

1290 A.D. OR 1307 A.D.?

**WHEN? WHY? AND BY WHOM? WAS A MEDIEVAL CHARTER
GRANTED TO THE TOWNSHIP OF LAUGHARNE, WEST WALES.**

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March 2024

**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for degree of Master of
Arts (Celtic Studies).**

University of Wales, Trinity Saint David.

Master's Degrees by Examination and Dissertation

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Acknowledgements

I gratefully acknowledge the help, support (and patience) of Dr. Jane Cartwright, University of Wales, Trinity Saint David, who has been my continual aid and mentor throughout the three years of this MA degree, as well as my guide through some of the modules.

I would also like to thank Professor David Parsons who has overseen the submission of this dissertation with his helpful advice and perceptive observations. Without his invaluable guidance, the dissertation would not have achieved its final iteration.

Finally, I would like to register my gratitude to the library staff at both the Lampeter and Carmarthen campuses. They have unstintingly and speedily transferred many books between the two to enable me to collect and return significant numbers of books at my convenience, and thereby provided excellent support to a 'distance learning' student.

Summary

Laugharne is a small, west Wales township of 2,700 people situated ten miles south of Carmarthen.¹ It is unusual if not unique, outside of the City of London, for being a medieval chartered borough with an active corporation, who still convene a fortnightly 'Hundred Court' and manage 200 acres of land. This makes it both historically important and of academic interest.

The chartered borough was created by a member of the de Brian family, the Marcher lords of the manor, but the document is undated and unsigned, albeit there is a wax seal and a list of local earls and nobles appended as witnesses.

Therefore, the central question addressed by this dissertation is when, why and by whom was the charter granted? The situation is complicated by the successive use of the first name 'Guy' in the de Brian family throughout thirteenth century, the sparsity of local extant documentation and several candidate dates (1290, 1307, etc.,) for the charter.

The conventional approach to undated charters is to focus on the birth/death dates of witnesses to narrow the possible timeframe for issue. However, this dissertation recognises that Edward I's strategy was predicated upon a secure castle with a protected 'alien' settlement in its shadow and peaceful economic conditions - necessary for a charter to be successful, so the first step was to identify intervals when this opportunity existed.

The second consideration is the overt reference in the Laugharne charter to the Carmarthen equivalent, granted between 1254 and 1257 and which provides useful information with which to connect the Laugharne charter to other historical events, helping to qualify these probable timeframes.

Finally, witnesses' lives were 'overlaid' on putative dates, identifying a grant of the charter between November 1279 and March 1282.

¹ See Map One, Page 48 for location of Laugharne.

INTRODUCTION

“To all the faithful in Christ, to whom this present writing shall come, Gwydo de Brione, the younger, wisheth eternal salvation in the Lord. Let all men know that we have granted to our beloved and faithful burgesses of Thalacarn [Laugharne], for us and for our heirs and for our successors, whoever they may be, all the good laws and customs that the burgesses of Carmarthen have up to now used and enjoyed in the time of King John, the grandfather of the Lord Edward, the son of Henry, and their predecessors, kings of England, preserving the weights and measures that were in the time of Gwydo de Brione, the elder.”

(Opening paragraph of the Laugharne Charter).

Laugharne is a small town in West Wales with a population of around 2,700.² Situated at the mouth of the river Taf. (See Map One). During the thirteenth century it was an important Anglo-Norman stronghold of the de Brian (also spelt Bryan or Brionne) family, who assumed control of the lordship of Laugharne (in Welsh, *Talacharn*) together with the castle and lands. At some point in the second half of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century the de Brian's granted Laugharne a charter, thereby creating a medieval borough, and it is this characteristic which now sets the town apart, because the Laugharne Corporation is possibly the only remaining such body outside of the City of London.

Features of a medieval 'seignorial borough'.

It should be noted that this type of charter creates a 'seignorial borough', which is predicated upon two specific features: the 'application of burgage tenure to all tenements within its borders' and 'the possession of a law court with jurisdiction over all the inhabitants of these tenements'.³ In contrast to a 'royal charter', which was clearly granted by the monarch, seignorial charters applied to mesne towns which were 'under the immediate lordship of some subject, not of the king'.⁴ Both royal and seignorial charters were very common during the late medieval period: Ballard and Tait, in their authoritative consideration of 180 thirteenth century British charters observed that over half related to seignorial boroughs.⁵

In the case of Laugharne, the Corporation today manages approximately 200 acres in the township and there are 500 burgesses from whom two Portreeves are elected every year, one at Michaelmas and one at Easter, to head the Corporation. Therefore, each Portreeve has a

² 'Laugharne Economic Recovery and Growth Plan', p.6.

³ Ballard and Tait, *British Borough Charters, 1216-1307*, p.xlix.

⁴ *Ibid*, p.lxxv.

⁵ *Ibid*.

tenure of six months and oversees a grand jury of burgesses with business mainly conducted at meetings of the ‘Hundred Court’, which is held fortnightly at the town hall. In medieval times, the Portreeve heard all manner of pleas (except the greater felonies which were tried at the shire court).⁶ It is a reflection of this historical importance of the Corporation within the judicial process that, in the modern era, officials of the court still comprise the Clerk or Recorder, a Deputy Recorder, and the Bailiff, together with a Foreman elected from the Grand Jury and the Corporation’s rents are collected by two Common Attorneys, who are also members of the grand jury.⁷

The Laugharne Charter – when, why, and by whom?

It is the practically unique status of the Laugharne Corporation – and the lack of information surrounding the charter itself, which forms the focus of this dissertation, since the date of the town charter is unknown. The original (available at Carmarthen Archives)⁸ is in illuminated Latin script, bears a wax seal, and is witnessed by a group of local lords, knights, and other notables, but is undated.⁹ It should be noted that an undated seignorial charter is not uncommon, with Ballard and Tait’s study frequently quoting a bracket of dates for the issue of thirteenth century charters such as these – a time frame often arrived at only by consideration of the births and deaths of witnesses or other signal events.¹⁰

Locally, the generally accepted view is that the town received its charter in 1290,¹¹ but a contrary perspective holds that 1307 was the actual year.¹² A third suggestion is that the existing version of the undated charter is a re-grant, or confirmation, of an earlier charter, conventionally known as an *inspeximus*. This was common practice in the period under consideration, as many boroughs sought to either confirm previously granted liberties when a new monarch was crowned, or to extend concessions by the addition of new clauses.¹³ Conversely, the royal coffers received a fee for the grant, creating a situation of mutual benefit. The regional capital town of Carmarthen illustrates this well, with the original grant

⁶ E.V. Williams, *Laugharne Corporation*. P.14.

⁷ ‘Laugharne Corporation’ website.

⁸ Carmarthen Archives, Carmarthen library, SA31 1LN. Doc. Ref: GB 211 OBB1/1/7/1/1.

⁹ An English version of the Laugharne charter can be found at ‘Appendix ‘Two’, page 57.

¹⁰ See Ballard and Tait. *British Borough Charters*. Pages xxxvi-xlvii, for examples such as Aberavon (1288-1313), Brecon (1277-82), Chester (1233-37), Tenby (1265-94), Newport, Pembrokeshire (1273-81), etc.

¹¹ ‘Laugharne Corporation’ website.

¹² Williams, *Laugharne Corporation*. pp4, 27.

¹³ Ballard and Tait. *British Borough Charters*, pxvii suggest over 100 such ‘inspeximus’ charters had been issued to the towns discussed in their book.

of a charter said to have been made by Henry II. It was confirmed by King John in January of 1201 in ‘return for 13 pounds 6s 8d and the gift of a palfrey’,¹⁴ re-issued by Henry III in 1227 and again in 1254 (by Edward, as Prince of Wales), then subsequently re-granted by King Henry III between 1254 and 1257,¹⁵

Inspeximus charters usually contain some reference to the original grant,¹⁶ but the Laugharne document is silent on this point, suggesting there is no earlier version, although clear reference is made to the privileges within Carmarthen’s charter and the desire to introduce similar provisions to the burgesses of Laugharne,¹⁷ One particularly useful section is the reference at the beginning of the charter to ‘our Lord Edward’ which narrows the period within which the grant (or re-grant) could have been made to the lifetime of Edward I (1239-1307).

A second challenge is the uncertainty surrounding the identity of the specific member of the de Brian family who granted the charter, because there was a sequence of at least four lords of Laugharne with the same first name of ‘Guy’ and, as with many aspects of the thirteenth century, some of the available data is unreliable or vague. The widely accepted view is that the first Guy de Brionne acquired the manor of Torbryan in south Devon in the middle of the twelfth century.¹⁸ This Guy (Guy I, [1116 -?]) is recorded as a witness to a deed of St Nicholas Priory in Devon around 1160 and it is then that the de Brian family coat of arms (three piles meeting in point azure) are in evidence.



The Arms of Guy de Brian

¹⁴ Griffiths. ‘The making of medieval Carmarthen’, p.92.

¹⁵ Ballard and Tait, *British Borough Charters*, p.xcii. Also, Spurrell, *Carmarthen and its neighbourhood notes topographical and historical*, p.17.

¹⁶ For example, See page 436 of Henry Lyte (on behalf of the Public Record Office). *Calendar of the charter rolls: preserved in the Public Record Office (1226-1516)*, where several entries begin “*Inspeximus and confirmation of a charter as follows...*”

¹⁷ See Appendix Three, p.57.

¹⁸ Richard Avent, *Laugharne Castle*, p.9.

Guy II (1149 - ?) does not appear to have been a prominent character and was followed by another person of little note, Guy III (1182-?).¹⁹ Guy IV, on the other hand, is recorded in Patent Rolls and other sources, and if Guy I established the family in Devon, Guy IV (1202 – 1252) is the individual who made it prominent in west Wales, by acquiring both the lordship of Laugharne and Walwyn castle in Pembrokeshire early in the thirteenth century.²⁰

His son, Guy V, was believed to have been born at Laugharne castle in 1222, marrying Eve de Tracy, daughter and heiress of Henry de Tracy, Baron of Barnstaple in about 1240,²¹ thereby illustrating the close connectivity between Marcher families in the west country – a phenomenon discussed in more detail in Chapter Three. For now, it is of note that Guy V died c.1268, leaving a son, again called Guy (Guy VI, 1254-1307) and a daughter called Maud (aka Matilda) who married William de Camville, the lord of Llansteffan, the lordship immediately adjacent to Laugharne. Finally, Guy VI also had a son called Guy (Guy VII 1280-1349) whose tenure of Laugharne falls at the end of the period under consideration, but who cannot be ruled out at this stage.²²

From this genealogy, there are at least three main candidates (Guys IV, V and VI) to be the signatory to the Laugharne charter, covering a period of over fifty years. With such uncertainty about the date, the rationale behind the granting of the charter is equally unclear, prompting an issue the third question addressed by this essay: ‘why was the charter granted?’ E. V Williams suggests the charter to have been granted by Guy de Brian VII in 1307, on the basis that this was the year he succeeded his father,²³ whilst the Laugharne Corporation website suggests that Guy de Brian VI granted the charter either as ‘an act of charity to gain eternal salvation’, or to pre-empt the tightening of tax collections²⁴ by the ‘Statute of Quia Emptores’²⁵ which ended the practice of subinfeudation in 1290.

To summarise, the year the charter was granted, the specific identity of the Guy de Brian who granted it and the motive behind the charter have never been resolved or explained.

¹⁹ J.J. Alexander, *Early Owners of Torbryan Manor*, pp 200-201.

²⁰ R. Avent, *Laugharne Castle*, p.9, and Henry Owen, *Old Pembroke Families in the Ancient County Palatine of Pembroke*, p.81.

²¹ Alexander, *Early Owners of Torbryan Manor*, p.201.

²² *Ibid*, p.203.

²³ Williams, *Laugharne Corporation*, p. 4.

²⁴ ‘*Laugharne Corporation*’ website.

²⁵ See ‘*Quia Emptores (1290) Chapter 1 18 Edw 1*’ at legislation.gov.uk.

Previous studies and aims of the current approach.

E.V. Williams, a retired classics teacher and former Portreeve wrote the most recent study, a 37-page booklet, in 1963, without reaching a clear determination and without quoting sources (other than extant Corporation records).²⁶ The only other prominent works are an *Archaeologia Cambrensis* paper by R. Banks in 1878,²⁷ which avoided identifying a date or the specific benefactor, and the seminal work by Adolphus Ballard and James Tait of 1923 which focused upon the content of the charter rather than its origins,²⁸ so research is neither plentiful nor recent.

Clearly none of these authors had access to the internet or the digitised National Archives content, etc., so whilst it may not be possible to identify any previously undiscovered charter bearing a date and/or signature, or to specify an exact year, etc, it is hoped to at least narrow the window of time, to identify the likely personalities concerned and to evaluate the social and political pressures which came together during a particular period which would have encouraged the granting of a charter.

To that end, visits have been made to the National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth), the National Archives (Kew), University of Wales (Trinity St. David) general library and Roderic Bowen library, and regular sessions spent at the Carmarthen library and Carmarthenshire Archives. Enquiries have also been made with archivists at Longleat House (Marquis of Bath) and Alnwick Castle (Duke of Northumberland estate) who hold various records and manuscripts. Information has also been gleaned from more than fifty books, sixty academic articles and various online legal and academic websites.

Previous efforts, such as those cited above, appear to have focused upon extant local records within Laugharne itself, yet it is widely accepted by academics that few original records remain more broadly from this turbulent period in Wales, with sources being ‘scanty, sporadic and physically scattered’.²⁹ Even at the more local level, R.R Davies states, ‘none of the smaller Marcher families – such as the Brians of Laugharne or the Camvilles of

²⁶ Williams, *Laugharne Corporation*.

²⁷ Banks, ‘On the early Charters to towns in south Wales’, pp.81-101.

²⁸ Ballard and Tait, *British Borough Charters*. They do give a date of ‘1278-1282’ for the charter (page xcvi), but no explanation of reference is given.

²⁹ Jack. *Medieval Wales: the sources of history*, Rear cover and p.69.

Llanstephan – has left more than a few stray documents'³⁰ and Ralph Griffiths opines, 'surviving personal records of individuals and families from Welsh towns are not plentiful'.³¹ Indeed, the Laugharne Corporation does not possess records older than the seventeenth century, so ascertaining corroborated 'facts' is difficult.

Areas of study

This essay moves the focus from the local to wider regional and national, social, and political factors which prevailed in Wales at the time, and which, it will be argued, created specific conditions which precipitated the creation of a 'borough' for military, security, and economic reasons or simply as a means of oppression and control. Comparing the situation in Laugharne with parallel developments in other, similar Marcher lordships (particularly Carmarthen) can help to situate those events (including the grant of the charter) within a certain period.

Carmarthen was a royal demesne during the late medieval period, with Henry III, (the then) Prince Edward and, subsequently, Edward's brother Prince Edmund holding the position of feudal overlord (rather than holding the lordship as the monarch). Consequently, more information about the town's development as a chartered borough has survived through royal records (charter rolls, royal surveys, etc.). Given that Carmarthen held some jurisdictional authority over Laugharne and both towns (as well as Llansteffan and Kidwelly) were inextricably linked geographically, politically, and militarily, this dissertation draws on the information about Carmarthen's development to 'read across' to Laugharne and these factors are considered in Chapter One.

The wording of the text of the Charter and its similarity in form and content with others of the same epoch – particularly Carmarthen - whose origins are better known, is subsequently discussed in Chapter Two.

Another source of information is found in the relationships between the royal overlordship of the 'Principality of Wales' as it existed at the time and the familial connections between the lordships within that region, including origins of the families concerned, duties owed to the

³⁰ Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales*, p.7.

³¹ Griffiths, *La Diplomatie urbaine en Europe au Moyen Age*, p.166.

monarch, inter-marriage between Marcher families and the need for collective security, all factors which are discussed in Chapter Three .

Clarifying the identity of the individual witnesses to the charter (given the naming of many generations with the same first name) is complicated, but a forensic consideration of the lives of those named on the document, aligned with evidence from medieval correspondence, Assize Rolls, Calendar of Inquisitions, etc., can help to reject or confirm some of the putative dates discussed above. These assessments are also found in Chapter Three.

Finally, Chapter Four combines the evidence from the preceding Chapters to reach conclusions to the three questions; when, by whom and why was the Laugharne Charter issued?



Digitised copy of the original charter available at Carmarthen Archives (Ref: GB 211 OBB1/1/7/1/1).

CHAPTER ONE

MILITARY, POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS PERMITTING A CHARTERED BOROUGH. (Conflict, control, commerce, and compliance)

A) The coming of the Normans to Wales: ‘Conflict’.

One year after William the Conqueror’s victory at Hastings in 1066, England was under his control and ‘his knights and barons had launched their first raids across the Welsh border’.³² What began as a series of military incursions by ambitious Norman lords developed – over two centuries, into a comprehensive strategy of military control, ethnic division, economic exploitation, and the assertion of (English) legal authority. The creation of chartered boroughs was one of the main instruments employed in this process by Edward I and it will be concluded that the creation of the Laugharne Corporation was likeliest to have occurred during a specific period of the thirteenth century.

To understand the nature of the lordship of Laugharne as it existed in the 1200’s, it is necessary to set out the chronology of the Norman arrival in West Wales, because the creation and nature of the ‘March’, and the need to impose the cultural changes alluded to above, shaped the strategy which underpinned the conquest of Wales in 1282-3 and beyond. It will be concluded that it was this wider royal strategy which precipitated the charter – not as a benevolent gesture to the wider community, but as a significant tool of what several observers have described as colonialism,³³ through domination, settlement, and the imposition of English municipal/legal structures.

Following the successful Norman invasion of England, the border with Wales needed securing³⁴ and William began by creating two counties palatine, namely Chester and Shrewsbury, under two of his vassals. The first, the Earl of Chester was his nephew, Hugh of Avranches, whilst Roger of Montgomery, was created Earl of Shrewsbury.³⁵ The third of his appointees was another relative, William FitzOsbern, who became the 1st Earl of Hereford

³² Lieberman, *The Medieval March of Wales*, p.1.

³³ See, for example, Davies, *The First English Empire*, pp.146/7. Also, Kennedy and Meecham-Jones (Eds), *Authority and Subjugation*; Davies, ‘Colonial Wales’ and Prestwich, ‘Edward I and Wales,’ p.5.

³⁴ See Map Two, page 49.

³⁵ John E. Morris. *The Welsh Wars of Edward I*, p3.

with responsibility for the southern border. These powerful Earls built castles and delegated subsidiary military commands, whence all of them exploited the fluidity of the border to expand their manorial holdings westwards but also to ‘withdraw their frontier estates out of the ambit of English fiscal and judicial administration’.³⁶ Thus began the creation of virtually autonomous ‘Marcher’ lordships, from Chester in the north to Hereford in the south, overseen by a core group of powerful Anglo-Norman aristocrats with subordinate baronies held in chief of an earl, not of the king.

There was no overall kingship in Wales with the term ‘hardly valid as a geographical concept’.³⁷ The various Princely kingdoms³⁸ waxed and waned in power, embroiled in internecine conflict, and raiding across a moving border. The term ‘March’ grew to reflect this twilight frontier zone which can be defined as ‘a broad zone, on or beyond the frontiers of a country or an ill-defined and contested district between two countries’.³⁹ This captures the idea of an area separate from both England and Wales and the freedom of action enjoyed by the Marcher barons resulted in their early penetration along the accessible south coast of Wales. *Brut Y Tywysogyon* records that by 1073, ‘the French ravaged Ceredigion and Dyfed’⁴⁰ and the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the king of Deheubarth, in 1093,⁴¹ coincided with Arnulf Montgomery (youngest son of Roger of Montgomery) being granted western Dyfed and him building the first fortified bailey in Pembroke.⁴²

Norman incursion was ‘underpinned by major colonisation, notably of Flemings’⁴³ in the district around Haverford (west of Carmarthen) and just after 1106, King Henry’s ambitions to establish Carmarthen as a royal base in West Wales, and thus ‘keep local Princes and Norman barons alike in check’⁴⁴ are evidenced by the presence of Walter, Sheriff of Gloucester, in the town, planning a new stronghold⁴⁵ overlooking the bridging point of the river Twyi, slightly away from the old town.⁴⁶

³⁶ R. R. Davies. *Conquest, Co-existence, and Change*, p4.

³⁷ Herbert and Elwyn Jones (eds). *Edward I and Wales*, p.xiv.

³⁸ See Map Three, page 50.

³⁹ Davies. *Lordship and Society*, p.15.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.29.

⁴¹ Davies, *Conquest, Co-existence, and Change*, p.34. Also, Jones, (Trans. and Ed.). *Brut Y Twysogyon*, p. 33.

⁴² Lloyd, ‘Carmarthen in early Norman times.’, p. 283.

⁴³ Davies, *Conquest, Co-existence, and Change*, p.37.

⁴⁴ Lloyd, Carmarthen in early Norman times, p.284.

⁴⁵ Ludlow. *Carmarthen Castle*, p.18.

⁴⁶ Lloyd. Carmarthen in early Norman times, pp.285-286.

As can be seen from Map Four,⁴⁷ Norman control in south Wales was variable. Castles appeared all along the coast from western Dyfed to Chepstow on the Severn estuary and nascent lordships based upon these locations combined with the temporary military superiority to enable a ‘distinctively Marcher society’⁴⁸ to emerge by 1200. A gradual intensification of Norman lordship underpinned by extensive alien colonisation, combined with the emergence of feudal landholding focused upon the royal honour of Carmarthen, signalled an advance ‘beyond the primary stages of military forays and hegemony’⁴⁹ and the establishment of a permanent Norman presence.

B) The ‘Control’ phase in the Laugharne lordship: The castle as “the magnificent badge of our subjection” (Thomas Pennant).⁵⁰

There are over 300 pre-1215 castle sites within Wales borders and over 100 more along the English borders⁵¹ – reinforcing Pennant’s view that Norman castles became both symbols and guarantees of conquest.⁵² Although Carmarthen castle was destroyed in 1213 and again in 1215, it was recovered by the Crown in 1241 and remained a royal property throughout the remainder of Henry III’s and Edward I’s reigns.⁵³ At this point, Carmarthen and its environs had attained the position ‘it was to hold for many centuries as the chief military and administrative centre of the Crown in these regions’.⁵⁴

This is a fundamental factor in the consideration of Laugharne’s charter because the town lies only 10 miles distant from Carmarthen on the banks of the river Taf. The adjoining fortifications established at *Cydweli* (Kidwelly),⁵⁵ as well as the castle opposite Laugharne, across the Taf at Llansteffan, were a similarly short distance from the developing royal centre at Carmarthen⁵⁶ and all three guarded approaches to the town from the coast. As with all the

⁴⁷ See page 51.

⁴⁸ Davies. *Conquest, Co-existence, and Change*, p.39.

⁴⁹ Davies, *Conquest, Co-existence, and Change: Wales*, p.40.

⁵⁰ Pennant, *A Tour in Wales*, p.214.

⁵¹ Davies. *Conquest, Co-existence, and Change*, p.90.

⁵² See Huw Pryce. ‘Foreword’, in Williams and Kenyon (Eds). *The impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales*, p.xi.

⁵³ Ludlow, *Carmarthen Castle*, p.22. Also, Colvin (ed). *The history of the King’s works*, p.600.

⁵⁴ Lloyd, *Carmarthen in early Norman times*, p.292.

⁵⁵ Davies, *Conquest, Co-existence, and Change*, p.41.

⁵⁶ See Map One, page 48.

other Marcher lordships in Wales, Laugharne and her two neighbours were nominally independent from the crown, but the proximity of the Royal demesne brought them within the wider administrative orbit of Carmarthen. Nevertheless, the royal officers played no part in the routine administration of these baronies: as Ralph Griffiths succinctly puts it, ‘rents from land, income from fairs and markets, fines from local courts, all accrued to the local lord, his officials accounting to him alone’.⁵⁷ Here the king acted as a feudal overlord and not as direct lord and only ‘death, forfeiture or a minority could bestow on these royal representatives any internal authority in these territories’.⁵⁸

This was also the period during which the family names appearing as witnesses to the Laugharne charter are known to be in the area, with the de Camville’s confirmed as lords of Llansteffan in the Charter Roll of 1200 by King John⁵⁹ and the de Chaworth family (also known as *de Cadurcis*) recorded as lords of Kidwelly through marriage by 1245.⁶⁰ In the case of Laugharne, Guy IV certainly held the barony of Laugharne by 1244, when the Close Rolls record the justiciar of South Wales being ordered to give him seisin of all the lands which his father, William de Brian held upon his death.⁶¹ Two years later, in 1247, he went on to receive the grant of a charter from Henry III to hold ‘a yearly fair at his manor of Talacharn, on the vigil, the feast and the morrow of St. Michael’.⁶²

C). The ‘Commerce’ and ‘Compliance’ phases through the creation of plantation towns.

“They [the Welsh] do not live in towns, villages or castles, but lead a solitary existence, deep in the woods....Instead, they content themselves with wattled huts on the edges of the forest...”. (Gerald of Wales in the twelfth century).⁶³

The documented introduction of the annual fair at Laugharne may suggest to an observer that a borough charter would also have been granted about this time. However, many of the witnesses to the Laugharne Charter were not able to active in 1247; for instance, Geoffrey de Camville (lord of Llansteffan) was not born until 1239. Furthermore, markets and fairs were ‘freely licensed by the crown and many towns possessed them for some time before they

⁵⁷ Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p.8.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Lewis, ‘Castle and Lordship of Llansteffan’, p.72.

⁶⁰ Clark, ‘Kidwelly Castle’, p.14.

⁶¹ *Close rolls 1242-1247*, p.230.

⁶² Lyte, *Calendar of the charter rolls*, p.328.

⁶³ L. Thorpe (Trans). *Gerald of Wales, A journey through Wales and the description of Wales*, p.199.

received borough charters from their lords',⁶⁴ so one did not necessarily indicate the grant or existence of the other.

Nevertheless, the installation of a fair would appear to signal reasonable confidence in the political stability of west Wales, even if military security was still fragile. A three-year long Welsh rebellion in response to what had been seen as 'unrighteous oppression'⁶⁵ had just ended in 1246 with the Treaty of Woodstock,⁶⁶ which, for the first time, placed Welsh princes under the jurisdictional authority of the king – 'the instrument *par excellence* for the intensification of feudal overlordship throughout thirteenth century Europe'.⁶⁷ This high-water mark of Royal control and lands in Wales may well have instilled confidence in Marcher lords such as de Brian to introduce elements of social normality - including an annual fair. It is particularly relevant as it marks the period when west Wales was on the cusp of moving from outright conflict and conquest to a time of firm Norman control: a time when the native Welsh moved from being 'enemies to be conquered to tenants to be governed and exploited'.⁶⁸

This was not a linear process however, with several events illustrating the oscillation between stability and unsettlement to the regional equilibrium. One such occasion was the granting of an appanage in 1254 to the fifteen-year-old Prince Edward, upon marriage to Eleanor of Castille in Aquitaine, of Henry III's lands in Wales, which included Cardigan and Carmarthen.⁶⁹ The historian, Thomas Tout, suggests that, whilst still in Aquitaine, Edward's advisers drew up plans 'to supersede the traditional Celtic methods of government by feudal and monarchical centralisation' and Edward's agent in south Wales, Geoffrey of Langley, set up shire-moots at Cardigan and Carmarthen, from which these two counties eventually developed.⁷⁰

One of Edward's early actions in his role as 'lord' of Carmarthen was to grant a charter to the town of New Carmarthen –which could be taken as another signal of Anglo-Norman

⁶⁴ Ballard and Tait, *British Borough Charters*, p.lxxxviii.

⁶⁵ Davies. *The Age of Conquest*, p.302.

⁶⁶ 'Treaty of Woodstock', Oxford Reference online.

⁶⁷ Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p.303.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.283.

⁶⁹ Tout, *The History of England, from the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward III*. Pp. 74-76. Also, Jones, (trans. and ed.). *Brut Y Twysogyon*, p.245.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.76.

confidence. As noted above (page 8-9), King John had granted a charter to the town in 1201, but it was Edward's grant (1254x57)⁷¹ which established Carmarthen as an actual chartered borough - a critical event when considering the parallel designation of Laugharne and its own borough status, given the explicit reference to the Carmarthen charter within the Laugharne document.

The detailed content of the Carmarthen charter is revisited in Chapter Two, and it will be seen that the provisions could be interpreted as 'Anglicizing' Welsh commerce and law, so it is important to recognise the grant of this type of charter as pivotal to Edward's wider strategy to align and assimilate Wales into his wider kingdom. It is also of note that - as with Laugharne and many other seignorial charters, the exact date of this Carmarthen charter is not known since it is undated. It lies between Edward's investiture with his Welsh fiefs in 1254 and his father's (Henry III) confirmation of the charter in February 1257⁷² and provides a provisional 'earliest' date for Laugharne's borough status.

Another factor providing increasing confidence to Anglo-Normans was the royal sponsorship, of Flemish, English, and French immigrants into Marcher districts, which was briefly mentioned above (page 16). This provided a pool of trustworthy, ambitious settlers in the frontier districts of west Wales who were also 'true pioneers in both agriculture and commerce'.⁷³ As R.R. Davies points out, the castles – all important to the initial military penetration of Wales, became a focus for colonisation as settlements sprouted in their protective shadow,⁷⁴ not only providing a pool of loyal subjects in times of unrest, but also a fertile resource for commercial enterprise. It is for these reasons that the creation of "towns" and the associated introduction of urban institutional frameworks - apparently conceived of prior to his kingship (see page 18), are viewed as 'being an integral part of Edward's colonisation of Wales and its subordination to English authority',⁷⁵

Carmarthen was one of the larger towns⁷⁶ and one of the first of the chartered boroughs created by Edward. Given the geographical and political proximity of Laugharne to the town

⁷¹ Ballard and Tait, *British Borough Charters*, p.xxxviii.

⁷² Daniel-Tyssen, *Royal Charters and Historical Documents relating to the Town & County of Carmarthen*, pp.7-9.

⁷³ Davies, *Conquest, Co-existence and Change*, p.97.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Page 90.

⁷⁵ Lilley, Lloyd, and Trick, 'Designs and Designers of medieval new towns in Wales', p.293.

⁷⁶ See Map Seven for towns in Wales, page 54.

– and the absence of records for Laugharne, information about Carmarthen can indicate the socio-political factors prevailing in the area in the mid thirteenth century, with the organic development of such nucleated towns, often in the shelter of a castle⁷⁷ and supported by the establishment of fairs and markets, stimulating the creation of a market economy. Such towns began to attract trade from, and with, the relevant rural hinterland which in turn accelerated the move from the traditional labour or goods exchange to a monetised economy in what Mathew Stevens describes as a ‘commercialisation’ model.⁷⁸

The impact of this process can clearly be seen at Appendix 1 below, which shows the extent of ‘Old’ and ‘New’ Carmarthen as documented in Prince Edmund’s survey of 1268⁷⁹ (by which time he had assumed the lordship of Carmarthen from Prince Edward). The original Welsh settlement of Old Carmarthen (top right in the diagram) remained centred around St Peter’s church and the priory, whilst the separate township of New Carmarthen had grown up around the base of the Norman castle since the twelfth century. This notion of a separate ‘Englishry’ and ‘Welshry’ became common in Anglo-Norman towns,⁸⁰ and it was to the ‘Englishry’ town of New Carmarthen that Prince Edward granted the charter of 1254-7.⁸¹ Such charters bestowed privileges on newly created burgesses, providing land at cheap rents, legal privileges, and freedom to trade.⁸² In essence the whole tenor of the charter was to ‘mark its burgesses off from the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside and, incidentally, of Old Carmarthen’.⁸³

Nevertheless, political tensions were not far beneath the surface and the revived ambitions of Llwelyn ap Gruffudd, the native Prince of Gwynedd, clashed with the granting of lands to Edward as part of his appanage.⁸⁴ The high-handed actions of Henry III’s local governors in

⁷⁷ See Appendix Two, page 56, for the location of the ‘Englishry’ settlement adjacent to the castle in Laugharne.

⁷⁸ Stevens, *The Economy of Medieval Wales*, p.117.

⁷⁹ James, ‘Medieval Carmarthen and its Burgesses’, pp.9-26.

⁸⁰ Lieberman, *The Medieval March of Wales*, p.46. See Appendix Two, page 56, for conjectural plan of Laugharne.

⁸¹ Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales*, p.167. See Appendix One for Plan of New & Old Carmarthen. Appendix Two shows how Laugharne’s ‘Englishry’ probably appeared c. 1320.

⁸² Griffiths, *Boroughs of Mediaeval Wales*, p.144.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Tout, *The History*, p.76.

Chester and Carmarthen in particular,⁸⁵ by extending the jurisdiction of English courts and exacting military service promoted discontent and the tour of Edward's entourage through his new Welsh lands in 1256 may well have been the spark that lit the tinder of Welsh resentment. The Welsh chroniclers recount how the magnates of Wales, 'despoiled of their liberty and reduced to bondage', came to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd proclaiming 'they preferred to be slain in battle for their liberty than to suffer themselves to be trampled upon in bondage by men alien to them'.⁸⁶

In the revolt which followed, Llywelyn swept through central Wales in one week⁸⁷ and expelled its English rulers. Further south – and particularly destabilising for the Carmarthen area - were the events of 1257 near Llandeilo Fawr. A large English force under Stephen Bauzan, the Sheriff of Glamorgan and Nicolas FitzMartin, Lord of Cemais, was sent by Edward to regain the Castle of Dinefwr, the ancient capital of Deheubarth. After landing near Carmarthen and receiving local reinforcement, the army marched north-eastwards up the Tywi valley, where it was ambushed, utterly overwhelmed, and suffered one of the most devastating defeats inflicted on an English army in Wales in the thirteenth century, with Bauzan killed along with 2-3000 of his men.⁸⁸

With the local castles weakened, the Welsh made for Dyfed and 'they destroyed the castles of Abercorran [Laugharne], and Llanstephan.... and they burned the towns'⁸⁹. Some of Bauzan's forces had been drawn from the garrisons of these castles and places like Laugharne could offer no effective resistance. With the plantation settlements being symbolic of the English invaders⁹⁰ they were 'as much a target for Welsh attacks as the castle itself'⁹¹ and so they were burned.

With such destruction wrought upon Laugharne, Guy (V) de Brian was not in any position to develop the commercial potential of his manor equivalent to the charter recently introduced

⁸⁵ Prestwich. 'Edward I and Wales', p.1.

⁸⁶ Jones, (trans. and ed.), *Brut Y Twysogyon*, p.247.

⁸⁷ Tout, *The History*, p.76.

⁸⁸ Davies, *Conquest, Co-existence and Change*, p.310.

⁸⁹ Jones, (trans. and ed.), *Brut Y Twysogyon*, p.249.

⁹⁰ See Soulsby, *The Towns of Medieval Wales*, p.105. Also, Beresford. *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, pp.349-541. Both identify Carmarthen, Laugharne and 'Kidwelly as 'new towns'.

⁹¹ Davies. *Conquest, Co-existence and Change*, p.166.

in Carmarthen, with the situation aggravated by the rebels capturing both Guy and Nicholas FitzMartin and holding them for ransom.⁹² The precise date of their release is unknown, but the Patent Rolls show FitzMartin imprisoned in October 1257⁹³ and Guy de Brian having been released by June 1258, on payment of a ‘grievous ransom’ and subject to his tenants making ‘a competent aid to acquit his ransom’.⁹⁴

The region was in turmoil and the Welsh drove home their successes with another victory a few miles to the west in Pembrokeshire, capturing Newport castle, the caput of Nicholas FitzMartin’s Cemais, by storm.⁹⁵ Soon the English pressed for a truce with Llywelyn which was ultimately to last for ten years, but peace with the Crown did not mean peace within the borders of Wales itself. Fierce fighting took place at Kidwelly, and attacks forced residents to flee inside Carmarthen’s defences and write directly to the King lamenting that ‘they have no truce in their district’ and ‘no power to defend themselves against the enemy’.⁹⁶ In 1258, another crushing defeat of the English near Cilgerran castle (Pembrokeshire), costing the lives of both the King’s representative in the field, Patrick de Chaworth of Kidwelly, and Walter Malefant, a vassal knight of Upton Castle, put the seal on Llywelyn’s ascendancy to power and English recognition as the native ‘Prince of Wales’.⁹⁷ As a direct result Llywelyn was left to harry the marcher lords across south Wales,⁹⁸ causing alarm amongst the settlers and halting the Anglicisation process.⁹⁹

Given the clear importance of castles and towns to Edward’s ambitions for the subordination of Wales¹⁰⁰ to English authority and the future administrative, social, and legal structures of west Wales, this was a frantic period of restoration and Marcher investment in defences. The revolt of 1257 revealed that many of the Marcher castles were vulnerable to attack, with many – including Laugharne, being virtually rebuilt during this period.¹⁰¹ In fact, the Cambrian Archaeological Association asserted that the restoration of Laugharne castle was

⁹² Avent, *Laugharne Castle*, p.11

⁹³ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls. Henry III, AD 1247-1258*, p.581.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 663.

⁹⁵ Lloyd, *A History of Carmarthenshire, I*, p.190.

⁹⁶ Edwards, *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Concerning Wales*, p.14.

⁹⁷ Lloyd, *A History of Carmarthenshire, I*, p.191.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.194.

⁹⁹ See Map Five, page 52 for the expanded territories under Prince Llywelyn’s influence (‘The Principality’).

¹⁰⁰ Lilley, et al., ‘Designs and Designers’, p.280.

¹⁰¹ Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages*, p.281.

not completed until 1270,¹⁰² with much of Kidwelly's impressive castle and the modernisation of the fortification at Llansteffan dating from the same era.¹⁰³

Whilst a short period of stability may have existed in the two years (1254-6) immediately at the start of Edward's overlordship of Carmarthen, many of the witnesses to the Laugharne charter were either not born or were infants at that time, making those dates irrelevant, and the overall period (1254–1265) was one of such instability and destruction that the notion of a Laugharne charter being granted was impossible. The fact that, in time of war, 'all ports were closed, markets and fairs suspended and all trade with the hinterland forbidden',¹⁰⁴ would have provided further blocks to any such progress.

Accordingly, whilst the date of Carmarthen's charter does provide the theoretical earliest date for the granting of the charter to Laugharne, the reality is that the security situation, coupled with the practical non-existence of a viable castle or 'Englishry' settlement in the township and the extended absence of the lord himself means that no such grant could have occurred during Edward's tenure of the caput of Carmarthen from 1254 to 1265. Given that his younger brother (Edmund, Earl of Lancaster) subsequently held the lordship of Carmarthen from their father, Henry III, from 1265¹⁰⁵ to 1279 the grant of a charter is not feasible during this period either, because Edmund was not the feudal 'lord' referred to in the opening paragraph of Laugharne's charter. This moves the earliest possible date for the charter forward to at least November 1279 – when Edward took back the lordship of Carmarthen from Edmund and granted his younger brother lands in England by way of compensation.¹⁰⁶

Edward had ascended to the throne in 1272, being formally crowned in 1274,¹⁰⁷ by which time the political climate had changed, with Prince Llywelyn repeatedly failing to meet and pay homage to Edward, until, in February 1277, conflict broke out. The war lasted only a few months¹⁰⁸ and by November 1277 terms were agreed in the Treaty of Aberconwy, which generally confined Llywelyn to governing lands within the Snowdonia region.

¹⁰² Morgan. 'Excursion August 14th, 1906. Llanstephan', p.214.

¹⁰³ Clark. 'Kidwelly Castle', p.12; Avent, 'The early development of three coastal castles', p.181.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. Page 306.

¹⁰⁵ National Archives. *Duchy of Lancaster Royal Charters*. DL 10/96.

¹⁰⁶ National Archives. *Duchy of Lancaster Records*. DL 10/144.

¹⁰⁷ Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*. Vol. II, pp.597-617.

¹⁰⁸ Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I*.

However, unresolved frustration amongst native rulers with ‘English’ administrative practices and law, combined with the roughshod treatment of the Welsh by Edward’s representatives,¹⁰⁹ meant a wider uprising broke out in March 1282. Edward approached this event as a war of conquest and ‘it was a far greater undertaking than the war of 1277’¹¹⁰ although, again, the conflict was short-lived. Llywelyn was killed whilst on a foray in December 1282 and only six months later, his brother Dafydd was captured and executed at Shrewsbury.

Whilst the first episode had little or no effect on the political stability of west Wales, the second had an adverse impact upon the region. On this occasion, Edward not only issued an order in April 1282 prohibiting his sheriffs and bailiffs in Wales, together with all the Marcher Lords in south Wales (including Guy de Brian, Geoffrey de Camville and Patrick de Chaworth) from communicating with the Welsh rebels, he also banned the sale of ‘corn, honey, salt, iron, or other things’¹¹¹ which might aid them.

The political situation in north Wales stabilised quite quickly once the war was over, assisted no doubt by the wave of castle repairs and new building in the newly conquered lands by Edward, notably the construction of massive castles at Conway (begun in March 1283) and at Harlech and Caernarvon (begun in June 1283).¹¹² The establishment of plantation boroughs with the concomitant granting of charters to Flint, Cardigan, Caernarvon, Conway, Criccieth and Rhuddlan (all in 1284),¹¹³ together with the issuance of the Statute of Wales (1284) which restructured the Principality into Counties¹¹⁴, all helped to swiftly consolidate Edward’s rule and draw Wales into his kingdom.

Meanwhile, the south of Wales remained unsettled, as an unexpected rift emerged between Rhys ap Iorwedd, lord of Dryslwyn in Carmarthenshire, and King Edward. ‘Alone amongst the Welsh lords involved in the late wars of independence, he had thrown in his lot with Edward I’¹¹⁵ and collaborated to overrun the Welsh rebels in Carmarthenshire. An agreement

¹⁰⁹ *Calendar of various Chancery Rolls: Supplementary Close Rolls, Welsh Rolls, Scutage Rolls*, p.182.

¹¹⁰ Prestwich, Edward I, p.188.

¹¹¹ *Calendar of various Chancery Rolls: Supplementary Close Rolls, Welsh Rolls, Scutage Rolls*, p. 247.

¹¹² Herbert and Elwyn-Jones (eds), *Edward I and Wales*, p.52. See also, Cathcart-King. *The castle in England and Wales*. p.115.

¹¹³ Ballard and Tait, *British Borough Charters*, pp. xxv-xxxiii.

¹¹⁴ See Map Six, page 53. Also, Llinos Smith, ‘The Statute of Wales’, pp.127-155.

¹¹⁵ Griffiths, ‘The Revolt of Rhys Ap Grufudd’, pp.121-143.

had been reached (through the king's agent, Patrick de Chaworth) in April 1277 for Rhys to assist in recovering the lands for the King in return for consideration of the monarch granting parts of eastern Carmarthenshire and Dinefwr castle – the chief seat of the Dinefwr dynasty of the ancient kingdom of Deheubarth,¹¹⁶ to Rhys as reward.¹¹⁷ However, it soon became clear that Dinefwr castle was reserved for the King.

During and immediately after the war of 1282, Rhys's grievances mounted, with resistance to the requirement to pay suit at Carmarthen court, subjection to English laws and personal tensions with the new justiciar, Robert Tibetot (appointed June 1281) eventually resulting in Rhys's outlawry in early 1287.¹¹⁸ Soon after, Rhys attacked Llandovery, Dinefwr and Carreg Cennen castles, slaughtering the constables and many defenders, then attacking Swansea and the settlements outside Carmarthen castle. Although the main revolt was quelled, Rhys ap Maredudd remained at large, harassing, and causing alarm across west Wales until, eventually in April 1292, he was betrayed and captured in the Brecon Beacons, being tried, hanged, and drawn at York in June.¹¹⁹

To summarise the provisional conclusions from this chapter, it is clear that the success of Edward I's strategy of the anglicisation of Wales was based upon various stages.

Firstly, the subjugation of local resistance through Marcher Anglo-Norman lordships, predicated upon impressive stone castles, often supported by adjacent 'planted' communities who provided loyal craftsmen, merchants, and military resources to castles at times of emergency. These 'Englishry' settlements in the shadow of protective fortifications had the attraction of accommodation, land, and work, drawing more settlers to the town once peace had been established and creating a more 'urbanised' Wales.

As Lloyd notes in his *History of Carmarthenshire*, 'earliest charters merely granted privileges to the relevant Lord, usually immunity from tolls or permission to hold a fair'.¹²⁰ As the

¹¹⁶ See Map Three, page 50, for location of Kingdom of Deheubarth (SW Wales) and Map Seven, page 54, for the location of the town of Dinefwr (east of Carmarthen).

¹¹⁷ Griffiths, 'The Revolt of Rhys Ap Grufudd', p.122.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., pp.128 to 129.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p.138.

¹²⁰ Lloyd, *A History of Carmarthenshire; Vol. 1*, p.307. Also, Banks, 'On the early Charters to towns in south Wales', p.82, which cites King John's charter to Kidwelly in 1205. For a classic example see King John's charter granted to Carmarthen in 1201 replicated in J.R. Daniel-Tyssen. *Royal Charters and Historical documents*, p.1.

security situation in Wales improved in the latter half of the thirteenth century, the granting of a specific type of ‘Edwardian’ charter and the creation of ‘boroughs’ which introduced weekly markets – often with exclusive rights of sale of essential goods (metal, honey, meat, etc) in the local area,¹²¹ accelerated the move to a market economy based upon money rather than goods exchange and drew Welsh people into towns and the anglicisation process. Stability also brought the introduction of English administrative structures, courts, and the English common law – firstly into the nascent boroughs and, once control was complete, across all the royal lands in Wales.

In the case of Laugharne the relationship between the town and the development of the royal demesne of Carmarthen was clearly pivotal, with the granting of Edward’s charter to Carmarthen (1254-1257) irrefutable evidence that Laugharne’s own charter could not have been granted before this time.

However, events probably prevented any similar charter being granted to Laugharne for some years. Firstly, Prince Llywelyn’s revolt of 1257, Guy de Brian’s capture by the Welsh and the destruction of Laugharne castle and ‘Englishry’ probably meant no charter would have been granted to Laugharne up to 1265 – when Prince Edward gifted Carmarthen to his younger Prince Edmund. Edmund is not mentioned in the Laugharne charter – the reference is to ‘our Lord Edward’ so his tenure between 1265 and November 1279 can also be disregarded.

The Treaty of Aberconway (1277) did bring a period of stability and development in west Wales, until peace was once more disturbed by the destruction wrought during Llywelyn’s second rebellion of 1282 and Rhys ap Maredudd’s revolt which lasted until 1292. Therefore, and ignoring the final two years of Prince Edmund’s feudal control of Carmarthen, this leaves a possible ‘window’ between November 1279 and the start of Llywelyn’s final uprising in the spring of 1282 of relative tranquillity, when the social and political conditions make this a candidate period for the granting of the Laugharne Charter.

¹²¹ From 1280 onwards, the Borough of Carmarthen Saturday market had exclusive rights to buy or sell wholesale merchandise ‘within five leagues’ (i.e., 15 miles) of the town. (Griffiths, ‘The making of medieval Carmarthen’, p.93.)

CHAPTER TWO

THE LAUGHARNE CHARTER

This chapter will examine the Charter and its provisions in some detail to further test the possibility of the Charter being issued from November 1279 onwards.

An English translation of the Charter can be found below at Appendix Three (Page 57) and it will be noted that the paragraphs have letters added for ease of reference within the text.

The first paragraph (a) avoids any phrasing similar to ‘this Inspeximus and confirmation’ which affirms that this Charter is most probably the first such charter granted to Laugharne.¹²² It goes on to mention ‘Gwydo de Brione the younger’ as the sponsor of the charter and, using the genealogy on page 9 above, this strongly suggests Guy VI (1254-1307). His father (Guy V, 1215-1268) established a reputation locally, receiving a command to assist the Earl of Gloucester against the Welsh in year 29, Henry III (1245-1246)¹²³ and a further summons for military service in year 42, Henry III (1258-1259).¹²⁴ These events, together with his capture and ransom by Welsh rebels in 1257 would have made him the prominent ‘elder’ by the 1270’s, with his son, Guy VI (1254-1307), being junior in years and profile, the obvious one to be called the ‘younger’ and suggests an earliest date of post-1270 for the Charter.

Additionally, the vague possibility of Guy VI’s son, Guy VII (1280-1349), being the ‘younger’, and thus the author of the Charter upon the death of Guy VI in 1307 – as suggested by E.V. William’s research (page 10 above) can be discounted at this early stage. In 1306, William de Braose, Lord of Gower, granted a borough charter to Swansea¹²⁵ which included the following clause: “No stranger merchant shall trade in the borough of Swansea

¹²² See Pages 8 and 9 of the Introduction above for further discussion. For an example, see Daniel-Tyssen, *Royal charters and historical documents*, p.7. The opening text of Henry III’s charter to Carmarthen of 1257 confirms the Carmarthen charter (1254-57) granted by his son Edward with the phrase ‘*Inspeximus cartam quam Edwardus filius noster progenitus fecit burgensibus de Kermeredin...*’ [We have inspected the charter which Edward, our eldest son made to the Burgesses of Kermeredin...].

¹²³ *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III. AD 1242-1247*, p.363.

¹²⁴ *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III. AD 1256-1259*, Entry for ‘1258, m11d’ on pp.294-296.

¹²⁵ Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp.538-539.

or in our land of Gower, save the burgesses of Laugharne, contrary to their liberty.”¹²⁶ This proves that Laugharne had already obtained a Charter prior to 1306.

Paragraph (a) goes on to refer to the Carmarthen Charters as a source document for Laugharne, making specific reference to both ‘the Lord Edward’ and the notion of ‘preserving the weights and measures that were in the time of Gwydo de Brione, the elder’. Having established the elder Gwydo de Brione to have been Guy V (1215-1268), the reference to the Carmarthen charter of 1254-1257 - wherein the weights and measures for the town were first introduced, is clear and helps to place the Laugharne document within the time span under consideration.

The reference to the Carmarthen Charter is also significant in another way; not only is much of the content of the Laugharne Charter taken from the Carmarthen document, but the Carmarthen Charter is itself an imitative version of what is sometimes called the Breteuil family of charters, ‘mediated through the English border town of Hereford’.¹²⁷ A late-Victorian academic, Mary Bateson, wrote a series of papers,¹²⁸ asserting that the provisions within many thirteenth-century British charters had their origins in the Hereford Charter, which in turn had been strongly influenced by the charter of the Norman town of Breteuil.

As mentioned on page 14, FitzOsborn was the First Earl of Hereford. Bateson notes that Breteuil also formed part of his lands in Normandy¹²⁹ and there is an overt link made between the two borough charters of Hereford and Breteuil within the Domesday Book.¹³⁰ Whilst some observers¹³¹ questioned the high number of charters claimed by Bateson, her general premise is widely accepted¹³² and there is documentary evidence that a copy of the terms of the Hereford Charter were sent from the town to both Carmarthen and

¹²⁶ Ballard and Tait, *British Borough Charters*, p.289.

¹²⁷ Davies. *Conquest, Co-existence, and Change*, p.166.

¹²⁸ Bateson, ‘The Laws of Breteuil’, *English Historical Review*, 15/57, (Jan. 1900), pp.73-78: Bateson, ‘The Laws of Breteuil (Continued)’, *English Historical Review*, 15/58 (April 1900), pp.302-318: Bateson, ‘The Laws of Breteuil, Part II’, *English Historical Review*, 15/59, (July 1900), pp.496-523: Bateson, ‘The Laws of Breteuil’, *English Historical Review*, 16/61 (January 1901), pp.92-110: Bateson, ‘The Laws of Breteuil. Part IV’, *English Historical Review*, 16/62, (April 1901), pp.332-345.

¹²⁹ Bateson, ‘The Laws of Breteuil’. *English Historical Review*, 15/57, (Jan. 1900), pp.76-77.

¹³⁰ Bateson, ‘The Laws of Breteuil (Continued)’, p.304.

¹³¹ Ballard. ‘The Law of Breteuil’, pp.646-658.

¹³² See, for example, Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, pp.166-7, also Ballard and Tait, *British Borough Charters*, p.xxix.

Haverfordwest in 1281-82.¹³³ Given that the Carmarthen Charter was already in existence, it may be coincidence that these dates coincide with the candidate dates (1279-1282) for Laugharne, because the framework was also used elsewhere in the region.¹³⁴ In any event, the adoption of the Hereford charter template was clearly a strategic decision, and its deployment formed an important part of the commercial colonisation of west Wales.

The relevant privileges which are drawn from the Carmarthen Charter appear at paragraph (e) onwards in the Laugharne document and are discussed later, but paragraphs (b) to (d) – which highlight the radically different nature of the two towns, are addressed first.

Thirteenth century Laugharne was a small coastal settlement of a few hundred people, reliant upon farming, fishing, and its small port for its existence. In contrast, Carmarthen was the royal administrative and military centre for south Wales and the commercial hub for the region. These two distinctly different communities had widely differing needs and this is starkly illustrated by comparing the origins of the two settler groups as reflected in contemporary documents.

After being granted the lordship of Carmarthen in 1265 Prince Edmund ordered a survey of the borough in 1268, which is summarised in an article by Terence James.¹³⁵ There were 168 recorded burgages and James identifies that, in contrast to an English borough town where up to a sixth of the 112 land owning burgesses would be ‘incomers’, this situation was inverted in Carmarthen with only eleven land-owning burgesses having surnames of Welsh origin.¹³⁶ Furthermore, most of the newcomers were of West country origin with a few from the west Midlands, which resonates with the notion that many of the local Earls and Knights also had roots in those parts of England.¹³⁷

A consideration of the occupations of the burgesses is also revealing, as it reflects the emphasis on trade through the port and the need for craftsmen to support the town’s development. Several millers, weavers and tailors are evident, reflecting the growing

¹³³ Bateson, ‘The Laws of Breteuil, Part II’, pp.517-520.

¹³⁴ Banks, ‘On the early Charters to towns in south Wales’, p.90 where, for example, it states in December 1284, Edward, by a charter dated at Kidwelly, similarly ‘granted to the burgesses of Cardigan all the laws and customs which the burgesses of Carmarthen enjoyed’.

¹³⁵ James, ‘Medieval Carmarthen and its Burgesses’, pp.9-26.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.15-16.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.16.

importance in the export of finished cloth, but other burgesses mirror a wide range of trades, such as smiths, carpenters, masons, plumbers, clerks, fishermen and potters – all important to a military and commercial outpost.¹³⁸

A wholly different emphasis is found in the Laugharne Charter, with paragraphs (b) and (c) reflecting a strong agricultural bias and a priority placed upon access to land for grazing, ploughing, etc. accompanied by the grant of a right to drive cattle from the pastures to the river. Paragraph (d) continues the rural theme with the right of burgesses to cut turfs to heat their homes and cook - a privilege which frequently appears in charters to small towns of the time.¹³⁹ A second element of contrast is the frequent use of Flemish place names in the original version of paragraph (b), such as ‘Grenesladesheved’, ‘Moldehulle’ and ‘Hereston’,¹⁴⁰ testifying to the origin of the incoming settlers, who brought sheep farming and weaving skills to Pembrokeshire.

This simple comparison reinforces two common fundamental themes: firstly, the alien inspiration for many Welsh Marcher towns and, secondly, the use of charters ‘to recruit and encourage reliable settlers with trades and craft skills’¹⁴¹ which met the needs of the individual lord, whose most compelling interest was usually financial. The individual requirements of the March were then buttressed by the common legal privileges – ‘often much the same from lordship to lordship’,¹⁴² drawn from Hereford and expressed in the Laugharne Charter from paragraph (e) onwards. These liberties ‘formalised the distinction between native Welsh and settler English in terms of law, administration and land tenure, inheritance customs rents and dues’¹⁴³ and built that distinction into the very framework of Marcher governance. In essence, the racial distinction between English (*Anglici*) and Welsh (*Wallici*) - corresponding roughly to the division between native and settler enabled the settler to be ‘free from any taint of servile tenure’,¹⁴⁴ and their desire to benefit from the

¹³⁸ Ibid. Page 17.

¹³⁹ Ballard and Tait, *British Borough Charters*, pp.63-70 for similar examples.

¹⁴⁰ Banks, ‘On the early Charters to towns in south Wales’, p.100.

¹⁴¹ Soulsby, *The Towns of medieval Wales*, p.161.

¹⁴² Davies, ‘The Law of the March’, p.12.

¹⁴³ Davies, *Conquest, Co-existence, and Change*, p.283.

¹⁴⁴ Davies, ‘Colonial Wales’, p.7.

common law of England, with their own courts and officers is documented in petitions of the time¹⁴⁵.

Paragraph (e), for example, prevents a burgess from losing his property because of the wrongdoings of his servant, and paragraph (f) is even more fundamental as it prohibits the lord of the manor from interfering in the passing down of property through inheritance. This is an important privilege on two levels. As early as 1215, Clause 56 of the Magna Carta had declared that disputes involving English tenements in Wales should be dealt with according to the law of England, Welsh tenements should be judged according to the law of Wales and for 'tenements in the March according to the law of the March'.¹⁴⁶ Without this provision the relevant Marcher lord could dictate how his feudal tenancies would be passed on. Secondly, Welsh law and custom was based on the idea of partibility, by which 'lands were divided between sons, rather than descending by a system of primogeniture'¹⁴⁷ and Anglophone tenants naturally preferred the more familiar English common law provisions which gave individuals the right to 'will' their possessions. Paragraph (f) therefore protects the burgesses from interference and from being subject to an alien law.

Paragraph (g) ensures that burgesses do not become responsible for the debts of their neighbours, unless they become sureties, and only if the debtor is unable to pay. It also declares that any such judgements should be made by the burgesses according to the customs at Carmarthen, ensuring that the actions of English burgesses are not 'judged' by non-burgesses (i.e., native Welsh).

Paragraph (h) protects the natural right to freedom from arbitrary arrest, where bail can be found.

Paragraph (i) is related to the inheritance provisions within paragraph (f) in that paragraph (i) grants rights of free alienation¹⁴⁸ on payment of a fee of no more than twelve pence. Subinfeudation (the sub leasing of land by tenants) created problems for many manorial lords, to

¹⁴⁵ Davies, 'Presidential address: The peoples of Britain and Ireland, p.4. For an example of Carmarthen burgesses petitioning for English law to apply see Rees, *Calendar of Ancient Petitions relating to Wales*, Petition number 1092, p.36.

¹⁴⁶ *The Magna Carta Project online: Clause 56*. The Arts and Humanities Council.

¹⁴⁷ Prestwich, *Edward I*. p.171.

¹⁴⁸ See Waugh, 'Non-alienation clauses in Thirteenth century English charters, pp.1-14 for discussion.

such a degree that they put pressure on Edward I to find a legal solution, leading to the Statute of Quia Emptores in 1290,¹⁴⁹ which sought to ensure that sub-tenancies retained the original terms of obligation in the original agreement.

Paragraphs (j), (k), and (l) are significant because ‘after gaining exemption in part or wholly from villein services [as achieved in paragraphs (l) and (m)], it was the ambition of every borough to secure the privilege of self-government’¹⁵⁰ and these three provisions gave Laugharne burgesses the right to elect their own officers, hold their own courts and give recognition to the borough as a corporate body.

In the following paragraph, (n), the phrase ‘And they shall not go to the army, except to guard their township, as the burgesses of Kymarden do’, sums up the role of the Marcher burgesses as a local militia force and explains their exemption from service in the king’s army. It also reflected the volatile security situation which prevailed in the Welsh Marches for much of the thirteenth century. The reference to a parallel provision in the Carmarthen charter is of note, because the 1257 *inspeximus* of Carmarthen by Henry III¹⁵¹ also contains the five previous provisions found in paragraphs (e) to (i) of the Laugharne document, which inextricably link the two charters to the ‘Breteuil family’ identified by Mary Bateson’s research.¹⁵²

The final paragraph, (o), also appears in the Carmarthen charter and protected the honest buyer who purchased goods in good faith in ‘market overt’ - an ‘open, public and legally constituted market’, believing the seller to have legal title.¹⁵³ If it transpired that the seller was a thief, then the buyer had to return the goods to the rightful owner, but no proceedings would be taken against the innocent purchaser. This provision clearly relates to the regular weekly market and recognises the important role of merchants and traders in the town.

Indeed, the entire charter is woven through with a balance between lordly power, gain and profit, community consolidation and the need to ensure the collection of dues, efficient

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. Page 1. Also, Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp.270 and 274.

¹⁵⁰ Lloyd, *A History of Carmarthenshire; Vol. 1*, p.308.

¹⁵¹ Reproduced in Daniel-Tyssen, *Royal Charters and Historical documents relating to the Town & County of Carmarthen*, p.12.

¹⁵² See Loyn, ‘Llanfyllin: the charter and the Laws of Breteuil’, pp.13-21, for further discussion of these provisions.

¹⁵³ Law and Martin, *A Dictionary of Law*, (7 Ed.).

administration, and the administering of justice. Henry Loyn¹⁵⁴ points to the twelve pence rent [paragraph (i)] as a good example of this balance, identifying that this low rent (even by thirteenth century standards) enabled a burgess to make a good standard of living. There were also benefits which accrued to the lord. He could be sure of his rental income, and he had a useful body of men on hand to serve him. Help could be given for defence, for building, provisions to the castle, hunting and transport.

Ultimately, therefore, chartered towns provided an efficient cash-raising function as centres of lordship administration¹⁵⁵ and helped to consolidate and maintain long-term conquest by ‘absorbing the men of the hinterland into the town polity and economy and hasten the process of anglicisation’.¹⁵⁶ There is no doubt that the increasing Edwardian need for funds for wars and castle building created another stimulus for towns and spread the use of money for rent payment and taxation which accompanied the changes in law and state administration.¹⁵⁷ The short conquest of 1282, for example, cost Edward over 1500 pounds on soldiers’ wages¹⁵⁸ – most of spent in Wales and much of it creating an economic stimulus in the March

The previous chapter identified that peace and security were pre-requisites to enable the small trading settlements in the shadow of castles to flourish and to attract craftsmen, traders, and pastoral workers to settle and develop a local economy. An absence of conflict also unburdened the economy of the losses associated with war and enabled seignorial towns such as Laugharne to hold markets and fairs, where hard cash and merchants transformed these relatively small ‘functional’ towns¹⁵⁹ into monetised economies. When aligned with the cash income derived from the judicial lordship (court fees, fines, share of recovered debts, etc), the attraction of creating a ‘borough’ - once conditions permitted, can be understood.

After the Treaty of Aberconwy (1277) these conditions prevailed in west Wales: the region had just come out of a long phase of unrest and conflict into a short period of stability and Guy de Brian had spent enormous sums – which probably needed to be recouped, during the

¹⁵⁴ Loyn, ‘Llanfyllin: the charter and the Laws of Breteuil’, p.18.

¹⁵⁵ Dimmock, Social Conflict in Welsh Towns c.1280-1530, in Helen Fulton (ed). *‘Urban Culture in Medieval Wales’*, p.118.

¹⁵⁶ Lloyd, *A History of Carmarthenshire; Vol. 1*, p.309.

¹⁵⁷ See Dyer, ‘Modern Perspectives on Medieval Welsh Towns’ in Griffiths and Schofield (eds). *‘Wales and the Welsh in the Middle Ages’*, pp.163-179.

¹⁵⁸ Stevens, *The Economy of Medieval Wales*, p.43.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p.38.

1260's, rebuilding the castle after its destruction in 1257, so this analysis would fit with the putative dates for the charter being around that time. Edward I's own creation of a string of new towns across north Wales after his victory over Prince Llywelyn simply emulated this tested pattern of town formation, with over a dozen charters issued to prospective boroughs within a few years, including Aberystwyth (1277), Flint (1278), Conwy (1283) and Beaumaris (1295).

CHAPTER THREE
THE WITNESSES TO THE CHARTER: CONNECTIONS THROUGH
POWER AND FAMILY.

“We have strengthened this present charter with the impression of our seal, these men being witnesses, Galfrid de Caunville, Patrick de Cadure, William de Caunvill, Thomas de Roche, Roger Corbet, knights: John Laundry, Walter Malenfant, Mared ab Traharn, Thomas Bonegent, clerk, and others.” (Final paragraph of the Laugharne charter).

It has been highlighted that many of the Anglo-Norman lords and knights held lands in western England before conquering new holdings in Wales and in a land where it was too dangerous to place government entirely in local hands, ‘strangers were sent to be justiciars, chamberlains and castle-constables – men sometimes from the Marchland, occasionally from a distant English shire, but especially from the border counties’.¹⁶⁰ Accordingly, the lives of the Marcher lords were interwoven through heritage, battle campaigns, and common duties, with many of the same names to be found on many extant official documents in west Wales.

This chapter will attempt to show two things: firstly, how these power relations and familial connections in the March of west Wales came together to create a shared understanding and ambition for the royal strategy of conquest (including the issuing of charters). Secondly, a forensic examination of the witnesses’ lives also supports the notion that the Laugharne charter was granted between November 1279 and early 1282. However, there is a need for some caution regarding individual dates of birth, death, etc., because records of such events during the thirteenth century can be obscure with different sources suggesting differing dates for the same event. It is for this reason that historical events which are formally recorded in official rolls (e.g. the transfer of the lordship of Carmarthen from Prince Edmund to King Edward in November 1279) are used to ‘bookend’ other incidents with a less certain date (e.g. an individual’s death). The identification of those who are believed to be main witnesses to the charter is highlighted by the insertion of the letter [w] after the first mention of their name.

Clearly the first family to be considered are the de Brians, the lords of Walwyn and Laugharne castles, but also owning lands in Devon and Ireland. Some of the family

¹⁶⁰ Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages*, p.xviii.

genealogy has been dealt with in earlier chapters but for the sake of completeness the family tree at Appendix Four (page 60), covering the critical period, is referred to.

From the outset, the connection between the de Brian family (owners of Torbryan Manor, Walwyn castle and Laugharne castle) and the de Tracy's, owners of Barnstaple Manor in Devon, is clear. Sir Henry de Tracy was a contemporary of Guy de Brian (IV) and held many royal appointments, including Constable of Exeter castle, Baron of the Exchequer and Governor of Lundy Island. His daughter, Eve de Tracy, married Guy de Brian (V) and they had two children, Guy VI, and Maud (aka Matilda). The position adopted by this essay is that Guy V (1222-1268) was the 'Guy the elder' referred to in the first paragraph of the charter, being well known for his involvement in fighting the Welsh and being captured and ransomed in 1258.¹⁶¹ Guy V was also appointed constable of Cardigan and Carmarthen castles in 1264.¹⁶² It was during Guy V's tenure of Laugharne that the castle was destroyed in 1257 and subsequently rebuilt throughout the 1260s, firstly by him and, after his death in 1268, by Guy VI [w].¹⁶³

It can be seen from the third line of the family tree that Nicholas FitzMartin the 1st (d. 1282) was a contemporary of Guy V and that both families hailed from the west country, with the FitzMartin's Combe Martin estate also adjacent to the de Tracy's at Barnstaple. The FitzMartin's Welsh lands centred around the lordship of Cemais (Newport) and FitzMartin was appointed by the king as constable of the castles at Cilgerran and Cardigan in 1257. Both he and Guy V were part of Stephen Bauzan's army which was decimated near Llandeilo Fawr by the Welsh in 1257, when both were taken prisoner.

Both families must have been reasonably close as Nichols FitzMartin's son, Nicholas FitzMartin II (1236-1260), was the first husband of Guy V's daughter Maud. Although Nicholas FitzMartin II died young, they had a son, Sir William Martin, who later became Justice of west and south Wales, again reinforcing how family and royal office were intertwined. These connections became even closer when FitzMartin's widow, Maud de Brian, married again, this time to Sir Geoffrey de Camville (1251-1308) [w], lord of

¹⁶¹ Avent, *Laugharne Castle*, p.9.

¹⁶² Ludlow, *Carmarthen Castle*, p.22.

¹⁶³ Avent, *Laugharne Castle*, p.9.

Llansteffan, and their son, Sir William de Camville (1268-1338) [w] later inherited Llansteffan from his father, whilst Amicia de Camville (the product of Sir Geoffrey's first marriage) married Sir William Martin to 'complete the circle'.

The third major family on the ancestral diagram is the de Chaworths, who were lords of Kidwelly, the manor to the east of, and adjacent to, Llansteffan. The lordship came into possession of the de Chaworths through the marriage of the heiress, Hawise de Londres, to Patrick de Chaworth I (1220-1257). Again, it will be noted that the de Chaworths themselves also held land in Gloucestershire. Patrick de Chaworth was a noted soldier and, as with Guy de Brian (V) and Nicholas FitzMartin I, he fought against the Welsh during the 1257 rebellion. In fact, whilst the latter two were taken prisoner, Patrick de Chaworth died a few months later, whilst on a royal mission to negotiate with the Welsh near Cemais,¹⁶⁴ with the lordship passing to his eldest son Payn de Chaworth (1245-1279).

From these few paragraphs, the importance of the coastal lordships of Laugharne, Llansteffan and Kidwelly to the royal commote of Carmarthen is clear. Many more powerful Marcher barons had significant interests outside of south-west Wales,¹⁶⁵ where their interests were purely financial; as a result, they were frequently 'absentee landlords'.¹⁶⁶ This amplified the importance of second tier Marcher lords of the mid-thirteenth century, such as the de Brians, de Chaworths, and de Camvilles to the security and efficient administration of the region. The three lordships not only guarded the coastal approaches to Carmarthen but supplied troops when needed. It is also clear that the barons themselves, vested with the king's authority as officers in the field, must have had a personal relationship with the monarch and an intimate understanding of the royal strategy and priorities vis à vis Wales.

This importance grew during the following generation with the three Marcher lords becoming even closer to Edward in the period leading up to the wars of 1277 and 1282.

For example, Pain (aka Payn) de Chaworth – as his father before him, became a prominent ally and agent of the king, with his actions going beyond simple 'allegiance to the crown'. In 1264, during the second barons' war, Pain de Chaworth (together with his brother-in-law,

¹⁶⁴ Jones, (trans. and ed.). *Brut Y Twysogyon, (Peniarth MS 20 version)*, pp.111-112.

¹⁶⁵ For example, the de Valences (Earl of Pembroke) held Wexford in Ireland and land in France.

¹⁶⁶ Davies, 'Conquest, Co-existence, and Change', p.395.

Robert Tibetot) was part of a small group of knights during the Baronial rebellion who ‘dashed across England to Wallingford’¹⁶⁷ in an attempt to rescue Prince Edward, and de Chaworth subsequently accompanied Edward on his crusade¹⁶⁸ to the Middle East (1270-74). As Stephen Bennett identifies, research into the crusades shows that members of the noble elite embarked on crusades with their own kind – either as family groups or those with whom they had close affinity,¹⁶⁹ suggesting de Chaworth was part of Edward’s trusted circle.

Later, in January 1277, Edward made Pain de Chaworth the captain of his forces in the south¹⁷⁰ during the war against Llewelyn and only one year later, in 1278, Pain was appointed by Edward to ‘hear and determine the pleas and suits’ by writ from anyone in west Wales with a grievance.¹⁷¹ However, he was dead by September 1279, with the manor ‘taken into the king’s hands’.¹⁷²

Pain’s younger brother Patrick [w] took over the estate shortly after Pain’s death, but he lived less than three years more. Sometime in December of 1282, Patrick de Chaworth took a force of 500 foot from Kidwelly to Cardiganshire to assist William de Valence during the second Welsh war and it is believed that he died during a skirmish with the Welsh.¹⁷³

The de Camvilles were equally involved in the war with Llywelyn, and Edward saw fit to write to Geoffrey de Camville in 1282, publicly acknowledging that he ‘has served the king well in repressing the Welsh malefactors....at his own cost’.¹⁷⁴

Interestingly, the records show Geoffrey’s son, William de Camville [w], being appointed in June of 1280 as a deputy of Bogo de Knoville, the justiciar of south Wales, in hearings regarding pleas and complaints touching the bishopric of St David’s.¹⁷⁵ He was also tasked with scrutinising the financial commitment involved in building Llanbarden castle in early

¹⁶⁷ Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, p.486.

¹⁶⁸ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p.1.

¹⁶⁹ Bennett, *Elite participation in the third crusade*, p.91.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.177.

¹⁷¹ *Calendar of various chancery rolls: Supplementary close rolls, Welsh rolls, Scutage rolls*. Entry for Jan. 10, 1278, p.163.

¹⁷² *Calendar of the Fine Rolls Vol I Edward I. A.D. 1272-1307*, Entry for Sept. 20, 1279, p.117. See also, *Calendar of Inquisitions, Post-mortem, Vol. II, Edward I*, p.182. Entry 310. Writ from King’s steward regarding land near Southampton.

¹⁷³ Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I*: p.184.

¹⁷⁴ *Calendar of various chancery rolls: Supplementary close rolls, Welsh rolls, Scutage rolls* p.229.

¹⁷⁵ Davies, *The Welsh Assize Roll, 1277-1284*, p.94.

1282¹⁷⁶ and in 1284 he was again appointed deputy king's justiciar – this time to Robert Tibetot.¹⁷⁷ These appointments are of note for two reasons: firstly, because during this period the justiciar 'was a supreme power, capable of limitation only by the king itself'.¹⁷⁸ Secondly, William de Camville was probably only in his teens when he was appointed to these posts, so his reputation and standing within the Carmarthen lordship must have been extremely high for the king's justiciar to want him as their deputy.

Doubtless, the fact that William's mother was Maud de Brian, the sister of Guy (VI) of Laugharne and that Robert Tibetot himself was married to Eve de Chaworth of Kidwelly meant the three coastal three Marcher lords themselves were embedded within the upper echelons of royal power in west Wales and critical to the maintenance of security in the region. Indeed, Beverley Smith suggests that 'if Valence [Earl of Pembroke] was the best endowed of the lords of south-west Wales, the crown relied much more on the dutiful activity of men such as Patrick de Chaworth and then Payn de Chaworth, Nicholas FitzMartin at Cemais or Guy de Brian at Laugharne'.¹⁷⁹ The foregoing paragraphs support that view and can only mean that the ambitions of Edward for the creation of chartered towns were well known in west Wales.

In fact, Edward's own actions evidence this with one of his first acts after being gifted the lordship of Carmarthen by his father being to grant a 'Breteuil style' charter to the town in 1254. There is also the incident later in his life (1306), when he forced William de Braose (Lord of Gower) to grant a charter to the town of Swansea so as 'to impose some check on unlimited Marcher authority and to establish the right of tenants of the march to appeal to the crown'.¹⁸⁰

This perspective is widely shared by modern academics who cite Edward's liberal use of Quo Warranto proceedings (royal enquiries into the validity of claimed privileges and rights),¹⁸¹ the granting of numerous charters which bestowed rights on tenant burgesses in many 'plantation towns' after 1283, and his determination for the authority of the crown to

¹⁷⁶ Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages*, p.91.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p.20.

¹⁷⁹ Beverley Smith. *LLywelyn ap Gruffudd*, p.142.

¹⁸⁰ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p.234.

¹⁸¹ See Frame, *The Political Development of the British Isles*, p.147.

be respected, as underpinning the wider objective of extending to all the inhabitants of Wales the benefits of the best administrative and legal system possible.¹⁸²

As a result, two conclusions can be drawn in this chapter thus far: Firstly, the Marcher barons of west Wales – particularly Guy de Brian VI, were fully aware of Edward’s agenda and would have felt pressured to introduce charters and grant privileges to their towns when the opportunity arose during a period of peace and prosperity, such as occurred between 1279 and 1282. Secondly, the birth and death dates of the main witnesses to the charter, Guy VI (1251-1307), Patrick (II) de Chaworth (c.1250-Jan. 1283), Geoffrey de Camville (1251-1308), and Geoffrey’s son William de Camville (1268-1338) would allow for the granting of the charter between November 1279 (the date Edward assumed feudal overlordship of Carmarthen) and December 1282 (the date Patrick de Chaworth died in a skirmish).

Two additional factors stand out as corroborating these conclusions. Pain de Chaworth (Patrick’s eldest brother) was the tenant-in-chief of Kidwelly (and the king’s captain, etc.) and, given this senior status relative to his younger brother, he would surely have been the ‘Kidwelly’ witness to any Laugharne charter granted before November 1279. Whatever doubt may surround his date of death, the entry in the Calendar of Fine Rolls for September 1279 can be taken as irrefutable proof that he was dead by the September of 1279 and that Patrick became tenant in chief of Kidwelly. The month of Patrick’s own death is less certain other than it was early in 1283.¹⁸³ leaving his sole, one year old child, Maud, to become heiress to Kidwelly¹⁸⁴ and a ward of Queen Eleanor, the king’s consort. However, the second Llywelyn rebellion broke out in North Wales on March 21, 1282¹⁸⁵ and the Welsh had attacked and captured Llandovery (in modern-day Carmarthenshire) by March 26th, so the exact date of Patrick’s death is not critical because Guy (VI) and the ‘knights and all others of west Wales’¹⁸⁶ were ordered on 25 March by the king to come to arms and would have been preoccupied with war after that date.

¹⁸² See for example Chrimes, *King Edward I’s policy for Wales*, p.16. Also, Stones. *Edward I*, p.16; Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I*, p.220; Davies, *Conquest, Co-existence, and Change*, pp.376-377.

¹⁸³ Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages*, index entry for Patrick de Chaworth, page 514. See also, Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I*, p.184.

¹⁸⁴ Fleming, *The Welsh Marcher Lordships*, p.205.

¹⁸⁵ Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages*, p.348.

¹⁸⁶ *Calendar of various Chancery Rolls: Supplementary Close Rolls, Welsh Rolls, Scutage Rolls*, p.213.

Secondly, whilst the period 1279 –1282 would raise doubt over William de Camville’s maturity and ability to be a signatory, the fact that reliable records show him to have been deputy justiciar at that time suggests the doubt should be applied to his purported year of birth (1268) rather than his age at the time of the charter. It should also be noted that Edward was only fifteen years of age when he was betrothed and granted lordship of Carmarthen castle, so William appearing as a signatory (after his father’s signature) on the charter around the same age would not necessarily be unusual in late medieval Wales.

Having considered the familial connections and lives of the main witnesses, it is essential to also examine the others named in the first paragraph of the charter as signatories, to ensure their lifespans do not contradict the foregoing analysis.

Thomas de Roche (aka de Rupe), Roger Corbet, John Laudrey and Walter Malefant were all knights local to west Wales with long-standing feudal connections to the de Brians.

Thomas de Roche (died 1314)¹⁸⁷ held Roche castle near Laugharne and his family also held land near Cork, Ireland. His father, John de Roche, had married Matilda, the niece of Thomas Wallensis, Bishop of St David’s, and received from the bishop by an undated charter (around 1250) the manor of Eglwys Cymun (3 miles west of Laugharne) which the bishop held from Guy (V) de Brian.¹⁸⁸ One of the witnesses to this charter was Walter Malefant (senior) who had married Alice de Roche and who was to die – together with Patrick (I) de Chaworth, at the battle of Cilgerran in 1258.¹⁸⁹

Returning to Thomas de Roche, a fine was made sometime in 1274 between him and Sir William de Boleville,¹⁹⁰ regarding lands at Westfield in the manor of Burton, and his death in 1314 is evidenced by a will, so contemporary documents confirm him as being alive between 1279 and 1280. His name also appears in the Calendar of Charter Rolls in the year of 1297, where an *Inspeximus* (confirmatory) charter in favour of the monks at the monastery of Pill (near Milford Haven) was witnessed (amongst others) by Thomas de Roche, Sir Guy de

¹⁸⁷Owen, *Old Pembroke Families in the Ancient County Palatine of Pembroke*, p.70.

¹⁸⁸ Owen. ‘The family de la Roche’, p.441.

¹⁸⁹ Lloyd. *Welsh Battlefields Historical Study*, p.7..

¹⁹⁰ Owen. *Old Pembroke Families in the Ancient County Palatine of Pembroke*, p.78.

Brian, and Walter Malefant,¹⁹¹ reinforcing how the local gentry supported each other in legal matters.

The Malefants were tenants of the Earl of Pembroke and held Upton castle on the river Cleddau. Walter Malefant (senior) had one son, also called Walter,¹⁹² who was born in 1257 and died around 1340. It was this Malefant who appears both in the charter of 1297, above, and the Laugharne charter.

The witness Roger Corbet was also a knight and the family possessed large estates in Shropshire and Gloucestershire,¹⁹³ with affiliations to a Chaddesley Corbet in Worcestershire, which is where Roger Corbert was born around 1233. Corbet held land in Pembrokeshire through his marriage to Nesta de la Vale, whose family had possessions principally in the baronies of Walwyn's castle (the de Brians) and Cemais (FitzMartins).¹⁹⁴ Nesta de Vale is then later known to have been a widow and married to a Thomas de Roshal after 1289.¹⁹⁵ Little else is known, but the connection between Corbet and the de Brians is made out and the dates do not jeopardise the Laugharne charter being signed between 1279 and 1282.

The last of the knights to be considered is John Landrey who has a well-documented history and, again, historical connections to the west country. There is evidence that a man called 'Landry the knight' held land in Totnes (the home of the de Brian family) in 1086 and both he and a forebear of the FitzMartins (later of Cemais) witnessed the foundation charter of Totnes Priory in 1080/1086.¹⁹⁶

Coplestone-Crow traces the family across the Severn estuary to a Richard Fitz Landry who granted Carmarthen Priory free patronage of a chapel in Abercywyn (9 miles west of Carmarthen) and whose death is recorded, together with the lands in Carmarthen which he held of the king, in June, 1251.¹⁹⁷ These lands passed to Richard's brother, Sir William

¹⁹¹ *Calendar of Charter Rolls, Henry III-Edward I. A.D. 1257-1300*, p.468..

¹⁹² Owen, *Old Pembroke Families in the Ancient County Palatine of Pembroke*, p.46.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.94.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.91.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.93.

¹⁹⁶ Coplestone-Crow, 'The Norman lordships or manors of Llanddowror, Llandeilo, Abercywyn and Llangain', p.13.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Laundry (the name changed from Landry at this point), who was also one of the witnesses (together with Walter Malefant) to the grant by Bishop Thomas of Eglwys Cummin to Thomas de Roche around 1250 (see page 37 above).

Sometime between 1256 and 1272, Sir William's inheritance passed to Richard FitzLaundry's senior son, John Laundry, Lord of Llandeilo Abercywyn, who at this time confirmed his father's grant to Carmarthen Priory.¹⁹⁸ John senior died by 1308, when an *inquisition post-mortem* shows his estate included substantial tracts of land (50 acres) at Rhydygors and Laundry's Hill, Carmarthen, as well as a carucate of land in Llangain (held of the de Brians)¹⁹⁹ with the survey of the 'extent of Carmarthen' in 1275 showing Laundry 'holding one knight's fee'.²⁰⁰ At the time of death, his son, also called John, was 50 years old²⁰¹ and it was he who is believed to have been the signatory to the charter.

This leaves only two other witnesses to be considered. The first, Mared ab Traharn, does not appear in any local records, but Thomas Bonegent, 'clerk' (clericus) appears frequently in that capacity in other records, notably in the land transfer charters of Llansteffan. For example, he appears as late as 1300 in a charter by Philip Cras, granting his land to William Fort,²⁰² so it may be assumed that he acted as clerk for many local transactions.

One additional important consideration which arises from a study of the Llansteffan cartulary is Ralph Griffiths' conclusion that a 'number of grants and quitclaims evidence the existence of a borough'.²⁰³ For example, a quitclaim by Meruddud, heir of Philip Fychan to William Fort (who was constable of Llansteffan castle) of his right to one 'burgage' (*burgagium*) in Llansteffan is dated 10 June 1280²⁰⁴ and there is also regular use of the term *villa* to describe the town – a word usually associated with a borough. Another quitclaim (1289-1307) which relates to land passing from Geoffrey de Camville to William Fort uses the phrase *liberum*

¹⁹⁸ James, 'Medieval Carmarthen and its Burgesses', p.21. Also, Coplestone-Crow, 'The Norman lordships or manors of Llanddowror, Llandeilo, Abercywyn and Llangain', p.14.

¹⁹⁹ James, 'Medieval Carmarthen and its Burgesses', p.21

²⁰⁰ Daniel-Tyssen, *Royal Charters and Historical Documents relating to the Town & County of Carmarthen*, p.49.

²⁰¹ Spurrell, 'The Castle and Lordship of Llansteffan', p.91.

²⁰² Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales*, p.212.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

burgagium which Griffiths suggests reflects the privileged nature of the Llansteffan burgesses on payment of the fixed one shilling fixed annual rent.²⁰⁵

Taken together this strongly suggests that Llansteffan held borough status by 1280 and supports the notion that Laugharne was of similar status around that time.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS

It has not been possible to find any 'long-lost' manuscript or copy of an original dated and signed Laugharne charter, but research has made it possible to answer the original questions with academic evidence and corroboration. It has also been possible to identify a reasonably short 'window' during which the charter must have been issued.

Before detailing some conclusions, it is appropriate to address the various hypotheses which stood at the outset, in particular the possibility that the charter was issued either in 1307 (as tentatively suggested in E.V. Lewis's booklet of 1963), 1290 (the widely held view locally), or that the copy of the charter discussed in Chapter Two is, in fact, an *inspeximus* or re-grant of a previously existing charter.

The first of these was addressed on pages 27-28 above, where it is concluded Laugharne must have been a chartered borough before 1307, because the burgesses of Laugharne were granted an ability to trade freely in the borough of Swansea under William Braose's charter to that town of 1306.

The second, the possibility that the charter was granted in 1290, is based upon the notion that the Statute of Quia Emptores was introduced that year. The Statute prevented the growth of the feudal pyramid by ensuring that any duties and obligations passed down the letting chain and has been interpreted as placing a responsibility on lords such as Guy (VI) de Brian to have an efficient revenue collection system to pay royal taxes. The creation of a corporation placed the onus on the corporation's bailiffs and would have removed this concern from the lord himself.

However, this research has shown that it was the Barons themselves who sought this legislation.²⁰⁶ The Crown had already guarded its own position regarding tenants-in-chief with an ordinance of 1228 forbidding lords to grant lands to the church, and writs of 1256 had forbidden any alienations by tenants-in-chief without special permission.²⁰⁷ Tenants-in-

²⁰⁶ Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp.270 and 274.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

chief, however, did not have equivalent rights over their own tenants – hence the request for the legislation. It therefore seems unlikely that Guy (VI) de Brian would have seen the statute as a royal threat to his position – rather it would have been an aid to rent collection.

Secondly, the date of 1290 falls at least seven years after the documented death of one of the witnesses to the charter, Patrick de Chaworth, rendering that date impossible.

Finally, the assertion that the Laugharne charter was an *inspeximus* or confirmation of a previous charter is dealt with initially on pages eight and nine (above) but dismissed more comprehensively on page 29. The absence of any relevant opening phrase in the Laugharne charter means that this can be discounted.

Turning now to the conclusions of this study: Chapter One highlights how Norman incursions into Wales had reached Carmarthen by the twelfth century, with a royal castle establishing a ‘New’ Carmarthen, Flemish settlers reaching Pembrokeshire, and nascent lordships emerging across south Wales.

The Norman castle was critical to this conquest phase, and Anglo-Norman lords, such as the de Brians and de Camville’s, evident in the region in the early thirteenth century, developed independent Marcher manors supported by mainly alien ‘Englishry’ trader settlements in the shadow of a castle.

The later creation of chartered boroughs was an initiative by Edward I to both curtail the excessive independence of renegade Marcher lords, to secure an economic future of towns by stimulating a market economy and to begin the process of ‘anglicising’ the civil administration and the judicial system. Such transformational economic development necessitated peace and security - conditions which would give confidence to traders, craftsmen, and merchants to come to west Wales, but which were absent for long periods.

Edward I granted New Carmarthen borough status between 1254 and 1257, after receiving the demesne as a gift from Henry III, and Chapter Two identifies that it is this charter upon which the Laugharne manuscript is substantially based. However, a Welsh revolt of 1257 brought havoc across west Wales, including the destruction of the castle and settlement at

Laugharne, which were not restored until the 1270s, preventing any extension of Carmarthen's privileges to the town during that period.

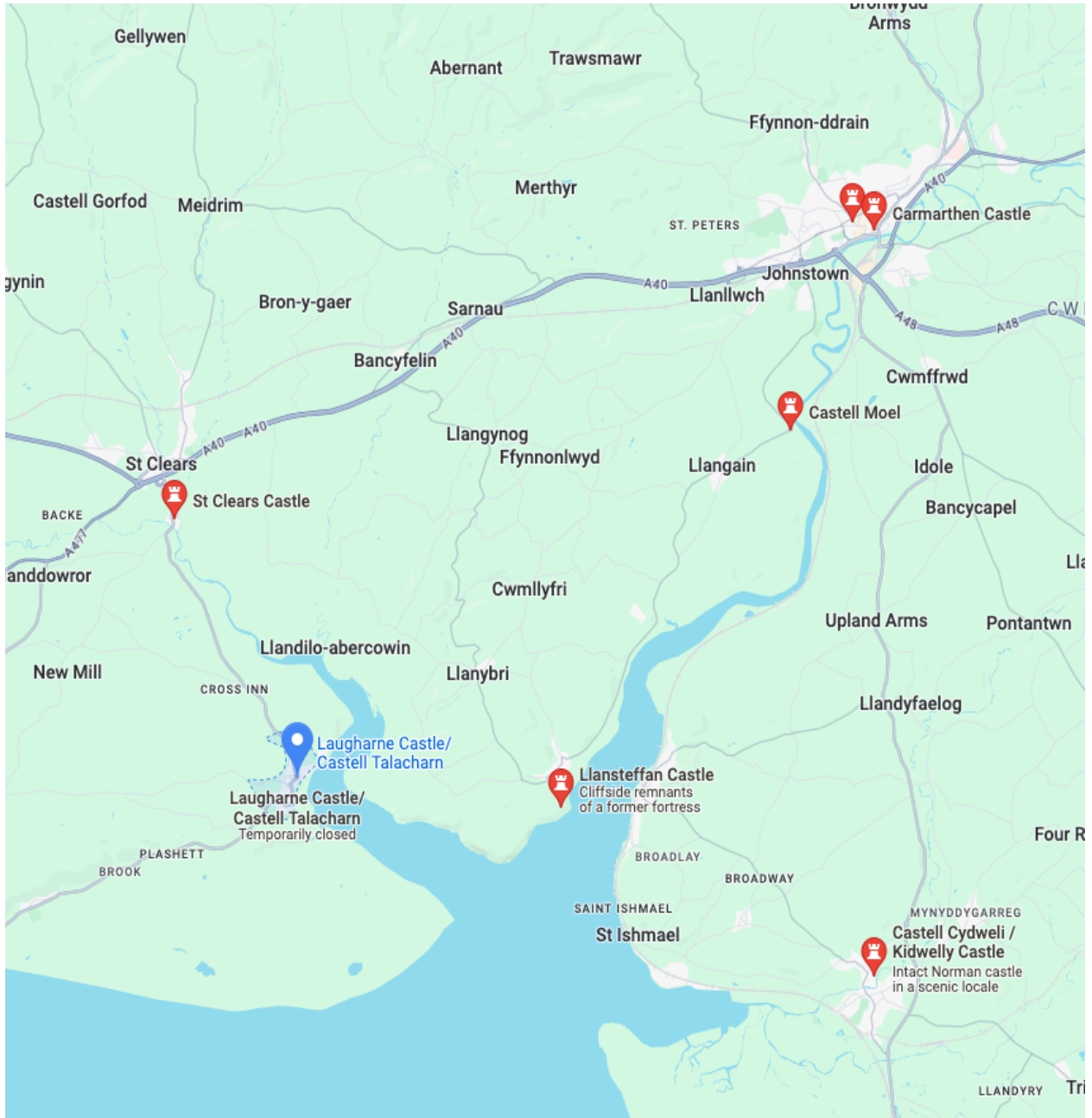
Given that Edward's younger brother, Edmund, was 'lord' of Carmarthen between 1265 and November 1279 (the date the lordship returned to Edward), and the Laugharne charter identifies Edward as the feudal lord at the time it was granted, the socio-political conditions dictate that the Laugharne charter must post-date 1279.

Guy (VI) de Brian would have been only too aware of Edward's support for chartered boroughs and would have felt compelled to deliver against king Edward's strategy to assimilate Wales into his kingdom when the opportunity presented itself from November 1279 onwards. The outbreak of the second Llywelyn rebellion in March 1282 would have consumed de Brian's attention and any consideration of a charter after this time would not have been countenanced during a period of armed conflict. Finally, the fact Llansteffan also appear to have held the status of a borough by 1280 supports this notion.

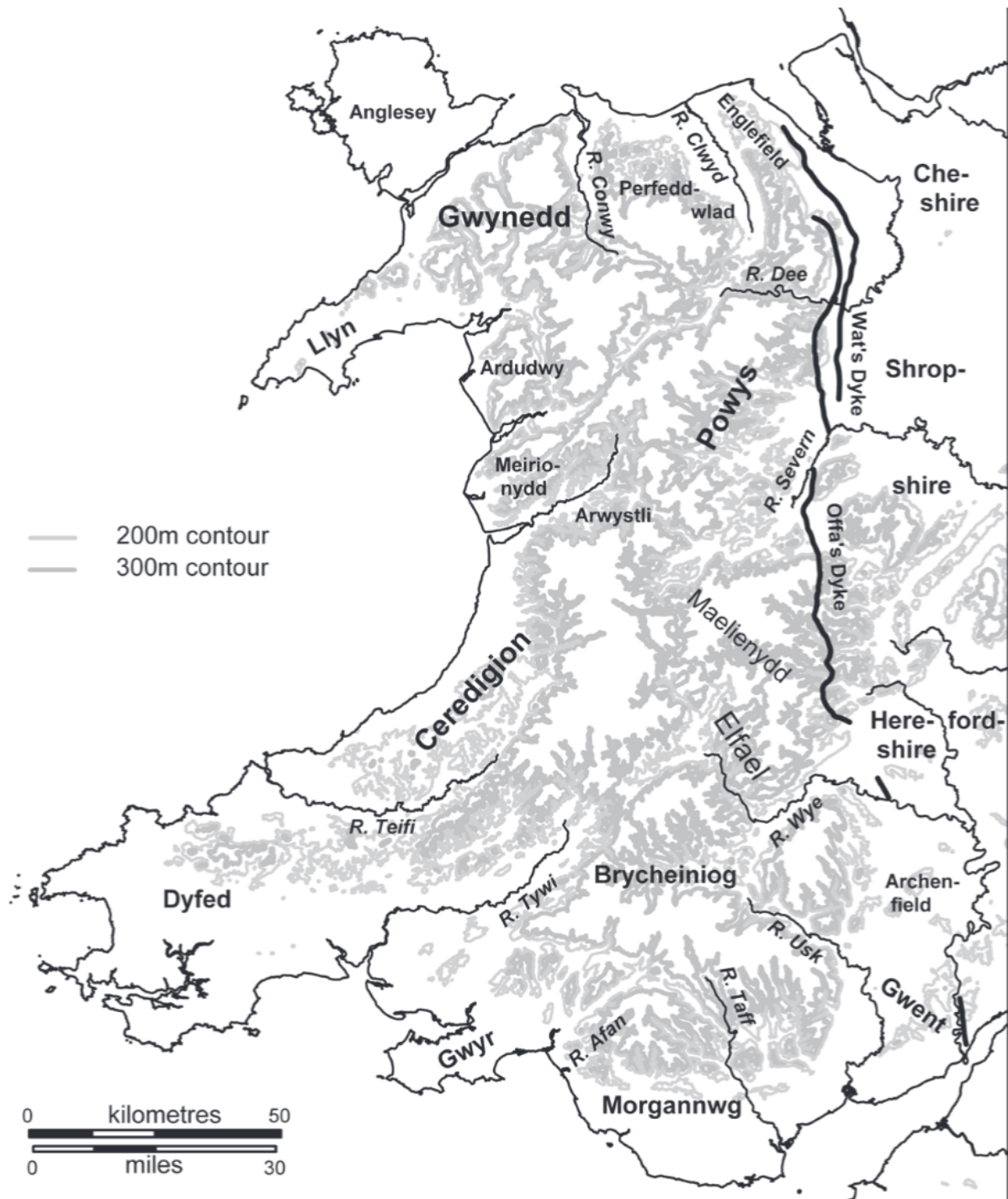
These putative dates of November 1279-March 1282 are strongly supported by a review of the witnesses to the charter, with the birth and death dates of Pain and Patrick de Chaworth, corroborated by contemporary royal records, providing overwhelming evidence for that period. Pain de Chaworth - who would surely have signed the charter as lord of Kidwelly if alive, died sometime before September 1279 and his younger brother, Patrick, a witness to the charter, was dead by early 1283.

The birth and death dates of the other eight witnesses also 'fit' with this conclusion.

In short, the evidence shows that the Laugharne charter was granted by Guy (VI) de Brian, (1251-1307), sometime between November 1279 and March 1282 in accordance with Edward I's wider strategy vis à vis Wales.



MAP ONE: LOCATION OF LAUGHARNE, LLANSTEFFAN, KIDWELLY AND CARMARTHEN CASTLES.

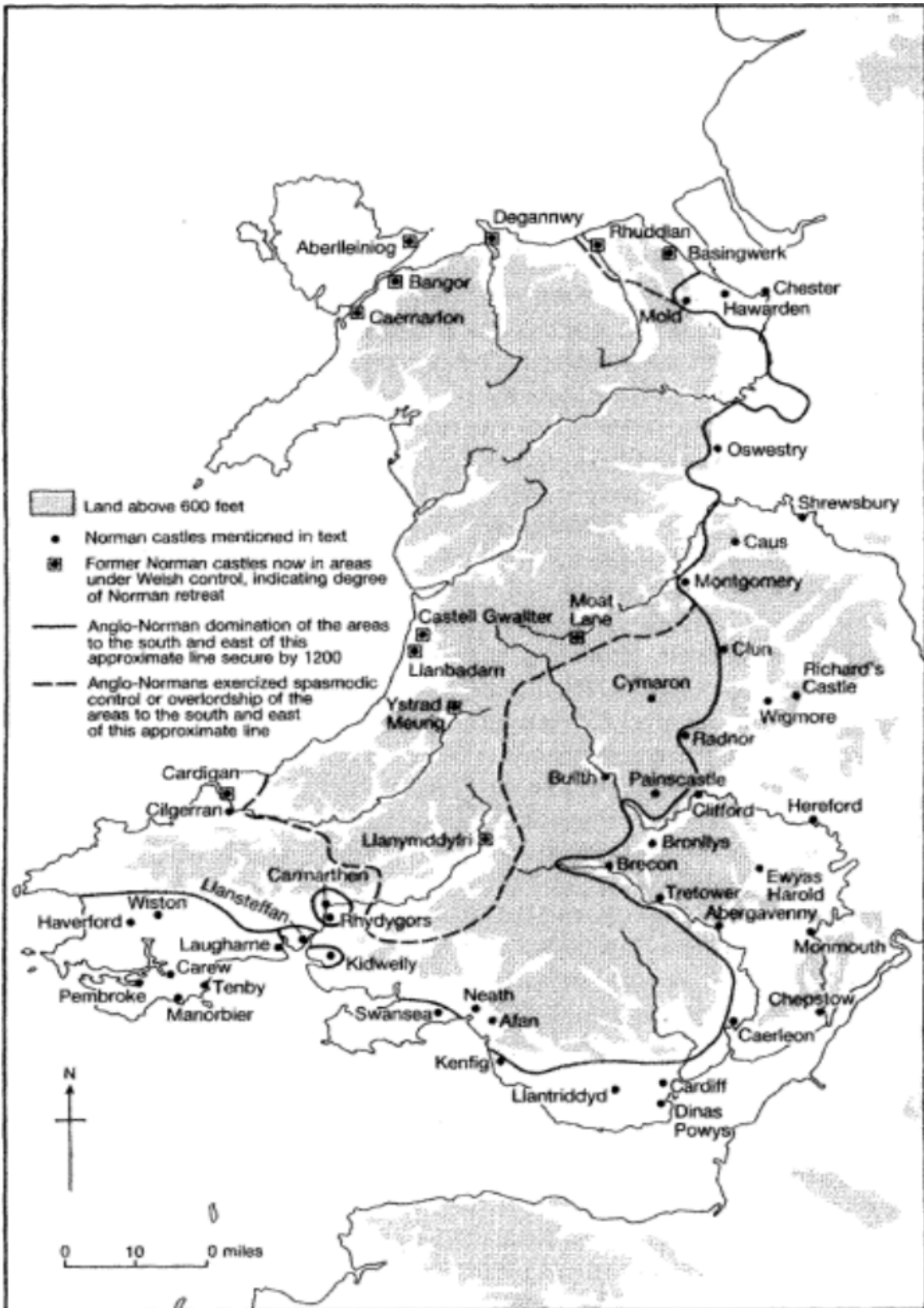


MAP TWO: WALES AND THE BORDER WITH ENGLAND (C 1067)²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Maps one, four and six reproduced from Mathew Frank Stevens. 'The Economy of Medieval Wales, 1067-1536'. (University of Wales Press, 2019). Pages xi-xii. Publisher permission online.



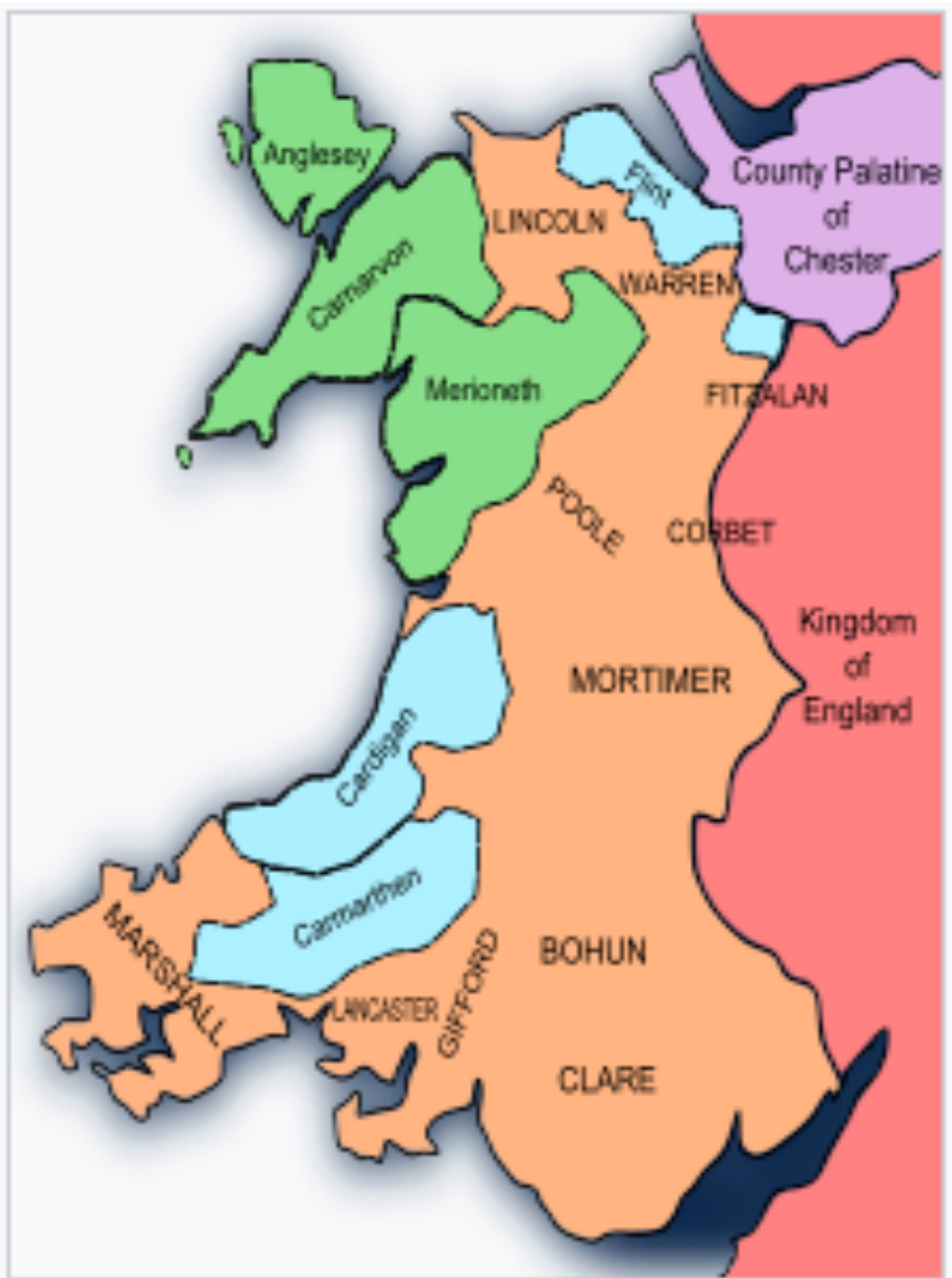
MAP THREE: THE ANCIENT KINGDOMS AND CANTREFI (SUB-KINGDOMS) OF WALES CIRCA 1066.



MAP FOUR: WALES AND THE EMERGING MARCH IN SOUTH WALES (C.1200)



MAP FIVE: THE 'PRINCIPALITY' AND MARCH OF WALES C. 1272



MAP SIX: EDWARDIAN SETTLEMENT OF WALES 1282 ONWARDS

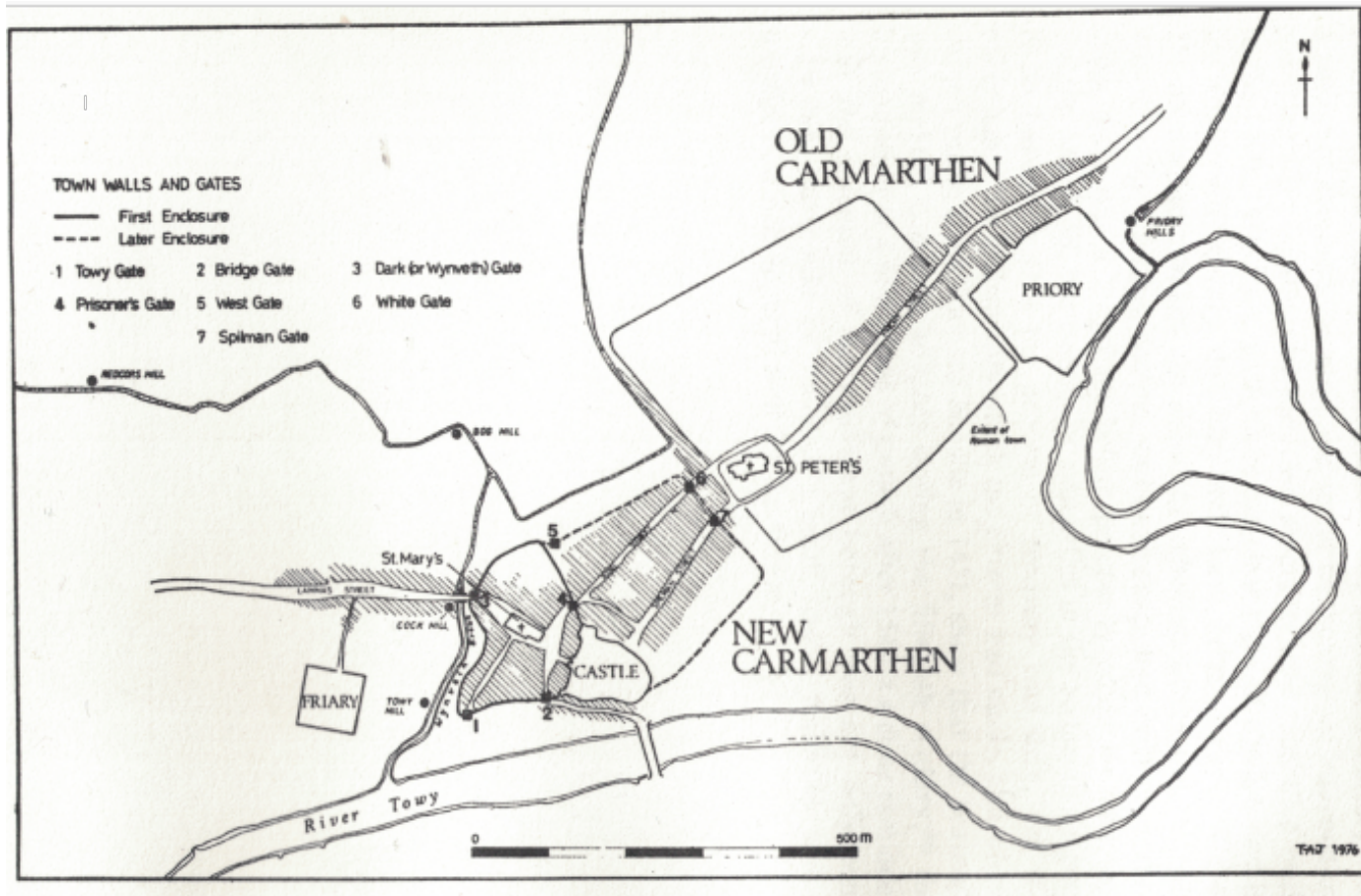
Former Principality of Gwynedd: New Counties created by Statute of Rhuddlan (Statute of Wales).

Counties created/confirmed by Statute of Rhuddlan

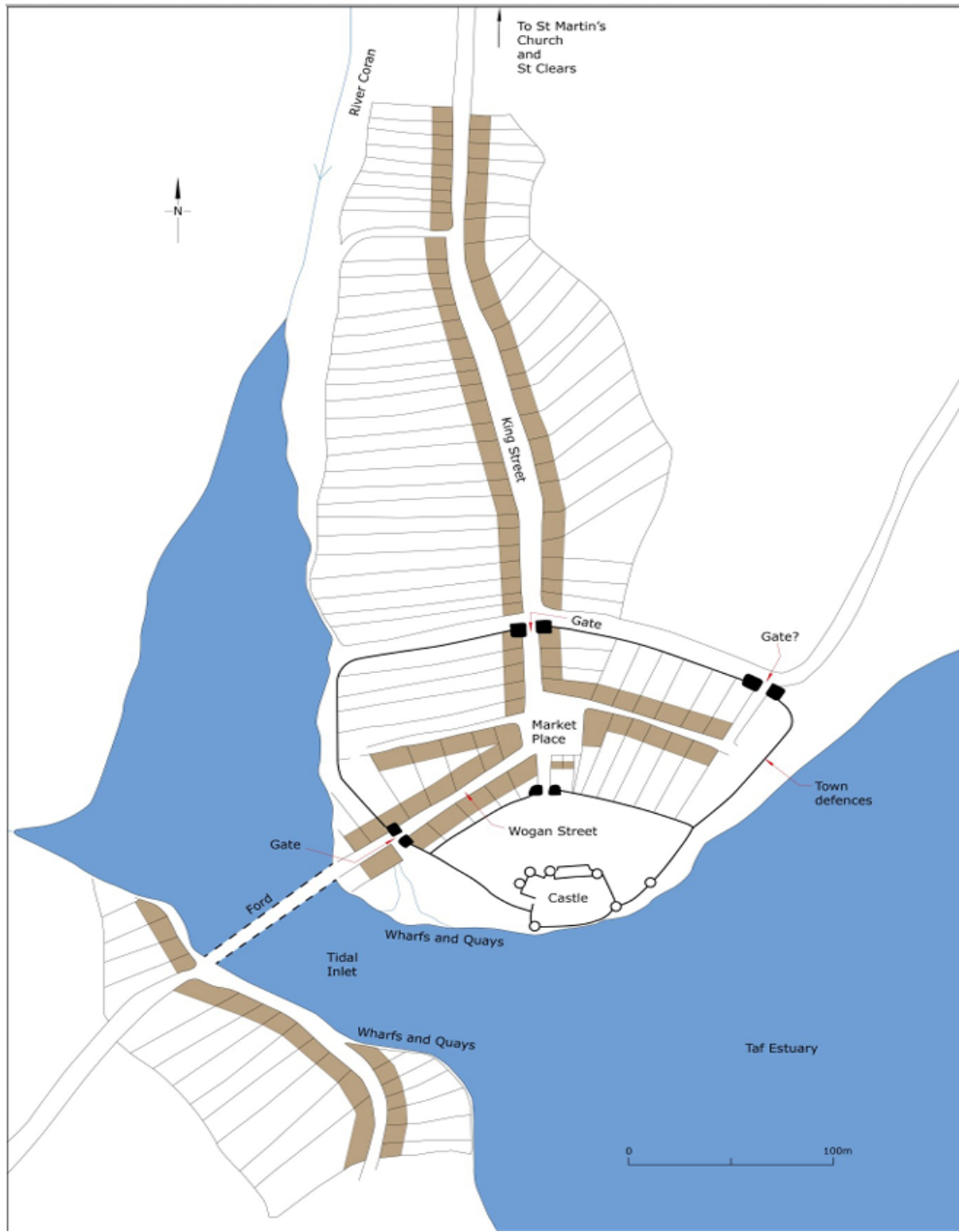
Lordships of the Marcher Barons



MAP SEVEN: THE TOWNS OF WALES C. 1300



**APPENDIX ONE: 'OLD' AND 'NEW' CARMARTHEN SHOWING THE
CASTLE AND BURGAGE PLOTS, C1268
(AT THE TIME OF SURVEY BY LORD EDMUND)**



APPENDIX TWO: CONJECTURAL PLAN OF LAUGHARNE C 1320
(‘Englishry’ within walled area) ²⁰⁹

²⁰⁹ Per Ken Murphy. *The Archaeology of the Medieval Towns of South-West Wales: Laugharne*. (Dyfed Archaeological Trust. February 2021). Online: chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://www.dyfedarchaeology.org.uk/wp/wp-content/uploads/historic-towns-2020/EPRN_125663_LAUGHARNE.pdf. Accessed 10 December 2023.

APPENDIX THREE

LAUGHARNE CORPORATION – THE CHARTER

ENGLISH VERSION OF THE CHARTER

(English translation of the original charter held by Laugharne Corporation and reproduced from E. V. Williams²¹⁰. Paragraph lettering added.)

- a. To all the faithful in Christ, to whom this present writing shall come, Gwydo de Brione, the younger, wisheth eternal salvation in the Lord. Let all men know that we have granted to our beloved and faithful burgesses of Thalacarn [*Laugharne*], for us and for our heirs and for our successors, whoever they may be, all the good laws and customs that the burgesses of Carmarthen have up to now used and enjoyed in the time of King John, the grandfather of the Lord Edward, the son of Henry, and their predecessors, kings of England, preserving the weights and measures that were in the time of Gwydo de Brione, the elder.
- b. We have also granted to the same men a free common in all our northern wood, that is to say, in the whole forest of Coydebech and all that common pasture in the marsh of Thalacarn which is called Menecors along the marks and boundaries as it is perambulated, and also all that free common from the rivulet which is named Mackorellis on proceeding upwards as far as Greensladeshead, and so towards the east over Eynons-down by the way that leads to Brangweys and from there to Corranshead and so upwards to Horilake and from there to the top of Tadhil, and so downwards to Passenant's Lake and so towards the east to the bounds between Moldhill and the carucate of land [*a 'carucate' of land is as much as could be tilled with one plough – pulled by oxen – in a year*] that formerly belonged to Rice, the son of William, and downwards to the water of the Taf, and so to Heming's Well and from there upwards to Horestone and so to Pensernes and from there downwards to Blindwell and so to Rochcomb and so downwards to the ancient whirlpool of the Taf and from there to Howelscroft and so upwards to the Burch and Mere, and so downwards to the long rock which is near our virgate of Thalacarn.
- c. Also, we have granted to the same men one way sixteen feet in width to drive their cattle from the common pasture aforesaid near Passenant's Lake to the water of the Taf.
- d. Also, we have granted to the same men one customary acre in length and breadth for digging turfs where they suitably wish to choose in the Turbary near Passenant's Lake.
- e. We have also granted to our burgesses aforesaid that they themselves for the transgression or forfeiture of their servants may not lose their own chattels and goods

²¹⁰ E.V. Williams, '*Laugharne Corporation. Founded AD1290*', (Narbeth, Wales, c1963). Pages 4-6.

found in the hands of the servants or placed aside anywhere by the servants themselves within our land, as far as they will be able to prove that they are their own.

- f. And that, if the aforesaid burgesses, or some among them, within our land have died testate or intestate, neither we nor our heirs shall cause their goods to be confiscated so that their heirs do not have the things themselves entirely, as far as it will be established that the aforesaid chattels were those of the said deceased, provided that then knowledge or confidence may be had concerning the aforesaid heirs.
- g. Also we have granted to the same men that no one of them within our land be troubled for the debt of some neighbour, unless he be his debtor or his surety, and that the surety of any one should not be compelled to pay, provided the debtor has wherewith he can pay, and that all offences committed within their township be corrected according to the judgement of the same people, as has hitherto been accustomed to be done in the borough of Kymarden.
- h. We have also granted to the same men, if anyone of them within his township shall have incurred forfeiture towards anyone, he may not be led within the gates of the castle, provided that then he can find good and safe sureties for his standing trial.
- i. And that no one of them be compelled to provide his lord, or any bailiff of his, beyond twelve pence, unless he wishes to do it of his own good will, and that no inquisition of affairs on non-burgesses be made by the aforesaid burgesses, but by the freeholders of the country, nor of the burgesses by non-burgesses.
- j. Also we have granted to the same our burgesses that they themselves choose twice in a year two competent burgesses to the office of our Portreeve, that is to say one in the next hundred-court after the feast of St. Michael, the other in the next hundred-court after Easter, by the common consent of the same men and not by our authority or that of someone, a bailiff of ours, to hold the hundred-court and to receive the attachments belonging to the hundred and to receive the rent from the township and the toll.
- k. And that the said Portreeves pay the aforesaid rent and toll to us or to our aforesaid bailiff, appointed for this purpose, within the township of Thalacarn [Laugharne] by Tally.
- l. And that they should not have any other duty of buying of exchange, or any other service whatsoever that could harm them within the township or without.
- m. We have also granted to the same men that the aforesaid burgesses be free from every kind of servitude and service of ploughing, harrowing, making hay, reaping, binding corn and of any kind of carting, of repairing the mill or its pond and from all other kinds of services that could tend to their slavery or their loss within the township and without.
- n. And that they go not to the army except to guard their township, as the burgesses of Kymarden do.
- o. We wish also and grant that, if anyone in the open day, in the presence of his neighbours should buy anything, and afterwards that thing should be ill-spoken of, as

if stolen, the buyer lose nothing except then that thing, but it shall be sworn on the oath of his neighbours that he did not know that he had bought that thing from a thief.

- p. And, that this our grant and the confirmation of our present charter for us and for ours heirs and for our successors or assigns, whoever they may be, should remain firm and unshaken for ever, we have strengthened this present charter with the impression of our seal, these men being witnesses, Galfrid de Caunville, Patrick de Cadure, William de Caunvill, Thomas de Roche, Roger Corbet, knights: John Laundry, Walter Malenfant, Mared ab Traharn, Thomas Bonegent, clerk, and others.

APPENDIX FOUR

FAMILY CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE DE BRIAN's, DE CAMVILLE's, DE CHAWORTH's, ETC.²¹¹

KEY:

<div style="background-color: #cfe2f3; padding: 2px; margin-bottom: 5px; display: inline-block;">De Brians</div> LAUGHARNE, TORBAY & WALWYN CASTLE (Carmarthenshire, Devon & Pems.)	<div style="background-color: #d9ead3; padding: 2px; margin-bottom: 5px; display: inline-block;">De Camvilles</div> LLANSTEFFAN & CLIFTON CASTLE (Carmarthenshire, Staffs)	<div style="background-color: #fce4d6; padding: 2px; margin-bottom: 5px; display: inline-block;">De Chaworths</div> KIDWELLY & KEMPSFORD CASTLE (Carmarthenshire & Gloucs.)
<div style="background-color: #f4cccc; padding: 2px; margin-bottom: 5px; display: inline-block;">FitzMartins</div> NEWPORT, COMBE MARTIN & BLAGDON CASTLE (Pembrokeshire, Devon & Somerset)	<div style="background-color: #f4cccc; padding: 2px; margin-bottom: 5px; display: inline-block;">De Tracys</div> BARNSTAPLE CASTLE (Devon)	<div style="background-color: #fce4d6; padding: 2px; margin-bottom: 5px; display: inline-block;">Carews</div> CAREW CASTLE (Pembrokeshire)
= Married to	= Descendant of	

Oliver de Tracy
d. c. 1200

Eve Fitzwarin

Thomas de Londres
d.1216

Guy de Brian (IV)
b. 1202 d. 1252

Sir Henry de Tracy
b.1196 d. 1274

(1) Walter de Braose.
d. 1233/4

Hawise de Londres
b.1211 d.1274

(2) Patrick de Chaworth (I)
b. c. 1220 d.1258

(2)
Joan Pole
m.
1250
d.1283

Guy de Brian (V)
b.c.1222 d.1268

(1) Eve de Tracy
b. c.1220
d.1274

William de Camville
b.1210 d.1260

Nicholas FitzMartin 1st
d. 1282

Payn de Chaworth
b. 1245 d. 1279

Patrick de Chaworth (II)
b. 1250 d. Jan 1283?

Eve de Chaworth
b.c. 1250
d.1300

Robert Tibetot
b.c.1247
d. 1297/8

William de Brian
d. 1244

Guy de Brian (VI)
b.c.1254 d.1307

Maud de Brian
b. 1242. d. bf 1279

(1) Nicholas FitzMartin 2nd
b.1236 d.1260

Maud de Chaworth
b. Feb. 1282 d. 1322

Henry Earl of Lancaster

Joan Carew
b.1309 d.1347

Guy de Brian (VII)
b.c. 1280 d.1349

(2) Sir Geoffrey de Camville.
b. bf 1251 d. 1308

2nd wife Joan
M. after 1279

Sir William Martin
b.c.1257 d. 1324

Amicia de Camville
b. c.1267 d. a.1306

Sir William de Camville
b. c.1268 d.1338

Maud Giffard

²¹¹ Compiled from the following sources:

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