DESCENT OF ST. MAUR FAMILY OF CO. MONMOUTH AND SEYMOUR FAMILY OF HATCH, CO. SOMERSET

by Paul C. Reed[1]

ABSTRACT

This Seymour family became renowned in the person of Jane Seymour, who died twelve days after the birth of Edward, the only legitimate son of Henry VIII to survive infancy. It is not surprising that the origins of this family came under the focus of the earliest English historians and genealogists, including Camden, Dugdale and Vincent. Brydges and others later attempted fuller accounts in their works on the peerage, but the paucity of surviving records has allowed errant conclusions and fictions to persist in the most widely available modern accounts. The purpose of this article is to present a fresh analysis of what survives and bring the subject up to current standards of scholarship.

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As is the case with so many medieval English families, our knowledge of the earliest generations of the Seymours in the century and a half after Domesday is vague and uncertain. The earliest definitely traceable ancestor appears in record because of his acquisition of land—he burst onto the scene through conquest. In a period when preserving the king's peace would normally have forbad dispossessing anyone of a manor (whether they had been in legitimate possession or not), at this specific time it furthered the interests of the crown to have Englishmen displace the native Welsh.

Even after the family acquired heritable land, the descent of the male line through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is not entirely certain because of the scant survival of documents concerning manors and lands in the Marches of Wales. The main St. Maur line in what is now Monmouthshire daughtered out within two centuries. The surname survived through a younger branch that became established in England because the wife of a younger son became an heiress of consequence after the death of her brother.

Origins

The earliest provable ancestor of this family, William de St. Maur, became a tenant of the two most powerful Marcher lords in south Wales, the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Gloucester. One could wish this were an indication that his ancestors had also been tenants of these earls in earlier generations, but that is not certain fact (ancestry cannot be established through sheer force of will simply because of an intrinsic drive to connect people who happen to share the same surname).

There were earlier instances of the St. Maur surname in that general region. As the given name Roger occurred frequently among William de St. Maur's descendants, it has been natural for authors to conclude that a Roger de St. Maur who witnessed a deed to the Priory of Monmouth about 1129 (definitely before 1140) was an ancestor.[2] The document this Roger witnessed was a grant by Richard de Cormeilles,

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[2] Wakeman (1862), 286-7. Morgan and Wakeman (1867), 6.

with the consent of his brothers Robert and Alexander, of all his rights in the church of Tadintona (Tarrington, Herefordshire) to the Priory of Monmouth. Witnesses included Geoffrey the Short, Prior of Monmouth, Baderon de Monmouth and his wife Rohes [de Clare],[3] Lambert de Troia, Richard de Rochevilla,[4] John de Sancto Tedeoco and Roger de Sancto Mauro.[5] There is nothing within this document, however, to connect this Roger to any later generation, especially as the town of Monmouth lay in the far northeast of the county at the border with Herefordshire and Gloucestershire.

The next person to definitely catch the notice of various authors was Bartholomew de St. Maur, who witnessed four of the Earl of Gloucester's charters of donation to Keynsham Abbey. Though Bartholomew witnessed Earl William's foundation charter (1166/7) and three others made before Earl William's death in 1183, the only other possibly familiar name in the witness lists (as relates to the Seymour family of Monmouth) was Pagan de Turberville.[6] But as he was lord of Coity—an important lordship in Glamorgan—there can be no surprise that he would be a frequent witness to Earl William's charters.

As the given name Bartholomew did not occur anywhere among later generations of the Seymour family, it is almost surprising that authors chose to splice him into the ancestry. They appear to have overlooked Roger de St. Maur, who witnessed a charter whereby William, Earl of Gloucester (d. 1183), granted 100 acres of land at Kenfig, Glamorganshire to Hugh of Hereford for forty days' castle guard. Witnesses included Hamon fitz Galfrid, constable, William fitz Nicholas, marshal, Gilbert de Turberville, Robert fitz Richard, Roger de Sancto Mauro, Richard fitz Hervei, Galdrid Sturmi, Henry Tusard, Gilbert Croc and [Master] Hervey the cleric.[7] He is probably the Roger de St. Maur who pleaded he was too sick (*malo lecti*: sick in bed) to appear before the eyre at Hereford Hilary term 1200.[8] This Roger would appear to have been living the entire period Sir William de St. Maur is expected to have been born. And a Gilbert de Sancto Mauro who witnessed a charter of Earl William dated 1173-83 has also escaped the notice of almost all genealogical accounts of the family.[9]

It would seem far more likely based on both chronology and onomastics that this second Roger (*fl.*1183-1200) was the ancestor, rather than Bartholomew. Even Gilbert de St. Maur would be as likely a candidate. The point here is that there is no evidence whatsoever for the statements that Bartholomew de St. Maur was father of Sir William de St. Maur of Penhow and Woundy.[10]

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3 For Baderon (died 1170-6) and his wife Rohese de Clare, see DD 591-2.

4 The parish of Rockfield is just northwest of Monmouth. The parish of Mitchell Troy is just south of Monmouth. *Sancto/Sancti Tedeoco* has not been identified yet (possibly St. Tydecho, a Celtic saint). Other charters in the collection indicate the church was then in the diocese of Hereford.

5 Dugdale (1817-30), 4:597. Marchegay (1879), 25. Madox (1702), 241. The original is apparently *The National Archives* (TNA) E 210/2086 (and see E 41/505).

6 Patterson (1973), 99, 102 and 103. Pagan, who succeeded his father Gilbert as lord of Coity, Glamorgan, was living in 1200, but died by 1207 when his son Gilbert de Turberville was given seisin. Nicholl (1936), 33-4.

7 Patterson (1973), 98, dated between 1147 and 1183.

8 Stenton (1953), 293-4 (no. 3093).

9 Patterson (1973), 166. *Seymour Dawn* did notice this second Roger and Gilbert, but did not attempt to place either of them in the direct ancestry, tracing it instead through Bartholomew de St. Maur. Patterson (1999), 8 and 10.

10 Beaufort (1874), 142, makes William de St. Maur who "*conquered Penhow and Woundy*" to be son of Bartholomew, who is stated to be son of Thomas de St. Maur (who held land in Wiltshire of Humphrey de Bohun), who is made son of Richard Fitz William, son of the

The surname St. Maur was not rare. There were men of that surname in records of many different counties by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[11] The most prominent was a knightly family who had drawn wealth and favour through service in the royal household. They held lands in Devon, Somerset, Warwick, Derby, Northampton, etc. This line attained the peerage as Lords Saint Maur when a writ of summons was directed to Nicholas de St. Maur in 1314.[12] The general conclusion has been that as they bore completely different arms, there is no reason to connect them with the William de St. Maur who obtained Undy and Penhow. Members of that St. Maur family occurred frequently as knights in the early rolls of arms in the reigns of Henry III, Edward I and Edward II (*ermine* or *argent*, two chevrons *gules*, a label *azure*), whereas the Seymour family of Penhow did not occur in any of the standard early rolls of arms.[13]

The arms of the Seymour family of Penhow were *gules*, two wings conjoined in lure *or* (see the cover of this journal). This is one of the rarest heraldic devices in the medieval period.[14] It is therefore striking that two immediate neighbours of Sir

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Domesday tenant William Fitz Wido, stated to be son of "*Wido de St. Maur* [who] *came to England 1066*…." This alleged line of descent was quoted in full by the Duchess of Cleveland (1889), 3:142, and followed wholesale by Patterson (1999) in *Seymour Dawn*, 11, 23, 26-7, 213 and 218-19. Patterson states on 213: "*Bartholomew St. Maur is known to have had at least one son, who became Sir William St. Maur of Penhow.... These places* [Goldcliff Priory and Caerleon] *are very close to where the proven son of Bartholomew (William) resided*." In spite of the direct language of these statements, no citation to original record substantiates this claim. Patterson also concluded that a Bartholomew de Villa Widonis was a son of Bartholomew de St. Maur and brother of William of Penhow, partly because sources such as Battle Abbey Roll trace the ancestry back to a Norman named Wido de St. Maur. Goldcliff Priory was a cell of the Abbey of Bec. It is more likely that Villa Widonis was a town in France: Vionville/Woinville (Lat.: *Wydonis Villa*) or Yonville ("*Villa Widonis apud Rotomagnum*" [Rouen]).

In his *Annals of the Seymours*, St. Maur (1902), 4-5 and 10, takes a slightly different route, making Wido de St. Maur to be father of William Fitz Wido, who is made father of the Roger de St. Maur who witnessed the charter of Richard de Cormeilles to Monmouth about 1129 ("*it may not be unreasonable to supposed that he settled at Penhow, for we find the family owning that place not many years after*"!), who is made father of Bartholomew. St. Maur makes Bartholomew father "*of William de Sancto Mauro, one of the King's esquires in 1175.*" But that William is given as father of Milo de St. Maur, who is made father of two sons, "*Geffrey*" and William (this William is supposed to be the conqueror of Woundy). Morgan and Wakeman (1867), 6, make Sir William de St. Maur to be son of the William who was king's esquire in 1175. There was a William St. Maur who was indeed a king's esquire ("*Armig'dis Reg*'") in 1175, but nothing to connect him to others of the same surname. PR 22:187 (21 Hen. II).

11 Patterson (1999) attempts to unite the lot in *Seymour Dawn*, but it must be noted that many of his conclusions are actually speculative, not proved by original documents.

12 CP 11:356-9. The first lord's grandfather Nicholas (d.1267) served in the household of Henry III. His son Lawrence (d.1297) held lands in Wiltshire, Bedfordshire, Sussex, Nottingham and Northumberland. Lawrence's son Nicholas (of Meysey Hampton, Gloucestershire, knight for the shire in 1313), also held lands in Cambs., Devon, Herts. and Gloucs. Ralph, younger son of Nicholas (d.1267), was of Finedon, Northants. and Syleham, Suffolk. Brault (1997), 2:390. Though Nicholas de St. Maur was among witnesses to two charters/letters concerning Wales in 1257 and 1265, he was a member of the royal household, which would explain his presence in those documents. Edwards (1940), 161-3. Palgrave (1827-34), 1385-6.

13 Tremlett and London (1967). Brault (1997). Chesshyre and Woodcock (1992). Bluet and Derneford [and the errant Hereford] were listed in St. George's and Charles's Rolls. Denholm-Young suggested that St. George's Roll was "*closely associated with the Welsh marshes....*" Wagner and others dated both of these rolls to about 1285. Brault (1997) 1:203-4. Both Sir William and Sir Roger de St. Maur would have been dead before these rolls were drawn up, which would account for their absence from the lists.

14 No other men were found in the rolls of arms of the reigns of Henry III, Edward I or Edward II who bore two wings conjoined in lure except William Bluet and William de Derneford. Later, a

William de St. Maur and his son Sir Roger de Seymour should bear identical arms with differing tinctures. Sir William Bluet bore *or*, two wings conjoined in lure *gules* and Sir William de Derneford bore *or* (or *argent*), two wings conjoined in lure *sable*.[15] The earliest actual surviving evidence of the arms of the Seymour family are attributed to Roger de St. Maur: "*And in a grant of his of a messuage to Thomas Elliot, of the chapel at Woundy, his seal appendant was a pair of Wings, circumscribed Sigil. Rogeri de Seimor*."[16]

Sir William de Derneford held the manor of Crick (just east of Penhow along the road to Chepstow).[17] Sir William Bluet held the manor of Langston (immediately west of Penhow on the same road). William de Derneford was a witness with William de St. Maur in three charters between 1230 and 1245 (before they were knighted). He was witness with William de St. Maur in three more charters between 1245 and about 1267 (after they were knighted), and as a knight in two more with William's son Roger.[18] Sir William Bluet witnessed two charters with Sir Roger de St. Maur.

The layout of these manors in relationship to Chepstow (Striguil) and Caerleon (Fig.1) illustrates why these men were grouped together so frequently as witnesses in charter after charter concerning lands in Netherwent. They were the local lords.

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number of families in Devon are credited with this device: Barnehouse of Kingston, Rayney/Reyney of Eggesford and Melcomb (ancestor to Ridgway, Earl of Londonderry), and allegedly John Fitzpayn ("*35 Edw. III*" and "*1 Rich. II*") and Thomas Fitzpayn of Cheriton Fitzpayn. Dallas and Porter (1897), 2, 3, 40, 41, 100, 102, 103, 105, 251, 258, 232, 263. But Sir Robert Fitz Payn's arms were unquestionably *gules*, three lions passant *argent*, a bendlet *azure*. CP 5:448, n. "j."

15 Papworth (1874), 1122-3. Brault (1997). In 1374, William Seymour bore as arms: two wings conjoined in lure, with a crest on a helmet, cappiline or short mantling ad helmet, a phoenix's head, and wings erect ("*Sigil : willelmi : semour*"). Birch (1894), 504 (no. 13,425). There were two knights at this period named Sir William de Derneford who were listed at the same time in St. George's Roll and Charles's Roll of arms. The Sir William de Derneford who bore *azure*, three fishes, *or* appears to have held Amersham and Little Missenden, Buckinghamshire. VCH Bucks. 2:357. CIPM 12:76 (no. 110). CPR 1281-92, 399. Though Papworth listed Hereford as another family who bore these arms, it should be pointed out that this was certainly a misreading of Derneford.

16 Brydges (1812), 1:145. Hoare (1822-33), 1:115, relates that Percy Enderby, in his *Cambria Triumphans; or, Britain in its Perfect Lustre...* (London, 1661), states that these Seymour arms were then visible in the church at Penhow, both cut in stone and in painted glass. This is also quoted in Morgan and Wakeman (1867), 27, and St. Maur (1902).

17 Bradney (1904-93), 4:7, 146-7. Bradney (1904-93), 4:139 and 140, implies that the de la More family became invested with the manor of Crick after Sir Robert/Roger de la More married "*Avise, dau*[ghter] *of Sir William Denford, lord of Crick*" (elsewhere calling her "*Ann, dau*[ghter] *and coh*[eir] *to Sir William of Dean*[ford]"). Sir William de Dernford [Jr.] held Crick in 1271, "*his father being before seised of the tenement of Crick by the old marshal by his charter & escheat, and his said father in his time*" (Bradney [1904-1933], 4:147; Morgan and Wakeman [1863], 43, adding it was held "*per conquestum*"). This would indicate that the eldest Sir William Derneford of Crick was dead by 1271. William de Derneford, Jr., was knighted as the inquisition post mortem of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk in 1306 stated that Crick was then held by Sir William de Dernford by half a Welsh knight's fee. Bradney (1904-93), 4:138. CIPM 4:298 (no. 434). The published abstract of this same IPM (at p. 294) indicates that the names of the tenants at Penhow were recorded in the original (but not transcribed in the published abstract).

18 The specific charters and witness lists will be discussed in detail below.



Fig 1. ***The region of Netherwent across the channel from Bristol***
Reproduced with permission of the late authors and their heirs from Smith & Gardner (1960), plate 61. The manors eventually held by the Seymours in later generations have been underlined, in addition to Caerleon, Striguil (Chepstow) and Goldcliff.

Sir Roger de Seimor [*sic*], Sir William Blueth [*sic*],[19] Sir Ralph Blueth[20] and Sir William de Derneford,[21] knights, were witnesses with William [de Braose], Bishop of

[19] Sir William de Bluet was succeeded by his son John Bluet, who held two knight's fees in Langtson [in the lordship of Caerleon] and Wydeston [Whitson] worth thirty pounds per annum according to the inquisition post mortem of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford. CIPM 5:335-6 (no. 538). Bradney (1904-93), 4:202-3. Sir John had a younger brother named Ralph [VI] who was expected to die leaving his niece Alienore Cusance as an heir. Access2Archives [Badminston Muniments, The Berkeley Estates], D2700/NR11/1/6 (1334/5). John Bluet was also lord of Silchester, Hampshire. He was living in 1316, but dead by 17 January 1317 leaving daughters as his coheirs, Margaret Bluet, wife of William de Cusance, by whom she was mother of Peter, and Eleanor Bluet, wife of Edmund Baynard (it is through this Baynard line that descent can be traced to the Maryland immigrant John Baynard and others). His relict Eleanor had an inquisition post mortem in 1348. CIPM 2:123-4 (no. 498). This Bluet family had held Silchester (first of the Earls of Pembroke, then the Earls of Norfolk) since the time of Domesday in 1086. VCH Hants. 4:52-3.

[20] Sir Ralph Bluet held Raglan in Monmouthshire of the Earl of Gloucester. It appears that his son Sir Ralph held Straddeuwy in 1310 and was lord of Daglingworth, Gloucestershire, Thornston, Herefordshire and Littlecote, Wiltshire in 1316. Moor (1929-1932), 1:100-1.

[21] William de Derneford belonged to the family that had been seated at Aluredston (in the parish of Woolaston) and Deerhurst, Gloucestershire. This is proved by a seal attached to an undated charter of "*William de Derneford of Derhurste*" (an eagle displayed). *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* (1915), 45 (incorrectly assigned to about 1210, but the witnesses to his charter indicate that 1270 would be a better estimate of the date). Though Deerhurst (Plaistow) was held of the abbot of Westminster, Aluredston was part of the honour of Striguil. VCH Gloucs., 8:38, 269-70, 267, 277, 10:107-8. In 1299, William de Derneford received license to grant Deerhurst, Gloucester to Westminster Abbey in return for a grant of the manor of Istelepe, Oxfordshire to him and his wife Cicely for life (who afterwards married Richard de Bere). CPR 1292-1301, 429-30. CCR 1313-18, 281-2. His son William married Clementia Bluet and released his rights in Deerhurst to Westminster

Llandaff, John, Abbot of Tintern and others in a charter whereby William, Abbot of Grace Dieu and the convent thereof [just west of Monmouth] gave to Joan de Knovile,[22] sometime wife of Reginald Abadam [Ab Adam] all the manor of Penyard Regis [Herefordshire]. The manor was to be held of the abbot and convent by Joan and her heirs by rendering one pound of cumin yearly at the abbey at Michaelmas, for which gift Joan paid 300 marks. That act was "*done A.D. 1267*" and the *inspeximus* and confirmation were dated 25 June 1285.[23]

The fact that three neighbouring knights — men who would be fighting next to each other in battle — should bear identical arms only differing in tinctures begs the question of whether they would have adopted similar arms because of blood kinship.[24] This is an important point, because if Sir William de St. Maur was allowed to assume special arms, it opens the possibility that he could have still belonged to a family that bore different arms, but that his descendants continued the use of his new, unique arms. That must be kept in mind while weighing evidence for or against this line possibly being related to other St. Maur lines that had different arms.

No other families were found in the medieval rolls of arms that bore two wings conjoined in lure. The parentage of William de St. Maur is not known. His ancestors may not have been knights with right to bear arms — or his wife might have been heiress of a family of greater importance. The ancestors of William de Derneford are not known to have been knighted. Sir William Bluet, however, descended from a long line of knights who would have borne arms, so any common connection between the three should have come from the Bloet family. Such a scenario does indeed appear to fit what is known of the facts.

Sir William Bluet, lord Langston in Netherwent in 1271, was also lord of Silchester, Hampshire. He died not long before 1297, when his son and heir John entered into an agreement with Walter Martel to serve in his stead in battle.[25] Sir William was son of Sir Ralph [IV] Bloet (d. 1241-2), who succeeded his father Sir Ralph [III] Bloet (d. 1199) as a knight in the household of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke.[26] Crouch states that Sir Ralph [III] was elder brother of Walter Bloet of Raglan[27] and Robert

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Abbey in 1319. Moor (1929-32), 1:276-7. This Derneford family had been at Deerhurst as early as 1141, so do not appear to be connected with the Durnford family of Littlecote, Wilts.

22 Joan de Knovill's son, Sir John ab Adam, attained the peerage in 1299. CP 1:179. It would seem likely that she was sister of Bewes de Knovill [1st Lord Knovill]. CP 7:345-8. Though Brownbill, the author of the article in CP, did not determine his parentage, the 1st Lord died holding not only manors in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, but importantly the manor of Marthern [Mathern, to the south of Chepstow – see Fig.1], in the Marches of Wales, held of the Honour of Striguil. This proves he was the neighbor of Sir Roger de St. Maur.

23 CChR 2:304.

24 The seal of William de St. Maur not many years afterwards bore a phoenix head in the crest, which might be suggestive of meaning, perhaps rising from the ashes of a conquered land or ascending from naught. Birch (1894), 504 (no. 13,425).

25 A full transcription of the record in French is found in Owen (1908), 641-2 (no. 1130). Wakeman rendered it into English. *Archaeologica Cambrenisis*, 2(1847):143-5. Morgan and Wakeman (1867), 26-32. The surname was spelled Bloet in most early records.

26 Crouch (1990), 138-9, 198-9. Ralph [III] was "*the most important of William Marshal's knights*." Ralph [III] was an adult and lord of Silchester by 1174-5. PR 22:194.

27 As Ralph [IV] Bloet died 1241-2, and his son Ralph [V] is supposed to have died at the battle of Evesham in 1265 among the followers of Simon de Montfort, the Sir Ralph who witnessed the charter to Grace Dieu in 1267 would be Ralph Bluet of Raglan, son of Walter. Ralph Bluet, son of Walter ("*filio Walteri*") witnessed a charter of William Marshal at the same time as Ralph Bloet [of Silchester]. Gilbert (1889), 137. It is amazing that every published account appears to miss the existence of this Ralph, presenting instead a chronological impossibility.

Bloet of Daglingworth. There appears to have been another brother as well, William Bloet, who held the honour of Striguil with Ralph [III] Bloet in 1185.[28] These brothers were sons of Ralph [II] Bloet (d. by 1157), son of Ralph [I] Bloet (brother of Robert Bloet, Bishop of Lincoln).

Nest, wife of Sir Ralph [III] Bloet, was sister of Howel/Hywel of Caerleon and daughter of Iorwerth ab Owain "Wan" by his wife Angharad, daughter of the Bishop of Llandaff.[29] Nest is famous in history as mistress of Henry II and mother of his son Morgan, provost of Beverley and Bishop-elect of Durham (denied appointment on account of illegitimacy because he would not renounce being the natural son of Henry II).[30] Published accounts of the Bluet family have assumed that Nest of Caerleon was mother of all the sons of Sir Ralph [III] Bloet, but this is demonstrably false. Nest brought suit against her brother Hywel of Caerleon as well as against Robert Bloet for lands in Daglingworth in 1200 and 1201 (apparently concerning lands that were part of her dower).[31] Hywell settled the manor of Salisbury on Nest in satisfaction. She willed it before her death to her younger son William Bloet/Bluet, who was still holding the manor of Salisbury in 1252.[32]

William Bloet [Bluet], son of Ralph [III] and Nest, entered the household of Marshal's eldest son William. "*He was the young Marshal's banner-bearer at the battle of Lincoln in 1217.*"[33] It was this William Bloet of Salisbury, son of Nest (d.1225/6), who brought suit as heir to his brother Roeland Bloet in 1252.[34] That William was Roeland's heir

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28 PR 34:8, 36:203.

29 Owain "Wan" (the Weak), prince of Gwent (d. 1116, bur. Goldcliff Priory), was son of Caradog ap Gruffudd by his wife Gwellian (daughter of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, prince of Powys). Caradog was son of Gruffudd, son of Rhydderch ab Iestin, princes of Gwent. Bradney (1904-93), 3:190. Bartrum (1974), 10:758 (Rhydderch ab Iestin). This Iorwerth ab Owain should not be confused with Iorwerth "Drwyndwn," father of Llywellyn "the Great."

30 Raine (1839), 31, 35. Barlow (1945), 1-2, 130 ("*Morgan later took the Cross, resigned his benefices..., died on the Pilgrimage, and was buried at Fountains before November 1217*"). Morgan was stated to be brother of "Ruelendus/Rodlandus" Bloet in the Pipe Rolls. PR NS 28:128, 30:84, 35:164. Roland occurs in the Pipe Rolls as early as 1209, was custodian of ports and granted custody of the Braiose lands in Sussex. PR NS 26:60. Roland and Walter Bloet were killed by Morgan of Caerleon and his forces in 1217 during the truce with King Louis (which Morgan ignored). Crouch (1990), 128. Roeland Bloet's debts were listed in the Pipe Roll for 1218, but his brother William ("*Willelmus Bloet frater eius*") took over in his stead. PR NS 39:21, 39, 40, 43.

31 CRR 1:154, 382, 393-4, 397.

32 Griffiths (2008), 43, n. 94, citing TNA E 368/7, m. 1 [Memoranda Rolls, 8-9 Henry III], TNA KB 26/146, m.4 [Coram Rege Plea Roll, 36 Henry III Easter] and CRR 1:382, 393[-4], 397.

33 Crouch (1990), 140.

34 The memoranda roll concerning Nest (E 368/7, m. 1) is now online at http://aalt.law.uh.edu/aalt1/H3/E368no7/aE368no7fronts/IMG_2653.htm. "*Nesta Bluet reddidit ad Scaccariam Calcaria deuarata pro terra de Salesburi in Nederwent*" ("*Nest Bluet rendered at* [to] *the Exchequer gilt spurs for the land of Salisbury in Netherwent*"). The King's Bench plea roll is also online at the same site: http://aalt.law.uh.edu/H3/KB26_146/0004.htm, but is missing a large chunk of the membrane. It appears that William, brother and heir of Roland Bloet ("*Rolando...Willelmus cuius heres est*"), impleaded Mereduc filium Griffin [Maredudd ap Gruffudd, grandson and heir of Morgan of Caerleon] concerning fifteen liberates of land in Flewenich ("Fl" = "Ll" in Welsh) and [Richard] Fleming for 100*s* of land in Flewenich that Roland died seised of in fee. Fleming apparently answered that Maredudd was still a minor (so could not yet be impleaded). Maredudd answered that the land involved was in the Marches of Wales, so should be impleaded in his own court. This was a valid point, but as a minor, Maredudd would have been a ward of the king. William Bluet answered that his mother Nest ("*Nesta Bluet mater sua*") had impleaded Howel [of Caerleon], [ancestor] of the aforesaid Maredudd concerning the same land in the court of King John (her suit in 1202 is referred to in footnote 31, above). The land was at

indicates they were both sons of Nest, but that their eldest brother Ralph [IV] was not (excluded by the legal doctrine concerning inheritance and the half blood).[35]

The manor of Salisbury passed into the St. Maur family of Penhow. It appears to be possible based on chronological grounds that Sir William de St. Maur or his son Roger married a daughter of the William Bloet of Salisbury who carried the banner of William Marshal in 1217. Bloet is not known to have left male issue. Any daughter (or daughters) would not only have been heir of his lands, but an heraldic heiress as well.

The arms of the Bluet family evolved from two wings conjoined to *or*, an eagle displayed *azure*, armed and langued *gules* (or the same but the eagle *sable*). Other early sources have the arms of Sir John Bluet of Langston and Silchester as *or*, a double-headed eagle displayed *gules*, and the branch at Raglan as *gules*, a double-headed eagle displayed *or* (the tinctures reversed to demonstrate difference but still reflect blood kinship). There is also a second coat of arms attributed to Sir William de Derneford: *sable*, as eagle displayed *argent* (rather than just two wings conjoined in lure). This is very similar to the more complex Bluet arms (the tinctures again differing).[36] The similarity again between the arms of Sir William de Derneford and Bluet are striking. It may therefore not be too farfetched to conjecture that Sir William de St. Maur and Sir William de Derneford married heiresses of this Bloet family and adopted their arms with differing tinctures. The 13th century was a very early period in the development of heraldry and the practice of differencing was still quite fluid (the Toeni family providing a similar example).

To summarize, no certain evidence proves the parentage or ancestry of Sir William de St. Maur of Undy. Many false or unsupported statements have been made by various authors in an attempt to trace the lineage back to the time of the Conquest and beyond. Even the most recent comprehensive accounts of this Seymour family repeat complete fiction as fact, citing the earlier errant works in an effort to lend credulity to the deception. Statements of fact require some reference to an original document. When secondary sources are cited to back up a 'statement of fact,' if they do not in turn cite any original document for a claim it must be specifically pointed out so readers are not misled.

It is frustrating that no certain evidence has surfaced that would extend this line beyond William, but there remain documents concerning the Marches of Wales buried in Ministers' Accounts and other records at The National Archives and the National

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some point rendered to Roland, brother of the aforesaid William ("*fratri predicti Willelmi*") as his right. As that was public knowledge, he asked that inquiry be made by inhabitants of that county as the court might advise. The same William sued Hawise de Longchamp for fifteen librates of land in " *Lyssewyrie*" [Liswerry] that said his brother Roland, whose heir he is, was seised of in demesne on the day he died. Hawise appeared and answered that she should not plead before the court because the land was in the Welshry ("*Walleschr*'," ie the Marches of Wales). She asked judgment whether she must answer. (I must here thank Chris Philips for sharing his knowledge that these two original sources are now online. I must also give especial thanks to John Carmi Parsons for helping render them into English.) Hawise, widow of Henry de Longchamp, had received license to marry Morgan of Caerleon on 28 March 1238. CPR 1232-47, 214. Oliver, brother of Philip d'Aubigne, obtained land late of Richard Fleming that Roeland Bloet had held (8 December 1216). Hardy (1833-4), 1:281.

[35] The only other possible explanation would be that Nest entered into a final concord entailing the land on Roland with reversion to William, but the published fines have been checked

[36] Brault (1997), 2:57, 140. Siddons (1993), 2:34. Some of these descriptions are the arms of Bluet of Raglan, a branch of the same family (Sir Ralph, above). Sir Walter Bluet bore *or*, a chevron between three eaglets *vert* according to the Parliamentary Roll (about 1312) and the seal of Sir William Bluet from the 13th century is preserved in TNA WARDS 2/94C/4 and 2/94E/7 according to Siddons.

Library of Wales that are not indexed and may yet yield important information in the future.[37]

The Family in co. Monmouth: Sir William de St. Maur

William de St. Maur is the earliest ancestor of this family who can be proved. His age is not certain, but he may have been born about 1190-5.[38] He first appears in record about 1235-40, at a period the Marcher lords were trying to expand their foothold in South Wales. The earliest records involving William de St. Maur connect him directly to Gilbert Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. Gilbert covenanted to aid William de St. Maur in wresting the manor of Woundy [Undy] from the Welsh overlord Morgan ap Howel.[39] William and Gilbert were each to have half the manor. Gilbert was to pay William £10 of the £20 rent, and William was to retain the manor to him and his heirs. William also witnessed two of Earl Gilbert's charters.[40]

As one of Gilbert's men, William de St. Maur would have been intricately tied to the earl's ambitions and actions in that region, whether military or otherwise. "*The March had been created by war; its future could still be secured only by military vigilance. Warfare had indeed become a way of life for the men of the March: they accepted it not only as a means to pursue their ambitions against the Welsh but also as a way of solving their private quarrels and giving vent to communal tensions.... In such a society, the feudal obligations of castle-guard and service in the lord's army were still of practical and immediate significance...the army which Walter Marshal* [Gilbert's brother] *raised to raid Ceredigion in 1240 was commanded by the feudal vassals of his county of Pembroke* [*ie*, the vassals of the earl, especially his honour of Striguil, his true base of power]."[41]

Gilbert Marshal was the third of five sons of William Marshal (hereditary Master Marshal, and Regent of England 1216-1219)[42] by his wife Isabel, Countess of Pembroke, daughter and eventual heiress of Richard Fitz Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke. William Marshal died 14 May 1219. He was succeeded by a son of the same name, but that William died without issue 6 April 1231. He was succeeded by his brother Richard, but he died without issue 16 April 1234. As third son, Gilbert had been intended for the church, taken minor orders and held various benefices (from 1225), but he assumed a more secular role when his next older brother succeeded, acting as his agent in Ireland. Gilbert crossed into Wales after his brother's death. The king knighted him at Worcester 11 June 1234 and invested him as Earl of Pembroke and Marshal of England. He was highly successful in expanding his influence in the southern March.[43] When Gilbert officiated as marshal at the

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37 There are at least three different undated bundles concerning Undy/Woundy. Ministers' Accounts (1897), 195-6 and 358.

38 Roger de St. Maur was witness to a charter to Goldcliff 1236x1240 (Owen [1908], 922), so likely born about 1215-23, taking into account other factors as well. He appears to be William's eldest son and heir. CChR 3:105. CCR 1254-6, 201.

39 Brydges (1812), 1:144-5, citing a Latin document preserved by "*Vincent in his MS. Baronage, College of Arms, No. 20*." Bradney (1904-93), 4:191 (Bradney also quotes Camden's original Latin account of the Seymour family on this page). Morgan and Wakeman (1867), 26. St. Maur (1902), 11.

40 See below for a full discussion of the charters William de St. Maur witnessed.

41 Davies (1987), 280. Maclean (1883), iii-v, enumerates seventy-one different spellings he found for Striguil. We have standardized the spelling unless attached to a specific document.

42 He was, of course, considered by many to be the epitome of chivalry and honor, whom Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury described as "*the best knight who ever lived*."

43 Davies (1987), 279: "*The enterprise of the Marshals shows how far the initiative and forcefulness of a single family could shape the history of the March. Gilbert Marshal (d.1241) was in effect ruler of most*

coronation of Queen Eleanor in 1236, he was described as Earl of Striguil (*"Gilbertus Marescallus, Comes de Strigul"*), rather than Pembroke—far more telling of his power base, as the earl did not hold the entire county of Pembroke so much as the area surrounding the town of that name.[44] Gilbert was mortally wounded at a tournament 27 June 1241. He was succeeded by his brother Walter, to whom William de St. Maur then became vassal (William witnessed four of Earl Walter's charters).[45]

The full Latin text of the agreement between Gilbert Marshal and William de St. Maur was recorded by Augustine Vincent, Windsor Herald, before his death in 1626 and published by Brydges and others.[46] Brydges, quoting Camden, states this pact was made *"about the year 1240."* Morgan and Wakeman state it occurred in 1235-6, but the document as it has been preserved has no date or witnesses. It is probable (though they did not cite to it) that Morgan and Wakeman were influenced by the following entry in the *Brut y Tywysogion* under the year 1236: *"And then Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, obtained, through treachery, the castle of Morgan, son of Howel, in Mechain; and when he had fortified it, he restored it back, for fear of Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth* [the Prince of Wales]."[47]

Though William de St. Maur might have coordinated his attack on Undy with Earl Gilbert's conquest of Morgan ap Hywel's castle ("*through treachery*"), it is just as possible that William approached him later, picking off remaining territory.[48] The conquest of a castle through treachery is not the same as conquest of a local manor by military force. In fact, the 1271 survey of rights local English lords held in the forest of Wentwood indicate that more than half held their manors by conquest. A large number of local manors in Netherwent were wrested from this same Welsh lord, not just Undy.[49] Morgan had been so thoroughly stripped of his lands that at the time of his death in 1248 he only held two commotes, Eddlogan [near Pontypool] and LLyfnydd [Llebeneth].[50]

The native Welsh population may also have been weakened in their position due to natural disasters that occurred at that time. Matthew Paris relates that for a period of

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of the southern March: in addition to his own lordships he held Carmarthen and Cardigan of the king's gift and the custody of Glamorgan and the Braose estates in the central March."

44 Maud Marshal, Countess of Norfolk, *"claimed and was allowed in her purparty the caput comitatus of the earldom, Strigul castle and the surrounding country, where the Earls of Pembroke always kept their Welsh Court." "The caput of the earldom was Strigul Castle at Chepstow and never at Pembroke Castle."* Ellis (1963), 188.

45 CP 10:358-74 and Appendix G, 98.

46 Augustine Vincent, Windsor Herald and Clerk of the Records in the Tower of London, had been mentored by and served as deputy to Camden. He was extraordinarily industrious, compiling at least 230 volumes of manuscripts before his death. Nicholas (1827), 7.

47 Ab Ithel (1860), 325. Though Llywelyn's base was technically Gwynedd, in North Wales, Llywelyn had extended his control in South Wales to the coast. Llywelyn ravaged the earl's lands in and around Pembroke and Haverford in 1220. Carpenter (1990), 70, 218, 307.

48 The king ordered the archbishop to mediate the restoration of Morgan of Caerleon's castle in 1236 (Morgan having sworn fealty by 26 August 1233). The orders, however, almost always stipulate that it was the castle which was to be restored. CPR 1232-47, 24, 26, 149, 153, 154, 160, 409.

49 See below under the heading "Sir Roger de St. Maur (son of Sir William)" for a detailed discussion of the 1271 survey. Those witnessing the charters of Morgan and Hywel in earlier years were Welsh or clerics (e.g., CChR 3:360-1).

50 CIPM 1:36-7 (no. 150). As Morgan died without surviving legitimate male issue, his heir was his daughter's son Maredeth ap Grif[f]in [Maredudd ap Gruffydd], age 14, *"if he can prove that he is legitimate."* Also see Clark (1980), 101.

over two months (January and February) in 1236, *"such deluges of rain fell as had never been seen before in the memory of anyone."* In the summer of that year, *"A constant drought, attended by an almost unendurable heat, succeeded, which lasted four months and more. The marshes and lakes were dried up to their very bottoms; water-mills stood uselessly still—the water being dried up; and the earth gaped with numerous fissures; the corn, too, in a great many places scarcely grew to a height of two feet."*[51] But the expansion into the Marches did not wane. *"The years 1240-56 witnessed a remarkable and sustained advance in royal powers in Wales, such as the country had not witnessed since the reign of Henry I."*[52]

A William de Sancto Mauro was grouped among the clerics in the purported witness list of a charter of Gilbert, Marshal of England and Earl of Pembroke [succeeded 16 April 1234] of land which included gardens in Magor. *"E. bishop of Llandaff"* [Elias de Radnor, d.13 May 1240] was the first of the witnesses.[53] It does not seem likely that Sir William de St. Maur would have a brother of the same name who occurs only in this document.[54] Nor is it likely he had a son who was a cleric in 1240, but by 1255 was to be arrested with his elder brother for following a neighbour knight out of favour. The simplest explanation would be that this William was not a cleric, and the charter poorly transcribed, rather than complete fiction. This would be the earliest reference to William de St. Maur in a charter or deed if it does pertain to the man who was later knighted.

The possibility of fraud must be taken into account whenever weighing the evidence of any early donation to a religious house. A priory faced with the requirement (sometimes centuries after the fact) to document their right to specific lands sometimes invented the needed evidence. Religious houses almost always acquired land legally, but unless they retained the original charters of donation to proffer as evidence, they might still be dispossessed—hence the simplest solution to what might have appeared an unjust quandary was for some literate monk skilled in the copying of texts to come up with a document that would satisfy the requirement for proof. Sometimes these fraudulent charters reflect a semblance of what actually was (information taken from other early documents), but the problem we are left with is that when internal inconsistencies raise doubt about the validity of a charter and there is no other evidence to test it against, conclusions cannot be definitive.

Hardly a decade after the donations charters were presented before royal officials, a monk at Tintern named William Martel forged Papal Bulls in the intent to dispossess the Prior of Goldcliff.[55] He was successful until a comparison was made with genuine Papal Bulls at the Chancery. After several years of dispute, the fraud was proved and the dispossession reversed.[56] These early charters to Tintern are critical to

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[51] Giles (1889), 1:10, 34-5. This sounds very much like an entry in the Brut assigned to the year 1252: "[T]*he heat of the sun was so great, that all the earth became so dry therefrom, that no fruit grew on the trees or the fields, and neither fish of the sea nor of the rivers were obtained"*—a starving time. Ab Ithel (1860), 337.

[52] Davies (1987), 300.

[53] CChR 3:97-8 (no. 4).

[54] It is conceivable that William had an elderly father who had entered religion in old age, but scribal error is the simpler explanation.

[55] The chief religious houses in the region of Netherwent (the southern part of what became the county of Monmouth in 1535) included Tintern Abbey (founded 1131), Llantarnam Abbey (founded 1179, as Caerleon), Chepstow Priory (founded 1072) and Goldcliff Priory (founded 1113).

[56] Rees (1975), 65-7 (no. 2456). CPR 1327-30, 194 and 223. CPR 1330-4, 224, 320, 326, 406. The *Genealogia Fundatoris* in Dugdale (1817-30), 5:269, comes down to Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England. If it was composed by monks no more careful than those

interpreting the earliest generations of this Seymour family, yet it is clear they do contain inaccuracies.

William de St. Maur witnessed four charters before he was knighted. They date to the period between 1234 and 1244. The earliest of these is a charter of Gilbert Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. The next was made by his brother Walter Marshal, who succeeded as Earl of Pembroke in 1241, but died prematurely in 1245. The third was a charter by Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, the other major player in south Wales:

- Gilbert Marshal, Earl of Pembroke (1234-41) gave the abbot and convent of Tintern for their tannery all the bark from the wood felled there, whether sold or given, of the lower forest of Went rendering 2*d* for each load. Witnesses: Sirs J. de Bello Campo [Beauchamp], Robert Salvage, Roger de Hyda, Walter de Hyda, Robert de Meesy, William de Derneford, William de Sancto Mauro and Master Alan de Sancta Fide, the donor's chancellor.[57]
- Walter Marshal, Earl of Pembroke (1241-5), gave the monks at Tintern ten acres of land between land of the monks at Kilwetheneu and the earl's forest in exchange for ten acres of land belonging to the monks in the park of Trillek, with a further gift of four and a half acres in the same place. Witnesses: Robert de Turberville, John de Turberville, Peter de Watevile, William Derneford, William de Sancto Mauro, William Lupus [Wolf, of Netherwent in 1271], Griphin son of Meurich [Gruffydd ap Meuric] and John the forester.[58]
- Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford inspected and confirmed a charter of William, Earl of Gloucester to Goldcliff. Witnesses to Richard's act were Geoffrey de Fanecourt, sheriff of Glamorgan, Walter de Sulie, Gilbert de Umframvill, Nicholas de Sancta Brigida [St. Bride], William de Sancto Mauro, Robert de Mora and Nicholas de Mora.[59]
- William Derneford, Jr., entered into a charter of agreement with the abbot of Tintern at Striguil in the court of the earl in September 1244 concerning the wood of Landrest [St. Pierre]. William de St. Pierre had given property with his daughter to William Derneford, Jr. in free marriage. The agreement was witnessed by Nicholas de St. Bridget, William de St. Maur, Philip Denebaud (all of whom were knighted by 1245), William de Wit' [Wylton], steward of Netherwent and Nicholas, Dean of St. Bridget's [Netherwent].[60]

Walter Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, died without issue 24 November 1245. His brother Anselm survived only a month longer, dying at Striguil just before Christmas 1245. At the death of the fifth brother without issue, the five sisters inherited. The honour

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forging the papal bulls, it might call into question statements about the Earls of Essex found only in this account. Walter de Clare, lord of Netherwent (d.1139) had founded Tintern in 1131. Davies (2003), 47-8.

57 CChR 3:99 (no. 6).

58 CChR 3:99 (no. 7). Galfrido de Fanecurt [not sheriff—Stephen Baucun was then sheriff of Glamorgan], Walter de Sullie and Gilbert Dumfranvile [sic] were witnesses with others (including Gilbert de Turberville) of another undated charter of Richard, Earl of Gloucester. Clark (1885-1910), 109-10 (no. 137).

59 CChR 2:360 (no. 9). Though this charter is undated and the earl survived until 1262, it must have been one of the earl's earliest acts in 1243-44 after receiving his lands as at least four of the witnesses were knighted in 1245. Pugh (1971), 690 lists Geoffrey de Fanencourt as sheriff in 1249, but the sheriffs of Glamorgan in that period frequently served more than once. The sheriffs serving in the years before 1245 are not entirely accounted for.

60 Owen (1908), 623-4 (no. 1082).

of Striguil [Chepstow] and Netherwent fell to Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, in right of his mother. Caerleon and Usk passed to Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester (already lord of Glamorgan). "*The ensuing year, the heirs of William Marshall obtained their patrimony in peace. And King Henry assembled the power of England and Ireland, with the intention of subjecting all Wales to him....*"[61]

Nine of the men witnessing one or more of the fourteen charters William de St. Maur and his son Roger were involved with between 1230 and 1270 became knights between 1244 and 1245. The fact that so many of these local Welsh lords—including William de St. Maur—should be knighted at the same time indicates they participated in some important military campaign in which their loyalty was extremely important.[62] There was only one major campaign that occurred in this period, but it adequately accounts for the large number of local lords in Gwent who were suddenly advanced to the dignity of knighthood.[63]

Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, born 4 August 1222, came of age in August 1243 and was granted livery of seisin on Michaelmas. He was a major player in the campaigns against the Welsh in 1244 and 1245.[64] He would have brought his retainers (certainly including William de St. Maur) with him. It was after the successful campaign against the Welsh that the earl was knighted in London on 4 June 1245.[65]

Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, Prince of North Wales, had tried to preserve the legacy he had slowly built up by investiture of his son and heir Dafydd (son of King John's illegitimate daughter Joan), but the crown forbade it. At Llywelyn's death in April 1240, the English were able to reverse many of Llywelyn's gains. Dafydd's well fed brother Gruffydd, hostage for the good behaviour of the Welsh, attempted escape from the Tower of London down a homemade rope of cloth, but it broke and he fell to his death in 1244. Dafydd commenced a revolt that would regain much of what had been lost in 1240-1.[66]

"*According to the Welsh chronicles,* [Dafydd] *was stirred to indignation at the lamentable fate of his brother, but it needs little shrewdness to see that the calamity in the Tower was in truth a great deliverance for him and removed the one obstacle to a bold and enterprising policy....*

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61 Ab Ithel (1860), 331.

62 The original Scutage Roll of 29 Henry III [C 72/7] has not been examined yet, but that may only be the list of English summoned by the king. Richard Siward pleaded he was among the lords in Glamorgan serving, but his name does not appear therein. Altschul (1965), 71.

63 The Earl of Gloucester owed 455 knights for his holdings in 1279, the Earl of Norfolk 280 knights according to the scutage rolls of that period. The Earl of Norfolk owed 67½ knights for his honour of Striguil alone (just over one quarter of his total), which emphasized the import of this honour to the earl. In the 1 July 1277 muster at Worcester before a campaign into Wales, the Earl of Gloucester made account for Glamorgan and Caerleon and Roger le Bigod, the Earl of Norfolk, for Striguil and Netherwent. *"Some men were registered at Worcester and thence proceeded to South Wales, others went direct to South Wales or had been there some time previously."* Morris (1901), 39, 62, 116-17 and 126.

64 CP 5:696. CCR 1242-7, 246, 256, 258, 326. CPR 1232-47, 431, 447 (27 December 1244: *"Power to Richard de Clare and Morgan de Karliun* [Caerleon, the lord who had owned Undy] *to receive Mereduc Apres to the king's peace and service...."*), 460 (5 September 1245: *"the army of the earl of Gloucester"*). Luard (1877), 4:358 (1244: *"Rebellion of the Welsh, who are opposed by the Marchers."*), 418-19. Giles (1852-4) 2:4-5, 55.

65 Altschul (1965), 66-7 (citing *"PRO, Chancery, Scutage Roll 29 Henry III, C 72/7 m. 1"* concerning the Welsh campaign). CP 5:696. Luard (1877), 4:418-19.

66 The Brut also reports in 1243, "[T]*he Welsh with many others, were unlawfully oppressed.*" Ab Ithel (1860), 331.

David was in the field, stirring up war throughout the length and breadth of Wales" in 1244 before the beginning of June.[67] The summer brought nightly raids into the English territories. Marcher lords such as William de St. Maur could have felt none too comfortable.

According to Matthew Paris [1244]: "*During all this time, the Welsh, swarming from their lurking-places, like bees, spread fire and slaughter, and unceasingly ravaged the countries adjoining their own; the king...*[sent] *three hundred knights...with the necessary money and supplies for the road, to check the insolence of the Welsh.*"[68] Matthew Paris says that the king, like a woman, stayed far from the fight in comfort and safety. By 1245, however, troops and provisions were summoned from Ireland and "*an impressive royal fortress was built in the forward position of Degannwy"* where the king could join the action.[69]

The English forces, including the Earl of Gloucester and his men [William de St. Maur and his compatriots], pursued Dafydd and the Welsh into northern Wales. Matthew Paris purports to relate an account written by a knight on the king's side describing the events during this engagement in 1245. About Michaelmas 1245, an incursion between the Welsh and English forces occurred. "*Our people then returned, after defeating their enemies, and, like greedy and needy men, indulged in plunder, and spread fire and rapine throughout the country...and amongst other profane proceedings, they irreverently pillaged a convent of the Cistercians called Aberconway* [in Caernarfon], *of all its property, and even of the chalices and books, and burnt the buildings belonging to it. The Welsh...having assembled a large host of their countrymen, suddenly rushed with noisy shouts....*"[70]

Many fell on both sides, the retinue of Richard, Earl of Cornwall suffering perhaps the greatest loss on the English side. "*Whilst we have continued here with the army, being in need of many things, we have often sallied forth armed and exposed ourselves to many and great dangers...encountering many and various ambushes and attacks from the Welsh, suffering much and often.... After one conflict, we brought back in triumph to our camp the heads of nearly a hundred decapitated Welsh.*"[71] On 26 October 1245, "*seeing that the impending winter must ere long add enormously to his losses,*" the king resolved to withdraw for the winter and leave the final conquest of Gwynedd and its ruler Dafydd until the following year.[72] The Brut, providing the Welsh point of view, states, "*And after fortifying the castle, and leaving knights in it, he returned to England, having left an immense number of his army dead and unburied, some having been slain and others drowned.*"[73]

The Welsh cause was struck a decisive blow, however, when Llywelyn's son and successor Dafydd died on Sunday, 25 February 1246 leaving no son, daughter or clear heir. By this time William de St. Maur and his compatriots had been rewarded with knighthood. As Sir William de St. Maur, he witnessed five more charters between 1245 and about 1267:

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67 Lloyd (1948), 2:701. The Brut reports in 1244 that David, son of Llywelyn, "*summoned all his good men to him, and attacked his foes, and drove them from all their borders, except such as were in castles.*" In addition, he sent letters to "*all the princess of Wales; and everybody joined him"* except Morgan ap Howel [lord of Caerleon] and two others, "*and to those he caused many losses, and compelled them against their will to submit to him.*" Ab Ithel (1860), 331. If that is true, Dafydd's incursions directly affected Netherwent.

68 Giles (1852-4), 2:27. Luard (1877) 4:385.

69 Davies (1987), 302.

70 Giles (1852-4), 2:111-12. Luard (1877) 4:482-3.

71 Giles (1852-4), 2:111-12. Luard (1877) 4:482-3.

72 Lloyd (1948), 2:705.

73 Prince Dafydd died the next year, "*a rainy year.*" In following year, 20 February 1247, "*there was a dreadful earthquake generally throughout the whole kingdom.*" Ap Ithel (1860), 331-2.

- Walter Marshal, Earl of Pembroke inspected and confirmed the foundation charter of Goldcliff about 1245. The witnesses to his act included Sir David Basset, Sir Peter de Watevill, Sir Robert de Turberville, Sir John de Turbervill, Sir Nicholas de Sancta Brigida, Sir William de Derneford, Sir Philip de Denebaud, Sir William de Sancto Mauro and Sir Robert de Mora, knights, Nicholas lord of Wideston [Whitson] and Roger de Wilecrich.[74]

- Walter Marshal, Earl of Pembroke also inspected and confirmed a charter of his grandfather Earl Richard son of Gilbert. Witnesses to Earl Walter's charter included Master William of Christ Church, Sir Peter de Watevill, Sir John de Turbervill, Sir Gilbert de Valle, Sir Nicholas de Sancto Brigida, Sir William de Derneford, Sir Philip Denebaud, Sir William de Sancto Mauro, Sir Robert de la More, knights, Nicholas de Wideston and Roger de Wilecric. As Earl Walter died 24 November 1245, and none of the witnesses had been knighted by 1244, these two charters must date to 1245, as does the following charter.[75]

- Walter Marshal, Earl of Pembroke gave in frankalmoign to the abbot and monks of St. Mary Tintern (for his souls and the souls of his father and mother) the site and mill of Tudeham called Sondmulle with the water and fish there and the suit of his men at Chepstow bridge, with numerous other small grants (including land and rights in Magor), *"with further grant of sixteen acres of land in Sciviot which they have of the gifts of William de Sancto Mauro and Roger his son, and of twenty-four acres of meadow and pasture, which they have in Lanvenemow of the gift of Nicholas de Sancta Brigida, and forty acres ...which was divided between the abbot and the free tenants of the country at award of the donor and all the knights and free tenants of Netherwent* [which would have included the Seymours] *in frank almoin* [*sic*] *in the year 1245; with full clause of warranty; witnesses[:] Sir Robert de Turberville, Sir John de Turberville, Sir Peter de Watevil, Sir Nicholas de Sancta Brigida, Sir William de Sancto Mauro, Sir William de Derneford, William de Wylton, steward of Nether Went, [and] Simon de Kilkenny, clerk, the donor's chancellor."*[76]

- Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford set forth that at his request the abbot and convent of Tintern had assisted with their ploughs in the tillage of his lands at Trillek and Usk, which tillages were in arrear because of the lands had fallen into the king's hands for a while during his minority. He did not want it to appear that Tintern owed this aid, so granted that all their lands, possessions, liberties and free customs which they have of the gifts of the founders. Witnesses included Sir Ralph de Knovill, Sir Nicholas de Sancta Brigida, Sir William de Sancto Mauro, Sir William de Durneford, Sir Robert Avenel, Sir John de Lancumb, Sir Matthew de Uska, dated at Usk Sunday after the feast of St. James the Apostle, 30 Henry III [29 July 1246].[77]

- Roger Bygod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England[78] gave the monks of Tintern fifty-eight acres of land to be held by rendering yearly 9*s* 8*d*, half to

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74 CChR 2:361 (no. 11).

75 CChR 2:361 (no. 12) and Bradney (1904-93), 4:473-4.

76 CChR 3:105 (no. 3).

77 CChR 3:103-4 (no. 2).

78 As senior coheir of her late brother Walter Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, Roger's mother Maud was allowed the office of Marshal in July 1246. Henry III confirmed the Countess Marshal's commission of the marshalcy to her son 26 August 1246. CP 9:590-1.

be paid at the Annunciation and half at Michaelmas, for which the monks paid 25 marks, 9*s* 8*d*. Witnesses included Sir William and Sir Roger de Sancto Mauro, Sir Robert fitz Payn, knights, Bartholomew de Mora, William de Lacu, Walter Sely, Robert de Gamage and William Derneford.[79] As the earl was also described as marshal, this charter must date after July 1246.

It is likely that William de St. Maur built a 'castle' at Penhow, which became the base of his family. Given the frequent incursions of the native Welsh, it is not surprising that he would want some fortified protection. The exact date the edifice was built is not known, but the oldest part that William is believed to have erected is thought to date to the 13th century. It was rectangular, in the form of a Norman keep with very thick walls. The exterior measured 32' by 22', the interior 20' by 10', and was three stories high (with timber floors). The road from Chepstow [Striguil] to Newport ran beneath the north front of the castle in a narrow valley between the castle and the hill on the opposite side.[80] Penhow was held of the Earl of Pembroke of his honour of Striguil. Woundy was held of the Earl of Gloucester of his lordship of Caerleon.

It is almost stunning that three sources, *Annals of the Seymours*, *The Seymour Family: History and Romance* and *Seymour Dawn*, state that Sir William de St. Maur married Sybil Marshal, third daughter and coheir of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. She is also stated to be mother of his children.[81] If this had been the case, the Seymour family as her issue would have become heirs to a part of one of the greatest inheritances in England and Wales. Sybil Marshal actually married, by 14 May 1219, William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby. She was mother of seven daughters who survived infancy to marry, but she was dead by 1238 (by which time the earl had married Margaret de Quincy).[82] Sybil Marshal did not survive to be widow of the Earl of Derby, nor did she, as a widow, marry Sir William de St. Maur. The name of Sir William de St. Maur's wife is not known. As he likely married about 1215-20, she would not be expected to have been from a family local to Netherwent or Wales.

It is certain that Sir William de St. Maur was father of at least two sons, Roger and William. His son Roger joined him in a gift to Tintern Abbey by 1245.[83] In 1255, Roger and William, sons of William de Seymour were among the followers of Sir John Durant, knight. The others in the group were Ivone, Durant's esquire, Philip of the Chamber of Striguil ["*de Camera de Strogoyl*"],[84] Roger de la More and his brother William of Penhow ["*de Penho*"], Reginald de Essex, Gregory Cornwall, gatekeeper or porter of the castle of Striguil ["*janitore castri de Strogoyl*"], Roger and William, sons of William de St. Maur ["*Rogero et Willelmo filiis Willelmi de Sancto Mauro*"] and Ada Yweyn. The crown ordered Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, to preserve the king's peace by arresting them and bringing them before justices to be indicted and appeal concerning the charge of larceny, robbery and other

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79 CChR 3:99-100 (no. 10). Morris (2005), 219 (RBIV 1).

80 Morgan and Wakeman (1867), 10-11, which account also includes drawings and charts.

81 St. Maur (1902), 12. Locke (1911), 2. Patterson (1999), table 36 and p. 215.

82 CP 4:197 and 199. Sybil's daughter and coheir Maud married William de Vivonne. Their daughter Cicely married John de Beauchamp. Their son John [1st Lord] was father of John, father of Cecily de Beauchamp who was married to Roger de Seymour. CP 2:48-50.

83 CChR 3:105.

84 Camera: "*a chamber, or set of chambers, a place set apart for a special purpose beyond the limits of the cloister.... In the* Memoranda *the word often denotes the place in which money was paid, the treasury, or counting-house....*" Clark (1907), 327 [glossary].

transgressions.[85] Given the group of men involved, the charge does not seem to be one of stealing bread. The details of the case are unknown.

Sir William de St. Maur was definitely alive in 1246 (and possibly 1255), but dead by 1271, when the survey of rights in the forest of Wentwood listed his sons as holding the manors of Penhow and Undy. Sir Roger de St. Maur, eldest son and heir, will be dealt with in the next section. An account concerning William de St. Maur, the second son, will follow that.

Sir Roger de St. Maur (son of Sir William)

Roger de St. Maur, eldest son and heir of Sir William de St. Maur, may have been born about 1216-23. Roger first appears in record as a witness to the confirmation by Elias, Bishop of Llandaff [1230-40] of the church of Christchurch near Caerleon to Goldcliff Priory (as granted by the lords of Caerleon in ancient times).[86] The witnesses to this act, dated 1236-40, were Maurice, Archdeacon of Llandaff, Maurice, treasurer of Llandaff, John de St. Trinity, John the chaplain, Robert the cleric, Roger de Goldcliff, cleric, Nicholas de Sancta Brigida [St. Bride], Roger de St. Maur, Robert de Mora, Bartholomew de Villa Widonis "*et multis aliis.*"

One did not technically have to be age twenty-one to witness a charter. It would be expected that Roger was representing the family, perhaps in his father's absence. He was unquestionably an adult in 1245 (definitely born by 1223), when he joined his father in releasing their rights to twenty-four acres of land to Tintern Abbey: "*William de Sancto Mauro and Roger his son"* have twenty-four acres of meadow and pasture in Lanvenemow which they had of the gift of Nicholas de Sancta Brigida, and forty acres of mountain land "*nearest to the land of the said monks* [of Tintern]" in Marthirgery.[87] The fact that they had the land of the gift of Nicholas de St. Bride may well indicate that Roger had married a daughter of Nicholas by that date. The identity of his wife would otherwise be unknown. The arms that were reported to have been in stained glass in the south window of Penhow church by Percy Enderby in 1661 were, in the centre: *gules*, two wings conjoined *or* [Seymour]; to the right, *argent*, a bend *gules*, and label of five points *azure* [St. Pierre]; and on the left, quarterly, *azure* and *argent*, *per fess* indented [De la Moore].[88]

Roger de St. Maur witnessed at least four charters as a knight:

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[85] CCR 1254-6, 201. It is almost amusing that the older accounts of the Seymour family — apparently with no taste for declaring to the public that the second generation of the family were considered to be malefactors — state that Roger and William were actually the ones ordered to go out and catch robbers and thieves!

[86] Crouch (1988), 63-4 (no. 70). Owen (1908), 922 (no. 5841). No particular inconsistencies have been noted in the Goldcliff charters, so there is no reason to conclude the given name Roger was an error for William. The Roger of the 1200 eyre was probably dead by this time, born well before 1166.

[87] CChR 3:105.

[88] Clark (1869), 234. Urian de St. Peter [Pierre] of Cheshire, Stafford and Derby, also had interests in what became Monmouthshire. He bore *argent*, a bend *sable*, a label *gules*, which would substantiate the identification of the arms in the stained glass. However, Bartholomew de la More, bailiff of Gilbert de Clare in 1267, bore *argent*, seven bars *azure*, a chevron *gules*. Brault (1977), 2:376. In Morgan and Wakeman (1867), 9, Wakeman states that the description of the windows in Penhow church was preserved in a manuscript of Percy Enderby ("*now in the possession of S. R. Bosanquet*"). "*That on the right was I supposed St. Pierre; and that on the left De La Moor of Pencoyd, only the glazier, probably on some repairs of the window, have turned it inside out, thereby reversing the tinctures, which should be quarterly Argent and Azure. These probably indicated some inter-marriages between the Seymours and St. Pierres, and De La Moores....*"

- Roger Bygod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England gave the monks of Tintern fifty-eight acres of land to be held by rendering yearly (discussed above), dated after July 1246. Witnesses included Sir William and Sir Roger de Sancto Mauro, Sir Robert fitz Payn, knights, Bartholomew de Mora, William de Lacu, Walter Sely, Robert de Gamage and William Derneford.[89]
- *"Sir Roger de Seimor"* witnessed the charter of Joan de Knovill to Grace Dieu in 1267 (discussed above).[90]
- Sir Roger de Sancto Mauro witnessed a gift from Sir Bartholomew de Mora [de la More, of Crick, sheriff of Glamorgan 1266] of land in Magor and elsewhere to the monks of St. Mary Tyntern.[91] The other witnesses were Sir Robert [Fitz] Payn,[92] Sir Ralph Bloet, Sir William Bloet, Sir Nicholas de Mora, Sir William Derneford, knights, Clement de Wyrwod, steward of Strigull, John Martel, Robert Gamage, Matthew Denebaud, William de Sancto Petro [St. Pierre], William de Lacu, and Adam Walensis de Dynan.[93]
- *"Sir William and Sir Roger de Sancto Mauro,"* knights, were witnesses to another apparently earlier charter whereby the same Roger Bygod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England [succeeded to the marshalcy 1246, d.1270] (who had inspected the previous charter of Sir Bartholomew de la Moor), gave land to St. Mary of Tintern. Other witnesses including Sir Robert son of Payn, knight, Bartholomew de Mora [not a knight], William de Lacu, Walter Sely, Robert de Gamages and William Derneford [not a knight].[94]

The fact that Roger was knighted within his father's lifetime would indicate he was not only eldest son and heir, but also active in military service. The conclusion that Roger was the male heir also agrees with him having joined with his father in relinquishing their rights in land given to Tintern Abbey in 1245.

The survey of tenants with rights in Wentwood, made at Striguil on 3 October 1271, is perhaps the most pivotal single document concerning the earliest generations of this family. Wentwood, or *Coed Gwent*, was the largest wooded area in the region. Rights in this wood therefore not only represented financial advantages, but also the prestige that the local lords were able to exercise special rights not allowed common men. *"The lords of the manors holding under the great lordship of Chepstow had rights in*

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89 CChR 3:99-100 (no. 10). Morris (2005), 219 (RBIV 1).

90 CChR 2:304.

91 CChR 3:99 (no. 9). Morris (2005), 219-2- (RBIV 2).

92 Sir Robert Fitz Payn of Llanvair Discoed, Netherwent, died in 1281. He held extensive lands in England as well (Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire), and was father of Sir Robert, 1st Lord FitzPayn (b. 1254), who was father of Sir Robert Fitz Payn (b. 1285-7). CP 5:448-9.

93 Adam de Walens de Dynam was one of the tenants of Wentwood in 1271. Morgan and Wakeman (1863), 43 and 48. Adam Welsh/Walsh de Dinham was father of Sir John Walsh, who married the daughter of *"Sir John"* Seymour.

94 CChR 3:99-100 (no. 10). Morris (2005), 219 (RBIV 1). A 1366 exemplification of the part of Walter Marshal's inheritance that had passed to the Countess of Warenne [widow of the Earl of Norfolk] included names and fees (but not places), including Ralph Bluet, Philip Denebaud, William Lupus, William de Sancto Mauro (one fee in Netherwent), Roger Derneford, William Derneford, Adam Waleys [de Dinham] and Matthew Denebaud. William de Sancto Mauro was also found to hold ½ a fee in Netherwent that was *"part of the heirs of Ferrers,"* the others there including Nicholas de Sancta Brigida, Madok ab Gryffin and others. CPR 1364-7, 263.

Wentwood to cut timber. House-boot was the right to cut timber to build houses, hey-boot the right to cut brushwood...."[95]

The survey of these rights was conducted before the earl's steward at Striguil. The jurors included the abbot of Tintern, the prior of Striguil, the prior of St. Kinmark, *"Sir Robert Fitz Payn, Knt. Sir William Bluet, Knt. Sir Wm. Denford of Crick, Knight. Sir Richard De la More, Knt. Sir Roger Semour, Knt. Sir Barthol. De la More, Knt. Matthew Denebaud, Esq. Robert De la More, Esq.* [and] *John Martill* [Martel], *Esq."*[96] A different copy in Latin presents the names of the knights and esquires in the jury as *"Domus Robtus Filius Pagani—Mil: Domus Willus Blywett—Mil: Domus Willus Denford de Crick—Mil: Domus Ricus de Mor—Mil: Domus Rog'us de Sco Mauro Mil: Domus Barthol. de Mora—Mil: Mattheus Denband—Arm' Robertus de Mora—Arm' Johannes Martell—Arm'"*[97]

The above lists are extremely important as Bradney uses a defective copy which stipulates that Bartholomew de Moor was a knight, but does not call Robert Fitz Pagan, William Blewett or *"Roger de St. Maure"* knights. Bradney's flawed list would imply that Sir Roger de St. Maur was dead by 1271, succeeded by another Roger who had not yet been knighted. The two full accounts Morgan and Wakeman published were stated to be more accurate than the other surviving copies they analyzed and compared.

In the first finding by the jury concerning those who held rights in the forest, the jurors determined that Sir William Bluet ought to have housebote and heybote at Langston *"from the Conquest" ("per conquestum").* Though Morgan and Wakeman rendered this 'from the Conquest,' Bradney is correct in rendering it *"by conquest,"* a more natural reading as the manors involved had been held by the Welsh until these new English tenants inserted themselves into the local affairs.

"Domus Willus de Sco Mauro"/"Sir William Seymour" held at Penhow in the same manner [by conquest]. Morgan and Wakeman have here rendered *dominus* "Sir," but as there is no independent evidence this William Seymour was ever knighted, the term here would actually just mean 'lord' of the manor of Penhow, not knight. It has been assumed that this was the William who was living in 1255, son of Sir William, but it is also possible that Sir Roger's brother was already dead in 1271, and that Sir Roger set a son named William up at Penhow, the site of the castle.

Among others with rights, Sir Robert Fitz Payn held at Llanvair by conquest, Roger de Wilcrick of Wilcrick held by conquest, Sir Bartholomew de la Moor and his tenants at Undy held by charter, Roger Gamage and his ancestors held at Rogeat (held of the lordship of Striguil), the heirs of Robert Pykotts held at Ifton by conquest, Matthew Denebaud held at Portskewet by conquest, Sir Bogo [Bewes] de Knovill held at Mathern by conquest, John de Southbrook held by conquest, William Lake [Lac/Lacu/Lacy from the witness lists] held at St. Arvans, Robert de la More held at Porteston by charter, William Durand held at Redwick by charter, etc. Over half the tenants involved held by conquest.

"Sir Roger Seymour ought to have housebote and heybote to his house in Undy for half a fish pool in Magor near the East Common, called the Little Common, on the one side, and abutting

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[95] Bradney (1904-93), 4:146. Morgan and Wakeman (1863), 20, state: *"It has never been correctly printed* [David Williams had already published one account in his 1798 *History of Monmouthshire*], *but there exist several copies of it, although these differ from each other in many particulars."* They present one English and one Latin version of the survey (40-49). Bradney even admits that his own version "*contains some very obvious errors.*"

[96] Morgan and Wakeman (1863), 40.

[97] Morgan and Wakeman (1863), 46.

upon the way leading from Aberwaitha towards Wentwood, by reason that John Rose [ap Rhys?] *held it to him and his heirs for ever."*[98]

The fact that Sir Roger de Seymour was specifically styled knight (*militis*), rather than esquire (*armiger*) is a direct indication that the knight who witnessed the 1267 charter to Grace Dieu was still alive 3 October 1271. He was apparently dead by 1276.

William de St. Maur (son of Sir William)

William de St. Maur, son of Sir William, was first mentioned in 1255 with his brother Roger as followers of Sir John Durant.[99] This would indicate he was born by 1234, if not a few years earlier. If still alive, he would have been in his forties or more when the survey of Wentworth was drawn up in 1271 (as noted above, William de St. Maur was found to have the right to take house-boot and hey-boot from the Forest of Wentwood for his house at Penhow 3 October 1271).[100] A William de St. Maur (not a knight), was witness, with William Gamage, Walter de Pedwardin, and others, to a deed from Ernulph Gernoun to Roger de Mortimer enrolled in 1270.[101] This may have been the William of Woundy, but there were at least two, if not three other men of that name in England in this period. A William de St. Maur, with wife Christian, had a tenement in Lamyatt, Somerset in 1248.[102] A William de St. Maur had lands in Denchworth, Berkshire in 1272.[103] And in 1297, the sheriff of Wiltshire was ordered to give Roger de Cobham seisin of land in Clyve Pypard *"which William de Sancto Mauro, who was outlawed for felony, held...."*[104]

It is not certain when Sir William de St. Maur's son William died. Sir Roger de St. Maur was still in possession of Undy in 1271, but was apparently dead before 1276, as a William de Sancto Mauro owed homage and service to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, for a moiety of a fee in Woundy in 1276.[105]

Who was this William of 1276? Was he the second son of Sir William (adult by 1255), in which case he would have succeeded at Woundy after the death without issue of his brother Sir Roger? Or was this William the son and heir of Sir Roger, named after his paternal grandfather Sir William? If the William of 1276 was son of Sir Roger, it would imply that Sir Roger's younger brother William eventually died without

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98 Morgan and Wakeman (1863), 41-2. The various versions of this survey spell his surname Seymore, Seintmore, Seymour, Seymor and de Sco. Mauro.

99 CCR 1254-6, 201.

100 Bradney (1904-93) 3:146-7, 191. A sketch and plan of Penhow Castle appears in Coxe (1904), 50, 52.

101 CCR 1268-72, 280.

102 Green (1892), 148 (no. 72).

103 CAD 4:8-9 (A. 6192), demise by Adam de Stratton to William de Sancto Mauro and his wife Elena, late the wife of William Terry, of lands Terry had held of Adam in Denchworth, together with Terry's sons and heirs during minority until their full age; the grantees to deliver the bodies of the heirs at fifteen days notice to be married at Adam's pleasure, or failing that to pay Adam 50 marks within thirty days after the notice. Dated St. Luke's Day 56 Henry III [18 October 1272]. 2 seals (presumably one with the arms of this William). CAD 3 (A. 5425), grant by Martin de Hanneye to Adam de Stratton, clerk, of yearly rents in Denchworth, witnesses William de Sancto Mauro and others. He likely belonged to the Seymour line already established in neighboring Hanney. VCH Berks., 4:286.

104 CCR 1296-1302, 17. William de St. Maur held the land at Clive Pipard of Roger de Cobham.

105 CCR 1272-9, 428. He was not styled *"knight."*

surviving issue as all the lands united again in the next generation (any daughters and their issue would have taken the inheritance away to their descendants).

It is impossible to differentiate which of these scenarios is the more probable, except that chronology might suggest that Sir Roger was grandfather of the Roger whose account follows next. If Sir Roger had an heir he was likely born about 1245-55. He would have been an adult by 1265-75. As the Roger who succeeded by 1306 appears to have married about 1300 or not long before, it would be expected he was born about 1265-75. Chronology therefore supports an intervening generation.

Roger de St. Maur

We are again on firm footing with Roger de St. Maur. Roger succeeded as lord of Penhow after the death of the William de St. Maur who held it in 1271. This Roger first appears in record on 4 August 1301, when he served as witness to a confirmation by Roger le Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England. Other witnesses at 'Modesgat' included the earl's brother John le Bygod, Sir John le Bygod of Stocton and Nicholas de Kingeston, knights, Elya de Albreton [Aylburton], then the earl's seneschal of Striguil, Philip de Mora, William de Dynam and Andrew de Beauchamp.[106]

Roger de St. Maur's son and heir John was an adult by September 1325 (born by 1304, but likely a few years before), when he was going beyond the seas on military service.[107] We might estimate that Roger married about 1295-1300. His wife is said to be Joan Damarel of Woodbury, Devon.[108]

No primary evidence has been found to verify the identity of Roger's wife.[109] If her arms had been recorded on some document seen by Vincent, and at least her surname given, it would place her in one of three branches of the Dammarell [de Alba Marlia, Aumarle, Daumarle] family established in Devon. If she did indeed belong to the Woodbury branch, chronology would suggest she was sister of Geoffrey Daumarle of Woodbury and Levenston who was born about 1268 and died 21 February 1321, son of William de Alba Marlia of Woodbury who died 15 January 1289.[110] As her father was a tenant in chief, her marriage would have been in the hands of the crown.

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[106] Dugdale (1817-30), 5:269 (no. 2). Morris (2005), 228 (RBIV 27). Andrew de Beauchamp acquired Dynam, co. Monmouth (a village about 1½ miles north of Caerwent) by 1306. CIPM 4:298 (no. 434) [Roger le Bygod, Earl of Norfolk].

[107] CPR 1324-7, 170 and 172.

[108] Joan's arms are shown as *per fess, gules* and *azure*, three crescents, *argent*. The branch of the Damarell family of Fleete is supposed to be *azure*, a crescent *argent*, on a chief *gules*, two crescents of the second. Dallas and Porter (1897), 17. Vincent's manuscript baronage, as related by Hoare (1822-33), 1:116, does not give her first name. Later pedigrees call her Joan. Benolt's Visitation , 1532 (1899), 304, starts the pedigree with "*Sr John* [Roger] *Seymor knight of Wondy in Nedyrwent maried the doughter and heyr of Bechampe"* so does not begin until the next generation, though in this case it is Cecily Beauchamp who is not given a first name.

[109] A Katherine de Seymor was the only woman in a very long list (including the prior of Goldcliff and one of his monks) dated 13 March 1334 of local residents who carried away wine from a wreck. CPR 1334-8, 68.

[110] CIPM 2:443-4 (no. 720). CIPM 6:156 (no. 271). CIPM 7:457-8 (no. 672). And see CIPM 11:216 (nos. 272-3). Geoffrey de Alba Marlia (b. 1268) of Woodbury was son of William, son of Sir Geoffrey, son of Reginald/Rainald, son of Geoffrey d'Albamarle (b. possibly about 1160-70, living 1212) who married Mabil, daughter and heiress of William Carbonell according to Pole (1791), which seems to be substantiated by historical documents (at least men of those names appeared in documents in the appropriate generations). This Geoffrey was son of Rainald de Albamara/Aubemare [sic], perhaps by his wife Alina. DD 267. They descend from

Roger *"de Seint Mor"* witnessed a charter of Roger le Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, dated at Stepney, Middlesex (immediately east of London) on 28 October 30 Edward I [1302].[111] Earl Roger granted his manor of Aluredeston in exchange for the manor of Platelanda. Sir John Lovel, Sir John le Bigod, Sir Nicholas de Kyngeston and Sir Thomas Lovel, knights, master John Golafre, William de Spauneby and Robert de Beverlaco, clerks, Roger de Seint Mor and Andrew de Beauchamp were the witnesses. The fact that Roger was in Stepney with the earl would likely indicate he was part of the earl's retinue.

Roger de Seymour was constable of the New Castle in Netherwent in 1304, for which office he received £13 6*s* 8*d* per annum.[112] This was the *"miniature fortress-cum-hunting-lodge called Cas Troggy, described in the earl's inquisition in 1306 as 'newly built.'"*[113] Such an income would have allowed him to expand his holdings.

Roger *"de Seintnor"* served as one of the jurors at Striguil 29 December 1306 who were to determine what lands Roger le Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, held at his death.[114] Under the account for the hamlet of Heurew [Henrew], John Bluet held a waste at La Kair paying 10*d*. The Prior of Goldclyve was the largest landholder, with 64½ acres of land. Yven ap Wranok was second, with 11 acres for which he paid 22*d*. *"Roger de St. Maur holds 7 acres of land, and pays per annum at the same feast* [Michaelmas] *15d."*[115] There were nine other landholders at Henrew, all Welsh. There was only one landholder at the hamlet of "Penew" [Penhow]: *"Roger de St. Maur holds a certain tenement there, and pays per annum at the feast of St. Michael 3s. 4d. The same Roger holds 2 acres of land, and pays per annum at the same feast 4d. And the same holds there 36 acres of land, and pays per annum at 2 terms 9s. 4d."*[116]

Under *"Foreign Service"* [obligations owed to other lords], the *"tenants of Roge de St. Maur [at] Landogyn and Penhow, and the tenants of Bogo de Cnovile of Landogyn, the tenants of the Prior of Strogoil of Llandogin"* and others were obligated to carry timber from Wentwood to the Castle of Striguil *"on every Tuesday from Hockday up to the gule of August with 2 oxen each"* if necessary.[117] The extent of lands held by Roger le Bygod,

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Robert de Albamara, Norman tenant in chief at Domesday who was ancestor of the Damarell family (apparently from Aumale, Seine-Maritime, arr. Neufchâtel, whose wife was a daughter of Robert Blund). COEL (http://www.linacre.ox.ac.uk/Linacre/new/prosopographical-research-unit/coel-database). It is interesting to note that one of the daughters and coheirs of the branch established at Fleete, Devon, Jone (b.c.1330), daughter of John Damarell by his wife Alice Meolys, married John Dernford. CIPM 8:169-70 (no. 230). CFR 1327-37, 472, 477. There were numerous entries for branches of this family in Pole (1791), e.g. 245, 264, 282, 300, 301, 338, 390 and 400. John [of Fleete], Ralph [of Stokes, Woodlegh and Westcote] and Reynold [of Woodbury] all had extensive holdings in Devon at the beginning of the 13th century. Book of Fees (1931), 432, 435, 581, 702, 756, 757, 765, 763, 764, 766, 770, 771, 774, 776, 782, 785, 787, 788, 789, 790, 792, 794, 795, 797, 1139, 1189, 1250, 1424.

111 CChR 3:31. Morris (2005), 230 (RBIV 32). The earl was at Stepney on 28 October when the charter was witnessed, but had been at Westminster eight days before and two weeks afterwards, spending the year (after May) in the vicinity of London. Morris (2005), 203.

112 Morris (2005), 186, n. 17, citing *"SC 6/922/8 (Chepstow, 1304)."*

113 Morris (2005), 186. CIPM 4:296 (no. 434).

114 Fry (1910), 49. There were 36 jurors, including Philip de la Moore, Matthew Deneband [Denebaud], Walter de Bendevile, Walter Kemeys, Robert Kemeys, Griffin Meillour, Leinthin Ab Morgan and John le Waleis [Walsh]. This abstract is far more extensive than the one in CIPM, and lists local tenants extensively. It is clear from this that most of the local holders in the hamlets were still quite Welsh.

115 Fry (1910), 53-4.

116 Fry (1910), 54.

117 Fry (1910), 55. CIPM 4:294 (no. 434).

Earl of Norfolk, made at Striguil Tuesday after St. Gregory the Pope, 35 Edward I [14 March 1306/7] found that Roger *"de Seymor"* held one Welsh knight's fee at Penho in his own right and ¼ Welsh knight's fee held with William Adam at Henru.[118] Roger *"Seymor"* held one fee at Penhow, in addition to half a knight's fee at Redcastle (*"Castell Coch/Rubro Castro"*) with William Martel[119] on 28 September 8 Edward II [1314].[120] This moiety of a fee which *"Roger de Seymor"* held with William Martel was worth 100*s per annum*.[121] *Castell Coch*, and Roger as tenant, became part of the dowry of Matilda. The other part of Redcastle was apparently held not of the Earl of Norfolk, but of the Earl of Gloucester, as the inquisition of Earl Gilbert de Clare made 31 September 1314 found that half the fee was held by Roger Seymor and William Martel (half a fee at Wondy was then held by Giles de Bellocampo [Beauchamp] *for life*).[122]

Henrhiw is in the parish of Langston (the parish immediately west of Penhow), just to the north of the road that passes by Penhow Castle. It was on the old Roman road leading from Usk to Abergavenny. Bradney states that the manor held by the Seymours in the parish of Magor was called Red Castle, or *Castell Coch*.[123] But they also held the manor of Salisbury in Magor. It had been held by the heir of John ap Adam (who was in the king's wardship) in 1314.[124] It is not certain how it passed into the hands of Roger's son John (though the surname of John's wife is not certainly known).

It is not likely that Roger de Seymour had much to do with the fortunes of the Clares before Earl Gilbert attained majority. Joan "of Acre" and her second husband Ralph de Monthermer had control of the estates from 1297 to 1307 during the minority of Earl Gilbert de Clare (b.1291). This grandson of Edward I was only sixteen at his mother's death (23 April 1307), so Monthermer was to continue his custody of the lands and income.[125] Once he attained majority, the earl did not long survive, falling at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314.

"Roger de Seinmor, William Gamache [Gamage], *Robert de la More, William Durant, William de Derneforche* [Derneford], *Meurik ap Cameys*" and many others of the honour of Striguil were accused of being followers of John de Pateshulle, lieutenant of the castle and honour of Striguil, who caused "*great loss as well to the king as to the men of those parts*" and "*carried away as well the king's goods belonging to the castle and honour*" along with the goods of the constable, Robert Darcy. The rebels first made their way to Lamyhangle, and thence to the liberty of Usk. Pateshull drew these followers away "*by livery of robes to them and in other ways, and conspiring with them ordered that when the*

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118 CIPM 4:294, 298.

119 William Martel had entered into an agreement with John Bluet to serve as John's knight in the Flemish campaign and all subsequent wars in England or Wales. Altschul (1965), 279. Morgan and Wakeman (1867), 26-32. It is not known if Roger Seymour also served in those engagements, but he was not knighted.

120 CIPM 5:336 (no. 538) [Gilbert de Clare]. CCR 1313-18, 137.

121 CCR 1313-18, 137. The list for the tenants Edmund de Mortimer, Earl of March, included an inquisition made at Gloucester 17 January 1425/6 which included the manors of Cemais, held by M[aurice/Meuric] de Kemmeys and Walter de Kemmeys, Langstone and Whitson, held by John Bluet, St. Brides and Llandevenny, held by John de Huntley, Wilcrick, held by Thomas de Wyldekirke, and Castell-coch, held by Roger de Seymour and William Martyn [Martel] worth 100*s*, but this list of tenants is more than a century off. CIPM 22: 473 (no. 509).

122 CIPM 5:336 (no. 538).

123 Bradney (1904-93), 4:228.

124 Bradney (1904-93), 4:230.

125 Pugh (1971), 60-1.

[constable] should come to those parts to view his office that neither they nor any other tenants of the honour should attend on him, or answer to him". The tenants of the honour "*on account of them dared not*" pay rents, attend courts, or render any other services due. Order was made for an inquiry on 17 May 1313.[126]

Political turmoil was not their only hardship—though with the campaigns in Scotland in 1314 there was plenty of that (the English loss to Bruce at the Battle of Bannockburn set the stage for Scottish independence). There was a great failure of the harvest in 1315, part of three years of flooding and crop failure that caused famine throughout England and Wales, scarcity of food and soaring prices. *"After the feast of Easter the dearth of corn* [grain] *was much increased. Such scarcity has not been seen in our time in England, nor heard of for a hundred years."* The famine was followed in 1316 by *"severe pestilence of which many thousands died in different places."*[127]

To add to this, Llywelyn Bren led an uprising centred in Glamorgan during the summer of 1316.[128] *"Llewelyn violently attacked the district under Payn [de Turberville]'s protection, killing, burning, and plundering. He had attracted to him some 10,000 Welshmen...."*[129]

This commission of oyer and terminer of 1313 did not end the conflict between the local Marcher lords and the officials of the crown. Roger claimed to be steward [seneschal] of Thomas [de Brotherton], Earl of Norfolk and Marshall of England,[130] in the parts of Striguil [the earl was lord of the honour] in 1317, preventing the escheator from inquiring into the land John de Knovill was seised of in the Marches of Wales. Roger *"maintained himself there by force, and would not permit him* [the escheator] *to execute his office."*[131] *"Roger de Syntmor"* was also mentioned in a letter from Hugh le Despenser, Jr. [lord of Glamorgan], to the Sheriff of Glamorgan 21 September 1319: *"Et vous pryoms et chargeoms sur la foy qe vous nous deuez, qe le dit Roger greuez et ennuyez par totes les voyes qe vous sauerez et purrez qar il ad tout temps este contrariaunt a nostre seignurye."*[132] Hugh le Despenser, the younger, and his wife Eleanor had received a gift of the castles of Usk, Tregruk and Caerleon, the manor of Woundy (with seven other manors), and eleven advowsons (including Caerleon Abbey and Usk Priory) on 9 July 1322 *"for good services rendered and to be rendered...."*[133] Despenser became lord of Striguil in 1323.[134]

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[126] CPR 1307-13, 599. On 10 October 1310, John ap Adam, Master John Martel and John de Pateshulle had been ordered to enquire whether Hugh le Despenser had committed any trespass during his custody of the castle of Striguil and town of Chepstow. CPR 1301-7, 313.

[127] Denholm-Young (1957), 69, 70.

[128] Pugh (1971), 78.

[129] Denholm-Young (1957), 67.

[130] Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, died without issue 6 December 1306, at which point the earldom reverted to the crown. It was granted to the fifth son of Edward I, Thomas "of Brotherton," who was born 1 June 1300, assigned the lands of the late Earl Roger on 16 December 1312, and appointed Marshal 10 February 1315/16. CP 9:596. Thomas granted the castle and town of Striguil to Hugh le Despenser the younger in 1323 (apparently under coercion). Thomas "de Brotherton" died without surviving male issue in 1338. The title did not come into the Mowbray family until 1397 [Duke] and 1399 [Earl].

[131] CIPM 6:5 (no. 16) [John de Knovil/Knoville], undated, but probably January/February 10 Edw. II.

[132] Clark (1885-1910), 3:1063-6 (no. 1392).

[133] CChR 3:449.

[134] This was likely coercion, as Brotherton joined the Queen and Mortimer shortly their return to England.

The conflict between the local steward (seneschal) and the representatives of the crown attempting to make incursions in what was perceived to be the local affairs of the Marchers stems back to rights the crown had previously given to the Marcher lords well before Edward II and his favourites came into power. In previous generations, lords of the Marches had been given supreme control within their domain (hence the lack of inquisitions). But just as they had encroached against the Welsh and eventually become dominant, the crown was now asserting its authority and supremacy, having long forgotten the events of the previous century.

In 1242, Hywel ap Maredudd and Rhys ap Gruffydd were waging war on Gilbert de Turberville, lord of Coity, Glamorgan. Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, arranged a truce at his county court, after which Rhys and Hywel both surrendered hostages for their good behaviour. The truce was broken by Richard Siward, a neighbouring lord who also had lands in England. Siward refused to abide by the earl's decision in the county court. Hywel retaliated in 1243 by attacking the earl's castle at Kenfig, but was eventually defeated. The earl brought suit against Siward in the county court in 1245, forcing him to surrender his lordships in Glamorgan. Siward appealed to the *curia regis*. He complained that the earl's procedure was irregular, that he was not able to attend the county court in 1245 because he was fighting with the king's army at Degannwy in the campaign against Dafydd, etc. The earl responded that as the warring and events had occurred entirely within his lordship of Glamorgan, *"he alone, by virtue of his regality,"* had full cognizance of the matter. *"None of his own men or the men of any others ought to plead any case elsewhere within his liberty."* He offered the justices to examine the records of his court to see if justice had been done *"according to the custom of the march."*[135]

"Earl Richard claimed judicial autonomy for his lordship, in much the conventional manner as other marcher lords.... Richard, in short, sought not only the right...over all pleas within his lordship, but also the acknowledgement, on the part of the Crown itself, that the body of law and custom within it was totally independent of the English common law...." When Siward had appealed to the king, he did so claiming he could not get justice in the earl's court where the lord of Glamorgan *"fuit dominus et quasi rex et justiciarius."*[136] The earl was successful on all counts.

Given this history, it was entirely natural for Roger de Seymour to deny the king's escheator access to something he thought fell within the honour for which he served as seneschal. That's the way it had been, up until this point.

It appears that this was the period when Roger witnessed an undated charter of Walter Laboft concerning land in Netherwent. The witnesses to this deed were *"Rogero de Sto Mauro tunc seneschallo"* [Roger de Seymour, then steward], *domino* Begone de Knovile, William de Derneford, John de la More, Lleysan ap Morgan, William Durront, Matthew Deneband [Denebaud],[137] Walter de Bellenele and *"Ph'o p'son"* [Phillip the parson].[138]

It appears that Roger de Seymour acquired the manor of St. Bride in Netherwent by 1322. On 4 October, he granted Maud, widow of John de Hunteleye 66*s* 8*d* rent in the manors of St. Bride, Llandevenny and Wilcrick of the lands and tenements that

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[135] Altschul, 70-3. Clark (1885-1910), 2:547-55. Lloyd (1948), 2:712. Pugh (1971), 50-1.

[136] Altschul, 70-3. Clark (1885-1910), 2:554.

[137] Matthew Denebaud was also witness to CChR 3:99 (no. 9).

[138] Bradney (1904-93), 4:268, taken from *"Miss Prothero's deeds."* Leison/Lleision ap Morgan (1283-1328), lord of Avan/Avene (Nedd-Afan), Glamorgan, was son of Morgan Fychan ap Morgan Gam by a daughter of Walter de Sully. Pugh (1971), 341, 359. Siddons (1993), 3:8.

dame Ele de Hunteley had in dower. The deed, dated at St. Bride, was witnessed by William de Gamages, Thomas de Wildecrik, Meurik de Kemmeis, John de Kemmeys, William Herberd, John de Godenham and others.[139] Roger and Maud affixed their seals to the charter but only fragments of one in red wax survive (a lion rampant). It appears John de Hunteley died without issue, rather than leaving daughters as coheirs, though he did have one sister.[140] John de Hunteley was succeeded in his lands in Somerset by William, the minor son of William and Joan de Carente (indicating right to the inheritance came through the maternal line, not the father William, Sr.).[141] It is clear that John de Hunteley permanently divested most of his patrimony before his death. He may have conveyed St. Bride to Roger de Seymour as well. As Roger married about 1295-1300, his wife would have been born about 1275-80. It is chronologically possible that she was a daughter of Sir Thomas by his second wife, but not daughter and heir of his son John.

On 20 June 1323, order was made to restore to Peter de Skidemore his lands ("*in the king's hand on account of his rebellion*"). Peter had been in prison, but paid a fine of 200 marks to save his life and have his lands. John Inge of Wiltshire and "*Roger de Seymor of the county of Gloucester*" served as mainpernors.[142] Peter de Scudemore

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[139] Dilks (1933), 70-1 (no. 94).

[140] Sir Thomas de Huntley held the manor of St. Bride in 1271. He had apparently married, first, Edith de Say, daughter and coheir of Gilbert de Say (d. 1230) by his wife Matilda de Clivedon, by whom he acquired the manor of La March in the parish of Yeovil, Somerset (Matilda de Say, who married Thomas de Arderne, received the manor of Kingston as her purparty, later to be sold by them to Sir Robert Fitz Payn). Batten (1898), 210-16. Sir Thomas de Hunteley was dead by 1302, leaving a son named John and a widow Ela (who had suit with John in that year regarding lands in La Mersh). Moor (1929-32) 2[81]:251. John de Hunteley granted the manor and advowson of Pirton to Sir Walter de Beauchamp in 1301, it being held in dower of inheritance of John's wife Joan, the properties eventually becoming permanently invested in that Beauchamp family. VCH Worcs., 4:181. This account states that John's [first] wife Joan was daughter and coheir of William Poer. In 1314, John de Hunteleye was found to hold one knight's fee in St. Bride and Llandevenny of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester of the lordship of Newport worth £20. CCR 1313-18, 137. CIPM 5:336 (no. 538). John, son and heir of Sir Thomas de Hunteley, released all his rights to the manor and advowson of Huntelegh, Gloucs., to Sir Robert de Sapy and his wife in 1313, his father's widow Ela having already relinquished her rights. Moor (1929-32) 2:251. Feudal Aids (1899-1920), 2:250, 285.

[141] Collinson (1791), 2:203, 366, 383, 3:207. The elder William de Carente also had brothers Matthew, Richard, John and Walter, as stipulated in a fine. William's wife Joan also had rights held for life in the manors of Asshe and Burton, Dorset. Hutchins (1870), 4:111-12. William de Carente, Sr. died 28 December 1346, his widow Joan thereafter marrying Walter de Thornhull. Their son and heir, William de Carente, Jr. was only age 2 at his father's death, or born about 1344-5. CFR 1347-56, 32, 34, 72, 255, 268, 420. The next heir of Maud, widow of John de Huntley in Merssh, Somerset, was also found to be William de Carente, Jr. CIPM 9:87 (no. 97). Roskell (1992), 2:480-2, says Hutchins confounded three later William Carents into the junior of Hutchins' account. Batten (1898) points out that William de Carente, Jr. was also next heir of Walter de Tryl of Todbere, Dorset (living 1324), as of Matilda. John had also had a sister named Margaret de Hunteley. Carente is not readily found in English records before this period. Collinson (2:366-7) states the surname derives from Caerwent in Netherwent, arms *argent*, three *torteaux*, each charged with *chevronels gules*. Thomas and William de Karent were jurors at the inquisition of John, wife of Gilbert de Clare at Stoke in 1307. Robert de Carent was a juror at Tukesbury concerning lands held of Hugh le Despenser, deceased, in 1349. Fry (1910), 75, 338. VCH Gloucs., 5:235. It is more likely this surname derived from a watercourse called Carent/Carrant in Gloucestershire.

[142] CFR 1319-27, 215. There was no county of Monmouth at that time, so that part of the Marches of Wales was sometimes described as being in Gloucester. John Inge was sheriff of Glamorgan 1319-22. Pugh (1971), 690. He also served as justice and was to take the castles and lands of Hugh le Despenser the elder into his hands 16 August 1321. Moor (1929-32), 2[81]:264.

(*"Escudemor"*) acknowledged that he owed 200 marks to John Inge and the like sum to Roger de Seymor on 27 June 1323, the sums to be levied on lands and chattels in Wiltshire in default of the payments.[143]

On 30 October 1326, Roger de Sancto Mauro, Meurik de Kemmeys, William de Derneford, John de la More and others of the parts of the Netherwent were pardoned *"for their rebellion and adherence to rebels"* and of all felonies *"from 12 October last"* on condition that they did not rise against the king again or assist the rebels in any way.[144] There had been a general revolution in 1326, *"the inevitable result of the misgovernment of the Despensers. By the autumn of 1326 all that the discontent needed was leadership and that was provided by Edward II's estranged wife, who had become the mistress of the exiled Welsh marcher lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore. War had broken out between France and England in 1324.... On September 24, 1326, Queen Isabel and Roger Mortimer landed at Orwell, in Suffolk, with a force of 700 mercenaries...in a matter of weeks the government of the Despensers collapsed. On October 2, Edward II left London and fled to south Wales, accompanied by Hugh Despenser the younger."*[145] They got to Striguil on October 16, setting to sea, but bad weather forced them to land at Cardiff, October 27. Edward II and Despenser secreted themselves away at Neath Abbey, but were betrayed by the Welsh and captured near Llantrisant on 16 November 1326. The dominance of Hugh Despenser the younger ended with finality on 20 November when he was executed at Hereford. His father had been beheaded at Bristol on 27 October, and Edward II was forced to abdicate 20 January 1327, to be succeeded by his son Edward III.

It is not known at what point in the decade between 1326 and 1337 Roger de St. Maur died. He was father of at least one son, his heir John (born by 1304), and possibly a second, Roger de St. Maur who married Cecily de Beauchamp of Hatch and founded that branch. It appears there was also a son named William. *"William de Sancto Mauro holds a moiety of a knight's fee in Wondi"* according to an inquisition dated 18 May, 8 Edward III [1334].[146] This William would otherwise be a man as yet unaccounted for. It also appears this William was invested with the manor of St. Bride. If John did convey Woundy to his brother Roger before his death, this William must have died without issue by 1358. Woundy was next known to have been held by William Seymour (son of Roger Seymour, husband of Cecily Beauchamp) at his death in 1391. Each of these three Seymours, John, Roger, and William, will be dealt with in their own section below.

The association between the St. Maur family of Netherwent and Beauchamp family of Hatch was not one of chance. When Cecily's father John de Beauchamp of Hacche, Somerset [2nd Lord Beauchamp of Hatch] died in 1343, two inquisitions recorded he held a toft, four acres of meadow, three acres of pasture and 50*s* 3*d* rent in Magor [immediately west of Woundy] held of the king [or of Mary, Countess Marshal] in chief by 1/10th of a knight's fee.[147] His heir in 1343 was his twelve-year-old son John, but that John would die without issue 8 October 1361, leaving his sister Cecily as one of two coheirs.[148]

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143 CCR 1318-23, 722.

144 CPR 1324-7, 334.

145 Pugh (1971), 172.

146 CIPM 7:409 (no. 600).

147 CIPM 7:320 (no. 470), 325 (no. 471).

148 CP 2:49. CIPM 11:24 (no. 34).

John de St. Maur

John de St. Maur, or Seymour, of Penhow, may have been born about 1295-1300. He was definitely an adult by 5 September 1325, when he had letters of protection going across the seas on military service. He nominated *"Roger de Sancto Mauro* [his father] *and John de Helpston"* his attorneys.[149] The French were threatening Gascony and the English lands in France. Negotiations had also been underway for the future Edward III to swear fealty for his French lands. Four thousand troops had been drawn up in April and May 1325, the process culminating in August. Edward II complicated the situation by not paying the standing troops, in spite of public knowledge that the treasury was well funded. Common soldiers could not long survive on their own. *"Then the King ordered all the infantry to board their ships and stand out to sea, until the time should come for crossing to Gascony.... The king and his council agreed to grant Gascony to his son, and by his orders the bay at once sailed for France."*[150]

Remember that Prince Edward was only twelve at this time. The peers, knights and gentry ordered to go 'beyond the seas' were given protection until Christmas 1325. It is not certain whether John de St. Maur was intended to accompany the prince to Paris or sail to Gascony. The list of eight men to accompany Henry de Lancaster, Earl of Leicester (chief guardian of the prince in 1327), included a John de Sancto Mauro. But a second John de Sancto Mauro was included with the twenty-five men who were to be in the retinue of *"Edward, Earl of Chester"* (travelling with Walter, Bishop of Exeter).[151] Edward performed his homage at Vincennes 21 September 1325.

On 5 October, 10 Edward III [1336], John de Sancto Mauro was witness with Maurice de Kemmeys and others at Tunbridge, Kent of the confirmation by Hugh de Audley and his wife Margaret [de Clare], Countess of Cornwall (widow of Piers de Gaveston) of a grant by Almeric de Lucy, lord of Caerwent, of two acres there, with the advowson of Caerwent with the chapels of Llanvayre, Dynan and St. Nyeuyn [Nevyn the chapel at Crick] to master Alexander de Monmouth, Archdeacon of Llandaff, and the chapter in frankalmoign.[152]

John de Seymor was *"lord of Penho"* on 4 April 1337, when he was owed £20 by William de Hales of London.[153] William de Hales was a Citizen of London and armourer by trade. He gave a tenement in Fleet Street (London) which he had by the gift of John de Seymor, lord of Penhow, to the Chapel of St. James in the Hermitage by Cripplegate, London 16 Edward III [1343].[154] One might theorize that John granted that land to Hales as payment for a suit of armour.

John *"de Seynt More"* and his wife Elizabeth were pardoned for acquiring twenty acres, one and a half rods of land, 35*s* 6¼*d* of rent and a fourth part of a messuage in Magor held in chief and entering thereon without license, and were immediately granted license to retain the same on 5 June 1344.[155]

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[149] CPR 1324-7, 170 [5 September], 172 [11 September]. John de Helpeston/Helpston acted as attorney for others going beyond the seas at this period and apparently had legal training.

[150] Denholm-Young (1957), 136, 141. Haines (2003), 322-9.

[151] CPR 1324-7, 166, 171, 195. John de Beauchamp of Somerset had a retinue of fifteen.

[152] CPR 1334-8, 394. Bradney (1904-93), 4:141.

[153] CCR 1337-9, 117. He was also witness to lands given the Archdeacon of Llandaff in frankalmoign on 8 March 1337. CPR 1334-8, 141.

[154] TNA E 210/6288 (according to the Catalogue—the original has not been checked).

[155] CPR 1343-5, 263. CIM 3:181-2 (no. 488). Fry (1910), 304.

John *"de Seintmor"* died Tuesday before St. Marks, 32 Edward III [24 April 1358], *"in the pestilence now past,"* leaving by his wife Elizabeth, (who survived him) a son and heir Roger, aged eighteen (aged twenty on 20 July, 34 Edward III [1360]).[156] Two inquisitions survive for John. Both were similar, but definitely unique (not two copies of the same).

His lands included:

Magor and Netherwent: 20 acres 1½ rods of land, 35*s* 6¼*d* rent and a fourth part of a messuage held jointly with his wife Elizabeth in chief by knights service, held by the gift of Henry, son of Roger;[157] or 49*s* 4*d* rent of free tenants and 19*s* $11^{1}/_{8}d$ rent of bondmen *and a court* held jointly with his wife Elizabeth.[158]

Penho: the manor, held jointly with Elizabeth of the Countess Marshal as of Chepstow Castle [the honour of Striguil], held in chief by knight's service and suit at the court of the castle every four weeks.

Wyduston [Whitson]: the manor, held of Peter de Cusance[159] as of the manor of Langston, held by knight's service.

Porkeswet: the manor, held in chief by knight's service as of her [the Countess Marshal] lordship of Chepstow.[160]

Salusbury: the manor, held in chief by knight's service of the Countess of Clare as of her lordship of Caerleon in the Marches of Wales.[161]

"He held no other lands...." He was not seised of the manors of Woundy or St. Bride at his death. John and Elizabeth de St. Maur were definitely parents of their son and heir Roger, but may have had as many as five children:[162]

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156 CIPM 10:334 (no. 414), 457 (no. 584).

157 The tenements in Magor were taken into the king's hand after the death of John *"de Seyntmore"* even though he had already received a pardon for acquiring them. CIM 3:181-2 (no. 488). The writ was dated 22 June 36 Edw. III [1362].

158 It is not clear if this was a manorial court or may have evolved into a manor later.

159 Margaret Bluet, one of the two surviving daughters and coheirs of Sir John Bluet (son of Sir William), married William de Cusance, by whom she was mother of Peter. CFR 1413-22, 112. VCH Wilts., 9:52-3. CPR 1321-4, 189. Peter de Cusance was age 19¾ in 22 Edw. III (born about 1329). CIPM 2:123-4 (no. 498). Morgan and Wakeman (1867), 26-32, present a history of Langstone and the Bluet family, but its details are in part questionable.

160 Portskewet was held by Matthew Denebaud in 1271 and 1304. CCR 136-4, 477. Bradney (1904-93), 4:97. Sir John Denebaud is stated to have married Alice Gifford, daughter and heiress of Thomas Gifford of Hinton St. George, Somerset, to whence the family settled. Collinson (1791), 1:63, 2:166. Hinton St. George had been held by William and Joan Carente (see above). Green (1898), 92 (no. 40).

161 Salusbury was the one holding in this list that did not descend to John's son Roger. The manor had been granted to Nest, wife of Ralph Bloet in 1201 and passed from her to her younger son William, who still held the manor in 1252 (see above).

162 Bradney also gives a son, Ralph de St. Maur, who held a knight's fee in Penho in 1363, but this is clearly an error based on a faulty return by the escheator. A Ralph Seymor is listed as holding one fee in Penho of Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk, on 9 February 1400, and also for the same in the inquisition of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, on the same date. CIPM 18:76 (no. 259), 87 (no. 299). But the accounts of the lands in Monmouth in these inquisitions are a poorly transcribed copy taken from the earlier inquisition of the Earl of Norfolk in 35 Edw. I. CIPM 4:298 (no. 434). A fictional Ralph *"Seymer"* held one fee at Penho of the Earl of Norfolk 11 Hen. VI [1432/3]. Caley and Bayley (1806-28), 4:148. A Roger Seymour, with others, is stated to have held one fee at Red Castle 3 Hen. VI [1424/5] and ¼ part of a fee at Henru with William Adams 11 Hen. VI [1432/3], but this is again the earlier

- Joan Seymour, born possibly about 1330-33, married, as his second wife, Sir Thomas ap Sir Aron ap Hywel Fychan, of Castell Fyonmon, Glamorgan.[163]
- Margaret Seymour, born possibly about 1335-38 [*"da. of Sir John Seymour"*], married, as second wife, Thomas Carne, son of Sir John Carne, of Pen-carne, by Joane de la Moore.[164] His first wife was Mabli ferch Hywel [Ynyr Gwent].
- Roger Seymour, son and heir, was born *c*.1340/1 (just a boy at the time of the Black Death), died without surviving male issue. It is not certain when Roger de Seymor died. He left an only daughter and heir, Isabel Seymour, possibly born about 1370-5, who married John Bowles [Bowlays /Buylas/Bouliers], son of Sir Thomas Bowlais (who served on a jury at Magor

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Roger in 1307. Caley and Bayley (1806-28), 4:96, 148 [who was checking the accounts of these escheators!].

The inquisition post mortem of the Earl of Norfolk in 1307 relates an extent made at Striguil the Tuesday after St. Gregory the Pope 35 Edward I [14 March 1307]. There were thirteen entries in that list that concern us: Lanver, held by Ralph de Monte Hermeri, Martherne, held by Bevis/Bogo de Knovill, Penho, held by *Roger de Seymor*, Portscuet and Herberdeston, held by Matthew Denebaud, Crik, held by William de Derneford, Dynan, held by Andrew de Bello Campo [Beauchamp], Maysquenyth, held by Emery/Amoricus de Lucy, Edeton, held by Henry de Bendevill, St. Arvyn, held by Leysan ap Morgan, Lamartyn, held by Walter de Kemmeys and Maurice [Meuric] de Kemmeys, Henru, held by *Roger de Seymor* and William Adam, St. Wormet, held by John Blechery, and Tudeham, then held by Walter Waldyng. CIPM 4:298 (no. 434). The inquisition of Mary, Countess of Norfolk, purports to relate an extent made at Shepestowe 6 July 36 Edward III [1362]. CIPM 11:310 (no. 397). This is clearly a fraud, as the same manors are listed in exactly the same order with the same tenants [except William de Derneford was replaced by Robert Derneford (who never existed) and John Blechery's name was recorded as Blethery (confusion reading the "c" as a "t"). In the inquisition of Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk, the escheator recorded what was supposed to be an extent made at Newent on 9 February 1399/1400. Again we have *exactly* the same manors in the same order with the same tenants as in 1307, except that Roger has been changed to *Ralph Seymor* at Penhow, Matthew Denebaud's name is written as "*Beneland*," William Derneford is back [he was given as Robert in 1362], Maurice Kemmeys is left out [Walter is still there] and John de Blechery is recorded as Blecher [not Blethery as in 1362]. CIPM 18:76-7 (no. 259), and again with the *same* date and place at 87 (no. 299). This list is again repeated in 1436. Comparing this last list to who was actually holding in 1307 is quite interesting. We have: Lanneyre [Llanfair Discoed]: Rad'um de Monte Hermer [Sir Ralph de Monthermer, who died 5 April 1325, husband of Joan 'of Acre'], Matharn: Rogerum de Knevil [Bogo de Knovill], Penhoo: Rad'um Seymor [Roger Seymour], Perschenet [Portskewet]: Matheum Beneland [Denebaud], Crike: Will'um de Depeford [Derneford], Dinham: Andr' de Bello Campo, Maysquenith [Maesgwenith]: Almar' Lucy [Aymery de Lucy], Ederton [Itton]: Henr' Bedenhull' [Bendeville/Pendevill], Sancto Armino [St. Arvans]: L. [Leyson] ap Morgan, Lanmartyn [Llanmartin]: Walter de Bemmys [Kemmeys (of Pencoed), Meuric de Kemmeys omitted], Heurn [Henrihw]: Roger Seymor & William Adam [Roger died before 1337], Sancto Warneto [St. Wormet]: Joh'em de Blecher, and Tudenham: Walterum Walding. Caley and Bayley (1806-28), 4:148. The changes between 1307 and 1436 are almost like a party game where people go around a circle and try to repeat what they heard. The fact that the manors are always in the same order, and that the list of tenants includes people with such unusual or unique names as Ralph de Monthermer, Andrew de Bello Campo, Amery de Lucy, Leysan ap Morgan and Walter Waldyng makes the obvious duplication clear and the later dates impossible. These were not new extents listing current tenants, but copies of the old extents. They may have been drawn up on new parchment on those dates at those places, but all represent one list, the extent of 1307. There was no Ralph Seymor at Penhow. Nor did Roger Seymor keep holding with William Adam generation after generation.

[163] Bartrum (1974), Bl. ap. M. 40, gen (8). Sir Thomas is said to have been Sheriff of Glamorgan in 1346. He was mentioned in 1344. Clark (1885-1910), 1261.

[164] Bartrum (1974), Ynyr 2, gen. (9).

in 1382).[165] John Bowlers/Bewelers died 12 August 1420 seised of land in Magor, the manors of Penhow, Porkskewetz, Wydeston, and lands and tenements in Preston, Trageston and Redcastell, his son and heir Ralph aged 14 (born about 1406).[166] Ralph Bowliers proved his age on 13 November 1429.[167] The manors continued to pass down through this family.[168]

- John Seymour, born possibly about 1343-7, was apparently given one of the manors in Magor (Salisbury was the one manor held by John de St. Maur the elder at his death not inherited by the Bowles family through Isabel Seymour). It is his landholding in Magor that suggests he is son of this John instead of William de St. Maur of Woundy (in spite of the connection after his death with Sir Hugh Cheyne). He died shortly before 24 May 1388, when Sir Hugh Cheyny, knight, had custody of his lands in Magor which were in the King's hands by reason of the minority of his daughter and heir, Joan, along with her marriage.[169] Joan, daughter of John Seymour "*the younger*" married Adam ap Cynhaethwy ap Aeddan, of Y Grysmwnt, Monmouth.[170] It is curious that this Sir Hugh Cheyne would marry [between 1391 and 1397] Matilda de Brockbury, widow first of Sir Ralph de Seymour and then Sir John de Meriet the younger (the representative of the other half of the barony of Hatch), sister of Margery de Brockbury who married William Seymour of Hatch.[171]
- A daughter, born say 1357, married Sir John Walshe/Welsh.[172]

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[165] Bradney (1904-93), 4:192.

[166] CIPM 21: 240 (no. 703). CIPM 23:188 (no. 364). Bradney (1904-93), 4:193.

[167] CIPM 23: 226 (no. 423).

[168] Sir Edward Aston of Tixall, Stafford married the daughter of Sir Thomas Bowles of Penhow (d. 1511) by his wife Maud, daughter of Sir Thomas Morgan of Pencoed. Sir Thomas was son of Ralph Bowles, son of John Bowles by Isabella Seymour of Penhow. The American immigrant Grace Chetwode, wife of Rev. Peter Bulkeley, traces descent from this line.

[169] CPR 1385-9, 47-8.

[170] Bartrum (1974), Gwaithf. 2, gen. (6). But this would seem to be generationally much earlier.

[171] Sir Hugh Cheyne of Cheyne Longville, Shropshire [d. 1404, buried in Ludlow church, obit 1 August], served as a Member of Parliament eight times between 1378 and 1401. Roskell (1992), 2:545-7. VCH Salop. 2:136. He was a retainer for life to both Edmund and Roger de Mortimer, Earls of March. CPR 1401-5, 229. On 22 June 1402, Hugh Cheyne, chivaler, Edmund Cheyne and William Boure were to be enfeoffed by Richard de Cornwall of the manor of Burford to hold to Richard and his wife Cecily [Seymour]. CPR 1401-5, 104. Justices were appointed to conduct an assize of novel disseisin concerning the manor of Little Hereford on 22 August 1402 involving James de la Mare, Hugh Cheyne and his wife Maud [de Brockbury], Roger Seymour [of Hatch], John Seymour, Edmund Cheyne and Richard Boudelers. On October 1402, the order to hold special assize was revoked, stating it had been granted on a "*false suggestion*" made by James de la Mare against the king's knight Hugh Cheyne and others. Any further assize was to be stayed as Hugh was under the safe-custody of the king in service at Wygmore castle, "*Wales*." CPR 1401-5, 137, 168.

[172] John Welsh [then spelled either Walsh or Wallis, not Welsh] had (besides male issue) two daughters, (1) Margared, who married Lewys ap Dafydd (living 1430), of St. Pierre (Bradney [1904-93], 4:76; Bradney [1910], 148), and (2) Siscil [Cecily], wife of Jenkin ap Philip Morgan (of Langstone 1427-41 [Bradney (1904-93), 4:213; Clark (1886), 320; Bradney [1910], 108]). His son, Morgan ap Jenkin (adult 1455, living 1470), was father of Sir Thomas Morgan, of Pencoed in Llanmartin, father of Mawd Morgan (wife of Sir Thomas Bowles).

Margared, wife of Lewys ap Dafydd, was mother of a daughter who married (as his only wife, though he also had issue by a concubine) John ap Gwilym Herbert of Itton, who d. 1469 (Bartrum [1974], 5:790 [Godwin 8 (C)]; Bradney (1910), 194, 219), and was mother of Jane Herbert, eldest legitimate daughter and coheir, who married Sir Thomas ap Morgan [her second

William de St. Maur of Woundy

A jury convened on 18 May 1334 found that "*William de Sancto Mauro holds a moiety of a knight's fee in Wondi.*" This was not just a name in a long list, but a detailed report of three local lords (the other two being William Durant and Robert Gamages) who held land of Thomas de Rodebergh of Magor.[173] This William de St. Maur may have been born about 1295-1300. That he held Woundy indicates he was second son of Roger de St. Maur of Penhow, younger brother of Roger's heir John. It also appears that the manor of St. Brides — not held by John de St. Maur at his death — passed instead by inheritance and gift through this William to his second son Sir Edmund Seymour. It appears William was the father of at least four children. This is based on a string of uncertainties and slim evidence, but what evidence there is falls into place in a natural and clear way. As has been true concerning the earlier generations, it is no less frustrating that conclusions here are not more definite.

Walter Moton gave the parson of Salusbury power of attorney to deliver seisin of the manor of ...ton [*sic*] to William de Seymor at St. Bride on 6 November 1354.[174] Remember that Roger de St. Maur had acquired the manor of St. Brides from John de Huntley by 1322. There is reason to believe this William did not die without issue before 1358, but was still alive in 1364 — so continuing to hold Woundy.

Cecily de Beauchamp, the heiress of the barony of Hatch, Somerset who married Roger de Seymour as her second husband, received homage and fealty from the tenants of the manors she inherited in 1364. The details were carefully recorded in a register that includes such facts as date, place, tenant and the chief witnesses. William Seymour and Edmund Seymour witnessed three of the ceremonies, the first time on the morrow of the Purification of Our Lady [3 February 1363/4], the second on Monday next after the Purification of Our Lady [7 February 1363/4] and the third on Wednesday next after the feast of the Purification of Our Lady [9 February 1363/4], all at the baronial caput at Hatch.[175] The only Edmund who would correlate with this entry is the one who was later knighted and held the manors of St. Brides, Monmouth and Chelveley, Somerset. Importantly for our purposes, the last of these three entries reads that the homage was done, "*in the presence of William Seymour, Edmund his son, Thomas atte More, and others.*" The fact that Edmund was son of an older William in 1364 indicates that William likely fathered him about 1335-45. He therefore flourished when William de St. Maur is known to have held Woundy.

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cousin], of Pencoed (Bartrum [1974], 3:395 [Cydifor Fawr, 15 (A2)]). Their daughter Mawd Morgan married Sir Thomas Bowles, of Penhow, providing a double descent. This Morgan family of Pencoed became one of the most influential in Monmouth. They had a number of descendants who emigrated to Colonial America.

[173] CIPM 7:409 (no. 600). Welsh pedigrees record that Gilbert Gamage (d. 1382) married Letis [Lettis], daughter of Sir William [*sic*] Seymour of Pen-hw, and that Lettis's son, William Gamage of Coity [heir of the Turberville honour] (d.1419), who married Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Rodeborough, was father of Thomas Gamage (b. ca. 1408). Bartrum (1974), Gamage.

[174] Dilks (1933), 121 (no. 173). Moton's seal was still attached (a chevron with three bugle-horns). This matches arms attributed to him in a much later Welsh roll. Siddons (1996), 14 (no. 77). These arms also appeared in the Moton chapel in the church at Ross-on-Wye. It appears he was the Walter Moton connected with Wick/Wyke (Gloucs.) who was bailiff of Ross (Hereford). John Inge (who gave mainprise with Roger de St. Maur) complained on 3 May 1337 that Walter Moton and others broke into his park at Penyard Regis by Ross. CPR 1334-8, 450. CPR 1354-8, 334, 445, etc. Moton was not lord of St. Brides, but did have close connections with the Berkeleys in Gloucestershire.

[175] Maxwell-Lyte (1920), 99.

Roger de Seymour was married to the young childless widow of Sir Gilbert de Turberville about 1347-8. Widow she may have been, but she was one of only two surviving daughters of an important baron. Cecily's only brother John was not born until 20 January 1329/30, so still under age when she married, but after he attained majority he married Alice de Beauchamp, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Warwick by Katherine de Mortimer, daughter of the Earl of March.[176] That was quite a step up in status. William's son Edmund was married to the heiress Joan Basset, who had lands not only in Somerset, but as far away as Leicestershire. Edmund held St. Brides at his death, William was associated with St. Brides in 1354, and Roger de St. Maur of Penhow was in possession of the manor by 1322. This string of events again forms a thread of descent which leads to one end.

Roger de Seymour, husband of Cecily de Beauchamp, died leaving only two sons. His eldest son William was not born until 1348-50, yet a William Seymour was acting as Roger's executor at the county court for Gloucester in 1364-5.[177] An executor did not have to be age twenty-one, but nothing in the record stated that this William was Roger's son. As Edmund's father William was alive in 1364, the more natural conclusion is that it was he who served as Roger's executor and was suing at the assize on behalf of his son's estate in 1364-5.

At this point it is necessary to review the deeds (or at least the brief remnants of purported deeds) presented by Vincent. *"Rogerus Seymour...de Woundy, miles, cui Joh'es frater ejus dedit terras in Woundy Ao 32 Edw. III."*[178] Hoare elaborated, *"A deed dat. Penho, Ao 32 Edw. III. by which Johannes de Seymour, d'nus de Penho, releases to Sir Roger Seymour his brother, and his heirs male, all lands in Woundy and Bruin."* No other record of Bruin has been found, and it has not been identified yet.

It seems strange that no more detail was given than these snippets. This type of presentation bears the hallmarks of invention used by others for centuries. And though the window of time is not impossible, it is narrow. The regnal year 32 Edward III began on 25 January, yet John de St. Maur died 24 April 1358. Brydges relates a similar snippet of an early deed also apparently taken from Vincent's baronage relating that William Seymour, son of Roger and Cecily, "*sometimes resided at Woundy, as appears by his deed, bearing date there in 36 Edward III. wherein he is stiled* [sic] *William Seymour, Miles* [knight], *filius et haeres Rogeri Seymour, Militis*."[179] This is certainly false. William was never knighted.

The fact that one snippet can be proved false casts doubt on the other snippet, especially given the evidence found here that was unavailable to those past authors discussed above. Dugdale was certainly aware of Vincent's baronage and had access to what Vincent had not long after the fact, yet he only felt safe in beginning the presentation of the ancestry of the Duke of Somerset with Sir Roger Seymour who married Cecily de Beauchamp.[180] This would indicate Dugdale rejected the veracity of the straight-forward statement made in these snippets. Dugdale would have been in a position to know the best evidence as presented by Vincent and determine its validity, or even to have asked what went on behind the scenes during compilation.

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176 CP 2:49.

177 CPR 1364-7, 81. William's son Roger was born c.1367 or 1370. He was aged 21 in 1391 at his father's death and 27 in 1394 at Cecily's death).

178 Hoare (1822-33), 1:116

179 Brydges (1812), 1:147.

180 Dugdale (1675-6), 2:361.

Also bearing on this examination of the trustworthiness of Vincent's presentation of this family is the fact that Vincent included the spurious Thomas, Edward, Nicholas and Urias Seymour as sons of Roger by Cecily Beauchamp. Thomas, Edward and Nicholas are names that occur nowhere in any branch of this family in this generation (they belong to the family of Lord St. Maur). Urias or Urry did exist, but was not son of this couple (see below pp. 435-6). Given that these details are also false, and given the likelihood that some effort was made to place the ancestor of the Duke of Somerset into the ancient family in Wales that bore the same arms and same given names, there is reason to believe the snippet of a deed purporting to convey Woundy from John to a brother named Roger was an invention meant to fill an otherwise uncomfortable gap in records and mend the break in a pedigree just begging to be joined.

William de St. Maur held Woundy in 1334. We have presented reason to believe he was still alive in 1364, thus still in possession of the manor (unless he conveyed it to Roger on his marriage with Cecily de Beauchamp — something must have been put up for Roger's part, though no marriage contract is known to have survived). This single fact creates a decisive impediment to the claim that John granted Woundy to a brother in 1358. If William held Woundy from 1334 to 1364, John could not have been seised of the manor, nor could he have conveyed it in 1358 just before his death. Further, as William left issue (Sir Edmund did not die until 1422), one would be left at a loss as to explain how Cecily's son William died seised of that manor in 1391 unless he inherited it through his father, Edmund's elder brother.

Chronology also supports this scenario. Roger could not have married Cecily before 1347. It would be strange that he should remain unmarried for nearly half a century if brother of John. A more natural chronology would be that Roger was born about 1320-5 and married about 1348-9. He would have been the eldest son and heir of William, as Woundy passed by some means from the William who held it in 1334 to the William Seymour who died in 1391 (son of Roger and Cecily de Beauchamp). Either William of 1334 died without issue, Woundy reverting (before 1358) to John as male heir, or William was father of a son who carried on the line. Chronology only allows this son to be one person, Roger Seymour of Hatch.

It would appear from the status of the following children that William de St. Maur married well. He may have had as many as four children, based upon the evidence gathered to date:

- Roger Seymour of Somerset, born possibly about 1320-25, founder of the branch of Seymours at Hatch (see below).
- Sir Edmund Seymour, born possibly about 1335-45, will dated St. Lawrence [10 August] 1420 and proved 13 June 1422,[181] was of lord of St. Brides, co. Monmouth, and Chelveley, co. Somerset.[182] Edmund Seymour married

[181] PCC 1422, 54 Marche, Family History Library, film #91892. He was styled of St. Brides, Wientlloose, co. Monmouth, and of Chelvey, co. Somerset, knight. He desired to be buried at Chelvey, and the bulk of his estate was involved in having various religious institutions (including quite a number in Bristol) pray for his soul, the souls of his father and mother, the soul of his wife, Jone, the soul of *his daughter Margery*, *all his other children*, and the soul of his brother, Richard. Robert Fitz James, rector of Blakwell, and John Adam, of Went, were executors.

[182] Edmund Seymour obtained the manor of Chelvy from Sir Richard de Acton and his wife Margaret *by gift* in the quinzaine of St. Michael 6 Rich. II [1382] rendering a rose at Midsummer. Green (1902), 114-15 (no. 45). Sir Edmund Seymour, knight, was sued for false arrest when Cecily, daughter of William atte [de la] More, late wife of Sir Nicholas de Berkeley, refused to sell the manor of Pencoed in Nether Went. Lewis (1937), 215. Edmund was also on a list of the twenty-one knights in Somerset and Dorset (including William Bonneville and Humfrey Stafford) drawn up shortly before 30 December 1406. *Notes &*

(first) Jone/Joan, daughter and heir of Andrew Basset of Tickenham, Somerset and Welham, Leicester.[183] On 8 September 1386, Hugh Yonge, Chamberlain of South Wales, Edmund Seymour and nine others were to enquire into waste committed on the estate of the heir of the Earl of Pembroke in Hereford and the adjacent Marches of Wales.[184] Edmund was knighted by 10 November 1391, when the king's serjeant-at-arms was ordered to arrest him and bring him before the king and council.[185] Sir Edmund Seymour (*"ego Edmundus Seymor, miles, dominus de Seynt Bryde"*) granted 25 acres in his manor of St. Bride and in the fee of Caldecote to Roger Shynnagh of Penhow on 28 December 1402.[186] Bradney states that Edmund's daughter and heir Margery married Sir John de la More of Crick, but such a daughter would not have been her father's heir.[187] Sir Edmund Seymour died 11 March 1421/2, his heir being Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Berekely, daughter of Thomas Seymour, son of the said Edmund, aged sixteen.[188] Sir Edmund's widow Joan survived him and afterwards married Thomas de la Hay the elder, of Arkeston, Hereford (d. 2 January 1439/40). Joan survived him as well.[189]

Queries for Somerset and Dorset (1920), 16:162-3. Chelvey and Tykenham, held by Edmund Seymour, knight, were worth £40 per annum in 1412. Feudal Aids (1899-1920), (1899-1920), 6:511.

183 Andrew Basset was son and heir of Thomas Basset by his wife Katherine, daughter of Nicholas Fitz Ralph by his wife Matilda. Wrottesley (1905), 144 [suit over Tyckenham, Michaelmas 6 Rich. II, Sir Thomas Fitz Nichol (of Nympsfield, Gloucs., d. 1418, father of a daughter and sole heir, Katherine, wife of Robert Poyntz, ancestors of the Poyntz family of Iron Acton, etc.)]. VCH Leics., 5:330-6. Farnham (1931), 5:409-413. Emery (2006), 646. Collinson (1791), 3:165 [Tickenham was held of the Earl of Norfolk by service of gatekeeping at Striguil Castle forty days during time of war], 166 [arms quartered in stained glass over ancient stone effigies: "*1. Or, three pallets gules, within a bordure azure bezantee; Basset. 2. Quarterly, Gules and r, a bend argent; Fitz-Nicholas.*"]

184 CPR 1385-9, 258.

185 CPR 1389-92, 523.

186 Bradney (1904-93), 4:224, citing *"Cardiff Public Library."*

187 Bradney (1904-93), 4:139, 224. *Llyfr Baglan*, writing after the Seymour family of Hatch had been bestowed the title Earl of Hertford in 1537, states that Sir John Moore of Crick married the daughter *"to Saymoore, Earle of Hertford. She beareth gules, the Penices [phoenix's] whinges."* Bradney (1910), 70. Bartrum (1974), 8:1379.

188 CIPM 21:243 (no. 712). This inquisition for Leicestershire found he held the manor of Welham in right of his wife Joan "deceased." This was a Basset manor. If this statement is not an error, Edmund married twice, second to Joan, perhaps daughter of Sir Richard de Acton who had given him Chelvy in 1382. Chronology would suggest that Edward's son was born of the second wife.

189 Thomas Dala/del Hay held ¼ knights' fee in both Mighell and in Chelvey, Somerset in 1428. Feudal Aids (1899-1920), 4:375, 381. Thomas de la Hay, senior, held Arkeston and Welynton (the latter with John Walweyn), Hereford in 1431. Feudal Aids (1899-1920), 2:417, 419. He was appointed sheriff of Hereford on 5 November 1433. CFR 1430-7, 176. On three weeks from Michaelmas 7 Henry VI, John, Bishop of Bath and Wells and three others were querents in a fine from Thomas Delahay, senior, and his wife Joan "*who was the wife of Edward* [Edmund] *Seymour knight*," deforciants, for the manor and advowson of Chelvy, which Thomas and Joan acknowledged was the right of the bishop, for which the bishop granted the same to them to hold for Joan's life, rendering a rose at midsummer, to revert to the bishop after her death. Green (1906), 74 (no. 47), and see 47 (no. 12). Thomas de la Hay of Arkstone and Urishay Castle, was MP for Hereford in 1413, 1423 and 1431 and servant of the Duchy of Lancaster. Roskell (1992), 3:335-6

- Lettice Seymour, born possibly about 1335-40 [said to be daughter of Sir William Seymour of Penhow],[190] married about 1364,[191] Gilbert Gamage, of Caldecote and Lanfihangell, who died Wednesday after St. John the Baptist [25 June] 1382,[192] son of William Gamage, of Rogiet, Monmouth by Sarah Turberville, daughter and (eventually) coheir of Sir Gilbert de Turberville.[193] After his death, Lettice married Maurice Basset.[194] They were pardoned for marrying without license 20 November 1383.[195]
- Richard Seymour, born possibly about 1335-40, was of Durant's Court in Magor in 1373.[196] Sir Edmund stipulated that oblations should be made on his brother Richard's behalf, likely indicating Richard was dead by 1420.[197]

Seymour Family of Hatch, Somerset

There is no certain evidence by which the year of birth of Sir Roger de Seymour can be determined. He was married about 1347-9 to a young widow. If Roger was the son and heir of William de St. Maur of Woundy (living 1334), we might guess Roger was born about 1320-5. If he was indeed the second son of Roger de St. Maur of Penhow, he may have been born about 1300-5 (given the year of birth of John de St. Maur, the heir of Penhow).

Sir Roger was apparently still living 1358-9,[198] but dead by 1361.[199] There had been some question as to whether his ancestry could be proved. G F Beltz, Portcullis, raised the question on 3 January 1821.[200] But as Sir Roger's son and heir William

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[190] There was no "*Sir*" William Seymour of this generation. Penhow was held by John at that time, not William, but Penhow would have been the manor familiar to later compilers of Welsh pedigrees. Lettice was seised of the manor of Lanfihangell jointly with her husband and assigned land in Caldecote as dower. But Bradney (1910) called her "*the da. of Sr Jon Semor, k.*" If she was not William's daughter, she was daughter of John (who likewise was not a knight).

[191] Gilbert Gamage's heir, Roger, was aged eighteen at his death in 1382, but died a ward of the King on 4 August 1382, succeeded by his brother, William, aged 11.

[192] CFR 1377-83, 306 and 373; Stokes (1914), 126-7 (John Walshe was a juror).

[193] CIPM 19:354, 355 (no. 989, 990) [Sir Lawrence Berkerolles].

[194] Bradney (1904-93), 4:266. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, under Gamage, now online at http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/index.html.

[195] CPR 1381-5, 333.

[196] William Durant was lord of the manor of Sudbrook or Southbrook in 1334, and had been previously associated with Roger de St. Maur in 1313. One daughter named Isabel is supposed to have married Edwlff ap Deirig [Derick] Wolf [Lupus] of Wolvesnewton. That manor passed into the hands of Jenkin Kemeys of Kemeys by 1389. Bradney (1904-93), 4:103. Dwnn (1846), 1:12. William Durant is not known to have left male issue. The obvious origin of Durant's Court would be this William Durant, the only lord of that name known to have been in Netherwent. It is not known if he had other daughters and coheirs as he held of the earl, so was not a tenant in chief.

[197] Bradney (1904-93), 4:192, states he was father of Richard Seymour, of Durant's Court in 1472, but that chronology is stretched beyond credulity.

[198] Hoare (1822-33), 1:116.

[199] CPR 1364-1367, 81. Sir Thomas Moreaus was pardoned on 29 January 1365 of his outlawry for non-appearance to answer William Seymour, executor of the will of Roger Seymour, for not rendering £42. Moreaus apparently owed the estate. The original will has not been found yet. At that early period they were not necessarily entered in Bishops' registers.

[200] CP 12:i:59. The editor of CP discussed this, stating that Planché, Somerset Herald, reproduced a seal *temp*. Edward I of "*Rogerus de Sancto Mauro*" of Penhow and Woundy bearing the wings conjoined in lure that are also seen on the tomb of the Protector's father.

Seymour died seised of the manor of Woundy in his demesne as of fee held of the Earl of March,[201] and the arms borne by both branches are rare and identical, the question of this knight's ancestry is not if, but how.

Roger de Seymour married Cecily de Beauchamp as her second husband. Cecily was born c.1321,[202] dying after a fairly long life on 7 June 1394.[203] She was daughter and eventually coheir of John de Beauchamp, Lord Beauchamp of Somerset, by his wife Margaret de St. John.[204] After her brother's death, Cecily was assigned, on 12 February 1362, an extensive array of manors in many counties as her purparty of the barony:[205] the manors of Hatch Beauchamp, Shepton Beauchamp, Murifield and one-third of Shepton Mallet in Somerset, lands in Sturminster Marshall in Dorset, the manors of Boultbury/Boltebury [Great or Much Bolbury, in Malborough] and Haberton

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Planché (1892) included a crude drawing of a seal (page 318, plate 37, figure 12), but did not indicate what document it was attached to (*i.e.*, why it was dated to the reign of Edward I), other than it was the seal of "*Rogerus de Sancto Mauro*." He also theorized that the arms (wings) were a play on the name Penhow, which sounds similar to the Latin word for wings ("*which I consider to be evidently a Latin rebus of the manor of Penho...the Latin word for a wing or wings 'penna, pennae'*"), at 326-7. However, this argument falls flat when applied to the arms of Sir William de Derneford or Sir William Bluet.

201 CIPM 27:51-2, nos. 116-117.

202 She was aged forty at the death of her brother in 1361 (her brother was born 20 January 1329/30). CP 2:49-50. Several of the inquisitions stated her age to be thirty and more, but that would make her very young at the time she married Gilbert de Turberville and still only sixteen when the Seymour heir was born. But Cecily was found to be thirty and more in the inquisition of Cecily Beauchamp (apparently an aunt) who died 7 May 1364 (so born by 1334), and age fifty and more when Alice de Beauchamp died in 1383 (so born by 1333). CIPM 11:440-1 (no. 578). Given the discrepancies in ages (as she was definitely well past majority), I am inclined to believe her age was somewhat underreported in some instances.

203 CIPM 27:175-6 (no. 420). Order was made to the escheator of Somerset 11 June 1394 to conduct an inquisition post mortem concerning "*Cecily late the wife of Roger Seymor, 'chivaler,' one of the sisters and heirs of John de Beauchamp*…." CFR 1391-99, 121. CCR 1391-9, 121.

204 Reed (1998), 308-11, in which two descents are traced from Henry I, partly based on the following: Cecily's mother, Margaret de St. John (d. 19 November 1361), was daughter of John de St. John, 1st Lord St. John, by Isabel de Courtenay, daughter of Sir Hugh de Courtenay of Okehampton, Devon (b. 25 March 1248/9), by his wife Eleanor le Despenser (d. 30 September 1328). CP 2:49, 3:465-6, 4:199 (chart), 323, 335, 11:325-6. The early volumes of CP were not able to substantiate the connection to St. John and Courtenay beyond old pedigrees, but the connection would seem valid based on the following grounds. Margaret, widow of John de Beauchamp of Hatch, used the Beauchamp and St. John arms tricked together as her seal 25 Edw. III [1351-2] (vaire [Beauchamp] impaling argent, in chief two mullets [St. John]). The arms were surrounded in border by "*Sigil Margaret de beauchamp.*" Batten (1891), 42, citing to Harl. MS. 4129. That evidences her St. John identity. In another of her documents dated to 17 Edw. III [1343-4], Margaret used a seal bearing the arms of Beauchamp (vaire), St. John (argent, in chief two mullets) and Hugh de Courtenay (three torteaux, with a label in chief). Batten (1891), 69. That goes towards evidence of a specific connection between St. John and Hugh de Courtenay. John, father of the above John de St. John, had the grant of the marriage of the heirs of Hugh de Courtenay on 8 April 1292. CPR 1281-92, 483. The *Fundationis historia et fundatoris stemma* of the Boxgrove cartulary states, "*Iste Johannes secundus accepit in uxorem Isabelam filiam nobilis viri Hugonis de Cortenay, de qua genuit W. et Hugonem qui W. natus est xvij. kal. Julii an. dom. M.CCC.IX qui W. obiit sine liberis"* (the important part being that John de St. John the second took to wife Isabel, daughter of the noble Hugh de Courtenay). Dugdale (1817-30), 4:646. It is worth noting that John de Beauchamp and Margaret named their second son Hugh, which given name had entered the St. John family with Isabel de Courtenay's son.

205 CFR 1356-68, 208. Cecily de Turbervyle paid 50 marks for relief of her purparty. Maxwell-Lyte (1920), 100, also providing the entry from the Pipe Roll.

in Devon, the manor of Dourton in Buckinghamshire, the manor of Little Haw in Suffolk, and two parts of the manor of Selling, Kent.

It was in Cecily that the power in this generation was wielded throughout much of the century. She managed to keep herself single after Roger's death (so must have paid a fine to be allowed the right to her marriage—and thus the right to remain unmarried). Cecily was not by any means a timid soul and used the courts and institutions of government to her full advantage. Had she been male, she would certainly have been knighted, served as sheriff, justice, and likely Member of Parliament as her sons and so many of her descendants came to do. Not having the option of prominence and public service attached to or derived from the obligations of knights' service, she slowly converted over all her lands to annuities or cash payments, which must have provided for quite a comfortable life in her older age.

The Turberville Factor

Cecily de Beauchamp was the daughter of an important baron. It was natural she should be matched in youth to someone of her same social rank.[206] Cecily married, first, Sir Gilbert de Turberville, of Llandymore and Coity, Glamorgan, son of Payn de Turberville and his wife, Wenllian Talbot (niece of William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick).[207] Sir Gilbert died 20 August 1347, possibly of wounds received at the battle of Calais where he fought as one of the king's men some two weeks earlier [4 August 1347].[208] Cecily reverted to using the surname Turberville after Roger de Seymour's death, and was called "*de Turberville*" by 1361.[209] This was not so unusual as she had important landholdings in dower from her Turberville marriage.[210] The Turberville lands were of great worth and later became the centre of much litigation between several Earls, Dukes and the crown.[211]

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[206] CIPM 11:22-26 (no. 35).

[207] Wenllian Talbot was sister of Gilbert, 1st Lord Talbot, they being children of Richard Talbot and Sarah de Beauchamp. CP was not able to identify Cecily's her Turberville husband, but had concluded he was of the Coity family. Cecily had used the arms of Turberville of Coity in 1372/3. Batten (1891), 36:43, 46. Birch (1894), 3:600-1. Hutchins (1:138) states that Cecily Beauchamp was the second wife of Sir Richard Turberville, of Bere Regis, co. Dorset [b.c.1300 (CIPM 5:262 [no. 467])]. Hutchins also states that they had a daughter, Juliana. But when Richard de Turberville of Bere Regis died in December 1361, his son and heir, Robert, was only six years old (b. 17 August 1354) and his wife, Elianor [daughter of Sir Thomas Norris], survived him, holding most of his manors jointly with her husband. CIPM 11:340 (no. 444). She was granted her son's guardianship with two parts of the manor of Byre [Bere] 20 March 1362, was still living when he came of age in August 1376, and one year later relinquished all dower in return for an annuity of 80 marks. CFR 1356-8, 211. CIPM 14:288 (no. 296).

[208] Griffiths (1972), 210, citing SC 6/1221/6, m. 3 [Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, South Wales, 20-21 Edward III]. Griffiths (1978), 35, citing SC 6/1159/1, m. 4 [34-5 Edward III]. Sir Gilbert and Sir Richard de Turberville were listed among the knights who fought with the king. Wrottesley (1898), 36, 206, 207, 214.

[209] She was called Cecily Turbervyll/Turberevyle twice, Cecily de Beauchamp twice, and Cecily de Seymor once in the various inquisitions taken after her brother's death. Her surname was not given the other four times she was mentioned. CIPM 11:22-26 (no. 35). She was called Cecily de Bello Campo [Beauchamp] in the inquisition post mortem of Cecily Beauchamp on 20 June 1364. CIPM 11:440-1 (no. 578). She was certainly relict of both Sir Gilbert de Turberville and Sir Roger Seymour by 1361.

[210] The seal of Cecily de Turbervile with the Turberville and Beauchamp arms are described in Birch (1894), 3:600-1.

[211] Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who displaced the Mowbrays as lords of Gower, was sued by Edward "*the Black Prince*," Prince of Wales, who claimed certain parcels of Gower, "*to*

The dower assigned to Elizabeth [Fitz Alan], widow of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, in the lordship of Gower 6 July 1400 included Kittlehill (the manor bringing in 78*s* 7½*d*) and Llandimore, "*a third part of the manor, being the ancient dower of Cecily de Turbervile*".[212] An account from local officials in 1400 concerning lands that had passed into the King's hands during the minority of Thomas Mowbray, heir of the late Duke of Norfolk, found that rents in Roselly [Rhossili] had been "*coming into the hands of the Lord from the dower of Lady Cicely de St. Maur, who was the wife of Sir Gilbert Turberville, for the manors of Landymore, Knythull [Kitehill] and Roselly*".[213]

Llandimor was an extensive manor which included the parishes of Llanmadoc and Cheriton and parts of other parishes on the Gower peninsula, including "*a not inconsiderable castle*". Kitehill is close to Llandymore. Rhosilli is now a parish on the southwest tip of the Gower peninsula.[214] The manors had been the chief seat of the Turberville family during Gilbert's life. He was styled "*of Coity*" only when temporarily displaced. Gilbert's father Payne had been one of the most important men in South Wales.[215]

Clark states that Cecily de Beauchamp was Gilbert's only wife, the mother of his only child, a younger Gilbert, and that Sir Roger Seymour was the second husband.[216] As Cecily would have been a mere child at the birth of the younger Gilbert, there must have been a first wife who was mother of the heir (the younger Gilbert, born some time before 1327).[217]

Gilbert de Turberville, lord of Coity, was able to claim part of his properties had been wrongfully taken from him in 1322.[218] He became king's esquire by 1328, was

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wit, [that] *Kylvey, Landymor, Rossully and Kitehull*" were held directly of the prince of his lordship of Kermerdyn [Carmarthen], and that the royal liberty and jurisdiction in these parcels should belong to him (this was at Richard de Turberville's instigation). Under the king's influence, the prince quitclaimed the liberty and jurisdiction to the earl 14 July 1360. CChR 5:167-8. The support of the Earl of Warwick in times of war was apparently of greater import.

212 CIPM 18:95 (no. 307).

213 TNA Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, SC 6/1202/15 [Gower Lordship, 23 Rich. II to 1 Hen. IV, Llandimore and Knytehull]. The Latin reads, "*p'nen' in man' dm' dote dm' cecilie de sancto mauro que fuit uxor dm' Gilberti' Turb'vill p' maner' de [Ll]andymo' Knythull & Rosselly*." Nicholl (1936), gives a confused and often erroneous account of the Turbervilles, but does quote from original sources.

214 Clark (1893), 10:294-5. Clark (1894), 11:124-5.

215 Payn de Turberville was Sheriff of Glamorgan in December 1315, and had been appointed keeper of the castles and lands (in Glamorgan and Morgannon) of Gilbert de Clare, late Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and of the Castle of Cardiff, during Royal pleasure. CPR 1313-17, 370. Gilbert's mother Wenllian was widow and executrix of Payne 12 Edw. II [1318/19] when summoned concerning the prior of Ewenny. Clark (1886), 454. Records prove they were parents of Gilbert, Richard, and four daughters who eventually became the coheirs: Catharine (m. Sir Roger Berkerolles), Margaret (m. Sir Richard Stackpole), Agnes or Ann (m. Sir John de la Bere), and Sarah (m. William Gamage). Sarah was the only sister to leave surviving male issue; her son succeeded at Coyty. Their son, Gilbert Gamage, Esquire, is supposed to have married Letiss Seymour, daughter of Edmund [or William, according to different sources, but chronology only allows her to be Edmund's sister]. Bartrum (1974), 972, shows Payn III Turberville (d.1318) as father of Gilbert IV, died 1349, who married "*Cecily, d. of John Lord Beauchamp of Mache* [sic]" by whom he had a son, Gilbert V (*d.s.p.*).

216 Clark (1886), 454.

217 There was nothing in the inquisition post mortem of the younger Gilbert that indicates he was a minor in wardship—in fact it is clear he himself had been given seisin of his father's lands before his death.

218 CCR 1327-30, 10-11. CIM 2:235-6.

yeoman of the household by 1334, and raising forces in Glamorgan for service in Scotland in 1335.[219] A royal commission was ordered to look into a dispute he had with Aline [widow of John de Mowbray, lord of Gower], wife of Richard de Peshale, over Landimor manor 26 January 1331.[220] He was forced to quitclaim the lordship of Landymore to Robert de Penres on 27 April 1335.[221] Ironically, Gilbert had been one of four men ordered to seize Robert de Penres—indicted for the robbery of King Edward II's goods and jewels at Swansea—almost four years earlier on 18 July 1331.[222] But John de Mowbray succeeded as lord of Gower and confirmed the recovery of the manor of Landymor to Gilbert de Turbervile "*of Coytif*" on 18 March 1336.[223]

Gilbert de Turbevill, "*king's yeoman*," was granted £40 yearly for life until provision be made for an equivalent grant of land and rent for life on 16 January 1337. He was given the custody of the castle of Cardigan and the stewardship of the count of Cardigan during pleasure 28 January 1337. This grant was amended 9 February so that he hold the castle and stewardship for life as Hugh de Freyne, deceased, had done. These grants were all eventually vacated because of a final grant dated 14 August 1337 that in lieu of the £40, he was to have £20 of the farm of the town of Cardigan and £20 of the farm of the town of Lamparden, in South Wales, "*for his life*."[224] He was definitely then in favoured circles, and witnessed a charter of Hugh le Despenser, lord of Glamorgan, on 17 August 11 Edward III [1337].[225]

"*Domino*" Gilbert de Turbirvill witnessed a grant by William of St. Donat's, Abbot of Neath, on 20 October 1341.[226] As noted above, Gilbert fought with the king at the battle of Calais on 4 August 1347. The retinue under his command consisted of eight esquires and eight archers on horse.[227] But he died two weeks later on 20 August, and on 21 September 1347, Edward, Prince of Wales, granted "*for life to his yeoman,*

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219 Griffiths (1972), 210, 284. Clark (1910), 3:1144-5. Rees (1975), 500-1 (no. 331/15683).

220 Clark (1910), 3:1165-7, and CPR 1330-34, 125. Gilbert stated the manor had belonged to Morgan Chan, who gave it in free marriage with his daughter Matilda to Gilbert de Turbervill, which passed after their deaths to their son Richard, whose son Payne was father of the petitioner Gilbert, kinsman and heir of the first-named Gilbert and Matilda. Inquest was ordered to be made to see if this was so, and to order Richard and Aline de Peshale [Aline de Braose, widow of John de Mowbray] not to intermeddle further therein.

221 Clark (1910), 4:1192-3. He is here called "*Gilbertus de Turbirvilla dominus de Landymore filius et heres domini Pagani de Turbirvilla*," so this clearly pertains to the elder Gilbert (dated at Landymore).

222 Clark (1910), 3:1168. CCR 1330-33, 253.

223 Clark (1910), 4:1195-6. John Mowbray (b. 4 September 1286, d. 23 March 1321/2) became lord of Gower by conveyance from his wife Aline's father-in-law William de Braose, but he was dispossessed by Edward II [October 1320] under the influence of Hugh le Despenser the younger. CCR 1318-23, 268. CP 9:379. John and his wife Aline were parents of John de Mowbray, born 29 November 1310, who was granted livery of his mother's lands by Edward III on 27 July 1327, though still a minor. As lord of Gower, he was ordered in July 1346 to send 150 Welshmen from Gower to serve under the Earl of Norfolk in the French campaign. CP 9:380-3. That group would include Gilbert de Turberville, who would die in that campaign.

224 CPR 1334-8, 350, 379, 380, 398, 488.

225 CPR 1343-5, 571. Sir Hugh le Despenser (b.1308, *d.s.p.* 8 February 1348/8), was son of Sir Hugh le Despenser the younger [hanged 24 November 1326] by Alianore de Clare, sister and heiress of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. Hugh was granted livery of his mother's lands 21 July 1337, less than one month before Gilbert de Turberville served as witness. CP 4: 267-71.

226 Clark (1910) 4:1256.

227 Bradney (1904-93), 1:85. His arms were "*Checky, or and gules, a fesse erm*."

Roland Daneys, the bailiwick of the constableship of the castle of Cardigan ... with all profits ... such as Sir Gilbert Turbelvile ... received on account of these offices…."[228]

The younger Gilbert probably came of age about the time of his father's death (there was never any designation of elder or younger in the records). He would have succeeded as lord of Coity in 1347, with all the military obligations his father had, but only survived another a year and a half. "*Gilbert, son of Gilbert de Turbervill*," died Friday after St. Hilary 22 Edward III [16 January 1348/9]. His next heir was Richard de Turburvile, his uncle, aged thirty or more [b. by 1318]. Gilbert died seised of two parts of the manor of "*Koytyff and la Niwelond*," two parts of the manor of Newcastle, two parts of the manor of Lanhari, and land in Koytechirch [the other third was Cecily's dower].[229] These were held of Hugh le Despenser partly by service of hunting in the earl's forest of Newcastle and partly by knights' service.[230] Clark says he married Meiwan, daughter of Cadwgan ap Ithel, lord of the Castle of Alan. On 1 April 1349, order was made to take the fealty of Richard de Turberville, as heir, the lands being in the king's hand due to the minority of the Despenser heir.[231]

Cecily de Beauchamp must have married Roger de Seymour shortly after Gilbert's death, about 1347-8. Her marriage would either have been in the hands of the earl or the crown. It would not be unusual that she would be married within the year following her first husband's death. There is no doubt that Cecily was mother of Roger's heir William (that is stated outright in her inquisition). Her grandson Roger Seymour was born *circa* 1367-70.

Sir Roger was dead by 1361, so did not see any of the inheritance that finally came to the family after Cecily's brother's death. As an unmarried widow vested with extensive lands and income, there would have been little incentive for Cecily to marry and become subject of another again. She wielded the power of this inheritance in her own right. There is little actual record of Roger's life. At some point he lent Sir Thomas Moreaus (Morieux, Moryeaux) £42 — not an insignificant sum. Sir Thomas was a Suffolk man, Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk 1354-5 and Keeper of Norwich Castle.[232] Thomas had the manors of Thorpe Morieux (held of the Earl of Lancaster) and Falsham, Suffolk. He was succeeded by his son, another Thomas (d. 1388), Constable of the Forces, who married Blanch, natural daughter of John of Gaunt.[233] But the fact that Roger could lend such a sum confirms that he had an income large enough to be knighted.

Cecily Turberville was first-named in a group from Hacche Beauchamp accused of breaking into the close of William, Earl of Salisbury, at Bradweye Staunton, Somerset, and taking away eight oxen worth £10 with other goods, and assaulting and wounding his men and servants there 4 June 1367.[234] She must have directed the force as the others were all local men and she was the lady. Even in old age, "*Cecily*

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[228] His ancestor Gilbert and his descendants were by right buried before the high altar in the Priory of Ewenny. Davies (1943-4), 130 (no. 4). Golding (2005), 33. CPR 1348-50, 2. *Register of Edward the Black Prince*, 1:120 [1 September 1347].

[229] CIPM 9:263 (no. 289).

[230] CFR 1347-56, 132.

[231] CFR 1347-56, 132 (see also 113).

[232] CFR 1347-56, 109-10 and 441-2. He also served as escheator of Norfolk and Suffolk.

[233] Copinger (1905-11), 3:204-5, 6:267. Feudal Aids (1899-1920), 5:71, 74 [1346].

[234] CPR 1364-7, 445.

Turbervile, sister and one of the heirs of John Beauchamp of Somerset," was still influential enough to have a decision in Chancery revoked 12 May 1393.[235]

Cecily divested herself of all of her manors during her lifetime. It appears she was associated early on with Walter Clopton, a lawyer who would become Chief Justice of the King's Bench.[236] She deftly converted her inheritance into personal wealth. Not only did she sell manors, advowsons and rents, she first obtained annuities from many of them, later selling the reversions to the inheritance, compounding the potential total in a way rarely exercised at that time. Having a large income in annuities and ready cash, it appears Cecily settled in London later in life, which possibility is hinted at by the requirement in one conveyance that she receive payment yearly at St. Paul's—it would otherwise be a long and arduous expedition for an elderly soul living in Somerset or Wales to make on a regular basis.

As noted above, Cecily's purparty of the Beauchamp inheritance consisted of the manors of (1) Hatch Beauchamp, (2) Shepton Beauchamp, (3) Murifield and (4) one-third of Shepton Mallet in Somerset, (5) lands in Sturminster Marshall, Dorset, (6) the manors of Boultbury and (7) Haberton in Devon, (8) the manor of Dourton in Buckinghamshire, (9) the manor of Little Haw in Suffolk and (10) two parts of the manor of Selling in Kent. Cecily kept the reversion of Hatch Beauchamp (the caput of the barony, which could not be disposed of) and Shepton Beauchamp in the family, giving them to her sons William and Robert. The rest were disposed of. It is amazing that she should be allowed to alienate what amounted to half a barony, but perhaps the fact that she did it slowly over a period of years left her able to shift the ownership of so many manors from her heirs to strangers. It may also be that she had a daughter who married Sir John Wadham, as he and his issue were particular beneficiaries of her favour, but he was also an adroit lawyer who might have provided her valuable legal aid.[237]

(1) Hatch Beauchamp: The inquisition post mortem of Cecily's son and heir William Seymour stated that he held the manor of Hacche Beauchamp and the advowson of the church in chief by knight's service "*in his demesne as of fee by grant of Cecily Turburvyle, his mother, sometime the wife of Roger Seymour, knight, made with the king's license, rendering to the said Cecily 20l. yearly with proviso for distraint...and for re-entry....*"[238] The manor was only worth £20 per annum in 1412.[239]

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235 CPR 1391-6, 287.

236 For Clopton, Chief Justice of the King's Bench from 1388 until his death in 1400, see Foss (1848-64), 4:156-9. Foss thought Clopton belonged to the family in Essex and Suffolk, but it is more likely he derived his surname from the manor and family of Clopton in Somerset.

237 Sir John Wadham (d. 1412), MP, had first married Maud (d. by 1385, surname unknown). He was serjeant-at-law from 1383 (with William Hankford and John Hill, who were also serjeants), King's serjeant 1387-9, and appointed to a vast array of legal assignments. He was practicing in the central courts by 1371, elevated to the court of common pleas, and served there until retirement in May 1398, after which he received a pension of £20 for his good service. Roskell (1992), 4:727-9. Foss (1848-64), 4:367. CIPM 19:351-3 (nos. 982-5). Sir John Wadham left a will dated 12 March 1411 and proved 12 August 1412 (mentioning a sister Cecily), and paid 40 marks to hire four chaplains to pray for his soul, the souls of his wife and parents, another couple, and the soul of Cicely Turbervill. PCC 25 Marche, FHL film #91,892.

238 CIPM 17:51-2 (no. 116). CPR 1396-9, 263. On 15 November 1380, Thomas Beaupyne (d. 1404), MP, paid £10 to the king for license to have Cicely [sic] Turbervill to grant the manor of Hacche Beauchamp to him and his wife Margaret and Thomas's heirs. CPR 1377-81, 559. Thomas Beaupyne purchased Sturminster Marshall from Cecily the following year. He obtained two manors from Sir Matthew Gournay in 1385. Roskell (1992), 2:164-6.

239 Feudal Aids (1899-1920), 6:507.

(2) Shepton Beauchamp: Cecily Turberville received pardon on 10 April 1371 for granting £10 ¼*d* rent issuing from a mill and 179½ acres in Shepton Beauchamp held in chief with the reversion of the mill and 37 acres expectant on the demise of Richard Miles (and six other similar reversions) which Cecily had granted without license to Valentine atte Forde, chaplain, for life, for which pardon Valentine paid the king £10.[240] Cecily Turberville, by indenture dated at London 1 December 48 Edward III [1374], granted Walter Clopton and his wife Edith the manor of Shepton Beauchamp for life, sometime held by Valentine atte Forde, without rendering ought to Cecily or her heirs. Walter for his part gave quitclaim for him and his heirs concerning land in Stokelynch.[241] The inquisition post mortem of Cecily's son Robert Seymour, taken 11 August 18 Richard II [1394], states that Cecily Turberville, lady of Hatch Beauchamp, granted the advowson and reversion of the manor of Shepton Beauchamp, Somerset to Sir Walter Clopton for life in return for a rent of £20.[242] The rent, reversion and advowson, held in chief, were to remain to her son Robert and his heirs. Walter Clopton and his wife Edith paid five marks on 12 July 1383 to receive pardon for entering on lands in Shepton Beauchamp from Cicely Turbervyll without license.[243] This in spite of the fact that Cicely de Turbervill of Hache Beauchamp had paid ten marks for license to grant the reversion of Shepton Beauchamp to Walter on 5 February 1382.[244] The manor and advowson of Shepton Beauchamp was, in fact, the only holding Cecily was found to be seised of at the time of her death.

(3) Murifield: John Wadham and William Hankeford[245] were querents, Cecilia Turbervyll deforciant, of the manor of Meryfeld the quinzaine of St. Martin 14 Richard II (1390-1).[246] The manor was to be the right of John and his heirs by her gift. He paid 100 marks of silver.[247]

(4) Shepton Malet: The remaining interest in Somerset, the third part of Shepton Mallet, apparently provided her little monetary benefit. Dame Cecily Turberville joined with Margaret, Countess of Devon, Sir William Bonville,[248] Walter Clopton and

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240 CPR 1370-4, 81.

241 CCR 1374-77, 109-10. "*Dame Alice Beauchamp*" (widow of Cecily's brother) had assigned her life interest in Stocklynch to Walter Clopton, who afterwards purchased the reversion in fee. Batten (1891), 44. That must have taken place before 1374, by which time Alice married "*that renowned warrior*" Matthew Gournay. Alice died 26 October 1383, survived by Matthew, who did not die until 1406 (aged 96). Cecily became coheir to lands that reverted after Alice's death (lands not held in jointure or for life by Matthew), and was to receive her purparty on 28 May 1386. CFR 1383-91, 36-7, 140, 141. After Alice's death, Matthew married Philippa Talbot (of Richard's Castle, Hereford, the family of Gilbert Turberville's mother), who after his death married John Tiptoft (John and Philippa also purchased lands from Cecily).

242 CIPM 27:175-6 (no. 420). VCH Som., 4:212. Robert Saymour [*sic*] obtained license for Cecily Turbervyll and her feoffees to grant the advowson of Shepton Beauchamp with the reversion of the manor to Cecily for life, remainder to Robert. CPR 1391-6, 338.

243 CPR 1381-5, 296.

244 CPR 1381-5, 97.

245 Sir William Hankford, of Hankford, Devon was Chief Justice of the King's Bench for Henry V. Foss 4:190-1. There is a fuller biography of him in Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*. He was ancestor of numerous American immigrants, including Elizabeth Alsop, William Asfordby, Mary Bourchier, Francis Dade, Anne Humphrey, Herbert Pelham and John West.

246 Green (1902), 142 (no. 15). CCR 1385-9, 121-2. Cecilia Turberville was still "*the lady of Murifelde*" in 1386. Bates (1899), 193-5 (nos. 222, 223, 226, 229). This became the seat of the Wadham family.

247 A mark was $^{2}/_{3}$ of a pound, so 100 marks was £66.13*s*.4*d*.

248 Sir William Bonville, of Shute, Devon, was born c.1332 and died 14 February 1407/8. He served in over twenty Parliaments and his family was second in wealth and importance in

others in relinquishing her rights to Sir Matthew Gournay at London on 20 February 9 Richard II [1386] (see below).[249]

(5) Sturminster Marshall: "*Cecilia Turbervylle, sister and one of the heirs of John Beauchamp, late lord of Hacche Beauchamp*," conveyed the manor of Stouremynstre Mareschal with one-fourth part of the hundred of Hundredesburghe, one-fourth part of the hundred of Lousberghe, plus a moiety of the hundred of Lousberghe by fine on the morrow of Souls 51 Edward III [1377]. John Halywelle, David Harsrigge, William Rydell and John de Arn were querents. She acknowledged the lands to be the right of John Halywell, for which they paid 500 marks of silver.[250] Cecily conveyed Sturminstre Mareschall [Sturminster Marshall], Dorset to Thomas Beaupyne and his wife Margaret by fine at Westminster in the octaves of St. Hilary and afterwards in fifteen days from Easter day 5 Richard II [1381]. Her manor in Sturminster Marshall, called "*Beauchampesmanere*" was held by Robert Beer for the term of his life. Cecilia acknowledged the right of Thomas to the reversion and manor, for which she was paid 200 marks of silver. [251]

(6) Boultbury and (7) Haberton: Cecily Turberuyll conveyed her right in the manors of Boultbury and Haberton in Devon to John Wadham by final concord on 6 October 1390. John Wadham, John Hille and William Hanckeford were the receiving party, the right remaining to John Wadham, paying 200 marks.[252]

(8) Dourton: A charter of Cicely Turberville dated (apparently at Oxford) the Exaltation of Holy Cross 42 Edward III [14 September 1368] was recorded in the Close Rolls (as many deeds and private agreements were). She gave Valentine atte Ford, chaplain, and his heirs all lands and services "*of free men and neifs*" which she had in Dorton under Bernewode. She also gave him a general release dated 16 October 45 Edward III [1371].[253] An indenture of defeasance of a statute merchant made at London 3 November 45 Edward III [1371] was also entered. Dame Cicely Turberville was bound to Valentine atte Ford, clerk, in the amount of £400, that whereas Cicely had given Valentine and his heirs forever all lands she had in Dorton under Bernewode, Bucks., "*and likewise all the vessels of gold and silver which she had at this date*," and whereas Valentine had been in times past receiver of her moneys, neither he nor his heirs were to be troubled or impleaded by Cicely, her executors or others in their names.[254] The manor of Dourton, Buckinghamshire was conveyed to John Clynton and his wife Elizabeth by John FitzRichard on 5 June 1390, this fine stipulating that a moiety had been held by Cecily Tuberuyll.[255]

(9) Little Haugh: Cecilia Turbervyle conveyed the manor of Little Haugh, Suffolk, to the Priory of Ixworth *die Jov*. in the feast of the Apostles Philip and James 45 Edward III [1 May 1371].[256] She conveyed the manor of Lytelhawe [Little Haw], Suffolk to

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Devon only to the Courtenays. His first wife, Margaret d'Amarle, was daughter and coheir of Sir William d'Aumarle of Woodbury [d.1335] by Isabel Meriet. Roskell (1992), 2:282-4. This William d'Amarle/Daumarle would be nephew of Joan Damarell, said to be wife of Roger Seymour of Penhow (if that assertion is correct).

[249] CCR 1385-9, 121-22. Batten (1893), 240-2. Maxwell Lyte (1908), 65.

[250] Fry and Fry (1910), 132-33 (no. 346).

[251] Fry and Fry (1910), 194-5 (no. 90).

[252] Phillips (2008), CP 25/1/45/70 (no. 16).

[253] CCR 1369-74, 331, 336.

[254] CCR 1374-7, 113. Bonds were typically entered into for twice the amount of the sum actually owed.

[255] Phillips (2008), CP 25/1/21/107 (no. 9). VCH Bucks., 4:417. CPR 1391-6, 287.

[256] Copinger (1905-11), 1:353.

Thomas Beaupyne and his wife Margaret 5 Richard II [1381].[257] In 1383, John de Pishale, clerk, Roger de Wolferston and Robert de Aisshefeld entered into another fine concerning Little Haugh with Thomas and Margaret Beaupyne. Cecilia Turbervyle was pardoned for granting the manor without license in 1385.[258]

(10) Sellindge: Cecily's right in two parts of the manor of Selling [Sellindge], Kent, which had been part of the Vivonne inheritance, was eventually conveyed to the family of Tiptoft, as it was one of the manors held by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, at his death.[259] This is quite logical, as Sir John Tiptoft had married Philippa, widow of Sir Matthew Gournay, who survived his previous wife Alice de Beauchamp.

Cecily Turberville became coheir to lands in Surrey that had been held by another Cecily de Beauchamp (apparently her aunt), who died 7 May 1364.[260] Order was given to divide the lands in Wodemasthirne, Chepsted, a mill at Kersalton and land in Nutfield into two equal parts and stay the escheator's hand from meddling any further in Cecily de Beauchamp's purparty on 22 June 1364.[261] Cecily Turberville granted her half of Chipstead Court, Surrey to Peter atte Wode, his wife Laurencia and their son Peter in survivorship (Peter accounted for it in 1364). Upon their demise, Cecilia Turberville quitclaimed all those Surrey lands to Hugh Queche of London, mercer, son of Laurencia by her second husband.[262] Cecilia conveyed by charter with warranty all her lands in Woodmansterne and Nutfield, Surrey to William de Broughton, Richard Freman, chaplain, and Richard Bylyndon and their heirs the Sunday after St. Martin 48 Edward III [12 November 1374].[263] They enfeoffed them to Nicholas Carew (the lands continued to descend among his descendants).[264]

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257 Rye (1900), 255 (no. 10).

258 CPR 1385-9. 64.

259 Hasted (1797-1801), 8:306. Sir Payne Tiptoft (d.1413), MP, was father of Sir John Tiptoft (d.1443), MP, whose wife Philippa Talbot was widow of both Sir Robert Assheton and Sir Matthew Gournay (d. 1406). Roskell (1992), 4:620-30. John Wadham sued John Tiptoft, chivaler, and his wife Philippa for the next presentation to the church of Silverton, Devon Trinity term 3 Henry V, presenting a pedigree that the advowson should have descended to Cecily, who conveyed her moiety of the manor to Sir John Wadham, who presented to the church *temp*. Rich. II, and John de Meryet, who conveyed his moiety to William Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who afterwards conveyed it to Sir Matthew Gurney and his wife Philippa. Wrottesley (1905), 289-90.

260 CIPM 11:440-1 (no. 578).

261 CCR 1364-8, 435-6.

262 VCH Surrey, 3:192. Peter atte Wode had been the farmer of the manors in previous decades. Hugh Quecche, MP (d. 1402), was ancestor of the American immigrants Hawte Wyatt, Henry Fleet and Gov. Harry Vane. For Quecche see Roskell (1992), 4:153-4.

263 CCR 1374-77, 111. Witnesses to her charter, done at Borstall, Bucks., included Sir Fulk de Bermyngham and Sir Edmund de la Pole, knights, Walter de Clopton, Peter atte Wode and John Olyver the younger. On 5 December 1374, at London, Cecily conveyed her manor of Murifield, Somerset to Fulk de Bermyngham, knight, master Thomas Alston, Valentine atte Ford, clerk, William de Broughton and Richard Bilyngdon and their heirs (witnesses Walter Clopton and four others), and conveyed all her lands in Sturmunstre Mareschall to the same men at the same time in a separate charter. CCR 1374-77, 111. A general release from Cecily to Richard de Bilyndon was also made that same date and place, so apparently indicates he had been in her service.

264 CCR 1381-5, 103. VCH Surrey, 4:248. Roskell (1992), 2:482-5. The land in "*Chipstede*" and water mill in Kersalton held for life by Lawrencia were conveyed to Quecche at Chipstede on 3 August 5 Rich. II [1381]. She and William Lye, clerk (to whom Cecily had previously conveyed an interest by fine), conveyed the lands and rents in Chipstede, Merstham, Notfeld, Kershalton and Ewelle and elsewhere in Surrey to Quecche 26 November 1381.

The last inheritance that would come to Cecily before her death were lands that had been held by Alice de Beauchamp, widow of the last Lord Beauchamp of Hatch, John. Alice died 26 October 1383, but was survived by her second husband Sir Matthew de Gournay. Alice had, in her pure widowhood, granted her lands to her brother William de Beauchamp, and John Meryet afterwards also granted and released his moiety to William. The lands involved included the manors of Stoke under Hameden and Stoklynche, a third part of a moiety of the manor of Shepton Malet and the advowsons of Shepton Beauchamp and Stoklynche, Somerset. Order was given to deliver Cecily Turbervyll her purparty on 28 May 1386, though her homage had been respited until Michaelmas 1386. The escheator of Devon was ordered to give Cecily her purparty of the manor and advowson of Silferston, Devon at the same time. [265]

Cecily had released her right in the moiety of the manor and advowson of Stoke-under-Hamdon, her rights in the manor and advowson of Shepton Malet and Shepperton, Middlesex to Sir Matthew Gournay by charter at London on 20 February 9 Richard II [1386].[266] He had threatened her, so to speak, with a deed purporting to be from the last Lord Beauchamp of Hatch made before his death of a yearly rent of £1,000 guaranteed by lands. Mind you, Lord Beauchamp died without issue in 1361, yet no effort was made to collect this annual rent of £1,000 until it became a convenient club to badger the heirs with in 1386, but Matthew was a famous and wealthy knight with parchment in hand. In an indenture of defeasance of the yearly rent, Cecily made over her rights in Stoke-under-Hamdon, Shepton Malet and Shepperton[267] on the assurance that Sir Matthew would not disturb her in her other inheritance in Somerset (Hacche Beauchamp, Capelonde, Shepton Beauchamp and Miryfeld), Suffolk (Littlehaw), Devon (Boltebury, Hurberton and Silferton), Middlesex (Littleton) or Kent (Sellynges). Cecily Turberuyll conveyed her right in a moiety of the manor and advowson of Sylferton, Devon on 25 November 1386. William Lye, clerk, John Wadham, John Hill and William Hankeford were the querents. Cecily acknowledged the lands to be the right of John Wadham, for which they paid 100 marks of silver.[268] The manor of Littleton descended with the Seymour family.[269] The manor of Capelonde mentioned in the agreement with Sir Matthew Gournay is Capland in Crowcombe and Broadway, Somerset. What she received appears actually to have been the half of Crowcombe held by the Priory of Studley which passed down among her descendants.[270]

Cecily de Beauchamp and Roger de Seymour were parents of two sons, William and Robert. Several Seymour pedigrees give William as son and heir, but also add four other sons, Thomas, Edward, Nicholas and Urias [Urry].[271] These four appear in no actual records, and Robert—who definitely was Cecily's son—is missed. Thomas,

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[265] CCR 1381-5, 36-7, 140-1.

[266] Batten (1893), 240-2. Greenfield (1882), 149-50. CCR 1385-9, 121-22. CPR 1389-92, 157-8.

[267] Shepperton passed from Sir Matthew to his second wife Philippa and her husband John Tiptoft for life, but on his death passed to his son John, who became Earl of Worcester. VCH Middlesex, 3:5.

[268] Phillips (2008), CP 1/44/65 (no. 81).

[269] VCH Middlesex, 2:404. As it was not in the inquisitions post mortem of Cecily or her two sons, it might have been conveyed to someone for life who survived them with reversion to her and her heirs. No final concord was found in the published London and Middlesex feet of fines.

[270] VCH Som., 5:56. It was not included in her or of her sons' inquisitions. The manor was vested in the priory and did not revert to the family until after the dissolution of monasteries.

[271] This, apparently following Hoare (1822-33), 1:116.

Edward and Nicholas are clearly an invention. Urry [Urias] was not son of Roger.[272] Urry Seymour was husband of Elizabeth, the Meriet heiress who represented the last living representative of the other Beauchamp coheir.[273] The account of Roger and

[272] It is most likely that Urry [Urias of the Seymour pedigree] was not son of William or Roger Seymour of Hatch, but of Sir Ralph Seymour. It is not entirely clear whether the heiress Elizabeth was daughter of John Meriet's second wife Elizabeth Arundel or his third and last wife Maud de Brockbury. Greenfield (1882) provides a long and detailed account of the Meriet family, which for its time was of exceptional scholarship. Greenfield [158] concluded Elizabeth was daughter of the last wife Matilda [Maud] and that Elizabeth Arundel was dead by the time Elizabeth was conceived in March 1386 based on the fact that John Meriet settled "*an estate for life in the manors of Compton-Donden and Brode-Mershton*" and two-thirds of the manor of Meriet, "*which he could not have done had there been surviving issue by his wife Elizabeth, considering that these manors had been already conveyed to feoffees for specific uses in 1373....*" Sir John de Meriet was deforciant in two fines in Michaelmas term 1373 and again in Michaelmas term 1376, Sir Edmund de Arondell, knight, William de Boneville, John Bevyn and others, querents, in almost all of his lands, including the manors of Dondene and Brode Mershton and two-thirds of the manor of Meriet, in addition to the reversions of other manors and lands [153-4]. In the octave of St. Michael 50 Edward III [1376], John de Meriet did convey the manors of Dondene, Brodmershton, Meriet, etc., to Edmond Arondell and the others, but all those lands were to remain to Henry Moleyns and his heirs, for which Edmund and the others paid 500 marks of silver. Green (1902), 84-5 (no. 79). It doesn't say that these manors were to be held for uses during the life of Elizabeth. It is not stipulated how they were to return to John de Meriet, though the assumption would normally be they were re-enfeoffed to him, his wife Elizabeth [daughter and coheir of Sir Edmund Arundel] and their heirs.

Greenfield did not pay as much attention to Sir Ralph and Urry Seymour, citing Hoare for placing Urry as fifth son of Sir Roger Seymour by Cecily Beauchamp, but pointing out [164-5] that "*it is not probable that Urias, a brother of this William, was identical with the affianced husband of a child who was under five at that time. We may rather surmise this Urry Seymour to have been a younger son of Sir William Seymour by his wife Margaret de Brockbury, in which case he would be second cousin to his infant wife*." Such a marriage would have required a dispensation before it could have been considered legitimate in the eyes of the church or law. What Greenfield did not realize was that William Seymour's wife was sister and coheir of John Meriet's third wife Maud, both being daughters of Simon de Brockbury. That relationship is too close for acceptance. It is much more likely that Urry was son and heir of Sir Ralph Seymour by Maud de Brockbury and that she arranged a marriage between her son and the daughter and heiress of her second husband John Meriet. Such arrangements were common in that period. That would eliminate any immediate relationship through the Brockbury family (if Elizabeth were daughter of Maud), but leave open the question of Ralph's identity. One might initially hypothesize that he was a younger son of Sir Roger Seymour and Cecily de Beauchamp, but Cecily carefully provided for her sons William and Robert. She is not known to have settled any manor on Ralph. Sir Ralph Seymour may well have belonged to the Penhow or Woundy line, but it would not be as son of Cecily de Beauchamp (which would remove any impediment derived from that ancestry between Urry and Elizabeth). On 15 June 1370, Ralph de Seymour was appointed commissioner with John Meriet, John Munstreworth and the sheriffs [of Somerset and Dorset] to "*arrest by their bodies*" all soldiers retained to go beyond the seas with Robert de Knolles who are suspected of committing felonies, etc. CPR 1367-70, 470-1. Ralph Seymour was appointed sheriff of the county of "*Glamorgan and Morganou*" on 10 December 1375, to hold the office during the pleasure of the king. CFR 1369-77, 297. Ralph Seymour, Hugh Cheyne and Nicholas Prage, serjeant-at-arms, were appointed to a commission on 3 January 1383. They were to arrest [apprehend] and bring before the king and his council Bartholomew, brother and heir of Ralph Gorges, son and heir of Sir Thomas [Theobald] Gorges, Bartholomew being a minor whose lands and marriage belong to the king. CPR 1381-5, 249.

[273] Cecily's sister Eleanor de Beauchamp married, as his first wife, Sir John de Meriet the elder (b. 1328, d. 2 October 1369), son of George de Meriet of Castle Carleton. Eleanor was already dead by 1361, her son and heir John de Meriet (the younger) being found heir at the death of John de Beauchamp of Hatch in 1361. He was born 24 March 1345/6 and died 26 July 1391 (proof of age 1368). CIPM 12:253-4 (no. 269), 376-7 (no. 392). CIPM 14:188-9 (no. 179). CIPM 17:45 (no. 98). John de Meriet "*le filz*" [the son] married, as his second

Cecily's eldest son William and his descendants will be dealt with in a future issue of this journal. Their second son Robert and probable daughter Cecily were as follows:

- Robert Seymour, their second son, may have been born about 1351. Robert's mother settled her manor of Shepton Beauchamp, Somerset on him. He paid 20*s* for license for Cecily Turbervyll of Hatch Beauchamp to alienate the advowson of Shepton Beauchamp to feoffees, with the reversion of the manor of Shepton Beauchamp (after the death of Sir Walter Clopton [d.1400]), to regrant the premises to her for life, remainder *in fee* to her son Robert 18 November 1393.[274] Robert Seymour of Somerset and William Sunnyngley gave mainprise for two clerks who were given the commitment of the alien priories of Langenyth and St. Clears on 21 April 1398 as long as the war with France should endure.[275] Robert served as a justice for Somerset in 1399.[276] He died 5 October 1413.[277] His wife, Alice, survived him.[278] They had a son and heir John, aged 4 on 5 June 1413, but he eventually died without issue as the lands reverted to the main line.

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wife, Elizabeth Arundel, daughter and coheiress of Sir Edmund de Arundel. After her death, John married Matilda, widow of Sir Ralph de Seymour. This Matilda was sister of Margery, who would marry William Seymour (eldest son of Cecily de Beauchamp). Both were daughters and coheirs of Simon de Brockbury of Brobury, Hereford by his wife Joan de la Mare, aunt and eventual heir of Peter de la Mare [Speaker of the Good Parliament] and his brother Malcolm. Wrottesley (1905), 248. The inquisition of the younger Sir John Meriet stated that he held no lands in Somerset, but long before his death had enfeoffed William Seymour ("*now deceased*"), John Bevyn and Simon Olyver of two-thirds of the manor of Meriet on condition that they re-enfeoff them to him and Maud, late the wife of Ralph Seymour, knight, "*whom he wished to marry and afterwards married, and who is still living*," to hold to them and their heirs. He had also granted the manors of Compton Donden and Brodemersshton to feoffees on condition they grant them back to him and his wife Maud for life, with successive remainders to Urry Seymour and his wife Elizabeth and the heirs of their bodies, ultimate remainder to William Seymour and his heirs. John Meriet died on the feast of St Anne last and "*Elizabeth wife of Urry Seymour, his daughter, is his heir...aged 4 years on the feast of St Lucy last*." CIPM 17:45 (no. 98).

Sir John de Meriet's only child Elizabeth was born 13 December 1386. She was living 23 October, but dead by 20 December 1395. CPR 1391-6, 635. Elizabeth had already been contracted to marry Urry Seymour by July 1391 (though she was still under the canonical age of consent to be affianced [age seven]). At her death, at age eight or nine, the issue of Eleanor de Beauchamp became extinct, leaving the Seymour family of Hatch as sole heir to the title. Margaret, wife of Sir William de Bonville, and Elizabeth, wife of Humphrey de Stafford, were the next heirs of the Meriet inheritance [daughters of Sir William Daumarle of Woodbury, Devon, by Isabel Meriet]. Sir William and Elizabeth (Daumarle) Bonville are ancestors of a number of American immigrants, including Elizabeth Bosvile of Massachusetts, the Calverts of Maryland, and theoretically Governor Thomas Dudley. Sir William Bonville's daughter Elizabeth married Sir Thomas Carew, son of Sir Leonard Carew by Elizabeth de Arundel [widow of Sir John de Meriet]. They are ancestors of American immigrant Mary Launce.

274 CPR 1391-6, 338. Order was given to give "*Robert son of Cicely who was wife of Roger Seymour, knight*," livery of the £20 rent from the advowson of Shepton Beauchamp and reversion of the manor on 13 October 1394. CCR 1392-6, 317. A field called Frogmere was part of this inheritance. See Bates, (1899), 195 (no. 230).

275 CFR 1391-99, 255.

276 CPR 1396-99, 437 [18 June] (Walter Clopton was among the other appointees).

277 TNA C138/3/38, taken 19 October 1413. CIPM 20:19 (no. 71).

278 VCH Som., 4:212. See also CFR 1356-69, 208; CCR 1392-6, 317; CCR 1413-19, 41; CPR 1381-5, 66 [20 December 1381], 96 [5 February 1382], 97 [5 February 1382], 296 [12 July 1383]; CPR 1388-92, 509-10 [26 November 1391].

- Cecily Seymour, born say 1355-60, married Sir Richard Cornwall (born *c*.1359, died 1443), Baron of Burford, co. Salop, son of Sir Geoffrey and Cecily de Cornwall (Sir Geoffrey had been door keeper of Striguil Castle).[279]

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[279] George Morris, Shropshire Genealogies [MS], 4:345-75, FHL microfilm #504547. Foljambe (1894), 77. Grazebrook and Rylands (1889), 146. Sir Richard was son of Sir Godfrey/Geoffrey de Cornwall/Corrnewaille (d. 1365) and his wife, Cecily (d. 1369). CIPM 12:10-13 (no. 12), 317-17 (no. 331), CIPM 12:316 (no. 330). CIPM 14:292-3 (no. 301). CIPM 18:24-5 (nos. 59-63). CPR 1367-70, 99. CFR 1337-47, 468, 496. Geoffrey was son of Richard de Cornwall (d. 1343) and Sibil de Bodrugan (d. 1349). This Richard was son of Geoffrey de Cornwall (d. 1335) by Margaret de Mortimer (d. 1345), daughter and coheir of Hugh de Mortimer (by which means the Barony of Burford came into the family). Geoffrey was son of Richard de Cornwall, illegitimate son of Richard, King of the Romans (crowned 17 May 1257) and Earl of Cornwall (b. 5 January 1209, d. 2 April 1272), son of King John of England. Reade (1908), 154-91. Sanders (1960), 75; CP 3:430-2; Marshall (1879), 225-7. There are numerous entries in various volumes of CFR and CIPM that substantiate this descent. Geoffrey (d. 1365) was a minor at his father's death. His marriage was first held by William de Cusance in 1343, but acquired by Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick in 1347. Reade concluded that Cecily Seymour was the wife of Sir Geoffrey, and thus the young widow who left an inquisition in 1369. He states that some late pedigrees give the wife of Richard as Alice Merbury, not Cecily Seymour. But not only is it certain that Sir Geoffrey had a wife named Cecily who died in 1369, it is certain that his son Richard had a wife named Cecily as well. Further, Richard and his wife Cecily were associated with the Seymour kinship circle examined elsewhere in this article. On 22 June 1402, Hugh Cheyne, chivaler, Edmund Cheyne and William Boure were parties with Richard Cornewaill in enfeoffing the manor of Burford, Shrops., and a moiety of the manors of Hamme and Karkedon, Worcs. to Richard and his wife Cecily and the heirs of their bodies. CPR 1401-5, 104. On 24 November 1407, Richard Cornewayle, William Boure and three others received license to grant his castle of Stepulton to the said Richard and his wife Cecily and the heirs of their bodies. CPR 1405-8, 382. Their son Sir Edmund Cornwall was married to his first wife Alice by 1415, but she died without issue in 1417. Pedigrees identify Alice as daughter of John Merbury of Weobly. Sir Edmund married second, by 1429, Elizabeth de la Barre, mother of his son and heir Thomas.

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