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Edward's New Welsh: The Foundations of English Colonialism, 1282-1343

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Introduction

The story of how the English Crown co-opted the Prince of Wales title as synonymous with the heir apparent to the English throne is well-known. That traditional tale begins in the northern Welsh town of Caernarfon in the Spring of 1284 when King Edward I – having conquered the last native Welsh kingdom of Gwynedd after the death of Llywelyn the Last in 1282 and stamped out any remaining resistance – and Queen Eleanor were preparing to welcome their sole child and heir apparent, Edward II. According to the sixteenth century historian David Powel, Welsh unrest immediately outside the castle walls forced Edward to offer his son to be raised as if he were Welsh, being born in Wales and never speaking a word of English.[1] Among thirteenth-century contemporaries, the birth was steeped in local traditions, superstitions, and mythology, depicting the new prince as the prophetic return of King Arthur, as depicted in the tales that form the Matter of Britain.[2] Some Welsh poets lamented these dark days as the beginning of the end times, a statement that reflects the initial anxiety in the post-conquest era.[3] Regardless of what actually occurred that day, Edward II and the future Princes of Wales were to be intrinsically tied to Wales and the Welsh people by the design of the English Crown. The birth of the first English Prince of Wales was part of a larger effort to redefine the Welsh into what this work terms the 'New Welsh' through the administrative endeavours of the English Crown in the new Crown-held Principality of North Wales.

Navigating questions of identity in medieval studies always presents a difficult challenge, given that modern conceptions of identity were absent in pre-modern eras. The inquiry into

[1] Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), 3-4.
[2] Lesley A. Coote, *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Later Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press in association with Boydell Press, 2000), 84-86.
[3] Jan Morris, *Wales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 26-27.

Welsh identity and the evolving definition of 'Welshness' over time became a focal point for the earliest professional historians of Wales, partly as a response to English historians' perceived lack of interest in Welsh history and culture.[4] The ongoing discourse surrounding identity and the periodization of 'Welshness' continues to be a topic of discussion for scholars of Welsh and British history. The thirteenth-century Edwardian conquest particularly remains a watershed historical event, both in academic circles and public discourse, leaving an indelible mark on the Welsh people and landscape. Scholars like R.R. Davies ushered in a new era of professionalism in Welsh studies towards the end of the twentieth century as devolution, the process of the British Parliament granting some self-government to each member nation's own local parliament (such as the Welsh Senedd), became a relatively popular movement in Wales after mining tragedies such as the one at Aberffraw forced a re-evaluation of Wales's relationship with the United Kingdom. Davies notably contributed invaluable insights into the Edwardian conquest.[5] His conceptualization of the "First English Empire" offers a historiographic framework that reevaluates the period from the Edwardian Conquest to the Acts of Union of 1707 (which created the Parliament of Great Britain) as the foundational stage of the British Empire.[6] This framework proves instrumental in avoiding anachronistic interpretations and uncovering the roots of the British Empire.

The modern concept of Wales and Welsh identity, deeply rooted in the period of conquest and early administrative efforts, has been shaped by a complex interplay of resistance,

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[4] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980*, in Oxford History of Wales, ed. Glanmor Williams (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); John Davies, "Cymru Fydd - Young Wales," BBC Wales, September 23, 2008, https://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/society/politics_cymru_fydd.shtml.
[5] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics 1868-1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991); R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
[6] R. R. Davies, *First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093–1343* (*Ford Lectures; 1998)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

adaptation, and integration. Despite the conquest, particularly in regions like Gwynedd, the native Welsh culture did not disappear or get replaced. Instead, resistance and revolts were commonplace in the decades following 1282, and the native Welsh identity persisted through its language, customs, and cultural traditions, readily invoked in moments of discontent or frustration with central governance. The English monarchy faced the formidable challenge of integrating its realm and ideals into a hostile, conquered territory. Their methods, impressive for the medieval era, reflected a piecemeal approach indicative of the time's political polarities, and achieved varied degrees of success. The Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284 laid the groundwork for the official administrative framework in the region, marking a significant turning point. Edward's establishment of a new Welsh nobility in his image, modelled after English lords, and the impact of English settlements in North Wales fundamentally reshaped Welsh societal structures. Traditional Welsh practices and cultural expressions became closely intertwined with Welsh nationalism. However, unlike modern movements in Northern Ireland and Scotland, most Welsh people do not advocate for or support separation from the United Kingdom, given the deep cultural and political ties between Wales and England. This intricate history begs the question of how the Welsh and English have forged such intrinsic closeness over time, which this paper determines to answer.

This work endeavours to delve into the medieval foundations of the First English Empire, aiming to unravel the intricate dynamics surrounding cultural and political identity as perceived by the English Crown and its administrators. This study posits that figures such as Edward I (1272-1307) and Edward II (1307-1327), along with their administrators, embarked on a mission, whether deliberate or not, to fashion a 'New Wales' mirroring the English model. Such an approach is fashioned in the hopes to further the theoretical framework for political

domination that Davies originally put forth in his works on the conquest.[7] It also seeks to break away from the more nationalistic approaches that reasonably defined the twentieth century for scholars of Welsh and British history, but has restricted the field of study from more nuanced insights into the actual functions of conquest and the relationship of Wales in the broader picture of the United Kingdom. This separation from Welsh nationalism and politics should not be confused for a broader statement on the relevance of the English conquest on the modern climate, as its memory still lingers in the country's landscape. The roots of the British Empire grew during the First English Empire, and that project was born when the entirety of Wales entered the English domain.

The Statute of Rhuddlan

Any work on this matter that neglects the Statute of Rhuddlan of 1284 will consequently fail to understand how monumental the conquest of Gwynedd was as a cultural shock on Welsh society. Historians have not shied away from referring to this proclamation and its subsequent enforcement as a 'colonial' endeavour.[8] R. R. Davies described Edward I's work as arranging 'the governance of his newly required lands with characteristic thoroughness and dispatch', by carefully reviewing the judicial and administrative organization with both English and local legal experts.[9] This meticulousness is only logical, as Edward and his administrators now had to navigate an entirely different society with differing customs and legal traditions. The customs and traditions of *Puria Wallia* were familiar to the English Crown, and arguably no one more so than Edward I from his younger years spent along the Welsh Marches; however, it is clear from

[7] R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); *First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093 – 1343*.
[8] Geraint H. Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 102.
[9] R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415* , 357.

the Statute of Rhuddlan that the Crown did not have a fully formed picture of what constituted a 'Welshman' or an 'Englishman.' Medieval, and generally any pre-modern states, did not concern themselves with identity in similar fashion to the modern world. With that being mentioned, the Statute hints at an initial effort by the English Crown to delineate Gwynedd and its inhabitants in order to integrate this land into the English Empire.[10]

Of course, the Statute of Rhuddlan was not the first English royal charter to apply to Welsh land, people, and law. Magna Carta of 1215 contains three clauses that explicitly reference Wales. Clause 56 states that if Welshmen are unjustly removed from their lands or rights without proper judgment, they should be promptly restored and disputes should be resolved in the Marches with respect to the differing land laws of England, Wales, and the Marches; and if a Welshman was deprived with lawful judgment, clause 57 allows respite until the Crown can grant full justice.[11] Clause 58 allowed for the safe return of Llewellyn ab Iorwerth's son and other hostages as well as charters as a peace settlement.[12] In these sections, the English and Welsh distinctions are clear-cut. Magna Carta recognizes Wales and the March lands as pre-existing regions separated by different laws and customs. While the circumstance of such recognition is different than what would come later in the century, it is apparent there was already consideration in the differences between the Welsh of the Marches, and the Welsh of *Puria Wallia* since the time of Gerald of Wales (1146-1223), who extensively wrote about this separation in the twelfth-century.[13]

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[10] Davies, *First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 109 –1343*, 142-172.
[11] *The Statutes of Wales,* ed. Ivan Bowen (London: T.F. Unwin., 1908), 2.
[12] Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415,* 296.
[13] Georgia Henley and A. Joseph McMullen, *Gerald of Wales: New Perspectives on a Medieval Writer and Critic* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018).

Whatever those considerations may have been, they became easily apparent in the wording of the actual Statute of 1284. For all intents and purposes, Edward I's proclamation as 'Lord of Snowdon, and of his other lands in Wales,' as decreed by 'the Divine Providence', sought to unite these differing lands under the English Crown with Edward as the realm's protector. Gwynedd and the other regions of Wales, once recognized as entirely different places under charters like Magna Carta and the Treaty of Woodstock (1247), were now simply the 'Land of Wales' in 'our Realm of England'.[14] This language is all present in the Statute of Rhuddlan's first clause, which was the article of official annexation of Wales to England. In a vacuum, a reader can nearly forget that the Statute was the result of a long and violent campaign that effectively ended any semblance of an independent native Welsh kingdom. Indeed, Rhuddlan's language is not unique for its time as numerous medieval and pre-modern conquests (and even modern wars) have been justified by the 'divine will.'[15]

While the inhabitants of Gwynedd and the other Welsh lands became subjects to the English Crown in 1284, how and in what form the English authority would rule over them would look vastly different from each other. Deheubarth, Powys, Glamorgan, and the Marches were considerably 'anglicized' by the end of the thirteenth century, albeit in various forms. Anglo-Norman lords settled along the Marches in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest of 1066, forming an ambiguous frontier with its own laws by the time that Magna Carta was signed.[16] Deheubarth was fairly well under Anglo-Norman control by the death of Lord Rhys (c. 1197), and was later virtually non-existent under the partition agreement of 1216.[17] The two kingdoms

[14] The Treaty of Woodstock of 1247 set the land boundaries between Gwynedd and the Royal occupied lands in Perfeddwlad. See *Statutes of Wales*, 3.
[15] See F.H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 213-257.
[16] Robert Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2013).
[17] Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415,* 381.

that formed Powys (Powys Wenwynwyn and Powys Fadog) are similar to Gwynedd in that they retained theoretical autonomy until the Conquest of 1282.[18] However, Anglo-Norman lords consistently clashed with the respected Welsh princes.[19] Gwynedd escaped any major Anglo-Norman inclusions through a combination of shrewd leadership, military might, geographical advantages, and good fortune.[20] This resulted in Gwynedd requiring fundamentally different administrative means to successfully integrate into the English Realm.

Nearly a century earlier in 1194, Gerald of Wales in his *Descriptio Cambriae* had outlined three factors that would doom Wales and any future administrative occupation if not properly addressed by the occupying force. This is because, as Gerald states, "[the Welsh] will not (like other nations) subject themselves to the dominion of one lord and king."[21] Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, officially recognized as 'Prince of Wales' through the Treaty of Montgomery of 1267, managed to prove this wrong by forming a principality of Gwynedd ruled under one lord.[22] Gwynedd's administrative transformation under Llywelyn was remarkable in comparison to the historically fractured nature of medieval Welsh politics which Gerald concluded was an inherently Welsh trait.[23] The administration of thirteenth-century Gwynedd was already marked by a sizeable corps of lawyers, ecclesiastics, and central administrators responsible for transforming North-West Wales into a feudal polity.[24] The Law of Hywel Dda (also known as Cyfraith Hywel), which was modified by Gwynedd princes and their councillors when needed,

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[18] Ibid., 220-223.
[19] Frederick C. Suppe, *Military Institutions on the Welsh Marches: Shropshire, A.D. 1066-1300*, in Studies in Celtic History (New York: Boydell Press, 1994).
[20] Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales,* 79.
[21] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales*, ed. and trans. Lewis Thorpe (New York: Penguin Books, 1978), 204.
[22] Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales,* 91.
[23] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales,* 196.
[24] Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales*, 83.

became a statement on Gwynedd's rights as an independent polity.[25] As such, the English did not introduce administrative techniques to 'civilize' Gwynedd, so much as they imported English administrative techniques to further their political aims.

The theoretical framework underpinning this argument gains substantive support when examining the ramifications of the Statute of Rhuddlan on Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's principality. Article two of the Statute systematically partitioned Llywelyn's realm, as well as providing limits to county jurisdictions and the appointment of officers. The same article appoints sheriffs and coroners within Anglesey, Caernarfon, Meirioneth, and Flint. Notably, the region of Flint was an entirely new creation of the English Crown, standing as the sole enclave of Gwynedd that featured Anglo-Norman lordships. Uniquely, Flint was placed under the jurisdiction of the Exchequer of Chester, accentuating the deliberate imposition of English administrative structures in the Welsh landscape. Furthermore, the Statute was bilingual in its incorporating of English and Welsh land designations, integrating the Welsh commotes and contrefs alongside English administrative terms.[26] This amalgamation reflects the complex cultural and administrative synthesis orchestrated by the English Crown to consolidate its authority in the newly acquired territories.

This consolidation of Welsh and English customs is a persistent theme in the Statute of 1284, as native Welsh laws would supplement English Common Law in areas that were not specified under English jurisdiction, albeit with minor adjustments to reflect the new status of Wales. This is especially true in relation to inheritance, which states that 'whereas the custom is

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[25] Kenneth O. Morgan et al., *From Medieval to Modern Wales: Historical Essays in Honour of Kenneth O. Morgan and Ralph A. Griffiths* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004).
[26] Commotes and cantrefs are traditional Welsh territorial and administrative designations, with cantrefs being comprised of several commotes. For more information, see Melville Richards, *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units, Medieval and Modern* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969).

otherwise in Wales than in England concerning succession to an inheritance … our Lord the King will not have the custom abrogated.'[27] Cyfraith Hywel utilizes inheritance by gavelkind (land divided among male heirs) as opposed to English customary inheritance by primogeniture (whole inheritance passes onto the firstborn [typically the eldest son]).[28] While the Statute of Rhuddlan allowed the Welsh to use Cyfraith Hywel inheritance, there are notable additions which dramatically changed the nature of this system. First, Rhuddlan completely removed illegitimate children from any line of inheritance which was allowed under native Welsh customs. Second, women could claim their portions as legitimate heirs through English Courts, which significantly broke from Welsh custom. Even while Edward compromised to permit his new Welsh subjects to practice Welsh traditions and customs, such concessions were offset by English modifications.

The Crown's embrace of Welsh inheritance laws was less likely an attempt at reconciliation than keeping Welsh legal institutions that had historically prevented any strong Welsh polity from forming. Historians like Lloyd and others with Welsh nationalist tendencies tend to view this article as an acknowledgement and admission of Welsh law's existence comparable to the Treaty of Montgomery's recognition of the Laws of the March.[29] Others, like Frank Welsh, regard this in a colonial framework in which it was an attempt at reconciliation under English terms.[30] While these scholars are not wrong, it is also possible that this article ensured that no native Welsh lords could achieve significant power or might to challenge English rule. Medieval writers such as Gerald long viewed Welsh gavelkind inheritance as a 'weakness'

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[27] *Statutes of Wales*, 25.
[28] Dafydd Jenkins, ed., *The Law of Hywel Dda: Law Texts from Medieval Wales* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1986), 104-137.
[29] John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest* (London: Longmans, Green, 1912).
[30] Frank Welsh, *The Four Nations: A History of the United Kingdom* (London: HarperCollins, 2003).

of the Welsh people, seeing such political instability as embedded in their collective character.[31] Edward, likely from his days as Prince in the Welsh Marches, was keenly aware of how to manipulate and play off rival siblings.[32] Allowing English-style courts to decide cases in which succession was disputed presented another avenue to ensure Welsh assimilation.

The Statute of Rhuddlan served as the foundational blueprint for the assimilation of Wales into the broader English realm. The Crown's ambition extended beyond mere territorial dominance; it aimed to sculpt a new Welsh identity aligned with the interests of the Crown itself. While Welsh customary law found occasional accommodation within the new legal framework, English common law supplanted Welsh criminal codes, and territorial delineations were redrawn to mirror English administrative divisions. However, the disjunction between royal proclamations and on-the-ground realities gave rise to profound challenges for both English authorities and the Welsh populace. In the aftermath of conquest, a myriad of legal quandaries emerged, prompting individuals from both sides to grapple with the complexities of the new order. In the following sections, this work will evaluate initial legal dilemmas and examine the strategies employed by individuals to navigate the tumultuous post-conquest landscape.

The New Welsh Aristocracy in Gwynedd

With the entirety of Wales carefully split with surgical precision by the end of 1284 and English Common Law the rule of the land, Edward I then faced the question of who should carry out royal policy in the new shires. The remaining native Welsh nobility were not to be trusted, and Edward made it abundantly clear that they would have no place in his New Wales as they once assumed. Any soft admiration of Welsh law and customs voiced in the Statute of Rhuddlan

[31] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales,* 204.
[32] Marc Morris, *A Great and Terrible King: Edward I and the Forging of Britain* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2016).

was immediately juxtaposed by the effective decimation of the Gruffudd dynasty, with the children of Llywelyn and Dafydd ordered into English nunneries or imprisoned.[33] Additionally, Edward did not spare the other dynastic families of Welsh kingdoms such as the princes of Powys and the princelings of Deheubirth.[34] Besides the notable exception of Rhys ap Maredudd in south Wales (who eventually faced the same fate in 1297), there were limited opportunities for minor barons and princes to retain some form of importance besides perhaps joining the king's army to fight on the continent.[35] The old Welsh political hierarchy was, quite literally in most cases, dead and buried.

Edward's aggressive policies towards the native Welsh nobility left a significant void in leadership, paving the way for new figures to emerge in authoritative positions. An illustrative example of this shift can be seen in the appointment of Roger and Richard de Pulesdon, brothers hailing from the Marcher family of the same name, as the inaugural sheriffs of Anglesey and Caernarfon respectively. Roger, likely already settled in Maelor Saesneg along the Welsh-English border, received his appointment amidst the opportunities within the newly formed administrative shires. In a letter addressed to the bishop of Ely around 1290, Roger, speaking on behalf of 'all the men of Gwynedd', pledged unwavering allegiance to the king, asserting their readiness to defend him against any adversaries. Remarkably, this relatively minor Marcher family found themselves entrusted with the crucial task of administering the king's own lands in Gwynedd. Furthermore, the Pulesdon family's inclination towards marrying native Welsh brides underscores their integration into Welsh society. This shift in power dynamics highlights how the

[33] Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415,* 361.
[34] Ibid.
[35] This was the case of three former lords of Ceredigion in 1297 and Rhys Fychan in 1302, who were buried at Windsor at the King's expense. See Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415,* 362.

vacuum of leadership was not exclusive to Anglo-Normans, and extended opportunities to various individuals regardless of their background.

This section delves into the intriguing narrative of native Welsh individuals who managed to carve out a place for themselves within the new ruling class established by the English conquest. Through case studies of several Welshmen who aligned themselves with Edward's cause, despite the complexities of allegiance, and subsequently assumed the prestigious office of sheriff in one of the freshly minted shires, it is possible to gain insight into how power was demonstrated at a local level. The role played by these native Welsh individuals proved crucial in ensuring the administrative success of the English authorities while fundamentally reshaping the dynamics between the English and Welsh populations. In recognition of their contributions, these individuals were bestowed with immense respect and wealth, heralding the emergence of what this study will term the 'new Welsh aristocracy,' a cohort whose influence reverberated throughout Welsh society.

Sir Gruffydd Llwyd

The destruction of the native Welsh dynasties enabled lesser landed Welsh families to significantly benefit from ties to the English Crown. Edward regularly recruited from the Welsh during his campaigns in 1282 and 1283, partly due to the actions of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in alienating potential supporters to consolidate his rule in North Wales, as well as the potential social mobility that helping the English Crown could bestow, such as having opportunities to send their children to join royal households.[36] This was the case for Sir Gruffydd Llwyd (also known as Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Ednyfed), who was born in the late thirteenth

[36] For examples of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd alienating native Welsh lords, see Jenkyn Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn Ap Gruffudd: Prince of Wales* (Cardiff: Univ. of Wales Press, 2014), 274-337.

century to Rhys ap Gruffydd, and who held land and titles in North Wales that were held by Llwyd's great-grandfather Ednyfed Fychan.[37] Llywd's father and his uncle were reportedly strong allies of Edward in the initial Welsh War of 1282. In 1283, he entered Edward's own household as a yeoman. By the time he inherited his family's land and titles in 1284, it was apparent that he had already possessed strong loyalty to the English crown and affinity for English customs.

His affinity for Edward and the English certainly paid dividends, as evident by his remarkable freedom in North Wales. As will be discussed later, the native Welsh faced considerable hardships in maintaining their familiar lands and titles in the post-conquest landscape. Llywd by contrast obtained his inheritance without much trouble, as Edward even returned the lands that were his mother's that had been held by the Crown since her death.[38] This does not mean the complete absence of similar barriers that other Welshmen confronted, as an official petition dated around the turn of the fourteenth century asked that the king remedy a situation in which his uncle's land of the church of Llanrhystyd was wrongfully included in a charter drawn up for Thomas de Bek (the bishop of Lincoln).[39] After further petitions, the king acknowledged his mistake and attempted to compromise with Llwyd by offering the church of Llanarth.[40] While his response to this offer is unknown, the fact that Edward recognised his claim as legitimate was rare for a Welshman. This point is worth emphasising; Edward was not necessarily against the Welsh as long as they accepted or furthered English rule. Otherwise, it

[37] J. G. Edwards, "Gruffydd Llwyd, Sir, More Fully Gruffydd Ap Rhys Ap Gruffydd Ab Ednyfed (Died 1335), Traditional Hero of a Supposed Welsh Revolt in 1322," *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, accessed February 22, 2024, https://biography.wales/article/s-GRUF-LLW-1335.
[38] Cal. Chart. R. 57
[39] Cal. Anc. P. 265.
[40] Cal. Pat. R. 405.

seems unlikely that Edward would have accepted Llwyd's petition if the aim was to impart all Welsh lands to Anglo-Norman subjects.

Of course, Llwyd's position within the administration of North Wales granted him significant leverage that other Welshmen simply did not possess. By the time that Llwyd performed tribute to the new Prince of Wales in 1301 at Caernarfon, he had already obtained knighthood and was responsible for recruiting in North Wales on behalf of the English. From 1297 to 1327, Llwyd was the de facto sheriff of the entirety of North Wales, becoming the first native Welshman to serve as the sheriff of Caernarfonshire (1301-1305, 1308-1310), Anglesey (1305-1306), and Merionethshire (1314-1316, 1321-1327).[41] In 1298, he led a cohort of Welshmen from Gwynedd into battle at Flanders on behalf of the king.[42] Soon after Flanders the Crown enlisted his services to form and lead a levy of North Welshmen into Scotland as part the English campaign against King Robert the Bruce.[43] By all accounts, Sir Gruffydd Llwyd furthered the English initiative in Wales, and benefited immensely from it.[44]

On the other hand, Gruffydd Llwyd did not necessarily culturally distance himself from traditional Welsh customs. Again, there was space within Edward's Wales for native Welsh culture if it did not undermine English authority and political hegemony.[45] He was an ardent supporter and ally of Edward II, who had strong support among the new Welsh nobility due to his 'Welsh' origins. His involvement in suppressing and eventually capturing the revolting Roger de Mortimer at Chirk Castle in 1322 has long been cemented into Welsh mythology as Llwyd

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[41] J. G. Edwards, "Sir Gruffydd Llwyd," *The English Historical Review* 30, no. 120 (October 1915): 589–601, https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/xxx.cxx.589, 591.
[42] Cal. Pat. R. 335.
[43] Cal. Pat. R. 435.
[44] For each role, he was paid the usual fee of 20*l*. per annum. See J. G. Edwards, "Sir Gruffydd Llwyd," 591.
[45] Ralph Alan Griffiths and Phillipp R. Schofield, *Wales and the Welsh in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011).

coming to his senses and rebelling against the oppressive English lords.[46] In reality, he was defending the English Crown and the family toward which he had long sworn an oath. It just so happens that Edward II had broad appeal among the Welsh like Llwyd, who saw him as one of their own due to being born in Wales. Perhaps this conviction to his 'Welshness' is why Llwyd never arrived at the notorious Parliament of 1327 as one of the only medieval Welsh representatives for Merionethshire.[47] These examples illustrate that the New Welsh were culturally ambiguous and held Anglo-Welsh convictions. After all, men like Llwyd regularly interacted with Edward II through performances of homage when he became Prince of Wales in 1301, these interactions probably made easier by the fact that Edward II appreciated certain aspects of Welsh culture, particularly music and the crwth (type of Welsh lyre).48 Edward I and his son were uniting figures and leaders to this group, and Llwyd's defence of his liege remains in popular memory as a pro-Welsh nationalist statement.

Sir Gruffydd Llwyd emerges as an exemplar of the potential benefits of the new English regime in Gwynedd for those Welsh who aligned themselves with it. Renowned across North Wales as 'a man of the court', he epitomized the fusion of Welsh identity with English authority. His unwavering dedication to duty underscores his respectable character, serving as a model for others. Moreover, his indispensability to the Crown cannot be overstated; frequent appointments to crucial service roles underscore his value. A skilled administrator, Llwyd possessed an intimate understanding of his fellow Welshmen, effectively quelling potential rebellions and fostering stability. His prominence exemplifies Edward's vision for ruling over the Welsh,

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[46] J. G. Edwards, "Sir Gruffydd Llwyd," 592.
[47] G. O. Sayles, *The Functions of the Medieval Parliament of England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1988), 361.
[48] Phillips, *Edward II*, 82-84; J. S. Hamilton, "The Character of Edward II: The Letters of Edward of Caernarfon Reconsidered.," in *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives.* ed. Gwilym Dodd and Anthony Musson (York: Medieval Press, 2006), 5–21, 9.

blending authority with understanding, and showcasing the benefits that the new regime offered to loyalist.

Tudur Hen and Sir Goronwy ap Tudur Hen

Not every member of the new Welsh nobility was raised in an Anglophile family or privy to joining a royal household. Some were active participants and even officers in Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's army in the Welsh Wars. Their reasons for joining Edward's efforts in the post-conquest political climate of Wales are not entirely clear, and largely depended on the individual. Common theories claim it was a matter of survival, which is not a stretch, as evident by the fate of native dynasties.[49] Such alterations in affiliations were not uncommon in the medieval era, particularly in Wales where the political landscape was quite volatile. It was not unusual for members of opposing polities to frequently move between courts. The opportunity for personal gain, whether in titles or material wealth, was also likely a factor in switching courts. Alternatively, individual motivations were likely a mixture of all these causes and more. These reasons help us to make sense of the story of Tudur Hen and the rise of his family.

Tudur Hen (c. late 1200s–1311) was born into a lineage that was deeply intertwined with the tumultuous politics of medieval Wales. As the son of Goronwy ab Ednyfed (c. 1210–1268), who had served as the seneschal to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Tudur Hen was born into a family renowned for its military acumen and service to the Princes of Gwynedd. Goronwy himself had been a key figure in Llywelyn's court, leading Gwynedd's armies in fierce battles against the Marcher Lords as far south as Gwent.[50] Yet, despite this familial connection and the inheritance of his father's titles and lands following Goronwy's demise in 1268, Tudur Hen's allegiance was

[49] Davies, *Domination and Conquest*.
[50] Griffiths and Thomas, *Wales and the Welsh in the Middle Ages*, 11.

not guaranteed to the rulers of Gwynedd. The complexities of Welsh politics at the time meant that loyalty was often fluid, and Tudur Hen's actions would be shaped by a multitude of factors beyond blood. After all, the English Crown was technically the overlord of the Welsh princes and their subsequent patrons since before the Norman Conquest of 1066.[51] The fight over their loyalty was an important theatre in the grander Edwardian Conquest.

Edward's concerted efforts to sway the allegiance of local Welsh barons away from Llywelyn ap Gruffudd are evident in historical records detailing significant land grants bestowed upon Welsh lords leading up to his campaign in North Wales. Among these, Tudur Hen and his brothers are noted as possible recipients of land gifts from the Royal Crown in September of 1278. Although the specifics of Tudur's activities during this time remain undiscovered, it is plausible that he maintained a neutral stance or had already pledged loyalty to Edward by the time of Llywelyn's demise at Cilmeri in December of 1282. The exact moment when Tudur severed ties with Llywelyn's service remains unclear. Intriguingly, despite his potential shift in allegiance, Tudur's involvement in Welsh rebellious affairs persisted as he is recorded as an observer during the signing of the Penmachno document, issued by the rebel Madog ap Llywelyn, whom Tudur served as steward.[52] That this is an indicator of any long-standing resentment towards the English Crown is likely not the case, as Tudur performed homage to Edward in person in 1296 and soon after to Prince Edward in 1301 at Caernarfon alongside his son, Goronwy ap Tudur Hen.[53]

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[51] Davies, *Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415*, 24-55.
[52] G. Rex Smith, "The Penmachno Letter Patent and the Welsh Uprising of 1294-95," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 58 (2009), 49-67.
[53] Griffiths and Thomas, *Wales and the Welsh in the Middle Ages,* 17.

Tudur Hen's reasons for staying in the good graces of his liege are likely found in his role as a representative of the Crown in the Perfeddwlad area (Four Cantrefs) and the potential house-building that English law enabled. As previously mentioned, native Welshmen had a choice in whether to use Welsh customary law in cases of inheritance, which drastically reduced any chances of building dynasties or keeping titles between generations. There were tremendous benefits for those native Welsh who accepted the English primogeniture inheritance and land laws, which enabled families to reliably build and keep influence and material wealth. In essence, Welsh nobles who used primogeniture could become the equivalent to English lords and barons, as happened with the March lords in the thirteenth century.[54] While the motive cannot be definitively proven, Tudur Hen's naming of his eldest as his primary heir and the subsequent passing of land to Goronwy after Tudur's death had this effect.

Following the passing of his father, Goronwy assumed the title of Lord of Penmyndd and swiftly joined the ranks of the king's army, mirroring the path of his cousin Gruffydd Llwyd. Like Llwyd, Goronwy distinguished himself as a loyal servant of the English monarchy, participating in campaigns such as the First War of Scottish Independence, notably at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. Beyond his military exploits, Goronwy played a crucial role in maintaining order and security in North Wales, mobilizing troops to suppress potential uprisings like the Llywelyn Bren rebellion in Glamorgan and defending against Irish incursions. In 1319, he spearheaded a successful campaign alongside Hywel ap Gruffudd ap Geruath to reclaim Berwick from Scottish forces, earning further favour with the Crown. Transitioning from military to administrative duties, Goronwy was appointed forester of Snowdon shortly after the Berwick campaign. Despite his allegiance initially lying with Edward II's regime, Goronwy's unwavering

[54] John Goronwy Edwards, *The Normans and the Welsh March* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957).

support for the English monarchy persisted through the turbulent transition to Edward III's reign following Edward II's dethronement.

Tudur Hen and Goronwy's greatest legacy is undoubtedly as ancestors of what would later become the Tudor dynasty. Goronwy's great-grandson, Owen Tudor, married the widow of King Henry V and produced Edmund Tudur, who was the father of King Henry VII, the founder of the Tudor dynasty.[55] It is astonishing that the origins of England's most influential royal dynasty were part of this attempt to remake the Welsh nobility. It also demonstrates the sheer power and necessity of the new Welsh aristocracy in that they could potentially penetrate the English royal sphere. More than anything, it provided those Welsh families the opportunity to forge lasting houses, which is an ideal that eluded the native Welsh states for centuries.

Legacy

These men and their peers formed the basis of what the historian Beverly Smith deemed Edward's 'Allegiance of Wales.'[56] Such an alliance of native Welsh leaders from the Principality to provide administration services was brought forward from the early troubles in the 1290s to rule over North Wales. The aforementioned Roger de Pulesdon's tenure as the Sheriff of Anglesey ended in total disaster in 1295 when he was seized and hanged by Anglesey Welshmen due to his overbearing taxation to help subsidize Edward I's foreign wars.[57] To quell tensions and widespread rebellion, to which royal administrators already believed the Welsh were susceptible, the Crown likely enlisted more Welshmen from the Principality to carry out administrative

[55] Ralph A. Griffiths and Roger S. Thomas, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2021).
[56] J. Beverley Smith, "Edward II and the Allegiance of Wales," *Welsh History Review* 8 (June 1977): 139–71.
[57] Thomas Rowland Powel and Donald Moore, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (Cardiff: Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1976).

functions. This is partly why Sir Gruffydd Llwyd was so valuable, as he was a successful intermediary between his North Welsh communities and England. It was a bonus that such men maintained strong cultural and personal links to their subjects, referred to as 'the great ones of the country' by their fellow Welshmen.[58] In return, Llwyd and his peers obtained significant material and political clout that effectively reformed the Welsh aristocratic class.

This new class would come to dominate the political and social aspects of thirteenth-century Principality life. Their accomplishments and lives are documented in the poems and writings of Welsh artists that were often in the patronage of this class, or served later Welsh lords.[59] One of these bards is Iolo Goch, who apparently studied in the Bangor Priory where Tudur Hen is buried, and who based one of his earlier works on Tudur Hen and his lineage.[60] The post-Conquest period is best understood in the lens that English lords relied on these local Welsh aristocrats to administrate and conduct everyday matters. In the later Middle Ages, the English Crown (like many of their European neighbours) sought to centralize their actual governance. Royal proclamation after proclamation attempted to reassert England's absolute authority over North Wales, but actual power still lay in the hands of local aristocrats.[61]

During the era of the Conquest, the emergence of a new native Welsh aristocracy, combined with English officials settling in Wales, sparked considerable resentment among the local Welsh populace. These individuals bore the dual responsibility of managing this resentment while also advancing English hegemony in North Wales. Remarkably, despite the challenges and tremendous risks (as Pulesdon had learned), this group of men generally emerged from the era

[58] Cal. Anc. P. 398.
[59] Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415*, 417.
[60] Goch Iolo and Dafydd R. Johnston, *Iolo Goch: Poems* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1993), 12-26.
[61] Davies, *Domination and Conquest*, 25-46.

either maintaining or improving their status. However, many native Welsh inhabitants did not experience such prosperity. The struggle over Edward's vision for the Welsh identity was intense and often brutal, unfolding on the local stage.[62] The subsequent section will delve into the strategies employed by the Crown and its administrators to uphold hegemony in the region.

English Settlement

Preceding the final conquest of Wales in 1284, English settlements regularly popped up throughout the Marches, South, and the West. Traditional thought places emphasis on Offa's Dyke as the delineation mark between Welsh and Anglo-Saxon communities prior to the Norman Conquest of 1066.[63] This is not entirely accurate, as it was regularly penetrated by actors from the Welsh kingdoms and Anglo-Saxons on both sides of the landform.[64] Nonetheless, it was generally understood that the Welsh peoples were in the west, and the Anglo-Saxons (later Normans) to the east. The settlements that spawned along this loose border, such as Chester and Montgomery, resulted from the efforts of Norman lords that were provided considerable autonomy by William the Conqueror in exchange for settling the Welsh frontier into the Marches.[65] Throughout the next several centuries, Marcher lords frequently campaigned into South Wales, which would create new Anglo-Norman communities, usually around a motte-and-bailey castle. However, unlike these earlier settlements, the communities and colonies that formed after the Conquest sought to entirely separate and remove the native Welsh from interacting with English society while emboldening the King's defensive positions.

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[62] For instance, rebellions like the one led by Rhys ap Maredudd in the late 1280s, were swiftly put down and the leaders executed. See Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415*, 380.
[63] Wendy Davies, *Patterns of Power in Early Wales: O'Donnell Lectures, Delivered in the University of Oxford, 1983* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 61.
[64] Ibid., 62.
[65] Robert Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2013), 97-98.

As was happening elsewhere in Europe, the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in North Wales witnessed a rise in urbanization because of Edward and his administrators. 'Urbanization' is a tricky term to use when studying any medieval history, as it has specific modern implications, and it is difficult to avoid anachronism. However, in this context, it is simply to infer an idea that the boroughs were more 'urban' than the average Welsh village.[66] Edward started this trend with the construction of Flint Castle and town after his first significant victory in 1277, and the relocation of Rhuddlan around the same time in the style of English boroughs.[67] Caernarfon, Conway, and Harlech were then established as boroughs around 1282-3, and the new town of Beaumaris created in Anglesey in 1295.[68] In the case of Beaumaris, the prosperous native Welsh borough of Llanfaes was suppressed, and its inhabitants removed from the site into a new settlement, now Newborough.[69] The main attribute of these settlements was the behemoth stone castles that formed the visual centrepieces of military rule.

The castles built in these towns are well-known as Edward's Ring of Iron, known in Wales as Gylch Haearn: a series of ten formidable fortresses strategically erected throughout Wales, with eight contained within the former territories of the Kingdom of Gwynedd.[70] Constructed with remarkable speed by the standards of the thirteenth century, these fortifications served as the political and military nerve centres for the newfound English rule. Despite their relatively modest garrison sizes (Caernarfon could be defended by around 30 men), their imposing presence sent a resounding message of English dominion, bedecked with

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[66] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* 3rd ed. (London: Verso, 2017); Andrzej Pleszczyński, ed., *Imagined Communities: Constructing Collective Identities in Medieval Europe.* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2018).
[67] Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415*, 334.
[68] Ibid., 371.
[69] Edward Besley, "Short Cross and Other Medieval Coins from Llanfaes, Anglesey," *British Numismatic Journal* 65 (1996): 46–82.
[70] A. J. Taylor, *The Welsh Castles of Edward I* (London: Hambledon, 2003).

Byzantinesque imagery like the double-headed eagle and its Constantinople-like walls (famously designed by James of Saint George) and strategically positioned along the coastline.[71] While their strategic significance may have been dubious due to their limited manpower, their symbolic weight was immeasurable, serving as indomitable reminders of the permanence of the new order to the subjugated Welsh populace whose resistance was futile against these impregnable bastions. The construction of the Ring of Iron and the accompanying boroughs asserted English dominance and civilization and aimed at establishing communities of foreign settlers on Welsh land while being impervious to any siege or removal attempts. To realize this vision, the sheriffs of English border counties were tasked with enticing potential English burgesses with promises of rent exemption, expansive land grants, and communal rights, bestowing nearly 1,500 acres of land in some cases.[72] This influx of settlers facilitated the emergence of entirely new economic spheres, exclusively reserved for Englishmen and those Welsh individuals who embraced English customs, thereby solidifying the English presence and influence in the region.

The boroughs and the influx of burgesses produced significant economic opportunities, which are particularly notable in a pre-capital society. Edward's extensive expenditure in Wales is evident, to the extent that he sought Queen Margaret of France's pardon for the subsidy he had pledged for her campaign in Provence.[73] Much of the royal financial and material resources were directed towards infrastructure, including the construction and maintenance of the Ring of Iron and royal residences in North Wales. Regular shipments of corn (grain), timber, and provisions were dispatched to the castles and royal family members, like Edward's sister in Flintshire. When

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[71] R. C. Smail and J. G. Edwards, "Edward I's Castle-Building in Wales.," *The Economic History* Review 5, no. 3 (1953): 423, https://doi.org/10.2307/2591824; A. J. Taylor, "Master James of St. George," *The English Historical Review* 65, no. 257 (1950): 433–57, https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/lxv.cclvii.433.
[72] Davies, *Age of Conquest Wales 1063-1415*, 373.
[73] Cal. Anc. Cor., 56.

faced with the task of bridging the Menai Strait, which separates Anglesey from Gwynedd, Edward initially ordered 40 boats from Winchelsea to form a bridge.[74] However, upon being advised by locals that this approach was impractical, the King heeded their counsel and instead hired local carpenters from ports around Cheshire and sent them to North Wales. Such circumstances presented many opportunities for English burgesses willing to undertake the journey and seize the economic prospects available.[75]

Moreover, a surprising level of financial liquidity was present for such a pre-capital society, with currency flowing regularly between hands. Payment mandates were issued and honoured frequently, presenting genuine opportunities for burgesses to amass wealth through trade or services. A noteworthy example from around 1284 involved the payment of £30 to a burgess in Rhuddlan to ensure the provision of food and drink for the King's daughters during their stay in Wales.[76] In another instance, a burgess in Rhuddlan received a substantial sum of 1,000 marks. The King and his chancellors displayed considerable generosity towards settlers in towns like Caernarfon; around 1290, some burgesses in Caernarfon received compensation of 16d. after their houses were demolished for the construction of the city wall.[77] While 16d. is not impressive even by thirteenth-century standards, it was still significantly more than what was available to the rural Welsh. These instances underscored the economic opportunities available to those who settled in English boroughs, where financial transactions were not only commonplace but also facilitated prosperity for individuals willing to seize them.

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[74] Ibid., 109.
[75] Around the same time, there was a similar immigration of Germans to Slavic lands. See Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
[76] Ibid., 156.
[77] Ibid., 119.

The boroughs in the North served as the primary economic centres of the new principality, maintaining monopolies over markets that facilitated transactions exclusive to English settlers and the 'new' Welsh inhabitants. These settlements may be seen as predecessors to the English plantation settlements of Ulster in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries.[78] As the influx of settlers burgeoned, the reach of these plantation towns extended beyond their original confines, gradually encroaching upon native Welsh countryside.[79] With their expansion, the granted market monopolies encroached upon Welsh commotes, compelling native Welsh inhabitants to conduct trade solely within English boroughs under royal decree, effectively prohibiting trade outside approved towns.[80] Caernarfon, for instance, had its monopoly extended over a perimeter stretching up to eight miles. Furthermore, the access to liquidity enjoyed by burgesses, coupled with the favour of administrative officials, often resulted in English burgesses acquiring rural assets like mills, fisheries, and farms, which were essential components of the rural economy. Compounded by the imposition of taxes identical to those levied on boroughs, Welsh commotes found themselves burdened with financial strains they could scarcely afford, exacerbating the economic disparity between the settlers and the indigenous Welsh populace.

The influx of burgesses and the expansion of settlements had profound implications for the Welsh populace, particularly evident in the usurpation of native Welsh homesteads. Land, crucial for accommodating settlers and burgeoning boroughs, also served as rewards for those barons instrumental in the conquest. The methods of land acquisition varied. In the initial decades post-Conquest, seizing land was straightforward, often involving the appropriation of

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[78] Plantations were English settlements in Northern Ireland that were founded on confiscated land and settled by migrants from England, Scotland, and Wales. See Nicholas P. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 121-159.
[79] Keith D. Lilley, Christopher D. Lloyd, and Steven Trick, "Designs and Designers of Medieval 'New Towns' in Wales," *Antiquity* 81, no. 312 (2007): 279–93, https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003598x0009517x.
[80] Davies, *Age of Conquest Wales 1063-1415,* 373.

possessions belonging to deceased or imprisoned Welsh individuals from the Conquest and subsequent uprisings. Reclaiming such land proved challenging for Welsh families, as legitimate male heirs were scarce, and properties were often bestowed or sold to others. Even those who had aligned themselves with the English cause were not immune to land seizures. In one petition addressed to the Queen, possibly Eleanor or Margaret, from Hope in Flintshire, it was reported that the forester Elilevelin ap Phelipe and the sons of Cynfrig ap Owain had their lands trespassed and seized by the Englishman John Boydel around mid-Lent.[81] Although the outcome of this petition remains unknown, it is improbable that the Crown intervened, given that John Boydel continued to reside in Flintshire. Such instances of land theft were commonplace around expanding English settlements as they extended beyond their initial confines, further exacerbating tensions between the Welsh and their new English overlords.

Another strategy for land acquisition involved the complete relocation and replacement of Welsh communities, as exemplified by the fate of villages like Llanfae, which were supplanted by English boroughs. Edward exercised caution in his treatment of non-princely Welsh, particularly towards the latter part of the thirteenth century. While instances of direct land theft by individuals like John Boydel occurred, they were not part of a broader royal scheme, which was unfeasible in the medieval context. However, this does not imply that native Welsh communities were immune to displacement by royal decree; rather, they often received varying degrees of compensation. This was particularly evident in strategically significant areas such as ports, where Welsh communities were often displaced to make way for English settlements.

[81] Cal. Anc. Cor. 49.

The shifting dynamic resulting from the establishment of English-style boroughs had both immediate and long-term effects, notably leading to the migration of native Welsh to rural countryside areas, creating a distinct dichotomy between urban English-Welsh communities and rural native Welsh settlements. English writers and chroniclers, such as Gerald of Wales in the late twelfh-century and James Pecham in the thirteenth century, often portrayed the Welsh as "uncivilized" due to their pastoral lifestyle and lack of urban centres akin to those in England. Consequently, the settlement and development of English-style boroughs were viewed to "civilize" and Anglicize the Welsh population.[82] This process was reinforced by the requirement for Welsh commotes to conduct economic activities within these towns, fostering dependency on the boroughs. John Pecham, as Archbishop of Canterbury (1279-1292), likened this civilizing endeavour to the Roman Empire's subjugation of the Gauls, indicating a deliberate effort to fundamentally alter what was perceived as a core aspect of Welsh identity.[83] Thus, the establishment of English-style boroughs was not merely about territorial control but also represented a concerted attempt to reshape Welsh society and culture in accordance with English norms and values.

The divide between rural and urban areas came to define English-Welsh relations over the next century. Displaced communities, despite receiving land reparations, often resettled in inhospitable and unproductive lands, typically those deemed undesirable by the colonists except for the Welsh.[84] The rugged terrain of the Snowdonia Mountain range, for instance, was ill-suited for sustenance farming, rendering it a refuge for potential rebellion due to its inaccessible nature,

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[82] Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales*, 105.
[83] James Given, *State and Society in Medieval Europe: Gwynedd and Languedoc under Outside Rule* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).
[84] Davies, *Domination and Conquest,* 12-13.

which English forces were hesitant or simply incapable to penetrate. Moreover, as Edward was frankly more concerned with Scotland and continental matters, there were not enough resources for a campaign, nor would a success be of tremendous value. Despite the enduring impact of conquest in these regions, they remained bastions of native traditions and customs. R. R. Davies attributes the regrowth and popularization of Merlin's prophecies to rural Welsh poetry and folktales, particularly Snowdonia, where Dinas Emrys was believed to be Merlin's home.[85] While some clung to indigenous practices, many found it simpler to adapt to the new order and accommodate the influx of settlers.

Conclusion

The distinction between the New Welsh described in this work with the native Welsh would remain a tricky question throughout the rest of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By the reign of Henry IV (r. 1399–1413), tensions in Wales had boiled over once again in 1400 when the last major rebellion led by Owain Glyndŵr, the last Welshman to claim the Prince of Wales title, ignited.[86] Henry IV and the Lancastrian court responded to this challenge, and the perceived offence of Glyndŵr usurping the Prince of Wales title, by enacting a series of early penal codes that sought to assert English dominance while barring Welsh from public life and power. These laws were far-ranging, outlawing any Welsh from buying English land (in England and in the English settlements), marrying English women (with provisions that bar any Englishmen marrying Welshwomen from holding office), holding offices in Wales, importing arms and provisions from England without proper licenses, and having arms or castles.[87] Any Welsh found committing a crime in England and fleeing to Wales would be executed (crimes that

[85] Davies, *Age of Conquest Wales 1063-1415*, 379.
[86] Glanmor Williams, *Owain Glyndŵr* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1993).
[87] Bowen, *Statutes of Wales*, 31-37.

could be as vague as distressing cattle). The proclamations also include more privileges for the English population in Wales, including sole responsibility over castles and town walls, and exception from criminal conviction by Welshmen in Wales. This strategy would be completely different from the more natural attempt at integration under Edward I.

Under the rule of the Edwards from 1284 to 1327, the Welsh found themselves faced with a choice: they could keep traditional Welsh customs and lifestyles, provided they acknowledged their subjugation to the English Crown. While there was undoubtedly pressure to assimilate, as previously discussed, there remained sufficient space for traditional Welsh customs to endure. The New Welsh that Edward sought to create had emerged as a blend of both English and Welsh influences, partially due to the impracticality of a ruthless campaign to impose hegemony. In many respects, these 'New Welsh' resembled the inhabitants of the Marches, individuals with distinct customs and culture that defied clear categorization as either English or Welsh. However, by the 1400s, this coexistence became untenable for the English Crown, prompting a concerted effort to impose a stark dichotomy between English and Welsh identities. This campaign persisted until the ascension of Henry VII, the founder of the Tudor dynasty whose Welsh origin is touched upon here. The middle ground that once existed between the Crown and native Welsh was consequently eradicated.

The endeavour to outlaw what was perceived as "Welshness" necessitated a means of distinguishing between what was considered "legal" and "illegal." It is notable that the British Isles grappled with questions of belonging as early as the late thirteenth century. While these conceptions of identity may not align precisely with modern notions of nation-states, there existed an understanding that identity encompassed broader cultural affiliations beyond mere loyalty to a monarch. This fundamental inquiry would prove pivotal in shaping England's

subsequent colonial ventures, notably in Ireland. Indeed, the methods employed in the colonial administration of Northern Ireland, often regarded as the beginning of the British Empire, bear striking resemblance to those discussed in this study. While such parallels warrant cautious interpretation, the Edwardian conquest of Gwynedd and its ensuing administration laid the groundwork for a rhetorical framework that would be utilized by the First English Empire and later the British Empire in their future conquests and colonial endeavours.

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