

MEYSYDD BRWYDRO HANESYDDOL YNG NGHYMRU

Mae'r adroddiad canlynol, a gomisiynwyd gan Grŵp Llywio Meysydd Brwydro Cymru ac a ariennir gan Lywodraeth Cymru, yn ffurfio rhan o raglen archwilio fesul cam i daflu goleuni ar yr ystyriaeth o Gofrestr neu Restr o Feysydd Brwydro Hanesyddol yng Nghymru. Dechreuwyd gweithio ar hyn ym mis Rhagfyr 2007 dan gyfarwyddyd Cadw, gwasanaeth amgylchedd hanesyddol Llywodraeth Cymru, ac yr oedd yn dilyn cwblhau prosiect gan Gomisiwn Brenhinol Henebion Cymru (RCAHMW) i bennu pa feysydd brwydro yng Nghymru a allai fod yn addas i'w nodi ar fapiau'r Arolwg Ordnans. Sefydlwyd y Grŵp Llywio Meysydd Brwydro, yn cynnwys aelodau o Cadw, Comisiwn Brenhinol Henebion Cymru ac Amgueddfa Genedlaethol Cymru, a rhwng 2009 a 2014 comisiynwyd ymchwil ar 47 o frwydrau a gwarchaeau. Mae hyn yn bennaf yn cynnwys ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol, ac mewn 10 achos, gwaith maes heb fod yn ymyrryd a gwaith a oedd yn ymyrryd.

O ganlyniad i'r gwaith hwn mae **Rhestr o Feysydd Brwydro Hanesyddol yng Nghymru** (<http://meysyddbrwydro.cbhc.gov.uk/>) yn cael ei datblygu, dan arweiniad Comisiwn Brenhinol Henebion Cymru ar ran Cadw. Bydd yn adnodd deongliadol, addysgol ac ymchwil ar-lein, yn anelu at gynyddu gwybodaeth a chodi ymwybyddiaeth o feysydd brwydro yng Nghymru, yn ogystal ag ysgogi ymchwil bellach. Gobeithir ei lansio yn ystod gwanwyn 2017.

HISTORIC BATTLEFIELDS IN WALES

The following report, commissioned by the Welsh Battlefields Steering Group and funded by Welsh Government, forms part of a phased programme of investigation undertaken to inform the consideration of a Register or Inventory of Historic Battlefields in Wales. Work on this began in December 2007 under the direction of the Welsh Government's Historic Environment Service (Cadw), and followed the completion of a Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW) project to determine which battlefields in Wales might be suitable for depiction on Ordnance Survey mapping. The Battlefields Steering Group was established, drawing its membership from Cadw, RCAHMW and National Museum Wales, and between 2009 and 2014 research on 47 battles and sieges was commissioned. This principally comprised documentary and historical research, and in 10 cases both non-invasive and invasive fieldwork.

As a result of this work **The Inventory of Historic Battlefields in Wales** (<http://battlefields.rcahmw.gov.uk/>) is in development, led by the RCAHMW on behalf of Cadw. This will be an online interpretative, educational and research resource aimed at increasing knowledge and raising awareness of battlefields in Wales, as well as a prompt for further research. It is due to be launched in spring 2017.

Mae'r tabl isod yn rhestru'r brwydrau a'r gwarchaeau a ymchwiliwyd. Bydd adroddiadau ar gael i'w llwytho i lawr o'r Rhestr ar-ein yn ogystal ag o Coflein (<http://www.coflein.gov.uk/>), y gronfa ddata ar-lein ar gyfer Cofnod Henebion Cenedlaethol Cymru (NMRW).

The table below lists the battles and sieges researched. Reports will be available to download from the online Inventory as well as from Coflein (<http://www.coflein.gov.uk/>), the online database for the National Monuments Record of Wales (NMRW).

ENW/NAME	DYDDIAD/ DATE	SIR HANESYDDOL/HI STORIC COUNTY	NPRN	YMCHWIL/RESEARCH
Aberllech	1096	Sir Frycheiniog Brecknockshire	404446	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Pont Cychod (Menai ac Ynys Môn) Bridge of Boats (Menai and Anglesey)	1282	Ynys Môn Anglesey	404319	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Bryn Derwin	1255	Sir Gaernarfon Caernarfonshire	402322	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)
Bryn Glas (Pillth)	1402	Sir Faesyfed Radnorshire	306352	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012) Cloddfa (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2013)

				<p>Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012)</p> <p>Excavation (Archaeology Wales, 2013)</p> <p>Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)</p>
Campston Hill	1404	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	402328	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p>
Cilgerran	1258	Sir Benfro Pembrokeshire	405201	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)</p>
Coed Llathan	1257	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	403587	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013)</p> <p>Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)</p> <p>Non-invasive fieldwork</p>

				(Archaeology Wales, 2014)
Castell Coety (gwarchae) /Coity Castle (siege)	1404-05	Morgannwg Glamorgan	545701	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Coleshill	1157	Sir y Fflint Flintshire	402325	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (2009) Documentary and historical research (2009)
Craig y Dorth	1404	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	402327	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)
Crug Mawr	1136	Sir Aberteifi Cardiganshire	402323	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)
Castell Cymaron (gwarchaeau) / Cymaron Castle (sieges)	1144 1179 1195	Sir Faesyfed Radnorshire	545328	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)

	1215			
Cymerau	1257	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	404717	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013) Non-invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh Castle (siege)	1282	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545687	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh Castle (siege)	1294-5	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545613	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh Castle (siege)	1460	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545718	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh Castle (siege)	1468	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545720	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh	1646	Sir Ddinbych	545789	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013)

Castle (siege)		Denbighshire		Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dryslwyn (gwarchae) / Dryslwyn Castle (siege)	1287	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	545605	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Carregwastad - Abergwaun (ymosodiad) / Carregwastad Point – Fishguard (invasion)	1797	Sir Benfro Pembrokeshire	308824	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)
Gŵyr/ Gower	1136	Morgannwg Glamorgan	404856	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Grosmont	1405	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	402333	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012)
Hyddgen	1401	Sir Drefaldwyn Montgomeryshire	402310	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical

				research (Chapman, 2013)
Pont Irfon (Llanganten) / Irfon Bridge /	1282	Sir Frycheiniog Brecknockshire	403411	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Cydweli / Kidwelly	1258	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	404729	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Castell Talacharn (gwarchae) / Laugharne Castle (sieges)	1189 1215 1257-8 1644	Sir Gaerfyrddin	545245 545341 545436 545746	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Maes Gwenllian	1136	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	402324	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012)
Maes Moydog	1295	Sir Drefaldwyn	403416	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013)

		Montgomeryshire		<p>Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)</p> <p>Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)</p>
Trefaldwyn / Montgomery	1644	Sir Drefaldwyn Montgomeryshire	405168	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)</p>
Mynydd Carn	1081	Sir Benfro Pembrokeshire	300319	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p>
Castell Newydd Emlyn (gwarchae) / Newcastle Emlyn (siege)	1287-8	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	545606	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)</p>
Castell Newydd Emlyn (gwarchae) / Newcastle Emlyn	1645	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	545768	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)</p>
Gwrthryfel y Siartwyr, Casnewydd / Newport Chartist Uprising	1839	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	405003	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Achaeology, 2009)</p>

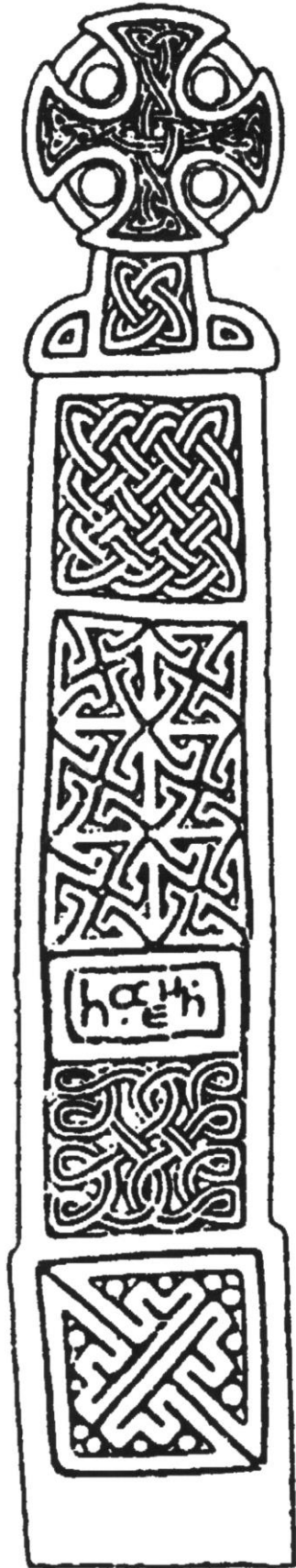
Paincastle	1198	Sir Faesyfed Radnorshire	402326	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012) Cloddfa (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012) Excavation (Archaeology Wales, 2013)
Pennal	1472/4	Meirionnydd Merioneth	403495	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Pentraeth	1170	Ynys Môn Anglesey	404315	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Pwllgwdig	1078	Sir Benfro Pembrokeshire	405188	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Pwll Melyn	1405	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	402320	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd

				<p>(Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Non-invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)</p>
Castell Rhaglan (gwarchae) / Raglan Castle (siege)	1646	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	545797	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)</p>
Sain Ffagan / St Fagans	1648	Morgannwg Glamorgan	307776	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012)</p> <p>Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2013)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012)</p> <p>Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2013)</p>
Twthill	1461	Sir Gaernarfon Caernarfonshire	403421	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p>

				2009)
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Grŵp Llywio Meysydd Brwydro, Hydref 2016

Battlefields Steering Group, October 2016



Welsh Battlefields Historical Research:

Campston Hill (1404)

(Order Number IJ/017430: November 2009)

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Battle Name: Campston Hill (June-November 1404?)

Site of Battle

The precise site of the battle remains uncertain, the modern OS 1:25000 edition map locates the site of the battle in a field currently laid out to pasture, situated to the W of Campston Wood, approximately 200m to the NE of Great Campston Farm and 30m SE of the unclassified lane leading over Campston Hill from Grosmont towards Llanfihangel Crucorney; however the evidence supporting this location is uncertain.

1. Summary

Historical Context of Battle

The battle of Campston Hill represents the first of two recorded engagements fought in 1404 between English and Welsh forces in Monmouthshire, the second being at Craig-y-Dorth, S of Monmouth. Information concerning both of these battles is extremely limited, but they should be viewed in the context of evidence for a major campaign waged by the Welsh in the southern Marches during the summer of 1404.

2. Narrative of Battle

Prelude to the Battle

The specific date of the battle is not attested by the evidence of the chronicle sources or royal governmental records (ie. Patent Rolls or Proceedings of the Privy Council). The only documentary source to refer specifically to the battle is *The Annals of Owain Glyndwr*, a brief chronicle covering the years of Owain Glyndwr's revolt from 1400 to 1415, which dates the battle to 1404, describing how 'in the same year was the slaughter of the Welsh on Campston Hill'.¹

J.E. Lloyd, in his classic study of Owain Glyndwr's career, placed the date of the battles of Campston Hill and Craig-y-Dorth subsequent to reports of a substantial armed incursion by the Welsh into southern Herefordshire, which appears to have occurred in June or early July of 1404.² The precarious situation is summarised in a hastily written letter from the Sheriff, Escheator and other gentry of Hereford to the King's Council dated 10 June 1404, describing how a great multitude of Welsh had entered Archenfield (the name of the Welsh *cantref* of Ergyng, covering much of south-west Herefordshire), causing considerable destruction.³

Moreover, the letter mentions that the Welsh were planning 'within eight days' to attack the 'March of Wales' presumably referring to the English-held lordships of Abergavenny, Monmouth and the Three Castles; specific mention is made of William Beauchamp, lord of Abergavenny, who was described as being 'on the point of destruction' (presumably under siege in his castle of Abergavenny). Another missive

¹ NLW Peniarth MS 135, pp. 61-2; Printed in Appendix I to J.E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower* (Oxford, 1931), 152

² J.E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower* (Oxford, 1931), 87-8

³ Printed in N.H. Nicolas (ed.) *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* (London 1834), I, 223-5

from Henry Prince of Wales, written from Worcester on 26 June 1404 appears to corroborate the evidence of the previous letter, stating that a substantial contingent of rebels, consisting of ‘all the force from South and West Wales which they could raise’, had descended into Herefordshire, ‘burning and destroying the said county’.⁴

Henry IV’s reaction to reports of the Welsh attack and the imminent fall of Abergavenny appears to have been immediate; on 14 June he ordered the sheriff of Hereford ‘to assemble all the King’s lieges of the county, esquires, archers and other fencible men, to go with the King’s kinsman Richard of York, whom the King has ordered to go with all speed to the castle and town of Bergavenny for their rescue.’⁵

At some point before 26 June it appears that Prince Henry had arrived at Worcester and had been joined there by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and ‘a fine company of people’; according to the Prince’s letter he had sent for Richard Duke of York and Thomas Mowbray Earl Marshal to meet with him and ‘other most sufficient people of the county from this March’ at Worcester on the following Thursday (4 July 1404). It is unclear whether this represents a general muster of the English forces before proceeding to the Welsh Marches, or whether this actually took place at Hereford or Leominster.

A surviving account book of the controller of Prince Henry’s household shows that Prince Henry, his household and a substantial body of troops were stationed in Hereford and Leominster from early July to November of 1404, prior to launching an expedition for the relief of Coety Castle in late November of that year; however there is little other information available on the respective movements of the English and Welsh troops prior to the battle of Campstone Hill.⁶

The Battle and its Aftermath

Information on the events of the battle is extremely limited; the contemporary English chronicles (including Adam of Usk’s *Chronicle* and Walsingham’s *Historia Anglicana*) make no reference to the battle; the only source to refer specifically to the battle is the *Annals of Owain Glyndwr*, a Welsh chronicle covering the years 1400-1415, which only survives in a manuscript compiled by the poet Gruffydd Hiraethog between 1556 and 1564.⁷ The entry in the *Annals* tersely states that ‘in the same year (1404) was the slaughter of the Welsh on Campston Hill (‘ar vynydd kamstwm’).

The account given in the *Annals* appears to have formed the basis of later antiquarian accounts, although the details of the battle (in particular place-names) appear to have been somewhat garbled in transmission. The *Memoirs of Owain Glyndwr*, compiled in the 17th century by the scholar Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (d.1664), refers to how Glyndwr ‘met with the English at Mynydd Cwm Du (*sic*) who put him to retreat

⁴ Printed in N.H. Nicolas (ed.) *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* (London 1834), I, 229-31

⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls Henry IV*, Vol. II, 403.

⁶ NA E101/404/24 Account Book of John Spenser, controller of the household of Henry Prince of Wales

⁷ NLW Peniarth MS 135. The Welsh text with English translation is printed in J.E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower* (Oxford, 1931), 152 (‘Yn yr un flwyddyn hono y bv y lladdfa ar gymru ar vynydd kamstwm’)

killing many of his men'.⁸ In the version of Vaughan's *Memoirs* published as an appendix to Thomas's *History of the Island of Anglesey* (1775), Mynydd Cwm Du is further corrupted to 'Mynyddlamsdusy'.⁹

The description of the battle given in Thomas Pennant's *Tours in Wales* appears to rely in part on Vaughan's *Memoirs*, placing Mynydd Cwm-du (erroneously) in Montgomeryshire. However some of the information contained in Pennant's account does not appear in the Welsh Annals or Vaughan's *Memoirs* and must therefore have been derived from a different source. Pennant specifically refers to Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick as the commander of the English forces at Campston and to the capture of Glyndwr's standard-bearer, whom he mentions by name (Ellis ap Richard ap Howel ap Morgan Llwyd).¹⁰

Pennant cites William Dugdale's *Baronage of England* (published in 1675-6) as the source associating Warwick with the battle of Campston Hill. Dugdale refers to the earl of Warwick putting the forces of Glyndwr to flight and taking his banner, an event that he appears to place chronologically before the battle of Shrewsbury (21 July 1403), but does not mention the site of the battle.¹¹ Dugdale's information appears to have been derived (at least in part) from the late 15th century illustrated life of Richard Beauchamp known as the *Beauchamp Pageant*, compiled by the antiquary John Rous between 1485 and 1490.

One particular illustration in the *Pageant* consists of a scene showing Beauchamp, identified by the crest of the bear and ragged staff on his visored sallet, with several companions charging towards the enemy forces, who are depicted in headlong retreat, while in the background beyond the hillock a similar rout is depicted.¹² The earl is shown with full plate armour aiming his lance at the horse carrying Glyndwr's bannerer (who is depicted wearing a mail shirt and jack with plate vambraces and leg-harness) causing the horse to stumble.

The inscription above the drawing reads as follows: 'Here shews howe at thies daies appered a blazing sterre, called stella comata, which after the seiying of clerkys signified greet deth and blodeshede. And sone upon beganne the warre of Wales by oon Owen of Glendour, their chief capteyn, whom emonges other Erle Richard so sore sewed, that he hadde nerehande taken hym and put hym to flight, and toke his banner and moche of his people and his bannerer'.

The evidence of the drawing and accompanying inscription is somewhat misleading as the comet depicted by Rous is one which appeared in January-March 1402, as recorded by several contemporary chroniclers including Adam of Usk.¹³ If this illustration does relate to the battle of Campston, then it would appear that Rous has misdated this event by inserting the occurrence of the comet, which appeared more

⁸ NLW Panton MS 53, 56-6b.

⁹ J. Thomas, *A History of the Island of Anglesey* (London 1775), 70

¹⁰ T. Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, 3 vols, rev. ed. (London 1883), III, 331

¹¹ W. Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 2 vols (London 1675-6), I, 243

¹² A. Sinclair (ed.), *The Beauchamp Pageant* (Donington, 2003), 63; BL Cotton Julius E. IV

¹³ J.H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, 4 vols (London 1884-1898), I, 274-5; *The Chronicle of Adam of Usk*, ed. C. Given Wilson (Oxford, 1997), 156n.

than two years previously. Unfortunately, Rous does not make a specific reference to where this battle occurred; consequently the scene as depicted cannot be positively associated with Campston, although the fact that mention is made of the capture of Owain Glyndwr's standard bearer suggests that it does indeed relate to a specific event, rather than a generalised depiction of the Earl of Warwick's campaigns in Wales.

It therefore remains to be determined whether there is any further evidence to establish a conclusive link between Richard Beauchamp and the battle of Campston Hill. Certainly Richard Beauchamp had a strong familial and landed interest in the Welsh Marches, his inheritance included the lordship of Elfael in Radnorshire while his great-uncle, William Beauchamp (d.1411) was in possession of the castle and lordship of Abergavenny.¹⁴ Moreover, Richard Beauchamp was certainly present in the Marcher counties during 1404, as evidenced by Prince Henry's letter of 26 June, in which he states that 'I have removed with my little household to the town of Worcester, and at my request there is come with me in very good heart my dear and well-beloved cousin the Earl of Warwick, with a fine company of his people, at his very great expense, for which is worthy to be well thanked by you for his good will at all times'.¹⁵

It is unclear whether Beauchamp remained with the Prince and his household throughout the summer of 1404. From the evidence of the account of John Spenser, the controller of the Prince's household in 1403-4, Prince Henry is known to have stayed at Hereford and Leominster between July and November of 1404 although no specific reference is made to the presence of the earl of Warwick.¹⁶

Having considered the sparse information provided by the Annals and later antiquarian accounts, is it possible to draw any further conclusions regarding the battle? The supposed site at Great Campston is located approximately 8km NE of Abergavenny and 3km SW of Grosmont, on a long established routeway leading from Hereford, crossing the Monnow at Llangua and then proceeding SW across the ridge of Campston Hill towards Llanfihangel Crucorney and thence to Abergavenny. It is possible that the Welsh were heading towards either Abergavenny or Grosmont, both of which were in English hands, and were intercepted by the English forces at Campston, or it may have been that an English force sent from Hereford to relieve the castle of Abergavenny encountered the Welsh at this point and gave battle.

It is also worth noting that Great Campston, the farmstead closest to the reputed battlefield, occupies the site of the monastic grange of Llyncoed belonging to the Cistercian Abbey of Dore, which had been granted to them by King Henry III and confirmed by Hubert de Burgh in 1230.¹⁷ It is not entirely implausible that the proximity of the battle site to the grange might not be coincidental, although the fact that the abbot of Dore had previously been granted a licence to negotiate with the

¹⁴ J.E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower* (Oxford, 1931), 87n.

¹⁵ Printed in N.H. Nicolas (ed.) *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* (London 1834), I, 229-31

¹⁶ NA E101/404/24 Account Book of John Spenser, controller of the household of Henry Prince of Wales

¹⁷ D.H. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool, 1976), 36

Welsh rebels for the safety of his house, this would not necessarily mean that the outlying estates of Dore would have been immune from attack.¹⁸

Troops and Casualties

No detailed information is available on the respective size of the English and Welsh troops present at Campston Hill. Based on the evidence of the letter from the Sheriff and Escheator of Hereford to the King's Council dated 10 June 1404, it would appear that the Welsh force that had invaded southern Herefordshire in the summer of 1404 was substantial in size although no precise figures are available.¹⁹ Prince Henry's letter to his father dated 26 June relates how he had 'lately certified that the Welsh had descended into the county of Hereford, burning and destroying the said county in very great force, and were provisioned for 15 days'. In a letter bearing the same date, from Prince Henry to the King's Council, Henry describes the Welsh force in slightly different terms, consisting of 'all the force of South Wales and North Wales which they could raise'.²⁰

The size of the English army present at the battle cannot be determined precisely from the limited documentary evidence available. However it is possible to obtain a rough impression of the size of the English force commanded by Prince Henry in the southern Marches during mid to late 1404. A record of proceedings in the King's Council dated 29 August 1404 records that provision was made for the Prince 'in gratitude for his good defence of the county of Hereford and for the salvation of that county and the county of Gloucestershire...and to override Overwent and Netherwent and Glamorgan and Morgannwg', for the wages of 500 men at arms and 2000 archers for three weeks and for 300 men and 2000 archers for three more weeks.²¹

Further information concerning the size of the forces at Prince Henry's disposal is provided by an account book of the controller of the Prince's household covering the period 20-July-21 November 1404 when he was resident at Hereford and Leominster 'for the ordinance of the Marches'. The account book contains a section entitled 'vadia guerre' listing the wages paid to various commanders, including Richard Duke of York, Lord Audley, Gilbert Lord Talbot, William Newport and lesser knights, as well as a list of the forces under the command of the Prince and various leaders in both North and South Wales.²²

It is difficult to establish clearly what was the size of the forces under the command of the Prince at any one particular time, as the account book does not provide a continuous daily record of wages from July to November. Specific payments are

¹⁸ R.R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr* (Oxford, 1995), 235

¹⁹ Printed in N.H. Nicolas (ed.) *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* (London 1834), I, 223-5

²⁰ Printed in N.H. Nicolas (ed.) *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* (London 1834), I, 229-31

²¹ Printed in N.H. Nicolas (ed.) *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* (London 1834), I, 232-6

²² NA E101/404/24; For detailed discussion of the financial and logistical issues relating to Prince Henry's campaigns during the Glyndwr rising, see W.R.M. Griffiths, 'Prince Henry, Wales and the Royal Exchequer, 1400-13', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 32 (1985), 203-13 and Griffiths, 'Prince Henry's War: Armies Garrisons and supply during the Glyndwr rising', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 34 (1987), 164-75

recorded to the Duke of York for 35 men at arms and 70 archers, to Lord Audley for 30 men at arms and 60 archers, to Gilbert Lord Talbot for 12 men at arms (*scutiferi*) and 24 archers (*sagitarii*) and to William Newport for 23 men at arms and 50 archers, all described as being stationed in the County of Hereford ‘for the safe keeping of the March’ for 28 days during October and November. The men at arms each received a wage of 12d daily, while the archers only received 6d daily. The list of the troops under the command of the Prince and various commanders in North and South Wales records 42 ‘lancers’ (*lances*) and 232 archers pertaining to the Prince’s own retinue (*les gents entour les corps de monsieur*) and another 159 ‘lancers’ and 788 archers divided among 6 contingents serving in South Wales (commanded by John Greyndor, Rowland Leinthall, John Membury, John Gargrave, Watkin and John Felde, Thomas Tonstall and William and James de Haryngton). It is likely that those troops described as ‘*scutiferi*’ (lit. squires) and ‘lances’ were mounted men at arms who were not of knightly status; significantly, the bulk of the force is described as consisting of archers, rather than other types of infantry.

There is no detailed information available concerning the numbers of casualties incurred by the English and Welsh forces, although, if the testimony of the *Annals of Owain Glyndwr* is to be believed, then it would appear likely that the Welsh casualties were severe.

3. Assessment

Battle Location:

The location of the battle at Campston Hill is difficult to establish precisely. The site of the battlefield marked by the RCAHMW and on the modern 1:25000 Ordnance Survey map is located at NGR SO 362 224, approximately 200m NE of Great Campston Farm, in a field lying to the SE of the unclassified lane leading E-W from Grosmont to Llanfihangel Crucorney, forming part of a long established route from Hereford to Abergavenny.

The evidence for this identification is unclear, however it is worth noting that the battlefield site is not indicated on the OS 1st–4th edition maps, which only mark the site of a ‘Supposed Camp’ to the NW of Great Campston Farm. This ‘camp’, occupying roughly the highest point of Campston Hill, appears to be the remains of a sub-rectangular defended enclosure of possible Iron Age or Roman date known as Pwll-y-Bala, a plan for which appears in Coxe’s *Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (published in 1801). Coxe’s account, somewhat surprisingly, makes no reference to the battle of Campston Hill or any traditions associated with it. Likewise Bradney, in his *History of Monmouthshire* devotes a lengthy section to the history of Great Campston but makes no reference to the battle.²³

The available cartographic evidence relating to the area (the earliest being a pictorial survey of the manor of Grosmont drawn up by the Duchy of Lancaster in 1588) unfortunately provides little evidence to help establish a precise location for the

²³ W. Coxe, *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, 2 vols (London 1801), I, 23 (Plan of Pwll-y-Bala); II, 223; J.A. Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire Vol. 1, pt. 1 The Hundred of Skenfrith* (London, 1904), 78-9

battlefield site.²⁴ The Duchy of Lancaster survey of Grosmont manor, drawn up c.1588 delineates the lane leading from Grosmont to Llanfihangel Crucorney, described as ‘the gret lane upon Camstone’ and the farmhouse at Great Campston is also indicated, surrounded by open, rolling pasture. No indication of the battlefield site is given on the 1588 map, neither does any reference appear in Bromley’s survey of the manor of Grosmont dated 1613 which does however mention the estate at Campston.²⁵

The Grosmont tithe map and apportionment of 1841 are similarly unhelpful in terms of providing information on field names that might help to establish the site of the battlefield; no field names are listed in the tithe apportionment for the Great Campston estate. The records of the Scudamore family of Kentchurch Court (who held the Great Campston estate from 1765 to 1839) likewise appear to contain no references to field names associated with the battle site.²⁶ A record of a marriage settlement dated 1837 (in the Penpont MSS) provides a detailed list of the fields (with names) pertaining to the ‘capital messuage at Campston’, however this is more likely to relate to the estate of Gaer Farm, lying N of Campston Hill, which is recorded as being in the possession of Philip Penry Williams of Penpont in 1841.²⁷ None of the field names detailed in the marriage settlement appear to have any obvious military associations.

Discussion of Primary Sources:

No mention of the battle is made in the English chronicle sources or in royal governmental records (eg. Proceedings of the Privy Council, Patent Rolls, royal household accounts etc), although they do provide important information concerning the movements of Prince Henry and the strength of the English forces in the Welsh Marches around the time of the battle. The only contemporary account of the battle is contained in the *Annals of Owain Glyndwr*, a brief chronicle covering the years of the Glyndwr revolt between 1400 and 1415. The *Annals* are generally presumed to have been originally compiled at some point in the first half of the 15th century although the earliest surviving text (Peniarth MS 135) consists of a manuscript copy made by the poet Gruffydd Hiraethog at some time between 1556 and 1564.²⁸ The *Annals* are of considerable importance as representing the only near contemporary source for the Glyndwr revolt to depict the events from a Welsh perspective.

Discussion of Secondary Sources:

Most published accounts of the battle of Campston Hill are indebted to the *Memoirs of Owain Glyndwr* compiled by the 17th century antiquarian Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (d. 1667), which relied heavily upon the *Annals of Owain Glyndwr* but also incorporated evidence from other sources which no longer appear to be extant.

²⁴ NA MPC 1/251

²⁵ W. Rees, *A Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales 1609-13* (Cardiff 1953), 72-91

²⁶ NLW Grosmont Tithe Map and Apportionment (1841); Herefordshire Record Office, Kentchurch Court MSS (Scudamore)

²⁷ NLW Penpont MSS Deed No. 2340

²⁸ The Welsh text with English translation is printed in J.E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower* (Oxford, 1931), 149-53

Vaughan's *Memoirs* were largely reproduced as an Appendix to the Rev. J. Thomas's *History of the Island of Anglesey* (1775).

The account of the battle contained in Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, although mistakenly assigning the site of the battle to Montgomeryshire, is of particular value as it explicitly refers to Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick as the leader of the English army and to the capture of Glyndwr's standard-bearer, Ellis ap Richard ap Howel ap Morgan Llwyd.²⁹

One of sources used by Pennant appears to be the biographical account of Richard Beauchamp in Dugdale's *Baronage of England* (1675-6) which refers to Beauchamp putting Glyndwr to flight and taking his banner, while the specific reference to Glyndwr's standard bearer, Ellis ap Richard ap Howel ap Morgan Llwyd, appears to be derived from the pedigrees held by the Griffiths family of Wrexham.³⁰ Dugdale's account appears to be based on the entry in Rous's *Beauchamp Pageant*, placing his brief reference to Warwick's defeat of Glyndwr before the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403; moreover he does not specifically refer to the site of the battle. It remains uncertain, therefore, from what source Pennant was able to link Beauchamp specifically with the battle at Campston Hill, or whether it represented inspired guesswork on his part based on the available evidence at his disposal.

Pennant's placing of the battle site in Montgomeryshire was largely followed uncritically by scholars until the early 20th century, when the historian J.E. Lloyd, in his classic study of Owain Glyndwr, printed the text of the earliest manuscript copy of the *Annals of Owain Glyndwr* which demonstrated that the correct reading of the battlefield was 'mynydd Camstwm' (ie. Campston Hill between Abergavenny and Grosmont).³¹

Lloyd's account remains the fullest discussion of the battle and the documentary sources relating to it; brief references to it occur in G. Hodges and R.R. Davies's study of the Revolt of Owain Glyndwr, which largely follow Lloyd's interpretation of events.³² It is noticeable that the two major antiquarian works on Monmouthshire, namely Coxe's *Historical Tour* and Bradney's *History*, both contain no references to the battle.

Archaeology and Historic Terrain:

There are clearly problems in establishing a precise location for this battle site, based on the limited documentary and place-name evidence. The justification for the location of the battle site to the NE of Great Campston Farm as given on the modern OS 1:25000 map is unclear, it could just as well have been located anywhere along the ridge of Campston Hill. No obvious evidence of earthwork features was identified within the field to the S of the unclassified lane running NE of Campston Farm. The sub-rectangular defended enclosure site on the summit of the hill to the NW of Great

²⁹ T. Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, 3 vols, rev. ed. (London 1883), III, 331

³⁰ W. Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 2 vols (London 1675-6), II, 243; The Griffiths collection of North Wales pedigrees is contained in NLW MS 7007

³¹ J.E. Lloyd, *Owain Glendower* (Oxford, 1931), 152

³² G. Hodges, *Owain Glyndwr and the War of Independence in the Welsh Borders* (Logaston, 1995), 115; R.R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr* (Oxford, 1995), 116

Campston could possibly have been used during the battle and further investigation of this feature would perhaps be merited.

The predominant soil type in the vicinity of Campston Hill consists of the stagnogleyic argillic brown earths of the MIDDLETON (572b) series, consisting of reddish fine silty soils with slowly permeable subsoils and slight seasonal waterlogging overlying Devonian shale and siltstone. In terms of acidity/alkalinity such soils are neutral to basic (pH 5.5-7). If well-drained, then preservation of bone and charcoal could be anticipated; wood will only survive in waterlogged conditions (together with a range of environmental indicators, such as fruits/seeds, molluscs and pollen/spores), while charcoal and other charred plant macrofossils may be present in intermittently wet condition, while inorganic material is also likely to survive.

Assessment of the Historic Significance of the Battle:

It is difficult to assess the significance of the battle, based on the limited available documentation. If the entry in the *Annals of Owain Glyndwr* is correct, then it represented a relatively short-lived triumph for the English; for shortly afterwards the Welsh inflicted a defeat on the English at Craig-y-dorth, pursuing them to the gates of Monmouth. The fact that the description of the Welsh victory at Craig y Dorth is placed by the Annals immediately after the account of the 'slaughter' at Campston Hill suggests that Craig-y-dorth probably occurred shortly after Campston. The interpretation of Campston as a brief check to Welsh fortunes in the southern Marches appears to correspond reasonably well with the available documentary information; the English forces do not appear to have seized the initiative in the struggle for control of the southern Marches until 1405, scoring significant victories at Grosmont and Usk (Pwll Melyn).³³

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³³ J.E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower* (Oxford, 1931), 152. For a slightly different view, see G. Hodges, *Owain Glyndwr and the War of Independence in the Welsh Borders* (Logaston, 1995), 115, who interprets Campston Hill as a 'serious defeat'.

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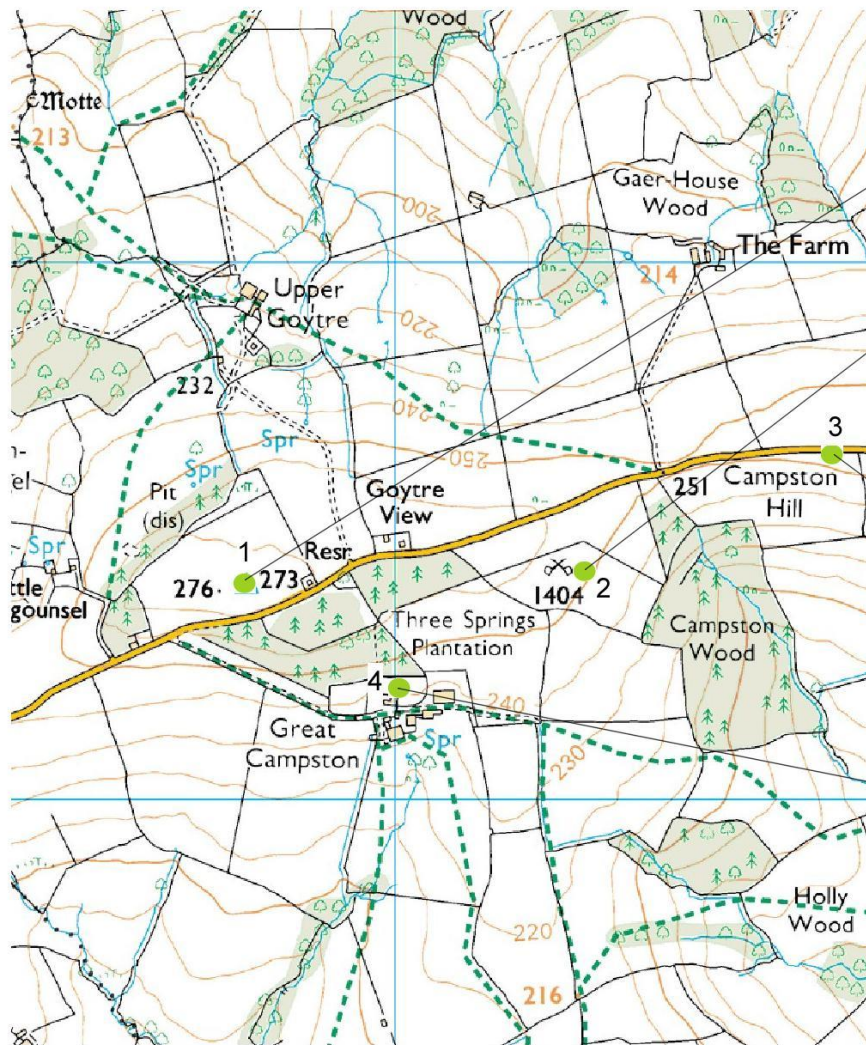
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Campston Hill
(June-Nov 1404)

1/Location of defended enclosure on summit of Campston Hill, marked on OS 1st edition map (possible battle site)

2/Location of battlefield site marked on modern OS mapping

3/Unclassified road running E-W from Grosmont to Llanfihangel Cruceomey (marked as the 'gret lane upon Camstone' on 1588 map)

4/Great Campston: Site of monastic grange of Llwyncoed belonging to Dore Abbey

Scale 1:25000