CHAPTER XIX.

THE CYMRY AND THE NORMANS,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AB IORWERTH TO HIS DEATH,
A.D. 1194-1240.

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Quick spirits, who tread firm to ends foreshown,
And use the name of greatness unforgot,
To meditate what greatness may be done.

E. B. Browning: Casa Guidi Windows.

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§ 1. Soon after the accession of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, 1 Roger de Mortimer, with a strong force, took possession of Maeleinydd, and built the castle of Cymaron for the defence of his acquisition, driving out the two sons of Cadwallawn ab Madog, the native rulers of that district.

Rhys and Maredudd, two of Prince Rhys’s sons, being in a state of active rebellion against their father, assembled a company of reckless men, and wrested the castle of Dinefawr from the garrison who had held it for him. The young princes went thence to Cantref Bychan, where they met with so favourable a reception that they were enabled, without a blow, to take possession of the castle.

1 Annales Cambrae, A.D. 1194; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1194; Powel’s Historie of Cambria; Wynne’s History of Wales.
The local sovereign, aroused by these flagrant insults, put forth his authority with sufficient power to cause the two chief culprits to be deserted by their followers, delivered up, and placed in safe custody.

In the following year, Prince Rhys besieged the town and castle of Caerfyrddin, which he took, plundered, and destroyed. He then led his troops to the siege of Colunwy Castle, which, after many fierce attempts, he succeeded in taking by assault, and then burned it. He next attacked the castle of Maesyfæd, and had scarcely won it, when Roger Mortimer and Hugh de Saye, with a host of Normans and Englishmen, advanced to the rescue. Prince Rhys, disdaining the shelter of the walls, marched out to encounter his foes, and so effectually did he stimulate the courage of his men by calling to memory the struggles of their forefathers against the Romans for freedom, that his half-armed and half-disciplined levies drove their well-armed and expert adversaries from the field, slaying many, and pursuing the rest until night overshadowed them. After this success, the Prince proceeded to Payne’s Castle in Elfel, and gained possession of it before William de Breos could return thither from the castle of St. Clair, which he had been contesting with Prince Howel ab Rhys. On arriving, however, De Breos offered pacific terms to Prince Rhys, who accepted them, and withdrew from Elfel. Within the same year died Rhodri ab Owen Gwynedd.

Led by the Lords Marchers, or by the King of England’s generals, many companies of Welshmen continued at this period to serve as mercenaries in the intestine and in the continental wars of the English.

The year A.D. 1117 was one of mourning in South Wales, for, on April 28, died Rhys ab Gruffydd, who
had been in his youth one of the most stalwart champions for Cymric liberty which this land of patriots ever produced. He had disinherited his son Maelgwn, and intended Gruffydd to be his successor. Gruffydd, therefore hastened to the English court, where he obtained a recognition of his right to the inheritance; but he had scarcely taken possession of it, when Maelgwn, with his ally Prince Gwenwynwyn, marched so secretly and suddenly upon Aberystwyth that, after a fierce and bloody conflict, they captured Gruffydd, and possessed themselves of Aberteifi Castle and Ceredigion. Maelgwn delivered up his brother to Gwenwynwyn, who placed him in the hands of the English to be detained as a prisoner of war, and then receiving Careghofa as the price of this betrayal, he proceeded by force of arms to subject Arwstli to his own authority, and, not long afterwards, the death of his father Owen Ceifeiliog gave to him the local sovereignty of Powys Uchaf.

Meanwhile Dafydd ab Owen Gwynedd, with his Norman coadjutors, was making preparations for another effort to regain his throne. Llewelyn ab Iorwerth encountered him in a pitched battle, gave him a signal overthrow, and took him prisoner, A.D. 1197.

About the same time, Trahaern Fychan, a man of great authority in Brycheiniog, was invited by William de Breos to hold a conference with him at Llangors, and being on his journey thitherward was, by that wicked baron's command, treacherously waylaid, captured, tied to a horse's tail, and dragged through

1 Higden, Polychronicon; Hoare's Giralbus, 4to ed. 1806, vol. ii. p. 183; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1197; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1197; Powel’s Historie of Cambria.
2 Rymer's Foedera, ed. 1704, tomus i. p. 120.
the town of Aberhonddu to the gallows, where his head was cut off, and his body suspended by the feet during three days. The brother, wife, and children of the murdered man fled from their home in dread of the murderer, and failed not to invoke the retributive vengeance of their cousin Prince Gwenwynwyn. To chastise De Breos, and to fulfil his own ambitious wish of extending Powys to its ancient boundaries, Gwenwynwyn mustered his forces and laid siege to that castle belonging to De Breos, which is sometimes called by the chroniclers the castle of Payne in Elfel, and sometimes the castle of Matilda, after Maud de St. Vallery, the wife of De Breos.

A.D. 1198. In entering upon this expedition, Gwenwynwyn issued a proclamation that, as soon as he had won that fortress, he would burn the whole country to Severn’s side, in revenge for the murder of his cousin Trahaern Fychan. Not having engines or miners, however, three weeks elapsed without his taking it, and during that time Geoffrey Fitz Peter,¹ high justiciary of England, raised an army, and joining to the royal forces those of the Lords Marchers, advanced to raise the siege and to rescue De Breos, who was himself in the castle. The justiciary offered terms of peace, but Gwenwynwyn rejected the conditions. The justiciary then liberated Prince Gruffydd ab Rhys, who hastily visiting his own districts, marched with all the men he could collect, joined the justiciary in Elfel, and rejoiced in the opportunity of avenging his personal wrongs upon the Prince of Powys Uchaf. A battle ensued, the army of Gwenwynwyn was put to the rout, many of his men were slain, and many more were taken prisoners, while only one Englishman lost his life, and that not by any

¹ Roger of Wendover A.D. 1198; Florence of Worcester, 2nd continuation.
foeman's weapon, but by the random arrow of a careless fellow-soldier. Gwenwynwyn submitted to the terms prescribed by the justiciary, the English and Normans returned home, and Prince Gruffydd, chiefly by the goodwill of his people, but partly by force of arms, recovered all his territories, excepting those which were protected by the castles of Aberteifi and Ystrad Meurig. The intervention of some noble and clerical friends induced Maelgwn to promise that, on a certain day, he would restore these castles to Gruffydd, and make a solid peace with him, on condition of receiving hostages for his personal safety. Gruffydd fulfilled his part of the contract by sending the promised hostages, but Maelgwn delivered them into the custody of Gwenwynwyn, and prepared to resist Gruffydd’s claim by force of arms. The hostages made their escape, and got safe home again, but war was fiercely waged between the rival brothers. Maelgwn laid siege to the castle of Dinerth, took it by assault, and put the garrison to the sword; while Gruffydd won the castle of Cilgerran, and strengthened its fortifications.

On April 6, 1199, King Richard¹ died, and left the crown of England to his brother John, who, though engaged in foreign warfare, did not neglect his interests in Wales. He increased the number of his forces in the Welsh Marches, concluded with Llewelyn ab Iorwerth a peace for three years, and bound that prince and his principal sub-rulers by solemn oaths to act as his faithful feudatories. On the day of his coronation, June 26, King John created William the hereditary marshal of England earl of Striguil, who by

¹ Roger of Wendover; Roger of Hovedon; Florence of Worcester, 2nd continuation.
marriage with Isabel de Clare, daughter and heir of Richard Strongbow, had already acquired the earldom of Pembroke.

In the same year, Maelgwn ab Rhys,\(^1\) perceiving that he could not much longer withstand the strenuous efforts of Gruffydd to wrest from him the castle of Aberteifi, most basely sold that fortress to the English Government, thus delivering into their hands the key of Cymru.

At this time also Madog ab Gruffydd Maelor, occupying himself with peaceful pursuits and religious hopes, founded and began to build the abbey of Llanegwest, known also by the name of Vale Crucis.

A.D. 1201. On St. Swithin’s day, July 15, the settlers of Cidweli slew Maredudd ab Rhys: his brother Gruffydd forthwith took possession of his lands, which comprised the cantref Bychan and the town of Llanymddyfri. Less than a fortnight afterwards, upon St. James’s day, Gruffydd ab Rhys, prince of Deheubarth, died, much regretted by his subjects. His brother Rhys Fychan then possessed himself of the cantref Bychan, and his brother Maelgwn seized upon the castle of Cilgerran. Gruffydd’s wife was Maud, daughter of William de Breos, and their eldest son Rhys succeeded to the shattered throne of Dinefawr.

§ 2. Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, suspecting his cousin Maredudd ab Cynan ab Owen Gwynedd of treasonable practices, sent him into exile, and seized upon his territories, which comprised the cantref of Lleyn and the cwmwd of Efionydd.

On July 11\(^2\) in the same year, Llewelyn and the

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\(^1\) Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1200; Powel’s Historie of Cambria; Wynne’s History of Wales.

\(^2\) Rymer’s Foederæ, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 123.
subordinate rulers of Gwynedd met the Chief Justiciary of England at Hereford, entered into a treaty of peace, and swore fealty to King John as supreme sovereign of Wales.

It is recorded\(^1\) that Llewelyn, who had lately acknowledged the supremacy of King John, reasserted at this time the long dormant right of the kings of Gwynedd to the paramount sovereignty over Powys and Deheubarth; that he called a meeting of the chief Cymric rulers of those provinces, and received oaths of allegiance from the friends who attended it; that the most powerful native prince who despised Llewelyn's summons and defied his authority was Gwenwynwyn, prince of Powys Uchaf; that the assembled district rulers, with one exception, agreed to the proposition made by Llewelyn, to force Gwenwynwyn either to resign his territories or submit to compliance; that Llewelyn consequently marched an army into Powys Uchaf, but happily clerical interference prevented bloodshed, and the refractory prince not only took a verbal oath of allegiance, but confirmed it by a written deed; that Llewelyn vented his ire upon the one dissentient who had opposed the invasion, Elised ab Madog, and took possession of his lands, though afterwards, upon the offender's submission, he gave or restored to him the castle of Crogen with seven appertaining townships. Within the same year, Llewelyn fortified the castle of Bala.

\(\S\) 3. Between the years 1195\(^2\) and 1196, Giraldus refused in succession the bishoprics of Bangor and Llandaff, still hoping to attain the see of St. David's. He was again elected to it by the chapter in the year

\(^1\) Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

\(^2\) Hoare's Life of Giraldus Cambrensis.
1199; but Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, refused to sanction their choice. He then engaged in a contest with that prelate, and vigorously carried on the suit which Bishop Bernard had instituted, maintaining the independence of the Cymric Church and the archiepiscopal primacy attached to the see of St. David's.

In the course of four years he visited Rome three times in the prosecution of this cause, and Innocent III. at last gave judgment in favour of Canterbury, upon the paltry plea that a pall had never been sent by any pope to an archbishop of St. David's. Disdaining to be a suffragan, Giraldus finally renounced his claim to the see, November 10, 1203. It was probably about the same time that he resigned the archdeaconry of Brycheiniog in favour of his nephew Philip de Barri, dedicating the remainder of his life to literature and religious exercises. He died at the age of seventy-four, much lamented by the Gymry, who, in consequence of his ambitious bravery, regarded him as the champion of their ecclesiastical independence.

§ 4. In the year 1204, Rhys ab Gruffydd ab Rhys, the heir of Deheubarth, had the castle of Llangadog wrenched from him by the combined strength of his uncle Maelgwn and Gwenwynwyn, prince of Powys Uchaf; and from that period, throughout several successive years, Prince Rhys, assisted by his brothers, waged incessantly a defensive or an aggressive war against his uncles Maelgwn and Rhys Fychan ab Gruffydd, and against the Lords Marchers of South Wales, in which the principal castles of the country often had their garrisons slaughtered, and often changed their owners.

A.D. 1204. Llewelyn ab Iorwerth had released his uncle David from captivity, under a belief that circumstances must
have wrought in him a thorough conviction of the hopelessness of his cause; but the dethroned sovereign fled to England, was enabled to raise an army there, and soon marched back to make yet another effort to retrieve his fallen fortunes. Llewelyn promptly put himself at the head of the men of Gwynedd, hastened to encounter his rival, and gave him a complete overthrow. David fled to England and died soon afterwards of grief.

In or about the year 1204, Tangwystyl ferch Llywarch Goch, district ruler of Rhos, the first wife of Llewelyn being dead, that prince accepted the hand of Joan, a daughter of King John, and received as a part of her marriage portion the long alienated and disputed lordship of Ellesmere. The grant of this district bears the date of March 23, 1205.

This year a severe winter and a frosty spring destroyed the oats and barley; and the want of grass and other fodder caused cattle and sheep to perish by thousands. A good wheat harvest alleviated the sufferings of the people from scarcity, and on the coast of Caerdigan Bay, especially at Aberystwyth, an unprecedented abundance of fish saved the local inhabitants from famine.

At this time Howel ab Rhys, surnamed Howel Sais, from having done military service with the King of England's forces, was put to death at Cemmaes by command of Maelgwn his brother; but his remains were honourably interred by the side of those of Prince Gruffydd ab Rhys in the abbey of Ystrad Flûr, although four sons of Howel's daughter, together with their father, his son-in-law, were soon afterwards killed by command of Maelgwn.

In the year 1207, Gwenwynwyn went, by King John's
invitation, to attend a council at Shrewsbury, and to his amazement was detained there a prisoner, while Llewelyn ab Iorwerth took advantage of his absence, and with the men of Gwynedd overran Powys Uchaf, and placed garrisons in the castles to secure permanent possession.

Maelgwn ab Rhys, the ally of Gwenwynwyn, struck with terror at these proceedings, and dreading a similar invasion, immediately dismantled the castles of Aberystwyth, Ystrad Meurig, and Dinerth, which he knew that he could not defend; but Llewelyn marched to Aberystwyth, restored and garrisoned the castle, seized upon the cantref of Penwedig, and upon the lands lying between Dyfi and Aeron, and gave that territory to the sons of Gruffydd ab Rhys; after these exploits he returned home to Aberfraw in triumph.

In the October of the same year, King John extorted hard terms from Prince 1 Gwenwynwyn, including hostages and vassalage, and subsequently released him from captivity, allowed him to return home, and constrained Llewelyn to make amends for the ravages committed on his property.

A.D. 1207. Maelgwn, encouraged by the restoration of Gwenwynwyn, went to King John, took an oath of allegiance as his feudatory, and returned home attended by a strong body of Norman and English mercenaries, to which he speedily added his Welsh levies, and commenced a fresh series of devastating warfare upon the lands of his nephews, the sons of Prince Gruffydd ab Rhys. Entering the cantref of Penwedig, he encamped at Cilcennin to gain time for consultation upon future operations. Prince Rhys and his brothers, at the head of 300 chosen

1 Rymer’s Foedera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 150, 151.
men, ventured by night to reconnoitre the hostile camp, and ascertaining that the invaders had lain down to rest, they softly stole in among them, slew great numbers who were sleeping, and captured many important personages; but Maelgwn, defended by the valour of his native troops, escaped and fled through the darkness, being ignorant of the assailants' scanty number.

In June 1209, King John, being under a papal interdict, and fearing that his vassals might avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them to defy his authority, extorted compulsory homage from all his free tenants, and even from boys of twelve years of age; and the Welsh princes on this occasion came personally to Woodstock and performed the irksome ceremony.

In the month of June 1210, King John marched through South Wales to Penbroch, and there embarked with his army for Ireland, and, on August 29 following, he returned to Penbroch on his homeward way.

About this time Gilbert de Clare, who had with great difficulty and loss of men acquired possession of Bualtt, completed the fortifications of its castle. Within the same year died Maud de Breos, widow of Gruffydd ab Rhys, prince of Deheubarth, and was buried in a monk's cowl by her husband's side at Ystrad Flûr.

The Norman castles built within the kingdom of Gwynedd were gradually destroyed in several expeditions by Llewelyn, and, in the year 1210, Ranulph, earl of Chester, rebuilt the fortress of Tyganwy upon the seashore eastward of the river Conwy, and strengthened that at Treffynon (Holywell); but the works were scarcely finished when Llewelyn again rushed forth to

1 Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1209.
2 Ibid. A.D. 1210; Annales Cambrie; Brut y Tywysogion; Powel's Historic of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.
overthrow them, devastating and plundering in his
course the lands they were erected to protect.

§ 5. A.D. 1211. Meanwhile, the displeasure which
King John had long cherished against Prince Llewelyn
increased more and more; and, urged by the ceaseless
complaints of the Earl of Chester and the other Lords
Marchers, who suffered from the reprisals, incursions,
and acquisitions of the Cymric sovereign, the English
monarch assembled a large army at Whitchurch,¹ to
which he joined the forces of all those Welsh princes
and nobles who held their lands directly of him, with-
out the intervention of the sovereign of Gwynedd.
Madog ab Gruffydd, prince of Powys Isaf, Gwenwyn-
wyn, prince of Powys Uchaf, Maelgwyn and Rhys
Fychan ab Rhys, princes of Deheubarth, and many
other distinguished and powerful men, appeared among
these native auxiliaries. King John declared his inten-
tion of exterminating the people of Gwynedd, and
marched with his host from Chester along the sea coast
to Rhuddlan; then crossing the river Clwyd, he halted
awhile at the castle of Tyganwy.

Llewelyn had prepared for this emergency by re-
moving the inhabitants of the exposed country with
all their goods and cattle to Eryri, and the invading
host having reached Tyganwy, he posted his forces so
skilfully as to cut off all communication with England.
Not a particle of food therefore could be sent into the
English camp, nor a skirmisher or forager straggle from
it without encountering the swords, lances, and arrows
of dauntless foes, well acquainted with every step of the
difficult and dangerous ground. The invaders being
thus reduced to extreme want, constrained to eat
their horses, and dying of famine in great numbers,

¹ Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1211.
King John at length yielded to circumstances and made a humiliating retreat. Nevertheless, in the month of July in the same year, he re-assembled his allies, and with an army as numerous as before entered Wales by way of Oswaldistre, that town being then under the rule of John Fitz Alan. Crossing the Berwyn range of mountains, and marching through the country by the aid of native guides, King John reached the river Conwy, and encamped upon its banks, while he sent forward a detachment of chosen troops to pillage and burn the town of Bangor. This order was fully executed, and Bishop Rotpert was captured, who afterwards obtained his liberty for a ransom of 200 hawks and a sum of money.

Llewelyn, perceiving himself to be out-generalled as well as out-numbered, sent his wife to intercede for him with her father, and having consequently received hostages for a safe-conduct, he came to the monarch, and, on August 7, made peace with him and did homage for his realm; but King John exacted from him 20,000 head of cattle and forty horses towards paying the expenses of the war, besides the cession of Yperfeddwlad, comprising the cantrefs of Rhyfyniog, Ystrad Rhos, Duffryn Clwyd, and Tegeingl. On the 15th John returned triumphantly to England, having secured the submission of all the Welsh princes excepting Rhys and Owen ab Gruffydd ab Rhys, and he left stringent orders with Fulk de Bréauté, warden of the Marches and viscount of Caerdiff, to assist Maelgwyn and Rhys Fychan in reducing those malcontents to subjection.

Thus commissioned, the viscount and his confederates entered the cantref of Penwedig; but the young princes, eager to avert the destruction involved in their uncle’s mastery, immediately applied for a safe-
conduct, and obtaining it, promptly presented themselves before King John, resigned to him their lands lying between the rivers Aeron and Dyfi, did homage for the scanty territories which they retained, and accepted compensatory pensions to eke out their reduced means of maintenance.

Maelgwn no sooner found that his nephews Rhys and Owen ab Gruffydd had purchased the protection of King John, than he revolted and burned the castle of Aberystwyth together with the viscount's garrison. This served as a signal to Rhys and Owen for a series of predatory expeditions into Maelgwn's territories; while, in Morganwg, Cadwallawn, the district sovereign, arose also in rebellion, and committed various ravages upon obnoxious neighbours. King John, infuriated by these outrages, caused the hostages of Maelgwn and those of Cadwallawn to be mutilated, and the son of Maelgwn consequently died. The news of the monarch's barbarous cruelty towards those innocent youths provoked a fresh outburst of Cymric indignation, and a devastating war again broke out along the whole extent of the border lands.

§ 6. The disregard of solemn oaths, which forms so prominent and so frightful a feature in the character of the Middle Ages, indicates the low state of political and personal morality naturally resulting from that shrouded, debased, and corrupt form of religion, which, forgetting the great truths and the spiritual objects of real Christianity, holds a priesthood and its president in superstitious reverence as a mediatorial and dispensing power; that priesthood and that president being practically and generally a visible example of time-serving worldliness.

1 Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1211.
In the year 1212, Pope Innocent absolved from all fealty and allegiance to the King of England, the princes and nobles, and all other persons high and low, who had sworn to be that monarch's faithful vassals, and he added a threat of excommunication against all who either associated or held any sort of converse with him.

Encouraged by this interdict, Llewelyn summoned Gwenwynwyn, prince of Powys Uchaf, Gruffydd Maelor, prince of Powys Isaf, and Maredudd ab Ropert, ruler of Cydewin, and eloquently stating the wrongs and miseries inflicted upon them by foreign domination, and the happiness which would attend deliverance from it, and their unanimous return to the native mode of government, he succeeded in arousing the patriot passion in their breasts, and received their oaths of submission and fidelity to himself as provincial king of Gwynedd and Brenhin Cymru Oll. In accordance with this resolution, the martial strength of Gwynedd and Powys was mustered immediately for the common cause, and Llewelyn speedily won from the invaders every Norman castle in North Wales, excepting only Rhuddlan and Tyganwy, enriching the victors with abundant spoils, but slaughtering the garrisons with retaliative cruelty; then marching into Powys Uchaf, the army laid siege to the castle of Mathrafal, which Robert Vipont had lately fortified.

King John, enraged at the news of this formidable insurrection, levied an army with the avowed intention of exterminating the Welsh nation, and, on arriving at Nottingham, before he either ate or drank, he ordered the twenty-eight royal Welsh children, whom he held as hostages, to be hung on gibbets, in revenge

1 Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1212; Florence of Worcester, 2nd continuation.
for their fathers' breach of faith towards him. Letters from the Queen of Gwynedd, his daughter, and from the King of Scotland reached him on the same day, warning him that, if he persisted in this war, he would either be treacherously slain by his own nobles, or delivered by them into the hands of his enemies. Dismayed at this information, he shut himself up for a fortnight in Nottingham Castle, and then, recovering from his terror, marched onward with his army to Chester, where, alarmed by renewed warnings, he disbanded his forces. His advance, however, had caused the Welsh princes to raise the siege of Mathrafal.

A special and direct communication from the Pope to the Welsh princes, confirming the release of their tributary oaths, and urging them, under the penalty of his curse, to annoy and trouble King John to the uttermost, appears at this time to have animated their efforts, and to have caused the dispirited subjects of that monarch to yield up to Llewelyn the five cantrefs of Yperfeddwlad and the strong castles of Rhuddlan and Tyganwy.

On May 13, 1213, King John submitted himself to the Papal Legate, and was restored to the favour of the Pope, who vainly expected that the warfare which he had stirred up for the furtherance of his own ambitious designs would instantly cease at his bidding.

In the course of the same year, Rhys ab Gruffydd ab Rhys appealed to King John against the injustice of his uncles, Maelgwn and Rhys Fychan, who had deprived him and Owen his brother of their inheritance.

1 Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1212; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Waverley Annals, quoted by Woodward in his History of Wales, part ii. p. 354, A.D. 1212.
2 Roger of Wendover; Rymer's Foedera, ed. 1707, t. i. p. 170.
King John sent orders to Fulk, viscount of Cardiff and warden of the Marches, to render military aid to the young princes, which was so effectually done, that Rhys Fychan, being captured and sent to England, his nephews obtained possession of the cantref Mawr.

§ 7. A. D. 1214. The English barons being in arms against King John, entered into a confederacy with Llewelyn to defy at once the tyranny of the monarch and that of the Pope. In the following year, the King of Gwynedd and his tributaries seized upon the town of Shrewsbury, and, proceeding into South Wales, successively took and destroyed the castles of Caerfyrddin, Llanstephan, St. Clair, and Talacharn. In the same career of conquest he possessed himself of the castles of Emlyn, Cemaes, Trefdraeth, Aberteifi, and Cilgerran, and returned triumphantly to his home.

In the same year (A.D. 1215), the King of Gwynedd revisited South Wales as paramount sovereign, and settled by arbitration the territorial disputes of the native princes of that province. On the way back again he was surprised by the news that Gwenwynwyn had broken the national league, and renewed his oaths of allegiance to King John. Llewelyn promptly sent some friendly ecclesiastics to remonstrate with the Prince of Powys Uchaf, but their intervention proving fruitless, the indignant King of Cymru Oll led an army into Gwenwynwyn's territory, and ravaged it with fire and sword, while the recreant fled for refuge to Ralph, earl of Chester, and not long afterwards died.

A few years before, Matilda de Breos and her eldest son William had been famished to death in Windsor Castle, and the flagitious William de Breos, her hus-

1 Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1214; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1215; Powel's Historie of Cambria.
band, had died an exile in France. The surviving sons, Giles, bishop of Hereford, and Reginald, had secured for themselves out of their father's possessions Brycheiniog, with Aberhonddu, Hay, Buallt, and Blaenllynfi, besides Abergavenny, Grosmont, and the Isle of Cynwric; but, to strengthen their position, they permitted Payne's Castle and Colunwy, with the district of Elfel, to continue in the hands of Walter Fychan ab Eineon Clyd, the native ruler.

On the death of Giles de Breos, bishop of Hereford, November 17, 1215, Reginald his brother inherited the greater part of the Welsh acquisitions of the family, and Llewelyn, king of Gwynedd, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, intending thus to secure the adherence of a powerful subordinate. About this time, also, Llewelyn raised Iorwerth, otherwise called Gervase, and Cadwgan, two Cymric abbots, to the respective sees of St. David's and Bangor.

A.D. 1216. King John, being a fugitive from the host of Louis, the Dauphin of France, and arriving in the Marches of Wales, sent from Hereford to solicit the friendly aid of Reginald de Breos and of Llewelyn. They refused to listen to his repeated overtures, and in revenge he destroyed upon his march the castles of Hay and Radnor, and burned the town of Oswestry, passing thence to England.

This vacillating yet ferocious man died¹ at Newark, October 19, 1216, and was succeeded upon the tottering throne of England by his son Henry III., a child ten years of age.

At this time the Baron Reginald de Breos gave in

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¹ Roger of Wendover; Nicolas, Chronology of History.
² Annales Cambria; Brut y Tywysogion; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.
his adherence to the regency of England. His sister's sons, Rhys and Owen ab Gruffydd, immediately took arms and wrested from his possession the whole cantref of Buallt, with the sole exception of the castle, which his vassals stoutly defended.

Llewelyn no sooner became aware of Reginald's defection than he marched with an army into Brycheiniog, and laid siege to Aberhonddu. The intercession of Prince Rhys ab Gruffydd, however, induced the angry King of Gwynedd to accept five hostages and a fine of 100 marks from the burgesses, and to spare the town. Llewelyn crossed the mountain range and arrived in Gwyr with the loss of much baggage; and, while he lay encamped at Llangrug, Reginald de Breos, accompanied by six knights, came to him peaceably and asked forgiveness for his late breach of faith. Llewelyn gently and freely granted it, and, as a proof of renewed favour and undiminished confidence, gave him the castle of Sengennydd, which his son-in-law consigned forthwith to the care of Rhys Fychan.

Llewelyn passed on in martial array to Cefn Cynwarchan, whither the Flemings sent emissaries to meet him with proposals of peace. This he refused to grant, and Prince Rhys ab Gruffydd, whose forces were acting in concert with those of the King of Gwynedd, was the first man who crossed the river Cleddau to lead the attack; but Iorwerth, the native bishop of St. David's, at the head of all his clergy, solemnly interposed, and at length prevailed upon Llewelyn to accept the unconditional surrender of the colonists to his regal authority, upon the delivery of twenty hostages as security for the payment of 1,000 marks to defray the expenses of his expedition. Llewelyn then returned

1 Afterwards called Caerphilly.
home as the acknowledged Brenhin Cymru Oll; but he did not long maintain that title, and throughout the correspondence which took place concerning Welsh affairs during the reign of Henry III., he is uniformly styled either prince of North Wales, or prince of Aberffraw and lord of Snowdon.

§ 8. The revolted barons having submitted themselves to William, earl of Pembroke, the grand marshal and regent of England, included in their treaty of reconciliation the kings of Scotland and Gwynedd, upon condition that they should restore to the English crown all places which they had acquired during the war. This article directly contravened the arrangements which had existed between Llewelyn and the barons; but their promises made in a time of need were readily sacrificed to expediency, and they added their forces to those of the regent with the intention of crushing down once more the elastic springs of Cymric independence.

The regent opened the campaign by seizing upon Caerleon, and Rhys Fychan, foreseeing the impossibility of making an effectual defence, immediately razed the castle of Sengennydd to the ground, together with all the other castles of the country which had been confided to his custody; and expelling all the Norman and English colonists, he divided the lands between a stalwart set of his own countrymen, whose posterity are said still to possess them now in the nineteenth century.

On March 11, 1218,1 under a guarantee of safe-conduct, Llewelyn attended at Worcester and swore, upon certain relics, to restore the castles and lands in South Wales which had formerly belonged to King

John, and to do his best to bring all the Welsh rulers to pay their homage to King Henry. These and other stipulations were embodied in a deed which Llewelyn signed and sealed; and another deed, executed at the same time, declared that he had received from Gualo de St. Martin, the papal legate, the lands of the late Gwenwynwyn, prince of Powys Uchaf, in trust until the heirs should come of age, on condition of making meanwhile a competent provision for them and for the widow.

At the close of Easter in the same year, Llewelyn went to Gloucester, received absolution from the papal legate, formally accepted the terms of the obnoxious treaty which the barons had made, took the oath of fealty to King Henry, and did homage for Gwynedd.

By a subsequent deed, the humiliated sovereign accepted the office of bailiff of the castles of Caerfyrddin and Caerdigan, and engaged to hold a law court in that capacity at those castles respectively, and to administer English law to the English, and Welsh law to the Welsh population of those districts; while Maelgwn ab Rhys, Rhys ab Gruffydd, and Maredudd ab Ropert swore to see that all these promises were duly performed.

In these arrangements some respect was evidently paid to the King of Gwynedd's pride of suzerainty, for he was permitted to act as an intermediate power between the supreme monarch of Britain and the sovereign princes of Deheubarth and Powys.

In October, 1218, Llewelyn was put in possession of the town of Budiford, in the county of Warwick, as a part of the dowry of Joan his wife. The friendly feelings which subsisted between this princess and her half-brother King Henry, and her frequent visits to the

1 Rymer's Foedera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 227.
English court, caused a favourable construction to be put sometimes upon the daring actions of her husband, and procured for him a leniency of judgment and a degree of practical forbearance which could scarcely have been otherwise obtained from a Plantagenet, although she so far succeeded in restraining the fierce temper of Llewelyn that he generally abstained, even while indulging his wrath against the Lords Marchers, from an avowed defiance of the King of England's supremacy.

In March, 1219, death relaxed the vigorous hand of the Regent and Grand Marshal William, earl of Pembroke, and the direction of English affairs devolved upon Hubert de Burgh and Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester. The second William Marshal manifested a will as inflexible as his father's in defence of his Welsh territories; and disagreements soon occurred between him with the other Lords Marchers on his side and the native princes, although, within the same year, Rhys Fychan had married a daughter of the Earl of Clare, and John de Breos, a nephew of Reginald, had married Marred, a daughter of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, thus attempting to strengthen by affinity the ties of amity.

On May 1, 1220, Llewelyn and his son Dafydd, under the safe-conduct of Fulk de Bréauté, met the King of England at Shrewsbury. The chief objects sought by that monarch's advisers in this interview appear to have been the King of Gwynedd's resignation of Maeleinydd to Henry of Aldithel, and his renewed

1 Roger of Wendover.
2 Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III., edited by Dr. Shirley for the Record Com., vol. i. No. 95, p. 113; Rymer's Foeder, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 239.
promise to observe a truce with the Earl of Pembroke and the other Lords Marchers until after the feast of St. Michael.

In July, Rhys Fychan was peremptorily charged to give up to Llewelyn, on King Henry’s behalf, all the castles and lands which he had acquired during the last war, and also to hold himself in readiness to do homage whenever he might be summoned. This prince, long known as Rhys Fychan (the Younger), had now a grown up son to whom the designation Fychan more properly belonged, and consequently a personal peculiarity of voice is made from about this period a descriptive appellation of the ambitious, turbulent, and valiant son of Prince Rhys, the lord justiciary of King Henry II., and he is commonly called Rhys Gryg (the Hoarse). Llewelyn had long complained to the king of injuries done to him by the settlers in Penbroch, and in August, 1220, he marched with an army into that district and exacted his own terms from the offenders.

Buallt Castle, which belonged to Reginald de Breos, was besieged by the local chieftains, and Llewelyn with his forces had joined the assailants about September 8, when King Henry complied with the Lord Marcher’s earnest entreaty, and led an army to raise the siege. This being done, the English monarch proceeded to make a marauding progress through Powys, until arriving at Montgomery a site was pointed out to him by his advisers as impregnable, and he gave orders that a castle should immediately be built there. Leaving only sufficient men to protect the works he

1 Resus Parvus.
2 Rymer’s Foedera, ed. 1704, t.i. p. 249, 250.
3 Roger of Wendover.
then returned home, and allowed his nobles and their vassals to depart on payment of two silver marks for each shield.

§ 9. Gruffydd, the son of Llewelyn's first marriage, having grown up to manhood, his father assigned to him Rhos in Gwynedd, his maternal heritage; together with the districts of Tegeingl, Rhyfoniog, and Dyffryn Clwyd, that his valour and military skill might defend them alike from open attacks and insidious encroachments.

Not content, however, with the provision thus made for him, the young prince seized upon Meirionydd, and persisted in holding it in defiance of paternal authority. Llewelyn marched thither with his forces, and found that Gruffydd had already taken the field and stood prepared to maintain his claim. A battle commenced, but, before any advantage had been gained on either side, the heart of the rebellious son relented, and he craved mercy and forgiveness. Llewelyn granted both, but exacted absolute submission.

Rhys ab Gruffydd, hereditary sovereign of Deheubarth, had anxiously desired to regain the possession of Aberteifi Castle, and Llewelyn had promised to gratify that wish; but, still delaying its fulfilment, he wore out the patience of Rhys, who became so entirely alienated that, about this period, he openly attached himself to William, earl of Pembroke. Llewelyn no sooner heard of this defection than he seized upon Aberystwyth Castle with the adjacent territory. Rhys promptly appealed in person to the King of England against this flagrant wrong, and the monarch summoned Llewelyn to appear before him at Shrewsbury in June,

1 Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1221; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.
and there effected a reconciliation on condition that Llewelyn should make compensation to Rhys for withholding Aberteifi, as he had already done to Maelgwn for Caerfyrddin.

In the course of the following winter, John de Breos, who had married one of Llewelyn's daughters, obtained his father-in-law's permission to fortify the castle of Senghenydd.

In 1222, Rhys ab Gruffydd, the hereditary sovereign of Deheubarth. He was buried with his forefathers at Ystrad Flûr, and deeply mourned by his countrymen. Llewelyn, still acting by sufferance or permission as Brenhin Cymru Oll, divided the possessions of Rhys between Owen the brother and Maelgwn, a paternal uncle of the deceased prince.

In the June of the same year, royal commissioners took possession of the Welsh castles of Reginald de Breos on behalf of King Henry, with the obvious intention of saving them from the attack of the native princes.

§ 10. In March 1223, Llewelyn besieged and took the castles of Kinardsley and Whittington; but his operations were checked, and he was constrained to abandon those fortresses by the advance of King Henry to Shrewsbury. It may be inferred from subsequent circumstances, that the king dismissed Llewelyn from the office of keeping the castles of Caerfyrddin and Aberteifi, and commended them to the custody of the earl marshal, for the seizure of those castles by the Flemish colonists, who were the retainers of that nobleman, appears to have provoked that fierce southern foray of the following month, in which Llewelyn took both those castles and beheaded the garrisons, razed

1 Annales Cambriae, A.D. 1220.  2 Roger of Wendover.
the castle of Gwys, burned the town of Haverford to its castle gates, devastated Rhos and Daucleddau with fire and sword, and granted exemption from injury to the townsmen of Penbroch at the price of 200 marks.

He had scarcely reached home for the Easter holidays, when the Earl of Pembroke,\(^1\) hastily returning from Ireland, entered upon a series of savage retaliations, retaking the castles, slaughtering not only Llewelyn's garrisons but all the Welshmen whom he captured, and carrying fire and sword on his march through the territories which that prince had previously acquired in South Wales.

The indignant King of Gwynedd mustered all his forces, which marched southward to check the progress of the destroyer. A pitched battle was fought at Caerfyrddin. According to Roger\(^2\) of Wendover, it ended in the defeat of the Welsh, and their loss by death or capture of 9,000 men: according to the Cymraeg chronicles, the conflict was prolonged until the darkness of night parted the combatants, when both armies withdrew and encamped upon opposite sides of the river Towy, continuing there until, after the lapse of several days, provisions failed, and the Cymric army retreated to the north, while the earl led his forces to Cilgerran, and began to build a new castle there.

In the month of September\(^3\) Llewelyn, at the head of an army, again attempted the capture of Buallt Castle, and was again constrained to raise the siege by the advance of the English monarch and his host. King Henry proceeded to Montgomery and pressed forward

\(^1\) Annales Cambriae, A.D. 1221; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1223; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

\(^2\) A.D. 1223.

\(^3\) Rymer's Feodera, ed. 1704, pp. 261, 262.
the works of his new castle there with so much vigour, that Llewelyn found himself unable to avoid submission, and therefore promised in writing, and bound himself by an oath, to make compensation for all the injuries which he had inflicted upon the English from the capture of Kinardsley Castle to October 8, on which day he received absolution from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Maredudd ab Rotpert, Rotpert ab Madog, Maelgwn ab Rhys, Rhys Gryg, Madog ab Gruffydd Maelor, and Elis ab Madog were sureties for the King of Gwynedd upon this occasion, and the time fixed for restitution was February 3, 1224. In the course of that year the fortifications at Montgomery were completed, but the consent of King Henry was given to repeated postponements of Llewelyn's promised acts of restitution, and the monarch strictly enjoined the observation of peace between his choleric brother in-law and the Earl of Pembroke. About the end of July, Llewelyn, having been rebuked by Henry for harbouring Fulke de Bréauté, an exiled baron, haughtily replied, 'He did not stay one whole day with me; and, if he had done so, I have a right to receive your outlaws, for I am as independent as the King of Scots.'

In order to exercise over the Welsh princes and people the controlling influence of superstitious fear, the English Government had obtained from Pope Honorius III. a letter, dated October 5, 1223, addressed to the Archbishop of York and his suffragans, ordering them to place an interdict upon the lands of Llewelyn; and

1 Woodward's History of Wales, part ii. pp. 368, 369.
2 Rymer's Foedera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 267.
3 Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III., Record Com., edited by Dr. Shirley, vol. i. No. 201, p. 229.
probably the submission of Llewelyn at that time averted the evil. Nevertheless, the same Pope issued a bull of excommunication against Llewelyn, and laid all Wales under an interdict, 1 October 5, 1225, ostensibly as a punishment for his wars against the King of England and the Earl of Pembroke.

A.D. 1228. Hubert de Burgh, the chief justiciary of England, held the new castle at Montgomery, and maintained a strong garrison there; but the wild forest, which extended fifteen miles around it, afforded lurking-places to the Cymry, who lost no opportunity of assailing the interlopers whenever they risked themselves slightly armed, or in small parties, beyond the impregnable walls.

The castellan determined, therefore, to cut down so many of the trees as to form a wide glade for the safe passage of comers and goers; and, in fulfilment of this design, the month of August saw the knights and men-at-arms come forth in the pride of their power to share, to direct, and overlook the labours of the enslaved natives of the district. The chieftains of the neighbourhood, who watched these proceedings, soon issued from their ambush, attacked the English, and, after some bloodshed on both sides, drove them back into the castle, opened a trench, and straitly besieged it. The garrison, however, sent tidings of their distress to Earl Hubert, who promptly brought King Henry and his army to their relief. The Cymry then raised the siege, and large reinforcements arriving from England, the monarch employed his troops in the tedioust and difficult work of felling, stocking, burning, destroying, and extirpating the thick and tangled forest of the place.

1 Rymer's Foedera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 282-283.
2 Roger of Wendover.
In accomplishing this task, the king and his army passed into the vale of Ceri, where a monastery of White Monks, which had been invested by the forest, was reputed to be used by the Cymry as a place of deposit for the spoils of war. Henry, therefore, ordered that the sacred edifice, together with the adjacent buildings and their contents, should be reduced to ashes. This having been done, Earl Hubert suggested that the site would render a castle impregnable, and King Henry gave directions that one should be built there. The army, therefore, was encamped around the spot and the soldiers were immediately employed in the execution of this project.

Meanwhile Llewelyn with his forces hovered about, watching every movement of the invaders, cutting off their foraging parties, intercepting their convoys, and skirmishing advantageously against unwary detachments. William, eldest son and heir of the deceased Lord Marcher Reginald de Breos, was made prisoner in one of these engagements, although large divisions of the rival armies had taken the field in aid of their respective skirmishers.

The stately height of the castle walls proved to be the only successful result of three months’ residence at Ceri. Many of the English soldiers had fallen by the weapons of the Cymry, famine was daily destroying many more, and King Henry had reason to believe that several of his attendant nobles held disloyal communication with his Cymric foes. He was consequently reduced to the humiliating alternative of utter ruin, or the acceptance of peace from Llewelyn. That sovereign courteously visited the troubled monarch and...
agreed to pay him a sum of money for the materials of the castle of Ceri, on condition that the structure should be pulled down and razed to the earth at the cost of the builder. This having been done, the King of England and his diminished host returned home bootless, baffled, and ashamed.

Under the date of March 15, 1229, a letter is extant from Henry III., ordering the Vice-count of Lancaster to send twelve of the Banaster Welshmen to show why they claim immunity from taillage. This evidently indicates the continued existence of a Cymric community in that county.

William de Breos, whose high birth, handsome person, and chivalrous accomplishments rendered him conspicuous, was left a prisoner in Llewelyn's hands, and subsequently ransomed for 3,000 marks; the price which the King of England had hoped to receive in money from the King of Gwynedd. In May 1230, this nobleman had put himself a second time into Llewelyn's power when he was found secreted in the apartment of Llewelyn's wife; and that sovereign, acting under the advice of his council, punished the stately lord marcher with a felon's death, causing him in open day to be hung upon a tree, in the presence of 800 spectators. Within the same year, Maelgwn ab Rhys passed away from the scene of his turbulent ambition, and left his lands to his son Maelgwn Fychan. Not long afterwards, Dafydd ab Llewelyn married

1 Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. vol. i. No. 286, p. 349.
2 Ibid. No. 303, p. 365, and No. 306, p. 369; Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1230; Annales Cambriae, A.D. 1227; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1230.
3 Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. vol. i. No. 305, p. 368, and No. 306, p. 369; Rymer's Federa, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 311.
Isabella de Breos, and received as her dowry the cantref of Buallt. The King of England allowed an annual stipend to this young prince in the hope of attaching him to his person and government.

The death of the second William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, in April 1231, encouraged the native princes again to take arms. They had overrun and devastated the territories of De Breos, when the approach of King Henry caused the dispersion of the insurgents; but, after the monarch's withdrawal, Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, the chief justiciary of England, having received especial charge of the possessions of the young Earl of Gloucester, remained with a strong force within his western territories, ready to protect the Marches. Henry's departure was the signal to the Welsh for the renewal of their predatory warfare. They ravaged in all directions the lands of their oppressors, and so greatly provoked the garrison of Montgomery Castle, that the English knights sallied forth, slew and captured great numbers of the natives, and delivered up the prisoners to the lord justiciary. He immediately ordered the heads of all those prisoners to be struck off, and to be sent as an acceptable present to his royal master.

This heinous deed revived the avenging and reckless wrath of Llewelyn, and set him in his own false opinion free from the restraint of all former oaths of fealty. He rushed forth with his military followers like a destroying thunder-storm and flood upon the Marches, and Earl Hubert fled before him, while with indiscriminating fury he slaughtered and burned up all that lay in his way, castles and garrisons, churches and

1 Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1231—.
eclesiastics, with the women and children who sought refuge in the sanctuaries.

The fortresses of Maesyfed, Brycheiniog, Rhayadar Gwy, Caerleon, Nêdd, and Cydweli were reduced to ashes, but strong resistance was offered at Caerleon by Morgan ab Howel, the native prince, who was confederate with the English. The castle of Aberhonddu and some other castles proved too strong for him, but towns and districts around them were consumed and devastated.

Terrified at the news of this fearful vengeance, King Henry, not content with assembling a large army at Oxford in the month of July, held a convocation there of all the nobles, clergy, and people of the realm, and caused the bishops and other prelates of the church, in his presence, publicly to denounce the sacrilegious deeds of the insurgents, and to excommunicate Llewelyn and his adherents. Reassured by this ceremony, the monarch led his army to Hereford, sending forward a strong detachment to reinforce the garrison of Montgomery Castle, which was at that time beleaguered by Llewelyn, who lay encamped with his men among the morasses of the river Hafren and its tributaries. The Welsh sovereign was a liberal benefactor to the Cistercian abbey of Llanilltyd (Cwmhir), and is said to have employed one of its monks in conveying false information to the governor and knights of Montgomery Castle, who being thus misled were induced to attack and to pursue a party of retreating troops, until plunging into a swamp the fugitives turned upon them, and made so great a slaughter that few of the English were able to regain the shelter of their fortress. King Henry

1 Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. vol. i. No. 328, p. 400; Annales Cambriae, a.d. 1231.
punished the treachery of the monk by plundering the monastery and burning its grange; but the abbot, at the price of 300 marks, succeeded in rescuing the abbey from destruction.

Military architecture constituted the usual occupation of the early Plantagenet kings when they marched into Wales, and Henry, now finding no other employment for his men, caused them to labour for three months in restoring and strengthening the castle of Matilda in Elfel. Leaving a good garrison there, he returned to England in the month of October, Llewelyn agreeing to a truce upon terms advantageous to both parties.

While these events were passing, Maelgwn ab Maelgwn occupied himself in besieging the castle of Aberteifi. He burned the adjacent town and slew the inhabitants, but the fortress offered a successful resistance until Owen ab Gruffyd ab Rhys, with his martial followers and some of the Prince of Aberfraw's troops, came to his assistance, and by means of engines and mines reduced it to ruin.

Notwithstanding the truce, the Cymry were again engaged in active hostilities against the Lords Marchers during the month of February, 1232. Soon after Whitsuntide in that year, Llewelyn, in retaliation of injuries received, made a fierce irruption into the Welsh lands of the Lords Marchers, and returned home laden with spoils. King Henry used this incident as a pretext for levying an exorbitant subsidy in England to enable him to chastise the Welsh. Giving himself up to the influence of Peter, bishop of Winchester, at this period, he deprived the Earl of Kent of the office of chief

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1 Otherwise called Payne's Castle.
2 Rymer's Foederæ, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 319, 320, 321.
3 Roger of Wendover.
justiciary, and appointed Stephen de Segrave as his successor. Among the charges made against the fallen favourite was one which strongly marks the superstition of the age and the terror struck into the hearts of King Henry and his barons by the martial prowess of the King of Gwynedd, for it accused Earl Hubert of having furtively taken from the monarch's treasury a certain jewel possessing the virtue of rendering its wearer invincible in battle, and of traitorously sending that jewel to Llewelyn.

A.D. 1232. Negotiations\(^1\) were soon afterwards opened between Henry and Llewelyn, and, toward the close of July, they met at Shrewsbury, where commissioners, appointed to examine the causes of dissension, prolonged their work after the kings had met and parted; but early in the following December suggested an amicable arrangement, involving restitution and reparation on both sides, and especially providing that Isabella de Breos should be put into possession of a portion of her deceased father's lands, on condition that Dafydd ab Llewelyn, her husband, performed feudal service for it to King Henry.

A.D. 1233.\(^2\) King Henry, under the evil guidance of Peter, bishop of Winchester, had now made some progress in a course of extortion, cruelty, and oppressive injustice towards his English nobles; and Richard, earl of Pembroke, the earl marshal, having come up to London to attend a conference royally convoked, was warned by his sister (the widow of De Clare, earl of Gloucester, and wife of Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother) of Henry's rapacious intentions, and of the enmity of the favourite counsellors. He consequently took horse at

\(^1\) Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 325, 327, 328, 329.
\(^2\) Roger of Wendover.
once, August 1, 1233, and never drew the rein until he reached Welsh ground. On October 30 he was joined there by the Earl of Kent, recently escaped from prison and from imminent danger of death; and other English noblemen soon followed them. These injured and proscribed peers entered into a confederacy with Llewelyn, and with the Princes of South Wales, all binding themselves by solemn oaths not to make any separate peace with King Henry.\footnote{Annales Cambriae, a.d. 1233; Brut y Tywysogion, a.d. 1233.}

Richard the earl marshal and Owen ab Gruffydd ab Rhys marched with their united forces to St. David’s, where they slew all King Henry’s people and obtained rich spoils. The bishop of that see, Anselm le Gros, had provoked this attack by his active co-operation with the Bishop of Winchester. Being joined by Maelgwn ab Maelgwn and Rhys Gryg, the Earl Marshal proceeded to seize by force of arms upon the castles of Caerdiff, Abergavenny, Pengelly, and Bwlch y Dinas, razing them all excepting Caerdiff to the ground.

Llewelyn at this period was again employed in ravaging Brycheiniog and destroying the castles of that district. After a month’s siege he failed to take the castle of Aberhonndu, but he burned and pillaged the adjacent town; and, on his homeward march, he burned the town of Clun, recalled the inhabitants of Duffryn Tyfeidiat to their allegiance, overthrew Castell Coch in Powys, burned the town of Oswestry, and satiated himself with blood and plunder.

King Henry, alarmed at the consequences of his own misdeeds, assembled a large army at Gloucester, composed almost wholly of foreign mercenaries, and marched to Hereford; which Roger of Wendover, like all other persons of his time, considered to be a part
of Wales. That city belonged to the Earl Marshal, by whose orders all supplies of cattle and other provisions had been withdrawn; and the King in consequence found it expedient to turn aside to Grosmont, where he lodged within the castle, while his army encamped around the walls. Remaining thus for a few days, the king and his host were unconscious that the proscribed nobles and the Welsh princes had cautiously advanced into the neighbourhood.

Nov. 11, 1233. The Earl Marshal refused to take part in any direct attack upon the monarch; but the other English nobles with their Welsh confederates, upon the dusky night of Martinmas Day, poured their troops into the quiet camp, surprised their sleeping enemies but spared their lives, and neither attempting to inflict wounds nor to make prisoners, contented themselves with carrying off all the clothes, arms, and equipments, together with several hundred horses, and all the waggons and carts laden with provisions and military stores. The invaders being thus left destitute and almost naked, the Earl of Norfolk, the Earl of Salisbury, William Beauchamp, William Daubeney the Younger, and all those who possessed English homes, forthwith deserted and fled; while King Henry appointed Poictevin freebooters to supersede the garrisons which still held out for him in Wales, restored the castle of Matilda to Ralph de Thoeny, and committed to that nobleman, conjointly with John of Monmouth, the command of his forces. Having made these arrangements, the baffled King of England returned to Gloucester.

Baldwin de Guisnes had charge of the castle of Monmouth, and when the Earl Marshal, attended only by a hundred knights, turned aside one day from the allied forces on the march and reconnoitred that fortress,
the lively Poictevin immediately summoned a thousand of his men, sallied forth with them fully equipped upon the astonished earl, and attacked his little band with great impetuosity, attempting to make them prisoners. Earl Richard prolonged the fight by performing extraordinary acts of valour, and he was at length relieved from the perilous contest by the approach of the allied forces. This incident provoked the deadly hatred of the confederates against all the Poictevin garrisons, and whenever they fell in with the royal foraging parties they attacked and slaughtered them without mercy until the atmosphere of the country became tainted by foreign corpses.

At a conference held at Margam Abbey between Agnell, a brother of the Minorite order, on behalf of King Henry and the Earl Marshal, the latter justifying himself from charges of disloyalty and rebellion, and confederacy with the king's enemies, emphatically answered: 'As¹ regards the French, this is clearly false. The statement as regards the Scotch and Welsh is also false: except as regards the King of Scotland and Llewelyn the Welsh prince, they were not enemies but faithful lieges of his, until by injuries inflicted on them by the king and his counsellors, they were unwillingly obliged, like myself, to withdraw from their allegiance to him; and it is for this purpose that I have formed an alliance with these princes, namely, that we can better when united, than divided, contend for and defend those rights of which we have been unjustly deprived, and in a great measure robbed.'

This conference took place on the Thursday before Christmas, and it ended in the earl's declining to enter

¹ Roger of Wendover, Giles's translation, Bohn's ed. 1849, vol. i. p. 579.
into any arrangement without the concurrence of his allies.

The next notable enterprise of the confederates was the siege of Caerfyrddin Castle, which together with the town was manfully defended, until, at the end of three months, the King of England's ships threw in supplies of all necessary things, and the siege was consequently raised.

Rhys Gryg died soon afterwards at Llandeilo Fawr, and was buried by his father's side at St. David's.

The winter set in with intense rigour, nevertheless John of Monmouth, warden of the Marches, mustered a large army, intending to surprise the earl marshal; but he, being informed of this manœuvre, placed his troops in a wood, through which lay his adversary's line of march. Unaware of this ambuscade, and intent upon effecting his own purpose, a sudden clang of trumpets and horns struck the warden and his men with panic, and they fled, while the earl and his army pursued them closely, made many prisoners, and slew great numbers of the fugitives. Following up this advantage, the earl burned the homesteads and villages belonging to John of Monmouth, pillaged and plundered the whole district, and returned home laden with booty, and driving off large herds of cattle.

In the week after the Epiphany of the year 1234, Llewelyn and the Earl Marshal united their forces and carried fire and sword through the Welsh Marches, destroying all before them in their way to Shrewsbury, and, after burning that town, returning laden with spoils to their respective homes. At the news of this inroad, King Henry, unable to defend the border lands,

1 Annales Cambriæ, a.d. 1233; Brut y Tywysogion, a.d. 1233; Roger of Wendover, a.d. 1234.
withdrew from Gloucester to Winchester, but, by means of his evil counsellors, commotions were soon afterwards stirred up in Ireland, which called for the earl’s presence there to rescue his territories from the grasp of the king’s greedy and treacherous agents.

A change of policy, however, was forced at this time upon Henry, and among the conciliatory measures which formed a part of it, an embassy, consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Chester and Rochester, was sent into Wales, empowered to offer terms of peace to Llewelyn and to the Earl Marshal. The king, being at Woodstock, heard of Earl Richard’s death in Ireland, and hastened eagerly to Gloucester to meet the returning ambassadors, who reported that the Prince of Aberfraw would agree to a peace provided the exiled and proscribed English nobles with whom he was allied should at once be restored to the monarch’s favour.

The King of England accordingly issued letters summoning those nobles to meet him in council at Gloucester, on the Sunday before Ascension Day (May 27), there and then to receive a full pardon, and the restitution of their several estates. The nobles duly attended: Hubert de Burgh, the Bassets, Richard Siward, and their adherents, were formally re-instated in their rights and privileges; Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, did homage as his brother’s heir, and a few days afterwards he received his knightly belt, and the official wand of office as hereditary earl marshal. After these preliminaries, Llewelyn consented to a truce of two years with England.

Two thousand Welshmen who, under English leaders, formed a part of the expedition to Brittany in the following June, were probably raised from the districts of
South Wales, which owned direct subjection to the English Crown.

The year 1235 was a quiet year in Wales, marked only by the death of Owen ab Gruffydd ab Rhys, who was buried by the side of his brother Rhys at Ystrad Flûr.

The following year was likewise quiet, and in it died the wise and good Madog ab Gruffydd Maelor, prince of Lower Powys. He was buried in the abbey of Llanegwest (Vale Crucis), which he had founded, and Gruffydd his son inherited his territories.

It may here be mentioned that, at the coronation of Eleanor, wife of King Henry III., John Fitz Alan, Ralph Mortimer, John de Monmouth, and Walter de Clifford maintained their right, as lords marchers of Wales, to furnish each a silver spear to support the square canopy of purple silk, used at the coronation of the kings and queens of England.

In the spring of the year 1237 died Joan, the wife of Llewelyn. She was buried at Llanfaes, on the seashore of Mona, and her husband built a friars' house over her grave. Within the same year, distressed by the hostile deeds of his son Gruffydd, and forewarned by paralysis of his own approaching death, he convened an assembly of tributary princes and landowners at the abbey of Ystrad Flûr, and caused every one of them to do homage to his son Dafydd as heir to the crown of Gwynedd.

Anxious for that young prince's peaceful succession,

1 Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysigion.
3 Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1237-1238; Brut y Tywysigion, A.D. 1237-1238; Matthew Paris, A.D. 1237; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.
Llewelyn subsequently despatched messengers to King Henry, declaring that old age had rendered him at length unfit for strife and warfare, and willing to renounce such claims as might interrupt the tranquillity of his latter days, and that he would consent to swear fealty, acknowledge the King of England's paramount sovereignty, and bind himself by an indissoluble treaty to aid that monarch to the utmost extent of his power.

The Bishops of Chester and Hereford were accordingly commissioned by Henry to conclude the proposed treaty; but the business was retarded by that king's jealous indignation against the exaction of homage to Dafydd from the subordinate Welsh rulers. Although Llewelyn had repeatedly been constrained, in the course of his long reign, to bow down before the supreme power of England, he had, nevertheless, maintained during many years his paramount sovereignty over the Princes of Powys and of Deheubarth. It was King Henry's object, therefore, to re-establish the assumption of his Plantagenet predecessors, who enforced their claims to paramount rule as well as to supreme sovereignty, and to degrade Llewelyn and his successors to the state of mere provincial kings. He made angry communications to the Lords Marchers on the subject, and wrote letters to Llewelyn of reproof, and to Dafydd of warning, charging the latter to render homage to his English sovereign before he ever again presumed to claim allegiance from subordinate chiefs.

The treaty, being finally agreed to, was ratified on Llewelyn's side by several of the Welsh princes, the rest refused thus to pledge their allegiance to Dafydd, and to compromise their national independence. From

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1 Rymer's Foedera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 379-382.
this date the government of his father's realm passed virtually into Dafydd's hands, and the first acts of that young prince tended to the limitation of Gruffydd's power by forcibly wresting from him all his lands excepting only the cantref of Lleyn, and by exacting his assent to the terms of Llewelyn's treaty.

On April 11, 1240,1 died Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, fondly designated by his countrymen as the Great. He was buried in the abbey of Conwy, and left behind him one son and several daughters by his first wife Tangwstyl, and one son and one daughter by Joan his second wife. His reign of fifty-six years was distinguished by his vigorous and valorous assertion of his own birthright and the privileges of his forefathers, by the successful resistance which he repeatedly offered to English aggression, by his temporary re-establishment of the national supremacy of the King of Gwynedd, and by his acquisition and permanent possession of territories in Deheubarth, which, diminishing the fractured power of the descendants of Rhys ab Gruffydd the Justiciary, tended to its ultimate extinction, and to the concentration of regal functions in the line of Aberfraw.

Llywarch ab Llewelyn the Bard was the panegyrist of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth. His contemporary poets were Eineon ab Gwgan, Dafydd Benfras, and Elidur Sais, Phylip Brydydd, household bard to Rhys Gryg, and several other bards who were attached to other princes of the Cymry.

1 Annales Cambriæ, a. d. 1240; Brut y Tywysogion, a. d. 1240 Powell's Historie of Wales.