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Transactions

Professor A.H. Dodd (Ed.).

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Sir THOMAS MYDDELTON (1586-1667)

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CYMDEITHAS
HANES SIR DDINBYCH

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CYNNWYS (CONTENTS)

	<i>Tuge Pad.</i>
A Survey of the Honour of Denbigh in 1334	5
By Gwilym Usher, M.A.	
The Civil War in East Denbighshire	
By Professor A. H. Dodd, M.A.	41
Denbighshire Manuscripts and Records in the National Library of Wales : (2) The Wynnstay Collections.	
By Elwyn Evans, M.A.	91
Chambres of Plas Chambres and Llysmeirchion	
By Mrs. Mary Unwin	99
Temlyddiaeth Dda yng Nghymru	
Gan J. Morris Jones, Y.H.	107
Notes and Documents :	
A Wrexham Flaxdresser's Apprenticeship, 1798 (A.H.D.)	111
Tithes in the Wrexham District (Emlyn Rogers)	113
Editorial Notes	119
Adolygiad (F.P.J.)	121
Statement of Receipts and Payments 1953	124
List of Officers and Members 1953	125
Illustrations :	
Sir Thomas Myddelton (1586--1667)	<i>.Frontispiece</i>
Holt Castle in 1620	<i>Facing page 55</i>

A SURVEY OF THE HONOUR OF DENBIGH IN 1334

The Lordship of Denbigh,⁽¹⁾ as such, came into existence only after the extinction of Welsh independence, and then consisted basically of the two cantreds of Rhos and Rhufoniog in the Perfeddwlad. It is an area familiar to historians as classic debatable ground between Welsh and English, with a history of struggle going back before the Norman Conquest. During the wars of Edward I, the cantreds became a pawn in the tortuous game played by Dafydd ap Gruffydd, but after Edward's victory, were apparently⁽²⁾ granted by him as a reward to Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who had been prominent in the last campaigns in Wales. De Lacy enjoyed vast possessions in England, but found time, as "Lord of Rhos and Rhufoniog," to leave a lasting impress on these Welsh estates. It seems likely that he had a survey made of his new acquisition, and for the purpose instituted a system of mensuration peculiar to himself. The great *Extent* of the lordship made in 1334 tantalisingly mentions earlier surveys and rentals but no such records have survived; the Earl's system of measurement, however, was used in the later document⁽³⁾. It was the Earl of Lincoln, also, who granted to the burgesses of Denbigh their first charter,⁽⁴⁾ whereby they were granted holdings of land both within and without the walls, the latter situated largely in the township of Llewenny. In return the burgesses owed certain payments and services, amongst which was the burden, levied on each *burgage* or burgess-holding in the town, of finding one man suitable "*al defens de lavaundite ville*." On the Earl's death in 1311 the usual Inquisition *post mortem* was held into the extent and nature of his landed possessions,

1 See "Sketch of the History of the Honour of Denbigh" in the introduction to Vinogradoff & Morgan, *Survey of Denbigh* (London, 1914); Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh* (Denbigh, 1856).

2 *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1281—1292), pp. 82, 136.

3 *Survey, op. cit.*, p. 2. "It is first of all to be observed that the aforesaid Earl made the perch of this lordship to contain twenty-one feet of his special feet (*de pedibus suis propriis*). This perch contains, according to the king of England's standard measure (*de assisa Regis Anglie*) only eighteen feet and a half, and one inch; and it is with that perch that measurements were made of lands, and woods and wastes which are measured in this extent." Cf. Williams, *Records of Denbigh* (Wrexham, 1860), pp. 3-4.

4 Printed, *Records of Denbigh, op. cit.*, pp. 119-124.

and the record of the enquiry gives us a broad picture of the state of the lordship at that date.⁽⁵⁾ The Earl left no sons, and his estates passed to his son-in-law, Thomas of Lancaster:⁽⁶⁾ he was the first of three successive lords of Denbigh whose careers ended in tragedy and disgrace. Earl Thomas was the leader of the baronial opposition to Edward II, and, at least during the early years of his reign, the most powerful man in the realm, but a series of indiscretions on his part and that of his supporters led to his defeat in arms by the king and his execution as a traitor (1322). Forthwith the lordship of Denbigh was re-granted to Hugh le Dispenser, Earl of Winchester, the king's favoured adviser.⁽⁷⁾ But four years later a conspiracy led by Roger Mortimer of Wigmore and Queen Isabella, dethroned Edward II and brought about the destruction of his friends. Mortimer obtained as part of the spoils the castle and lands of Denbigh,⁽⁸⁾ and settled down to rule the country with the assistance of Queen Isabella in the name of her young son, Edward III. The latter was unwilling, however, to accept the position of a figurehead and harboured dark and well-founded suspicions regarding the death of his father. In his turn the young king set on foot a conspiracy against the *de facto* government, employing as his chief agent William, Lord Montacute: this found its fruition in the arrest and judicial murder of Mortimer, who had in the meantime obtained for himself the title of Earl of March. Whereupon, we are told, the lords in parliament petitioned the king to give a suitable reward to Lord Montacute "to whom the king revealed his secret design touching the arrest of Roger Mortimer, late Earl of March . . . and who was strenuous therein, and preserved the tranquillity and peace of the realm."⁽⁹⁾ Pressed by the king for advice as to the

5 *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, vol. V., 158. Printed in *Records of Denbigh*, *op. cit.*, 119. "The country of Roes and Roweynoke and the Commote of Caymergh, with the castle of Dynebegh, held of the king in chief by knight's service."

6 *Cal. Close Rolls* (1307—1313), 434.

7 *Cal. Charter Rolls*, III, 448. "The castle and honour of Denbigh, the cantreds of Ros and Royeweynok, and the commote of Dynmael."

8 *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1327—1330), 335 is a licence for Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, Lord of Denbigh, to construct a water-mill.

9 For an account of the actual arrest in the castle of Nottingham, see Knighton, *Chronicon* (R.S., 1889), p. 453. *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1327—1341, p. 210.

nature of a suitable reward in such a case, the lords suggested that William should receive in fee a thousand pounds' worth of land, and named, as being worth a thousand marks "the castle, town, and Honour of Dynbegh, the cantreds of Ros, Rewaynok and Kaermar, and the commote of Dinmael, in Wales. . . ." The grant was duly made, and the new lord of Denbigh commissioned a tenant, one Hugh de Beckele, to carry out a detailed survey of the lordship. It is with this important record that the present article has to deal.⁽¹⁰⁾

Landowners have always sought accurate and detailed accounts of their lands, rents and rights. In modern times these usually take the form of a rent-roll or valuation. Medieval society, in all its aspects, however, was bound together by a net of rights and obligations on the part of lord and tenant, all of which originated in the details of tenure. This being so, it was then doubly necessary for such details to be investigated and recorded, for innovation or desuetude might alter such traditional relationships and cause serious loss of rights. A periodic revision and recognition of rights was useful when an estate changed hands frequently. The lordship of Denbigh is a case in point, for the revolutions of the period 1322-1330 led to a succession of changes, and these are reflected in the pages of De Beckele's survey: there are references to the Earls of Lincoln and Winchester and March, all of whom had granted privileges or ignored usurpations which had to be extinguished or regularised.⁽¹¹⁾

For these varied reasons, therefore, such an *Extent* as that of Denbigh is very revealing: it surveys not only the tenurial arrangements of a semi-feudal estate at one moment in time, but necessarily records the social and legal consequences of those arrangements, and casts an eye back over the recent past. Since

10. The text was published in Vol. I of *Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales*, by the British Academy: "*Survey of the Honour of Denbigh, 1334*," edited by P. Vinogradoff and F. Morgan (London, 1914). In this article readings are taken in the main from the complete copy used by the editors at that time, with a few insertions from the variants given in their footnotes. De Beckele held land and stock for rent in Archwedlog (*Survey*, p. 204), and twenty-one acres and half a rod of the lord's meadow land in Abergele (*Ibid.*, 258). Williams, *Record of Denbigh*, p. 1, pointed out that there was still a farm in the vicinity of Archwedlog, in the parish of Llansannan, called *Plas Bwcle*.

11 *Survey*, pp. 80; (Lincoln); 131 (Winchester); 80 (March).

tenure could seriously affect status, it is less restricted in scope and specialised in purpose than, say, a nineteenth century rent-roll. Furthermore, any survey carried out in Wales during the later Middle Ages and particularly during the first century after the Edwardian Conquest, has an additional dramatic significance. The processes of change which time had set in motion in Welsh society, and which are discernible by comparison of law and practice, were at once speeded up and confused by an influx of foreign officials and ideas. Tribal and feudal customs meet, mingle and are recorded on the same estates, just as native Welshmen and English settlers hold land in the same commotes. The society whose outlines can be traced in the early codes is here described apparently in being; but the description is heavy with tradition and legal antiquarianism. "The Survey," it has been observed,⁽¹²⁾ "was prepared with consummate care and skill, and the superintendent of operations was something of an historian, who was deeply interested in what had been the custom *in tempore principum*." The modern student may be forgiven, however, if he is sometimes baffled in his desire to know the actual state of things in de Bekele's time. When to this apparent antiquarian bent, one adds a lawyer's caution, something of the Extentor himself emerges. Nothing is left to chance: rights and customs which might at the time be dormant and unexercised are carefully recorded, for they might at some future date become worth the trouble of reviving. Charters are regarded as adequate proof of privilege, but claims with no documentary basis, or a dubious one, are merely recorded, for mature consideration. The surveyor is, moreover, an Englishman: he is obtaining most of his information from the inhabitants on oath, and many of these are Welsh. Where he can, therefore, he applies to these Welsh lands the categories and conditions familiar to him in England, though he is careful also to record those rights and profits which his lord ought to enjoy as the successor in law to the princes. The result is a series of rough approximations

12 On the importance of De Bekele's Survey, see: *Survey*, intro., p. xv; Ellis, *First Extent of Bromfield and Yale*, p. 3; Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales*, cap. II. The comment in the text is from Ellis, *Welsh Tribal Law and Custom*, Vol. 1, p. 275, where there is an excellent comparison of this document with the "extents" being made elsewhere at this time.

and a medley of terms ; for example, the Welsh tenants are said to pay *relief* when they succeed to their holdings, though the superficially similar native payments of *ebediw* and *cynbassedd* were based on different ideas⁽¹³⁾ ; and while the status of women was largely governed by the "customs which are called *Amobria*"⁽¹⁴⁾ those customs are broken down by the Extentor into the very un-Welsh terms of *lethernyte* ⁽¹⁵⁾ and *merchet*.⁽¹⁶⁾ Moreover, there were difficulties at the linguistic level, for the survey is compiled by an Englishman in Latin, from the evidence, in part at least, of Welshmen. Hence the problems which lie in wait for the student in the realm of proper names, particularly in view of the frequent use of abbreviation by the medieval clerk : *Eden*, for instance, may stand for Ednyfed or Ednewyn.

The area covered by the survey was, roughly speaking, the rectangle bounded by the Clwyd-Clywedog to the east, the Hiraethog Mountains to the south, the Conway to the west, and the sea-coast to the north. A map of the lordship⁽¹⁷⁾ might be represented diagrammatically by a right hand, palm downwards, with the fingers outstretched : from the back of the hand (the Hiraethogs) the thumb and fingers splay out from left to right, representing the commotes of Uwchdulas, Isdulas, Uwchaled, Isaled and Cymerch. The lowland commotes were naturally more thickly populated than the moorland to the south : the latter, being easily accessible to the inhabitants of all the commotes was used as common pasture.⁽¹⁸⁾ On the eastern edge of the commote of Rhufoniog Isaled lay the township of Llewenny, an area whose characteristics make its description in the *Extent* worthy of special study :

- (i) It is occupied in 1334 almost entirely by English settlers, but the rights and customs by which the former native inhabitants had held their land, are faithfully recorded.

13 *Relief* : a payment made on succession to an estate held in fee ; *ebediw* : a payment made to the lord by the heir from the property of the deceased—a kind of death duty, cf. Anglo-Norman, *beriot* ; *cynbassedd* : payment made on investiture with land acquired otherwise than by inheritance.

14 *Survey*, p. 60, and below, p. 16.

15 Fine for marriage or illicit intercourse with a bondwoman.

16 Fine paid to the lord when a bondwoman married.

17 See the map printed by Vinogradoff & Morgan, and another on a smaller scale printed as an Appendix to Ellis, *Welsh Tribal Law and Custom* (Oxford, 1926).

18 *Survey*, p. 96n.

- (ii) Under the old dispensation the native population here had included both bond and free elements. It is possible therefore to study differences in status as they existed at the time of the Survey, in a way which would be impossible in a township which was socially homogeneous.
- (iii) The customs of the men of Llewenny are frequently used as a standard of description elsewhere. It is noted, for instance,⁽¹⁹⁾ that bondmen in Bodyscawn "in butter rent and all other customs, do the same as, and are of the same condition as, the bondmen of Llewenny."

The impact of the marriage of two societies is symbolised in the description of Llewenny by the apparent division of the lands of the township into two main parts. Over one, the ancient inhabitants enjoy prescriptive rights: bond or free, they hold land in groups. The remainder of the township is by right the property of the lord: it has passed to him by the inexorable process of *escheat*,⁽²⁰⁾ the original tenants having "died against the peace."⁽²¹⁾ But this division is more apparent than real; there are in fact only two Welsh tenants in Llewenny in 1334, and only one of these holds land according to native custom.⁽²²⁾ The recital by the Extentor of the rights of the various Welsh *prïodarii* there is clearly for purposes of record and title only, for the inheritors of rights in the *gafaelion* of the township had, we are told, surrendered them to the lord in return for exchanges elsewhere. In short, by escheat or exchange, the lord has here, as in some other townships, gathered into his hands nearly the whole of the land and planted it with English tenants whose obligations are centred on the payment of rent, or in some cases, military service. When the former Welsh inhabitants settle in their new holdings their rents are noted in the same way as those of the English: the exchanges are listed individually, and the old distinction between land held

19 *Ibid.*, p. 119.

20 i.e., reversion under certain conditions.

21 i.e., probably fighting against the English.

22 Iorwerth ap Llywarch. His brother Cynric holds "exchanges" in Eriviatt and Gwytherin; but he also holds 28a. 1½r. in Llewenny itself, where he is recorded among the English tenants of arrented land.

in *gafaelion* and land rented by the acre has apparently disappeared.

The former native tenants of Llewenny, then, are uprooted from their ancient holdings and are found holding land in other villis—Eriviatt, Taldragh, Twysog, for instance—in undisguised severality and in return for rent. Llewenny is itself now the home of a number of English settlers, who hold parcels of land of differing value and description. Some, the burgesses of Denbigh for instance, hold bovates of the standard 10 acres, others hold messuages and curtilages, crofts and tofts, bonks and places and cloughs.⁽²³⁾ The terms upon which they hold this land vary also: the broadest distinction is between those who hold by rent only, and those who hold in fee by military service: the *tenentes libere per servicium militare* of the rubric. The latter pay rents also, but they are small in proportion to the size of their holdings: for example, a man holds 160 acres in fee for an annual rent of 8d.; on other terms the same land might produce a return of over five pounds. But in addition, such tenants must perform castle guard at their own expense for forty days in the year, and they owe suit, i.e., attendance at court. A secondary distinction occurs between those who hold “by hereditry” and those who are merely tenants for life. This cuts across the former distinction, for the tenants for life include some who hold by military service as well as those who merely pay rent.

The working out of the older native system in practice has long exercised the faculties of historians, for the unfortunate chronological gap which exists between the theoretical statements of the laws and the earliest descriptions of practice in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries makes the latter of little use in interpreting the former. Majority opinion suggests that, at the time of the laws kin-groups of Welshmen, whether bond or free, held land in some form of communal ownership. Within the tribe, a man’s position was determined by his enjoyment of the full rights of kinship: a kin-group, when holding land appears

23 For the meaning of these terms see below at the points in the translation where they occur.

to have been called a *gwely*⁽²⁴⁾, and a collective holding was known as a *gafael*. For a discussion of such debatable points as the rules of inheritance and the division of holdings at intervals of generations, the reader is directed to the appropriate authorities.⁽²⁵⁾ It must be noted, however, that the "system" is most imperfectly understood, and that a recent contribution to the debate, controversial though it undoubtedly is, suggests an interpretation very different from that generally accepted.⁽²⁶⁾ On one point there appears to be considerable agreement: if indeed the dominant idea of Welsh land *law* was that of communal ownership, the necessities of practice and the replacement of a nomadic and pastoral society by one which was largely agricultural and therefore more settled in its habits, produced even before 1284 a customary apportionment of rights over land which must have been little removed from the creation of individual tenant-right itself.⁽²⁷⁾

The existence of a division of the population into free and bond is well known and illustrated, not only in the laws, but also in documents like the present *Extent*. In its origin²⁸, this division has been ascribed to political and legal conditions, but by the time of the surveys, such distinctions had apparently become largely economic. Both classes owed *payments* to the lord which were similar in nature and even in amount, but were different in origin. To give an example: freemen, for instance, in Denbigh had anciently been required to entertain the prince on his progresses, while bondmen had provided for the prince's household. Yet in 1334 both classes paid money in lieu of provision.

24 Though here again it has been suggested that *gwely* itself may be a holding, similar in kind to the *gafael*, though perhaps in a less divided state, and of greater antiquity.

25 Seebohm, *The Tribal System in Wales* (old-fashioned); Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*; Palmer and Owen, *Ancient Tenures in North Wales*; Ellis, *Welsh Tribal Law and Custom*; G. P. Jones, *The Extent of Chirkland*; Ellis, *The First Extent of Bromfield and Yale*; two very important articles by Professor T. Jones-Pierce in *Cymrodorion Transactions* (1942), pp. 158-188, and *Transactions of Caernarvonshire Hist. Soc.* (1939), pp. 18-36.

26 T. Lewis, Economic History Revision, in *Economic History Review*, Series 2, Vol. VI, No. 3 (1954).

27 e.g., Ellis, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 223.

28 e.g., conquest, or the immigration of foreigners. *Ibid*, I, 158 *et seq.*

There was one excellent example of the process whereby with the passage of time distinctions of the finer sort became blurred. In 1334 the most important imposition laid upon bond and free alike was the payment of an annual render known as *Tunk*. This took the form of a money payment by all the Welsh tenants, though it had once been a render of certain foodstuffs twice a year by the free tenants only. For purposes of assessment and presumably collection, holdings were grouped into tunk-pound units, i.e., areas responsible for a render of one pound in money, just as they had, of old, been responsible for producing specified quantities of provender which *in toto* were considered worth a pound. Generally the complications of territorial division, a desire to avoid difficult fractions and the intervention of escheat, make it difficult to discover what these units were on the ground: the historian is faced with a number of holdings paying different amounts, which defy manipulation into neat pounds. In the case of Llewenny, however, as Mr. T. P. Ellis points out, ⁽²⁹⁾ this unit can be distinguished as comprising the whole township. It would be difficult to improve on his concise explanation of the arrangements:

“The vill was originally held in 3 free gafael and 18 unfree gafael, many portions of which were escheat, and the holders of the rest transplanted. The free gafael had paid 5s. 4d., at 1s., 1s., and 3s. 4d. per gafael, the latter being divided proportionately among $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ gafael. The unfree gafael had paid 14s. 8d., at rates from 5d. to 1s. 3d. per gafael and $\frac{1}{2}$ gafael.”

In addition to this render, provision had to be made for the entertainment of the prince, his family and privileged members of his service. Such an obligation reflects the itinerant life of the court in ancient times, and also the enduring need for constant visitation in the flesh which is so striking a feature of medieval administration even at its most sophisticated. A progress or circuit was known as a *cylch*, and by a natural transference the word came also to signify the provision made by the prince's tenants.⁽³⁰⁾ In this survey the monetary value of such obligations is regularly noted, but it would be rash to assume

29 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, *cap.* III, and Appendix X.

30 Latin, *pastus*.

from this that all such renders had in fact been permanently commuted. The ancient renders are recorded in detail: payment is made, for instance, *pro butiro*⁽³¹⁾ ("instead of butter"), but there is elsewhere the striking entry of 4d., paid each year by each landholder of the *gafael* of Philip Southern *pro pastu satellitum pacis si non pascantur*⁽³²⁾—"in entertainment for two serjeants of the peace if they are *not* entertained,"—which suggests that these officers at least might require provision in the old direct style. The *satellites* and the foresters, however, were in a special case, for in those commotes where a common "tax" (*treth*) was levied in lieu of most similar burdens, the *pastus* or provision for these official itinerants was not included in the general commutation.⁽³³⁾ Did the pursuit of easier accounting lead to an appearance of wider commutation than was actually or at least permanently practised? A similar problem faces the student of English manorial records.⁽³⁴⁾

Any attempt to consider the status of the Welsh inhabitants of the lordship is rendered difficult by the diffusion of information through the document. Some obligations are entered under the *gafaelion*; some appear only in the occasional totals: others are implied, or understood. Frequent reference is made to "common customs": these are given at the end of the account of each commote. The list for Rhufoniog Isaled is typically medieval: the items are arranged in no easily comprehensible order, and there are clear indications of the way in which such a survey was compiled. The Extentor had no convenient standard printed form to send out by post, no returns of statistics to contemplate at leisure; his survey had to wait on the memories and depend on the candour of witnesses who might sometimes disagree or remain embarrassingly silent. The substance of de Bekele's list is here given:

1. Freemen who have no tenants, those who are the tenants of freemen, and all bondmen, were anciently bound to provide for the maintenance, for one day and night, of a stallion and groom belonging to the lord. This had been

31 e.g., *Survey*, p. 59, *infra*, p. 21

32 *Ibid.*

33 e.g., Penporchell, *Survey*, p. 140.

34 Lipson, *Economic History of England* (London, ed. 1945), Vol. I, p. 96.

commuted to a cash payment from all concerned, of one penny.

2. The same classes of tenant were liable to payments of a penny and a halfpenny, respectively, for the ancient provision for the huntsman with his hounds, and the chief page and youths.⁽³⁵⁾
3. All free and bond tenants paid one penny towards the construction and repair of the hall and buildings of the lord at Denbigh.
4. Each bondman having a plough gave the lord a crannock of oats each year, "as appears among the bondmen of Llewenny."
5. As in the case of Llewenny, all bondmen who make or repair fences during the year pay one penny to the lord on the first of May. This applies whether they use their own timber or not, though they may have timber from the common woods by permission of the foresters.
6. The *priodarii*, free and bond, say that they find amongst themselves the expenses of two foresters, at 3d. a day, so that they pay in common, per annum, £4 11s., by equal instalments at Pentecost and St. Michael's. They add that this is collected "by their chattels," that is to say, presumably by the assessment of each man's movable property, in the way already familiar in England. This imposition was probably a new one since the Edwardian Conquest.⁽³⁶⁾
7. All tenants owe maintenance in common for two "satellites of the peace." The freemen refuse to admit a fixed

35 "The youths" were the sons of the well-born, "who were commended to the Prince and formed his intimate bodyguard when on tour." (Ellis, Vol. I, p. 312). Archbishop Peckham considered their way of life a public disgrace; writing to Edward I from Newport on July 8th, 1284, concerning what he regarded as the uncivilised habits of the Welsh, he appealed to his master: "*Et . . . sire, pur Dieu, la manere de vivre de Wysshanbighan comaundez oster de tute.*" Whether the *Gweision Bychain* were riotous, or whether it was merely their nomadism that offended, is not clear. (Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* (Oxford, 1879), Vol. I, p. 570).

36 "This *pastus*, the cost of entertaining two foresters, does not appear in the Codes. The reason is a simple one, *viz.*, that, in the time of Hywel Dda, there was no exploitation of the forests. They were practically free for use by every one." Ellis, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 316.

tariff in this case, and claim that they come to some arrangement with the officers themselves. The bondmen, however, say that they pay them 4d. for their maintenance "but this the freemen are unwilling to confess to."

8. The son of a free tenant pays relief of 10s. to the lord when he succeeds his father as tenant. Collateral heirs up to the third degree pay the higher sum of 20s., but beyond this degree; outside the limited class of sons, brothers, nephews and cousins of the deceased tenant, the holding is not strictly heritable, but returns to the lord as an escheat in default of heirs. Witnesses add, however, that if the lord wishes to regrant the land, he ought to grant it in the first instance to the next nearest in blood at its proper value. The reliefs due from bondmen are said to be described more fully at Llewenny.
9. The daughters of freemen pay to the lord on marriage or conviction for fornication 10s. (*merchet*, *lethermyte*). If the wife of a freeman is convicted of adultery, her husband pays 10s. to the lord. If the women concerned, or in the case of wives, their husbands, have not the wherewithal to pay, their nearest relatives must pay on their behalf. The daughters of bondmen pay, as in the case of those at Llewenny, 5s. The average annual profit of these customs, "called *Amobria*," is estimated at £8 10s.
10. There follows a mixed bag of customs. Rules are given for deciding the ownership of bees, honey, hawks and falcons found in the woods: the rights of bondmen are narrowly delimited. Freemen and bondmen may have wood from their own lands for certain purposes, provided they seek the licence of the foresters. There are heavy fines for cutting down wood or greenery either in their own or the common woods without permission. It is noted that "according to an old extent," if the lord enters the commote on a visit, all the Welsh tenants are bound to give his officers first refusal of all foodstuffs, excepting cheese or butter, which have been marketable during the previous fortnight. Lastly, all the goods and chattels of Welshmen dying intestate are declared to be the property of the lord, with the exception of his wife's

portion and dues owing to the church and the raglot. Convicted felons are permitted to dispose of their property by will, and their heirs may enjoy their inheritance.

To these customs, and those expressly listed at Llewenny, we should add the duty laid upon all freemen, of "following the prince in the army," which may be inferred from other references.⁽³⁷⁾

The foregoing has tended, like the document itself, to concentrate upon the question of tenure. The *Extent* gives us some other information of an incidental kind. We learn that Llewenny had a mill, which was "farmed" by a tenant, and that permission had been granted for the construction of a fulling-mill. If we seek, in the common customs of the commote, details of the dues paid for building and repair at Denbigh, we find a description of the lord's court, at least as it had been: a hall, a chamber with *garderobe*, a chapel, a wash-house and a mill: a nice blend of princeliness, piety and what our own age calls "amenities." We learn that most of the former parkland in the vicinity is now arrented, and there are many references to improvement, achieved or potential: the motives that have at all periods stimulated enclosures are clearly implied.³⁸ Proper names may suggest to the imaginative reader something of the crafts of their owners: there are Shepherds, Boardhewers, a Turner, a Chapman, a Mercer, a Cartwright, a Seamstress. But caution must be employed in this respect. The early fourteenth century is a formative period in the development of the English surname as we know it: names may be indicative of a trade or profession, or they may have a local significance (e.g., Doncaster, Hereford), or they may have lost any but the most personal content. It is for this reason that English surnames have here been left in the form in which they appear in the document, though common Christian names have been modernised. It is for the reader to recognise in the unsettled forms of the former

37 e.g. *Survey*, p. 89. The men of Gwaenynog, "follow the Prince in the army in the same way as the other freemen of the commote." Suit of court is also stated as a common obligation in this way.

38 As in the last paragraph of the description of Llewenny, where it is pointed out by the extensor that the lord gets no profit from the waste of Llewenny, which, if "improved," would be worth at least 102s. 11½d. *Infra*, p. 39

the names familiar at a later day. Fortunately the names of Welsh tenants do not raise the same problems, for they are still in the native tradition. In the process of being recorded they have, however, been sadly mangled, and for some of them I have been unable to find modern equivalents.³⁹

The following is a translation of that part of the *Extent* which deals with Llewenny. The text used is that given by Vinogradoff and Morgan in their edition of 1914, though I have used some of their variant readings where these appear to me to be preferable. No attempt has been made to achieve elegance, though at some points excessively long sentences have been broken up in the process of translation. The account of the Welsh *priodarii* is given in full, but for consideration of space the repetitive entries relating to the English settlers are, in the main, reduced to a table, which retains the factual content of the entries, while cutting out mere formulae.

The foregoing is not intended as anything more than the merest introduction to an intricate but fascinating subject. Moreover it has of necessity been related somewhat closely to that part of the document that could conveniently be printed in translation. It is hoped that its very inadequacy will drive readers to study not only this *Extent* as a whole, but also the similar records, dealing with Bromfield and Yale, and Chirkland⁽⁴⁰⁾ which are amongst the riches of our county's history.

GWILYM USHER

The Township of Llewenny

The township of Llewenny, which contains 4,559 acres of land, wood and waste, with its hamlets of Newburgh and *le Polflat*, and with the park there used to consist of three *gafaelion* of freemen and eighteen *gafaelion* of bondmen. Information concerning these will be given below, first concerning freemen, and thereafter concerning bondmen.

39 I am grateful for the ready assistance given in this connection by the Professor and Staff of the Department of Welsh at University College, Bangor.

40 *Supra*, p. 12

Free Tenants

Iorwerth ap Llywarch (he has a house), and Cynric his brother (he has no house) hold half of the first *gafael* of freemen, which is called *Gafael Cadern*⁽⁴¹⁾, paying in Tunk at All Saints' 18½d. and to maintain the prince each year at Christmas, 2s. 10½d. at mid-Quadragesima 19½d., at the Nativity of St. John the Baptist 19½d., at the Exaltation of the Holy Cross 19½d.,⁽⁴²⁾ and they perform all other services in common with the other freemen of the Commote. These services are more fully described below, at the end of (the account of) this Commote. And the aforesaid Iorwerth ap Llywarch has as his own share 187 acres of land, meadow, pasture and wood in Llewenny. And besides, Cynric ap Llywarch occupies 30 acres of land in Eriviatt, and 8 acres in Gwytherin in exchange for the said inheritance in Llewenny, by charter of the Earl of Lincoln.

Item Einion Tranx (*sic*) ap Bleddyn (he has no house), Ithel ap Bleddyn (he has a house), Dafydd ap Bleddyn (he has a house), Dafydd ap Eden' ap Bleddyn (he has a house), Iorwerth ap Ieuan Goch (he has a house), Dafydd his brother (he has a house), Madoc ap Ieuan ap Einion (he has no house), Eden' and Meilir his brothers, Einion ap Einion (land of ¾d. Tunk because he is a fugitive), Einion ap Ieuan ap Llywarch, Bleddyn his brother (he has a house), Dafydd his brother (he has a house), Ieuan Vaghan his brother (he has a house), Gwyn ap Bleddyn (he has a house), Einion ap Bleddyn Cragh (he has a house), Cynric ap Einion (he has), Dafydd ap Einion ap Giff (*sic*)⁽⁴³⁾ (he has no house), Iorwerth Du ap Einion (he has a house) and Dafydd ap Einion ap Grono (he has no house), hold a half of the same *gafael* and have lands by exchange in Eriviatt, Taldragh, Twysog and elsewhere, paying Tunk at All Saints' 9¼d., with the aforesaid ¾d. which is escheated. And for maintenance of the prince at Christmas 11d., and at each of the aforesaid three terms 7½d. And remaining services in common with the others as above. And a quarter of this *gafael* is escheated to the lord, and will be dealt with below amongst the acres which are arrented.

41 It is not clear whether this is a name or an adjective (*cadarn*)=*L. integre* = "complete." On this point see T. Lewis, *op. cit.*

42 *All Saints'*, 1st Nov.; *Nativity of St. John the Baptist*, 29th Aug.; *Exaltation of the Holy Cross*, 14th Sept.

43 Possibly Gruffydd or Grifri?

Ithel Ryngild's⁽⁴⁴⁾ Gafael

Ednyfed Goch ap Ithel (he has a house), Einion Du ap Ithel (he has a house), Cynric ap Ithel (he has a house), Eden' Du ap Ithel ap Einion (he has a house), and his brother and Heilyn ap Iorwerth Goch (he has a house) hold half of Ithel Ryngild's *gafael* paying Tunk between them at All Saints' of 6d. And to maintain the prince each year at Christmas 11d. And at every other term $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. And nothing further, for half their land is by purchase⁽⁴⁵⁾ since the days of the princes, and consequently renders no *pastus*, so they say. And they have lands by exchange in Eriviatt, Taldragh and Twysog. And the other half of this *gafael* is the lord's escheat, and arrented by the acre, and is dealt with below.

Dewys and Iorwerth Du's Gafael

Item, Ithel Goch ap Cynric ap Iorwerth (he has a house) and Dafydd ap Ithel ap Iorwerth (he has a house), hold a sixth of the *gafael* of Cynric Gewret, Dewys Herot⁽⁴⁶⁾ and Iorwerth Du, and they have lands by exchange in Llechrydd and elsewhere, paying Tunk every year at All Saints' 2d. And to maintain the prince at Christmas $7\frac{1}{2}$ d., and at every other term 5d., and remaining services with the others in common as appears below. And five sixths of the same *gafael* are escheated to the lord and are arrented by the acre as detailed below.

This is the Total.

Total Tunk from freemen each year at All Saints'—2s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Total maintenance for the prince at those terms :

Christmas	...	...	5s. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.	
Mid-Lent	...	...	3s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	Thus <i>per annum</i>
Nativity of St. John	...	...	3s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	15s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
Holy Cross	...	...	3s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	

Bondmen

And as for the property of the bondmen of Llewenny, which used to consist of 18 *gafaelion*, be it known that six entire *gafaelion*

44 The "rhingyll" was the Welsh equivalent of the English "beadle."

45 *terra emptica*, or land obtained by purchase as contrasted with hereditary right, was usually free from services and renders except *Tunk* and military service. (Ellis, Vol. I, p. 247).

46 Dewi Herod ???

are escheated to the lord because of deaths against the peace, and are arrented by the acre. Details of this are given below.

Item, Bleddyn ap Eden' (he has a house), Madoc Goch ap Eden' (he has a house), Iorwerth ap Einion Du (he has a house), and Cynric his brother (he has nothing as yet) hold between them half the *gafael* of Philip Southern and have lands by exchange in Eriviatt, paying Tunk each year at All Saints' 5d. And each of them who holds land pays in lieu of butter at All Saints' 3d., and to maintain the prince's household at Christmas 7½d., at Mid-Quadragesima 4¼d., at the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 3d., and at the Exaltation of the Holy Cross 3d. And also each of them who holds land pays each year at the feast of the Invention of the Cross in provision for two chargers and two grooms 5d., and to maintain the Raglot⁽⁴⁷⁾ 4d., and for repairs to the Manor of Denbigh 1d., and to maintain the Mill there 4d. And for three day's mowing in the autumn 4½d., payment per day 1½d. And provision for two foresters each year at Pentecost and St. Michael's 4d. And in entertainment of two "Satellites" of the peace, if they are not entertained (*sic*) 4d. per annum at the same times. And each of them having a house pays each year in provision for the stallion and groom 1d., and for the huntsman with dogs 1d. And for the chief page and youths ½d. at the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. And all these customary obligations are more or less profitable according as there are more or fewer land—or house-holders. And any of them who has made new fences or mended old ones shall give to the lord 1d. on the feast of the Apostles Philip and James,⁽⁴⁸⁾ and this is more or less profitable according to the number of them who have made or repaired (fences). And every plough belonging to the said bondmen shall give to the lord 8d., for a crannock of oats on the feast of St. John the Baptist. And when any of them dies intestate the lord shall have all his goods, saving the privilege of the church and the privilege of the Raglot, etc. And if a son succeeds his father, then he shall give as relief 5s. And so in the case of more distant degrees, *viz.*, up to and including the third

47 The Raglot, or *rhaglaw* was the Welsh equivalent of the English "reeve." Elsewhere this *cylch* is called the *cylch*, not of the Raglot, but of his horse, cf. the Total below.

48 *Feast of the Apostles Philip and James*, 1st May.

degree, the lord shall have for relief 10s. And beyond the third degree hereditary right does not descend, but the land is at the lord's disposal. And any of them who marries (off) his daughter, or any bondwoman who marries, shall give to the lord as *merchet* 5s., and any of them (i.e., bondwomen) who, being married, is convicted of fornication shall give to the lord as *letherwyte* 5s. And also, if any of them is the wife of any bondman and shall be convicted of adultery, her husband shall give the lord on her behalf 5s. as *letherwyte*. And these customs are called *Amobria*, and if the offenders have not the wherewithal to pay, their nearest kinsman will pay on their behalf. And this is the condition of all the bondmen of this Commote who now follow :—

Item, Iorwerth Lloyd ap Iorwerth (he has a house) and Ithel ap Tegwaret ap Iorwerth (he has a house) hold three parts of a quarter of the same *gafael* (which is divided into five parts), paying in Tunk at All Saints' 1½d., and other services in all respects as performed by those others immediately preceding. And a quarter of the said *gafael* along with two parts of a second quarter (divided into five parts) are escheated to the lord, and are arrented by the acre as appears below.

Nenyd ap Dogor's Gafael

Bleddyn Bach ap Einion ap Ednewyn⁽⁴⁹⁾ (he has a house), and Ieuan Lloyd ap Ieuan ap Grono (he has a house), hold a quarter and an eighth of the *gafael* of Nenyd ap Dogor, paying in Tunk each year at the aforesaid time 4½d., and they pay and perform all other things, and are of the same condition as the rest of the men of Philip's *gafael* aforesaid. And a half and an eighth of the said *gafael* are escheated to the lord and are arrented as above.

Ithel ap Madoc's Gafael

Ieuan ap Cynric ap Ithel (he has a house), and Dafydd ap Bleddyn ap Grono (he has a house), hold a quarter and an eighth of the *gafael* of Ithel ap Madoc, paying in Tunk 4½d., and they pay, and do, and are of the same condition as the other men preceding. And a half and an eighth of the same *gafael* are escheated to the lord and are arrented as above.

49 Ednywain ?

Bleddyn's Gafael

Adda ap Madoc ap Einion (he has a house), Ieuan Vaghan ap Ieuan ap Madoc (he has a house), Cynric ap Cynric ap Kuehelyn⁽⁵⁰⁾ (he has a house), and Cynric ap Einion Lloyd hold five parts of half Bleddyn's *gafael* paying Tunk 5d., and remaining services as above. And a half and a sixth of the other half are escheated to the lord and are arrented, etc.

Gafael of Llywarch ap Ighynyr

Item, Grono ap Philip ap Madoc (he has a house), holds a quarter of the *gafael* of Llywarch ap Ighynyr, paying in Tunk 3d. and remaining services as above. And three parts of that *gafael* are escheated to the lord and are arrented as detailed below.

Gafael of Goither ap Eithion.

Tudur Du ap Tudur ap Goither⁽⁵¹⁾ (he has a house), Iorwerth ap Phillip ap Tudur (he has a house), and his brother Eden' hold a tenth of the *gafael* of Goither ap Eithion⁽⁵²⁾, paying Tunk of 1½d. and remaining services as above. And all the rest of that *gafael* is escheated to the lord and is arrented as above, details being given below.

Gafael of Meilir Vaghan

Ithel ap Ieuan ap Meilir (he has a house) and Grono Gam ap Ithel hold as it were three-quarters of the *gafael* of Meilir Vaghan, less a sixtieth, paying Tunk of 7½d. and remaining services as above. And a quarter and a sixtieth of the said *gafael* are escheated to the lord and are arrented by the acre, details being given below.

Gafael Solene

Einion ap Cynric ap Keneuerth⁽⁵³⁾ (he has a house) and Adda his brother (he has no house) hold a third of the *gafael* of Solerie (*sic*) paying in Tunk 4d., and remaining services as above. And two parts of this *gafael* are escheated to the lord and are let with the other escheats below.

50 Cuhelyn ?

51 Gwyther ?

52 Eiddion ?

53 Cynwraith ?

Gafael of Kendalo ap Iorwerth

Iorwerth ap Cynric ap Meilir hold a third of the *gafael* of Kendalo ap Iorwerth paying in Tunk 4d., and remaining services as above. And two parts of the said *gafael* are escheated to the lord and are let with the other escheats below.

Ithenor's Gafael

Ednyfed ap Iorwerth ap Dafydd (he has a house) holds a third of the *gafael* of Ithenor, paying in Tunk 4d. and remaining services as above. And two parts of the same *gafael* are escheated to the lord and are arrented with the other escheats below.

Gafael of Llywarch Kilowen

Eden' ap Ithel (he has a house) and Eden' ap Einion ap Ithel (he has a house) hold a sixth of the *gafael* of Llywarch Kilowen, paying in Tunk 2d., and remaining services as above. And five parts of the same *gafael* are escheated to the lord, and are arrented as appears below.

Gafael Weir

Iorwerth ap Tegwaret Crok⁽⁵⁴⁾ (he has a house) holds a quarter of *gafael Woir* ⁽⁵⁵⁾, paying in Tunk 3d. and remaining services as above. And three parts of this *gafael* are escheated to the lord and are arrented below.

Total Tunk of Bondmen at All Saints' ...	...	4s. 1½d.
Total butter rent for the same term, as now ...	...	6s. 6d.
Total maintenance for the prince's household each year there, as now :		
Christmas ...	...	16s. 3d.
Mid-Quadragesima ...	...	9s. 2½d.
Nativity of St. John ...	...	6s. 6d. Total <i>per annum</i>
Holy Cross ...	...	6s. 6d. 38s. 6½d.
Total maintenance of chargers and two grooms		
as now ...	...	10s. 10d.
Total maintenance of the Raglot's horse ⁽⁵⁶⁾ as		
now ...	...	8s. 8d.

54 Groch ?

55 On the possible significance of this word, see T. Lewis, *op. cit.*

56 See above note 47.

Total pence from the bondmen in common for maintaining buildings (2s. 2d.) and for up- keep of the Mill (8s. 8d.), as now	... 10s. 10d.
Total of autumn works from them as now	... 9s. 9d.
Total maintenance of stallion and groom	... 23d.
Total maintenance of huntsman with dogs	23d.
Total maintenance of chief page and the youths.	11½d.
Total of bondmen now holding land 26, of whom 23 now have houses.	

And be it known that all the aforesaid tenants have an exchange in other townships for their inheritance in Llewenny. So that all of Llewenny has come complete into the lord's hand, except that Iorwerth ap Llywarch has there, as above said, 187 acres. And the remainder will be dealt with hereafter below.

The Bovates⁵⁷ of Llewenny

Richard de Orel holds by charter one bovat of land said to contain 10 acres, paying each year at Pentecost and St. Michael's 3s. 4d. Henry del Fryth holds by charter one bovat of land containing 10 acres, paying each year in equal instalments at the terms aforesaid, 10s.

Robert de Hulton, senior, holds in the same way one bovat of land containing 10 acres, paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 3s. 4d.

Alice, wife of Thomas de Salbury, holds in the same way one bovat of land containing 10 acres, paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 6s. 8d.

William de Dulworth holds in the same way one bovat of land containing 10 acres, paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 3s. 4d.

Robert de Spykton holds in the same way one bovat of land containing 10 acres, paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 3s. 4d.

William de Sonderlond and Alice his wife hold in the same way one bovat of land containing 10 acres, paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 3s. 4d.

57 *bovat*, an "ox-gang," or, as much land as an ox could plough in a year. For this and other English terms see the useful glossary appended to H. S. Bennett, *Life on the English Manor* (Cambridge, 1938). Its area varied from one part of the country to another, according to conditions of tillage, and bovates are found of anything between 10 and 18 acres.

But this man says that he ought to have that bovaté quit by charter of the present lord. And so let it be seen.

William Mos holds in the same way one bovaté of land containing 10 acres, paying each year at the terms aforesaid,
3s. 4d.

And no further bovates are put here, because one bovaté which William of Mos held for 3s. 4d., one bovaté which Adam de Rossindale held for 3s. 4d., and one bovaté which John de Lonnedale held for 3s. 4d., and 1 bovaté which John de Swynnemour held and John, son of William Egeline held for 3s. 4d., and 1 bovaté which Robert del Fermery held for 3s. 4d., lie in the township of Ystrad Canon, and are described below as is proper. And one bovaté which Henry de Byllyng junior held for 3s. 4d., and was afterwards assigned to Thomas Faber as an addition to his burgage in Denbigh, lies in the township of Berain and is therefore answered for there as is proper. And half a bovaté which Hugh de Hulton held for 20d., lies in Wigfair and is therefore answered for there as is proper. And 24 bovates situated in Llewenny, which used to pay each year £4 8s. 4d. are excused, and are now assigned by the present lord to various burgesses within the walls to hold quit with their burgages there,⁽⁵⁸⁾ etc. And William le Barker holds a bovaté there by charter of the Earl of Lincoln.

Total of farms of the bovates in Llewenny, as now, at the terms of :

Pentecost	...	...	...	18s. 4d.	Thus <i>per annum</i>
St. Michael's	...	...	...	18s. 4d.	35s. 8d. for 8 bovates

Foreland⁽⁵⁹⁾ Bovates of Llewenny

And William de Foreland holds in addition to his bovaté $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres $\frac{1}{2}$ rod., price per acre 12d., paying at the terms aforesaid
19 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Matilda de Bonk holds of Foreland 3 rods of land, price per acre as above, paying at the terms aforesaid, 9d.

58 24 Bovates are listed as granted to burgesses of Denbigh in the charter of 1290. *Records of Denbigh, op. cit.*, pp. 119-124.

59 *Foreland*: A strip of land lying near a river; "perhaps here on the river Clwyd." *Survey*, p. 63n.

Ralph le Heend holds of Foreland $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres and $\frac{1}{2}$ rod, price per acre 12d., paying at the terms aforesaid, 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Hugh and John, the sons of Robert de Pontefract, hold of Foreland $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, price per acre 8d., paying at the terms aforesaid, 2s. 4d.

William de Hibernia⁽⁶⁰⁾ holds of Foreland $1\frac{1}{2}$ rods of land, paying gross every year at the terms aforesaid, 3d.

William Throstel holds of Foreland 1 acre 1 rod of land, price per acre 8d., paying at the terms aforesaid, 10d.

Robert de Castleford holds of Foreland 1 acre of land, paying at the terms aforesaid, 12d.

William de Sonderlond holds of Foreland 1 acre 1 rod 10 perches of land, price per acre 8d., paying at the terms aforesaid, 10d.

Roger de Sonderlond holds of Foreland $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land, paying at the terms aforesaid, 4d.

Hugh de Sonderlond holds of Foreland $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land, paying at the terms aforesaid, 4d.

Robert de Wiberleye holds of Foreland $\frac{1}{2}$ rod of land, price per acre 8d., paying at the terms aforesaid, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Nicholas, son of Hamo, holds of Foreland, 1 acre $3\frac{1}{2}$ rods of land, price per acre 8d., paying at the terms aforesaid, 15d.

William Basket holds of Foreland $\frac{1}{2}$ acre $\frac{1}{2}$ rod of land, paying at the terms aforesaid, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Total of the Farm of 15 acres and 10 perches of Foreland at the terms of :

Pentecost	...	...	...	6s. $\frac{1}{4}$ d.	Thus <i>per annum</i>
St. Michael's	...	...	...	6s. $\frac{1}{4}$ d.	12s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Free tenants by military service

William de Swynemor holds in fee by charter of the Earl of Lincoln 160 acres of land in Llewenny, paying each year at the term of the Nativity of John the Baptist, 8d. And he does Castle Ward in time of war for 40 days at his own expense. And he owes suit of court, etc.

60 i.e., the Irishman. Most of the tenants, however, appear to have come from Northern England.

The same William similarly holds in fee 32 acres 3 rods in Kekidog, paying each year at the terms aforesaid 1d. And he does remaining services as above.

The same William holds in the same way an eighth part of the township of Llwyn, which contains 67 acres 1 rod in lands, woods and waste, paying each year at the aforesaid terms 2d. And he does remaining services as above.

John de Swynemor holds in the same way 60 acres of land in Kekidog, paying each year at the terms aforesaid 1d. And he does remaining services as above.

Richard de Paunton and Elena his wife hold in the same way 40 acres of land in Llewenny, paying each year at the terms aforesaid 2d. And they do remaining services as above.

The heir of Thomas de Pontefract holds in the same way 80 acres of land in Gallt-faenan, paying each year at the terms aforesaid 3d. And he does remaining services as above.

Robert de Pontefract and Richard de Everdene hold in the same way 160 acres of land in Llewenny at Foxholes (54 acres 3 rods), and in Brynskip (105 acres 1 rod), paying each year at the terms aforesaid 8d. And they do remaining services as above.

The heir of John de Camera holds in Llewenny 160 acres of land in fee, paying each year at the terms aforesaid 8d. And he does remaining services as above.

Henry le Ferour holds in the same way 80 acres of land there, paying each year at the terms aforesaid 4d. And he does all remaining services as above.

Richard de Soresworth holds for the term of his own life 80 acres of land in Llewenny, paying each year at the terms aforesaid 4d. And he does all services as above.

The wife of William Basket holds for the term of her own life 15 acres of land, paying each year at the terms aforesaid 1d. and the rest of the services as above. And the reversion belongs to the lord.

And 15 acres which were (held by) Henry the clerk by service of one penny *per annum*, are now "improved" and held by acres along with the rest below.

They are now "improved" and are held by acres as said. So let a closer enquiry be made.

Total rents of tenants who owe Castle Ward, 3s. 7d.

Henry de Totenhale holds by inheritance 80 acres of land, paying each year in gross at Pentecost and St. Michael's, by equal instalments, 13s. 4d. And he owes relief when it befalls.

Joan, daughter of Ralph de Totenhale, holds 1 "place" of land, paying each year at the times aforesaid 3d.

Adam de Blakeburn holds by inheritance 80 acres of land, price per acre 6d., and 3 acres of land, price per acre 12d., paying each year at the terms aforesaid 43s. And he owes relief, etc.

Peter le Heend holds in the same way 28 acres of land, price per acre 7d., paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 16s. 4d.

The same man holds 1 acre $\frac{1}{2}$ rod of land, paying at the terms aforesaid, 14d.

Ralph, son of Peter le Heend, holds in the same way 20 acres of land, price per acre 7d., and 4 acres, price per acre 8d., paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 14s. 4d.

Richard del Peek holds in the same way 20 acres $1\frac{1}{2}$ rods, paying each year in gross at the said terms, 28s. 2d.

The same Richard holds three acres, price per acre 8d., and, 1 rod, price 3d., paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 2s. 3d.

And the same Richard holds 4 acres of land, price per acre 8d., paying each year at the same terms, 2s. 8d.

Henry de Runcorn holds in the same way 1 curtilage,⁽⁶¹⁾ price 14d., and 5 acres 3 rods, price per acre 8d., paying each year 4s. 11d.

Item, Henry de Totenhale holds of the land of the said Henry de Runcorn 7 acres 1 rod of land, price per acre 8d. paying at the terms aforesaid, 4s. 10d.

John de Kilford holds in the same way $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, price per acre 12d., paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 7s. 6d.

Adam, son of Hugh, 3 acres of land, price per acre 7d., and half an acre of land, price 4d., paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 2s. 1d.

Henry, son of Adam de Salesbury, holds 4 acres of land, price per acre 12d., and 5 acres, price per acre 8d., paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 7s. 4d.

61 *Curtilage*: A small piece of ground enclosing a dwelling house.

Thomas de Cruce holds 10 acres of land, paying each year 2s. The same T. holds $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, $\frac{1}{2}$ rod of land, paying in gross at the terms aforesaid, 18d.

Adam le Heende holds $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, price per acre 12d., and 2 acres 3 rods, price per acre 10d., and also 5 acres price per acre 8d., paying each year at the terms aforesaid 8s. $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Richard de Fonte holds $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres, 30 perches of land, paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 7s. 8d., as he says

Robert Fraunceys holds 12 acres of land, price per acre 10d., paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 10s.

Roger de Picure holds $31\frac{1}{2}$ acres, 33 perches of land, at diverse prices, and also 1 Bonk⁽⁶²⁾, paying each year in gross at the terms aforesaid, 25s. 7d.

Robert de Hulton senior holds a messuage⁽⁶³⁾ 116 acres of land, 1 rod $7\frac{1}{2}$ perches, and 1 Clogh⁽⁶⁴⁾ and 1 Bonk at various prices, paying each year at the terms aforesaid, £4 18s. $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

And be it known that the parcel of land of Robert de Hulton which he holds of the land formerly held by John of Plesynton, and which Robert of Plesynton claims against him in court as 30 acres, appears by measurement of the Extent as 30 acres 1 rod⁽⁶⁵⁾, it is therefore adjudged that the lord is defrauded in those parcels of 10 acres, 1 rod⁽⁶⁵⁾, etc.

Robert de Lannargh' holds 21 acres of land, of which 18 are worth 7d. per acre, and 3 acres worth 12d., paying at the terms aforesaid, 15s.

John de Hulton holds $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres, price per acre 12d., paying at the terms aforesaid, 12s. 6d.

The same John holds $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, of which 3 acres are priced 8d., per acre, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, price per acre 12d., paying at the terms aforesaid, 5s. 6d.

And besides, the same John holds in the same place 10 acres of land, for which he customarily pays 10s., and now he holds them quit, adjoined to his burgage within the walls of Denbigh, by grant of the lord.

62 *Bonk*: cf. "bank," probably here a rough, unmeasured piece of ground.

63 *Messuage*: A piece of land adjoining and enclosing a house.

64 *Clogh*: cf. "Cliff," a steep slope or bank.

65 It is evident that one of the figures here is incorrect.

The same John holds 8 acres of land, price per acre 12d.,
paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 5s. 4d.

And the same John holds 8 acres of land, price per acre 12d.,
paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 8s.

William de Bordhewer holds 11 acres of land, price per acre
8d., paying each year 7s. 4d.

The same holds $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ rod of land, paying at the terms
aforesaid, 6s. 8d.

William, son of William de Lanton, holds $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres and 15
perches of land, price per acre 8d., paying at the terms afore-
said, 5s. $4\frac{3}{4}$ d.

And the same holds 3 rods, 14 perches of land, paying at
the terms aforesaid, $10\frac{1}{4}$ d.

Henry of Symounduston and Joan his wife hold 5 acres of
land of which 3 acres at 8d. per acre, and 2 acres at 6d. per acre,
paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 3s.

The same hold 6 acres of land, price per acre 8d., paying
at the terms aforesaid, 4s.

Adomara, daughter of Roger Carles, holds 2 acres of land.
paying at the terms aforesaid, 18d.

Richard de Orel holds 2 acres of land, price per acre 8d.
and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land, price 6d., paying each year at the terms
aforesaid, 22d.

Robert de Shoresworth holds 8 acres of land, price per
acre 12d., paying at the terms aforesaid, 8s.

The same holds 21 acres of land, price per acre 12d., and 1
acre, 3 rods, 11 perches, price per acre 8d., paying at the terms
aforesaid, 22s. $2\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Richard le Bordhewer holds 13 acres of land, price per acre
6d., and 3 rods and 15 perches, price $9\frac{1}{2}$ d., paying at the terms
aforesaid, 7s. $3\frac{1}{2}$ d.

The same holds 4 acres 3 rods of land, paying each year
at the terms aforesaid, 4s. 9d.

Thomas, son of Richard le Bordhewer, holds 13 acres of
land, of which 1 acre is worth 12d., and 12 acres worth 8d. per
acre, paying at the terms aforesaid, 9s.

William de Launton holds $25\frac{1}{2}$ acres, price 10d. per acre,
and 1 acre $\frac{1}{2}$ rod, price 12d. per acre, paying each year at the
terms aforesaid, 22s. $4\frac{1}{2}$ d.

John de Sladhurst holds 12 acres, $3\frac{1}{2}$ rods, of which $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres are worth 12d. per acre, and 10 acres, $1\frac{1}{2}$ rods are worth 8d. per acre, paying at the terms aforesaid, 8s. 5d.

William, son of Michael de Ruddeheth holds half of a messuage, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres and $\frac{1}{2}$ rod of land, paying each year at the terms aforesaid in gross, 6s. 11d.

Margery, daughter of Michael de Ruddeheth, holds the other half of the same messuage, and 8 acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ rod, paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 6s. 11d.

John de Swynebourne holds 11 acres 3 rods and 1 "place," paying in gross at the terms aforesaid, 8s. $2\frac{1}{2}$ d., viz., for the "place" $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., and for each acre, 8d.

Roger de Swynebourne holds 12 acres of land, price per acre 10d., paying at the terms aforesaid, 10s.

Item, he holds 2 acres which were (held by) Richard, son of William, paying at the terms aforesaid, 2s.

Thomas de Halghton and Agnes his wife hold 3 acres of land worth 12d. per acre, and 15 acres price 8d. per acre, paying at the terms aforesaid, 18s. 7d.

Robert, the Shepherd, and Margery his wife hold 3 acres and 10 perches of land, paying in gross at the terms aforesaid, 2s. 7d.

The same Robert holds 1 acre 1 rod of land, paying at the terms aforesaid, 15d.

Richard, son of Robert de Hulton, holds 4 acres of land, price per acre 8d., paying at the terms aforesaid, 3s.

And the same Richard holds 1 acre of land, paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 12d.

The same Richard de Hulton holds 24 acres $3\frac{1}{2}$ rods of land, paying each year in gross at the terms aforesaid, 27s. $10\frac{1}{2}$ d.

The same aforesaid Richard holds 12 acres of land, paying each year in gross, 9s.

And the same Richard holds 6 acres of land, paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 3s. 9d., viz., 3 acres, price per acre 8d., and 3 acres price per acre 7d.

Henry de Symunduston holds 3 acres, price per acre 8d., and 1 rod of land, price 3d., paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 2s. 3d.

The same holds 6 acres of land, paying at the terms aforesaid, 4s. 9d.

<i>Name of Tenant.</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Rent</i>
Thomas, son of Richard del Peek	6a. @ 8d. ; 3r. @ 9d.	4s. 9d.
Ivo Scot	7a. @ 8d.	5s. (<i>sic.</i>)
Robert, son of Adam de Fonte.	2a @ 12d., 1a. 3r. @ 8d.	3s. 2d.
Adam le Long.	2a. @ 12d. ; 5a. 3r. @ 8d.	5s. 10d.
John de Preston.	9a. @ 12d. ; 3a. @ 8d.	11s.
Robert de Fonte.	(i) 8a. @ 12d.	8s.
	(ii) 1 "place," 2a. 1r. (⁶⁶)	2s. 2d.
Robert Sutor.	$\frac{3}{4}$ a., formerly R. de Fonte's.	6d.
John le Mareschal.	12a. @ 10d., 1a. @ 9d.	10s. 9d.
Roger de Sonderlond.	(i) 4a. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ r. @ 8d.	2s. 11d.
	(ii) 12a. @ 12d.	12s.
William de Sonderlond.	(i) 1 place @ $\frac{1}{2}$ d., 20a. @ 12d.	20s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
	(ii) 12a. @ 12d.	12s.
John de Salesbury.	(i) 11a. 1r. @ 12d. ; 4a. @ 8d.	14s. 4d.
	(ii) 5a. $\frac{1}{2}$ r.	5s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
	(rent of 4 acres restricted to 8d. by charter.)	
William de Lanton.	(i) 1a. @ 6d., 3a. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ r. @ 10d.	3s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
	(ii) 10a. @ 12d.	12s.
Adam son of John le Salter.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. 26p. @ 12d.	3s. 8d.
Hugh de Hodesdale.	1a. @ 12d. ; 5a. 3r. @ 8d.	4s. 10d.
William de Wirsop.	2a. @ 8d.	16d.
Margery and Alice, daughters of William de Henglewode.	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. $\frac{1}{2}$ r. @ 8d.	4s. 5d.
Richard le Decer.	(i) 4a. @ 12d.	4s.
	(ii) 3a. @ 7d. ; 3a. @ 8d.	3s. 9d.
Roger de Swynbourn	2a. @ 12d. (formerly held by Robert Mauncel.)	2s.
William Balle.	3a. 1r. 10p. @ 8d.	2s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Richard, son of John de Rom- worth.	3a. 1r. 10p. @ 8d.	2s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Richard le Cartwruht.	3a. 1r. @ 8d.	2s. 2d.
William de Lannergh.	3a. 20p. @ 8d.	2s. 1d.
Richard de Lannergh.	29a. 3r. 1p. @ 8d.	19s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Robert de Plesynton.	(i) 2a. $\frac{1}{2}$ r. @ 8d.	17d.
	(ii) 12a. 1r. and 1 "Clough" recovered against Robert de Salesbury.	10s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
William del Mos.	(i) 6a. @ 8d.	4s.
	(ii) 10a. 1r. @ 8d.	6s. 10d.
Robert de Bispham.	(i) 1a. @ 8d., 4a. @ 6d.	2s. 8d.
	(ii) 1 place @ 2d., 12a. 5p. @ 12d.	12s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Simon le Turnour.	8a. 1r. @ 12d. ; 7a. 1r. @ 8d.	5s. 10d.
William le Barker	5a. $\frac{1}{2}$ r. @ 12d.	5s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
David de Bacherne.	5a. $\frac{1}{2}$ r. @ 12d.	5s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Nicholas son of Hamo.	14a. @ 8d.	9s. 4d.
John Shadde.	1a. @ 7d. ; 3a. @ 8d.	2s. 7d.
John de Stokton	5a. @ 8d.	3s. 4d.
William de Swynemor.	38a. @ 8d.	25s. 4d.
Henry del Spen.	(i) 3a. 3r. @ 8d.	2s. 6d.
	(ii) 7a. 30p. @ 12d.	7s. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
Alice Verdon.	1 place, unmeasured, called Garth Meilir.	4s.
William de Dulworth.	1 place @ 4d., 6a. @ 8d., 69 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. $\frac{1}{2}$ r. @ 12d.	73s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

<i>Name of Tenant</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Rent</i>
Nicholas le Heend and Margery his wife.	2a. @ 8d., 3r. @ 12d. per acre.	2s. 1d.
John de Conwey.	2½a. @ 12d., 1r. @ 2d.	2s. 8d.
John le Decer.	8½a. @ 8d.	3s. 4d.
Thomas Balle.	8a. @ 7d.	4s. 8d.
Thomas le Bordhewer.	4a. 1r. @ 8d.	2s. 10d.
Robert Kay.	14a. 3½r. @ 12d.	14s. 10½d.
John le Rheved.	9a. @ 12d.	9s.
Richard de Birchenshagh.	4 tofts (⁶⁷), 2a. 1½r. 8p.	8s. 3d.
Elyas Stel(⁶⁸)	4 tofts (2s. 8d.), 1a. 1½r. 10p. @ 2s.	5s. 6½d.
Richard, son of Robert de Romworth	3 tofts (3s.) and 4a. @ 12d.	7s. 6d. (<i>sic</i>)
William de Rachedale and Ydona his wife.	1 place (1d.) and 1a. @ 12d.	13d.
Robert del Bache.	9½a. @ 12d.	9s. 4d.
Hugh de Hulton.	(i) 4¾a. @ 12d. (ii) 6a @ 12d.	4s. 8d. 6s.
Adam le Norrisone.	1a.	12d.
William de Cornewey.	10a. @ 12d.	10s.
Thomas le Decer.	18½a. @ 12d.	18s. 6d.
Ralph de Brydelyngton.	1a. @ 2s.; 15a. @ 12d.	17s.
John de Gamesleye.	13a. @ 12d.	13s.
Richard son of Robert.	15a. 1r. @ 12d.	15s. 3d.
Richard son of Robert le Seriant.	(i) 1a @ 12d.; 4a. 3r. 11p. @ 8d. (ii) 5a. @ 12d. (iii) 4a. @ 8d.	4s. 2d. 5s. 2s. 8d.
William son of John Skot.	7a. 3½r. @ 12d.	7s. 10½d.
Richard de Romworth.	6a. 3½r.	6s. 10½d.
Henry de Romworth.	1a.	12d.
Ralph de Cumbbache.	2a. @ 14d.	2s. 4d.
Robert de Hulton.	(i) 10½a. (ii) 1a. (iii) 7a. 30p. @ 12d.	10s. 1¾d. 18d. 7s. 2¾d.
Robert son of John de Romworth.	33½a. @ 8d.	33s.
Alicia la Siemestre.	2a. @ 8d.	16d.
Henry de Westmorland.	1a.	12d.
William Throstel.	2a. @ 12d.	2s.
Hugh de Sonderlond.	2a.	2s.
William son of Hugh del Fryth.	1a. @ 8d., 1r. (3d.)	11d.
Adam de Lewenny.	12a. 3½r. @ 4d.	4s. 3½d.
Robert de Westmorland.	7a. 30p. @ 4d.	2s. 4½d.
Cynric ap Llywarch.	28a. 1½r. @ 12d.	28s. 4½d.
Richard son of Benedict.	5a. @ 12d.	5s.
Total Farm of acres in Llewenny at the terms of:	Pentecost £30 8s. 9½d. St. Michael's £30 8s. 9½d.	Thus <i>per annum</i> £60 17s. 7d. for 2 messuages, 11 tofts, 1 curtilage, 1,559 acres and 23½ perches of land and 8 places, 2 Cloughs and 2 Bonks.

67 *Toft*: The site of a house and its outbuildings.

68 At this point it is noted that "it was found in the old Rental that Richard de Romworth paid rent of 2s. 2½d. for 1 acre 18 perches. This land cannot be discovered, however, on examination before the Extentor and Escheator. But the said Richard claims to be unjustly burdened on

And besides this, 10 acres which used to render 10s., are allocated to John de Hulton as his bovaté, etc., and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, $\frac{1}{2}$ rod which used to render $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. are here placed now with the Foreland as above.

John de Moston pays at the two terms aforesaid 2s. for permission to dig turves and millstones in the lord's quarry there.

This is the total

Robert de Hulton holds at farm the Mill of Llewenny and the Mill of Henllan, paying for them each year at the terms aforesaid, £7 10s. The same Richard del Peek pays the lord henceforth each year at the two terms aforesaid for licence to have a fulling mill on his own land. So that he may have delivery of timber for building the said mill, etc., 13s. 4d.

Total farm of Mills at the term of	Pentecost	So each year
	£4.20d.	£8 3s. 4d.
	St. Michael's	for three mills.
	£4.20d.	

Newburgh

And there is a certain hamlet of Llewenny which is called Newburgh—and is within the bounds of Llewenny,—which is arrented as appears now forthwith :

<i>Tenant.</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Rent</i>
Richard, son of Robert de Romworth.	1 parcel of 12p.	1½d.
Elias Steel.	(i) 1 place and ½r.	14½d.
	(ii) 1 place and ½a. ½r.	3s. 3d.
Ralph de Cumberbache.	1 place and ½r.	5s.
William de Stonyfeld.	2 places and ½r.	2s. 1½d.
Isabella de Hendebury.	3 places and 35p.	3s. 7d.
Cecilia de Rybchestre.	1 place and ½r.	13½d.
William de Romworth.	(i) 1 place and 8p.	14½d.
	(ii) 2 places and 2p.	2s. 2d.

And be it known that William de Stonyfeld who used to pay sometimes more, sometimes less, pays nothing now since he is not furnished. And if he does furnish, he says it belongs now to the Town of Denbigh within the walls, because it is within the bounds of the liberty (so he says). This must be given consideration, etc.

Total farm of Newburgh each	Pentecost	So each year
year at the terms of :	9s. 10¾d.	19s. 9¾d.
	St. Michael's	for 16 (<i>sic.</i>) places and
	9s. 10¾d.	1½ acres and 6 perches
		of land.

account of it, and he has been told (to appear) before the Steward in court, or before the Auditors when they come, etc., if it seems to him expedient, etc."

Park of Llewenny

And there was in Llewenny a park, which is now arrented in its entirety by acres, as will appear immediately following : that is, since the time of the Earl of Lancaster, each acre for 12d.

<i>Name of Tenant.</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Rent</i>
John Faber.	3r.	9d.
Richard de Birkenshagh.	2a.	2s.
Elias Steel.	4 parcels, 5½a. ½r.	5s. 7½d.
Isabella de Hendbury.	3r.	9d.
William, son of Hugh del Fryth.	3½a. 10p.	3s. 6½d.
Roger, son of Adam de Sunder- lond.	(i) 7a. 3r. 13p. (ii) 1a. 1½r.	7s. 9¾d. 16½d.
William de Hendebury.	3a. 1r.	3s. 3d.
Thomas Balle.	1a. 1r.	21d.
Hugh del Frith.	1a. 1r.	15d.
Henry de Fryth.	1a. 28p.	14½d.
William Throstel.	3r.	9d.
William and John Throstel.	5a.	5s.
William Throstel.	2 parcels, 15a. 3r.	15s. 9d.
John Throstel.	5a. 3r.	5s. 9d.
Elias Cuglepeny.	(i) 1a. 1½r. (ii) 2 parcels, 13a.	16½d. 13s.
John de Stokton.	1a. 1½r.	16½d.
Richard de Rumworth.	1a. 3r.	21d.
Richard his son.	2a. 3r.	2s. 9d.
Henry, son of John de Rum- worth.	6a. 3r. 27p.	6s. 11d.
William, son of John de Rum- worth.	6a. 3½r. 7p.	6s. 11d.
Ralph de Cumberbache.	1a. 3r.	21d.
Adam de Hendbury.	17a.	17s.
William de Kailly.	6½a.	6s. 6d.
Richard del Peek.	4a. 3r. 5 p.	4s. 10¾d.*
Robert de Hulton jun. and Richard de Hulton.	25½a.	25s. 6d.
Robert de Westmorland.	9a. 3½r. 6p.	9s. 11d.
Adam de Whirhale and Robert le Roper.	6a.	6s.
Adam, son of Isolde.	5a.	5s.
The same Adam and Matilda, his wife.	2 parcels, 6a. 3½r.	6s. 10½d.
John de Hoghton.	10a.	10s.
Henry Danney.	6a.	6s.
Thurstan de Orel.	(i) 10a. (ii) 4a.	10s. 4s.
Richard de Orel.	16a.	16s.
Robert le Knappe.	4a. 3r.	4s. 9d.
Henry del Spen ⁽⁶⁹⁾	2 parcels, 46a.	46s.

*This sign is used where sums of money in the account contain half farthings. (The document has here : "iiii s. xd. ob. q. *et dim.*") A "mite" (if we may follow Scriptural precedent) should therefore be added to all sums distinguished in this way.

69 The Extentor adds here : "And be it known that the said Henry has in those 2 parcels 6 acres more than is contained in the Rental, as is found by measurement of the Extent."

<i>Name of Tenant.</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Rent</i>
Thomas de Lannesdale.	7a. 1r.	7s. 3d.
Henry de Westmorlaunde.	4½a.	4s. 6d.
John de Westmorlaund.	4a. 1½r.	4s. 4½d.
Henry de Cliderowe.	(i) 1a. 1½r.	1s. 4½d.
	(ii) 82a.	£4 2s.
William Basket.	(i) 5a. ½r.	5s. 1½d.
	(ii) 2 parcels, 8½a.	8s. 6d.
John, son of Thomas de Pon- tefracto.	10a.	10s.
Robert de Wiberleye.	4a. 3½r. 6p.	4s. 11d.

Alan de Cravene holds 36 acres of land which were held by Geoffrey de Ely, of which 3 acres were found to be an increase by measurement of the Extentor over (?) the time of aforesaid Geoffrey, price per acre 12d., paying each year at the terms aforesaid, 36s. And in addition the same Alan holds there 10 acres which used to render 10s. quit-rent, and are allocated as his bovaté belonging to his burgage of Denbigh within the walls, which he had by gift and enfeofment of Elen, who was the wife of Geoffrey of Ely.

Adam le Taillour.	10a.	10s.
Alexander Danney.	2a.	2s.

All these parcels, which contain 103 acres and 36 perches were (part of) the township of Ystrad Canon.

Richard del Wode.	3a. 30p.	3s. 2½d.
Henry Grym.	2a.	2s.
John le Reved.	(i) 10a.	10s.
	(ii) 2a.	2s.
Total farm of the park of Llew- enny at the term of :	Pentecost : So <i>per annum</i> £25 13s. £12 16s. 6¼d.* ¾d.* for 513 acres and St. Michael's 12 perches of land. £12 16s. 6¼d.*	

Garthisnodiok

And there is a certain piece of land and woods within the township of Llewenny which is called Garthisnodiok, which at one time was a park and was thereafter arrented, as appears immediately hereafter, viz. :

William de Dukkeworth.	26a. @ 8d.	17s. 4d.
Thomas le Schepherde.	10a. @ 12d.	10s.
Juliana and Isabella, daughters of Henry de Hallum.	20a.	20s.

Henry de Cliderowe holds there 10 acres (per acre 12d.) as is found by inquisition in the presence of the Extentor, and similarly by scrutiny of the rental of the Earl of Winchester's time, paying each year at the terms aforesaid 10s. But the said Henry will admit to only 6s.

<i>Name of Tenant</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Rent</i>
John le Mercer.	5a. @ 12d.	5s.
Thomas Ireneto.	10a.	10s.
Thomas de Steyford.	2a.	2s.
Jordan de Byngeleye.	10a.	10s.
Richard de Wydesbury.	4a. @ 12d.	4s.
Ralph, son of Nicholas.	8a.	8s.
Robert, son of Richard Hutton.	4a.	4s.
John le Gayte.	5a.	5s.

Adam Modi holds in 2 parcels, 9 acres of land and woods for which he used to render 9s. annually, at the terms aforesaid, and now has them quit, allocated as his bovaté adjoined to his burgage in Denbigh.

William Mody and Alice, his wife	4a. @ 12d.	4s.
William Russel.	4a.	4s.
William de Wykewere.	10a.	10s.
Peter le Heende	6a.	6s.
Henry de Runcore.	2a.	2s.

John le Chapmon holds 10 acres rendering at the terms aforesaid 10s. And now he claims to have them quit as his bovaté belonging to his burgage in Denbigh.

Henry de Yoksale? ⁷⁰ .	2a. @ 8d., 42a. @ 6d.	21s. 4d.
Thomas Batemon.	23a. @ 8d.	15s. 4d.
Total farm of Garthsnodiok,	Pentecost :	So <i>per annum</i> £8.18s. for
with the exception of 9s. al-	£4 9s.	215 acres of land and
located to a bovaté for Adam	St. Michael's	woods, excepting 9
Mody.	£4 9s.	acres allocated as the
		aforesaid bovaté.

And besides there is there a furlong of land which belongs to the township of Llewenny, lying between Garthsnodiok and the township of Denbigh, near the great fishpond⁽⁷¹⁾ of the Manor. It is called *le Polflat* and was at one time (part) of the demesnes of the manor of Denbigh, and is now arrented, each acre for 20d., as appears immediately following, viz. :

William de Scheresworth.	1a.	20d.
John le Reved.	1½a.	2s. 6d.
Roger del Peck.	3a. 1½r. @ 20d.	5s. 7½d.
Juliana and Isabella, daughters of Henry de Hallum.	2a. 1r. 13½p.	3s. 10½d.*
John de Moston.	1a 1r. 18p.	2s. 3½d.
Thomas de Steynford.	2a. 7p.	3s. 4½d.*

70 "Henry Yokehesale" was *ballivus Anglorum* (English bailiff) "for the commote of Kaymergh" in 1331—2, P.R.O. Min. Acc. 1182-91, quoted, *Survey* introduction, liv. n.

71 *Vivarium* : This word may mean "game-preserve" or "fishpond" (i.e.) any place where fish or game intended for the table could be preserved. I have chosen the latter on the ground that de Beckele would probably have used "*parcus*" for the other.

<i>Name of Tenant</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Rent</i>
Thurstan de Orel.	1a. $\frac{1}{2}$ p.	20d.
Thomas Ireneto.	$\frac{1}{2}$ a. 33p.	14d.
William Russell.	6a. $3\frac{1}{2}$ r. $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.	11s. $5\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Nicholas de Chadewyk.	$3\frac{1}{2}$ r. 12p.	19d.
William de Hereford.	2a. $1\frac{1}{2}$ r. 7p.	4s.

William de Dedesbury holds 1 acre 3 rods and 11 perches at the same price, paying at the terms (aforesaid) 3s $\frac{1}{4}$ d.*. But he admits only $23\frac{3}{4}$ d.*. It is discovered by the evidence of all the tenants that each acre ought to render 20d. So let enquiry be made whether perhaps he has not as much as is down in the rental.

Robert de Wyberleye.	3r.	15d.
William Basket.	1a. 1r.	2s. 1d.
William Swynemour.	10a. @ 12d.	10s.
Henry de Heeton.	4a.	3s. 4d.

And be it known that all the rest of the tenants say that John Bost' father of that Henry who now holds them, first took those four acres at a rent per acre of 20d., like the rest. He thereafter had the custody of the park at Moillewyk, and for that custody was awarded (a rent of) 3s. 4d. per annum. Now, because he has not that custody he ought to pay a full rent as in the time of the Earl of March. But the lord is now cheated by a false proposal made to him concerning it. So let consideration be had.

Total farm of <i>le Polplat</i> now, at	Pentecost	So <i>per annum</i> 58s. $11\frac{1}{2}$ d.
the term of:	29s. $5\frac{3}{4}$ d.*	for 41 acres, $1\frac{1}{2}$ rods,
	St. Michael's	4 perches of land.
	29s. 6d.	

And in ways and wastes, in which all the aforesaid tenants of Llewenny and Ystrad Canon below, together with the burgesses of Denbigh, claim common pasture, by grant of the Earl of Lincoln, 936 acres and 25 perches. And thus there remain in the tenure of the aforesaid tenants 215 acres 3 rods of land from which the lord gets no profit, but which serve entirely to the advantage of the aforesaid tenants; which, if recovered, would be worth on improvement at least 102s. $11\frac{1}{4}$ d., the price per acre being at least 6d.

[*Vivarium* (see note 71) is certainly *fishpond* as Mr. Usher translates. It refers to the pool which occupied the place still called Lenten Pool; *le Polflat*, now referred to as *Bwa Fflat* or *Bo Fflat*, is the land bordering on the road leading from Lenten Pool *via* Barker's and Charnell's Well to the Graig Road. F.P.J.]

THE CIVIL WAR IN EAST DENBIGHSHIRE ⁽¹⁾

East Denbighshire is one of the very few parts of Wales, outside Pembrokeshire, where the term "Civil War" can appropriately be used of the fighting that went on between 1642 and 1648. For here there was from the beginning a local faction that favoured the cause of parliament, though it was unable to make itself felt until the county had twice been invaded by a strong Roundhead force from across the border. Our first task, therefore, is to examine the character and origins of the political divisions that had appeared in the county towards the end of the preceding century.

"Political" is perhaps too strong a word, for political labels were long no more than convenient cover for clan feuds. The oldest division of all, indeed, is one that springs from the very facts of physical geography, and for that reason it has persisted, in gentler forms, to our own day: I mean, of course, the division between east and west, between the Denbighshire that fades into the Cheshire plain and the Denbighshire that merges in Snowdonia, between Powys Fadog and Gwynedd Is Conwy. In the Civil War campaigns west Denbighshire went with Snowdonia, and will therefore not be included, except incidentally, in the picture given here; but in politics we cannot ignore it, since this dualism determined the whole political set-up of the shire from the time the Act of Union brought it into being. For the first fifty years a deliberate attempt was made to keep the balance true between the western half, dominated by the Salusburys of Llewenny and their friends and satellites among the "garrison families" who had settled there since the conquest, and the eastern half, where some of the surviving Welsh families had been sailing to fortune on the tide of Tudor favour; it was when the Llewenny influence threatened to swamp the east as well that a reaction against it set in among the eastern squires, taking advantage of the civil and religious storms that marked the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign. The story has been told elsewhere⁽²⁾ of how discontented elements like Lloyd of Bodidris and Trevor of Trevalun, with some junior branches of

1 Communicated in substance to the annual meeting of the Society held at Wrexham on 19 April, 1952, George G. Lerry, Esq., O.B.E., in the chair.

2 *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lix. 348-56; Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales*, pp. 182-3.

the Salusburys, a few Flintshire neighbours, and in the background the recusant *clientèle* of Edwards of Chirkland, attached themselves to the dashing young Earl of Essex, some to share in his tragi-comic bid for power at the opening of the new century, some to bring their county to the brink of civil war at next winter's parliamentary election.

The accession of James I., whose proclamation at Denbigh (in English by Sir John Salusbury—now *gŵr cynta, cnot y coron* in his shire,—in Welsh by Bishop Morgan the translator) was “well received”,⁽¹⁾ put an end to these feuds, but others soon took their place. In 1595 Sir Thomas Myddelton, the future lord mayor, bought as an establishment for his eldest son the lordship and castle of Chirk, and the second Sir Thomas settled there after his marriage in 1612, adding to his local dignities twenty years later the stewardship of Ruthinland and the custody of Ruthin castle. This brought about a striking change in the balance of power in the county. The Myddeltons were enormously wealthy, towering head and shoulders over their eastern neighbours. The Edwardses of Plas Newydd, standing for the more conservative elements in county society, tried for a time to withstand their influence; they resented the alienation of so ancient a dignity as a crown lordship to a family of “usurers”; they resented Myddelton's attempt to treat his property as a business proposition, to the detriment of customary rights; above all, they disliked the intrusion of a family which, though of Denbighshire origin, had London as its immediate background and did not share the Edwardses' veneration for *yr iaith Gymraec* (which to Myddelton, with his cockney upbringing, Yorkshire mother and Yorkshire wife, must have been a sealed book)—still less that devotion to the ancient faith which after Gunpowder Plot cost the older family two-thirds of its land and most of its influence in the shire.⁽²⁾

The other eastern families that might have formed a counterpoise to the Myddeltons—the Lloyds of Bodidris and the two branches of the Trevors (Trevalun and Brynkynallt)—shifted their interests for a time to the Irish estates they had acquired when they fought there in the Elizabethan armies led

1. *Arch. Camb.*, VI. xv. 128; *Nat. Lib. of Wales Journ.*, v. 261.

2. *Byngraftiadur Cymreig*, pp. 170, 637.

by their hero Essex or his predecessors. When the Brynkynallt Trevors were home from Ireland there was apt to be some sharp-shooting between them and their neighbours of Chirk castle, but they did not stay long enough for the feud to develop—until the Sir John of Charles II's day descended on the constituency from London, with all the weight of the court at his back, to snatch the seat from the grasp of Chirk castle in the classic election of 1681. As for the other branch, after Sir Richard's death in 1639, his successors ceased to live at Trevalun, choosing rather their more commodious Flintshire residence (Plas Têg) when they took a holiday from the profitable offices they held in London.⁽¹⁾ Even in west Denbighshire the political dominance of the new lords of Chirkland was no longer seriously challenged. The ambitions of Sir John Salusbury, who had so successfully reasserted the influence of Llewenny in 1601, lay in the direction of literature rather than politics; he was glad to marry his son Sir Henry (who looked further afield to Ireland and the colonies) to Lord Mayor Myddelton's daughter, and to resign to the rival house the leadership in county politics. The Thelwalls of Plas y Ward, allies of Llewenny, sank with them into the background, eclipsed in public affairs by the younger branch of their own house which had settled at Bathafarn and Plas Coch and branched out into east Denbighshire, but owed its wealth and influence to success at the law and offices at court.⁽²⁾

This left the Myddelton influence supreme. The lord mayor's younger brother, Sir Hugh the goldsmith, represented the borough interest in every parliament from James I's accession to his death in 1631; his own heir, Sir Thomas, entered county politics at the beginning of the next reign, when he induced the retiring member (Sir Eubule Thelwall, of the Bathafarn branch) to stand down for him as premier landowner, accepting in exchange a family pocket borough. From then on the seat was regarded as normally at the disposal of the Chirk castle family whenever they wanted it. The significance of all this lay in the fact that the Puritanism which had been filtering in to east Denbighshire from across the border now had a *point d'appui* in

1 *Id.*, pp. 537, 918-20; Palmer, *Gresford*, pp. 106-7.

2 Dodd, *Studies*, pp. 186-7.

the very region where conservative influences had hitherto prevailed, and a patron in the wealthiest family of the shire. The nice blend of piety and business acumen that permeates the very ledgers of the lord mayor⁽¹⁾ was passed on to his son, but without in any way weakening his allegiance to the Anglican establishment. Sir Thomas has been called a Presbyterian, but unless the word be understood purely as a political label with no ecclesiastical significance, it is completely misleading. Not only was he (in Baxter's words) "conformable to Episcopacy and Parochial worship," but the organ and crucifix in the private chapel at Chirk were an offence to what William Vaughan called the "crabbed zeal" of the "holy separatists," glad as they were of the support of his wealth and influence in the common cause.⁽²⁾ What he stood for above all was militant Protestantism, and his whole political outlook was conditioned by the growing dangers in which the Protestant cause had seemed to stand in Europe as far back as he could remember; for memories of the Armada were still fresh in his infancy, Gunpowder Plot had been "exposed" when he was nearing man's estate, and the Thirty Years' War broke out when he was in his early thirties.

It was this that made him critical of the court and threw him into association with men whose religious and political views carried them so much further than, in the end, he was prepared to go. His steward at Chirk, Watkin Kyffin, apart from belonging to an older county family than Myddelton's—a family whose hereditary feud with the Trevors of Brynkynallt did not help Kyffin's patron to live at peace with them—was an admirer of Morgan Llwyd, some of whose verses he cherished among his business papers. Kyffin's wife's family belonged to the same circle; her sister, indeed, married the future regicide John Jones, himself apparently brought up in one or other of the Myddelton counting-houses in London.⁽³⁾ Then, too, Myddelton's uncle, Sir Richard Saltonstall (like him the son of a former lord mayor) had sold the family estate to join, with his

1 *Ibid.*; *N.L.W. Journ.*, i. 83-8.

2 Baxter, *Penitent Confession*, 1691, p. 30; W. M. Myddelton, *Chirk Castle Acts*, 1605-60, p. x; W. Vaughan, *The Spirit of Detraction*, 1611, pp. 318-21. The latest Wynnstay deposit in N.L.W. (still unscheduled) contains a document embodying Roundhead attacks on Myddelton's "papistical" practices.

3 N.L.W., Chirk Castle MSS., A4, E5602; *Bywgraffiadur*, pp. 444-5.

entire household, in the great Puritan exodus to Massachusetts Bay in 1630; but he and his son Richard both came back after a year of it because his unbending north-country conscience was no more accommodating to New England ministers and elders than to Anglican bishops. By the time of the Protectorate (which also failed to satisfy his rigid idealism) he had become Myddelton's neighbour at Brymbo Hall and an occasional visitor at Chirk; but the political and religious gulf between them had widened, as will appear later.⁽¹⁾

In the county as a whole it was with the meeting of the Long Parliament that political disaffection came once more to the surface. The raising of 150 and then 200 men (twice the normal quota)—as well as a body of horse—to fight the Scots in the "Bishops' Wars" of 1639--40 naturally caused some grumbling; but in spite of some delays in recruiting the cavalry, Denbighshire duly produced its contingent, complaining only of unfair adjustment of the burden between itself and its neighbours, a grievance that was recognised with a promise of redress. Unofficial comment was not always so restrained, and a Gresford man had to repent in gaol an incautious outburst about the king and the clergy, which was denounced by neighbours and reported to the privy council.⁽²⁾ The raising of the soldiers, which involved the county in considerable expense, was not made easier by the fact that the demand coincided with the collection of ship money for the fifth year in succession. Denbighshire had hitherto paid up pretty promptly, but in the spring of 1639 the sheriff was reporting "wilful delays" in the payment of the preceding year's levy, and of that imposed in 1639 nearly a third was never paid at all.⁽³⁾ Two years later, when the Long Parliament was preparing its bill condemning ship money as illegal, Denbighshire was one of the counties that lent support by petition.⁽⁴⁾

In this historic assembly the shire was represented by Sir Thomas Myddelton, the boroughs by Simon Thelwall, grandson

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1. Myddelton, *Chirk Castle Accounts*, 1605-66, p. 31 and n.; *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, liii 254, 258; Palmer, *Old Parish of Wrexham*, p. 113 n. (In *Studies*, p. 164, I have unwarrantably made Saltonstall a Cheshireman).
 2. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, pp. 182-3, 231, 317, 1639-40, p. 597, 1640, p. 49.
 3. *Id.*, 1639, p. 18; *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, III. iv. 159.
 4. N.L.W. MS. 1593.

of Simon of Plas y Ward, who had been sheriff in 1612.⁽¹⁾ Myddelton's election was technically invalid because it had been held the day after parliament was due to meet; a by-election was confidently expected, and Sir Thomas Salusbury, who had represented the shire in the Short Parliament, toyed with the idea of contesting it with his uncle, but was advised against a course which might breed an everlasting feud. Meanwhile Myddelton had put himself right with the House by guaranteeing a large sum towards the urgent business of paying off the Scots army, still encamped on English soil, and the matter was quietly dropped.⁽²⁾ In any case, a man of his wealth, standing and experience could ill be spared, and for the next eight months, except for short leaves of absence at Chirk (where his wife lay ill) he was frequently to be found on committees of the House, especially those concerned with religion and finance, with administration and procedure, and occasionally with some of the more urgent constitutional issues like the safeguarding of parliament and the establishment of its control over taxation. But there is no suggestion of the future Roundhead leader in his conduct in the House before the autumn recess in 1641; he had no part or lot in the attacks on the Church, and his only known contribution to debates was a speech in which he tried to calm the fears of those among his Welsh colleagues who found a sinister meaning in the special powers granted in South Wales, at the time of the Bishops' Wars, to the popish Earl of Worcester and his son. His own attitude towards the political situation appears in a letter he wrote early in 1641, showing obvious disquiet about the Scots army, the Strafford trial and the "faction against the Bishops", and concluding with a prayer for peace at home and wars abroad—in other words, a common front against the common threat to Protestantism.⁽³⁾

Simon Thelwall was naturally a less conspicuous figure; he took no part in debates, and it was not until the House began to concern itself (in August 1641) with supposed popish machinations in Montgomeryshire, centring in Powis castle, that he was called upon for any committee work. But a letter of his

1 See appendix.

2 N.L.W. Llewenny MSS. 3.30, 3.40, 3.54, 3.72.

3 *Id.*, 3.54, 3.91, 3.161; *Trans. Cym. Soc.*, 1946-7, pp. 69-75.

written within the first few weeks of session shows him to be in tune with the general policy of the House so far: he has no doubts about the "unparalleled [*sic*] treasons" of Strafford, and only fears his "undaunted Courage" may win him sympathy; and he hopes the court's "distast" at the popular acclaim with which the victims of Star Chamber were greeted on their release will not break any bones, "things standing as they do." The correspondence of Denbighshire men outside the House shows that this approval was general. One correspondent of Llewenny writes at the very beginning of session: "Here is a busie Parliament and in all oppinions like to prove a very happie one"; two months later another describes what has so far been done as "a good beginning of thinges," and rashly concludes that "a greate parte of the worke is dunne."⁽¹⁾

This was indeed a common delusion until the Irish rebellion broke out in November 1641 to reawaken that distrust of the king's loyalty to the Protestant faith which led the Commons to seize for themselves control of the military forces raised to subdue the rebels, and eventually to put themselves in a posture of defence against the king himself. For nearly four months after the outbreak nothing is heard of Sir Thomas Myddelton; one can only assume that he was reconsidering his position in the light of Irish events. At any rate, by June 1642 his mind was made up; towards the end of the month he was requested by the Commons to put their Militia Ordinance into force in his own county, where they had previously nominated Simon Thelwall (soon after he had guaranteed £500 "ready money" to meet the urgent needs of parliament) as one of the deputy lieutenants responsible for the raising of forces.⁽²⁾ But Myddelton's county disowned him—east and west alike; they might send him as a matter of course to Westminster as premier landowner of the shire, but to follow him in actions that could only lead to treason was a different matter. Another Denbighshire man, Richard Lloyd of Esclus (the newly-appointed attorney general for North Wales) was meanwhile busy organising from Ludlow—where a poor bewildered remnant of the

1 *Commons Journals*, ii. 257, 260; *Trans. Cym. Soc.*, 1946-7, pp. 72-3; Llewenny MS. 3.156, 3.101, 3.39.

2 *C.J.*, ii. 485, 623; D'Ewes, *Journal*, ed. Notestein, 1923, p. 439*n*.

Council of Wales still clung precariously to their posts—petitions from the six shires of North Wales for protection against the ordinances of parliament and in favour of the “known and established lawes of the lande”; and before the end of July he was able to report the adhesion of everyone of note in Denbighshire and Flintshire with the single exception of Sir Thomas Myddelton. Early next month a meeting of the two shires at Wrexham resolved to raise a regiment of foot in the king’s defence at the cost of £1,500 (or £1,000 according to other accounts), with Myddelton’s nephew, Sir Thomas Salusbury, as colonel.⁽¹⁾

Before the end of August the king had set up his standard at Nottingham and the die was cast. The early weeks of September found Salusbury immersed in the task of raising his regiment. The king’s lieutenant in the county, Lord Strange (soon to succeed as Earl of Derby, and to go down to history as the “martyr earl”), appointed as commissioners to receive money for this purpose Sir Edward Broughton of Marchwiel, William Robinson of Gwersyllt Uchaf, and Ellis Sutton of Gwersyllt Isaf, of whom the second was of fighting stock, while the others had had experience of handling county moneys in the days of ship money and the Bishops’ Wars. Broughton’s brother William had already raised and officered a company of 92 men, for whom £100 was immediately required as “coat and conduct” money; and John Edwards of Chirkland, who had deserted the family faith and served for some years as captain of militia for his hundred, nearly had a second ready to checkmate his hereditary rival at Chirk castle. Edwards and the Robinsons and Broughtons all did good service for the king on the North Wales and border front throughout the war. The colonel himself was responsible for 200 men, and his sergeant major (a stranger to the county) for a further 150, and he asked Thomas Bulkeley of Baron Hill (the future viscount) to help him out with “half a score of lusty fellows” from Sir Fôn—with which Bulkeley, having no urgent need for them himself, readily complied,

1 Dodd, *Studies*, pp. 66-7; *Bywgraffiadur*, pp. 554-5; Shropshire county archives, Martyn to Bridgewater, 25 July, 1642; *Cal. of Wym Papers* 1711; *Arch. Camb.* I.i.33.

though they arrived a few days too late for the general rendezvous at Warrington on 16 September.⁽¹⁾

Just before the day fixed for the rendezvous the king issued from Derby his commission of array to the principal gentry of the shire, enjoining them to embody and arm the county trainbands, bringing them up to strength by such additional volunteers as might be needed, and providing for their journey to join the boy prince of Wales as his bodyguard.⁽²⁾ The king and the prince were already on their way to take command of the 5,000 foot and 400 horse raised for the royal service in North Wales and the border. By the end of the month they reached Wrexham, where Charles addressed an enthusiastic throng from the shirehall (not the town hall that has so recently fallen a victim to "progress," but a predecessor on the same site), spending the night at Esclus with Richard Lloyd; a few days later he revisited the town and made his quondam host a knight.⁽³⁾ By mid-October he was all set to march on London with such of his forces as were ready for action—and clearly a good many that were not; among the latter we must include the reserve of foot commanded by William Salusbury (*Hen Hosannau Gleision*) of Bachymbyd, head of a junior branch of Llewenny, who had represented the shire in parliament as far back as James I's reign, when he was already a much-travelled man. They consisted, according to a Welsh onlooker who saw them in action when the king's march was checked at Edgehill, of "1,200 poore Welch vermins, the off-scouring of the nation," armed (according to another report) with "scythes, pitchforks and even sickles in their hands."⁽⁴⁾

The regiment raised by Sir Thomas Salusbury, the distant kinsman of *Hosannau Gleision*, was meant for home defence, so his preparations could take a more leisurely course: warrants were still arriving in early November from Oxford, where the king had fixed his court when he failed to reach London, for

1 Llewenny MSS. 3.59, 3.135; *Bywgraffiadur*, pp. 47-8, 170-1, 832-4; Palmer, *Gresford*, p. 56; Huntington Library, Calif., MSS. EL. 7195, 7405, 7443; *Cal. Wynn Papers*, 1711.

2 *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1641-3, p. 336; text in *Arch. Camb.*, I.i.33-4.

3 J. R. Phillips, *Civil War in Wales*, i. 108-26.

4 *Id.*, p. 128; *Trans. Cym. Soc.*, 1942, pp. 42-3, 46; Nugent, *Hampden*, 1860, i. 308.

the arrest of deserters and the collection of arrears of contribution towards equipment and maintenance; and a month later a county meeting was called at Ruthin to complete local arrangements.⁽¹⁾ Another warrant commissioned Robert Ellice of Gwasnewydd (the modern Croes Newydd) to seize Chirk castle and to impound for the royal service all money and plate found there—not interfering, however, with Myddelton's rents. This he carried out early in 1643, packing off Watkin Kyffin, steward of the castle, as prisoner to Chester; the castle was then handed to the custody of Sir Thomas Hanmer (and later to Col. John Watts), while Ellice, who had learned the art of fortification abroad, helped with the defences of Chester, till he was captured in an engagement at Middlewich at the head of his two hundred Welsh foot.⁽²⁾

Myddelton, unable to do any service for parliament in his own county, returned to his post at Westminster in October 1642; according to a slanderous story later put about by Sir John Owen, it was Archbishop Williams himself who persuaded Thelwall to go back and "Voate in Parliament against his Majesty."⁽³⁾ They found the House busy with measures against Denbighshire (and other) "delinquents." Already in September it had summoned before it Myddelton's nephew, Sir Thomas Salusbury, his neighbour John Trevor of the hostile house of Brynkynallt (father of the future Speaker), and William Wynne of Melai (later to fall in action at Wem), for their temerity in putting into operation the king's commission of array. Thomas Glynne, who had won a great name for himself in the House by his management of the impeachment of Strafford, was now ordered to prepare articles of impeachment against Salusbury for "actually levying forces against the King and Parliament and marching at their head against Parliament"—which suggests that Denbighshire's preparations in the royal cause were conspicuous by their forwardness. It was at Westminster that Myddelton learned that his home and goods had been taken from him, and early in April his name was included in a draft bill to compensate supporters of parliament for losses sustained

1 N.L.W., Crosse of Shaw Hill MSS., 1093-4.

2 *Bywgraffiadur*, p. 192; Pennant, *Tours*, 1883, i. 349; Crosse of Shaw Hill MSS., 1096, 1116; *Arch. Camb.*, I., i.34

3 Bulkeley-Owen, *Selattyn*, p. 67.

at the hand of the Royalists. But this was soon to be swamped by a more comprehensive measure giving him an extensive military command and providing for the recoupment of moneys advanced by him for the purpose.⁽¹⁾

Sir Richard Lloyd seems to have been the chief man of initiative on the Denbighshire commission of array, just as he had been earlier among his fellow-lawyers at Ludlow. Before the end of January he was warning the sheriff (John Thelwall of Plas Coch) of the imminent threat from the Cheshire Roundheads, holding up as an example the zeal of the Flintshiremen (of whom a rather different tale was told by the Royalist commander some months later), and arranging for the hundred of Bromfield to keep a garrison of fifty men at Chirk and to guard the Dee passages at Holt, Overton and Bangor Iscoed, with support from the levies raised further west in the Ruthin area. A hundred men from the county had already gone to man the defences of Chester under the command of Colonel Hugh Wynn (of Bodysgallen in Creuddyn), so that although it had as yet seen no actual fighting, the burden of defence was by no means a light one.⁽²⁾ But in March some at least of the responsibility for directing these efforts was shifted from the shoulders of the more enterprising of the local gentry by the appointment of Arthur, Lord Capel, as lieutenant general (under the nominal orders of the boy Prince of Wales) of Cheshire, Shropshire and

ERRATUM

Page 50, line 26:

For Thomas Glynne *read* John Glynne.

few months. It was Lloyd, for example, who in person carried out the orders of the governor of Chester for conveying to

1 *C.J.*, ii. 783, 822, 825, 842, 863, 866, 874, 945, 953, iii. 31; Phillips, i. 178; *Bywgraffiadur*, p. 919.

2 Crosse of Shaw Hill MS. 1095; Hist. MSS. Com., 4th R., p. 263; *Bywgraffiadur*, p. 1028; cf. *Flints. Hist. Soc. Publications*, xiv. 34.

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1 *C.J.*, ii. 783, 822, 825, 842, 863, 866, 874, 945, 953, iii. 31; Phillips, i. 178; *Bywgraffiadur*, p. 919.

2 Crosse of Shaw Hill MS. 1095; Hist. MSS. Com., 4th R., p. 263; *Bywgraffiadur*, p. 1028; cf. *Flints. Hist. Soc. Publications*, xiv. 34.

Beaumaris, with an escort of twelve horsemen, four or five unnamed prisoners arrested in the county in May for bearing arms against the king—and for their re-conveyance to Ludlow when it turned out that Beaumaris castle was in no fit state to serve as a prison. Next month it was six local defaulters from military training⁽¹⁾ who had to be arrested. Denbighshire was already feeling the pinch.⁽²⁾

And worse things were preparing for it at Westminster. Sir William Brereton in Cheshire had been clamouring since February for directions to Sir Thomas Myddelton to bring him reinforcements, and an ordinance arranging for Myddelton's appointment as commander-in-chief for the six counties of North Wales, introduced towards the end of May, passed both Houses in mid-June. It gave him power to levy moneys for the service within his command, and to distrain on the estates of "delinquents" for the recovery of the £3,000 advanced by him or on his credit.⁽³⁾ Four days after his appointment the king sent from Oxford to the North Wales commissioners of array an order for his apprehension; but the finding of men and munitions for his campaign took well over a month, and when he did appear on 24 July it was at Nantwich, the headquarters of Sir William Brereton, under whose command he placed himself; for the border must be reduced before he could hope for a footing in North Wales.⁽⁴⁾ But the mere presence of these reinforcements so near the border, with the avowed

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- 1 Edward Lloyd of Nantglyn, Robert ap Morris of Hafodelwy, William ap Hugh David ab Owen, Edward ap William ap Hugh of Trefydd Bychain, Hugh ap Robert of Segrwyd. It is unfortunate that the records give us only the names of the "shirkers"—not of the "fifth columnists"!
 - 2 N.L.W., Llanfair and Brynodyn MSS., bundle 94, letter from Charles I, 18 March, 1642/3, Crosse of Shaw Hill MSS. 1097-1101, 1104-5; U.C.N.W., Baron Hill MS. 5366; Hist. MSS. Com., 2nd R., p. 67, 12th R., ix. 39, 42.
 - 3 Hist. MSS. Com., *Portland*, i. 94, 96; *C.J.*, iii. 105, 108, 114, 121, 127; Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, i. 179-80. Actually when reimbursement was made to Myddelton after the conquest of North Wales no Denbighshire delinquents were named among those whose estates were squeezed for the purpose (Document of 10 Feb., 1647, in Brogyntyn unscheduled coll., N.L.W.)
 - 4 N.L.W. Llanfair and Brynodyn MSS., bundle 94, letter of Chas. I, 16 July, 1643. The contemporary account by Malbon (*Lancs. and Ches. Record Soc.*, xix. 71-2) says 19 Aug., but Capel on 25 July reports that Myddelton "came to Nantwich last night." (Hist. MSS. Com., 4th R. p. 263).

intention of "passing over" to the Welsh side, was a challenge to redoubled efforts in Denbighshire.

On the very day of Myddelton's arrival in Cheshire, Capel wrote from Shrewsbury to the Denbighshire commissioners about the provision of transport; they were to join the Flintshire gentry in finding twenty conveyances and horses, each with two attendants. This task was undertaken by Robert Wynne of Voelas (the sheriff of 1631) and Robert Price of Giler (grandfather of "Baron Price"), and cost the county £162 10s. On the same day Sir Richard Lloyd and his fellow-commissioners asked the sheriff to call a county meeting at Wrexham to discuss the emergency, and next day muster rolls were drawn up for the various hundreds. It was agreed that the county should raise 400 musketeers to guard the Dee passages, while Flintshire raised 200 to serve in the Chester garrison, and that the body of local horse serving under Sir Richard Willis, Capel's sergeant major general of horse (already operating with some success across the border) should be stationed at Ellesmere. The musketeers were ready by early August, and their pay for one month was levied on their respective hundreds in proportions ranging between £100 and £150.⁽¹⁾

Capel, however, wanted more than mere passive defence. He called on the gentry of the county to ride with him in a body into the field to meet the enemy in Cheshire (as many had already done individually), in the hope that this would encourage the "commonalty" to follow suit; and he presented the commissioners of array with demands for men and money at which they began to take alarm. The inhabitants, they objected, were "extremely exhausted by former taxations and much wanting money for want of sale of their cattle," which had been topped by royal command because the London market with which they dealt was in parliamentary hands. Moreover, since the authority of the parliament at Westminster, in which the county's two representatives still sat, had been repudiated, and the king's "anti-parliament" of loyal members had not yet been called to Oxford, there was no authoritative body to assess their proper contributions, which were normally less than a tenth those of

1 Crosse of Shaw Hill MSS. 1106-7, 1112-3, 1117; Hist. MSS. Com. 15th R., vii. 307.

Shropshire. For this reason Capel summoned the local gentry to Shrewsbury in June and proposed the setting up there of a permanent council consisting of one commissioner of array from each of the six shires to control local war finances ; but Montgomeryshire was slow to co-operate, and was indeed showing itself somewhat lukewarm in the royal service. For apart from the fact that Myddelton had considerable territorial influence there as lord of Arwystli and Cyfeiliog, another principal landowner, Edward Vaughan of Llwydiarth, had taken the parliamentary side—largely to secure its support against his popish nephew, who claimed the estate ; and on quitting the royal headquarters at about the time when Myddelton was given his command, he was included in the royal warrant for the Roundhead general's apprehension.

Beyond the Conway the war was hardly felt as yet ; so the Denbighshire gentry had some ground for complaint that they were bearing more than their share of the common defence of North Wales. At the Shrewsbury meeting—which does not seem to have materialised till Myddelton's actual arrival brought a new sense of urgency—they declared that the only extra financial contribution they could make at the moment was by paying their crown rents in advance, which they estimated would bring in ready cash to the amount of £6,000 ; and as for man power, so many men had already been mustered for Ireland and for Sir Thomas Salusbury's and Colonel Wynn's regiments that barely enough were left for tilling the fields and defending their homes. At the same time they sent assurances (in reply to anxious enquiries addressed by the king himself to Capel) that all able-bodied men in the county were loyal—a claim on which subsequent events throw a good deal of doubt—and an oath against the invaders was imposed on the gentry and their tenants.⁽¹⁾

Summer passed and still Myddelton was held up on the English side of the border, co-operating with Brereton and Mytton, his opposite numbers in Cheshire and Shropshire, in a campaign so meagre in results that by October he was in despair—his money exhausted, his men deserting because he could not

1 Crosse of Shaw Hill MSS., 1110-1, 1109, 1118-23 ; *Trans. Cymm. Soc.* 1948, pp. 61-2 ; *Trans. Ang. Antiquarian Soc.*, 1952, pp. 9-10 ; *Trans. Caern. Hist. Soc.*, xiv. 51-2 ; *Hist. MSS. Com. 2nd R.*, p. 67.

pay them, and chafing at "the great care is had to keep us out of Wales," where his own house was garrisoned for the enemy and his own tenants made to swear an oath against him—a bitter pill for any gentleman of estate to swallow. A fortnight later the tide began to turn: in an action near Wem Colonel Wynn of Melai was slain and his seven hundred Welsh musketeers scattered with heavy casualties, the wounded including Major General Willis (commanding the horse), Major Robert Broughton of Marchwiel, Captain Francis Manley of Erbistock, and many other officers. Shortly afterwards in a foray across the border brought in that vigorous Royalist Sir Edward Broughton and two of his sons were snatched away from under their own roof at Marchwiel. Brereton now declared that all he needed to reduce North Wales was five hundred horse and as many foot, and £3,000 to pay them. The Denbighshire levies were concentrated on the border to meet the challenge by early November, but those from Chirkland were under strength because illness had prevented John Trevor of Brynkynallt from assembling and arming his men.⁽¹⁾

Hitherto the Roundhead pressure had been chiefly in the direction of Maelor Saesneg, and the guarding of Bangor bridge had been a major preoccupation of the Denbighshire forces; but on 9 November Brereton and Myddelton, reinforced from Lancashire, took them by surprise by attacking further north and then masking their real objective (Holt) by what the Cheshire diarist calls a "pollicie"—a feint of attacking further along the river. This enabled them to rush Holt bridge (hitherto deemed impregnable), cutting the ropes of the drawbridge, scaling the tower that defended it, and forcing the gates. Robert Ellice's regiment of foot and the horse led by Mark Trevor—a younger son of Brynkynallt, who had been born and brought up in Ireland, but now returned to defend his ancestral soil—were thrown into confusion, and John Robinson of Gwersyllt was shut up in the castle, which had been hastily patched up after long neglect and placed in his charge. Taking swift advantage of what Brereton admitted was an "unexpected entrance," they swarmed through this "door into Wales" and occupied Wrex-

1 Hist. MSS. Com., *Portland*, i, 134, 141-3, 153, 160, 15th R., vii. 307; Phillips, *Civil War*, ii. 86-8; T. Malbon, *Civil War in Cheshire*, p. 85.

ham, where they were reported to have shut up the commissioners of array. Myddelton stayed there to hold a general muster, receiving considerable accretions to his force; Brereton went on the next day to put a garrison into Hawarden. Within a fortnight they had overrun most of Flintshire and east Denbighshire; and in the west William Salusbury, back from field service as governor of Denbigh castle (which he began to fortify as soon as Holt bridge was crossed), received a summons from his "ould and true friend and kinsman" Sir Thomas Myddelton to surrender his charge—a challenge which evoked a fine gesture of dignified defiance.⁽¹⁾

This time it was the Royalists who began to lose heart. A few days after Denbigh's refusal to surrender, Archbishop Williams at Conway was lamenting, in an urgent plea for help from Ireland to save North Wales for the king, that the invaders were "beginning already to levy forces from our nation, whereof they never had any before." Actually the reinforcements he asked for were landing on the Flintshire coast at the very time he wrote. They were drawn from the English garrison in Ireland as a result of the king's truce with the rebels, but Round-head propaganda (widely believed) represented them as Irish papists brought to Wales in fulfilment of the sinister plans attributed to the court as far back as the Bishops' Wars. They were ill-equipped, demoralised by the voyage and by enemy blandishments, and though equal or superior in numbers to the opposing forces they lacked cavalry; yet Brereton and Myddelton dared not confront these seasoned warriors with their own raw levies, fresh from home and eager only to be back there.

They hastily raised their sieges, abandoned their conquest and fell back across the Dee, breaking down Holt bridge behind them and leaving the garrison at Hawarden to suffer a three weeks' siege and then be marched as prisoners to Wrexham, where they were said to have been "crewelly used by some Welshmen, who did beate and wound some of them, slewe other some and tooke the . . . clothes from other some." Even across the border most of the hard-won gains melted away

1 Hist. MSS. Com., *Portland*, i. 151-3; Malbon, pp. 85-7; Carte, *Ormond*, 1851, v. 506; Palmer, *Holt*, pp. 129-31; Williams, *Ancient and Mod. Denbigh*, pp. 214-5; Mostyn and Glenn, *Mostyns of Mostyn*, p. 138.

before the augmented royal forces, and Myddelton had to return to London for fresh men and more supplies. A letter written to Col. Thomas Davies of Gwysaney on Christmas day gives a vivid picture of the state of tension across the border that followed the Roundhead *débâcle*—the constant coming and going of scouts which made the roads unsafe for “persons that only go to look on”; and while wishing his correspondent “a merry Christmas,” the writer encloses by way of greetings card a fresh royal proclamation breathing threatenings and slaughter against such as should default in their contributions.⁽¹⁾

The same vigilance prevailed on the Welsh side of the Dee. The guards posted at the river crossings, originally for temporary service only, had now to be maintained indefinitely, and the Denbighshire commissioners pressed the need for a similar watch on the Ceiriog below Chirk. Sir Thomas Salusbury had died in the summer, and in his place Robert Ellice (released from captivity under some arrangement in September) was given command over Denbighshire and Flintshire in November, with a commission to raise 1,200 men from the two shires; under him were Robinson and Manley, for whose companies arms had to be provided at a further expense of £70; and each hundred was to send twenty armed men to maintain a watch on the river at Bangor. Wrexham was turned into a military headquarters where the commissioners of array met once a week and the levies from all over the county assembled before being posted to their stations. As far west as Ruthin an order was issued that the castle, “though ruinous,” should be demolished by the local inhabitants lest it should afford lodgement for another band of Roundhead invaders: but demolition is an expensive job, and the order was evidently never carried out. Indeed the costs of defence were becoming an increasing burden on the county. £500 were levied in March, and more demands for men followed next month. It may have been now or later that the hundreds of Yale and Chirkland represented that they had raised £1,000 in the last twelve months, and prayed for an adjustment of their proportion of the county’s war budget.⁽²⁾

1 Carte, *Ormond*, v. 204-5, *Orig. Letters*, 1739, i. 29-34; *Bye-gones*, 1889-90, p. 203; Phillips, i. 184-90; Malbon, pp. 89-90; N.L.W. MS. 1593E, fos. 209-11.

2 Hist. MSS. Com., *2nd R.*, p. 67, *15th R.*, vii. 307-9; *Arch. Camb.*, I. i. 35; Pennant, *Tours*, i. 349; Crosse of Shaw Hill MS. 1115.

The enhanced importance of North Wales in Royalist strategy was signalled also by changes in the higher command. Lord Capel, whom his enemies blamed for the Roundhead breakthrough, was quietly superseded by Lord Byron, nephew of the governor of Chester and himself former governor of the Tower, who was brought in nominally to serve under Capel, but was believed to have jockeyed him out of the post; and over Byron (bearing the rank of field marshal) was Prince Rupert himself, lieutenant general of all Wales and the Marches. Both had the temperament and background of professional soldiers, and the effects were seen in an increasing ruthlessness and a general hardening of tone.⁽¹⁾ Neither Rupert nor Byron got on as well as Capel had done with the Welsh, whose loyalty had already been weakened both by the character of the invasion and by the means whereby it had been repelled. Apart from the Wrexham Puritans, who welcomed Myddelton, and others who felt towards him a sense of personal loyalty, invasion by sea from Ireland was always a Welsh nightmare, and there must have been many who swallowed whole the Royalist *canard* that the king had had to bring in Irish papists to defend him against English and Welsh Protestants. Besides, the behaviour of the invaders in "this time of probationership among disarmed people" had impressed even their enemies; aside from acts of vandalism like the melting down for bullets of the leaden pipes of Wrexham's renowned church organ, and some interference with altars and vestments by men who spurned them as rags of popery, there had been a rigid abstinence from plunder and molestation of civilians, which men soon began to contrast with the rapacity of Rupert and Byron.⁽²⁾

Against the solid phalanx of the Cavalier interest, however, there was as yet little that could be done from within. Simon Thelwall, the borough M.P., took out a parliamentary commission as major, but had to be content with using it as liaison

1 Carte, *Ormond*, v. 520, 525, 537, 539, vi. 10, 13; Hist. MSS. Com., 12th R., ix. 42; Phillips, ii. 209.

2 Hist. MSS. Com., 4th R., p. 262; Carte, *Orig. Letters*, i. 29-34. *The Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer* for 21-28 Nov., 1643 (quoted Mostyn and Glenn, p. 138) makes Sir Thomas Salusbury (who had been dead four months) "come in" to the invaders along with "Master Thelwall," who was already committed to them; it also endows Wrexham with a castle otherwise unknown to fame.

officer and recruiting agent for parliament in Pembrokeshire, where there was a Roundhead army in being, and later to help in organising the West Wales counties into a parliamentary "association."⁽¹⁾ In Denbighshire Myddelton's friends were impotent till he could come to their aid once more with an invading force, and that took time to collect. An ordinance renewing his commission and allocating certain contingent revenues for his use passed the Houses in mid-February and he was then referred to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, the newly-established instrument of parliament's Scottish alliance, before which he and Brereton made several appearances during the next few months to state their needs and to receive allocations of cash and munitions from what it had in hand; but with these he was despatched to help the earl of Denbigh in the midlands, and June came before he was back in familiar haunts on the Welsh border—still serving under Denbigh. He was fortified by yet another parliamentary ordinance placing further funds at his disposal, and a printed declaration promising his countrymen to restore their cloth and cattle trades and to defend their coasts from "the landing of Irish Rebels" and themselves from the "oppressions and bondage" of the commissioners of array; assuring such as submitted promptly that their estates were safe, and those who had been coerced into taking oaths that they were not bound by them in conscience. Meanwhile the backing of the house of Myddelton was being used to turn credit into ready cash, and Sir Thomas' agents, Captains Roger Sontley of Bron Dêg and John Jones of Maes y garnedd, were recruiting for him what men they could (with the authority of parliament) from the solidly Roundhead south-east of England.⁽²⁾

With Rupert and his highly mobile cavalry to direct Royalist strategy, and his own men largely reluctant English conscripts serving far from their homes, always liable to mutiny if their pay was held up, Myddelton had a tougher task on the border than he had had in 1643. The men he had to face were largely from his own county; Mytton had rounded up a hundred of

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- 1 A. L. Leach, *Civil War in Pembrokeshire*, pp. 60-1; Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, i. 443.
 - 2 Firth and Rait, i. 378-81, 435-6; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1644, pp. 21, 26, 34, 37-8, 73, 146, 150, 161, 177, 194, 229, 231, 235, 237, 248, 253, 1625-49, Addenda, pp. 661-2; Dodd, *Studies*, pp. 126-7.

them outside Shrewsbury just before he arrived on the scene.⁽¹⁾ By the end of June he was in dire straits, defending Oswestry—"the key that lets us into Wales" as he called it to the Speaker—with a much attenuated force from massed attacks of the enemy, who had only just yielded it to Mytton. A few days later his chance came. Rupert departed for the northern campaign that ended disastrously at Marston Moor and left him too weak in munitions to take the field again till August; and Myddelton was able on 11 July to raise the siege of Oswestry and to pursue the Cavaliers as far as the outskirts of Shrewsbury, taking prisoner Major Francis Manley, now governor of Bangor Iscoed. Denbigh wanted Myddelton to accompany him into Yorkshire to follow up the advantage gained at Marston Moor; but Sir Thomas was "now loth to lose the opportunity of entering Wales," and the Committee of Both Kingdoms gave its blessing to the enterprise. A month after his success at Oswestry he and Mytton made a lightning raid into Montgomeryshire, where they knew Rupert had quartered some of his horse, and surprised a troop of them near Welshpool, taking all their horses and most of their baggage. This decided the line of his invasion—by the Severn this time instead of the Dee. A second raid in early September to intercept powder on its way to Chester put Newtown into his hands and gave him a lodgement (through the connivance of Lord Herbert of Cherbury) in Montgomery castle. Retiring before superior forces, he returned with all the reinforcements he could collect and won outside Montgomery castle on 18 September a crushing victory, which left in his hands 1,500 prisoners (among them Col. Robert Broughton of Marchwiell), and gave him at last a permanent base in his own country.⁽²⁾

The Montgomery victory changed the whole situation for Denbighshire. The Royalists had now to defend the southern as well as the western approaches to the county, while those who wished well to Myddelton either awaited with impatience his appearance among them or (like Simon Thelwall, M.P., now a colonel of horse) joined him in Montgomeryshire.⁽³⁾ Up to

1 Malbon, pp. 127-38; *Arch. Camb.*, I. i. 37.

2 *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1644, pp. 284, 286, 330, 337, 353, 375, 409, 424, 428, 484, 500, 505, 533, 537-8; *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 4th R., pp. 267-8, 6th R. p. 27; Phillips, ii. 171-88, 194-5, 201-9; *Camb. Quart. Mag.* i. 68-9; *Arch. Camb.* I. i. 37; N.L.W., Chirk Castle MS. E.7.

3 *Montgomeryshire Coll.*, xxxi. 908-9.

he end of 1644 the impetus given to the royal cause when Rupert took charge of the Welsh theatre of war at the beginning of the year had not exhausted itself, despite the crucial set-back at Montgomery. Roundhead forces on the border were unable to penetrate further west than Maclor Saesneg,⁽¹⁾ and those operating in Montgomeryshire, while gaining some successes to the south and west, completely failed to establish themselves further north. Myddelton was naturally anxious not only to recruit among his own friends and tenants, but to spend Christmas at Chirk, which had been almost in sight during his border operations—to say nothing of his other (though neglected) castle at Ruthin; but here his luck deserted him. Ruthin castle was manned and made defensible, despite previous orders, and in October the town was put under the governorship of Col. Mark Trevor. The strategic importance of this position, commanding what was then the main route to the crossing of the Conway and so to Beaumaris and Ireland, was fully recognised on both sides. Hardly had Trevor's troop settled in before Myddelton, after some of Mytton's Shropshire forces had joined him at Llangollen, marched on the town and drove the Cavaliers out; but the castle resisted and its owner had to retire discomfited. Late next month he assaulted Chirk castle (refraining, however, from using artillery against his own home), and was beaten off with heavy casualties. So he had to be content with completing his conquest of Montgomeryshire, with occasional forays into Radnor and Merioneth, while his neighbours and tenants remained subject to increasing pressure to provide men and money for his enemies.

His force was meanwhile melting away for lack of pay, although (as he told the Speaker) "I have stretched my credditte to borrowe all the moneye I could gette to paie the souldiers," while his munitions were being impounded by Brereton for the border campaign. He complained bitterly (as so often happened in this war) that Wales was neglected for other theatres despite the fact that the king had already raised three armies there and would soon raise a fourth "if care be not spedelye taken to

1 *Flints. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, xiv. 36.

prevente"—in default of which he asked to be relieved of his commission.⁽¹⁾

The realities of war were now being brought home to the west as well as the east of the county. In December the inhabitants of Dyffryn Clwyd petitioned Lord Byron against the irregularities of Trevor's regiment of horse, which was spread all over the area demanding quarters and contributions at will, executing martial law without consulting the county's commissioners, and ruining Ruthin market by making the road there unsafe for travellers. They asked for a nominal roll of the regiment with a view to its even distribution through the area, a strict account of all moneys levied, relief from all quartering and all contributions beyond the monthly assessment to which the county was now subject, and consultation of the commissioners of array in all questions affecting civilians; at the same time they protested their readiness to adventure "lives and fortunes" in the royal service and asked for organised defence against enemy incursions. Byron, then staying at Plas y Ward with the elder Simon Thelwall, agreed that the demands were reasonable and promised redress. In Ruthin itself the corporation records for this year and next bear the marks of military occupation in such items as the payment of £3 8s. for pasture for Trevor's horses and 1s. for fencing it, £9 5s. 4d. for horseshoes and spikes for barricades, £7 5s. 4d. for fire and candles for the garrison, 11s. for new clothes for a man burned by a bursting grenade in the castle, sums from £1 8s. 8d. downwards for billeting, and numerous small disbursements to the blacksmith for mending muskets and supplying gunpowder and to alewives for brewing beer for the guard.⁽²⁾

If Byron was ready to listen to the grievances of Dyffryn Clwyd, which had only just come into the war zone, still more was he alive to the plight of Bromfield and the neighbouring parts of Flintshire, which, having so long borne the brunt of the common defence were now being harder pressed than ever

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- 1 *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644-5, pp. 80-1; *Hist. MSS. Com., Portland*, i. 191-2; *Arch. Camb.*, I. i. 38, III. xv. 324; *Bynwgaffiadur*, p. 919; Phillips, ii. 224; Williams, *Anc. and Mod. Denbigh*, pp. 215n., 241; *Camb. Quart. Mag.*, i. 62-3; Malbon, p. 150; Myddelton, *Chirk Castle Accts.*, 1605-66, p. vii.
 - 2 *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1644-5, p. 283; Malbon, pp. 159-61; *Cal. of Wynn Papers*, 1744; *Arch. Camb.*, VII. i. 426 ff.

on their eastern flank, with no further hope of help from Montgomeryshire. Early in December the parliament's forces in Cheshire marched to Farndon, blocked up Holt bridge and made a "little worke" at the Cheshire end of it, but this work was undone next day by the Holt defenders who crossed by a bridge of boats. Then towards the end of January 1645 the Roundheads forded the Dee estuary from the Cheshire side overnight at low tide, with a few losses by drowning, and by morning two thousand of them were facing the startled Royalist forces near Hawarden. Taking advantage of this surprise they marched unopposed to Holt, seized the bridge (now in service again) to secure their retreat to Farndon, "and soe," in a local diarist's words, "made themselves free and open passage furthe of Wales over the greate River Dye into Cheshire att theire pleasure." They then reconnoitred as far as Ruthin without engaging the enemy forces (which fled into the castle), and returned to Wrexham. At the same time Myddelton was repeating—so far unsuccessfully—his previous attempt to force his way northwards into the county from Montgomeryshire. Faced with this crisis, the gentry of the two threatened shires held a succession of meetings at which they begged for help in men and money from their neighbours beyond the Conway; and Byron endorsed their plea (with an acid reminder that this was what he had long been vainly urging) in a letter to Archbishop Williams. He had already provided the forces of Denbigh and Flint with an experienced leader by detaching from the Chester garrison Sir Edmund Verney (of the distinguished Buckinghamshire family which has latterly found a home on the Menai Straits)—a veteran of the continental wars with a name for combining firmness with tact; and he now planned to bring to their aid the levies from Gwynedd led by Sir John Owen of Clennau, who had just returned from campaigning in England to serve as sheriff for his county.

In February Prince Rupert, now commander-in-chief of all the royal forces, sent his brother Maurice with strong reinforcements of horse and foot to Shrewsbury to meet the new Roundhead threat, while at Wrexham Brereton, having failed to find a safe passage for the main body of his troops in Cheshire to cross over and consolidate his bridgehead, had to be content with

sending patrols far and wide over Denbighshire to prevent a junction of the enemy forces. Maurice advanced as far as Chirk, hotly pursued by a Roundhead detachment from the Midlands; but unable to catch him up, his pursuers fell back again in fear of finding themselves outmanoeuvred.⁽¹⁾ The prince spent a night at Chirk, then went on for three or four nights to Ruthin, where a special brew of beer was prepared for him at the borough's expense by Jane verch Edward, and another (doubtless inferior) for his soldiers "under the hall"; the cost to the corporation is suggestively left blank in the borough records! The prince's prime objective was to relieve Chester by keeping open a passage for Welsh supplies. With this end in view, after reconnoitring the position round the city, he returned to Holt and built a bridge of boats, over which he brought a number of his men before the Roundheads at Farndon awoke to what was happening and beat them back. But while he was clearing Denbighshire and securing communications between Wales and Chester, Mytton made a surprise assault on the denuded garrison of Shrewsbury and captured the town "without blows" on 22 February.⁽²⁾ "The losse of Shrewsbury," bragged a Roundhead newsman in the next issue of the *Moderate Intelligencer*, "... is a great prejudice to his Majestie, it being (as of old) a great commander of Wales, and they that have it have the Welsh much devoted to them; because of intercourse of trade; his Majesty's two Arms to his Western body, being Ireland and Wales, the right is by this much weakened."⁽³⁾ But the boast was premature, for the Cavaliers were determined that both "Arms" should be preserved for the king. While Maurice lay at Ruthin, he had commissioned Sir John Owen as sergeant major general of foot to co-operate with Verney in controlling operations in Denbighshire and Flintshire, and the day after Shrewsbury fell he received orders from Byron to draw up his infantry the next morning at Ruabon, in "the first great field between that and the River of Dee ... upon the way to Newbridge"; but by night Byron learned that the

1 *Arch. Camb.*, I. i. 38; Brogyntyn MSS. (unsched), Byron's letters of 29 Jan., 5 and 6 Feb., 1645; *Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc.*, xiv. 15-16.

2 *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1644-5, pp. 297-8; Malbon, pp. 159-65; *Camb. Quart. Mag.*, i. 61; *Arch. Camb.*, I. i. 38, VII. i. 429.

3 *Bye-gones*, 1913-15, pp. 119-20.

enemy had evacuated Holt bridge, and the rendezvous was accordingly changed to Wrexham; at the same time the Merioneth commissioners were ordered to hasten the collection of contributions and the march of their men to the scene of action.⁽¹⁾

Early in March it became clear that the Roundheads were returning in force to Holt. Owen was warned to keep ceaseless watch, and on the first hint of alarm to post the detachment at Holt within shelter of the castle until the whole force could deploy at Common Wood. On fuller intelligence of enemy dispositions the rendezvous was appointed at that place for the afternoon of 3 March. This time the Cheshire Roundheads were led by one of the ablest British soldiers of his day—Michael Jones, a descendant of a Merioneth family settled in Ireland who, after coming over with the “English Irish” army in 1643, had deserted to parliament, to which he gave yeoman service in the operations round Chester.⁽²⁾ Under his assault Holt bridge once more passed under parliamentary control, but Owen, who had earned a mild reprimand for remaining on the field of action at Holt instead of repairing to his headquarters at Wrexham, was ordered to regroup his men and to counter-attack with fresh forces, keeping in reserve two companies of Denbighland conscripts that had just been drafted to him. No quarter was to be shown, and the whole force was to reassemble at Ruabon on 13 March. The attack was successful, and some days later Archbishop Williams was able to report with pride how the “Welsh of the mountains” (especially Caernarvonshire) had beaten the enemy back, and Holt bridge was again held for the king. By this time the situation in Chester and north-eastern Wales was serious enough to call for the presence of the commander-in-chief at his brother’s elbow. With a combined force of some 8,000 men they eased the immediate pressure on Chester, and on 19 March Rupert himself descended on Holt, apparently to stiffen the defence by a display of Teutonic “frightfulness”; for a Roundhead diarist records that he “hanged xxiiij Countrey men some of them Constables, and other some poore simple

1 Bulkeley-Owen, *Selattyn*, pp. 55-6; *Arch. Camb.*, IV. xxi. 307-8; Brogyntyn MSS. (unsched.), Maurice’s letter of 28 Feb., 1645.

2 *Bywgraffiadur*, p. 465.

men, for that they were not so forward in performing his Command as he expected." Soon after this the princes were called away to meet a crisis on another front, taking with them most of the seasoned warriors whom they had with them; nor did they help the popularity of the king's cause by their indiscriminate plundering of the country "between Chester and Maylor" before they left.⁽¹⁾

As soon as the immediate crisis was over, Owen returned to his own county, taking most of his levies with him and leaving only a skeleton force at Wrexham. They had done good service, but their stay was not without its share of the troubles usually attendant on the transfer of men to another shire. Many deserted their colours, and had to be routed out by the petty constables from where they lay "sculkinge and obscuringe themselves," and hauled to the depôt at Wrexham at the expense of the civil authorities; there also had to be a search for arms left by them in houses, and these too were collected at Wrexham. The question of contributions from all five counties—no longer towards the Chester garrison only, but for the defence of a growing number of the castles and market towns of north-eastern Wales—had also to be tackled, and for this purpose Byron called a meeting of commissioners of array from all North Wales at Chester towards the end of March, where a provisional distribution of the burden was agreed upon.⁽²⁾

Nor was there any abatement in the demand on the manpower of Gwynedd for the defence of her eastern neighbours. In mid-April, when Rupert made another rapid incursion for the relief of Chester, Owen was warned to have his men ready to march east at an hour's notice, when (in view of the diminishing area held securely for the king) they were to be billeted in some place of safety in the rear of the fighting zone until they were ready for action. From eight hundred to a thousand new levies were now being raised from all five counties for this service,

1 Bulkeley-Owen, pp. 56-7; Whitelock, *Memorials*, 1853, i. 402; Carte, *Orm-ond*, vi. 270; *Arch. Camb.*, I. i. 39, IV. xxxi. 308-9; Malbon, pp. 167-8 (but Malbon simply says that Holt and Farndon were evacuated from fear of the superior strength at the disposal of the princes).

2 Bulkeley-Owen, pp. 22-3, 58; *Arch. Camb.*, IV. vi. 309-10; Brogyntyn MSS. (unsched.), Byron's letters of 29 Mar. and 26 Apr., 1645. It cost Ruthin corporation 18s. to bring some deserters back to the colours (*Arch. Camb.*, VII. i. 429).

under Owen's direction, by John Thelwall of Plas Coch, the sheriff of 1643, now commissioned as colonel and previously designated for garrison duty at Llanrwst.⁽¹⁾ Byron detached a body of horse to stiffen Denbighshire's resistance; but he was caustic about the fruits of so much effort, for Roundhead bands were still ranging freely about the shire, and "I cannot but wonder," he confided to Owen, "that so unconsiderable a force can ramble up and down without the least opposition."⁽²⁾

By the end of spring, in fact, something like stalemate had been reached on this front. The Roundheads had abandoned for the moment all hope of a rapid break-through to the North Wales coast to cut off the king's Irish communications, and were concentrating all their efforts on the reduction of Chester. There were no set battles, hardly even anything that could be dignified by the name of organised tactics; conditions were rather those of guerilla warfare—so much worse for the civil population. All the strong points were still in the king's hands, except Hawarden, and none was as yet effectively besieged; most of the market towns were also garrisoned for him after a fashion. From these every now and then an energetic commander like Mark Trevor at Ruthin, or Sir Richard Lloyd, who had succeeded Robinson at Holt, would swoop down and carry off a bunch of Roundhead prisoners;⁽³⁾ for the open country was almost a no-man's land. The Roundheads in return would ruthlessly set fire to houses where Royalist sharpshooters were believed to be posted. It is Colonel Michael Jones himself who reports the following barbarities committed by his own side in Flintshire: "A gentleman's house neare Holliwell was fired for that it had souldiers in it that killed a man of your regt. The widdow Hanmer's house neare Holliwell that did soe much prejudice is taken, fired and all that refused quarter viz. twelve put to ye swordd nine whereof were rosted."⁽⁴⁾ The frightfulness was not all on one side.

1 See appendix.

2 Brogyntyn MSS. (unsched.), Byron's letters of 12, 14 and 26 April, and Rupert's of 25 June, 1645; *Cal. of Wynn Papers*, 1746; R. H. Morris, *Siege of Chester*, p. 84.

3 E.g. *Arch. Camb.*, I. i. 39; Morris, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 and 100.

4 Morris, p. 93.

Above all it was plunder that the roving bands were after. The Royalists could at least levy regular contributions, however reluctant and dilatory the gentry might be to pay up; but outside Montgomeryshire the Roundheads had to depend on supplies sent by parliament, and when these were inadequate or failed to appear at all they had to feed their men by rounding up Welsh cattle and sheep. "By the blessing of God," Michael Jones exults in the same letter, "the army is safely returned with 6,000 sheep and 500 cows"; and similar raids, big and small, were now an everyday occurrence, since Chester, blocked up on the English side, had become wholly dependent on Welsh supplies. It was with the utmost difficulty that the Roundhead commanders were able to prevent their soldiers from private pillage, in which they did not always distinguish between friend and foe; thus in April Sir John Trevor's Flintshire house at Plas Têg was rifled of bed linen, carpets, chair covers, candlesticks and other portable furniture, and even "1 faire Bible," as well as cash and provisions—despite the fact that he was sitting in the Commons at Westminster and a strong supporter of its war effort.⁽¹⁾ Flintshire, being closer to Chester, was the worst sufferer, but life must have been pretty grim in east Denbighshire.

In all this the Roundheads were at a disadvantage since they were in the position of invaders, most of them hampered by lack of knowledge of a difficult *terrain*, and neither knowing nor caring about the people who lived there. The individual supporters from Denbighshire who joined Myddelton were mostly fighting in mid-Wales; parliament had not yet got a sufficient grip on the county to levy its own men there, so it had to rely on regiments from Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire. John Jones of Maes y garnedd—a Denbighshire man by adoption only, by virtue of his marriage to Margaret Edwards of Stansty in 1643—had joined Myddelton with a batch of reinforcements (perhaps under her persuasions, since she was a devout Puritan) in the following year, and was among the few Welsh Roundheads now serving near Chester; in an indignant letter to a fellow-officer in April 1645 he declared roundly that "at a Counsell of Warre houlden at Namptwich it was resolved

1 Morris, pp. 91, 93 and ch. v *passim*; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1644-5, p. 425.

to be lawfull to take all that belonged to the Welsh"—an allegation indignantly denied by his namesake (and distant kinsman) Michael. Clearly all was not well in the Roundhead camp, and the stalemate irked Myddelton no less than it did Byron. He wished to break it by storming Chester and putting a quick end to the disorganisation and misery attendant on a long siege. Brereton and Michael Jones, on the other hand, spoke slightly of his services to the common cause, and pointed the finger of scorn at the "grand Army" of which Sir Thomas "vaunted . . . in the parliament howse," now melted away to 160 foot and seventy horse.⁽¹⁾

This general feeling of *malaise* and impatience throughout the Roundhead camp was chiefly responsible for the reorganisation of the higher command in the Self-Denying Ordinance of April, 1645, under which Myddelton and Simon Thelwall, as M.P.s, had to resign their commissions—though Myddelton did not actually quit the field till June, when his place was taken by Thomas Mytton. Michael Jones was sceptical of the value of the change. The king, however, seized the moment to strike while re-grouping was still in progress. In mid-May he appeared in person in Cheshire, forcing Brereton to raise the siege of Chester and to call off his men from Hawarden; then he had to depart for the campaign that ended in his disaster at Naseby, leaving no permanent improvement in the position at Chester and its Welsh hinterland. By the beginning of June the Roundheads were encamped within a few miles of Denbigh, the only compensation being that the gentry of Gwynedd were eventually stirred, with the enemy now almost at their gates, into pledging themselves to regular contributions during the next three months "with consideracion of the present condicion of the counties of Denbigh and fflynt, beinge wasted and most impoverished by the enemies late incursions and spoile thereof." At last the "parliamenters" were securely across the Dee, leaving the Royalist garrisons of Hawarden and Holt, Chirk and Ruthin, well in their rear.⁽²⁾

There was more hard fighting to be done before the invaders could consolidate the ground they had won. In mid-

1 Morris, pp. 96, 98-9, 101; *Bywgraffiadur*, p. 445.

2 Morris, p. 99; Phillips, i. 294; Williams, *Ancient and Mod. Denbigh*, pp. 220-1 (another copy, misdated, in *Arch. Camb.*, I. i. 332-3).

September, after gathering what forces he could in South Wales, the king made his famous forced march northwards across the mountains in yet another bid for the relief of Chester. In five days the main body had reached Chirk, while other detachments went straight on to Holt. The king himself entered Chester next day, but he had been unable to prevent the junction of the pursuing Roundhead cavalry with the besieging force, and at Rowton Heath the royal forces suffered a severe defeat. Charles then made his way to Denbigh for a general rendezvous of the forces in North Wales before marching through Ruthin and Chirk to Bridgenorth. One thing at least he had accomplished : the way was once more open for Welsh supplies to reach Chester, and Sir John Owen was sent at the beginning of October with the men of Gwynedd to the "Welsh confines" of the city to keep it open a little longer.⁽¹⁾

A few weeks later the king detached and sent back from the army that had followed him into England a body of horse under Sir William Vaughan, a Herefordshire soldier who had returned from Ireland at the end of 1643 and done good service in the campaigns round Chester ; his commission was to hold the enemy from Chester until it could be relieved, and the whole situation restored for the king, by the three thousand Irish foot whose arrival was confidently expected before Christmas as a result of negotiations through the earl of Glamorgan with the Confederate Catholics. Parliament, aware of these expectations from the correspondence captured in the royal baggage at Naseby, was equally determined to take Chester before they could land, and then to seal the North Wales coast (their last available landing place) against them. Detachments from all over North Wales were hurried together by Sir John Owen and Archbishop Williams (for Byron was now shut up in Chester) to swell Vaughan's relief force ; but the churchman and the soldier were never able to co-operate, and the archbishop's contingent was left high and dry by Owen at Colwyn when Mytton and Michael Jones fell on Vaughan at Denbigh, with his dispositions still incomplete, and scattered his forces far and

1 Symonds, *Diary* (Camden Soc., 1859), pp. 242-56 ; *The King's Forces Totally Routed*, 29 Sept., 1645 ; Brogyntyn MSS. (unsched.), Byron's letter of 1 Oct., 1645.

wide. A second attempt fared no better in January 1646, when Mytton swooped down before a junction could be effected, and chased the disorganised remnants through Denbigh and Ruthin to the western confines of the county. By this time it had leaked out that the Irish were not coming after all, because the concessions made to Catholic claims by the king's unofficial envoy were such that he felt bound to repudiate him. Under this blow Chester fell at the beginning of February, on honourable terms which permitted Byron to carry his garrison with him for a last stand in Snowdonia.⁽¹⁾

For east Denbighshire this was to all intents and purposes the end of the war. As far back as the preceding August parliament had been told by the Shropshire committee that this region was now "settled" and "unanimously joining with us," except for "some garrisons of the enemies." The Roundheads had always claimed that one of their main objects in invading Wales was to "plant the gospell among the Welchmen," and no sooner was east Denbighshire subdued than a group of Welsh Puritans—including Sir John Trevor and Simon Thelwall, with John Glynne, Stephen Marshall and Joseph Caryl,—arranged with Myddelton to send Morgan Llwyd and Ambrose Mostyn to Wrexham with this end in view—the beginning of a memorable ministry. By the end of 1645 Denbighshire and Flintshire, as well as Montgomeryshire, were largely under contribution to parliament.⁽²⁾ The reduction of these garrisons was now the only remaining military task. Ruthin was already under siege before Chester fell, Holt soon afterwards. Chirk did not even require a siege, for the Royalist governor who had so stoutly resisted Myddelton in the winter of 1644 was bribed to abandon it without a blow in February 1646, when it was still "well supplied with bread and beer"; the Montgomeryshire forces which had previously failed to take it then marched into the empty castle, and Myddelton was at long last able to return

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- 1 *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, lviii. 185; Dodd, *Studies*, pp. 90-100; *Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc.*, xiv. 18-19; Morris, pp. 149, 153, 186, 190, 196; Malbon, pp. 187-8; Williams, *Anc. and Mod. Denbigh*, pp. 217-9.
 - 2 Hist. MSS. Com., *Portland*, i. 236, 301-2, 336-7; N.L.W. MS. 114391D, fo. 78 (conjecturally dated "1644?" but obviously not earlier than 1645, and more probably 1646); cf. *Mercurius Aulicus*, 13 July, 1644, and *Mercurius Britannicus* 24 Feb.--3 March, 1645. (*Bye-gones*, 1913-15, pp. 73, 119-20); *Arch. Camb.* III. xv. 335.

to his home in May. More important was the fall of Ruthin in early April, after a siege of eleven weeks; Mytton had reconnoitred as far as Llanrwst as soon as Chirk was in his hands, but when Ruthin fell he occupied Denbigh, leaving a detachment behind to lay siege to the castle, and marched on unopposed over Llanrwst bridge as far as Caernarvon, where Byron had concentrated his men for a last stand.⁽¹⁾ The war had moved into Snowdonia, leaving Holt and Denbigh well in the rear.

William Salusbury's second defence of Denbigh added another heroic chapter to the annals of the Civil War in Wales, but contributed little to its strategy, since the castle had been by-passed long before it surrendered in October. As for Holt castle, its low-lying position had prevented it from ever having much more than a nuisance value; it provided a strong point from which parties kept sallying forth to harass the enemy, especially the besiegers of Chester, to whom Holt was for many a long month "a bad neighbour"; but never once did it serve as a barrier to hold back the invader from crossing the Dee into Denbighshire. Sir Richard Lloyd's gallantry in holding out till the beginning of 1647, when even Salusbury had given in at Denbigh, involved wholesale destruction to the houses of Holt without doing any service to the king, who had long since given himself up to the Scots.⁽²⁾

As soon as the fighting was over the victorious parliament tried to regularise the position in Denbighshire by appointing a civilian committee to assess the county's contributions, which had up to now been levied under military authority. Since the bulk of the members of this committee continued to manage county affairs for most of the time from now till the Restoration, it was fortunate for Denbighshire that so many of her leading families had been on the winning side; it meant that the county was never subjected, like Anglesey, to naked military rule, or even to the rule of good party men from outside, as with some other

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- 1 Whitelock, *Memorials*, i. 573; *Arch. Camb.*, I. i. 41-2; *Camb. Quart. Mag.*, i. 64-6; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1645-7, pp. 307, 477; *Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc.*, xiv. 20-22; Myddelton, *Chirk Castle Acts*, 1605-66, p. viii.
 - 2 Williams, *Anc. and Mod. Denbigh*, pp. 221-38; Malbon, p. 211; *Arch. Camb.*, I. i. 42; *Camb. Quart. Mag.*, i. 65-6; *Cal. Ctte. for Compounding*, ii. 1160, 1179; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1645-7, pp. 454, 515; *Hist. MSS. Com.*, *Portland*, i. 406-7; *Sir W. Brereton's Letter . . .*, 5 Mar., 1645/6, p. 21.

Welsh counties—a fate comparable to that of the American South after their Civil War, but fortunately shorter-lived. The dominant figure was of course that of Sir Thomas Myddelton. With him were his two sons, his cousin Sir William (son of Sir Hugh the goldsmith), who had fought with him, and his steward Watkin Kyffin, long back from imprisonment in Chester. Then there was Sir John Trevor of Trevalun, who had been a civilian supporter of the Roundhead cause, with his son, who was destined to play an active and statesmanlike part in Cromwell's parliaments and then to become secretary of state to Charles II. Like Myddelton he was accompanied by his steward, John Peck, who unlike Kyffin was a stranger to the county and at first lukewarm towards the cause, though later he identified himself so closely with the new order as to found a new county family, the Pecks of Cornish, on his profits from local offices he held under it. Finally there was Simon Thelwall, the borough member, who had upheld the Roundhead cause in arms right down to the siege of Denbigh;⁽¹⁾ and his grandfather and his uncle sat with him.

Local Puritanism of a more sectarian cast was represented by Myddelton's old agent John Jones of Maes y garnedd, who had married into the county, while the kinsman of another agent, Robert Sontley of Sonlli—offspring of an old bardic family which had speculated in the lands forfeited for recusancy by Edwards of Chirkland, and grandson of a sheriff—had an old and discreditable quarrel with the church courts which made him ready enough to change sides and accept office, when the war was over, as sheriff and committeeman. Myddelton was also trying, through his faithful steward, to secure the adhesion of other neighbours who had been neutral or hostile in the war. They showed a tendency to hang back and wait for each other and to boggle at parliamentary oaths, but a substantial number in the end consented to act on the county committee, helping to avoid any revolutionary break with tradition. Among them were Owen Salusbury, son of *Hosannau Gleision* himself, Owen Brereton of Borras, and John Edisbury of Pentte'r Clawdd, an old commissioner of array who had once sworn he would cut off his hand rather than take the parliamentary oath, but had

1 Williams, *Anc. and Mod. Denbigh*, p. 230.

latterly become steward of Myddelton's lordship of Chirk, and through his patron's influence escaped all the consequences of delinquency.⁽¹⁾

Naturally those who had identified themselves more prominently with the royal cause were not so readily forgiven or so easily reconciled. Sir Richard Lloyd, under the terms of surrender of Holt castle, was allowed to go abroad, taking with him £300 of his estate; John Robinson, his predecessor at Holt, compromised himself still further by helping to stir up Anglesey to revolt in 1648, and his whole estate was sold when he went abroad. Llewenny was out of the picture because when Sir Thomas died during the war he left as heir a lad of nine.⁽²⁾ William Salusbury, Robert Ellice, Ellis Sutton of Gwersyllt, and Sir Evan Lloyd of Bodidris—who had served the king as sheriff after Thelwall of Plas Coch, and continued in office for the rest of the war—were among the active Royalists admitted to composition at an early date. Col. Edward Broughton's delinquency remained unreported till 1650, when he too was let off easily—until someone remembered (what his violent temper makes plausible) that he had been a “bloody delinquent,” and the enquiry was reopened, with unknown results. Sir Gerard Eyton of Bangor Iscoed atoned for his sin in taking up arms (with his son Kenrick) against the parliament by marrying as his second wife a “godly gentlewoman” by whose persuasions he “frequented the society of godly men” (she was one of Morgan Llwyd's congregation and continued to befriend its ministers after the Restoration); similarly Francis Manley of Erbistock won forgiveness for serving the king on many a hard-fought field, culminating at Denbigh castle, by a change of heart which during the Protectorate produced a certificate from James Berry (Cromwell's Major General in charge of Wales) that he found “some mark of grace” in him; no doubt his case was helped by the fact that his younger brother John, of Wrexham, fought on the other side, and was identified closely enough with the Rule of the Saints to marry the daughter of Isaac

1 N.L.W., Chirk Castle MS. E6087; *Cal. Ctte. for Compounding*, iv. 2549; *Cal. Ctte. for Adv. of Money*, iii. 1480; *Bywgraffiadur*, pp. 165-6; Dodd, *Studies*, pp. 125-7.

2 *Bywgraffiadur*, pp. 554, 833; Griffith, *Pedigrees*, p. 222.

Dorislau, the Commonwealth's regicide envoy who was murdered at the Hague, to sit on the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, to represent Denbigh town in Richard Cromwell's parliament, and to suffer after the Restoration as a harbourer of conventicles.⁽¹⁾

Among other local members of the Denbigh garrison admitted to composition under the terms of surrender were John Thelwall of Plas Coch, John Dolben of Segrwyd, and John Edwards of Chirk; among those of Holt, similarly protected, were Humphrey Lloyd of Bersham, Thomas Pulford of Wrexham and Francis Pickering of Holt. Richard Dutton of Cefn y Wern had offended not by fighting but by resorting to the royal court at Oxford; others, like Hugh Roberts of Esclusham (who was with the defenders of Exeter), by their services in the king's English campaigns. Robert Ellice seems to have fought at Oxford, for he claimed the protection of the city's articles of surrender in June 1646. Altogether some thirty Denbighshire gentlemen appeared before the Committee for Compounding between 1646 and 1650. Most of them were allowed to compound with fines at a tenth of the valuation of their estates, some at a sixth, a few as high as a half, others again at one or two years' purchase. The sums generally ranged between £30 and £180—not crippling sums, even for the smaller gentry; Sir Evan Lloyd the sheriff was exceptionally unlucky—he was mulcted in a round sum of £1,000.⁽²⁾ The reasons for these diversities are not always easy to guess; one suspects that much depended on seeing the right lawyer.

Parliament needed every penny it could raise by assessments or wring out of delinquent estates to pay off its own soldiers, a matter that was causing trouble all over the country. At Denbigh the soldiers mutinied for their pay in March, 1647, "marched to Wrexham, and layde hould of Colonel Jones,

1 *Cal. Ctte. for Compounding*, i. 318, ii. 1236, 1256, 1272, 1499, iii. 1675, iv. 2453, 2977; Palmer, *Older Nonconformity*, pp. 3, 51; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1655-6, p. 212, 1664-5, p. 205; Williams, *Parl. Hist.*, p. 81; Pennant, iii. 286-8.

2 *Cal. Ctte. for Compounding*, ii. 1220, 1407, 1437, 1494, 1550, iii. 1679-80, 1702-3, 1718-9, 1723, 1759, 1890, 1928, 1946, 1967; Crosse of Shaw Hill MSS. 1124-5 (cf. Dodd, *Studies*, p. 137, *Trans. Caern. Hist. Soc.* vi. 8); summary in *Bye-gones*, 1905-6, pp. 59-60, 169-72, 252-60, 328-30.

treasurer of the parliament, and others of the committee, and imprisoned some of them, demanding their arrears . . . ; Gen. Mytton . . . fled towards Houlte Castle . . . the souldiers firing after him." Something had to be done urgently, and in the following month the county gentry agreed, on top of their monthly assessment of £260 (prolonged a month beyond what they had bargained for) to bear a share of the £1,200 levied on the county towards the cost of demobilisation and to provide free quarter to the cavalry till they should be disbanded. Meeting at Llangollen the following September they sent a letter to the Speaker (which they asked Myddelton to support in the House) asking to be "eased" of some of their burdens ; but next year another meeting at Ruthin was presented with a still heavier bill ; the county was debited with an additional £288 towards the original sum, and a further £6,220 was levied, of which Denbighshire's share amounted to £1,492.⁽¹⁾ In other parts of the country the discontent caused by these heavy exactions, and the refusal of soldiers to lay down arms till they had secured their back pay, together played into the hands of the defeated Cavaliers and produced the second Civil War ; but any such backsliding in Denbighshire was out of the question while the wealthiest and most influential man in the shire (now serving as sheriff) remained four-square for parliament, with strong local support. In May 1648 a general meeting of Flintshire and Denbighshire gentry at Wrexham pledged its loyalty to parliament and determination to resist its enemies, the defence of Denbighshire being entrusted to the new parliamentary governor of Denbigh with the advice of Myddelton and the elder Simon Thelwall, who was also made responsible for the demolition of Ruthin castle.⁽²⁾

The west, however, is not in the habit of rallying as one man to orders from Wrexham. In the following month Charles Chambers of Plas Chambers hatched a plot with some of the Dolbens of Segrwyd who had held commissions for the king in the first war, a relative of his own who traded in Denbigh, and a band of other adventurous spirits, to seize Denbigh castle and

1 Williams, *Anc. and Mod. Denbigh*, p. 243 ; N.L.W., Carreglwyd MS. i. 1704, Chirk Castle MS. E.6107 ; *Montgomeryshire Collections*, viii. 156.

2 Phillips, ii. 370-2.

rescue Sir John Owen, held prisoner there. They contrived to get sixty men over the wall into the outer ward before the alarm was raised, and the ringleaders fled. In July they collected another band and threatened both Denbigh and Ruthin castles, but made off again (says the Merioneth diarist) after discharging their pistols "in a bravado." Chambers then joined in the general rising for the king which had just begun in Anglesey, and he was with the Beaumaris garrison when it surrendered in October, incurring thereby a fine amounting to a sixth of his estate. But since the county as a whole had kept quiet without the need for calling in troops from outside it was also allowed to go on managing its internal affairs under its own "well-affected" leaders, and saddled with a relatively light share of the £16,000 fine imposed on the six shires for their delinquency; for Denbigh and Merioneth only paid between them a third of what poor Anglesey had to find alone.⁽¹⁾

At Westminster, on the other hand, the growing rift between the dominant faction (dominant by reason of its understanding with the army leaders rather than by weight of numbers) which was now bent on bringing the king to trial, and the moderates (the so-called "Presbyterian party") who still hoped for a negotiated peace, culminated in December in Pride's Purge, to which both the county's representatives fell victims, leaving it unrepresented till the Protectorate. Myddelton was now faced with a dilemma similar to that which had confronted him seven years earlier—one indeed which was troubling many another honest man, including Fairfax himself, the Roundhead commander-in-chief⁽²⁾: should he abandon all he had fought for rather than go on with the extremists of his own side? His name still appeared on county committees; whether he attended is another matter. In March 1651 he "went as a sculker to England" while parliament put its own garrison into Chirk and kept it there till he had entered into heavy sureties of his loyalty. Whether or not he had meant to respond to Charles II's in-

1 Williams, *Anc. and Mod. Denbigh*, pp. 117, 241-2 (cf. *infra*, p. 100); *Camb. Quart. Mag.*, i. 72; Hist. MSS. Com., *Portland*, i. 475-6, 478-80; *Bywgraffiadur*, p. 160; *Cal. Ctte. for Compounding*, iii. 1702; Dodd, *Studies*, pp. 140, 144-5; *Trans. Ang. Ant. Soc.*, 1952, p. 26.

2 M. Ashley, *Cromwell's Generals*, 1954, ch. i.; cf. Baxter, *Penitent Confession*, pp. 14-28.

vation to declare for him when he marched south with the Scottish army, he could not do it now, and until the Protectorate was on its last legs he lived the retired life of a country gentleman, developing his estates and attending race meetings, still in friendly relations with his old retainer John Jones and unable to resist passing word to his other old comrades in arms when their old enemies were "sturring" again in 1655, but eschewing public employment and openly condemning the revolutionary zeal of the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales.⁽¹⁾

Simon Thelwall might have been expected, in view of his previous record, to be more amenable to the new order than his more cautious and conservative colleague. He had certainly been more unqualified in his approval of the early work of the Long Parliament, and he had participated in its plans for church reform after the war to the extent of appearing (with his name next to Cromwell's) on two of the statutory committees set up for the purpose in 1647-8; moreover, he had married as his second wife the daughter of one of the few peers who remained at Westminster during the war. Yet while he and his grandfather (the ex-commissioner of array) and his uncle Owen served together on county committees in 1647-8, the younger Simon's name disappears after Pride's Purge; whereas he had co-operated with Myddelton (as so often before) in organising the defences of North Wales in the second Civil War and as commissioner for the surrender of Anglesey when it was over, his only known contribution to the scotching of Royalist plots in the early months of 1655, when his father and his grandfather were organising a strict watch throughout the county and preventing "all dangerous assemblies," was to claim his back pay as colonel. But he died in the following summer, and failing health may have made him inactive long before. However that may be, the older generations at Plas y Ward were active enough in public affairs right through the interregnum; as late as 1658 Simon senior was added by the Council of State to the county committee for dealing with 'scandalous ministers.'⁽²⁾

1 *Bywgraffiadur*, p. 638; N.L.W. MS. 11440D, fo. 97; *Thurloe, S.P.*, iii. 207, 298

2 Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, i. 443, 853, 1097, 1184, 1209, 1247, ii. 46, 313, 482, 679, 1085-6, 1383; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1648-9, pp. 130, 251, 1655, pp. 22, 146-7, 1657-8, p. 366; Phillips, ii. 401; Brogyntyn MSS. (unsched.), letter from Simon and Edw. Thelwall, 28 March,

Still, with so many of the principal gentry, including even old Roundheads, at best passively acquiescent in the new republic, it was inevitable that the lead in local politics should be taken to a growing extent by partisans without these mental reservations ; one suspects that it was really they who ran the county committees under cover of more eminent names. Fortunately, enough whole-hearted supporters could still be found within the shire by descending to a slightly lower social stratum, without importing swordsmen or bureaucrats from outside. One exception must be made. George Twisleton, who as governor of Denbigh commanded a substantial force in the castle, was naturally a power in the land after the prominent part he played in the second Civil War ; and he was an adventurer (though of good family) from Yorkshire who contrived to pick up a Caernarvonshire heiress and to settle on her estates. Twisleton was influential in both county and municipal affairs. No sooner was the second Civil War over than he was made a burgess of Denbigh (as a first step towards his election as alderman in the same year), and with him Captain William Wynne of Ruabon, who had been a prisoner in the castle in the first war, and became an active member of Morgan Llwyd's congregation at Wrexham. The Puritan group that now came into power made some amends for the rapine of the garrison by reforms which helped to set the borough finances in order and to recover some of its misappropriated charities. A local commission (including the borough member and his grandfather) was set up at once for this purpose, and its work bore fruit under the Protectorate. Twisleton had no better financial reputation than the general run of military adventurers of his kind—for example, he was accused by the army committee in

1655. Simon appears as "Samuel" in the letter of 1648 from the Cttee. of Both Kingdoms, but the ex-colonel is almost certainly meant here and in the Beaumaris articles, while the order of names in the letter of 1655 clearly indicates the ex-colonel's grandfather and father. On the other hand, a letter of the same month in *Thurloe State Papers* (iii. 298) recommending "Mr. Simon Thelwall" for a commission suggests the seasoned soldier rather than the elderly civilian. In the committee lists in *Acts and Ordinances*, the two are always distinguished as "the elder" and "the younger" till 1648, after which only one Simon appears, without qualification ; and as this continues long after the death of the younger man it can only refer to the head of the family—the squire of Plas y Ward.

1655 of having embezzled £7,000 of county assessment money—but at least his name did not become a byword for tyranny like that of his fellow-adventurer Colonel John Carter, who married a Flintshire heiress but (fortunately for the north-eastern shires) as governor of Conway castle made Caernarvonshire his principal field for exploitation. Both men founded families which continued to play a part in local politics and society after the Restoration.⁽¹⁾

The Thelwall interest brooked no rival at Ruthin, where the long-delayed dismantling of the castle freed the town from military government. At Chirk, where Sir Thomas's heir was parliamentary governor, what was lacking on the owner's part in enthusiasm for the Rule of the Saints was made up by his steward, a pillar of local government in the area, fully in the confidence of the godly party;⁽²⁾ it was only while Myddelton was "sculking" in England and under suspicion of backsliding that an alien soldiery found any footing there. At Holt, too, it proved possible to maintain the ascendancy of the victors in both castle and municipality without bringing in outsiders. Major John Sadler, the new military governor (and later mayor) was a soldier of an established local family, who had fought for the castle and whose Puritan zeal won him the esteem of Philip Henry and a seat on the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel; and as soon as the office of mayor was restored after the war it was similarly filled by local partisans.⁽³⁾

Wrexham, however, was the real metropolis of Puritanism in the northern counties. Although it did not achieve municipal status for another two centuries it had been regarded ever since the county came into being as a sort of subsidiary county town for the east, and many of the local gentry kept up houses there.⁽⁴⁾

1 *Bynograffiadur*, pp. 930-1; Williams, *Ancient and Mod. Denbigh*, pp. 110-11, 243-7, *Records of Denbigh*, pp. 132-5; Palmer, *Older Nonconformity*, p. 6; *Cal. Ctte. for Compounding*, i. 717; *Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc.*, xiii. 1-8; N.L.W. MS. 12405E (14 Mar., 1681), 12406C (1 Mar., 1679, 28 Jan., 1681).

2 E.g., he was receiver general of the assessment of 1651 for the county, with Twisleton, Peck and Daniel Lloyd among the collectors (P.R.O., S.P. 28/251 (Wales, Denbighshire)); see also N.L.W. MS. 11440D, fos. 9, 87.

3 Myddelton, *Chirk Castle Accts.*, 1605-66, p. viii; Palmer, *Holt*, pp. 132-3, 148; *Camb. Quart. Mag.*, i. 66; Richards, *Puritan Movement*, p. 96.

4 *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lix. 351.

Now it acquired enhanced importance both as a garrison town, governed by a Shropshire Puritan who was on intimate terms both with Myddelton and with John Jones, and as the central meeting place of that mixed congregation of Independents, Presbyterians and Baptists—drawn, like most of the early Dissenting churches, from a wide geographical area—who had been gathering round the magnetic figure of Morgan Llwyd ever since he arrived there on the subjugation of the county; within a few years' time they had been formed into a "gathered church," exercising an influence on public affairs out of all proportion to its membership. This was partly due to the immense driving force of its pastor, but partly too to its strong contingent of war veterans, drawn from the smaller gentry and tradesmen of the district, who remained the backbone of the local militia. Apart from Roger Sontley there were Captains Ball, Taylor and Wynne, substantial yeomen of Burton, Holt and Ruabon respectively, both of whom distinguished themselves in the second Civil War in North Wales and remained (and their families after them) strong props of local Dissent long after its day of triumph was over; and Captain Gerald Barbour, a Presbyterian draper of Wrexham, eulogised by Philip Henry, when he buried him in 1661, as "a pious and prudent Christian," who "had the good word of all, even the vilest."⁽¹⁾

Among civilian supporters we must add the name of Daniel Lloyd, a rising yeoman of Abenbury, whose broken gravestone, erected when he died in 1655 with the simple epitaph "servant of Jesus Christ," still lies forlorn in a field there—though it was he who provided in his will for the seemlier interment of his fellow disciples of Morgan Llwyd in what became the Dissenters' burial ground at Rhosddu; his services were in the field of finance, as collector of taxes, steward of Bromfield and Yale, and treasurer to the local sequestrators.⁽²⁾ A later and less prominent

1 Palmer, *Older Nonconformity*, ch. i, *Parish Church of Wrexham*, pp. 132-3; Dodd, *Studies*, pp. 144-5.

2 G. V. Price in *Wrexham Leader*, 22 Mar., 1940, and *The Dissenters' Burial Ground* (privately published, 1951); *Cal. Cite. for Compounding*, i. 636, 691, 709, 723, 726; N.L.W. MSS. 11440D, fos. 9, 15, 116, 11441D (4 Aug., 1654), Plymouth deeds 1509, 1736-7; Palmer, *Older Nonconformity*, p. 48; *Old Parish of Wxm.*, pp. 148-9; *Tburloe, S. P.*, iii. 209, 214.

but equally staunch adherent was John Kynaston of Plas Kynaston—offshoot of a fiercely Royalist Shropshire clan—whose house became (like Wynne's) a refuge for Independents of Ruabon parish after the Restoration. Over a dozen of this group, most of them war veterans and at least half of them in Morgan Llwyd's congregation, served on the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel, which for three years virtually governed the country, with Wrexham as one of its regular meeting places. Carter and Twisleton were also commissioners, although Carter was ready enough to round on his old fellow-commissioners when the tide turned against them after Oliver's death; another (and far worthier) member was John Jones, now a pillar of the commonwealth in London and in Dublin, but always in touch with relatives and friends at Wrexham, where his son was living under the guardianship of Morgan Llwyd.⁽¹⁾

The Protectorate, with its return to more stable conditions and more familiar institutions, offended Morgan Llwyd and some of his more uncompromising followers (though not John Jones) as savouring too much of this world; but it tempted back into public life some of the county families which had held aloof, and such stalwarts of the old order as Price of Giler and Wynne of Voelas (who had been active in measures to resist the first Roundhead incursion), Wynne of Melai (whose father had given his life for the king), Jeffreys of Acton (father of the judge) and Powell of Horsley, began to reappear in county politics in the capacity of committeemen or even sheriffs, thrusting into the background their supplanters (and often social inferiors) the disgruntled Cromwellian swordsmen and saints.⁽²⁾ But when in 1655 the prevalence of Royalist plots on the North Wales border put into jeopardy all the fruits of victory, the religious radicals of the Wrexham area who found the Protectorate too slow rallied round it as promptly as Sir Thomas Myddelton, for whom events had been moving too fast.⁽³⁾ Preparations in the following summer for electing two members

1 Richards, *Puritan Movement*, pp. 101, 235; Burton, *Diary* (ed. Rutt, 1828), iii. 83; N.L.W. MSS. 11439-41D.

2 John Edwards, of Chirk, son of another Royalist captain, actually became sheriff before the Protectorate, when the extremists were still in power.

3 *Thurloe State Papers*, iii. 208-9, 214, 298; Dodd, *Studies*, pp. 157, 161-4.

to serve the county in Cromwell's second parliament show the gentry trying hard to behave as if nothing were at stake but the familiar issues of family prestige ; yet the two candidates in the field were both Roundhead colonels, one of them (John Jones) favouring his beloved Wrexham as polling place because a trusty troop of horse was stationed there (a natural precaution after the plots so recently scotched), the other (John Carter) urging Denbigh—no doubt for the same reason ; while old Simon Thelwall was no less insistent on holding the poll among friends in the civilian atmosphere of Ruthin. Thelwall was quite ready to support John Jones, who had been kind to his sons in Ireland and appears to have been generally liked, but he was with difficulty dissuaded from entering the lists himself (or putting up one of his family) to keep the hated Carter out ; and when Jones decided to sit for his native Merioneth, which had also elected him, Simon had the satisfaction of seeing Plas y Ward reinstated at Westminster by the election of his son Lumley.⁽¹⁾

After Oliver's death, however, it became plain that the experiment of pouring new wine into the old bottles was breaking down, and old Roundheads as well as cautious "neuters" were turning to the exiled court as the only hope of stability, leaving a few unrepentant champions of Independency like Captains Sontley and Manley to defend the tottering cause by such drastic measures as hustling into Shrewsbury gaol the highly suspected ex-Roundhead sheriff, Edward Vaughan of Llwydiarth. The Myddeltons were now openly for a Stuart restoration, and in Booth's premature rising of 1659, after proclaiming Charles II at Wrexham, they held Chirk castle for the king in company with war-time foes like the Broughtons of Marchwiell, Edwards of Chirkland, J. Dolben and R. Dutton ; the Thelwalls may also have been involved. The rising failed ; Myddelton—whose castle had been for the first time subject to bombardment at the hands of Lambert, Cromwell's would-be successor—was declared a traitor and his estates under sequestration. For a brief Indian summer the local extremists returned to power after exclusion during the heyday of the Protectorate, controlling such key positions as

1 *Cal. Wynn Papers*, 2108-10, 2112, 2114-6, 2118-20, 2122-3.

Denbigh (where William Wynne superseded Twisleton), Conway (where Carter had to give place to Hugh Prichard of Brymbo, also a member of Morgan Llwyd's congregation) and Beaumaris (which John Jones, now governor of Anglesey, entrusted to yet another of this *coterie*); while at Brymbo Hall their close associate Sir Richard Saltonstall, now poles apart in politics and religion from his nephew at Chirk, came on to the local committees that assumed civilian control, to the exclusion of those conservative gentry who had come to terms with the Puritan state too recently to be trusted when it was in peril.⁽¹⁾

It was the last fling of the old Roundheads; they were soon engulfed in the rising tide of monarchism, and in April 1660 Myddelton's heir was mustering the militia of east Denbighshire (with that of Merioneth and Montgomery) in readiness for the king's return, while Sir Thomas himself was back at Westminster to join in inviting him back to his kingdom; Carter took charge of the levies from Flintshire, Caernarvonshire and Anglesey, and Gerald Barbour, the Presbyterian draper, served as treasurer to the whole force.

By May, when for a second time Sir Thomas proclaimed Charles II at Wrexham, his old agent John Jones, on parole from prison, was paying a farewell visit to his son and his friends in the neighbourhood, and putting his affairs in order before giving himself up to trial and execution.⁽²⁾ Morgan Llwyd had died the preceding winter—fortunate, perhaps, that he did not live to see the final downfall of his hopes and the deep divisions of his flock. His old colleague Ambrose Mostyn—who, if he had never actually become a Presbyterian, had at any rate not followed Llwyd in his more exalted flights—ended a three years' ministry at Holt to fill the vacancy at Wrexham—till in less than a year he in turn had to make room for the restored episcopal incumbent.⁽³⁾

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- 1 Dodd, *Studies*, pp. 162-4, 167; *Bywgraffiadur*, p. 638; Mahler, *Chirk Castle and Chirkland*, pp. 189-96; Myddelton, *Chirk Castle Accts.*, 1605-66, p. ix.; Hist. MSS. Com., *Popham*, p. 162; *C. J.*, vii. 753-4, 791.
 - 2 Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-3; *Mercurius Politicus*, 10-17 May, 1660; *Bygones*, 1893-4, p. 473; *Bywgraffiadur*, p. 445.
 - 3 Richards, *Puritan Movement*, pp. 159, 200, *Religious Devts.*, pp. 27, 238, 375; Palmer, *Older Nonconformity*, pp. 35, 39, *Parish Church*, pp. 62-5.

The once formidable group of Wrexham Independents no longer counted in politics, and in religion they turned as sheep without a shepherd to Llwyd's more explosive fellow-evangelist Vavasour Powell. But within a few months of the king's return Powell was under lock and key and powerless to help, while Sir Richard Saltonstall, who was included in the same hue and cry, made good his escape to Kent, and died there next year, his son Richard thereupon returning once more to New England. Llwyd's pastorless flock, still with its complement of old Cromwellian soldiers, hung together as best it could. John Jones' son was excommunicated for Nonconformity in 1663, and two years later a conventicle of eighty to a hundred worshippers was dispersed by the local militia. At last, in 1668, an old fellow-worker of Vavasour's (later to marry his widow) began a long but for many years precarious ministry under the protection of Lady Eyton, that same "godly gentlewoman" whose standing with the godly party, when they were top dogs, had been allowed to atone for her husband's royalism.⁽¹⁾

What were the lasting effects of the Civil War on the life of the county? A letter of Watkin Kyffin to Myddelton a few months after Charles I's execution presents a sad picture of a land "destitute of all sorts of provision both for horse and man," with "corne very deare" and "cattle very weake" from long neglect, with everyone trembling lest the Lord General Cromwell should pass that way to take up the Irish command he had just accepted and make fresh demands on this scanty store of food-stuffs. But before the modern era of "frightfulness," war left few scars on the open countryside, nor was there any extensive damage to buildings, excepting in the neighbourhood of castles where artillery had been used and houses burned down to avoid shelter for enemy assaults. The castles themselves had seen their last days of glory: Ruthin and Holt were dismantled soon after they fell, Denbigh (since the victors still needed it for military occupation) not till after the Restoration; the dismantling of Chirk castle, begun under parliamentary orders as soon as Myddelton had to surrender it to Lambert, had gone far enough before the political tide

1 Palmer, *Older Nonconformity*, ch. ii.; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1660-1, pp. 123, 176, 1664-5, p. 205; Myddelton, *op. cit.*, p. 31n.; Venn, *Alumni Cantab.*, I. iv. 10; *Bywgraffiadur*, p. 224; *supra*, p. 74.

turned to make it uninhabitable for the family for some years. The destruction of houses round Holt and Denbigh during the sieges must have left them a sorry sight, and Holt bridge was still unrepaired in 1661, when the burgesses pleaded that the £10 levied on them towards rebuilding the shirehall at Wrexham, and still lying idle, should be diverted to that purpose. The rebuilding of the Wrexham shirehall was no doubt made necessary by the disastrous fire that broke out in 1643, burning down a quarter of the town, and prompting appeals to parliament for help in restoration work as much as five years later; but we cannot tell whether the war is to be held accountable for this disaster.⁽¹⁾

The balance of property in the county was not seriously disturbed by the war and its aftermath. A few new families rose to wealth: Carters, Twisletons and Pecks, the first two of them intruders who may have helped to hasten the anglicising processes due in part to the infiltration of Puritanism from across the border; the decline of other families like the Ellices of Gwasnewydd and the Robinsons and Suttons of Gwersyllt was precipitated by their devotion to the crown, but collapse (into which other factors also entered) was postponed till the end of the century.⁽²⁾ The less material effects of the war were on the whole the more lasting; for the religious and political faction that triumphed for a time and then went under remained a permanent factor in the life of east Denbighshire, especially among the trading classes of Wrexham and (for many generations) a section of the smaller gentry in the surrounding district. For all this area the Civil War was something more than a passing episode.

1 Palmer, *Holt*, pp. 135-7; N.L.W. MS. 1551E, Hawarden deeds 4877 (cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Popham*, p. 162); Dodd, *Studies*, p. 18.

2 Palmer, *Gresford*, pp. 56-7, *Wrexham*, p. 267n; *Bywgraffiadur*, pp. 192, 833-4.

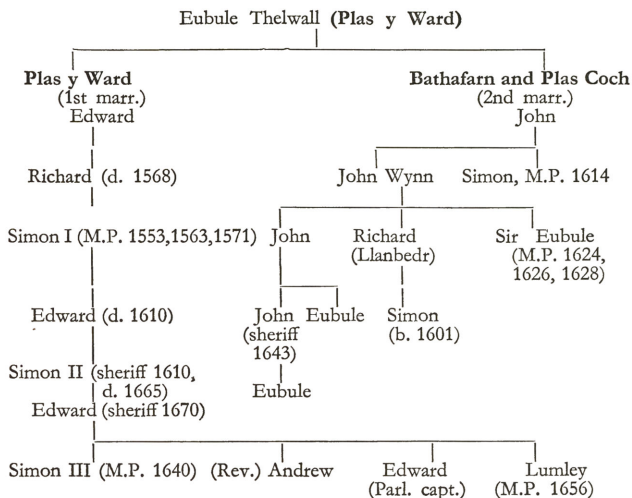
APPENDIX : THE THELWALLS IN THE CIVIL WAR

The Thelwalls are no easier to sort out than many other Welsh families with less uncommon names, and I must plead guilty to having confused them in (e.g.) *Trans. Cym. Soc.*, 1948, pp. 60-61, and *Studies in Stuart Wales*. There were at least three Denbighshire Simon Thelwalls at this time : (a) Simon II of Plas y Ward, sheriff 1612 ; (b) his grandson Simon III—each of them son of an Edward Thelwall ; (c) Simon, son of Richard Thelwall of Llanbedr. The Long Parliament member and Civil War colonel was undoubtedly (b)—the official return of 1878 makes that clear. He was also probably the Simon who became burgess of Denbigh in 1634 and entered Inner Temple in 1637 (Williams, *Anc. and Mod. Denbigh*, p. 109, *Students admitted to Inner Temple*, 1877, p. 294). Only (c) could have been the Simon who entered Lincoln College, Oxford (at 15) in 1616 and Grays Inn in 1619, whence he was called to the bar in 1636 (*Grays Inn Admission Register*, 1889, p. 142, Fletcher, *Grays Inn Pension Book*, 1900, p. 354), and he is more likely than the others to have been the Master of the Office of Revels in 1630 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1629-31, p. 556 ; see also N.L.W., Rhual MSS., 38, 43, 45-6, 65, 71, 111). The *Parliamentary History* of 1760-62 (xx. 304) gives a Simon Thelwall as member for Denbighshire in Cromwell's parliament of 1654, but this is not confirmed by the 1878 list, which records the Denbighshire returns as missing ; W. R. Williams (*Parl. Hist. of Wales*, pp. 73, 81) makes confusion worse confounded by describing this Simon as "of Plas Coch," while at the same time making him a grandson of Simon of Plas y Ward and identifying him with the borough member of 1640. But Simon's brother Lumley, who had fought for parliament in Ireland, did represent the county in the second Protectorate parliament (Williams, p. 74 and Return 1878).

It is hard to guess why Plas y Ward, unlike most of the western families, turned Roundhead, for its political alignment had generally been with Llewenny. Simon III's marriage might account for him, but hardly for the two brothers who fought for parliament, nor for the ready compliance of the rest of the family with the Rule of the Saints. The answer probably lies in the strong Protestant tradition in the family, dating back to

the martyrdom of Richard Gwyn in Elizabeth's day, in which Simon I took a leading part (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lix. 354). It is suggestive that two of Simon III's brothers fought in Ireland against the Confederate Catholics; and Baxter makes it clear in his *Penitent Confession* (p. 19) that the king's Irish policy was what "drove . . . to the Parliament Garisons and Armies" many moderates like himself. Simon III's letters certainly read like those of a man genuinely attached to the cause; on the other hand his brother Andrew resigned the living of Llandderfel as soon as the Propagation Act was passed (Richards, *Puritan Movement*, p. 117), which suggests that the politics of Plas y Ward were much the same as those of Chirk castle. The family connections of Edward Thelwall of Ruthin, who was put into the living of Llanynys by parliamentary authority in 1647 and then made master of the Propagation school at Ruthin in 1650, have not so far been established (Richards, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 226). Puritan sympathies might more naturally have been expected of the Plas Coch branch, which produced Sir Eubule, the great anti-clerical lawyer who became Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and preceded Sir Thomas Myddelton in the county representation at Westminster (*Trans. Cym. Soc.*, 1942, p. 62, 1945, pp. 24-5, 32); but Sir Eubule's nephew was John, the sheriff of 1643 who became a Royalist colonel, and whose son, Eubule, though he did co-operate with the Protectorate to the extent of sitting on county committees and even contemplated contesting the county seat in the election of 1656 (Firth and Rait, ii. 1085, 1383; *Cal. of Wynn Papers*, 2208), co-operated also, as Plas y Ward did not, in promoting the Restoration, and twenty years later helped the court interest to unseat Sir Thomas Myddelton's grandson in the county election of 1681 (Firth and Rait, ii. 1448, Chirk castle MS. E 558). Another unsolved riddle is why Edward Thelwall, the Roundhead colonel's father (who became sheriff after his own father's death in Charles II's reign) is not heard of in Denbighshire affairs before 1648.

The following short pedigree, abridged from J. E. Griffith (pp. 274, 369), may help to clarify the relationships.



A. H. DODD.

DENBIGHSHIRE MANUSCRIPTS AND RECORDS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES

II.—THE WYNNSTAY COLLECTIONS

Between 1934 and 1940 all the literary, legal and historical manuscripts in the library at Wynnstay, together with some 3,000 to 4,000 documents from the estate muniment rooms, were deposited in the National Library by Sir Herbert Lloyd Watkin Williams Wynn, 7th baronet, of Wynnstay. This collection has been fully scheduled and the schedule is available for readers at the library. In January 1952 a further large collection of manuscript volumes, deeds, correspondence, miscellaneous documents and papers, together with some maps and plans, was deposited by Lieut. Col. Owen Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart., and the Trustees of the Wynnstay Estates. A preliminary list of this collection, which consists mainly of deeds rentals and accounts is available. These two collections reflect the history and development of the Wynnstay estate and the interests and activities of its owners and throw much light on the social and economic life of a large part of North Wales for some three or four centuries.

In his article—"The Wynnstay Manuscripts and Documents" in *The National Library of Wales Journal* (Vol. II, p. 26), Mr. E. D. Jones has given an account of the literary and historical manuscripts and his account of the collection from a genealogical angle shows how the history of the family is reflected in the history of the collection, as it is also in the history of the estate.

Estate deeds documents and rentals form a large part of these two collections and a large number of these consisting of the usual grants, leases, mortgages, agreements, abstracts of title, deed polls, wills, rentals, valuations, vouchers, accounts and estate correspondence relate to property in Denbighshire. The deeds range in date from the short concise Latin deeds of the early fourteenth century to the printed agreements of the present century. One of the earliest of these, dated October 1322,—a grant of 3 acres of land "in campo de Llanruth" by John de Grey, lord of Dyffryn Clwyd, to William de Thelewall, shows the early connections of this family with the county. In a later century Sir William Williams, the second baronet of

Llanvorda, was to marry Jane Thelwall the daughter and heiress of the Thelwalls of Plas-y-ward, and their son in 1719 became the squire of Wynnstay and assumed the name of Wynn. In addition to the deeds there is also a long series of rentals. One of the earliest is a rental of Richard Duke of York of his lordship of Rhos, Rhufoniog and Cymeirch, for the year ending Michaelmas 1437 contained in a composite volume (Wynnstay MS. No. 86). The same volume contains rentals of Thelwall property in Ruthin and the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. From 1629 to 1899 there is a continuous series of rentals for the whole estate consisting of about 150 volumes. In these the tenants are grouped according to parish with accounts of the rents due, of the cash received and of the arrears due, while there is also an "observation" column which occasionally affords glimpses of the troubles and hardships which befell the tenants. Thus at Lady Day 1831 James Ellis of Seswick, in the parish of Gwersyllt, was £19 18s. in arrears with his rent and the observation column tells us that his house had been broken into and robbed of £14, and that he shortly afterwards lost a horse which three weeks before had cost him £28. The following are typical examples of observations which occur from time to time:—"Some furniture left towards this arrear"; "she is supported by the parish"; "the owner very poor and begs for time. The premises are deeply mortgaged."

In his article on the Wynnstay Manuscripts Mr. E. D. Jones has drawn attention to the account books of Simon Thelwall at the Exchequer of Caernarvon between 1553 and 1558. These record not only the receipt of the issues of North Wales with payment of the fees and wages of officials, but also the petty cash disbursements of the Chamberlain, Sir John Salesbury of Llewenni, which include losses at dice and cards and a sum of thirty-eight shillings and eight pence divided between five "mynstrells." As these examples indicate, the student of the local and social history of Denbighshire as well as the student of economic history will find much of interest in the Wynnstay account books and will be amply rewarded by a careful perusal of these. The rentals of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contain accounts of the disbursements made by the collectors or agents of the estate, and for the eighteenth

century there are also some volumes of separate domestic accounts. These accounts often afford many illuminating and picturesque glimpses of a mode of life long since past. The following are some examples chosen at random which serve to indicate the significance of these volumes to the local and social historian :—

“1771, Jan. 4. Paid Mr. Randle Jones the Wrexham Players expences and 5 guineas given them playing at Wynnstay.

“Feb. 7. Pd Mr. Buraglio for a stove for the organ loft in Ruabon Church.

“March 15. Pd Mr. Snetzler for the organ set up in Ruabon Church last August. £280.

“Feb. 14. P'd Mr. Roger Johnston for 18 weeks painting the scenes and fitting up the play-house at Wynnstay from Aug. 8 to Dec. 12, 1770, and expenses back. £61-00-00.”

Charitable causes figure prominently in these accounts :—
 “1723 Jan. 1. Distributed to the poor of Ruabon in money with the beefe 05-00-00.” “1787 Apr. 12. Paid the Rev. W. Williams for a sermon preached on Christmas day 1786 in Llansilin Church 6s. 8d.” The political events and activities of the day are often reflected in the disbursements—as in the case of this amusing entry,—“16 June. Paid by your orders to Edward Lewis of Llanrhaiadr to buy him a new coat instead of his coat that was torn by the bonfire at the rejoicing after the election.” Or again : “To the soldiers that attended the proclamation of the peace at Wrexham in Nov. 1697—00-10-00.” Such entries as the following have their significance for the economic historian.

“Nov. 13, paid John Isaac the Drover £300 which he paid Mr. Hoare the goldsmith for the use of my master—£300.”

“May 22, 1724—Paid the 2 collyers from Brumbo for their journey to show the mines in Eglwysegle by my master's order 00-40-00.”

“1709 Dec. 9. Paid then to William Ffoulkes for sugar, resins, corks and candles to bottle a barrel of drink at Eglwysvach.

1710. Nov. Paid Owen Griffith his bill for oysters and carriage to Wattstay 01-06-00.”

Manorial records relating to Denbighshire form another important class of documents in the Wynnstay collection. For the Lordship of Bromfield and Yale there is a sixteenth century copy of a survey made in 1391 and also a survey of the lordship made in the years 1561-2. A century later (1657) inquisitions were taken of the "quit-rents, rents of assize, free rents and chief rents," giving the names of tenants and details of the lands held by them and of the rents paid by them. These inquisitions of the Commonwealth period—a series of six documents—are also in the Wynnstay collection. Court Leet presentments for various manors in the lordship are available for the years 1657-59, 1719-35 and 1760-1803, while for the years 1834-79 the series of presentments is fairly complete, and there are also various lists of jurors, homagers, inhabitants and of constables for this period. The borough of Holt is represented by Court Leet Presentments (1719—1879), and by various court and corporation books of the nineteenth century containing among other things lists of mayors, borough officers and admissions of burgesses (1818-48) as well as Declarations against Transubstantiation and Popery (1819-34). Court records for various manors in the lordship of Valle Crucis date from 1635. For the seventeenth century there are court records (1635-1658) and a number of rentals for the second half of the century. Among the eighteenth century material there are presentments (1789-98) and surveys of the manors of Wrexham Abbot and Stansty Issa. Two court books contain presentments for the period 1800-51, and there are also numerous nineteenth century suit rolls and accounts of fines levied for absence from the courts and for other offences. The main items for the manor of Cynllaith Owen are Court Leet presentments (1740-47) and a Court Leet Book for the period 1823-59 with yearly files containing estreats, fines and suit rolls for the years 1834-60. The lordship of Chirk and Chirkland is represented by a Court Baron Book for the years 1632-1639. The earliest court roll is that for the lordship of Ruthin (1487-88). There is also a roll of the year 1654 for Ruthin and Dyffryn Clwyd and one for the College of St. Peter, Ruthin, for the years 1563-69, while a seventeenth century survey of Ruthin contains much topographical detail. The extant proceedings of these Denbighshire manorial courts

excellently typify the many-sided activities of the Court Leet and afford many interesting concrete glimpses of the social and economic activities of the local inhabitants. The foregoing list is but an indication of the range and nature of the estate and manorial records. On the surface they appear formal and uninteresting, but for the student of economic and social history, for the topographer and the student of place names, and for the genealogist they contain a wealth of detail.

The political and public activities of various members of the Wynnstay family are reflected in the family archives, although material of this category relating to Denbighshire is somewhat disappointing both in bulk and quality. There are a number of papers relating to the Parliamentary election of 1741 when Sir Watkin Williams Wynn petitioned against the return of John Myddleton to be a member of Parliament for the county of Denbigh, claiming that the sheriff and returning officer was a relation of John Myddleton, and that he illegally disallowed a large number of votes polled for the petitioner and declared John Myddleton duly returned. The papers consist mainly of list of electors and voters, including residents and "new freeholders" who were disallowed. Among the miscellaneous papers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is an eighteenth century list of the freeholders of the several hundreds within the county, together with the valuation of their estates. For the nineteenth century there are miscellaneous papers, including election bills, accounts and expenses for the period 1823-61.

The papers and documents connected with various public offices held by members of the Wynnstay family are usually formal in character—being patents, letters of appointments and accounts connected with such officers as those of Lieutenant, Deputy-Lieutenant, Sheriff and under sheriff. Occasionally, however, there is material of a more interesting character, as in the case of letters which have survived written by Richard Greene of Ruthin, who was deputy-sheriff to Watkin Kyffin of Glasgoed in the year 1661-62. Writing in January 1662 he says "as soon as I received your letter I went to enquire where to buy halfe pikes. All yt we have in our country have been bought at London, and will not I am told, be had y^e. like at Chester. Mr. Wynne of Garthconan bath 18 of them which his father in

law, the great drover had provided. I am confident to borrow them and an easy matter it will be have two more made, and the trimming of them will not be much." In January 1662 he writes to his sheriff from Wrexham and says that he "had taken the gaol from the old sheriff" and delivered the prisoners—namely 3 poor debtors, half-a-dozen thieves and seven Quakers. In other letters he is concerned with the arrangements for the Great Sessions. He informs the sheriff that at the last Great Sessions in Denbigh the then sheriff "found the judges and their retinue with house-rooms, firing, candles, beer-strong and small, half a fat beef and a whole fat veal, and bestowed 50s. amongst the officers of the judges house who claimed that high-sheriffs were wont formerly to give amongst them £5. . . . Mr. Salesbury's beef and veal were wonderful fat and large . . . at the sessions in Ruthin he upon his own charge dieted the judges at his own table, and the town found them with all other things that it hath not cost them 5s. then at Ruthin." The under-sheriff advises that "for horses it were a more saving way to take a parcel of grass and pay watchmen than to pay 3s. per week for every horse."

In addition to correspondence dealing with purely estate matters there is for the seventeenth and eighteenth a number of letters of historical and social interest—although in the main they are not of local interest. Occasionally, however, they give us glimpses of events and life in Denbighshire—as in this letter from one Richard Davies to Sir William William, Llanvorda, dated April 3, 1710 :—

" . . . I desire you would tell Mr. Evans that we designe to fight for Tobacco at the Green in Ruabon upon Monday next, if he designes to put in himself I would know whether I may depend upon him for a Cock, wch. I think he formerly was pleas'd to promise me. If he be not over sure of getting the prize then ; I shall as formerly agreed on, venture one Guinea with him to be fought for by a Shake-bag if he will send for the Tobacco and appoint the time and place where I shall meet him. . . . "

The few records relating to the industrial and commercial development of the county date from the early nineteenth century. These include a report on the probability of discovering lead ore

on Ruabon Mountain (1814), and a section of the strata in Wynnstay colliery commenced sinking (Nov. 1856). There are papers and correspondence relating to turnpike securities, copies of railway acts and bills—together with other Parliamentary Bills, e.g., Act for improving lands in Holt Borough (1817); Bill for improving and regulating the town of Wrexham (1851). Among the maps and plans are those relating to the Vale of Clwyd Railway (1855); the Plas Madog Branch Railway (1865) and the Ruabon Waterworks (1869–70).

In addition to these main categories there are numerous individual items relating to the county dispersed throughout the two collections, e.g., a charter granted to Llanrwst (1424); a copy of the orders and rules of the Llanrwst Hospital founded by the first baronet of Gwydir in 1612; documents relating to the living of Llanynys, including an agreement dated Dec. 9, 1584, whereby Simon Thelwall of Plas-y-Ward acquires an interest in the living.

It is hoped that the foregoing description will give the student of the county and local history of Denbighshire some indication of the range and nature of the material provided in the Wynnstay collections, although it is not possible to convey, in the space of a short article, the wealth of detail relating to various aspects of that history which is contained in the collections.

ELWYN EVANS

CHAMBRES OF PLAS CHAMBRES AND LLYSMEIRCHION

The Family of Chambres is descended from John de la Chambre of Llewenni, who came to Wales in 1275. He was chamberlain to Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, from whom he held, by a charter granted in the third year of King Edward I, 180 acres of land in Llewenni, with liberties and freedoms in the parks and forests adjacent, yielding to de Lacy and his heirs, ninepence a year, his homage and service.

William, the third son of John de la Chambre, in 1282, led a convoy of provisions to the English army in Wales (the original safe conduct is now in the Record Office).

In 1334 the heirs of John de la Chambre held 160 acres of land in Llewenni, at a yearly rental of eightpence, and are styled Bond Tenants⁽¹⁾.

Until the early sixteenth century the family lived in Llewenni and little is known about any of them except their names, and the names of the families into which the eldest son married. Morgan Chambre of Llewenni married Anne, daughter of Peter le Cuive, his son Samuel Chambre married Mary, the daughter of William Lloyd (alias Rosindale). John Chambre married Jane, daughter of John Conway, and Hugh Chambre, his son, married as his first wife the daughter of a Salusbury, and as his second wife, Martha, daughter of William Ravenscroft.

Hugh's son by his first wife, William Chambre of Llewenni married Catharine, the daughter and co-heiress of Jenkin Pigott of Denbigh, and was the last Chambre to live in Llewenni. As to William and Catharine's children, Margaret married Thomas Conway. Jenkin went to live in Shropshire. Robert married Elizabeth Peake and also went to Shropshire, and from him are descended the Shropshire and Irish branches of the family who retain the name of Chambre to the present day.

The eldest son Henry added an "s" to his name. He built Plas Chambres, thus becoming Henry Chambres of Plas Chambres, and he married Elizabeth, the daughter of William Dutton of Cheshire.

Of the next few generations, all, in turn, of Plas Chambres, Robert married Agnes, the daughter and heiress of Hugh

1 (See *supra*, p. 28. "The heir of John de Camera. . . ." But note that he held his land as "a free tenant" by military service.—F.P.J.)

Duckworth. His son, Robert, married Margaret, daughter of Ffoulk Salisbury, Dean of St. Asaph, and their son John married Dorothy, daughter of Edward Goodman of Ruthin, and sister to Dr. Gabriel Goodman.

Their grandson, John Chambres of Plas Chambres, who married Ann, daughter of Charles Middleton of Denbigh, was a Capital Burgess of Denbigh in 1597—the First Charter of Elizabeth I to Denbigh.

So far the men and women described have been little more than names on a pedigree, but it is possible to gather something about the personalities of the members of succeeding generations. Charles Chambres of Denbigh, who was born at Plas Chambres in 1621, married on January 26th, 1641, Ellen, the daughter of Edward Griffith Esq., of Garn. He was a captain for Charles I., and was at the siege of Denbigh Castle.

An account of one of his exploits as given by M. Guizot is quoted by John Williams in "Ancient and Modern Denbigh" as follows :—

"Sir John Owen . . . having been for some time kept a prisoner here, some of his party entered into a plot to effect his release by surprising the Castle at midnight. The principal conspirators being Dolben and Chambres, who were joined by about sixty other cavaliers, as appears from a printed account, entitled 'Denbigh Castle surprised for the King, by 60 cavaliers, etc. : London, printed for the satisfaction of all moderate men, 1648'."

John Williams continues : "This account is confirmed by W. Morris's memoranda :—

'1648. About the end of June, Mr. Doulbein and Mr. Chambres of Denbigh hadd a design to take the castle of Denbighe ; they scaled it in the night, and about 60 men got into the ulterward, but they were discovered and some of them taken ; they both plundered, but escaped, as is said.'

'July. In this monthe about the 16th Dolbein and Chambres with their companye came before Denbigh Castle, and, in a bravado, discharged their pistols and went away.'"

Captain Charles Chambres died in 1652, leaving a son John. His grandson, Edward Chambres of Plas Chambres, Alderman

of Denbigh 1680 and 1694, died in 1704, leaving four sons and three daughters.

The eldest son, John of Plas Chambres, was an Alderman of Denbigh and High Sheriff of Denbighshire in 1713. When, in 1685, he married Mary Leigh, daughter of Richard Leigh of East Hall, High Leigh, Cheshire, he agreed that she should never be without her carriage, but, being of a nervous disposition, he omitted to provide horses.

She was a very "Saving" lady, and not liking her husband to be too hospitable to his poor relations she gave them one night a very poor supper, which so annoyed her husband that when they were starting for home he ordered the servants to bring up all her hams and flitches of bacon, and had them all piled in the carriage, not leaving her one.

John and his wife Mary had no children. His brother Edward had married Ann Coleman, who died in 1728, giving birth to a daughter, Grace, who later became Grace Chambres of Plas Chambres, the sole heiress.

Thomas Jones of Kil Glassyn (Cil Glasyn), Glan Conway, had one son, John Jones, M.A., of Bryneisteddfof in the parish of Llansantffraid, of which he was Rector, later he was Rector of Llanrwst, and Canon of St. Asaph.

The Rev. John Jones married Grace Chambres.

Their eldest son, John Chambres Jones (born 1750, died 1833), of Bryneisteddfof, is described as "Merchant, of Liverpool." He married three times, first Jane, daughter of Maurice Jones of Cefn Coch, and they had, with a daughter, a son, Hugh Chambres Jones, Archdeacon of Essex and Treasurer of St. Paul's. He died in 1869 without issue aged 86.

John Chambres Jones' second wife was Sarah Holland Edwards, daughter of the Rev. Edward Edwards, by whom he had two daughters. His third wife was Emma, daughter of Dr. Howard.

After the early death of her sister, and the death of the half brother in 1869, Margaret Grace Jones lived at Bryneisteddfof until her death in December 1902 at the age of 96. Thus the Chambres Jones branch of the family died out, and the Bryneisteddfof estate passed to Colonel James Mortimer.

The fourth son of John Jones and his wife Grace (the second and third sons died young) was Edward Chambres Jones. He was M.A., Vicar of Henllan 1772, Vicar of St. Asaph 1777, Vicar of Llanefydd 1772, Vicar of Llansannan 1782, Canon of St. Asaph in 1784. From 1815--1817 he was Recorder of Denbigh. Family records tell us that "he held five livings and had from the church alone £1,500 a year. He lived in great style, usually sending an outrider to announce his coming at any house where he was going to call."

He lived at Llysmeirchion, which he bought about the time of his marriage, and he re-built Plas Chambres.

"New Plas Chambres," I quote from the *Inventory of Ancient Monuments*, "contains a ceiling of the period of Queen Anne, plastered in arabesques, a good oak nail studded door and some panelling, which doubtless are mementoes of the edifice which it has largely displaced. The portion of Old Plas Chambres which adjoins the modern residence has some good brick chimneys and a closed mullioned window of two lights." This description, although written in 1911, still holds good to-day.

Edward Chambres Jones married Charlotte Totty; her father, Edward Totty, lived in Holywell and she was the youngest of his 22 children. She was brought up by her relations, the Middeltons of Gwaenynog, who had no children of their own. It is said that Edward Chambres Jones eloped with her from there when she was only 18. She is recorded to have played with her dolls on her wedding day.

Of their five children, two died young, the fourth son, Philip Chambres Jones, M.A., B.D., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, was vicar of Henllan 1819--1826.

The eldest son, Robert Chambres Jones, born 1784, went to Oxford and took Holy Orders.

The second son, William Chambres Jones, born 1788, was a lieutenant in the Royal Marines.

In 1812 Edward Chambres Jones assumed the name and Arms of Chambres in lieu of his patronymic, thus becoming Edward Chambres Chambres, and his two eldest sons Robert Chambres Chambres and William Chambres Chambres.

Early in 1817 Edward Chambres Chambres died, and six months later Robert married his cousin, Mary Ann Ingleby,

the daughter of Richard Ingleby of Springfield, Halkyn, and settled at Llysmeirchion.

In December 1817 William, having sold his commission in the Royal Marines, married Mary Ann Gordon and settled at Plas Chambres, lately re-built by his father. His mother, Charlotte, also went to live at Plas Chambres. Half way up the stairs there is a small room looking out at the back of the house. This was Charlotte's private sitting room, and for very many years after her death it was still known as "Madame Chambres' room." Charlotte died in 1823 while staying in the house of her brother, William Totty of Holywell.

Of the Llysmeirchion branch, there were ten children. Two died as infants, two died abroad, the eldest son died unmarried, aged 34, and another son died aged 20. One son settled in Liverpool, and one in Norfolk, but both died without issue. Of the remaining two girls, Sidney lived to a great age, and Mary married her cousin Philip Henry Chambres and died aged 35.

When Robert Chambres Chambres of Llysmeirchion died, funeral cakes and a funeral cup were used for the last time by the family. The former were two pieces, one of plum, the other of sponge cake, and these, folded separately, were sent to all acquaintances. The funeral cup was a silver tankard like a loving cup, filled with spiced ale, and the oldest port and brandy that could be got. It was sent round to all neighbouring houses, just tasted, and passed on.

As for the Plas Chambres branch, in 1825 William Chambres Chambres was an Alderman of Denbigh, but some time between 1828 and 1833 he moved to Liverpool with his wife and young family. He sold Plas Chambres to Mr. Heaton of Plas Heaton. It had been in the family for 300 years. In Liverpool he bought a wine merchant's business and, with samples of his wines in his carriage, he used to tour North Wales, staying a few days at the country houses of his friends, and taking back with him to Liverpool their orders for wines.

He had three sons and six daughters. The former all went into business in Liverpool.

The eldest son, William Chambres, born at Plas Chambres in 1820, became a stockbroker. He married in 1849 Louisa

Mellis Maddock, and they had two sons and five daughters. They lived in Wallasey and at Dolben in Denbighshire, of which county he was High Sheriff and Deputy Lieutenant. He was a J.P. and Alderman of Liverpool, and a Major of the 1st Cheshire Volunteers 1861-69. He died in Wallasey in 1893 aged 73.

The second son, Philip Henry Chambres, born in 1822 at Plas Chambres, became a director of the London and North Western Railway and various other companies. Early in his career he was called upon to serve as a special constable in Liverpool during the Cotton Riots.

In 1848 he married his cousin, Mary Chambres, the daughter of the Rev. Robert Chambres Chambres of Llysmeirchion, upon whose death Philip Henry and his wife went to live at Llysmeirchion. Philip Henry was a J.P., Deputy Lieutenant and High Sheriff of Denbighshire.

For three years he was Master of the Vale of Clwyd Harriers.

In 1860 his wife died, and two years later he married again, Louisa, the daughter of Richard Lloyd Williams, M.D., of Denbigh.

Philip Henry died in 1909 aged 87, leaving two sons and a daughter by his first marriage, and four sons and a daughter by his second marriage. Llysmeirchion was then sold after belonging to the family for over 150 years.

The third son, Charles Crewe, the last Chambres to be born at Plas Chambres (1828), became a stockbroker and lived in Wallasey. He married Lucy Bewley and died at the early age of 38, leaving two sons and a daughter.

Of the daughters of William Chambres Chambres and Mary Ann, his wife, Lucia, born in 1818, married Charles Hughes Ingleby, Barrister, and lived in Mold.

Charlotte, born at Plas Chambres in 1821, married Edward Thomas Hughes, M.D., of Mold.

Emma, born in 1825, married the Rev. Hugh George Robinson, Canon of York.

Penelope, born 1824, Mary Ann, born 1833, and Grace, born 1837, lived to the ages of 88, 96 and 90 respectively at Ty Croes, Llanddulas.

April 1954.

MARY UNWIN

APPENDIX

Captain James Gordon married Lucy Glynne, the daughter of Sir John Glynne, Bart., of Hawarden. He eloped with her from Bath, where she was at school. They were married at Gretna Green.

They had two daughters.

Lucia married Mr. Bateson and lived in Wallasey.

Mary Ann, born 1st April, 1794, died 15th July, 1859. Married December 2nd, 1817, William Chambres Chambres of Plas Chambres.

Offley, Charles and Richard Glynne were the sons of the Rev. Randolph Crewe, who married a daughter of Sir John Glynne.

Mary Ann Gordon was cousin to these boys. She was at school at Parkgate for nine years, but spent all her holidays at Hawarden, mostly at the Rectory, and these young cousins were likely to be in love with her. When she lived in Denbigh with her mother she was much at Llysmeirchion, where she became much attached to William Chambres Chambres, whom she married in 1817.

After her marriage she always corresponded with her cousin Charles Crewe. He wrote her many closely written pages and at his death he left her £2,000.

Edward Totty, grocer of Holywell, married Lucy, second daughter of Lloyd of Little Cornist.

Their issue, twenty-two children, eighteen of whom grew up to man's estate.

Their father kept a grocer's shop in Holywell (it was still there in 1880, known as Mr. Totty's shop).

Of the twenty-two children, none of the sons had children.

Peter, the eldest, went abroad and was never heard of.

Thomas Totty became an Admiral (monument in Westminster Abbey).

Sarah Totty married Richard Engleby of Springfield.

Margaret Totty married Rev. — Haford, vicar of Holywell.

William Totty, after making a fortune in London, lived and died in Pistyll, near Holywell.

Lucy Totty married Edward Jones of Wepre.

Hugh Totty b. 1755 lived to the age of 102 and died at Bath 1857. Dr. of Divinity and Chaplain to George IV.

Charlotte Totty, b. 1747, d. 1823 aged 77. Married Edward Chambres Jones of Llysmeirchion and Plas Chambres.

TEMLYDDIAETH DDA YNG NGHYMRU

Dros bedwar ugain mlynedd yn ôl fe gychwynwyd mudiad dirwestol a elwid yn “Urdd y Temlwyr Da” yng Nghymru (“Good Templars” fel ei gelwid yn gyffredin). Ers blynedd-oedd bellach nid yw yr urdd yn ei gwedd Gymreig yn gweithio yn y Dywysogaeth. Ymysg y rhesymau pahan y peidiodd y mudiad daionus hwn yn ei weithgarwch gellir nodi y Rhyfel Byd eang 1914, ddarfu gipio ymaith gynifer o bobl ieuainc; hefyd yr oedd gwahanol gymdeithasau enwadol wedi eu ffurfio fel y cafwyd anhawster mewn llawer man i sicrhau ystafelloedd ynglŷn â chapeli i gynnal cyfarfodydd y Temlwyr Da—oedolion a phlant. Yr oedd Temlyddiaeth yn fudiad anenwadol, ac nid oedd gan y Temlwyr Da ystafelloedd o’u heiddo eu hunain, ac o ganlyniad ai’r flaenoriaeth am wasanaeth festri neu ystafell ar nosweithiau yr wythnos i’r enwad neilltuol hwnnw, a’r Deml yn gorfod rhoi ffordd.

Yn ystod y cyfnod y bu Temlyddiaeth yn flodeuog yng Nghymru rhoes gyfraniad gwerthfawr iawn mewn llawer cyfeiriad. Ar wahan i’w safle arbennig ar y maes dirwestol bu’r Temlau yn feithrinfa mewn trefnusrwydd, ac yn hyfforddiant i lu mawr o feibion a merched ac i ieuenctid er eu cymhwyso i fod yn wasanaethgar mewn cylchoedd cymdeithasol a chrefyddol. Daeth cryn nifer yn gantorion ac adroddwyr o fri, yn aelodau o gynghorau a byrddau cyhoeddus, ac yn bregethwyr a gweinidogion amlwg gyda’r gwahanol enwadau.

Efallai nad anniddorol fydd ychydig o ffeithiau ynglŷn â’r mudiad Temlyddol, a gadewir iddynt lefaru drostynt eu hunain yn y nodiadau a ganlyn.

Yn y flwyddyn 1872 bu cyfarfodydd arbennig yng Nghaerdydd gyda’r amcan o sefydlu Uwch Deml i Demlwyr Da Cymru, a bu gan Joseph Malius (oedd yn Uwch Brif Demlydd Lloegr ar y pryd) ran amlwg ynglŷn â hyn. Ymddengys fod eisoes nifer o Demlau Cymraeg yn yr America y pryd hwnnw, a chanddynt eu defod-lyfrau Cymraeg. Ffaith ddiddorol ydyw ddarfod i Demlyddiaeth ddal ei thir yn y Taleithiau ugain mlynedd cyn cychwyn ohoni yng Nghymru, a hynny yn ystod y Rhyfel Cartrefol.

Fe sefydlwyd yr Uwch Deml Gymreig gyntaf yng Nghaerdydd yn 1872, pryd yr etholwyd John Bowen (ysgrifennydd

Cymdeithas Ddirwestol Deheudir Cymru) fel y prif swyddog (Uwch Brif Demlydd). Yr oedd yna chwech ar hugain o demlau yn gweithio, a thua mil o aelodau. Bu'r Uwch Deml yn eistedd un noson o unarddeg o'r gloch hyd ugain munud i chwech bore dranoeth er mwyn gorffen y gwaith.

Erbyn Uwch Deml Merthyr yn 1873 ceir fod 445 o Demlau yng Nghymru, ac agos i ddeugain mil o aelodau.

Dyma'r rhai fu'n Uwch Brif Demlwyr Cymru ar ôl John Bowen: Parch. Morris Morgan, Abertawe; H. J. Williams (Plenydd); Parch. Rees Evans, Llanwrtyd; Parch. John Williams, Abergwynfi; Parch. John Davies, Penybont; Parch. John Williams, Abergwynfi; J. Morris Jones, Dinbych.

Yr oedd i'r Uwch Deml fel i'r Temlau lleol amryw swyddogion, a phob un a'i wasanaeth arbennig i'w gyflawni; ac ni chaid allan y chwirydd rhag cael eu hethol i swyddi.

Un o'r swyddi ag iddi gryn bwysigrwydd ydoedd yr "Arolygydd Etholiadol," dyletswydd pa un oedd cadw golwg ar wahanol agweddau i'r achos dirwestol, yn enwedig agwedd y Llywodraeth tuagat y fasnach mewn diodydd meddwol, a gofalu bod safbwynt Temlyddiaeth yn cael ei osod ger bron ar gwestiynau felly, heb ymyrryd â gwleidyddiaeth mewn materion pleidiol.

"Y fath fu dylanwad yr Urdd yng Nghymru fel nad yw holl weithgarwch y dyddiau hyn ond eiddilwch o'i gyferbynnu iddo. Ymaflodd yn y genedl fel cyfangorff. Yr oedd y gwas ffarm a morwyn y tŷ yn gyfarwydd yn symudiadau'r achos. Gwelais ugeiniau o weithiau dai capeli yn llawn o bob dosbarth wedi ymgasglu i gael sgwrs efo'r areithiwr tlawd am lwyddiant y gwaith; a rhwymau brawdoliaeth yn gwneuthur y meistr a'r gwas yn *un*. 'Y Brawd John Jones yma,' meddai meistr am y gwas, a'r gwas yr un modd yn cyfarch ei feistr. Ai gweriniaeth Temlyddiaeth a laddodd ei dylanwad? Oni ddarparodd Temlyddiaeth drwy ei gwahanol swyddogaethau fechgyn a ddaeth yn wasanaethgar fel swyddogion Ysgol Sul a swyddogaeth eglwysig? Yn wir, ai onid yn y Temlau y deffroes talentau lluo o fechgyn fu, a llawer a erys heddiw, yn addurn ein pulpudau gyda phob enwad yng Nghymru?"—Dyna farn *Plenydd* yn 1923.

Yn y blynyddoedd pan oedd y Temlau yn britho'r wlad, arferai plant bach ddweud "Mae'n nhad yn Good Templar."

“Aml ddoeth ddyn, trwy Demlyddiaeth Dda—gododd
 O geudod ffos ddau ;
 A'i fron yn dân heddyw cana—ar fryn
 O dir y gelyn dan dô “Regalia.”

Regalia fel aur-goler—a'n ceidw
 Rhag codwm i'r dyfnder ;
 Yn gryfion yn hon i'hown her
 I wîn salw hen seler.”—*Ap Einion.*

“Hyd y gwyddom, y gymdeithas ddirwestol gyntaf a sefydlwyd yn yr ardal hon (Alltwen) ydoedd cangen o Urdd y Temlwyr Da. Sefydlwyd hi nos Wener, Awst 19, 1877, a galwyd hi ‘Planhigfa’r Allt.’ Ymunodd 19 y noson gyntaf, ac aeth ar gynnydd yn raddol fel yr oedd ein rhif erbyn 1878 yn 53.”—*James Hinkin.*

Yn Rhagfyr 1871 yr agorwyd y Deml gyntaf yng Ngogledd Cymru, sef “Eryri,” Caernarfon, gan y diweddar Gapt G. B. Thomas. Yn 1872 agorwyd Teml yn Llanerchymedd, dan yr enw “Cuhelyn.” “Ni wn nifer y Temlau a agorwyd ym Môn gan G. B. Thomas, ond cofus gennyf fod y Parch. J. R. Hughes, Tabernacl, Rhosfawr (tad y Parch. Howel Harris Hughes, M.A.) wedi ei benodi’n Ddirprwywr, ac iddo gael y fraint o agor Teml ymhob tref, pentref a chymdogaeth yn y sir. Yr oedd Temlau’r Plant yn flodeuog ryfeddol drwy yr ynys, ac yn gwneuthur gwaith ardderchog.”—*H. C. Parry, Llanerchymedd.*

Yn Hydref 1872 y sefydlwyd Teml yn Ninbych dan yr enw “Teml Caledfryn.” Bu dwy deml arall yn gweithio am ysbaid, ond “Caledfryn” ddarfu oroesi, a hynny am flynyddoedd lawer. Bu Teml i’r plant yn flodeuog iawn yn y dref am flynyddoedd lawer. Sefydlwyd honno cyn neu oddeutu 1875 gan gymeriad adnabyddus o’r enw Thomas Williams y Barbwr. O barch iddo ef fe enwyd y Deml yn “Demi Thomas.” Ceir hanes am dano yn mynd i mewn i deml yr oedolion—Teml Caledfryn—un noson a gwelodd yr aelodau yn gwisgo eu harddwisgoedd newydd—yn gannaid wyn fel eira. Methodd yr hen frawd selog a pheidio dawnsio o orfoledd, gan lefain : “Oll yn eu gynnu gwynion !”

Un o’r cymeriadau hynotaf, mae’n debyg, fu’n aelod o Deml Caledfryn ydoedd John Roberts (“John Lôn Bwl”). Ni

chyfrifid ef yn hollol fel dynion eraill. Perswadiwyd ef i ymuno â'r deml. Yr oedd yn hoff iawn o'r ddiod, ac arferai fynd o gwmpas y tafarnau i yfed gwaelodion y gwydrau cwrw! Daeth i'r deml, a sylweddolodd ofynion yr ymrwymiad, a chadwodd at yr ymrwymiad hyd angau. Cafodd lawer o'i demtio a'i boeni, ond ni byddai raid iddo ond gwaeddi nerth esgyrn ei ben ar adegau felly "Arglwydd Mawr!" a chiliai'r ymboenwyr mewn cywilydd. Pan fu farw claddwyd ef yn barchus gan aelodau y deml, a chanwyd ei hoff emyn, "Marchog Iesu yn llwyddiannus."

Gallesid ychwanegu llawer mwy am weithgarwch Temlyddiaeth yng Ngogledd a Deheudir Cymru, ond gofod a balla. Fel y sylwyd eisoes, bu i'r mudiad hwn ei gyfraniad arbennig i Gymru am gyfnod lled faith. A fyddai i Demlyddiaeth yr un apêl heddiw? Ai mantais i sobrwydd a chysylltiadau eraill mewn bywyd fuasai ail sefydlu'r Temlau yn y gwahanol ardal-oedd heddiw? Pa nifer o'r personau fu'n aelodau o'r Temlau—oedolion neu rai y plant—yn y blynyddoedd gynt sydd yn aros heddiw tybed?

Dinbych.

J. MORRIS JONES.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

A Wrexham Flaxdresser's Apprenticeship

1798

Flaxdressing was once a widespread industry in Wrexham⁽¹⁾ The last of the substantial master flaxdressers, Thomas Jones, died in the year of Queen Victoria's accession; he occupied premises in High Street, pulled down in 1848 to make room for the present Market Hall.⁽²⁾ In 1798 he took as apprentice John Griffiths, son of Japhet Griffiths, formerly of Gellifor; according to family tradition they moved to Wrexham when Japhet obtained a post at the shop of Mr. A. W. Thornley, formerly of Chester, who had just set up in business as hatter in the premises now occupied by Messrs. Burton, Hope St.,⁽³⁾ and required an assistant able to converse in Welsh with country customers. Thornley became a prominent member of the Pen y bryn English Congregational Church, and the Griffithses went there too; in this English atmosphere their knowledge of Welsh soon faded away, and John Griffiths's daughter (who was my grandmother) knew none at all. After Thomas Jones's death John Griffiths carried on independently for some time, using his pony "Gin" to convey the yarn to customers. I possess a water-colour sketch of the pony, which has come down in the family. John still describes himself as "flaxdresser" in his will, dated 1862, but the industry had long become moribund, and he supplemented his income by acting as parish bellman. The bell, long in the possession of the family, was presented to the town museum. His wife made her contribution (to the extent of £4 a year) from 1819, when she was 31, till her death in 1860, by keeping a Dame School on what was then known as "The Bonc," near the corner of Poplar Road and Erddig Road; it was here that my father, the late Charles Dodd, received his earliest education.⁽⁴⁾ John Griffiths's indentures of apprenticeship with Thomas Jones (in my possession) are printed below as a relic of a defunct industry. All except the

1 See my *Industrial Revolution in N. Wales*, p. 297.

2 Palmer, *Wrexham*, p. 19.

3 Palmer, *Older Nonconformity*, p. 116n.

4 *Report of Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of Education in Wales*, 1846-7, iii. 212-3; C. Dodd, *Wrexham Schools and Scholars*, 1924, p. 10.

italicised passages are part of a ready-engraved form on parchment. A.H.D.

THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH THAT *John Griffiths of Wrexham in the parish of Wrexham and the county of Denbigh by and with the consent of his Father Japhet Griffiths of Wrexham* doth put himself Apprentice to *Thomas Jones of Wrexham aforesaid, Flaxdresser*, to learn *his Art* and with *him* after the Manner of an Apprentice to serve from the *25th day of March one Thousand seven Hundred and ninety eight* unto the full End and Term of *Seven Years* from thence next following to be fully compleat and ended. DURING which Term the said Apprentice *his Master* faithfully shall serve, *his Secrets* keep . . . ⁽²⁾ lawful commands every where gladly do he shall do no Damage to *his said Master* nor see to be done of [oth]ers⁽¹⁾ but to *his Power* shall let or forthwith give warning to *his said Master* of the same he shall not waste the Goods of *his said Master* nor lend them unlawfully to any he shall not commit fornication nor contract Matrimony within the said Term he shall not play at Cards Dice Tables or any other unlawfull Games whereby *his said Master* may have any loss With *his own Goods* or others during the said Term without Licence if *his said Master* he shall neither buy nor sell he shall not haunt Taverns or Play houses nor absent himself from *his said Master's Service* day or Night unlawfully But in all things as a faithful Apprentice he shall behave *himself* towards *his said Master* and all his during the said Term—And the said *Thomas Jones* doth hereby for himself his *Executors, Administrators* covenant promise and agree to and with the said *Japhet Griffiths* his *executors administrators* to instruct his said Apprentice in the Art of a *flaxdresser* which he useth by the best Means that . . . ⁽²⁾ can shall teach and instruct or cause to be taught and instructed Finding unto the said Apperitice ⁽³⁾ during the said *term one Shilling pr week the second year, two the third, three the fourth, four the fifth, and five for the sixth and seventh years.*

1 Covered by stamp.

2 Blank left unfilled.

3 "Sufficient Meat Drink [
saries" crossed out.

] Lodging and all other Necessaries"

AND for the true Performance of all and every the said Covenants and Agreements either of the said Parties bindeth himself unto the other by these Presents IN WITNESS whereof the Parties above named to these Indentures interchangeably have put their Hands and Seals the *twenty fifth* Day of *March* and in the *thirty eighth* Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *George the third* by the Grace of God of GREAT BRITAIN FRANCE and IRELAND KING Defender of the faith and in the Year of our LORD One Thousand Seven Hundred and *ninety eight*.

John Griffiths

Japhet Griffiths mark

Witness Richard Tomlinson Junr.

Tho Jones

Tithes in the Wrexham District (¹)

L 1035 "The Severall mannors of Valla Crucis Rent Roll."

The rule & Custome of Gathering y^e small Tyeth of the three parishes of Wrexham, Ruabon and Llangollen & the Division Between the Lord of the Manno^r & the viccars of y^e sev^eall Parishes.

Wrexham. first of all they gather the Tyeth Eggs
Whereof the Lord is to have 3 pts & the
Vicar the fourth pt & the time of gather
ing them is abt ye 23th of March yearly
but alwayes a fortnight before Easter.
About w^{ch} time they make y^e Easter book
of the Easter dueties the viccar is to have
a peny out of evy duety. Y^e rest is to be divided
into 4 pts whereof the Lord is to have 3 pts
of 4 & the viccar is to have ye 4th.

Of y^e Tyeth lambs, wool & lactualls
Kidds They are to be divided into 6 pts.
Whereof the Lord is to have 5 pts & the
Vicar one. To be gathered abt y^e 28th
of May yearly.

1 These two Manuscripts are transcribed from the Wynnstay Papers deposited at the National Library, Aberstwyth, and appear to be late 17th century.

Tyeth Geese, fflax, hemp & honey are
to be divided into 4 pts. Whereof y^e Lord
is to have 3 pts & the Viccar y^e 4th pt^e & to
be gathered before Michas.

The Tyeth piggs of Havod y Booth &
Esclusham uwch y Clawdd, Esclusham
Is y Clawdd, Minera, Brymbo, Slansty,
Acton, both Abunburies, Gowrton, Byston,
Bwras Hoofa Wrexham Regis.⁽¹⁾

Ruabon pa: The Tyeth Eggs there is to be gathered
y^e same time, with Wrexham & divided
After y^e same maner.

The Easter booke is to be made the same
time & y^e division is the same with
Wrexham concerning the Easter duties.

The tyeth wool, Lambs, Lactualls & Kidds
the same as in Wrexham.

The Tyeth of Geese flax hemp & honey
the same also.

The Tyeth of Piggs of Ruabon, Coed
Christioneth, Christioneth Kenrick
Dynynlley Ucha & Dynynlley Isa is to
the Lord without any Division.

Llangollen parr. The tyeth Eggs there are to be divided
into six parts whereof the Lord is to
have 5 pts. & y viccar one pt.

(1) According to a later copy of "The Rule and Customs, etc" dated 1691 (L 1300), "Booth" should have been "Bwch," and following Wrexham Regis the phrase "is without Divicon to the Lord" should be added, although the 1691 version substitutes throughout the document the word "Impropriator" for the "Lord"

The Easter booke is to be made the same time. The Lord is to have all the Easter Dueties to himselfe paying forty Shillings to the viccar yearely & twenty Shillings for Viccar at Easter yearly.⁽²⁾

The wool lamb & Lactualls are to be Divided into Nin^e pts whereof y^e Lord is to have 5 pts, S^r Thomas Middleton Barr^t is to have 3 pts being y^e Bishops part & the viccar is to have ye Ninth pt.

Tyeth Geese, honey and wool
The Tyeth geese & honey is to be divided into Six parts whereof y^e Lord is to have five pts & the viccar one p^t.

Llangollen The Tyeth of Michas wool is to be
afore^{sd} Divided as May wooll (vizt) into Nine pts.
The Lord 5 p^{ts}, S^r Thomas 3 p^{ts} & y^e viccar
one as before.

The Tyeth piggs & kidds of Llangollen
pa. alsoe hemp & flax There is to the
Lord these Sevall Townships to his Share
(vizt) Eglwysegle Dinbren Trevor ucha
& Trevor Issa Kysyllte Llangollen vecha
Pengwern & the hemp & flax of the
Traian Glyn wholly to himselfe.

The Handycrafted tradesmen are
to pay foure pence a (?) each
and the same to be divide as the
small tythes

Be it remembered, that the rule and custome of gathering the small Teith of the parish of Llangollen, and the Division thereof Between the Lord of the Mannors of Valla Crucis, and

(2) In the 1691 version there appears the words "& 20s for wine att Easter yearly"

the Vicar are as herein before incerted, being examined this five and twentieth day of June One thousand seaven hundred forty eight. With the vicar's Terrier.⁽³⁾

Witness p^{nt}.

Thomas Parry of Llangollen Vechan	Robert Price Vicar of
Thomas Jones & Tennant of the	Langollen.
small Teith of the parish of	Randle Jones, Llangollen, agent
Llangollen.	of the Lord of the Mannor.

L 1292

The Usual way of Gathering the small Tyethes.

Wrexham	The tyeth of Eggs there The Lord is to finde 2 men for 8 dayes & the viccar one man for 8 dayes at 8d p. diem as wee payd.	} 16 dayes wages
	For makeing y ^e Easter booke & gathering y ^e Easter Dueties 2s 6d. p pound.	
	The Tyeth wool Lambs Lactuals & Kidds y ^e Lord is to finde 3 men and a horse for 10 dayes & y ^e viccar one man for 10 dayes at 8d p. di.	} 40 dayes wages
	The tyeth Geese & honey 3 men for 8 day ^{es} & the Viccar one man at 8d. p. diem.	} 24 day ^{es} wages
Ruabon	Tyeth Eggs. The Lord is to finde 2 men for 4 dayes & ye viccar one man for 4 dayes at 8d p die.	} 08 dayes wages

(3) The last paragraph is in a different handwriting, and evidently the signatures are of a later date. According to "*The History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*," Thomas, O. R., p. 292, Robert Price, M.A., entered the living in 1737. The schedule of Wynnstay Manuscripts refers to this as a "certificate of inspection."

(4) Should be 10—08 as in the later version.

	Wool lambs & Lactualls The L ^d is to finde 4 Men & a horse 6 dayes & y ^e viccar one man for 6 dayes at 8d p. diem.	30 dayes wages
		01—00—00
	Geese & honey y ^e L ^d is to find 3 men for 6 day ^{es} & Viccar one man 6 day ^{es} at 8d p diem.	18 day ^{es} wages
		00—12—00
	Tyeth Hemp & flax The Lord is to finde one Man & a horse for 6 dayes & ye viccar man for 6 dayes at 8d p diem.	12 day ^{es} wages
		00—08—00
Llangollen.	Tyeth Eggs The Lord's 2 men for 6 day ^s & y ^e Viccar one man for 6 dayes at 8d p. diem.	12 dayes wages
		00—08—00
	Tyeth wool Lambs and Lactualls ye Lord is to finde 5 men for 6 dayes, S ^r Tho: Middleton Bar ^t . 3 men 6 dayes & one horse for One Day at 8d p diem.	36 day ^{es} wages ⁽⁵⁾
		01—04—00
	Tyeth Geese The Lord is to finde 3 men & a horse for 6 dayes S ^r . Tho: Middleton one man for 6 dayes & the Viccar one man for 6 dayes at 8d p diem.	24 dayes wages
		00—16—00
Llangollen aforesayd	The Tyeth Hemp flax piggs & Kidds 2 men 4 dayes at 8d. p diem.	08 dayes wages
		00—05—04

EMLYN ROGERS.

(5) The 1691 version "the Impropr. is to find 5 men & a horse 6 days" accounts for the arithmetical error.

EDITORIAL NOTES

At the Annual Meeting held at Ruthin on 19 June, 1954, the Society heard with regret that the Secretary and Assistant Secretary, Messrs. E. Rees and I. C. Dodd, found themselves unable to continue in office owing to pressure of other duties. The members present expressed their warm gratitude to the retiring officials for their invaluable services in putting the Society on its feet, and proceeded to elect new officers for session 1954-5, as follows :

Chairman : Dr. J. G. Thomas, M.B., Ch.B., Denbigh.

Vice-Chairman : Mr. Bryan Hughes, Wrexham.

Secretary : Mr. Bleddyn Lloyd Griffith, M.A., Ruthin.

Assistant Secretary : Mr. J. E. Morris, B.A., Ruthin.

The other existing officers were re-elected. The state of transition must be held accountable for the fact that we are unable this year to present (as we hope to do in future) a full secretarial report on the Society's activities.

So far as the *Transactions* are concerned, the readiness with which contributors have come forward to offer notes and articles on widely diverse aspects of the county's history is in itself a sufficient justification for our existence. We hope that Mrs. Unwin's contribution on the history of the family from which she springs will encourage others in possession of records (written or oral, ancient or recent) bearing on old Denbighshire families, similarly to open their treasure-houses to fellow-members. We hope also to continue to make available to the non-specialist, as in Mr. Usher's opening article, some of the basic documents of the county's history ; and the staff of the National Library once more places us under an obligation by keeping us posted on the contents of some of the principal Denbighshire family collections deposited there. In a Welsh article Mr. J. Morris Jones introduces us to much more recent history, that of the Order of Good Templars—an important sidelight on social history, of the sort that is so easily lost to view if it is not recaptured before records are dispersed or destroyed and memories dimmed. The address given at the Annual Meeting in 1952 held over for want of space last year is here printed in fuller form than would have been practicable for oral delivery.

Our North Wales sister societies continue to illuminate the history not only of their own counties, but often incidentally of ours as well, and we thank them for sending us copies of their most recent publications. In volume xiv (1953-4) of the Flintshire Historical Society's *Publications* Mr. Emlyn Rogers begins a series of articles on the early struggles of trade unionism in the county, which shed a reflected light on early nineteenth century conditions in the coalfield as a whole ; nor can anyone interested in Denbighshire castles afford to ignore the contribution which geology can make towards an understanding of the art of mediaeval castle-building, as it is expounded in Dr. Neaverson's lecture to the Society on mediaeval quarrying in this area. Similarly the discussion of seventeenth-century Flintshire politics in this issue is largely germane to east Denbighshire ; and the Caernarvonshire Historical Society's current *Transactions* (vol. xiv) contains an account of the county's part in the Civil War which naturally extends to west Denbighshire. In this issue also Mr. Bob Owen continues his survey of emigration from the county, the President explains how the Acts of Union first came into operation there, and both here and in the Flintshire publication we have detailed investigations of parochial history and country houses.

Volume 26 (1953) of the *Proceedings* of the Llandudno, Colwyn Bay and District Field Club contains not only interesting notes on a wide range of excursions, but some material on the effects of the Civil War in St. Asaph, and a full discussion by Mr. Norman Tucker (with photograph and portrait) of the identity of "Capt. Morgan's Grave" near Llyn Helyg. The prolific and well produced illustrations in this issue are a particularly attractive feature.

The Merioneth Historical Society's publication for this year—a farmer's reminiscences covering the years 1852-80—is separately noticed elsewhere (*infra*, p. 121).

I cannot conclude without thanking the Assistant Editor Mr. Frank Price Jones, for his untiring energy in preparing this volume for press, and the printers (Messrs. R. E. Jones & Bros., Ltd., Conway) for the close personal interest they have always taken in turning it out in a form worthy, in respect of paper, typography and general lay-out, of the permanent place we hope it will occupy in the annals of the county.—A.H.D.

ADOLYGIAD

Atgofion Amaethwr gan Gomer Roberts (Gol. gan Syr C. Bryner Jones). Cymdeithas Hanes a Chofnodion Sir Feirionnydd 1954. T. 75. Pris 3/6 (cludiad post 5c.). Gellir ei brynu gan Ysg. Mygedol, Cymdeithas Hanes Merionnydd, Swyddfa'r Sir, Dolgellau.

Ein harfer yn y *Trafodion* hyn ydyw cydnabod cyhoeddiadau ein chwaer-gymdeithasau yn Nodiadau'r Golygydd, ond rhaid gwneud eithriad y tro hwn, gan fod y gyfrol dan sylw yn un bur eithriadol.

Cyfrol o atgofion y diweddar Mr. Gomer Roberts ydyw, a ysgrifennodd yn 1929, ac yntau'n nesu at ei bedwar ugain oed. Wrth ysgrifennu, cyfyngodd ei hun i'r cyfnod cyn tua 1880—cyfnod ei blentyndod a'i lencyndod a dreuliodd yn y Tyddyn Uchaf, rhyw dair milltir a hanner o Gorwen, lle y'i ganed yn 1852. Un o feibion Edeyrnion ydoedd, ond a chaniatau dros dro fod rhai o ddarllenwyr y *Trafodion* hyn yn ddigon plwyfol i gau allan popeth a ddaw o'r ochr draw i ffiniau damweiniol ein sir, gellir yn hawdd gyfiawnhau rhoi sylw arbennig i'r gyfrol hon, gan mai yn Sir Ddinbych (yn Llanellidan a Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd) y treuliodd yr awdur weddill ei ddyddiau, ac yma y gwnaeth ei waith cyhoeddus yn aelod o'r Cyngor Sir, yn Ynad Heddwch ac yn swyddog i'r Weinyddiaeth Amaethu.

Ond yn sicr, ni ddylem roi gormod o bwys ar bethau mor hap-ddamweiniol a ffiniau gwneud ein siroedd. Disgrifiad sydd yma o fywyd amaethyddol darn o gefn gwlad Cymru mewn cyfnod pwysig iawn yn henes ardal-oedd felly : cyfnod o fyw caled, ond cyfnod o godi cewri hefyd.

Y mae bro'r *Atgofion* hyn yn ffinio ar *Gwm Eithin* Hugh Evans, onid yn cynnwys rhan ohono, a'r un cyfnod a drafodir yn y ddau lyfr. Ac yn wir, ni allaf lai na chenfigennu wrth yr ardaloedd hynny fod ganddynt bellach ddwy gyfrol mor weithfawr yn disgrifio bywyd y cylch gan ddynion a sylwodd arno yn agos i gan mlynedd yn ôl. Bydd meddwl darlennydd y llyfr hwn yn sicr o wibio drachefn a thrachefn i *Gwm Eithin* gan mor debyg yw'r ddau o ran awyrgylch ac o ran cynnwys i raddau helaeth.

Er i'r awdur honni'n ostyngedig nad yw'n llenor, nid yw hynny'n wir : y mae ei *Atgofion* yn hynod o hawdd eu darllen. Ond atgofion *Amaethwr* ydynt, ac ar hynny y mae'r pwysleis. Ni chefais gyfle i ail-ddarllen *Gwm Eithin* cyn ysgrifennu'r nodyn hwn, ond yr argraff sydd gennyf yw fod Hugh Evans yno'n cyflwyno llawer o wybodaeth fanwl am fywyd amaethyddol ei ardal, ond ar yr un pryd yn ei gosod yng nghefnidir mwy cyffredinol ei hymblygiadau cymdeithasol a "diwylliannol." Y mae Gomer Roberts yn rhyfeddol o fanwl yn rhoi'r wybodaeth a'r ffeithiau, ond rhywfodd neu'i gilydd aros ym myd y ffermwr y byddwn ni, nid byd y chwilotwr hanes lleol neu'r hanesydd cymdeithasegol. Nid beirniadaeth anffafriol yw hyn—i'r gwrthwyneb, croesawaf yr agwedd ymarferol hon i'r gyfrol, a bydd y ffeithiau cynhwysfawr a manwl a rydd yr awdur yn sicr o fod yn help mawr i haneswyr y cyfnod.

Fy amcan yma, er gwaethaf yr hyn a ysgrifennais hyd yn hyn, yw nid cloriannu dau lyfr, ond yn hytrach i bwysu arnoch i brynu a darllen *Atgofion Amaethwr*, a hynny nid yn unig er lles, ond yn bennaf er mwynhad. Yr abwyd mwyaf danteithiol i'ch denu i wneud hynny fydd ambell damaid o'r llyfr ei hun, ond rhaid i mi bwysleisio mai tameidiau'n unig fydd yma.

Gwelir yma, megis yn *Gwm Eithin* a'r *Pentre Gwyn* ddylanwad ffordd fawr Llundain i Gaergybi ar y cyffiniau—gan "fod honno yn mynd drwy ganol y rhanbarth ac fod priffyrdd eraill wedi eu diwygio yn fawr, yr oedd yr holl ddyffryn [sef Edeyrnion] ymhell ar y blaen o ran cyfleusterau [teithio] i lawer dyffryn arall yng Nghymru." (t. 3.) Ceir rhagor o wybodaeth am effeithiau'r ffordd fawr hon ar fywyd a fyfiant yr ardal wrth i'r awdur drafod y porthmyn a'r ffeiriau ym mhenodau XIII, XVI a XIX, ac yn ei bennod ar y Tollbyrth (XVIII).

Diddorol i un o Ddyffryn Clwyd, lle sonir am *jegyn* pan olygir llwyth bychan, ydoedd gwedd enw Edeyrnion gynt ar fân-werthwyr glo'r ardal, sef *Jaggers* . . . y bobl hynny a âi i Riwabon neu'r Waun am lwyth o lo, ac yna ei ddsbarthu i fythynwyr Edeyrnion.

Gwelir y ffermwr ar ei orau yn y penodau sy'n trafod Cynnyrch y Tir, Y Stoc a'r Arfau Angenrheidiol, Cwrs Cyffredin Triniaeth y Tir a'r Llafur Angenrheidiol. Yn yr adrannau hyn cawn gofnodion hynod o fanwl am y bywyd amaethyddol yng nghanol y 19eg ganrif, a daw un flaith bwysig iawn i'r amlwg, rhywbeth y mae'n rhaid ei sylweddoli cyn y gellir dechrau deall "Pwnc y Tir" yn ystod y ganrif ddiwethaf. Fe'i rhoddaf yng ngeiriau Gomer Roberts (t. 4): "yd oedd yr hyn y dibynnid mwya'r arno tuagat gyfarfod gofynion ariannol y rhan fwyaf o lawer o'r ffermydd lle cedwid un neu ragor o geffylau. Maint y gadles, yn fwy na nifer ei anifeiliaid, oedd yn penderfynu safle ariannol pob un ym marn ei gymdogion."

Dyma sefyllfa wahanol iawn i'r hyn a ddisgrifiodd Gerallt Gymro wyth ganrif cyn hyn—"Ym Mawrth ac Ebrill yn unig, unwaith ar gyfer ceirch, yr arddant y ddaear; ac ni lafuriant i droi'r tiroedd ddwy waith yn yr haf a'r drydedd waith yn y gaeaf, i godi gwenith i'w ddyrnu. Ymbortha bron yr holl bobl ar anifeiliaid a cheirch, laeth, caws ac ymenyn. Arferant fwyta cig yn o drwm, bara yn o ychydig."¹

Gymaint y newid erbyn y 19eg ganrif . . . a chymaint callach hen Gymry oes Gerallt yn plygu'n ufudd i ofynion daaryddiaeth a thywydd Cymru na Chymry'r ganrif ddiwethaf! Trwy gydol yr *Atgofion* hyn pwysleisir y lle amlwg a roddid i dir llafur ac aredig a chynhaeafu. Ar d.12 rhoddir rhestr manwl o'r arfau angenrheidiol at y gwaith hwn, a nodir y dylid cael yn y llofft yd "o 20 i 40 o sachau, wedi eu gwau yn glos o edau llin—mor glos fel y dalient eu llond o ddwr." Dygodd y rhestr hon ar gof i mi y casgliad o dclau fferm a gasglwyd dan gyfarwyddyd Mr. W. A. Evans ar gyfer arddanghosfa yn Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Dinbych yn 1939.

Pennod bwysig yn yr un maes ydyw pennod XV, lle ceir hanes cychwyn y "preimin 'redig' neu'r "clwb troi" fel y geilw Mr. Roberts ef.; a pharagraff hynod o bwysig, mi gredaf, ar dd. 44-5 yn trafod datblygiad yr aradr rhwng tua 1850 a 1890. Wedi darllen nodiadau'r awdur ar wahanol rannau erydr, nid ydym yn synnu darllen iddo ef ei hunan ennill y gamp mewn preimin 'redig' pwysig. Ac wedi darllen ei werthfawrogiad o'r crefftwyr lleol, sydd wedi hen ddiflannu erbyn hyn, hawdd iawn yr eiliwn ei glod yn y frawddeg hon (t. 45): "Onid llawn mor bwysig ennill am wneud aradr, a thro'i 'cefn' ag yw ennill cadair am awdl a gwobr am dôn neu ddatganiad?"

Fel y dywedodd rhywun dros ddwy fil o flynyddoedd cyn hyn: "Y mae efe yn rhoi ei feddwl ar droi cwysau, ac yn ddiwyd i roddi gwellt i'r gwartheg. Felly pob saer . . . a fydd wyladwrs i orffen gwaith, ac felly'r gôf . . . a'i ofal am ei orffen yn hardd . . . Heb y rhai hyn nis cyfaneddir dinas . . ." Gallai Gomer Roberts ddeall yr adnodau hynny'n well na'r rhan fwyaf ohonom.

Ond i ddychwelyd at fy mhwynt—"Cofier y tyfid o leiaf gymaint ddwywaith o yd yn y dyffryn a'i gyffiniau ag a wneir heddiw" (t. 18). Dyma mi gredaf un o brif achosion "Pwnc y Tir," oherwydd yn y cyfnod dan sylw yn yr *Atgofion* yr oedd yd tramor tiroedd newydd yr America'n arllwys i mewn i borthladdoedd Prydain, a bywoliaeth ffermwyr ucheldiroedd Cymru, a ddibynai gymaint ar dywydd cyfnewidiol, a chnydau mor amrywiol, yn hynod o ansicr."

Darlunir y pryder a gyfyd o hyn yn fyw iawn ym mhennod XX—Blynyddoedd Eithriadol. Y tywydd, ac o ganlyniad y cnydau sydd yn eithriadol ymhob blwyddyn a nodir. Yn arbennig fe'i gwelir ar gyfer y

1. Thomas Jones: *Gerallt Gymro* (1938), t. 179.

flwyddyn 1879, y “flwyddyn drychinebus” fel y geilw’r golygydd hi mewn nodyn. “O’r flwyddyn honno y cyfrifir dechreuad y dirwasgiad amaethyddol a barhaodd . . . hyd . . . y ganrif bresennol, ac a newidiodd wyneb y wlad yn hollol yn y parthau lle tyfid ŷd. Trowyd y tir â’r yn borfa, ac aeth Prydain i ddibynnu yn fwy-fwy ar wledydd tramor am ei bara.”

Ymdroais cyhyd a hyn efo’r cwestiwn hwn gan obeithio y bydd yr esiampl hon yn ysbardynnu rhywun o’n darllenwyr i gofnodi atgofion cyffelyb o’r cyfnod a ddilynodd hwn, pan ddaeth *refrigeration* a chig estron i’r wlad a gorfodi’r ffermwyr i droi mwy at gaws ac ymenyn, ac yna, fel y torrai Denmark a New Zealand i’r farchnad honno, gorfodi tyddynwyr Cymru i ddibynnu ar y lorri laeth. Mae llawer sydd eto’n fyw a allai drafod y cyfnod hwn : anfonwch eich hatgofion i’r *Trafodion*.

Gan fod gan Mr. John Morris Jones ysgrif yn y rhifyn hwn ar Ddirwest, ni allaf ymatal rhag nodi un peth arall o’r *Atgofion*. Yn yr un cyfnod yn union ag yr oedd Temlyddiaeth Dda yn ennill tir yng Nghymru, sylwa Gomer Roberts wrth drafod y cnydau mai “Haidd Hen Ffasiwn” a dyfid fwyaf yn Edeyrnion, “ond yr oedd y math newydd a elwid *Chevalier* yn dechrau dod i arferiad. Yr oedd y bragwyr yn barod i roi pris mwy am hwn am ei fod yn cynhyrchu cwrw mwy lliwgar a gloew na’r llall.”!

Y mae’r “nodyn” hwn wedi tyfu’n rhy faith ers meityn, ac eto, anodd yw rhoi pen arno. Mae cymaint o bethau yn yr *Atgofion* na soniais amdanynt. Yn sicr, bydd yn rhaid i chwi ei brynu. Ac wrth derfynu hoffwn ar ran ein Cymdeithas longyfarch y chwaer-Gymdeithas ym Meirion ar ddwyn allan gyfrol mor rhagorol ac mor werthfawr.

F.P.J.

CYMDEITHAS HANES SIR DDINBYCH

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