

Ian Mortimer

The Medieval Mortimer Family

An outline lineage

This document lays out the basic genealogies of the various medieval families that bore the Anglo-Norman name 'de Mortemer' or its Latin equivalent, 'de Mortuo Mari' and the later anglicised variations, such as 'Mortimer' and 'Mortimer'. The prime purpose is to distinguish between the major landowners who appear in the pre-1500 records. It is not an attempt to identify all the significant individuals called 'Mortimer'; still less is it an attempt to show speculatively how they all might be related. Although it is tempting to say that the medieval Mortimer families all descend from Roger fitz Ralph, lord of Mortemer-sur-Eaulne, who was known after 1054 as Roger de Mortemer, the evidence is not strong enough to prove the matter one way or another. Thus they are each dealt with separately.

The arrangement is as follows. The oldest family is dealt with first, in part one, this being the Mortimers of Wigmore. Their genealogy is followed by that of each cadet family, arranged in order of the date at which it branched off from the main line. Next, in part two, the Mortimers of Attleborough appear, with their cadet families, again in order. The Mortimers of Wilsthorpe and their probable branches are dealt with in part three. Some notes on the Mortimers of Coedmore form part four, and on the obscure Mortimer families of Cliffe, Kent, and Cuckfield, Sussex, parts five and six. Finally, there is an appendix dealing with the origin of the family in Scotland.

- 1a. The Mortimers of Wigmore, Herefordshire
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 - 2a. The Mortimers of Attleborough, Norfolk, and Kingston, Cambridgeshire
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 4. The Mortimers of Coedmore, Cardiganshire
 5. The Mortimers of Cliffe, Kent
 6. The Mortimers of Cuckfield, Sussex
- Appendix:* The Origins of the Scottish Mortimers

The distinction between the various families has largely been predicated by heraldry. Basically, if a cadet branch used different arms from the main line, it has been regarded as a separate family, even if its ancestry is well evidenced. A single generation using arms that are merely differenced has not been treated as a cadet branch. In considering the heraldic evidence, however, readers should remember that the Mortimer family is much older than the practice of heraldry, and that heraldic rules and symbols of difference did not emerge overnight. The earliest known instances of distinctive arms in England date from the middle of the twelfth century but they were not initially universal. Nor were they necessarily hereditary. Before about 1190, two brothers might have borne completely different shields. In the later thirteenth century, certain families chose to change their arms completely (the Mortimers of Richard's Castle and those of Grendon are examples). The fact that the Mortimers of Richard's Castle and Bec previously used near-identical arms shows the design of *barry of six, or and vert, with a semy of fleurs-de-lis counterchanged* was in use before the fall of Normandy in 1204 and probably during the lifetime of their father, Robert Mortimer of Essex (fl. 1168-80). But the lord of Richard's Castle still opted for a completely new design about 1275 – for reasons that remain unknown.

It is useful also to be aware that most of the Mortimer families followed a common naming pattern: they named the eldest legitimate son after his paternal grandfather. The Mortimers of Wigmore followed this from the eleventh century all the way down to the extinction of the male line of the family in 1425 with only one possible aberration (which may be due to an incorrect assessment of the genealogy). The Mortimers of Attleborough also followed the pattern down to the time of Constantine Mortimer of Attleborough, who was born around 1279; the Mortimers of Richard's Castle named their eldest son in this manner all the way down to the extinction of the male line in 1304. Other families also show signs of applying the same pattern – especially Bec, Chelmarsh and Wilsthorpe – albeit with one or two exceptions.

Much of the basic information in the genealogical tables that follow has been drawn from *The Complete Peerage (CP)* and *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*. In these cases footnotes have rarely been given. Supplementary matter has been added from the *Fundatorum Historia*, the Mortimer family chronicle, which was originally composed 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 his *Monasticon*. Other sources necessary to understand the chronology proposed are mentioned in the notes but citations have been restricted to problematic details or hitherto unrecorded original manuscript locations.

Finally, I am grateful to Prof. David Bates, Prof. Daniel Power, Dr Paul Dryburgh, Dr David Crook, Hugh Wood and Chris Philips 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 1a

The Mortimers of Wigmore, Herefordshire



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

Most people who have looked at the origins of the Mortimer family know three things about the founder, Roger de Mortemer. The first is that he was a kinsman of William the Conqueror, duke of Normandy. That is true: his maternal grandmother was a niece of Gunnor, wife of Duke Richard I of Normandy.¹ The second is that he won the Battle of Mortemer-en-Bray on behalf of Duke William in 1054 – and ended up being punished for it. That also is true. Despite leading the Normans to victory and capturing Duke William’s enemy, Ralph de Montdidier, Roger released the man after the battle and thus incurred his overlord’s wrath. Duke William seized all of Roger’s estates. They were eventually restored, with the exception of Mortemer itself, which was bestowed on Roger’s nephew, William de Warenne. The third famous ‘fact’ concerning him is that he fought at the Battle of Hastings. That is more problematic, as we shall see. But the one thing people don’t know – and undoubtedly the most interesting thing about him – is the reason for his name. Why did he come to be called ‘de Mortemer’?

Generally it is assumed that Roger took the name on account of his principal seat being Mortemer-sur-Eaulne. This would be the usual thing to do: in the eleventh century, hereditary names normally referred to the *caput* or chief manor of a noble family. However, historians have overlooked a small but important point. When Roger was lord of Mortemer-sur-Eaulne, he did not call himself ‘de Mortemer’: prior to the battle he was known as Roger fitz Ralph de Warenne.² He only started to use the name ‘de Mortemer’ after the battle, when he was no longer lord of that place and his *caput* was at St-Victor-en-Caux, twenty-five miles to the west. Had ‘de Mortemer’ been a mere toponymic, one would have expected him to have been known as ‘Roger de Saint-Victor’. Had he instead preferred a hereditary name, he had one already lined up – in his father and elder brother

¹ See K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, ‘Aspects of Robert of Torigny’s Genealogies Revisited’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, xxxvii (1993), pp. 21-7 for the origins of the family.

² Keats-Rohan, ‘Aspects’, p. 10 (note 10).

using the surname ‘de Warenne’. But he didn’t. He stuck to ‘de Mortemer’, which perpetuates the memory of a significant territorial *loss*. This is extraordinary in a feudal society. There is only one other parallel, that of Geoffrey de Neufmarché. This is interesting as Geoffrey’s son Bernard de Neufmarché and Roger de Mortemer’s son Ralph both fought together in the Norman push into Wales. Both families retained the title of a *Norman* castle that they had lost. It has been argued that the reason why they retained these names was because to have been lord of a frontier castle was a badge of honour.³ However, Mortemer was not exactly on the frontier of Normandy. It seems likely that he did indeed adopt the name as a ‘badge of honour’ – but because he had famously defended the duchy against the French there. In other words, the family is named after a battle, not a lordship.

Roger de Mortemer (fl. 1054-78), seigneur of Mortemer-sur-Eaulne (until 1054) and St-Victor-en-Caux, in the Neufchâtel region of Normandy. 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).⁴ Thus he was a third cousin of William the Conqueror. He first appears in the documentary record as Roger, son of Ralph de Warenne, in a charter dating from 1040x53.⁵ He successfully led a contingent of troops at the Battle of Mortemer in 1054, defending his town against the incursions of the French under the command of Ralph de Montdidier, later count of Valois (d. 1074), among others. He captured the count but fell from favour with Duke William on releasing him – perhaps on account of loyalty to him as one of his wife’s relations.⁶

Roger was probably born around 1020.⁷ Given that he was a proven war leader of some maturity at the time of the Norman Conquest, it is likely that he played some part in Duke William’s military

³ Max Lieberman, ‘The Medieval “Marches” of Normandy and Wales’, *EHR*, vol. 125, no. 517 (2010), pp. 1357-81, at p. 1368.

⁴ Keats-Rohan, ‘Aspects’, p. 24. His elder brother, Ralph II de Warenne, married Emma and had sons Ralph III de Warenne and William I de Warenne (d. 1088). 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.

⁵ Keats-Rohan, ‘Aspects’, p. 10 (note 10).

⁶ Pierre Bauduin, *La Première Normandie* (2nd ed. Caen, 2006), pp. 258-9. The reason for releasing him was probably that Roger was a vassal of Ralph de Montdidier (d. 1074); this is not certain for 1054 but Bauduin notes that Roger was in his service after Ralph became count of Valois in 1063.

⁷ The fact that Roger’s nephew William de Warenne (d. 1088) 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 and been cohabiting by 1034, as he was a younger son. That implies Roger’s elder brother had to have been born before 1018 at the latest, and possibly several years before this date. That puts Roger’s likely date of birth in the late 1010s or early 1020s.

strategy against England. The reference by Wace to one ‘Hugues 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.⁸ 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 at Hastings (due to his extreme youth), it is possible that this much later source preserves a memory of a family involvement in the battle. Otherwise, there is no evidence that Roger was present 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 the dukedom. There is no evidence, however, that he ever set foot here. In 1074 he and his wife Hawise, heiress of Mers, petitioned for the recently founded priory of Saint-Victor to be made into an abbey, suggesting that his Norman estates remained his prime concern in his later years.⁹ Similarly, Hawise granted her vill of Mers to the abbey.¹⁰ Roger 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 was sealed at Rouen between 1078 and 1081.¹¹ It is safe to presume that he died shortly after this. He was survived by at least one son and a daughter:¹² For a fuller biography, see his entry in *ODNB*.

- **Ralph Mortimer** (fl. 1075-1115), *q.v.*
- Agnes Mortimer.¹³

⁸ 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 *Rogerus* when he wrote *Hugues*.

⁹ H.W.C. Davis (ed.), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, (4 vols, 1913-69), i, p. 20 (no. 77).

¹⁰ Thomas Stapleton (ed.), *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub Regibus Angliae*, ii (1844), cxx.

¹¹ David Bates (ed.), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I* (Oxford, 1998), no. 101.

¹² 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 but who was dead by 1074 and so must be a different man. It is also possible that the story comes from 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). If Roger de Mortemer did have a son called Hugh, he died without issue. No person of that name is mentioned in Domesday Book or the St Victor Cartulary.

¹³ Daniel Power, ‘The transformation of Norman charters in the twelfth century’ in David Bates, Edoardo D’Angelo, Elisabeth van Houts (eds), *People, Texts and Artefacts: Cultural Transmission in the Medieval Norman Worlds* (2017), pp. 193-212, at p. 201, quoting Archives Départementales de l’Oise: H7657. This charter is dated 1183. Roger Mortimer (d. 1214), the grantor of the charter, specifies that Agnes was the sister of his grandfather, Ralph.

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. 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, after 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 in 1100 (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.¹⁴ 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;¹⁵ 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*, was appointed lieutenant of Normandy for life by Henry I.¹⁶

Ralph's last recorded martial deeds were his involvement on the side of Henry I in an action against Robert Curthose in Normandy in 1104 and his participation in the Battle of Tenchebrai (1106).¹⁷ His conquests in Wales – most notably Maelienydd – fell into Welsh hands. The date of his death in the *Fundatorum Historia* is incomplete – consisting of the Roman numerals 'MC' and a gap to fill the exact years afterwards, which was never done. However, Dugdale printed this incomplete date without the gap, creating the misleading impression he died in 1100. He was still alive when the Lindsey Survey was compiled, in about 1115.¹⁸ By then he would probably have been in his sixties. This explains how his charter to the monks of Worcester could have been made 'with the assent of his sons' before he died. His first wife was Millicent (d. pre-1088), by whom he had at least one daughter.

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ This detail, which is often overlooked, appears in 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, p268 note f, citing *Lindsey Survey*, Lincs Rec Soc, p.251.

¹⁶ Among his charters, he witnessed two confirmations by Robert Curthose of grants to the abbey of Jumièges in 1091x95 (Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, 9 H 1764).

¹⁷ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 268, note e, quoting Orderic, ed. Le Prévost, iv, p. 199.

¹⁸ 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.

- Hawise (fl. 1088-1115),¹⁹ 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. Fought at the Battle of the Standard in 1138. Note that William le Gros used his maternal inheritance in Thornton, Lincolnshire, to endow an Augustinian priory, Thornton Abbey, in 1139. This was about the same time as his uncle, Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1127-81) founded the Augustinian priory that was eventually to become Wigmore Abbey. He married Cicely of Skipton, and had one daughter:
 - i. Hawise (d. 1214), countess of Aumale. She married three times: first, William de Mandeville, earl of Essex (d. 1189), in 1180; second, the crusader, William de Fortibus (d. 1195), and third, Baldwin de Bethune. By her second husband she had a son and heir:
 1. William de Fortibus, third earl of Aumale (d. 1242). The line died out with his son, William, the fourth earl, who married Isabel de Redvers, daughter of Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devon.

Millicent was dead by 1088, by which time Ralph was married to his second wife, Mabel (fl. 1100). He had at least four sons by her and any later partners. The frequently repeated statement that he was the father of Ralph, lord of Newton, is erroneous.²⁰ So too is the notion that Alan Mortimer of Aberdour was his son (see *Appendix*). For a fuller biography, see his entry in *ODNB*.

1. **Roger Mortimer** (fl. 1139).²¹ He is not mentioned in *Fundatorum Historia* (probably because he was dead before the foundation of the abbey where that work was written). Nor is he named in the charters of St Victor (except as a dead man). Therefore, traditional histories of the family based on these sources have ignored him and simply assumed that Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1127-81) was the eldest son of Ralph Mortimer, as the *Fundatorum Historia* (composed in 1262) states. However, in a charter to the Benedictine nuns of Saint-Paul near Beauvais, dated 1183, Roger Mortimer (d. 1214), lord of Wigmore refers to his grandfather Ralph and indicates that he was that man's *third* heir.²² As that Roger inherited

¹⁹ She is mentioned in one of her husband's charters, dated 1115. See William Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, iii (1916), p. 31.

²⁰ One 'Ralph, lord of Newton' (which was a Mortimer manor at the time of Domesday) made a grant in 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 probably a tenant of the Mortimers: Domesday notes that the manor was held *from* them, not by them. No Ralph Mortimer is documented in any other source between 1115 and 1200.

²¹ This Roger was mistaken by the editors of *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 269, as a son of a spurious 'Hugh I' who died 1148x50, according to their reckoning.

²² Daniel Power, 'The transformation of Norman charters in the twelfth century' in David Bates, Edoardo D'Angelo, Elisabeth van Houts (eds), *People, Texts and Artefacts: Cultural Transmission in the Medieval Norman*

Wigmore from his father Hugh Mortimer (d. 1181?), his statement indicates this Roger (fl. 1139), his uncle, inherited before Hugh.

The theory that Roger Mortimer (fl. 1139) was lord of Wigmore before his brother Hugh is supported by some circumstantial evidence. First, it is implied by William of Malmesbury's reference to him being in command of royal soldiers at Malmesbury in 1139.²³ This very fact suggests he was a man of significant prestige – it is difficult to imagine the almost-landless younger brother of a second-rank lord being in charge of even a small royal army at this time, especially considering the king himself was in the locality, pressing the attack against Bristol.

A second piece of circumstantial evidence is that Roger's name is completely absent from the records after 1140. The only later references to him are two grants made in his memory by his brother Hugh: one to the nunnery of Kington St Michael in Wiltshire and the other to St Victor in Normandy.²⁴ The second of these dates from the 1170s. The first, however, was much earlier. Hugh Mortimer's grant to the nuns of Kington – which was made for the souls of his parents and brother, Roger – specifically refers to his (Hugh's) tenant choosing the site for the priory, which suggests the grant was made not long after the site was chosen. This was possibly as early as 1141 and certainly before 1155.²⁵ It would follow that it is highly likely Hugh's charter commemorating his brother dates from Stephen's reign, and probably not long after Roger's appearance at Malmesbury.

The third piece of circumstantial evidence is the complete absence of Hugh's name from English and Welsh records before 1140. Although being of a bellicose disposition, Hugh did not start to reclaim the family's lost Welsh estates until the 1140s, even though he then must have been at least in his mid-forties. Similarly, he did not marry until the late 1140s, when he must have been approaching fifty (see his entry below). Such an absence of evidence before 1140 is surprising for a man who was so active here in the forty years after that date.

Worlds (2017), pp. 193-212, at p. 201, quoting Archives Départementales de l'Oise: H7657. The text reads: *Ego Rogerus de Mortuo mari, tam his qui modo existunt quam illis qui futuri sunt in perpetuum. Fuit uir quidam iusticia insignis, honestate morum preclarus, nomine Radulfus, meus et predecessor et auus, qui habuit sororem que Agnes appellabatur ... Ego autem Rogerus Radulfi iam sepe dicti tertius heres banc ipsius honestam et utilem donationem iterum pro anima mea et intuitu pietatis, Hermengardi abbatisse totique sororum conuentui...*

²³ 'The bishop of Salisbury secretly favoured the king's enemies, though he disguised his subtlety for the moment; that the king had discovered this beyond all doubt, from many circumstances, more especially, however, from the said bishop's having refused permission to Roger de Mortimer with the king's soldiers whom he was conducting, when under the greatest apprehensions from the garrison of Bristol, to continue even a single night at Malmesbury...' See J. A. Giles (ed.), *William of Malmesbury's Chronicle of the Kings of England* (1847), p. 503.

²⁴ For the memorials, see Dugdale (ed.), *Monsaticon*, iv, p. 399 (Kington St. Michael); Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, pp. 370-7 (St Victor).

²⁵ The earliest extant charter to the nuns of Kington – that of Adam de Brimpton, son or brother of the man who chose the site – is witnessed by Hugh Bigod. If this is the same Hugh Bigod who was created earl of Norfolk by the Empress Matilda in July 1141, it would mean the priory was founded before that date as Hugh is not styled 'earl'. The priory is mentioned in the pipe roll for 1155. See the entry for Kington St Michael in *VCH Wiltshire*.

Finally, the *Fundatorum Historia* specifically states that Ralph Mortimer enjoined on Hugh the duty of founding Wigmore Abbey. Yet Hugh did not even start to do this until the 1140s. If he had been lord of Wigmore since his father's death, which probably was not long after the last reference to him in 1115, why not? Hugh's entire career as lord of Wigmore seems to have been on hold until the 1140s.

As a result of these four factors supporting the reference to Roger as the grandson but 'third heir' after Ralph, it would appear that he was the eldest son of Ralph Mortimer and that he died not long after 1139 and left no children. It is evident that his father made a partition of his estates before he died as Ralph handed over at least two of his Lincolnshire manors (Wootton and Harmston) to a younger child; another large Lincolnshire manor, Thornton, to his daughter Hawise; his Yorkshire manors to an ancestress of William de Vesci (probably the mother of Eustace and Pain fitz John, sons of John fitz Richard); and possibly other manors to other sons and daughters. Similarly, Roger's brother Hugh inherited at least some of the family land in Normandy directly from their father, for he made donations there to the abbey of St Victor before 1137, before Roger's death. It would be quite in keeping for a Norman lord to have divided his estates between his two eldest sons, with Hugh inheriting the Norman fiefs and Roger most of the English ones.

2. **Hugh Mortimer** (fl. 1127-1181), *q.v.*
3. William Mortimer (fl. 1170s), lord of Chelmarsh and afterwards Lower Lye, Herefordshire. He is mentioned in *Fundatorum Historia* and appears twice as a witness in his brother Hugh's Norman charters.²⁶ He probably had a son William, as stated below, and perhaps more than one. However, the basis for Planché's belief that he also had sons Robert and Ralph – and was thus the ancestor of the Mortimers of Attleborough – is due to an erroneous reading by Thomas Stapleton.²⁷ It is likely that the line died out as the lordship of Lower Lye reverted to the main line of the family before 1304.
 - ?William Mortimer (fl. 1170s). A nephew of Hugh's called William appears directly after Hugh's brother William in one of Hugh Mortimer's Norman charters.²⁸ It is

²⁶ 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.

²⁷ J. R. Planché, 'On the Genealogy and Armorial Bearings of the Family of Mortimer', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxiv (1868), p. 28. Planché states that Thomas Stapleton had a charter of Hugh Mortimer son of Ralph and grandson of Roger confirming his donations to St Victor that was witnessed by his sons William and Hugh, his brother William, and the sons Robert and Ralph of that William. Beaurepaire's edition of the cartulary containing this charter makes it clear that Stapleton is correct in naming the grantor, his father, grandfather, sons and brother but that the name of Hugh's brother William is followed not by the words 'Robertum et Radulphum filios ejus' as Stapleton supposed but 'Mobernum and Radulphum filium ejus' (Mober and his son Ralph). See Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, pp. 377.

²⁸ Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, p. 412. The nephew cannot have been William Mortimer (d.c. 1180), the son of Robert Mortimer of Norfolk, as the name appears too low in the witness list and that William Mortimer remained in Scotland after 1165. 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 Aumale' and

not certain that he was a Mortimer (he could have been a nephew by a sister of Hugh's) but it is not unlikely.

- ?Robert Mortimer (fl. 1119-46), generally known by historians as 'Robert Mortimer of Norfolk'. There is no doubt that Ralph left a portion of estates in Lincolnshire to a younger son, and it was neither Hugh nor William. The only name of a Mortimer that is known in that part of the world at that time is that of this Robert, the ancestor of the Mortimers of Attleborough and their cadet branches. For the evidence underpinning the possibility that Robert Mortimer was the son of Ralph, see *Part 2a (The Mortimers of Attleborough)*.

Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1127-1181), lord of Wigmore. The apparent gap of eighty-five years between the deaths of Ralph and Hugh Mortimer as recorded in the *Fundatorum Historia*, published by Dugdale in the seventeenth century, led nineteenth- and 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), who was supposed to have died in about 1153, and both were supposed to have been the sons of Hugh I (d. 1148x50). Recent analysis shows that this is incorrect. The editors of the *Complete Peerage*, who developed this chronology, misdated a post-1173 charter to a date before 1137 and cited a fraudulent charter purporting to date from 1150 as further evidence.²⁹ Although they were probably right in identifying this Hugh Mortimer as the younger brother of Roger Mortimer, there is no doubt that their father was Ralph Mortimer, the Domesday lord of Wigmore.

Hugh is first mentioned in Normandy 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). If we are right in stating that Robert Mortimer of Norfolk was his younger brother, it is significant that Robert witnessed a charter of Henry de Beaumont, earl of Warwick, who died in 1119 (see *Part 2a*). This would suggest that Hugh was born in the last years of the eleventh century. He seems to have grown up in Normandy, where he inherited his father's Norman lordship of 13½ fees before 1137.³⁰ He is recorded to have been lord of Wigmore in King Stephen's grant of Herefordshire to the earl of Leicester, which protected Hugh's rights in that county: this must have been in 1140 or

would have been named at the top of the witness list. A William Mortimer witnessed a charter of Roger Mortimer (d. 1214) to Cwmhir in 1199 but this could have been Roger's brother, William. See B. G. Charles, 'An early charter of the Abbey of Cwmhir', *The Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 40 (1970), pp. 68-73.

²⁹ Ian Mortimer, '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. Confirmation of this genealogical revision is to be found in Roger Mortimer's charter of 1183, which refers to his grandfather Ralph. See Daniel Power, 'The transformation of Norman charters in the twelfth century', in David Bates, Edoardo D'Angelo, Elisabeth van Houts (eds), *People, Texts and Artefacts: Cultural Transmission in the Medieval Norman Worlds* (2017), pp. 193-212, at p. 201, quoting Archives Départementales de l'Oise: H7657.

³⁰ Thomas Stapleton (ed.), *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normaniae sub Regibus Angliae*, ii (1844), cxix.

January 1141, before the battle of Lincoln (2 February 1141). However it is noticeable that there are no earlier records of him in England, nor of his tenure of any English manors. As lord of Wigmore, Hugh advanced into Wales in the 1140s with considerable success. His famous dispute with the lord of Ludlow, Jocelin de Dinant, which resulted in him being captured and ransomed for 3,000 marks, probably took place in 1148x9.³¹ In the next decade he joined his nephew William, count of Aumale in resisting Henry II on his accession, and fortified his castles against the new king, but surrendered them after the king besieged Wigmore. Shortly afterwards, his possessions were restored to him. He founded Wigmore Abbey in the early 1140s, moving it from place to place until finally laying the foundation stone of the church in 1172, and witnessing its consecration in 1179. The *Fundatorum Historia* states that he resigned his lands to his eldest surviving son and became a canon of Wigmore Abbey, dying on 26 February 1185. The day and month of his death also appears in the Hereford obituary book, although not the year. The pipe rolls note that from 1181, his son Roger was responsible for his debts, which has caused many scholars to state that he had died by then, and they are probably right to do so as Roger was in prison at the time and so Hugh would have been resigning his estates not in favour of his son but in favour of the king. However, 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, in the position of the founder, to the north of the high altar.

Hugh married Maud la Meschine, the mother of his children, in the 1140s. She was the widow of Philip de Belmeis, who made a grant to Buildwas Abbey in about 1139 and founded the community of Augustinian canons that eventually settled at Lilleshall two or three years after that. Philip was probably dead by May 1145, when the community was removed to Donnington under the auspices of his younger brother Richard. It is therefore likely that Hugh and Maud married in 1143x48. Although he was already well into his forties by then, this was his first and only marriage: his confirmation grant to St Victor refers to his gift to the canons of the manors of Clatford and Hullavington being made 'before he led his wife in marriage' without any reference to an earlier marriage.³² As this was witnessed by two of his children by Matilda, and as she survived him, it rules out there being more than one marriage. Matilda gave birth to at least four sons by Hugh and two by her first husband, Philip and Ralph de Belmeis (both of whom died without heirs). For a fuller biography, see his entry in *ODNB*.

1. Ralph Mortimer (d. young). As mentioned above, the Mortimers of Wigmore scrupulously followed the pattern of naming the eldest son after his paternal grandfather in the eleventh, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and there are only two points in the twelfth where they may have failed to do this; however, this, the second, is almost certainly due to a mistake in the traditional historiography. One would have expected Hugh's eldest son to be called Ralph, after the Domesday lord of Wigmore. The *Fundatorum Historia* does indeed state that Hugh had a son Ralph but names him amongst Hugh's 'other sons', after Roger, his successor. This has caused historians to presume that Ralph was a younger son. That Roger was not the eldest is made clear from the witness list of one of their father's charters, which names Hugh before him (see below). This tells us that placing Ralph among the 'other

³¹ Mortimer, 'Chronology of the de Mortemer', p. 633, n. 107.

³² Beaupaire (ed.), *Recueil*, pp. 375-6

sons' along with Hugh does not in itself mean he was younger than Roger. Circumstantial evidence supporting the theory that Ralph was the eldest is that the *Fundatorum Historia* has nothing more to say about him whereas it gives details about the lives of Hugh's other sons, suggesting Ralph died young. Furthermore, Hugh's other sons attested at least one of his charters but Ralph did not. The most probable reason is that Ralph had died before these charters were drawn up. The earliest charter was Hugh's confirmation of all his grants and those of his ancestors, which was witnessed by his sons Hugh and William in 1173x5. It is highly likely therefore that Ralph died before he came of age, and certainly before 1175.

2. Hugh Mortimer (d. pre-1181).³³ He witnessed his father's general confirmation of his family's gifts to Saint-Victor in 1173x75.³⁴ He married Felicia de St Sidon but died in a tournament at Worcester, without issue. His widow retained the manor of Chelmarsh for life.
3. **Roger Mortimer** (d. 1214), *q.v.*
4. William Mortimer (fl. 1175-99?). He witnessed his father's general confirmation of his family's charter to Saint-Victor before 1175.³⁵ One William Mortimer witnessed Roger Mortimer's confirmation of his grants to the abbey of Cwmhir in March 1199 but it is not certain this was his brother; it could have been a cousin of the same name.³⁶ Likewise a William Mortimer witnessed the charter of Roger Mortimer (d. 1214) to Kington St Michael, being named second, after Roger's son Philip, which probably dates the charter to after 1200; however this too could have been a cousin.³⁷ According to the *Fundatorum Historia*, this William was captured in war overseas and died without progeny. This was probably the campaign to retrieve Normandy in 1205, in which Roger Mortimer was also captured.

Roger Mortimer (d. 1214), lord of Wigmore. He first appears in the pipe roll for 1174-5, when he owed for land in Shropshire and Worcestershire.³⁸ This was during his father's lifetime and the explanation is probably that Hugh was in Normandy, as evidenced by his confirmation charter, witnessed by Roger's older and younger brothers, to the abbey of St Victor. 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, and remained thus until 1182. In 1191 he fell foul of Richard I's justiciar, William de Longchamp, who temporarily confiscated Wigmore and exiled him for a short period. In 1195 he invaded Maelienydd and refortified Cwmaron Castle. The following

³³ Hugh was probably older than Roger as his name appears first of the two in Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, p. 412. Roger was definitely older than William. Hugh was named before William in Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, p. 376.

³⁴ Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, pp. 370-77.

³⁵ Beaurepaire (ed.), *Recueil*, pp. 370-77.

³⁶ B. G. Charles, 'An early charter of the abbey of Cwmhir', *Radnorshire Society Transactions*, 40 (1970), pp. 68-74, at p. 69.

³⁷ Dugdale (ed.), *Monasticon*, iv, p. 399;

³⁸ *Pipe Roll 1174-5*, pp. 37, 127-8.

year he and Hugh de Say of Richard's Castle were defeated at New Radnor with considerable losses and were forced to retreat to Wigmore. In 1199 he made a grant to the abbey of Cwmhir in West Wales. 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, probably on 24 June, and was buried in Wigmore Abbey.³⁹

According to *Fundatorum Historia*, Roger married twice, both times to members of the same family, his first wife being supposedly 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. His second wife was said to be Isabella de Ferrers (d. 1252), daughter and heiress of Walkelin de Ferrers of Lechlade (second cousin of William, 3rd earl of Derby). However, this is probably wrong: he only married once. The near-contemporary (early thirteenth-century) Anglo-Norman chronicle of the foundation of Wigmore Abbey does not mention Millicent; it only refers to Isabella.⁴⁰ Also, the writ from King John to hand over the issues of the estates of the late Roger Mortimer to his son and heir, Hugh, dated 19 August 1214, also states that Hugh's mother was Isabella.⁴¹ Third, Roger made a grant to St Georges de Boscherville 'for the health of the souls of my father, mother and ancestors, and for the health of my own soul, and of my wife Isabella, and of my young children [*infancium*], and of my son Robert, and of Hugh de Spineto...'⁴² This was witnessed by Hugh, abbot of St Victor (who was abbot in 1205) and four of the men who witnessed another of Roger's charters from the 1190s.⁴³ No reference is made to the soul of a previous wife, nor a son by a previous wife older than Robert. It is perhaps significant that the underage children have collectively all been named before his son Robert. It would appear likely that, if the *Fundatorum Historia* is correct in stating that Roger married twice, his son by his first wife was Robert not Hugh. If, however, he did not marry twice, then the probability is that Robert was illegitimate.

- Robert Mortimer. The continuation of *Fundatorum Historia* includes him among the three younger sons of Roger Mortimer and Isabella. However, he was probably the eldest son and possibly illegitimate. In the abovementioned charter of his father to St. Georges de Boscherville, he is notably treated separately from Roger's under-age children. It can hardly be the case that Roger omitted to mention his son and heir Hugh in a grant for the spiritual benefit of everyone in the family; it therefore appears that Hugh was one of the under-age children in question and Robert the only son of full age. Support for this theory is to be

³⁹ Planché, 'Genealogy and Armorial Bearings of the Family of Mortimer', p. 32.

⁴⁰ Dugdale (ed.), *Monasticon*, vi., p. 350. The section dealing with Roger's wives immediately follows the termination of the 1262 text.

⁴¹ Planché, 'Genealogy and Armorial Bearings of the Family of Mortimer', p. 32.

⁴² Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime (Cote 13H233). Although P. Louis Lainé, *Archives généalogiques et historiques de la Noblesse de France* (1844), ix, p. 4, states that the charter is of a Roger Mortimer who married Isabella de Spineto, sister of William de Spineto, this cannot be the case on account of the number of witnesses of this charter who were witnesses of the charters of Roger Mortimer of Wigmore in Normandy, England and Wales, including Roger the Chamberlain, and Hugh his brother, Walter de Warneville, William de Spineto, Walter de Novo Maisnil and Ralph de Peletot. The Isabella in question was Isabella de Ferrers, Roger's only known wife.

⁴³ Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime: Cote 9H30.

found in Robert being the only son who witnessed another of Roger's Norman charters.⁴⁴ However, despite being the eldest, he did not inherit Wigmore. The two obvious explanations are that he died before his father or that he was illegitimate. If he *was* the eldest legitimate son and simply died before his father, this would conflict with the family naming tradition, which continued for another two centuries. Furthermore, it should be noted that the charter to St Georges Boscherville names Robert *after* the under-age children, giving them all seniority of standing over him, supporting the theory he was illegitimate. As he is only known from Norman sources, it is possible that he remained in Normandy. One Robert Mortimer appears in the Norman records as paying a small amount towards military service in 1195, which might relate to him.⁴⁵ It is not known whether he had any children.

By his wife Isabella, Roger had the following children:

1. **Hugh Mortimer** (d. 1227), lord of Wigmore. He married Alice, Annora or Alianore de Braose but died without issue. He was killed in a tournament in November 1227 and buried in Wigmore Abbey. His widow became a recluse at Iffley after his death; she was still alive in 1241.
2. **Ralph Mortimer** (d. 1246), *q.v.*
3. Philip Mortimer (fl. 1215-44). He appears as a witness of his father's grant to Kington Priory.⁴⁶ He witnessed grants by Hugh de Tournay to St Nicholas's Priory, Exeter.⁴⁷ In 1216 as Philip 'brother of Hugh Mortimer' he was given land in *Audibur* that had belonged to Richard Burdun.⁴⁸ He witnessed his elder brother Hugh's grant to Reading Abbey in 1226x7.⁴⁹ He held a fee in Shropshire of the barony of his brother, Ralph, in 1242-3, and land in Winterborne, Dorset, in 1235-6.⁵⁰ He should not be confused with his near-contemporary of the same name, Philip Mortimer (fl. 1203-11), who was a monk of Lewes Priory who went on to become prior of Castle Acre Priory before 1203.
 - Joan Mortimer (d. 1225), who married Walter de Beauchamp of Elmley, Worcestershire, according to the *Annals of Worcester*.

Roger's widow Isabella survived him by many years, being buried in 1252 in the chapel she built in her ancestors' hospital at Lechlade. As it seems she was the mother of Hugh Mortimer (d. 1227), who was of full age in 1214, she must have been in her late seventies or older when she died.

⁴⁴ Beaufort (ed.), *Recueil*, pp. 384-5.

⁴⁵ A. Lechevalier, *Notice Historique sur les Barons & la Baronie du Bec* (Paris, 1898), p. 5.

⁴⁶ Dugdale (ed.), *Monasticon*, iv, p. 399.

⁴⁷ Planché, 'Genealogy and Armorial Bearings of the Family of Mortimer', p. 32.

⁴⁸ T. D. Hardy (ed.). *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati, vol 1, ab Anno MCCIV ad annum MCCXXIV* (1833), p. 282b.

⁴⁹ *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, vol. 2, 235.

⁵⁰ *Book of Fees*, i, p. 425; ii, p. 963.

Ralph Mortimer (d. 1246), lord of Wigmore. It is possible that he served in the household of William Marshall (d. 1219), earl of Pembroke, early in his life: a man of this name appears among the witnesses of William Marshall's undated confirmation of a grant to Pill Priory, and, even more significantly (in view of him being a household member) a Ralph Mortimer witnessed William Marshall's grant of £10 to Thomas Basset 'so he may be in the earl's household and in his retinue'.⁵¹ He was in the service of King John in 1216.⁵² He then took an active part in the conflict with the French in 1217 and appears in many documents dating to the reign of Henry III. 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. Hugh Mortimer (d. 1273x4), lord of Chelmarsh.⁵³ See *Part 1b (The Mortimers of Chelmarsh)* below.
3. Peter John Mortimer, a Franciscan friar in Shrewsbury.

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 against his 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.⁵⁴ 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 a granddaughter of the famous knight, William Marshal (d. 1219), earl of Pembroke. She survived him, dying in 1301. By her he had at least five sons.⁵⁵ For a fuller biography, see his entry in *ODNB*.

1. Ralph Mortimer (d. 1274). He was sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire after his uncle's death.

⁵¹ Henry Owen, *Old Pembroke Families* (1902), pp. 7-8, 71; David Crouch (ed.), *The Acts and Letters of the Marshal family*, Camden Fifth Series, 47 (2015), pp. 66-9.

⁵² Hardy (ed.). *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol 1*, p. 282b.

⁵³ He died before 15 Dec 1274. See *Cal. Patent Rolls 1272-81*, p. 76.

⁵⁴ 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.

⁵⁵ 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 (TNA: CP40/78).

2. **Edmund Mortimer** (1252-1304), *q.v.*
3. 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).⁵⁶
4. Roger Mortimer (1256-1326), lord of Pencelli, later lord of Chirk. See *Part 1c (The Mortimers of Chirk and Tedstone Wafer)*, below.)
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. He bore for his arms those of the Mortimers of Wigmore differenced by a *bend gules* (see St George's Roll).
6. Sir Geoffrey Mortimer (d. pre-1282), who was buried at Wigmore Abbey.⁵⁷ He bore for his arms those of the Mortimers of Wigmore differenced by a *saltire gules* over the whole field (see St George's Roll).
7. 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.
 - Euphemia Mortimer, who married William de Pembridge (d. 1317). She was said to be the daughter of Roger Mortimer of Wigmore in her husband's IPM. Their heir William de Pembridge was said in one IPM to be aged thirty and in another aged forty.⁵⁸
 - ?Sir John Mortimer (fl. 1294?-1312). A Sir John Mortimer is recorded in 1294, when his wife Alice received a gift of six bucks from Rutland Forest.⁵⁹ The seal of 'Sir John Mortimer, lord of Lanbiliou' survives on a charter dated 1298 at Pencelli in Brecon (a castle then belonging to Roger Mortimer of Chirk); this shows that Sir John bore the arms of Mortimer of Wigmore differenced by a *saltire gules* on the inescutcheon.⁶⁰ The same arms appear in later rolls associated with the name John Mortimer, particularly the Galloway Roll (1300), the Stirling Roll (1304) and the Parliamentary Roll (1312). In the Stirling Roll John Mortimer's arms appear immediately after those of Roger Mortimer of Chirk and they are annotated 'his brother'. It would therefore appear that the Sir John Mortimer who

⁵⁶ 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 even though Ralph d'Arderne was still alive in 1290, according to an Inquisition Post Mortem of 19 Edward I (pp. 493, 495). See Emma Cavell, 'Aristocratic widows and the medieval Welsh frontier', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, volume 17 (2007), pp. 57-82.

⁵⁷ 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 1271 leaving a son William, as the latter was said to be 25 years of age in 1274, which means Geoffrey must have been born in the early 1230s at the very latest, two decades before his older brother. See *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, nos. 84, 439; also *Part 3b (the Mortimers of Tholtborpe)*.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, vi (1910), no. 105.

⁵⁹ *The Knights of Edward I*, p. 220.

⁶⁰ TNA: DL 25/1606/1307.

bore a *saltire gules* on the inescutcheon was the brother of Sir Roger Mortimer of Chirk, even though he is not named in the *Fundatorum Historia*. It is not known whether he had children. One John Mortimer forfeited his lands in Pencelli and Lanbiliou in or before 1351, by which time they had been granted by the king to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, so it is possible that he had a son. However, this could equally well related to John Mortimer, the grandson of Roger Mortimer of Chirk, who was alive in 1352.⁶¹

Edmund Mortimer (1252-1304), lord of Wigmore. His father originally intended him to follow a career in the church. In 1263 the king promised he would find him the next ecclesiastical living that fell vacant, despite the boy's extreme youth.⁶² In 1265 he was made treasurer of York, a position he resigned before 1285, when he married.⁶³ 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. 1319). In 1303 Edmund Mortimer settled on one John Mortimer 'a messuage, rent, and land in Awre, advowson of half the church there, and half the hundred of Bledisloe' which may be his second son (although he is not identified as such).⁶⁴ As 'John de Mortimer of Wigmore', he appointed attorneys to manage some estates in Ireland in 1307.⁶⁵ In 1315 he received a grant of the royal manors of Norton and Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, and obtained a grant of a market and fair at Bromsgrove in 1317.⁶⁶ He was killed in a tournament by John de Leyburne at Worcester on 3 January 1319 and buried in Wigmore Abbey.⁶⁷ The family chronicle states he was aged about eighteen but it is more probable that he had attained his majority before receiving Norton and Bromsgrove in 1315.
5. Elizabeth, an Augustinian canoness in Limebroke priory.
6. Hugh Mortimer, rector of Old Radnor

⁶¹ TNA: DL25/1627.

⁶² CPR 1258-1265, p. 436.

⁶³ A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, p. 1316

⁶⁴ TNA: C 143/48/17.

⁶⁵ CPR 1307-13, p. 31.

⁶⁶ CPR 1313-17, p. 276; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1300-26, pp. 366-7.

⁶⁷ Dugdale (ed.), *Monasticon*, vi., p. 351; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, vi, pp. 88-9. Norton and Bromsgrove were the only manors he held in chief.

7. Walter Mortimer, rector of Kingsland. Possibly constable of Beaumaris, 1311.⁶⁸
8. Edmund Mortimer, rector of Hodnet

Roger Mortimer, 1st earl of March (1287-1330). On his father's death, custody of his lands was 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. For a fuller biography, see his entry in *ODNB*.

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. See *Part 1e (The Mortimers of Couhé, 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 Minoreesses 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.

⁶⁸ The Mortimer arms appear on an ecclesiastical seal of one Walter Mortimer, constable of Beaumaris. See TNA E213/435 (information from TNA seals index).

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. For a fuller biography, see his entry in *ODNB*.

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 fought at Radcot Bridge in 1387, where he killed Thomas Molyneux. Sometime after 10 April 1386 he married Agnes Poynings (d. 1403), the widow of William Bardolf (d. 1386), Lord Bardolf. He died without issue in Scotland before 14 March 1403 and his body was brought back under licence to be buried in the nave of Wigmore Abbey.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ 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

Edmund Mortimer, 3rd earl of March (1352-1381). He was born at Llangoed in Llys-wen, 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. For a fuller biography, see his entry in *ODNB*.

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)

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 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. Some of the dates in this entry have been taken from Douglas Richardson's note on Thomas Mortimer. See

<https://alt.history.british.narkive.com/Fo9zudlK/compleete-peerage-addition-sir-thomas-mortimer-husband-of-agnes-poynings-lady-bardolf> Downloaded 3 May 2019. The date of Agnes's death is taken from *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, xviii (1987), p. 373.

daughter. Catherine and her children were all buried in the church of St Swithins, London.⁷⁰ For a fuller biography, see his entry in *ODNB*.

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.⁷¹ 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 Kellinstown, 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. His seal survives in the British Library, where the catalogue describes his arms as *Mortimer quartered with de Burgh*.⁷² For a fuller biography, see his entry in *ODNB*.

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 Plantagenet** (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.

⁷⁰ 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. He 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.

⁷¹ 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.

⁷² *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum* (6 vols, 1892), volume 3, p. 284.

- 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.

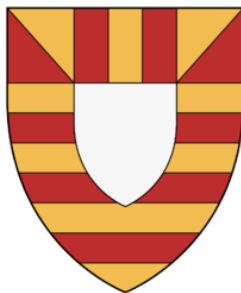
In this way all the honours, lands and titles of the Mortimers of Wigmore became subsumed in the Crown. This includes the titles and estates of the Mortimers of Chelmarsh, which reverted to the duke of York.

- 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. For a fuller biography, see his entry in *ODNB*.

Part 1b

The Mortimers of Chelmarsh, Shropshire



*The arms of John Mortimer (d. 1285?)
as they appear on the Herald's Roll (c. 1279)*

The Mortimer family of Chelmarsh was the first cadet branch to use the Mortimer of Wigmore arms differenced in a way that recognisably connects the two families. The arms above first appear ascribed to a John Mortimer in the Herald's Roll of *circa*. 1279, the St George Roll of *circa* 1282-5, and Collins' Roll of *circa*. 1296. This is the same way that the Mortimers of Chelmarsh differenced their arms, i.e. by replacing the *azure* with *gules*. In the St George's Roll, John's arms appear after those of Roger Mortimer (d. 1282) and his sons Roger, William and Geoffrey; Brault therefore speculates that they might refer to a younger son, Sir John Mortimer.⁷³ However, *that* John Mortimer differenced his arms with a saltire gules on the inescutcheon. Eyton, who laid out the family history of the Mortimers of Chelmarsh in his *Antiquities of Shropshire*, gives no authority for his statement that John Mortimer predeceased his father, Hugh Mortimer (d. 1273x4). It seems that he inherited for a short while (see below).

Hugh Mortimer (d. 1273x4), lord of Chelmarsh.⁷⁴ He was the son of Ralph Mortimer (d. 1246), lord of Wigmore (see *Part 1a*, above). Chelmarsh had long been in the gift of the lord of Wigmore, being a means to endow younger brothers, but Hugh received it as an inheritance, and thus became head of his own cadet branch of the family. He was in possession of Chelmarsh in 1256, when he can have been no older than twenty-three.⁷⁵ He took part in the siege of Kenilworth in 1265, where he lost a much-loved horse for which the king recompensed him.⁷⁶ He was sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire in 1271-3. He married, sometime between 1253 and 1255, Agatha

⁷³ Gerard J. Brault, *The Rolls of Arms of Edward I* (2 vols, 1997), i, p. 209.

⁷⁴ He died before 15 Dec 1274. See *Cal. Patent Rolls 1272-81*, p. 76.

⁷⁵ *CPR 1247-58*, p. 513.

⁷⁶ TNA C 60/63 membrane 1 no. 737. Downloaded from <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/> 5 March 2019.

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.⁷⁷

1. **John Mortimer** (fl. 1274-85?). Eyton (p. 41) states 'he appears to have died before his father and without issue'. However, a John Mortimer appears in a final concord dated 1285 for '100 acres of land, 26 acres of meadow, 11s 8½d of rent and a rent of 1 clove' in Morton Underhill, Astwood, Shurnock and Inkberrow, Worcestershire.⁷⁸ This was for the life of Geoffrey de Parco, with reversion to John Mortimer and his heirs. In 1334 a very similar estate, described as '1 messuage, 1 carucate of land, 10 acres of wood, 26 acres of meadow and 12 shillings of rent in Inkberrow, Astwood, Shurnock, Morton Underhill, Knighton, Bouts and Russh' was granted by Hugh Mortimer of Chelmarsh to Robert Throckmorton.⁷⁹ This indicates that the heirs of the John Mortimer who made the grant in 1285 were the Mortimers of Chelmarsh, and that that this was the John Mortimer who bore the Chelmarsh arms in the Herald's Roll of *circa*. 1279 and the St George Roll of *circa* 1282-5 (with the appearance in Collins' Roll being an earlier roll copied, or the arms of Henry assigned incorrectly, which do not otherwise appear in that roll). The chronicle of Tintern Abbey states that Hugh Mortimer had two sons, John and Henry, and that the former died childless.⁸⁰ John Mortimer was certainly dead in 1286, when his brother Henry appears on the Pipe Roll as the heir of Hugh Mortimer their father.
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.⁸¹

Henry Mortimer (d. 1317), lord of Chelmarsh (Herefordshire) and Luton (Bedfordshire). He fought alongside his cousin, Roger Mortimer of Chirk, in Scotland in 1300.⁸² He attended Parliament in 1309 as a knight of the shire for Shropshire. He married Constance (fl. 1316), whose dower included lands in Frome (Somerset) and Kingston (Herefordshire); she who bore him at least three children. He died and was buried in Ireland.⁸³

1. **Hugh Mortimer** (1296-1372). See below.
2. Henry Mortimer (fl. 1343-48?). He granted the manor of Quatt to Hugh Mortimer, presumably his brother, in 1343. The same year he is described as 'Henry Mortimer the elder' in a settlement of the manor of Billingsley, Shropshire, distinguishing him from his

⁷⁷ The detail about the marriage and most of what follows is taken from Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, iii, pp. 40-44.

⁷⁸ TNA: CP 25/1/259/11 no. 11.

⁷⁹ TNA: CP 25/1/260/20 no. 8.

⁸⁰ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. v, Tintern Abbey, Monmouthshire, *In Chronicis Abbatia Tynterne in Wallia*, p. 271.

⁸¹ TNA: C241/44/34; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, p. 396, no. 640.

⁸² 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. 408 (no. 2243).

⁸³ TNA: SC 8/61/3031.

nephew of the same name. There seems to be an expectation in the grant of Quatt that Henry will not have heirs of his body.⁸⁴ He is possibly the Henry Mortimer who held the manor of Mulston, Shropshire, from the heirs of the Mortimers of Richard's Castle in 1348.⁸⁵

3. Ralph Mortimer (fl. 1316). He is named in a grant to his father in 1316.⁸⁶

Sir Hugh Mortimer (1296-1372), lord of Chelmarsh and Luton.⁸⁷ He adhered to the Contrariants, led by Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, his second cousin, in 1322, and had to pay a fine to recover his lands. He first married Elizabeth (according to the chronicle of Tintern Abbey) and, secondly, Margaret (fl. 1343, d. 1357), widow of the judge Henry le Scrope (d. 1336).⁸⁸ By his first wife he had 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. Joan Mortimer (fl. 1345). Some sources place her in the previous generation but the 1345 settlement of the manor of Chelmarsh and Parnel Mortimer's IPM are both clear that she was the daughter of Hugh and brother of Henry.⁸⁹ Her husband has not yet been identified, but she bore a daughter:
 1. 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).⁹⁰
8. Margaret Mortimer, who died without issue.

⁸⁴ TNA: CP 25/1/194/13 nos. 20 & 22.

⁸⁵ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, viii, no. 461.

⁸⁶ Hampshire Record Office: 44M69/C/255. Grant by Richard, lord of Morton Underhill (Worcestershire), 'to Sir Henry de Mortuo Mari, lord of Cheilmersh, and Custancia his wife and Ralph their son' of 'all the lands of Rosa ate Sloen in Rush, Feckenham, Morton Underhill and Benhall'.

⁸⁷ Regarding his birthdate, sometimes given as 1286, Eyton notes that he turned 21 the August before his father's death.

⁸⁸ Edward Foss, *The Judges of England*, vol. iii, 1272-1377 (1851), p. 302.

⁸⁹ Claire Noble (ed.) *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, vo. xxiii (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 59-60; TNA: CP 25/1/194/13 no. 28. The chronicle of Tintern Abbey also states that Joan and Margaret were the daughters of Hugh and Elizabeth. See Dugdale (ed.), *Monasticon*, v, p. 271.

⁹⁰ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, xix, pp. 126-7.

9. 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 1438.⁹¹

Sir Henry Mortimer (d. 1361). He was Hugh's son by his first wife, as made clear by his uncle's grant of Quatt to this Henry's father in 1343. He married Elizabeth, who bore him two sons:⁹² She secondly married Sir Adam Pesale (d. 1419), who held the manor of Shifnal, Shropshire, in right of his wife at the time of his death. She predeceased her second husband.⁹³

1. **Hugh Mortimer** (1367?-1403). See below.
2. William Mortimer (d. 1391), who was described in 1374 as being insane from birth. He held 60s rent in Magor.⁹⁴

Hugh Mortimer (1367?-1403), who married Parnell or Petronilla (d. 1428), but died fighting for the king at the Battle of Shrewsbury, leaving no issue. He was described as aged 24 in his brother's inquisitions post mortem. 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). Parnel died seised of one third of the manor of Luton and a third of the hundred of Flitt in Bedfordshire, and the manor of Quatt in Shropshire, which she held in dower.⁹⁵ The manor of Magor, which had been inherited by Hugh, remained in the king's hands for decades until claimed by Edmund Rodebergh in 1438 (see above).

⁹¹ *Cal. Fine Rolls 1437-1445*, p. 30. See also *Cal. Fine Rolls 1430-1437*, p. 98.

⁹² His wife is named in Claire Noble (ed.) *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem, vo. xxiii* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 60.

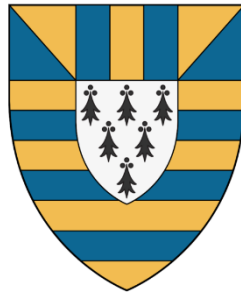
⁹³ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem, vo. xxi*, no. 299.

⁹⁴ *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, iii, p. 359. Herein William is described as Hugh's heir.

⁹⁵ Claire Noble (ed.) *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem, vo. xxiii* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 59-60.

Part 1c

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



*The arms of Roger Mortimer of Chirk (1256-1326)
as they appear on his seal.*

Roger Mortimer (1256-1326), lord of Pencelli (Brecon), 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 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, by whom he had at least one son. He bore for his arms those of the Mortimers of Wigmore differenced by an *inescutcheon ermine*, as shown above. For a full biography, see his entry in *ODNB*.

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

Roger Mortimer (d. pre-1331) of Tedstone Wafer.⁹⁶ He had letters of protection to go with his father to Scotland in 1306, 1310, 1311 and 1314.⁹⁷ As ‘Roger Mortimer the son’ he took part in the tournament at Stepney in 1309, when he bore for his arms those of Wigmore differenced

⁹⁶ For his date of death, see TNA: SC8/89 and SC 8/263/13104.

⁹⁷ 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).

by a *lion rampant purple* on the inescutcheon.⁹⁸ His cousin, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, took most of his father's estates on his return to England and assumption of semi-royal power in 1327. Thus this Roger was left with little more than his mother's lands in Tedstone Wafer and his father's lands in Pencelli and (probably) his uncle's land in Lanbiliou. He married Juliana de Turberville in London (fl. 1330-1350), and had issue, as below. For the common but erroneous assertion that he also had a son Llewelyn Mortimer, who became lord of Coedmore, see this note.⁹⁹

1. **John Mortimer** (fl. 1333-53). See below.
2. ?Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1348), who held a portion of Tedstone Wafer.¹⁰⁰

Sir John Mortimer (fl. 1333-53). 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.¹⁰¹ In 1342 he was accused of being a bastard and having no right to the land in Tedstone Wafer: he challenged this in court and won, stating therein that Lucia de Wafer was his grandmother.¹⁰² One John Mortimer forfeited his lands in Pencelli and Lanbiliou in or before 1351, by which time they had been granted by the king to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex; these lands had belonged to his grandfather, Roger Mortimer, and great-uncle, Sir John Mortimer.¹⁰³ He was still alive on 6 April 1353, when he acknowledged a debt of £1000, styling himself 'John, son of Roger Mortimer of Chirk, knight'.¹⁰⁴

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

⁹⁸ *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* (8 vols, 1834-43), iv, p. 70.

⁹⁹ *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 TNA: 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 4 (the Mortimers of Coedmore)*.

¹⁰⁰ TNA: C241/128.

¹⁰¹ TNA: SC 8/238/11880.

¹⁰² *CPR 1343-5*, pp. 477-8.

¹⁰³ TNA: DL25/1627.

¹⁰⁴ TNA: C241/131/181.

John Mortimer (fl. 1359-73). As John, 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, in 1359.¹⁰⁵ He held a quarter of a knight's fee in Tedstone Wafer in 1373.¹⁰⁶

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.¹⁰⁷ He received a messuage and a carucate of land in Edvin Loach in 1393, and received (with his wife Maud) the manors of Tedstone Wafer and Hampton Wafer and the reversion of the manors of Kyre Wyard and Martley from Sir John Harley and Elizabeth his wife that same year.¹⁰⁸ He resided at Edvin Loach and supposedly had adult sons, Richard and Roger, by the time of his attack on John Asteley at Kyre Wyard in 1396.¹⁰⁹ Given that his heir was not born until 1391, these sons were either illegitimate or both dead by 1402. He certainly had an illegitimate son John, who is mentioned as holding *Badurennes* and land in Edvin Loach in his (Roger's) IPM. He died on 13 December 1402.¹¹⁰ 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.¹¹¹ He died in the battle, leaving three sons.

1. John Mortimer (1409-1420).¹¹²
2. **Sir Hugh Mortimer** (1413-1460). See below.
3. Roger Mortimer.

¹⁰⁵ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 256.

¹⁰⁶ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, xiii, no 167 (p. 140).

¹⁰⁷ *Canterbury and York Society*, vol. 18, p. 115 (1915).

¹⁰⁸ *VCH Worcs* gives ref. 'Feet of F. Div. Co. case 290, file 57, no. 258' [TNA: CP 25/1/290/57 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.' See also TNA: CP 25/1/260/25 no. 47.

¹⁰⁹ B. H. Putnam, ed., *Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 408 (1938).

¹¹⁰ *Ca. Inq. Post Mortem*, xviii (1987), pp. 255, 373.

¹¹¹ Anne Curry, *Agincourt: a New History* (2006), p. 316.

¹¹² *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, xxiv, no. 161. This specifies that Sir John Mortimer died on 25 October 1415 (the date of the battle of Agincourt) and that his eldest son, John, died on 4 August 1420, and that the heir in 1433 was Sir John's younger son, Hugh, who was then 21 years old or more.

Sir Hugh Mortimer (1413-1460), lord of Martley and Tedstone Wafer, who died at the Battle of Wakefield and was buried at Martley. In *Complete Peerage* he is described as ‘of Mortimer’s Hall, Hants,’ which would appear to be a geographical error. 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 (d. 1525), Lord de la Warr, before 1482, as his first wife, and several children with him, including
 - i. Thomas West (d. 1554), Lord de la Warr.
 - ii. Eleanor West, who married Sir Edward Guildford (d. 1534) and had issue:
 - a. Jane Guildford (1508x9-1555), who married John Dudley (1504-1553), duke of Northumberland, and had issue:
 - i. Lord Guildford Dudley (d. 1554), who married Lady Jane Grey (d. 1554), ‘queen for nine days’ (10-19 July 1553).
 - ii. Robert Dudley (1532-1588), earl of Leicester, favourite of Queen Elizabeth.
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 1d

The Mortimers of Great Bromley, Essex



*The arms of Robert Mortimer of Bromley (d. 1485)
as they appear in a Howard family lineage*

The connection between this family and the Mortimers of Wigmore is obscure. The earliest reference yet found to a Mortimer in Great Bromley, Essex, is Nicholas Mortimer Esq of that place, who acknowledged a debt to two London merchants in the court of the Staple at Westminster in 1435.¹¹³ His father was cannot now be determined. Despite this obscurity, there are two reasons for supposing that the family is an offshoot of the Mortimers of Tedstone Wafer (see *Part 1c*). The principal reason is that the arms of David's son, Robert Mortimer (d. 1485), which have three nails on the inescutcheon, show that the family was descended from the Mortimers of Wigmore or one of their branches. As to which branch this was, in England, only the Wigmore and Tedstone Wafer lines bore the familiar *barry of six, or and azure* arms by the late fourteenth century, and the main Wigmore family had no other cadet families after 1300. It is thus probable that a younger son of one of the Mortimers of Tedstone Wafer was the founder of this family.

The other reason for supposing there is a connection between the Mortimers of Great Bromley and those of Tedstone Wafer is that there were two intermarriages between the two families. Thomas West, lord de la Warr, married Elizabeth Mortimer (d. 1503) of the Tedstone Wafer line and then two of his children (including his heir, son of Elizabeth Mortimer) married the two children of the last member of the Mortimer family of Great Bromley, Elizabeth Mortimer (1475-1530). Obviously this indicates that they were not very close cousins but also it indicates that they

¹¹³ TNA: C241/228/167. The only other Nicholas Mortimer yet to be noted is the royal servant of that name who was buried in Chichester Cathedral before 21 July 1413. 'The Dean and Chapter of Chichester Cathedral request that they be granted the alien priory of Wilmington... for the maintenance of divine service for the king, the souls of his father and mother, and Nicholas Mortymer, who is buried in St Mary's chapel in the cathedral' See TNA: SC8/187/9344.

were aware of each other and each saw the other as a suitable match, despite being based on opposite sides of the country. How the two families were connected, however, remains a mystery.

Nicholas Mortimer (fl. 1413-39). He acknowledged a debt to two London merchants in the court of the Staple at Westminster in 1435.¹¹⁴ He appears in the close rolls with two London merchants in 1412.¹¹⁵ He was possibly connected with the royal servant, Nicholas Mortimer, who died before 1413 and was buried in the Lady Chapel of Chichester Cathedral. His wife was Joan, who held half the manor of Great Bromley and the advowson of the church there following its purchase by Walter Doreward from the lord of Morley and its being granted to Joan by his son, John Doreward the elder. She was dead by 1452.¹¹⁶

David Mortimer (d. 1494). The first reference to him is as ‘David Mortimer of Ardleigh, Essex, gentleman’ who, together with a London fishmonger, acknowledged a debt of £40 in July 1439.¹¹⁷ At that time he had just married Elizabeth Doreward, the daughter of Ellis Doreward.¹¹⁸ David joined with Sir Edmund Mulso; John Doreward, son of John Doreward; and Robert Reydon in acknowledging another debt of £40 at the Staple, Westminster, in 1452; they still owed this sum in 1463.¹¹⁹ In John Seyntclere’s IPM (1494) it is stated that David had enfeoffed John with the manors of *Chich Fadenik*, or *Chiche Frodenik*, in the town of St. Osyth (held of Lord de Ferrers de Groby); ‘Maroms’ in Brightlingsea (held of Walter, abbot of St. John’s, Colchester); and divers lands and tenements in St. Osyth, called *Chiche Ridill*, and Frating and *Sentosy Drybrokis* in Brightlingsea, Alresford, Thoryngton, and Great Bentley, and lands called Drybrooks in Brightlingsea, Alresford, Thorrington, Great Bentley, Frating, and St Osyth (held of John, earl of Oxford, as of the manor of Great Bentley); and the manor called Cold Hall in Great Bromley (held of David Mortimer’s manor of Great Bromley).¹²⁰ He also owned land in Hertfordshire. In March 1466 he sold – along with Sir John Say, Sir Thomas Montgomery, John Clapton and John Green – to Nicholas Leventhorp and Nicholas Bryt, all his lands and tenements, woods, &c., in Essenden and Bishops Hatfield, with the advowson of the chantry of St. Anne in the church of Bishops

¹¹⁴ TNA: C241/228/167. The only other Nicholas Mortimer yet to be noted is the royal servant of that name who was buried in Chichester Cathedral before 21 July 1413. ‘The Dean and Chapter of Chichester Cathedral request that they be granted the alien priory of Wilmington... for the maintenance of divine service for the king, the souls of his father and mother, and Nicholas Mortymer, who is buried in St Mary’s chapel in the cathedral’ See TNA: SC8/187/9344.

¹¹⁵ CCR 1409-13, p. 327.

¹¹⁶ *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, volume 1 (1890), no. B593.

¹¹⁷ CCR 1435-41, p. 276.

¹¹⁸ CFR 1437-1445 pp. 92-3. She was the sister and heiress of William Doreward, who at his death was the underage son and heir of Ellis Doreward, son of Walter Doreward, whose mother was Anne Martell, sister of Thomas Martell.

¹¹⁹ TNA: C241/235/18; C241/248/17.

¹²⁰ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, series 2, vol. 1 (1898), no. 893.

Hatfield, which the vendors had of the feoffment of Stephen Wolfe and Thomas Stoughton.¹²¹ He died on 30 March 1494, when he held in right of his wife the manor of Martels in Ardeley, Hertfordshire (held of the duchy of Lancaster); a moiety of the manor of Great Bromley, the advowson of the church of Great Bromley; and lands in Harwich and Dovercourt called 'Mortimer's'. His heir at his death was his granddaughter Elizabeth Guildford, the daughter of Robert Mortimer Esq, then the wife of George Guildford.¹²²

1. **Robert Mortimer** (d. 1485). See below.

Robert Mortimer (d. 1485) of Great Bromley, Essex.¹²³ In his IPM he was said to be the heir of his father's estates, namely the manor of Martel Hall in Ardleigh, worth £24 (held of the duchy of Lancaster, by an eighth of a knight's fee); a moiety of the manor of Great Bromley, worth £20/ (held of the Earl of Oxford, as of Hedingham Castle, by fealty and suit of court); 200 acres of land, wood, meadow, and pasture in Dovercourt, worth £5 (held of the earl of Nottingham, as of the manor of Dovercourt); a messuage, 300 acres of land, wood, meadow, and pasture, and 3s. rent in Tendring and Manytre, called Badons, worth 8 marks (held of the King in chief, by service of half a knight's fee); the manor of Landymer Hall in the parish of Thorp within the soke of St. Paul's, London, worth £10 (held of the dean of St. Paul's, by fealty and suit of court); a messuage, and 200 acres of land, wood, meadow and pasture in the parish of Ramsey, called Folton Hall, worth £5 (tenure unknown); and a messuage, and 100 acres of land, wood, meadow, and pasture in the parish of Dovercourt, called 'Panteryse,' worth 4 marks (held of the earl of Nottingham, as of his said manor, by fealty and suit of court). His father David was stated to be alive at the time of Robert's death. He married Isabel, one of the daughters of John Howard (d. 1485), duke of Norfolk, alongside whom he died at the battle of Bosworth on 22 August 1485. His heir was his daughter Elizabeth, then said to be aged ten or more.¹²⁴

1. **Elizabeth Mortimer** (1475-1530). See below.

Elizabeth Mortimer (1475-1530). She married George Guildford of Hemsted and had a son and a daughter, both of whom married children of Thomas West, Lord de la Warr:

1. Sir John Guildford (d. 1565). He married before 1534 Barbara, daughter of Thomas West (d. 1525), Lord de la Warr, by his first wife, Elizabeth Mortimer (d. 1503) of Tedstone Wafer, and had six sons and six daughters by her, including:

¹²¹ *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, I (1890), B1441.

¹²² *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, series 2, vol. 1 (1898), no. 1006. Note that she is incorrectly described as David's cousin here: she was actually his granddaughter, as shown by Robert Mortimer's IPM.

¹²³ He appears described as 'of Mortimer's Hall' in the History of Parliament entry for his grandson, John Guildford (d. 1565). However, the source for this is not clear.

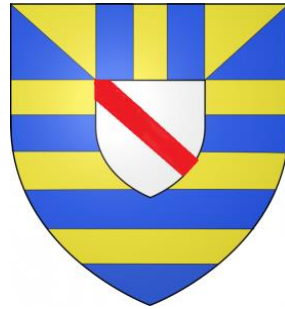
¹²⁴ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, series 2, vol. 1 (1898), no. 100.

OUTLINE LINEAGE OF THE MEDIEVAL MORTIMER FAMILY

- a. Sir Thomas Guildford of Hemsted, who married Elizabeth Shelley, and had four children.
- b. Dorothy Guildford (d. 1584), who married Thomas Walsingham of Scadbury, patron of Christopher Marlowe and nephew of Sir Francis Walsingham.
2. Mary Guildford. She married Sir Owen West (d. 1551), son of Thomas West (d. 1525), Lord de la Warr, by his second wife Eleanor Copley (his first wife having been Elizabeth Mortimer (d. 1503) of Tedstone Wafer), and had two daughters by her.

Part 1e

The Mortimers of Couhé, Poitou



Sir Geoffrey Mortimer (d. 1372x76), seigneur of Couhé, France. He was the third son of Roger Mortimer (1287-1330), 1st earl of March, but inherited Couhé from his maternal 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; instead, he was exiled for life. He removed himself to the family lands in France, styling himself seigneur of 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.¹²⁵ Despite his exile, his mother settled a number of estates in Herefordshire and Shropshire on him in 1337.¹²⁶ His descent from the English Mortimers proved crucial to the town's survival in 1356, as a visitor to Couhé discovered in the reign of Henry VIII:

Saw in the church the arms of the lord of Coy, the patron, who is buried at Coacum [Couhé], where the lady Regent is staying. Was told by an old priest that the lord of Coy was of English family, that his name was Geoffrey de Mortemer, and that he was descended from an English

¹²⁵ '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.

¹²⁶ These included lands in Croft, Mansell Gamage, Walterstone, Ewyas Lacy, Ludlow, and Stanton Lacy. TNA: CP 25/1/287/39, number 228.

family in Aquitaine, and that when King John was taken prisoner at Poitiers the whole country was preserved from depredation, as it belonged to lord Mortimer, who was an Englishman.¹²⁷ Geoffrey married Jeanne de Lezay-Lusignan and had at least three children.

1. **Jean de Mortemer**, seigneur of Couhé. See below.
2. Catherine, who married Jean Chaudrier, mayor of La Rochelle.
3. Jeanne, who married Bouchard, seigneur of l'Isle-Bouchard.¹²⁸

Sir Jean de Mortemer, seigneur of Couhé, who first married Indie de l'Isle-Jourdain (d. pre-1408) in 1366. He married secondly, in 1405, Aliénor de Périgord (d. 1434). If this is indeed the same man, he must by then have been in his twilight years. By his first wife he had issue:

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

Jean de Mortemer, seigneur of Couhé. He is possibly the Sire Jean de Mortemer who made a donation to the abbey of Valence in 1444.¹²⁹ He married Pernelle de Taillebourg, daughter of Louis Parthenay—l'Archevêque, and had at least one son:

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

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

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

Jean de Mortemer, seigneur of 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 of Vérac, and had Couhé as part of her marriage settlement.

¹²⁷ <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol4/pp852-878>. Downloaded 6 May 2019.

¹²⁸ 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.

¹²⁹ *Tables des Manuscrits de Fontenau*, Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest (1839), p. 339.

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 of 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 of Montendre.
2. Anne de Mortemer, who married François de Reilhac, vicomte de Mérinvilleet de Brigeuil l'Ainé.

Part 2a

The Mortimers of Attleborough, Norfolk



*The arms of the Mortimers of Constantine Mortimer
as they appear on the Parliament Roll (c. 1312)*

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. This may have been the case but there is no direct evidence supporting the theory. The inheritance of two Lincolnshire tenancies-in-chief by men called Mortimer in the early thirteenth century indicates Ralph Mortimer of Wigmore passed them to one of his children other than his eldest male heir but it is far from clear whom. It was not necessarily Robert Mortimer of Norfolk, the founder of this family.

Some will be wondering why this is a problem. After all, the surname was clearly hereditary before the Domesday survey. There was only one adult male Mortimer in eleventh century England (as far as we can tell) and in the next generation we have evidence of just four more, all of whom must have been born around 1100. Three of those men were definitely brothers, the sons of Ralph Mortimer of Wigmore. So why not the fourth? Especially when his descendants used the same first names and followed the same Norman naming pattern, and very closely cooperated with the de Warenne family, kinsmen of the Mortimers of Wigmore. And even more so when the family name relates to a lordship that neither family actually held. Trebly so, in fact, when you remember that a branch of this other family settled at Richard’s Castle, barely a stone’s throw from Wigmore.

There are several reasons for the scepticism. For a start, all the primary source material that allows us to reconstruct the early history of the Mortimers of Wigmore with confidence does not mention the Mortimers of Attleborough. They are not mentioned in the *Fundatorum Historia*. Robert Mortimer of Norfolk is not mentioned in any of Hugh Mortimer’s charters, unlike Hugh’s two other brothers. It is this *complete* failure of the evidence to show a link that is a cause for concern. Any one piece that did not reflect a connection would be easily explainable; you could say, for example, that there are few records before the reign of Henry II and, after that date, the lord of Attleborough was away in Scotland and remained there until after 1180, by which time Hugh

Mortimer of Wigmore was dead, so why should the Wigmore evidence link to the Attleborough line? In addition, you might say that the distance between their lordships was considerable – too great to pop over for a cup of wine – and made all the greater if we are right in supposing Hugh Mortimer was in Normandy until some point after 1135. Had there existed just one charter of the 1120s witnessed by ‘Hugh Mortimer and Robert his brother’ or ‘Roger Mortimer and Robert his brother’ or even ‘Robert Mortimer and William his brother’, we could include them in the family tree with a measure of confidence. However, no such charter has come to light and we cannot presume that one was even made.

The next crucial point is that the use of very early surnames was not as systematic as people suppose, based on modern surname usage. Most men did not have a surname as such. They did not necessarily use their father’s name even if it had been hereditary beforehand. Some men were stuck with a nickname. Some chose to adopt their mother’s surname – and it is entirely possible that Robert Mortimer of Attleborough did so too (although we cannot say because we have no record of his parentage). As to why the Mortimers of Attleborough could be so closely connected with the de Warenne family, kinsmen of the Mortimers of Wigmore, and not be also related, it needs to be remembered that the de Warenne family were lords of the castle and town of Mortemer-en-Bray, whence the Mortimers took their name. If Robert Mortimer of Norfolk came to England from the de Warenne family seat in Normandy, he might well have called himself ‘de Mortemer’ and his lords might also have referred to him in that way. But that does not mean there was any other connection other than the place name. While two Lincolnshire manors of Ralph Mortimer of Wigmore did descend to Mortimers outside the Wigmore line of the family, the recipients were not Mortimer lords of Attleborough. As for the naming patterns, many Norman families in the twelfth century followed this patrilineal primogeniture system of naming. The Mortimers were only unusual in carrying it on for so many years.

As a result, the question is still open to debate but, unless some further documentation emerges that connected the heirs of Ralph Mortimer’s Domesday manors with the early generations of the family, it is unlikely to be resolved beyond the level of personal opinion.

Robert Mortimer (fl. 1119-46), known to historians as ‘Robert Mortimer of Norfolk’, was possibly – but not definitely – a younger son of Ralph Mortimer of Saint-Victor and Wigmore. He first appears as ‘Roberto de Mortimer’ in a lowly position in the extensive witness list of a charter of the aged Henry de Beaumont (d. 1119), earl of Warwick, which must have been made between June 1115 and June 1119.¹³⁰ This is the only known instance of a Mortimer being active in England during the reign of Henry I and it suggests that Robert, as a young man, served in a household connected with the earl.¹³¹ He witnessed a charter of William de Warenne II (d. 1138), to Castleacre

¹³⁰ C. R. Fonge (ed.), *The Cartulary of St Mary's Collegiate Church, Warwick*. Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, vol. 23 (Woodbridge, 2004), no. 9.

¹³¹ It is perhaps significant that the old earl’s son and heir, Roger, married Gundred de Warenne in 1130, she being the daughter of William de Warenne (d. 1138), second earl of Surrey, the lord of Mortemer-en-Bray and the second cousin of Hugh Mortimer of Wigmore (fl. 1127-81).

Priory, Norfolk, in the 1130s.¹³² He also witnessed a charter of William de Tancarville, hereditary chamberlain of Normandy, to Robert, Bishop of Bath, granting some lands of Alexander de Cantelupe to the Augustinian canons of Bruton Abbey in about 1146.¹³³ That he was closely associated with William de Tancarville is made clear by William's charter to the monks of St Georges de Boscherville, Normandy, dating from 1140x57, in which Robert is listed as one of the 'knights and friends' who also made donations to the abbey.¹³⁴

According to his grandson Robert Mortimer's court case in 1203-4 (see below), Robert the elder held the advowson of Raveningham, Norfolk. This would imply that the Norfolk manor and advowson of Raveningham and presumably those of Buckenham, Stanford, Attleborough, Rockland and Scoulton too – came to the family in this Robert's lifetime. All these Norfolk manors had been held in chief in 1086 by Roger fitz Rainard, amounting to about half his holding. On this basis some people have thought that Roger must have had two daughters and that a moiety of Roger's estate came to the Mortimers by marriage. However, the Mortimers of Attleborough held these manors for 6½ fees from the earls of Warenne, not in chief from the king. It would therefore seem more likely that the manors escheated to the Crown, and were awarded to the Warenne family, and that they enfeoffed the Mortimers with them.

It is not known whom Robert married. He had at least two sons:

1. **William Mortimer** (fl. 1155-1180). See below.
2. Robert Mortimer of Essex (fl. 1168-74), the ancestor of the Mortimers of Richard's Castle. See *Part 2b (The Mortimers of Richard's Castle)* below.

For the sake of future research, it should be noted that there are records of at least two other Mortimers in the third quarter of the twelfth century who could have been sons of Robert Mortimer of Norfolk. These include

- Richard Mortimer, who in 1164x75 is recorded as having recently held a toft in Tadcaster.¹³⁵ He may have been the same Richard Mortimer who held lands in Norfolk and Suffolk in 1180-1 and 1181-2.¹³⁶
- Walkelin Mortimer (*Wakell de Mortuo Mari*). His name appears eleventh (out of twelve) on the witness list of the foundation charter for the Augustinian house of Nutley Abbey, granted by Walter Giffard (d. 1164), earl of Buckingham, which is dated 1162.¹³⁷ He also

¹³² *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 243. This charter was also witnessed by William Warenne III (1119-48), so it probably dates from 1135x8.

¹³³ Round, *Norman Docs*, p. 173.

¹³⁴ J. C. Holt, 'Presidential Address: Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England: III, Patronage and Politics', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 34 (1984), pp 1-25, at p. 7.

¹³⁵ Clay (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters*, xi, p. 39.

¹³⁶ *Pipe Roll 1180-81*, vol. 27, p. 90; *Pipe Roll 1181-2*, vol. 28, p. 71.

¹³⁷ J. Gilbert Jenkins, 'The Lost Cartulary of Nutley Abbey', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 17, 4 (1954), pp. 379-96 at p. 384; .

appears as ‘Wallrelin de Mortemer’, the twelfth of thirteen named witnesses of an undated charter of the same Walter Giffard to the monks of St Mary de Rougecamp, Normandy.¹³⁸

William Mortimer (fl. 1155-80). He held lands in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire from David, earl of Huntingdon (son of Ada de Warenne), and in Lincolnshire from the de Warenne family, earls of Surrey. In addition, he became lord of Aberdour in Scotland (*see Appendix*). He is first noted *c.* 1155 as a witness of a charter to Missenden Priory of King Stephen’s son, William of Blois, count of Boulogne, who was married to Isabella de Warenne, daughter of William de Warenne (d. 1148), third earl of Surrey.¹³⁹ He later witnessed no fewer than twenty-two charters of William the Lion of Scotland (son of Ada de Warenne), and at least one each of Ada de Warenne herself and her son, David, earl of Huntingdon. The reason for his departure to Scotland in about 1165 is revealed by his close association with the de Warenne family. It would appear that when the earl of Huntingdon left the English court in 1165 on the accession of his brother William as king of Scotland, William Mortimer followed him, as did other nobles (e.g. Philip de Valognes). There is no evidence he resided for any length of time in Norfolk after this date. He fought with the Scots at Alnwick in 1174, being held hostage after the battle. His last known act is his witnessing a charter of King William to Melrose Abbey, dated 3 March 1180. At about the same time he granted his own charter to the monks of Inchcolm Priory, where he was presumably buried.¹⁴⁰

1. **Robert Mortimer** (d. 1216x17). See below.
2. William Mortimer (fl. 1203-4). In 1203, his brother Robert appointed him to represent him in a legal case concerning the advowson of the church of Raveningham, which he claimed was his by right of having belonged to their grandfather Robert Mortimer.¹⁴¹ The case was decided at Westminster in October 1204.¹⁴²
3. ?[Unknown daughter] who married Robert de Morley (fl. 1199) and had issue:
 - a. Matthew de Morley of Norfolk (f. 1226-1250. In 1226 he was pardoned a fine that his uncle Bartholomew Mortimer had incurred.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/france/918-1206/pp74-96>. Downloaded 28 April 2019.

¹³⁹ This charter, which dates from 1154x9, was witnessed by Reginald de Warenne, uncle of the grantor’s wife (he being the brother of the third earl of Surrey) and lord of Mortemer-en-Bray; Robert de Glanville; ‘Willelmo de Morte Meir cunstabulario’; and three others. See J.G. Jenkins, *The Cartulary of Missenden Abbey, Part III*, Buckinghamshire Record Society 12 (1962), p. 16.

¹⁴⁰ D. E. Easson and Angus Macdonald (eds), *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm* (Edinburgh, 1938), pp. 6-7, 107-8.

¹⁴¹ *Curia Regis Rolls, 5-7 John* (1926), p. 51.

¹⁴² It is possible that this William married Matilda, who brought him the manor of Blankney, Lincolnshire. In 1212 one William Mortimer held part of Blankney in North Kesteven, Lincolnshire, in right of his wife, by gift of the king. This cannot have been his nephew of the same name, as in 1226x8 she was described as ‘Matilda, late the wife of William Mortimer’, the land in Blankney being then worth £10 per year. See *Book of Fees*, i, pp. 178, 360.

¹⁴³ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 209, note g.

The fact that there are no other Mortimers known in Scotland before William in the mid-1160s, and the observation that there are at least four more in the next generation – all with names that do not conflict with his eldest two sons – suggest that William Mortimer had a large family, some of whom followed him to Scotland or were born there after 1165. It is possible that he married a second time. This theory is supported by two key facts. First, Bartholomew Mortimer who appears as one of the Scottish Mortimers, was also active in England and the uncle of a Norfolk man (as noted above). Second, Constantine Mortimer acted in concert with Bartholomew in Scotland *and* with Robert Mortimer of Attleborough and his son William Mortimer in England. It is therefore tentatively suggested that, in addition to the abovementioned sons, William was the father of the following men, all of whom are associated with Scotland, as stated below.

- ?Roger Mortimer (fl. 1188-1217?), sheriff of Perth. He appears as a witness of many Scottish royal grants. Between 1189 and 1195 King William gave him the hand of Christina, daughter of William Maule, in marriage, together with William Maule's manor of Fowlis Easter.¹⁴⁴ His line continued in his son Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1221-35).¹⁴⁵ His grandson may have been William Mortimer, who was lord of Fowlis Easter from at least 1244 to 1262.¹⁴⁶ Another Roger Mortimer was lord there in 1296 and, in 1327, another William Mortimer was lord.¹⁴⁷ Their descendants remained at Fowlis Easter until 1377, when Janet, daughter of the last Roger Mortimer of Fowlis Easter, married Sir Andrew Grey.¹⁴⁸ Even after that, Mortimer descendants remained in the area, one in particular being Bernard Mortimer (fl. 1404), who is reputed to have been the ancestor of the Mortimers of Craigievar.¹⁴⁹ They latter family bore for their arms *argent, a lion rampant sable gutté d'argent*, which probably reflect the arms their ancestors at Fowlis Easter had borne since the thirteenth century.
- ?Sir Bartholomew Mortimer (fl. 1189; d. pre-1226).¹⁵⁰ Like William Mortimer (his supposed father) and Robert (his presumed eldest brother), he held land in Norfolk and

¹⁴⁴ National Archives of Scotland: GD45/27/92; GD90/1/9; *St Andrews Liber*, 41-2, quoted in People of Medieval Scotland, <https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5665/>. See also the discussion of this grant in Stephen Marritt, 'The Ridale Papal Letters and Royal Charter: A Twelfth-Century Anglo-Scottish Baronial Family the Papacy, the Law and Charter Diplomatic', *EHR*, 126, no. 523 (2011), pp. 1332-1354, at p. 1341.

¹⁴⁵ People of Medieval Scotland, <https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5665/> *St Andrews Liber*, 265-6; National Archives of Scotland: GD82/1.

¹⁴⁶ National Archives of Scotland: GD45/27/98-100.

¹⁴⁷ National Archives of Scotland: GD45/27/40.

¹⁴⁸ A. Jervise, 'Notice regarding the foundation of the church of Fowlis in Gowrie', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol vii (1867), p. 242.

¹⁴⁹ National Archives of Scotland: RH1/2/171, dated September 1404: 'John de Moueth of Fowlis in favour of Andrew de Lesly, Bernard de Mortimer and John de Abercrumby, as procurators for resigning, of Ester Fowlis Mouathe.'

¹⁵⁰ As noted in *Complete Peerage*, they 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.

Lincolnshire.¹⁵¹ Also like them, he was closely associated with David, earl of Huntingdon (from whom the Mortimers of Attleborough held land in Norfolk and Lincolnshire). He sealed four of the earl's Scottish charters and served as the earl's representative in both England and Scotland on several occasions.¹⁵² Another circumstantial detail indicating he was almost certainly the son of William Mortimer (fl. 1155-80) is that all four of the Scottish charters he witnessed were witnessed in conjunction with Constantine Mortimer, who also acted in concert with Robert Mortimer of Attleborough (d. 1216x17) and his son William, and whose unusual name later became a regularly feature of the Attleborough family tree. He is first known from a charter to St Mary's Southwick, Hants, dating from 1182x89.¹⁵³ He travelled with Richard I on the Third Crusade in 1190 and fought in the Holy Land, being one of the handful of heroes who stood alongside the king at Jaffa and defended the town against overwhelming odds.¹⁵⁴ He appears as a witness of several charters in the cartulary of Southwick Priory, Hampshire, the earliest of which dates from 1185x95.¹⁵⁵ He married Lucy de Say, widow of Hugh de Say of Richard's Castle in about 1195.¹⁵⁶ They had no children. However, one Robert Mortimer (probably his cousin), who also went on the Crusade, later married the heiress of Richard's Castle (his step-granddaughter), so the inheritance stayed in the family. Bartholomew played an active role in both England and Scotland. In addition to his service to David, earl of Huntingdon, for example, he was one of four knights required to testify in a Somerset legal case between Walter and Robert de Cantelupe in 1200, and between 1215 and 1219 he witnessed William Marshall's confirmation of his grant to St Paul's, London.¹⁵⁷ See also *Part 2c (The Mortimers of Richard's Castle)*.

- ?Constantine Mortimer (fl. 1215). He is named as a witness with the abovementioned Bartholomew Mortimer in four Scottish charters of David, earl of Huntingdon, appearing lower in the witness lists in all four instances. He also appears as a witness of the earl of

¹⁵¹ With regard to Norfolk, his nephew, Matthew de Morley, was pardoned in 1226 for a forest fine Bartholomew had incurred in that county (*Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 209, note g). As for Lincolnshire, the king appointed him as a deputy bailiff of Stamford fair in 1219 (TNA: C60/11 membrane 7, no. 200a. Downloaded from <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk> 5 March 2019.)

¹⁵² For the charters, see the People of Medieval Scotland database. He received repayment of money on Earl David's behalf three times in 1210 (*Cal. of Docs relating to Scotland*, p. 81, nos. 475, 477, 479). He witnessed a grant of Earl David to Holy Trinity, London, being the second-named witness (*ibid.* p. 603). After the earl's death in 1219, Bartholomew acted as one of the 'great bailiffs' of his estates, as directed by William Marshall (*ibid.* no. 725). 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. See *Complete Peerage*.

¹⁵³ Katharine A. Hanna, *Deeds from Portsmouth and its area before 1547*, Hampshire Record Series (2008), quoted in DEEDS: <https://deeds.library.utoronto.ca/cartularies/0596> (Downloaded 10 April 2019).

¹⁵⁴ John Gillingham, *Richard I* (1999), p. 215.

¹⁵⁵ Katharine A. Hanna, *The cartularies of Southwick Priory*, part i, Hampshire Record Series 9 (1988), p. 40

¹⁵⁶ Una Rees (ed.), *Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey*, Shrophire Archaeological Society (Cardiff, 1980), p. 180 (no. 916)

¹⁵⁷ *Curia Regis Rolls*, i, pp. 262, 334; Marion Gibbs (ed.), *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of London*, Camden Third Ser. lviii (1939), pp. 176-7.

Huntingdon's charter to Castlecre Priory, along with Robert Mortimer (presumably his older brother). He joined with Robert Mortimer and William his son in opposing King John in 1215.¹⁵⁸ Thus he is named in Geoffrey de Serland's list of the men in Rutland who acted, along with David, earl of Huntingdon, against King John in 1215.¹⁵⁹ He had at least one son in Scotland:

- b. Roger Mortimer.¹⁶⁰ It is difficult to distinguish between this man and his putative uncle of the same name. However, one Roger Mortimer witnessed a grant by Gundred de Warenne in 1220 to Salisbury Cathedral of the right to the church at Stapleford. His name is last, preceded by eleven clergymen, and as the only secular witness, it suggests he served Gundred in a personal capacity. He or his uncle also witnessed in 1224x7 King Alexander's confirmation of the bishop of Glasgow's right to hold a fair.¹⁶¹
- ?Hugh Mortimer, prior of May, Scotland (fl. 1198-1206). It is possible that this man was the 'H. de Mortuo Mari, king's clerk' who, with Earl David's son, came to negotiate the marriage of the king of Scotland with Henry III's sister in 1221.¹⁶²

Robert Mortimer (d. 1216x17), lord of Attleborough and of Harlaxton (which he had received by 1191). He first appears in the pipe roll for 1173-4, when he was pardoned a debt incurred by his men in Harlaxton.¹⁶³ In 1181 he was excommunicated for appropriating parts of the manor of Deepham, which belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury.¹⁶⁴ Either he or his cousin of the same name was with Prince John in Ireland in 1185.¹⁶⁵ He witnessed several charters of Hamelin de Warenne, earl of Surrey, in the 1190s.¹⁶⁶ In the early 1190s he witnessed a charter of David, earl of Huntingdon, to the priory of La-Chaise-Dieu, along with William de Warenne, Eustace de Vesci and others.¹⁶⁷ He or his cousin of the same name was the witness of a charter of John to the priory church of St Bartholomew the Great, London, in 1192.¹⁶⁸ In 1194 he temporarily lost custody of his lands for attending a tournament without licence. It seems that the manor of Scoulton was taken from him at this time and given to his cousin William Mortimer (fl. 1189-1224), seigneur of Bec. In 1195 he was in dispute with John le Strange concerning lands in Huntstanton, Totington,

¹⁵⁸ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 246, note a.

¹⁵⁹ TNA: SC 1/1/12.

¹⁶⁰ See the People of Medieval Scotland database, where he appears confused with his uncle of the same name. But in [3/635/1 \(Arb. Lib., no. 136\)](#) his identity is spelled out.

¹⁶¹ DEEDS: <https://deeds.library.utoronto.ca/charters/00640122/>.

<https://deeds.library.utoronto.ca/charters/05700006> Both downloaded 10 April 2019.

¹⁶² Joseph Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, volume 1 AD1108-1272* (1881), p. 142.

¹⁶³ *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the 20th year of the Reign of Henry II*, Pipe Roll Society, vol. 21 (1896), p. 102.

¹⁶⁴ William Somner, *The Antiquities of Canterbury* (1703), p. 142.

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Gilbert, *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland AD 1172-1320* (1870), pp. 49, 55.

¹⁶⁶ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 244.

¹⁶⁷ British Library: Add. Chart. 47386. This is dated 1190x4.

¹⁶⁸ Norman Moore, *The History of St Bartholomew's Hospital* (2 vols, 1918), p. 168.

Ringstead and Snitterton.¹⁶⁹ In his reclamation of the advowson of Raveningham, undertaken with the help of his brother Robert in 1203-4, he states his grandfather was Robert Mortimer. In the reign of King John he received confirmation of £10 of land in Godmanchester that David, earl of Huntingdon, had given him.¹⁷⁰ After the fall of Normandy in 1204, he received back the manor of Scoulton as well as lands in Harlaxton that Richard I had taken from him and given to his cousin.¹⁷¹ He campaigned against King John in 1205, on which occasion his lands were again confiscated, and he also was in arms against John in 1215. Bracton quotes a legal case from 1218 that states he donated land that he had been given by John le Strange to a priest serving Thornton Abbey in Lincolnshire (which was founded by his first cousin once-removed, William le Gros, grandson of Ralph Mortimer (fl. 1075-1115)).¹⁷² He possibly married Alice de Munchensey (fl. 1191), daughter of Warin de Munchensey and his wife Agnes, daughter of Payn Fitzjohn.¹⁷³ He had at least two sons:

1. **William Mortimer** (d. 1250). See below
2. Robert Mortimer (fl. 1215). Successfully petitioned King John for £10 of land in Harlaxton in 1215 when his father and older brother were out of favour due to their rebellion.¹⁷⁴
3. ?Geoffrey Mortimer. This is a very tentative placement. One Geoffrey, son of Robert Mortimer, bought lands in the manor of Barnham Broom, which belonged to the Mortimers of Attleborough, in the thirteenth century but it is not clear who this was.¹⁷⁵ It is not impossible that this Geoffrey and the Geoffrey Mortimer of Tholthorpe and Eakley, who was in the household of Baldwin Wake, were one and the same.

William Mortimer (d. 1250), lord of Attleborough, Scoulton, Barnham Broom, Little Ellingham, Rockland Tofts, Stanford and Little Buckenham in Norfolk, Kingston in Cambridgeshire, and Harlaxton in Lincolnshire.¹⁷⁶ He resisted King John along with his father in 1205 and 1215, for which they lost their lands. Neither man appears in the *Book of Fees* for 1212. In 1216-17, the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, were ordered to return the lands to William.¹⁷⁷ In 1218 he confirmed his father's

¹⁶⁹ Walter Rye (ed.), *A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk* (Norwich, 1885), p. 2.

¹⁷⁰ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 245.

¹⁷¹ Hardy (ed.). *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, vol 1, p. 15b

¹⁷² F. W. Maitland (ed.), *Bracton's Note Book*, ii (1867), p. 20.

¹⁷³ Emilie Amt (ed.), *The Latin Cartulary of Godstow Abbey* (Oxford, 2014), p. 77. Downloaded from <https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/26088.html>, 20 March 2019. This gift from Agnes to Godstow, which dates from 1185x91, mentions her daughter Alice directly after naming Robert Mortimer her son-in-law.

¹⁷⁴ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 246, note a.

¹⁷⁵ 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).

¹⁷⁶ See *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 246 note a.

¹⁷⁷ Hardy (ed.). *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, vol 1, p. 324.

gifts to the priory of Tottington, originally made in 1195.¹⁷⁸ In 1226x28 he held £10 of land in Harlaxton and £5 in Denton that the king had given his father, Robert, after these had been confiscated from those who had sworn allegiance to the French king in Normandy (i.e. his father's first cousin, William Mortimer).¹⁷⁹ He still held the £10 in Harlaxton in 1237 and 1242 but the £5 in Denton had passed to his cousin, Hugh Mortimer of Richard's Castle.¹⁸⁰ He served the Earl Warenne as his steward in 1238-9.¹⁸¹ 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. He died soon after, however – before 29 May 1250 – when lands in Harlaxton were described as 'heretofore of William Mortimer'.¹⁸² His son and heir was:

1. **Sir Robert Mortimer** (d. 1263). See below.

Note that a number of men called Mortimer are mentioned in connection with the East of England in the fine rolls of Henry III, including Guy Mortimer (Cambridgeshire, 1263 and 1271); Richard Mortimer and his wife Basilia (Norfolk, 1267; Lincolnshire, 1268); Roger Mortimer and his widow Rose (Norfolk); Roger Mortimer and his wife Mary (Norfolk, 1267); and William Mortimer of King's Lynn, clerk (Cambridgeshire, 1267), so it is possible William had other sons or nephews. One Henry Mortimer reached an agreement with William de Fossato in Attleborough itself in 1267.¹⁸³ Also it should be noted that one William Mortimer of Freckenham was sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1296. Freckenham is not far from Attleborough, the other side of Thetford and about three miles from their Cambridgeshire manor of Soham. This William Mortimer seems to have been settled at Freckenham by 1273, when he had Adam de Morley arraigned for a novel disseisin of a tenement in Freckenham.¹⁸⁴ Obviously this man was not a son of Sir Robert Mortimer (d. 1263) but he could well have been a nephew.

Robert Mortimer (d. 1263), lord of Attleborough, married Isabel [de Banks?]. He was lord of Attleborough 21 October 1252, when he received a grant of free warren in his demesne lands of

¹⁷⁸ F. W. Maitland (ed.), *Bracton's Note Book*, vol. 2, text (1887), p. 20.

¹⁷⁹ *Book of Fees*, i, p. 359. In 1237 the Denton land was no longer in his hands but held by one Hugh Mortimer, apparently Hugh Mortimer of Richard's Castle (d. 1274), his cousin, as shown by the IPM of Joan Mortimer, Hugh's descendant, in 1340 (TNA: CP 25/1/287/40 no. 252.); the £10 land in Harlaxton was in 1237 described as in Harlaxton and Woolsthorpe (*Book of Fees*, i, p. 617). This was £5 of land in Harlaxton in 1242-3 (*Fees*, ii, p. 1035) and so probably £5 of land in Woolsthorpe.

¹⁸⁰ *Book of Fees*, i, p. 617; ii, p. 1035.

¹⁸¹ Charles Travis Clay (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. viii: *the Honour of Warenne* (1949), p. 243.

¹⁸² C. W. Foster (ed.), *Final Concords of the County of Lincoln 1244-1272*, Lincoln Record Soc. (Horncastle, 1920), no. 36. .

¹⁸³ *Norfolk Feet of Fines*, p. 103; *CCR 1256-9*, p. 193 (Roger and Rose).

¹⁸⁴ *Forty-third Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (1882), p. 445.

Attleborough, Barnham and Scoulton.¹⁸⁵ His property was attacked by Sir Henry Hastings in 1263, the year in which he is said to have died.¹⁸⁶ He left at least one son.

1. **William Mortimer** (d. 1297). See below.

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.¹⁸⁷ He founded the chapel of St Mary's in the church at Attleborough and was buried there. He presented to the living of Bixton in 1295.¹⁸⁸ He married Alice (fl. 1315).¹⁸⁹ He had a son and two daughters:

1. **Constantine Mortimer** (b. c. 1279; d. 1358/9). See below.
2. ?John Mortimer of Preston (d. 1333?). See *Part 2d (the Mortimers of Preston)*.
 - Maud Mortimer.
 - 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 1346.¹⁹⁰

Constantine Mortimer (c. 1279-1358/9), lord of Attleborough. Said to be eighteen at the time of his father's death. He took part in the Stepney tournament of 1309 when he bore on his shield six fleurs de lys, arranged '3, 2, 1' in three rows.¹⁹¹ He had licence to crenelate his manor house at Scoulton in 1319. 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 1356.¹⁹² He married 1stly Sybil (d. 1334); 2ndly Catherine. He married firstly Sybil (d. 1334), by whom he had at least three sons, and secondly Catherine, before 1342.¹⁹³

1. Constantine Mortimer (fl. 1324, d. 1355), who married Agnes. As 'Constantine Mortimer junior' he was given letters of protection for going into Scotland in 1335.¹⁹⁴ He held the

¹⁸⁵ Robert Hindry Mason, *A History of Norfolk from Original Records and Other Authorities* (1885), p. 71.

¹⁸⁶ Gurnay, *House of Gurnay*, p. 431.

¹⁸⁷ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, iii, pp. 278-9.

¹⁸⁸ W. Miller, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (1805), vol. 2; Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.

¹⁸⁹ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 246. She married as her second husband John de Thorpe.

¹⁹⁰ *Feudal Aids*, i, pp. 147, 165.

¹⁹¹ *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* (8 vols, 1834-43), iv, p. 68.

¹⁹² W. Miller, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (1805), vol. 2; Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.

¹⁹³ In an early reckoning, Thomas was also a son of this Constantine. See C.S. Perceval, 'Note on Seals of Sir Constantine de Mortimer and sons, Constantine, Thomas and Robert, 1351', *Proceedings of the Antiquaries of London (second series)*, iv (1869), pp. 198-9.

¹⁹⁴ 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.

manor of Kingston during his father's lifetime, with his brother Robert as his heir, who was of full age in 1356.¹⁹⁵ After his death, his widow Agnes married Thomas Gissing.

2. **Robert Mortimer** (d. 1387). See below.
3. William Mortimer (fl. 1342), canon of Lincoln.¹⁹⁶

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 1393.¹⁹⁷ His seal survives in the British Library, where the catalogue describes the arms as *semy de lis*.¹⁹⁸ According to *Complete Peerage*, they had two sons:

1. **Thomas Mortimer** (d. pre-1387), who married Mary Park, who was the widow of John Fastolf (d. 1383) and thus the mother of the famous Sir John Fastolf (1380-1459). Thomas may have been the Thomas Mortimer of Surrey, knight, who in 1355 bore the Mortimer of Attleborough arms with a red border.¹⁹⁹ By her he had three daughters and coheirresses.
 - c. Sybil, who married first Sir Ralph Bigod of Stockton, then Henry Pakenham and finally Thomas Manning;
 - d. Cicely, who married Sir John Harling (d. pre1403) and then Sir John Radcliffe;
 - e. Margery, who married Sir John FitzRalph of Great Ellingham.²⁰⁰

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

1. **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.²⁰¹ Five examples of his seal are in the British Library, all dated 1403: the catalogue describes his arms as *four fleurs de lys in a cross in dexter chief an annulet for difference*.²⁰² In 1405 he sold the manor of Barnham Broom to Sir Thomas Erpingham, retaining only the advowson.²⁰³
 - a. Robert Mortimer (fl. 1424-59) of Barnham Broom. Presented to Bixton in 1424 (twice), 1429, 1435, 1438, 1439 and 1447. Held a quarter of a fee in Bixton in 1428.²⁰⁴ Appears with his wife Sybil in a final concord of Conesby and Flixborough,

¹⁹⁵ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, x, no. 374.

¹⁹⁶ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 250, note a. The Lincoln *Fasti Ecclesiae* does not mention him, however. That he was a clergyman is made clear by the grant of 14 January 1342 by his father, 'Constantine de Mortuo Mari senior. Knight' to 'William his son, parson of Lyng...' and others of two parts of the manor of Hilborough (Norfolk Record Office: Mills of Hilborough, HIL./1/8,869X8).

¹⁹⁷ Miller, *Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*; Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.

¹⁹⁸ *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum* (6 vols, 1892), volume 3, p. 283.

¹⁹⁹ *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum* (6 vols, 1892), volume 3, p. 284.

²⁰⁰ For her descendants, see Daniel Gurnay, *The record of the House of Gurnay* (1848), p. 439.

²⁰¹ Miller, *Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*; Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.

²⁰² *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum* (6 vols, 1892), volume 3, p. 281.

²⁰³ Norfolk Record Office: KIM 2A/15.

²⁰⁴ *Feudal Aids*, iii, p. 591.

etc. in Lincolnshire dated 1445.²⁰⁵ He was summoned to attend the council in 1458/9.²⁰⁶ He married Sybil (fl. 1429-45), who presented to Barnham Broom with him from 1429.²⁰⁷ They had a daughter:

- i. 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).

²⁰⁵ TNA: CP 25/1/145/159 no. 34.

²⁰⁶ TNA: C49/69/5.

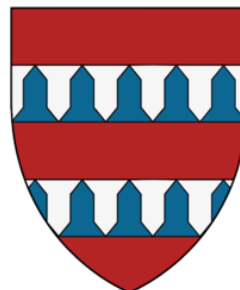
²⁰⁷ Miller, *Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*; Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.

Part 2b

The Mortimers of Richard's Castle, Herefordshire



Arms of Hugh Mortimer (d. 1274) as shown on his seal, and of his son Robert (d. 1287) as depicted in Walford's Roll (c. 1275)



Arms of Robert Mortimer of Richard's Castle (d. 1287) and of his son Hugh (d. 1304), as depicted in the Falkirk Roll (1298)

The fact that Wigmore 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, with Robert Mortimer (d. 1287) adopting the second coat in the late 1270s (as evidenced by the heraldic rolls). In addition, the Mortimers of Richard's Castle were a cadet family of the Mortimers of Attleborough. If the latter were descended from the lord of Wigmore, then so too were the Mortimers of Richard's Castle. It is the former link that is wanting evidence, not the latter, as shown below.

That the Mortimers of Attleborough and Richard's Castle were related is not in doubt. There are four reasons that allow us to say this with confidence.

1. The original arms of the Mortimers of Richard's Castle were *barry of six, or and vert, with a semy of fleurs de lys counterchanged* (as depicted above). There is no doubt about this: Hugh's seal on a charter to the monks of Worcester shows his arms as *barry of six, charged with fleurs de lys*.²⁰⁸ Identification of the colours – may be found in Walford's Roll (c. 1275), which has a 'Robertus de Mortimer' (presumably Hugh's son) bearing the same arms.²⁰⁹ It was only later, after 1275, that Robert Mortimer changed the family arms to the *gules two bars vair* (also depicted above), which were borne

²⁰⁸ British Library: Cotton Charters xxvii, fol. 157. This is referred to by the *Complete Peerage* editors as well as Dugdale, *Baronage*, (3 vols, 1675), i, p. 153 and Planché, 'Genealogy and Armorial Bearings of the Family of Mortimer', p. 34..

²⁰⁹ British Library: MS Harley 6589, fol. 12-12b.

by him and his son Hugh Mortimer (d. 1304). The importance of this is twofold. First, the original arms of the Richard's Castle line are similar to those of the Mortimers of Attleborough in that they both have a *semy* or scattering of fleurs de lys. Moreover, they are almost identical to the arms borne by the descendants of William Mortimer (fl. 1189-1224), seigneur of Bec, Normandy: the differencing is so slight that it may not have been intentional.²¹⁰ This confirms the theory that William Mortimer of Bec (fl. 1189-1224) was the brother of Robert Mortimer of Richard's Castle (d. 1219). The second reason why the original arms are important is that they used to appear in the medieval windows of Attleborough Church alongside those of the Mortimers of Attleborough, as well as a four-bar variant on those arms (possibly for William and Robert's younger brother Henry).²¹¹ It is not clear whereabouts in the church these were to be seen but they were either in the thirteenth century south transept (built by Sir William Mortimer of Attleborough (d. 1297)) or in the nave (built by Sir Robert Mortimer and his daughters in the late fourteenth century). This leaves no room for doubt that the Mortimers of Richard's Castle and of Attleborough shared a common ancestor.

2. Lands given to William Mortimer (fl. 1189-1224), seigneur of Bec and brother of Robert Mortimer of Richard's Castle (d. 1219) were taken from Robert Mortimer of Attleborough and, after 1204, returned to him.²¹² In addition, a small portion of land in Denton, Lincolnshire, worth ten pounds a year, which also followed this path (being taken from Robert and handed to William and then returned to Robert in 1204), was held by Joan the daughter of the last Hugh Mortimer of Richard's Castle, in the 1330s.²¹³ This had been held by Hugh Mortimer in 1237 and 1242-3, on the latter occasion in conjunction with Roger of Ingoldsby as a member of the de Warenne manor of Grantham.²¹⁴ The 1330s record allows us to identify the Hugh Mortimer who held this land in 1237 and 1242-3 as Hugh Mortimer of Richard's Castle (d. 1274). It can hardly be a coincidence that the one small portion of land that the Mortimers of Richard's Castle held in Lincolnshire had originally been the property of the Mortimers of Attleborough.

3. As the editors of the *Complete Peerage* pointed out, Petronilla or Pernel Mortimer 'seems to have belonged to both families' [Attleborough and Richard's Castle]. They continue:

Of her it is known that before 1199 (probably before May 1194) she held land in Dengey Hundred, in which are Woodham Mortimer and Amberden, which later was given to Tiltey Abbey; that in July 1199, as a widow, she was suing R. del Ech for dower in Cambridgeshire (where Mortimers of Attleborough had large holdings); and in 1203 [she] levied a fine with

²¹⁰ The de Mortemers of Bec arranged the fleurs de lys in line with the bars (see *Part 2c: the de Mortemers of Bec*, below); those of Richard's Castle employed a scattering, or *semy*, like the Mortimers of Attleborough.

²¹¹ Daniel Gurnay, *The record of the House of Gurnay* (1848), p. 438. His source for this was Francis Blomefield's *Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, volume 1 (2nd ed., 1805), p. 529. Note, I cannot find these arms shown or described in the first edition of Blomefield's work (1739).

²¹² *Book of Fees*, i, p. 359, 617; ii, p. 1035.

²¹³ TNA: CP 25/1/287/40. This relates to her lands in 'The manors of Coderugg' and Wychebaut and a moiety of the manors of Karkedon' and Homme and the advowsons of the church of Yeddefenloges, the chapels of Coderugg' and All Saints, Wygorn', in the county of Worcester and 10 pounds of rent in Denton' in the county of Lincoln.'

²¹⁴ *Book of Fees*, i, p. 359, 617; ii, p. 1035.

William de Buckenham as to the advowson of Buckenham and land there -- a Mortimer of Attleborough manor.²¹⁵

Old Buckenham is a manor that had belonged to the Mortimers of Attleborough since the time of Robert Mortimer of Norfolk. It stands to reason that either Petronilla's interest in that place passed from her to the Mortimers of Attleborough, or from them to her. Both would be consistent with her marrying one of the Attleborough line but that would not explain how she owned land in Dengey hundred, 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 probable 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, those being her dower lands.

4. The son and heir of Robert Mortimer of Essex (fl. 1168-80) was Robert Mortimer (d. 1219), as shown by his inheritance of Amberden and Little Woodham. In 1210 the younger man married Margaret de Say, the young heiress of Richard's Castle, and the step-granddaughter of Sir Bartholomew Mortimer (fl. 1190; d. pre-1226), who was almost certainly a member of the Attleborough line (see *Part 2a: the Mortimer family of Attleborough*). To be specific, in 1210 Margaret 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.²¹⁶ However, her father's mother, Lucy de Say, was still alive: since 1195 she had been married to Sir Bartholomew, her second husband.²¹⁷ Bartholomew's activity in England and Scotland on behalf of the earl of Huntingdon and his tenure of lands in Norfolk and Lincolnshire points to him being a younger son of William Mortimer of Attleborough. His marriage to Lucy de Say and his subsequent tenure of Richard's Castle enabled him to advance Robert Mortimer (d. 1219), by facilitating his marriage to his wife's granddaughter. While he might have done this simply because they had fought together on the Third Crusade, the coincidence of the names and the circumstantial evidence that they were first cousins suggests that he did it as much to further family interests as to honour an old comradeship.

The foregoing four points leave no doubt as to the fact the two families had a common ancestor. The only arrangement that fits chronologically is that the first-known member of the Richard's Castle line of the family, Robert Mortimer of Essex (fl. 1168-80?), was the son of Robert Mortimer of Norfolk (fl. 1119-46). Clearly the family's use of the name was a hereditary one, and there weren't many hereditary Mortimers in the mid twelfth century from whom Robert Mortimer of Essex could have been descended. That he was not a son of Hugh Mortimer of Wigmore is obvious: not only is he not mentioned in the *Fundatorum Historia*, Hugh did not marry until the late

²¹⁵ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 258:

²¹⁶ 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 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.

²¹⁷ As noted in *Complete Peerage*, they were probably married in 1195. She was 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

1140s and his eldest two surviving sons did not come of age until the 1170s, by which time Robert Mortimer of Essex was already married and liable for his own debts. Therefore, in the absence of there being any known male siblings of Ralph Mortimer (the Domesday lord), Robert Mortimer of Essex must have been the son of one of Ralph's younger sons. These were Robert Mortimer of Norfolk (fl. 1119-46), ancestor of the Mortimers of Attleborough; and William Mortimer (fl. 1170s), lord of Chelmarsh and later of Lower Lye. The fact that the arms of William Mortimer of Bec, brother of Robert Mortimer of Richard's Castle, used to be visible in Attleborough Church makes the identification of the former compelling.

It is worth adding that this identification happens to fit the family naming pattern – that of naming the eldest son after his paternal grandfather. Robert Mortimer of Essex naming his eldest son Robert suggests he was indeed the son of a Robert – in this case, Robert Mortimer of Norfolk. Moreover, the Mortimers of Attleborough seem to have developed an additional tradition of naming their sons Robert and William alternately: when the eldest was William, the younger was Robert, and vice versa. This continued in the main line of the family down to 1279. It also continued in the Bec line of the family to the end of the thirteenth century. Therefore, we should expect William Mortimer (fl. 1155-80) to have had a younger brother Robert. The theory that Robert Mortimer of Essex was his brother fits this pattern too.

Robert Mortimer (fl. 1168-80?), known to historians as Robert Mortimer of Essex, was the son of Robert Mortimer of Norfolk, ancestor of the Mortimers of Attleborough, as explained above. Henry II gave him Little Woodham (Woodham Mortimer) and probably Amberden, Essex, on the occasion of his marriage, which took place before 1168, when he was pardoned a debt by the sheriff of Essex. Possession of these manors provides the best evidence for the history of the family, as they were passed down the family until being inherited by Joan, daughter of the last Mortimer of Richard's Castle, as shown in her petition of 1329.²¹⁸ This Robert may also have been the Robert Mortimer who held the manor of Lower Lye – as a tenant of Hugh Mortimer of Wigmore – in the 1160s.²¹⁹ He witnessed the treaty of Falaise in 1174 and was a hostage in the king's company in the wake of that agreement (when his brother William was a hostage on the Scots' side). He is probably the Robert Mortimer who appears as the first-named witness in a

²¹⁸ TNA: SC 8/196/9787. In addition, in July 1219, after the death of this Robert Mortimer, the king ordered the sheriff of Essex to deliver to Robert's widow Margaret de Say the manors in that county (Essex) that she had from him as her dower lands. TNA: C 60/11 membrane 4 no. 321. Downloaded from <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/> 5 March 2019.

²¹⁹ V. H. Galbraith and J. Tait (eds), *Herefordshire Domesday c. 1160-1170*, Pipe Roll Society, New Series 25 (1950), pp. 38, 95. It is difficult to point to another Robert Mortimer whom this could have been. The manor reverted to the Mortimers of Wigmore so was either a temporary tenancy or life grant to whichever Robert Mortimer held it in the 1160s or was exchanged with them. It was given by Hugh Mortimer to his brother William in return for Chelmarsh when Hugh was seeking a permanent place to settle his monastery, and so was probably in Hugh's hands by 1172 (when he laid the foundation stone) and certainly before 1181.

charter of Richard de Lucy (d. 1179), granting Chigwell in Essex to William de Goldingham.²²⁰ He is probably also the Robert Mortimer who witnessed Henry II's treaty at le Mans in about 1177. The favour shown to him by Henry II suggests it was this Robert Mortimer who was pardoned a debt for his lands in the pays de Bray, Normandy, in 1180, having recently received a grant of 52 acres from the royal demesne lands in Fécamp, in the pays de Caux.²²¹ He does not appear in the Norman pipe rolls for 1184 or later. He probably died before 1194 and certainly by 1199. As mentioned above, his widow was probably Pernel or Petronilla Mortimer, who was still alive in 1203. It is not known whether she was the mother of any or all of his sons:

1. **Robert Mortimer** (d. 1219), lord of Richard's Castle. See below.
2. William Mortimer (fl. 1189-1224), seigneur of Bec. *See Part 2c (the de Mortimers of Bec, Normandy), below.*
3. Henry Mortimer. *See Part 2c (the de Mortimers of Bec, Normandy), below.*

Robert Mortimer (fl. 1190-1219), son of Robert Mortimer of Essex (fl. 1168-80?). Either he or his cousin of the same name was with Prince John in Ireland in 1185.²²² A charter of Prince John, when count of Mortain, granting the manor of Bedminster to Maurice de Berkeley, was witnessed by 'William Mortimer and his brother Robert' in 1189.²²³ This was almost certainly William Mortimer, seigneur of Bec, and this man, the future lord of Richard's Castle, both of whom were favoured by the royal family, just as their father had been. The naming of the two men in this order might indicate that William was the elder of the two. However, if so, this would be an aberration from the family naming tradition, which had rigidly been followed in the family beforehand and which continued to prevail for another century. In addition, as the arms of the Mortimers of Richard's Castle were, like those of the parent line, a *semy* of fleurs de lys, like the arms of the Mortimers of Attleborough, it seems that they differenced the Attleborough arms and the de Mortimers of Bec differenced the Richard's Castle design, suggesting strongly that William Mortimer of Bec was the younger brother of Robert Mortimer of Richard's Castle.

²²⁰ *Formulare Anglicanum or a collection of ancient charters and instruments* (1702), p. 368. This was in the reign of Henry II.

²²¹ Thomas Stapleton (ed.), *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normannie sub Regibus Anglie*, i (1840), cvii, pp. 63, 67. The Mortimers of Attleborough are not known to have had any lands in Normandy. This Robert, however, probably left lands to his son William/Guillaume.

²²² Thomas Gilbert, *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland AD 1172-1320* (1870), pp. 49, 55.

²²³ 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. The fact that William Mortimer is first-named probably indicates how much of a favourite he was at court. In 1194, Robert was forced to give him the manor of Scoulton. See *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 245.

It was very probably this Robert (rather than his cousin, Robert Mortimer of Attleborough) who accompanied Richard I on the Third Crusade, along with Bartholomew Mortimer. (Robert's marriage to the heiress of Richard's Castle can hardly have been made without Bartholomew's willing approval.) He married twice, the first time to an unknown woman (who must have died before 1210), by whom he had a son:

1. **Robert Mortimer** (fl. 1232). He appears as the lord of Amberden and Little Woodham in Essex in 1232x3, the latter having been held by his father in 1212.²²⁴ That both of these manors were inherited by the Mortimers of Richard's Castle – in the case of Amberden, by 1254 (see below) – suggests he died without heirs of his body before that date.

In 1210 Robert married Margaret de Say, heiress of Richard's Castle, the step-granddaughter of Bartholomew Mortimer (probably his cousin), by which marriage he acquired the bulk of his lordship. According to Dugdale, in 1215x16 he received a royal grant 'of all those lands in Berwick, Sussex, which did formerly belong to Mabel de Say, mother of Marger[et], his wife, and the in possession of Marmion the younger'. He adds that in 1219 Margaret had an assignation of her dower lands 'out of all his lands lying in the county of Essex' and that she married William de Stuteville in 1230.²²⁵ By Margaret, Robert Mortimer had issue:

2. **Hugh Mortimer** (d. 1274), lord of Richard's Castle. See below.
3. Sir William Mortimer (fl. 1244-61), of Homme, Worcestershire. *Complete Peerage* states that he received Homme from Hugh after the latter received it from their stepfather William de Stuteville (Margaret de Say's third husband) in 1243-4.²²⁶ This must be shortly after William came of age as both he and his elder brother must have been born in the last years of their father's life. In 1253 he travelled to France with the king and in September the following year, he persuaded the king to grant to Hugh Mortimer the right of free warren in his demesne lands of Amberden, Essex; Homme, Worcestershire; and Rochford, Herefordshire.²²⁷ In 1261 he witnessed his brother's confirmation of land to Worcester Cathedral Priory. He was probably the William Mortimer who was the bailiff for his brother, Hugh Mortimer, in respect of the family's Somerset estates in 1265.²²⁸ He probably was dead by 1274, when the land in Homme and Rochford was mentioned in the IPM of Hugh Mortimer. Later, part of it was bought from Robert Mortimer of Richard's Castle by another Sir William Mortimer, presumably this William's son.²²⁹
 - a. Sir William Mortimer (d. 1308) of Homme, Worcestershire. He was described as 'Sir William Mortimer, knight' and 'aged sixty' when he gave evidence in April 1308 regarding the age of Joan Mortimer, daughter of the late Hugh Mortimer of

²²⁴ *Book of Fees*, i. pp. 121, 1464.

²²⁵ Dugdale, *Baronage* (3 vols, 1675-6), i, p. 152.

²²⁶ *Feet of Fines, Divers Counties*, 27 Hen. III.; Eyton's *Antiquities of Shropshire*, iv. p. 316.

²²⁷ *CPR 1247-58*, pp. 235, 286, 330.

²²⁸ *CPR 1247-58*, pp. 235, 286, 330.

²²⁹ *CFR 1219-1307*, pp. 266-7.

Richard's Castle (d. 1304).²³⁰ On account of his age, he is presumed to be the son of Sir William, named above (had he been the same man, he would have been aged about ninety, and much too old to go on campaign with Edward I in 1300). At the time of his death in late 1308, he held only thirty acres of land and two acres of meadow in Homme by right of sale from Robert Mortimer of Richard's Castle (d. 1287), this presumably being a portion of what his father had held. He also held in chief a messuage in Sutton, Worcestershire, and a small amount of land in Leintwardine, Shropshire, from the daughters of the late Hugh Mortimer of Richard's Castle (d. 1304).²³¹ It seems likely he bore the arms *gules crusilly, two bars vair*, which are found in rolls dating from 1285, 1296 and 1300; this would imply that when Robert Mortimer of Richard's Castle adopted a new coat of arms after 1275, Sir William did likewise, differencing the new arms. It follows from the heraldic rolls that he was the William Mortimer who fought on campaigns in Scotland in the later years of Edward I's reign, on the last occasion with Hugh Mortimer of Richard's Castle (d. 1304). He was custodian of Richard's Castle during the minority of Hugh Mortimer (d. 1304). He had no children: his heirs were the daughters of Hugh Mortimer (d. 1304).

Hugh Mortimer (d. 1274), lord of Richard's Castle and Rochford in Herefordshire; Wychbold, Codrugg, Hulestone and Homme in Worcestershire; Burford and Stepelton in Shropshire.²³² He also held £10 of land in Denton, Lincolnshire (as mentioned in the introduction to this part). He was said to be aged 40 in 1259 but this is probably an underestimate as his father died in 1219 and he was not the youngest son. Planché notes that his seal shows he bore the arms *barry of six, or and vert, fleury de lys counterchanged*: these arms were also initially borne by his son Robert.²³³ He was still in the king's wardship in August 1236.²³⁴

1. **Robert Mortimer** (1252?-1287), lord of Richard's Castle. See below.
2. ?William Mortimer, canon of Hereford (fl. 1287-1316). He applied to grant the manor and advowson of Woodham Mortimer, which he held in chief, to Isabella Mortimer (presumably his niece) in 1301-2 and 1303-4: licence to do so was granted in December 1304.²³⁵ The grantor must have inherited this manor from Hugh Mortimer (d. 1274), who had by 1254 inherited Amberden in Essex, with which Woodham Mortimer was held by Robert

²³⁰ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, p. 88. Note the ages are normally given to the nearest ten years, so he was born some time between 1243 and 1253.

²³¹ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, v, pp. 59-60 (no. 133).

²³² *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, no. 132. It is likely also that he held the manor of Little Woodham in Essex, after the death of Robert Mortimer (before 1254) but the return for this county has not survived among his IPM documents.

²³³ Planché, 'Genealogy and Armorial Bearings of the Family of Mortimer', p. 34; Robert's arms also appear under his name in Walford's Roll.

²³⁴ TNA: C 60/35 membrane 4 no. 486. Downloaded from <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/> 5 March 2019.

²³⁵ TNA: C 143/40/20; C 143/47/3; *CPR 1301-7*, p. 303.

Mortimer, but he cannot have been Sir William Mortimer (fl. 1244-61), on chronological grounds, as that man was born before 1220; nor can he have been that Sir William's son, Sir William Mortimer (d. 1308), as the latter was not in holy orders (as far as is known). The most likely explanation is that he was a younger son of Hugh's.

Robert Mortimer (1252?-1287), lord of Richard's Castle, and many other estates.²³⁶ He m. Joyce de la Zouche (d. 1290), of Huntbear in Devon.²³⁷ Initially he bore the arms that his father had used – *barry of six, or and vert, fleury de lys counterchanged* – but very soon after his inheritance he carried *gules two bars vair*, which were also borne by his eldest son. All his father's IPMs state he was 22 or 22½.

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 and assumed the arms of his mother's family. 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 (fl. 1290-1332). She inherited her mother's manor of Huntbear after her death in or before 1290, and the manor of Woodham Mortimer by grant from William Mortimer, canon of Hereford, in 1303.²³⁸ She is named as the sister of Hugh. In 1326 she assigned 'the manor of Woodham Mortimer and 22s rent and a rent of 11lb of pepper in Little Braxstede and the advowson of the church of Woodham Mortimer' to Richard Talbot of Richard's Castle, to hold them from the honour of Peverel.²³⁹ In 1332 she is named as the lady of Homme Castle in the IPM of John de Wysham, who held from her manor of Woodmanton.²⁴⁰

Hugh Mortimer (1273?-1304), lord of Richard's Castle. He was underage at the time of his father's death, reaching his majority in 1294. In 1297 he sold to the bishop of Bath and Wells the manors of Farley (Hampshire), Amberden and Holbridge (Essex), King's Nympton (Devon), Norton (Northamptonshire), Cotheridge (Worcestershire) and Burford (Shropshire).²⁴¹ He married

²³⁶ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, no. 640.

²³⁷ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, no. 785.

²³⁸ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, no. 785; TNA: C 143/40/20; C 143/47/3.

²³⁹ *Feet of Fines for Essex*, Essex Archaeological Society (2 vols, Colchester, 1928), ii, p. 225.

²⁴⁰ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, vii, pp. 320-1.

²⁴¹ *Feet of Fines for Essex*, Essex Archaeological Society (2 vols, Colchester, 1928), ii, p. 86.

Maud (d. 1308), who was indicted and pardoned for accidentally poisoning him.²⁴² He was buried at Worcester.²⁴³ left two daughters:

1. Joan (1291-1340), who m. 1stly Thomas Bicknor (d. 1316), and 2ndly Richard Talbot. She held Richard's Castle and – amongst other holdings – the manor of Woodham Mortimer, Essex, in 1329.²⁴⁴ The £10 rent in Denton, Lincolnshire, which was held by Hugh Mortimer in 1242, came to her, along with Cotheridge, Wychborld, and a moiety of the manors of Karkedon and Homme.²⁴⁵
2. Margaret (1295-1348), who m. 1stly Geoffrey de Cornwall, and 2ndly William de Everys.²⁴⁶

²⁴² *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, v, no. 57, 58. At the time of her death she held the lordship of Amberden in Essex as of the inheritance of her late husband, which had been granted to Robert Mortimer in the twelfth century.

²⁴³ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, v, pp. 39-40.

²⁴⁴ TNA: SC 8/196/9787.

²⁴⁵ TNA: CP 25/1/287/40 no. 252.

²⁴⁶ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, viii, no. 461.

Part 2c

The de Mortemers of Bec, Normandy



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

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.²⁴⁷ The manor of Scoulton, Norfolk, and land in Harlaxton, Lincolnshire, were taken from Robert Mortimer of Attleborough (d. 1216x17) in the 1190s by Richard I and handed to William Mortimer (fl. 1189-1224), seigneur of Bec. After the fall of Normandy, when William chose to remain in Normandy and become a French vassal, these estates were confiscated and returned to Robert Mortimer of Attleborough. In addition, the arms of the de Mortemers of Bec are to be found in Attleborough Church. It might thus be assumed that William was Robert's younger brother – and Robert Mortimer of Attleborough did indeed have a younger brother called William – however, William Mortimer of Bec was actually Robert's cousin. There are two reasons to be confident of this: first, Robert Mortimer of Attleborough appointed his brother William to represent him in a legal case concerning the advowson of Raveningham Church. The appointment was made in Trinity Term 1203 and the case decided at Westminster in October 1204. William Mortimer of Bec was in Normandy throughout that period: firstly, in charge of the defence of Arques in 1202, and in 1203, in charge of the defence of the bailiwick of Caux (see below for details). It therefore follows that he could not have been the younger brother appointed to deal with the court case. The second reason to be confident William Mortimer of Bec was not the brother of Robert Mortimer of Attleborough is that his family's arms were almost the same as those of Hugh Mortimer (d. 1274), lord of Richard's Castle, pointing to a common ancestor, who must have been Hugh's grandfather, Robert Mortimer of Essex (fl. 1168-80). This Robert Mortimer seems to have left the bulk of his Norman lands to William and most of his English lands to his other son Robert, later lord of Richard's Castle. It

²⁴⁷ 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.

should also be noted that the de Mortemers of Bec later followed the general family naming tradition of calling the eldest son after his paternal grandfather. Thus we should expect to find that William's father was a Robert, which we do.

Robert Mortimer of Essex (fl. 1168-1180). As stated above, he appears in the Norman pipe roll for 1180, holding land in the pays de Bray, where the Mortimers of Wigmore also held lands.²⁴⁸ The favour shown by Henry II to that Robert would explain why the name Henry was introduced into the family. *See Part 2b (the Mortimers of Richard's Castle)*.

1. Robert Mortimer (d. 1219). *See Part 2b (the Mortimers of Richard's Castle) above*.
2. **William Mortimer/Guillaume de Mortemer** (fl. 1189-1224), seigneur of Bec. See below.
3. Henry Mortimer/Henri de Mortemer (fl. 1198-1210). He appears in the Norman pipe roll for 1198, alongside his brother William.²⁴⁹ His lands in the bailiwick of Montfort, in Normandy, were ceded to William in 1202, presumably because he had switched allegiance to the French king.²⁵⁰ He appears in at least two other Norman grants: one undated one of Hugh de Montfort to Hugues de Reux, and one dated 1210 from Ralph de Montgomery to the abbey of Bernay.²⁵¹

William Mortimer/Guillaume de Mortemer (fl. 1189-1224), seigneur of Bec in Normandy, was the son of Robert Mortimer of Essex (fl. 1168-80?). He appears with his brother Robert as a witness of a grant in 1189 by Prince John as count of Mortain to Maurice Berkeley, which can only date from 1189.²⁵² Richard I appointed him constable of Verneuil in Normandy in 1194. In May that year he played a crucial role in the defence of that castle, holding out against the French king for three weeks.²⁵³ When in 1194 Richard I confiscated the lands of his cousin, Robert Mortimer of Attleborough, for attending a tournament without licence, he seems not to have returned the Norfolk manor of Scoulton when he handed the rest back but to have given it to William, along with some of Robert's lands in Harlaxton and Denton.²⁵⁴ In 1195 William received a gift of £200 from the king in Normandy.²⁵⁵ He appears several times in the 1198 pipe roll, including accounting for the owing 40s for the tax in Criquetot-le-Vennesval, which is just a few

²⁴⁸ Thomas Stapleton (ed.), *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normaniae sub Regibus Angliae*, i (1840), pp. 64, 67. He could have been given this land at a later date: it does not necessarily indicate any consanguinity.

²⁴⁹ Thomas Stapleton (ed.), *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normaniae sub Regibus Angliae*, ii (1844), pp. 454, 458.

²⁵⁰ T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati* (1835), p. 10.

²⁵¹ <https://www.unicaen.fr/scripta>, cote 7817 and cote 5559 respectively.

²⁵² Bristol Record Office, AC/D/13/1. See the note above under Robert Mortimer (d. 1219), lord of Richard's Castle, for the details of the dating of this document.

²⁵³ Powiske, *The Loss of Normandy*, p. 151.

²⁵⁴ *Complete Peerage* is incorrect in presuming this was given to Robert Mortimer's son William (who died in 1250 and would not have been very old in the 1190s) rather than his cousin, this William. See *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 245.

²⁵⁵ Thomas Stapleton (ed.), *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normaniae sub Regibus Angliae*, i (1840), p. 136.

miles from Bec and which indicates his interests in that western part of the pays de Caux at that time.²⁵⁶ He was given the lands of his brother, Henri de Mortemer, in the bailiwick of Montfort in May 1202.²⁵⁷ In July 1202 he stoutly defended Arques when the French king besieged the city.²⁵⁸ That December he and William Martel were appointed to guard the bailiwicks of Arques and Caux, and he was bailiff of the bailiwicks of la Londe and Caux in 1203.²⁵⁹ On 21 February 1203 he was a witness at Arques to the king's grant of free transit to the men of that town.²⁶⁰ On 11 May 1203 he was instructed to deliver a vill of John de Gisors to Richard de Villequier after the former had abandoned the king's cause.²⁶¹ On 1 September same year he was instructed to help defend Chateau Gaillard at all costs.²⁶² After the capitulation of Arques and the loss of Normandy in the summer of 1204 William remained in France and thereby forfeited his lands in Lincolnshire and Norfolk.²⁶³ Scoulton was granted to his overlord, William de Warenne, earl of Surrey, who granted it back to the original lord of the manor, Robert Mortimer of Attleborough (d. 1216x17), from whom it had been confiscated ten years earlier.²⁶⁴ William's land in Harlaxton followed the same path.²⁶⁵ In December 1204 he was found liable to pay a rent of wine to the Augustinian abbey of St Victor, Paris.²⁶⁶ 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.²⁶⁷

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

Robert de Mortemer (d. 1277), seigneur of Bec. He acquired the hereditary title of constable of Normandy by his marriage to Julienne de Hommet, heiress of La Haye-du-Puits and

²⁵⁶ Thomas Stapleton (ed.), *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normaniae sub Regibus Angliae*, ii (1844), p. 438. Note that Lechevalier has this tax dated to 1184, although he cites the same reference. See A. Lechevalier, *Notice Historique sur les Barons & la Baronie du Bec* (Paris, 1898), p. 5.

²⁵⁷ T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati* (1835), p. 10; Thomas Stapleton (ed.), *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normaniae sub Regibus Angliae*, ii (1844), cclix-cclxi.

²⁵⁸ Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, p. 222.

²⁵⁹ Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, p. 506.

²⁶⁰ Magna Carta Project, <http://magnacarta.cmp.uea.ac.uk/>, quoting B = AN JJ97 (Register of) fo.93r no.351, in an inspeximus December 1366 yr.3. (downloaded 12 April 2019).

²⁶¹ Stapleton (ed.), *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normaniae sub Regibus Angliae*, ii (1844), xxxvii.

²⁶² Vatican, Philip Augustus Register A fo.38v.

²⁶³ Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, i, 6, 15b.

²⁶⁴ Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, vol 1, p. 216; *Cal. Patent Rolls 1225-32*, pp. 190-1.

²⁶⁵ Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, vol 1, p. 15b.

²⁶⁶ Léopold Delisle, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol 24 (1904), p. 272.

²⁶⁷ *Armorial Général de France*, register second, première partie (Paris, 1741), p. 283.

Varenguebec. He had two sons, apparently in continuation of the Mortimer of Attleborough William/Robert naming tradition:

1. **Guillaume de Mortemer** (d. pre-1262), seigneur of 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, Galienne.²⁶⁸
2. **Robert de Mortemer**, seigneur of La Haye-du-Puits. See below.

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

1. **Robert de Mortemer**, seigneur of La Haye-du-Puits. He had a son:
 - a. **Guillaume de Mortemer**, seigneur of La Haye-du-Puits (d. 1317). Died without issue.²⁶⁹
2. **Guillaume de Mortemer**. See below.

Guillaume de Mortemer, seigneur of La Haye-du-Puits. Around 1280, the Armorial Wijnbergen records the arms of one Guillaume de Mortemer as being differenced from those of his elder brother's family by a red bendlet or a baston (*Barry of six, or and vert, semy de fleurs-de-lys countercharged overall a bendlet gules*). Married Jeanne de Beaufou about 1272 and had a son:

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

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

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

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

1. **Guillaume de Mortemer**, seigneur of La Haye-du-Puits. Died without issue.
2. **Jean de Mortemer**, seigneur of La Haye-du-Puits. Captured at Poitiers, 1356, and ransomed. Sold the lordship to his brother-in-law Matthieu Campion in law to pay his ransom.

²⁶⁸ Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime: Cote 18Hp5 (ated 1259). Bec thereafter became Bec-Crespin.

²⁶⁹ The Armorial le Breton (1292x4) shows the same arms for the Norman family undifferenced. Walford's Roll likewise shows the undifferenced arms but states they belonged to Robert [de] Mortemer, presumably the elder brother.

3. Jeanne de Mortemer, married Matthieu Campion *c.* 1325, whose heiress Jeanne Campion married Roger de Briqueville-Bretteville before 1398.

Part 2d

The Mortimers of Preston, Suffolk

In his *Manors of Suffolk*, Copinger states that Mortimer's manor in Preston was held by Sir William Mortimer of Attleborough (d. 1297). This may be correct for, although it does not appear in his IPM, the arms borne by Sir John Mortimer of Preston (see below) are very clearly derived from the Attleborough family's coat of arms. However, there is no clear proof for the identity of the William Mortimer who held the manor in the late thirteenth century.

Sir John Mortimer (d. 1333). He was probably the son of William Mortimer of Attleborough (d. 1297). He made a settlement of the manor in 1333 in conjunction with his wife, Alianora. Copinger states he died in 1333.²⁷⁰ He would appear to have been the father of

- **Sir John Mortimer** (fl. 1335-51). See below.

Sir John Mortimer (fl. 1335-51). In 1335 he acknowledged a debt to Sir Robert de Hemmale.²⁷¹ In 1348 one John son of John Mortimer complained to the king that Thomas Swyft of Preston and others, had broken his close and houses at Claydon, Suffolk, and carried away his goods.²⁷² In 1351 John son of William de Claydon held the manor of Claydon with Thurliston from John Mortimer as part of John Mortimer's manor of [Netherhall in] Otley.²⁷³ That this was the same John Mortimer is indicated by the exchanges with the Cressener family in respect of Netherhall in Otley noted by Copinger.²⁷⁴ In 1351 he sealed an indenture at Lochmaben Castle, Scotland, to the effect that he had handed over £31 13s 4d to the earl of Northampton.²⁷⁵ The seal of this document shows his arms to have been 'a shield of arms with ten fleurs de lys: 4, 3, 2 and 1'. He would appear to have had a daughter who married a member of the Ferrers family, whose daughter married Robert Cressener (d. 1410) to whom the manors of 'Mortimer's' in Preston and Netherhall in Otley passed. It was next inherited by his son William Cressener (1392-1454).²⁷⁶

²⁷⁰ W. A. Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk* (7 vols, 1905-11), iii, p. 83

²⁷¹ TNA: C241/105/329.

²⁷² CPR 1348-50, p. 177.

²⁷³ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ix, no. 562.

²⁷⁴ W. A. Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk* (7 vols, 1905-11), iii, p. 83

²⁷⁵ TNA: DL24/98.

²⁷⁶ W. A. Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk* (7 vols, 1905-11), i, p. 188; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, xix, no. 843.

Part 3a

The Mortimers of Wilsthorpe, Lincolnshire, and Helpston, Northamptonshire



Arms of Thomas Mortimer of Lincolnshire, from his seal on a charter of 1370 in the British Library.



Arms of Hugh Mortimer (d. 1416) from his seal on a charter of 1407 in the British Library

The origins of this family are difficult to trace. The first Mortimer known to have held land in Wilsthorpe was one Robert Mortimer, in 1179-80. However, it is not certain that his estate was *this* Wilsthorpe.²⁷⁷ There were actually two manors called Wilsthorpe in Lincolnshire and three called Woolsthorpe (which are easily confused, given the abbreviated spellings employed in contemporary documents), and of those five, three had Mortimer connections. They are:

1. Wilsthorpe juxta Greatford, in the wapentake of Ness, Lincolnshire, a fee held from Wake family, who held it from the earl of Chester. This is the seat of the family examined here. It was held by the same family from at least 1212 to 1346, as shown below.
2. A half fee in [South] Woolsthorpe in Colsterworth, in the parish of North Witham, Lincs, held of the archbishop of York. This is referred to as 'Wlftthorp' and 'Lopinthorp et in Wime et in Wlffesthor' in 1212, when it was held of the archbishop by Walter de Scurei and Jordan de Lande.²⁷⁸ In 1242 William Mortimer and William de Pointon and the abbot of Billinge held half a fee in 'Nortwyme et Lopinthorp'.²⁷⁹
3. Land in Woolsthorpe, Lincolnshire, listed under the 'lands of the Normans'. In 1237 we read that William Mortimer has £10 of land in Harlaxton and Woolsthorpe and in 1242-3 he had £5 in Harlaxton (with no mention of Woolsthorpe).
4. A fifth of a fee in Wilsthorpe, Lincs, of the fees of Gilbert de Gaunt.

²⁷⁷ I am grateful to Chris Philips for pointing out this problem.

²⁷⁸ *Book of Fees*, p. 183 (bis).

²⁷⁹ *Book of Fees*, p. 1050

5. Land in Woolsthorpe juxta Belvoir, Lincs, held from Belvoir Castle

The last two show no signs of ever having been held by a Mortimer. The second was acquired by William Mortimer of Ingoldsby not long before 1236, on his marriage to Matilda de Beningworth (she being one of the coheireses of Sir William Beningworth: see *Part 3b (the Mortimers of Ingoldsby)*). However, that still leaves the first and the third manors, and the third one was almost certainly in the hands of Robert Mortimer of Attleborough in 1179-80, as it descended to his son William.

Ralph Mortimer probably did have predecessors at Wilsthorpe before 1200. He and Thomas fitz Eustace shared a fee in Wilsthorpe, held by them jointly from Baldwin Wake, who held it of the honour of Chester. Both Ralph and Thomas also held land in Helpston, Northamptonshire. That they both held land in these manors in separate counties can hardly be a coincidence. It is possible that the Mortimers received these as a result of service to Eustace fitz Stephen, Thomas fitz Eustace's father. This Eustace (also known as Eustace de Lisors) made a grant between 1177 and 1193 of

one bovate of land in Wilsthorpe which Pagan brother of Wiwac held, and one toft in Helpston which Symon Lefrere held in *Pertenbala* – also, two silver marks for the marriage of his daughter. These lands Eustace gave to Waleran for his homage and service, and for his claim and right which Waleran claimed in Helpston.²⁸⁰

This grant was witnessed and sealed by Baldwin Wake, the tenant in chief of the manor, from whom Thomas fitz Eustace and Ralph Mortimer later held the fee of Wilsthorpe. In addition, somewhere around 1200, Thomas fitz Eustace granted to

Ralph son of Waleran of Ufford all his land of Helpston in demesnes, homages, services, etc. and all appurtenances in the said vill and outside (saving only free alms which the monks of Croyland have of the said Thomas), and also, for timber, all his wood called Haat, in return for his homage and a bovate of land in Wilsthorpe, which Waleran Becke held, and for 100 silver marks.²⁸¹

If the above reference to Ufford is to a place of residence rather than a hereditary surname (and it should be noted that Ufford is only a mile from the centre of Helpston, and the Mortimers are later recorded to have held land here), it could be that these two grants of land in Wilsthorpe, Lincolnshire, and Helpston, Northamptonshire, were to Waleran Mortimer and his son Ralph Mortimer (d. pre-1234). This would conform with the traditional family naming pattern, which was clearly employed by the Mortimers of Wilsthorpe prior to 1300. In the absence of the name Mortimer, we cannot be entirely sure. Nevertheless, the fact that Thomas fitz Eustace was in possession of his part of Wilsthorpe before 1198 – by which time his predecessors had already made gifts to the abbey of Crowland – suggests Ralph or his ancestors had held land in Wilsthorpe and Helpston before 1198 too.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ Northants Archives F(M) Charter 780.

²⁸¹ Northants Archives F(M) Charter 782.

²⁸² William Farrer, *Honours and Knights' Fees*, ii (1924), pp. 25, 51-2. This was when the abbot of Crowland wrote to him asking him to confirm his ancestors' gifts to that abbey and offering to forego some rent in Wilsthorpe in return. On that occasion Thomas released to the abbot land in Helpston, Northamptonshire.

Ralph Mortimer (d. c. 1216). He was possibly the son of a Waleran [Mortimer], resident at Ufford, who lived prior to 1193, as explained above. In 1212 this Ralph held half a fee in Wilsthorpe juxta Greatford from Baldwin Wake, who held it from the earl of Chester. It is possible that he was also the Ralph Mortimer who held two carucates in Wootton in the same county in chief, which were held from him by Sybil de Valognes.²⁸³ Before 1220 a man of this name witnessed a grant by Ascelina de Waterville of the moiety of two Lincolnshire churches to St Michael's nunnery in Stamford.²⁸⁴ He may have died about 1216 because a tenant of his son, Waleran Mortimer, stated that he had held certain lands in Helpston for eighteen years 'from the same lord' in 1234.²⁸⁵ Ralph's widow Joan survived him, for she still held Wilsthorpe in 1242.²⁸⁶ She was one of the six coheireses of Robert de Salceto, lord of the manor of Eakley in Stoke Goldington, Buckinghamshire, who died in 1235.²⁸⁷ The de Salceto estate was parcelled out to Robert de Salceto's two surviving sisters and four of his nephews, one of whom was Waleran Mortimer, who inherited a sixth of a fee through his mother before 1242-3.²⁸⁸ This sixth of a fee in question was half of Eakley in Buckinghamshire: the other half being held by Robert le Loup or the Wolf.²⁸⁹ Ralph had at least one son:

²⁸³ *Book of Fees*, i, 158, 181. How he came to hold Wootton in chief is unclear. It had been a Domesday manor of Ralph Mortimer and seems to have passed from Ralph to an ancestor of William de Vesci whose daughter married Robert de Ros – but that does not explain how the tenant in chief was not the head of the Mortimer family at Wigmore.

²⁸⁴ *Dugdale (ed.), Monasticon Anglicanum*, iv (1846), p. 262. The identification of this with this Ralph Mortimer of Wilsthorpe rather than his contemporary Ralph Mortimer of Wigmore is due to the geographical location and that the former's descendant Joan Mortimer became a nun here in 1298.

²⁸⁵ Northants Archives F(M) Charter 785.

²⁸⁶ *Book of Fees*, ii, pp. 1051, 1077.

²⁸⁷ M.W. Hughes (ed.), *Calendar of the Feet of Fines for the County of Buckingham*, Buckinghamshire Record Society 4 (1940), p. 69.

²⁸⁸ TNA: C 60/35 membrane 14, no. 107 (1235-6). 'For the heirs of Robert de Salcey . To the keeper of the honour of Peveler . The king has taken the homage of Peter of Goldington , son of the first-born sister of Robert de Salcey and one of his heirs, and of Robert Wolf , son of his second sister and one of his heirs, and of Alan de Rumilly , son of the third sister and one of his heirs, and of Waleran de Mortimer , son of the fourth sister and one of his heirs, and of Simon of Thrupp , who took to wife Mary, the sixth and youngest sister of the same Robert and one of his heirs. Because Adam of Napton , who, as is said, took to wife Agnes, his fifth sister and one of his heirs , is in Ireland and has neither come nor performed homage, order that, having made an extent of all lands formerly of the aforesaid Robert, of which he was seised as of fee on the day he died and which he took into the king's hand by reason of Robert's death, and having assigned each of the six aforesaid heirs their rightful parts of the aforesaid lands, he is to retain in the king's hand the part of the aforesaid Agnes, wife of the aforesaid Adam of Napton, until the king orders otherwise, and to cause each of the five aforesaid heirs to have full seisin of their portions, having first accepted security from them for as much of their relief as pertains to them from three parts of a knight's fee and a sixth part of a knight's fee of the honour of Peveler.'

https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_035.html Downloaded 7 April 2019.

²⁸⁹ *Book of Fees*, i, p. 873.

- **Waleran Mortimer** (d. 1242x3). See below.
- ?Ralph Mortimer. In 1230, a man of this name had protection for service in the company of Baldwin Wake.²⁹⁰

Waleran Mortimer (d. 1242x3). He had land in the manor of Helpston where he had been lord of for eighteen years in 1234.²⁹¹ He also held part of the manor of Eakley in Stoke Goldington, Buckinghamshire, for a sixth of a fee, in 1242-3.²⁹² He must have died about that time, for in 1243 there was a court case for custody of his under-age son and heir, Ralph, between Ralph and Ascelina de Camoys, on the one part, and John Wake on the other.²⁹³

1. **Ralph Mortimer** (fl. 1243-69). See below.
2. ?Agnes Mortimer. She married John de Panton and had a son, Baldwin de Panton (fl. 1307-26). She was specified as the sister of a Ralph Mortimer in a late thirteenth-century grant.²⁹⁴
3. ?Baldwin Mortimer (fl. 1257-85?). He witnessed the grant by Ralph Mortimer to Agnes de Panton (Ralph's sister), so presumably he was of the same family (see below).²⁹⁵ One man of this name – which is otherwise unique across all the Mortimer families – paid for a writ of *novel disseisin* in Oxfordshire in 1257.²⁹⁶ The same name appears as the rector of Little Ponton, south east of Harlaxton, until July 1285, when he resigned his living and his successor was presented by Sir Philip de Ponton.²⁹⁷

Ralph Mortimer (fl. 1243-69). He was under age at the time of his father's death in 1242x3 (see above). He still held the estate in Wilsthorpe juxta Greatford in 1269.²⁹⁸ That he was dead by 1273 is indicated by the inquisition post mortem of Geoffrey Mortimer, which states that on 2 March that year Geoffrey held a sixth of a fee in Buckinghamshire (i.e. Eakley) from the underage

²⁹⁰ CPR 1225-1232, p. 358.

²⁹¹ Northants Archives F(M) Charter 785.

²⁹² Northants Archives F(M) Charter 785; *Book of Fees*, i, p. 873; *Pipe Roll 26 Henry III, 1241-42* (1918), p. 314.

²⁹³ *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries*, iv (1896), p. 215. 'Ralph de Camoys and Ascelina his wife versus Johan Wake — the custody of Ralph son and heir of Waleran de Mortuo Mari. Coram Rege Roll. 28 Hen. III.' <https://archive.org/details/lincolnshirenot01sympgoog/page/n242>

²⁹⁴ Ralph Mortimer granted 'to Agnes his sister and John de Panton and their heirs lawfully begotten nine acres of land and a rood of arable land, and half an acre of meadow in Helpston' (Northants Archives F(M) Charter 832). In 1307, Baldwin, son of John, granted four and half acres of land to Waleran Mortimer (Northants Archives F(M) Charter 835). It is not impossible that she was the sister of the Ralph in the previous generation.

²⁹⁵ Northants Archives F(M) Charter 832.

²⁹⁶ TNA C 60/54 membrane 9 no. 443. Downloaded from <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/> 5 March 2019.

²⁹⁷ Rosalind M. T. Hill (ed.), *The Rolls and Registers of Bishop Oliver Sutton 1280-1299, volume one*, Lincoln Record Society 39 (1948), p. 65.

²⁹⁸ Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. 3, p. 486.

heir of Ralph Mortimer. Geoffrey had been holding it since at least 1265.²⁹⁹ For Geoffrey and his son William, tenants of Eakley, see *Part 3c (the Mortimers of Tholthorpe)*, below.

1. **Sir Waleran Mortimer** (fl. 1275-1315). See below.
2. Ralph Mortimer (fl. 1275-81). It appears that Waleran (fl. 1275-1315) gave an interest in Wilsthorpe to one Ralph Mortimer in about 1275. In that year one Ralph had 5s yearly from the manor.³⁰⁰

Sir Waleran Mortimer (fl. 1275-1315). In 1272 he was in the wardship of Joan, Lady Wake.³⁰¹ As one of the heirs of Ralph Mortimer, he held land in Wilsthorpe juxta Greatford from Baldwin Wake in 1275; elsewhere he is said to have given 8s to the abbot of Brunne and to have held Wilsthorpe [*Wynsthorpe*] from Baldwin Wake, who held it in turn from the abbot of Chester, the tenant in chief.³⁰² In 1278, his part of the manor of Eakley was held from him by William Mortimer, son of Geoffrey, for *half* a knight's fee (not a sixth), and he held it from Baldwin Wake, the tenant in chief.³⁰³ He made a grant of three acres and a rood of arable land in Helpston between 1285 and 1295.³⁰⁴ He was described as a knight in a grant to Thorney Abbey dated 1294.³⁰⁵ Fought with Edward I in Scotland, 1296.³⁰⁶ A grant of land in Helpston was made by Sir Waleran in 1300 and sealed at Wilsthorpe.³⁰⁷ Alienated lands at Ufford, Northants, to the church there, 1306. Acquired lands in Helpston for his sons while they were still under age.³⁰⁸ Described as 'Waleran de Mortimer of Wilsthorpe, knight' in a grant dated 1310, confirming his status.³⁰⁹ He was said to hold a quarter of a knight's fee in Exton, Rutland, from the forfeited estates of Robert the Bruce in 1316 but seems to have died the previous year, when his wife Anabilia was described as a widow.³¹⁰ He settled Wilsthorpe and the lands in Helpston and Exton on his elder son, Ralph, and Eakley on Edmund Mortimer, presumably his younger son.

²⁹⁹ *Cal. Inq. Misc. 1219-1307*, p. 191 (no. 627); *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, p. 61 (no. 84).

³⁰⁰ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, p. 261; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, i, pp. 347, 395.

³⁰¹ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, p. 61 (no. 84).

³⁰² *Rotuli Hundredorum*, i, pp. 344, 345; William Farrer, *Honours and Knights' Fees*, i ((Manchester, 1925), p. 52 (honour of Chokes).

³⁰³ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii, p. 348. He held it in domain for a sixth of a fee in 1303 (*Feudal Aids*, i, p. 105.).

³⁰⁴ Northants Record Office: 208P/026.

³⁰⁵ *CPR 1348-50*, p. 42.

³⁰⁶ 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]*, no. 2101.

³⁰⁷ Northants Archives F(M) Charter 804.

³⁰⁸ 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, Makeseya and Helpston until the heirs of the said Waleran should come to full age.' (Dated to the reign of Edward I.)

³⁰⁹ Hampshire Record Office: 44M/69/C/30.

³¹⁰ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, v, p. 360; Northants Archives F(M) Charter 850.

1. **Ralph Mortimer** (d. 1325). See below.
2. Edmund Mortimer (fl. 1316-46). See *Part 3d: (The Mortimers of Grendon)* below.
3. Joan Mortimer (fl. 1298), a nun at St Michael's Stanford.³¹¹

Ralph Mortimer (d. 1325). Stated in his IPM to be the son of Waleran Mortimer. He held two manors at his death: Exton in Rutland (from the earls of Huntingdon) and Wilsthorpe juxta Greatford in Lincolnshire. The latter manor is spelled out as containing 'a capital messuage, five acres of meadow, ten acres of wood, and 112s yearly rent of free tenants and 9s from 2 cottars' all held for half a knight's fee from Thomas Wake of Liddel.³¹² He had married Agnes by 1310.³¹³ They had at least one son:

1. **Ralph Mortimer** (1311-1349). See below.
2. Thomas Mortimer (fl. 1341). Arrested with his brother Ralph in 1341. See below.

Sir Ralph Mortimer (1311-1349). In 1334 and 1344 he stated that he was the son of Sir Ralph Mortimer and grandson of Waleran.³¹⁴ The manor of Wilsthorpe juxta Greatford seems to have been held during his minority by Osanna, wife of Peter Cullull of Pinchbeck, and Joan, wife of Robert de Clopton: they granted it to him in 1334, by which time he was already married to Joan.³¹⁵ He was arrested for a violent affray with his brother Thomas in 1341, when they beat up Richard de Dounedyk in Greatford.³¹⁶ He held Wilsthorpe juxta Greatford from Baldwin de Wake in 1338 and 1346.³¹⁷ He inherited his father's manor of Exton.³¹⁸ He also held the lands in Helpston in 1347. He was still alive in January 1349 but apparently dead by July, when his wife Joan Mortimer was enfeoffed with certain lands in her own right.³¹⁹ As his widow, Joan made a grant to Hugh de Sulgrave and Joan her daughter in 1353.³²⁰ They had at least three sons and two daughters:

³¹¹ *A catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1867), p. 272.

³¹² *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, vi, pp. 396-7.

³¹³ Northants Archives F(M) Charters 843 and 845; CP 25/1/175/63, number 77.

³¹⁴ Northants Record Office: F(M) Charter/870, 888.

³¹⁵ TNA: CP 25/1/138/103, number 9; Northants Record Office: F(M) Charter/1803, dated at York in the three weeks after Easter 1334.

³¹⁶ Bernard William McLane (ed.), *The 1341 Royal Inquest in Lincolnshire*, Lincoln Record Society 78 (1988), pp. 35, 60.

³¹⁷ *Cal. Patent Rolls 1338*, p. 42; *Feudal Aids*, iii, p. 200. That this was the same Wilsthorpe that the Mortimers had held since before 1212 is made clear by the fact that it was held for one fee from Baldwin Wake in conjunction with Thomas fitz Eustance.

³¹⁸ *VCH Rutland*.

³¹⁹ Northants Record Office: F(M) Charter/888, 890, 894. *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ix (1916), no. 219.

³²⁰ Northants Archives F(M) Charter 899.

1. **John Mortimer** (fl. 1350-53). He inherited the manor of Wilsthorpe juxta Greatford.³²¹ In 1353 he held a moiety of a knight's fee in Ufford, Northamptonshire, from the earl of Kent.³²² He probably had at least one son:
 - a. John Mortimer (fl. 1411?). In 1402 Wilsthorpe was in the hands of the duchy of Lancaster, presumably due to the forfeiture of the duke of Kent.³²³ However, the half fee in Ufford was still held by John Mortimer in 1411, from the dowager countess of Kent.³²⁴ He was probably a son of John Mortimer (fl. 1350-3): he would have been about eighty years of age if the same man.
2. **Thomas Mortimer** (fl. 1353-70?). See below.
3. Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1353).³²⁵
4. Joan Mortimer (fl. 1353-1408), married Hugh de Sulgrave (fl. 1353-88) in or before 1353.
5. Anne Mortimer (fl. 1353-86), married Richard Balderton (fl. 1386).

Thomas Mortimer of Helpston (fl. 1353-70?). In 1353 he and his brother Hugh witnessed their mother's grant to their sister Joan in 1353. He or his son of the same name appears in 1370 with Sir Edward le Despenser in a settlement of the manor of Shellingthorpe.³²⁶ He or his son is described as 'of Lincolnshire' in a 1370 charter, which shows his seal and arms, *a fess in chief three mullets*.³²⁷ In 1408 Thomas's sisters, Joan and Anne, granted the land they had inherited from their father, Ralph, to two of their nephews, sons of this Thomas (Thomas and Hugh). He married Sarah and was buried in Chichester Cathedral.

1. **Thomas Mortimer** (fl. 1377-1429). Acquired lands in Helpston with his brother Hugh in or before 1377).³²⁸ Either he or a son of the same name was the life tenant of the manor

³²¹ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ix, no. 219.

³²² *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, x, no. 46 (earl of Kent)

³²³ *Feudal Aids*, iii, p. 252.

³²⁴ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, xix, no. 874.

³²⁵ Northants Archives F(M) Charter 899.

³²⁶ TNA: CP 25/1/141/133 no. 12. The *History of Parliament* says of his son, Hugh Mortimer (d. 1416), 'There is no doubt... that his branch of the family was closely connected with the Despensers, and the first known record of Hugh dates from March 1375 when he and his brother, Michael, were mustered for service in Brittany in the retinue of the then Lord Despenser, Edward. This lord, who died before the end of the year, clearly made a deep impression on young Mortimer, who in his will drafted 40 years later to ask to be buried near his tomb. It is unclear whether the next 20 years in the employment of the young heir, Thomas, but certainly on 10 Sept. 1394 he took out royal letters of protection as going to Ireland in his retinue.

³²⁷ W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum* (6 vols, 1887-92), volume 3, p. 284.

³²⁸ 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 Helpston 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 [*siz*] Balderton - also a messuage and 40 acres of meadow in Estdepyng in a place called Walran Park, together with an annual

- of Great Houghton in 1435.³²⁹ A writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued in respect of one Thomas Mortimer Esq of Lincolnshire in 1444. One Alice Mortimer was in receipt of £10 a year for life from the income of Little Weldon, Northants, in 1465.³³⁰
2. Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1375, d. 1416). Lord of the manor of Weldon, Northamptonshire. MP for Gloucestershire, 1397. Fought at Shrewsbury, 1403. Chamberlain of Prince Henry, 1403-11. Chamberlain, duchy of Lancaster, 1413-16. Treasurer of the Exchequer, 1416. He refers to his parents Thomas and Sarah in his will. His seal is extant in the British Library on a charter from 1407. The arms are described in the catalogue as *two bars in chief three pierced mullets*.³³¹ He married twice, having two children. See *History of Parliament* for full biography.
 - a. Constantine Mortimer (fl. 1407, d. pre-1416).³³²
 - b. Margaret Mortimer (d. 1429). She first married John, son of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, and, second, John Skelton Esq. but died without children in July 1429, when her heir was her uncle, Thomas Mortimer, as noted in her IPM.³³³
 3. ?Michael Mortimer (fl. 1376). Soldier serving in the army in France with his brother Hugh. He is mentioned in the entry for Hugh Mortimer (d. 1416) in the *History of Parliament*; however it is not clear what their source was.

rent of nine marks: And the said John shall lease to the said Hue and Thomas the messuage 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).

³²⁹ Northants Archives F(M) Charter 937; TNA: CP 25/1/179/94 no. 79.

³³⁰ CCR 1461-8, p. 213

³³¹ *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum* (6 vols, 1892), volume 3, p. 282.

³³² For Constantine's death, see *History of Parliament*. For his being alive in 1407, see the settlement of his father's moiety of a manor of Wyche and Wychbaud, Worcs, TNA: CP 25/1/260/26 no. 21.

³³³ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, xxiii, p. 254.

Part 3b

The Mortimers of Ingoldsby, Lincolnshire

The inheritance of the overlordship of the manor of Wootton in Lindsey, which passed from a Ralph Mortimer to a William Mortimer between 1212 and 1242, suggests this family may descend from Ralph Mortimer of Wilsthorpe, who died before 1234 (possibly in 1216). William Mortimer of Ingoldsby is one of only two known William Mortimers recorded as the head of a family in 1242; that it was not the other (William Mortimer of Attleborough) is shown by the fact that his predecessor as lord was Ralph, not Robert. In this context it is perhaps significant that Roger Mortimer, son and heir of William Mortimer of Ingoldsby, was living in Lindsey – where Wootton is situated – in 1279.

It is worth also taking note of the joint tenure by Ralph Mortimer of Wilsthorpe and Thomas fitz Eustace of a shared inheritance in Wilsthorpe and Helpston (see *Part 3a (the Mortimers of Wilsthorpe)*). Thomas also held ten bovates of land in Casewick and two bovates in Pointon (which his father, Eustace de Lisours, had acquired from Robert de Chokes in the reign of Henry II). Pointon is close to Ingoldsby, where William Mortimer held land. It is possible that Ralph Mortimer of Wilsthorpe or his father may also have received lands in the Pointon area from Eustace.

William Mortimer (fl. 1236-42). He married Matilda, the daughter of Sir William Beningworth (d. 1236x42).³³⁴ In 1236 they took her father to court to regain a tenement, meadow and wood in Lobthorpe or Lopingthorpe, Lincolnshire. The jurors stated that her father had granted her the land on the occasion of her first marriage but then when she had married William Mortimer against his will, he had disseised them of it. The father was found to be in the wrong and was fined two marks, and they received back their land.³³⁵ The case suggests they had not long been married in 1236. That same year William reached an agreement with Thomas de Somerby (*Sumedebby*) regarding three carucates of land and 48s of rent in Ingoldsby.³³⁶ He was possibly the William Mortimer who was tenant in chief of Wootton in Lindsey, Lincolnshire, in 1242, which had previously been held by a Ralph Mortimer – Ralph Mortimer of Wilsthorpe (d. c. 1216) being the most likely contender. William certainly held the manor of South Woolsthorpe – otherwise known as ‘Woolsthorpe by Colsterworth’ or ‘Lobthorp and Woolsthorpe’ – in that year.³³⁷ In 1250 one ‘William son of William Mortimer of Ingoldsby’ vouched to warrant the

³³⁴ She was the sister and coheir of her brother Sir Geoffrey Beningworth (fl. 1246). See *The Genealogist*, vol. 17, p. 89.

³³⁵ Claire de Trafford, ‘The Contract of Marriage: the maritagium from the eleventh to the thirteenth century’ (University of Leeds PhD thesis, 1999), p.90.

³³⁶ *Abstracts of Final Concords temp. Richard I, John and Henry III*, Lincolnshire Records vol. 1 (1896), p.296.

³³⁷ *Book of Fees*, p. 1050.

claim of Walter de Sapreton and Cecily his wife to 1½ bovates of land in Ingoldsby but this does not necessarily relate to this man (it could relate to an uncle of the same name, for example).³³⁸ He died before June 1258, when his widow reached an agreement with her relatives the de Chauncy family and John de Bath about the settlement of the manors of Nun Monkton and *Sandwath* in Yorkshire and the advowson of Nun Monkton; the de Chauncys and the Mortimers were to receive in addition the manors of Beningworth, Bamburgh, Billingham and Walcot in Lincolnshire and the advowson of Scrafield after John de Bath's death.³³⁹ Matilda was still alive in 1265, when the manor of South Woolsthorpe was described as being held 'of her inheritance'. William had at least one son:

3. **Roger Mortimer** (fl. 1272-84). See below.

Roger Mortimer (fl. 1272-84). In 1279 he was described as 'living in Lindsey', when he held a knight's fee from Letitia de Reynes in Billingborough (Lincolnshire) and Monkton and *Sandwath*, Yorkshire.³⁴⁰ In 1272 Roger and his wife Dionisia his wife held a toft in Dunsby from the Master of the Knights Templar, for which they paid a rent of 5s.³⁴¹ He held six bovates of land in Walcott and Billingham, which were held of him by Ralph de Goushill in 1273 and his father Peter Goushill before him.³⁴² Ralph de Goushill also held of him 5/8 of a fee in Market Stainton, Lincolnshire, in that year. In 1279 he presented a clerk to the rectory of Dunsby, renouncing his claim before the presentation was confirmed.³⁴³ He reached a settlement with Roger of Ingoldsby for 37 acres in Ingoldsby in 1284, where he is described as the son of William Mortimer.³⁴⁴ He also held lands from the archbishop of York. He and Dionisia had at least one son:

1. **William Mortimer** (fl. 1291-1330). See below.

³³⁸ Given that this William's great-grandson was married by 1305 and thus probably born before 1290, the man in question could not be a son of this William. Therefore it either relates to this man or an uncle of the same name. See *Final Concords of the County of Lincoln 1244-1272*, Lincolnshire Records Soc. (Horncastle, 1920), p. 79.

³³⁹ *Final Concords of the County of Lincoln 1244-1272*, Lincolnshire Records Soc. (Horncastle, 1920), p. 285 (no. 346).

³⁴⁰ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, p. 187 (no. 320). See also Harry Speight, *Nidderdale, from Nun Monkton to Wherside* (1906), p. 17. That it was this Roger Mortimer is made clear by the next entry in Speight's book, which relates to the claim of William de Chauncy, a coheir of the Beningworth family, who held a messuage in Monkton, Yorkshire, in 1281.

³⁴¹ *Final Concords of the County of Lincolnshire 1244-1272*, Lincolnshire Record Soc. (1920), no. 49.

³⁴² *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, iii, no. 209.

³⁴³ F. N. Davis (ed.), *Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, episcopi Lincolniensis, 1258-1279*, Lincoln Record Society 20 (1925), p. 86.

³⁴⁴ CP 25/1/133/58, number 55.

William Mortimer (fl. 1291-1330), lord of the manors of Ingoldsby and Dunsby. In 1298 he did homage to the official of the archbishop of York for his holdings: four bovates of land in Twyford, one carucate of land in Lobthorpe and three carucates of land in Woolsthorpe,³⁴⁵ He married Alice (fl. 1294). He held half a fee in Dunsby and Brauncewell in 1303, which Alexander de Cressi had previously held (in 1242) as part of the honour of William Bardolf.³⁴⁶ In 1310 he was in a court case about the right of presentation to Beningworth, stating therein that he was the son of Roger Mortimer and the grandson of Matilda de Beningworth. In 1313 Philip Despenser died, at which time he held two parts of the manor of Market Stainton from William (for a third of a fee) and a capital messuage, eighty acres of arable, six acres of meadow, wood and rent from him in Lobthorpe.³⁴⁷ In 1320 he held half a fee in Woolsthorpe by Colsterworth.³⁴⁸ In 1330 he held half a fee in Dunsby and Brauncewell from Thomas Bardolf.³⁴⁹

1. **Robert Mortimer** (fl. 1305-69?). See below.

2. ?Alexander Mortimer (fl. 1297-1335). He was presented by William Mortimer to the living of Scrafield, part of William's grandmother's inheritance, in 1297, he then being a clerk in minor orders. He remained rector of Scrafield until he died, shortly before 19 October 1335.³⁵⁰

Robert Mortimer of Ingoldsby (fl. 1305-pre-1335) married Edusa (fl. 1305-35). Stated to be the son of William in his father's settlement of the manors of Ingoldsby and Dunsby in 1305. He died before 17 May 1335, when a priest was commissioned to hear Edusa's will.³⁵¹

Robert Mortimer of Ingoldsby (fl. 1341-69) married Margaret (fl. 1341). In 1346 he held half a fee in Dunsby and Brauncewell (Lincolnshire), which William previously held (i.e. in 1303).³⁵² In August 1349 the late Margaret de Ros held a messuage, eighty acres of arable, six acres of

³⁴⁵ *The Register of John le Romeyn, lord archbishop of York, 1286-96*. Surtees Society, cxxviii (1917), p. 256.

³⁴⁶ *Feudal Aids*, iii, p. 155; *Book of Fees*, ii, p. 1024.

³⁴⁷ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, v, p.. 267.

³⁴⁸ *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers*, vol. 13, part 1 (1875), p. 21.

³⁴⁹ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, vii, p. 181.

³⁵⁰ Rosalind M. T. Hill (ed.), *The Rolls and Registers of Bishop Oliver Sutton 1280-1299, volume one*, Lincoln Record Society 39 (1948), p. 216; Nicholas Bennett (ed), *The Registers of Bishop Henry Burghersh 1320-1342, volume one*, Lincoln Record 87 (1999), i, p. 40.

³⁵¹ Nicholas Bennett, *Lincolnshire Parish Clergy, c. 1214-1968: a biographical register, Part 1a*, Lincoln Record Society 103 (2013), p. 169.

³⁵² *Feudal Aids*, iii, p. 206.

meadow, six acres of wood and £1 yearly rent in Lobthorpe from the heir of William Mortimer.³⁵³ In 1369 he was the patron of the rectory of Ingoldsby.³⁵⁴

The family apparently died out in the male line in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century when Anne Mortimer, daughter of **Ralph Mortimer** of Woolsthorpe, married Thomas Sleaford, who inherited Woolsthorpe and later quartered the Mortimer arms with his own.³⁵⁵ The manor house later passed to the Newton family and was the birthplace of Sir Isaac Newton.

³⁵³ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ix (1916), no. 216.

³⁵⁴ Nicholas Bennett, *Lincolnshire Parish Clergy, c. 1214-1968: a biographical register, Part 1a*, Lincoln Record Society 103 (2013), p. 305.

³⁵⁵ *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers*, vol. 13, part 1 (1875), p. 21; *The Visitation of the County of Lincoln in 1562-4* (1881), p. 116.

Part 3c

The Mortimers of Tholthorpe, Yorkshire

Little is known about this family. They were in some way connected to the Mortimers of Wilsthorpe, as they held Eakley in Buckinghamshire from them and both families held lands from the Wake family, but little more than that can be said. One Geoffrey Mortimer appears as the son of Robert Mortimer selling land in the Mortimer of Attleborough manor of Barnham Broom in the thirteenth century, but there is nothing to say he was the same Geoffrey Mortimer.

Geoffrey Mortimer (d. 1271). He was possibly the son of a Robert Mortimer connected with the Attleborough line of the family. Two undated thirteenth-century conveyances to a Geoffrey Mortimer, son of Robert Mortimer, sell him land in Barnham Broom, Norfolk (a manor belonging to William Mortimer of Attleborough).³⁵⁶ He might have been the Geoffrey Mortimer excommunicated in December 1251 – for what offence is not recorded.³⁵⁷ It was definitely this Geoffrey who received a writ *ad terminum* relating to his lands in Yorkshire – Tholthorpe – in 1262.³⁵⁸ He held a capital messuage in Eakley in Stoke Goldington, Bucks, in 1265, being then of the household of Baldwin Wake.³⁵⁹ This was held from the under-age heirs of Ralph Mortimer of Wilsthorpe (see *Part 3a (the Mortimers of Wilsthorpe)*, below) at the time of his death. Before 1248 he married Sybil, who, after Geoffrey's death, held a quarter fee in Tholthorpe, Yorkshire, from Baldwin Wake, Geoffrey's son William holding the other quarter fee.³⁶⁰ He died at Michaelmas 1271, leaving a son and heir.³⁶¹

4. **William Mortimer** (fl. 1271-97). *See below.*

³⁵⁶ 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).

³⁵⁷ F.N. Davis (ed.), *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, episcopi Lincolniensis, 1235-1253*, Lincoln Record Society 11 (1914), p. 506.

³⁵⁸ TNA C 60/59 membrane 12 no. 416. Downloaded from <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/> 5 March 2019.

³⁵⁹ *Cal. Inq. Misc. 1219-1307*, p. 191 (no. 627).

³⁶⁰ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* vol. 1, p. 191; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, p. 260.

³⁶¹ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem, Edward I*, ii, no. 84 (p. 61).

William Mortimer (fl. 1271-97). Specified as his father's heir in Geoffrey's IPM (1273), when he was said to be twenty-five. He was in possession of Eakley in 1275.³⁶² He held half of Eakley for half a fee from Waleran Mortimer of Wilsthorpe in 1278.³⁶³ He also held a quarter fee in Tholthorpe, Yorks, from Baldwin Wake when Baldwin died in 1281.³⁶⁴ His holdings in Tholthorpe in 1284x6 amounted to 2 carucates and three bovates held from the Earl Marshall, and three bovates from Baldwin Wake.³⁶⁵ He was still alive in 1297 as he owed a debt in that year.³⁶⁶ He had probably died by 1301, when William de Barneby and Walter de Stokesby held the manor of Tholthorpe, probably in right of their wives, one of whom was called Joan (married to de Stokesby).³⁶⁷ The likelihood is therefore that Tholthorpe passed to his daughters and Eakley reverted back to the Mortimers of Wilsthorpe.

³⁶² *Rotuli Hundredorum*, i, pp. 38, 45.

³⁶³ *VCH Buckinghamshire*.

³⁶⁴ *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, ii, p. 260.

³⁶⁵ Farrer, *Yorkshire Charters*, ix (the Stuteville Fee), p. 184, quoting *Feudal Aids*, vi, p. 60.

³⁶⁶ TNA: C 241/30/72.

³⁶⁷ *VCH North Riding*, vol. 2..

Part 3d

The Mortimers of Grendon, Northamptonshire



Although the Mortimers of Grendon were descended from the Mortimers of Wilsthorpe, as shown by the later succession of Eakley, they bore different arms. The Mortimers of Grendon bore *Ermine, on a fess, azure, three crosses moline, or*. These arms were quartered by their descendant Sir Christopher Hatton in the reign of Elizabeth. The reason for the difference is a mystery.

The small manor of Grendon was held in chief with that of Yardley in the twelfth century by David, earl of Huntingdon, whom the Mortimers of Attleborough served for many years in both England and Scotland. This was granted to Baldwin de Panton and his heirs in the thirteenth century. By 1255 it had passed to James de Panton and then to his son Philip de Panton., who held it in 1284 from John de Hastings (according to *VCH*). Philip's daughter Maud married John Harrington of Harrington, Lincs, before 1287, and thus John de Harrington was in possession by 1313. His grandson Sir John Harrington (d. 1376) was lord by 1329. The last-named left two daughters as his coheireses: Amy, who married John Carnell, and Isabel, the wife of Hugh Fairfax. *VCH* notes that the Carnell inheritance may have passed to Amy's son William but that by 1403 it was in the hands of Sir Thomas Brownflete, who had a grant of free warren of all his demesne lands in Grendon that year. By 1406, it had come to John Mortimer, as mentioned below.

Interestingly, the first Mortimer recorded to have been at Grendon was Walter Mortimer, a hundred years earlier. In 1325 'Walter Mortimer of Grendon' and Joan his wife made a settlement of eighteen messuages and 8 tofts and a carucates and 8½ acres of land in Grendon with William Raven, chaplain of Grendon, 'to hold of the chief lords forever'. The heirs were the heirs of their bodies; then Robert de la Dale and Agnes his wife and the heirs of their bodies; and finally the heirs general of Walter.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁸ TNA: CP 25/1/176/71 no. 482. It is likely that the same Walter also held land in Temesford, Bedfordshire, in 1318. See TNA: CP 25/1/4/47 no. 7. He appears in *CCR 1327-30*, p. 572, when he acknowledged a debt to Walter de Peusesy with two other Grendon men in October 1329. Blomefield

Edmund Mortimer (fl. 1316-46), was the son of Sir Waleran Mortimer of Wilsthorpe (fl. 1275-1315): his half of Eakley, which he held in 1303, was held in 1316 and 1346 by Edmund for the sixth part of a fee, and it is made clear that Waleran previously held it.³⁶⁹ On this basis of this tenure of Eakley, it is likely that he was the father of Lawrence Mortimer. If so, he must have married Petronilla de Paveley, a distant cousin, as her mother Agnes was the granddaughter of Robert the Wolf, who held Eakley together with Waleran Mortimer of Wilsthorpe (d. 1242x3?).

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

Lawrence Mortimer (fl. 1359-61). He granted lands in Eakley, Stoke Goldington, in 1359.³⁷⁰ In 1361 as 'Lawrence Mortimer of Zickerlee', he received a grant from John de Nowers junior, lord of Gothurst, of further land in 'Zickerlee' [Eakley].³⁷¹ However, not much is known about the Mortimer family of Eakley in the fourteenth century. However, we do now that Lawrence Mortimer had a son and heir John Mortimer.

1. **John Mortimer** (d. 1446).

John Mortimer (d. 1446), MP. Lord of the manor of Grendon, Northants, and Eakley in Stoke Goldington, Bucks. Named as the son and heir of Lawrence Mortimer in a 1397x8 suit with Thomas Culpeper to regain the manor of Asshen, in which he also identifies his paternal grandmother as Petronilla de Paveley.³⁷² Likewise named as the son and heir of Lawrence Mortimer in releasing his right in the Northamptonshire manor of Ashton Pury in 1410.³⁷³ He acquired Grendon by 1406, perhaps by marriage: he married Agnes before Easter 1407. In 1413, 'there was a commission of enquiry about housebreaking and assault at Grendon' on his behalf, according to *VCH*. He was escheator of Rutland and Northants in 1415-16. Verderer of the royal forest of Rockingham, Northants, to 3 Feb 1433. Forester of the royal forest of Salcey, Northants. to 28

records that one Walter Mortimer and his wife Julian held land in Raveningham in Norfolk in 1281, which connects him the name to the Mortimers of Attleborough, but it is unlikely that this is the same Walter Mortimer.

³⁶⁹ *Feudal Aids*, i, pp. 105, 131. Note that on p. 73 of the same volume William Mortimer is said to hold half of Eakley in 1284x6 from 'Edmund Mortimer'. This is surely a mistake for Waleran who held it both before and later. The scribe may have become confused as Edmund Mortimer of Wigmore appears elsewhere in the same document.

³⁷⁰ TNA: C143/332/19.

³⁷¹ Northants Record Office: NPL/021.

³⁷² *The Genealogist* (1898), p. 252, quoting a De Banco roll of 21 Richard II, mem. 391. Petronilla de Paveley was the daughter of Agnes, who was the daughter of John, son of Robert le Loup or the Wolf and John's wife Emma.

³⁷³ TNA: E326/126.

Nov. 1440; verderer until he died. Appears in *Feudal 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). Possessed land in Eakley, Stoke Goldington, Lathebury and Checheley (Buckinghamshire) and Bosizate (Northamptonshire), as well as Grendon and the manor of Horton.³⁷⁴ He first married Joan atte Hill.³⁷⁵ Their only daughter, Agnes Mortimer, on whom Eakley was settled as an inheritance, married Baldwin Willoughby in 1458, and their son John (fl. 1514) inherited Grendon.³⁷⁶ John Mortimer secondly married Anne Longeville, daughter of Sir George Longeville of Little Billing (d. 1458), MP, and by her had daughters Eleanor and Joan, who married respectively William Holdenby and John Holdenby, brothers). *VCH Northamptonshire* states that ‘At the end of the century Baldwin and John Willoughby had to defend their rights in Grendon against William and John Holdenby, the husbands of Eleanor and Joan the half-sisters of Agnes Willoughby. These were finally secured to John Willoughby and his son Richard in 1514.’ William Holdenby and Eleanor Mortimer (d. 1512) had a daughter Elizabeth Holdenby, who married Henry Hatton of Holdenby (d. 1511) in 1479. Their son, John Hatton of Holdenby, was the father of William Hatton (1510-1546), who was the father of the famous Elizabethan courtier Sir Christopher Hatton (1540-1591), the builder of Holdenby Hall.³⁷⁷ Thus Sir Christopher Hatton’s coat of arms contains a quartering of the arms of Mortimer of Grendon.

³⁷⁴ TNA: C 1/97/80; *VCH Northants*, under ‘Horton’.

³⁷⁵ *History of Parliament*, under his father’s entry.

³⁷⁶ *VCH Northamptonshire*, quoting *Feet of Fines*. case 22, file 124, no. 98; *Early Chan. Proc.* bdles. 97, no. 80; 179, no. 5. See also TNA: CP 25/1/29373 no. 437, dated 1459, which describes Eakley and the rents arising from her inheritance in Stoke Goldington (Bucks), and Grendon, Little Doddington and Bosizate (Northants).

³⁷⁷ John Paul Rylands (ed.) *Visitation of Cheshire 1580* (1882), p. 115.

Part 4

The Mortimers of Coedmore, Cardiganshire

It is probable that the Mortimers of Coedmore descended from the early Mortimers of Wigmore. Roger Mortimer of Coedmore was described by a petitioner in about 1330 as a kinsman of the earl of March.³⁷⁸ In addition, the early references to Henry Mortimer holding land in Herefordshire suggest a Wigmore connection. Even more significantly, the Coedmore line of the family is mentioned several times in the 'Narberth' section of the cartulary of the Mortimers of Wigmore. Item no. 13 for example 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'.³⁷⁹ However, the arms of the Mortimers of Coedmore are totally unlike those of the Wigmore family. They are described variously as 'gules, two lions rampant or, armed and langued' or 'vert, a lion rampant argent, armed and langued gules'.³⁸⁰ The *lion rampant* is a familiar heraldic emblem among the Mortimers of Scotland. It is also a common design among other Cardiganshire families. As a result, it is uncertain that the family descends from Roger Mortimer of Wigmore (1215), who would have borne the familiar *barry of six, or and azure* arms. They might descend from him and have changed their arms in the thirteenth century – as several families did, such as the Mortimers of Richard's Castle and those of Grendon – but the doubts remain.

Note that the genealogy of this family is somewhat sketchy, due to the visitation made in 1588 by Lewis Dwnn 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 (fl. 1242-50). 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. No other evidence of an earlier Henry has yet come to light in England (only in Normandy: see *Part 2c (the Mortimers of Bec)*). However, it may be 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

³⁷⁸ *Cal. Patent Rolls 1327-30*, p. 436.

³⁷⁹ British Library Harley MS 1240 (The Black Book of Wigmore), folio XV (modern pencil mark, folio 21).

³⁸⁰ 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*.

Henry would probably have been born in the 1190s, and was possibly an unrecorded son of Roger Mortimer of Wigmore or his cousin, William Mortimer, son of William. The pipe roll of 1241-2 notes that the heirs of Amauri de St Amand owed Henry Mortimer 20s in respect of lands in Herefordshire and Wales; a man of the same name owed the sheriff 20s that year in Hampshire.³⁸¹ In September 1250, the king ordered the sheriff of Herefordshire to place in respite the 6s owed by one Henry Mortimer to the Exchequer, and to return the livestock taken from him for this debt, to him.³⁸² As noted above, Henry had a son and heir:

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

Roger Mortimer (fl. 1268-84) of West Wales, or 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 1284.³⁸³ 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.'³⁸⁴ The pedigree drawn up by Lewis Dwnn in 1588 states that 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, and that she was dead by that year.³⁸⁵

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)).³⁸⁶ It is further confirmed by a 1313 writ to Roger Mortimer, justice of Wales,³⁸⁷ 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

³⁸¹ *Great Roll of the Pipe, 26 Henry III, 1241-2* (1918), pp. 163, 272.

³⁸² TNA: C 60:47 membrane 3 no. 698. Downloaded from <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/> 5 March 2019.

³⁸³ *Cal. Charter Rolls* ii, p. 281.

³⁸⁴ <http://www.glen-johnson.co.uk/coedmore-mansion/> Downloaded 28 August 2018.

³⁸⁵ *Cal. Inq. Misc. 1307-48*, p. 172.

³⁸⁶ British Library Harley MS 1240 (The Black Book of Wigmore), folio XV (modern pencil mark, folio 21).

³⁸⁷ *Cal. Inq. Misc. 1307-48*, p. 172.

Wales, refused to do justice, and delivered the tenements to a Roger Mortimer, his kinsman, without process of law.³⁸⁸

Llewelyn Mortymer exchanged the estate at Gene'r-Glyn with Geoffrey Clement for Coedmore.³⁸⁹ He was pardoned for all homicides he had committed in 1302. According to the above petition, 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.³⁹⁰ He married Gwenllian, daughter of Einon Fawr of the Wood.³⁹¹ 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.³⁹² He witnessed a gift of half a

³⁸⁸ TNA: SC8/89/4450.

³⁸⁹ Thomas Nicholls, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (2 vols, 1872), i, p. 169.

³⁹⁰ *Cal. Patent Rolls 1327-30*, p. 436.

³⁹¹ Thomas Nicholls, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (2 vols, 1872), i, p. 169.

³⁹² <https://www.medievalsoldier.org/dbsearch/> quoting TNA:, C76/68, m. 25.

burgage in Cardigan in 1396.³⁹³ He served as mayor of Cardigan in 1418.³⁹⁴ 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.³⁹⁵

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.³⁹⁶ He was deputy constable of Cardigan Castle in 1442.³⁹⁷ In 1446 he received a general pardon for all offences committed before 1441.³⁹⁸ 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 1480.³⁹⁹ 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.⁴⁰⁰ 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 1545.⁴⁰¹
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.

³⁹³ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 151.

³⁹⁴ <http://www.glen-johnson.co.uk/mayors-of-cardigan/> downloaded 28 August 2018.

³⁹⁵ TNA: SC6/1223/6 mmem. 2.

³⁹⁶ TNA: E101/46/20, no. 2, m. 1.

³⁹⁷ TNA: SC6/1162/1.

³⁹⁸ 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.

³⁹⁹ TNA: SC6/1225/8.

⁴⁰⁰ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 69.

⁴⁰¹ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 264.

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.⁴⁰² In 1499 a Richard Mortimer received a tenement in Cardigan from Maurice Madoc.⁴⁰³ And in 1514 a Richard Mortimer served as mayor of Cardigan. 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 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:⁴⁰⁴

4. David Mortimer (fl. 1553), clerk.
5. Hugh Mortimer
6. William Mortimer
7. Sage Mortimer (fl. 1503-1553), who married James ab Ievan ap Jankyn.⁴⁰⁵ She was a widow by 7 November 1553, when she passed her property in Bridge Street, Cardigan, to her son, Nicholas James.⁴⁰⁶

James Mortimer (d. 1560).⁴⁰⁷ Described as lord of Coedmore in 1542 and 1547.⁴⁰⁸ 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

⁴⁰² 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).

⁴⁰³ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 73.

⁴⁰⁴ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 134.

⁴⁰⁵ 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.

⁴⁰⁶ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 93.

⁴⁰⁷TNA: WARD7/8/66; C142/274/27.

⁴⁰⁸ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, files 78-80.

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 to be the David Mortimer who resided at Castell Malgwyn from 1584.⁴⁰⁹ 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.⁴¹⁰
 - 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 1602.⁴¹¹ 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)

⁴⁰⁹ National Library of Wales, Noyadd Trefawr Estate Records, file 319.

⁴¹⁰ Francis Green (ed.), *West Wales Historical Records*, viii (Carmarthen, 1921), p. 119.

⁴¹¹ <http://www.glen-johnson.co.uk/mayors-of-cardigan/> downloaded 28 August 2018.

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.⁴¹²

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 Abernantbychan, in 1614-15. His heir was John Mortimer, who married Catherine Pugh, whose descendants flourish to this day.

⁴¹² TNA: C2/Jas1/U2/33.

Part 5

The Mortimers of Cliffe, Kent

This is one of the most obscure Mortimer families. Principally it is known from Hugh Mortimer, a very eminent ecclesiastical official in the mid thirteenth century. Nothing is known of the Mortimers in Kent before his appearance there, through his service to the archbishop; it would appear he was drawn there on account of his work and then bought property which he left to his family. Where they came from originally is not known. Nor is it clear what arms they bore. In 1333, at the Dunstable tournament, one John Mortimer bore *azure florite d'argent* and it is possible that this was the John Mortimer who was head of the family in the late 1330s; if so, the *fleurs de lys* scattering suggests a descent from the Mortimers of Attleborough.⁴¹³ However, this could be another John Mortimer altogether.

The identity of the founder of this family is not known. He had at least two sons:

1. **William Mortimer.** See below.
2. Master Hugh Mortimer (d. 1275). According to Canon Scott Robinson, he was a graduate of Oxford University.⁴¹⁴ He first appears as Master Hugh Mortimer, Official of the archbishop-elect of Canterbury in January 1244, concerning the king's appeal against the appointment of the archbishop at Rome. Later he served as Vicar-General of the diocese and its chancellor. In 1262 he was on the king's service in France.⁴¹⁵ He was appointed archdeacon of Canterbury in 1269 and also was a prebendary of St Paul's, London. In 1254 he is described as the rector of Cliffe, Orpington and Godmersham.⁴¹⁶ He obtained a royal grant of the right to hold a fair at Cliffe in 1257.⁴¹⁷ In 1267 he and his nephew William were seised of a messuage and 300 acres of land at North Benchesham, in the parish of Croydon, Surrey.⁴¹⁸ He was described as the deputy of Boniface of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury in 1268.⁴¹⁹ The manors of Cliffe and Orpington were in the lordship of the monks of Christ Church Canterbury; with income from these places he bought land to endow a chantry he built at Orpington. He died in October 1275, when his heir was his nephew, William Mortimer.

⁴¹³ *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* (8 vols, 1834-43), iv, p. 391

⁴¹⁴ Scott Robinson 'The Rectors of Cliffe at Hoo', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xv (1883), pp. 219-21.

⁴¹⁵ *CCR 1258-66*, pp. 210, 243, 738.

⁴¹⁶ Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library: DCc-ChAnt/C/283.

⁴¹⁷ *CCbR*, 1226-57, p. 472

⁴¹⁸ *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* (8 vols, 1834-43), v, p. 161.

⁴¹⁹ Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library: DCc-ChAnt/C/1057.

William Mortimer (d. pre-1253). According to his brother Hugh's foundation deed for his chantry at Orpington, dated 1253, William was dead by that date as he was commemorated here. It is possible that he was William Mortimer, lord of Attleborough, but there is evidence to corroborate this. Presumably Hugh's nephew and heir, William Mortimer, was the son of this man.

1. **William Mortimer** (fl. 1257-1262). See below.

William Mortimer (fl. 1257-87). If the speculation is correct that he was descended from the Motimers of Attleborough, he was a younger brother of Robert Mortimer (d. 1263), lord of Attleborough. His uncle Hugh Mortimer identified him as his heir about 1257. In 1267 he and his uncle were seised of a messuage and 300 acres of land at North Benchesham, in the parish of Croydon, Surrey; William did homage for his lands at Sharbrooke in Cliffe to John le Moyng and possibly for his estate at North Bechesham too.⁴²⁰ The Fine Rolls for 1262 note that William Mortimer of Kent paid half a mark for a pone that year.⁴²¹ A charter granted by his sons notes that he was succeeded by them both as his heirs in Nonington parish:

1. **John Mortimer** (fl. 1303?). See below.
2. Elias Mortimer. He held lands in Monkton, in Nonington, Kent

John Mortimer (fl. 1283-1303?). The charter granted by him and his brother to the priory of Canterbury Cathedral records that a payment of 8s payable to them after the death of their father for their tenements in Monkton, in Nonington, would henceforth be paid to the monks for a light in the nave of the cathedral:⁴²² In 1283 a man of this name was called upon to provide a hobbeler to for the defence of Hoo. One John Mortimer held land at Nether Hardres near Canterbury and at Sharbrooke, Cliffe, in 1303.⁴²³

1. **John Mortimer**. See below.

John Mortimer (fl. 1338-1363?). John, son of John Mortimer, and Robert le Ram held land at Sharbrooke, Cliffe, in 1346, which had previously belonged to John Mortimer and Guncelin de Cliffe for half a knight's fee.⁴²⁴ He possibly married Idoine.⁴²⁵

1. **?Thomas Mortimer**. See below.

⁴²⁰ *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* (8 vols, 1834-43), v, p. 161.

⁴²¹ TNA: C60/59 mem. 10 no. 541.

⁴²² Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library: DCc-ChAnt/N/45.

⁴²³ *Feudal Aids*, iii, pp. 22, 41.

⁴²⁴ *Feudal Aids*, iii, p. 41.

⁴²⁵ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 256.

Thomas Mortimer (fl. 1396). He is presumed to have been the son of John Mortimer. He held the manor of Soranks in the parish of Stansted, held of the archbishop of Canterbury. This had previously belonged to Roger Sorank in 1346.⁴²⁶ He sold the manor in 1396 to William Skrene.

1. **?John Mortimer**. See below.

John Mortimer (fl. 1412). He held the family lands in Sharbrooke and Cliffe that had previously belonged to John Mortimer in the early fourteenth century. Shortly afterwards the manor of Cliffe passed to the Englefield family from Berkshire.

⁴²⁶ *VCH Kent*.

Part 6

The Mortimers of Cuckfield, Sussex

This family is even more obscure than that of Cliffe. It is not a major landowning family. The reason for including it here is that they do seem to have held a manor, or a reputed manor, called Holmsted, which was still described as ‘Holmsted Mortimers’ in 1734.⁴²⁷ Also for those wanting to gauge the full range of William Mortimers alive in the thirteenth century, here are two more to factor into the reckoning. The family might have kept going for some centuries as it is recorded that John Chaloner (1462-1532) of Holmsted married the daughter of heir of Sir Edward Mortimer.⁴²⁸

William Mortimer (fl. 1271?-87). He probably was the William Mortimer who held land in Wivelsfield in 1271.⁴²⁹ He witnessed a deed granting land at Clayton, Sussex, in about 1280.⁴³⁰ In 1287 he settled land on his son William Mortimer junior, holding it for life.⁴³¹

1. **William Mortimer** (fl. 1287). See below.

William Mortimer (fl. 1287; d. pre-1304). He is mentioned in his father’s settlement on him in 1287 and his son’s settlement of 1304, by which time he was dead.

1. **Peter Mortimer** (fl. 1304). See below.

Peter Mortimer (fl. 1304). In 1304 he settled one messuage, 80 acres of land, five acres of meadow and 8s rent in Cuckfield on Philip le Parker.⁴³² It seems likely this land was inherited by a son:

1. **Richard Mortimer** (fl. 1325). See below.

⁴²⁷ West Sussex Record Office: Add. Mss 39,894.

⁴²⁸ Lt-Col. F. W. T. Attree, ‘Notes on the Family of Chaloner of Cuckfield’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 44 (1848), pp. 116-39, at pp. 119, 121.

⁴²⁹ *Sussex Feet of Fines*, ii, no. 779.

⁴³⁰ East Sussex Record Office: AMS 1845.

⁴³¹ *Sussex Feet of Fines*, ii, no. 1033.

⁴³² *Sussex Feet of Fines*, ii, no. 1166.

Richard Mortimer (fl. 1325). In 1325 he settled one messuage, a virgate of land and 9s rent in Cuckfield on Philip ate More for 10 marks.⁴³³ Given the period of tenure of this land in the family, it is likely that it was Holmsted, which acquired the alternative name 'Mortimer's' in later centuries, as mentioned above.

Also note that the Mortimers of Cuckfield seem to have had offshoots with lands nearby. In 1322 one Walter Mortimer bought a tenement in Wivelsfield from Thomas Pyper with six acres of land in the south field there, which he had relinquished by October 1353.⁴³⁴ In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, William Mortimer and his wife are recorded at Worth and Richard Mortimer at East Grinstead.⁴³⁵

⁴³³ *Sussex Feet of Fines*, iii, no. 1481.

⁴³⁴ East Sussex Record Office: AMS 5898/13-14.

⁴³⁵ *Sussex Feet of Fines*, iii, nos 2699, 3050.

Appendix

The Origins of the Scottish Mortimers

It is often said that the Mortimers of Scotland descend from one *Alanus de Mortuo Mari*, who supposedly acquired the lordship of Aberdour, Scotland, by marriage to Anicea or Alicea, daughter of John de Vieuxpont (or Vipont, or Veterepont), in 1126. However, there are a number of significant problems with this story, which leave little doubt that Alan Mortimer and his supposed bride are mythical.

To begin with the source. Most references point to the story coming from *The History, Ancient and Modern, of the Sheriffdoms of Fife and Kinross* (1710), by Sir Robert Sibbald MD (1641-1722). On page 41 he quotes from a now lost 'Register' of Inchcolm Priory as follows: 'Alanus de Mortuo Mari, miles, Dominus de Abirdaur, dedit omnes et totas dimidietates terrarum villae suae de Abirdaur, Deo et Monachis de Insula Sancti Columbi, pro sepultura sibi et posteris suis in Ecclesia dicti Monasterii.' ['Alan Mortimer, knight, lord of Aberdour, gave a half of all the lands of his town of Aberdour to God and the monks of St Columb's Island, for a burial place for himself and his descendants in the church of the said monastery.'] Sibbald adds thereafter:

It is reported that Alan the founder being dead, the monks carrying his corpse in a coffin of lead, by barge, in the night time, to be interred within their church, some wicked monks did throw the same in a great deep, between the land and the monastery, which to this day by the neighbouring fishermen and salters is called Mortimer's Deep. The Mortimers had this lordship by the marriage of Anicea, only daughter and sole heiress of Dominus Joannes de Vetere ponte, or Vypont, anno 2 regis David I in anno 1126.⁴³⁶

Thus the generous gift of half an estate in exchange for holy burial was repaid – so the tale goes – with a watery grave.

Several things should cause us to be sceptical about this narrative. It combines three stories within one for the sake of impact. First there is the gift, which is lent authenticity with a Latin text quoted from a supposedly ancient but undated source. Then there is the story of the monks' perfidy. Third, there is the historical context of named individuals and a date, to anchor this in the reality of the past. This is classic old-style historical rhetoric – to strengthen a good story with correlating facts. However, on close inspection it does not hold water. Here's why:

1. The wording. The Latin quoted is clearly not from of an original document, being written in the third person. Nor is it from a medieval cartulary copy. Cartularies were verbatim transcripts of charters and other documents that were important to the wealth and rights of an institution. Therefore, if the text was important enough to be preserved in a cartulary, it should also be in the

⁴³⁶ Sir Robert Sibbald, *The history, ancient and modern, of the sheriffdoms of Fife and Kinross* (1803 ed.), pp. 92-3.

first person, as the grant was a personal one. The text is thus a later, informal record of events and very possibly only loosely based on an original document, as shown further below.

2. The date. Early twelfth-century charters were not usually dated, or, if they were, they were given the full dating clause of the feast day as well as the regnal year, or the Latin date with a pontifical dating clause in the case of papal letters. In this case, no date is associated with the grant at all. Instead the date comes from a connected marriage – but that would not appear in a document dealing with a gift of land to a monastery for a burial place. Indeed, no source is given for the marriage. Given the limited type of documents that survive from this remote period, such a date could only have come from a chronicle that dealt with local affairs. However, no such chronicle is known. There wasn't even a tradition of compiling local secular chronicles in early twelfth-century Scotland. Thus we have to suspect this story about Alan and Anicea de Vipont is an invention – an elaboration on the story about the Alan who so tragically lay in Mortimer's Deep.

3. The names. The name 'Alan' is a common one in this part of Scotland. It is to be found frequently in documents from the medieval period. However, it is never found in an original document in conjunction with the surname Mortimer or 'de Mortuo Mari'. The People of Medieval Scotland database, which includes the names of all the grantors, recipients and witnesses of every extant charter text in Scotland before 1314, does not have a single example of an Alan Mortimer. Nor do the catalogues maintained by the National Archives – neither within their own documents nor within those of other English repositories. Nor does the catalogue of the National Archives of Scotland. Thus, while it would be wholly natural for someone inventing a story about a lord of Aberdour called Mortimer to pick on the Christian name 'Alan', that name does not have any connection with a real person who has a presence in the historical record. I might add that you won't find a 'John de Vipont' from this period either. The earliest reference to a member of this family in Scotland is William de Vipont, who is regularly recorded from 1160s – and sometimes in conjunction with William Mortimer. Thus anyone looking to explain why Mortimer's Deep was so called in a later century might have picked on these two names as locally plausible. But they did not draw them from real individuals.

4. The arms. In addition to the above, the story persuaded so many antiquaries that an Alan Mortimer really existed that by the early nineteenth century, *The Armorie of England, Scotland and Ireland* had developed a coat of arms for 'Sir Alan de Mortimer', namely, *argent, a lion rampant sable gutté d'argent*. The reason for associating these arms with the earliest Mortimer in Scotland was that almost all (if not all) the coats of arms borne by Mortimers in Scotland were a variation on this basic design. Thus he had to be the source. The nineteenth-century compilers did not realise that hereditary arms do not date from such an early period as 1126, and that the consistency in design points rather to a common ancestor *after* 1180, and not before.

With these aspects of the story putting us on our guard, the next step is to look for corroborating evidence. Here the obvious thing to do would be to find the 'Register' from which Sibbalds quotes the story about Alan and his gift. Although it is lost, two partial transcripts of the charters of Inchcolm Abbey were made in the fifteenth century, and these do survive and have been edited

for the Scottish History Society.⁴³⁷ Nothing they contain is as old as 1126. Indeed, not even the foundation charter of Alexander I, of about 1123, was available in the late Middle Ages, when those two transcripts were written. It stands to reason that if the monks had lost their royal foundation charter by 1500, they are unlikely to have held on to a grant by a local knight concerning his burial rights. With one exception (an unconnected charter dating from the 1160s), the earliest text that has survived relating to Inchcolm Abbey is a papal bull of Alexander III, dated 6 March 1179, which lists and confirms all the lands and rights belonging to the monastery. This does not mention the supposed grant of land in Aberdour, thus disproving the idea that an early twelfth-century Mortimer made a grant of land to Inchcolm. Moreover, of the dozens of charters that survive in those two fifteenth century transcripts, only two have anything to do with the Mortimers of Aberdour. One is a charter by William Mortimer of about 1180 acknowledging the wrongness of his presentation of Robert, the chaplain of the earl of Huntingdon, to the living of Aberdour church, against the interests of the abbey. In this the grantor states that he did not know that for the last three reigns *the monks* had had the right of presentation to the church, not him, which suggests that he had only recently gained possession of the lordship, for he cannot have presented to the living previously.⁴³⁸ The second document concerning the Mortimers is a papal bull of 1182 or 1183 confirming the same William Mortimer's gift of half a carucate of land in Aberdour and half the rents of the mill as well as the island in front of the harbour of Cramond.⁴³⁹

The editors of the *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm* were well aware of the shortcomings of the story about Alan Mortimer giving half his town of Aberdour in return for a burial place when they edited the surviving documents in 1938. They observed that

No mention of this donation is made in the bull [of 1179] nor elsewhere in the surviving charters of Inchcolm. Ross appears to be justified in calling Sibbald's account in question and in assigning the original donation, in accordance with the present charter, to William de

⁴³⁷ D. E. Easson and Angus Macdonald (eds), *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm* (Edinburgh, 1938).

⁴³⁸ The text of this charter reads as follows: 'William de Mortimer announces that the grant which he made by request and arrangement of his lord David, brother of the king of Scotland, to his clerk Robert, of the church of Aberdour, was against God and against all form of law and justice. For on the evidence of religious men, clerks and laymen, of the kingdom of Scotland, he has understood and learned that in the times of Kings Alexander, David and Malcolm, the aforesaid church of Aberdour belonged to Inchcolm Priory and they held it as their own and adjacent to the mother church of Inchcolm. When, however, he was about to give the said Robert possession and investiture of the aforesaid church by his messengers and men and clerks of the king, the aforementioned canons stood before the door of the church with their cross and many relics, and with counter-claims and protests, placed themselves under the protection of the lord pope and appealed to his presence. When these, at length, had been shamefully beaten, dragged away and put to flight, they intruded Robert. Wherefore, led by penitence, he has granted the church to the aforesaid canons and established by his charter that often times the said Robert declared to him verbally that on peace being made between him and the canons, he had forsworn it and afterwards, in William's presence and in the presence of many others, left it free and quit to the canons.' See D. E. Easson and Angus Macdonald (eds), *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm* (Edinburgh, 1938), pp. 6-7, 107-8.

⁴³⁹ Easson and Macdonald, *Charters*, pp. 107-8,

Mortimer. This donation was probably attributed to Alan de Mortimer to lend colour to the legend of the disposal of his body in ‘Mortimer’s Deep’ (cf. Sibbald, *op. cit.*, p. 92). It looks very much as if the lost ‘Register’ that Sibbald consulted had confused William Mortimer’s grant of *half* a carucate of land and *half* the rents of the mill with *half* of all the lands of Aberdour and, as the editors say, changed the name to ‘Alan’ to blend in with the story fabricated to explain the naming of Mortimer’s Deep, thereby creating an anti-monastic and anti-Catholic narrative in the process.

To add to the confusion, in the early twentieth century came the respected historian Dr G. G. Coulton, Fellow of St John’s College, Cambridge. When he read about the donation, he accepted it at face value, for it very neatly fitted the narrative he was trying to tell about ‘the privilege of burial’ and how endowments came to monasteries. It simply would not have helped him to enquire too closely into the flimsiness of the evidence. The only thing he questioned was the date, 1126, which was unrealistic. He presumed it was a misprint and so reversed two digits and thereby reassigned it to 1216. Ta da! Thus in 1923 he wrote ‘Sir Allan Mortimer bought the privilege [of burial in a monastery] at the price of half his estate (1216)’.⁴⁴⁰ In that five-volume work he did not give his source but when he wrote ten years later that ‘in 1216 Sir Allan Mortimer bought the right of burial at Inchcolm at the price of half his estate’, he quoted the ‘*Inchcolm Abbey Official Guide*, p. 6’.⁴⁴¹ With the story gaining acceptance in multi-volume works published by Cambridge University Press, of course people started to cite it without fear of contradiction. For example, in the 1996 guidebook to Aberdour Castle, Michael Apted refers to an Alan Mortimer who gave land to Inchcolm Abbey ‘in 1216’, following Coulton’s authoritative lead, which, ironically, had been drawn from an earlier guidebook.

To sum up, there is no contemporary evidence that anyone called Alan Mortimer existed in the twelfth or thirteenth century anywhere in the British Isles. There is no evidence that anyone called John de Vipont so much as set foot in Scotland or even existed in the early twelfth century. However, there *is* good evidence that the Mortimer family first appeared in Scotland in the reign of their kinsman, William the Lion, very shortly after his accession in 1165, and there *is* good evidence that they received Aberdour not long before 1180, as William Mortimer made his first presentation to the living shortly before that date.⁴⁴² There is also good evidence that a grant of lands to Inchcolm Abbey was made by a Mortimer lord of Aberdour – but that it was made by William, not Alan, and in about 1180, and certainly not before 1179.

This brings us to the crux of the problem. If the story about Alan Mortimer is a myth, where do the Mortimers of Scotland come from? In particular, who was the father of William Mortimer, lord of Aberdour? And who first bore the arms of the Mortimers of Scotland, *argent, a lion rampant sable guttée d’argent*?

⁴⁴⁰ G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion* (5 vols, Cambridge, 1936), iii, p. 55.

⁴⁴¹ G. G. Coulton, *Scottish Abbeys and Social Life* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 64.

⁴⁴² As shown by his witnessing of charters of David, earl of Huntingdon, and William the Lion.

For many years scholars have been aware of the close connections between the Mortimers of Attleborough and the Scottish crown. In 1936 the editors of the *Complete Peerage* wrote of William Mortimer of Attleborough,

As William, constable, de Mortimer he witnessed a Norfolk charter of Richard de Baliol *circa* 1155 and as William de Mortimer, two charters of William the Lion of Scotland, of which one was granted in 1166. He fought with the Scots at Alnwick, 13 July 1174, where he was taken prisoner by Sir Bernard de Baliol, and was one of the pledges for the King of Scotland under the treaty of Falaise late in the year.⁴⁴³

What has now emerged from the People of Medieval Scotland database is just how closely connected the Mortimers of Attleborough were with William the Lion, king of Scotland from 1165 to 1214, and his brother, David, earl of Huntingdon (d. 1219). William Mortimer witnessed no fewer than twenty-two of King William's charters, in addition to one by the king's mother Ada de Warenne; and one by the king's brother, David, earl of Huntingdon. At least four of these charters were sealed between 1165 and 1168, and at least thirteen were sealed between 1173 and 1180, showing a remarkable consistency of attendance at the Scottish court from the time that William became king – but no presence before then. What is more, as all his acts after 1165 seem to have been in Scotland, he seems to have devoted himself wholly to his Scottish overlords. It is also worth noting that there is no mention of any other Mortimer active in Scotland in these years. There can be no doubt that the first Mortimer in Scotland was not just a namesake of William Mortimer, lord of Attleborough, he *was* William Mortimer, lord of Attleborough.

Normally we think of medieval Scotland as a different country and we don't tend to think of lords travelling around the British Isles in the twelfth century. However, everything falls into place when we consider William's relationship with the de Warenne family. The Mortimers held lands from the de Warennes and they witnessed their charters – that much is well known. The fact that they were also related to them – through Ralph Mortimer, the Domesday lord of Wigmore (as shown in *Part 2a: the Mortimers of Attleborough*) – shines a different light on their association. Ralph Mortimer and William de Warenne, 1st earl of Surrey, were first cousins; Ralph's sons, including Robert Mortimer of Norfolk, and William II de Warenne, second earl of Surrey, were second cousins. So William Mortimer of Attleborough and the second earl's daughter, Ada de Warenne, were third cousins. When her son Malcolm became king of Scotland in 1158, a whole new set of possibilities opened up for William. But he did not go north immediately. Rather it was only when her second son, William the Lion, became king of Scotland in 1165 that William Mortimer made the trip north – no doubt in conjunction with his other kinsman, David, earl of Huntingdon, the king's brother, who had been at the English court for the previous two years. Although it might seem to us that the relationship of a third cousin is not that close, it *was* in the Middle Ages. If you find your third cousin has become a king, you are likely to remember the fact – and hope that he does too. Given William Mortimer's regular attendance at William's court for the last fifteen years of his life, the king did.

As mentioned above, William is the only known member of the Mortimer family in Scotland before 1180. In the next generation, however, several others come to the fore. The first of these

⁴⁴³ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 244.

is Roger Mortimer, who appears as a witness in or before 1188. At some time between 1189 and 1195 King William gave him the hand in marriage of Christina, daughter of William Maule, together with the lordship of Fowlis Easter, which had previously belonged to William Maule.⁴⁴⁴ Given that he married about 1190, Roger was probably born in the late 1160s and was probably a younger son of William Mortimer of Attleborough and Aberdour. He is associated with forty charters on the People of Medieval Scotland database. Roger was succeeded at Fowlis Easter by a son Hugh Mortimer (fl. 1225x35) and their descendants survived at Fowlis Easter until 1377, when Janet, daughter of the last Roger Mortimer of Fowlis Easter, married Sir Alexander Grey.

In the same generation we come across two other men in Scotland who regularly acted in unison. Bartholomew Mortimer and Constantine Mortimer both witnessed the same four Scottish charters in the first decade of the twelfth century, with Bartholomew always being the first-named and thus more senior of the two. All four charters were grants by David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William. As stated in *Part 2a: the Mortimer family of Attleborough*, there are good reasons for believing these men were also the younger sons of William Mortimer (fl. 1155-80) – and that Hugh Mortimer, prior of May (fl. 1198-1206) was too. As a result, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the medieval Scottish Mortimers descend from the younger sons of William Mortimer (d. 1180). Or, to be more specific, that they descend from Roger and Constantine Mortimer, who both had sons of their own in the early thirteenth century.

Finally, we can correlate this with the heraldic evidence. As noted above, almost all the examples of Mortimer heraldry in Scotland before modern times are variations on a single coat of arms: *argent, a lion rampant sable gutté d'argent*.⁴⁴⁵ Obviously this design is nothing like the arms of the Mortimers of Attleborough or any other English branch of the family. This suggests that it was developed at an early date – before heraldry had reached the point at which a younger son would simply have used his father's arms with a cadence mark to denote difference. However, as all the Scottish arms are so similar, they all appear to descend from one family, namely the Mortimers of Fowlis Easter. As mentioned above (in *Part 2a*, under Roger Mortimer (fl. 1188-1217?), the ancestor of the Mortimers of Craigievar, Bernard Mortimer, had links to the Mortimers of Fowlis Easter. It is therefore significant that his Mortimer descendants at Craigievar bore exactly these arms. Thus it would appear that the common ancestor of the armigerous Mortimers of Scotland is to be found in the progenitor of this family at Fowlis Easter from about 1190, namely Roger Mortimer, who was almost certainly the son of William Mortimer of Attleborough (d. 1180)

⁴⁴⁴ National Archives of Scotland: GD90/1/9.

⁴⁴⁵ For example, Queen Mary's Roll (1562) has the arms of the Mortimer family of Wambeth as *argent, a lion rampant sable goutty argent*. The Slains armorial (1565) has the same arms for the Mortimer family of Craigievar (who were almost certainly descended from the Mortimers of Fowlis Easter) and Balfours Manuscripts (1630) have the same arms for the Mortimers of Vamouth.. The roll of Lindsay of the Mount Secundus (1599) has the arms of the Mortimers of Flemington differenced as *or, a lion rampant sable gutte d'sang armed and langued azure*. According to the New Register (1672), the Mortimers of Auchenbody bore *paly of six, argent and azure, a lion rampant sable gutté d'or*.