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## **Monmouth Castle and Priory**

by H. E. Sheppard  
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# MONMOUTH CASTLE AND PRIORY.

By H. E. SHEPPARD, B.A.

## I. INTRODUCTORY.

At the beginning of the last century, one Nathan Rogers, of Llanvair, in this county, wrote a curious work, entitled *The Secret Memoirs of Monmouthshire*, the third chapter of which commences: "Henry V., King of England, born in the famous castle of Monmouth, which captive like now yields to conquering time, though Mr. Speed relates in his time he saw some of the turrets remaining, and several regular carved stones that were cast down from the castle walls, which showed the beautiful architecture it once bore, which were placed in a circular manner: and within the walls another mount, whereon a noble tower of great height and strength was built, which was the birthplace of our Gwentonian hero, who, while he was prince, was guilty of divers irregularities, and was lead away by wild and debauched courtiers."

From this sentence of inordinate length, and of a literary construction which would drive a pedantic grammarian furious, we can detach a few words, taken from Speed, showing the spirit in which to approach the consideration of Monmouth Castle:—"which captive like now yields to conquering time." Similarly, Gilpin, at the end of the last century, in his *Tour Down the Wye*, remarks "that the transmutations of time are often ludicrous. Monmouth Castle was formerly the Palace of a King; and birthplace of a mighty Prince: it is now converted into a yard for fatting ducks."

Certainly time has not dealt kindly with historical Monmouth: within a few miles distance to north, south, east and

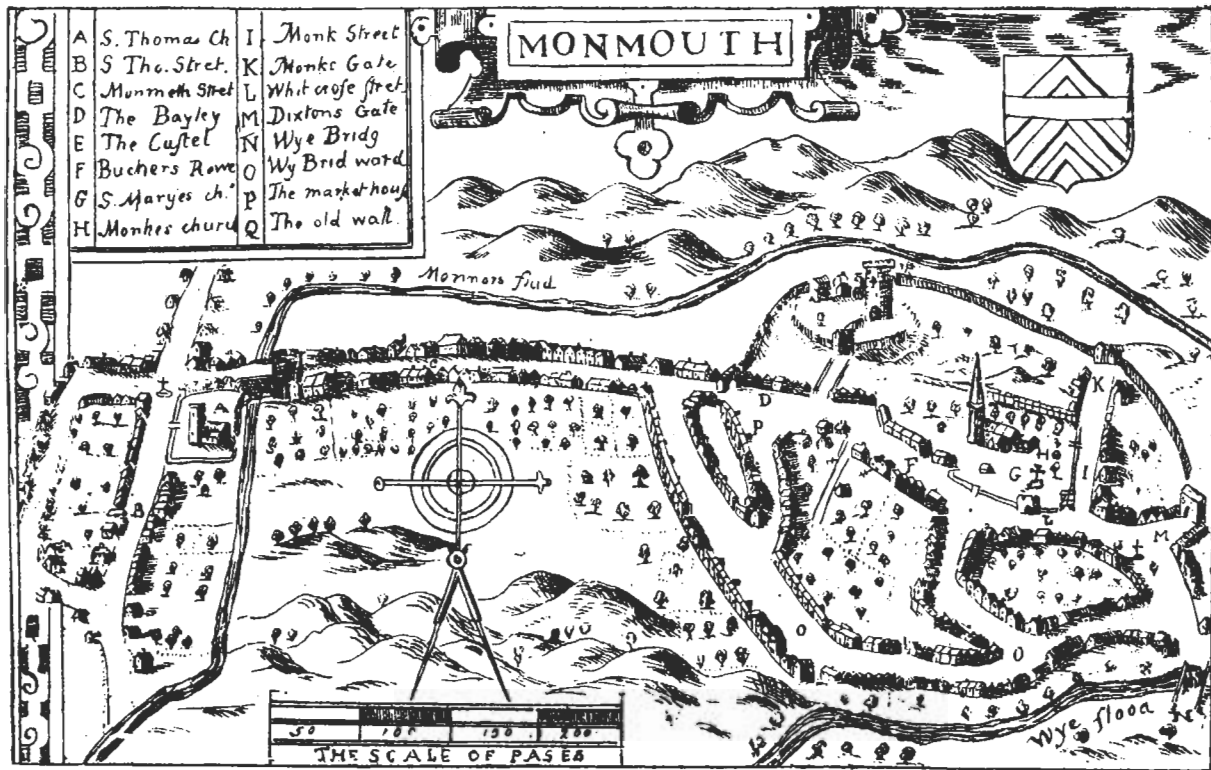
west are places known by name at least to every holiday tourist; but while Goodrich and Raglan, Tintern and Llanthony attract their crowds, Monmouth, as a spot of historical interest, is passed by.

## 2. TOPOGRAPHY OF OLD MONMOUTH.

There are two old descriptions of Monmouth extant, those of Speed and Leland, and I propose to take these as objective points and work up to them from the Norman period.

(a) John Speed was born in 1555 and died in 1629. His *History of Great Britain under the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans* contains a series of maps, among them one of Monmouth.

Monmouth figures here as a walled town, with four gates, enclosed between the Wye and Munnow. To the west of the Munnow is the present suburb of Over-Munnow, formerly known as Little Monmouth, before that as Capper's town, with S. Thomas' Church and S. Thomas' Street (now Cinderhill) marked thereon. Crossing the Munnow under Munnow Gate, Monmouth Street leads up to the centre of the town, where is the Market House on the south, and the Bayley and the Castle to the north. The road continued south-east through Butcher's Row (Church Street) into Whitecross Street. This derived its name from a lofty stone cross in the centre of the street, of which a few remains were visible till the middle of the last century. Dixton's Gate led out of the town by what is now the Old Dixton Road. This gateway was destroyed about 1770. Monk Street led out of the town to the north through Monk Gate. Besides S. Mary's Church is a building close by (to the east) named Monke's Church. "In this towne a beautiful church with 3 iles is remaining, and at the east end a most curiously built but now decayed church stands, called the Monkes Church." (Speed.) On this Heath (*Monmouth*, 1804) says: "There was standing some time ago, on the south side of the Priory, a small building called Geoffrey's Chapel, which, I am induced to



[From a reproduction by Mr. Waugh of Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley's facsimile sketch.]

SPEED'S MAP OF MONMOUTH.

belief, was the church of S. Cadoc, mentioned in Withenoc's charter, as being built before the Priory was finished. It consisted principally of beautiful arches, springing from massy columns, and was greatly admired by the lovers of ancient architecture. In the memory of the present inhabitants this room was used as a R.C. Chapel, but on their relinquishment was converted into a hatter's shop. . . . It afterwards became totally neglected, and being considered an obstruction to the view from a house in the neighbourhood of the churchyard, it was taken down. . . . Dr. Griffin always lamented its demolition, and frequently declared to me, that if the building could have been taken down, so as to have re-composed the parts, his family would have given a large sum for it, in order to have placed it as a public object . . . but so firmly was it combined together, that it was totally destroyed by the instruments of the labourers, and the materials afterwards sold to mend the public roads." (Heath, pp. 14, 15) The Rev. W. Dyke, in a paper on the Alien Priory, written in 1849, quoting Heath's description of the architecture, remarks that the description proves that it was too grand for the church of so early an era as that of Withenoc, *i.e. temp.* Henry I.

To return to Speed's map: the only remaining names given are Wye Bridge Ward and Wye Bridge, with the gate of the same name.

(b) More than half-a-century before Speed, we have another account of Monmouth. Leland was born in 1506, and became chaplain, librarian and antiquary to Henry VIII. For six years he travelled over England, collecting information as to castles, towns, religious houses, &c., and for another six years he attempted to set his notes in order. He died in 1552, after two years of melancholia, the result of too much research. His *Itinerary* and *Collectanea de Rebus Britannicis* were edited by Hearne about 1715.

"Munmouth towne ys waulled, and standeth in the diocese of Herford, betwixt ii ryvers, Wy and Mone, of the which yt taketh name. . . . It is enclosed by a wall on that part [words omitted] *i.e.* from the North [Monk's] Gate and the

Eastern Gate up to the banks of the Wye. Though now the walls are much decayed, yet extensive ruins are remaining, and a deep fosse. From Monk's Gate the wall extends westward to the river Mona. In the wall are four gates [names omitted]. Beyond Mona bridge is the suburb in the diocese of Llandaff, where formerly was the parish church dedicated to S. Thomas, now only a chapel dedicated to him. In the town is only one parish church, close to the religious house of Benedictine monks. The old castle, where Henry V. was born, is situated on a little hill, near the market-place. . . . Mona is a free town in the jurisdiction of Lancaster, not subject to the authority of the adjacent province. All the suburbs of Mona, except where it is defended by the rivers, are surrounded by a very deep fosse."

My paper is confined to Monmouth Castle and Priory, and I do not wish to transgress its limits; but it may be as well, as I have referred to Speed and Leland, to clear up an apparent misunderstanding with regard to the gates in the walls. Take Leland's account, and consider the words which I purposely omitted. "M. is enclosed by a wall on that part on which it is not defended by the rivers. . . ," but later on we have, "in the walls are four gates, Monke's gate, the East gate, Wye gate, and Mone gate, so named because it is situated on that bridge under which the Mone flows." That is, Leland assumes that Munnow Gate was one of the four gates in the wall. This will not do at all. To begin with, it is inconsistent with what he has just said: "enclosed . . . on that part on which it is not defended by the rivers." Somebody, I think the late Mr. Wakeman, has thought that Leland obtained his knowledge of Monmouth at second hand, and had the bad taste never to have visited the town at all. The actual West Gate was not the still existing gate on Munnow bridge, but was situated at the top of Munnow Street, and united to the neighbouring castle. Then, from this West Gate, the wall (I quote Mr. Wakeman) "ran behind the houses in a direct line towards the Wye; the street formerly called the Back Lane, Glendower Street and

Workhouse Lane being evidently the fosse, at the bottom of the latter it turned at right angles to Wye Bridge Gate."

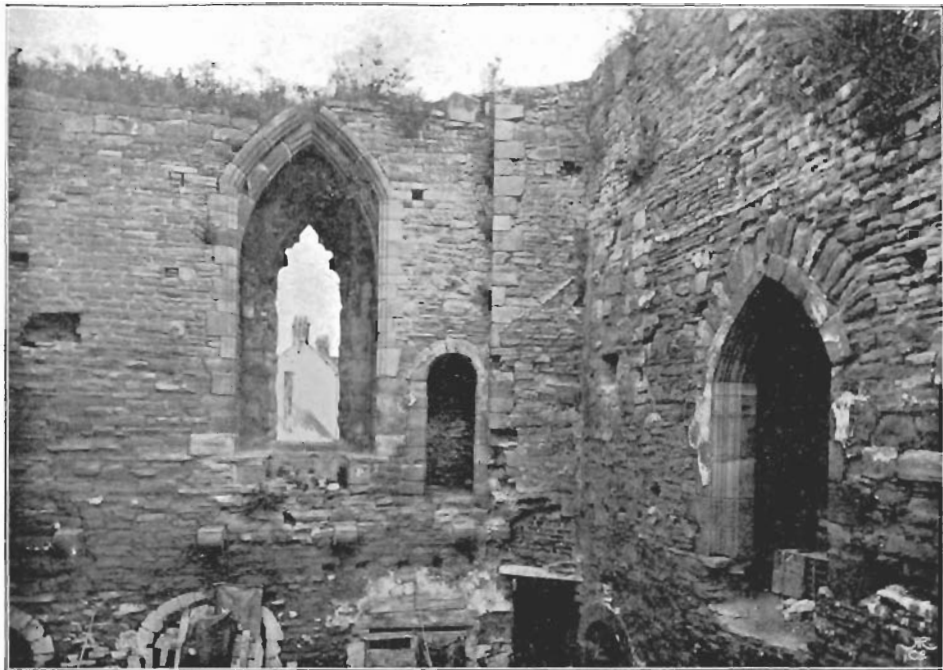
This is no doubt right, and the present Monnow Bridge gate was not a gate of defence at all (it would have been useless as such, the Munnow being fordable both above and below), but was used perhaps for taking tolls on crossing the the river. Munnow Street was extra-mural: it is lined with houses in Speed's map, but at an earlier time was perhaps only a country road connecting Monmouth with the present suburb of Over-Munnow. For there is a distinct contrast between Great Monmouth, the Norman town within the walls, and Little Monmouth. Not only were they in different dioceses, Hereford and Landaff, but we have a piece of distinct historical evidence in a royal warrant of 20 Henry VI. (1442) addressed to the Mayor of Great Monmouth, John Ireland, asking for the names of Burgesses of both Great and Little Monmouth.

### 3. EXISTING REMAINS OF CASTLE AND PRIORY.

We have now arrived at the limits of the walled Norman town of Great Monmouth, containing within its small area the Norman Castle and Priory. What can we gather as to their history? Certainly not much, if we only look at their scanty remains. Still, we can learn this much, with the late Professor Freeman as our guide:—

*The Castle.*—"Norman Hall, altered in Decorated times: only one end and part of the two side walls are standing; but the small and plain Norman lights remain perfect in the building under the hall: in the hall itself they are blocked, and Decorated ones with ogee heads inserted."

*The Conventual Buildings.*—"There is an extensive fragment on the north side, late Perpendicular, of two stories, with an oriel window. This is popularly called Geoffrey of Monmouth's window, and I excited some indignation in the mind of the schoolmistress by an unwillingness to believe that the building stood just as it did in the time



*From a Photograph by Mr. Tudor Williams.*

PART OF MONMOUTH CASTLE.

of Henry I. I suggested a correction of the numeral I. into VIII., but in vain. After all, it is only poetical justice that so diligent a setter forth of myths as Geoffrey should himself become a subject for the mythopœic faculty of others." (E. A. FREEMAN, *Arch. Cambr.*, vol. v., 1854.)

This is a hit, "a very palpable hit," at Geoffrey. Let us take advantage of it, and turn from architecture to history, though the exact connection between Geoffrey of Monmouth and history is not quite apparent to anyone who knows anything about the one and the other.

*Monmouth Castle.*—For the sake of clearness I shall follow up the two threads of historical record, the secular and the religious, separately till the time of Henry VIII., when the second thread is of course snapped, at the dissolution of religious houses.

#### 4. MONMOUTH CASTLE.

The first definite record is from the *Liber Landavensis: De Terra Ercynog*, that is the district of Archenfield, "in the time of King William, Earl William, &c., . . . before the Castle of Monmouth was built," . . . then, later on, "in the time of King William and Earl William, and Walter de Laci, and Raul de Bernhai, Sheriff [*Viccomes*, which is *not* Viscount] of Hereford, the Castle of Monmouth [*Mingui*] was built: and Earl William gave a moiety to his three barons, Humphrey, Osborne, and William the Writer: and on his (E. William's) death, Earl Roger succeeded him; and through treason he was captured by the King with his betrayers: they three, with others, were dispossessed. After this the castle was given to Guerthenauc [*sic* for Withenoc], and in his time Bishop Herwald consecrated the church of the Castle of Monmouth, at which King Caradoc was present." Everyone, so far as I know, who has quoted this passage, stops here: I, rashly, went on to the end of the chapter, and was rewarded with an interesting piece of ecclesiastical history, and an insoluble problem. The ecclesiastical history is, that Monmouth was in the district of Archenfield, that the

whole of that district was in the diocese of Llandaff when Herewald or Herwald was Bishop, that "through infirmity and a quarrel, it was taken away from him, and always ever since, notwithstanding that claim was made, is unjustly retained by the Church of Hereford." The parish of S. Mary, Monmouth, was restored to Llandaff by an Order in Council, 1844: the rest of the deanery of Archenfield still remains in Hereford diocese. Now for my problem: after mentioning the consecration of the church of the Castle of Monmouth, the record goes on: "and after he became a monk, Randolph de Colinil succeeded him, and after his death, William the son of Batrun." After who became a monk? I shall defer that question for a little time, and look into the first part of the quotation from the *L. Landavensis*, from which we obtain the name of the founder of Monmouth Castle, and, by inference, the date of its foundation.

##### 5. SAXON AND NORMAN CONQUESTS IN GWENT.

It is perhaps an open question how far the Saxons had conquered Gwent or Monmouthshire, but we have good reason for supposing that from time to time they had invaded it with fluctuating success. We know, for example, that in 1065 Earl Harold, son of Godwin, afterwards King Harold, built for King Edward the Confessor a hunting seat at Porthiscoed (Portskewet). This was destroyed immediately after its erection by Caradoc ap Gruffydd, the same Caradoc who is mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis*. (Freeman, *N.C.*, chap. x. 2.) Monmouth, Chepstow, Cærwent, and Cærleon were probably Saxon outposts in Gwent, and after the conquest the Normans occupied these places, building castles in them, building Norman castles of stone where Saxon castles existed before. Out of 143 Norman castles in Wales, there are 25 in Monmouthshire. (Coxe, *Hist. of Monmouthshire*.) These fall geographically into three divisions: (1) those built along the rivers Munnaw and Wye, from Gros-moñt, Skenfrith, and Monmouth to Chepstow and Caldicot;

- (2) a northern line of defence from Grosmont to Newport by way of Whitcastle, Tregare, Usk, Llangibby, and Cærleon ;  
 (3) castellated fortresses between these two lines, such as Dinham, Llanvair, Penhow, Bishton, &c.

#### 6. WILLIAM FITZ-OSBERN.

Earl William of Hereford was the famous William Fitz-Osbern who, jointly with Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, acted as the Conqueror's regents in England during his absence in Normandy. He is first mentioned as Earl of Hereford by the chronicler Florence of Worcester under the year 1067. The Conqueror especially commanded both the Earl and the Bishop to build castles. "Castella per loca firmari precepit." (Florence of Worc., Freeman, *N.C.*, vol. iv., pp. 73 and 104.) Among the western castles built by Earl William was that of Ewias Harold. (*N.C.*, vol. iv., p. 504.) William Fitz-Osbern was killed in Flanders in 1071. (*N.C.*, iv. 534.) Walter de Laci, mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis*, is coupled with William Fitz-Osbern by Orderic Vitalis as warring against the Welsh, and overthrowing their kings Rhys, Cadwgan, Merydd, and many others, receiving assistance from the Welsh king Caradoc ap Gruffydd. (*N.C.*, iv. 502-3.) Of the third name mentioned, we learn that Ralph de Bernay, Sheriff of Herefordshire, aided William Fitz-Osbern in aggressions against the monks of Worcester. (*N.C.*, vol. v., App. D.) We can fix the date of Monmouth Castle prior to Christmas 1070, when William Fitz-Osbern left England never to return, and we can almost assume him to have been the actual builder, agreeing with some lines of a local writer, lately deceased, contained in a poem of considerable power and beauty:—

"Such was Fitz-Osbern, your first lord,  
 In you he shaped his mind in stone."

W. H. GREENE, *Monmouth Castle*, 1887.

On Fitz-Osbern's death, he left his eldest son, William, his estates in Normandy; to Roger, his second son, his

Earldom of Hereford and his English possessions, including Monmouth. For four years Roger was Earl of Hereford. In 1075 his sister Emma was married at Exning in Cambridgeshire to Ralph Wader, Earl of Norfolk :—

“There was that bride-ale,  
To many men's bale.”

*Peterborough Chronicle.*

At the marriage feast Roger, Ralph, and William Waltheof began to talk treason against the King. An open revolt followed; Roger was captured on the Severn by the Bishop of Worcester and the Abbot of Evesham, was tried, deprived of all his possessions, and imprisoned for life. So in 1075 the first line of owners of Monmouth Castle comes to an end.

#### 7. WITHENOC.

The new grantee of the castle was a Breton named Withenoc, called in the *Liber Landavensis* Guerthenauc, whose family were to own the castle for nearly two centuries. This family probably came from Saumur on the Loire in Anjou, as there is mention of one of them as witness to the Abbey of S. Florence in that town (see a paper by Mr. A. S. Ellis on “The Domesday Tenants of Gloucestershire,” in the *Bristol and Glos. Arch. Society's Transactions*, vol. iv., 1879), which would account for the foundation of the Alien Priory at Monmouth for the benefit of that Abbey. The family had large possessions in Gloucestershire, and the name of Baderon, which occurs frequently as a family name, is met with in County Histories of Gloucestershire as that of the owner of lands, at a much later date, in the parishes of Awre and Longhope. (Rudder's *Hist. of Gloucestershire*; Atkyn's *Hist. of Gloucestershire*.) This Withenoc was probably the founder of the Alien Priory at Monmouth, though both Coxe and Heath, following Dugdale's *Monasticon*, attribute this to another Withenoc in the reign of Henry I. I notice that in the programme of the present meeting the date of the priory is fixed circa 1073: This is two years at

least too early, as Withenoc did not obtain Monmouth Castle till after the rebellion of Earl Roger in 1075; but I should like to know the exact reasons at which this date is approximately fixed, throwing over the date given by Dugdale. My reasons are as follows:—

#### 8. QUESTIONS AS TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE PRIORY.

Both Archdeacon Coxe and Mr. Heath, in fixing Henry I.'s reign for the foundation of Withenoc's Priory, base this result on two charters given in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, which was compiled between 1655 and 1673. The first of these charters is that of Withenoc stating that he has built in his castle a church and endowed it with certain lands and churches, including "my church of S. Cadoc, near my castle, in my manor." To this grant his brother Baderon was a witness. Then Dugdale gives a second charter of Baderon of Monmouth, whom we know from other evidence to be living in the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen, and he assumes that this Baderon was the same as the brother of Withenoc of that name, and therefore that Withenoc was living *temp.* Henry I., and therefore that the date of the priory was *t. H. I.* This is fair reasoning, but it rests on one foundation only, namely, the identity of Baderon of Monmouth, who gave the second charter, with Baderon, brother of Withenoc, who witnessed the first charter. Remove this foundation, and the whole breaks down.

Now, to anticipate a little, the holder of Monmouth at Domesday, 1086, was William Fitz-Baderon. His father must have been named Baderon, and what more likely than that he was the brother who witnessed Withenoc's charter? Turn back to *Liber Landavensis*: "The castle was given to Guerthenauc (Withenoc), and in his time Bishop Herwald consecrated the church of the castle of Monmouth, at which King Caradoc was present." This Caradoc was Caradoc ap Gruffydd, who has been mentioned before. Herwald, or Herewald, Bishop of Llandaff, died in 1103 at the age of 100. Can we not assume that the "church of the

castle of Monmouth" which he consecrated was the same as the "church in my castle of Monmouth," mentioned in Withenoc's charter as granted to the monks of S. Florence at Salmiur? One more strengthening link in the argument, which I put forward with some diffidence, because it brings in that historical problem which I mentioned some time ago, and which, perhaps, had better been left alone. *Liber Landavensis* again: "And after he became a monk, Randulph de Coliuil succeeded him, and on his death, Wilhelmus Filius Batrun." After who became a monk? Not Bishop Herwald, and presumably not King Caradoc. Then it must have been Withenoc himself. Withenoc was probably unmarried, for the Domesday tenant was his nephew, William Fitz-Baderon, whose name sounds suspiciously like that of Wilhelmus Filius Batrun. The difficulty is as to what Randulph de Coliuil is doing in this connection, and this cannot be cleared up until we know, what may never be known, who the said Randulph de Coliuil was. But the name was a local one, as in a charter of John of Monmouth in 1240, Lord Philip de Colville is one of the witnesses. The way in which this strengthens my chain of proof is this, that Withenoc—whether he became a monk or not—was probably unmarried, and Withenoc of the charter to the monks of S. Florence was also probably unmarried, for he builds his church, "for the health of my soul, and my parents"; and Mr. A. S. Ellis, in his paper on this family, takes this phrase to denote that he had no wife. I think that the proof is established, as firmly as it can be after eight hundred years, that Withenoc of the *Liber Landavensis*, and Withenoc the founder of the Alien Priory, were one and the same man, and therefore that the date of the priory must be, not *t.* Henry I. as Dugdale says, but some year between 1075 and 1086.

#### 9. THE DOMESDAY TENANT OF MONMOUTH.

The Domesday (1086) entry with regard to the castle is as follows:—"In the castle of Monmouth the King has

in demesne four carucates of land; William Fitz-Baderon has the custody of them." A "carucate" was the quantity of land which could be ploughed by one team in a season; for a long time it varied in extent according to the locality, but by 1198 it was definitely fixed at 100 acres. (*Carucage of 1198*, Roger of Hoveden, iv. 46. See Stubbs, *Select Charters*," p. 258; Seebohm, *Eng. Village Communities passim*.) The same William Fitz-Baderon possessed twelve lordships in Gloucestershire, and some in Herefordshire. Both Monmouth and Cærleon appear in Domesday under the heading of Herefordshire. (Freeman, *N.C.*, vol. ii., p. 708.)

#### 10. HIS SUCCESSORS.

##### BADERON OF MONMOUTH.

William Fitz-Baderon is succeeded by his son, Baderon de Monmouth, who, according to Mr. Ellis (*Domesday Tenant of Glos.*), was living till 1166. This is that Baderon who gave the second charter to the Priory, giving "with the consent of my sons, Gilbert and James, to the prior and monks of Monmouth, in exchange for Hodenach [Hadnock] three iron forges, value twenty shillings each, in my town of Monmouth, on the banks of the Wye." Baderon married Rohesa, daughter of a powerful neighbour, Richard de Clare, Lord of Chepstow.

##### GILBERT OF MONMOUTH.

To him succeeded his son, Gilbert, whose wife's name was Berta. They jointly were benefactors of Flaxley Abbey, making two grants: one the profits of a mill at Longhope for the purchase of wine for the sacrament, and for the maintenance of the library; the other granting freedom from tolls and dues throughout his lands, and license to cross the Severn. (*Cartulary of Flaxley Abbey*, Nos. 6 and 7.)

##### JOHN OF MONMOUTH.

Except these charters, I know nothing about Gilbert and Berta his wife, but there is a good deal of information to be

obtained about their son, John of Monmouth, who lived in the troublous reigns of John and Henry III.

Of his grants to the Priory, and of his foundation of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity outside the eastern gate of Monmouth, I shall say nothing here, as this subject belongs to the history of the religious houses in Monmouth.

In Nov. 1213 the castle had a probably unwelcome royal visitor in the person of King John, who arrived on Friday night, leaving the next morning for S. Briavel's, Flaxley and Gloucester. (*Itinerary of King John*; see *Cartulary of Flaxley Abbey*, p. 54.) In 1216 John of Monmouth was appointed constable of S. Briavel's Castle, and he held this post for seven or eight years. (*Close Rolls*; t. Henry III. Nicholls, *Personalities of the Forest of Dean*.) Among the orders given him in this capacity were—to control the iron forges, to allow posts and other timber to make the bridge of Gloucester Castle, and “to send to Montgomery twenty good miners of the Forest of Dean, to do the works of the castle which is being built there.” (Nicholls, *loc. cit.*, p. 13.)

## II. MONMOUTH IN THE BARONS' WAR. TEMP. HENRY III.

In 1233, Richard Earl of Pembroke, Earl Marshal of England, became the spokesman of the disaffected barons against the weak government of Henry III. He was declared a traitor, and was driven into alliance with the Welsh king, Llewellyn ap Jorworth. Henry III. himself marched against him, but the Earl Marshal and his Welsh allies were successful, taking Abergavenny and surprising the King's army at Grosmont. The next year John of Monmouth was appointed Warden of the Marches, but he, too, was unsuccessful against the Earl Marshal. John of Monmouth died in 1248, leaving three sons, John, Walter, and Richard. In old S. Mary's Church, demolished in 1736, there was a tomb, supposed to be that of John of Monmouth. An account of this tomb, with an illustration of it, is given in the *Duke of Beaufort's Progress through Wales*, 1684: “A

monument of marble, anciently gilt and painted with small figures on the sides and ends, obscured by the injury of the usurper's soldiers, and now preserved by church pews and seats erected near it." Then follows an account of what you have just heard as to the campaign of Richard, Earl Marshal:—"John of Monmouth, a noble warrior, being made Warden of the Marches of Wales, levied a power and came against the Earl Marshal about the feast of S. John Baptist, who, aware of the design, lay in ambuscade in a certain wood, when, upon the approach of John of Monmouth, the Earl Marshal's army gave a sudden shout and fell upon their enemies, putting them to flight with their commander, and spoiling his country." (*Duke of Beaufort's Progress.*)

## 12. MONMOUTH UNDER THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

This John of Monmouth at his death in 1248 was succeeded by his son John. Then ensued the Barons' War, of which the rebellion of 1234 was only the harbinger. By the end of this war Monmouth Castle had ceased to belong to the line which had held it since 1075, and was the property of Edward Crouchback, younger brother to Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I. How this came about, whether by conquest or voluntary cession, is not quite clear; Coxe and Heath say that John of Monmouth resigned the castle in 1255 to Prince Edward, having no issue male. This may have been so, but John had two brothers, and I do not believe that the family had come to an end in the male line, as a John de Monmouth was killed in 1331 (*Leland, Collect.*, i. 689), and another John de Monmouth was Constable of S. Briavel's Castle in the 22 Edward III. (*Nicholls, Personalities of the Forest of Dean*, p. 28.) Camden's account (*Britannia*, 1586) is that "Henry III. stripped him (John) of his estate for his obstinate adherence to the barons against him." We gather that the castle was twice taken in the Barons' War of 1264-5, first by Gilbert the Red, Earl of

Gloucester, and then by Simon de Montfort, "who assailed, took and raised it to the ground." (Leland, *Collect.*, i. 661.) On which Lambarde remarks: "Thus the glory of Monmouth had cleane perished, ne it had pleased God longe after in that place to give life to the noble king, Henry V." (*Dict. Topograph. et Historic.*, 1601.)

In 1267 the rebuilt castle was granted to Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, who died in 1296, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, who was beheaded in 1322 on the charge of treason against his cousin, King Edward II. His brother Henry succeeded, and lived till 1345, and during his tenure his brother's death was avenged; for it was to Monmouth Castle that the unhappy King Edward II. was brought as a prisoner, with his favourite Despenser. From Monmouth they were both taken to Hereford, where Despenser was hanged, drawn and quartered, while the King was further removed, first to Kenilworth, then to his end at Berkeley.

Another Henry followed, as Earl and first Duke of Lancaster, whose daughter Blanche married John of Gaunt. Both John of Gaunt and his son, Henry of Bolingbroke, resided frequently at the castle, where, it is almost unnecessary to say, Bolingbroke's eldest son was born, probably in 1387. "Probably" sounds malicious, but in fact there was great uncertainty as to the date. Hall, living in the reign of Henry VIII., places it as 1384; Polydore Vergil, also living *t.* Henry VIII., says 1386; and to come to very modern times, the author of the *Historical Notes on the Neighbourhood of Monmouth*, published only three years ago, has 1388.

From Henry V. to Henry VIII. is a long gap, which we must stride over. In the fifth year of Edward IV. the castle was granted in tail male to William, Lord Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, but it soon reverted to the Crown, which, on the attainder of Henry VI., had taken possession of the Duchy of Lancaster. (Coxe, *Hist. of Monmouthshire.*)

In Henry VIII.'s reign the castle was used as a prison. Its later history chiefly centres round the Civil War, and many interesting details concerning the town and castle are to be found recorded in the *Memorials of the Civil War in Herefordshire*, by the late Rev. John Webb, formerly Rector of Tretire in Herefordshire; but this is modern history which it would be an impertinence to offer at the meeting of an Archæological Society.

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