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CHAPTER 6

Family, Faith, and Status in Ideas of Medieval Knighthood at the Holy Sepulchre

Kathryn Hurlock

Introduction

In 1590, Sir Edward Stradling (d. 1609) of St Donat's in the Vale of Glamorgan commissioned three painted panels to commemorate members of his family which now hang on the north wall of the chancel of St Donat's church. One depicted Sir Edward himself with his wife, Agnes Gage; the second his grandparents, Edward Stradling and Elizabeth Herbert; the final one his great-grandparents, Thomas Stradling (d. 1480) and Jenet Mathew (d. 1534). Each couple is depicted kneeling in prayer, facing one another. Each couple is dressed in the fashions of the time in which they lived; Sir Edward (d. 1535) is wearing armour, perhaps in reference to his elevation to the Knighthood of the Bath. Above them are their respective family arms, while the boards commemorating Edward and Elizabeth, and Thomas and Jenet, also show their children kneeling in prayer.¹ On the board of Thomas and Jenet, Sir Edward had added the following inscription referring to Thomas' father, Harry (or Henry) Stradling:

The undernamed Harry Stradling, k^t, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and received the order of the Sepulchre there, as his father Edward Stradlinge, k^t, the 5th of that name, and grandfather Will^m Stradlinge, k^t, the second of that name, did – and died on the island of Cyprus in his coming home, the last of August, in the 16 yere of K. Edw^d 4th, and is buried there in the city of Famagusta.

That these three generations of the Stradling family went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the fifteenth century is widely accepted, but this is the earliest reference to them as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. In the decades after the Stradling memorial was made, more and more

¹ The images are accessible online, but were not available for publication. Cardiff, National Museum of Wales [NMW] A(L) 803, Sir Edward (1529–1609) and Lady Agnes Stradlinge (1547–1624), <https://museum.wales/art/online/?action=show_item&item=166> (accessed 28 October 2019); Cardiff, National Museum of Wales [NMW] A(L) 804; Sir Edward (d. 1535) and Lady Elizabeth (d. 1513) <https://museum.wales/art/online/?action=show_item&item=167> (accessed 28 October 2019); Cardiff, National Museum of Wales [NMW], A(L)805, Thomas (d.1480) and Elizabeth Stradlinge (d. 1533) <https://museum.wales/art/online/?action=show_item&item=168> (accessed 28 October 2019)

ancestors of the leading families of Wales and the Welsh Marches were identified as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, usually because they were believed to be crusaders. When the Welsh Herald of Arms Extraordinary, Francis Jones (1908-1993), drew up a list of them in 1979, he found that of the forty-eight British names he had found from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, thirty four were associated with Wales and the Welsh Marches, and particularly with the south, a 'preponderance' which he was 'unable to explain'.² This chapter looks at the twenty three of these individuals who were Welsh or living in Wales (rather than the Marcher lords) up to the end of the fifteenth century, and explains this particular issue in light of late medieval and early modern Welsh ideas relating to the Holy Sepulchre and family identity.

The Knights of the Holy Sepulchre are often described as an Order though in reality they had no leader and no rule, but functioned as a noble fraternity which conferred knighthood on its members. It was not uncommon for the large works on the military orders produced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to claim older origins for a variety of orders.³ The Knights of the Holy Sepulchre are not well-documented until the fourteenth century, after which accounts of knighthood in Jerusalem and membership of the Order increased.⁴ This makes it unlikely that references to members of the Order in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were real, though this did not stop them being identified in early modern genealogies. They were well established, however, by the fifteenth century. The Dominican Friar Felix Fabri (1441-502) wrote an account of a knighting ceremony he saw in Jerusalem in the early 1480s that involved applicants proving four degrees of nobility in their

² Francis Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', *Journal of the Society of the Church in Wales*, (1979), 11–33 (p. 20).

³ Alan J. Forey, 'The Emergence of the Military Order in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), 175–95 (p. 175).

⁴ Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 337.

ancestry.⁵ Dubbing as a Knight was a status symbol, and one that was recognized across Europe.

Whilst familial interest in crusading ancestors has received considerable attention in the historiography, this chapter focuses specifically on the desire to associate medieval ancestors with knighthood at the Holy Sepulchre among the families of Wales and the Welsh March.⁶ It argues that the interest in the Order shown in late-medieval Glamorgan, and in particular by the influential Sir Edward Stradling, impacted on early modern Cambro-Catholic families, for whom an ancestor who could claim knighthood at Jerusalem was a marker of status at a time when lineage, gentility, and faith were of great importance to the Welsh gentry. It uses, for the first time, Welsh genealogies from the sixteenth century onwards, as well as the visual culture of early modern Wales, to explore how claims relating to medieval ancestry, crusading, and membership of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre among the Welsh and Marcher gentry were a subtle expression of their Catholic faith, firstly in the post-Reformation period, and later after the Emancipation of Catholics in the nineteenth century. Welsh and Marcher families had their medieval ancestry augmented in the light of these changes, continuing the long tradition of altering genealogies in Wales referred to by Ben Guy as ‘pedigree growth’, when medieval genealogical tracts were altered to reflect changing political requirements.⁷ In this way Welsh Catholic families used memories of medieval Jerusalem, real or imagined, to create a distinct identity, different from their English neighbours, but one which tied them to co-religionists across Europe.

The Stradlings of St Donats

⁵ *Felix Fabri (c. 1480–1483 A.D.)*, trans. by Aubrey Steward, 2 vols (London: Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society, 1896), i, pp. 608–21.

⁶ *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading*, ed. by M. Cassidy-Welch (Routledge: Abingdon, 2017); Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

⁷ Ben Guy, ‘The earliest Welsh genealogies: textual layering and the phenomenon of ‘pedigree growth’’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 26 (2018), 462–85.

The Stradling family of St Donat's in the Vale of Glamorgan were *advenae*, settlers who came to Wales as part of the waves of Anglo-Normans and English who settled across Wales. Their origins are obscure, but they probably came to England in the service of the Savoyard Otto de Grandison (d. 1328), and settled at St Donat's during the reign of Edward I when Peter de Stradling married its heiress, Joan. Over the following century they firmly established their position in south-Walian society, and that of the West Country, by intermarrying with other gentry families, extending estates across Glamorganshire and into the west country.⁸ Peter de Stradling was custodian of Neath Castle in 1296–7, and his son Edward took over the patronage of the Cistercian Abbey of Neath and granted the monks the advowson of St Donat's church. Intriguingly given their later interest in the Holy Land, it was probably under Edward's patronage that the abbey was decorated with floor tiles depicting Saladin and Richard I.⁹ By the end of the fourteenth century they were becoming one of the most important families in south Wales.

At some point in the last years of Richard II's reign (1377–99), but certainly before 1407, William Stradling went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.¹⁰ His son Edward reputedly went on pilgrimage in 1453, dying at Jerusalem. William's grandson, Harry Stradling, undertook the pilgrimage to Jerusalem via Rome in 1476, his detour to ensure that he secured a pardon for his wife, Elizabeth, from the pope. His letter home to her from Rome accompanying the pardon survives, relating his experiences in Rome and advising her that he

⁸ Ralph Griffiths, 'The Rise of the Stradlings of St Donat's', *Morgannwg*, 7 (1963), 15–47.

⁹ Rhys Merrick (d. *circa.* 1586), the genealogist and historian, wrote to Sir Edward in December 1574 to ask to borrow the register, which he already seen at St Donat's. *Stradling Correspondence: a series of letters written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth* ed. by John M. Traherne (London: Longman, 1840), p. 168; the seal matrix if referred to in Edward Stradling's (d. 1535) will. Graham C. G. Thomas, 'The Stradling Library at St Donat's, Glamorgan', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 24 (1986), 402–19 (p. 404).

¹⁰ Kathryn Hurlock, *Medieval Welsh Pilgrimage, c. 1100–1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2018), pp. 114–16; he is identified as a "chivaler" in 1399 and 1400, though there is no indication of where the knighthood was obtained: *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry IV, Vol I: 1399–1401* (London: HMSO., 1903), p. 289; *Calendar of Fine Rolls, Henry IV, Vol XII, 1399–1405* (London: HMSO, 1931), p. 3; Rice Merrick, *Morganiae archaiographia: A Book of the Antiquities of Glamorganshire*, ed. by Brian Ll. James, (Barry Island: South Wales Record Society, Volume 1, 1983), p. 43; David Powell, *A Historie of Cambria, Now Called Wales* (London: Ralf Newberie and Henrie Denham, 1584), p. 138.

was hoping to continue his journey east to Jerusalem via Venice.¹¹ According to the Rev. Gamage, he also wrote an account of his trip to Jerusalem which later found its way home to St Donat's, presumably after his death at Famagusta in 1476. It included poems in Latin, Welsh, French, and Italian to the Holy Sepulchre, and was kept in the family library with his letter to Elizabeth.¹² His written account functioned as a guide—both practical and spiritual—but it served another role in the family as a memorial for Harry Stradling within the private sphere of his family. In this way his widow Elizabeth, as the work's recipient, served as keeper of the family memory of Jerusalem, something which she could have passed on to her son Thomas on whose board the family's pilgrimage activities are recorded.¹³ Though subsequent generations of the family did not go to Jerusalem, they remained interested in local pilgrimage, perhaps taking over patronage of the Marian shrine at Penrhys in the Rhondda in the early sixteenth century.¹⁴

In none of the contemporary evidence is there reference to any of these men securing knighthood at the Holy Sepulchre, though at least one from Glamorgan did in the fifteenth century, as did one man from north Wales in the sixteenth. Sir Hugh Johnys (d. *circa* 1485) is commemorated in a memorial brass of *c.* 1510 which used to be in St Mary's Church, Swansea. In the inscription, Sir Hugh is described being 'made knight at the holy sepulcre [sic] of oure lord ihū crist in the city of Jerusalem the xiii day of August the yere of our lord gode MXXXlj'.¹⁵ It also relates his service fighting for the Emperor of Constantinople against the 'Turkis and sarsyns'. Another possible Knight of the Holy Sepulchre was Sir John

¹¹ West Glamorgan Archives, RISW GGF 3.

¹² 'Extract of a Letter from the Rev. E. Gamage to Llywelyn ab Ifan, Nov 12, 1726', in *The Doom of Colyn Dolphyn: A Poem, with Notes Illustrative of Various Traditions in Glamorganishire*, ed. by Taliesin Williams (London: Longman, 1837), p. 90.

¹³ For discussion of the role of women and crusading memory, see Anne E. Lester, 'What Remains: Women, Relics and Remembrance in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History*, 40 (2014), 311–28.

¹⁴ *Gwaith Lewis Morgannwg II* ed. by A. Cynfael Lake (Aberystwyth: Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2006), pp. 503–05, lines 61–2.

¹⁵ The brass was lost in the Blitz of 1941, but rubbings survive from the nineteenth century. John M. Lewis, *Welsh Monumental Brasses: A Guide* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1974), pp. 42–43.

Morgan of Tredegar, whose lost tomb in St Woolo's in Newport was once decorated with shield bearing a cross, supposed to be reference to his knighthood. He certainly adopted the cross on his personal seal following his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as it was referred to by the poet Gwilym Tew in his verse on Sir John's pilgrimage.¹⁶ In the sixteenth century, Richard Clough of Denbighshire (d. 1570) also attained knighthood in Jerusalem. Richard, a Protestant merchant active on the continent, was lamented by the poet William Cynwal (d. 1587/8), who referred to his knighthood and pilgrimage, incorporated the badge of knighthood into his own arms and into the stained-glass windows at his house at Bachegraig, and chose to have it depicted on a portrait painted in c. 1550, possibly in Antwerp.¹⁷ It is also possible that Hugh Holland, who went to Jerusalem at the start of the seventeenth century was a Knight, though as Thomas Fuller put it in the 1660s, 'he was not made, or he would not own himself' as such when he returned to England.¹⁸ It could be that he was knighted and declined to use the title in England as it would not have been looked on favourably by Elizabeth I (r. 1533–1603), a factor which seems to have prevented Richard Clough's use of it even though he proudly displayed his connection to the Order in Wales.

Sir Edward Stradling's claim in 1590 to have ancestors who were Knights of the Holy Sepulchre was not extraordinary, though it was unusual in Wales to commemorate them in the way that he did by including information about them on painted memorial panels. His decision to do so stemmed from his interest in the status of his family, their faith, and his fascination with genealogy and history. It was also part of wider work to promote his family and status: after he inherited St Donat's from his father, Sir Edward expended considerable

¹⁶ 'Syr Sion a'r Groes a rei sel. [The Cross upon his Seal]'. For the full text of the poem, see D. R. Thomas, 'Sir John Morgan of Tredegar', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1884), 35–45 (pp. 40, 42); G. Hartwell-Jones, *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrimage Movement* (London: Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion, 1912), p. 146.

¹⁷ National Library of Wales Portrait Collection No. 99233549802419; late eighteenth-century engraving by James Basire, National Portrait Gallery D25450 and D33536; Thomas Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, ed. by John Rhys, 3 vols, (Caernarvon: H. Humphreys, 1883), ii, p. 135; for William Cynwal's elegy, see John William Burgon, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, 2 vols, (London: Robert Jennings, 1849), ii, pp. 372–74.

¹⁸ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, John Nichols. New Edition, 2 vols, (London, 1811), ii, p. 567.

time and money in developing the estate, accumulating one of the most important libraries in early modern Wales.¹⁹ Late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Welsh members of the gentry were fascinated by their own genealogies, real or invented, and expended considerable energy having them researched and drawn up to prove their gentle status, or praised in poetry.²⁰ In his discussion of Glamorgan gentry, Glanmor Williams described:

The passionate interest of the Welsh in genealogy, their intense pride in their pedigree, and their acute sensitivity on the subject were all a source of amusement to their English contemporaries.²¹

Sir Edward was little different. He fabricated an account of ‘The Winning of the Lordship of Glamorgan’ (c. 1561–66), in which he claimed his ancestors were among the twelve knights to accompany Robert FitzHamon in his conquest of Glamorgan.²² His decision to focus on heraldry in these images, and to include the information about knighthood, was all about emphasizing the Stradling family status as members of the gentry. Esteemed reputation was one of the five main ‘patrilineal features’ that defined the concept of gentility in the bardic culture of late medieval Wales and early modern Wales.²³ This was particularly important for Edward who was praised by contemporaries for ‘maintaining his reputation above all else’, the archdeacon of Brecon commenting in 1580 ‘yow p’fer yo’r credite before yor owne p’vate wealth’ (‘you prefer your credit before your own private wealth’).²⁴ Edward was also singled out for putting ‘the peace of a religious conscience before the ‘p’vise pelf of this

¹⁹ Edward paid for the printing of 1,250 copies of his *Grammar* in 1592, wrote an account of the Norman conquest of Glamorgan which, though historically inaccurate, proved very influential after it was incorporated into the first published history of Wales, David Powel’s *Historie of Cambria* (1584); Thomas, ‘The Stradling Library at St. Donats’, 402–19; Elisabeth Whittle, ‘The Tudor Gardens of St Donat’s Castle, Glamorgan, South Wales’, *Garden History*, 27 (1999), 109–26.

²⁰ J. Gwynfor Jones, ‘The Gentry of East Glamorgan: Welsh Cultural Dimensions, 1540–1640’, *Morgannwg*, 37 (1993), 8–39 (pp. 16–17).

²¹ Glanmor Williams, ‘Glamorgan Society, 1536–1642’, in *Glamorgan County History iv* ed. by Glanmor Williams, (Cardiff: Glamorgan County History Trust Ltd, 1974), pp. 77–78.

²² Powell, *The Historie of Cambria*, pp. xxiv–xxv.

²³ John Gwynfor Jones, *The Welsh Gentry, 1536-1640* 2nd ed. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016), p. 23. The others are a country seat, land and property, family archives and direct line of descent or hereditary title, but check the book again for detail.

²⁴ *Stradling Correspondence*, p. 90.

transitory worlde'.²⁵ In 1592, in his *Cambrobrytannicae Cymraecaeve Linguae Institutiones et Rudimenta* to his patron Sir Edward, Siôn Dafydd Rhys (1534–c. 1609), he celebrated him for being 'yr ydych yn hyglood ar gyfrif eich hynafiaid ac mae gennych eich lle yn sedd eich hynafaid' ('renowned on account of your ancestors and you have your place in your ancestors' seat').²⁶ He went on to praise him for his humanity and genius, his education and sense of community, all virtues aspired to by the early modern gentleman.

As part of highlighting his family lineage, Sir Edward chose to develop the family mausoleum at St Donat's which had been started in the wake of the closure of the Dominican Friary in Cardiff in 1537, when Thomas Stradling's (d. 1480) remains had been removed to the chancel of St Donat's. Later in 1573, the remains were moved once again to the new Stradling Chapel at St Donat's.²⁷ The paintings Sir Edward commissioned would provide memorials to family members whose remains had been moved, but by including references to the pilgrims Edward and Harry, who had died in Jerusalem and Famagusta respectively, he was also providing a memorial for relations buried overseas. He included the memorial depicting himself and his wife, despite the fact that they were both still alive, to signify his place in the family scheme. Yet the status of Knight of the Sepulchre must have held some particular importance for Sir Edward because he did not choose to highlight other honours bestowed on his ancestors: Sir Edward (d. 1535) was dubbed Knight of the Bath in 1513, but no mention is made of that on Edward's memorial board. Undertaking the Jerusalem pilgrimage was a sign of social prestige in the late Middle Ages, and the desire to commemorate it in various ways, both visual and written, was not uncommon. The beneficial

²⁵ *Stradling Correspondence*, p. 90.

²⁶ *Rhagymadroddion a Chyflwyniadau Lladin, 1551–1632* ed. by Ceri Davies (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980), p. 75.

²⁷ Thomas Stradling's memorial records his removal from the Dominican Friary to the chancel, and then to the Stradling chapel. Sir Edward Stradling's (d. 1535) memorial board relates how he was buried in the chancel in 1536 but translated to the chapel by his nephew, another Edward Stradling, in 1573. His wife's remains had already been moved from the Merthyr Mawr (where she had died in 1513) to the church in 1536.

impact on social status was limited for those with titles, but for the middling rank of men, those members of the gentry without title, Jerusalem pilgrimage, and more specifically knighthood at the Sepulchre, had the potential to distinguish them from their peers.

Moreover, few men were made knights in fifteenth-century Wales, so to claim that the family had knightly ancestors from that time marked them out as the elite. The Stradlings, as some of the leading men of Glamorgan, would thus want to highlight such an honour.²⁸

Finally, Sir Edward's interest in family genealogy and status, and in remembering family members who had been to Jerusalem, was given fresh impetus in the year before these memorial boards were produced. Though Sir Edward and Agnes Gage had been married since 1567, they had no children and so the Stradling estate was due to pass to Edward's great-nephew, John Stradling. In 1589, John's father died leaving him with only a silver salt cellar by way of inheritance in the full expectation that the St Donat's legacy would provide for him instead. Perhaps mindful of the end of his direct line, and reminded of it by the death of John's father, Sir Edward sought to commemorate his ancestors and remind Sir John of his ancestry.

Catholicism in Reformation Wales

Reference to knighthood in Jerusalem by Sir Edward was also a subtle way of showing his religious conviction. In the late sixteenth century, Wales had quite a reputation as a bastion of the Old Faith with particular concentrations of recusant families in south-east and north-east Wales. In late 1575, William Allen claimed that in addition to several parts of northern England, Catholicism continued 'throughout ancient Britain—Wales as they call it—[where] cities and populous towns are less corrupted'.²⁹ In 1605, when Bishop Robert of

²⁸ Jan van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus: Studies in Late-Medieval Religious Life-Devotions and Pilgrimages in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 306; Penry Williams, 'The Political and Administrative History of Glamorgan, 1536–1642', in *Glamorgan County History* iv, p. 166.

²⁹ 'Dr Allen to Father Everard Mercurian on the Conversion of England. Anon. Probably Rome, 1575–6', in *Publications of the Public Record Society: Miscellanea VII Vol IX*. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1901), p. 63.

Hereford (1603-17) raided Monmouthshire homes in his search for Jesuit priests, he ‘found houses full of alters [sic], images, books of superstition, reliques of idolatry, but left desolate of men and women’ who had ‘fledd into Wales’.³⁰ The protection afforded to Catholics, and specifically to the Jesuit mission, was boosted by the fact that Edward Somerset, fourth earl of Worcester (1550–1628), a major landowner of lands in Wales and the border, gave the Jesuits estates.³¹ Only three years before Sir Edward had the memorial boards painted, an Act had stipulated that recusants had to pay a fine of £20 per annum, something that few, if any, could afford. Sir Edward Stradling was sympathetic to the strain it placed on his friends, apparently undervaluing the estate of William Griffith of Llanvithyn in 1587 so that he paid less than the Act demanded.³²

His sympathy to Catholics may have reflected the strong Catholic faith of the rest of his family. His father, Sir Thomas Stradling, was a well-known Catholic who was appointed to search out heretics by Mary I in 1557.³³ Under her sister, Elizabeth I, he spent time in the Tower of London for the promotion of a miraculous cross that appeared in a storm-damaged tree on the St Donat’s estate in 1559. It was soon resorted to by eager pilgrims, and four drawings of it, commissioned by Sir Thomas and distributed for the benefit of those who could not visit in person, reached the continent and the papal court.³⁴ A poem was composed in its honour.³⁵ He was eventually released, but the criticism his overt Catholicism attracted perhaps suggests one reason why he was not chosen for commemoration when his son

³⁰ National Archives, SP 14/14 f. 116, quoted in Hannah Thomas, ‘The Society of Jesus in Wales, c. 1600–79: rediscovering the Cwm Jesuit Library at Hereford Cathedral’, *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 1.4 (2014), 572–88 (p. 575).

³¹ Thomas, ‘The Society of Jesus in Wales’, 579.

³² Frank H. Pugh, ‘William Griffith of Llanvuthyn: a Glamorgan Recusant’, *Morgannwg*, 30 (1986), 8–19 (p. 14).

³³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Philip and Mary Volume III: 1555–57* (London: HMSO., 1938), pp. 281–82.

³⁴ Cardiff Central Library Hafod MS 6. ff. 106–7 is a Catholic work in Welsh which includes the image.

³⁵ For a discussion of the miracle, see T. G. Law, ‘The Miraculous Cross of St Donat’s’, *English Historical Review*, (1886), 513–17; David Williams, ‘The Miracles at St Donat’s’ *The Welsh Review*, 6 (1947), 33–38; George T. Clark, ‘The Cross at St Donat’s’, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 3rd Series, 11 (1865), 33–48. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547–80*, ed. by Robert Lemon (London: HMSO, 1856), p. 177; for the depositions taken at St Donat’s in 1561: TNA SP 12/17, ff. 41r–42r; TNA SP 12/17, ff.39r–v.

ordered the panels to his forbears, and to himself, to be painted in 1590. Whether or not he was a practising Catholic is not known, but by the mid-sixteenth century adherence to Catholicism had become synonymous with Welsh identity, Protestantism viewed as an ‘English’ idea, as *ffydd Saeson* (the faith of the English), and as such would have complemented Sir Edward’s fervent interest and pride in Welsh history. These views were tempered somewhat under Elizabeth I, but feelings against the English imposition of the reformed religion was so strong in some parts of Wales that in the early seventeenth century, the poet Edward Dafydd composed a work to stimulate rebellion against it.³⁶

Moreover, the choice of design for the Stradling memorial—images of couples kneeling in prayer—was a pre-Reformation style that was firmly Catholic in context.³⁷ Its location in the chancel of St Donat’s church means that it would have been displayed in a largely private space, the church being used by the family and members of the Stradling household. It was similar to the more ornate and overtly Catholic memorial to the Towneley family in Lancashire (c. 1601), but lacked the more religious imagery of that work, perhaps because that would have been a step too far for the conformist Edward.³⁸ The form was unusual for Wales, but it could be found in Herefordshire where the recusant Margery de la Downes (d. 1598) and her husband George were commemorated in a similar way in Bishops Frome church.³⁹ Family faith was also highlighted in this work, the coat of arms on the memorial showing the Stradling descent from the Turbevilles, an ‘outstanding recusant family’ at the time.⁴⁰

³⁶ R. Geraint Gruffydd, ‘Awdl Wrthryfelgar gan Edward Dafydd’, *Llên Cymru*, 5 (1959), 155–63.

³⁷ Sally Badham, ‘Kneeling in Prayer: English Commemorative Art, 1330–1670’, *The British Art Journal*, 16 (2015), 58–72 (p. 58).

³⁸ Badham, ‘Kneeling in Prayer’, 58–59.

³⁹ *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls, 1581-1592*, ed. by Hugh Bowler and Timothy J. McCann. Catholic Record Society Publications, 71 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1986), p. 5.

⁴⁰ E. Gareth Jones, ‘Tudor Glamorgan and the Historian’, *Morgannwg*, 18 (1974), 12–30 (p. 26).

The Stradling family's faith suggests another reason for Edward's desire to refer to the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre in his commemorations: continental influences. In the late sixteenth century, there was a fashion for commemorating Jerusalem pilgrims in the Low Countries where some of Edward's siblings had gone into exile. Here there was a clear trend for commemorating Jerusalem pilgrims and knighthood at the Holy Sepulchre in portraits, stained glass, and memorial works, and it is not inconceivable that information about this particular style of commemoration found its way to Edward either through family communiques, or from the exiled Catholic community in the Low Countries.⁴¹ Thus the unusual memorial may have been influenced by the style of the Low Countries via the Anglo-Welsh Catholic community in exile, and used as a way to remind John Stradling and others of the lineage of the Stradling family at a time when the inheritance of the estate was passing away from the main line, and to underscore the ways in which the Catholic faith of the Stradlings was so under threat.

Three of Edward's own siblings lived in exile abroad so that they could practice their faith. His younger brother David (b. 1537) lived in the Low Countries, and at one time went to Madrid to train as a priest.⁴² His sister Damascine (or Damascene, whose name itself signalled the devotion of her family to the Holy Land) settled in Louvain as maid of honour to the duchess of Feria (Jane Dormer (d. 1612), as was) in the household which became the 'base for the Catholic exiles' before she moved with her mistress to Spain.⁴³ Jane (or Gwennllian), another sister, also lived abroad.⁴⁴ Edward chose not to go into exile, head as he was of his family's estates, and was to all appearances loyal to the English crown, even

⁴¹ John Gage wrote to Edward from Liege expressing his concern that letters were not safely arriving with him. *Stradling Correspondence*, p. 220. Hugh Owen of the Llyn Peninsula functioned as the Catholic intelligencer in the Low Countries. See Albert Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: the English Exiles at the Court of Philip III (The S.E.)* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1963), pp. 53–93.

⁴² Pugh, 'William Griffith of Llanvuthyn', 9.

⁴³ Anna Maria Orofino, 'Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt: David Stradling (1537–c.1595) and His Circle of Welsh Catholic Exiles in Continental Europe', *Recusant History* 32 (2015), 139–58 (p. 145); *Stradling Correspondence* pp. 342–48.

⁴⁴ *Stradling Correspondence* p. 221.

reporting information of a Catholic plot to the Council in the Marches.⁴⁵ That he did so no doubt reflected a desire to maintain his position without drawing the wrath of the authorities down for his continued adherence to Catholicism. Having been an active MP in two Marian parliaments, he retired to his Welsh estates with the accession of Elizabeth I where, though he was conformist, he was no reformer. Wales actually had a strong Catholic presence at this time, and was seen as ‘the stronghold of the Catholics’ throughout the sixteenth century, several commentators complaining about the Welsh reluctance to surrender their Catholic practices and even, according to the Spanish ambassador writing in 1543, threatening to kill any preachers sent into Wales.⁴⁶ The adherence to traditional Catholic practices by Welshmen and women who considered themselves members of the Established Church was not, by any means, unusual, as a substantial number continued to engage in practices that were synonymous with Catholicism, such as the veneration of holy wells, or the use of commemorative cross-slabs which had fallen out of favour in England, particularly in south-east Wales.⁴⁷

The Influence of the Stradlings

The identification of three generations of the Stradling family as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre by Sir Edward Stradling, the development of the library at St Donat’s under his guidance, and his widely respected position as a scholar and genealogist may account for the marked increase in the numbers of Knights of the Holy Sepulchre appearing in Welsh genealogies in the early seventeenth century. Men with an interest in history and genealogy regularly wrote to Sir Edward for assistance, or asked to borrow books; the library he

⁴⁵ Orofino, ‘Coelum non animum’, p. 150. For the letter in which Edward Stradling reported a Catholic plot to the Council of the Marches in May 1578, see *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs, Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas, Volume 2.*, ed. by Martin A. S. Hume, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 579.

⁴⁶ *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Vatican Archives, Volume 1 1558–71* (London: HMSO., 1916), p. 389. James A. Froude, *History of England: from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (London, 1887), vi, p. 190.

⁴⁷ Madeleine Gray, ‘Post-Medieval Cross Slabs in South-East Wales: Closet Catholics or Stubborn Traditionalists?’, *Antiquaries Journal* 96 (2016), 207–40.

amassed in his lifetime ‘became at once the envy and the quarry of many historians and antiquarians in both England and Wales’.⁴⁸ According to Antony Wood, he was known ‘for his eminent encouragement of learning and learned men, and for his great expense and indefatigable industry in collecting together several monuments and ancient manuscripts of learning and antiquity’.⁴⁹ His ability to determine genealogies that enhanced the prestige of his contemporaries was sought out by Sir William Cecil, who appealed to Sir Edward to bring him his pedigree (which Edward had traced, erroneously, to Robert FitzHamon (d. 1107) and the first Normans in Glamorgan), which then inspired Sir William to claim origins in Glamorgan and the Welsh March.⁵⁰ Gervase Babington, bishop of Llandaff (c. 1550-1610), also wrote to him to ask for guidance on his own writing, whilst Sir Nichols Poyntz of Tockington appealed for his aid in verifying his family history in 1584.⁵¹ When Henry Vernon was researching his own pedigrees, he wrote to Sir Edward because he had been ‘informed there remayne in yo^r handes dyvers pedigrees and notes’.⁵²

In about the same year that Sir Edward commissioned the panels at St Donat’s, a pedigree of Welsh families identified John Carne of Nether Gwent (c. 1300–50) as a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre.⁵³ Two branches of his direct descendants were among the leading Catholic gentry of south Wales. Thomas Carne of Ewenny (c. 1538–1603) was identified as a Catholic on a list drawn up for Mary Queen of Scots in 1574, and accused of failing to engage in Anglican worship by the bishop of Llandaff three years later.⁵⁴ On the Nash branch of the family, Thomas’ niece Jane married the Catholic William Griffith of Llanvithyn (c.

⁴⁸ Ceri W. Lewis, ‘The Literary History of Glamorgan from 1550 to 1770’, in *Glamorgan County History*, iv, 535–639, p. 594).

⁴⁹ A. Lewis, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, ed. by P. Bliss (Oxford, 1813–20), II, column 50.

⁵⁰ Merrick, *Morganiae archaio-graphia*, p. 150.

⁵¹ *Stradling Correspondence* pp. 277, 284–85.

⁵² *Stradling Correspondence* pp. 288–89.

⁵³ British Library Add. MS. 18114, c. 1590. See also British Library MS. Harl. 5835, a book of English and Welsh Pedigrees, c. 1610.

⁵⁴ Patrick Ryan, ‘Diocesan returns of recusants for England and Wales 1577’, in *Publications of the Catholic Record Society Miscellanea XXII* (London, 1921), pp. 1–114 (p. 94).

1545–1605).⁵⁵ But there were also links between the Carne and Stradling families: when William Griffith went into exile on the continent in the early 1570s he joined a group of Catholics that included Edward Stradling's younger brother, David, and in 1587 when William Carne was fined for his recusancy, it seems that Edward Stradling, in his capacity as local commissioner, undervalued William's estates so that he paid a lower fine.⁵⁶

More significantly, Sir Edward Stradling had a hand, together with Sir Edward Mansel, in securing the patent for a heraldic visitation of Wales in 1585 for the Welsh poet and genealogist Lewis Dwnn (d. 1616), and consulted him and others for his research.⁵⁷ Between then and 1614 he collected pedigrees of Welsh families in his capacity as deputy herald-at-arms for Wales. Lewis Dwnn was the first to describe Aaron ap Bledri, lord of Cilsant, as 'Marchog Bed Crist' and Elidir Ddu as 'marchog o grefydd' and 'marchog o Rods'.⁵⁸ He also identified Harry Salusbury as a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre.⁵⁹ Dwnn disclosed that he got the information about another Knight, Owen Perrot, from some unidentified records held by George Owen of Henllys, whose driving ambition (according to Francis Jones), was 'to prove that he was a blood descendent of the Norman Martins, the first Lords Marcher of Cemes', the lordship which his father had bought in 1543.⁶⁰ He was the first man to compose a corpus of Pembrokeshire families. As part of his methodology, he wrote to gentry families in the county asking them for information on, among other things,

⁵⁵ John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4 vols, (London: Henry Colburn, 1838), iv, p. 480.

⁵⁶ Pugh, 'William Griffith of Llanvithyn', pp. 9, 13

⁵⁷ Lewis Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations of Wales and Part of the Marches, Between the Years 1586 and 1613, under the authority of Clarencieux and Norroy, two kings at arms* Samuel Rush Meyrick, 2 vols., (Llandovery: William Rees, 1846), ii, p. 7; Williams, 'Glamorgan Society, 1536–1642', in *Glamorgan County History iv*, p. 80.

⁵⁸ Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, i, pp. 65, 114.

⁵⁹ Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, ii, p. 331.

⁶⁰ Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, ii, p. 257. See also B.G. Charles, *George Owen of Henllys: A Welsh Elizabethan* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales Press, 1973), p. 111; Francis Jones, 'An Approach to Welsh Genealogy', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion*, (1949 for 1948), 303–466, (p. 379); W. R. B. Robinson, 'Knighted Welsh Landowners, 1485–1558: Corrigenda', *Welsh History Review*, 19 (1998–99), 517–25 (p. 524).

church memorials which might account for the identification of Aaron as a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, as his reputed effigy in Llangattock church was identified as such.⁶¹ There was also a link between the Perrots and the Stradlings which might account for the influence of one family on another, as Owen Perrot was the patron of several churches in Pembrokeshire of which a William Stradling, a younger brother of the Stradlings of St Donat's, was the incumbent and with whom Perrot had 'a particularly close relationship'.⁶² The interest in recusancy in sixteenth century might also explain the belief, without basis, that two members of the Salusbury (or Salisbury) family were Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. Thomas Salisbury of Lleweni went to Oxford, where he apparently joined the Babington plot against Elizabeth I.⁶³

Several other individuals were identified as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre by works written at around the time Lewis Dwnn was composing his *Heraldic Visitations*. Glover's 1580 *Visitation of Cheshire* named Steven Bamville, grandson of Alexander de Strouton the Steward of earl Ranulph of Chester (d. 1237), as a 'Knight of Jerusalem', and claimed that Steven's brother Alexander was 'slaine in the Holy Land'.⁶⁴ John Williams, an obscure man who apparently invented several of the genealogies in this work,⁶⁵ claimed that Cyllin Ynyfyd (d. circa 1100), probably from Anglesey, was a Knight in his *Llyfr Baglan* (c. 1600–07) even though at the time Cyllin reputedly lived there is no firm evidence that men were dubbed knights of this order in Jerusalem.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Richard Fenton, *Tours in Wales (1804-1813)*, ed. by John Fisher (London: The Bedford Press, 1917), pp. 74–5.

⁶² Roger K. Turvey, 'Priest and Patron: a Study of a Gentry Family's Patronage of the Church in South-West Wales in the later Middle Ages', *Journal of the Welsh Ecclesiastical Society*, 8 (1991), 17, 19.

⁶³ Enid P. Roberts, 'The Renaissance in the Vale of Clwyd', *Flintshire Historical Society*, (1954–5), 52–63 (p. 55).

⁶⁴ *The Visitation of Cheshire in the Year 1580 made by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald*, ed. by John Paul Rylands (London: Harleian Society, 1882), pp. 212–13.

⁶⁵ Jones, 'An Approach to Welsh Genealogy', p. 377.

⁶⁶ *Llyfr Baglan: or The Book of Baglan, compiled between the years 1600 and 1607*, ed. by Joseph Alfred Bradney (London: Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, 1910), p. 301. This book also refers to John Pye of The Mynd in Herefordshire who went on pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem in the fifteenth century on pilgrimage. It

Another cluster of men identified as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre appears in the *Golden Grove Book of Pedigrees*. The *Golden Grove Book* was transcribed under the patronage of Edmund Pryce of Rhydyberne (c. 1692–1774) from pedigrees drawn up by William Lewes of Llwynderw (1651–1722). Lewes probably based on them on the pedigrees of David Edwardes.⁶⁷ Francis Jones argued that the *Golden Grove Book* was ultimately based on the Protheroe MSS which are in the handwriting of George Owen of Henllys (d. 1613) and, that following his death, they were copied and extended by George William Griffith (d. 1653).⁶⁸ The *Golden Grove* book identifies two more Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, Griffith ab Eilidir Goch of Carmarthenshire (c. 1200) and Tudor ap Grono of Montgomeryshire (c. 1250). David Edwardes of Rhydgorse was also responsible for drawing up the West Wales pedigrees, later added to by William Lewes and Hugh Thomas, that listed Elidur Ddu as a Knight.⁶⁹

One of the most intriguing individuals associated with knighthood at the Holy Sepulchre at this time was a member of the Stedman family of Strata Florida, the former Cistercian abbey in mid-Wales, who had settled there in the early 1570s. According to the Dale Castle MS (c. 1709), a man called Stedman, son of the ‘Duke of Arabia’, had been banished and found his way to Jerusalem at the time of the Third Crusade. There he impressed Richard I, was made a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, and returned to England where he married a Joan Tatshal. Ten generations later, his descendants in the Stedman family acquired Strata Florida Abbey in Cardiganshire.⁷⁰ There is no contemporary evidence for a Stedman on the Third Crusade, but it appears to have been widely believed in the late

refers to him doing the ‘24 acts of Chivalry’ but does not explicitly say he became a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁶⁷ Jones, ‘An Approach’, pp. 462–63.

⁶⁸ Jones, ‘An Approach’, pp. 458–59

⁶⁹ Jones, ‘An Approach’, p. 460.

⁷⁰ Dale Castle Book of Pedigrees in the hand of Iaco Dewi (James Davies, 1648–1722): National Library of Wales MS 14214B. See also NLW Peniarth MS 156, showing the pedigrees of gentry families.

sixteenth century because reference to Sir John Stedman, sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1580, and his association with the Duke of Arabia, appears in Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitation*.⁷¹ The story may have come not from genealogical fact, but from the romantic play *Common Conditions* (1576), which opens with a character called 'Sedmond' being expelled from the court of the Duke of Arabia.⁷² It seems probable that the Stedman family, seeking more illustrious origins, used this story to claim descent from the Duke of *Common Conditions* rather than because of any adherence to Catholicism, the emphasis seemingly on the 'fact' that they were descended from a Duke more than anything else. The inclusion of a reference to knighthood at the Holy Sepulchre could have been an assumption made by later genealogists who erroneously associated the Third Crusade with knighthood.⁷³

Catholicism or Traditionalism?

Sir Edward Stradling's influence as an antiquarian and genealogist was just one part of the coincidence of influences which led to the identification of so many Knights of the Holy Sepulchre in Wales in the decades around c. 1600. Religion may also have had a part to play, as most of these named individuals were ancestors of families which were still practising Catholics in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. For these families, a pilgrim or crusading ancestor, and particularly one who had secured knighthood at the Holy Sepulchre, lent a degree of social prestige; in naming them, Welsh and Marcher families could claim the same illustrious background as one of the leading families of Glamorgan.

⁷¹ Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, I, p. 19; John Roland Phillips, *A List of the Sheriffs of Cardiganshire, from A.D. 1539 to A.D. 1868* (Carmarthen: Morgan & Davies, 1868), p. 8.

⁷² *Five Anonymous Plays*, ed. by John S. Farmer, Early English Drama Society (Guildford: Charles W. Traylen, 1908), p. 186.

⁷³ 'H.F.F' suggested that the Stedmans of Strata Florida held on to it because they had 'what may be called a superstitious reverence for their old faith.' H. F. F., 'Catholic "Survivals" in Wales', in *Bye-gones relating to Wales and the Border Counties* (Jan-March, 1901), 33–4 (p. 33). It seems, however, that the new owners of Strata Florida did not support Catholicism as so many gentry families in Wales did at this time. James Cunnane, 'Ceredigion and the Old Faith', *Ceredigion: Journal of the Ceredigion Antiquarian Society*, XII (1994), 3–34 (p. 6).

There was another resurgence of interest in claiming medieval ancestry which included Knights of the Holy Sepulchre in the nineteenth century, perhaps encouraged by the growing emancipation of Catholics in Britain and Ireland, which culminated with the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829.⁷⁴ John Burke's 1838 *Genealogical and Heraldic History* identified a number of individuals believed to have achieved knighthood during, and as a result of, the crusades:

Sir Aron [sic] ab Rhys ab Bledri, lord of Kil Saint [Cilsant], and knight of the Sepulchre, who went with Richard Coeur de Lion to Palestine against the infidels...During the crusades, and after, Wales seems to have supplied its quota of knights to the order of the Grand Cross. Their names occurred occasionally in MS. Pedigrees, such as Sir Gruffydd ab Elidyr Goch (Rufus), Sir Harry Ddu (Niger)[Salisbury], Sir Matthew Caradog of Swansea, knight of Rhodes; Sir John Rudd, of the family of Rudds of Aberglasney...who had been governor of Ystrad Meyrig [sic] castle.⁷⁵

Several of these names were those from Dwnn's *Visitations* or the *Golden Grove Book*, but I know of no other reference to Matthew Caradog as a Knight of Rhodes.⁷⁶ Though there is no supporting evidence for John Rudd's participation in the crusade movement, it is plausible that he joined the Third Crusade in response to Archbishop Baldwin's 1188 preaching tour of Wales, though there is no evidence that he became a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre.⁷⁷

It was also in another edition of Burke's, his *Landed Gentry* of 1847, that Madoc ap Caradoc was first described as a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre.⁷⁸ Two Welshmen descended from Madoc Caradoc were also identified with this title—Madoc ap Meurig and his grandson Griffith Gethin, apparently knighted by Richard II—but not in Burke's book. They are first listed in the *Genealogy of the Earls of Landaff* (c.1895), a work that reportedly traced the genealogy of the Irishman Francis, second earl of Llandaff (d. 1833) back to his origins in

⁷⁴ For the revival of Catholicism in the wake of the Act, see Mary Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 6–9; Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 177–206.

⁷⁵ Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1838), iv, p. 382.

⁷⁶ Carmarthenshire Archives, GB 0211 CAWDOR, *Golden Grove Book*, p. 197.

⁷⁷ Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades, c. 1095–1291* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), p. 85.

⁷⁸ Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1847), ii, p. 844.

south Wales.⁷⁹ It was written for Arnold Harris Matthew (1852–1919), a conflicted Catholic, ordained in 1877 in Scotland but eventually consecrated into the ‘Old Catholic Church’ in 1908. He claimed that he was the fourth earl of Llandaff of Thomastown through descent of his grandfather, and began to use the title on the death of his father in 1894, something the *Genealogy* sought to prove.⁸⁰ The work is error-laden, and the dating in the genealogies makes some parts of it impossible to reconcile, while Clark’s *Limbus partum* actually claimed that Griffith Gethin received his knighthood in Ireland.⁸¹ The *Genealogy* also included Ieuan ap Seisyllt (c. 1100–50), another supposed Knight, who was first identified in the antiquarian G.T. Clark’s *Limbus Patrum* (1866).⁸² There is no reference to their knighthood before the nineteenth century, and it is clear that the *Genealogy* was a work produced only to support the familial fantasies of Arnold Matthew.

Conclusion

There is little if any contemporary evidence for medieval membership of the order among the Welsh elite, with the possible exceptions of Sir Hugh Johnnys and Sir John ap Morgan of Tredegar, though there is no doubt that in the sixteenth century Sir Richard Clough was knighted in Jerusalem. What can be said with certainty is that in the late sixteenth century, Sir Edward Stradling chose to have his pilgrim ancestors commemorated as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, a designation which had no surviving contemporary evidence, but which seems to have been widely accepted. The social position of the Stradling family, Sir Edward’s influence on the study of history and genealogy of Wales, and his family’s adherence to Catholicism (both in Wales, but also on the Continent), arguably

⁷⁹ Murray Alexander Matthew, *The Genealogy of the Earls of Landaff of Thomastown, County Tipperary, Ireland* (London: Simpkin, 1895), pp. 18, 21.

⁸⁰ Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited, and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire*. New Edition (London: Harrison, 1866), p. 361; ‘Who is Earl of Llandaff?’, *Western Mail*, (13 October, 1898), p. 6; Stephen Edmonds, ‘Mathew, Arnold Harris (1852–1919)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/103378>> (Accessed 11 February 2019)

⁸¹ George T. Clark, *Limbus Patrum Morganiae et Glamorganiae: Being the Genealogies of the Older Families of the Lordships of Morgan and Glamorgan* (London: Wyman & Sons, 1886), p. 7.

⁸² Clark, *Limbus Patrum*, pp. 7–8.

prompted other Catholic gentry families to identify ancestors who were Knights of the Sepulchre in their own genealogies, the designations finding their way into the works of Dwnn and others.

The Welsh had shown comparatively little interest in the crusading movement during its heyday (c. 1095–1291), due in large part to its strong association with the English crown.⁸³ For that reason, claiming a crusading ancestor did not have quite the same resonance for the Welsh as it did for others in Europe. Claiming an ancestor who was a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, however, had a particular significance for the Welsh and for some of the *advenae* families of Wales for two reasons. The first was that, in a country with comparatively few medieval knights and reliant on the English king for that honour, knighthood in Jerusalem offered an internationally recognized and illustrious alternative. The second is that in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Wales, it differentiated the Welsh and the descendants of *advenae* in Wales from the ‘English’ Reformation which, due to the coincidence of its coincidence with the Act of Union in 1536, was associated with the English crown. Creating the idea that they had ancestors who were knighted for the most pious of devotional acts in the Middle Ages—pilgrimage or crusade to Jerusalem—was a way of signalling difference, and created a separate identity for these Welsh and *advenae* families. Later genealogical works, particular in the nineteenth century when there was a revival of interest in all things medieval, identified further members of the knighthood, though again the Catholic faith, both at the turn of the seventeenth century and in the nineteenth, appears to have played a role in stimulating the fabrication of knightly ancestors. Though the source materials for works like Burke’s *Landed Gentry* are often only vaguely alluded to, the emphasis on medieval family history and genealogy of the late sixteenth and

⁸³ Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, passim.

seventeenth centuries, and the legacy of the genealogies produced at that time, can be seen in the entries for families claiming an ancestor who was a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre.

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