of the fifteenth century. As such, both assumed a role as natural leaders of the ‘native’ Welsh community, as sponsors of the bards and as leaders in battle it was a role that was expected of men of their station. Equally, it could be considered that Welsh soldiers in the early phase of the civil wars of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries were members of a *national* army fighting for their national interests which were as much personal as they were factional. This presents a contrast to the previous century and a half where the Welsh military experience was defined by their affinity (geographical or personal) to individual lords as part of retinues that were in effect proprietary, private armies, a reflection of individual leadership and ambition, albeit from an external, English perspective.

### ***Agincourt, Dafydd Gam and the Tudor view of the Welsh Soldier***

None of the contemporary accounts of Agincourt make much of Welsh involvement, though it seems to have become an article of faith, albeit in relatively recent times, that the bulk of the archers in the English army at this most totemic of battles were Welsh.<sup>57</sup> It is the more interesting in this light that Agincourt is wholly absent from the very extensive body of surviving fifteenth century Welsh literature. This is an extremely surprising omission, since the French wars, and the Wars of the Roses which followed them, were familiar themes and Welsh captains in English armies were frequent recipients of praise from the poets. Equally worthy of note is that no specific mention of Welshmen serving in this battle is made in any of the contemporary English or French narrative sources. As was shown in the second chapter of this thesis, it does not accurately reflect the known reality of the Welsh

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<sup>56</sup> Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, p. 7.

<sup>57</sup> This is certainly the popular belief, which apparently has its origins in the nineteenth century. It is however, remarkably persistent; witness to the large number of businesses in Monmouth, also Henry V’s birthplace, trading under the name ‘Agincourt’.

involvement in Henry V's army in 1415. It is likely that the modern view of the Welsh involvement at Agincourt has been assembled from a variety of different perspectives from the subsequent centuries rather than contemporary accounts.

References to Welshmen at the battle refer, almost exclusively, to one man, Davy Gam, otherwise, Dafydd ap Llywelyn or Sir David Llywelyn. He is an interesting figure in his own right, with more than his fair share of popular myth. An esquire of the lordship of Brecon, he and his brothers were significant men on a national scale and Dafydd was amongst the most notable of Glyn Dŵr's opponents to the extent that he was, allegedly, implicated in a plot to murder Owain at the parliament held at Machynlleth in 1404. The truth of that story is not known, but it is known that in 1412 he was kidnapped by Owain's adherents and ransomed, for a ruinous sum. Unusually for a Welshmen, but consistent with his consistent loyalty to the crown he indentured to serve with three men-at-arms directly with the crown. His death at Agincourt is noted in many of the English accounts: the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*; Hardyng's chronicle; the chronicle of Peter Basset (1459); the Great Chronicle of London and in many of the later accounts of the battle including, of course, in Shakespeare's version of Henry V. Gam's death was also recorded in the chronicle of the south Wales cleric Adam Usk, though his record does not appear to be the origin of Gam's later fame.<sup>58</sup>

The earliest account of his life is found in the earliest printed history of Wales compiled by a Denbighshire clergyman. Dr. David Powel (c. 1552-98), vicar of Ruabon, produced *A Historie of Cambria, now called Wales* in 1584. Powell's work, based in part upon his unpublished translation of *Y Brut y Tywysogyon* (The Chronicle of the Princes) was later augmented by William Wynne of Garthwin, Denbighshire using the papers of the seventeenth century antiquary Robert Vaughn of Hengwrt. Powell described Dafydd Gam as 'a great stickler for the Duke of Lancaster' and his account of Dafydd Gam's actions at Agincourt was used as inspiration by Walter Raleigh for a eulogy to Dafydd Gam, comparing him to Hannibal.<sup>59</sup> Powell's account was reused repeatedly by later writers, and in it may be identified some of the origins

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<sup>58</sup> This account of Dafydd Gam borrows heavily from R. R. Davies, 'Brecon, Owain Glyn Dŵr and Dafydd Gam', *Brycheiniog* 32 (2000), pp. 51-60, see also, Given-Wilson (ed.) *The Chronicle of Adam Usk*, pp. 255-6.

<sup>59</sup> Powell, *A History of Wales*, p. 323. Reference is made to Raleigh's eulogy in J. V. Morgan, *The Philosophy of Welsh History* (London, 1914), p. 243.

of the popular narrative of the Welsh at Agincourt. Writing in 1704, Thomas Goodwin, drawing heavily on Powel, claimed that:

Captain David Gam, who attended King Henry with a party of valiant Welshmen, having been sent to review the strength of the enemy, made this gallant report to his royal master: ‘may it please you, my liege, there are enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoner, and enough to run away.’ The king was extremely animated by this undaunted answer of a gentleman, whose actions afterward in the battle were no less surprising.<sup>60</sup>

Goodwin, in his account of the aftermath of the battle went on to add that:

Here it was that the valiant David Gam (whom we mentioned before) signalized himself in defending his prince, with loss of much blood and at last of his life, himself and two of his relations having received their mortal wounds in this encounter. The king was so sensible of their service that afterward, as they lay languishing in the field, he came to them and knighted them, this being the only acknowledgment he could make of their bravery, for they soon after died.<sup>61</sup>

The knighting of Dafydd Gam with his son-in-law Roger Fychan and his kinsman, Walter Llwyd of Brecon as they lay dying on the field at Agincourt is another key element in the Agincourt story.<sup>62</sup> There are difficulties with this version of events, notably that Walter or Watkyn Llwyd did not fight at Agincourt. He was among those who fell ill at Harfleur and returned to England. He may of course have died as a result of this illness, but he gained some later fame as the poets recorded him in their accounts of the lives of his descendents.<sup>63</sup> While Powel appears to provide the bones of the narrative of the popular view of Welsh archers at Agincourt, albeit in his description of the life and death of a man-at-arms, that is, a gentleman, it is Shakespeare who inevitably gives the colour to this narrative, and neatly, relates his

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<sup>60</sup> Thomas Goodwin, *The History of the Reign of Henry the Fifth, King of England* (London, 1704), cited in Curry, *Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* p. 372.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374.

<sup>62</sup> Powell, *The History of Wales*, pp. 322-323.

<sup>63</sup> Watkyn Llwyd's grandson died during the siege of Harlech Castle in 1468. L. Harris (ed.), *Gwaith Huw Cae Llwyd ac Eraill* (Cardiff, 1953), pp. 99, 109-10. See also chapter 2 pp. ?? and Appendix B.

rendition of Henry V back, not only to the place he was born, Monmouth, but indirectly, since there is no evidence that Shakespeare was aware of it, also to Gerald of Wales and his account of the ability of the men of Gwent with the bow.

The most significant portrayal of a medieval Welsh soldier is, for better or worse, Captain Fluellen in Shakespeare's *Henry V*. The context of this portrayal owes something to both the Tudor stage but also to Welsh conceptions of their own history, and the politics of 1599 when the play was first performed. After the Tudor victory at Bosworth, Welsh history was largely placed in Welsh hands, although it was not until the late sixteenth century that a coherent tradition of Welsh history began. We shall return to the views of historians, but first, we will examine later, English, views of the Welsh. There is no better introduction than Henry V's account of Fluellen:

For I do know Fluellen valiant,  
And touch'd with choler, hot as gunpowder,  
And quickly will return an injury;

*Henry V, Act Four, Scene VII*

Fluellen was far from alone as a Welshman on the Tudor and Jacobean stage. Fluellen's countrymen had been a subject of English humour, in a way that their Irish and Scots fellows had not, throughout the fifteenth century. This was a consequence of a, notably successful, process of reverse colonisation from Wales to England in the aftermath of Glyn Dŵr's rebellion. The jokes sprung from familiarity, the Welsh were subjects of the English crown, the Irish, and particularly the Scots were not. Before 1500 several comic tales, surviving in contemporary jest books, took habits of the Welsh as their target. While the Scots and Irish had their apparent lack of civility mocked in the same way they were aliens in the English Realm, and only one such tale devoted to each of these nations survives. Welshmen appeared in the works of Ben Jonson (*For the honour of Wales, Bartholomew Fair*) and Thomas Dekker (*The Welsh Ambassador, Northward Ho, Patient Grissil*) among others. Dekker's Welshman, Captain Jenkins (*Northward Ho*), Sir Owen ap Meredith and his servant Rice (*Patient Grissil*) also have soldiers among their number. This squares neatly with the stock Welshman of the Tudor stage, a stereotype which bore some relation to

reality, which Christie Davies observes can be shown by their place in humour. ‘In the oldest recorded jokes told about them [the Welsh] such as those found in old jest-books, the Welsh are shown as belligerent, fierce and litigious in the pursuit of disputes, proud and boastful especially about their valour and military prowess, the distinction of their ancestors and the length of their pedigrees.’<sup>64</sup> This is an indication that though Welshmen in general might be better known in English society (by the later sixteenth century, there was a significant Welsh population in London) they were still present most clearly in the popular imagination as soldiers. In a play published in 1603, the Welsh character Sir Owen declares:

By Cod’s udge me, is all true; and to give hur a great deal of bloody nose  
because Sir Emulo you shallenge the Prtish knight. Rice you know Sir Owen,  
shentlemen first, and secondly knight...<sup>65</sup>

Davies noted that the jokes – and the stereotype – accurately depict a specific class, the impoverished Welsh gentry, whose perception of their social status – with their painstaking concern for ancestral claims to nobility expressed through convoluted and tongue-twisting patronymics. The most ridiculous of these can be found in Rowley’s *Match at Midnight* (1607) Randall William ap Thomas ap Tavy ap Robert ap Rice ap Sheffery Cracke.<sup>66</sup> The point of the joke was that these claims were grossly out of kilter with the economic means of the Welsh gentry. As W. O. Williams remarks:

There was in fact in Tudor Wales a purely Welsh concept of  
*boneddigeiddrwydd* or nobility, of that which identified the higher classes in  
the social order... it attributed nobility to those distinguished by ancestry and  
pride in arms rather than by possessions and ostentation.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> C. Davies, ‘Ethnic Jokes and Social Change: The Case of the Welsh’, *Immigrants and Migrants*, 4 (1985), pp. 47-8, Griffiths, ‘The island of England in the fifteenth century’, p. 194.

<sup>65</sup> *The Pleasant Comodie of Patient Grissel*, by Thomas Dekker, Henry Chettle and William Haughton. Reprinted from the Black-Letter edition of 1603 (London 1841) p. 20.

<sup>66</sup> J. O. Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney: Being an Historical Survey of the earliest Irish, Welsh and Scottish Characters in English Plays* (Cork, 1954), p. 55.

<sup>67</sup> W. Ogwen Williams, ‘The Social Order in Tudor Wales (The Cecil Williams Memorial Lecture, 1967), *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.* (1967), p. 177.

Fluellen's introduction in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, first performed in 1599, is as part of a triumvirate of comic Celt captains outside the walls of Harfleur, the Scotsman Jamy and the Irishman Macmorris.<sup>68</sup> The set-piece is repeated in the characters of Bristle and Haggise in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*. Each is distinguished by their manner and their language, but as interesting is the minor figure of Fluellen's companion, Gower – the ambiguous Englishman – who relates to Fluellen in terms of long comradeship rather than the suspicion that might have greeted a real Welshman at that date. Williams, who serves in his company is equally ambiguous; while his name may have been considered suitably Welsh in 1599 it would be out of place in 1415. Welsh naming changed with the times. Joan Rees has suggested that this Gower may have originated in Shakespeare's reading of Caxton with (mistaken) reference to the poet John Gower who Caxton described as 'a sqyer borne in Walys in the time of King Richard the Second'. All this underplays the obvious point, though attempts to identify Fluellen with an historical individual have proved fruitless; Wynne, in his revision of Powel's *Historie*, erroneously identified Fluellen as the image of David Gam. This neglects the fact that Gam is mentioned amongst the dead in a scene in which Fluellen appears, and that Shakespeare's list of the dead corresponds with that given by Hall and Holinshead. Moreover Gam was sufficiently well known, at least in Wales, in Shakespeare's time for the distinction to be noted whether Shakespeare knew of it or not. Fluellen was as much a Welsh soldier for 1599 as was the depiction of Henry V.<sup>69</sup> The reason for Dafydd Gam's fame in the fifteenth century came, not from the legends surrounding him, but from the marriage of his daughter, Gwladus, to Sir William ap Thomas of Raglan, the same William ap Thomas who was the scion of the Herbert earls of Pembroke. It is very possible that many of the stories surrounding Dafydd Gam were part of the Herbert family's own legends, sustained by the poets, though as noted above, none of the surviving verse from fifteenth century Wales mentions the battle at which Dafydd Gam met his death.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> C. Davies, 'The Changing Stereotype of the Welsh in English Jokes' in Antony J. Chapman and H. C. Foot, *It's a Funny Thing, Humour: the International Conference on Humour and Laughter, held in Cardiff, July 13<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> 1976* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 311-4. T. For the Welshman on the English stage more generally, see, J. O. Bartley, 'The Development of a Stock Character, iii The Stage Welshman (to 1800)', *Modern Language Review*, xxxviii (1943), pp. 284-8.

<sup>69</sup> Hall, p. 72, Holinshead, *Chronicles*, p. 556. For Wynne's misidentification, *A History of Wales* (1774), p.322; *Henry V*, act four, scene viii. J. Rees 'Shakespeare's Welshmen' in V. Newey and A. Thompson (eds), *Literature and Nationalism* (Savage, 1991), p. 31.

<sup>70</sup> *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-HERB-WIL-1469.html>

The quality of caricature is markedly reduced in his later appearances: Fluellen is far more complex a character than his Scots and Irish equivalents. This is likely to have been a reflection of Shakespeare's own Welsh connections: both his grandmother and his schoolmaster were Welsh.<sup>71</sup> Equally probable is that it reflected contemporary political themes and concerns; Henry's army is depicted as one originating from a *united* Britain, underlined by his own Welshness, with a Welshman bearing the burden of the unification theme. Given that the Tudors keenly (if cynically) embraced Welsh sympathies and their attempts at the pacification of Ireland; Fluellen's appeal has a very direct nature.<sup>72</sup> As a result of the rise of ethnographic takes on British history and literature, Fluellen has gathered a respectable bibliography of his own. This ironically is fuller than that of most, if not all, *genuine* fifteenth or sixteenth century Welsh soldiers.<sup>73</sup> The portrayal of militant Welshmen in Shakespeare's plays and of those who inter-acted with them, notably Henry V conveys a good deal about the self-perception of the Tudor monarchs. Henry's declaration 'For I am Welsh...' says far more of contemporary concerns than the historical record. We are told that Elizabeth I wore a leek on St. David's day (1 March) and that her grandfather, Henry VII not only gave gifts to his Welsh yeomen to mark the feast day of Wales's patron saint, but sent for his own Welsh nurse on the birth of his second son, Henry in 1491.<sup>74</sup>

### ***Later Perspectives***

Later historians have, inevitably, added their own gloss to the Welsh soldier of the later middle ages. Wynne, in his additions to Powel's *Historie*, added little to the picture of the medieval Welsh soldier though he managed to provide a little biographical detail for a number of medieval Welshmen, notably Tudor ap Goronwy and David Gam. In the case of Sir Gruffudd Llwyd, Wynne's work even bears

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<sup>71</sup> G. Williams, 'Welshmen in Shakespeare's Stratford' *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.* (1955), pp. 51-2. Dr. Evans in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, is mocked by means of his accent and his discourse on Latin grammar.

<sup>72</sup> Rees, 'Shakespeare's Welshmen', p. 29

<sup>73</sup> For a summary of the recent bibliography, W. Maley, 'British Ill Done?: Recent Work on Shakespeare and British, English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh Identities' *Literature Compass* 3/3 (2006), pp. 487-512.

<sup>74</sup> R. A. Griffiths and R. S. Thomas, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* (Stroud, 2005), pp. 216, 219-222 and plate 56, see also the rather sceptical analysis by S. Anglo, 'The *British History* in early Tudor propaganda', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xlv (1961-2), pp. 17-48.

comparison with later scholarship. Sadly, however, the story that Sir Gruffudd was knighted for bringing first news of the birth of Edward of Caernarfon to his father, Edward I, which was first related by Powell, is probably apocryphal.<sup>75</sup>

The eighteenth century also saw a revival of Welsh culture, and more widely ideas of a romantic past, the Welsh soldier of the middle ages was revisited as a result of a gradual collation of Welsh manuscripts as materials for history. These form the spine of a popular history assembled from a variety of elements. Many of these elements have already been discussed. Frequently, the thrust of this popular history was to hark back to the period before independence was lost. As such, the role of Welshmen soldiering for the English (as they saw it) in the middle ages and later was not only service of a colonial, conquering power, but outside the historical frame of reference. The bards, allegedly massacred by Edward I in 1282, were supposed to have provided ‘a patriotic resistance to English occupation.’ The foundation of this myth can be traced directly to the work of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir (d. 1627), we should be cautious in our consideration of it. The harpist and antiquarian Edward Jones in *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards, Preserved by Tradition, and Authentic Manuscripts, From Remote Antiquity* (1784) insisted that Bardic verse was the product of direct patronage by the Welsh court and the ‘Druidic Priesthood’. This fantasy represented, to men such as Jones, ‘a learned record of civil and religious life in pre-conquest Wales.’ A flavour of this can be seen in Evan Evans (1731-89) paraphrase of the 137<sup>th</sup> Psalm.

And pity with just vengeance joined:  
Vengeance to injured Cambria due,  
And pity, O ye Bards, to you.  
Silent, neglected and unstrung,  
Our harps upon the willow hung,  
That softly sweet in Cambrian measures,  
Used to sooth our soul to pleasures,  
When lo, the insulting foe appears,  
And bid us dry our useless tears.

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<sup>75</sup> Wynn, *A History of Wales*, pp. 310-311; Edwards, ‘Sir Gruffydd Llwyd’, pp.589-601.

‘Resume your harps,’ the Saxons cry,  
‘And change your grief to songs of joy;  
Such strains as old Taliesin sang,  
What time your native mountains rang  
With his wild notes, and all around  
Seas, rivers woods return’d the sound.’<sup>76</sup>

It is small wonder then that in light of sentiments such as these, that the deeds of Welshmen in the battles of the middle-ages after 1282 were neglected. An account of Welsh involvement at Crécy, however, is found in the work of the Welsh-language poet, and literary forger Iolo Morgannwg (Edward Williams, 1747-1826).<sup>77</sup> The passage below is a translation of an original, now lost, by Williams’s son Taliesin (Taliesin Williams 1787-1847), and first published in 1848. Whilst its authenticity, not to say accuracy as a historical account is negligible, it offers a possible origin (one of many) of the leek as a national symbol.

In 1346, the battle of Cressy was fought, where the Welsh acquired great fame for their brave achievements in support of Edward the Black Prince. It was at this time that Captain Cadwgan Voel called to the Welsh, desiring them to put leeks in their helmets, the battle there, being in a field of leeks; and when they looked about, they were all Welshmen in that locality except 130; and it was from this circumstance that the Welsh took to wearing leeks.<sup>78</sup>

Later histories such as John Morgan’s *The Philosophy of Welsh History* of 1914 present another strand in the account of medieval Wales and particularly the Glyn Dŵr rebellion for which he reserved particular hostility. ‘From whatever point of view we may regard the insurrection headed by Owen Glyn Dŵr, it was the worst

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<sup>76</sup> Quoted in K. Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, 1997), pp. 4-5. There were Welsh harpers at the court of Edward I however; C. Bullock-Davies, ‘Welsh minstrels at the courts of Edward I and Edward II’, *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.* (1972-3), pp. 104-22.

<sup>77</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> Edward Williams (1747–1826).

<sup>78</sup> *Iolo Manuscripts*, published for the Welsh Society, 1848 (Liverpool, 1888), p. 451, cited in J. Rees, ‘Shakespeare’s Welshmen’, p.34. This section is attributed in the original to manuscripts in the possession of Rev. E. Gamage of St Athan (Glam.). The most likely comparison of course, is Froissart, who makes no mention of any similar story.

thing that could possibly be imagined to the Welsh themselves.’ Owain was condemned as no great soldier, and again, the guerrilla nature of this war was condemned as the pursuit of an impossible goal. ‘The insurrection brought her [Wales] no great honour, and it was not worth the spilling of a single drop of Welsh blood.’<sup>79</sup> His book, however, was aimed against the disestablishment of the Church of Wales and not intended as a work of history and should be read in that light.

An unlikely usage of this popular image of the Welsh medieval soldier is the popular name of Llantrisant RFC; ‘The Black Army’ which is apparently a reference to men raised as archers by the Despencer earls of Glamorgan in 1346. The origins of this story are seemingly unattested, though the label appears in Taliesin Morgan’s *History of Llantrisant* of 1898. The nature of the surviving records of the Crécy army makes this all but impossible to determine the accuracy of this claim with confidence.<sup>80</sup> The tale may relate to the coincidental grant of Llantrisant’s borough charter to the same year (it is dated some five months earlier than the battle). According to town tradition, any man who can demonstrate his lineal descent from one of the archers who served at Crécy with Despencer can claim the status of Freeman of Llantrisant. The town website makes interesting reading in this regard, and is worth quoting in full.

Hugh le Despenser, Lord of Glamorgan, recruited from the valleys to the north of his domain. He trained, organised and equipped a force of special troops - The Black Army - to deliver the whole package of weapon, ammunition, resupply, marksmanship and discipline. Welsh freemen were mercenaries, soldiers of fortune and no one's vassals, in sharp contrast to the feudal English (and French) cavalry, where knights did most of the fighting, each ‘lance’ supported by a team of grooms, armourers and men at arms under its lance-corporal, vassals serving at the command of their lord, giving unpaid the military service that their land holding demanded. Welsh freemen, like their Genoese counterparts - and like the Ghurkhas today - were there for pay (six pence per day) and booty.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Morgan, *The Philosophy of Welsh History*, pp. 249-250.

<sup>80</sup> Ayton, ‘The English Army at Crécy’ in Ayton and Preston, *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, pp. 183-182.

<sup>81</sup> <http://www.llantrisant.net/crecy.htm>

While the comparison with the Ghurkhas is common enough in modern histories, the conflation of the ‘free-companies’ with regular soldiers in a royal army in this period is transparently a later confusion. Although the rate of pay is plausible for the period, by the time of Crécy, it was usual for all members of an English army to be fighting for pay and not part of a feudal levy. Equally, though freemen, any archers serving from Llantrisant, would have been both Welshmen (Englishmen were specifically excluded from the commission), and serving their lord rather than their king directly. Robert Hardy also notes this story, though offers no support for it beyond the claim of a relatively recent freeman (1956) of the borough, Vivian Thomas son of William Thomas resident of Llwyn-crwn-isaf farm, Llantrisant.<sup>82</sup>

Twentieth century historians were shaped as much by the concerns – and political outlook – of his or her modern context as by the historical reality. Something similar can be said of authors, poets and artists. Perhaps this is especially true in Wales. In my introduction, the apparent empathy of Rees Davies towards Owain Glyn Dwr was noted, and is obvious, even in Davies’s own preface, partly as a man who shared the same physical space, and as a ‘fellow traveller’ in the journey towards an independent Wales. In Davies’ work on Wales and its marches, it is obvious that he was a *Welsh* writer, commenting upon Welsh concerns, though his career was far from parochial. Recent work on the impact of more modern wars has tended to dwell upon *personal* experience and reflections and the way in which these were mediated through art rather than history. The poets of the First World War are the most famous of these, though their experiences are well recorded, their identity as Welsh writers is less well understood, though this has recently been addressed. The editor of a recent collection of critical essays, *Wales at War* reflected that ‘War has shaped Wales more than any other force through the last century and each of us will at some point in their lives acknowledge that. Wales had enlisted men for the Crimea and the Boer War, but in 1914 Wales, in common with the rest of Britain, was caught up in a wave of patriotic fervour...’<sup>83</sup> Note that it appears to be *British* rather than Welsh patriotism that is meant here.

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<sup>82</sup> R. Hardy, *Longbow: A Social and Military History* (Stroud, 2006), pp. 77-8. His notation of the roll number is incorrect, the numbers stated are taken from

<http://www.llantrisant.net/Entire%20List%20of%20Freemen.pdf>

<sup>83</sup> Tony Curtis (ed.), *Wales at War: Critical Essays on Literature and Art* (Bridgend, 2007), p. 8.

J. E. Morris had a different perspective. It is assumed in some quarters that Morris himself was Welsh; this is not the case, he was born and raised in Rugby, Warwickshire and was a master at Bedford Grammar School. The assumption is interesting in itself, and says much about 'English' perceptions of the importance of a national history to the 'Celtic' nations, something that is confirmed by many of the more popular works on Welsh history. Morris's near contemporary, H. T. Evans, was also a schoolmaster, *and* a Welshman of what could be called a stereotypical south Walian background; the educated son of a Swansea steelworker whose work, notably *Wales and the Wars of the Roses* is unambiguously that of *Welsh* history, as distinct from a history written about Wales, the category to which Morris, so concerned with the development of English armies positioned his work.

The historiography of conflict in the medieval period has tended to settle upon major events and great men or the broad sweep of narrative, while the Welsh historiography has generally taken a microcosmic approach, focussing on the careers of individuals or families, estates or lordships, inevitably finding its home in a form of local history. Regionalism, still very evident in Wales today, is apparent in all accounts of its history; as John Davies describes it. 'In some countries – England in particular – the totality of their history is greater than the totality of the history of their regions, but in Wales it can appear that the reverse is true.'<sup>84</sup> When compared with Scotland or Ireland, the difference is striking in the extreme, not only in the nature of historical writing, but in the availability and understanding of a national narrative. Both have a sense of a corporate history that is not found in Wales. Visit any high street bookshop and there are shelves of Irish and Scottish history, but rarely more than two or three titles on Wales. There is a sense – and the language issue exacerbates this – that Welsh history is largely for internal consumption. One of these is invariably John Davies' *A History of Wales* (revealingly, this was first published in Welsh: *Hanes Cymru*).<sup>85</sup>

The account it offers of the Welsh as soldiers is a familiar one and its sources are clearly apparent; it recites the numbers employed in battles from Falkirk to Crécy, their prowess with the bow, which he notes was the speciality of the men of

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<sup>84</sup> J. Davies, *A History of Wales* (Harmondsworth, 1993), p. 162.

<sup>85</sup> J. Davies' *Hanes Cymru* was first published two years earlier than the English edition in 1991.

Glamorgan. He recites the concept of a 'national uniform' of green and white worn by the Welsh at Crécy; the livery was not confined to them, but was also worn by the men of the earldom of Chester, a statement then of personal and proprietorial loyalty rather than national identity. It is the image of the chancery clerk and of Froissart in elegant prose; the Welsh soldier, poor, alien, drunken, unreliable and unruly.<sup>86</sup> In contrast, Davies presents the career of Sir Gruffydd Llwyd and makes mention of Mathau Gogh, divorcing the experience of the elite from the general experience of war. His presentation of the Hundred Years war in general is as a malign influence of benefit only to a small number of 'heroes'; an excuse for exploitation of Wales and the Welsh and as a destabilising influence on society:

Until the war came to an end in 1453 with a complete victory for France, it was central to the experience of the people of Wales: the gradual revival of the Welsh economy was hindered by the crown's constant demands for money to finance it; the violent attitudes encouraged by it undermined respect for law and order; the effectiveness of government was weakened by the conflicts that arose from it...'<sup>87</sup>

His depiction is, however, firmly rooted in the secondary literature of the second half of the twentieth century, a literature that occasionally appears to be written for internal consumption, no matter how well authored or placed in the context of wider scholarship.

## ***Conclusions***

The image of the Welsh soldier, to a very great extent has reflected the image of the Welsh as a whole. It has largely been defined by outsiders, and like all such perspectives it falls into a form of shorthand. The most remarkable thing about this image is not how much it has changed – the basic elements of belligerence, pride and boastfulness tempered with caution are constant – but how these qualities have come to be viewed according to the prevailing standards of the day. The landscape of Wales, commented upon by Welshmen from Gerald of Wales to R. R. Davies, shaped

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<sup>86</sup> J. Davies, *A History of Wales*, pp. 176-7.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

the Welsh approach to war. There is a distinct social dimension to these images; the foot soldiers of Edward I's day and the archers of Agincourt were cut from the same cloth, and, while the Welsh self-perception was entirely compatible with a chivalric identity common across Europe, it was not how the majority of outsiders experienced them. The frequent comparison made between the Welsh, inhabitants of what the English perceive as a remote, strange and mountainous country, and the Ghurkhas of Nepal is telling on several levels. First, their ability at Guerrilla warfare and approach to rough ground, noted in a positive light by the chronicler Rishanger with regard to Edward I's campaign of 1300, where their supposed ability to pursue the fleeing Scots was missed. Generally such pragmatism was rarely a feature of English sources. One suspects that such tactics, far from the chivalric (mounted, knightly) model were not regarded as playing fair. The attitude persists; Anne Curry has described the French at Agincourt as 'a proper enemy' for an English army.<sup>88</sup> The disjunction of these two pictures is striking, though how favourable the impression made was reliant upon context and the perspective of the writer. Those soldiers of a later period, notably of the sixteenth century occupy a different position.

For the late Tudor age Fluellen is almost every [Welsh] man; aggressive, proud, boastful and argumentative. The most comprehensive account of the Scots, Irish and Welsh on the Tudor stage notes that he (and he was, predominately, male), arrived on the stage more or less fully formed, in contrast to the Scotsman and Irishman of the same time.<sup>89</sup> In the sixteenth century, this was part of a comic convention. While Captain Fluellen is in part a comic figure, part of a tradition of the Welshman as a stock character in post medieval drama, it is worth remembering that the most memorable of Shakespeare's Welshmen are soldiers; Fluellen and 'Owen Glendower' himself.

Elsewhere on the Tudor stage and in Tudor society, we see the descendents of the *Uchelwyr* as proud if impoverished gentlemen attracted into the orbit of the society of the opinion forming south and east of England by the Welsh associations of the Tudor dynasty. Inevitably, this is most obvious in Shakespeare's *Henry V* and those many works influenced by it, styles themselves absorbed by Welsh military institutions –

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<sup>88</sup> Anne Curry, pers. comm.

<sup>89</sup> Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney*, p. 49.

the regiments of the British army – in their mascots and traditions. In a literal sense, the sixteenth century image was a gentrification, in manners if not in means, of the Welsh soldier. The trope thus created was utilised, sharpened and socially stretched to reflect all Welshmen in the succeeding centuries. Its elements can still be seen in more recent depictions though viewed through the prism of modern stereotypes of the Welsh: the film *Zulu* (1964), was as far removed from the medieval battlefield as you could wish, owed as much to Cardiff Arms Park as Rorke's Drift.<sup>90</sup> We should not be surprised that the image is constantly reinvented, nor that it draws upon various elements which do not, to the historian naturally fit together. Most influential or most persistent among these are Gerald of Wales and Shakespeare's Henry V.

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<sup>90</sup> The regiment, the 24<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot, was then named the 2<sup>nd</sup> Warwickshires: it acquired a new name, The South Wales Borderers, and a connection with Wales two years after Rorke's Drift, in 1881, though the regimental depot had been in Brecon since 1875. J. Adams, *Famous Regiments: The South Wales Borderers: The 24<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot* (London, 1968).

## *Conclusions*

The role of the Welsh soldier in England's wars did not remain constant between the death of the last native prince of Gwynedd in 1283 and the death of Henry V in 1422. Both in plain numbers and as a proportion of the armies in which they served, it is the reign of Edward I that was the most significant for Welsh soldier. Edward I's great achievement was the integration of the men of the lands of Wales into the English military machine. It was a matter of policy for Edward to use his newly acquired lands to provide men for royal armies since many of these men would have had experience in war both with and against Edward. As overlord of all Wales it seems the marchers rarely challenged his right to request troops from their lordships as part of any of his campaigns and to allow his officials to supervise their men once away from their lordships. This was an impression he accentuated by maintaining a bodyguard of Welshmen, the *Wallenses Regis* in his household. The message was a pointed one, and one, perhaps unusually, taken on board by his son.

With Welsh soldiers serving almost exclusively on foot, it can seem that Edward's 'infantry revolution' was only made possible by the resources made available to him through the conquest of Gwynedd. It was the Welsh, of the newly formed shires of North Wales, the more established royal shires of South Wales, and the March who typically provided between a one third and half, and on occasion more, of Edward I's foot-soldiers. Yet the English counties of the Welsh borders and the midlands also provided significant numbers of men to Edward I's Welsh wars and these men too made their contributions to Edward's Scottish campaigns. The English 'infantry revolution' was not therefore a solely Welsh phenomenon, though the latter formed a distinct element within it. Furthermore, the term 'revolution' is in some respects misapplied, since many of the Welshmen who fought against the Scots had fought against the Princes of Gwynedd.

It cannot be argued that these gigantic armies containing between 10,000 and 20,000 ill-trained and poorly equipped foot-soldiers were particularly efficient militarily however, something which the smaller scale of Edward I's later campaigns hints at. If that lesson had been learned by the father however, it was ignored by his son, Edward II, whose Scottish campaigns were accompanied by armies as large as any recruited

by his father. These armies, too, contained more Welshmen than was proportionate. While the military strength of the Welsh March was often a political weapon aimed against the king in Edward II's reign, the loyalty of Edward's lieutenants in the royal shires he had ruled as the first English Prince of Wales ensured that the Welsh retained their place. Whether the loyalty of men such as Sir Gruffudd Llwyd or Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd was owed directly to Edward II or whether it derived from their support – and that of their fathers – for the English crown against Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, is a moot point. Their position at the head of native Welsh society in the Principality had been acquired through service to Edward I, was maintained by the crown, and was threatened by its opponents. The military failure of Thomas, earl of Lancaster in 1321 was directly attributable to the military resources of the royal shires which defeated his marcher supporters. Mortimer's understanding of the *Realpolitik* of Wales and the March is obvious, both through his apparent treatment of Sir Gruffudd Llwyd while serving as Justiciar and by the flight of Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd at the victory of Mortimer and Isabella. These matters of elite politics, however, made little difference to the tradition of military service established for over thirty years throughout the lands of Wales.

Edward III's reign witnessed a degree of change. This was a consequence not only of the changing nature of warfare and the growing reliance on mounted troops, which the English counties, but not the Welsh, could supply in significant quantities, but also of the organisation of war and particularly military leadership. Although in his early campaigns against the Scots Edward followed some elements inherited from his father and grandfather, the trend over the course of his long reign was towards smaller, more mobile armies. The Welsh none the less retained a special place but one which contradicts the traditional view of the dominance of the Welsh archer. It was their ability with the spear – and not only in the north of Wales as Gerald of Wales suggested – rather than their strength with the bow that the English crown now desired. The role of mass levies of infantry declined relatively quickly when war was mainly fought in France. While they were still recruited on a significant scale as late as Edward's Reims campaign of 1359, many left the army very shortly after it was assembled. With the adoption of the *chevauchée*, and of mounted armies recruited by indenture, the importance of the Welsh soldier fell into decline, and although

substantial forces of foot archers were arrayed as late as 1359, most served only very briefly on that campaign and a great many never embarked for France.

That said the impact of Edward of Woodstock as Prince of Wales appears to have been significant, if only as the first man to bear the title since 1307. Welshmen, rare in Edward III's court – Edward had never been Prince of Wales – appeared, albeit in small numbers, in the household of his son. They prospered by their service to him in Gascony and, with the wealth and fame they accumulated, they prospered in their own country too. The loss of the military records of Aquitaine in this period is significant from a Welsh perspective. The military careers of a great many Welshmen serving in France in the fourteenth century, hinted at by the poets, are only represented in bureaucratic detail by those who fought on the French side, with Owain Lawgogh. Similar detail of their counterparts serving on the English side is totally lost to us. We can see, however, that the Prince's ambitions and ignorance of the governmental practices of both his principality and the March challenged briefly challenged the effectiveness of military organisation. The reaction of the Marcher lords to his summons for men to serve in the campaigns of 1345 are indicative; the right to levy men for service in the king's wars was a monarchical prerogative, not to be alienated to anyone, not even to his son, who was, as the marcher lords saw it, their equal rather than their superior. Both John Charlton I and Humphrey de Bohun took full advantage of this stand, by refusing the summons in the first instance and challenging the right by legal means in the second.

Richard II used the style 'Prince of Wales' for correspondence issued from his Welsh exchequer (as he did for Cheshire) and appears to have attempted similar strategies in the shires of Wales to those he employed in the shires of England.<sup>1</sup> He created as king's esquires both Welshmen and Englishmen from families established in Wales, recognising men prominent in their own communities. Moreover, unlike the majority of his predecessors, Richard actually visited his principality of his own free-will. The king's earldom of Cheshire, and the Arundel estates which were united with it to form a second, separate principality after 1397, were, however, vastly more important to Richard. This is not to say that Richard attached no military importance

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<sup>1</sup> Davies, 'Richard II and the Principality of Cheshire', p. 265.

to his Welsh lands. The impact of his campaigns to Ireland was to bring the elite of the southern royal shires some tangible rewards through the exercise of personal lordship. The elite of the northern shires, notably the family of Tudor ap Goronwy of Anglesey, also benefited although not to the same extent as the men of Richard's county palatinate of Cheshire. On the campaigns Richard led in person to Scotland in 1385 and to Ireland in 1394 he specifically recruited companies of Welsh archers (and may also have done so in 1399).<sup>2</sup> It was to Cheshire, however, that Richard looked to his permanent bodyguard of archers and their leaders, which contained only a handful of men from Flintshire. It could be said, therefore, that Richard's army of 1385 contained the first *de facto* use of a company of Welsh archers outside the normal structure of the royal army.

Richard's fall did not diminish the personal nature of royal lordship in Wales. In fact, with the addition of the Lancaster estates in south Wales, it was significantly strengthened. One striking element of the reign Henry IV, himself a Marcher lord of some substance through the Lancastrian inheritance, is the ease with which Welshmen who had been identified with Richard's favour, particularly in South Wales, slipped into the service of the new regime. More remarkable is the degree of loyalty generally displayed by many of these men during the ensuing revolt, a loyalty which stretched into the reign of his son. The careers of such Lancastrian retainers as Dafydd Gam, his father, Llywelyn ap Hywel, his Brecon contemporary Dafydd ap Thomas ap Dafydd and their Herefordshire neighbour John ap Harry are fine examples of this. Many others of course, joined the rebels, but the evidence of the surviving garrison accounts demonstrates what that as many Welshmen were concerned for the safety of their own property to enrol in garrison forces, and in the expeditionary armies which slowly defeated the rebellion.

The most prominent example of the service of Welsh archers followed on the tails of the rebellion, at Agincourt in 1415. This highly unusual force of 500 foot archers had few parallels, except in the campaigns led by Richard II. The context in 1415 was very different, however. The recruitment of Henry's army from his own estates in southern Wales was one element of an exercise in seignorial exploitation and

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<sup>2</sup> In 1385, only 340 can be found in the Issue Roll, TNA E 403/508 m. 23. In 1394, there were 140 archers, TNA E 101/402/20 f. 39v. See also, ch. 2, pp. ??

reconciliation following a campaign of judicial extortion. Military service provided an opportunity for personal redemption and recovery. These archers also reveal something more interesting – the remilitarisation of the shires and the March of Wales. This has long been apparent in the study of fifteenth-century Welsh literature praising Welsh captains fighting English wars in France. A casual examination of the surviving records of the English occupation of Normandy has suggested something of the scale of Welsh involvement more generally. A more detailed examination of these records and the careers of such men, though it is beyond the scope of this study would yield a much fuller understanding of fifteenth century Welsh society.

Alongside such changes in the use of Welsh soldiers by the English crown, we can also see that the importance of war within Welsh society changed over the course of the period. The fourteenth century was unique in the medieval history of Wales, since, with the exception of the revolt of Llywelyn Bren in 1316 and a few minor contre-temps between king and Marchers in the reign of Edward II, the lands of Wales were at peace. As a factor within the lives of the peasantry, the demands of England's wars declined sharply with the end of mass forces of infantry soldiers recruited from the shires and march of Wales. Though levies continued to be made of marcher tenants, the increased complexity of military organisation associated with recruitment by indenture, and the corresponding rise in pay, raised the social status of military service to the English crown. The changing role of the Welsh squirearchy, a remarkably diverse group, has been revealed in this present study. As a group, it is worthy of more detailed study in its own right, but by virtue of tracing the careers of a number of families, both Welsh and English, it can already be seen that there was substantial continuity between those men who served Edward I and Edward II as constables and centenars leading enormous forces of Welsh foot soldiers and the esquires of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who served the English kings at war. Comparison with the administrative records available to us demonstrates that these were not purely 'military men' but men who saw military service as part of a wider career. Similarly, there are clear indications that war was a subsidiary activity to trade and that this was as true in Welsh communities such as Carmarthen and Haverford as the English ports. Many of the men in a position to benefit from these opportunities were of English or Anglo-Norman descent, and that these men have attracted rather less attention than their Welsh contemporaries.

War provided a further avenue for external social contacts. On the south coast of Wales, the trading community which looked to the port of Bristol linked ports from the south-west peninsula of England and the river Severn as far as Gascony and Dublin. In the north, the dominant connections were with Cheshire, financially with the city of Chester, but militarily with the whole county. Flintshire and the lordships of the north-east of Wales provided a productive hinterland for the well known and highly developed military community of that county. Through out the period of this study, the military service of Welshmen was largely tied up with individual marcher lords, lords for whom Welsh estates were only part of their holdings. Esquires of Welsh descent were sometimes found among their military households, it is true, but more often these Welsh estates were used as a resource for the maintenance of such military households as a whole, and native Welshmen are notable by merit of their rarity. In the royal shires of Wales, matters were different: in North Wales in particular, the descendants of Ednyfed Fychan benefited to a remarkable extent from royal favour. It is no coincidence that all but one of the Welsh knights of the fourteenth century shared this ancestry if only by the ties of matrimony.

Knighthood was not therefore purely a mark of military regard amongst Welshmen. While Sir Morgan ap Maredudd, Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd and Sir Gregory Sais were undoubtedly military men, Sir David Hanmer, a jurist, was not. Knighthood, for Welshmen, was a rare prize. The rarity of knighthood in the Welsh context lent it a far greater social significance in the Welsh community. The descendants of other lineages played their part in other areas of Wales. In Cydweli, Henry Don, the noted and unrepentant rebel, had earlier been a significant figure in the administration of that lordship as had his ancestors. In the lordship of Brecon the family of Dafydd Gam had played a similar role. The role of Cambro-Norman gentry has been rather under-reported. The Puleston family, settlers in the lordship of Bromfield and Yale and the county of Flintshire, came to be regarded as wholly Welsh by the fifteenth century. Their military and civil careers flowed with the political winds of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, members of the family acting as loyal soldiers and in support of Welsh rebellion, first with Owain Lawgogh and later with Owain Glyn Dŵr. As a family, it would be difficult to find more typical exemplars the squirearchy of the north-east of Wales throughout the period of this study. Pembrokeshire and the

Herefordshire borders provide a host of comparisons, several of which served as illustrations of the military community of the March elsewhere in this thesis.

What this study demonstrates is that military service, with relatively few exceptions was not a chosen career for Welshmen. It could reasonably be described as an expectation, particularly from the Edwardian conquest and in the first half of the fourteenth century, but there are relatively few Welshmen who justify the epithet 'professional soldier'. Soldiering was nevertheless an integral part of a successful public career and there is extensive Welsh literary evidence that it attracted great prestige and the profits of it were displayed in good horses, impressive armour, French wine and fine living. There is no escape from the fact however, that the lands of Wales should not be viewed in the same economic light as the great castles allegedly funded by the profits of war. The relative poverty was a factor in Welshmen serving in war throughout the period, regardless of the power of lordship and the scale of the demands of armies, something which has parallels in the modern world. This poverty too was an element in the process of reverse colonisation – of Welshmen moving to England, through trade and on business – which made Welshmen familiar from Chester to Bristol and, significantly, in London.

The image of the Welsh soldier is in very many respects for the medieval period, an image of the Welsh as a people, fundamentally because, for foreigners – English as much as continentals – the Welsh were soldiers. The current popular image of the Welshman as soldier is more complicated, and not solely based upon the medieval past. Where it references the medieval period however, it draws on narratives outside the period in which the Welsh archer was a truly significant force in English armies. Gerald of Wales provided a commentary on the men of Gwent that was drawn from the experiences of his own family. His bowmen of Gwent are frequently referred to in nineteenth-century accounts. The Welsh perception of themselves from the later medieval period, as witnessed in the poetry which celebrates the military careers of men such as Mathau Gogh, Richard Gethin or Henry Griffith and which was written by at least one poet who had himself served in arms, is hardly referred to at all. The one exception is Owain Glyn Dŵr who has become something of an Arthurian character, not least because he eluded capture. Ironically, his career in arms was

characterised by military service to the English crown as much as by armed rebellion against that same crown.

Agincourt is represented in the public mind today not so much by an understanding of the complex dynamic of Wales in the second decade of the fifteenth century, nor by the relatively small contribution of Welsh archers, but by Shakespeare's caricature of a Welshman in 'Henry V', a play which was first performed in 1599. By then, the habits and manners of Welshmen which were mocked by English humorists and on the stage were familiar to a metropolitan audience. The result, of course, was Fluellen – Welshman and soldier.

## *Appendix A*

### *Welshmen as Soldiers: Pocket Biographies*

#### *Sir Henry Conway (d. 1407) and his family*

The Conway family of Bodrhyddan, Flintshire has an ancestry which is unclear and has been a matter of debate, though his use of a toponym loaned from one of Edward I's boroughs and a career in the service of Edmund Mortimer and Richard II suggest an English provenance. The life of Sir Henry and his descendants are good examples of how military records can be allied to other, more accessible. What is beyond doubt is an extensive military career in Ireland in the 1360s and early 1370s. Sir Henry Conway served with three successive lieutenants of Ireland; Lionel, duke of Clarence, William Windsor and Sir Robert Ashton.<sup>1</sup> His near continuous service in Ireland over a decade and a half hints at Irish connections but he and his family appear to have settled in, or originated from Rhuddlan, Flintshire. His marital history and the fact that his one certain sibling was named Gwenllïan indicate that his Welsh connections were stronger than they initially appear. What ever the truth may be, his Welsh connections do not appear to have troubled him in the course of his long career. He is known to have fathered at least four sons, the elder three, Richard, Thomas and John, by a woman named Angharad of whom little more is known, and William, by a woman named Ellen (d. 1419) who may have been Ellen Curteys, widow or daughter of Robert Crevequer, lord of Prestatyn, Flintshire.

Henry Conway may well have begun his career as a burgess in the town of Rhuddlan, a man of this name was among a Rhuddlan jury in 1354, only six years before he is found serving in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> In 1377 he appeared as a witness to a Rhuddlan deed and a year later, his servant aided and abetted a felony in the town. His biographer, was clearly unaware of all but small part of Conway's military career and expresses surprise that a man who may well have been the son of a burgess rose to the rank of

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<sup>1</sup> A fuller biography than is provided by Messham, 'Henry Conewey, knight', is required in light of the military evidence and the deficiencies of Messham's interpretation of Conway's descendants. In the retinue of Lionel as earl of Ulster and later duke of Clarence, 1361-3, TNA E 101/28/18; TNA E 101/32/25 mm. 2-3

<sup>2</sup> Messham, 'Henry Conewey, knight', p. 13.

knight, but this is not unprecedented in this period, and though by the time he became a knight, in around 1382 he had clearly been in arms for over twenty years.<sup>3</sup> The record shows that he had been retained for life by Edmund Mortimer III, Earl of March (d. 1381), first as an esquire, and later, though it is not known when, as a knight bachelor. His income was derived from two of Mortimer's estates, £40 from the issues of the Mortimer lordship of Cydwain and a similar amount from the revenues of the lordship of Denbigh. Such a sizeable sum suggests that Henry Conway was an important man who had been in Mortimer's service since at least 1375 and witnessed his will, made at Denbigh on 1 May 1380, prior to earl Edmund's fateful expedition to Ireland.<sup>4</sup>

After the earl's death, Sir Henry appears to have been in royal service. He certainly served with Richard II in Scotland in 1385 taking at least two Welshmen with him in his retinue, and on 8 June 1385 was granted the constableness of Rhuddlan as a reward for his services to the king and to Prince Edward, his father, in their wars.<sup>5</sup> Though the letters granting the office were swiftly revoked, the suggestion inherent in them is some unspecified military service with Edward, the Black Prince, which can only relate to the late 1350s or 1360s. The details of this service, if it occurred are, unfortunately, unknown.

Though he was not granted the office of constable of Rhuddlan permanently until 1390, he had been installed there with his household in the summer of 1382 when he and once more in June 1384. He retained this post, apparently a permanent resident with his son, John as his deputy, until his death in 1407. His age at this date is unknown, though Creton, in his account of the events of 1399 describes the constable of Rhuddlan as 'an old knight', and assuming that the Henry Conway of the Rhuddlan jury of 1354 was the same man, his age must have been over seventy. His sons all appear to have had military careers.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *C.P.R. 1381-85*, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> The will, in French, names him as 'Henry de Cornwaille'. At this date, he was still an esquire, his knighting appears therefore, to have occurred on the campaign itself, a detail Messham fails to note. Messham, 'Henry Conewey, knight', p.15.

<sup>5</sup> Llywelyn ap Llywelyn and Llywelyn ab Ithel ap Llywelyn, *D.K.R.* 36 pp. 121, 302, *C.P.R. 1381-85*, p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> Messham, 'Henry Conewey, knight', p.36.

**Thomas Conway** (born before 1370, date of death unknown) – son of Sir Henry Conway and Angharad

Thomas		Conewey	Archer	Hawkeston, John, Sir	Arundel, Richard Fitz Alan, earl of	1387	Exped Naval	TNA_E101_40_34	m4
Thomas		Conewey	Archer	Hawkeston, John, Sir	Arundel, Richard Fitz Alan, earl of	1387	Exped Naval	TNA_E101_40_33	m17d
Thomas	de	Conewey	Archer	Chelmundelegh, Richard de		1398	Standing force King's bodyguard	TNA_E101_42_10	m3

There is no evidence of Sir Henry's eldest son Richard having had a military career. Thomas, one of Sir Henry's younger sons (the genealogies suggest that he was the middle son) in some ways has the most interesting military career of the family, though other details of his life are frustratingly sparse. At the same time as John, his brother, he served in the naval expedition of 1387 in the retinue of Sir John Hawkeston (which also included Hawkeston's own son, William). Interestingly, there seems to be a small correlation between this retinue and the Cheshire archers of the king's bodyguard, so Conway's name is an interesting one – the esquire Gilbert Gleg is one possible link, but suggests that Thomas's connections, beyond a spot of tax farming, were in Cheshire rather than Flint. He died in 1401 leaving a debt of £28 to the Chester exchequer.<sup>7</sup>

**John Conway** (born before 1370) – son of Sir Henry Conway (d. 1407)<sup>8</sup> was alive in 1392 as he was a witness with Thomas to a conveyance, but very likely dead by 1407; it was Henry's second wife who was his heir, with the daughter of Henry's sister.

<sup>7</sup> Messham, 'Henry Conewey, knight', pp. 26-7.

<sup>8</sup> All drawn from TNA E 101/41/5 m. 13. John Conway's career is partially reconstructed by Messham, 'Henry Conewey, knight' and Roberts, 'Seven John Conways'. Roberts's article deals better with the differentiation of the various generations however.

His early career in arms mirrors that of Owain Glyn Dŵr. Both served under Gregory Sais at Berwick in 1384, though Conway was an archer rather than a man-at-arms. A year later, he was among sixteen named men supporting his father in a dispute over the constablenesship of Rhuddlan, granted and then revoked by Richard II. This suggests that he was a young man of perhaps eighteen or so. He is found in the retinue of Sir Gilbert Talbot during the first naval campaign led by the earl of Arundel in 1387. In the second expedition led by Arundel in 1388, he served in the retinue of Sir John Wogan of Wiston, Pembrokeshire this time as a man-at-arms. It is possible that this promotion to the rank of esquire represents his coming of age.

John	Coneway	Archer	Seys, Degary, Sir	Seys, Degary, Sir	1384	Garrison Berwick	TNA_E101_39_40	m2
John	Coneway	Archer	Seys, Degary, Sir	Seys, Degary, Sir	1384	Garrison Berwick	TNA_E101_39_39	m2
John	Coneway	Archer	Talbot, Gilbert, Sir	Arundel, Richard Fitz Alan, earl of	1387	Exped Naval	TNA_E101_40_34	m8
John	Coneweys	Archer	Talbot, Gilbert, Sir	Arundel, Richard Fitz Alan, earl of	1387	Exped Naval	TNA_E101_40_33	m12
John	Coneway	Man-at-arms	Wogan, John, Sir	Arundel, Richard Fitz Alan, earl of	1388	Exped Naval	TNA_E101_41_5	m13

### ***Richard Cryse***

Davy Sourdeval served in both of Arundel's expeditions, in 1387 in the retinue of Richard Cryse, and in 1388 with Robert Bland. Cryse appears to have been a Devonian who purchased one of the ships captured in 1387, the *Seint Mariesship* of Santander and was later granted protection for service in Ireland and involved in legal proceedings surrounding gold and silver seized off the Irish coast so involvement in the trade of the Bristol Channel and the south coast of Wales seems probable. This is lent credence by a brief examination of his retinue of 1388 which included William Kidwelly, a man-at-arms; Watkin Kidwelly (possibly his son) as an archer, one John

Sais and a representative of the established Cardigan burgess family, William Blakeney serving as a man-at-arms as he had in the previous year.<sup>9</sup>

Such a possibility becomes greater with reference to a Richard Cryse of Haverford recorded as having ‘behaved rebelliously and frustrated the expedition’ to Portugal in 1381.<sup>10</sup> Certainly he appears to have been engaged in trade with the Iberian peninsula standing as mainpernor for a Dartmouth Merchant, William Bast accused of piracy at sea against Catalonian merchants in 1380. There are other documentary references which would link Cryse with merchant shipping off the coast of Wales and with trade as far as London and several of the gentry families of Cornwall.<sup>11</sup> His south Wales connections are reaffirmed by his acting as mainpernor with John atte See of Kent in June 1398 for John Workman, monk, and Sir Benet (Benedict) Cely – another who had served at sea in both 1387 and 1388 – regarding the alien priory of Chepstow.<sup>12</sup> This identification would tie Cryse to a prest paid to a Richard Crees for twenty days service for a man-at-arms – presumably Crees himself – and nine archers in July 1399, since the army departed from south west Wales, and other letters of protection survive for sailors from its ports.<sup>13</sup>

The image suggested is of a man whose career was primarily in shipping who engaged in war as a means of furthering his business. How he became connected to Davy Soudeval is intriguing; the lordship of Brecon has no obvious links with the sea but anyone in Cryse’s position would be familiar with the rivers of the Severn basin, in which light, connections to Gloucester, Hereford or the river Usk seem entirely plausible. Whether or not all these references securely relate to one Richard Cryse or several they serve to illustrate the interconnections between trade and conflict and also between the south west of England and the south and west of Wales.

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<sup>9</sup> TNA E 101/41/5 m. 19. For Blakeney in 1387, TNA E 101/40/33 m. 19. It is possible that this William Blakeney was the man of that name who served as reeve of Cardigan in 1402-3 and as mayor and escheator of the town in 1416-7 and in 1423-4. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 421, 428-9. For the family in general, Griffiths, ‘Medieval Cardigan’, pp. 287-9.

<sup>10</sup> Richard Cryse is described variously as of Devon, Cornwall and Dartmouth, *C.P.R. 1385-9*, p. 315, *C.C.R. 1381-92*, p. 376 *C.C.R. 1377-81*, p. 464-5. For his service 1387-8, Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p. 186 n. 229 and his business affairs, *C.P.R. 1385-9*, p. 315; *C.P.R. 1405-8*, p. 226; *C.P.R. 1408-13*, p. 524. For his service in 1381, *Pembs. Recs.* I, pp. 20-1, *C.P.R. 1381-84*, pp. 256, 494.

<sup>11</sup> *C.C.R. 1381-92*, pp. 376, 498.

<sup>12</sup> Bell, *War and the Soldier*, pp. 158-9.

<sup>13</sup> TNA E 403/562 m. 14

The naval specialisation is noteworthy since all of the service records and most of the other documentary references connect him to trade and to the sea. It is also obvious that he retained his connections with Devon and that these persisted into the next generation. Geoffrey Cryse, presumably Richard's son, served with his father in 1387 and 1388 and in the retinue of Sir Thomas Carew in 1417 (the family were primarily connected with Devon by this time, but retained the barony of Carew in Pembs.), and also with the earl of Devon a year later, again both in naval forces.<sup>14</sup>

### ***Dafydd Fychan ap Dafydd ab Ieuan***

Member of a retinue of Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd who accompanied him on his flight to Scotland in 1327, he received pardon for the same 12 April 1328.<sup>15</sup> He appears to have held a moiety of a knight's fee in St. Hussild and Trefberthe in the county of Pembrokeshire and died on 1 April 1350 seised of the said lands (comprising of two messuages and five carucates in those places and at Hencastel, held originally of William de Valence). His heir's name appears to have been Walter son of David ap Walter Fychan.<sup>16</sup>

### ***Dafydd ap Pontayn (alias David Pontyng)***

Dafydd is described in one of his letters of protection only as 'of Carmarthenshire'. His precise origins are not known and he seemingly played no part in the administration of that county. It is likely that his career was more substantial than the available sources indicate, but in all likelihood it spanned the period from 1377 as far as 1404. He is particularly prominent in the Scottish expedition of 1385 where his name is one of only a handful of Welshmen to appear in the issue roll for this campaign and clearly he had a William ap Rhys ap Hywel in his retinue. William and Dafydd are listed in the issue roll as esquires with two unnamed archers on 18 September 1385.<sup>17</sup> Clearly he had connections with the marcher shire of Pembroke, serving there in 1377 with Sir Gregory Sais, while the letter of protection granted for

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<sup>14</sup> Carew had held Narberth Castle for the crown in 1402 and seems to have been resident in his Pembrokeshire estates throughout the rebellion.

<sup>15</sup> *C.P.R. 1327-30*, p. 273

<sup>16</sup> *C.P.R. 1358-61*, pp. 71-2

<sup>17</sup> Lewis, 'The Last Medieval Summons' p. 20. Protection for himself and William ap Rhys ap Hywel in 1385, TNA C 71/65 m. 8.

service in Calais in June 1387 was revoked 5 March 1388 by reason of his tarrying in Pembroke.<sup>18</sup> He also appears to have served among the force employed to secure Carmarthenshire in 1404, on this occasion as an archer. Other men accustomed to service as men-at-arms in earlier conflicts (John Fort for example) also appear as archers in this period, which perhaps reflects changes in personal circumstances – though in this case advancing years may have been a factor – or as a mirror of the status of local levies raised for a fixed, and apparently short term purpose.<sup>19</sup>

***David, son of Roger the Cooper of Hope.***<sup>20</sup>

On 22 February 1378 an inquisition presented David as an adherent of Owain Lawgogh and making war on the King in his company. As a result, a burgage in Hope of the by now outlawed David son of Roger Cooper was granted to one Roger le Clerk of Hope on 25 September 1379. When David son of Roger le Cooper was finally presented before the court twelve years later, he announced that the King had pardoned him. The pardon dated 30 July 1389 was produced in court, though David's lands had long been confiscated. In consequence, however, those of his lands still in royal hands were restored to him. It is what this pardon described that provides its interest here; it transpired that David had given twenty-eight years of good and loyal service in English armies in Aquitaine, though in its original form, the unfortunate David was rendered as David Hope. It was reissued 11 May 1390, it included testimonials from John Harpenden, lately captain of Aquitaine, Archambaud de Grailly (Capitain de Buch), Gailard de Durffert (Lord of Duras - Flanders), and William Raymont of Madellant (Lord of Reasan), all of whom stated that he had never been an adherent of Owain ap Thomas ap Rhodri, and by extension, the King of France. According to the first version of this pardon, the accusation originated with his enemies, though it is equally possible that such accusations represented a form of potentially profitable speculation on the properties of soldiers whose whereabouts were unknown for years on end.

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<sup>18</sup> Protection, TNA C 76/71, m. 22; revocation, *C.P.R.* 1385-89, p. 411.

<sup>19</sup> TNA E 101/43/29 m. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Carr, *Owen of Wales*, pp. 60-61. The full references are to be found there, the pardons can be found in *C.P.R.* 1388-92, pp. 93, 243.

What is perhaps more interesting from this account is what can be determined about his military career. From the information above, only two things can be stated with any certainty. First, that his career must have begun in around 1361, assuming the first pardon coincided with his return, first to England and subsequently to Wales. Secondly, on the evidence of the testimonials attached to the second pardon, the majority of his time was spent in the defence of Aquitaine. By coincidence, the Welsh company also spent much of its time in French service in the South-West, suggesting a further possibility that David's enemies may have at one time served with him. While it may not be the same man, there is evidence of a man-at-arms named David Hope serving with Sir Gregory Sais, a man of Flint himself, possibly as reinforcements for Calais in 1386.<sup>21</sup> If correct, this broadens the scope of his service considerably, which, although unsurprising is interesting in itself. As yet, no evidence has come to light for the location of his service elsewhere in France.

### *Hywel ap Hywel*

More properly: Hywel Fychan ap Hywel ap Einion Sais ap Rhys. Einion Sais had been a servant of the Bohun family in the mid-thirteenth century, and had only accepted the authority of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd under threat of military force. His son Hywel had actively supported Humphrey Bohun (d. 1298) in the course of the wars of conquest and in the revolts that followed.<sup>22</sup>

Hywel himself was clearly long-lived: he is almost certainly the 'Howel ap Howel of Wales' who appears in the Calendar of Fine Rolls 1319-27, among 156 others receiving a fine of £500 from the king for his support of the younger Bohun in 1322. He served as commissioner of array in South Wales in both 1337-8 and 1339 during his term as sheriff of Brecon and farmer of the lands of Mortimer and Pencelli (1332-44), and as one of the custodians of the lordship in 1361.<sup>23</sup> His grandson was Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Hywel, better known as Davy Gam (d. 1415).

<sup>21</sup> TNA E 101/42/14 I am grateful to Dr. David Simpkin for this reference and its dating.

<sup>22</sup> Davies, *Lordship and Society*, pp. 225-6. For Einion Sais, *Littere Wallie*, pp. 28, 33-4. for his son and his lands, *C.I.P.M.* III, no. 552, for his support of Humphrey Bohun *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, p. 564, he was still alive in 1313: TNA DL 36/1, no. 93.

<sup>23</sup> See Ch. 1 for details of the Commission of Array. For his term as sheriff: DL 25/1657 and for his custodianship, *Cal. Fine R. 1356-68*, p. 173.

### *John Fort esquire of Llanstephan*<sup>24</sup>

John Fort esquire was in many ways a humdrum figure representative of the aspiring tenant class of post-Conquest Wales. His career in arms was not dignified by any particular achievements, nor was his role in the local affairs of south west Wales in the closing decades of the fourteenth century an especially dramatic one. His life was not without its moments of minor drama and these no doubt show something of an inconstant character. His career shows some of the benefits of royal favour in furthering his and his family's pretensions in Carmarthenshire and its neighbouring lordships.<sup>25</sup>

John Fort was the son of Thomas Fort (d. 1383), and like his father and brother (also named Thomas), he was a resident of the small lordship of Llanstephan on the north-west corner of Carmarthen bay, the borough of Llanstephan being five miles or so to the south of Carmarthen. This lordship was situated between the estuary of the river Tywi and the river Tâf between the much larger lordship of Cydweli (Kidwelly) to the east and the similarly minute lordship of Laugharne – best known today as the one-time abode of Dylan Thomas – to the west. It is one of the more obscure liberties in later medieval Wales, dependant upon the county of Carmarthen during vacancies and minorities it reverted not directly to the crown but to the lord of the county, be that the Prince of Wales or the king. Until his execution at the instigation of the Appellants in 1388, its lord was an associate of the Black Prince and chamberlain of Richard II, Sir Simon Burley, who had held it for a brief period following the forfeiture of Robert de Penres.<sup>26</sup>

The Fort family's interests were not confined to Llanstephan; they not only held lands in neighbouring Laugharne but at Roche and Haverford in Pembrokeshire but across the bay in Gower gathering together an estate of some 300 acres. Such a wide

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<sup>24</sup> This biography has been adapted from <http://www.icmacentre.ac.uk/soldier/database/Fort.php>

<sup>25</sup> These are detailed in a surviving cartulary compiled in the fifteenth century edited by Ralph Griffiths, 'The Cartulary and Muniments of the Fort Family of Llanstephan', pp. 311- 384. Much of the detail of the domestic affairs of the Fort family that follows is drawn from this work. Further details of his administrative career can be found in Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 320-1.

<sup>26</sup> Burley had been granted Llanstephan following the forfeiture of its lord Robert de Penres 26 June 1378, *C.P.R. 1377-81*, p. 256. Following three years in royal custody after 1388 it was re-granted to Robert de Penres's heir, (also Robert) for 500 marks 27 July 1391, *C.P.R. 1389-92*, p. 473.

geographical spread does not necessarily indicate great wealth or influence; it highlights the significance of maritime trade and connections in south-west Wales.<sup>27</sup> The story of this family had much in common with that of any number of those of the Welsh squirearchy. In a Welsh context, the label 'esquire' is not without baggage of its own but it was a label found in both contemporary Welsh and English which applied equally to those of 'English' or of 'Welsh' descent.<sup>28</sup> The Forts were a minor family of modest means and English descent, but completely immersed in the local society, a society which from the limited available evidence all but defies division. John Fort, could, for the better part of two decades could be called a professional soldier. In this he was following something of a family tradition; his father had served in Ireland with Ralph, earl of Stafford and lord of Gower, between 1361 and 1362 together with his uncle William.<sup>29</sup> William Fort, though also of Llanstephan, had connections in the lordship of Pembroke. In 1353 he was granted the office of porter of the castle of Pembroke during the minority of the heir of Laurence de Hastings. Beyond his time in Ireland he had a more significant military career than his brother serving in the retinue of Guy, Lord Brian, lord of Laugharne and Walwayns Castle (Pembrokeshire), in the naval expedition of 1378 and was granted protection to serve overseas with Sir Thomas Symond three years later.<sup>30</sup>

Though John was granted a letter of protection in February 1387 for service with Sir Richard Craddock on the earl of Arundel's naval expedition of that year he does not appear among those recorded in Craddock's retinue.<sup>31</sup> The first definite reference to John's military career occurs a year later when he is recorded serving as a man-at-arms in the retinue of the Pembrokeshire knight Sir John Wogan in Arundel's second naval expedition in 1388. It seems probable however that this was not his first taste of the military life. There are good indications that John, and in all likelihood, his elder

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<sup>27</sup> R.A. Griffiths, 'Medieval Severnside'.

<sup>28</sup> For a fuller discussion of the difficulties surrounding such terminology, R. R. Davies 'Owain Glyn Dwr and the Welsh Squirearchy' *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.* (1968), pp. 150-69, and more generally, R. R. Davies, 'Colonial Wales', pp. 3-23.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Fort in Ireland TNA E 101/28/15 m. 1.

<sup>30</sup> For William Fort in Ireland TNA E 101/28/15 m. 5; with Sir Guy Brian, TNA E 101/36/32 m. 6 and with Sir Thomas Symond TNA C 76/65. Information on soldiers has been taken from the AHRC-funded 'The Soldier in Later Medieval England Online Database', [www.medievalsoldier.org](http://www.medievalsoldier.org), accessed 12/01/09.

<sup>31</sup> The 'John Fort' serving as an archer in the retinue of Sir Hugh le Despencer of Colly Weston (Northants.) in both 1387 and 1388 is clearly an unrelated individual. He may plausibly be identified with the archer of that name who was among the standing force in Ireland between 1395 and 1397 under Stephen le Scrope, TNA E 101/41/39. For Craddock's retinue, in 1387, TNA E 101/40/33 m. 14.

brother Thomas served in John of Gaunt's ill-fated expedition to Spain in 1386 and it is even possible that they had served in Scotland a year earlier.

John and his brother Thomas were accused of harbouring and having in their personal service an enemy of the crown, a Castilian, one John de Ispaine, between Easter 1387 and August 1388. Between them, the brothers had afforded John access to most of the castles of south-west Wales: Pembroke, Haverford, Tenby, Narberth (all in Pembrokeshire), Cardigan, Carmarthen, Dryslwyn and Dinefwr (in the principality of west Wales) and the caputs of their home lordships; Laugharne and Llanstephan. Not content with this, the brothers allowed their guest a visit of the palace of the bishop of St Davids at Llawhaden (Pembrokeshire). For much of the time, these castles were little more than administrative centres, garrisoned only during periodic fears of invasion as in 1377 and during the summer of 1386. Few, if any of these – even Cardigan and Carmarthen – appear to have boasted a permanent garrison before 1400. The importance of the actual offence would have been limited, though the perceived threat was significant enough that such places were, in the scheme of things exactly those that the Forts might have visited in the course of their everyday affairs.

While the presence of a Spaniard in a west Wales household might be said to be suggestive, there is other, admittedly circumstantial evidence. It was only in February 1389 that the brothers obtained pardon for their actions at the instigation of the Buckinghamshire knight Sir John Wiltshire.<sup>32</sup> It is from his testimony in the Scrope-Grosvenor case in the court of chivalry that we can deduce something of the brothers' earlier careers.

Though Wiltshire served on the naval expeditions in 1387 and 1388, it would be optimistic to suggest that his acquaintance with John Fort came from contact made during the latter campaign. Since Thomas served on neither occasion, this possibility can be safely discounted. Wiltshire's deposition in the Scrope-Grosvenor trial that attested service with John of Gaunt in Spain in 1386 provides an alternative possibility; that all had served on this campaign.<sup>33</sup> While Wiltshire also served in

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<sup>32</sup> *C.P.R. 1389-92*, pp. 9, 43, 47-8.

<sup>33</sup> Wiltshire served in Arundel's retinue in 1388, TNA E 101/41/5 m. 1. Bell, *War and the Soldier*, pp. 146-7.

Scotland in 1385 and it is possible that the Fort brothers had also done so, a Spanish connection seems more plausible. Such service could readily account for both his knowledge of the Forts' case and the presence of a Castilian servant in the household of a family of minor south Wales gentry.

Returning to 1388, on 26 October John Fort was granted a year's protection to serve in the Calais garrison with Sir William de Beauchamp.<sup>34</sup> Clearly if he ever left Wales, he returned within the year. Far from discouraged by this brush with controversy on or around 17 March 1389 he scaled the walls of Laugharne castle in the company of Sir William de Brian and made off with £25 of gold and silver belonging to the lord of Laugharne, and Sir William's father, Sir Guy de Brian. The quarrel was not his own but appears to have been concerned with a family dispute over arrangements for Sir William Brian's inheritance.<sup>35</sup> For this indiscretion he was condemned to forfeit possessions worth 10 marks per annum and his estates (worth £4 4s. 11d.) were confiscated.<sup>36</sup> By the time of his outlawry however, John was in the service of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, in garrisoning Calais, service attested by his supplication for pardon. The pardon was granted 12 September 1390.<sup>37</sup> Possibly, he continued in Calais beyond his initial term for John Fort (noted as 'of South Wales'), was granted a second protection for one year to serve there, this time in the company of Thomas Mowbray, earl of Norfolk. Possibly, his intention was to work his way into some sort of favour and in this, he was successful as the remainder of the decade however shows a marked change in his fortunes. His hand can be seen in more legitimate affairs while seemingly continuing in his military activities.

In January 1393 he was granted the custody of Llangennydd's alien priory (in Gower) as a king's esquire, at a farm of 40s. This, while rather more than the usual farm, afforded John with an opportunity for profit: on 6 November 1394 he leased the priory to John de la Maer, chaplain, for an annual sum of 55 marks. A couple of years earlier Fort, with several others, stood as mainpernors for Adam Seyntclere, Thomas

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<sup>34</sup> TNA C 76/73 m. 14

<sup>35</sup> *Cal. Anc. Pet.*, pp. 147-8.

<sup>36</sup> The king, at John Fort's supplication, was later to grant the issues and profits of the lands forfeited by this outlawry to an associate of John's father, John Gely of Haverfordwest 17 September 1392. *C.P.R. 1391-96*, p. 169. For Gely, see Griffiths, 'The Muniments and Cartulary of the Fort family' pp. 330-1 n.

<sup>37</sup> *C.P.R. 1388-92*, p. 303.

Wytherley and Richard Glascote, chaplain, concerning the keeping of another alien priory at Hinckley in Leicestershire at a farm of 40*l.* per annum. The diverse origins of the mainpernors, an anonymous man named ‘de Carmarthen’ living in London and others from Leicestershire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire point to connections made through military service.<sup>38</sup> Seyntclere served under Sir John Wogan in the same retinue as Fort in 1388, and it is very likely that he too was active in south-west Wales, very probably in the lordship of that name north of Laugharne on the river Tâf.

As a king’s esquire, it is unsurprising that when Richard mounted his first expedition to Ireland in 1394 John Fort accompanied him; a protection was granted at St Davids for six months on 24 April.<sup>39</sup> Between November 1395 and November 1397, John achieved his highest administrative office, as escheator of the county of Carmarthenshire. This does not appear to have prevented him from pursuing other interests: on 8 August 1396 he was granted protection for one year to serve with John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, in the garrison of the castle and town of Brest. This was not the only familial connection with John Holland. John’s brother, Thomas Fort, received protection to serve in his retinue on Richard’s second and ill-fated campaign in 1399.<sup>40</sup> Holland had several links with south-west Wales having been granted wardship of the estates of Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd II in 1381 and the lordship and castle of Haverford in January 1392. It is possible that these merely strengthen earlier, military connections: Holland had served as constable of Gaunt’s army in 1386. John Fort himself received a further protection to go with the king in 1399 and after Richard’s deposition he elected to serve at Berwick with his old patron, the earl of Northumberland, a suitable protection being granted on 18 February 1400. His indiscipline showed once more however as five months later the sheriffs in London reported that he had remained there instead of commencing his journey north.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> The grant can be found in *Cal. Fine. R. 1391-99*, pp. 68-9. A vicar had to be maintained there at 8 marks per annum; TNA E 210/464 For the deal concerning alien prior of Hinckley, *Cal. Fine. R. 1383-91*, pp. 300-1. The other mainpernors were Roger Jouderell, William Aldecare and Thomas Meysham. Both Jouderell and one of the farmers of the priory, Adam Seintclere (TNA E 101/41/5 m. 3) served with the earl of Arundel in 1388, the latter with Sir John Wogan of Pembs. TNA E 101/41/5 m. 13.

<sup>39</sup> *C.P.R. 1391-96* p. 472.

<sup>40</sup> For John Fort’s appointment as escheator, Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 320-1, his protection in 1396 TNA C 76/81m. 11, and for Thomas Fort in Ireland in 1399, *C.P.R. 1396-99* p. 538.

<sup>41</sup> His protection C 71/76 m. 13, the revocation was issued 17 July; *C.P.R. 1399-1401*, p. 373.

After this date, no more is heard of him with certainty. Whether his estates were ever returned to him is a moot point; it is tempting to believe that they were not, for in 1405 a John Fort can be found serving as an archer in the expeditionary army led by Sir Richard Arundell. This army was dominated by men from the squirearchy of the southern principality and the march. Perhaps the most interesting of these was Thomas Bannow, a merchant and burgess of Carmarthen, who had in 1403 been captured at sea and subsequently ransomed by the Scots, only to be robbed and imprisoned by the townsmen of Walsall on his way home. Other notable figures include Sir John Scudamore, William Sourdeval of Brecon, John Pichard of Blaenllyfni, Brecon, John Somerys of Dinas Powys, Glamorgan; such examples could easily be multiplied.<sup>42</sup> John Fort could well have been listed among such men, the *gentiles homines* of their communities, descended from English and Welsh roots. Though remaining loyal in a time of rebellion, his circumstances appear greatly reduced. John's eventual fate is not known, but it appears that he died without heirs, a fate he shared with his brother Thomas, for their estates passed to their bastard uncle, Thomas Fort of Robertston West, Pembrokeshire (d. 1432).<sup>43</sup>

### ***Llywelyn Vychan of Penllyn, Merionydd***

*Rhingyll* of the commote of Penllyn, Merionydd, between 1334 and at least October 1339. For his service on the Scottish campaign of 1334 he was allowed to appoint a deputy in his absence.<sup>44</sup> He may have retained the office as late as October 1339 when he received a pardon for 'concealing the king's rights' in return for his service beyond the seas and either finding sureties for his good behaviour and a year's future overseas service in the king's armies at the king's wages.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> For Bannow's predicament, Rees (ed.) *Calendar of Ancient Petitions*, p. 457. The muster roll is TNA E 101/44/7. For further details of the interests of these families and others, see R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282-1400*, (Oxford, 1978), pp. 413-424. It should be noted that this could of course be the 'other' John Fort, archer, identified above in n.8.

<sup>43</sup> Thomas Fort (of Robertston West, Pembs. d. 1432) – bastard half brother of John's father Thomas Fort had only a limited military career; he was granted protection for one year 25 October 1388 for service in the garrison of Guines. TNA C 76/73 m. 18. He was joined there by Thomas Fort 'junior' of Llanstephan whose protection was granted 24 November 1388, TNA C76/73. This was undoubtedly John's brother Thomas; the pair were distinguished in this manner in grants of November 1391. Griffiths, 'The Cartulary and Muniments of the Fort Family' nos. 46, 47, 50, pp. 368-371.

<sup>44</sup> Original unknown but quoted in D. L. Evans 'Walter de Mauny, Sheriff of Merioneth, 1332-72' *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society*, Vol. IV (1961-4), pp. 197.

<sup>45</sup> *C.P.R. 1338-40*, p. 344.

### ***Llywelyn ap Madog (of Dyffryn Clwyd)***

The foremost Welsh landholder under Reginald de Grey in his lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd. It seems clear that he was one of those who had taken advantage of Edward I's assurances regarding the continued tenure of land to those Welshmen loyal to him in Wales. His lands were concentrated in Gwynedd Is Conwy, an area much disputed by the English crown and the princes of Gwynedd. Llywelyn ap Madog and his father appear to have switched sides at the critical moment some time in the 1270s. In common with many others, this strategy appears to have yielded dividends: in the autumn of 1292, Reginald de Grey granted Llywelyn ap Madog 57 acres in Llanynys and Maesmaencymro and 96 acres in Bodangharad for the rent of 4s. per annum. Clearly his importance was not merely a consequence of these actions for in 1308 he was considered one of those capable of attesting to the extent of Reginald de Grey's lands, when he (and two of his brothers) were members of the inquisition *post mortem* jury. He appears to have retained his status under Reginald's son, John. In the 1320s he was allowed to make fine of 40s. to avoid serving in a royal army, an amount that was later pardoned in full.<sup>46</sup> It is not known at present whether he performed such service, or made fine, on other occasions. The extent of his holdings are shown in a rental of 1324: two carucates of land, held by military tenure in Coelion, in the vill of Llanynys, Maesmaencymro, Bodangharad and Ysgeifiog, as well as an impressive 144½ acres in Corfedwen in Dogfeiling and Bryncardeig, Derwen, Maesmaencymro and Ysgeifiog in Coelion. He was one of the few Welsh landholders to have substantial acreage in vill dominated by English settlement.<sup>47</sup>

### ***Madog ap Llywelyn [ap Gruffudd] (d. 1331)*** <sup>48</sup>

He was perhaps the most prominent Welshman of the lordship of Bromfield and Yale under both Warenne and Lancaster (1318-22). His father was one of 29 Welsh landowners who did homage to William de Warenne in 1284 (on the establishment of the lordship). Madog was the only Welshman amongst eleven witnesses of a grant by Warenne to John de Wysham at Holt on 1308. During the creation of the liberties of

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<sup>46</sup> GC 1/2244.

<sup>47</sup> D. M. Korngiebel 'English colonial ethnic discrimination in the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd: Segregation and integration, 1282-c.1340', *WHR* 23 (2006), pp. 19-20

<sup>48</sup> Much of this entry is drawn from Korngiebel 'English colonial ethnic discrimination', pp. 9-10.

Holt, Madog's land in Eyton was exchanged for land in Eyton Fawr and his land in an additional 10 villas for a portion of Hewlington. Despite this, he was listed among the burgesses of Holt in 1315. The height of his success was under the brief lordship of Thomas of Lancaster (1318-22). During this period, he served as Receiver within the lordship and was responsible for gathering soldiers for him in 1322.<sup>49</sup> His standing survived Warenne's return, and in 1330, he witnessed a grant at Holt, along with the steward and four of the Englishmen of the lordship who held knights' fees. According to a copy of the Wrexham Court Roll, at his death in 1331, Madog held just under 230 acres by seigniorial grant.<sup>50</sup> Some of his lands were held by Welsh tenure, however, and he was therefore subject to Welsh Law. As such, his entire estate was divided among his five sons.<sup>51</sup> The *Brut* remembered him as 'the best man who ever lived in Maelor Gymraeg'.<sup>52</sup> He was buried in the church at Gresford where his tomb – bearing a full military effigy, though aside from 1322 I have found no record of military service – is extant to this day.

### ***Sir Morgan ap Maredudd of Tredegar in Gwynllŵg***

The son of Maredudd ap Gruffydd (the former lord of Machen, Edloglan and Llebenydd who died in 1270, Morgan was subsequently dispossessed of these by Earl Gilbert, and two parts of the commote of Hirfryn<sup>53</sup>. It was found that that Morgan was ejected – wrongfully one assumes – by Earl Gilbert while the king was in the Holy Land.<sup>54</sup> He was clearly a keen (if unsuccessful) litigant in pursuit of what he clearly regarded as his patrimony. He took this dispute to court in 1278, unsuccessfully, in one of his many appearances on the Welsh Assize Roll.<sup>55</sup> The dispute between Morgan and Bartholomew de Mora is probably the most important in light of later events, as Bartholomew was an important tenant of Earl Gilbert. Perhaps in light of the failure of his litigation and pressure from the earl, Morgan son of Maredudd, son of Gruffudd, was granted simple protection by Edward I at Westminster on 10

<sup>49</sup> TNA DL 28/1/13, m. 2; *C.P.R. 1321-4*, p. 74; *C.C.R. 1318-23*, p. 521.

<sup>50</sup> Wrexham being the centre of the Welshry of the lordship.

<sup>51</sup> BL Add. MS 10013, f. 174v.

<sup>52</sup> *Brut y Tywysogion, Peniarth MS. 20 version*, p. 237

<sup>53</sup> *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-MORG-TRE-1384.html> the precise nature of his descent from the lords of Carleon is described in *C.I.P.M.* II, no. 289, p. 164; *Welsh Assize Roll*, p. 165, n. 3.

<sup>54</sup> *C.I.P.M.* vol. II no. 289, 164.

<sup>55</sup> *Welsh Assize Roll*, pp. 268, 276.

November 1281.<sup>56</sup> Like many Welshmen of this time, the competition of lordship between the English crown, the princes of Gwynedd, and the lords of the March pulled Morgan in differing directions. Alienated from his overlord and presumably failed by Edward I he next appears in the company of David ap Gruffydd, the last prince of Gwynedd in his rebellion in 1283. His name appears in the witness list of a letter from David concerning land in Penwiddig (Cards.) and an associated charter of Gruffydd ap Maredudd ab Owain to Rhys Fychan, lord of northern Cardigan, on 2 May of that year both dated at Llanberis.<sup>57</sup>

Having presumably made his peace, Morgan next comes to prominence in the revolts of 1294 as leader of the revolt in Glamorgan. The revolt broke out in Morgannwg in October 1294, swiftly capturing a number of castles, including Morlais, and expelling the earl altogether until his counter-attack (which seems only to have taken Cardiff) in April. In a letter of 7 June 1295 the King informed Edmund, his brother, that Morgan had come into his peace<sup>58</sup>. The Worcester Chronicler appears to confuse Morgan for another, naming him Rhys ap Morgan, though describing him as captain of those men of Glamorgan in rebellion against the Earl of Gloucester.<sup>59</sup> There has traditionally been an association with the revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn in Morgan's actions, but Morgan himself apparently claimed to be only in conflict with the Earl.

Later in the same year, he was implicated in the treason of one of Glamorgan's minor lords, Thomas Turberville, who was captured in France in English service and was sufficiently trusted during the crisis of 1297 to be appointed to a commission enquiring into the liberties of the men of the lordship of Brecon.<sup>60</sup> In this light, it seems very likely that the letter from Morgan (termed his *valettus*) to King Edward is in fact the report from this commission. This letter basically states that immediately prior to Morgan's arrival the Earl was provisioning his castles and was going against the King's peace. The more interesting elements however are that the earl confirmed via his steward (Philip ap Hywel) all the laws and customs of Brecon in the name of

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<sup>56</sup> *C.P.R. 1272-81*, p. 463.

<sup>57</sup> *Littere Wallie*, no. 139, 74-5 and no. 235, 133.

<sup>58</sup> *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, p.207-8.

<sup>59</sup> *Annales Monastici*, IV, p. 526.

<sup>60</sup> *Cal. Anc. Pet.*, no. 6389, pp. 217-9. For the treason of Turberville, J. G. Edwards, 'The Treason of Thomas Turberville, 1295' in R. N. Hunt *et al* (eds) *Studies in Medieval History presented to F. M. Powicke*, pp. 296-309.

the earl. This would go some way to explaining the absence of any Welshmen from Brecon serving in Flanders in 1297.<sup>61</sup> He served again as commissioner of array in the summer of 1298, in 1301 and on numerous occasions thereafter. His service came with substantial rewards. He was granted land in St Clears to the value of £30.<sup>62</sup> The writ appointing Morgan ap Maredudd and Walter Hakelut as commissioners of array is typical of its type.

Appointment of Walter Hakelutel and Morgan ap Meredyth to select 900 Welshmen of the land of Morganou<sup>63</sup> to set forth and cross the sea with the king on his service, so as to be at Llandaff by St. Peter ad Vincula [August 1<sup>st</sup>] to receive the kings wages and to set forth thence, so as to be at the port of Winchelsea a week afterwards ready to cross. [July 14<sup>th</sup> 1297]

Far from acting as a mere *agent provocateur*, he was a loyal and seemingly tireless official. His knighthood came at the feast of Swans with that of Edward of Caernarfon on 6 June 1306. Noted as retaining his allegiance to the king in an inquiry into the rebellion of Llywelyn Bren held in March 1316, later that year was involved with an expedition to Scotland.<sup>64</sup> His military career was comparatively low key, but frequent and comparable with many household knights of the period. He left no male heir, but his daughter Angharad was the mother of Ifor Hael (the generous), the chief patron of Dafydd ap Gwilym, a fact remembered in Dafydd's verse.<sup>65</sup> In common with most poetic references to these Welsh knights, the name Morgan is sufficient for the audience to recognise who is meant. A more distant descendant, Philip ap Morgan (d. 1435) was in time not only a servant of the Mortimers in their south Wales lordships but appointed chancellor of Normandy in 1418, eventually becoming bishop of Worcester (1419) and Ely (1426).<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> N. B Lewis, 'The English Forces in Flanders, August – November 1297' in *Studies in Medieval History presented to F. M. Powicke*, ed. R. Hunt et al (Oxford 1948), 310-318 with particular reference to the Appendix, p. 317.

<sup>62</sup> *C.P.R. 1292-1301*, pp. 294, 343.

<sup>63</sup> The reference to 'Morganou' appears deliberate – meaning in this case the Welshry of the lordship of Glamorgan (The Englishry is seemingly consistently referred to as Glamorgan).

<sup>64</sup> J. Beverley Smith, 'The Rebellion of Llywelyn Bren' in *Glam. C. H.* III, pp. 72-86 and n. 228, p. 82; *C.P.R. 1314-1317*, p. 539.

<sup>65</sup> *I Fam Ifor Hael* (To the mother of Ifor Hael), edited text no. 167, <http://www.daffyddapgwilym.net>.

<sup>66</sup> *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-MORG-PHI-1435.html>

### ***Owain ap Llywelyn ab Owain***

Owain ap Llywelyn ap Owain was, with his brother Thomas, the heir of Llywelyn ab Owain, a descendent of Lord Rhys (d. 1197) and a 'Welsh baron' of Cardiganshire who died 1308. He was also the great uncle of Owain Glyn Dŵr. Llywelyn held two half commotes of Iscoed Uwch Hirwen and Gwynionydd Is Cerdyn and a small estate at 'Starrock' in Mabwynion. Neither father nor son appears to have held administrative office though Owain clearly had a military career.<sup>67</sup> He served as commissioner of array in 1338-9 and in 1345 and 1347.<sup>68</sup> He also served on a commission into part of a knight's fee in Hussild and Trefberthe, Pembrokeshire, with Edmund Hakelut, sheriff of Herefordshire and others.<sup>69</sup> Here served frequently as a commissioner of array but was clearly a figure of, at best, middling significance.

### ***Henry ap Philip [ap Dafydd] of Cydweli***<sup>70</sup>

Predominately an administrator, he was appointed steward of Cantref Mawr 10 February 1378 and served as *dosbarthwr* in Carmarthenshire in 1392 (LR 12/36/1314, m. 5). On 11 February 1381, he was appointed deputy steward of the Welshry of Cydweli, Iscennen and Cantref Sylef but had clearly been acting as such at least one year earlier. He became deputy steward of both the Englishry and the Welshry of Kidwelly 7 April 1383 and was still in office at the end of 1384. He was, at this time described as an esquire of John of Gaunt (but an associated military reference cannot be found in the records included in the database) holding a fee of John of Gaunt (its amount is unknown) between 1382 and 1384.<sup>71</sup> He also served as his receiver there at a later date. Somewhat earlier, he appears to have been in the service of Nicholas Audley.

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<sup>67</sup> Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, 9 and J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 17.

<sup>68</sup> *Fodera*, II, ii, pp. 1016-18; *C.C.R. 1337-39*, p. 402.

<sup>69</sup> *C.P.R. 1358-61* pp. 71-2

<sup>70</sup> Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 280-1.

<sup>71</sup> E. C. Lodge and R. Somerville (ed.), *John of Gaunt's Register 1379-83*, (Camden Society, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, 56-7, 1937), pp. 1, 12 and DL 29/584/9238 m. 2. Davies, *Bohun and Lancaster Estates*, p. 41, n. 13.

### *The Sourdeval/Swrdwal Family*

Several generations can be proven to have served in English armies, most notably in the expeditionary army in Wales in 1405. The family is most likely to have established itself in the marcher lordship of Brecon, and in the neighbouring county of Herefordshire from the involvement of a descendant in its conquest under Bernard of Neufmarche in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries. Though the same Sourdevals appear to have been associated with east Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, it seems highly probable that all those shown here were drawn from the Brecon and Herefordshire line of the family. A John Swrdwal is noted holding 1/3 of a knight's fee from John fitz Reginald at Oldport in Herefordshire in 1310.<sup>72</sup> The William Sourdeval who served in 1378 seems likely to have been the man granted the office of Beadle Itinerant in the Englishry of the lordship of Brecon, on 20 January 1374.<sup>73</sup>

Like a great many members of the Welsh squirearchy, Dafydd or Davy Swrdwal served in the expeditions led by Richard, earl of Arundel, in 1387 and 1388, in 1387, in the retinue of Richard Cryse (qv), and in 1388 in that of Robert Bland, on both occasions as man-at-arms.

A second William, in common with many other members of the squires of the lordship of Brecon served in the expeditionary army led by Sir Richard Arundell in 1405. In the generations that follow in the fifteenth century, the integration into the Welsh community is evident. William (II), probably his son, rejoiced in the name 'William Fychan ap Gwilym Sourdevall'<sup>74</sup>, and Hywel Swrdwal and his son Ieuan demonstrate how thoroughly the family adopted Welsh cultural identity. Hywel, a soldier himself in Normandy in the 1440s, was a poet who, like Guto'r Glyn, was associated with Henry Griffith (Harri Ddu ap Gruffudd) attached to a great many of the principal men of the south east March. He is best known for his poetry as is his son, Ieuan who apparently died in a brawl at Oxford.<sup>75</sup> Hywel's military career

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<sup>72</sup> *C.I.P.M.* V no. 205, p. 107.

<sup>73</sup> *C.P.R.* 1370-74, pp. 382, 466.

<sup>74</sup> Davies, 'Race Relations' citing TNA JUST 1/1152 m. 11 (1413).

<sup>75</sup> Details from Evans, *Gwaith Hywel Swrdwal* and *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-HYWE-SWR-1430.html>.

between 1443 and 1447 is outside the scope of this survey, but is documented in records surviving in French archives, and witnesses him amongst Henry Griffiths' archers and notably, among the garrison of the palace of the lieutenant of Normandy in Rouen during Richard, duke of York's tenure.<sup>76</sup> Hywel Dafï in an ode of praise to Brecon singles out the family as one of those of Norman blood who deserve praise, not only for their generosity as poets but perhaps perversely for their 'Normanitas'; as worthy heirs to the conquerors of the *English*, their mutual enemy. Such an apparently perverse attitude is revealing of Welsh attitudes to their own conquest and is characteristic of the verse written in the southern March; families such as the Pulestons of Emral or Salesburys of Denbigh were rather loath to acknowledge their English antecedents – at least culturally – by the fifteenth century.<sup>77</sup>

### ***Y Crach Ffynnant: Owain's prophet***

The name of Crach Ffynnant is a minor footnote in the story of Owain Glyn Dŵr. At Owain's ceremony of inauguration as 'Prince of Wales', 16 September 1400 he was among those men listed as present by an Oswestry jury of 6 October 1400 as '*Craghe Ffynnant eorum propheta*'.<sup>78</sup> Both Davies and Lloyd record that the significance of the role of prophecy and magic was important both in Owain's own time and perhaps to a greater degree in his posthumous reputation. His concern to meet with the seer Hopcyn ap Tomas ab Einion of Ynysforgan at Carmarthen in the heat of his campaign in south-west Wales in July 1403 perhaps suggests that Glyn Dŵr's mind really might have been governed by mythology and prophecy.<sup>79</sup> To the poets of his day, Owain was 'mab darogan' the son of prophecy and Shakespeare makes much of this element of the Glyn Dŵr myth in Henry IV part I. The nature and context of such prophecy as there is has been the subject of much recent work, though it is not the nature of prophecy *per se* that is the subject of this note.<sup>80</sup> Whether Y Cragh was a prophet or merely a messenger is not a question that can be resolved, but it is certain that the men

<sup>76</sup> BN MS Française 25777 nos. 1658, 1665, 1669 and 1772, BL Add. Ch. 8023.

<sup>77</sup> This observation is credited to D. Foster Evans and based on 'Poetry and Marcher Identity, 1300-1550' a paper presented at Swansea University 29 May 2009.

<sup>78</sup> Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, pp. 31, 35, Graham Thomas 'Oswestry 1400' *Studia Celtica*, pp. 117-26.

<sup>79</sup> R. K. Turvey, 'Twelve days that shook south-west Wales: The Royal letters, Owain Glyndŵr and the campaign of July 1403', *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, vol. xxxvii (2001), pp. 13, 18.

<sup>80</sup> For a comprehensive survey of this reputation, Henken, *National Redeemer*, particularly ch. 3, pp. 57-88.

of Oswestry numbered him among those Welshmen ‘treasonably plotting, conspiring and intending the death and disinheriting of the said lord king’, who assembled to proclaim Owain Glyn Dŵr as Prince of Wales at Glyndyfrdwy on Thursday before the Feast of St Matthew the Apostle in the first year of the reign of Henry IV. This date in this context might have had wider significance as it happened to be the birthday of Henry of Monmouth, Prince of Wales.

There were two places within the lordship of Powys named Ffinnant, perhaps the most promising being near Cynllaith, one of Owain’s estates, and which divided the parish of Llanfairfechain from that of Llansanffraid, the other, some distance further south, near Trefeglwys, about 4 miles west of Caersws.<sup>81</sup> Of Crach Ffinnant the man, we know little. It is clear that he had some form of military career, which, such as we know about it, played some role in his later activities. His appearance as an archer in the retinue of the Flintshire knight, Sir Gregory Sais, at Berwick in 1384 – a retinue in which Owain Glyn Dŵr served – is well known and it is perhaps then that he formed some attachment to Glyn Dŵr himself.<sup>82</sup> Davies suggested that Y Crach (E. The Scab) served Owain as might a political advisor, and though this cannot be substantiated, Owain was a patron to other bards and it is possible that the Crach was among them. His presence at Owain’s side in September 1400 was significant enough to be noted among Owain’s most prominent supporters. Y Crach’s association with Glyn Dŵr is not known to have continued beyond the first flush of rebellion however, for he submitted 28 November 1400 and is not heard of thereafter.<sup>83</sup>

The work of the AHRC funded project ‘The Soldier in Later Medieval England’ project has revealed that 1384 was not Y Crach’s first excursion into military service. He appeared in the retinue of Sir John Charlton (John Charlton III, lord of Powys, d. 1374) in the royal expedition of 1372, again as an archer. This expedition though it eventually petered out into little more than a naval patrol is significant as it was the last which Edward III intended to lead in person. It is not possible to determine whether this service was part of a longer attachment as this retinue of seven knights, thirty four esquires and eighty-two archers is the only one for any of the Charlton

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<sup>81</sup> Ifans (ed.) *Gwaith Gruffudd Lhwyd*, p. 248; *Iolo Goch ac Eraill*, pp. 116-118; Davies, *Owain Glyn Dŵr*, p. 159, Lloyd, *op cit.* p. 31

<sup>82</sup> TNA E 101/39/39 m. 3; E 101/39/40 m. 3

<sup>83</sup> *C.P.R. 1399-1401*, p. 396.

lords of Powys to survive for this period. It is entirely possible that he did further service in their company.<sup>84</sup> Since none of Y Crach's verse is known to have survived it is equally unclear as to whether Charlton could have been his patron, as well as his captain, or whether one of the handful of Welsh squires in this retinue maintained him in their service.

R. R. Davies suggested that he was a professionally trained bard and soothsayer from Owain's own district. While we might quibble with the concept of professionalism with reference to medieval bards, it is clearly as a poet that he was best known though none of his poems are known to have survived. He does however make an appearance in the verse of another. 'Y Crach' was one of the twelve bards named by Gruffudd Llwyd ap Dafydd ab Einion for his mock jury in *Y Cwest ar Forgan ap Dafydd o Rydodyn* (The trial of Morgan ap Dafydd of Rhydodyn). The trial in question was the result of the murder on 5 October 1385 on the road between Carmarthen and Cardigan, of one John Lawrence, a burgess and former mayor of Carmarthen, who was acting as deputy Justiciar of South Wales at the time of his death. Lawrence, it seems, was no angel whilst in office twice receiving pardon for an array of offences. The accused, Morgan ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn, grandson of Sir Morgan ap Maredudd of Tredegar by his daughter Angharad, held a number of offices himself.<sup>85</sup>

The poem takes the form of an appeal to David Hanmer, justice of the king's bench, who tried the case, and who of course was father in law to Owain Glyn Dwr. This being so, it is quite possible that both Gruffudd Llwyd and Y Crach were personally known to Hanmer who received praise from Gruffudd Llwyd in his own right.

As a Welshman who can be definitively shown to have served more than one captain he is unusual despite the relatively tight geographical orbit he appears to have occupied – his known associations are all in the region of northern Powys – but is in keeping with the often peripatetic lifestyle of the professional bard. As a Welsh poet

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<sup>84</sup> TNA E 101/31/7 m.1, from the AHRC-funded database [www.medievalsoldier.org](http://www.medievalsoldier.org) accessed 29 July 2009. John Charlton III died 18 July 1374, *Cal. Inq.* xiv, pp. 19-23.

<sup>85</sup> Griffith, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 116-7, 319, 367, 377. Note there is an ambiguity in the index: Morgan ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn and Morgan ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn Foel appear to be almost certainly the same person.

(or seer) who demonstrably engaged in military service he is, at the present time, all but unique in the fourteenth century.

## ***Appendix B:***

### ***Prosopographical notes on Welshmen in the 1415 Army***

These brief notes outline the career details of those identifiable from the roll of the 500 foot archers raised to serve in France in 1415. The dominant source is Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, page numbers as noted. This appendix is primarily intended as a reference for these men and the entries are not full biographies.

#### ***Men-at-arms: Principality***

##### ***Gruffudd (ap Maredudd ap Henry) Dwn,***

The later career of Gruffudd Dwnn as a captain in Lancastrian Normandy rather belies his origins as the grandson of the notorious Henry Dwnn of Cydweli. Gruffudd's military service to the English crown appears to have begun in 1415 and continued into the 1440s. He was a man who was, pragmatically, reverting to family tradition after his (and his father and grandfather's) careers as rebels. Prior to that, his ancestors, Henry included, had all served as administrators and on occasion as leaders of men to war from the Lancaster lordships and royal counties of South Wales.

##### ***Maredudd ab Owain ap Gruffudd ab Einion***

A former rebel of Tywyn, Cardiganshire, who came to dominate his native county until being forced into retirement by the rise of the unscrupulous Carmarthenshire esquire Gruffudd ap Nicholas. His involvement in the rebellion (and the wealth he had acquired before and recovered after it), enabled him to incur a pledge of £300 for the hostages taken to ensure the surrender of Aberystwyth Castle in 1407. Remarkably he was granted a general pardon *brevia ret. et irret*, 20 June 1415 at almost exactly the time Henry V was gathering his army for service in France.<sup>1</sup> He was possibly the man of this name granted protection in 1419 for service overseas.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> TNA C 67/37m. 23.

<sup>2</sup> See also Griffiths, 'Gentlemen and Rebels', pp. 59, 61, 68 and 'Medieval Cardigan', p. 293-4.

**Rhys ap Llywelyn ap Gruffudd Fychan** (Esq.) Rhys was another former rebel, who served as a man-at-arms from the commote of Caeo in 1415, and as Beadle of that commote in 1420-21 and 1422-3 as well as in various other offices in the locality. Griffiths, pp. 368 and 369.

**Jankyn/John ap Rhys ap Dafydd**, escheator of Carmarthenshire, 1424. His loyalty was not as constant as it might have been (or at least, he may well have had relatives or friends who were not), as he was among the hostages held for the surrender of Llanbadarn Fawr/Aberystwyth in 1407, before making a fine of £233 6s. 8d. in 1410-11 (SC6/1222/12). He appears to have had an interesting military career beyond his short service in France in 1415, (E 368/198 'adhuc brevia ret. et irret. '); a man of that name who was granted a protection on 16 August 1415 (TNA C 76/98) and he may have been the same man that was granted protection 30 September 1419 (DKR 41, p. 800) and in June 1421, (DKR 44, p. 627), and on 12 July 1432 he was granted protection to go with Sir Walter Hungerford (DKR 48, p. 287). Between 1425 and 1428, and also 1433-4, he served as a man-at-arms helping to garrison Llanbadarn Fawr castle (SC6/1288/2). Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 326-7, 450, 5, 481, 514, 5, 533, 7, 9.

**Gwalter ap Gruffudd ab Ieuan** acted as attorney for Dafydd ap Gruffudd who was beadle of Caerwedros 1439-42. Prior to this, he was paid for 45 ½ days service as a man-at-arms in 1415 (E 368/198). He was not obviously a rebel. See Griffiths, pp. 494 and 482.

**Owain Mortimer**, a burgess of Cardigan and son of Roger Mortimer descended from a family which had been planted in the county in the 1280s; he held a number of offices around the town and in the county including that of deputy constable of the castle at Cardigan in 1442-3. He cannot be identified as having participated in further military service. Griffiths, p. 218 and *infra*.<sup>3</sup>

**Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Trahaiarn** served as bailiff itinerant in Cantref Mawr on two occasions. First in 1413-14 with Rhys ab Ieuan Fychan and again in 1419-20 but this

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<sup>3</sup> For the Mortimer family more generally, Griffiths, 'Gentlemen and Rebels', pp. 53-4.

time alone. He had been Beadle of Caeo, a commote of Cantref Mawr in 1411-12, and it must be assumed that this is where he originated. It is likely however that he did not serve in France but remained in Wales for the defence of West Wales.

**Henry ab Ieuan Gwyn** Nothing is known, though it is possible he was the man of this name paid as a man-at-arms noted in the force defending West Wales (see Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Trahaiarn).

**Owain ap Jankyn Y Llwyd** was almost certainly not the man of this name acting as sergeant of the commote of Widigada (Cantref Mawr, Carms.) 1461-2.

### ***Men-at-arms: Brecon and the Lancaster estates***

#### ***Walter or Watcyn Llwyd***

A man-at-arms from the lordship of Brecon, and a kinsman of Davy Gam, he appears first among the Men-at-arms drawn from that lordship. His name appears on the sick lists compiled at Harfleur and it is possible that he died from this malady, as later tradition records him dying at Agincourt. He was a sufficiently important figure to be remembered by the poets later in the fifteenth century following the death of his grandson at the siege of Harlech in 1468.<sup>4</sup>

#### ***Thomas ap David ap Thomas***

Thomas	ap David ap Thomas	Man- at- arms	Iscoïd, Griffith ap Jeuau, et al.	Henry V	1415	Exped France	TNA_E101_46_20	no4 m1
Thomas	ap David ap Thomas	Man- at- arms	Powell, Lewis	Bedford, John, Duke of	1420	Exped France	TNA_E101_49_36	m12

Thomas ap David ap Thomas was a burgess of Brecon, farmer of the issues of the borough in 1398 and bailiff in 1399; in so energetic a fashion did he defend the town

<sup>4</sup> Leslie Harris (ed.) *Gwaith Hywel Cae Llwyd ac Eraill*, (Cardiff, 1953), pp. 99, 109-10.

of Brecon against invasion that his business was completely destroyed. In recognition of this fact, he was granted a gift of 25 marks and an annuity of 20 marks in 1408 and then in 1412, remission of his debts. Further, he was addressed as an esquire, as his military career befitted, and held the office of Bailiff of Brecon virtually for life thereafter.<sup>5</sup> He appeared in the retinue of Welshmen drawn from the Lancaster lordships in 1415, and again in 1420 (muster dated 5 June 1420), serving in the retinue of Lewis Powell. With this in mind, he should be differentiated from the man of the same name who served as Beadle of Catheiniog, Carmarthenshire in 1428-30. Griffiths, p. 373.

Rys	ap David ap Thomas	Archer	Powell, Lewis	Bedford, John, Duke of	1420	Exped France	TNA_E101_49_36	m12
Res	ap David ap Thomas	Archer	Iscoïd, Griffith ap Jeuan, et al.	Henry V	1415	Exped France	TNA_E101_46_20	no4 m1

### ***Men-at-arms Cydweli***

***Hywel ab Ieuan ap Hywel*** a former rebel who had been captured and imprisoned at Windsor, later finding a place in local administration. TNA JUST 1/1153 m. 20; DL 29/737/12065 (Davies, ‘Bohun and Lancaster Estates’, p. 308).

Note that the foot archers from Cydweli served again in 1420 (see chapter 2)

### ***The Involvement of the Clergy***

***William Waldebesse*** of Yr Allt (Brecon), chaplain, and a member of an established family from the Lancaster estates in South Wales.

<sup>5</sup> From R.R. Davies, ‘The Bohun and Lancaster Lordships’: DL 42/15 f. 32v. f. 179v.; DL 42/16 f. 116, f. 220v., f. 244, DL 42/17 f. 127v, 148v. See also Davies ‘Brecon’ in Griffiths (ed.) *The Boroughs of Medieval Wales*, p. 66.

**Llywelyn ap Sir David.** The scarcity of knights amongst the Welsh community as a whole in the fourteenth century rather suggests that this man was the bastard son of a cleric rather than a scion of a knightly family. There appear to have been several such men in this army: **Hywel ap Y Person** of Caio (literally, Hywel, son of the parson), and others.

**Archers (\* Indicates an archer serving on another's behalf, name of the substitute appears in brackets)**

**Llywelyn ap Madoc Ddu**

A man of this name served as an archer of Is Cennen (Carms.) in 1415, a general pardon being granted to a man of the same name of the lordship of Builth 15 May of that year.<sup>6</sup>

**Thomas ap Morgan ap Dafydd Fychan** (Griffiths, p. 302) probably to be identified with the archer Thomas ap Morgan from Hirfryn (Cantref Mawr) – start of his career as an administrator. (C67/42 *Letters patent for pardons 36-7 Henry VI*)

**Gruffudd ap Gwilym ap Y Coeg (vain/blind/daft)** – archer from Iscoed Is Hirwern, in which locality he later (1421) served as collector of the general fine, having earlier served as bailiff itinerant in Cardigan – Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, pp. 305 and 524

**Llywelyn ap Dafydd Foethus** – provided an archer (m. 2d – Llywelyn Clustee) for 1415 from Mabwynion, collector of the general fine there in 1421 and bailiff itinerant in Cards. 1422-3. He was still alive 1442. Griffiths, p. 306. \*

**Thomas Fychan ap Thomas ap Hywel** of Llanwenog (Cardigans.), archer in 1415. Griffiths, p. 307

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<sup>6</sup> *C.P.R. 1413-16*, p. 327

**Dafydd ap Rhys ap Llywelyn ap Cadwgan** of Anhuniog commote (Cards.), bailiff itinerant of Llanbadarn 1398-9; bit of a property speculator by the looks of things, he provided an archer (Dafydd ab Ieuan Taillour, m. 2), Griffiths, pp. 309, 470, 75, 80, 86, 87. \*

**Rhys ab Adda ab Ieuan ap Gruffudd**, of Llanrhystud (Cards.), was deputy bailiff itinerant of Llanbadarn to Lewis Fychan in 1440-42, and served as an archer in 1415 as well as in other administrative posts. Griffiths, pp. 313, 471, 81, 2, 6, 8.

**Owain ap Thomas**, escheator of Carmarthenshire, 1419-20, having served as a collector of a general fine in 1414 and as an archer from the commote of Iscoed Is Hiwern. He served again in June 1421 in the retinue of the Earl of Worcester (DKR, 44, p. 628), Griffiths, p. 321

**Dafydd ap Gruffudd ap (y) Person**, served as beadle of Mabelfyw 1418-19 (a Gruffudd Person – possibly his father served in the same role 1407-8), and was called upon to serve as an archer from Mabelfyw in 1415. He sent a deputy (m. 2 – Gruffudd ap Einion), Griffiths, p. 360. \*

**Dafydd ap Gruffudd ap Hywel** served as beadle of Caeo 1388-9. A former rebel, he was pardoned, for among other things treason and rebellion 9 August, 1405 (*C.P.R.* 1405-8, p. 36). He supplied a substitute in 1415 (m. 2 – John Body). Griffiths, pp. 367, 8, 378. \*

**John ap Rhys ap Thomas** of Abergwili (Carms.). Son of Rhys ap Thomas ap Dafydd who was notable for his service to both Richard II and later the Lancastrians (Griffiths, pp. 143-5.). The connections of the father no doubt secured influence for the son as he was granted protection 6 August 1415 as one of the king's retinue accompanying Henry V to Agincourt (DKR, 44, p. 573), Griffiths, pp. 373-4.

**Maredudd ap Rhys Fychan**, possibly of Mabelfyw, supplied a representative to serve on 1415 campaign/Agincourt (m 2. – Ieuan Llwyd Hyre), and served as beadle of Mallaen 1408-1415, Griffiths, p. 382. \*

***Morgan ab Ieuan ap Morgan*** – served as an archer in 1415 and as beadle of Mallaen 1420-21. Griffiths, p. 383.

***Rhys ab Ieuan ap Richard*** – sent a deputy in 1415 to serve as an archer (m. 2 – Dafydd ap Henry), and served as Beadle of Widigada with Robert ap Rhys ap Thomas, 1417-18. Griffiths, p. 402. \*

***Hywel ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn*** served in 1415 as an archer by proxy (m. 2d. – William Clement – Uwch Aeron). This William Clement is not to be identified with the William Clement serving with Thomas Leyhun in 1417 – (E 101/51/2). At an earlier date (1386-9), Hywel had served as beadle of the commote of Genau'r Glyn in Cardiganshire. Griffiths, pp. 438-9. \*

***Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Rhys*** served in 1415, later (1419-20), serving as Reeve of Genau'r Glyn in 1419-20; 1429-30 and 1435-6, Griffiths, pp. 444-5. \*

***Ieuan Teg*** (lit. the fair) between 6 July and 11 November 1415, he was among the armed men led by ***Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Trahaiarn*** (qv) who were guarding South Wales. Ieuan was later reeve of Perfedd, 1424-5, and can possibly be identified with Ieuan Teg ap Dafydd Llwyd. Griffiths, p. 454

***Rhys ap Llawdden*** sent a substitute [m. 2d - ? Pynkyn – Uwch Aeron] to serve overseas in 1415 and served as reeve of Perfedd (1412-3) and as collector of a general fine imposed on Creuddyn in 1421 (E 101/46/20); Griffiths, p. 454. \*

***Ieuan ap Hywel ap Rhys*** of Uwch Aeron, he produced a substitute in 1415 [m. 3 – Yentyn ap Lloydyn]. He served as reeve of Perfedd, 1440-1. Griffiths, p. 455. \*

***Llywelyn Du ap Gruffudd*** served as beadle of Creuddyn 1412-13 and sent a representative to serve in 1415 [m. 2 – Maredudd Don – Uwch Aeron], Griffiths, p. 459.

**Adda ap Maredudd ap Rhys** served as beadle of Creuddyn 1415-20 and served as an archer in 1415 and also in a variety of other offices including collector of a general fine in Creuddyn in 1421. Griffiths, pp. 459, 460 and 464.

**Llywelyn ap Dafydd ab Ieuan Llwyd** served as beadle of Creuddyn 1428-9 and sent a representative to serve in 1415 [m. 2 – Llywelyn ab Ieuan ap Lloyth – Uwch Aeron]. Griffiths, pp. 460 and 463. \*

**Rhys ap Cadwgan (ap Hywel?)** served as reeve of Creuddyn 1417-18 and provided a substitute to serve in France in 1415 [m. 2 – Ieuan Moel ap Llywelyn With – Uwch Aeron]. See Griffiths, p. 464. \*

**Gruffudd ap Adda ab Ieuan ap Gruffudd** of Uwch Aeron, served as beadle of Mefenydd 1423-5, and as an archer in 1415. Served also as collector of a general fine in Mefenydd in 1421. See Griffiths, pp. 470.

**Llywelyn ab Ieuan Fychan** served as reeve of Mefenydd 1414-5 and provided a representative to serve as an archer in 1415 [m. 2 – Rhys ap Gruffudd Sais – Uwch Aeron]. See Griffiths, pp. 475 and 476. \*

**Gwilym ap Llywelyn Fychan** of the parish of ‘Vire’ (Cards.) sent a representative in 1415 [m. 2 – Gruffudd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn – Uwch Aeron]. In the same year, he paid a fine for the purchase of escheat land in Mefenydd and served as reeve of Mefynedd 1433-4. See Griffiths, p. 476. \*

**Ieuan ap Gruffudd ap Rhys** reeve of Anhuniog 1413-4 and again, 1435-6, sent a representative in 1415 [m. 2 – Llywelyn Bach – Uwch Aeron]. See Griffiths, pp. 486 and 487. \*

**Dafydd du ap Dafydd ab Ieuan Llwyd** beadle of Caerwedros 1410-11. He sent a substitute in his place in 1415 [m. 2 – Ieuan ab Ieuan Fychan]. See Griffiths, pp. 492 and 496. \*

***Rhys ap Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Gruffudd*** beadle of Caerwedros 1411-12, he had apparently joined the rebels in 1409 and forfeited a horse as a result. It is possible that he can be identified with Rhys ap Dafydd ab Ieuan who served as beadle of Caerwedros again 1419-21 and sent a representative in 1415 [m. 2 – Laurence Dyer]. See Griffiths, pp. 492 (and possibly also, 493, 8, 9). \*

***Rhys ap Dafydd ab Ieuan Boule*** beadle of Caerwedros 1412-13 sent a representative in 1415 [m. 2 – Ieuan ap Dafydd Fychan]. See Griffiths, pp. 493 and 498. \*

***Einion Gethin*** beadle of Caerwedros 1413-14. Of Caerwedros, he rebelled against Henry IV leading to the confiscation of 80 sheep, 2 oxen, 1 cow and a horse in 1408-9. Apparently reconciled, he served as an archer in 1415. See Griffiths, pp. 493, 497 and 514.

***Maredudd Ddu***, possibly reeve of Caerwedros 1407-8 and an archer in 1415. see Griffiths, p. 497.

***Rhys ap Hywel ap Maredudd***, reeve of Caerwedros 1411-12 served in 1415 as an archer. See Griffiths, p. 498.

***Ieuan ap Gruffudd ab Ieuan ap Rhydderch*** reeve of Caerwedros 1417-18. He had previously served as an archer in 1415. See Griffiths, p. 498.

***Richard ap Henry*** of Caerwedros and reeve there 1425-6 served as an archer in 1415. See Griffiths, p. 498.

***Dafydd Llwyd ap Dafydd Ddu*** beadle of Mabwynion 1408-9 sent a representative in 1415 [m. 2 – Madoc ap Richard Llwyd]. See Griffiths, pp. 504 and 509. \*

***Ieuan ap Rhydderch ap Maredudd*** beadle of Mabwynion 1415-17 sent a representative to serve as an archer in 1415 [m. 2 – Dafydd ap Ieuan Ddu]. See Griffiths, p. 504. \*

***Richard ap Dafydd Park*** reeve of Mabwynion 1416-7 and collector of a general fine in Mabwynion in 1421. He sent a representative to serve in 1415 [m. 2 – Hopkyn Don – listed for Is Aeron Mabun’]. See Griffiths, p. 509 \*

***Ieuan ap Gruffudd ab Einion*** reeve of Mabwynion 1419-20 and collector of the general fine in the same commote in 1421. He sent a representative to serve in 1415 [m. 2 – Llywelyn ap Sir David]. See Griffiths, p. 509. (\*Ieuan ap Griffith ap Owen)

***Ieuan ap Rhys ap Dafydd Llwyd*** reeve of Mabwynion 1432-3 may have been the Ieuan ap Rhys of Mabwynion who served as an archer in 1415. See Griffiths, p. 510.

***Hywel ab Ieuan ap Y Llydan*** (the wide one?) reeve of Gwynionydd Uwch Cerdyn 1414-5 sent a representative in 1415 [m. 2d. – Hugh Talgarth – Uwch Cerdyn]. He also served as collector of the general fine there in 1421. See Griffiths, p. 519. \*

***Ieuan ap Hywel ab Ieuan Fychan***, reeve of Gwynionydd Uwch Cerdyn 1416-17 served as an archer in 1415. See Griffiths, p. 519.

***Gruffudd Gogh ab Ieuan ap Gruffudd***, beadle of Iscoed is Hirwen (or the county of Cardigan) 1416-7, served as an archer in 1415. See Griffiths, p. 524.

***Ieuan ap Gwilym Llwyd*** beadle of Iscoed is Hirwen (or the county of Cardigan) 1419-24, served as an archer in 1415. See Griffiths, p. 525.

### ***Independent and Marcher Service***

***Sir John Scudamore*** – retinue of four Men-at-arms and twelve archers – Griffiths, pp. 137-414

***John ap Henry (or ap Harry)***, son of Henry ap John of Oldcourt and Poston (Herefs.) and Eva ferch Ieuan ap Rhys ab Ieuan of Elfael. A loyal royal and magnate servant throughout the period – though incurring distrust through his connection with the Lollard Sir John Oldcastle. Served variously as constable of Llanbadarn Fawr, sheriff

of Herefordshire, etc. (see Griffiths, pp. 234-5). He led his own retinue of two Men-at-arms and six archers, having been retained to serve for one year from 29 April, 1415.

**Henry Gwyn** Heir to the lordship of Llanstephan and killed at Agincourt fighting for the French. Henry Gwyn, son of William Gwyn. William had been deputy Justiciar of South Wales from 26 June 1389 until 8 May 1390 and once more in August 1391. He died in 1400 seised of half the lordship of Llansteffen – of which he had been steward between 1387-90 – the lands forming the dower of his wife, Elena.

## ***Appendix C - Welsh naming***

*This conventionally follows the pattern:*

Generally, in this period, naming follows a patronymic pattern, where Ap or Ab (the ‘p’ mutating to a ‘b’ before a vowel) mean ‘son of’.<sup>1</sup> This is derived from the similar form, found in Scots and Irish, where ‘Mab’ goes its own way to become Mac or Mc. This naturally makes tracing genealogies across generations quite complicated, but by no means impossible. More problematic is that what records we do have tend not to be written by Welshmen (English or French speaking royal clerks) does not help matters.

Attempts to standardise or Anglicise spelling and to Latinise some first names all conspire to make life interesting for the researcher, as does the relatively limited stock of Welsh names (but no more so than the stock of English names!). Where duplications occur, topographic locators or relationship markers are often used, together with the common dodge – frequently a necessity – to go back three or more generations to achieve differentiation. There are also a number of English (and Irish, and later possible French) intrusions and personal suffixes, notably Fychan and Vychan (see below).

The accompanying notes and tables are intended to assist students (and myself) in understanding some of the major patterns and variations. Other things to watch for include such scribal delights as ‘aphtharadur’ (CPR 1292-1301 p.335). Here, the ‘ap’ becomes merged into the patronymic resulting in anomalies like “athlewelin” or “ameryk” which over time can become surnames. Equally, the ‘ap’ can be dropped altogether creating names such as Meyler Madock, who served as” chief serjeant and coroner” in Leys (Ireland) in the 1290s<sup>2</sup>. Well known examples include Powell (ap Hywel), or Pryce (ap Rhys). The intrusion of English names became common, e.g. David ap William (which might equally be Dafydd ap Gwilym in another source) and the sons of Henry of Windsor. Where two seemingly English names are strung

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<sup>1</sup> Following modern orthography and mutation in Welsh, P becomes B before a vowel, C becomes G, etc.

<sup>2</sup> J. Mills (ed.) *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls of Ireland, 1295-1303*, pp. 167,168,169 and 180.

together in this manner, without a recognisable toponymic or surname it may be that we have a Welshman, it may not.<sup>3</sup>

The issue of bynames, or ‘cognomen’ is more complicated, since they may describe a personal quality, be that a behavioural trait or physical characteristic, which may not, as R. R. Davies noted, be universally observed, or confined to native Welshmen: any red head might be called ‘Goch’ (or Gough). These might be affectionate, practical or simply offensive as ‘Sais’ (that is ‘English’) could undoubtedly be and ‘Drwgwrthgymro’<sup>4</sup> was certainly intended. Toponymics (often of a self-consciously ‘Norman’ form), such as ‘de la Pole’ and ‘Avene’ came into being, and moreover, became common, in areas of Wales away from earlier English settlement and its boroughs which had already acquired this tradition.

### *Personal names*<sup>5</sup>

<b>Name</b>	<b>Variants/Latin form</b>	<b>Notes</b>
Adam	Adaf	Usual Latin forms occur too in Welsh contexts
Bleddyn	Blethin, Bledin,	
Anion	Enion, Ynian, Yvain (Fr.) <sup>6</sup>	
Aradwr		
Cadwallon, Cadwalladr		
Cadwgan	Cadogan, Cadagan	
Cynan	Kynan	C is often dubbed ‘K’ in texts – this is a guide to pronunciation
Cynddlew	Candalo, Candalou	
Cynfrig		Possibly Saxon/English in origin?
Cynwrig	Kenuric, Kenneric	
Daffydd	David, Davy	Note double ‘d’
Donok		Possibly an Irish intrusion

<sup>3</sup> This is particularly common in parts of Ireland in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Given that English and Welsh toponymic forms are easily identified, as are Irish name forms, it is likely that such names are evidence of families of Welsh descent.

<sup>4</sup> Lit: Bad to Welshmen (thanks to Rachel Evans for her assistance on this point) – Rees Davies opted for the rather ‘free’ translation ‘Saxon-lover’. The example is drawn from his ‘Race-Relations’ p. 48 n.

<sup>5</sup> This information compiled from a variety of sources, including variant spellings observed in the Calendars of Close Rolls and Patent Rolls, together with the Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll of 1292-3 – I have made use only the explicitly Welsh names likely to be unfamiliar to the researcher.

<sup>6</sup> The references to French spellings are drawn from Siddons, ‘Welshmen in the Service of France’ pp. 161-184.

Edmund	Possibly also Edrud and Edward	As with some other names, this is an intrusion, but they generally conform with the Welsh pattern
Ednyfed	Ethenwit, Ednietto, Adinet	
Einion		
Goronnwy	Grono (Fr.), Gronou, Groneu	
Gruffudd	Griffin, Gruffin, Gruffyn, Griffid, etc. Commonly found with Latin endings, e.g. Griffino, Griffini	Not impossible that it may turn up as Geoffrey (Galfridus), esp. In some French sources
Gwalchmai		
Gwenwynwyn	Wenwenwun (and others)	See 'de la Pole'
Gwilym	<i>William</i> , Guillume (Fr.), Wilim	
Gwion	<i>Guido</i>	
Gwrgonon	Gorgenne?, Gwrgunan	
Gwyn	Win, Wyn, etc.	
Heilyn	Heylyn, Heilin	
Hopcyn	Hopkin, Hopkyn	
Hywel	Howel, Houel (Fr.)	
Hwlkyn	Diminutive of Hywel	
Ieuan	John, Jenkyn (a diminutive of John), <i>Johannes</i> , Yeuan	
Ifor		
Iowerth	<i>Gervase</i> , Ierewath, Yereward, Jorwerth, Jereward	
Ignon	Einion, Eygnon	
Ithel	Ithec	
Leisin	Leyfant, Leisant, Lleision	
Llywelyn	Thlewelin, Lewelin, Lewis(?)	
Madog	Maddock, Madoc	
Maredudd	Meredith, Meredyth, Meredut, probably for Mereduc	
Meiler	Meiylor, Meyler, Meller	
Meurig	Meurek, Meric, and rarely, Maurice, Morice, etc.	I have seen an historian dub this as Meredith – be careful!
Morgan		
Owain	Yvain (Fr.), Eweyn	
Rhicert	Rycard (e.g. TNA E 101/46/20)	Possibly from (or to) Richard, i.e. <i>Ricardus</i>
Rhodri		
Rhufon		
Rhys	Rees, Ris, apris	

Seisyll		
Tegwered	Tegweret	
Tewder	Tudor, Tudur, Teuder, etc.	
Yrewyn		

*Descriptors, Bynames, Cognomen or ‘Surnames’*

Name	Variants	Notes
Ap	Ab (before a vowel), filii (i.e. son of)	This may be used to indicate a number of generations, e.g. Rhodri, ap Gruffudd ap Cynan. In conjunction with other names, used to form later surnames, e.g. apris (ap Rhys) > Price/Pryce
Bach	Barch, ‘Petit’ (Fr.)	From bychan – small, perhaps more an indicator of physical stature than Fychan <i>qv</i>
Cyndydd		Huntsman
Dda		Good
Ddu	Duy	Black
De la Pole		Apparently adopted by the sons of Gwenwynwyn of Powys post 1277 for whom I imagine being asked how to spell Gwenwynwyn by English scribes was a constant trial (died out early C14th, not to be confused with later Earls of Suffolk) – ref. to La Pole/Welshpool/Y Trallwng
Fawr		Lit. value or reward – mutation of ‘Mawr’
Fychan	Vychan, Vaglan (Fr.), Wagn, later Vaughn – all mutations. Note, pronounced very differently.	Welsh meaning ‘small’ – it may imply ‘junior’ or ‘the younger’, e.g. Madog Fychan, son of Madog ab Aradwr. Otherwise, he would be Madog ap Madog (which is very rare). Note that when used as an adjective, this is spelt ‘bychan’
Gam	Cam	Crooked or lame, some form of physical impediment, e.g. a squint.
Gethin	Cethin, Kethin	‘Swarthy’
Goch	Gogh	Red, the red

Gryg		Hoarse/stammering
Gwyn		White/fair
Lawgogh		Lit: Red hand – an example of a compound word showing how elements were blended together.
Le Walyes	Le Walices, Walensis, Wallici, etc.	i.e. the Welshman (in ‘English’ contexts)
Llwyd	Lloyd	Grey – see also Lloyd, Thloyt, Coyk, Coyt (which I suspect are all related to some degree)
Mawr		The great/big/senior - rare
Moel		Meaning ‘the bald’
Pen	Ben	Lit. ‘Head’ (meaning similar to Scots)
Saer		Carpenter
Sais	Saes (from Saesons, i.e. Saxons)	Literally ‘The Englishman’ Often used as a suffix, or as a second name reflecting the character and experiences of the individual – which may, or may not pass through generations. Sometimes, a term of abuse.
Teg		Fair
Wenkwys		Unknown - Cynwrig Wenkwys was Rhaglaw of Dinorben
Wyndod		Again, unsure as to the meaning of this.

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E 210 – King’s Remembrancer, Ancient Deeds  
E 403 – Issue Rolls  
E 404 – Warrants for Issue  
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DL 36 – Duchy of Lancaster, Carta Miscellanea  
DL 42 – Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books  
SC 6 – Special Collections, Ministers Accounts

#### ***2. National Library of Wales***

NLW Chirk Castle Collection

#### ***3. British Library***

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### ***Electronic Resources***

AHRC 'The Soldier in Later Medieval England' project

[www.medievalsoldier.org](http://www.medievalsoldier.org)

Dafydd ap Gwilym online edition published by the Welsh Department, Swansea University

[www.dafyddapgwilym.net](http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net)

Calendar of the Patent Rolls online

<http://www.uiowa.edu/~acadtech/patentrolls/>