

The Medieval Mortimer Family

An outline lineage

The purpose of this piece is to lay out the basic genealogy of the family in a way that is useful for both the specialist and the amateur. It is not an attempt to provide a comprehensive list of all the descendants of the early progenitors. Nor is it an attempt to show how all the landowning medieval Mortimer families were related. Although it now looks likely that most of the pre-1300 high-status Mortimers descend from Roger de Mortemer of St Victor and his son, Ralph Mortimer, the Domesday lord of Wigmore, many of them cannot easily be associated with a particular parent. For instance, it is not possible to show a connection with the long-established family of Mortimer of Coedmore, nor the thirteenth-century Mortimer families established in Kent and Lincolnshire. With regard to the families of Mortimer of Attleborough, Mortimer of Richard's Castle, Mortimer of Eakley and Mortimer of Helpston, it is now possible to locate them on a single family tree but that does not imply that all those who have traditionally been associated with those families now slot into place. The family of Eakley is particularly awkward. As always, a degree of caution is necessary.

In a departure from earlier editions of this outline lineage, cadet branches have been treated separately from the main Wigmore line. This is due to the increased amount of information that can be linked to the descendants of Ralph Mortimer, the Domesday lord of Wigmore, following the identification of good evidence making him the progenitor of the Attleborough Mortimers. Placing too many generations as insets means that the reader loses sight of the relationships in early generations, as they become pushed on to different pages. Therefore, the Wigmore family is dealt with first, in part one, with each of its offshoots outlined separately in an appendix. Cadet branches are dealt with in chronological order of separation from the main line: first the offshoots from the Wigmore line in parts 2-5 (Attleborough, Chelmarsh, Chirk and Tedstone Wafer, and Couhé). Then the offshoots of the Attleborough family are given in parts 6-8 (Richard's Castle, Bec, and Eakley and Grendon). Then the offshoot from Eakley and Grendon in part 9 (Helpston). Finally, part 10 outlines the inheritance of the lordship of Coedmore, which at the moment cannot be linked to any of the abovementioned branches of the Mortimer family (although there is circumstantial evidence linking it to the Mortimers of Wigmore). None of these genealogies is comprehensive.

Those familiar with the Wigmore family will notice that the descent given here from the Domesday lord, Ralph Mortimer, to his successor, Hugh Mortimer, varies significantly from that given in *The Complete Peerage* and *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. This is not a speculative leap or a use of an outdated source but the result of a careful reappraisal of the evidence. It turns out that the *Complete Peerage* editors developed a literature about an entire generation of the family in the 12th century based on a misdated Norman charter, which can be proved to date forty years later than they supposed. This research has been published by the Institute of Historical Research as 'The chronology of the de Mortemer family of Wigmore, c. 1075-1185, and the consolidation of a Marcher lordship', *Historical Research*, 89, 246 (November 2016), pp. 613-36.

Most of the basic information is unreferenced, having been drawn from *The Complete Peerage* (CP) and *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB). Supplementary matter has been added from the *Fundatorum Historia*, the Mortimer family chronicle, which was originally written at

Wigmore Abbey in 1262, and extended in the 1390s. It survives in a unique fifteenth-century copy in Chicago University Library. The basic text was printed by William Dugdale in volume vi of his *Monasticon*. Other sources necessary to understand the chronology proposed are mentioned in the notes but this has been restricted to problematic details.

For the purpose of consistency, the form 'Mortimer' has been used to describe the family in England after 1066. For those generations that lived only in Normandy and France, the toponymic 'de Mortemer', is used, to be consistent with other studies of the family.

Finally, I am grateful to Professor Daniel Power, Professor David Bates, Dr Paul Dryburgh and Hugh Wood for their help and advice in identifying and correcting some of the slips in this and earlier drafts of this document and the research on which I have based it.

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Part one:

The Mortimers of Wigmore, Herefordshire



Arms of the Mortimer family of Wigmore from the tomb of Blanche Mortimer (d. 1347)

Roger de Mortemer (fl. 1054-78), seigneur of Mortemer-sur-Eaulne, in the Neufchâtel region of Normandy, was the first to use the name. He was the son of Ralph I de Warenne (fl. 1035-50) and Beatrice de Vascoeuil, whose mother was a niece of Gunnor, the wife of Duke Richard I of Normandy (933-996).¹ Thus Roger de Mortemer was a third cousin of William the Conqueror. His elder brother, Ralph II de Warenne, married Emma and had sons Ralph III de Warenne and William I de Warenne (d. 1088). Roger himself first appears in the documentary record as Roger, son of Ralph de Warenne, in a charter dating from 1040x53.

The question of why he took the name de Mortemer rather than de Warenne is an interesting one. In the eleventh century, hereditary names normally referred to the current *caput* or chief manor of a noble family, and it is generally assumed that Roger took the name 'de Mortemer' from his chief manor, Mortemer-sur-Eaulne. This was the location of a major battle in 1054, the Battle of Mortemer-en-Brai, in which Roger himself played a conspicuous part on behalf of William, duke of Normandy. Despite leading the Normans to victory and capturing Duke William's enemy, Ralph de Montdidier (d. 1074), later count of Valois, he later released this prisoner, incurring Duke William's wrath. The duke immediately seized Roger's estates.² They were eventually restored, with the exception of Mortemer itself, which was bestowed on Roger's nephew, William I de Warenne. Thereafter Roger's seat was at Saint-Victor-en-Caux, twenty-five miles to the west, yet he was never called Roger de Saint-Victor. Thus the use of the name 'de Mortemer' seems to perpetuate a significant territorial *loss*, which is particularly strange in a feudal society. There are three possible explanations: one is that Mortemer was his birthplace; another is that by insisting that he was *de Mortemer*, he was continuing to lay claim to the lordship of that place in defiance of his feudal lord; the third is that he actually named himself after the *battle* of Mortemer, not the manor. The first of these is an inherently unlikely reason and can probably be ruled out on the basis that prior to 1054 he was known as 'Roger, son of Ralph de Warenne', as noted above. The second is hardly commensurate with a harmonious relationship with his kinsman and ducal overlord, William. The third explanation appears the most probable. By this reckoning, the family took their name from a glorious battle, not a seigneurial disenfranchisement.

The fact that Roger's nephew William de Warenne also fought at Mortemer suggests he (Roger) was born in the first quarter of the century. If William was still only eighteen in 1054, his parents must have married by 1034, as he was a younger son. That implies Roger's elder brother had to have been born before 1020 at the very latest, and probably quite a few years before this date. Given that Roger was both a proven war leader and probably in his forties at the time of the Norman Conquest, it is likely that he played some part in Duke William's military strategy against England. The reference by Wace to one 'Hugh de Mortemer' spurring his horse and charging the Saxons at the Battle of Hastings in the company of the lords of Auvilliers, Les Oubeaux and Saint-Clair, should be taken to refer to Roger (as far as it can be taken to refer to any historical personage), as there was no other male member of the de Mortemer family of full age in Normandy at that time.³ The *Fundatorum Historia* notes that his son, Ralph Mortimer, took part in the Conquest and, although it is not possible that Ralph played a significant role (due to his extreme youth), it is possible that this much later source preserves a memory of a family involvement in the Conquest. However, there is no other evidence that Roger was actually at Hastings and it is possible that his role may well have been that of guarding Normandy. Either way, it is probable that some manors in England were awarded to him in return for whatever service he performed, whether attacking England or guarding Normandy.

In 1074 Roger and his wife Hawise petitioned William I of England and John, archbishop of Rouen, for the recently founded priory of Saint-Victor to be made into an abbey.⁴ This suggests that his Norman estates remained his prime concern in his later years. He was still alive in 1078, for he was one of the witnesses of his nephew William I de Warenne's charter granting the church of St Pancras, Lewes, to the abbey of Cluny, which can be dated to 1078x81.⁵ It is safe to presume that he was dead by 1086, as he does not appear in Domesday. He was survived by at least one son.⁶

- **Ralph Mortimer** (fl. 1075-1115), *q.v.*

Ralph Mortimer (fl. 1075-1115) was the first member of the family known to come to England. He was given extensive lands from the mid-1070s, beginning with Worthy in Hampshire and Hullavington in Wiltshire (according to *ODNB*). He led the conquest of Maelienydd in Wales. He acquired Wigmore Castle, which had been built by William fitzOsbern (d. 1071) and forfeited by William's son Roger, earl of Hereford, on account of his rebellion in 1075. This became the chief seat of the Mortimer family for the next 350 years. By the time of Domesday (1086), Ralph had two hundred manors in England distributed between twelve counties. He founded a college of priests at Wigmore (consecrated in 1105) but retained a close association with his Continental estates. In politics he was a close ally of Stephen, count of Aumale (d. 1127), his fourth cousin (Stephen being William I's nephew). In conjunction with the count, who also became his son-in-law, he returned to Normandy in about 1090 and seems to have remained there for the rest of his life.⁷ The only English references to him after this date are (a) the appearance of his name as a landholder in the Winton Domesday of 1103x15; (b) his tenure of a Lincolnshire manor in the Lindsey Survey of 1115;⁸ and (c) his undated gift to Worcester Cathedral Priory, which was made with the assent of his sons and so must date from late in his life. None of these prove his presence in England. He witnessed charters in Normandy in the 1090s and, according to the *Fundatorum Historia*, the Mortimer family chronicle, was appointed lieutenant of Normandy by Henry I.

The date of his death appears in *Fundatorum Historia* as 'MC' (1100). The printing of this has misled generations of scholars. The date in the manuscript is incomplete, as shown by a space left after the 'MC' and the lack of a terminal superscript 'o', but this incompleteness is not

reflected in Dugdale's published version and so has wrongly been interpreted as indicating he died in 1100. There is no reference to him being in England in the twelfth century and he almost certainly remained in Normandy after 1090. His last recorded deed was his involvement on the side of Henry I in an action against Robert Curthose in Normandy in 1104.⁹ There is no reason to suppose that he died before 1115, the date of the final datable reference to him (the Lindsey Survey). It is a reasonable assumption that he died before 1127, as his son Hugh witnessed a charter of Stephen, count of Aumale, who died in that year. His first wife was Millicent (d. pre-1088), by whom he had at least one daughter.

- Hawise, who married Stephen, count of Aumale (d. 1127), and had issue:
 - a. William le Gros (d. 1179), count of Aumale. A long-term political collaborator with his uncle, Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1127-81), on the side of King Stephen.

Millicent was dead by 1088, by which time Ralph was married to his second wife, Mabel (fl. 1100). He had at least four sons – and possibly five – by his second and any later wives and concubines.¹⁰ The frequently repeated statement that he had a son called Ralph is erroneous.¹¹

1. **Hugh Mortimer** (fl. 1127-1181), *q.v.*
2. Robert Mortimer of Lincolnshire and Norfolk (fl. 1138-46?), ancestor of the Mortimers of Attleborough and their cadet branches. His descendants held two Lincolnshire manors that had belonged to Ralph Mortimer in 1086, as explained in Part two. *For his descendants see Part Two (The Mortimers of Attleborough) below.*
3. Roger Mortimer (fl. 1139).¹² He was in command of a royal army in 1137x39 at Malmesbury. He was dead by 1175, when his brother Hugh's grant to St Victor in his memory was confirmed by the archbishop of Rouen. It is not known whether he had any children.¹³
4. William Mortimer (fl. 1174) of Chelmarsh and afterwards Lower Lye, Herefordshire. He is mentioned in *Fundatorum Historia* and appears twice as a witness in his brother's Norman charters.¹⁴ He must have relinquished Chelmarsh before 1181 as it passed to his daughter-in-law and she held it for life. He may have had a son William, as a nephew of Hugh's by this name appears directly after his in one of Hugh Mortimer's charters.¹⁵ This line appears to have died out as the manors of Lower Lye and Chelmarsh both later reverted to the main line of the family.¹⁶

Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1127-1181), lord of Wigmore. The apparent gap of eighty years between the deaths of Ralph and Hugh Mortimer as it was recorded in the *Fundatorum Historia*, published by Dugdale in the seventeenth century, led twentieth-century scholars to dismiss the idea that Hugh was Ralph's son. Instead they invented a narrative in which Hugh's life was split into two generations: Hugh I (d. 1148x50) and Hugh II (fl. 1153-1181). The latter was said to have been the younger brother of Roger Mortimer (fl. 1139-73), who was supposed to have died in about 1153. Recent analysis shows that this is unsupported by any genuine twelfth-century documentation. In addition, the editors who developed this chronology misdated a post-1173 charter to a date before 1150 and cited a fraudulent charter as further evidence.¹⁷

Hugh Mortimer is first mentioned as a witness of a charter of Gerald (d. 1128), abbot of St Lucien, in the time of Stephen (d. 1127), count of Aumale (Hugh's brother-in-law). Hugh seems to have grown up in Normandy and returned to England to take charge of the Wigmore inheritance and to advance its borders into Wales sometime after the death of Henry I (1135). He supported Stephen, resisted Henry II on his accession, and fortified his castles against the new king, but surrendered them after the king besieged Wigmore, and shortly afterwards had his

possessions restored to him. He founded Wigmore Abbey, laying the foundation stone in 1172, and witnessing its consecration in 1179. One chronicle states he resigned his lands to his eldest son and became a canon of Wigmore Abbey, dying in February 1185. The Pipe Rolls note that from 1181, his eldest son was responsible for his debts. Whether he died in 1181 or 1185, the earlier year marks the termination of his active life; he was buried in the church of Wigmore Abbey. He married relatively late in life, in about 1150, so perhaps for the second time: his spouse was Maud la Meschine, who survived him by some years. She bore him at least four sons:

1. Hugh Mortimer (d. pre-1181).¹⁸ He witnessed his father's general confirmation of his family's charter to Saint-Victor before 1175.¹⁹ He married Felicia de St Sidon but died in a tournament at Worcester, without issue. She retained the manor of Chelmarsh for life.
2. **Roger Mortimer** (fl. 1171, d. 1214), *q.v.*
3. Ralph Mortimer.²⁰
4. William Mortimer (fl. 1175-99). He witnessed his father's general confirmation of his family's charter to Saint-Victor before 1175.²¹ He also witnessed his brother Roger's confirmation of his grants to the abbey of Cwmhir in March 1199.²² According to the *Fundatorum Historia*, he died in war overseas, without leaving progeny. This was possibly the campaign to retrieve Normandy in 1205, in which his brother Roger was captured.

Roger Mortimer (fl. 1171, d. 1214), lord of Wigmore. He was imprisoned in 1179 for three years, for murdering Cadwallon ap Madog; thus he was still behind bars at the time of his father's death or resignation in 1181. In 1191 he fell foul of Richard I's justiciar, William de Longchamp, who temporarily confiscated Wigmore and exiled him for a short period. After the fall of Normandy in 1204 he took a leading part in the king's attempt to regain the duchy but was captured and had to be ransomed. He died in 1214 and was buried in Wigmore Abbey. According to *Fundatorum Historia*, he married twice, firstly to Millicent, daughter of the earl of Derby (presumably Robert, 2nd earl of Derby (d. 1162) or William, 3rd earl of Derby (d. 1190)), by whom he had his son and heir, Hugh; and secondly to Isabella de Ferrers (d. 1252), daughter and heiress of Wachelin de Ferrers of Lechlade (second cousin of William, 3rd earl of Derby), by whom he had his other sons, Ralph, Robert and Philip. However, this does not correlate with the charter evidence. In his grant to St Georges de Boscherville, his children with Isabella are all described collectively as their *infancium* whereas his son Robert is separately mentioned.²³ This suggests Robert was a son by an earlier marriage. Alternatively, given the lack of any reference to a deceased earlier wife, it is possible that he was illegitimate. This is all the more likely given that the well-established family naming pattern would indicate that Hugh (the eventual heir) was Roger's first-born son (as most eldest sons were named after the lord's father). As a result of this confusion, the following order of sons preserves that given in *Fundatorum Historia* but the sons are not necessarily all the progeny of Isabella:

1. **Hugh Mortimer** (d. 1227), lord of Wigmore. He married Alice or Alianore de Briouze but died without issue. He was killed in a tournament in November 1227 and buried in Wigmore Abbey. His wife became a recluse at Iffley after his death; she was still alive in 1241.
2. **Ralph Mortimer** (d. 1246), *q.v.*
3. Robert Mortimer. If he was born by an earlier marriage, he must have died before his father without issue.²⁴
4. Philip Mortimer (fl. 1215-44). He appears as a witness of his father's grant to Kingston Priory.²⁵ He also witnessed his elder brother Hugh's grant to Reading Abbey in 1226x7.²⁶ He held a fee in Shropshire of the barony of his brother, Ralph, in 1242-3, and land in Winterborne, Dorset, in 1235-6.²⁷

5. Joan Mortimer (d. 1225), who married Walter de Beauchamp of Elmley, Worcestershire, according to the *Annals of Worcester*.

His widow Isabella survived him by many years, being buried in 1252 in the chapel she built in her ancestors' hospital at Lechlade.

Ralph Mortimer (d. 1246), lord of Wigmore. He was active from the time of King John's death and took a part in the conflict with the French. He died in August 1246. He married in 1230 Gladys Ddu ('the Dark-Eyed'), daughter of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth (d. 1240), prince of Gwynedd, known as Llewelyn the Great. She bore him three sons and survived him, being still alive in 1251.

1. **Roger Mortimer** (1232-1282), *q.v.*
2. Peter John Mortimer, a Franciscan friar in Shrewsbury.
3. Hugh Mortimer (d. pre-1274), lord of Chelmarsh.²⁸ The lordship of Chelmarsh had long been in the gift of the lord of Wigmore, being a means to endow younger brothers; but Hugh received it, in part at least, as an inheritance, and thus became head of his own cadet branch of the family. He was sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire in 1271. He married Agatha de Ferrers (d. 1306), who inherited one sixth of the manor of Luton from her mother (Isabel de Ferrers, countess of Derby) and who bore him at least three sons.²⁹ *For his descendants, see Part three (The Mortimers of Chelmarsh) below.*

Roger Mortimer (1232-1282), lord of Wigmore. He was born at his father's castle of Cwmaron and, although under age, took full possession of his inheritance in February 1247. He was knighted in 1253. At the outset of the Barons War he initially favoured Simon de Montfort but by 1259 was back on the king's side, where he steadfastly remained. In 1262 he fought his first cousin, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd; in 1264-5 he was fighting for the king, taking a prominent part in the battle of Evesham, at which he himself killed Simon de Montfort.³⁰ As a trustee of the lands of Prince Edward, he was close to the young king and favoured by him until his death. He married Maud de Braose, the daughter of William de Braose and granddaughter of the famous knight, William Marshal, earl of Pembroke. She survived him, dying in 1301. By her he had at least five sons.³¹

1. Ralph Mortimer (d. 1274). He was sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire after his uncle's death.
2. **Edmund Mortimer** (1252-1304), *q.v.*
3. Roger Mortimer (1256-1326), lord of Pencelli, later lord of Chirk. He began his career in the royal household, and appears as a yeoman to the king in 1270. He was rewarded by Edward I for his service in Wales with his own summons to Parliament and thus became head of his own cadet branch of the family. He served as justiciar of Wales, and took part in the rebellion of 1322 with his nephew, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore. This led to his arrest and imprisonment in the Tower, where he died. He married Lucia de Wafer (d.1324) in or before June 1286; she bore him at least one son. *For his descendants, see Part four (The Mortimers of Chirk and Tedstone Wafer), below.*
4. Sir Geoffrey Mortimer (d. pre-1282), who was buried at Wigmore Abbey.³² It seems likely that this man was the father of John Mortimer of Kidderminster (fl. 1300-1316), for whom Roger Mortimer of Chirk sought letters of protection, stating he was his

nephew, who went on campaign in Scotland with the Mortimers of Wigmore, 1300-1316.³³

5. Sir William Mortimer (d. 1297), lord of Crendon and Bridgewater, who was hostage for his father in August 1264. He married Hawise Mucegros but died without issue.
6. Margaret Mortimer (d. 1296x7), who married Robert de Vere (1257-1331), earl of Oxford, and bore him a son (who predeceased his father). She was buried in the Greyfriars' church, Ipswich.
7. Isabel Mortimer (fl. 1272-1300) who first married John Fitzalan (1246-1272), lord of Clun, and bore him a son, Richard Fitzalan (1267-1302), earl of Arundel. Secondly, between 1282 and 1285 she married Robert de Hasting (fl. 1285-92).³⁴

Edmund Mortimer (1252-1304), lord of Wigmore. His father originally intended him to follow a career in the church. In 1265 he was made treasurer of York, a position he resigned before 1285, when he married.³⁵ From 1295 he was summoned to Parliament, and thus the head of the family was henceforth officially titled Lord Mortimer of Wigmore. His wife was Margaret de Fiennes, second cousin to Queen Eleanor, who bore him eight children. He died in July 1304; his widow died in February 1334.

1. **Roger Mortimer** (1287-1330), *q.v.*
2. Matilda (d. pre-1316), who married Theobald de Verdon (1278-1316) in 1302, and had issue.
3. Joan, an Augustinian canoness in Limebroke Priory
4. John Mortimer (d. 1318). It was possibly this man who was described as 'king's yeoman' and obtained a grant of a market and fair at Bromsgrove in 1317.³⁶ He was killed in a tournament at Worcester and buried in Wigmore Abbey.
5. Elizabeth, an Augustinian canoness in Limebroke priory
6. Hugh Mortimer, rector of Old Radnor
7. Walter Mortimer, rector of Kingsland
8. Edmund Mortimer, rector of Hodnet

Roger Mortimer, 1st earl of March (1287-1330). His lands were granted to Piers Gaveston but he bought control of them for 2,500 marks. He was knighted in 1306 alongside the future Edward II. By far the most famous member of the family, he was both king's lieutenant and justiciar of Ireland, but rebelled against Edward II, was imprisoned in the Tower, escaped, fled to France, began a relationship with Queen Isabella in her exile, returned with an invading army and overthrew Edward II, forcing his deposition. He was created earl of March in 1328 but, having brought about the circumstances that led to the death of the earl of Kent, was arrested in October 1330 and hanged for treason the following month at Tyburn. His body was buried in a Franciscan church, either in Shrewsbury or more probably in Coventry. He married in 1301 Joan de Geneville (1286-1356), granddaughter and heiress of Geoffrey de Geneville (c. 1226-1314), lord of Trim in Ireland; he had at least twelve children by her:

1. **Edmund Mortimer** (d. 1331), *q.v.*
2. Margaret Mortimer (d. 1337), who married Thomas Berkeley in 1319 and had issue. She was buried in St Augustine's, Bristol, where her effigy is preserved.
3. Roger Mortimer (d. 1327x28), who married Joan Butler but died without issue.
4. Maud Mortimer (fl. 1319-1345), who married John Charlton the younger in 1319, and had issue.

5. Geoffrey Mortimer (d. 1372x76), lord of Couhé, France. He played a vital political role alongside his father in the years 1328-30, and was arrested along with him in October 1330. He was not executed, however, but exiled for life. He removed himself to the lands in France that he inherited from his grandmother, styling himself seigneur de Couhé [en Poitou]. He married Jeanne de Lezay-Lusignan and had at least three children. *For his descendants, see Part five (The Mortimers of Coubé, France) below.*
6. John Mortimer (d. 1328), who was killed in a tournament at Shrewsbury.
7. Joan Mortimer (fl. 1324-37), who married James Audley (1313-1386), Lord Audley, and had issue.
8. Isabella Mortimer (fl. 1324-27).
9. Catherine Mortimer (d. 1369), who married Thomas Beauchamp (d. 1369), earl of Warwick, and had issue. She is buried alongside her husband in Warwick Church, where her effigy is preserved.
10. Agnes Mortimer (d. 1368) who married in 1329 Laurence de Hastings, earl of Pembroke, and had issue. She was buried at the church of the Minors without Aldgate, London.
11. Beatrice Mortimer (d. 1383), who first married, in 1329, Edward, son and heir apparent of Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk; secondly she married, after 1334, Thomas, Lord Braose, and had issue.
12. Blanche Mortimer (d. 1347), who married Piers de Grandison in 1330. She died without issue and was buried in Much Marcle Church, Herefordshire, where her effigy is preserved.

Edmund Mortimer (d. 1331), Lord Mortimer. Edmund was in custody at court between 1322 and 1326. He was knighted on the eve of the coronation but was deprived of the majority of the family lands on his father's arrest and execution in 1330. Nevertheless he was summoned to Parliament in his own right in November 1331, which suggests Edward III intended to restore him to his ancestral grace. He died the following January at Stanton Lacy. He married in 1316 at the family house of Earnwood in Kinlet (Shropshire), Elizabeth Badlesmere (d. 1355), and had two sons by her. His widow secondly married in 1335 William Bohun (d. 1360), later earl of Northampton, ancestor of the future earls of Hereford.

1. **Roger Mortimer** (1328-1360), *q.v.*
2. John Mortimer, who died young.

Roger Mortimer, 2nd earl of March (1328-1360). He was born at Ludlow and presumably grew up in the household of his stepfather, the earl of Northampton, who in 1341 requested that he be granted one of his family lordships, Radnor. Wigmore was restored to him the following year, and further estates followed. He was knighted alongside the Black Prince at the outset of the Crécy campaign in 1346 and became one of the founder members of the Order of the Garter. In 1348 he was summoned to Parliament, and in 1354 his grandfather's earldom was conferred upon him. A member of the royal council and a regular companion in arms of the king and his eldest son, he died at Rouvray on the expedition of 1359-60, his bones later being brought back for interment at Wigmore Abbey. He married Philippa Montagu (d. 1382), daughter of the earl of Salisbury, and by her had at least one son, or more probably two.

1. **Edmund Mortimer** (1352-1381), *q.v.*
2. Thomas Mortimer (d. 1399), who later came to play an important role in the administration of the family estates, acting as first guardian and later steward to his

nephew, Roger Mortimer, 4th earl of March. The fact that *Fundatorum Historia* does not name him even though he was alive when it was written in the 1390s has been taken as an indication that he was illegitimate. However, there is no evidence for his illegitimacy, rather there were political reasons for excluding him, as he supported the Lords Appellant in their campaign against Richard II's favourites in 1387. He died without issue in Scotland and his body was brought back under licence to be buried in the nave of Wigmore Abbey.³⁷

Edmund Mortimer, 3rd earl of March (1352-1381). He was born at Llangoed in Llyswen, Brecknockshire and, after his father's death, became a ward of William Wykeham and, later, the earl of Arundel. During his father's lifetime he was betrothed to Philippa, only daughter of Edward III's second son, Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence, and in 1368 they married. Through his wife, who was countess of Ulster in her own right, he acquired extensive lands in Ireland. From 1371 he was summoned to Parliament as earl of March and Ulster. In the Good Parliament (1376) he turned bitterly against John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, his steward Sir Peter de la Mare being elected as the first Speaker of the House of Commons. He served on the royal council in the early days of Richard II's reign. He went to Ireland in 1380, was taken ill in Munster the following year, and died at Cork. By his wife, Philippa (1355-1378), he had four children. Both Edmund and Philippa were buried in the church of Wigmore Abbey, which Edmund had substantially rebuilt, thereby earning himself the epithet 'The Good Earl' in the annals of that monastery.

1. Elizabeth Mortimer (1371-1417), who married firstly Henry Percy (1364-1403), known as 'Hotspur', son and heir of Henry Percy (1341-1408), earl of Northumberland, by whom she had issue. Secondly she married Thomas Camoys (d. 1421), Lord Camoys, with whom she was buried in Trotton Church, Sussex. Their fine funeral brass is still preserved there.
2. **Roger Mortimer** (1374-1398), *q.v.*
3. Philippa Mortimer (1375-1400), who married first John Hastings, earl of Pembroke; secondly Richard Fitzalan (d. 1397), earl of Arundel; and thirdly Sir Thomas Poynings. She died without issue.
4. Edmund Mortimer (1376-1409). He was born at Ludlow and was close to his elder brother, the earl, who gave him more lands on top of those with which their father had endowed him. He acted as his brother's lieutenant in Ireland and as the executor of his will. Initially loyal to Henry IV, he was also close to his brother-in-law, Henry Percy. Following a defeat by Owain Glyn Dŵr in 1402, he was captured and turned against the Lancastrians. He married Catherine Glyn Dŵr, Owain's daughter, shortly afterwards and started promoting the royal claim of his nephew, Edmund Mortimer, 5th earl of March. Soon he dropped this, preferring his own claim to the throne. He drew up with Glyn Dŵr a tripartite division of the kingdom in which he was to be king of England, Glyn Dŵr king of Wales and the Marches, and Henry Percy king of the north. This was never to be. He died in the siege of Harlech in 1409. According to Adam Usk, he had four children by his wife Catherine, three daughters and a son, Lionel, of whom all were dead by 1413 except one (unnamed) daughter. Catherine and her children were all buried in the church of St Swithins, London.³⁸

Roger Mortimer, 4th earl of March and 6th earl of Ulster (1374-1398). He was born at Usk but by the age of seven was an orphan. His guardian in youth was his uncle Sir Thomas

Mortimer, to whom he remained close all his life. At first he was in the guardianship of his kinsman, the earl of Arundel; but Joan, mother of Richard II arranged the boy's transfer to the custody of Thomas Holland, earl of Kent. In the parliament of 1386, Richard II declared that Roger and his younger brother Edmund were the heirs to the throne.³⁹ This, however, was never officially enrolled and was in breach of internationally accepted royal succession rules, and contrary to the entailment of the throne drawn up by Edward III; it was rather intended to antagonise Henry, earl of Derby, and Richard II's other opponents, who formed themselves into the Appellant lords the following year. Sir Thomas Mortimer and the rest of the Mortimer council was of this affinity. Thus Roger Mortimer was drawn into a position of opposition to Richard II. In 1394 Roger requested in Parliament that he be acknowledged as heir to the throne; this request was ignored by the king. His career thus became one of being shuffled to the periphery of the kingdom, and he only escaped arrest due his premature death, at the age of twenty-four. He died fighting in native Irish dress at Kelinstown, Ireland, and his mutilated body brought back for burial at Wigmore Abbey. He married about 1388 Eleanor Holland (1370-1405), daughter of his guardian, by whom he had four children.

1. Anne Mortimer (1390-1411), who married Richard (d. 1415), earl of Cambridge, and by him had two children.
 - a. Isabella (1409-1484), who married Henry Bourchier (d. 1483), earl of Essex.
 - b. **Richard** (1411-1460), duke of York, earl of March and Ulster, and Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, who took the surname Plantagenet. He married Cecily Neville (1415-1495), and had issue, among others:
 - i. Anne of York (1439-1476), who married Henry Holland (1430-1475), duke of Exeter, and had issue.
 - ii. **Edward IV** (1442-1483), king of England, who married Elizabeth Woodville and had issue.
 - iii. Edmund (d. 1460), earl of Rutland.
 - iv. Elizabeth of York (1444-1503?), who married John de la Pole (1442-1491/2), earl of Suffolk, and had issue.
 - v. Margaret of York (1446-1503), who married Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy but died without issue.
 - vi. George (1449-1478), duke of Clarence. He married Isabella Neville and had issue.
 - vii. **Richard III** (1452-1485), king of England. He married Anne Neville but their sole son, Edward of Middleham (1473-1484), predeceased his father. Richard also left two illegitimate children, John of Gloucester and Katherine, later countess of Pembroke.

In this way all the Mortimer honours, lands and titles became subsumed in the Crown. This includes the titles and estates of the family of Mortimer of Chelmarsh, which reverted to the duke of York.

2. **Edmund Mortimer (1391-1425)**, *q.v.*
3. Roger Mortimer (1393-1413?). He was born at Netherton and was kept in custody with his older brother at Windsor Castle, Berkhamsted Castle and Pevensey Castle during the reign of Henry IV. An attempt to spring the boys from Windsor in 1405 and to take them to Wales was only briefly successful. He was released from captivity in 1413 and knighted at the coronation of Henry V; but nothing more is known of him; it is presumed he died shortly afterwards.
4. Eleanor Mortimer (d. 1414?), who married (before 1409) Edward Courtenay (d. 1418), heir to the earldom of Devon, but died without issue.

Edmund Mortimer, 5th earl of March and 7th earl of Ulster (1391-1425). The last Mortimer of Wigmore was born in the New Forest. When his father died, the family estates passed into royal custody; his mother's dower (one third of the whole estate) was valued at £1,242 per annum, suggesting the intact estate was worth in the region of £3,726 per year – one of the largest incomes in the country. He and his brother lived as royal wards – virtual prisoners – mostly at Windsor Castle. They were abducted in 1405 by their kinswoman, Constance Despenser, but quickly recaptured. Thereafter they found themselves imprisoned at the more secure fortress at Pevensey. Along with his brother he was released from custody in 1413 and knighted by Henry V at his coronation. Soon afterwards he received possession of his lands and attended Parliament. He sought permission in February 1415 from the pope to marry Anne (d. 1432), daughter of the earl of Stafford, thus incurring the king's wrath and a fine of £6,666. During the preparations for the Agincourt campaign he at first went along with, and then betrayed, a plot by his brother-in-law Richard, earl of Cambridge, to put him on the throne. He was pardoned and continued to play a prominent role as an outer member of the royal circle thereafter. Lancastrian politics following the death of Henry V saw him forced to go to Ireland as the king's lieutenant. He died of plague at Trim in January 1425, leaving no children. His heir was his thirteen-year-old nephew, Richard, duke of York.

Part two:

The Mortimers of Attleborough, Norfolk



Introduction

It is often presumed that the twelfth-century ‘Robert Mortimer of Norfolk’, the ancestor of the Mortimers of Attleborough, was the son of Ralph Mortimer of Wigmore, the Domesday baron. Until now this has been based on circumstantial evidence (at best) and pure speculation (at worst). Good evidence has now come to light that they were indeed connected: Robert Mortimer of Norfolk’s descendants held two Lincolnshire manors that had belonged to Ralph Mortimer of Wigmore in 1086. However, before discussing this, it is worth reviewing the circumstantial evidence.

In 1286 William Mortimer, lord of Attleborough, brought a court case in which he produced a pedigree that showed him to be the son of Robert, son of William, son of Robert, son of William, son of Robert, with the earliest of these men flourishing in the reign of Henry II. This supported a claim made in 1203 by his great-grandfather, Robert Mortimer (d. 1216-17), that *his* grandfather was Robert Mortimer, who had enjoyed the advowson of the church of Raveningham, Norfolk.⁴⁰ ‘Robert Mortimer of Norfolk’ as this first progenitor has come to be known to historians and genealogists, may be identified with the Robert Mortimer who witnessed a charter of William de Warenne II (d. 1138) to Castlecre Priory (Norfolk).⁴¹ This charter was also witnessed by William Warenne III (1119-48), so it must date from 1135x8. A Robert Mortimer – probably the same man – witnessed a charter of William the chamberlain de Tankerville to Robert, Bishop of Bath, granting the canons of Briwetone some lands of Alexander de Cantelupe, in about 1146.⁴² Thus the founder of the Norfolk Mortimers was alive at the same time as Hugh Mortimer of Wigmore and his brothers. Like those men, he appears not to have been in England before the death of Henry I.

Both Mortimer families were closely associated with the de Warenne family. Robert Mortimer of Norfolk witnessed a grant of William de Warenne II to Castlecre Priory in 1135x38, as mentioned above. Hugh Mortimer of Wigmore witnessed the same William de Warenne’s charter to the Mortimer foundation of Saint-Victor.⁴³ The Mortimers of Attleborough held lands directly from the de Warennes in Norfolk. William Mortimer (d. c.1180) followed the de Warennes to Scotland after Ada de Warenne (d. 1178), daughter of William de Warenne II (d. 1138), married Henry of Scotland (1114-1152), earl of Northumberland and earl of Huntingdon, in 1139.⁴⁴ The Norfolk Mortimers also made gifts to the de Warenne priory of Lewes. As for the

Mortimers of Wigmore, they were related to the de Warennes by blood, Ralph II de Warenne being Roger de Mortemer's elder brother. The first Roger Mortimer witnessed the de Warenne charter granting the church at Lewes to Cluny of 1078x81. Members of the de Warenne family also witnessed Hugh Mortimer's charters.⁴⁵ Also, both Mortimer families used the names William and Robert regularly. The objection that they cannot have been related because they bore different coats of arms is a spurious one as coats of arms were not introduced until the mid-twelfth century, by which time the two families were distinct.

Further circumstantial evidence for a connection between the Mortimers of Attleborough and Wigmore lies in the fact that they both took as their hereditary surname the name of a lordship in Normandy which did not belong to them. This is very unusual. In the early twelfth century, hereditary names normally referred to the family's *caput* – not a manor confiscated from an ancestor decades earlier. However, this was not the case with the Mortimers. The Wigmore branch had lost Mortemer in 1054; their seat thereafter was at Saint-Victor-en-Caux – yet they were never called Roger de Saint-Victor or Ralph de Saint-Victor. Nor was Ralph known as 'de Wigmore'. Thus the use of the name 'Mortimer' seems to perpetuate a significant strategic loss, dating back to 1054, which is particularly strange in a martial society. As mentioned above, it seems that Roger de Mortemer actually named himself after the *battle* in which he played a major role, not just the manor. As for the Norfolk Mortimers, it is possible that they were descended from a family whose head was later enfeoffed with Mortemer by its lords, the de Warenne family.⁴⁶ However, nothing directly links them with the original *caput* of the de Mortimers. Nor can they be connected with any of the other places called Mortemer in France, such as the Cistercian abbey founded by Henry I at Lyons-la-Forêt. On top of this, if the Mortimers of Attleborough were descended from a later family who held Mortemer-sur-Eaulne from the de Warenne family, they can hardly have been unaware of the other Mortimers, and it would have been somewhat presumptuous to have adopted the same name as their overlords' powerful kinsmen. It seems that both the Wigmore and Attleborough families enshrined the memory of a single glorious battle in their very identity.

It is never right to give circumstantial details in favour of an argument and not present those that favour an alternative interpretation. In this case it has to be noted that there was a completely separate French family of de Mortemer in Poitou, descended from Ingelelme de Mortemer, flourishing in the late eleventh century.⁴⁷ Apart from the national difference and the lack of comparable names, there is no reason why the Mortimers of Attleborough could not have been descended from the French Ingelelme de Mortemer. It also has to be noted that no Mortimer from Norfolk witnessed any charter in conjunction with a Wigmore Mortimer; they never appear named together *even though* they both had connections with the de Warennes. Neither Robert Mortimer of Norfolk (fl. 1138-46) nor his son William (fl. 1155-80) appears in any of the Saint-Victor charters (unless the reference to Hugh de Mortemer's nephew William in a charter of Saint-Victor relates to the latter, which is very unlikely given his low position in the witness list.⁴⁸ The *Fundatorum Historia* does not mention the Norfolk family at all. This last point may be excused on the grounds that the early generations of the family lived before Wigmore Abbey was founded and so before the *Fundatorum Historia* was composed. However, the earlier points are significant and preclude any serious scholar making a connection on circumstantial grounds alone.

Evidence that the two families were connected is to be found in the descent of the manor of Wootton in the hundred of Yarborough, Lincolnshire. It appears in the Domesday survey as being held in lordship by Ralph Mortimer of Wigmore (jointly, with Odo). To be exact, three manors called Wootton appear in Domesday: (1) the aforementioned one, held in conjunction with the manors of Thornton Curtis and Bonby, by Odo and Ralph, with Ralph being the tenant-in-chief; (2) a smaller manor held by the bishop of Lincoln; and (3) a very small one held

by Norman d'Arcy. In the Lindsey Survey of 1115, the bishop's manor was still held by the bishop of Lincoln and described as three carucates at Goxhill and Wootton; Norman d'Arcy's small manor was still held by him and described as six bovates and a half in Wootton. Ralph Mortimer's lordship had been divided up: seven carucates in Thornton Curtis had been inherited by his son-in-law, Stephen, count of Aumale (d. 1127); four bovates in Bonby were in the hands of William de Vescy, who may also have been a relative by marriage; and the last part, two carucates in Wootton itself, remained in Ralph's own lordship.⁴⁹ All three manors may be identified in the survey of knights' fees in 1212. The bishop's manor of Goxhill and Wootton was then in the hands of Thornton Abbey, which William, count of Aumale (Hugh Mortimer's nephew) had founded in 1139. Norman d'Arcy's manor was described as 'Wootton and Limber' and was then in the hands of Andrew de Neville. Ralph Mortimer's two carucates in Wootton were held by another Ralph Mortimer, and held of *him* by Sybilla de Valognes.⁵⁰ In 1242, Wootton was held by a William de Mortimer. The question is, who was this Ralph Mortimer in 1212?

There are two possibilities. The first is that Ralph was a member of the main line of the family of Wigmore. The other is that he was another Ralph Mortimer whom we have not hitherto connected to the Mortimers of Wigmore. With regard to the first, the Ralph in question could have been either the Ralph recorded in *Fundatorum Historia* as the son of Hugh Mortimer of Wigmore (d. 1181x5) or the Ralph Mortimer who became lord of Wigmore on his brother's death in 1227. However, the second of these men lived until 1246; he had no brother called William nor a son of that name (his estates passed to his son Roger). So he was not the Ralph who held Wootton in 1212. As for the earlier Ralph Mortimer, we know nothing about him. Had he had a son called William, we might have expected the near-contemporary author of the earlier part of the *Fundatorum Historia* (composed in 1262) to name him as lord of Wootton (which it does not). If this Ralph or his son had died without issue, the manor would have reverted to the main line of Wigmore and would have appeared in the family's later inquisitions post mortem (which it does not). Thus we must consider the second possibility outlined above. It appears that the William Mortimer who inherited Wootton from Ralph was William Mortimer of Attleborough. Ralph also held a second Lincolnshire manor in 1212, namely Wilsthorpe. This had belonged to a Robert Mortimer in 1179-80. After Ralph's possession of it in 1212, it passed to William Mortimer of Attleborough, eldest son of Robert Mortimer of Attleborough, who is explicitly stated to have held it with Harlaxton in 1237.⁵¹ It therefore seems highly likely that the tenure of Wootton followed the same path, from Ralph Mortimer to William Mortimer of Attleborough.

How did Ralph Mortimer come by Wootton and Wilsthorpe? The obvious answer is direct inheritance. The entry noting his tenure of Wilsthorpe in 1212 records that it was held from Baldwin Wake, from the honour of the earl of Chester, and this is no doubt the basis on which Robert Mortimer of Attleborough had held it. Wootton, however, was held in chief in 1212, just as Ralph Mortimer had held it at Domesday. It seems that Wootton passed from the Domesday lord to a younger son after 1115 in much the same way that another part of his large manor, Thornton, went to his daughter Hawise, the wife of Stephen, count of Aumale. By this reckoning, the younger son in question would have been Robert Mortimer of Norfolk; from him Wootton would have passed to his son William Mortimer (d. 1180) and then Robert Mortimer of Attleborough (d. 1216-17). This Robert passed Harlaxton and Attleborough and the principal part of his estate to his eldest son, William, sometime after 1212, but Wootton and Wilsthorpe went to Ralph. It is likely that Ralph was a younger son of Robert Mortimer of Attleborough. When Ralph died, sometime before 1235, the two manors reverted to his elder brother, William Mortimer, who granted Wilsthorpe back to Ralph's widow, Joan, who held it in 1242.⁵²

Wootton was not the only manor that passed from the Domesday lord Ralph Mortimer to the Mortimers of Attleborough. Harmston, in the hundred of Boothby, at the other end of Lincolnshire, followed a similar path. In 1086 there were three manors here: (1) a very large one that belonged to the earl of Chester, (2) a smaller one, which belonged to Ralph Mortimer as lord and tenant-in-chief, and (3) a third very small holding, which belonged to Norman d'Arcy. The last of these is not mentioned again. In 1212, the two other manors were held by the then earl of Chester and Robert Mortimer respectively. The latter amounted to half a fee and was then tenanted by Robert son of Roger.⁵³ This land was shortly afterwards divided in two and part given by the tenants to Thurgarton Priory (Nottinghamshire) and part to the Templars, so it does not appear in the later inquisitions post mortem of the Mortimers of Attleborough. Nevertheless, the fact that Robert Mortimer was the lord in 1212 is significant. The only lords of this name known to hold lands at that time were Robert Mortimer of Richard's Castle (d. 1219) and Robert Mortimer (of Attleborough d. 1216-17), who were almost certainly first cousins (see Part Six: The Mortimers of Richard's Castle). Whichever of them was the lord of Harmston, it descended through the man who was their paternal grandfather, namely Robert Mortimer of Norfolk.

By itself, the circumstantial evidence linking the Mortimer families of Wigmore and Attleborough does not imply that Robert Mortimer of Norfolk was the son of the Domesday lord; he could, for instance, have been the son of an unknown brother of Ralph Mortimer, or even more distantly connected, or even completely unconnected. However, the inheritance of Wootton and Harmston by the Norfolk Mortimers strongly suggests that the relationship of Ralph Mortimer the Domesday lord and Robert Mortimer of Norfolk was indeed that of father and son. It was not necessarily a legitimate paternity (and this might indicate why there are few appearances of the two families in the same charter witness lists) but it was a relationship acknowledged by the inheritance of property, and that is what matters in understanding the spread of the family and their connections.

Robert Mortimer (fl. 1135x8), known to historians as 'Robert Mortimer of Norfolk', was a younger son of Ralph Mortimer of Saint-Victor and Wigmore. From his father, his family inherited at least two manors, Wootton and Harmston in Lincolnshire, as explained above. Like his three brothers (Hugh, Roger and William), he is not known to have visited England before the death of Henry I. He witnessed a charter of William de Warenne II (d. 1138) to Castleacre Priory, which was also witnessed by William Warenne III (1119-48), and so dates from 1135x8. He was probably the Robert Mortimer who witnessed a charter of William the chamberlain de Tankerville to Robert, Bishop of Bath, granting to the canons of Briwetone some lands of Alexander de Cantelupe, dated about 1146.⁵⁴ He possibly had several sons, but only the first-named is certain.

1. **William Mortimer** (fl. 1155-74; died c. 1180). *See below.*
2. Robert Mortimer of Essex (fl. 1168). *For an explanation of his connection with the Mortimers of Attleborough and an outline lineage of his descendants, see Part six (The Mortimers of Richard's Castle) below.*

William Mortimer (fl. 1155-74; d. c. 1180), lord of Attleborough. He held lands in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire from David, earl of Huntingdon, and in Lincolnshire from the earls Warenne. Witnessed two charters of William the Lion of Scotland. Possibly fought with the Scots at Alnwick in 1174 and was held hostage after the battle; however, he is easily confused

with his Scottish namesake, William Mortimer, lord of Aberdour (fl. 1168-80). He had at least one son:

1. **Robert Mortimer** (fl. 1181, d. 1216-7). *See below.*

Robert Mortimer (fl. 1174, d. 1216-7), lord of Attleborough and of Harlaxton (which he had been given by the king by 1174). He witnessed several charters of Hamelin de Warenne, earl of Surrey, in the 1190s.⁵⁵ Temporarily lost his lands in 1194 for holding an illegal tournament. In his reclamation of the advowson of Raveningham, he states his grandfather was Robert Mortimer. He was probably the Robert Mortimer who held the manor of Wilsthorpe, Lincolnshire, in 1179/80 (in his father's lifetime).⁵⁶ Campaigned against King John in 1205 and 1215, on which occasions his lands were confiscated. He had at least four sons:

1. **William Mortimer** (fl. 1215; d. post-1250). *See below*
2. Robert Mortimer (fl. 1215). Successfully petitioned King John for £10 of land in Harlaxton in 1215 when his father and brother were out of favour due to their rebellion.⁵⁷
 - a. Geoffrey Mortimer (d. 1271). *For an explanation of his position in this pedigree and his descendants, see Part eight (The Mortimers of Eakley and Grendon), below.*
3. Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1237-42). Held £5 of land in Denton, next to Harlaxton, in 1237-42 which had previously been held by his brother William.⁵⁸
4. Ralph Mortimer (d. pre-1235). *For an explanation of his position in this pedigree and his descendants, see Part eight (The Mortimers of Eakley and Grendon), below.*

William Mortimer (fl. 1215; d. post-1250), lord of Attleborough, Scoulton, Barnham Broom, Little Ellingham, [Rockland]Tofts, Stanford and Little Buckenham in Norfolk, Kingston in Cambridgeshire, and Harlaxton in Lincolnshire. In 1250, he had a charter for free-warren in his manors of Attleborough, Barnham and Scoulton, in Norfolk, and Kingston and Foxton in Cambridgeshire. His son and heir was:

1. Sir Robert Mortimer (d. 1265). *See below.*

Robert Mortimer (d. c. 1265), lord of Attleborough, married Isabel [de Banks?]. He was knighted and had at least two sons:

1. William Mortimer (d. 1297). *See below.*
2. Robert Mortimer.⁵⁹

William Mortimer (d. 1297), lord of Attleborough, Barnham Broom, Bixton, Scoulton, Rocklandtofts, Hadeston and Bonwell, in Norfolk; Kingston and Caldecote in Cambridgeshire; and Harlaxton in Lincolnshire, etc. He presented to the living of Bixton in 1295.⁶⁰ He married Alice.⁶¹ He had a son and two daughters:

1. Constantine Mortimer (b. c. 1279; d. 1358/9). *See below.*
2. Maud Mortimer

3. Cassandra Mortimer (fl. 1303). She held Foxton in 1303 for half a fee from the honour of Richmond. This had passed to her nephew Constantine by 1346.⁶²

Constantine Mortimer (c. 1279-1358/9), lord of Attleborough. He presented to the living of Bixton in 1314 and 1334 and to that of Barnham Broom in 1329, 1330, 1333, 1347, 1349, 1352 and 1356.⁶³ He married 1stly Sybil (d. 1334); 2ndly Catherine. He married firstly Sybil (d. 1334), by whom he had at least two sons, and secondly Catherine, before 1342.

1. Constantine Mortimer (d. 1355), who married Agnes. As 'Constantine Mortimer junior' he was given letters of protection for going into Scotland in 1335.⁶⁴ After Constantine's death she married Thomas Gissing.
2. **Robert Mortimer** (d. 1387). *See below*.
3. William Mortimer, canon of Lincoln.⁶⁵

Robert Mortimer (d. 1387), lord of Attleborough. He possibly married firstly Catherine Brockdish (fl. 1339) and secondly Margery, who survived him. He presented to the living of Barnham Broom in 1376 and 1386; his widow presented to Bixton in 1392 and Barnham Broom in 1393.⁶⁶ According to *Complete Peerage*, they had two sons:

1. **Thomas Mortimer** (d. pre-1387), who married Mary Park. By her he had three daughters and coheiresses:
 - a. Sybil, who married first Sir Ralph Bigod of Stockton, then Henry Pakenham and finally Thomas Manning;
 - b. Cicely, who married Sir John Harling (d. pre1403) and then Sir John Radcliffe;
 - c. Margery, who married Sir John FitzRalph of Great Ellingham.

As a result of Robert Mortimer's male line dying out and he being succeeded by three coheiresses, the title of Lord Mortimer of Attleborough fell into abeyance.

2. **Constantine Mortimer** (fl. 1399-1414). In 1399 and 1414 he presented to the living of Bixton, which had previously been in Sir Robert's widow's gift.⁶⁷ In 1405 he sold the manor of Barnham Broom to Sir Thomas Erpingham, retaining only the advowsons.⁶⁸
 - a. Robert Mortimer (fl. 1424-59) of Barnham Broom. Presented to the living of Bixton in 1424 (twice), 1429, 1435, 1438, 1439 and 1447. He was summoned to attend the council in 1458/9.⁶⁹ He married Sybil, who presented to Barnham Broom with him from 1429.⁷⁰ They had a daughter:
 1. Anne Mortimer (d. 1498), who first married Sir William Chamberlayne (d. 1462); 2ndly, Sir Robert Wingfield, MP (d. 1481); and 3rdly John, Lord Scrope of Bolton (d. 1498).

Part three:

**The Mortimers of Chelmarsh, Shropshire,
and Luton, Bedfordshire**



Hugh Mortimer (d. pre-1274), lord of Chelmarsh.⁷¹ He was the son of Ralph Mortimer (d. 1246), lord of Wigmore. *See Part one, above.* Chelmarsh had long been in the gift of the lord of Wigmore, being a means to endow younger brothers; but Hugh received it, in part at least, as an inheritance, and thus became head of his own cadet branch of the family. He was sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire in 1271. He married Agatha de Ferrers (d. 1306), who inherited one sixth of the manor of Luton from her mother (Isabel de Ferrers, countess of Derby) and who bore him at least three sons.⁷²

1. John Mortimer (d. pre-1274), without issue.
2. **Henry Mortimer** (d. 1317). *See below.*
3. Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1287-1300), lord of Carkedon, which he held from the Mortimers of Richard's Castle.⁷³

Henry Mortimer (d. 1317), lord of Chelmarsh (Herefordshire) and Luton (Bedfordshire). He attended Parliament in 1309 as a knight of the shire for Shropshire. He married Constance, who bore him at least two children.

1. Joan Mortimer, whose husband has not yet been identified, but who bore a daughter:
 - a. Maud, who married a member of the de Cressi family, and had a son, John de Cressi (d. 1407). This John, as the heir general of Sir Hugh Mortimer (d. 1372), claimed the Mortimer portion of the manor of Luton, which did not revert to the family of Mortimer of Wigmore on the extinction of the male line of the Mortimers of Chelmarsh in 1403 (see below).⁷⁴
2. Hugh Mortimer (1296-1372). *See below.*

Hugh Mortimer (1296-1372), lord of Chelmarsh and Luton.⁷⁵ He adhered to the Contrarians in 1322, and had to pay a fine to recover his lands. He married Elizabeth and had the following issue:

1. **Henry Mortimer** (d. 1361). *See below*.
2. Hugh Mortimer, who died without issue before 1403.
3. James Mortimer, who died without issue before 1403.
4. Thomas Mortimer, who died without issue before 1403.
5. Edmund Mortimer, who died without issue before 1403.
6. Roger Mortimer, who died without issue before 1403.
7. Maud Mortimer, who married ? Rodebergh and had a son Thomas, whose grandson Edmund Rodebergh was the heir general of Hugh Mortimer (d. 1403) in respect of the manor of Magor in 1438.⁷⁶

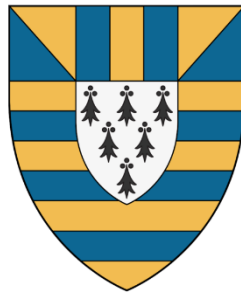
Henry Mortimer (d. 1361). The name of his wife is unknown; she bore him two sons:

1. William Mortimer (d. 1391), who was described in 1374 as being insane from birth.
2. **Hugh Mortimer** (d. 1403). *See below*.

Hugh Mortimer (d. 1403), who married Petronilla (d. 1428), but died fighting for the king at the battle of Shrewsbury, leaving no issue. On Hugh's death the male line became extinct. Chelmarsh reverted to the Mortimers of Wigmore. The heir to the portion of the manor of Luton was found to be John de Cressi (*see above*). However, the manor of Magor remained in the king's hands for decades until claimed by Edmund Rodebergh in 1438 (*see above*).

Part four:

**The Mortimers of Chirk, Denbighshire,
and Tedstone Wafer, Herefordshire**



Roger Mortimer (1256-1326), lord of Pencelli, later lord of Chirk. He was the third son of Roger Mortimer (1232-1282), lord of Wigmore. He began his career in the royal household, and appears as a yeoman to the king in 1270. He was rewarded by Edward I for his service in Wales with his own summons to Parliament and thus became head of his own cadet branch of the family. He served as justiciar of Wales, and took part in the rebellion of 1322 with his nephew, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore. This led to his arrest and imprisonment in the Tower, where he died. He married Lucia de Wafer (d.1324) in or before June 1286; she bore him at least one son.

1. **Roger Mortimer** (d. pre-1331). *See below.*

Roger Mortimer (d. pre-1331) of Tedstone Wafer.⁷⁷ He had letters of protection to go with his father to Scotland in 1306, 1310, 1311 and 1314.⁷⁸ Roger Mortimer of Wigmore took most of his deceased uncle's estates on his return to England and assumption of semi-royal power in 1327. This Roger the son was left with little more than his mother's lands. He married Juliana de Turberville (fl. 1330-1350), and had issue, as below. For the common but erroneous assertion that he also had a son Llywelyn Mortimer, who became lord of Coedmore, see this note.⁷⁹

1. **John Mortimer** (fl. 1333-53). *See below.*
2. Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1348), who held a portion of Tedstone Wafer.⁸⁰

John Mortimer (fl. 1333-53).⁸¹ He was presumably born after 1310 as he was still under age in 1331. He was old enough in 1335 to take part in an armed assault and be held responsible for it.⁸²

1. **John Mortimer** (fl. 1359-73). *See below.*

John Mortimer (fl. 1359-73). In 1359 as John Mortimer son of John Mortimer, he released all claim in his great-grandfather's estates to Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, earl of March, and the earls of Arundel.⁸³ He held a quarter of a knight's fee in Tedstone Wafer in 1373.⁸⁴

1. **Roger Mortimer** (d. 1402). *See below.*

Roger Mortimer (d. 1402) of Tedstone Wafer. He had succeeded his father by 1378, as in that year he presented an incumbent to the living of Hampton Wafer.⁸⁵ He received a messuage and a carucate of land in Edvin Loach in 1393.⁸⁶ He resided there and had adult sons, Richard and Roger, by the time of his attack on John Asteley at Kyre Wyard in 1396.⁸⁷ Given that his heir was not born until 1391, either these sons were (a) illegitimate; or (b) both dead by 1402; or Roger the father must have died between 1396 and 1402, and the son Roger be the man who died in 1402. There is no evidence to support the last-mentioned possibility. Roger married Maud Harley, through whom he gained the manor of Kyre Wyard, Worcestershire, and had issue.

1. **Sir John Mortimer** (1391-1415). *See below.*

Sir John Mortimer (1391-1415), lord of Martley and Tedstone Wafer. He was born at Edvin Loach and knighted at Pont Rémy on the Agincourt campaign.⁸⁸ He died in the battle, leaving three sons.

1. John Mortimer (1409-1420).
2. **Sir Hugh Mortimer** (1413-1460). *See below.*
3. Roger Mortimer.

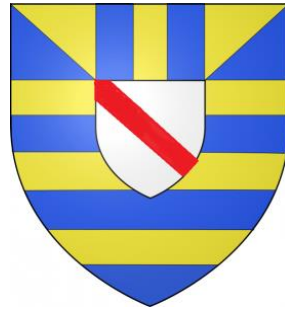
Sir Hugh Mortimer (1413-1460), lord of Martley and Tedstone Wafer, who died at the battle of Wakefield and was buried at Martley. He married Eleanor Cornwall (d. 1519) in 1454, and had issue as below. His widow married secondly Sir Richard Croft (d. 1509) of Croft Castle and bore him three children too. She was the governess of Edward IV's children at Ludlow; she was buried with her second husband at Croft.

1. **Sir John Mortimer** (d. 1504). *See below.*
2. Elizabeth Mortimer (d. 1503), who married Thomas West, Lord de la Warr (d. 1525), and had issue. She was an ancestress of Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester.
3. Alice Mortimer, who married Robert Brown.

Sir John Mortimer (d. 1504). He married Margaret Neville, daughter of John Neville, Marquess of Montagu, but died without issue. He was sheriff of Herefordshire 1477-8, 1481-2, 1493-4 and 1501-2; sheriff of Worcestershire 1485-6; knighted 1485; and a knight banneret at the battle of Stoke 1487. His widow married secondly Charles Brandon, 1st duke of Suffolk, and after the annulment of their marriage, thirdly, Robert Downes. She died in 1528.

Part five:

The Mortimers of Couhé, France



Sir Geoffrey Mortimer (d. 1372x76), seigneur de Couhé at Peyrac, France. He was a son of Roger Mortimer (1287-1330), 1st earl of March, but inherited Couhé from his grandfather, Geoffrey de Geneville. He played a vital political role alongside his father in the years 1328-30, and was arrested along with him in October 1330. He was walled up with him in his cell in the Tower but was not executed, however; instead, he was exiled for life. He removed himself to the family lands in France, styling himself seigneur de Couhé [en Poitou]. In referring to the arms used in France, we find that a shield showing the arms was visible at the bottom of the tower in the nineteenth century.⁸⁹ He married Jeanne de Lezay-Lusignan and had at least three children.

1. **Jean de Mortemer**, seigneur de Couhé. *See below.*
2. Catherine, who married Jean Chaudrier, mayor of La Rochelle.
3. Jeanne, who married Bouchard, seigneur de l'Isle-Bouchard.⁹⁰

Sir Jean de Mortemer, seigneur de Couhé, who first married Indie de l'Isle-Jourdain (d. pre-1408) in 1366. He married secondly, in 1405, Aliénor de Périgord (d. 1434). He seems to have been alive still in 1444, when he made a donation to the abbey of Valence.⁹¹ By his first wife he had issue:

1. Jean de Mortemer, seigneur de Couhé. *See below.*

Jean de Mortemer, seigneur de Couhé, who married Pernelle de Taillebourg, daughter of Louis Parthenay—l'Archevêque, and had at least one son:

1. Philippe de Mortemer, seigneur de Couhé. *See below.*

Philippe de Mortemer (d. after 1455), seigneur de Couhé, who had at least one son by an unknown wife.

1. Jean de Mortemer, seigneur de Couhé. *See below.*

Jean de Mortemer, seigneur de Couhé, who married first Philippe de la Rochfoucauld, dame de Roissac, and secondly Rosine de Pêrusse, by whom he had at least two children.

1. Guy de Mortimer (d. 1512), seigneur d'Ozillac et Roissac. *See below.*
2. Anne de Mortemer, dame de Couhé, who married Guichard de Saint-Georges, seigneur de Vêrac, and had Couhé as part of her marriage settlement.

Guy de Mortimer (d. 1512), seigneur d'Ozillac et Roissac, who married Françoise Bouchard d'Aubeterre, dame d'Ozillac, by whom he had issue.

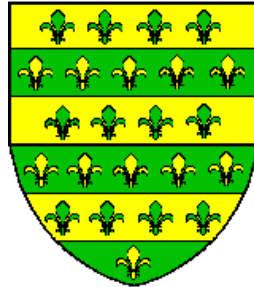
1. François de Mortemer (d. 1560), seigneur d'Ozillac et Roissac. *See below.*
2. Charles de Mortemer (fl. 1560), who was the last member in the male line.
3. Jeanne Catherine de Mortemer, who married first Gaillard de Lisle, seigneur de Lisle, and had issue.
4. Jeanne de Mortemer, who married Gabriel de Gain, seigneur d'Oradour sur Glane, in 1502.

François de Mortemer (d. 1560), seigneur d'Ozillac et Roissac, who married Françoise d'Aydie de Ribérac, by whom he had two daughters.

1. Jacquette de Mortemer, who married Louis de Rochfoucauld, seigneur de Montendre.
2. Anne de Mortemer, who married François de Reilhac, vicomte de Mérinvilleet de Brigeuil l'Ainé.

Part six:

The Mortimers of Richard's Castle, Herefordshire



The fact that Wigmore Castle and Richard's Castle are less than seven miles apart has long led people to think that the lords of the latter were directly descended from Ralph Mortimer, the Domesday lord of Wigmore. Antiquaries too presumed this in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. *The Armoury of England Scotland and Ireland*, edited by John Burke and John Bernard Burke (1842), even attributed the arms of the Mortimers of Wigmore to those of Richard's Castle, differenced by a bend gules. This is incorrect. The arms of the Mortimers of Richard's Castle were as shown above, and as described in Walford's Roll of about 1273: 'barrey d'or e de vert flurete del une e de autre'. However, the amateur speculation was not entirely wide of the mark. It now appears that the Mortimers of Richard's Castle were indeed descended from the Domesday lord of Wigmore – only *indirectly*. They were an offshoot of the Mortimers of Attleborough, who were in turn descended from the Domesday lord of Wigmore.

The arms of the Mortimers of Richards Castle are a good place to start to explore this family. Although the above illustration at first appears to have nothing in common with the arms of the Mortimers of Wigmore, it cleverly combines elements of both the Wigmore arms and those of the Mortimers of Attleborough. It has the 'barry of six' design – here shown by three bars of gold running horizontally across the shield – in common with the Mortimers of Wigmore. At the same time it is peppered with fleur-de-lys, like the arms of the Attleborough family. Most importantly, it is the same coat of arms as borne by the de Mortemers of Bec in the thirteenth century, showing that William de Mortemer of Bec (fl. 1189-1224) was a brother of Robert Mortimer of Richards Castle (d. 1219). As their families bore the same arms, they probably had a common male progenitor who bore them. This can only have been Robert Mortimer of Essex (fl. 1168), as Robert and William must have been born about 1165-70 and heraldic designs only started to appear in the mid-twelfth century. This relationship is confirmed by a grant of Bedminster by John, count of Mortain, to Maurice de Berkeley, which must date from 1189 and which mentions William Mortimer and his brother Robert Mortimer as witnesses.⁹²

Realising that William de Mortemer of Bec must have been a son of Robert Mortimer of Essex has important genealogical implications. After the fall of Normandy in 1204, William chose to remain on the Continent and to accept French overlordship. This was not due to his disloyalty; he had been conspicuous in his defence of the English cause. It seems he simply had more to gain than lose by staying in France. As a result, his Norfolk and Lincolnshire lands were confiscated. These had almost certainly been inherited from the Mortimers of Attleborough as

the Mortimers of Wigmore held no lands in Norfolk and their lands in Lincolnshire passed to the Mortimers of Attleborough. In particular, one of William's confiscated manors, Scoulton in Norfolk, which is just seven miles from Attleborough, was held from the Earls Warenne, the overlords of the Mortimers of Attleborough. When the king confiscated it in 1204, the overlords handed it back to the head of the Mortimer family in Norfolk, namely Robert Mortimer of Attleborough, in whose family it remained for many generations. The passing of the manor of Scoulton from a brother of Robert Mortimer (d. 1219), lord of Richard's Castle, to the Mortimers of Attleborough is evidence of a close relationship between the two families.

The initial acquisition of Richard's Castle by the Mortimers in 1210 also supports a connection between its lords and the Mortimers of Attleborough. In that year Margaret de Say, the young (probably teenage) heiress of Richard's Castle, was not just a widow; she was also without both her parents, her mother having died that same year and her father having died thirteen years earlier.⁹³ She had no uncles either, nor any aunts (as far as we know). Her paternal grandmother, Lucy de Say, was still alive, however, and since 1195 had been married to her second husband, Bartholomew Mortimer (fl. 1192; d. pre-1226).⁹⁴ This Bartholomew was connected to the Mortimers of Attleborough. He was closely associated with David, earl of Huntingdon, from whom the Mortimers of Attleborough held land in Norfolk and Lincolnshire: he served as the earl's representative on a number of occasions in both England and Scotland.⁹⁵ His marriage to Lucy de Say enabled him to advance Robert Mortimer (d. 1219), with whom he had fought on the Third Crusade, by facilitating Robert's marriage to his wife's granddaughter. There seems little room for doubt therefore that Bartholomew was related to both the Mortimers of Richard's Castle and those of Attleborough. It would follow that these two families were branches of the same Mortimer family, confirming the connection proposed above on the evidence of the inheritance of Scoulton.

How exactly the two families were connected is suggested by the career of Petronilla or 'Pernel' Mortimer and by the naming tradition of the Mortimer family as a whole. With regard to Petronilla, the editors of the *Complete Peerage* state that she

seems to have belonged to both families. Of her it is known that before 1199 (probably before May 1194) she had land in Dengey Hundred, in which are Woodham Mortimer and Amberden... that in July 1199, as a widow, she was suing R[oger] del Ech for dower in Cambridgeshire (where Mortimers of Attleborough had large holdings); and in 1203 levied a fine with William Buckenham as to the advowson of Buckenham and land there – a Mortimer of Attleborough manor.⁹⁶

Buckenham, like Scoulton, is very close to Attleborough. It stands to reason that either her interest in that place passed from her to the Mortimers of Attleborough, or from them to her. Either would be consistent with her marrying one of the Attleborough line but that would not explain how she owned land in Dengey hundred at this time, for Woodham Mortimer came to Robert Mortimer of Essex by gift from the king, on the occasion of his marriage, not by inheritance. On this basis it appears that she was the widow of Robert Mortimer of Essex, and that her interest in Buckenham was due to her late husband being related to the Mortimers of Attleborough and thus almost certainly the younger son of Robert Mortimer of Norfolk, and her having dower lands in Cambridgeshire after his death.

As for the naming pattern, it has to be observed that almost every generation of all the pre-1300 Mortimer families – those of Wigmore, Attleborough, Richard's Castle, Bec and Chelmarsh – named the eldest son after his paternal grandfather. There are a few exceptions to this rule – which one would expect with the high rate of infant mortality of the time – but, on the whole, it happened too often to be merely accidental. In the case of the Attleborough Mortimers, Robert Mortimer of Norfolk was succeeded by a son William (not 'Ralph', after the Domesday lord) but

thereafter the pattern was re-established: William and Robert were names given to heirs alternately. When the heir was Robert, the second son seems to have been called William, and vice versa. This even continued in Normandy, with the descendants of William de Mortemer of Bec. As a result, we would have expected Robert Mortimer of Norfolk to name his first two sons William and Robert, in that order. That he did so is very strongly suggested by the existence of Robert Mortimer of Essex (fl. 1168), the progenitor of the Mortimers of Richard's Castle. He was a man of the right status – a younger son given lands by the king on his marriage – in the right place (East Anglia) at the right time, with multiple connections to the Attleborough family. As a result, although there is no *direct* evidence that he was the younger brother of William Mortimer (d. c.1180), they were clearly related (as laid out above), and the circumstantial evidence supports the case that he was indeed his brother, naming his eldest son Robert after their father, Robert Mortimer of Norfolk, in line with the family tradition.

Robert Mortimer (fl. 1168) of Little Woodham and Amberden, Essex. He was almost certainly the son of Robert Mortimer of Norfolk (fl. 1135x8) and the younger brother of William Mortimer of Attleborough (d. c. 1180). His wife's name was probably Petronilla (fl. 1194-1203). He had married by 1168 and was almost certainly dead by 1194. He had at least three sons.

1. **Robert Mortimer** of Richard's Castle (d. 1219). *See below.*
2. William Mortimer (fl. 1189-1214), lord of Bec in Normandy. He and his brother Robert are named as witnesses in John count of Mortain's grant of the manor of Bedminster to Maurice de Berkeley in 1189.⁹⁷ *See Part seven (The Mortimers of Bec, Normandy), below.*
3. Henry Mortimer, (fl. 1202). He held lands in the bailiwick of Montfort in 1202, which were given to his brother William.⁹⁸

Robert Mortimer (fl. 1190-1219). It was this Robert Mortimer who appears high in the favour of King John.⁹⁹ He appears named with his brother William as a witness of John's grant of the manor of Bedminster to Maurice de Berkeley in 1189, when John was count of Mortain.¹⁰⁰ As his father had almost certainly married by 1168, he was probably born in the late 1160s, so it was probably this Robert, not his father, who accompanied Richard I on the Third Crusade, along with Bartholomew Mortimer. He married Bartholomew's step-granddaughter, Margaret de Say, heiress of Richard's Castle in 1210 – by which marriage he acquired his *caput* and the bulk of his lordship – and had issue:

1. **Hugh Mortimer** (d. 1274), lord of Richard's Castle. *See below.*

Hugh Mortimer (d. 1274), lord of Richard's Castle and Rocheford in Herefordshire, Wychbold, Codrugg, Hulestone and Homm in Worcestershire, Burford and Stepelton in Shropshire.¹⁰¹ He was born not long before his father's death as he was said to be aged 40 in 1259. He was named after his maternal grandfather, Hugh de Say, not his paternal one, in a rare break from the medieval naming pattern.

1. **Robert Mortimer** (d. 1287), lord of Richard's Castle. *See below.*
2. Sir William Mortimer (d. 1308), lord of Homme in Worcestershire. Said to be aged sixty at his death. However, this would make him older than his older brother.

Robert Mortimer (d. 1287), lord of Richard's Castle, and many other estates.¹⁰² He m. Joyce de la Zouche (d. 1290), of Huntbear in Devon.¹⁰³ He was said to be aged 22 or more in 1274. If his younger brother was aged sixty at the time of his death in 1308, then he would have been born in 1247 at the latest, and 27 in 1274.

1. **Hugh Mortimer** (d. 1304), lord of Richard's Castle. *See below.*
2. William Mortimer (d. 1337). Changed his surname to la Zouche, his mother's maiden name, before 1304. He was summoned to parliament as Lord la Zouche or Lord la Zouche of Richard's Castle, or Lord la Zouche of Mortimer, from 1323. His line continued in his son Alan de la Zouche (1317-1346) and grandson Hugh de la Zouche (1338-1399), although neither man was summoned to parliament. The male line died out at that point with the sole heiress being Hugh's first cousin once-removed, Joyce de la Zouche de Mortimer. *See Complete Peerage.*
3. Isabel Mortimer.¹⁰⁴

Hugh Mortimer (d. 1304), lord of Richard's Castle. He was underage at the time of his father's death, coming of age in 1294. He married Maud, who was indicted for accidentally poisoning him.¹⁰⁵ He left two daughters:

1. Joan (1291-1340), who m. 1stly Thomas Bicknor (d. 1316), and 2ndly Richard Talbot.
2. Margaret (1295-c.1345), who m. 1stly Geoffrey de Cornwall, and 2ndly William de Everyns.

Part seven:

The de Mortemers of Bec, Normandy



Arms of the de Mortemer family of Bec, from the Armorial le Breton (1292x4)

William de Mortemer (fl. 1189-1224), lord of Bec in Normandy. Although it was stated in the nineteenth century that the de Mortemer family of Bec had no connection to the English Mortimers, this is incorrect.¹⁰⁶ William Mortimer – or Guillaume de Mortemer as he should be described after 1204 – was almost certainly the son of Robert Mortimer of Essex (fl. 1168) and brother of Robert Mortimer of Richard's Castle. This is shown by his descendants bearing arms almost identical to those of the Mortimers of Richard's Castle.¹⁰⁷ He appears named with his brother Robert as a witness of the grant by John count of Mortain of the manor of Bedminster to Maurice de Berkeley, which is undated but can only date from 1189.¹⁰⁸ He was given his brother Henry's lands in the bailiwick of Montfort in 1202.¹⁰⁹ He witnessed a mandate of King John to Chateau Gaillard in 1203.¹¹⁰ Prior to 1204 he was castellan of Arques in Normandy. After the loss of Normandy in 1204 he remained in France and thereby lost his lands in Lincolnshire and Norfolk.¹¹¹ The manor of Scoulton in Norfolk, which he had held, was granted to his overlord, William de Warenne, earl of Surrey.¹¹² The latter granted it back to Robert Mortimer of Attleborough (d. 1216-7), his cousin. He fought at Bouvines (1214) for the French. Licence was granted to him in 1215 to come to England on pilgrimage to the shrines of St Edmund at Bury and St Thomas at Canterbury. His last known act was a donation to the abbey of Jumieges in August 1224. The following lineage has been taken from a series of French websites which largely repeat the same information, this being found in a 1398 court case concerning the title of baron de Varnguebec, claimed by the family of de Briqueville-Bretteville.¹¹³

1. **Robert Mortimer**, seigneur de Bec. *See below.*

Robert de Mortemer (d. 1277), seigneur de Bec. He acquired the hereditary title of constable of Normandy by his marriage to Julienne de Hommet, heiress of La Haye-du-Puits and Varengebec. He had two sons, apparently in continuation of the Mortimer of Attleborough William/Robert naming tradition:

1. Guillaume de Mortemer (d. pre-1262), seigneur de Bec and Varenguebec. Constable of Normandy. He had a daughter:
 - a. Jeanne de Mortemer (fl. 1245-71). Married before 1259 to Guillaume Crespin (d. 1290), and bore him a son, Jean, and a daughter, Galiene.¹¹⁴
2. **Robert de Mortemer**, seigneur de La Haye-du-Puits. *See below*.

Robert de Mortemer, lord of La Haye-du-Puits. He had two sons:

1. **Robert de Mortemer**, seigneur de La Haye-du-Puits. Married Jeanne de Beaufou about 1272 and had a son:
 - a. **Guillaume de Mortemer**, seigneur de La Haye-du-Puits (d. 1317). Died without issue.
2. **Guillaume de Mortemer**. *See below*.

Guillaume de Mortemer, seigneur de La Haye-du-Puits. Married Jeanne de Beaufou about 1272 and had a son:

1. **Robert de Mortemer**, seigneur de La Haye-du-Puits. *See below*.

Robert de Mortemer, seigneur de La Haye-du-Puits. He had at least one son:

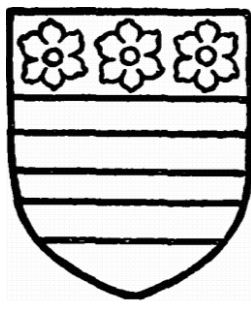
1. **Jean de Mortemer**, seigneur de La Haye-du-Puits. *See below*.

Jean de Mortemer, seigneur de La Haye-du-Puits. He had three children:

1. **Guillaume de Mortemer**, seigneur de La Haye-du-Puits. Died without issue.
2. **Jean de Mortemer**, seigneur de La Haye-du-Puits. Captured at Poitiers, 1356, and ransomed. Sold the lordship to his brother-in-law Matthieu Champion in law to pay his ransom.
3. Jeanne de Mortemer, married Matthieu Champion *c.* 1325, whose heiress Jeanne Champion married Roger de Briqueville-Bretteville before 1398.

Part eight:

**The Mortimers of Eakley, Buckinghamshire,
and (later) Grendon, Northamptonshire**



This family, which bore the arms *argent two bars and a chief gules with three sexfoils argent in the chief*, is difficult to trace. The following outline pedigree is therefore very tentative and probably contains some errors.

The key is the tenure of the manor of Wilsthorpe, which had been held by a Robert Mortimer – almost certainly Robert Mortimer of Attleborough (d. 1216-7) – in 1179-80. This Robert had at least four sons, as follows:

1. William Mortimer (fl. 1215; d. post-1250). *See Part two (The Mortimers of Attleborough)* above.
2. Robert Mortimer (fl. 1215). Successfully petitioned King John for £10 of land in Harlaxton in 1215 when his father and brother were out of favour due to their rebellion.¹¹⁵
 - a. Geoffrey Mortimer (d. 1271). That he was the son of Robert Mortimer is suggested by two undated conveyances to a Geoffrey Mortimer, son of Robert Mortimer, of land in Barnham Broom, Norfolk, a manor belonging to his uncle William in 1250.¹¹⁶ He held a capital messuage in Eakley in Stoke Goldington, Bucks, in 1265, being then of the household of Baldwin Wake.¹¹⁷ This was held from the under-age heirs of Ralph Mortimer (see below) at the time of his death. Before 1248 he married Sybil, who held a quarter fee of Tholthorpe, Yorks, from Baldwin Wake after Geoffrey's death.¹¹⁸
 - i. William Mortimer (b. c. 1248; fl. 1297). Specified as his father's heir in Geoffrey's IPM. He held the manor of Eakley from Waleran Mortimer in 1279.¹¹⁹ He also held the quarter fee in Tholthorpe, Yorks, from Baldwin Wake when Baldwin died in 1281.¹²⁰ He was still alive in 1297 as he owed a debt in that year.
3. Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1237-42). Held £5 of land in Denton, next to Harlaxton, in 1237 which had previously been held by his brother William.¹²¹
4. **Ralph Mortimer** (d. pre-1235). *See below.*

Ralph Mortimer (d. pre-1235). In 1212 (during his father's lifetime) he held two carucates in Wootton in chief and half a fee in Wilsthorpe from Baldwin Wake, who held it from the earl of Chester.¹²² In 1237 and 1242 the Wootton holding was in his brother William's hands.¹²³ In 1242, however, Wilsthorpe was held by Joan, presumably Ralph's widow, held on the same basis as Ralph had held it, from Baldwin Wake, who held it from the earl of Chester.¹²⁴ She must have been one of the six coheiresses of Robert de Salceto, lord of the manor of Eakley in Stoke Goldington, Buckinghamshire, who died in 1235. Robert de Salceto's estate was parcelled out to his two surviving sisters and four nephews, one of whom was Waleran Mortimer, who inherited part of Eakley through his mother before 1242-3 (the other part being held by Robert le Lou, or the Wolf).¹²⁵ Waleran's son, Ralph, held the half fee in Wilsthorpe from Baldwin Wake in 1281.¹²⁶ Wilsthorpe was specified in the inquisition post mortem of Ralph's great-grandson, another Ralph Mortimer, in 1325, where it was still held for half a knight's fee from Baldwin Wake.¹²⁷ This proves that the Mortimers of Eakley were descended from this Ralph, and that the Mortimers of Eakley were descended from Robert Mortimer of Attleborough, who had held Wilsthorpe in 1179-80. By Joan de Salceto, Ralph had at least one son:

1. **Waleran Mortimer** (fl. 1235-50). *See below.*

Waleran Mortimer (fl. 1235-1250). He held part of the manor of Eakley in Stoke Goldington, Buckinghamshire, in 1242-3, as noted above. The inquisition post mortem of Geoffrey Mortimer – presumably his cousin – implies Waleran's successor as lord of Eakley was under age in 1271; therefore Waleran must have died between 1250 and 1271. The succession in the next generation is very far from clear, however. It seems most likely that he had three sons:

1. Ralph Mortimer (fl. 1269-81). Held half a fee in Wilsthorpe from Baldwin Wake in 1281.¹²⁸ Presumably he had no children as Wilsthorpe was inherited by his nephew, Ralph (see below).
2. William Mortimer (d. pre-1274). Held part of Eakley along with John le Lou in 1274-5, when the lands seem to have been in the hands of escheators.¹²⁹ Implied to be under age in 1271, in the inquisition post mortem of Geoffrey Mortimer, his father's cousin, who held the manor from him (see above).
3. **Sir Waleran Mortimer** (fl. 1295-1318). *See below.*

Sir Waleran Mortimer (fl. 1295-1318). He held Exton, Rutland, in 1315.¹³⁰ Eakley was held from him by William, son of Geoffrey Mortimer, in 1279. Fought with Edward I in Scotland, 1296. Alienated lands at Ufford, Northants, to the church there, 1306. He seems to have held land in Wilsthorpe from Baldwin Wake in 1274-5.¹³¹ This was in the hands of Ralph Mortimer in 1281 (this may have been his older brother, see above; the matter is somewhat doubtful). Acquired interest in Helpston and other places while his sons were still under age.¹³² He held a sixth of a fee in Eakley in 1303.¹³³ He seems to have settled Helpston, Exton and Wilsthorpe, on his elder son, Ralph, and Eakley on his younger son, Edmund.

1. Ralph Mortimer (d. 1325). *For his descendants, see Part nine (The Mortimers of Helpston) below.*
2. **Edmund Mortimer** (fl. 1316-46). *See below.*

Edmund Mortimer (fl. 1316-46). Held the sixth of a fee in Eakley, Buckinghamshire, that Waleran had held, in 1346.¹³⁴ He was probably the father of:

1. **Lawrence Mortimer** (fl. 1359). *See below.*

Lawrence Mortimer (fl. 1359; d. pre-1410). He granted out lands in Stoke Goldington in 1359.¹³⁵ As far as can be determined, he had a son:

1. **John Mortimer** (fl. 1446). *See below.*

John Mortimer (d. 1446). Lord of the manor of Grendon, Northants, and Eakley in Stoke Goldington, Bucks. Specified as being the son and heir of Lawrence Mortimer in releasing his right in the Northamptonshire manor of Asshen in 1410.¹³⁶ However, note that the arms of Mortimer of Grendon differ from those of Mortimer of Eakley, being *Ermine, on a fess, azure, three crosses moline, or*. Acquired Grendon by 1406, perhaps by marriage: he married Agnes before Easter 1407. He was escheator of Rutland and Northants in 1415-16. Appears in *Fendal Aids* with lands in Grendon, Northants, and Bucks. MP for Northamptonshire, 1414. Feoffee of the estates of Sir Gerald Braybrooke. *See History of Parliament for a full biography.*

1. **John Mortimer** (d. 1453). *See below.*

John Mortimer (d. 1453). Lord of the manors of Grendon and Eakley. He married Joan atte Hill.¹³⁷ Their only daughter, Agnes Mortimer (fl. 1458), married Baldwin Willoughby. John settled Eakley Manor on Baldwin in his will. Baldwin had a son John Willoughby (fl. 1514), who eventually inherited Grendon and had two daughters: Eleanor, who married William Holdenby, and Joan Mortimer, who married John Holdenby.

Part nine:

The Mortimers of Helpston, Northamptonshire

Ralph Mortimer (d. 1325). Stated in his IPM to be the son of Waleran Mortimer of Eakley (see Part eight). He held two manors at his death: Exton (from the earls of Huntingdon) and Wilsthorpe (from Baldwin Wake).¹³⁸ Both of these had previously been held by his father. He had a son:

1. **Ralph Mortimer** (1312?-pre1376). *See below.*

Ralph Mortimer (1312?-pre1376). The manor of Wilsthorpe seems to have been held during his minority by Osanna Cullull and Joan de Clopton: they granted it to him in 1334.¹³⁹ He held Wilsthorpe from Baldwin de Wake in 1338 and 1346.¹⁴⁰ He acquired lands in Helpston before 1347.¹⁴¹ He retained his father's manor of Exton too.¹⁴² He married and had at least one son and two daughters:

1. **Sir Thomas Mortimer** (d. pre-1408). *See below.*
2. Anne Mortimer, married Richard Balderton.
3. Joan Mortimer (fl. 1408), married Hugh de Sulgrave (d. pre-1408).

Sir Thomas Mortimer (d. pre-1408), lord of Helpston. His position in the family tree is made clear by the grants by his sisters of land they inherited from their father, Ralph, to two of the sons of this Thomas (Thomas and Hugh). He married Sarah and was buried in Chichester Cathedral.

1. **Thomas Mortimer** (fl. 1377-1428). Acquired lands in Helpston with his brother Hugh in or before 1377.¹⁴³ Unless he was extraordinarily long lived, he seems to have had a son, Thomas Mortimer (fl. 1442). A writ of diem clausit extremum was issued in respect of one Thomas Mortimer Esq of Lincolnshire in 1444, which might relate to this man.
2. **Hugh Mortimer** (d. 1416). Lord of manor of Weldon, Northants. MP for Gloucestershire, 1397. Chamberlain of Prince Henry, 1403-11. Chamberlain, duchy of Lancaster, 1413-16. Treasurer of the Exchequer, 1416. Married twice, only son Constantine died before him. *See History of Parliament for full biography.*
3. Michael Mortimer (fl. 1376). Soldier serving in the army in France with his brother Hugh. Died before Hugh wrote his will (1415), and probably before he and Thomas acquired Helpston (1377?).

Part ten:

The Mortimers of Coedmore, Cardiganshire

It is not clear if or how the Mortimers of Coedmore were related to the other armigerous Mortimer families established before 1300. There may have been a connection between them and the Mortimers of Wigmore. Roger Mortimer of Coedmore was described by a petitioner in about 1330 as a kinsman of the earl of March.¹⁴⁴ In addition, the Coedmore family is mentioned several times in the ‘Narberth’ section of the cartulary of the Mortimers of Wigmore (British Library: Harley MS 1240, fol. xv). In particular, item no. 13 is a release by Maud de Mortimer (d. 1301), widow of Roger Mortimer of Wigmore (d. 1282) of all her lands in West Wales which she had in dower from her husband, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore (1232-1282), to Roger Mortimer of West Wales.¹⁴⁵ However, the arms of the Mortimers of Coedmore are very different from those of the Mortimers of Wigmore. They are described as either ‘gules, two lions rampant or, armed and langued’ or ‘vert, a lion rampant argent, armed and langued gules’ – the *lion rampant* being a common design among Cardiganshire families.¹⁴⁶ Thus, if there was a connection between the Mortimers of Coedmore and Wigmore, their common ancestor must have lived in the twelfth century. Given the remoteness of this connection, it is possible that the petitioner in about 1330 was simply presuming the two families were related because they bore the same name.

Note that the genealogy of this family is somewhat sketchy, due to the visitation made by Lewis Dwnn in 1588 missing several generations and thus not only misleading other researchers but also making a sound genealogy very difficult to compile. The following is deemed the most probable descent on the basis of the evidence available but it is likely to contain errors.

Henry Mortimer. In the cartulary of the Mortimer family of Wigmore there is a record that the bishop and chapter of St David’s granted to Roger de Mortemer son of Henry de Mortemer son of Henry de Mortemer certain lands in *Lyspraust* and *Isbeylyn*. It is possible that this repetition of ‘son of Henry’ is a mistake – that the scribe wrote the words twice in error – as it is unusual to give grandparents’ names in this sort of document. However, it may indicate that Henry, the first-known member of this family, was himself the son of a Henry Mortimer. If he was indeed the son of another Henry, then the elder Henry would have been born in the late twelfth century. It is not known whom he married. This Henry is only known from documents relating to his son,

1. **Roger Mortimer** (fl. 1268-1284). *See below.*

Roger Mortimer (fl. 1268-84) of the New House and Coedmore. He was given land in the commote of Gene'r-Glyn by Edward I, which was confirmed by charter in December 1284.¹⁴⁷ According to Glen Johnson’s online history of the family, ‘Roger de Mortimer was kidnapped by Rhys ap Maredudd in 1287, having been among Tibetot’s officers in the war against Rhys ap Maredudd and the constable of Newcastle Emlyn Castle.’¹⁴⁸ According to the pedigree drawn up by Lewis Dwnn in 1588, Roger married ‘Sives’, a daughter of Sir John Scudamore. However, a

writ to Roger Mortimer, justice of Wales in 1313 makes clear that Roger's wife was called Nesta and that she was the mother of his son and heir.¹⁴⁹

1. **Llewelyn Mortimer.** *See below.*

Llewelyn Mortimer (fl. 1282-1313). Llewelyn Mortimer's position in the family as Roger Mortimer's son and heir is confirmed by the Mortimer cartulary, which records that he sold his interest in the New House to 'Roger Mortimer, lord of Narberth' (presumably Roger Mortimer of Wigmore (1287-1330)).¹⁵⁰ It is further confirmed by a 1313 writ to Roger Mortimer, justice of Wales,¹⁵¹ and an undated petition from about 1330 by Eynon ap Gwilym, which states that his (Eynon's) great-grandfather

Leased half the commote of Is Coed (otherwise Is Coed Is Hirwern or Coedmore) to Roger Mortimer of the New House for term of life, and that after Roger's death, his son and heir Llewelyn entered, and to bar [Eynon's great-grandfather's] heirs from their inheritance, leased the tenements in mortgage to Hugh de Cressingham; after Hugh's death, they came into the king's hand, because he was Treasurer of Carmarthen. He sued on this matter in the time of the king's father, and had a writ of inquiry, but Roger Mortimer, who then became Justiciar of Wales, refused to do justice, and delivered the tenements to a Roger Mortimer, his kinsman, without process of law.¹⁵²

Llewelyn Mortimer exchanged the estate at Gene'r-Glyn with Geoffrey Clement for Coedmore.¹⁵³ According to the above petition, there is no doubt his heir was his son Roger Mortimer. However, the 1588 visitation does not mention Roger but only Edmund, John, Philip, Jan and Ellen. It seems that a generation has been omitted, for Edmund was most probably Llewelyn's grandson, not his son, and these other siblings were possibly also his grandchildren. Dwnn states his wife was Angharad, daughter of Mareddud ap Rhys, but due to the above-mentioned error, we cannot be sure who bore him his son and heir:

1. **Roger Mortimer** (fl. 1329). *See below.*

Roger Mortimer (fl. 1329). Despite the 1588 visitation not mentioning him, his position in the family tree is confirmed by the above-mentioned petition and also a letter patent of 28 August 1329 in which he is described as the son and heir of Llewelyn Mortimer, who sold a moiety of Coedmore in the time of Edward I to Hugh de Cressingham, clerk of Edward I, which land was restored to Roger.¹⁵⁴ He married Gwenllian, daughter of Einon Fawr of the Wood.¹⁵⁵ Following the 1588 visitation, it is possible that he had the following son:

1. **Edmund Mortimer.** *See below.*

Edmund Mortimer. He is known only from the 1588 visitation, which states that he married Eva, daughter of Rhys Ddu, son of Rhys ap Llewelyn ap Cadwgan, of Carog, and had five children by her, including Owen Mortimer. However, Owen was the son of Roger Mortimer of Coedmore (d. 1424). It appears likely that there was at least one generation between the above Roger Mortimer (fl. 1329) and Roger Mortimer (d. 1424). It seems that he was the missing link between the two, being born about 1330, marrying in the 1350s or 1360s, and probably dying towards the end of the century. If Edmund is correctly located here he was the father of

1. **Roger Mortimer.** *See below.*

Roger Mortimer (d. 1424). In 1383, as Roger Mortimer of ‘Coydmaure’, he had letters of protection to serve in the garrison at Calais under Lord Devereux.¹⁵⁶ He witnessed a gift of half a burgage in Cardigan in 1396.¹⁵⁷ He served as mayor of Cardigan in 1418.¹⁵⁸ At his death in 1424, he held half a knight’s fee in Iscoed Is Hirwern from the king, on which his son Owain paid £2 10s relief.¹⁵⁹

1. **Owen Mortimer.** *See below.*

Owen Mortimer (fl. 1415-54), mayor of Cardigan in 1421, 1432 and 1434. He is wrongly stated to be the son of Edmond Mortimer in Dwnn’s 1588 visitation. He served as a man-at-arms on the Agincourt campaign in 1415, in the company of John ap Rhys.¹⁶⁰ He was deputy constable of Cardigan Castle in 1442.¹⁶¹ In 1446 he received a general pardon for all offences committed before 1441.¹⁶² On 5th December 1454, he leased the lordship and manor of Coedmore to William Rede, clerk.. He married Angharad, daughter of Rhys David Thomas of Gwernan, and had a son:

1. **Richard Mortimer.** *See below.*

Richard Mortimer (fl. 1480-1514?), mayor of Cardigan in 1480.¹⁶³ Given that his father, Owen, must have been born in the last years of the fourteenth century, it is possible that there were two Richard Mortimers: father and son. However, Dwnn’s 1588 visitation gives only one man of the name, and makes him the father of both James and John by Margaret, daughter of Owen ap Rhys ap Llewelyn of Lanerch, as below:

1. **James Mortimer** (d. 1560). *See below.*
2. John Mortimer (fl. 1525-36), mayor of Cardigan in 1525. He was still alive in 1536, when he bought two messuages in Cardigan with five acres of land.¹⁶⁴ According to the 1588 visitation, he married Dyddgu, heiress of William Harvey ap Jankyn Harvey, and had two daughters, Tanglwst and Ellen. He probably died before 1542 (see below) and certainly before 25 April 1545.¹⁶⁵
3. Elizabeth Mortimer, who married Thomas John ap Rhydderch of Morfa Bychan, sheriff of Cardiganshire. Note: she is not mentioned in Richard’s 1503 settlement (*see below*), and so is presumed not a daughter by that marriage.

It seems that Richard lived to a very old age and remarried late in life. In 1494 one Richard Mortimer received half a burgage in Cilgerran, Pembrokeshire, from Jasper, earl of Pembroke.¹⁶⁶ In 1499 a Richard Mortimer received a tenement in Cardigan from Maurice Madoc.¹⁶⁷ And in 1514 a Richard Mortimer served as mayor of Cardigan in 1514. By this time Richard (fl. 1480) must have been very old, and so one or more of these references possibly relates to a younger son called Richard who cannot as yet be distinguished from the father. However there is no evidence of a younger Richard Mortimer (for instance, the addition of ‘junior’ or ‘senior’ to the name). Also, if there was a younger son Richard, he can hardly have been born after 1478 as he had four children by 1503; this would imply his eldest brother James, who did not die until 1560, was born in the mid 1470s. Finally, the nature of the 1503 settlement of a house on his wife may have been to guarantee her she had a residence after his eldest son inherited his estate; it is difficult to see the purpose of such a settlement otherwise. If this is correct, and there was just

the one Richard Mortimer, he secondly married Elizabeth daughter of Griffith ap William ap David ap Ievan Lloyd. In 1503 he gave her a burgage and garden in Cardigan for life, with remainders to their children, who were as follows:¹⁶⁸

4. David Mortimer (fl. 1553), clerk.
5. Hugh Mortimer
6. William Mortimer
7. Sage Mortimer (fl. 1503-1553), who married James ab Ieuan ap Jankyn.¹⁶⁹ She was a widow by 7 November 1553, when she passed her property in Bridge Street, Cardigan, to her son, Nicholas James.¹⁷⁰

James Mortimer (d. 1560).¹⁷¹ Described as lord of Coedmore in 1542 and 1547.¹⁷² According to Glen Johnson, on 25th October 1554, he drew up a deed of gift in trust with John ap Rhys ap Rhydderch and Rhys ap Rhys, of Towyn, Ferwig, by which he granted the lordship of Iscoed and the manor of Coedmore in trust for himself and his wife, Elizabeth, with reversion to their son John Mortimer and his wife Eva. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Rydderch ap Rhys, lord of Towyn (fl. 1483-1515), and had the following children:

1. **John Mortimer** (d. 1596). *See below.*
2. David Mortimer
3. William Mortimer, who married Lleukie, daughter of Harry Harvey from Breconshire, and had the following children:
 - a. James Mortimer
 - b. Ann Mortimer, who married Harry ap Owen

John Mortimer (d. 1596), sheriff of Cardigan in 1576. He occupied Castell Cedfail and Coedmore in 1564. He married Eva, daughter of Lewis ap David ap Mareddydd ap David Lloyd, and had the following children:

1. **Richard Mortimer.** *See below.*
2. David Mortimer (fl. 1576; d. pre-1613). Said by Glen Johnson to be the David Mortimer who resided at Castell Malgwyn from 1584.¹⁷³ He married Ann, daughter of William ap Thomas, and had seven children:
 - a. Thomas Mortimer, who married Mary, daughter of Edmond Elson, and had two sons by 1613:
 - i. Edmund Mortimer
 - ii. James Mortimer
 - b. Roland Mortimer (fl. 1596; d. pre-1613)
 - c. Roger Mortimer (fl. 1596; d. pre-1613)
 - d. John Mortimer (fl. 1596; d. pre-1613)
 - e. George Mortimer (fl. 1596-1613)
 - f. William Mortimer (fl. 1596; d. pre-1613). He had a daughter Ann, who married Harry ap Owen.¹⁷⁴
 - g. Richard Mortimer (fl. 1596; d. pre-1613)
3. Philip Mortimer
4. Owain Mortimer
5. Ellen Mortimer, who married Ffowk Lloyd ap Edward Lloyd of Henllan, Carmarthenshire

6. Elizabeth Mortimer, who married James ap Owen
7. Jowan Mortimer, who married Gruffydd ap Thomas
8. Pernel Mortimer, who married Thomas ap Jankyn
9. Mary Mortimer, who married Lewis David of Aberporth, Cardiganshire
10. Ann Mortimer

Richard Mortimer (d. 1609). He appears to have been mayor of Cardigan in 1602.¹⁷⁵ In 1587 he married Katherine, daughter of Roland Meyrick (1505-1566), bishop of Bangor, and had the following children:

1. James Mortimer (fl. 1588; d. pre-1613)
2. **Rowland Mortimer**. *See below*.
3. John Mortimer (d. pre-1613)
4. Lettice Mortimer, who married William Voyle, gent. They took legal action against George Philips and George Gwyn over the possessions of the late Richard Mortimer.¹⁷⁶

Rowland Mortimer (fl. 1613-18). He married Sisli, daughter of James Lewis, on 20 March 1617. He had previously conveyed the Coedmore estate to his future brother-in-law, Sir John Lewis of Abenantbychan, in 1614-15. His heir was John Mortimer, who married Catherine Pugh, whose descendants flourish to this day.

NOTES

¹ K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Aspects of Robert of Torigny's Genealogies Revisited', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, xxxvii (1993), p. 24. An earlier theory was propounded by Thomas Stapleton in the 19th century: that Ralph de Warenne and Roger de Mortemer were both the sons of Hugh, bishop of Coutances. L. C. Loyd argued (in 'The Origin of the Family of Warenne', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xxxi (1931), pp. 97-113) that the evidence on which Stapleton advanced his case for this relationship was 'quite insufficient to support such a conclusion' (p. 102). In addition, it should be noted that Stapleton's 'Roger son of the bishop' was dead before 1074 whereas Roger de Mortemer was still alive in 1078. The theory that the Mortimers descend from Bishop Hugh may thus be safely discounted.

² Pierre Bauduin, *La Première Normandie* (2nd. ed. Caen, 2006), pp. 258-9. It is not certain that Roger was a vassal of Ralph de Montdidier in 1054 but Bauduin notes that Roger was in his service after he became count of Valois in 1063.

³ Wace, *The History of the Norman People: Wace's Roman de Rou*, trans. Glyn S. Burgess (Woodbridge 2004), p. 188. In a note on the same page the translator, in conjunction with Elisabeth van Houts, states that the name of Hugh de Mortemer – which they presume refers to Hugh I (d. 1148x50) – is an error for Ralph Mortimer. This is itself an error as Ralph Mortimer would not have been old enough to fight at Hastings. His rewards for military service followed later, in the mid-1070s. The Battle Abbey roll (the earliest extant copy being in the 14th century Auchinleck manuscript) states a Mortimer was at the battle of Hastings – no Christian name is given. As Roger de Mortemer was the first of the name, and as his brother was not called 'de Mortemer', Wace was probably referring to Roger when he wrote Hugh.

⁴ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. H.W.C. Davis (4 vols, 1913-69), i, p. 20 (no. 77).

⁵ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I*, ed. David Bates (Oxford, 1998), no. 101.

⁶ It is sometimes said that Roger de Mortemer had a son Hugh. The source for this may be Stapleton's confusion of Roger de Mortemer with 'Roger son of the bishop' who had sons William and Hugh. It is also possible that the source for this is Wace's account of Hastings, which is erroneous as there was no other de Mortemer of full age at this time (as explained in the text). In addition, there is no indication of a Hugh de Mortemer leaving any sons to found a family – which surely would have been noted in Domesday Book. If Roger de Mortemer did have a son called Hugh, he died without issue.

⁷ Daniel Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 368. Ralph witnessed a confirmation by Robert, duke of Normandy, of a grant of lands to the abbey of Jumieges at Lisieux in 1092x6. See Jules-Joseph Verniers (ed.), *Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumieges* (1916), I, p. 120.

⁸ This detail, which is often overlooked, appears in *Complete Peerage*, ix, p268 note f, citing *Lindsey Survey*, Lincs Rec Soc, p.251. It is very unlikely to relate to a son called Ralph Mortimer (as Katharine Keats-Rohan has suggested) as the eldest son, Hugh, did not achieve a position of prominence until the late 1120s.

⁹ G.E. Cokayne, revised by V. Gibbs, H.A. Doubleday, D. Warrand and Lord Howard de Walden, with a supplement by Peter Hammond, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom extant, extinct or dormant* (14 vols, 1910-1998), ix, p. 268, note e, quoting Orderic, ed. Le Prévost, IV, p. 199.

¹⁰ It is not inconceivable that he was also the father of Alan, the reputed founder of the Scottish Mortimers, the lords of Aberdour, in 1126. It is often repeated that Alan Mortimer acquired the lordship of Aberdour, Scotland, by marriage to Anicea de Vipont in 1126. If this is correct, the only known Mortimer who could have fathered Alan was Ralph Mortimer of Wigmore. The family chronicle, the *Fundatorum Historia*, does not mention him as one of Ralph's son's but it does not name Hugh's brother Roger either, so that is inconclusive. That Alan Mortimer's name

was a hereditary one – a rarity at this date – is shown by the fact he was eventually succeeded in the lordship of Aberdour by William Mortimer (fl. 1168-1180), who is the only Mortimer for whom Scottish documentary evidence exists in the period between Alan's marriage and 1170; therefore William was very probably Alan's son. The problem is whether there ever was an Alan Mortimer in 1126 as there is no other reference to a man of this name. Nor is there a single contemporary reference to a Mortimer in Scotland before 1168. A later Alan Mortimer gave land to Inchcolm Abbey in 1216 (Michael Apted, *Aberdour Castle* (1996)), and confusion could have occurred at a later date with this individual. According to the People of Medieval Scotland database, by the early thirteenth century there were several Mortimers in Scotland but several of these were connected to the Mortimers of Norfolk.

¹¹ One Ralph, lord of Newton (which was a Mortimer manor at the time of Domesday), made a grant 1138x48 to Shrewsbury Abbey. This, in conjunction with the thirteenth-century reference to a Ralph Mortimer *senior* in the cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey, might be taken as evidence that Ralph had a son of the same name, and that he was lord of Newton. See Paul Remfry, *The Mortimers of Wigmore Castle, 1066 to 1181* (SCS Publishing, Worcester, 1995), p. 13, n. 69, quoting Una Rees (ed.), *Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey* (2 vols, Aberystwyth, 1985), ii, no. 334. However, it needs to be noted that the word 'senior' was used in 13th-century cartularies to denote the difference between the Ralph Mortimer, lord of Wigmore in 1086, and Ralph Mortimer, lord of Wigmore (d. 1246). Also the Ralph, lord of Newton, was possibly a tenant of the Mortimers: Domesday notes that the manor was held from them, not by them. It is highly unlikely that there was a Ralph Mortimer flourishing in the period 1138-48.

¹² This Roger was mistaken by the editors of *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 269, as a head of the family, a son of 'Hugh I' who died 1148x50, according to their reckoning. He is not mentioned in the *Fundatorum Historia* but was clearly a brother of Hugh's as made clear by Hugh's own charter marking his memory in 1175. See Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, pp. 370-7.

¹³ It is possible that Robert Mortimer, lord of the manor of Lower Lye in 1160s, was his son. See V. H. Galbraith and J. Tait (eds), *Herefordshire Domesday c. 1160-1170*, Pipe Roll Society, New Series 25 (1950), pp. 38, 95. If so, it is likely that this Robert died without issue before 1181, for Lower Lye had reverted to Hugh Mortimer by then (according to the *Fundatorum Historia*). Hugh gave Lower Lye to his brother William Mortimer in return for William surrendering Chelmarsh, which Hugh gave to his eldest son Hugh (d. 1181).

¹⁴ See Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, pp. 377, 412. Dugdale, *Baronage*, p. 139, states that he was given Lower Lye in compensation for surrendering Chelmarsh, when Hugh considered giving that manor (Chelmarsh) to the canons of Wigmore Abbey.

¹⁵ Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, p. 412. The nephew is unlikely to have been William Mortimer (d.c. 1180), the son of Robert Mortimer of Norfolk, as the name appears too low in the witness list. Of course, the nephew might not have been a Mortimer at all, had he been the son of an unknown sister. He could not have been William, the son of Stephen, count of Aumale, by Hugh's sister Hawise, as William le Gros would have been styled as 'earl of Albemarle' himself and would have been named at the top of the witness list.

¹⁶ 'Netherleye' appears in the inquisition post mortem of Edmund Mortimer in 1304, so was not inherited in the long term by any line of William's. See *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, iv, p. 166.

¹⁷ Ian Mortimer, 'The chronology of the de Mortemer family of Wigmore, c. 1075–1185, and the consolidation of a Marcher lordship', *Historical Research* (forthcoming).

¹⁸ He was probably the eldest son as his name appears before that of his brother in Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, p. 412.

¹⁹ Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, pp. 370-77.

²⁰ He is mentioned in the *Fundatorum Historia*. He might have been the Ralph Mortimer who witnessed the confirmation of a grant to Pill Priory by William Marshall (d. 1219). See Henry Owen, *Old Pembroke Families* (1902), pp. 7-8, 71. He was not the Ralph Mortimer who held the

manors of Wiltshorpe and Wootton in Lincolnshire in 1212, which passed to William Mortimer of Attleborough (d. post 1242).

²¹ Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, pp. 370-77.

²² B. G. Charles, 'An early charter of the abbey of Cwmhir', *Radnorshire Society Transactions*, 40 (1970), pp. 68-74, at p. 69.

²³ Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime: Cote 13H233.

²⁴ Robert is mentioned in the *Fundatorum Historia* as a younger son by Isabella. His position as the eldest son is suggested by one of his father's charters (Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, pp. 384-5) which only names him. In another charter of Roger's, to the Abbaye Saint-Georges de Boscherville (witnessed by Hugh, abbot of Saint-Victor, thus 1179x1204), Roger similarly names only his wife, Isabelle, and one son, Robert, but only refers to his other children as *infancium*. See Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime: Cote 13H233.

²⁵ *Monasticon*, iv, p. 399;

²⁶ *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, vol. 2, 235.

²⁷ *Book of Fees*, i, p. 425; ii, p. 963.

²⁸ He died before 15 Dec 1274. See *Cal. Patent Rolls 1272-81*, p. 76.

²⁹ Most of what follows is taken from Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, iii, pp. 40-44.

³⁰ Olivier de Laborderie, J. R. Maddicott and D. A. Carpenter, 'The last hours of Simon de Montfort: a new account', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), pp. 378-412.

³¹ It is sometimes said that Roger had a daughter Isolde who married first Sir Walter Balun (d. 1287) and secondly Sir Hugh d'Audley (d. 1325). Edmund Mortimer of Wigmore granted Isolde and her second husband the manor of Arley in Staffordshire in 1287 and it seems that this is the basis for presuming she was a Mortimer in many old secondary sources. However, Douglas Richardson has pointed out in a www.geni.com blog post dated 15/1/2018 that Isolde d'Audley was the lady of Eastington, Gloucestershire, in her own right, and in that capacity she sued her first husband's kinsman Reynold de Balun in the court of Common Pleas in 1289, she being described therein as the daughter of Roger le Rous (d. 1294) of Harescombe and Duntisbourne (National Archives: CP40/78).

³² The appellation 'militum' in *Fundatorum Historia*, the Mortimer family chronicle, makes it clear that this was not the Geoffrey Mortimer who was archdeacon of London in the years 1278-80. Nor was he the Geoffrey Mortimer who died in 1272 leaving land in Yorkshire to his widow Sibyl and son William, as the latter was said to be 25 years of age in 1274 (see *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, nos. 84, 439; also Appendix A).

³³ For the claim he was his nephew, see National Archives: SC8/126/6294. For the permissions to visit Scotland, see Grant G. Simpson & James D. Galbraith, *Cal. of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved In The Public Record Office and British Library" Volume Five (Supplementary) [1964 To 1970]*, pp. 408, 424, 425, 439, 441 (nos 2243, 2439, 2447, 2605, 2614). Later references in the same source might refer to this man or to John Mortimer, son of Roger Mortimer, lord of Wigmore.

³⁴ The editors of the *Complete Peerage* incorrectly state that she married three times, her second husband being Ralph d'Arderne. This is due to a confusion arising from the fact that there were two women called 'Isabella, late the wife of John FitzAlan' at this time. The other was the widow of John son of Alan fitz Hamon. That Isabella did not marry Ralph d'Arderne is shown by the fact that as late as 1282 she was still described as 'Isabella, late the wife of John FitzAlan' and had married Robert de Hasting by 1285 (according to Emma Cavell, 'Aristocratic widows and the medieval Welsh frontier', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, volume 17 (2007), pp. 57-82) but Ralph d'Arderne was still alive in 1290, according to an Inquisition Post Mortem of 19 Edward I (pp. 493, 495).

³⁵ A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, p. 1316

³⁶ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1300-26, pp. 366-7.

³⁷ That Thomas was Roger Mortimer's son is not in doubt as Edmund Mortimer's will mentions him as his brother. The reason he does not appear in *Fundatorum Historia* is because that document was compiled in order to present the case for the Mortimers to be considered heirs to the throne of Richard II. But it was Thomas who aligned the Mortimers with their kinsmen the earls of Hereford and Arundel against Richard II in the 1380s and especially in the parliament of 1386, thereby forcing the Appellants crisis in 1387. Thomas was never forgiven by Richard II, who regarded him as being as guilty of treason as the Lords Appellant. For political reasons it was best for the compilers of *Fundatorum Historia* not to mention him. For details about his burial at Wigmore, see *William Fellow's Visitation of South Wales and Herefordshire, 1531* (Harleian Society new series 14, 1996), p. 85.

³⁸ Edmund was just possibly the father of the rebel Sir John Mortimer (d. 1424), who was almost landless and yet claimed to be the next in line to the throne after the earl of March. This John could have been Edmund's son by an earlier marriage, before 1402. Before he was knighted, John Mortimer married a Shropshire woman, Eleanor Russell, in about 1411. He was knighted in 1416 or 1417 and given a naval command in the latter year; but was imprisoned in the Tower very soon afterwards. Following a trap to help him escape in 1424, he was recaptured and executed, the law being changed by Parliament in 1424 expressly to facilitate his judicial murder. He died without issue. For information on his death, see Edward Powell, 'The strange death of Sir John Mortimer: politics and the law of treason in Lancastrian England' in Rowena Archer and Simon Walker (eds), *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England* (1995), pp. 83-98.

³⁹ Ian Mortimer, 'Richard II and the Succession to the Crown', *History*, 91 (2006), pp. 320-336. Republished in Mortimer, *Medieval Intrigue* (2009), pp. 259-78.

⁴⁰ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 245.

⁴¹ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 243.

⁴² Round, *Norman Docs*, p. 173.

⁴³ Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, pp. 384-5.

⁴⁴ He may even have fought for her son, King William of Scotland, against Henry II at the battle of Alnwick in 1174. See *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 244. However, it is not clear that the William Mortimer given as a hostage was not William Mortimer, lord of Aberdour.

⁴⁵ For example, one William de Warewano' witnessed a grant of Hugh Mortimer's to the abbey of Saint-Vistor. See Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, pp. 411-2.

⁴⁶ As Loyd states in his *Origins of some Anglo-Norman families*, pp. 70-1. An example of just such a non-seigneurial surname by a de Warenne follower is to be noted in *Recueil de Chartes*, p. 389, where a charter of Hamelin de Warenne is witnessed by one 'Alveredo de Belemcumbre [and] William, his son' even though Belencombre was the *caput* of the de Warenne family in Normandy.

⁴⁷ *Tables des Manuscrits de Fontenau*, Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest (1839), p. 98.

⁴⁸ Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil des chartes*, p. 412

⁴⁹ K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People* (1999), pp. 84-5. The de Vescy family also acquired fourteen knight's fees in Yorkshire held by Ralph Mortimer at Domesday, which suggests William or one of his kin had married an unknown daughter of Ralph's. The matter is discussed in Farrer, *early Yorkshire Charters*, iii, p. 485.

⁵⁰ *Book of Fees*, i, pp. 156-9.

⁵¹ *Book of Fees*, ii, p. 1095. *Book of Fees*, i, p. 617. Harlaxton had been a manor belonging to the Mortimers of Attleborough since at least 1204. See *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 246. See also *Pipe Roll 1173-74* (vol. 20 Hen. II), p. 102, where Robert Mortimer is pardoned for a debt arising from 'Herlaveston' [Harlaxton], suggesting it was actually given to the family at an earlier date.

⁵² *Book of Fees*, ii, p. 1051, 1077. The date of Ralph's death is deduced from the implications of his son being the heir of Robert de Salceto in regard of the inheritance of Eakley, Buckinghamshire, in 1235.

- ⁵³ *Book of Fees*, i, p. 188. It was divided in two before 1242: a quarter of a fee being given by Adam de Pickworth to Thurgarton Priory and the other quarter fee being held of the Templars by William son of John. See *Book of Fees*, ii, p. 1044.
- ⁵⁴ Round, *Norman Docs*, p. 173.
- ⁵⁵ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 244.
- ⁵⁶ *Pipe Roll 1179-80* (vol 26 Hen. II), p. 23, 53. That he held the manor while his father was still alive is significant, as his younger son Ralph did the same, holding it in 1212.
- ⁵⁷ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 246, note a.
- ⁵⁸ *Book of Fees*, i, pp. 359, 617; ii, 1035.
- ⁵⁹ See *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 246 note a.
- ⁶⁰ W. Miller, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (1805), vol. 2; Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.
- ⁶¹ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 246.
- ⁶² *Feudal Aids*, i, pp. 147, 165.
- ⁶³ W. Miller, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (1805), vol. 2; Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.
- ⁶⁴ Grant G. Simpson & James D. Galbraith, *Cal. of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved In The Public Record Office and British Library" Volume Five (Supplementary) [1964 To 1970]*, p. 500.
- ⁶⁵ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 250, note a. The Lincoln *Fasti Ecclesiae* does not mention him, however.
- ⁶⁶ Miller, *Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*; Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.
- ⁶⁷ Miller, *Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*; Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.
- ⁶⁸ Norfolk Record Office: KIM 2A/15.
- ⁶⁹ National Archives: C49/69/5.
- ⁷⁰ Miller, *Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*; Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.
- ⁷¹ He died before 15 Dec 1274. See *Cal. Patent Rolls 1272-81*, p. 76.
- ⁷² Most of what follows is taken from Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, iii, pp. 40-44.
- ⁷³ National Archives: C241/44/34; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, p. 396.
- ⁷⁴ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, xix, pp. 126-7.
- ⁷⁵ Regarding his birthdate, sometimes given as 1286, Eyton notes that he turned 21 the August before his father's death.
- ⁷⁶ *Cal. Fine Rolls 1437-1445*, p. 30; *Cal. Fine Rolls 1430-1437*, p. 98.
- ⁷⁷ For his date of death, see National Archives: SC8/89 and SC 8/263/13104.
- ⁷⁸ Grant G. Simpson & James D. Galbraith, *Cal. of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved In The Public Record Office and British Library" Volume Five (Supplementary) [1964 To 1970]*, pp. 439, 451, 457, 465 (nos 2605, 2772, 2887, 2977).
- ⁷⁹ *The Heraldic Visitation of Wales* written in 1588 by the herald Lewis Dwnn, edited in 1896 by Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, records that the then lord of Coedmore, John Mortimer (d. 1596), was descended from Llewelyn Mortimer, lord of Coedmore and Genau 'r Glynn. It also states that Llewelyn was the son and heir of Roger Mortimer esquire. As Roger Mortimer of Chirk was of Welsh descent through his grandmother, Gladys Ddu, it was a reasonable hypothesis that he and Roger, father of Llewelyn, were one and the same man. This seemed to be supported by Edward I's charter to Roger Mortimer esquire, enrolled in 1284 (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii, p. 281). However, this was not the case. Llewelyn was the son of Roger Mortimer of the New House in the lordship of Narberth, otherwise known as Roger Mortimer of West Wales (as shown in National Archives: SC8/89/4450; W. Rees (ed.), *Cal. of Ancient Petitions relating to Wales* (Cardiff, 1975), p. 134). Roger's son Llewelyn was of full age by 1283, before Roger Mortimer of Chirk was married. See Part eight, the Mortimers of Coedmore.
- ⁸⁰ National Archives: C241/128.
- ⁸¹ John Mortimer, son of Roger of Chirk, was still alive on 6 April 1353. See National Archives: C241/131/181.
- ⁸² National Archives: SC 8/238/11880.

⁸³ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 256.

⁸⁴ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, xiii, no 167 (p. 140).

⁸⁵ *Canterbury and York Society*, vol. 18, p. 115 (1915). Some writers assume that this man was the same as the Roger Mortimer who died in 1402. It seems more probable that they were father and son, as the elder had an adult son called Roger in 1396 and the son's heir was born in 1392.

⁸⁶ *VCH Worcs* gives ref. 'Feet of F. Div. Co. case 290, file 57, no. 258' and notes that 'This fine does not seem to be a conveyance from Hawkesley to Mortimer, as Tedstone Wafer, which had been in the Mortimer family long before this time (*Feud. Aids*, ii, 378, &c.), is included in it.'

⁸⁷ B. H. Putnam, ed., *Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 408 (1938).

⁸⁸ Anne Curry, *Agincourt: a New History* (2006), p. 316.

⁸⁹ 'Un écu aux armes des Mortemer était encore visible au XIXe siècle dans une salle basse du château (Lièvre 1869, pl. p. 50). Les Mortemer prirent la seigneurie de Couhé à la suite du mariage entre Jeanne de Joinville – fille de Jean de La Marche, héritière du fief jadis des Lusignan – et Roger de Mortemer. Il pourrait s'agir de l'armoire reproduite dans une planche de l'Indicateur archéologique de l'arrondissement de Civrai, publiée en 1865 par Pierre Amédée Brouillet (Brouillet 1865, pl. 10), sans indications sur son emplacement. La gravure montre un écusson sculpté en relief, dont les formes seraient compatibles avec une datation comprise entre la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle et la première moitié du XVe.' From <http://base-armma.edel.univ-poitiers.fr/monument/chateau-de-couhe-couhe/>, downloaded 21 May 2018.

⁹⁰ The genealogy of the Mortimer family of Couhé is to be found in G. Watson, 'Geoffrey de Mortimer and his descendants', *Genealogist*, New Series, 22 (1906), pp. 1-16.

⁹¹ *Tables des Manuscrits de Fontenau*, Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest (1839), p. 339.

⁹² Bristol Record Office: AC/D/13/1. By 1280, Guillaume de Mortemer of Bec bore arms that were differenced by a red bendlet or a baston (*Barry of six, or and vert, semy de lys countercharged overall a bendlet gules*, as described in the second part of the Armorial Wijnbergen); however, the mark of difference does not necessarily date back to the time of William. The Armorial le Breton (1292x4) shows the same arms for the Norman family undifferenced.

⁹³ Her father Hugh de Say died in 1197. He can hardly have been older than his mid-twenties when he died. Although he was old enough to serve Richard I in 1194, his mother was still alive in the early thirteenth century, as shown by her gifts to Haughmond Abbey (*Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey*, p. 180). She has father had probably been married for less than ten years by the time of his death. She had no children by her first husband and only one by her second, so possibly only started cohabiting with her husband late in their marriage.

⁹⁴ As noted in *Complete Peerage*, they had probably married in this year. She was probably some years older than Bartholomew and past child-bearing age. Her son Hugh de Say was old enough to fight for Richard I in Normandy in 1194. Bartholomew and Lucy did not have any children.

⁹⁵ Bartholomew appears as witnesses of three of the earl's charters in the early thirteenth century, his name appearing each time two places in advance of that of Constantine Mortimer, who might have been his brother. See <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/factoid/8804/#> ;

<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/factoid/8952/#> ; <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/factoid/9006/#>
He received repayment of money from the Scottish king on the earl's behalf several times in 1210 (*Cal. of Docs relating to Scotland*, p. 90). After the earl's death in 1219, Bartholomew acted as one of the 'great bailiffs' of his estates, as directed by William Marshall. See *Complete Peerage*. That Bartholomew held land in Norfolk is made apparent by his heir being his nephew, Matthew de Morley (fl. 1226-50), a relatively humble Norfolk manorial lord.

⁹⁶ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 259.

⁹⁷ Bristol Record Office, AC/D/13/1. By 1280, Guillaume de Mortemer of Bec bore arms that were differenced by a red bendlet or a baston (*Barry of six, or and vert, semy de lys countercharged overall a bendlet gules*, as described in the second part of the Armorial Wijnbergen); however, the mark of

difference does not necessarily date back to the time of William. The Armorial le Breton (1292x4) shows the same arms for the Norman family undifferenced.

⁹⁸ <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/normans/appearances.jsp?person=843>.

⁹⁹ He is recorded as attesting charters of King John at Brix and Cherbourg, Sep 1200; at Windsor, Apr 1205; at Partenay, May 1214; at Roche-aux-Moines, June 1215; and at Hereford, July 1216 (Rot. Chart, pp 75, 76, 148, 198, 207, 223).

¹⁰⁰ Bristol Record Office, AC/D/13/1. By 1280, Guillaume de Mortemer of Bec bore arms that were differenced by a red bendlet or a baston (*Barry of six, or and vert, semy de lys countercharged overall a bendlet gules*, as described in the second part of the Armorial Wijnbergen); however, the mark of difference does not necessarily date back to the time of William. The Armorial le Breton (1292x4) shows the same arms for the Norman family undifferenced.

¹⁰¹ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, iii, no. 132.

¹⁰² *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, iii, no. 640.

¹⁰³ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, iii, no. 785.

¹⁰⁴ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, iii, no. 785

¹⁰⁵ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, v, no. 57, 58.

¹⁰⁶ See *Recueil des historiens de la France*, vol. 23 (1876), p. 747, note 11, where it is stated the Mortemer lordship was in the commune of Sandouville, midway between Harfleur and Tankerville, and had nothing to do with the English Mortimers. I am grateful to Professor Daniel Power for pointing this out to me.

¹⁰⁷ See above. The coat of arms depicted is from the Armorial le Breton in the Archives Nationales, Paris, dating from about 1292x4.

¹⁰⁸ Bristol Record Office, AC/D/13/1. The witnesses of this grant include Stephen Ridell (John's chancellor); Master Godfrey de Lisle clerk; Robert, earl of Leicester and Robert de Bretoil his son; Hamon de Val[onis?]; Roger de Plan[es]; William de Mortimer and Robert his brother and seven others. According to *Complete Peerage*, vii, pp. 532-3, Robert, earl of Leicester set out on crusade shortly after 1 December 1189 and died in France on the return journey. As John was only created count of Mortain by his brother on 20 July 1189, this grant must date to the second half of 1189.

¹⁰⁹ T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati* (1835), p. 10.

¹¹⁰ Vatican, Philip Augustus Register A fo.38v.

¹¹¹ Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, i, 6, 15b.

¹¹² *Cal. Patent Rolls 1225-32*, pp. 190-1.

¹¹³ *Armorial Général de France, registre second, première partie* (Paris, 1741), p. 283.

¹¹⁴ Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime: Cote 18Hp5 (ated 1259). Bec thereafter became Bec-Crespin.

¹¹⁵ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 246, note a.

¹¹⁶ Norfolk Record Office: KIM 2A/2 (conveyance by John son of William de Monte Corbino to Geoffrey son of Robert de Mortuo Mari of land in Barnham); KIM 2Q/1 (Conveyance by John de Ho, Kt., to Geoffrey de Mortuo Mari, son of Robert de Mortuo Mari, of land in Barnham).

¹¹⁷ *Cal. Inq. Misc. 1219-1307*, p. 191 (no. 627).

¹¹⁸ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* vol. 1, p. 191; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, p. 260.

¹¹⁹ *VCH Buckinghamshire*.

¹²⁰ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, p. 260.

¹²¹ *Book of Fees*, i, pp. 359, 617; ii, 1035.

¹²² *Book of Fees*, i, 158, 181. The fact he held these manors during his father's lifetime is significant – as his father had likewise held Wilsthorpe during *his* father's lifetime.

¹²³ *Book of Fees*, ii, pp. 1016, 1095.

¹²⁴ *Book of Fees*, ii, pp. 1051, 1077.

¹²⁵ *Book of Fees*, i, p. 873.

¹²⁶ *Book of Fees*, ii, p. 261

- ¹²⁷ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, vi, p. 397.
- ¹²⁸ *Book of Fees*, ii, p. 261. For the date 1269, see Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. 3, p. 486.
- ¹²⁹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, I, pp. 38, 45.
- ¹³⁰ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, v, p. 360.
- ¹³¹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, I, p. 345.
- ¹³² Northamptonshire Record Office, F(M) Charter/828. ‘Grant by Eudo de Reppingehal to Thomas de Huntingfeld and Cecily de Mortuo Mari his wife, of all the land with messuages and meadows which Joan wife of the said Eude lately gave and sold to Waleran de Mortuo Mari in the fields of Nunton, Makesya and Helpeton until the heirs of the said Waleran should come to full age.’
- ¹³³ *Feudal Aids*, i, p. 105.
- ¹³⁴ *Feudal Aids*, i, p. 131.
- ¹³⁵ National Archives: C143/332/19.
- ¹³⁶ So described in 1410. See National Archives: E326/126.
- ¹³⁷ *History of Parliament*, under his father’s entry.
- ¹³⁸ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, vi, pp. 396-7.
- ¹³⁹ National Archives: CP 25/1/138/103, number 9.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Cal. Patent Rolls 1338*, p. 42; *Feudal Aids*, vol. 3 p. 200. Ralph was dead by 1376 as shown by the Fitzwilliam (Milton) charter in Northants Record Office (ref: F(M) Charter/1534). ‘Covenant of lease by Hugh de Sulgrave, of Helpiston, and Joan his wife to Richard de Balderton and Anne his wife, of the moiety of the manor called Dounhalle, with a portion of lands, tenements, etc. belonging, which came to the said Hugh by inheritance of the said Joan after the death of Ralph Mortymer, her father; for a term of 30 years, at a yearly rent of four marks.’
- ¹⁴¹ See the Fitzwilliam (Milton) charter in Northants Record Office (ref: F(M) Charter/888). ‘Grant, by way of mortgage, by Rauf Mortimer to Richard Knyvet, of an annual rent of £7.6sh.8d with appurtenances in Helpiston, together with all services of free tenants; etc. redeemable on the payment of £10 at Suthwyk on the 1st August next.’
- ¹⁴² *VCH Rutland*.
- ¹⁴³ See the Fitzwilliam (Milton) charter in Northants Record Office (ref: F(M) Charter/913). This reads: ‘Indenture setting forth certain covenants between Thomas Mortimer on the one part and John Sulgrave of the other, viz. that the latter has enfeoffed Hue Mortymer and the said Thomas, esquires, with his manor of Helpeton and lands in Makesey and Wodcrofte, which descended to the said Thomas after the death of Rauf Mortymer his father or which he purchased from his sister Amis Balderton - also a message and 40 acres of meadow in Estdepyng in a place called Walran Park, together with an annual rent of nine marks: And the said John shall lease to the said Hue and Thomas the message called Wodhalle and other lands in fee tail.’ As Hugh’s will states that their father was Thomas, this suggests that Ralph was the grandfather of the beneficiaries, not the father. This is indeed stated in the charter of Hugh and Joan Sulgrave mentioned above (Northants Record Office (ref: F(M) Charter/1534).
- ¹⁴⁴ *Cal. Patent Rolls 1327-30*, p. 436.
- ¹⁴⁵ British Library Harley MS 1240 (The Black Book of Wigmore), folio XV (modern pencil mark, folio 21).
- ¹⁴⁶ See Dwnn’s visitation in Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick (ed.), *Heraldic Visitations of Wales* (2 vols, 1846), i, p. 304, for example. It also should be noted that the various Scottish Mortimer families bore as their arms variations of *a lion rampant sable*.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Cal. Charter Rolls* ii, p. 281.
- ¹⁴⁸ <http://www.glen-johnson.co.uk/coedmore-mansion/> Downloaded 28 August 2018.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Cal. Inq. Misc. 1307-48*, p. 172.
- ¹⁵⁰ British Library Harley MS 1240 (The Black Book of Wigmore), folio XV (modern pencil mark, folio 21).
- ¹⁵¹ *Cal. Inq. Misc. 1307-48*, p. 172.

- ¹⁵² National Archives: SC8/89/4450.
- ¹⁵³ Thomas Nicholls, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (2 vols, 1872), i, p. 169.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Cal. Patent Rolls 1327-30*, p. 436.
- ¹⁵⁵ Thomas Nicholls, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (2 vols, 1872), i, p. 169.
- ¹⁵⁶ <https://www.medievalsoldier.org/dbsearch/> quoting National Archives:, C76/68, m. 25.
- ¹⁵⁷ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 151.
- ¹⁵⁸ <http://www.glen-johnson.co.uk/mayors-of-cardigan/> downloaded 28 August 2018.
- ¹⁵⁹ National Archives: SC6/1223/6 mmem. 2.
- ¹⁶⁰ National Archives: E101/46/20, no. 2, m. 1.
- ¹⁶¹ National Archives: SC6/1162/1.
- ¹⁶² Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: the Structure and Personnel of Government, South Wales 1277-1536* (2018), p. 82.
- ¹⁶³ National Archives: SC6/1225/8.
- ¹⁶⁴ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 69.
- ¹⁶⁵ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 264.
- ¹⁶⁶ The archival reasons for relating these documents to this younger Richard are because these documents are to be found in the same archival collection: National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records (in this case, file 11).
- ¹⁶⁷ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 73.
- ¹⁶⁸ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 134.
- ¹⁶⁹ Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: the Structure and Personnel of Government, South Wales 1277-1536* (2018), p. 428; National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 1140. This is dated 6 June 1543.
- ¹⁷⁰ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 93.
- ¹⁷¹ National Archives: WARD7/8/66; C142/274/27.
- ¹⁷² National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, files 78-80.
- ¹⁷³ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 319.
- ¹⁷⁴ Francis Green (ed.), *West Wales Historical Records*, viii (Carmarthen, 1921), p. 119.
- ¹⁷⁵ <http://www.glen-johnson.co.uk/mayors-of-cardigan/> downloaded 28 August 2018.
- ¹⁷⁶ National Archives: C2/Jas1/U2/33.