

THE SEYMOUR FAMILY OF HATCH, SOMERSET, AND DE LA MARE FAMILY OF LITTLE HEREFORD

by Paul C Reed¹

ABSTRACT

This article begins the documentation of the Seymour family — ancestors of Henry VIII's third wife — after they left Monmouthshire and settled in England. They gradually rose from relative obscurity through a series of advantageous matches to heiresses to become one of the leading families in Wiltshire (even so, it was only through the favour of Henry and his son Edward VI that they finally attained the peerage in the person of the queen's brother, Edward Seymour, Viscount Beauchamp, Earl of Hertford, Baron Seymour and finally Duke of Somerset). Included with this article is a separate account that begins to chart out the maternal ancestry traced through the de la Mare family of Little Hereford.

Foundations (2010) **3** (3): 217-266

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The Foundation of the Seymour Family at Hatch, Somerset

Roger de Seymour, of Undy, co. Monmouth, in the Marches of Wales, was a man of relatively modest means at the time he married Cecily de Beauchamp, the young widow of Sir Gilbert de Turberville, a prominent Welsh knight. Roger's ancestors were knights, but lived in a fairly precarious region subject to raids by the native Welsh and frequent summons to military service to maintain the peace. It was then a region ruled by local custom in spite of a concerted effort to extend the king's law.²

Cecily de Beauchamp's father John, 2nd Lord Beauchamp of Somerset, was already dead when her first husband died so arrangements for her second marriage would have been in the hands of the king. When she married Roger, there could have been no expectation that her brother John (summoned to Parliament in 1351, having just come of age, and married to the daughter of the Earl of Warwick by 1355) would die without surviving issue in 1361, aged only 31 years.³ Roger de Seymour was also dead by 1361. Cecily was assigned her purparty of the Barony of Beauchamp of Hatch on 12 February 1362.⁴

Cecily did not come to her inheritance until she was again a single woman, and she managed to continue in that state (at a period when most forces were working against it), so the Beauchamp inheritance remained vested in her person until her death. Sir Roger de Seymour left little for his two minor sons to inherit when he died.⁵ It is therefore remarkable that Cecily was allowed to divest herself and her

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² The earlier ancestry in Monmouthshire was the subject of a previous article by this author, "Descent of the St. Maur Family of co. Monmouth and Seymour Family of Hatch, co. Somerset," *Foundations* **2**(6) (2008):390-442.

³ CP **2**:49.

⁴ CFR **7**:208.

⁵ It appears that Roger predeceased his father, William, who was lord of the manor of Woundy [Undy], co. Monmouth. It is not known what was put up for Roger's part when arrangements

heirs of virtually half a barony. The only thing she arranged for her eldest son to inherit at her death was the *caput* of the barony (which she could not divest). She had made the similar provision of one manor for her second son Robert, who was to eventually receive the manor of Shepton Beauchamp (but his line ended in the next generation).⁶ It would be likely that Cecily made a will for pious uses before she ended her days, but wills of that period rarely survive. Roger did leave a will, but it is not to be found either.⁷

The income from all the manors Cecily sold would have made her a wealthy woman of independent means — one who could afford to live in luxury. She would have accrued an income greater than many a wealthy knight but without the usual obligations of service. Cecily was no timid creature. She led a group of men from Hacche Beauchamp (undoubtedly her servants) to Bradweye Staunton, co. Somerset, on 4 June 1367, where they broke into a close belonging to William, Earl of Salisbury, and took away eight oxen and other goods worth over £10 (and assaulting and wounding the earl's men and servants according to his account).⁸ This was less than a decade into her widowhood when she would have been about forty-seven. As noted in a previous article, she had the good sense to employ some of the best lawyers in England to aid her in converting her inheritance into cash and income. But her son and heir William would not even inherit when Cecily died on 7 June 1394, as he had predeceased her by almost three years (at about age forty-four).⁹ It would be her grandson Roger who would carry on the line.

were made for his marriage, but cash might have been the incentive for both sides. William likely retained Woundy until his death and gave the manor of St. Brides to his younger son Edmund. Roger had enough income to lend £42 to Sir Thomas Moreau before his death. *CPR Edw. III*, 1364-7, **13**:81. Roger appears to have been knighted before his death, as he was styled '*chivaler*' and knight when described as Cecily's husband after her death. *CPR Rich. II*, 1388-1392, **4**:400. *CCR Rich. II*, 1392-1396, **5**:317. *CIPM* **17**:51-2 (no. 116).

⁶ Robert "*Saymour*" paid 20s for license for Cecily de Turbervyll of Hach Beauchamp to alienate the advowson of Shepton Beauchamp to feoffees, with the reversion of the manor of Shepton Beauchamp (after the death of Sir William Clopton, who held it for life at a yearly rent of ,20), to regrant the premises to her for life, remainder in fee to Robert, her son, 18 November 1393. *CPR Rich. II*, 1391-6, **5**:338. Order was issued 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 Rich. II*, 1392-6, **5**:317. Robert died 5 October 1413, leaving a widow named Alice and minor son named John at his death (age four on '*5 June last*'). The National Archives [TNA] C138/3/38. *CIPM* **20**:19 (no. 71). *VCH Somerset*, **4**:212. For further particulars, see Paul C Reed, "Descent of the St. Maur Family of co. Monmouth and Seymour Family of Hatch, co. Somerset," *Foundations* **2**(6) (2008):437.

⁷ His will was mentioned in 1365. *CPR Edw. III*, 1364-7, **13**:81.

⁸ *CPR Edw. III*, 1364-7, **13**:445.

⁹ *CIPM* **27**:175-6 (no. 420). This inquisition, taken 11 August 18 Rich. II [1394] (the writ was dated 11 June 17 Rich. II) states that as Cecily Turberville, lady of Hach Beauchamp, she granted the advowson and reversion of the manor of Shepton Beauchamp, co. Somerset, to Sir Walter Clopton for life, in return for an annuity of ,20. The rent, reversion and advowson was to remain to Robert, her son, and his heirs. The manor and advowson was held of the king in chief. Her heir was found to be her grandson, Roger Seymour, aged twenty-seven, son of her deceased son William. "*Cecily Turberville, sister and one of the heirs of John Beauchamp of Somerset*," was still influential enough in old age to have a decision in Chancery revoked 12 May 1393. *CPR Rich. II*, 1391-6, **5**:287.

Cecily de Beauchamp came into her inheritance after both her husbands were dead. She established herself at Hatch by 1364, where she received the homage and fealty of the various tenants of her moiety of the barony (attended by her father-in-law William Seymour and his second son Edmund).¹⁰ Hatch was the sole manor she had arranged for her heir to inherit. The only other manor he inherited from his paternal side — at his grandfather's death — was Woundy, co. Monmouth. The main line of this Seymour family was therefore first seated in England at Hatch Beauchamp, co. Somerset, which would continue to descend in this line for centuries.

William de Seymour, son of Roger and Cecily

William de Seymour was likely born about 1348 (his mother's first husband, Sir Gilbert de Turberville, died 20 August 1347).¹¹ He would have spent early childhood witnessing the aftermath of the Black Death and the effect it had on society. It had previously been assumed that William's first public act was to appear in county court on 29 January 1365, suing as Roger de Seymour's executor.¹² The published account does not stipulate the relationship between the deceased testator and the William de Seymour who acted as his executor.¹³ One did not have to be age twenty-one to be named an executor, but jurisdiction concerning the action of debt was not in church court, but the courts of the land. The church (bishops) had begun making inquiry concerning actions of debt and the representative capacity of the executor eighty years before. The crown granted that "*actions touching debts and claims were allowed the executor, but jurisdiction remained with the temporal courts...*"¹⁴ The Second Statute of Westminster (1285) also gave executors an action of account. After that, the heir was only bound when the testator "*bound him with an instrument under a seal,*" hence wills came to be signed and sealed as a matter of practice. The point here, however, is that it was the executor, not the next heir, who was now recognized as the representative of the deceased in the temporal courts.¹⁵ "*It was the executor that made the English will the marvellously flexible document that it was. His choice was important and...it was made with great care. The testator did all that he could to see that his man acted as he himself would act. When the choice was a failure and the executor could not be trusted to do his duty, then the Church courts intervened to enforce obedience.*"¹⁶ In answer to the bishop's reaction in 1285, the crown made it clear that the plea of debt belonged to the temporal courts. "*[W]hatever the strength of the opinion in favour of the Church courts may have been, all hesitation ended and the matter passed to the temporal jurisdiction.*"¹⁷ The executor was also given a number of writs for account and action, in the stead of the

¹⁰ H C Maxwell-Lyte, "Two registers Formerly Belonging to the Family of Beauchamp of Hatch," *Somerset Record Society*, **35** (1920): 99.

¹¹ Ralph Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: The Structure and Personnel of Government. I. South Wales, 1277-1536* (1972), 210.

¹² J S Roskell, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* (1992), **4**:343. But the author of William's biography was unaware of his year of birth and the fact that Roger's father was also named William (a detail not included in any of the pedigrees or previously published accounts).

¹³ *CPR Edw. III, 1364-7*, **13**:81.

¹⁴ Michael M Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England from the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (1963), 160-1.

¹⁵ Michael M Sheehan, *op. cit.* (1963), 161.

¹⁶ Michael M Sheehan, *op. cit.* (1963), 161.

¹⁷ Michael M Sheehan, *op. cit.* (1963), 227.

next heir. It was after the executor completed all acts of administration or there was some question of whether he had acted properly that he was summoned back to the church court to account to the ordinary. Obedience was enforced by the threat of excommunication.¹⁸

Age twenty-one was the requisite legal age to sue in court. It therefore appears that Roger made his father executor as Roger would have known some of his debts might need to be recovered in court when he made the will. The confusion arises because Roger's son and heir was namesake of his grandfather. It is certain the elder William was alive the previous year, when he witnessed Cecily receiving the homage and fealty of her tenants at Hatch. He was apparently still alive in 1366,¹⁹ but as the elder William de Seymour was not a tenant in chief, it is not certain when he died. The manor of Woundy, co. Monmouth, which he held of the Earl of March, passed from the elder William at his death to Roger's son William as next male heir.²⁰

William de Seymour married Margery de Brockbury about the time he attained majority (his son and heir was born *circa* 1367-70). Margery was the younger of two daughters and coheirs of Simon de Brockbury, of Brockbury [now Brobury], co. Hereford.²¹ Her elder sister, Matilda (Maud) de Brockbury, was successively wife of Sir Ralph de Seymour, Sir John de Meriet and Sir Hugh de Cheney, so was steeped in connections to the earlier Seymour family.²² It is not surprising that as Matilda's

¹⁸ Michael M Sheehan, *op. cit.* (1963), 230.

¹⁹ William "*de Sancto Mauro*" held one fee in Netherwent which became part of the inheritance of the Countess of Warenne and half a fee which became part of the inheritance of "*the heirs of Ferrers*" in the partition of the inheritance of Walter Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, on 8 July 1366. *CPR Edw. III, 1364-7*, **13**:263-4. As the son of Roger and Cecily could not have been born before 1347, and would not yet have been of majority in 1366, this would appear to pertain to Roger's father.

²⁰ As discussed in the previous article on the earlier Seymour family, the manor of St. Brides was given by William to his second son Edmund.

²¹ It is curious that none of the standard sources scholars use for the Seymour family did much on the Brockbury or de la Mare ancestry. Hoare states that William married Margery, daughter and heir of Simon de Brockbury, and his wife Joane, sister and heir of Peter de la Mare, knight, of Herefordshire. Richard Colt Hoare, *The History of Modern Wiltshire* (1822-44), 116. Richard Harold St. Maur, *Annals of the Seymours: Being a History of the Seymour Family, from Early Times to Within a Few Years of the Present* (1902), 15, states that William married "*Margaret, daughter of Simon de Brockburn,*" and later also follows the statement that Simon "*de Brockburn*" married "*Joan, sister and heir to Sir Peter de la Mere [sic]*" (367). A Audrey Locke, *The Seymour Family: History and Romance* (1911), 4, only mentions "*Margaret, daughter of Simon de Brockburn,*" not making any reference to Sir Peter de la Mare or his family. Even Robin Forbes Patterson, *Seymour Dawn: The Origins and Medieval History of the Seymour Family* (1999), 228, calls Margery the only child of Simon de Brockbury, and states that her mother Joan was sister of Sir Peter de la Mare. In fact, Joan was not Peter's sister but his aunt. Joan de la Mare was daughter of Reginald and Margery, which Reginald was son of an earlier Reginald de la Mare. "Pedigrees from the Plea Rolls," *The Genealogist*, new series, **15** (1899):152, and G Wrottesley, *Pedigrees from the Plea Rolls. Collected from the Pleadings in the Various Courts of Law, A. D. 1200 to 1500, from the Original Rolls in the Public Record Office* (1905), 248. This relationship has also been given incorrectly in several normally reliable sources (eg, J S Roskell, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* (1992), **3**:685-6 and DNB **5**:751-2).

²² Sir Ralph de Seymour appears to be connected with the elder branch at Penhow. He was appointed a commissioner with John de Meriet (Cecily de Beauchamp's nephew, who would marry Ralph's widow) on 15 June 1370, and Ralph was appointed sheriff of Glamorgan and Morganau on 10 December 1375, so belongs to the generation of Roger de Seymour. He was still alive 3 January 1383 when appointed to a commission with Hugh Cheyne, but dead by

second husband Sir John de Meriet represented one half of the barony of Beauchamp of Hatch that her younger sister Margery would be matched with the other representative.

Margery and Matilda's father, Simon de Brokbury, was an adult by 1346 when he was assessed for a fifth part of a fee in Brokbury formerly held by William de Brokbury.²³ Simon followed other English nobles into Ireland where he served as constable of Newcastle McKinegan [McKynegan] 5 March 1362 - 18 March 1363.²⁴ Simon de Brokebury was again going to Ireland in the king's service with the Duke of Clarence, on 10 September 1364.²⁵ He received a pardon at Dublin from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, during this same period.²⁶ Simon de Brockbury presented Robert de la Mare, subdeacon, to the rectory of Brockbury on 25 March 1366.²⁷ There were a number of persons designated with the surname 'de Brockbury' who were presented to churches and benefices in this period, but their parentage cannot be determined with any certainty from their record of appointments, save that one of them was appointed to the church of Brockbury, the advowson of which had been held by the Brockbury family.²⁸

Simon de Brockbury conveyed land to James de Brockbury by fine Hillary term 22 Edward III [1348]. The land, which became known as the manor of Brockbury centuries later, consisted of a messuage with 160 acres, 11 acres meadow, two acres pasture, five acres of woods and 36 shillings rent in Codyngton and Colewell for which

1387. Paul C Reed, "Descent of the St. Maur Family of co. Monmouth and Seymour Family of Hatch, co. Somerset," *Foundations* 2(6) (2008): 436-7. Sir Hugh de Cheney had custody of the lands and marriage of Joan, daughter of John Seymour of Magor, co. Monmouth, in 1388. *CPR Rich. II, 1385-9*, 47-8.

²³ *Feudal Aids*, 2:391.

²⁴ Philomena Connolly, *Irish Exchequer Payments, 1270-1446* (1998), 511. The castle was built in the hills of Wicklow. Tom McNeill, *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World* (1997), 127-8, 130-1.

²⁵ *CPR Edw. III, 1364-7*, 13:13.

²⁶ The National Archives [TNA], "The Catalogue," C 115/71, "Nos 6490," dates this document to 1473, but given the details, the event must actually have taken place between 1362 and 1367, when Lionel was in Ireland, and presumably in or after 1364, when Simon went to Ireland). The Duke of Clarence died in 1368, in which year his only daughter and heir was married to Edmund de Mortimer, Earl of March, about the time Sir Peter de la Mare entered the earl's service.

²⁷ Joseph Henry Parry, *Registrum Ludowici de Charlton, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCCLXI-MCCCLXXV* [1361-75] (1914), Canterbury and York Society, 14:67. Robert de la Mare, rector of Brockbury, was ordained a deacon 12 June 1367 in Hereford Cathedral and ordained a priest on 18 September 1367 in Ledbury church. Joseph Henry Parry, *Registrum Ludowici de Charlton, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCCLXI-MCCCLXXV* [1361-75] (1914), Canterbury and York Society, 14:109 and 111. John Caunvyle was presented to the rectory at Brockbury on 8 October 1372, presumably by Simon de Brockbury, but the presenting patron was not mentioned. William W Capes, *Registrum Willelmi de Courtenay, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCCLXX-MCCCLXXV* [1370-1375] (1914), Canterbury and York Society, 15:11.

²⁸ Hugh, Peter and William de Brocbury occur a number of times in various religious positions in the registers of the Bishops of Hereford. R G Griffiths, *Registrum Thome de Cantilupo, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCLXXV-MCCLXXXII* (1907), Canterbury and York Society, 2:138, 268 and 302. William W Capes, *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCLXXXIII-MCCCVIII* [1283-1317] (1909), Canterbury and York Society, 6:423. Thomas de Brosbury [sic], priest, was presented to Brobury on 19 April 1325, but the presenting patron was not listed. A T Bannister, *Registrum Ade de Orleton, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCXXV-MCCLXXXII* [1317-27] (1908), Canterbury and York Society, 5:389-90.

James paid 40 marks.²⁹ Allan H Bright posited that William Langland, author of *Piers Plowman*, resided on this land for a time and that he had modelled the 'Good Knight' after James de Brockbury. "*James therefore acquired the manor from his brother (?) Simon in 1349, and no doubt came to live there at about the same time as William Langland commenced farming on the Longlands. It seems likely that this James de Brockbury is the 'Good Knight'. He swears fealty by St. James, his name-saint....*" Bright, a native of that region, also concluded that William Langland had provided a very specific physical description of a neighbourhood that could be identified as Brockbury and its surrounds ("*Go forth by a brook till you find a ford; wade through the water; then you will come to a croft....*" etc).³⁰ He based part of his argument on the fact that a tower described by Langland resembled one on the Herefordshire Beacon which "*faces Brockbury at the distance of rather more than a mile.*" Bright's flight of fancy went so far as to imagine that William Langland had for a time served as tutor to the Brockbury household.³¹ An argument against this would be that there is no indication that James de Brockbury was ever knighted or ever approached that status. It would be far more likely that Simon de Brockbury held the status nearer a knight of the two Brockbury men. Another author interpreted it that way. "*Piers will not set out until he has done his duty. The sowing of his half-acre is a scene from manorial life such as that lived on the lands of Simon de Brockbury, suggested as the original of the Good Knight who protects Piers and his workers. It gives a cross section of medieval society from knight to beggar.*"³² However, other literary critics entirely dismiss the assumption that the Good Knight could be Brockbury.³³ There is no direct proof that William Langland ever worked on Simon de Brockbury's land or tutored the Brockbury family, but this possible brush with such an early English literary figure is intriguing. The name of Simon's wife is not known. Chronology would indicate that Simon, born by 1325, was son of the William de Brockbury he succeeded.

William de Brockbury held the vill of Brockbury in 1316.³⁴ William de Brockbury, lord of Brockbury, was to repay 50 marks lent him by William de Staunden the following Michaelmas at Brockbury church according to an agreement made Friday before Holy Trinity 10 Edward II [27 May 1317] (with seal attached).³⁵ He apparently recovered well, for on 9 April 1322, the bishop of Hereford assigned William de Brockbury the lands formerly held by John de Northgrave during the minority of the heir, with the marriage of the son and heir William de Northgrave.³⁶ William de Brockbury held a

²⁹ Allan H Bright, *New Light on 'Piers Plowman'* (1928), 60. Bright included an aerial photo of Brockbury facing page 60. This tenement appears to have remained whole through the centuries and was known as the manor of Brockbury in Colwall, with lands in Coddington, when purchased by Rev. Henry Bright from the Walwyn family near the end of the sixteenth century. The manor was the seat of the Bright family for many generations. Charles J Robinson, *A History of the Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (1873), 72-4. The name currently survives in Brockbury Hall, on Stowe Lane in Colwall, in view of the Malvern Hills. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire, Vol. II — East* (1932), 53.

³⁰ Allan H Bright, *op.cit.* (1928), 60.

³¹ Allan H Bright, *op.cit.* (1928), 61-2.

³² Margaret Williams, *Piers the Plowman, by William Langland* (1971), 28.

³³ C David Benson, *Public Piers Plowman: Modern Scholarship in Late Medieval England* (2004), 23.

³⁴ *Feudal Aids*, 2:386.

³⁵ *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, 2:417 (B. 3566) [now TNA E 326/3566].

³⁶ A T Bannister, *Registrum Ade de Orleton, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1317-27* (1908), Canterbury and York Society, 5:283-4. If he had a daughter, William de Brockbury may well have married this heir to her. It would not be uncommon if he also married a daughter to his son.

fifth part of a knight's fee at Brockbury in 1303 (*Willelmo de Brokelburgh*).³⁷ William de Brokbury was brought before the assize 1303-6 for having disseised Milo Pychard of a free tenement in Staundon. William de Brokebury appeared in the place of Nicholas de Reygate in a final concord concerning the manor of Jay in 1300.³⁸ He was therefore born by 1279, if not several years before. William might have been son of the Simon who flourished in the previous generation.

On 25 January 1277, the Sheriff of Hereford was ordered to give Simon de Brocbury seisin of 20 acres in La Hethe that his tenant Peter le Hethe forfeited by felony.³⁹ Symon de Brocbur' was witness of two undated charters of Richard de Baskerville of Eardisley (one of these charters also included Symon's brother Richard as a witness).⁴⁰ He may be the Symond Brocheb[ury] who with Robert de Brocheb[ury] witnessed an undated final concord between Ralph de Baskerville and Robert de Baskerville concerning the manor of Weston (*Vestonam*).⁴¹ Further investigation would need to be made into the witnesses to determine whether rough dates might be formulated for these acts (the only Robert and Ralph de Baskerville who occur together in Watkin's detailed account of the Baskerville family flourished from 1176 to 1190, which would pertain to a much earlier generation).⁴² The Simon de Brockbury who was an adult by 1277 was a generation younger than Walter de Brockbury, who held a fifth part of a knight's fee in the vill of Brocbire/Brocburi in 1242-3 (held of Walter de Baskerville of the honour of Weobley).

Walter de Brocbiri also held half a hide in Hethe by knight's service, one half held of Richard de Hurtesl' and the other half of William de Kaburdis by old feoffment of the honour of Weobley.⁴³ Walter de Brocbur' was a witness to two undated charters by Walter de Baskyrvill son of Walter and Susanna, one to Phillip le Peer and the other to John de Acre.⁴⁴ Walter de Brocbur' witnessed an undated charter of a grant in Benefeld by Philip the Ferryman of Bredeword to the monks of Dore Abbey.⁴⁵

Brockbury (now Brobury) was a small township, not of a high enough status to be accounted for separately in *Testa de Nevill* or the Red Book of the Exchequer. Earlier

³⁷ *Feudal Aids*, 2:376.

³⁸ *The Picards or Pychards of Stradewy...* (1878), 81 and 83.

³⁹ *CCR Edw. I*, 1272-9, 1:369.

⁴⁰ Michael Powell Siddons, *The Visitation of Herefordshire, 1634* (2002), 91.

⁴¹ William de Samcmor [Sancto Maur?] was another witness. Michael Powell Siddons, *op.cit.* (2002), 87. Feet of fines will eventually provide an exact date.

⁴² Morgan Watkins, *Collections Towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford in Continuation of Duncumb's History* (1897), 35 and 40. There was a Ralph and Robert de Baskerville (brothers) as early as 1158-60, and a third brother Walter in 1164. They were tenants of the honour of Weobley, so belong to this line at Eardisley. Keats-Rohan, K S B *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166: II. Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum* (2002), 305. Hubert Hall, *Red Book of the Exchequer* (1896), 1:279-83.

⁴³ *Book of Fees*, 2:802, 810 and 817.

⁴⁴ Michael Powell Siddons, *The Visitation of Herefordshire, 1634* (2002), 86-9. There were several men named Walter, son of Walter de Baskerville. Watkins gives one Sir Walter (died 18 Edward I) as son of Walter de Baskerville by Susannah, daughter of Sir John Crigdon. Morgan Watkins, *op. cit.* (1897), 35-7, 40. The undocumented chart by Robertson states that this Sir Walter de Baskerville of Eardisley died in 1290. Charles J Robinson, *A History of the Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (1873), 106.

⁴⁵ *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, 1:250 (B. 379). This is now TNA E 326/379.

forms of the name include Brocburi, Brocbiri and, in Domesday, Brocheberie. A Robert [de Brockbury?] was the mesne lord of Brocheburi *circa* 1160-1170 under Roger de Lacy [of Weobley] in the Herefordshire Domesday, so may be the ancestor of this line.⁴⁶ As further deeds of early Herefordshire families such as the Baskervilles are better catalogued, or eyre and assize rolls and final concords are published or abstracted, more light may be shed on these earliest generations.⁴⁷ The given name Walter also occurred in the Lacy as well. Roger de Lacy had been the chief lord of Brobury at Domesday (the *caput* of his honour was at Weobley). Walter, Abbot of Gloucester, succeeded his brother Roger de Lacy, as lord of Weobley.⁴⁸ Walter de Lacy (Roger and Walter's father) was first lord of Weobley, but died in 1085.⁴⁹

William de Seymour's wife was from a family of similar status to his own — lord of a manor in the Marches — but it was through the blood of Margery's mother, Joan de la Mare, that William acquired important political connections that eventually led him to Parliament. Margery was cousin of Sir Peter de la Mare, the first Speaker of the House of Commons and leader of the Good Parliament in 1376 (the second to last Parliament of Edward III). Peter was William's elder by a few years, as he had served as sheriff of Herefordshire in 1372.⁵⁰ He was both steward and feoffee of Edmund de Mortimer, Earl of March (chief lord of the Seymour manor of Woundy, co. Monmouth), and it was undoubtedly due to the earl's influence that Peter was elected to Parliament, and perhaps because of the earl's support that Peter felt he could afford to be so bold. Sir Peter de la Mare was the first speaker chosen from among the Commons who served the entire duration of the Parliament and conveyed their complaints and wishes to both the Lords and the King.⁵¹ He was not just a leader, but eloquent in his expression. The career of Sir Peter de la Mare is discussed in the account of that family below.

William Seymour was elected Member of Parliament for Herefordshire in September 1388, representing Herefordshire with his wife's cousin, Malcolm de la Mare.⁵²

⁴⁶ V H Galbraith and James Tait, *Herefordshire Domesday circa 1160-1170* (1950), 48 and 101.

⁴⁷ For instance, cartularies of the Mortimer family, Earls of March, still survives. G R C Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London, New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958), 150.

⁴⁸ William Henry Cooke, *[John Duncumb's] Collections Towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford* (1892), 4:41-2. K S B Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166: II. Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum* (2002), 536-8.

⁴⁹ This Lacy family was from Lassy, arr. Vire, cant. Condé-le-Noireau, Calvados. K S B Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166: I. Domesday Book* (1999), 452.

⁵⁰ *CFR* 8:190 and 215.

⁵¹ J S Roskell, "Sir Peter de la Mare, Speaker for the Commons in Parliament in 1376 and 1377," *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, 2(1958):24-37. This has been reprinted in J S Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England* (1981), 1-14. And see George Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (1975).

⁵² J S Roskell, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* (1992), 4:343. Malcolm de la Mare was sheriff of Herefordshire in 1392-3. His given name actually appears to be Maculin, but is frequently misread as Malcolm. Malculin (*Malculinus*) Musard died about 1300, so the name occurred in the region in a family that had connections to this branch at Little Hereford. Sidney J Madge, *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem for Gloucestershire, Returned into the Court of Chancery During the Plantagenet Period. Part IV. 20 Henry III. to 29 Edward I. 1236-1300*, Publications of the British Record Society [The Index Library], 30 (1903):219-20.

"Maculm" [Maculin] de la Mare and William Seymour were to be paid £18.8.0 for forty-six days of attendance.⁵³ William appears to have become a retainer of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, on 13 June 1383.⁵⁴ William Seymour presented to the church of Brobury on 21 May 1391.⁵⁵

Several fictions created hundreds of years ago when Augustine Vincent attempted to connect this family to the older line in Monmouthshire were dissected in the previous article on the St. Maur family. One must also be dealt with here. Referring to William, Vincent apparently wrote, "*He sometimes resided at Woundy, as appears by his deed, bearing date there in 36 Edward III [1362/3] wherein he is stiled [sic] William Seymour, Miles, filius et haeres Rogeri Seymour, Militis.*"⁵⁶ This is patently false. William was not born until 1347, and certainly not knighted by 1363. Neither his own inquisitions, nor any other document found style him knight. He was not a knight when "*William Seymour, son and heir of Cecily Turburvoyle formerly the wife of Roger Seymour, knight*" paid 100 shillings to the hanaper on 1 May 1391 for his mother to grant him the manor and advowson of Hacche Beauchamp in return for an annuity of £20.⁵⁷ This and the other excerpts quoted by Brydges allegedly from the manuscripts of Augustine Vincent have both internal flaws and conflict with facts that can be independently documented.⁵⁸ It is true that William's grandfather, also named William, was son of an earlier Roger de Seymour, but he was not styled knight when he witnessed homage being taken at Hatch Beauchamp by his daughter-in-law Cecily (de Beauchamp) de Turberville.

William de Seymour died Friday after St. Bartholomew 15 Richard II [25 August 1391].⁵⁹ William's wife Margery predeceased him. Their only known child, Roger de Seymour, was born c.1367-70, so had just come of age at his father's death. Inquisitions were held at Ilemynstre [Ilminster] for his lands in Somerset the Saturday after St Faith, 15 Richard II [7 October 1391], and at Weobley for his lands in Herefordshire and the Marches of Wales the Thursday before Saints Simon and Jude 15 Richard II [26 October 1391]. He died seised of the manor and advowson of Hacche Beauchamp, held of the king in chief by knight's service. He held that manor as of fee by grant of Cecily Turbervyle, his mother [who was still living], "*sometime the wife of Roger Seymour, knight,*"⁶⁰ rendering Cecily £20 yearly with proviso for distrainment. He held the manor of Brocbury by the curtesy of England after the death of his wife Margery, daughter and heir of Simon de Brocbury. William was seised of the manor in her demesne as of fee (she had '*by him*' a son named Roger). Brocbury was held of Richard Baskerville as of his manor of Erdesley [Eardisley] by knight's service.

⁵³ *CCR Rich. II, 1385-9*, 3:657 (17 October 1388).

⁵⁴ Robert Somerville and Eleanor Constance Lodge, *John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-1383*, Royal Historical Society [Camden Society], 3rd Series, 56(1937):21 (no. 44), "*Item une endenture semblable pur William Seymour pur 13 June 1383 terme de vie, etc. donnée a Bautre le xij. jour de Juin lan vjme. Bawtry.*"

⁵⁵ William W Capes, *Registrum Johannis Trefnant, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCCXXXIX-MCCCIV* [1389-1404] (1916), Canterbury & York Society, 20:175.

⁵⁶ Egerton Brydges, *Collins's Peerage of England....* (1812), 1:147, citing no source, but likely from Camden or Vincent.

⁵⁷ *CPR Rich. II, 1388-91*, 4:400.

⁵⁸ See Paul C Reed, "Descent of the St. Maur Family of co. Monmouth and Seymour Family of Hatch, co. Somerset," *Foundations* 2(6) (2008):422.

⁵⁹ *CIPM* 27:51-2 (nos. 116-17). *CFR* 11:19. Roger had already given his homage and fealty on 9 November 1391. *CFR* 11:46. *CCR Rich. II, 1392-6*, 5:317.

⁶⁰ *CIPM* 27:51-2 (no. 116).

William was also seised of the manor of Woundy in the Marches of Wales in his demesne as of fee. That manor was held of the Earl of March (then a minor in the king's wardship) as of his castle of Cayrlion [Caerleon] by knight's service.

The jurors determined that the heir Roger was age twenty-one. His age was given as 27 at Cecily's inquisition in 1393.⁶¹ Roger Seymour was probably born 3 July 1370, as he was described as being age twenty-one on Monday after SS Peter & Paul last, according to his father's inquisition. The fact that the jurors gave an exact date for his majority — a fact they were specifically charged to determine — would appear in this case to indicate an exact date of birth. The jurors at his grandmother Cecily's inquisition (11 August 1394) stated he was age twenty-seven, which would suggest he was three years older, except that those jurors did not make reference to any specific day and the age in that case would not have been particularly significant to their determination concerning the next heir.⁶² It was not uncommon for jurors in multiple counties to return different ages for the same person in this period. Roger Seymour went to Ireland with the forces of Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March, in 1394 and 1397.⁶³ The entry on 23 May 1397 specifically states that Roger was going to Ireland "to stay in the company of Roger de Mortuo Mari, earl of March, the king's lieutenant there...."⁶⁴ This service may help explain marriage at a relatively late age. Roger married, about 1400, when he would have been about thirty, Maud Esturmy, who was much younger, possibly born about 1383. Maud's only surviving sibling, her elder sister Agnes, was stated to be aged forty years and more in 1427 at the death of their father, or born about 1387.⁶⁵ As Maud couldn't have been born much later than 1383, her elder sister's age must have been understated by at least several years. Maud and Agnes were the two daughters and coheirs of Sir William Esturmy, the distinguished ambassador, courtier and Speaker of the House of Commons (1404), by his wife, Joan de Stockhay.⁶⁶ This generation will be set forth in more detail in the

⁶¹ *CIPM* 17:175-6 (no. 420). Her inquisition, taken 11 August 1394, still styled Cecily "lady of Hach Beauchamp" and stated the details of her disposal of the manor of Shepton Beauchamp with the advowson, held of the king in chief by service of half a knight's fee.

⁶² He was aged twenty-seven in his grandmother's inquisition 11 August 1394.

⁶³ *CPR Rich. II, 1391-1396*, 5:475 (1 September 1394, Roger Seymour, esquire, nominating John Gomond and Richard Bene, clerk, his attorneys). It is curious that John Gomond was escheator of Hereford when order was given to cause Roger Seymour to have his father's lands three years earlier on 6 November 1391. *CFR* 11:19. A C Wood, *List of Escheators for England, with the Dates of Appointment*, Lists & Indexes, 72(1932):50/53 [1390] and 59/62 [1411].

⁶⁴ *CPR Rich. II, 1396-99*, 6:146 (nominating Henry de Shelford, clerk, and Robert Veel of Shepton Beauchamp, his attorneys for one year).

⁶⁵ *CIPM* 22:627-31 (nos. 714-18).

⁶⁶ Joane, widow of Sir John Beaumont (d. 12 Mar 1379/80), of Shirwell and Saunton, co. Devon (by whom she had a son and heir), was daughter of John de Stockhey, or Stokye, by Jone, daughter and heir of Robert Crawthorn, of Crawthorn. This John's father was another John (son of Sir Robert) by Elizabeth Denebaud, daughter of William Denebaud by Agnes, sister of Sir William Hereward. Sir William Pole, *Collections Towards a Description of the County of Devon* (1791), 230-1, 326, 395, 408. The Earl of Cardigan [Chandos Sydney Cedric Brudenell-Bruce] *The Wardens of Saverlake Forest* (1949), 65, citing "Marriage Settlement; Saverlake Archives". For some reason Roskell calls her "Crawthorne," perhaps a slip for her mother. Order was given to take oath of Joan, widow of Sir William Sturmy, to assign dower in the presence of John Holcolmbe, who married Agnes, one of the daughters and heirs, and John Seymour son of Maud, the other daughter and heir (or their attorneys) on 6 December 1427. *CCR Hen. VI, 1422-9*, 1:349. For excellent biographies of Sir William, see J S Roskell, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* (1992), 4:520-4; The Earl of

next segment of this series of articles on the Seymour family. The Esturmy (Sturmy) family is of particular note because they were hereditary wardens of Savernake Forest, Wiltshire, from the time of Domesday. It was the acquisition of Wolf Hall through this marriage that led the Seymour family to leave Hatch and make Wolf Hall their chief seat of residence.

The De la Mare Family of Little Hereford

The documentary evidence concerning this family begins with William de Mara, nephew of Walter of Gloucester. Walter gave William the manor of Little Hereford, in the northern part of the county next to the border with Shropshire and Worcestershire, about 1123. This branch also held Yatton, a township of 1400 acres in the parish of Much Marcle, in the south-eastern section of Herefordshire near the border with Gloucestershire, since at least 1243, their lords there being the Ballon (Balun) family until about 1301, when the part of the honour of Much Marcle that included Yatton was sold by Reginald de Balun to Sir Edmund de Mortimer [Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, father of Roger, 1st Earl of March] for £500, with whom this branch of the de la Mare family formed close political bonds through service.⁶⁷ Little Hereford, representing two knights' fees, was held of the family of Gloucester, but fell to the purparty of Margaret of Gloucester, wife of Humphrey de Bohun, whose descendants became Earls of Hereford. The first generations of this de la Mare family are frequently found as witnesses among the surviving charters of the Gloucester family, but after that inheritance passed to this line of the Earls of Hereford and Essex, who had interests on a national scale, their allegiance seems to have turned to the more local Balun and Mortimer families. It was not the purpose of this article to exhaust all sources pertaining to this de la Mare (*de Mara*) ancestry, but a useful rough pedigree can still be set out from standard sources, with some observations not seen in print elsewhere.

William de Mara married a daughter of Roger de Pitres, hereditary sheriff of Gloucester (sheriff by 1072) by his wife Aldeliza.⁶⁸ Roger died before 1086.

Cardigan, "The Wardens of Savernake Forest. Part I: The Esturmy Wardens," *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, **51** (Devizes, 1947):328-38; and J S Roskell, "Sir William Sturmy, Speaker in the Parliament at Coventry, 1404," *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, **89** (Torquay, 1957):78-92. The fullest account of the Esturmy ancestry was published by the Earl of Cardigan [Chandos Sydney Cedric Brudenell-Bruce], Viscount Savernake, hereditary warden, whose seat was Savernake Forest (his ancestor, Thomas Bruce, Earl of Ailesbury, married Elizabeth, daughter [only child to have issue] of Henry Seymour, son and heir apparent of William Seymour, Marques of Hertford and Duke of Somerset). *The Wardens of Savernake Forest* (1949).

⁶⁷ William Henry Cooke, [*John Duncumb's*] *Collections Towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford* (1892), **3**:23.

⁶⁸ K S B Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166: I. Domesday Book* (1999), 451, states that the name of Walter's mother, Adeliza, is attested to in the Cartulary of St. Peter of Gloucester (I, 81, 125, 188-9, 353; ii, 129). The charter of Earl Robert of Gloucester confirming the grant by lady Adelasia/Adelysa, mother of Walter, Constable of Gloucester, was dated 1126 x July 1141. William de la Mara was among the witnesses, at Gloucester. Adeliza's gift is ascribed to the year 1125. Robert B Patterson, *Earldom of Gloucester Charters: The Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to A.D. 1217* (1973), 86-7 (no. 83). The other scenario would be that Roger had a younger son who for some reason adopted de Mara or de la Mare as a surname, though no place of that name is known in Herefordshire — not a particularly plausible story, as Roger was in England before 1072, so any such son would likely be born in England after Roger had settled in Gloucestershire (there is a Mere in Shropshire, but no connection to

Domesday Book records that Durant gave 30s of land to the church of St. Peter of Gloucester to pray for the soul of his brother Roger.⁶⁹ Durand de Pitres succeeded Roger as sheriff (apparently during the minority of Roger's son) and was an important Domesday tenant in 1086, so also serves as a key to understanding the possible origins of this de Mara family. Durand was apparently dead by 1095, when his nephew Walter fitz Roger was acting as sheriff.⁷⁰ Roger and Durant were from Pitres, Eure (about ten miles southeast of Rouen), in the fief of the Tosny/Toeni family in Normandy.⁷¹ It does not appear that this de Mara family was seated in England by 1086 — at least they are not discernable in Domesday Book, nor do they appear in the few charters that exist before 1123. They may have come across at the invitation of Walter of Gloucester, who might have preferred to anchor relatives as his tenants in Herefordshire, which was very much the Marches of Wales at that period (the Priory of Llanthony Prima favored by the Gloucester family had to be temporarily abandoned because of raids by the local Welsh at that period).

Walter of Gloucester was chief lord of the manors of Barrington and South Cerny and at least thirteen hides and a virgate in Cerney, Gloucestershire (adjacent Rendcomb), at Domesday. Earl William had given the land to Walter's father (before the death of the earl in 1072). Walter also held three manors in Hampshire (Barton, held by Hugh de Port as subtenant, Dene and Lesburne, the last two held of Walter by Herbert, apparently Walter's younger brother).⁷² Walter of Gloucester was also a tenant in 1086, holding Seisincote and Icombe, Gloucestershire, from his uncle Durand, Colesborne of the Bishop of Worcester, and two manors in Herefordshire jointly with his uncle Durand, the manor of Laysters (two hides) and Rocheford (1 ½ hides), in the Hundred of Wolphy (held by "The same Durand and Walter his nephew...").⁷³ Durand held the manors of Thruxton (near Hereford), Ashperton, Weston Bret, Middleton, Calcheberge (Cold-borough, in Upton Bishop?) and "Lutelei."⁷⁴

The first king of Norman England, William the Conqueror, died 9 September 1087, the year following the returns that became Domesday Book. His death left Normandy in the hands of his son Robert and the throne of England to William Rufus. The main

this family). Though it is true that Roger's son Walter came to be known as 'of Gloucester,' that is likely because he was hereditary sheriff of Gloucester.

⁶⁹ VCH Hereford, 1:318.

⁷⁰ K S B Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166: I. Domesday Book* (1999), 181.

⁷¹ K S B Keats-Rohan, *op. cit.* (1999), 181, 412-13 and 451.

⁷² Alfred S Ellis, "The Landholders of Gloucestershire, Named in Domesday Book," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 4(1879-80):166. David Walker, "The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford in the Twelfth Century," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 79(1960):176.

⁷³ VCH Hereford, 1:339. Durand held Culkerton, Didmarton, Whaddon, Haresfield, Icomb, Condicote, Shipton Sollers and Duntisbourne in Gloucestershire. He also had land in Moreton Valence, Ashbrook, Sezincote, Litetune and an unnamed manor in the Hundred of Westbury. Durand also had extensive holdings in Wiltshire: at Ashley, Luckington, Seagry, Lockeridge, Tockenham, Chirton, Uffcott and Malmesbury. Durand held the manors of Cliddesden and Weston in Hampshire. There is no question that he was a favored tenant. David Walker, "The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford in the Twelfth Century," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 79(1960):176.

⁷⁴ David Walker, "The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford in the Twelfth Century," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 79(1960):177. VCH Hereford, 1:279, 311, 316, 318 and 339 (the bulk of his holdings in five hundreds are listed at 339).

political turmoil during his reign concerned the assertion of church rights under Archbishop Anselm and the campaigns in Normandy bent on remerging the territory across the channel into the crown. The king's death in New Forest on 2 August 1100 brought about the ascension of Henry I, who married Matilda of Scotland in Westminster Abbey on 11 November 1100. Henry promised to return to the ways of his father the Conqueror and peace returned to the land for a time. His only legitimate daughter Matilda was married to the Emperor Henry V in 1114, and it was not until 1120 that Henry's only legitimate son died in the White Ship. King Henry I died 1 December 1135, succeeded by his nephew Stephen (1135-1154), though Henry's son Robert of Gloucester brought most of this region under the sway of the Empress Matilda. She landed in England in 1139 and was proclaimed Lady of the English in 1141. These were the national events that affected these early generations.

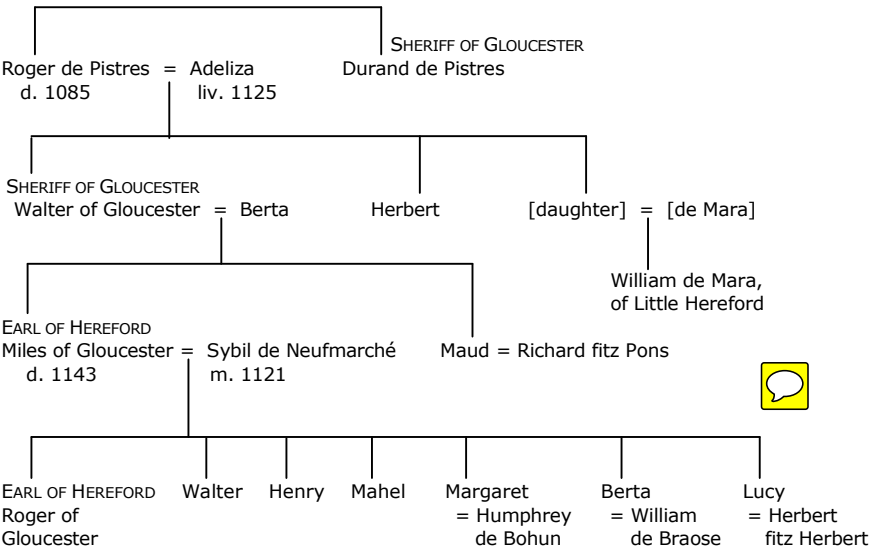


Fig 1 Relationships between de Pistres, de Gloucester and de Mara of Little Hereford

Walter of Gloucester was sheriff in 1101.⁷⁵ Though some modern sources make the spurious claim that Walter married Emma, sister of Hamelin de Balun,⁷⁶ the one wife who is actually documented was named Bertha (and her name passed on to two of

⁷⁵ Alfred S Ellis, "The Landholders of Gloucestershire, Named in Domesday Book," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 4(1879-80):164 and 167.

⁷⁶ This was put forward by the herald Robert Glover, apparently in an attempt to explain the association with the lordship of Abergavenny. Brian fitz Count granted the honour of Abergavenny to Miles of Gloucester between July 1141 and December 1142, Empress Matilda issuing a charter confirming the deed. Abergavenny bordered Miles's honour of Brecknock, solidifying his base in the region.

her granddaughters).⁷⁷ Walter and Bertha had only one known son, Miles of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford, and a daughter named Matilda, wife of Richard Fitz Pons (their son Walter founded the House of Clifford, and their daughter Bertha married Elias Giffard). Walter forsook public life and entered the monastery at Llanthony, Monmouthshire, which he had endowed earlier. Walter died in 1129 and is stated to be buried in the chapter house at Llanthony.⁷⁸ His son Miles was sheriff of Gloucester in 1131. King Henry I gave Sybil de Neufmarché in marriage to Miles (with all her parents' lands) in 1121. Miles of Gloucester died 24 December 1143 and was buried at Llanthony Priory, Gloucestershire (Llanthony Secunda, which he founded in 1135).⁷⁹

Miles's son Roger was married by May 1138, and apparently an adult when he succeeded in 1143.⁸⁰ His younger brother Walter took Roger de Berkeley prisoner in 1146, so Roger and Walter were born not long after their parents' marriage.⁸¹ Miles was likely born by 1100. As his father Walter of Gloucester was sheriff in 1101, son of a man dead by 1085, one would conclude Walter was born sometime before 1080, and any sister who married the father of William de Mara would have to have been born before 1085, if not several years before.⁸²

Nailing down chronology in the first century after the Conquest is difficult, if even possible in many cases, but the death of Roger by Domesday sets a firm date for the end of the spectrum pertaining to William de Mara's mother. Knowing nothing else about her, we might guess she was born sometime about 1070-85. William de Mara's grandson Oliver began occurring in charters by 1148. William's sons Henry and Geoffrey witnessed a charter 1141 X 1143. They might therefore have been born about 1115-25. William de Mara might be guessed (on the loosest of grounds) to have been born about 1090-1105. Even so, this is still in accord with estimating that William de Mara's mother, daughter of Roger de Pitres, was born about 1070-85.

A pedigree of the eldest branch of this de la Mare family that became seated at Rendcomb, Gloucestershire, along with the other branch at Little Hereford, will help in sorting out individuals of the same name found in the documents discussed below.

⁷⁷ Bertha of Hereford, daughter of Miles of Gloucester, married William de Braose. They received Brecknock, Over Went and Gower. V H Galbraith and James Tait, *Herefordshire Domesday circa 1160-1170* (1950), 122.

⁷⁸ At least he was 'dead to the world' by this time (after having relinquished his worldly holdings at entry into religion). K S B Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166: I. Domesday Book* (1999), 451. Alfred S Ellis, "The Landholders of Gloucestershire, Named in Domesday Book," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 4(1879-80):168.

⁷⁹ CP 6:451-4.

⁸⁰ CP 6:454-6.

⁸¹ CP 6:456.

⁸² Ellis concluded that Walter was either a minor or too young and inexperienced to act as sheriff in 1085, which would provide the explanation of why Durand succeeded as sheriff before Walter, but he was of majority in 1086. This would have Walter born about 1065 if true. Alfred S Ellis, "The Landholders of Gloucestershire, Named in Domesday Book," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 4(1879-80):161-2 and 166.

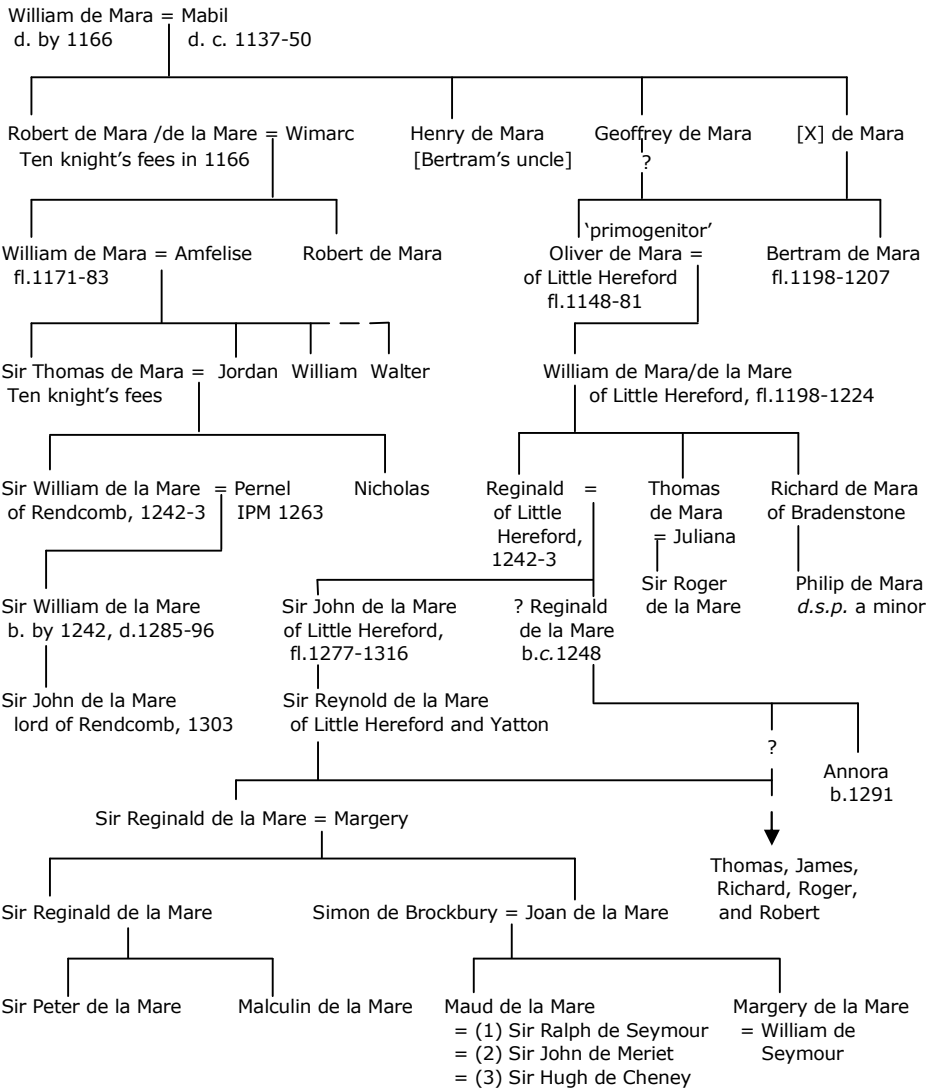


Fig 2 Descent of the de Mara/de la Mare family

William de Mara, nephew [*nepos*]⁸³ of Walter of Gloucester (died 1129), is the earliest ancestor of his line who can definitely be traced in the male line.⁸⁴ Walter de Gloucester granted Little Hereford to William about 1123.⁸⁵ Though *nepos* can mean kinsman in general terms, the more direct meaning is usually nephew or grandson (just as Walter of Gloucester was *nepos* of Durant in 1086). In this case, William was important enough that Walter took the manor of Little Hereford, which he had already given to his only son's wife as her dower, and exchanged other lands with her so he could regrant it to his nephew. This would argue against William being some distant relative, tenuously related. Walter of Gloucester had obtained the manors of Ullingswick and Little Hereford, held of the Bishop of Gloucester, in the reign of Henry I.⁸⁶ He gave Ullingswick to Richard fitz Pons as his daughter Maud's marriage portion. He used Little Hereford for the dower portion of his daughter-in-law Sybil de Neufmarché, but later exchanged it with the manor of Barnsley, Gloucestershire, when he wanted to grant Little Hereford to his nephew. These were key manors, not just a distant holding disposed of in a random way. When Little Hereford was granted to William de Mara, both knight's fees (for Ullingswick and Little Hereford) were attached to the latter, freeing Walter's immediate family from the service. Again, Walter would want dependable tenants in this region, and close blood had a way of forming strong allegiances in the Welsh Marches. David Walker, one of the leading experts on Gloucestershire and Herefordshire in the first century following the Conquest, described William de Mara as "a prominent baron of the earls of Hereford."⁸⁷

The charter whereby Walter of Gloucester granted Little Hereford to "*Will'o de Mara nepoti suo*" is preserved among the records of the Duchy of Lancaster.⁸⁸ As Little Hereford had already been granted to Walter's daughter-in-law, the regranting required that Miles, his wife Sibil and their heir (represented by their daughter Margaret among the witnesses, though still a babe in arms) join in the gift. William de Mara appears to have been fourth among the witnesses (after Walter of Gloucester, Miles, his son, and Robert de Turberville, with sixteen others following after William) of the charter whereby Richard fitz Pons conceded Aston, Gloucestershire, to his wife Maud (daughter of Walter of Gloucester), *circa* 1127.⁸⁹

⁸³ Chronology indicates it is more likely he was nephew of Walter, rather than grandson (in this case 'kinsman' does not seem a likely rendering of *nepos* and knowledgeable specialists in this period from Round to Keats-Rohan have been comfortable with 'nephew' being the preferred meaning of *nepos* in this case.

⁸⁴ The parentage of Walter's wife Bertha is not known (late sources falsely credit him with espousing Emma, sister of Hamelin de Balun, but that is not attested by contemporary records).

⁸⁵ J Horace Round, *Ancient Charters Royal and Private Prior to A.D. 1200. Part I*, Publications of the Pipe Rolls Society, **10**(1888):19. David Walker, *Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201* (1964), 38 (no. 61).

⁸⁶ *VCH Hereford*, **1**:279.

⁸⁷ David Walker, "The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford in the Twelfth Century," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, **79** (1960):190.

⁸⁸ J Horace Round concluded that "R" Bishop of Hereford, was Reinelm (*Ancient Charters Royal and Private Prior to A.D. 1200. Part I*, Publications of the Pipe Rolls Society, **10**(1888):19-22), though the editors of *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* **2**:159 (no. 1268) conclude "R" was Richard, Bishop of Hereford, and date the charter to 1121 (c.10 April). David Walker, "The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford in the Twelfth Century," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, **79** (1960):190, note 3. The original is now TNA DL 25/3, and strangely described as covering dates 1135-43.

⁸⁹ J Horace Round, *Ancient Charters Royal and Private Prior to A.D. 1200. Part I*, Publications of the Pipe Rolls Society, **10** (1888):23-4.

William de Mara was witness of a charter by Miles of Gloucester to Llanthony Prima (before 13 August 1127) confirming a grant in Berninton' [Great Barrington] made by his father Walter of Gloucester.⁹⁰

William de Mara also granted the monks of Brecon permission to extend their mill pond at Berrington into his land at Little Hereford.⁹¹ William de Mara, Henry de Mara⁹² and Geoffrey de Mara witnessed a charter of Miles, Earl of Hereford (25 July 1141 X 25 December 1143).⁹³ Two acres of meadow belonging to William de Mara was part of the general confirmation of Roger, Earl of Hereford to Llanthony Secunda (1143 X 1155).⁹⁴ Walter of Hereford confirmed this grant by his predecessors (1155 X c.1160).⁹⁵ The two knights fees that had been held by William de Mara were allotted to the purparty of Margaret de Bohun (in a division with her sister Lucy, wife of Herbert Fitz Herbert).⁹⁶ Mabel (Mabilia), wife of William de Mara, and Robert de Mara gave their demesnes in Camsden to the preceptory for the Knights Hospitallers in Quenington, Gloucestershire.⁹⁷ Mabel predeceased her husband, dying "*in the time of abbot Roger of Tewkesbury (1137-61).*"⁹⁸ It may be that William and Mabil had two daughters (no other Mabil is known as wife of this line). William de la Mare was party with Roger Gulafre, who had married William's daughter Mabil, in the grant of a rent from the monks of Bruern in Overrindcumbe (the only impediment to this identification is that there were several men named Roger Gulafre in that line, occurring in 1130, 1201 and 1252, which would roughly correspond with the various generations of men named William de la Mare [I, II and III]).⁹⁹ Constance de Lega, daughter of Mabel de Mara, granted Reginald Peverel a virgate of land with appurtenances in Wodemonnek for 7s rent, the witnesses including Sir Thomas de Mara, knight, William de Soleres and Geoffrey de Mara (this charter would seem to date to the beginning of the 13th century, when Sir Thomas de la Mare would have been chief lord).¹⁰⁰

⁹⁰ David Walker, *Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201* (1964), 13 (no. 1).

⁹¹ David Walker, "The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford in the Twelfth Century," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, **79** (1960):203, referring to the *Brecon Cartulary*, 48, which has also been published in other places.

⁹² There was a Henry de Mara (and Nigel de Mara) listed in "*Nova Placita & Nove Convent*" of Gloucestershire 4 Henry II [1158]. Joseph Hunter, *The Great Rolls of the Pipe for the Second, Third, and Fourth Years of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A.D. 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158* (1844), 168.

⁹³ David Walker, *Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201* (1964), 14-15 (no. 15).

⁹⁴ David Walker, *op. cit.* (1964), 16-19 (no. 11).

⁹⁵ David Walker, *op. cit.* (1964), 42-5 (no. 69).

⁹⁶ David Walker, *op. cit.* (1964), 52-3 (no. 89).

⁹⁷ E M Clifford, "Quenington, Gloucestershire," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, **80** (1961):93.

⁹⁸ K S B Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166: II. Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum* (2002), 571.

⁹⁹ TNA E 326/8536 (Ancient Deeds, Series B). William Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees* (1923), **1**:121-4.

¹⁰⁰ TNA WARD 2/50/176/63. The surnames of the witnesses to this deed occur in other de la Mare charters (Alan and William de Bosco, William and Joseph de Mareis, Henry de Henleg and Roger fitz Nicholas).

Robert de Mara was old enough to assent to a gift of land at Strensham, Worcestershire, to Pershore Abbey by his parents, William and Mabel, about 1139.¹⁰¹ Both Pershore and Bruern Abbeys were repeatedly favoured by this family. Robert de la Mare, with the consent of his wife Wimarc, and his brother Geoffrey, gave lands in Over Rendcomb to Bruern Abbey (Oxfordshire) about 1163-73.¹⁰² The Earl of Gloucester confirmed that gift, which charter was not only witnessed by the donor Robert, but also by his sons William and Robert.¹⁰³ Robert de Mara held ten fees of William, Earl of Gloucester, in 1166, indicating that his father was certainly dead by that time.¹⁰⁴ It is not certain how long Wimarc might have lived. Thomas de la Mare sent an *essoin* of *malo veniendi* (becoming sick while travelling to court) in a suit with Jordan de la Mare and Wimarke in a plea concerning dower (*dotis*).¹⁰⁵ Robert was succeeded by a son named William [II].

¹⁰¹ David Walker, *Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201* (1964), nos. 1, 5, 11 and 69. J Horace Round, *Ancient Charters Royal and Private Prior to A.D. 1200. Part I* (1888), nos. 11 and 13. K S B Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166: II. Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum* (2002), 572. William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1817-30), 2:71-2 (Monastery of Tewkesbury), nos. 42-5. Charter XLII records the gift by William de Mara of one virgate of land in Strengtham/Strengesham in perpetual alms, with wife Mabiliae for their souls, their son Robert conceding to the gift. Charter XLIII is by Robert de Mara confirming the donation by his father William and by his mother Mabil of half a hide in Strengesham. Charter XLIV is a confirmation by Robert de Mara of a rent of 12 pence from land in Strengesham. Charter XLV is by Geoffrey de la Mara, brother of the preceding Robert, confirming the gift of the rent of 12 pence to the church of Tewkesbury. The wording of this short record is somewhat ambiguous. It states that Geoffrey had an heir "IV." (but does not describe him as Geoffrey's son — it is known Robert's son William was his primogenitor, so the eldest son of Geoffrey's eldest brother would also be his heir if he had no children). The use of "*filio suo*" as it occurs in this charter would normally indicate Geoffrey had a son and heir named William, but the original manuscript has not been seen and Hardy's edition is known to have transcription errors. The charter as published reads, "*Carta Galfriidi de la Mara fratris praedicti Roberti confirmantis per omnia praedictam conventionem de xij d ita quod ecclesia justifcet se, si defecerit in solutione ad terminum definitum. Hanc conventionem Gaufridus praedictus de la Mara et W. haeres suus juraverunt fideliter tenendam in hundredo de Persora, et ecclesia de Theok. adquietabit regale servitium : ecclesia autem dedit ei dimidium marcam et filio suo xij d.*" The de la Mare family continued to hold land in Strensham for at least two more centuries. Geoffrey de Mara of Rendcombe granted land in Strensham to John son of Richard de Gardino of Colesborne (TNA E 210/3280, Ancient Deeds, Series D). Clarice, late the wife of Robert de la Mara, released her right in two acres in Strensham to Pershore Abbey 1234-1251 (TNA E 210/3174, Ancient Deeds, Series D). Roger the clerk of Strensham granted two messuages and land in Strensham to John de Mara his son (TNA E 210/3264, Ancient Deeds, Series D). Nicholas Russell held a free tenement in Strensham from John de Mare, and John of the Abbot of Tewkesbury in 1327. *VCH Worcs.*, 4:205, and note 96, citing "*De Banco R. Mich. 1 Edw. III, m. 9.*"

¹⁰² Lewis C Loyd and Doris Mary Stenton, *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals...* (1950), 112, citing "*Madox, Formulare, No. 426.*" This is apparently now TNA E 327/426 (the original has not been viewed yet).

¹⁰³ Lewis C Loyd and Doris Mary Stenton, *op. cit.* (1950), 112, citing "*Madox, Formulare, No. 83.*" Richard, Archdeacon of Poitiers was among the witnesses, providing the range of years for the date. Rendcomb is covered briefly in *VCH Gloucs.*, 7:221.

¹⁰⁴ Hubert Hall, *Red Book of the Exchequer* (1897), 288-92.

¹⁰⁵ Doris Mary Stenton, *Pleas Before the King or His Justices, 1198-1202, Volume III: Rolls or Fragments of Rolls from the Years 1199, 1201, and 1203-1206*, Publications of the Selden Society, 83(1967):1 (no. 2). The previous entry (no. 1), also for Herefordshire, was an *essoin de malo veniendi* by Jordan de la Mare in a suit with Wimarc de Toddeston, so the

William [II] de la Mare, with the concession of his lord, William, Earl of Gloucester, granted the monks of Bruern Abbey sixty-six acres with woods, etc., in Over Rendcomb in perpetual alms about 1171-83 (Robert de la Mare was among the witnesses of the earl's confirmation).¹⁰⁶ William, Earl of Gloucester, issued a charter proclaiming that Avise, wife of Philip de Kaylewey, quitclaimed land at Aylworth, Gloucestershire, to William de la Mare, who had challenged their possession (1166 X 1183).¹⁰⁷ William de la Mare, with the consent of his wife "Amfelisa," and Thomas, his son and heir, granted all of Over Rendcomb to Bruern Abbey.¹⁰⁸ This charter also mentioned William's "brothers" Simon de Solers and Robert de la Mare.¹⁰⁹ Before he ascended to the throne as king, John, Count of Mortain, granted Aniselise [Amfelise],¹¹⁰ wife of William de la Mare, and their heirs all of Rendcomb, Gloucestershire, and Hardwick, in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, to hold of him

Wimarke without a surname in Thomas de la Mare's esoin (no. 2) might also be this woman. It is always possible that Jordan and Thomas's grandmother Wimarce remarried after Robert's death.

¹⁰⁶ J Horace Round, *Ancient Charters Royal and Private Prior to A.D. 1200. Part I*, Publications of the Pipe Rolls Society, **10** (1888):72-3. Round relates that Madox published (in his *Formulare Anglicanum*) another grant from William de la Mare to Buern Abbey of lands in Over Rendcomb in fee farm and one by Robert de la Mare with the confirmation of William, Earl of Gloucester (d.1183), referring to the charters Madox numbered cccclx, cccclxxvi and lxxxiii. These are also described by Lewis C Loyd and Doris Mary Stenton, *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals...* (1950), 112 (Earl William's charter of confirmation is on pages 198-99, no. 288). Robert B Patterson, *Earldom of Gloucester Charters: The Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to A.D. 1217* (1973), 56-7 (no. 40).

¹⁰⁷ Robert B Patterson, *Earldom of Gloucester Charters: The Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to A.D. 1217* (1973), 104-5 (no. 106). R C van Caenegam, *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I, Volume II*, Publications of the Selden Society, **107** (1991):606 (no. 549), presents the agreement of quitclaim by which William de la Mare acquired Aylworth from Hawise, widow of Philip de Caillewey, William paying her twelve marks, also paying four marks as a dowry for her daughter and a rent of eight shillings to her son Philip. William, Earl of Gloucester, confirmed the quitclaim agreement in his court, addressing his proclamation to his steward and all his men, 'French, English and Welsh,' indicating the mix of cultures and reality at that period. When Hugh de Cailleway conveyed his half a knight's fee in Aylworth to John Eskeling by final concord after grand assize at the feast of Saints Philip and James, 35 Henry III, he paid William de la Mare (who is the capital lord) five marks, and paid Hugh eleven marks. R C van Caenegam, *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I, Volume II*, Publications of the Selden Society, **107**:649 (no. 610), and see 645-6 (no. 605) and 652-3 (no. 616). The fine was also published in *Feet of Fines of the Ninth Year of the Reign of King Richard I. A.D. 1197 to A.D. 1198*, *PRS* **23** (1898):108-9 (no.149).

¹⁰⁸ Lewis C Loyd and Doris Mary Stenton, *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals...* (1950), 112, citing "Madox, *Formulare*, No. 460." This is briefly referenced in William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1817-30), **5**:496.

¹⁰⁹ Simon de Solers married Isabel, daughter and coheir of Margar[et] de Corneilles by 30 May 1236. The other daughter Isabel married Robert Archer. Their portion of the barony of Tarrington, Herefordshire, passed to the family of de la Barre. Charles Roberts, *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium in Turri Londinensi Asservatis, Henrico Tertio Rege, A.D. 1216-1272* (1835-6), **1**:304. I J Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent, 1086-1327* (1960), 86-7.

¹¹⁰ The given name Amfelise is not completely rare, whereas Aniselese is. The name is recorded as Amselise in a 13th century copy of this charter. A2A, Gloucestershire Archives, D326/T3.

and his heirs as they had been held by her brother Robert *filius* Gregory (1189 X 1 November 1191).¹¹¹

William [II] de la Mare had at least three sons. This is proved by several records. Jordan de la Mare, son of William [II] de la Mare, entered into a final concord with Thomas de la Mare, son of William [the eldest son], on 17 April 1198.¹¹² Jordan was to have half the township of Kedestorne [Herefordshire], with its mill, half the township of North Cerny, with its capital messuage, but without its mill, Gloucestershire, and the service of one knight from Hanleg, to hold for the service of one knight, for which Jordan paid 20 marks and quitclaimed the service from Hanleg [Hanley Castle, Worcestershire]. Jordan, son of William de la Mare, gave various parcels amounting to 2 ½ virgates in North Cerny to his uncle, Philip de Farley, who later granted it in alms to Bradenstoke Priory. Thomas de la Mare, chief lord of the fee (after the death of William [II]), confirmed the grant in a separate charter. Jordan was to render spurs or 6d at Easter.¹¹³ North Cerny bordered Rendcomb on the south. Chedworth, where the family also had lands, was immediately northeast.

Thomas de la Mare, son of William [II], succeeded to most of the patrimonial estates, presumably by 1199, when Thomas begins to appear in place of William in Gloucestershire.¹¹⁴ He is then consistently found in records during the next two decades (e.g., in 1207,¹¹⁵ 1212-16¹¹⁶ and 1223¹¹⁷). About this time, Sir Thomas de Mara granted his son William de Mara all homage and service of all his tenants wherever and the free hundred pertaining to the manor of Rindcomb, except the homage of Thedestorn [de la Mare, Herefordshire], the witness list proving particularly valuable: W. de Mara (Thomas's brother), N. [Nicholas] de Mara (Thomas's [younger] son),¹¹⁸ Samson de Esswell, William de Harestan, William Giffard, D. de Mora [sic] and Walter de Mara.¹¹⁹ Geoffrey de Mara quitclaimed to Sir William [III] de Mara, son of Thomas de Mara, lord of Rendcomb, all lands and messuages formerly held of Thomas (supposedly dated between 1225 and 1250 by the witnesses).¹²⁰ Thomas was succeeded as lord by a son named William.

¹¹¹ Robert B Patterson, *Earldom of Gloucester Charters: The Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to A.D. 1217* (1973), 104-5 (no. 107), at Tewkesbury. *VCH Gloucs.*, **10**:182. Robert de la Mare was among the witnesses. A2A, Gloucestershire Archives, D326/T3.

¹¹² C R Elrington, *Abstracts of Feet of Fines Relating to Gloucestershire, 1199-1299*, Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Gloucestershire Record Series, **16**(2003):204 (no 1012).

¹¹³ Vera C M London, *The Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory*, Wiltshire Record Society, **35**(1979):181-2 (nos. 603-6).

¹¹⁴ *PRS* **48**:38.

¹¹⁵ *PRS* **61**:114.

¹¹⁶ *PRS* **75**:61.

¹¹⁷ *PRS* **93**:57 (no. 1498).

¹¹⁸ Nicholas was a given name that occurred three generations later in this family. Nicholas de la Mare, son of Sir William de la Mare of Rendcomb, granted a messuage in the vill of Eycot to Thomas Fickes, chaplain, of Rendcomb, and his brother William on 8 April 1331. A2A, Gloucestershire Archives, D326/T99/2 (and see D326/T99/1).

¹¹⁹ This document is dated about 1200 by A2A, Gloucestershire Archives, D326/T88/1, but no date is given within the document.

¹²⁰ A2A, Gloucestershire Archives, D326/t88/2.

William [III] de Mara held two and a half fees in Rendcomb, Cerny, Kalemundeson and Trusbiri of the Earl of Gloucester in 1242-3.¹²¹ William de Mara also held Thedeston de la Mare, Herefordshire (of the honour of the Earl of Hereford for one knight's fee),¹²² was overlord in Rudrewas, Herefordshire (of two hides held by Richard de Welles, William holding the land of the honour of Gloucester by socage, rendering one silver mark yearly),¹²³ and lord of Hanley, Doddenham and Redmarley, Worcestershire, in 1242-3.¹²⁴ William de la Mare of Rendcomb entered into a fine with Geoffrey de la Mare on 22 July 1241.¹²⁵ Geoffrey had not held up to his agreement concerning four acres in Rendcomb. William was to have the right in the land, but Geoffrey was to hold the land for his lifetime, paying William 6d a year and doing foreign service. If Geoffrey's wife Clarice should survive, she should have one-third during her lifetime as dower, with reversion to William. It doesn't appear that William lived much longer. He may be the William de Mara who was one of three men ordered to deliver the gaol at Gloucester and do justice on the false moneyers on Saturday before the Purification 1249.¹²⁶ That is the last public act found for him after 1242.¹²⁷ Few inquisitions post mortem survive for the period he died. There was one for William's widow, Pernel (*Petronilla*) de la Mare, who died not long before 24 April 1263, when the writ for her inquisition post mortem was issued. Her son William [IV] de la Mara, the heir, was of full age (born before 1242).¹²⁸

William [IV] de la Mare of Rendcomb was alive in 1284-5, when he accounted for three fees held of the Earl of Gloucester.¹²⁹ He may have been a knight by income and status, but did not lead much of a public life. The one office he was appointed to was coroner of Gloucester, but an order issued to the sheriff of Gloucester on 12 June 1300 states that a coroner should be elected in the stead of William de la Mare, "*whom the king has caused to be amoved [sic] from his office because he learns upon trustworthy testimony that he is incapacitated by bodily infirmity.*"¹³⁰ Joane, sister of William de la Mare of Rindecombe, was lord of Tedesthorpe de la Mare in 1283 when her tenant Richard de Welles died holding land in Hompton, Herefordshire, apparently

¹²¹ Henry Barkly, "Testa de Nevill Returns for County of Gloucester," *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, **14** (1889-90):25-6. *Book of Fees*, **2**:819.

¹²² *Book of Fees*, **2**:806, 813 and 1491.

¹²³ *Book of Fees*, **2**:812.

¹²⁴ *Book of Fees*, **2**:961. William de la Mara sued Walter de Beauchamp for a free tenements in Cnihtewic [Knightwick] and Ridmurleg' [Redmarley], sued William de Stutteville for land in Olreton [Orleton], and sued Thomas de Hanleg [Hanley] for land in Doddinham Hilary term 1225. *CRR 9-10 Hen. III*, **12**:12 (no. 68), and again, with William de Stutevill, on 200 (no. 993) and 331 (no.1601).

¹²⁵ C R Elrington, *Abstracts of Feet of Fines Relating to Gloucestershire, 1199-1299*, Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Gloucestershire Record Series, **16** (2003):77 (no.384).

¹²⁶ *CPR Hen. III*, 1247-58, **4**:53.

¹²⁷ *CCR Hen. III*, 1237-42, **4**:484.

¹²⁸ The lands involved were the manor of Rendcomb with lands in Herdenewyk, Sebbescumbe and Eleworth, Gloucestershire, held for a total of 9 ½ knights fees. *CIPM 1*:164 (no. 544). Sidney J Madge, *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem for Gloucestershire, Returned into the Court of Chancery During the Plantagenet Period. Part IV. 20 Henry III. to 29 Edward I. 1236-1300*, Publications of the British Record Society [The Index Library], **30** (1903):28-9.

¹²⁹ *Book of Fees*, **2**:239.

¹³⁰ *CCR Edw. I*, 1296-1302, **4**:355.

during the minority of William's son.¹³¹ W[illiam] de la Mare gave testimony at the proof of age of John, son of Ralph Musard, on 1287. He recollected the age of Ralph's heir because his own son J[ohn] was one year younger and would be age twenty-one on the feast of St. Wistan next, viz., on the quinzaine before the Purification.¹³² Sir John de la Mare succeeded as lord of Rendcomb by 1303.¹³³

Oliver de la Mare of Little Hereford and His Descendants

The earliest records concerning Oliver indicate a close relationship with the Earl of Hereford. Oliver de Mara witnessed a charter from Earl Roger to Wulfric Mortdefreit and his wife (the earl's kinswoman) 1143 X 1155 (?1143 X 1148).¹³⁴ As Oliver de la Mare (the surname occurred in both forms early on), he witnessed a confirmation of donations to Gloucester Abbey at the request of Roger, Earl of Hereford (5 September 1148 X 1155).¹³⁵ He was also among the list of men who witnessed the two occasions the tenure of Alvington was at issue (1159 X 1160), so appears to have been in the close circle of the earl at times, perhaps as a retainer in personal service.¹³⁶ He was first witness (after the earl's wife Isabel), with Ralph de Baskerville of a charter of Henry of Hereford c. 1160-5.¹³⁷ Oliver de Mara held two fees of Harscoit Musard ("*Hasculi Musard*") in 1166.¹³⁸ One of these fees would appear to be the manor of Eyford, Gloucestershire, which Hasculf Musard held in 1086.¹³⁹ "*O. de Mara*" is recorded in a marginal note as holding three hides at Little

¹³¹ *CIPM* 2:296 (no. 488).

¹³² *CIPM* 2:401 (no. 652). William de la Mare was also one of the jurors, with his name spelled out in full. Sidney J Madge, *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem for Gloucestershire, Returned into the Court of Chancery During the Plantagenet Period. Part IV. 20 Henry III. to 29 Edward I. 1236-1300*, Publications of the British Record Society [The Index Library], **30** (1903):146-7.

¹³³ *Book of Fees*, 2:246.

¹³⁴ David Walker, *Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201* (1964), 29 (no. 39).

¹³⁵ Julia Barrow, *English Episcopal Acta, VII: 1070-1234* (1993), 58-9 (no. 73). Baderon de Monmouth was first among the witnesses.

¹³⁶ David Walker, *op. cit.* (1964), 46-7 (no. 72).

¹³⁷ David Walker, *op. cit.* (1964), 49-50 (no. 84).

¹³⁸ Hubert Hall, *Red Book of the Exchequer* (1897), 342. Oliver was a relatively rare name in the first century after the Conquest. The only Domesday tenant of that given name was a Breton (or possibly a Norman of the Avranchin) in Devonshire. K S B Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166: I. Domesday Book* (1999), 313. Hasculf Musard was a Breton. One wonders if Oliver's mother might have belonged to the Musard family and brought this manor with her in marriage.

¹³⁹ *VCH Gloucs.*, 6:74. Robert Musard, great-great grandson of Hasculf, held Eyford for one knight's fee in 1235. *Book of Fees*, 1:438 and 442. It appears that Eyford passed to a younger son of this de la Mare family, but was still held of the male heir of this line. In 1273, the guardian of Thomas de la Mare held the patronage of Eyford church, and Eyford was held outright by Roger de la Mare in 1303 for 1/5 of a knight's fee. Roger de la Mare was lord of Eyford in 1303 and 1316 (*Feudal Aids*, 2:252 and 274) and presented to the living in 1321 (*VCH Gloucs.*, 6:74). Sir Roger de la Mare was certified as lord of the township of Eyford alias Harford, Gloucestershire, pursuant to a writ dated 5 March 1316, as well as lord of the manors of Middleton, Ashford Carbonel and Posthorn, Shropshire. Francis Palgrave, *The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Summons....* (1827-34), 1142. His manors of Millynghope, Hungerford, Thoggelond, Hulton, Possethorn [in Vowchurch], Armegrave, Wystanstone and Feldhampton, Shropshire, were put in royal protection 22 January 1322. But he was one of the knights bachelor captured at the battle of Boroughbridge fighting against the king on 16-

Hereford *circa* 1160-70 (this would anchor him as lord of Little Hereford about 1166).¹⁴⁰ Oliver de Mara also occurred as a witness to a charter of the Earl of Chester with Humphrey de Bohun.¹⁴¹ It appears that Oliver de Mara was accused of trespass in the royal forest in Dorset and Somerset in 1176-77, for which he paid the hefty fine of twenty marks (a punitive amount meant to discourage others from hunting in the royal forests).¹⁴² Oliver de la Mare witnessed a charter from Margaret de Bohun of half a hide in Bardsley to Philip the monk c. 1174-81.¹⁴³ Oliver witnessed another charter of Margaret de Bohun to Llanthony Secunda confirming a grant by her brothers Henry and Mahel (1165 X 1189).¹⁴⁴ His last recorded act seems to be as a witness of a grant by Margaret de Bohun to Llanthony Secunda of a house and grange in her castle of Caldicot (1181 X c. 1197).¹⁴⁵

Robert de la Mare was unquestionably the eldest son and heir of William de la Mare, the first of this line in England. He was the larger landholder and consolidated his base in Gloucestershire. Little Hereford was given to a younger brother. Oliver is clearly the son of Robert's younger brother. Oliver could not be Robert's younger brother, but the son of that brother, as Oliver was the firstborn son of his father, which fact was publicly declared in the king's court by Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford (who certainly knew his tenants), in response to the suit by Oliver's younger brother Bertram. It is not certain when Oliver died, but that same suit proves Oliver left surviving issue who would have inherited Little Hereford, the William who was nephew and superior lord of Oliver's younger brother Bertram.

Bertram de la Mare serves as the key to linking the later generations of this family to Oliver and the family of Gloucester and Pistres. The most important document is a suit Bertram de la Mare brought against Roger fitz Nicholas in 1206 concerning half a knight's fee in Langford [Longford], Gloucestershire, as was Bertram's right as his uncle Henry de la Mare had been seised of it in the time of King Henry. Roger Fitz Nicholas came before the court and called Henry [de Bohun], Earl of Hereford to warrant for him. The court set the date to hear the case on the feast of the Purification [2 February] in one month's time before the King's Bench (the Roger involved here was son of Nicholas fitz Robert fitz Harding).¹⁴⁶

17 March 1322, Tuesday and Wednesday after the feast of St. Gregory. He was eventually released and restored to his dignity, as a man-at-arms for Herefordshire, was summoned to attend the Great Council in 1324. Francis Palgrave, *The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Summons....* (1827-34), 1142. C Moor, *Knights of Edward I, Volume III. [L to O.]*, Publications of the Harleian Society, Visitations Series, **82** (1930):113. The manor of Eyford was held by John Beysyn of Reynold de la Mare at John's death in 1361, so it appears that Sir Roger died without issue and at least some of his lands passed to Reginald as next heir. *CIPM* **10**:499 (no. 633).

¹⁴⁰ V H Galbraith and James Tait, *Herefordshire Domesday circa 1160-1170* (1950), 29. The editors accidentally read it as "C" but remark that is unknown in the de Mara/de la Mare family in the early centuries. A photostat of the original is also provided, which makes it clear it is an "O" with the lower right portion faded.

¹⁴¹ Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, 1071-1237*, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, **126** (1988):184-5.

¹⁴² *PRS* **25** (1904):160. *PRS* **26** (1905):22.

¹⁴³ David Walker, *Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201* (1964), 59 (no. 98).

¹⁴⁴ David Walker, *op. cit.* (1964), 60-1 (no. 101).

¹⁴⁵ David Walker, *op. cit.* (1964), 66-7 (no. 109).

¹⁴⁶ *CRR 8-10 John*, **5**:18.

In 1207, Bertram de la Mare presented his claim in the king's court against Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, whom Roger fitz Nicholas had called to warrant, and who vouched for him. Henry de la Mare, his uncle, had been seised of the half a knight's fee in Langford in his lordship as of fee to the value of half a mark and more, and proposed to vindicate the claim brought against him through a certain free man of his, Simon Tirel, who knew the facts by his own sight and hearing [blank] from his father.¹⁴⁷

Henry de Bohun defended by stating that he did not owe a response because Bertram had an elder brother ("*fratrem primogenitum*"), one Oliver de la Mare, whose heir was still living, and who had a greater right to the fee than Bertram (if Bertram had no standing, the court would dismiss his claim). Bertram answered that this was not sufficient, and that he had previously impleaded Roger's father Nicholas when the same facts had been put to him. William [de la Mare, Oliver's son] was summoned and asked which of them had the prior right. It was then agreed between them. He [William] quitclaimed to him [Bertram] all the right and claim that he had in the fee by fine between them in the King's Bench by final concord as follows:

*This is the final concord made in the second year of Richard's reign between Bertram de la Mare and William de la Mare his nephew [nepotem suum] for half a knight's fee with its appurtenances in Langeford, which the aforesaid William claimed as his right and inheritance and in which he said he had a greater right than Bertram, so that a suit had been brought between them in the same court, whereby the aforesaid William quitclaimed all right in the aforesaid land to the aforesaid Bertram on condition that Bertram concede it to him as his own heir after his [Bertram's] death if Bertram should be able to obtain possession against Nicholas fitz Robert fitz Harding, who was in possession of the aforesaid land. And if Bertram should take a wife and have issue, he will concede to the aforesaid William and to his heirs the whole of the aforesaid land to pass by inheritance, and not to his own issue. A date was set for them on St Martin's day in 15 days' time. As the land could not pass to Bertram by hereditary right, it is considered that he has nothing to gain by this writ.*¹⁴⁸

It seems Bertram began his quest for Longford nearly two decades before (prior to the survival of the rolls of the Curia Regis). As Bertram de la Mara, he owed forty shillings to the exchequer for a writ of right for half a knight's fee against Nicholas fitz Robert in the year preceding Michaelmas 1190 (Nicholas fitz Robert fitz Harding died 5 May 1189).¹⁴⁹ Bertram continued to owe the fee for the next several years.¹⁵⁰

Bertram de Mara brought suit against Roger fitz Nicholas in the Curia Regis in 1198.¹⁵¹ Bertram sued by writ of right for two carucates of land with appurtenances in Langeford. Bertram's uncle Henry [de Mara] held it of Margaret de Bohun and her

¹⁴⁷ CRR 8-10 John, 5:57. And see Doris Mary Stenton, *Pleas Before the King or His Justices, 1198-1202, Volume III: Rolls or Fragments of Rolls from the Years 1199, 1201, and 1203-1206*, Publications of the Selden Society, **83** (1967):304 (no. 2295).

¹⁴⁸ CRR 8-10 John, 5:57

¹⁴⁹ Pipe Roll, 2 Richard I, Michaelmas 1190, PRS 39:56.

¹⁵⁰ Pipe Roll, 3 & 4 Richard I, Michaelmas 1191 and Michaelmas 1192, PRS 40:95 and 287. Pipe Roll, 5 Richard I, Michaelmas 1193, PRS 41:116. Pipe Roll, 6 Richard I, Michaelmas 1194, PRS 43:234 ("*set non habet rectum*"). Pipe Roll, 7 Richard I, Michaelmas 1195, PRS 44:175. Pipe Roll, 9 Richard I, Michaelmas 1197, PRS 46:121.

¹⁵¹ R Allen Brown, *The Memoranda Roll for the Tenth Year of the Reign of King John (1207-8), together with the Curia Regis Rolls of Hillary 7 Richard I (1196) and Easter 9 Richard I (1198), a Roll of Plate Held by Hugh de Neville in 9 John (1207-8), and Fragments of the Close Rolls of 16 and 17 John (1215-16)* (1957), PRS 69:105.

heirs and was seised in his lordship as of fee in the time of King Henry on the day he died to the value of five shillings. Roger came and defended calling Margaret de Bohun to warrant, and her son Henry de Bohun was also called to warrant. It appears that Roger fitz Nicholas must have been successful, hence Bertram waited and eventually brought suit against Roger fitz Nicholas during the reign of a new king (as is set out above). It appears that Bertram de la Mare had brought suit against Reginald fitz Nicholas concerning the half a knight's fee the previous year before the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁵² Reginald [sic, *Reginaldus*] fitz Nicholas pleaded he was too ill to come before the court in the suit brought by Bertram de la Mare (in the jurisdiction of Canterbury) in 1200.¹⁵³ This might indicate Bertram was making some accusation about legitimacy and inheritance, which was the sort of thing an ecclesiastical court could have ruled on where land was concerned.

William de la Mare, Bertram's nephew, was clearly the successor of Oliver de la Mare at Little Hereford. William de la Mare was sued by Robert de Marisco [de Mareis or Marsh] in 1199-1200 concerning land in Herefordshire, but pleaded he was too sick to get out of bed.¹⁵⁴ The original essoins (excuses for not appearing at court) survive. William pleaded that he was sick in bed at Little Hereford (*apud Paruam Hereford*).¹⁵⁵ Bertram was also called to this suit, but he claimed he became ill en route.¹⁵⁶ In 1201, Robert de Marisco attempted to bring William de la Mare before a grand assize claiming that he had a better right to two hides in Wenric than William held.¹⁵⁷ It was

¹⁵² *Pipe Roll, 9 Richard I, Michaelmas 1197, PRS 46:127-8. Pipe Roll, 10 Richard I, Michaelmas 1198, PRS 47:2 and 6. Pipe Roll, 1 John, Michaelmas 1199, PRS 46:22 and 26. Pipe Roll, 2 John, Michaelmas 1200, PRS 50:24. Pipe Roll, 4 John, Michaelmas 1202, PRS 53:206.*

¹⁵³ *CRR, Richard I-2 John, 1:252.*

¹⁵⁴ *CRR, Richard I-2 John, 1:353.*

¹⁵⁵ Doris Mary Stenton, *Pleas Before the King or His Justices, 1198-1202, Volume I: Introduction with Appendices Containing Essoins, 1199-1201, A 'King's Roll' of 1200, and Writs of 1190-1200*, Publications of the Selden Society, **67** (1953):235 (no. 2565, essoins, Michaelmas 1199, die St. Martin in 15 days).

¹⁵⁶ Doris Mary Stenton, *Pleas Before the King or His Justices, 1198-1202, Volume I: Introduction with Appendices Containing Essoins, 1199-1201, A 'King's Roll' of 1200, and Writs of 1190-1200*, Publications of the Selden Society, **67**:292 (no. 3087, Essoins Hillary Term 1200). Emeline de Ugefurd, also called Emma de Huckeford, was also concerned with the land. Emeline de Ugefurd was sole defendant in a suit brought against her by Robert de Marisco on 14 June 1199 (the first year of King John's reign). "[S]he was impleaded by Robert de Marisco for land in Gloucestershire. There were further moves in this suit on June 17, 1199, and May 14, 1200, but in each instance Emeline appears as a Feme-sole, and not a Feme-covert, Walter de Huggefurd therefore, sometime her husband, will surely have deceased before the commencement of this suit." Walter had been murdered by Robert White (*Albus*), who fled and was outlawed for murder. Emmeline was aunt of Fulk Fitz Warin III, and thus, Eyton determines, was granddaughter of Warin de Metz. The family was actually seated at Higford [hence 'de Ugford'], Shropshire. R W Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, **3**(1856):11-13. Eyton does not cover the John de Ugefurd for whom William de la Mare served as pledge. William de Mara owed ten marks as a pledge for John de Huggefurd/Uggefurd (*ut de liberator a prisona qui requirebatur in [Staffordshire]*) in 1218. *PRS 77*:91. The debt continued the following year (*PRS 80*:167), William paid four marks the next year (*PRS 85*:196), and finally paid the last six marks in 1221 (*PRS 86*:14).

¹⁵⁷ But it appears that William de la Mare must have prevailed in some form. The inquisition post mortem of John de la Mare was made at Wenrich, Gloucestershire in 1280 (writ 27 July). Robert de Marisco, John de Marisco and William de Solers were among the jurors. John de la Mare held, on the day he died, 3½ virgates of land in Wenrich held of Lady Cecilia de Muchegros in chief worth 8s a year, and also one virgate from which he had one pound of cumin and half a virgate from which he had 2s yearly. He held nothing of the king in chief.

in 1203 that Robert de Marisco and William de la Mare appeared before a grand assize for two hides and appurtenances in Wenric, Gloucestershire.¹⁵⁸

William de la Mare entered into a final concord concerning land in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire with Thomas fitz William in 1201.¹⁵⁹ William served as a knight of Herefordshire in a grand assize there Easter term 1205.¹⁶⁰ A day was set Michaelmas Term 12 John [1210]. It may be that some of the entries for William de la Mare around 1221 and later pertain to the William who was lord of Rendcomb in 1242, but the William of Little Hereford was the elder during the first two decades of the 13th century, and it is certain he was the William who had interests in Oxfordshire that followed on what his uncle Bertram had attempted to acquire.

William de Mara brought suit against Walter de Gersinden in the king's court Easter term 5 Henry III [1221] concerning the homage and relief of half a knight's fee with appurtenances in Gersindon [Garsington, Oxfordshire] that had been held by his uncle Bertram, whose heir William was. Walter did not come and order was issued to summon him.¹⁶¹ Thurstan le Despenser brought suit against the Abbot of Abingdon in Michaelmas term 1224 concerning the homage and relief of half a knight's fee in Garsington that Walter de Garsington held in the same vill of William de la Mare, and that William held the same fee of Thurstan and had done homage to Thurstan. William was brought into court and declared that he was Thurstan's man.¹⁶² Walter of Garsington was later brought before the court and said that after Bertram's death the Abbot of Abingdon came and had distrained the property.¹⁶³

William de la Mare may be the man of that name who was one of four knights who were appointed to choose the twelve jurors at a grand assize in Gloucestershire in 1221. Thomas de la Mare and Thomas de Baskerville were among those chosen.¹⁶⁴ There were many entries in the pipe rolls for men named William de la Mare in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire. It would be presumed that those in Herefordshire belonged to this William, though this branch also had land in Gloucestershire, and the branch at Rendcomb continued to hold Tedestone de la Mare in Herefordshire. The difficulty is that the entries are often abbreviated and do not specify what manor or parcel of land brought about the debt or action.¹⁶⁵ It would appear that William de la Mare of Rendcomb, Gloucestershire, was dead by 1199, when Thomas de la Mare

Robert de la Mare, his son, was age 7½ [born about 1272]. *CIPM* 2:196 (no 345). Sidney J Madge, *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem for Gloucestershire, Returned into the Court of Chancery During the Plantagenet Period. Part IV. 20 Henry III. to 29 Edward I. 1236-1300*, Publications of the British Record Society [The Index Library], 30(1903):111.

¹⁵⁸ *CRR*, 3-5 John, 2:59, 145 and 148.

¹⁵⁹ *CRR*, Richard I-2 John, 1:462.

¹⁶⁰ *CRR*, 5-7 John, 3:281.

¹⁶¹ *CRR*, 5 and 6 Henry III, 10:89.

¹⁶² *CRR*, 5 and 6 Henry III, 11:462 (no. 2325).

¹⁶³ *CRR*, 5 and 6 Henry III, 11:571 (no. 2846), and see 511 (no. 2573) and 517 (no. 2595). But the entries concerning William de Mara and Walter de Gersinton/Gresindon began in 1214 (*PRS* 73:118) and continued in 1218 (*PRS* 77:41), 1219 (*PRS* 80:89) and 1220 (*PRS* 85:77) when settlement was made for the debt with the exchequer (*In thes lib. Et Q. E.*).

¹⁶⁴ Doris Mary Stenton, *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre being the Rolls of Pleas and Assizes for Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire, 1221, 1222*, Publications of the Selden Society, 59(1940):31-2 (no. 93, and see nos. 130, 132 and 182).

¹⁶⁵ Entries for William de la Mara [sic] pertaining to Herefordshire were found in 1190 (*PRS* 39:47) and 1193 (*PRS* 41:89).

begins to appear in Gloucestershire (the last occurrence of a William in Gloucestershire was in 1196).¹⁶⁶ Thomas survived until at least 1223. In an entry for Herefordshire the year preceding Michaelmas 1203, William de Mara owed either a palfrey or four marks in a dispute against Robert de Mara, that was brought before a grand jury. He chose to pay the four marks — rather than the riding horse — the following year.¹⁶⁷ William de Mara and Geoffrey de Mara both owed half a mark for license for a concord in Herefordshire the year preceding Michaelmas 1210.¹⁶⁸ William de la Mare was succeeded at Little Hereford by a son named Reginald. One cannot forget that this was also the pivotal period in English history when King John was forced to grant Magna Charta on 15 June 1215 after the barons defeated him at Runnymede. John died at Newark Castle 18 October 1216 and was interred at Worcester Cathedral. His young son, born 19 October 1216, was crowned at Gloucester Cathedral on 28 October 1216 as Henry III. He would rule until his death on 16 November 1272, so all the events in the next generation of the de la Mare family would occur within his reign.

Reynold [Reginald] de la Mare entered into a final concord with Thomas de la Mare on 22 July 1241.¹⁶⁹ This is another critical record. The land involved was the manor of Morcote [Murcott] in Minsterworth, Gloucestershire. They agreed that the manor was to be the right of Thomas de la Mare, by gift of Reynold's father William de la Mare, "*whose heir Reynold is,*" and to hold it of Reynold for payment of one pound of pepper or 12d a year at Michaelmas and doing foreign service.¹⁷⁰ The only Reginald de la

¹⁶⁶ *PSR* 48:38. Thomas de la Mare occurred again in 1207 (*PSR* 61:114) and in the praestita roll of 14-18 John [1212-16] (*PSR* 75:61). Thomas de Mara also occurred in a receipt roll for Easter 1223 (*PSR* 93:57 (no. 1498)). Thomas de la Mare and Geoffrey de la Mare were witnesses to an agreement between Gervase de Baudintona and Henry de Eggesworth that was supposed to be dated about 1221. David Royce, *Landboc. Sive Registrum Monasterii Beatae Mariae Virginis et Sancti Cenhelmi de Winchelcumba in Comitatu Gloucestrensi...* (1903), 2:371.

¹⁶⁷ *PSR* 54:58. *PSR* 56:18.

¹⁶⁸ *PSR* 64:38. William settled within the next year. *PSR* 66:174.

¹⁶⁹ C R Elrington, *Abstracts of Feet of Fines Relating to Gloucestershire, 1199-1299*, Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Gloucestershire Record Series, 16 (2003):77 (no.385).

¹⁷⁰ William de Mara gave twelve acres of land and two acres of meadow in perpetual alms in Morecote to the church of St. Peter, Gloucester, to pray for his soul, for the souls of his father, mother and ancestors, and for the soul of William fitz Richard. Margaret de Bohun confirmed a grant by her man William de Mara the fourteen acres worth 7s in Morecote (*Morcota*) that Eulf and Everard had held to St. Peter, Gloucester. Unfortunately no witnesses were listed by name. William Henry Hart, *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae* (1863-7), 2:32-3 (nos. 473-4), and briefly at 1:99-100. William de Mara also gave a quarter of an acre of land (less a meadow) in Tuffele in Southmede for the same purpose (and for the same souls), to the value of half a mark, Margaret de Bohun also consenting in her own charter. This time witnesses were named: Roger, Prior of Llanthony, canon William Wihtrihe, the vice-archdeacon Peter de Leche, John de Bortuna, deacon, Godfrey fitz Gerold, sacerdotal, William fitz Stephan, sheriff of Gloucestershire, Adam fitz William, constable (witnesses of the countess), and master Peter de Lecche, John the deacon and Godfrey fitz Gerold, sacerdotal (witnesses to William's charter). William Henry Hart, *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae* (1863-7), 2:80-1 (nos. 509-10), and briefly at 1:113. William de Mara gave three virgates of land to his daughter Amabilia [*Willelmus de la Mara dedit tres virgates terrae Amabiliae filiae suae quoad Philippus de Londonia modo tenet sicut viduarius, reddendo inde viginti duos solidos*]. William Henry Hart, *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae* (1863-7), 3:68. William de Haueshulle held land in Hampton [in Minsterworth] of the fee of William de la Mare and rendered a penny (*denarius*) at the feast of the Blessed

Mare found at this period is the lord of Little Hereford. This document states that he was son of William de la Mare, who we also know was lord of Little Hereford two decades before. That William granted Thomas de la Mare the manor of Murcott by gift would normally indicate he was providing for a younger son. Reginald may not have been old enough to consent to that grant when it occurred, but he was making his father's act permanent by this fine, at the same time preserving his own interests. Roger, son of Thomas de la Mare, made a grant of his patrimony at Morecote la Mare in the parish of Munstreworth [Minsterworth] to Thomas, son of Gilbert de Hanley and Juliana de la Mare, his wife, to hold of Sir John de la Mare, lord of the fee, dated the 14th year of King Edward [presumably Edward I, as there was no need to differentiate him from any other king of that name, so 1285-6].¹⁷¹ He would appear to be the Sir Roger de la Mare who was knighted in the reign of Edward I.¹⁷² This

Andreae the Virgin and again at the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, twenty-one pence at the Nativity of the Blessed John the Baptist, and twenty-one at the feast of St. Michael that the predecessors of William de la Mare gave the Abbot of Gloucester in pure and perpetual alms (3:111-12). The manor of Morecote (and apparently even land in Southmede) eventually descended to Richard Atkyns, who died 12 February 1636 [having been purchased by him of Leonard Dannett]. W P W Phillimore and George S Fry, *Abstracts of Gloucestershire Inquisitions Post Mortem Returned into the Court of Chancery in the Reign of Charles the First, Part II. 12-18 Charles I. 1637-1642*, British Record Society [Index Library], **12** (1895):24-6.

¹⁷¹ Edith S Scroggs, "The Shrewsbury (Talbot) Manuscripts," *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, **60** (1938):293. William de la Mare gave land in Murcott to the Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester (as above), about 1165-79. Murcott de la Mare was unquestionably in Minsterworth. A H Smith, *The Place-names of Gloucestershire, Part III: The Lower Severn Valley, The Forest of Dean*, English Place-name Society, **40** (1962-1963):163. The manor of Morecote, valued at half a knight's fee, descended from the Earl of Gloucester to the Bohuns and became the purparty of Mary de Bohun, who married Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby. *CPR Rich. II, 1381-5*, **2**:512-13. It was then held by Peter de la Mare for 50s. This would be Sir Peter de la Mare of Little Hereford, rather than Sir Peter de la Mare of Lavington whose line was also prominent in Gloucestershire but unrelated. This is clear as this manor descended to the Seymour family. Fosbrooke described it as half a fee in Morcote that Peter de la Mare held of Humphrey de Bohun "as a moiety of 3s. rent, descended to John, s. and hr. of Roger Seymour, which Roger was son of Marg. dr. of Joan, Peter's sister" (citing "Esc. 10 H. V. no. 1"). Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke, *Abstracts of Records and Manuscripts Respecting the County of Gloucester; Formed into a History* (1807), **2**:204. John Caley and J Bayley, *Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem Sive Escaetorum....* (1806-28), **4**:64. The inquisition post mortem of Roger Seymour was taken at Gloucester 9 June 1422. Roger Seymour, Esquire, held ½ of 3s rent in Murcott held of the king in chief of the honour of Hereford by knight service as kinsman and next heir of Sir Peter de la Mare, knight, "i.e. son of Margery daughter of Joan sister of Peter" [sic]. He died 15 July 1420. His son and heir John was age twenty. *CIPM* **21**:318 (no. 888). The Somerset inquisition stated Roger died on 17 July and that his son John as age nineteen. The Hereford inquisition stated he died 17 July, but that his son John was age 18. "Long before his death he was seised as of fee in the manors of Yatton in Much Marcle and of Brobury with the advowson of the church of Brobury and lands in Over Lenton, Nether Lenton, Willersley and Saunton and by his charter dated at Hatch Beauchamp 13 July 1420" granted them to five feoffees. The manor of Yatton was held of Edmund, Earl of March, and the manor of Brobury was held of Sir John Baskerville, both by knight service. *CIPM* **21**:126 (nos. 428-9). There is also an undated deed whereby Reynold de la Mare released all his right (except rent and service) in the manor of Murcote to Hugh de Aldenham. TNA DL 25/938.

¹⁷² This Juliana de la Mare was certainly Roger's mother. She was married to Thomas by 20 February 1251, when the king granted Thomas de la Mare allowance to render 5 marks to the Exchequer at Easter of that year out of the £20 Thomas owed the king because he took Juliana, daughter of Roger de Millichope (who was in the king's gift) to wife with the king's

manor can therefore be documented to have passed from William de la Mare to his son Reynold, to Sir John, lord of Little Hereford in the reign of Edward I, eventually passing to Sir Peter de la Mare, and then to Roger Seymour as his next heir. The descent of this small manor reinforces our interpretation of the line of descent of the manor of Little Hereford.¹⁷³ It is also with this generation that we get evidence that Yatton was held by the family as well.

Reginald de la Mare held two hides [Yatton] of John de Balun in Much Marcle by military service for half a fee in 1242-3.¹⁷⁴ '*Dominus*' Reginald de la Mare held seven

license, and to pay an additional 5 marks to the Exchequer the Michaelmas following, and the remaining 20 marks at like times during the ensuing two years after that. *Henry III Fine Rolls Project*, Fine Roll C 60/48, 35 Henry III, membrane 23, no. 324, http://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html. An inquiry was made in 1255 to determine if their marriage was valid. She was the daughter and heir of Roger, whose lands in Upper Millichope in the parish of Munslow, Shropshire, included the hereditary office of forester of Long Forest. Roger de Millichope died before shortly before 2 March 1239, when jurors convened for the inquest after his death determined that his daughter Juliana was aged 16½ (born about 1223), but the jurors "*know not where she is.*" *CIPM* 1:36 (no. 146). Thomas de la Mare therefore became, in her right, forester of "*that vast jurisdiction...known as the Long Forest. They were therefore immediate servants of the crown....*" R W Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire* (1854-60), 4:4-5, 6:91. "The Shropshire Lay Subsidy Roll of 1327," *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 2nd series, 4:331. Thomas was succeeded at Millichope by Roger de la Mare (who would almost certainly be named after Juliana's father Roger), who occurs there in 1300, Ralph de la Mare in 1316, and Roger in de la Mare in 1322 and 1327. The foresters were also closely connected with the Prior of Wenlock, as their land in Millichope was held of the prior. *Feudal Aids*, 4:228. *VCH Shrops.*, 10:151-67, 320-33. *CPR Edw. II, 1321-4*, 4:52 (Roger de la Mare's manors of Millynghope, Hungerford, Thoggelond, Hulton, Possethorn, Armegrave, Wystanestowe and Feldhampton). Francis Palgrave, *The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Summons...* (1827-34), 1142 (Ralph de la Mare in 1316 and various entries for Sir Roger de la Mare [see note 139]).

¹⁷³ It is important not to confuse this Sir Peter de la Mare with the ones who held a manor in Gloucestershire called Hampton and land in Cherinton, were knights, and sometime constable of Bristol castle. He belonged to the line of the de la Mare family of Lavington, Wiltshire, who appear to be unrelated. Some confusion has apparently arisen because there were multiple manors called Morecote or Morcote, and a vill called Hampton in Minsterworth as well. A H Smith, *The Place-names of Gloucestershire, Part III: The Lower Severn Valley, The Forest of Dean*, English Place-name Society, 40(1962-1963):163. The unrelated de la Mare family of Cherrington and Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire (and Lavington, Wiltshire, Offley, Hertfordshire, etc.) had at least five knights named Peter de la Mare in its line of descent. One died in the reign of Edward I holding lands in six counties, including the manor of Caycradock in Ichenefeld, Herefordshire. *CIPM* 3:30-1 (no. 34). He was son of a Sir Robert, and succeeded by a son named Sir Robert de la Mare. Sir Robert de la Mare died in 1308, succeeded by his son Sir Peter de la Mare, born circa 1294, died 1349, who was succeeded by his son Sir Peter de la Mare (died 1381-2), who by his wife Maud (died 1404), left one son, Sir Peter born 1370 (but he died without issue before his mother), and one daughter who became heir, Willelma (born 1365), wife of Sir John Roche. C Ernest Watson, "The Minchinhampton Customal and Its Place in the Story of the Manor," *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 54(1932):310, 359-60, etc. Robert Clutterbuck, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, 3(1827):100. E Kite, "Some Notes on the Delamare Family, and their Chantry at Market Lavington," *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, 3(1902):410-20.

¹⁷⁴ *Book of Fees*, 2:801 and 816. Yatton was not assessed as an entity in those subsidies or the *Testa de Nevill* [Book of Fees].

hides in Little Hereford of the Earl of Hereford for two fees of old feoffment of the honour of the Bishop of Hereford at the same time.¹⁷⁵

Reginald de Mara also sued Thomas de Mara for 18s rent in Bradeneston in 1242-3.¹⁷⁶ William de la Mare had given this manor to his younger son Richard (just as he had given Murcott to his younger son Thomas). Reginald de la Mare brought suit, by his attorney, against Thomas de Mara for eighteen shillings rent that had escheated back to Reginald because Philip, son of Richard de Mara, had held the rent of Reginald but died without heirs. Thomas answered that Richard's father, William de Mara, had made a charter of feoffment that included the condition that if Richard died without heirs born to his wife to whom he was espoused, the aforesaid rent with appurtenances would revert to Thomas to hold in fee. Thomas claimed Richard did not then have surviving heirs by his wife, and that his son Philip died without heirs while under age, so the rent should remain to Thomas and his heirs in fee according to the reversion clause in the charter. Reginald then came in person before the court and answered that the land escheated by reason that Richard did not die without heirs. He procreated Philip by his wife who, after the death of Richard, was seised of the rent held of Reginald. The parties came to agreement in court, and Reginald and Thomas entered into a final concord on 3 May 1243, Reginald recognizing that the 18 shillings of rent in Bradenestone was the right of Thomas, who was to render him 12 pence yearly, for which Thomas paid Reginald twelve marks.¹⁷⁷ A few decades later, Thomas de la Mare held the hamlet of Bradenestan, Oxfordshire, of the heirs of Reginald de la Mare, they of Adam le Despenser, and he of the Abbot of Wynchcomb, by rent of one buck at the feast of St. Kenhelm, which the abbot holds of the king in chief of his manor of Enstone, indicating that Reginald had died before the Hundred Rolls were drawn up.¹⁷⁸

The fact that the family of de la Mare of Little Hereford were tenants in Garsington for generations (through the 1270s) presents a curious coincidence as Sir John de la Mare, of Garsington (died 1315), obtained the manor through his mother Isabel, younger daughter and coheir of Roger de Akeni, who was wife of Payn de la Mare of Sussex.¹⁷⁹ The manor of Garsington had come to the Toeny family by gift of King Henry, who gave it in marriage with Countess Ida. They used the manor to endow a younger son who came to be known by the surname Dakeny (de Akenny).¹⁸⁰ But the

¹⁷⁵ *Book of Fees*, 2:813 and 813.

¹⁷⁶ *CRR*, 26-7 Henry III, 17:218 (no. 1142), 461 (no. 2281) and 490 (no. 2404). The vill of "Rolandright cum Brademeston," was listed in the Hundred of Chadelinton held of the Countess of Gloucester in dower in 1316. *Feudal Aids*, 4:165. There was a Great and Little Rollright in Oxfordshire.

¹⁷⁷ H E Salter, *The Feet of Fines for Oxfordshire, 1195-1291*, Oxford Record Society, 12 (1930):126 (no. 86).

¹⁷⁸ David Royce, *Landboc. Sive Registrum Monasterii Beatae Mariae Virginis et Sancti Cenhelmi de Winchelcumba in Comitatu Gloucestrensi...* (1903), 2:200, citing "Hundred Rolls, ii, 739a." Adam le Despenser was son of Thurstan le Despenser, noted as William de la Mare's lord at Garsington (above).

¹⁷⁹ *CP* 8:463-4 (and chart). For a detailed treatment of the Toeny and Dakeny families, see Paul C Reed, "Countess Ida, Mother of William Longespée, Illegitimate Son of Henry II: An Assessment of a Crux in Medieval English Genealogy," *The American Genealogist*, 77 (2002):137-49.

¹⁸⁰ *VCH Oxford*, 5:158.

parentage of this John de la Mare's father Pain appears to be well established, deriving his ancestry from a completely unrelated family.¹⁸¹

Reginald de la Mare (died between 1243 and 1277) appears to have been father of a son named Reginald, but he would not have been the male heir, as he was still living after Sir John de la Mare had succeeded to the patrimony. Reginald de la Mare, age 70, was one of the witnesses who testified at the proof of age of Joan, elder daughter and coheir of Hugh de Mortimer, on 11 April 1 Edward II [1308].¹⁸² Sir William de Mortimer, knight, age 60 [born about 1248], testified that he knew Joan was born and baptized on the eve of St. Katherine 20 Edward I because he witnessed the baptism. Reginald de la Mare testified the same because he had a daughter named Annora who was born at the feast of St. Michael before Joan's birth [29 September 1291]. This document is damaged. Another juror, [missing] Mare, age 40 [born about 1268], swore that he knew Joan's age because Isabel de Wassheburne, his sister, had a daughter named Margery who was born at the feast of the Annunciation in the same year. The age of each of the jurors presenting evidence as to how they knew Joan's age was rounded to the nearest decade, so the ages given in this inquisition are probably rough estimates, rather than exact calculations. Reginald de la Mare, if seventy, would have been born about 1238, give or take a few years (though he would have had a daughter born when he was about fifty-three).¹⁸³ The other de la Mare who was a witness would be a generation younger, perhaps son or nephew. This Hugh de Mortimer who was Joan's father was Lord Mortimer of Richard's Castle, Herefordshire, son of Robert de Mortimer and Joyce de la Zouche. Hugh died 20 July 1304. His wife, Maud Marshal, died on or before 15 February 1307/8. They left two daughters and heirs, Joan, born on 24 November 1291 (her father was still then a minor), and Margaret, born 14 September 1295 (married, first, Geoffrey de Cornwall, and second, William de Evereys). Joan received Richard's Castle as part of her purparty, by which it passed to the descendants of her second husband, Richard Talbot, who was, in her right, of Richard's Castle.¹⁸⁴ The fact that Reginald was called as a witness for Mortimer indicates a close connection with the family. It is not certain whether he could have lived long enough to have entered holy orders before his death. Reginald de la Mare lent £80 out in August 1325.¹⁸⁵ His executors later sued to recover that same amount (which would seem an enormous amount for a rural cleric who was not otherwise mentioned in the bishop's registers if the Reginald involved had been a cleric all his life). The registers of Bishop Thomas Charlton include, under the date of 30 January 1331, the order commanding John de Greete, vicar of Little Hereford, to appear before the justices at Westminster to answer the plea of William Burge of Harleye that he, Hugh de la Gaye and Nicholas de Yattone [Yatton], the other executors of Reginald de la Mare, clerk, were in debt to

¹⁸¹ C A F Meekings, *The 1235 Surrey Eyre*, Surrey record Society, **31**(1979):218-20. William Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees...* **3** (1925):368-9.

¹⁸² *CIPM* **5**:35 (no. 66).

¹⁸³ The proof of age was stated to be defective and defaced, so one wonders if Reginald's age was clear or might have been misinterpreted, or whether the unreadable name for the other de la Mare entry might be visible in ultraviolet light as traces of pigment frequently survive embedded in the original parchment. If he was father of a daughter at about age 54, it was probably by a second or later wife.

¹⁸⁴ *CP* **9**:263-6.

¹⁸⁵ *CCR Edw. II, 1323-7*, **4**: 502. Richard, son of Richard de Gloucester, James Beauflour of London and John de Writtle acknowledged they owed Reginald de la Mare of Little Hereford £80 to be levied on their lands and chattels in the city of London in default.

him for £300.¹⁸⁶ The fact that one of his executors was rector of Little Hereford and another from Yatton point to this de la Mare family.

Sir John de la Mare, knight, who succeeded the Reginald who held Little Hereford in 1242-3, is first found in record in 54 Henry III [1269-70] when he paid half a mark for a writ *ad terminum*. This would appear to indicate that he had not only succeeded to the ancestral estates by that date, but was born some years before 1248.¹⁸⁷ He was one of the knights owing service to the bishop of Hereford on 1 July 1277.¹⁸⁸ He was again described as a knight in service of the bishop of Hereford in 1282 and as a witness to one of the bishop's acts in 1283.¹⁸⁹ On 12 February 1290, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Edmund de Mortimer, John de St. John, John de Sutlegh, Walter de Beauchamp and Nicholas de Segrave the elder acknowledged that they owed John de la Mare 120 marks (to be levied in default on their lands in Herefordshire).¹⁹⁰ Having an income of over £20 in lands in Herefordshire, John de la Mare was summoned for military service overseas "*in person, with horses and arms,*" on 7 July 1297, to muster at London.¹⁹¹ He was returned as a knight of the shire for Hereford on 25 May 1298.¹⁹² John de la Mare was lord of the manor of Little Hereford in the subsidy of 1303.¹⁹³

King Edward I died 7 July 1307. His son, Edward II, was crowned at Westminster Abbey 25 February 1308, a weak ruler who preferred carpentry to war. He would be dominated by retainers such as Piers de Gaveston. It is likely that John de la Mare fought with Edward's forces in the Scottish campaign in 1314, but it is not possible to distinguish orders for him to muster from others of the same name. John de la Mare, lord of Little Hereford, presented bond on 23 April 1316 for his observance of an agreement between the crown and bishop in lieu of the military service due for one knight's fee.¹⁹⁴ There are likely many more acts of this Sir John in the public record, but it is not possible to distinguish him from the other knights named Sir John de la Mare of this period (there were at least seven).¹⁹⁵ Though Sir John de la Mare of Little Hereford had a son named John who was in debt for forty marks on 28 October 1312, it appears that Sir John's eldest son and heir was named Reginald.¹⁹⁶ It appears that Sir John de la Mare died in 1316, as Reginald de la Mare was certified as

¹⁸⁶ William W Capes, *Registrum Thome de Charlton, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCCXXVII-MCCCXLIV* [1327-1344] (1913), Canterbury and York Society, 9:44-5.

¹⁸⁷ *Henry III Fine Rolls Project*, Fine Roll C 60/67, 54 Henry III, membrane 2, no. 1400 [no date], http://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_067.html.

¹⁸⁸ Francis Palgrave, *The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Summons* (1827-34), 725. C Moor, *Knights of Edward I, Volume III. [L to O.]*, Publications of the Harleian Society, Visitations Series, 82 (1930):109.

¹⁸⁹ William W Capes, *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCLXXXIII-MCCCXVII* [1283-1317] (1909), Canterbury and York Society, 6:20 and 77.

¹⁹⁰ *CCR Edw. I*, 1289-96, 3:125.

¹⁹¹ Francis Palgrave, *The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Summons* (1827-34), 725.

¹⁹² Francis Palgrave, *op. cit.*, 725.

¹⁹³ *Feudal Aids*, 2:377.

¹⁹⁴ William W Capes, *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCLXXXIII-MCCCXVII* [1283-1317] (1909), Canterbury and York Society, 6:509.

¹⁹⁵ C Moor, *Knights of Edward I, Volume III. [L to O.]*, Publications of the Harleian Society, Visitations Series, 82 (1930):110-12.

¹⁹⁶ John son of John de la Mare, lord of Little Hereford, was indebted to Hugh le Rous in October 1312. *CCR Edw. II*, 1307-13, 1:552.

lord of the township of Little Hereford in 1316 in another record apparently compiled later in the year.¹⁹⁷

On 7 February 1322, order was given to take the lands of Reynold de la Mare and others in the bailiwick of the sheriff of Gloucestershire into the king's hands and keep them safely until further order so that the sheriff could answer for the issues of the lands in the chamber.¹⁹⁸ Specific mention was made the following week, on 13 February, of the lands of this Reynold de la Mare in Ovre, which was — along with the keeping of the town and castles of Gloucester, the castle of St. Briavels, the Forest of Dean, the castle and manor of Maurice de Berkeley, and many others — committed during pleasure to the keeping of Simon de Dryby.¹⁹⁹ It is certain this was our man, for on 23 March 1322, the sheriff of Herefordshire [*sic*] was ordered to restore to Reginald de la Mare his lands, goods and chattels which the king had lately ordered the sheriff to take into his hands.²⁰⁰ This was just before the battle of Boroughbridge (16 March 1322), where his kinsman Sir Roger de la Mare was captured fighting against the king's forces.

Hugh le Despenser, surviving favourite of King Edward II, had running conflicts with Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and others concerning holdings in the Marches of Wales. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, had gathered many to his side the previous year. Edward II crossed the River Severn in January 1322 with a great many troops, forcing the surrender of several lords and their retainers. Reynold de la Mare was one of these men who were forced to temporarily surrender their land. Lancaster's forces were heavily outnumbered, so it is no surprise that the knights fighting on his side were captured. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the second most powerful man in England after the king, was himself captured and executed on 22 March 1322. Either Reginald came back into favour when Edward II was deposed or he was succeeded by a son who was rewarded for his father's services. Reginald de la Mare was among those appointed knight banneret on 20 January 1327.²⁰¹ Edward III had been appointed keeper of the realm on 26 October 1326 and proclaimed king on 25 January 1327. Reginald must have been among those rewarded during the festivities leading to the coronation at Westminster on 2 February 1327. Edward would marry Philippe of Hainault the following year on 24 January 1328 and rule for five decades.

On 3 April 1337, Joan, late the wife of Richard Talbot (the very same Joan de Mortimer who was born in 1291 whose proof of age included the testimony of one Reginald de la Mare), claimed that Sir John Boulewas, James ap Rees, Reginald de la Mare, the elder, his brother Robert, John Carbonel, Robert Bluet and Richard de la

¹⁹⁷ Feudal Aids, 2:385. Francis Palgrave, *The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Summons...* (1827-34), 1142.

¹⁹⁸ CFR 3:93.

¹⁹⁹ CFR 3:97. "Ovre" was Over in Almondsbury, according to the index. The manor of Over had descended from Robert fitz Harding to his third son Robert (who held it in 1195), eventually descending to Thomas ap Adam, who sold it (with some of the Gurney inheritance) in 1330 to Thomas de Berkeley, Lord Berkeley (who married, first, Margaret de Mortimer, daughter of Roger, Earl of March), who built Over Court there in 1345 and died seised of the manor. It would therefore appear that Reginald de la Mare held lands there of Lord Berkeley, rather than the manor itself in his own right. William James Smith, "The Rise of the Berkeleys: An Account of the Berkeleys of Berkeley Castle, 1243-1361," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 71 (1952):108. CIPM 11:118 (no. 121).

²⁰⁰ CCR Edw. II, 1318-23, 3:433.

²⁰¹ William A Shaw, *The Knights of England: A Complete Record from the Earliest Times* (1906), 1:124.

Forest, chaplain, broke into her park at Richard's Castle and Wolferton on the border of Shropshire and Herefordshire, entering her free warren and taking away goods and poaching deer, hares, rabbits, pheasants and partridges (this Reginald "*the elder*" must have been in good health, to say the least).²⁰² Sir Reginald de la Mare was listed among the king's knights for the battle of Crecy (26 August 1346).²⁰³ Sir Reginald de la Mare and others witnessed a gift by Roger de Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, to a retainer on 1 October 24 Edward III [1350].²⁰⁴ He was among those exempted from an assessment on their lands for finding men at arms on 23 October 25 Edward III [1351], Reginald having served in the retinue of Sir Roger de Mortimer of Wygemore at the date of passage to Hogges in Normandy and at Cressy and Calais until the king's return to England.²⁰⁵ Reginald de la Mare, John Boulwas and Richard de la Bere, knights, joined John Talbot and Richard Talbot, knights, as witnesses to a quitclaim by John de Clambow of the manor of Talgarth to Philip ap Rees, knight, on 15 February 1352.²⁰⁶ The last act of this knight appears to be obtaining the permanent salvation of his soul. "*Reginald de la Mare, knight, of the diocese of Hereford,*" obtained a papal indult allowing him to choose a confessor who would give him (being penitent) plenary remission of his sins at the hour of death, with the usual safeguards, on 6 Id. May [10 May] 1352.²⁰⁷

Reynold de la Mare, apparently the father of Sir Peter, was appointed collector of the tenths and fifteenths in Herefordshire on 6 November 1349.²⁰⁸ He was appointed again on 20 July 1350, but as none of those in the lists were described as knights, it is not absolutely certain that these entries pertain to Peter's father (who was not yet knighted), rather than to an older battle worn soldier — though that seems the most logical conclusion.²⁰⁹ Reynold de la Mare was pardoned on 1 May 1352 for not taking on knighthood "*before Ascension Day, in the king's ninth year, [1335] pursuant to the proclamation.*"²¹⁰ This would differentiate Peter de la Mare's father Reginald from the earlier knights of his same name. It appears that Reginald was pressed into military service not long afterwards, which experience may have resulted in his finally accepting the burden of knighthood. John de Points, Edmund Hakelut, Reginald de la Mare and the sheriff of Hereford were to provide 120 archers against the French on 20 July 1356, and expected to proceed thereafter in person [30 Edward III].²¹¹ This would be part of the massing of English men and arms in Gascony under the Black Prince that continued on during the ensuing months until the battle of Poitiers (19 September 1356).

²⁰² *CPR Edw. III, 1334-8, 3:448.*

²⁰³ George Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais. From the Public Records* (1897), William Salt Archaeological Society, **18:39.**

²⁰⁴ *CCR, Edw. III, 9:354.*

²⁰⁵ George Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais. From the Public Records* (1897), William Salt Archaeological Society, **18:2:174.**

²⁰⁶ A2A, Berkeley Castle Muniments, BCM/C/2/2/8 [GC3381].

²⁰⁷ *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain, 3:443.*

²⁰⁸ *CFR 6:195.*

²⁰⁹ *CFR 6:270.* J S Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England, Volume 2* (1981), 3-4.

²¹⁰ *CPR Edw. III, 1350-4, 9:262.*

²¹¹ Charles Purton Cooper, *Appendices to a Report on Thomas Rymer's Foedera...* (1869) [Appendix E], **3:22.**

This was a tumultuous time. On 10 November 1358, Reynold de la Mare, 'chivaler' [knight], made formal complaint to the king that Geoffrey son of Richard de Cornewayll,²¹² William son of Peter Corbet,²¹³ Geoffrey son of Geoffrey de Cornewayll, knights (*militis*), William de Bereford, Thomas de Longeley, William de Spiritre, Richard his son, John de Rowell' clerk, and many others of their confederacy, arrayed themselves as for war, and of ancient malice — planning to do him such bodily injury as they could — came to Greote, Shropshire, and assaulted Reginald inside the church of that town (where he then was), and would have drawn him from the church to kill him. They afterwards besieged Sir Reginald in the said church for a long time and "*imprisoned there his bondman and servant Reynold Waties, deputed by him to have his lands in divers places tilled and make other profit for him....*"²¹⁴ There are no other references to Sir Reginald de la Mare before his son Peter was appointed sheriff of Herefordshire in 1372. This would seem to indicate he died not long after the ordeal in 1358. It is difficult to differentiate between the three generations of men named Reginald de la Mare born between Sir John de la Mare and Sir Peter de la Mare. Sir Peter was an adult by 1372, so born by about 1350.²¹⁵ Chronology allows three generations between Sir John and Peter, but there is little indication of when one died and the next succeeded.

Sir Peter de la Mare

Peter de la Mare began his public career in the service of Edmund, Earl of March, to whom he served as steward. He was newly acting in that capacity by 1371.²¹⁶ It is likely because of the earl's influence that Peter was appointed sheriff of Herefordshire the following year. It is not the purpose of this article to rewrite his biography, as John Smith Roskell did such a thorough job of that already.²¹⁷ However, a brief account of his service as first speaker of the House of Commons may not be out of place here.

The Good Parliament of 1376 was "*a record-breaking session, lasting longer than any previous assembly (ten weeks) and producing the largest recorded list of common petitions to date (146 items). It witnessed the first appointment of a speaker to act as the commons' chairman and representative, and the first use in parliament of the judicial process known as impeachment.*"²¹⁸ Peter de la Mare put a voice to the discontent of the people against the abuse by Alice Perrers, the mistress of Edward III, and Lord Latimer, the court chamberlain. Sir Peter's speeches resonated among those who heard them. He immediately became "*a popular hero, and verses were composed extolling his audacious eloquence.*"²¹⁹

²¹² This was the Geoffrey who married Margaret de Mortimer, the second daughter and coheir of Lord Hugh de Mortimer, above.

²¹³ He was a close relative of Robert Corbet, one of the men ordered to investigate the claim.

²¹⁴ *CPR Edw. III, 1358-61*, 11:160 (10 November 1358) [Commission of oyer and terminer] to Ralph, Earl of Stafford, William de Shreshull, Robert Corbet of Morton, Richard de la Bere and Robert de Wyghthull, for 30s paid in the hanaper.

²¹⁵ As Peter does not occur earlier in records, it is not likely he was born much before 1350.

²¹⁶ J S Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England*, Volume 2 (1981), 3-4.

²¹⁷ J S Roskell, "Sir Peter de la Mare, Speaker for the Commons in Parliament in 1376 and 1377," *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, 2(1958):24-37. This has been reprinted in J S Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England* (1981), 1-14.

²¹⁸ W M Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England, 1327-1377* (1990), 35.

²¹⁹ J S Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England*, Volume 2 (1981), 7.

The Black Prince was on his deathbed at the time, however, and it was John of Gaunt who represented the person of the king. The chancellor and council wanted the Commons to pass further subsidies and taxation to raise revenue for an expedition against the French. The Commons, Peter answered, could not proceed in its business until other matters were dealt with first. When Peter put forth the specifics, John of Gaunt is reported to have answered, "*Do they think that they are kings and princes in this land? Have they forgotten how powerful I am?*"²²⁰ In spite of that, the Commons were successful in their petitions and Alice Perrers and Lord Latimer were removed. But the Black Prince, who had been sympathetic to the Commons, died before the end of the Parliament, shifting the balance of power. The Earl of March was forced to resign the office of Marshal of England and Sir Peter de la Mare was arrested.

Alice Perrers and Lord Latimer were directly responsible for bringing Sir Peter de la Mare before the court in November 1376. Sir Peter was not allowed to plead a defence (according to the account that comes down to us), was summarily convicted and subsequently imprisoned in Nottingham Castle, far from the sympathetic masses in London. It was fortuitous that Edward III died the next year. Sir Peter was released eight days after his death. With the first Parliament of King Richard II, Peter was again elected and chosen speaker. Sir Peter de la Mare would serve in Parliament several more times before his death a decade later. Much more might be set out concerning his public life, but, for the purposes of this article, one act concerning an attempt to entail his lands is of particular importance, as it would have denied the Seymours from coming into any inheritance if it had been successful.

Sir Peter de la Mare enfeoffed his manors of Little Hereford and Yatton to his brother Malculin de la Mare and his wife Alice, reserving only a life interest. On 3 November 1382, Maculin de la Mare and Alice, his wife (querants), entered into a fine with Roger Nasshe, clerk, Robert Bourne, clerk, Nicholas Baker, clerk, and Robert Herle (apparently his feoffees), of the manor of Little Hereford and Yatton (excepting seven messuages and eight and a half virgates of land in the same manor of [Little] Hereford), which Peter de la Mare holds for life. After Peter's decease, the manors were to remain to Maculin and Alice and the heirs of their bodies, and then in default with successive remainders to (1) Thomas de la Mare, (2) James de la Mare, (3) Richard de la Mare,²²¹ (4) Robert de la Mare [and the heirs, respectively, of each of

²²⁰ Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (1997), 20.

²²¹ The most likely candidate for Richard de la Mare is the man of that name who is buried in Hereford Cathedral. There is a brass for him and his wife, Isabel, with arms (two each), his being *or*, three bars dancetty *gules* (de la Mare), and the second coat being de la Mare impaling *gules*, a fesse and a border engrailed *ermine*. They were buried in the east isle of the north transept. His brass depicts a man in plate armor with his feet on a lion (Fig.3). The dates given in the published account are 1435 for him and 1421 for her. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire, Vol. I — South-West* (1931), 106, 256 and plate 128. But the year of death given for Richard is in error. Richard de la Mare was definitely alive in 1409 when a manor was described as being held of him and his wife Isabel in her right, and on 3 November 1410, when he and Isabel were parties to a fine concerning the manor of Howton. *CIPM* 19:236-7 (no. 659). Chris Philips, CP 25/1/83/51, number 24. But her inquisition post mortem calls her Isabel, widow of Richard de la Mare, esquire, and formerly of John Eynesford of Tillington, knight. She died 17 or 24 September 1421. Isabel died seised of the manor of Westbury on Severn, Gloucestershire (her heir in that manor was found to be her kinsman John Barre, son of Sir Thomas Barre the younger, age eight), and the manors of Brimfield, Muryvale (in the lordship of Ashton), Tyberton, Howton, 1/3 of Tillington and the manor of Edwin Ralph, all in Herefordshire. Most of the manors had been held jointly with her husband Richard. Malcolm de la Mere [*sic*] had been one of her feoffees for the last named manor. *CIPM* 21:263-4 (nos. 772-3).

their bodies], (5) Roger de la Mare, citizen and draper of London and the male heirs of his body, (6) and Sir Peter de la Mare, the son of Reynold de la Mare, of Little Hereford, knight [*i.e.*, Sir Peter, the original grantor], and his heirs, for which Malculin and Alice paid 200 marks of silver.

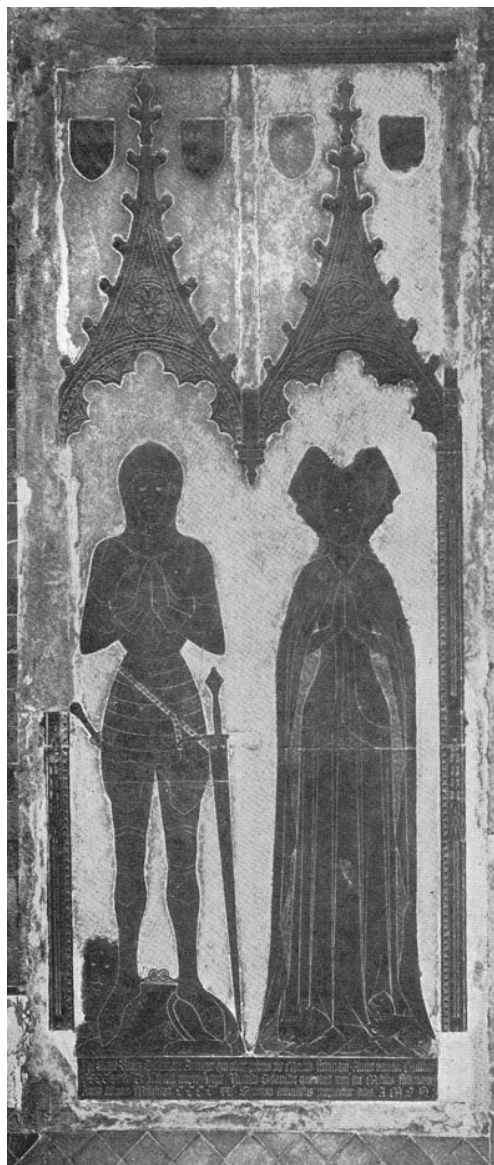


Fig 3

***Brass monument in Hereford Cathedral
to Richard de la Mare and his wife
Isabel***

[From Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: England. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire, Vol. I—South-West* (1931), plate 128.]

As is the case with many fines, this one appears to reflect a private agreement the parties wanted to make more secure by concluding it before royal justices. Sir Peter de la Mare appears to have enfeoffed Roger, Robert, Nicholas and Robert, under the terms that he should hold the manors for his lifetime, continuing to hold it of them until his death. The specific agreement recorded in this fine was the second necessary step in feoffment by which Roger, Robert, Nicholas and Robert granted the reversion of the manors after Sir Peter's death to his brother Maculin and his wife Alice and the heirs of their bodies. Sir Peter de la Mare was present in court and there did fealty to Malculin and Alice before all.²²² There is nothing particularly strange about the details, except that a final concord is normally the most secure of transactions (a judgment proclaimed by royal justices), but this one was broken after Peter, Malculin and Alice's deaths by the suit Roger Seymour and his aunt instigated for recovery nearly a quarter century later (see below).

Sir Peter last attended Parliament in 1383, the year following the fine. The exact date of his death is not known. There was no writ issued for an inquisition post mortem, apparently because it was already known he was only seised of a life interest in Little Hereford and Yatton, having already done fealty to his brother Malculin before the court. Sir Peter de la Mare was also party to a fine on 27 January 1384.²²³ Peter's friend and lord, Edmund de Mortimer, Earl of March, had died 27 December 1381, making his will on 1 May 1380 (proved 22 January 1382).²²⁴ The earl made Peter one of his executors — not a light burden, considering the earl made such bequests as £1,000 to Wigmore Abbey. The king allowed the Earl of March to grant the church of Kingsland (which belonged to the earl) to his executors, Hugh Cheyne and Peter de la Mare, knights, and it was they who obtained administration of his good from the archbishop according to an entry in the register of the Bishop of Hereford dated 22 April 1384.²²⁵ But Sir Peter died within the next four years. Sir Peter de la Mare, knight, of Herefordshire, had acted as creditor with Sir John Lovel in 1381 (the year of the Peasants' Revolt), Thomas Harding of Manningtree, Essex the debtor. It appears that Peter de la Mare was still alive according to an entry concerning the debt dated 16 June 1386,²²⁶ but a later entry, dated 26 April 1388, states that Peter de la Mare "is dead."²²⁷

Before his death, Sir Peter de la Mare made a request of the king and his council concerning the church of Little Hereford and the rights of his ancestors there.²²⁸ Most of the document is now missing. He may have desired permission to either grant it to his executors or convey it away by fine. The advowson of Little Hereford did not pass to Roger Seymour.

²²² Chris Phillips (2010), CP 25/1/83/48, number 21.

²²³ Chris Phillips (2010), CP 25/1/83/48, number 23. On 20 October 1383, and afterwards on 27 January 1384, Sir Peter de la Mare, knight, Roger Partrich, Stephen Whyte and Roger Berde were querants in a fine with William More and Sibel, his wife, and Elizabeth Frene (Sibel's sister).

²²⁴ CP 8:448.

²²⁵ Joseph Henry Parry, *Registrum Johannis Gilbert, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCCCLXXV-MCCCCLXXXIX* [1375-1389] (1915), Canterbury and York Society, 18:57-9. Peter de la Mare and the other executors of Edmund, Earl of March, were represented in a suit against Roger Colling by their attorney John Seymour. Samuel E Thorne, *Year Books of Richard II: Richard II, 1382-1383*, Year Books Series, 2 (1996):39-41 (CP/40/486/83).

²²⁶ TNA C131/34/4.

²²⁷ TNA C131/204/48 and C241/173/117.

²²⁸ TNA SC 8/127/6339.

Maculin de la Mare succeeded as Peter's next heir. The year after Sir Peter's death, Thomas de la Mare and his brothers James and Richard released any right they had of land in Over Assheford, Nether Assheford [Ashford Carbonel, on the border of Herefordshire] and Huntiton [Huntington], Shropshire, that had been William de la Seete's inheritance to Malculin de la Mare.²²⁹ Richard de Cornewaile, John Darras,²³⁰ Thomas son of John de Whitton,²³¹ William de la Boure and Edward de Whitton acted as Malculin's feoffees. The deed was made at Assheford, Tuesday the feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle 13 Richard II [31 August 1389]. It is not clear whether these brothers could be descended from the Sir Roger de la Mare who was a knight of Edward I, holding the manors of Eyford and Ashford Carbonel, among others, or whether that knight had died without surviving descendants, and these brothers were distant heirs, as Sir Peter and Malculin had been, relinquishing any possible claim to the inheritance that might later lead to dispute. Roger de la Mare (*Rogero*) was returned as having one fee in Little Hereford in 1346 that John de la Mare had held of the Earl of Hereford.²³² This appears to be a slip for Reginald, as Sir Roger was a contemporary of Sir John de la Mare, and Reginald de la Mare unquestionably succeeded to the ancestral estates. Though the final record in 1346 is written out in full (*Rogero*), it is likely the scribe worked from more abbreviated notes. The abbreviations "*Rog*" and "*Reg*" are practically identical, especially if the clerk was older and in need of reading glasses. Such are the dangers of working with records and attempting to interpret them properly. Reginald de la Mare had succeeded to Little Hereford in 1316.²³³

Alice, wife of "*Malcolm*" de la Mare, died 28 June 1400.²³⁴ She held the second part of the manor of Kidderminster, Worcestershire. Agnes, wife of John Byssshop, was her niece and next heir in that manor, being daughter of Alice's brother Robert (aged 40 years and more). A commission into the lands in Herefordshire found that Alice held in fee tail the manor of Little Hereford, held of the king of the Honour of Brecon [Brecknock] by knight service, which had an annual value of 80 marks, and the manor of Yatton, held of the earl of March, held by knight service, with an annual

²²⁹ CIPM 10:98. *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, 4:375 (no. A. 8934).

²³⁰ Maculin de la Mare, John Darras (a Member of Parliament) and others were involved in a violent dispute with John Mawddwy (who married the daughter of Fulk Corbet). Each of them were ordered on penalty of 200 marks to appear in Chancery. J S Roskell, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* (1992), 3:685-6. For the most detailed biography of this John Darras and the constellation of relations concerning this Corbet family, see Paul C Reed, "Another Look at Joan de Harley: Will Her Real Descendants Please Rise?," *The Genealogist*, 10 (1989, publ. 1994):35-72.

²³¹ Reginald de la Mare was witness to a gift from Thomas, lord of Upton [a parish adjacent to Little Hereford], to Richard de Longenole, rector of Upton, and Roger de Whittone on 5 June 1353. A2A, Herefordshire Record Office, Records of the Dunne Family of Gatley Park, F76/II/337. He was described as "*Lord Reginald de la Mare*" in a deed following that (the reenfeoffment, dated 31 May 1357), from Richard de Longenole, rector of Upton, and Roger de Whittone to Thomas de Upton, his wife Margaret and their heirs of the manor of Upton super Teme (F76/II/338).

²³² *Feudal Aids*, 2:393.

²³³ *Feudal Aids*, 2:385.

²³⁴ The writ for the inquisition was directed to the escheators of both Shropshire and Worcestershire to determine the lands that had been held by Alice, "*late the wife*" of Malcolm de la Mare. *CFR* 12:81.

value of £10. They found that she died 27 June 1400, leaving no heirs of her body. "She came from Yorkshire, and who is next heir is unknown."²³⁵

On 6 September 1400, a commission was granted to John Gomond, Robert Partrich and others, as the king understood that a fine had been levied at Westminster on the morrow of All Saints, 6 Richard II, before the justices of the bench, between Maculine [*sic*] de la Mare and his wife Alice and their feoffees (as detailed above) touching the manors of Little Hereford and Yatton, but "*Maculine and Alice have died without heirs of their bodies and the said Peter and Thomas have died and the manor of Little Hereford is held of the king in chief*" and so should be taken into the king's hands during the minority of Joan, the daughter and heiress of Thomas de la Mare.²³⁶ She did not survive long either.

It appears that Sir Hugh de Cheney and his wife Maud and Roger Seymour took things into their own hands. James de la Mare brought an action of novel disseisin against them for the manor of Little Hereford on 22 August 1402.²³⁷ John Seymour (who would appear to be the same man who had acted as attorney for Sir Peter de la Mare and Sir Hugh de Cheney), Edmund Cheyne and Richard Bouldelers were also named with them as defendants. The assize was to be stayed until Martinmas next, as Sir Hugh was staying at Wigmore Castle by the king's appointment (apparently during the minority of Edmund de Mortimer, heir to the Earldom of March, who was born 6 November 1391). The king was afraid that if the assize were taken, some of these valuable retainers might withdraw from service. On 31 October 1402, with the consent of the council, order was issued to revoke the assize of novel disseisin "*lately granted on a false suggestion by James de la Mare against the king's knight Hugh Cheyne and others touching a tenement in Little Hereford....*"²³⁸ Sir Hugh had custody of Wigmore Castle, so could not attend. James was allowed to pursue the matter at the "*common assizes* [county court] *if he think fit.*"

Sir Hugh de Cheney, of Cheney Longville, Shropshire, died 1 August 1404.²³⁹ Three years later, Matilda (de Brockbury), widow of Sir Hugh de Cheney, and Roger Seymour brought suit against James de la Mare before the Common Bench (*de Banco*) Easter term 8 Henry IV [1407].²⁴⁰ It appears that he had entered Yatton according to the terms of the fine. The irony is that James de la Mare had every right to believe his cause was just. Sir Peter de la Mare, Speaker of the House of Commons, had entered into a final concord during his lifetime before royal justices, and that fine had been upheld after his death when Peter's brother Maculine de la Mare and his wife Alice entered the manors of Little Hereford and were seised of them. The king was certainly aware of the details of the fine. It was Maud de Brockbury and Roger Seymour who were now bringing forth the claim of novel disseisin. The cost of such lawsuits was not a light burden. On 28 October 1408, James de la Mare of Hereford was granted license to have a recognizance of 500

²³⁵ *CIPM* 18:109-10 (nos. 341-3).

²³⁶ *CPR Hen. IV, 1399-1401*, 1:349.

²³⁷ *CPR Hen. IV, 1401-5*, 2:137. *CCR Hen. IV, 1399-1402*, 1:543 (16 July 1402).

²³⁸ *CPR Hen. IV, 1401-5*, 2:168.

²³⁹ He served as Member of Parliament eight times. J S Roskell, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* (1992), 2:545-7. He had also been a retainer (for life) of Edmund de Mortimer, Earl of March. *CPR Hen. IV, 1401-5*, 229.

²⁴⁰ "Pedigrees from the Plea Rolls," *The Genealogist* 15 (1899):152, and G Wrottesley, *Pedigrees from the Plea Rolls. Collected from the Pleadings in the Various Courts of Law, A. D. 1200 to 1500, from the Original Rolls in the Public Record Office* (1905), 248.

marks from Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, to be levied in default on his lands in Herefordshire.²⁴¹

The plaintiffs in the 1407 suit set out that the manor of Yatton had been given by Reginald de la Mare to his son Reginald, Margery, his wife, and the heirs of their bodies. This settlement was therefore prior to any agreement made by Sir Peter de la Mare. The pedigree presented in the suit put forth by Maud de Brockbury and Roger Seymour sets out that Roger was son and heir of Maud's younger sister Margery (wife of William Seymour), and that they were the two daughters and coheirs of Joan de la Mare, aunt of Peter de la Mare and "*Malculine*" de la Mare (sons of Joan's brother Reginald), both of whom died without issue. Maud certainly should have known who her mother, grandparents and first cousins were, especially as renowned as Sir Peter became, and knowing possible inheritance was involved. It is clear that they were successful in their suit, as Yatton was recovered and descended to Roger Seymour after his aunt died without issue. When Roger died, the jurors at the inquisition determined, "*Long before his death he was seised as of fee in the manors of Yatton in Much Marcle and of Brobury with the advowson of the church of Brobury and lands in Over Lenton, Nether Lenton, Willersley and Saunton and by his charter dated at Hatch Beauchamp 13 July 1420.*"²⁴²

It is clear that Yatton was recovered by Roger Seymour and passed down among his descendants for a number of generations. But James de la Mare must have recovered the manor of Little Hereford in the county court, as it passed down among his descendants. The income from the manor vaulted him to the status that required him to accept the burden of knighthood. Sir James de la Mare, as "*lord of Little Hereford*" 4 Henry V [1416-17], enfeoffed the manor of Little Hereford to Lewis de Cornewayll, Hugh, Prior of Ludlow, Richard, Vicar of Little Hereford and Hugh Hepton. The feoffees granted the manor back to James de la Mare and his wife Katherine in jointure,²⁴³ with remainders to his heirs, then to Richard de la Mare, and finally to the heirs of Peter, son of Sir Reynold de la Mare.²⁴⁴ This Richard de la Mare was James's younger brother.²⁴⁵ He followed James in the reversion clauses of Sir Peter de la Mare's final concord with Maculin de la Mare in 1382. It is this Richard de la Mare who would seem to be the man of that name who married Isabel (died 1421), widow of Sir John Eynesford of Tillington.²⁴⁶ It 1428, eight years after Roger Seymour's

²⁴¹ CCR Hen. IV, 1405-9, 3:462. James de la Mare was first among commissioners appointed to collect a tax in Herefordshire in 1410. CFR 13:182.

²⁴² CIPM 21:126 (no. 429).

²⁴³ James de la Mare and his wife Katherine were legatees in fines that seem to indicate Katherine might have been related to John de Eyton, lord of part of the manor of Alberbury, Shropshire. Chris Phillips (2010), Feet of Fines, Shropshire, CP 25/1/195/21, number 2 (dated 27 January 1415) and number 3 (the same date). But John and Alice Eyton died leaving only three daughters as coheirs, Jane (wife of Roger Clayton of the Marsh), Eleanor (wife of John Purslow) and Margaret Eyton (wife of William Acton). George Morris, "Shropshire Genealogies," 3:290. She might be the Katherine, daughter of Richard de Pontesbury (presumably the bailiff and Member of Parliament for Shrewsbury in 1373). VCH Shrops., 8:196. Katherine's portion of Alberbury was eventually acquired by Sir John Talbot (Viscount Lisle, died 1453).

²⁴⁴ TNA DL 25/869.

²⁴⁵ CCR Hen. IV, 1405-9, 3:470.

²⁴⁶ See above, note 221.

death, the children of James de la Mare (*filiis et heredibus*) were assessed for one fee in Little Hereford.²⁴⁷

James de la Mare was succeeded as lord of Little Hereford by Edmund de la Mare. Edmund de la Mare held Little Hereford 36-37 Henry VI [1457-8] when his land was seized by the sheriff. He is also listed in the "*enrolled accounts*" in 32-33 Henry VI [1453-4].²⁴⁸ Edmund de la Mare was escheator of Herefordshire 1453-4.²⁴⁹ As Edmund de la Mare, esquire, of Little Hereford, he had a recognizance for £500 on 11 October 35 Henry VI [1456].²⁵⁰ This Edmund was father of a son and heir named Nicholas de la Mare. Nicholas died 14 December 19 Henry VII [1503]. On 20 April 10 Henry VII [1495], he had enfeoffed the manor of Lytylhareford, with all his lands, to Sir Thomas Cornwall [baron of Burford], Edmund Upton and Richard Wates. The day following, feoffees granted the manor and lands back to Nicholas, and to his wife Maud and the heirs of their bodies. Maud was still seised of the lands in right of survivorship on the day of the inquisition [10 February 1504]. Their son Thomas Delamere [sic] was the next heir, age 10 (born about 1493). Nicholas died seised of the manor of Lytyl Hereford (worth £11, held of Edward, Duke of Buckingham, of the honor of Breighnok [Brecknock]), the manors of Hethe and Kymalton (worth £5.6.8, held of the abbot of Redyng by socage), the manor of Wongton alias Wounton (worth 37s held of the manor of Aynbury by socage), a parcel of land called 'le Castell de Comfort,' near Leomynstre and forty acres of land in the franchise of Leomynstre in the hundred of Wolfey.²⁵¹ Nicholas fathered three sons, John, Thomas and Edmund de la Mere, all of whom eventually died without surviving issue, and two daughters, Jane and Maud, who became coheirs at their brother Edmund's death. An inquisition post mortem was held for John Delamere, brother of Thomas, son of Nicholas Delamere at Hereford on 29 November 1510. John died 2 February 1509/10 seised of the manor of Little Hereford. His heir was his brother Edmund, age ten (born about 1499-1500).²⁵² Edmund only survived another decade, dying in 1521.²⁵³ There was a dispute after Edmund's death. John Daunsey, his wife (unnamed) and her sister Maud Delamere accused John Nicholas of falsely obtaining forged letters of

²⁴⁷ *Feudal Aids*, 2:413. It is not known whether James might have had a son named Richard de la Mare who married Alice Talbot, sister of the 1st Earl of Shrewsbury. She had married, first, Thomas de la Barre, who predeceased his father (Sir Thomas de la Barre, who died 12 or 20 December 1420 seised of the manor of Little Marcle). *CIPM* 21:144-5 (nos. 498-9). Richard de la Mare was sheriff of Herefordshire 1422-3 and Alice died in 1436. George Morris, "Shropshire Genealogies," 1:75 (Barre) and 3:290 (Talbot). They are supposed to have had three children, Thomas, Margaret and Ann de la Mare. Compton Reade and Cecil G S, 4th Earl of Liverpool, *The House of Cornwall* (1908), 193.

²⁴⁸ *List of Foreign Accounts Enrolled on the Great Rolls of the Exchequer, Preserved in the Public Record Office* (1900), Lists & Indexes, 11:242 and 282. Also, Edmund de la Mare, of Hereford. *CFR* 19:75.

²⁴⁹ A C Wood, *List of Escheators for England, with the Dates of Appointment* (1932), Lists & Indexes, 72: 60.

²⁵⁰ *CCR, Hen. VI, 1454-61*, 6:250.

²⁵¹ *CIPM Hen. VII, 2:479* (no. 737), now TNA C 142/17/61.

²⁵² A2A, Shakespeare Centre Archives and Library, D37/2/Box 92/3. The original is TNA C142/25/95.

²⁵³ The administration of the estate of Edmund de la Mare of Burford was granted to his relict Elinor and Master Cornewel, baron of Burford [Sir Thomas Cornwall, son of Sir Edmund Cornwall] on 15 October 1522, and a further grant on 18 October 1525. M A Faraday, *Calendar of Probate and Administration Acts, 1407-1550, in the Consistory Court of the Bishops of Hereford...* (2008), 215 (no. 522/135) and 232 (no. 525/155).

attorney from their brother Edmund Delamere when he was ill and dying. Thomas Moss of Little Hereford, foster father of Edmund, age 77, was one of eleven who gave depositions in the matter.²⁵⁴

Of the two daughters, Jane de la Mare married John Daunsey, of Brinsop, Herefordshire.²⁵⁵ John Daunsey died leaving a will dated 23 June 1531, his inquisition post mortem being dated 28 September 1533 (his son Thomas Daunsey, age 17, was the next heir). John's widow Jane (de la Mare) married, second, shortly after 9 September 1534, Nicholas Fytton, esquire, of Woodhampton.²⁵⁶ Jane (de la Mare) (Daunsey) Fitton predeceased her second husband, dying 36 Henry VIII [1544-5], when another inquisition post mortem was held.²⁵⁷ Nicholas Fytton died shortly after 17 November 1545, when he uttered his last will and testament.²⁵⁸ Maud de la Mare, the second daughter, married Richard Archer.²⁵⁹ Richard and Maud were parents of at least six children born from about 1527 to 1535, Humphrey, Miles, Edward, Francis, Anne and Winifred. Richard Archer, steward of the manor of Knowle, Warwickshire, esquire of the body to King Henry VIII, died 5 October 1544,

²⁵⁴ A2A, Shakespeare Centre Archives and Library, D37/2/Box 125/6.

²⁵⁵ Michael Powell Siddons, *The Visitation of Herefordshire, 1634* (2002), The Harleian Society, Visitations Series, new series, 15:39. John Daunsey, of Brynsoppe, married "*Jane, daughter and heire to Nicholas Delamer of Woodhampton (in Little Hereford) in the county of Hereford* (Inq. p. m. 36 H. 8.)." Frederic William Weaver, *The Visitation of Herefordshire made by Robert Cooke, Clarendieux, in 1569* (1886), 23.

²⁵⁶ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, 7:474 (no. 1217 [Grants in September 1534], no. 11). They were granted an annuity of £20 in survivorship on that date (signed by Cromwell), the said Nicholas Fitton and Jane Dansey being "*about to marry*."

²⁵⁷ Charles J Robinson, *A History of the Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (1872), 43-5, 138. This inquisition, under the name Joan Fitton, was recorded in TNA C 142/71/81, E 150/439/1 and WARD 7/1/114 (the last of these indicating she must have had minor heirs in wardship).

²⁵⁸ Nicholas Fytton, esquire, sick in body, made his will on 11 September 1545. He gave all his goods, chattels and leases to his cousin Sir Edward Fytton, knight, and his younger brothers, Thomas, William, John Lawraunce and Randall Fytton, making Sir Edward and Randall his executors. His will was fairly long, for the most part including bequests made to members of the royal household, distant relatives and friends in London, indicating Nicholas himself may well have been a member of the household. It also appears that Nicholas married more than once, as he mentioned his mother-in-law, the wife of Richard Palmer, esquire. He also gave "*to the fyve daughters of my late wiff[e] being unmarried [sic] all their late mothers apparell...*" (yet we know there were only two sisters who were coheirs of Edmund de la Mare). He gave Thomas Dansye a gown of French black guarded in velvet and lined with satin. The testator had many other fine things as well, which he bequeathed to friends, servants and relatives, including rings inlaid with ruby and emerald and gilt pieces. He specifically mentioned land in Brynshope, part of his farm of [the priory of] Wormesley. A list was appended at the end of those owing money to the testator, totaling well over 100 pounds. The will was proved 17 November 1545. It is clear the testator had no children of his own, or he would have provided something of importance to them. Nicholas Fitton was described as *ciborum appositor* [sewer] of the King's hall in 1531. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, 5:238-56 (no. 559, grant 1). Prerogative Court of Canterbury, TNA PROB 11/30. It appears Nicholas belonged to the family of Fitton of Gawsworth. Sir Edward Fytton and Randall Fytton of Gawsworth, executors of the will of Nicholas Fytton of Woodhampton, esquire, sued Thomas Dansey of Brinsop concerning payment of £240 for the preferment of the children of his wife Jane for which collateral sureties should have been found for a bond. TNA C 1/1121/58.

²⁵⁹ Maud, late the wife of Richard Archer, esquire, sued Thomas, son and heir of Jane, late wife of John Dansey, esquire, concerning lands in Woodhampton, Bryanton, Easton and Myddleton in the parish of Little Hereford, late of Edmund Dalames [sic, Delamere], deceased, brother of the said Maud and Jane. TNA C 1/1096/55.

succeeded by his eldest son and heir Humphrey (who was father of Andrew Archer).²⁶⁰ The manor of Little Hereford, at the death of the last male heir, Edmund de la Mare, was divided into Easton Court, which passed to the Daunsey family, and Woodhampton, which descended in the Archer line. Thus was the end of this branch of the de la Mare family.

Heraldry

Finally, an observation must also be made about the coat-of-arms borne by this family. If heraldry is any indication, this de la Mare (*de Mara*) family of Little Hereford was not closely related to others of that surname in England. The de la Mare family of Essex bore *gules*, a maunch *argent*,²⁶¹ that of Hertfordshire and Northamptonshire (Sir Geoffrey, son of Piers de la Mare) bore *or*, a fess between two bars *gemelles azure*, and the de la Mare family of Wiltshire (a different Sir Piers de la Mare) bore *gules*, two lions *passant guardant argent*.²⁶² The branch at Little Hereford, in contrast, bore arms very similar to their chief lords, the Balun family.

The earliest testament we have of the arms of the family at Little Hereford is the seal of Sir John de la Mare, lord of Little Hereford, described as "*Green: fine edge chipped. app. by a woven bobbin of red silk [Add ch 4580]. A shield of arms: barry dancettée of ten. above the shield a lance, at each side a wavy sprig of foliage and flowers. S'IOHANNIS.DE.LA.MAR..... Cf. three bars dancettée, MARE, or De La Mare, etc.*"²⁶³

This is a slight variation from the arms borne by Sir Reginald de la Mare in the reign of Edward III: "*Barry dancettée of six, Or and Gu[les]*."²⁶⁴ Sir Piers de la Mare bore these same arms in the reign of Richard II: *barry dancettée of six, or and gules*, or according to another description, "*dancy gold & gules*."²⁶⁵ Similar arms were born by

²⁶⁰ J H Lawrence-Archer, *Memorials of Families of the Surname of Archer* (1852), 19.

²⁶¹ But those arms were adopted because they married heiresses of the Toeny/Dakeny family who brought them Garsington and other important manors.

²⁶² Gerard J Brault, *Rolls of Arms, Edward I (1272-1307)* (1997), 2:279-80. C Moor, *Knights of Edward I, Volume III. [L to O.]*, Publications of the Harleian Society, Visitations Series, 82:(1930)109-14.

²⁶³ W de G Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1894), 1:232 (no. 11,600, temp Edw. I).

²⁶⁴ James Greenstreet, "The Powell Roll of Arms (Temp. Edward III)," *The Reliquary*, new series, 3(1889):232. This is also cited for Sir Reginald de la Mare in D H B Chesshyre and T Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary, Volume One* (1992), 92. There were brasses of the fifteenth century in the Lady Chapel at Hereford bearing the Delamare arms described as "*three dancettes*." Fuimus Troes, "The Effigy Attributed to Geoffrey de Magnaville, and the Other Effigies in the Temple Church," *The Herald and Genealogist*, 3 (1866):104, citing "*Oliv. Vredias, p. 11.*" Barry dancettée of six or and gules were also painted on a wall at Northeley Church (perhaps one of the branch at Garsington or Bradenstone). William Henry Turner, *The Visitations of the County of Oxford Taken in the Years 1566...1574...and in 1634...*, Harleian Society, Visitations Series, 5:32 (no. 27). The branch at Hardwick Court and Tedstone de la Mere (a branch of the de la Mare family of Rendcomb) are claimed to have borne Barry nebulée of six or and gules (but those [*nebulée*] are the arms of Lovell). Bernard Burke, *The General Armory of England, Scotland, and Wales...*

²⁶⁵ Thomas Willement, *Roll of Arms of the Reign of Richard the Second* (1834), 52 (no. 552). John W Papworth, *An Alphabetical Dictionary of Coats of Arms Belonging to Families in Great Britain and Ireland; Forming an Extensive Ordinary of British Armorial...* (1874), 53b [S]. D H B Chesshyre and T Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary, Volume One* (1992), 92, citing Willement's Roll (compiled about 1395).

Richard de la Mare when he was buried at Hereford Cathedral between 1409 and 1421.²⁶⁶ The arms used by William de la Mare of Ryndecombe in the reign of Henry III (before 1277) were not barry, but *ermine*, two bars.²⁶⁷ Strangely, a seal by this Sir William de la Mare of Rendcomb is elsewhere described as a chevron between three crescents.²⁶⁸

Heraldry might actually be the strongest indication that at some point this branch at Little Hereford married a daughter of the Ballon or Balun family, as their arms were "*Barry dancettée of 6, or and gu[les]. Walter de Balun.*"²⁶⁹ Walter de Balun (died 1287) was the brother and heir of John de Balun of Much Marcle (died 1275).²⁷⁰ Thomas Baloun is credited with the arms "*Barry dancetty of six gu. and or.*"²⁷¹ John de Balun bore barry of eight, *argent* and *gules*.²⁷² An intermarriage with the Balun family would not be unusual, and would have the added benefit of explaining why the given name Reginald entered the family (after Reginald de Balun),²⁷³ but an alternate explanation might be that they simply adopted arms patterned after the lord they followed into battle during a period when the rules of heraldry were still somewhat fluid.

Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to Rosie Bevan for much valuable aid and steadfast encouragement, and for quickly checking sources unavailable to me. This article could never have come to fruition if it weren't for her. I would also like to thank Peter Stewart for aiding me where my understanding of Latin came up short. His aid has also been greatly appreciated. I can proudly declare, however, that all mistakes are my own.

²⁶⁶ Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire, Vol. II — East* (1932), 53. D H B Chesshyre and T Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary, Volume One* (1992), 92.

²⁶⁷ C Moor, *Knights of Edward I, Volume III. [L to O.]*, Publications of the Harleian Society, Visitations Series, **82** (1930):114.

²⁶⁸ A2A, Gloucestershire Archives, D326/T91/1 (dated before 1290). William de Solers of Rendcomb, and William de Solers of Colesbourne (just west) both served as witnesses to his charter.

²⁶⁹ Weston Styleman Walford and Charles Spencer Perceval, *Three Rolls of Arms of the Latter Part of the Thirteenth Century* [Rolls C, F and E] (1864), 77. But on 51 (no. 70), the tincture in Walter de Balun's arms are *argent* and *gules*, not *or* and *gules*. John and Walter de Balun both bore barry dancetty *argent* and *gules* according to a number of sources. D H B Chesshyre and T Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary, Volume One* (1992), 92.

²⁷⁰ Gerard J Brault, *Rolls of Arms, Edward I (1272-1307)* (1997), **2**:27.

²⁷¹ John W Papworth, *An Alphabetical Dictionary of Coats of Arms Belonging to Families in Great Britain and Ireland; Forming an Extensive Ordinary of British Armorial...* (1874), 53b [Y]. D H B Chesshyre and T Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary, Volume One* (1992), 92 (referring to Thomas Jenkyns' Book, compiled about 1410).

²⁷² D H B Chesshyre and T Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary, Volume One* (1992), 98.

²⁷³ A Reginald de la Mare witnessed a grant by Robert Foliot, Bishop of Hereford, to a servant who nursed the bishop during a sickness (dated 1181 X 8 May 1186 [*"probably late"*])). R G Griffiths, *Registrum Thome de Cantilupo, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCLXXV-MCCLXXXII* (1907), 215-16. Julian Barrow, *English Episcopal Acta, VII: 1070-1234* (1993), 123-4 (no. 173).

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Fig 4 *Little Hereford church, dating mainly from 13th-14th centuries*



Two wall recesses in the chancel contain monuments to Edmund de la Mare (d.1521) (see p.258 above) and his daughter Sybel.

[Photo by Steven Edwards]



Map of Herefordshire indicating important places in this article

[from John Duncumb, Collections Towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford, Hereford: E. G. Wright, 1804, map facing page 1.]

Medieval tomb recesses in the chancel of Little Hereford church

The stone tablets (lower pictures) are modern, presumably copied from ancient originals. There are errors, whether made at the time of copying or in the originals we do not know.

The arms of Edmund de la Mare (left hand pictures) should show six *barry dancetée*, rather than five.

As regards the MI to Sybil (right hand pictures) Documentary evidence shows that Edmund de la Mare had no daughters or children. His sister Jane, who married John Danstey, did have a daughter named Sybil, and Jane's son and heir Thomas Dansey married Sybil Scudamore.

