

A History of the Egryn Estate,
its Families and Farms.

VOLUME I

Centered on the Llanaber parish,
Merioneth, now Gwynedd
From the 13th Century to the Late 17th Century



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A History of the EGRYN estate, its families and farms

Llanaber parish, Merioneth, now Gwynedd



Originalhouse: NGRSH
595203



Secondhouse: NGRSH
593205

INTRODUCTION

This is a modified version of the original research, recently revised so that it can be used by members of Discovering Old Welsh Houses and by the general public. This material has not been written in full prose but as chronological notes giving the appropriate date (where known), the relevant information and the full reference of each information source. This means that references can be checked and additions / corrections made in the future. Spellings are used as in each document studied. Welsh words, excluding site names, are in *italics* with translations under “Some Welsh Vocabulary”. As notes were sometimes taken from several sources about the same event or person, there are on occasions differing versions which may not all agree. All views are retained, with their sources, to indicate the range of views stated by earlier authors, so readers can investigate the evidence available at the time when this research was undertaken.

This research was begun soon after the National Trust took over the ownership & management of the current Egryn houses and farmland in 2000. It was realised that very little was known about the history of the main house, its estates or its owners and so the author began this wide-ranging research, collating references to the early history of North Wales, particularly the Edwardian county of Merioneth, the district of Ardudwy and the area around the later houses of Egryn. When the ancestors of the early owners of Egryn were recognised, references were recorded about from where, when and why they moved to the area. In the earlier centuries

information concerning Ardudwy was collated as it was not known which families and events might later be found to be related to the Egryn families and their relatives. Gradually the families of Egryn and later of Caerberllan gained ownership of many other farm holdings across Merioneth and on Anglesey and details of these properties and their inhabitants have been recorded.

The extensive material has been subdivided into chronological parts, each with sections and parts based on chronology or on subject matter. Each part is followed by the relevant footnotes and where appropriate, appendices. The spellings of personal and place names are given as in the documents quoted.

Section 1 covers research tracing the probable origins of the Tudur family from the thirteenth century to around 1697 with documents relating to Hugh Tyddur of Egryn, Esq.

The first phase of the original house at Egryn has been tree-ring dated to 1510 with a major insertion of the first floor around 1592-1620 and the replacement of the front (west) end of the house in the mid 1800s around which time it acquired the unwarranted name of Egryn Abbey. Around 1620s a second large house was erected parallel to & just south of the original house, probably to house the expanding Tudur family. Further details are on this website under Egryn Tree-Ring Dating. There are extensive farm outbuildings dating from various periods.

Researched by Margaret Dunn in the early 2000s

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Some Welsh Vocabulary

amobr	a marriage-fee paid to the lord by a tenant for his daughter; a maiden-fee paid to the lord for rape.
cantref	principal division of land similar to the English hundred
commote	area of land, subdivision of a cantref
commorth	type of assistance
cywydd	type of poetry in a special metre
distain	an official
ffridd / ffriddoedd gafael / gafaelion	rough mountain / upland pasture a land holding of bondmen / a separate holding of land with a fixed boundary of its own, within which each heir, on his own, had to find patches of arable as best he could amongst the rocks, and keep to his own grazing land ‘
gwely / gwelyau	division of owner's inherited land equally between descendants
hafod	summer dwelling
hendref	original / now winter homestead
maerdref	steward's house / hamlet
Meirionnydd	Merioneth (shire); also abbreviated as Mer. or M.
ringold rhaglaw / rhaglawiaid	an official bailiff / The most important commotal office was that of rhaglaw, a quasi-shrieval office which lay in the custody of the most affluent subjects. He had important administrative, judicial and fiscal functions to perform in the commote. A mid fourteenth century rhaglaw of Arudwy who rendered £4 a year for the office, received a share of all the fines and amercements imposed on the inhabitants of the commote, a percentage of the proceeds from all mead and beer exposed for sale in the commote, a tenth share of reliefs paid to the prince, and 20s for every meeting of the turn
rhingyll	beadle
prid	a mortgage by an agreed payment for a period of four years
tir cyfrif	most servile form of bond tenure.
twnc	a commuted payment for <u>gwestfa</u> , which was formerly a fixed charge in kind on all free land.
tyddyn / tyddynnod	tenement
uchelwyr	gentleman
verch / vch	daughter of

Abbreviations:

BBCS	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies
GAS	Gwynedd Archive Service
JMHRs	Journal of the Merioneth Historical & Record Society
NLW	National Library of Wales
PRO	Public Record Office
TAAS	Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society
TCHS	Transactions of the Caernavonshire Historical Society
Trans. Cymm.	Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmodorion
UWB	University of Wales Bangor
VA	Vernacular Architecture Journal

PART 1: Sections 1-4

1. Some Pre-Conquest (ie Treaty of 1284) references to Ardudwy and Meirionnydd.

These very brief introductory chronological summaries of some relevant events mainly across north west Wales are included to give a context for later details. The *commote* of Ardudwy, together with that of Eifionydd, formed the *cantref* of Dunoding. The wide conjoined estuaries of Traeth Mawr and Traeth Bach divided the two *commotes* and may have been the reason why these two *commotes* developed independently. Meirionnydd was to the south of Ardudwy, across another estuary, but in 1284, after the conquest of Wales by England, the *commotes* of both Ardudwy and Meirionnydd became part of the Edwardian county of Merionethshire. Both *commotes* stretched down from the summits of the Rhinogydd mountain range through more fertile land to an often marshy coastal strip along Traeth Mawr, Traeth Bach and Cardigan Bay. Watersheds and rivers usually formed the boundaries between townships and between parishes. Ardudwy was divided into Uwch Artro and Is Artro, respectively north and south of Afon Artro.

This historical summary commences in 1114 when King Henry I of England demonstrated his ability to penetrate deep into the lands of the Welsh rulers and emphasised his authority by briefly reaching Tomen y Mur, Trawsfynydd, which was under the control of Gruffydd ap Cynan, before retreating due to the winter weather. From 1137-1170 Gruffydd's son, Owain Gwynedd ruled much of north Wales. In 1147/8 Cynan and Howel, sons of Owain Gwynedd by force snatched Meirionnydd from Cadwalader, a brother of Owain. The sons of Cynan, Meredith and Hywel, succeeded in the lordship of Meirionnydd. Cynan came from the north where he probably held Ardudwy. (1) From 1170 to 1195 Owain's sons Dafydd, Rhodri and Hywel ruled Gwynedd, but were frequently feuding. In 1174 after the death of Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd his sons, Gruffydd ap Cynan and Maredudd ap Cynan, held their own lands in Eifionydd and Ardudwy, and also in Meirionnydd. From 1175 to 1188 there had been no change of power in Gwynedd. Dafydd and Rhodri still held the bulk of the province, with the Conway as their boundary; Gruffydd ap Cynan was lord of Meirionnydd and Ardudwy, his younger brother Maredudd ap Cynan, of Eifionydd. It is not clear which of the two brothers held Ardudwy. (2)

On Friday, 5th April 1188, Archbishop Baldwin travelled from Tywyn on Cardigan Bay, on his journey through Meirionnydd as described by Gerald of Wales, and would have crossed the river Maw near Penmaen, riding up the ancient trackway to Bwlch y Rhiwgyr leading over the south end of the ridge of Llawllech, down to cross the Afon Yscethin & then crossing the Afon Artro at what is now Llanbedr, and on the Llanfair church, where the party spent the night. They must therefore have crossed the common land above what is now Egryn. (3) They were recruiting soldiers for the Third Crusade (1189-92), led by Philip Augustus of France and Richard I of England. It was not a success, and Jerusalem, which had fallen to Saladin Sultan of Egypt in 1187, was not re-captured. (4) In April 1188 Gerald recorded "We spent the night in Towyn. Early the next morning Gruffydd ap Cynan came to meet us. That night we slept at Llanfair, that is Saint Mary's church, in the *commote* of Ardudwy. This territory of Cynan, and especially Meirionnydd, is the rudest and roughest of all Welsh Districts. The mountains are very high, with narrow ridges and a great number of sharp peaks all jumbled together in confusion. If the shepherds who shout to each other and exchange comments from these lofty summits should ever decide to meet, it would take them almost the whole day to climb down and up again. They use very long spears in this area. Just as the bow is the chief weapon in South Wales, so here in Gwynedd they prefer the spear. The next morning Maredudd, the younger son of Cynan, came to meet us with a number of his people just as we were crossing a bridge". (5)

In 1194 Gruffydd ap Cynan and Maredudd ap Cynan allied themselves to the young Llewelyn ap Iorwerth. Between 1195-1240 Owain Gwynedd's grandson Llewelyn ap Iorwerth (the Great) gained control and ruled Gwynedd. In 1195 after the death of Rhodri, Gruffydd the elder son of Cynan ruled in Anglesey, Arfon, Arllechwedd and Lleyn, and thus excluded Llywelyn, the older brother, for the time from Gwynedd and the ancestral seat of power at Aberffraw. The younger brother Maredudd, no doubt received Meirionnydd and the lands to the north [*Ardudwy*] as his share of the spoils of victory. (6) They may have been confined to these areas of Gwynedd, retaining their position only by formally recognising Llywelyn's supremacy. Gruffydd ap Cynan entered the Cistercian abbey at Aberconwy where he died in 1200. A year later Llewelyn drove his brother Maredudd out of Lleyn and Eifionydd "on account of his treachery". Maredudd was now left with Meirionnydd and perhaps Ardudwy. In 1201 Maredudd was expelled by his nephew Hywel ap Gruffydd, again "on account of his treachery". Hywel held Meirionnydd as a fief under Lly-

welyn's lordship until Hywel's death in 1216. (7) Circa 1198/9 Mareddydd ap Cynan probably provided the land for Cymer Abbey; he was lord of Meirionnydd in 1202. (8) But that year Maredudd ap Cynan, having been driven out of Lleyl by Llywelyn, lost Meirionnydd to his nephew Hywel ap Gruffydd. (9) In 1209 Llywelyn ab Iorwerth confirms the gifts of Maredudd and Gruffydd ap Cynan and Hywel ap Gruffydd to Cymer Abbey. The lands lay chiefly in the parishes of Llanfachreth, Llanelltud, Llanegryn and Trawsfynydd. Maredudd died in 1212. (10) In 1215 Hywel ap Gruffydd and his cousin Llywelyn ap Maredudd joined Llywelyn ab Iorwerth on his campaign in Deuheubarth. Hywel died in 1216. (11) Prior to 1221, Llywelyn the Great's older, though illegitimate, son Gruffydd was popular but reckless. Llywelyn's treatment of Gruffydd had varied; he had sometimes indulged him, and then, moved by his reckless violence, had turned and punished him. Gruffydd had been given Meirionnydd and Ardudwy, but the ravages committed by him upon his own territories led Llywelyn in 1221 to recall his gift. It was, no doubt, after this that Llywelyn ap Maredudd obtained his patrimony of Meirionnydd. (12)

The following paragraphs outline the changes in the climatic conditions of the period and how they may have affected local land use, the economy and thus the population. From about AD 950 the climate in Wales, and globally, warmed gradually to a peak between AD 1150 and AD 1250, and then cooled gradually to around AD 1450. Rainfall followed a similar pattern falling more predominately in the winter and thereby enabling warm summers to persist. This period in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been called the Medieval Optimum, sandwiched between the relatively cool conditions which characterised the preceding Dark Ages and the Little Ice Age that followed in the two centuries from about AD 1500. The summers of the Medieval Optimum were an average 1 degree C warmer than present and reliably drier. The winters were also about 1 degree C warmer, with the bulk of the annual rainfall at least 5% greater than now. For coastal Gwynedd this meant even milder winters than now and long, often hot summers. The uplands and mountain of Gwynedd also shared this amelioration, enabling higher extensions of grazing, cultivation and settlement. There is ample palaeontological and historical evidence for a period of High Culture coincident with the Medieval Optimum. A golden age was ushered in during the latter part of the reign of Gruffydd ap Cynan who died in 1237 as, "secure from foreign alarms, the men of Gwynedd began to plant the old woods, to make orchards and gardens surrounded with walls and ditches, and to construct walled buildings". The countryside yielded greater harvests year by year, winter stress was reduced and often virtually removed, population increased and new agricultural frontiers and settlements were created in the uplands. Turning to the lowlands and coastal plain, we can envisage increased demand for, and pressure upon, available resources, creating a need for improved coastal access for such activities as grazing, crop-raising, seaweed collection and peat cutting. Perhaps it is in this context that we should see the construction of the trackway described in Part 1 section 2 below. (13)

Across Britain in the thirteenth century the weather records note gales, dramatic thunderstorms, persistent or unseasonal rains which resulted in damaged crops and exceptionally severe winter frosts. The winters of 1204-5, 1233-4, 1269-70, 1281-2 and 1305-6 were extremely harsh, delaying spring ploughing, whereas crops were affected by the drought in the summers of 1231, 1252 and 1263, although the hot weather of 1288 produced good grain harvests. Famines brought on by crop failure after excessive rain were widespread in 1258 and 1294, but perhaps the worst calamities struck the whole of north-west Europe in 1314-18, when a succession of heavy rains led to summer floods, followed by freezing winters. Grain and hay crops were ruined, food prices soared, murrain decimated livestock and pestilence was accompanied by increased crime and even cannibalism. (14)

From 1240-1246 Dafydd (David) ap Llywelyn ruled Gwynedd. In 1241 David surrendered to Henry III. Meirionnydd was restored (15) to the sons of Maredudd ap Cynan, who had died in 1212. (16) The two brothers both called Llywelyn, agreed to pay £80 for the restoration of the *cantref*. They were distinguished as Llywelyn Fawr and Llywelyn Fychan (17) In 1241 they were beneficiaries of Henry III rather than of a prince of Gwynedd. The separation of Meirionnydd from the remainder of Gwynedd and the division of Meirionnydd into two lordships to provide for two brothers, served the king's purposes very well. Both supported David in 1245, the year after the death of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn in London. (18) After David's death in 1246, his nephews, brothers Owain and Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, divided the territory of Gwynedd. Llywelyn Fawr made his submission to the king's officer. Llywelyn Fawr, now known as Llywelyn ap Maredudd, probably the sole surviving son of Maredudd ap Cynan, ruled Meirionnydd as a lordship held directly of the king, and thus outside the bounds of Owain ap Gruffydd (died c1282) and Llywelyn ap Gruffydd (died 1282). Ardudwy was conceded to them by the Treaty of Woodstock in 1247 and was probably held by Owain ap Gruffydd. In 1251 Meirionnydd was in the hands of Maredudd ap Llywelyn, of the line of Cynan ap Owain Gwynedd. Maredudd ap Llywelyn died in 1255 (20) and was, probably, the son of the elder *lewelino f. mereduc*, who recovered Meirionnydd in 1241 and was with David in 1245. (21)

In the 1255 battle of Bryn Derwin, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd defeated and then imprisoned his brother Owain for life, and his brother David for a year. In December 1256 Llywelyn ap Gruffydd started to restore the supremacy of Gwynedd over the rest of Wales. He invaded Meirionnydd, driving out Llywelyn ap Maredudd, who had just succeeded his father as lord of the *cantref*. Llywelyn ap Maredudd petitioned the king Henry III, asking the king to provide for him, since he has lost Meirionnydd through his loyalty. (22) In 1263/4 Adda (Adam) was named as a deacon of Ardudwy. (23) From 1266 to 1276 Gwynedd was peaceful under Llywelyn ap Gruffydd.

In Ardudwy the prince's court was located at Ystumgwern in the township of Llanenddwyn. A 1281 document was signed there during the presence of the prince's court. A 1276 letter from Llywelyn ap Gruffydd to Edward I was dated "at Ardudwy". In 1307, the prince's hall at Ystumgwern, a timber framed building, was dismantled and moved to Harlech castle. It was long known as 'the hall of Ystumgwern' its measurements of 18ft by 37ft providing some indication of the dimensions of a hall of a Welsh prince. Up to the end of the period of the princes the *tir cyfrif* of the *maerdref* of Ystumgwern had been worked directly for the prince by his bondmen, and the fiscal renders of the community of Ardudwy as a whole had been delivered to the court. By the 1284 extent there was a carute of land in demesne at Ystumgwern, that is an arable area of 120 acres which had been given to the bondmen who had been displaced at Harlech when their land there was given to the burgesses. These bondmen were allowed to possess the land in holdings – *gafaelion* – for which they paid a rent in money. This became the characteristic of bond tenure in Ardudwy. The extent of 1420 reveals a wide expanse of bond land in the township of Llanenddwyn, where Ystumgwern was situated, but also in the townships of Llanddwywe and Llanaber to the south. The concentration of bond tenures in these townships reflects the prince's wish to exploit the resources of the area in two ways. First, these bondmen worked directly for the prince's benefit the fertile soils of the well-drained loams on the narrow strip of land on the coast of Ardudwy. Second, the prince required not only the produce of tillage but those of the pastoral resources of the upland which rises steeply from the coast of Ardudwy. (24) In the interior areas of Ardudwy the tenants' dues were largely composed of renders in stock and dairy produce, but they were expected also to make some corn renders. The Prince's demesnes, such as those at Ystumgwern, on the coastal strip of Ardudwy, were placed upon good soils in favourable locations. These would have been capable of maintaining corn production and this would have been balanced by the produce of the cattle upon the *ffriddoedd*. (25)

In the 1267 Treaty of Montgomery, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd was acknowledged as Prince of Wales and lord of nearly all the Welsh chieftains. (26) From 1272-1307 Edward I reigned in England. In 1274 Llywelyn ap Gruffydd's brother sought refuge in England; and in 1275 Llywelyn ap Gruffydd failed to fulfil his service to the king and had not met his obligations under the treaty of Montgomery. In November 1277 Llywelyn, now confined to Gwynedd Uwch Conwy, signed the Treaty of Aberconwy. King Edward I ensured that twenty men from every *cantref* in Gwynedd should swear in the presence of the king's commissioners that they would adhere to the terms of the Treaty and ensure that the prince did so as well. (27) Edward's 1277 campaign cut the Prince off from his supply base in Anglesey, forcing Llywelyn to surrender. (28) In 1278 Madog ap Llywelyn, a prince of the lineage of Cynan ap Owain Gwynedd, made claim to Meirionnydd. (29)

On Palm Sunday, 1282, war broke out when Dafydd ap Gruffydd attacked Hawarden castle; disaffection spread and Oswestry was attacked. (30) In autumn 1282 Llywelyn claimed that the English had devastated and burnt churches, killed the clergy - priests, monks, nuns and others, had slaughtered women and children, at the breast and in the womb, had burnt hospitals and religious houses, had murdered men in graveyards, churches and at the altar, and had committed other crimes and sacrileges. Archbishop Peckham urged King Edward I to protect, or at least not molest clergy. (31) On 11 December 1282 Llywelyn the Last was killed in mid Wales and on April 23, 1283, Castell y Bere surrendered. The English army contingent of 560 men led by Otto de Grandison set off from there for Harlech (Hardelach) and was at Harlech by mid-May. They may have previously been entrenched in the northern part of Ardudwy. By 22 June 1283 Dafydd ap Gruffydd was captured, probably in Snowdonia. (32) The 1282 conquest of Wales by Edward I, was followed by the 1284 Statute of Rhuddlan, which established the shire of Merioneth.

Part 1 section 1: Footnotes:

- (1) *Annales Cambriae*, ed John Williams, 1840, 1148; J E Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol II, 406 & 490; J Beverley Smith, *The Age of the Princes*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 10-11
- (2) Gerald of Wales, *Itin.* ii.5 (vi 122-3); J E Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol II, 564
- (3) Archbishop Baldwin's journey through Merioneth in 1188, C A Gresham, *JMHRS*, 1987/88, vol X, part III, 186-204
- (3) Archbishop Baldwin's journey through Merioneth in 1188, C A Gresham, *JMHRS*, 1987/88, vol X, part III, 186-204
- (4) *Llanfair is my dwelling place*, Llanfair WI, 1999, 16
- (5) Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales*, book II, ch 5., Penguin Classic, 1978, 182
- (6) J E Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol II, 589
- (7) J Beverley Smith, *The Age of the Princes*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 19-21
- (8) J E Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol II, 602; BT 256
- (9) J E Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol II, 613
- (10) J E Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol II, 602, n 148
- (11) J Beverley Smith, *The Age of the Princes*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 24
- (12) J E Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol II, 683 n 157, 687
- (13) *Archaeology in Wales Journal*, 1989, vol 29, 24-5
- (14) C Thomas, *Rural Society, Economy and Landscapes*, in *History of Merioneth* vol II, ed J and Ll Beverley Smith, 2001, 172
- (15) *Annales Cambriae*, ed John Williams, 1840, MS B and BT
- (16) *Rot. Fin.* i 371
- (17) Mont, Coll i 255; J E Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol II, 698
- (18) J Beverley Smith, *The Age of the Princes*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 26
- (19) J Beverley Smith, *The Age of the Princes*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 26-27
- (20) *Annales Cambriae*, ed John Williams, 1840, MS B; BT
- (21) J E Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol II, 709 n 92
- (22) J E Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol II, 718 n 15
- (23) *Littere Wallie*, ed J G Edwards, 1940
- (24) J Beverley Smith, *The Age of the Princes*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 33-35
- (25) J Beverley Smith, *The Age of the Princes*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 42
- (26) A Fraser, *The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England*, 1998, 84
- (27) *Littere Wallie*, ed J G Edwards, 1940 no 444; J Beverley Smith, *The Age of the Princes*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 46
- (27) *Littere Wallie*, ed J G Edwards, 1940 no 444; (J Beverley Smith, *The Age of the Princes*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 46
- (28) A Fraser, *The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England*, 1998, 84
- (29) J Beverley Smith, *The Age of the Princes*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 47
- (30) J Beverley Smith, *The Age of the Princes*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, p 49
- (31) Glanmor Williams, 1962, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, 35, 37
- (32) J Beverley Smith, *The Age of the Princes*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 54

PART 1: Section 2. Archaeological sites in the Egryn area of Ardudwy

There are a few scattered references to some sites which may well refer to prehistoric rather than early medieval periods. The Egryn Terraces are traces of cultivation and enclosed homesteads in several places down the coastal strip from the Afon Scethin to Llanaber, between the 50 foot and 500 foot contours. The heavy settlement that has taken place in this attractive district, and the clearance that has gone on throughout the years, and is still going on, has destroyed all the homesteads which must once have existed there; many of them were probably on the same sites as the present habitations. There are some very large terraces extending for half a mile south of the Afon Egryn in the fields between the main road to Barmouth and the foot of the steep hill-side, and others above Llanaber church. (33) Two sites - Egryn 1, site 355 & Fig 93; and Egryn II, site 356 are concentric circles and circular enclosures with descriptions given in the reference. All the ground round the site, both above and below it, is covered with large cultivation terraces; one of these passes just below the outer wall (of Egryn 1) and the structure seems to be set on it, and thus be later than it. (34) From about AD 950 the climate in Wales, and globally, warmed gradually to a peak around AD 1150 and 1250, and then cooled to around AD 1450. Rainfall followed a similar pattern, falling more predominantly in the winter and thereby enabling warm dry summers to persist. This period in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries has been called the Medieval Optimum, sandwiched between the relatively cool conditions which characterised the preceding Dark Ages and the Little Ice Age which followed it in the two centuries from about AD 1500.

A medieval timber trackway near Egryn was noted at NGR SH 5920 1950. In January 1974 storms exposed timbers thrown longitudinally in a narrow watercourse to form a crude bridge, presumably as part of a track or pathway running along the foreshore. Samples from the alder, ash and willow timbers of the "bridge" gave unexpectedly late radiocarbon dates of AD 1060+-70, AD 1100+-70 and AD 1110+-60. (35) Others noted that AD 1158-1212 was the radiocarbon date of a medieval timber trackway, just south of the present mouth of Ceunant Egryn, uncovered in 1974. (36) These dates directly correspond with the construction of Cymer Abbey, indicating the stone was transported by sea. (37)

Part 1 section 2 Footnotes:

(32) J Beverley Smith, *The Age of the Princes*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 54

(34) E G Bowen & C A Gresham, *History of Merioneth*, Vol I, 1967, 216

(35) C R Musson, *Archaeology in Wales*, vol 15, 1975, 65

(36) C R Musson, J A Taylor & A Heyworth, *Peat Deposits and a Medieval Trackway at Llanaber, near Barmouth*, Gwynedd, *Archaeology in Wales*, 29, 1989, 22-26

(37) National Trust Egryn Information panels, October 2006; Gwynedd Archaeological Trust (GAT) PRN no 952 – *Archaeology in Wales (AW)*, 29, 22-26; AW, 15 65; GAT PRN no 5137 – *AW 1975 – medieval trackway*; GAT PRN no 7294 – *Timber trackway Morfa Dyffryn*, Dutton & Gwyn, 1995, GAT Report 198)

PART 1 Section 3. Post Conquest (1284 Treaty) references to events & places in Ardudwy.

Pre and post conquest, the *commote* of Ardudwy was held almost exclusively in *gafaelion*, rather than in *gwelyau*. This can be attributed to the exceptionally rough nature of its terrain, a fact noted by Giraldus Cambrensis when in 1188 he described it as “the rudest and roughest district of all Wales”. The *gafael* was a separate holding of land with a fixed boundary of its own, within which each heir, on his own, had to find patches of arable as best he could amongst the rocks, and keep to his own grazing land. Ardudwy was divided into two parts: Uwch Artro (north of Afon Artro) and Is Artro; the pre-conquest commotal centre was at Ystumgwern in the parish of Llanenddwyn. After 1284 a new administrative centre was established at the new castle and borough of Harlech. In Ardudwy the townships along the seaboard, such as Llanaber, Llanddwywe and Llanenddwyn, possessed a narrow band of cultivable soil near the coast which was counterbalanced by large-scale upland grazings in the interior, offering the possibility of integrating regional arable and pastoral resources within a set of elongated administrative units extending from the sea to the mountains. (38)

Bishop Anian of Bangor sought the king’s protection in 1282. In April 1283 he was granted land etc to make up for losses sustained as the result of the wars. He responded by taking the initiative in bringing over many of the men of his diocese to the king’s peace - the representatives of Arfon, Llyn, Dunoding, Arllechwedd, Meirionnydd and Penllyn. King Edward rewarded him, and Anian of Bangor remained for life a trusted and much rewarded royal servant. (39) A 9th July 1283 letter of the Lord Anian, Bishop of Bangor, and of ten trustworthy men of the cantref of Dinnedin /Dunoding concerning the £2,000 to be paid by that community to the aforesaid King “for the having of peace”. “In the Year of the Lord 1283 three days after the Feast of St Cyril, an assembly was held at Lam(er) of the men of the cantref of Dinnedin, which has two *commotes*, namely Euyonith and Hardidew (Eifionydd and Ardudwy). There, in the presence of the Lord Anian, by divine mercy Bishop of Bangor, and with the express approval of the said assembly, unanimously it was agreed that to maintain a firm, true and stable peace with the Lord King and his Kingdom in perpetuity, ten of the most worthy, noble and trustworthy should be held forfeit in punishment of their offence. In witness whereof the aforementioned Lord Anian and the ten men of the aforesaid assembly of their own express will and that of the entire community, following collective discussion, append their names to this document”. (40) On 2 August 1283 those communities sent six men to another meeting with bishop Anian at Nancall in Arfon to register their complaints against the extortionate rule of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, instancing in some detail their charges that he extracted excessively heavy dues and made punitive demands upon their services. (41) In 1283 King Edward I was at Harlech from 17-20 August, and then travelled to Prysor and Llanuwchllyn. (42)

The following are notes from the 1283 First Extent of Merioneth: (43) There is a summary entry only for each *commote*. In the *commote* of Ardudwy the following is listed: the rent from the manor of Ystumgwern, from the free-men including 4d from each of 80 *gafaelion* tenements, from Prysor, from the villains, from other rents, from the mill, from pasture and vaccary and from pleas and perquisites. (44) Circa 1284 the *maerdref* mills at Ystumgwern & Taltreuddyn handled 128 bushels of flour worth £4. (45) In February 1284 Archbishop Pecham visited north Wales & was in Bangor in late June. “He issued injunctions for the clergy ... placing particular emphasis on the need for enforcing discipline in the matter of clerical dress, behaviour, and celibacy, and the observation of divine service. ... From Bangor he travelled southward and was at Tywyn, Merioneth by 3rd July”. (46) It is not known which route he may have taken.

The 1284 Statute of Rhuddlan transferred Wales to the King’s dominion, dividing north Wales up into shires on the English pattern and the county of Merioneth was established. Although the basis or law and custom under the new administration continued to be Welsh, those features which the English did not like were removed and during the next century the whole region underwent a steady process of Anglicisation. (47) In May 1284, after the promulgation of the Statute of Wales, Edward I travelled to Harlech again, possibly to Ystumgwern, before moving to Prysor and Trawsfynydd, then Cymer and Castell y Bere. He returned to Ardudwy again in June 1284, seeing Prysor. Edward I travelled from Caernarfon, being at Harlech on 27 October 1284, pausing at Llanaber, returning to Cymer where he dutifully made a gift to the abbey. (48) In 1284 King Edward I’s Tour of Wales, (September – December) started in Flint. After visiting Bardsey he travelled south and must have crossed Traeth Mawr. (49)

In the 1284 extent, obligations of the free groups in Ardudwy, together with those of the villains, contain references which illuminate the military character of the district’s organisation insofar as the freemen paid 20 shillings for the upkeep of the recently constructed castle at Harlech and were subject to six week’s

attendance on military service at their own expense. There is a reference to the provision and maintenance of two attendants and hunting dogs for fifteen days. The renders of cattle, calves, pigs and butter, as well as 96 bushels of flour from bondmen, in addition to their duty of maintaining two horses and performing various works, again confirm that the unfree were engaged in economic activity not so very different from those of the free population. (50) Edward I commenced the building of Harlech castle soon after the conquest to guard against any Welsh uprisings. Englishmen were encouraged to come and live in the associated boroughs. Welshmen were only allowed through the town gates on market days and fair days in order to sell their produce and to buy goods from the English shopkeepers. (51) In the Harlech Castle Pipe Roll accounts for building costs from April 1285 to December 1290 frequent reference is made to stone brought to the castle by sea “de libera quarrea de Egrin”, i.e. freestone quarry from Egrin, in the parish of Llanaber, about seven miles SSE of Harlech. (52) This may be the earliest documentary **reference to the name Egryn**. It is possible that the men undertaking the quarrying lived & their families farmed on the hillside of Egrin where numerous settlements possibly of that period still survive, in much the same way as slate quarrymen and their families lived in small upland holdings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. “This is an exceptionally intact ancient landscape, which here seems to be essentially of one date. The houses are all rectangular, belonging to the later medieval or even 16th century, when population expansion led to occupation of marginal lands.” (53) In 1804 -1813 Fenton noted “Proceeding still downwards towards Egrin, observe several ancient inclosures of various shapes, and two circular ones, with a little square inclosure attached to each, like a vestibule, in the field just above the plain of Egrin”. (54)

Around 2003 a freestone quarry near Egrin was identified by Dr Tim Palmer as the source of stone for the window and door embrasures at Harlech Castle, Cymer Abbey and at Egrin itself. Conceivably the stone was off-loaded at a quay on the nearby shore, a part of which was the timber causeway dated to the 12th century. (55) “Freestone carves readily and has similar properties in all three dimensions. It was extensively used from the 12th until the late 18th or 19th centuries. The medieval quarry site lies above Egrin Gorge (NGR SH 609207), though it was quarried at several sites within a belt of land that runs between Barmouth and Harlech. It is a medium to coarse sandstone. There are 1283-1290 Harlech Castle building references to various payments involving the “free quarry at Egrin” (i.e. freestone quarry), including transport by sea to the castle site and supply of charcoal to the forge at the quarry. In Ceunant Egrin, above the probably 18th – 19th century slate workings in the Llanbedr Slates in the lowermost Cambrian rocks, 100m eastwards, on the south side of the stream is a bluff (NGR SH 606206) showing an exposure of Rhinog grits. Further to the east is a 6 ha. floor area of a putative medieval quarry, its eastern and southern limits are defined by sloping grassy banks which meet at a right-angle at the southeast corner. Along the northern edge of the quarry floor, cultivation terraces that dip down to the stream edge appear to have been truncated; human activity is the only reasonable candidate. The floor of this putative quarry is very large, even by modern standards, and it must have produced tens of thousands of cubic metres of stone over its unknown working life. Aerial photographs of the northeast corner of Egrin quarry site appear to show a ramp (assumed to be the start of the track along which the stone was taken out) descending from the quarry floor down across the stream. There appears to be no remaining sign of a ford crossing the stream at this point, but on its north side the route appears to continue as an old track that runs westwards. The line of this track is clearly seen on the ground and is marked on the early editions of the OS 6 inch:1mile map. It is nearly horizontal, following the contours of the valley side, and its southern verge is marked intermittently by rows of large boulders. The route becomes less easy to define when it starts to descend the hill and becomes confused with later tracks to fields and the 19th century slate quarries. Probably the route descended through Hengwm Farm and continued on to the shore to the southwest, where the stone could be loaded into boats. The intertidal peat in the shore at NGR SH 591195 is cut through by a pair of excavations c.5 m. wide and (when not sand-filled) 75cms deep, perpendicular to the shore. These are best exposed and still clearly seen when winter storms have scoured them clean of sand. They fill with water at high tide and probably represent wharves wherein ships could be loaded and unloaded at all times except the highest Spring Tides. Whether these are of medieval or later date is unclear, but an ancient trackway runs close to their eastern end. This trackway was excavated in 1975 at the point where it crossed over a ditch or creek on a ramp of oak staves. These gave a C14 date of 1158-1212. Extensive use of Egrin stone in Cymer Abbey and Llanaber church point to a well-organised and productive industry in existence around the beginning of the 13th century. Extensive ecclesiastical use close to the source of the stone is also evident in the churches at Llanddwywe and Llanenddwyn. There are also some dressings at Llandanwg, Llanfair, and Llanfihangel y Pennant churches. There are mullioned windows, with some later repairs in a different sandstone, in the dormers along the south side of Egrin, and the three large stone dressings to the round headed door in the north wall of the c.1618 cottage. At Hendre Eirian house, the chimney, removed in 1980s, contained Egrin stone now dumped alongside the farmhouse. At Corsygedol the keystone of the gatehouse is dated 1630, and the corn barn dated 1685 shows original Egrin stone jambs in the slit windows. (56) It is possible that the putative

quarry site was above the later mountain wall and thus in open moorland which was Crown / Forest of Snowdon land prior to the c1810 enclosure and allotment of the mountainside. The 1839 Tithe map for Llanaber shows the putative quarry site as field 89, Ffridd, which along with allotments 902 and 903 were part of Sebonig land, owned by William Griffith, Go(e)tref. The 1623 owner may have been Edward ap John ap Jenkin. It is not known when pre 1880s the Carson family of Egryn purchased Sebonig. At Harlech castle from 1286 as many as 950 men were at one time employed on the building work. By 1285 the gatehouse had been built. (57) The borough (of Harlech) and the surrounding countryside benefited economically from the presence of the castle even after it had been built. The castle had to be maintained and garrisoned by 30 men who had to be fed and clothed and provided withal kinds of appliances, domestic as well as military. The obligation of the bond population towards the store (staurum) of the castle were for the most part only indirectly related to the problem of victualling and contributed only marginally to solving it. (58)

Part 1 section 3 Footnotes:

- (38) C Thomas, Rural Society, Economy and Landscapes, in History of Merioneth vol II, ed J and LI Beverley Smith, 2001, 172
- (39) Glanmor Williams, 1962, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation, 38
- (40) Littere Wallie no 274; translated by Peter Llewellyn
- (41) J Beverley Smith, The Age of the Princes, in J & LI Beverley Smith, History of Merioneth, Vol II, The Middle Ages, 2001, 56
- (42) J Beverley Smith, The Age of the Princes, in J & LI Beverley Smith, History of Merioneth, Vol II, The Middle Ages, 2001, 57
- (43) PRO SC11/789; MCJ, Extent of Merioneth temp. Edward I, Arch. Camb., 1867, 184-92
- (44) A D Carr, The First Extent of Merioneth, Appendix 1 in Beverley Smith, 2001, History of Merioneth, vol II, 702
- (45) C Thomas, The Evolution of Rural Settlement and Land Tenure in Merioneth, 1965 doctoral thesis, University of Wales Aberystwyth, vol 1 p 62; Extent of Merioneth, Temp Edward I, Arch Camb, 1867, 183-192, text in Latin; C A Gresham, Ystumgwyn and Pryssor, JMHS, 1986, 103
- (46) Glanmor Williams, 1962, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation, 41
- (47) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, 85
- (48) J Beverley Smith, The Age of the Princes, in J & LI Beverley Smith, History of Merioneth, Vol II, The Middle Ages, 2001, 57
- (49) Glanmor Williams, 1962, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation, 44
- (50) C Thomas, Rural Society, Settlement, Economy and Landscapes, in J & LI Beverley Smith, History of Merioneth, Vol II, The Middle Ages, 2001, 201
- (51) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, p 85
- (52) A J Taylor, 1949, Arch. Camb. p 279. Report of Annual Meeting held at Harlech; Brown et al, History of the King's Works, II 1030-33
- (53) F Lynch, A Guide to Ancient and Historic Wales: Gwynedd, Cadw, 1995, 172, no 133
- (54) Richard Fenton, Tours in Wales, 1804-1813, Ed John Fisher, 1917, 119
- (55) Archaeological Survey of Egryn, Meirionydd, Gwynedd, National Trust 2003
- (56) Draft notes from Tim Palmer, on Egryn Freestone, a forgotten Welsh Freestone, 2007
- (57) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, Government and Society 1283-1536, in J & LI Beverley Smith, History of Merioneth, Vol II, The Middle Ages, 2001, 60
- (58) K Williams Jones, The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll 1292-93, 1976, cv -cvii, cxxix

PART 1: Section 4. Notes on the early history of some Ardudwy Churches:

These notes are included as some of the various owners of Egryn and / or their numerous tenants were probably deemed to be important members of their community and thus involved with their local pre reformation Catholic church. The 1254 Valuation “of Norwich” is said to give a distorted picture of Merioneth as it seems that conventional generalised assessments were given. (59) Only eight Merioneth churches are listed, none on the Ardudwy coast. There are no references to Llanaber church, Egryn or a Chapel/hospice of St Mary. (60) In the 1291 Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV there was a heavy increase in papal taxation. (61) This was mainly caused by the increased value of temporalities. In Wales the steep rise was caused by more vigorous methods of assessment and by the greater prosperity resulting from post-conquest stability. (62) Again, there is no reference to Llanaber, Egryn, any chapel of St Mary, nor of any individual churches in Ardudwy. Churches valued at less than £4 were not subject to the new valuation and in consequence only a handful of Merioneth parishes are represented in the returns. (63)

In the 1292-3 Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll the following may be names of local clergy:

Trawsfynydd: Eynon capellano6s

Llanaberdecano (possibly Adam dean of Ardudwy whose death is referred to in the chamberlain’s account of 1304-05 (BBCS, 1 (1921-3) p 267) 23s 3d

Adhuc LlanaberYerword capellano3s 11d

LlanddwyweDauid capellano de Lanendou3s 11¼d

LlanenddwynYerword escop2s 8d

TaltreuddynGeruasio presbitero8s 9d

PenrhyndeudraethIeuan capellano de Llamyngangel 22d

LlanfrothenWladusa religiosa 16d

Win Vachan capellano 20½d

Kenureic Yfferioitt2s 2d

FestiniogIthel capellano5s 8d

MaentwrogYerword Capellano 20d (64)

Llanaber church: Dedication to St Bodfan and St Mary. It is an almost perfectly preserved early 13th century building. It is attributed to Hywel ap Gruffudd (died 1216) lord of Meirionnydd *cantref*; or to Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, lord of Ardudwy; the lord held the important bond vill of Llanaber. There are similarities with masonry at Castell y Bere. The roof was replaced in late medieval period, the chancel roof being of an earlier style than the nave roof. (65) The rectory is named in 1535. (66) The following were noted in 1813 “The 1740 finding of an inscribed stone 100yards below high water mark near Llanaber church; inscribed with “Monedo Rici”. Another lately (1813) discovered there on a spring ebb tide, was inscribed “Aetern et Aetern”. Nearby in 1798, 29 Roman coins were found, including those of Domitian, Vespasian, Nero Claudius Drusus, the elder Germanus. A turbary of excellent peat extends under the sea; an inundation is dated in legend to circa 540 AD”. (67)

Llandanwg church: Dedication to St Tanwg. Two 6th century inscribed stones & circular cemetery suggest it is an early foundation. The four eastern roof trusses are dated c1400 on stylistic grounds. (68) A rector was named in 1284. (69) The rectory was named in 1535, with Llan Badyr. (70)

Llanbedr church: Dedication to St Peter. A rector was named in 1284. (71) It is mentioned in 1291; until 19th century it was a dependent chapel annexed to the rectory of Llandanwg. A simple 2 cell church with probably post-medieval chancel; the roof trusses were partially restored in 1813. (72)

Llanddwywe church: Dedication to St Dwywe. The earliest reference to the church in is the lay subsidy roll of 1292/3. It is not mentioned in the 1254 Valuation of Norwich. The name is implicit in name of the settlement in 1292. (73) It was named in 1535, with Llan Enddoy (74) The following is noted in 1557 on October 8: “1. William, bishop of Bangor. 2. Dauid ap Rees Vivhan, clerk. Induction to the rectory of Llanenddwyn with the chapelry of Llanddwywe, archdeaconate of Merioneth”. (75) The trusses are probably from the 1593 rebuild in post Reformation Gothic style. (76)

Llanenddwyn church: Dedication to St Enddwyn. A simple medieval church, much modernised. Chaplain is named in 1292. (77) A rector was named in 1415 (78) A five cusped arch-braced collar-beam trusses is of late C15; the church was extended eastward; it was enlarged 1883. (79) A Rectory is named in 1535, with Llan Ddwywe. (80) The following is noted in 1557 October 8: 1. William, bishop of Bangor. 2. Dauid ap Rees Vivhan, clerk. Induction to the rectory of Llanenddwyn with the chapelry of Llanddwywe, archdeaconate of Merioneth. (81) The church is an ancient structure. (82)

Llanfair-juxta-Harlech church: Dedication to St Mary by 1188 and noted in 1254. The six trusses to east are earlier than the four trusses to west. (83) A rectory is named in 1535. (84)

The arch-braced collar-beam truss, with tennoned purlins and cusped wind-braces was used for churches and houses from about 1400 well into post-medieval times. (85) Medieval roof timbers can be seen in Llanaber, Llanbedr, Llandanwg, Llanddwywe (16th century), Llanenddwyn & Llanfair churches. (86) Many of these churches have roof structures similar to those of Egryn. (87)

Part 1 section 4 Footnotes:

- (59) K Williams Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll 1292-93*, 1976, lxxvii
- (60) W E Lunt, *The Valuation of Norwich*, Diocese of Bangor, 196
- (61) D Walker, *Medieval Wales*, 1990, 80
- (62) Glanmor Williams, 1962, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, 59
- (63) K Williams Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll 1292-93*, 1976, lxxvii; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica ... Pope Nicholai IV*, c1291, 1802
- (64) K Williams Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll 1292-93*, 1976, 52-74
- (65) A Davidson, *Parish Churches*, in *History of Merioneth*, Vol II: *The Middle Ages*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 340; Reference for 1284: *Littere Wallie*, 128
- (66) *Valor Ecclesiasticus Henry VIII*, 1535, pub 1834; *Merioneth Inventory*, RCAHMW, visited & described in 1913
- (67) Walter Davies, *General View of the Agriculture, Domestic Economy of North Wales*, 1813, 28-9
- (68) A Davidson, *Parish Churches*, in *History of Merioneth*, Vol II: *The Middle Ages*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 343
- (69) *Littere Wallie*, ed J G Edwards, 1940, 66
- (70) *Valor Ecclesiasticus Henry VIII*, 1535, pub 1834; *Merioneth Inventory*, RCAHMW, visited & described the church in 1914
- (71) *Littere Wallie*, ed J G Edwards, 1940, 66
- (72) A Davidson, *Parish Churches*, in *History of Merioneth*, Vol II: *The Middle Ages*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 342
- (73) *Littere Wallie*, ed J G Edwards, 1940, 55
- (74) *Valor Ecclesiasticus Henry VIII*, 1535, pub 1834
- (75) UWB, *Mostyn*, ms 3884
- (76) A Davidson, *Parish Churches*, in *History of Merioneth*, Vol II: *The Middle Ages*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 347; *Merioneth Inventory*, RCAHMW, visited & described in 1913
- (77) *Littere Wallie*, ed J G Edwards, 1940, 56
- (78) A I Pryce, *The Register of Benedict*, bishop of Bangor 1408-1417, *Arch Camb.* 1922, 101-2
- (79) A Davidson, *Parish Churches*, in *History of Merioneth*, Vol II: *the Middle Ages*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 352
- (80) *Valor Ecclesiasticus Henry VII*, 1535, pub 1834
- (81) UWB, *Mostyn*, ms 3884
- (82) S Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, 1840; *Merioneth Inventory*, RCAHMW, visited & described in 1913
- (83) A Davidson, *Parish Churches*, in *History of Merioneth*, Vol II: *the Middle Ages*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 353
- (84) *Valor Ecclesiasticus Henry VIII*, 1535, pub 1834; *Merioneth Inventory*, RCAHMW, visited & described in 1913
- (85) P Smith, *Hall, Tower & Church: some themes and reconsiderations*, in R R Davies, et al. *Welsh Society and Nationhood*, Cardiff, 1984, 122-61
- (86) A Davidson, *Parish Churches*, in *History of Merioneth*, Vol II: *the Middle Ages*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 332
- (87) pers. comm., E Green, National Trust, Llandudno, 2006

PART 2: Notes on the ancestors of the Tudur family of Egryn

Part 2; Section 5. Ancestors of the Tudur family of Egryn [from the Tribe of Marchudd].

The personal/family name “Tudur” is spelled in various ways including Tudyr, Tyder and Tudr and spellings are given as in each text referred to.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the bards drew up lists of the “Five Royal Tribes” and the “Fifteen Tribes of Gwynedd” and great value was later placed on descent from these families. Among the fifteen tribes from outside Merioneth the descendants of Marchudd (born c1025) included **Tudur of Egryn**, **Llanaber** and Prys of Maentwrog. (88) Marchudd ap Cynan was the founder of the eighth Noble tribe & was lord of Abergele, dwelling at Bryn ffanigl; he was a contemporary of King Rhodri Mawr who died in 876. (89) (90)

Marchudd ap Cynan c1025/1100, of Uwchdulas: Rhos & Rhufoniog – Denbighshire was Lord of Abergele and Uwch Dulas. (91) He was also said to be ninth century founder of the VIIIth noble tribe; Lord of Bryn Ffanigl. (92)

Carwed

Japheth (Iasedd - given in Bartrum)

Nathan (Inethan - given in Bartrum)

Edryd probably lived c1230 had four sons: i) Idnerth (to Ednyfed Fychan, Abergele), ii) Bleddyn (Abergele), iii) Ithel (Abergele) and iv) Rhys (Abergele). (93) According to Griffith's Pedigrees and other sources, Elfyw was Edryd's brother, and the fourth son was Rhys. (94)

Alternatively: i) Iorwerth (Idnerth given in Bartrum); (Ithel given in Vindogradoff & Morgan); ii) Iddon, who had eight sons; iii) Iorwerth - family line apparently not listed in the Survey of Denbigh 1334 (95) (Iorwerth was said to have betrayed Dafydd brother of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd to the English in 1283; (96) iv) Robert or Rhys. (97)

Tegwared *Mor* (98)

Urien y Wefl (99) Mis-identified with Urien (5) ap Tegwared of Gollwyn 2 RV 873 = Peniarth 873, by Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, who died 1667. (100) “Y WEFL” means “the swollen or deformed lip” (101) This may suggest that either Urien had a lip deformity from birth, or more likely that he had suffered a bad facial accident or war injury. It could not have greatly affected his speech or he would not have been able to fulfil the role of *rhaglaw*. From studying the Survey of Denbigh of 1334 it seems probable that Edryd's descendants remained in the Abergele area for several generations. One of his sons, Ithel ap Edryd had *gwelyau* at Abergele and Loycoyd; one of Ithel ap Edryd's two sons, Ithon ap Ithel, had eight sons. One of these was Iorwerth whose progenies were at Mathebrut and held one-half of his shares there. These are named in the survey as Gron', David, Eynon, Griffith and Iorwerth, all sons of Iorwerth ap Tegwared. Tegwared was a son of Iorwerth ap Ithon. (102) It therefore seems probable that Tegwared with some of his sons and grandsons remained in their ancestral lands in Is Dulas and Uwch Dulas, near Abergele, at least until 1334. It will probably never be known why one of Tegwared's sons, **Urien**, moved to **Llanddwywe in Ardudwy**, where by 1292-3 he was the highest tax payer. Urien may have married an heiress there. He may have left his homeland as a result of some involvement in the Anglo-Norman Conquest in 1282, or possibly to take advantage of the opportunities arising from the building of Harlech castle. Certainly, the quarrying at Egryn of stone for the new castle took place very close to and on the land of Hendre Erian, formerly called Hendre Urien. (103)

The following background to North East Wales prior to the Conquest of 1284 gives a context for the ancestors of Urien to seem to have been the first of the family to move to Ardudwy. In the 1247 Treaty of Woodstock, Gwynedd below Conwy was ceded to Henry III by Llywelyn and Owain. The Perfeddwlad (Middle country) was in the hands of Henry III's son Edward from 1254. (104) In late 1256, after the first visit of Edward to Chester and northeast Wales, including his castles at Diserth and Degannwy, the Welsh in that area broke out in revolt. Llywelyn ap Gruffydd crossed the Conwy and took control of the area with the exception of the two English castles. (105) Llywelyn established Dafydd there. By the summer of 1257 Edward set out from Chester, raised the siege of Diserth and Degannwy, but then withdrew to Chester. (107) Diserth was destroyed by Llywelyn in the summer of 1263. (108) After the 1267 Treaty of Montgomery triumph for Llywelyn, in which he retained the Perfeddwlad, two sons of Ednyfed Fychan (of the tribe of Marchudd) were trusty counsellors of Llywelyn, following their father, as was Goronwy ap Heilyn of Rhos. (109)

Edward became king of England in 1272 and in the summer of 1277 he set out from Chester towards Snowdonia building strongholds at Flint and Rhuddlan, and burning the crops on Anglesey. In November 1277 the Treaty of Conway was a humiliation in which Llywelyn lost the Middle Country between the Conway and the Dee, and was confined to Gwynedd Uwch Conway. The king granted to Dafydd Rhufoniog and Dyffryn Clwyd. (110) Some areas of the Perfeddwlad were lost to the crown, to the marcher lords and others. (111) At Easter 1282 Dafydd took the castle at Hawarden and the uprising spread across Wales. Edward came to North Wales but in June his troops were overwhelmed while crossing to Anglesey. (112)

The ruler's officers were allowed the considerable concession of holding their lands free from the various renders owed by freemen. But it is clear that to a few eminent servants, an even greater favour was shown: in the fourteenth century extents and surveys, all the heirs of some holdings, whether *gwelyau*, *gafaelion*, or vills, are described as holding their lands free from most renders and services. The descendants of Cynfrig ab Iorwerth, who included Ednyfed Vychan and formed for most of the period under discussion the core of ministerial groups surrounding the prince, held extensive lands both in Gwynedd uwch Conwy and in the Perfeddwlad, quit of almost all the usual obligations, apparently as the result of a grant by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. (113) The numerous descendants of Cynfrig ab Iorwerth, especially the family of Ednyfed Vychan (died 1246) [Wyrion Eden] held numerous offices under Llywelyn ap Gruffydd and Dafydd ap Gruffydd. Cynfrig ab Iorwerth's grandson **Goronwy ap Heilyn** appears as the servant of both Llywelyn ap Gruffydd and Edward I. It is known that he was one of the magnates who led the Welsh rising of 1282-3, and that in 1283 he was *distain* to Dafydd ap Gruffydd, so that it is of great significance that the Denbigh survey of 1334 contains references in its description of the lands of Wyrion Eden to the escheated lands of Goronwy ap Heilyn Sais ap Cynfrig, who died against the peace. It would seem from the designation Sais (the Englishman) applied to Heilyn that he had strong English connections. (114) Note that there was a Goronwy ap Heilyn in Llanddwywe died in the Madog uprising of the 1290s.

Ednyfed Fychan, who died in 1246, was a descendant of Edrud ap Marchudd, and his ancestors appear to have settled originally in the Abergele district. By 1334, when the great survey of Denbigh was compiled, Ednyfed's descendants are found distributed over a wide area in Rhos and Rhufoniog. ... The broad fact emerges that in the area which became the lordship of Denbigh after the conquest, Ednyfed's family enjoyed peculiar privileges from the time of Llywelyn the Great. (115)

Some of Ednyfed's sons and grandsons may well have defected, submitted and passed to the service of Edward I. One relative was one of Edward I's bailiffs in the Perfeddwlad in 1277 and was killed in the battle of the Menai in 1282. Several of Ednyfed's descendants appear in 1294-5 in a witness-list of a charter granted by Madog ap Llywelyn, the rebel prince, to one Bleddyn Fychan. (116) A remarkably full sequence of holders of the office of *rhaglaw* in the *cantref* of Rhos may be established mainly from an assembly called in 1274. Several *rhaglawiaid* of Dinorben and Rhuddlan (Tegeingl) were progeny of Cynfrig ab Iorwerth. (117) They seemed more flexible and their loyalty more suspect. Indeed, two sources of potential conflict may have been related, namely, rivalry for office and the problem of loyalty to the prince in an area relatively susceptible to English attack. (118) These cases indicate the sort of support, amongst Welshmen capable of assuming official responsibilities, on which English kings might rely when they attempted to annex areas of Gwynedd. On the one hand were men whose attachment to office seems to have proved stronger than their loyalty to the prince, and on the other men consistently disaffected towards the prince of Gwynedd. (119) A fairly large and important group of *uchelwyr*, including many of the ministerial elite, had come to terms with the English well before the final conquest. In some cases there may well have been a strong element of opportunism in their action, a determination not to be caught on the wrong side; during and after 1277 the balance of power in Wales had fairly decisively tipped against the prince. (120) During the thirteenth century the territorial basis of most of the component families of the ministerial elite became diffused within Gwynedd. (121)

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries parts of Wales were debatable lands which changed hands from time to time and here the inhabitants became accustomed to both Welsh and English rule. The outstanding example of this was the region in the north-east known as the Perfeddwlad (Middle Country) or the Four Cantrefs, where political control changed on a number of occasions before 1277. It was a political world where choices and questions of nationality were by no means clear-cut. Leaders of the Welsh community in the principality accepted and served the new order under Edward I and Edward II; many had served both Llywelyn and Edward at different times before 1282, especially in the north-east. For such men the conquest of 1282 and the Edwardian settlement of 1284 did not mean any real change. They belonged to kindreds which were the natural and traditional leaders of their own communities and as such had held local office and had governed those same communities under the native princes. They now held the offices of *rhaglaw* (bailiff) and *rhingyll* (beadle) in the name of King Edward rather than Prince Llywelyn. The most

powerful of these kindreds was that of the descendants of Ednyfed Fychan; from this kindred had come many of the leading men of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd's principality before 1282, although the loyalty of some of them was open to question during his last years; indeed some of them gave active support to Edward in the wars of 1276-7 and 1282. The conquest and the settlement of 1284 made little difference to the descendants of Ednyfed; the new order was as dependent on them as the old had been and Edward needed their goodwill and co-operation to manage his new territories. But he could no more take their loyalty for granted than could Llywelyn; some of them joined the 1294-5 revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn because of what they saw as the excessive and unreasonable demands of a royal government which had assumed that the exceptional burdens of Llywelyn's last years had been normal. It was a member of this same kindred (Ednyfed Fychan), Sir Gruffydd ap Rhys, or Gruffydd Llwyd of Dinorwig in Caernarfonshire and Tregarnedd in Anglesey, who served at different times as sheriff of all three of the counties of north Wales, who was knighted by Edward I and who led the royalist party in the north during the troubles of the reign of Edward II. Members of many other communities dominated their own communities and went on holding office during the fourteenth century. They came to form the class which was to exercise effective political control in Wales at the local level until the nineteenth century. Their origins lay in their free Welsh descent and their tenure of their ancestral lands, and the more substantial among them formed a kind of squirarchy known in Welsh as *uchelwyr*. What was important to these men was their control of their own communities; like all medieval local communities, those in Wales were essentially self-governing. (122)

Appendix 1: Egryn Family Tree 1

Appendix 2: Egryn Family Tree 2

Part 2 section 5 Footnotes

- (88) Michael Powell Siddons, Heraldry, in History of Merioneth, Vol 11, 2001, 630
- (89) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire, 396; & other given sources; G P Jones, Rhos & Rhufonig pedigrees, Arch. Camb. 1925, 289-306
- (90) T Nicholson, Annals & Antiquities of the Counties & County Families of Wales, 1872, Vol 1, 390
- (91) History of Powys Fadog Vol IV, J Y W Lloyd, 1887, 188
- (92) History of Powys Fadog Vol IV, J Y W Lloyd, 1887
- (93) G P Jones, Rhos & Rhufonig pedigrees, Arch. Camb. 1925, 289-306 – underlined
- (94) P C Bartrum, Welsh Genealogies AD300-1400, Vol 4, 668; P Vindogradoff & F Morgan, Survey of Denbigh, 1914, British Academy, Record of Social and Economic History Vol 1, xxxii-xxxv & Figure 2
- (95) G P Jones, Rhos & Rhufonig pedigrees, Arch. Camb. 1925, 289-306 – underlined
- (96) History of Powys Fadog Vol IV, J Y W Lloyd, 1887
- (97) P C Bartrum, Welsh Genealogies AD 300- 1400, Vol 4, 670, given without references
- (98) History of Powys Fadog Vol IV, J Y W Lloyd, 1887, 188
- (99) Pen 234 p 10n, The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 223, 251 notes
- (100) P C Bartrum, Welsh Genealogies AD 300-1400, Vol 4, 693
- (101) Prof Geraint Gruffydd, pers comm. Nov 2006
- (102) P Vindogradoff & F Morgan, Survey of Denbigh, 1914, British Academy, Record of Social and Economic History Vol 1, xxxii-xxxv & Figure 2
- (103) pers. comm. Prof Geraint Gruffydd, Oct 2006
- (104) D Stephenson, The Governance of Gwynedd, 1984, xxiv
- (105) J E Lloyd, A History of Wales, 716
- (106) D Stephenson, The Governance of Gwynedd, 1984, xxv
- (107) J E Lloyd, A History of Wales, 721-2
- (108) J E Lloyd, A History of Wales, 732
- (109) J E Lloyd, A History of Wales, 743
- (110) J E Lloyd, A History of Wales, 759-60
- (111) D Stephenson, The Governance of Gwynedd, 1984, xxvix
- (112) J E Lloyd, A History of Wales, 762
- (113) D Stephenson, The Governance of Gwynedd, 1984, 97
- (114) D Stephenson, The Governance of Gwynedd, 1984, 106
- (115) Glyn Roberts, Aspects of Welsh History, 1959, Wyrion Eden: The Anglesey descendants of Ednyfed Fychan in the Fourteenth Century, 182
- (116) D Stephenson, The Governance of Gwynedd, 1984, 102-6
- (117) D Stephenson, The Governance of Gwynedd, 1984, 119-20
- (118) D Stephenson, The Governance of Gwynedd, 1984, 122
- (119) D Stephenson, The Governance of Gwynedd, 1984, 123
- (120) D Stephenson, The Governance of Gwynedd, 1984, 127
- (121) D Stephenson, The Governance of Gwynedd, 1984, 128
- (122) A D Carr, Owen of Wales: the End of the House of Gwynedd, 1991, 71, 68-70

EGRYN Appendix 1 : EGRYN FAMILY TREE 1

Marchudd of the Uwch Dulas / Abergele area.

Carwed

Japheth

Nathan

Edryd, who had at least 4 sons : Adnerth to Ednyfed Fychan, Abergele;
Bleddyn around Abergele; Elfyw around Abergele &

Ithel / Iorwerth from whom the Egryn family descend. Family not in 1334 Survey of Denbigh.

Iddon

Iorwerth (apparently not listed in the Survey of Denbigh of 1334)

Tegwared

IN ARDUDWY

Urien ap Tegwared is thought to be the Urien of Llanddwywe, Ardudwy, Merioneth.

1292-3: is named as the highest tax payer in the 1292-3 Lay Subsidy Roll.

1301 Urien ap Tegwared was one of the uchelwyr who did homage and fealty to the Prince of Wales.

1322 **Urien ap Tegwared of Llanddwye** & Griffith his son were amongst those attacking Rhuthyn in March 1322.

Michaelmas 1327 **Urien ap Tegwared** was rhaglaw of Ardudwy

His sons were i) **Ednyfed ab Urien ap Tegwared** living 1343, and ii) Griffith iii) Urien who was pardoned in 1327.

Ednyfed's son were i) **Llewelyn ab Ednyfed** = Lleuki, d of Sir Howel y Vwyall of Criccieth

ii) Griffri ab Ednyfed ap Urien ap Tegwared of Ardudwy whose daughter & heiress Margaret was mother of John ab Vivion of Harlech.

Gruffydd Lloyd ap Llewelyn ab Ednyfed = Mali, d of Peredur ab Aron ab Ednyfed (See if in *Extent of Merioneth* c1420)

Ednyfed ap Gruffydd Lloyd = Anes / Anest (See if in Extent of Merioneth c1420)

Ednyfed ap Gruffydd Lloyd ap Ednyfed ap Llewelyn ab Urien was one of the Grand Jury, 31 July 31 Henry VI – 1453.

Gruffydd ab Ednyfed ap Gruffydd Lloyd = Angharad, d of Robert Palgous ap John Palgus ?of Harlech. They had 7 known children.

In 1509 **Gruffydd** ab Ednyfed ap Gruffydd Lloyd is witness to a deed relating to a property in Llanaber date 1 September 1st Henry VIII.

1509/10 earliest dendro dated for Egryn

Tudyr ap Griffith = Elisabeth, of Ynysmaegwyn. They had 12 children.

1552, free tenant of township of Llanddwyne – Tithin y sarn vaen / tithyn y morfa, excepting Tiddyn Grono.

***William ap Tudur of Llanaber**, in 1558 = Margaret, d of Gruffydd ap Howel Nanney. They had 13 children.

1558 Land on Mochras island. Living 1578

***Hugh ap William Tudur** pre 1590 = *Gwen, 2nd d of Richard Vaughan, Corsygedol. They had 3 sons pre 1594 and 4 children afterwards.

Born c 1560- d 1606-11

She died 1606. (Edward Urien)

1585 of Llanaber, Gent – lease of Mochras isle

c1590 Plas yn Egryn (PRO SC 12/30/24 & PRP E222/325)

1593 of Egryn - Garth Maelan closes.

1594 Plas yn Egryn gent. Visitation of Lewys Dwnn

1596 of Llanaber, Gent – Tir William ap Tudur/ Pant y gwlchlyn, on Mochras, Llanaber.

1599/1600 subsidy roll

William Tudur, early 1600s= 1. Elin widow, d of Robert Llwyd, Rhiwgoch. They had Ann who married Richard Glyn, Rector of Edern, and
(c1580s –post 1623) their d Ann married Thomas ap Richard Lewis of PLAS YN RHIW.

= 2. Catrin, d of John Owen, Ystumcegid. No children.

= 3. Ann, d of Griffith Nanney Esq. They had 4/5 children.

***Hugh ap William Tudur**, post 1623= Jane, d of Robert Owen, Ystumcegid. They had 7 children. (+ maybe one posthumously)

Died 1644

will dated 1687

***William Tudur of Egrin** c1650s= *Catherine. They had Jane and maybe Hugh Tudur.

Will 1669

Jane Tudor (c1650s-post 1702) c 1670s = Hugh Owen of Cae'rberllan (d 1695).

Jane Tudur's uncle or brother:

Hugh Tudor of Egryn = Anne Vaughan of Cefn Bidog. She died after 1702.

1675 High Sheriff for Merioneth

1685 Hugh Tyder of Egryn - agreement

1697 Hugh Tyddur of Egryn Dead by 1700 No children

Researched by Margaret Dunn brynbedd1@gmail.com updated 2-10-2007 © Margaret Dunn

EGRYN Appendix 2 : EGRYN FAMILIES to 1799

Marchudd
Carwedd
Siofeth
Enathan
Edryd
Ithel
Iddon
Ierwerth

Morryd
Asser ap Morrir
Rotport

Marchudd ap Cynan, Uwch Dulas
Carwed
Iasedd
Inethan
Edryd
Ithel
Iddon
Iorwerth , Robert & Rhys

***Tegward

****URIEN (adult 1327) *Y WEFL**

****Ednyfed (adult 1343) = Nest ddu v Llywelyn**

****Llewelyn = *Lleuku v Sir Howel v Vwyall ab Gr ab Howel ab Mredd. ab Gwgan ab Merwydd ab GOLLWYN**

****Grufydd Llwyd = *Mali v Peredur. ab Aron ab Ednyfed (Dwnn II p clxxi)**

***Ednyfed (adult 1452/3)** ar = ***Anes v a cydaeres Thos. ab Dd. gam ab Cync. ab Goronwy ab Huw ab Ierwerth ab Gwgan ab Idnerth ab Edryd**
= ***Nest ddu v Lln ap Cadwgan**

***Gruffydd (adult 1509) = *Angharad v Robert Palkws ab John P. (see Dwnn II p clxviii)**
= *Angharad Palkws, Elsbeth v Robert Palcws

Ai arvau vw Argt. tarw passt. gardt. armd. or.

I	I	I	I	I	I	I
**TUDYR = *Elsbeth v Wm adult 1552 I ab Jenn ab Ierwerth Llanddwywe I Ynys y Maengwyn	*Robert Einion I Dd Llwyd / Evan I	*Jeun / = *Elsbeth v Einion I Dd Llwyd / Evan I	*Catrin = *Lewys I ab Tudr I Vyn ap Gr I ab Einion	Gruffydd = ? I I I	*Lowri = *Gruffydd Rheinallt of Llanaber	**LEWIS = **Gwen v Nicolas ap Thos. ap living 1577 I Dd ap Ieuan ap Einion ?EGRIN I
I I I I (12 children)	I *Angharad = *Dd ap Owain	I etc to Richard Owen, in 1588. Alderman of Harlech, from Llanfair.	I Lowri = Gruffydd ap Rheinallt of Llanaber	OR	I plus 4 others plus 3 others. plus 7 others	**RICHARD LEWIS = **Elin v Rys ap Tudur ap (1555-1620) *Dr Div I Wm Vychan of Cil Gerran 1575 of Egrin. Oxford I
I EGRIN 1558	I	I	I....	I	I	I I I I I
WILIAM =Marged v ap Tudur I Gr ap Howel c1560- I Nanney Living 1578 Poems1, P4, P5, P6 I (13 children)	*Catrin=Jenn ap Lewis ap Jenn ab Dd, Trawsfynydd /	*Lowri *Jenn ap Dd ap Jenkin	*Gwen=**Wm ap Dd Llwyd ap ap Howel ap Meuric	*Marged=*...Thos (widow 1598) ap John Madryn	*Mary=*Gr ap Dd Lloyd ap Owen	Edward, Gruffydd, Gruffydd, Robert, Elin and Angharad ALL dead by 28 July 1594
						1588 of Bron y foel I *William Lewis *Gwen = *Edw Llwyd ap *Dr Divinity Humphrey Llwyd (1592-1667 Provost Oriel College Oxford)

[illegible]

PART 2: Section 6. Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll of 1292-3.

In the 1292-3 Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll of 1/15th of moveable goods of the free and unfree, the 75 to 80 Merioneth men assessed at well over 13s 4d, that is those who had moveables valued at £10 or more, were regarded as substantial *uchelwyr*. It is significant that about 90 *uchelwyr* from Merioneth made homage and paid fealty to the prince of Wales in 1301. Those seeking of holding the office of *rhaglaw* normally possessed moveables valued at £7 10s 0d at the very least (or were assessed at well over 10s). In Merioneth 15% of families owned over £5 of moveable good & paid at least 6s 8d, and were considered leading *uchelwyr*. (123) In Merioneth the sum came to a total of £566 and examination of the figures in comparison with those for large and wealthy English counties indicate that the county was heavily taxed. (124) The officers of the *commotes* were normally members of the community itself, and the royal administration ultimately depended upon the ability and readiness of these men to carry responsibility for the administration of the locality. The office was often ‘farmed’ by the Crown, that is a fee was levied for the right to exercise the responsibility, allowing the recipient to recoup his outlay and secure some profit for himself, and the income was normally sufficient to make the office of *rhingyll* or *rhaglaw* a responsibility that members of the community were prepared to undertake. (125)

For some unknown reason Ardudwy was at a later date unique amongst the *commotes* of Merioneth in not being divided into townships. (126) If it can be assumed that the administrative units mentioned in this subsidy roll are, for the most part, villis, and if it can be assumed further that they represent the pre-parochial situation in Merioneth, it is clear that even at this early date the townships of Ardudwy were, generally, considerable bigger than those in other *commotes*, ... so that at least five – Trawsfynydd, Llanaber, Llanenddwyn, Llanbedr and Llandecwyn – had to be divided into two for administrative purposes. It may not be coincidental that some parishes in Ardudwy were later divided into two, namely Llanaber and Llanddwye. (127) In Merioneth a *gafael* was a fairly precisely determined plot of land, functioning as an independent farm, essentially small, compact, and often located on the dispersed patches of better quality soils in the more remote upland terrains which characterised Ardudwy. (128)

The following gives a picture of farming in the late thirteenth century: cattle were clearly the mainstay of the national as well as the individual family’s economy. There were probably fewer sheep which, although a most useful animal of value as a source not only of wool and meat but also of milk (for cheese) and dung (for tillage) needed more protections against predators. Sheep disease was fairly prevalent and devastating in its effects. There was also the deeply entrenched conservatism of the Welsh peasant. Much Welsh wool of this period was of indifferent quality. An economy based principally on cattle rather than sheep was at once more complex and vulnerable, if more lucrative. The harvest assumed much greater importance, because cattle were less supporting than sheep in winter. But apart from that, preparing the land and bringing in the harvest required the services of draught animals, amongst them horses, which in turn needed additional or special nourishment at certain times of year. Oats were not only to provide food for humans but also to provide fodder, being fed to the cattle in lean winters as well as to the horses and affers then and at other times of the year. Crops might be grown at heights of at least 1,000 feet above sea level, especially in the favourable climatic conditions prevailing in the thirteenth century. Crop growing was so essential that the most unpromising terrain had to be exploited, for grain was not readily obtainable by purchase and trading was a major operation beyond the resources of some communities. (129) If we allow that poultry, pork and fish supplemented the diet, and cheese, eggs, milk, cabbages and honey were fairly plentiful, it is still more than likely that the “average” tax-paying farmer from Gwynedd and his family must have been living at bare subsistence level. Ensuring adequate sustenance must have necessitated a great deal of supplementary activity like labouring or carting or domestic work of one kind or another. Otherwise a family would have had difficulty in making ends meet in a good year; a bad harvest or additional burden might have spelt real disaster. The three sheriffs of Gwynedd were in arrears with their accounts in the early 1290s partly on account “of the poverty of the tenants”. (130)

The **Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll parish returns** were studied while the ancestry of the Egryn family was being researched in order to ascertain if it was possible to trace any ancestors.

Llanaber: A comparatively prosperous area, being a source of supply for lime, (sic) drawn upon for extensions or repairs at Harlech castle in the early fourteenth century. (131) Four *uchelwr* from Llanaber were assessed at 13s 4d or over, that is had moveables valued at £10 or more. This may be connected with the fact that Llanaber was a mixed vill with apparently a fairly big bond population. It is not to be wondered that there is a very fine thirteenth century church at Llanaber. (132) 49 people are listed under Llanaber: of these Decano, possibly Adam, Dean of Ardudwy: 23s 3d; Osborn, possibly Wyddel: 17s 5½d; Griffri Goch:

14s 8d, Eynon ap Adaf: 11s 8¾d & Dudgech filia Lewelin :10s 1¾d, paid much higher taxes than the rest. (133) None of the names appear to match with those given for the ancestors of the later family at Egryn. **Llandewey – i.e. Llanddwywe parish:** Vrien was the highest taxed person, at 10s 4½d.

Some of the following may have also been descendants of Tegwared who was alive in 1292-3.

In **Llandanwg:** Griffri ap Tegwared- 2s 1½d; Kenuric ap Tegwared- 4s, maybe the same person as named in Llanaber; Tegwared sutore -16d, maybe the same person as named in Llanfihangel y traethau; Wion ap Tegwared - 20d; Ioreword filio Tegwaret -3s 8d. (maybe the same man as named in Taltreuddyn, Llanfrothen, Llanfihangel y traethau & Llandecwyn) (134)

In **Taltreuthin i.e. Taltreuddyn in Llanenddwyn parish:** Candalo ap Tegwared- 16d; Ithel ap Tegwared – 9s 8d (the highest tax payer); Eynon ap Tegwaret- 16d; Yerword ap Tegwaret – 3s 8d (possibly the same man as named in Llandanwg, Llanfrothen, Llanfihangel y traethau and Llandecwyn). (135)

In **Penrindeurait i.e. Penrhyndeudraeth:** Edenowen ap Tegwaret- 2s 6d. (136)

In **Llandewin i.e. Llandecwyn:** Iorword ap Tegwaret- 12s 10¾d (the second highest taxed in the parish; maybe the same person as named in Llandanwg, Llanfrothen, Llanfihangel y traethau and Taltreuddyn). (137) In 1700/01 re Llwyn Tegwaret, alias Pen Isa'r cwm, alias Tir David ab Humphrey in parish of Llanenddwyn. (138) Tegwared Hen of 1292/3 was of Llanenddwyn. It is possible that this may have been his holding.

In **Llanfrothen:** Iorword ap Tegwaret 4s 3d (maybe the same person as named in Llandanwg, Llandecwyn, Llanfihangel y traethau and Taltreuddyn) (139)

In **Trawsfynydd:** Gronou ap Tegwaret- 18½d; maybe the same person as named in Maentwrog. (140)

In **Llanaber:** Iockin ap Tegwaret- 2s 0½d; David ap Tegwaret- 2s 10d; maybe the same person as named in Maentwrog. (141) Adaf ap Tegwaret- 21d, maybe the same person as named in Llanenddwyn; Kenuric ap Tegwaret- 22d, maybe the same person as named in Llandanwg; Adaf ap David ap Tegwaret- 3s 10¾d, maybe son of David ap Tegwaret in the same parish; (142)

In **Llanenddwyn:** Adaf ap Tegwaret- 3s 4d (maybe the same person as named in Llanaber; (143)

In **Llanfihangel y traethau:** Yerword ap Tegwaret- 3s 4d (maybe the same person as named in Llandanwg, Llandecwyn, Llanfrothen and Taltreuddyn); Tegwaret sutore- 4s 0½d, maybe the same person as named in Llandanwg; Loward ap Tegwaret 3s 2¾d; (144)

In **Maentwrog:** Gronou ap Tegwaret-2s 6½d, maybe the same person as named in Trawsfynydd.; David ap Tegwaret- 4s 2½d, maybe the same person as named in Llanaber; (145)

Some of the following who were alive in 1292-3 may have also been descendants of Tegwared:

Tegwared Hen Llanenddwyn 12s, 2nd highest taxpayer in parish. It is possible that this could have been Urien's father. **Tegwared sutore** maybe the same person as named in Llanfihangel y traethau 4s 0½d and Llandanwg 16d. Sutore means Tailor / sewer.

VrienLlanddwywe 10s 4½d. He was the highest taxed person

Iorword filio Tegwaret- maybe the same man as named in

Llandecwyn 12s 10¾d, 2nd highest taxpayer in parish; Llanfrothen 4s 3d, Llandanwg 3s 8d; Taltreuddyn in Llanenddwyn 3s 8d; and Llanfihangel y traethau 3s 4d. If the same man, then he was very rich indeed.

Ithel ap Tegwared – 9s 8d (the highest tax payer) of Taltreuddyn in Llanenddwyn

Kenuric ap Tegwared maybe the same man as named in Llandanwg 4s, and Llanaber 22d.

Adaf ap David ap Tegwaret- 3s 10¾d of Llanaber, maybe son of David ap Tegwaret in the same parish;

Adaf ap Tegwaret- maybe the same person as named in Llanenddwyn 3s 4d & of Llanaber 21d.

David ap Tegwaret- 2s 10d of Llanaber; maybe the same person as named in Maentwrog 4s 2½d.

Loward ap Tegwaret 3s 2¾d of Llanfihangel y traethau:

Gronou ap Tegwaret- maybe the same person as named in Maentwrog 2s 6½d and of Trawsfynydd 18½d.

Edenowen ap Tegwaret- 2s 6d of Penrhyndeudraeth

Griffri ap Tegwared- 2s 1½d of Llandanwg

Iockin ap Tegwaret- 2s 0½d of Llanaber

Wion ap Tegwared- 20d of Llandanwg

Candalo ap Tegwared-16d of Taltreuddyn in Llanenddwyn

Eynon ap Tegwaret- 16d of Taltreuddyn in Llanenddwyn

The famine of 1294 may have contributed to Madog's war, but nothing, perhaps, in the two years immediately preceding it, stoked up the fires of resentment throughout the length and breadth of the land quite so effectively as the collection of the fifteenth of 1292-3. (146) The uprising of Madog ap Llywelyn occurred between Michaelmas 1294 to April 1295. In the winter of 1294-5 Harlech castle was besieged in the revolt led by Madog ap Llywelyn. Winter weather and Welsh guerrilla tactics kept Edward I at Conwy from Janu-

ary to March 1295, but with the advent of spring the revolt collapsed quickly and Harlech was relieved. Reginald Grey penetrated through the heart of North Wales to Ardudwy. Repair and rebuilding work was undertaken at Harlech castle which successfully held its own against the attacks of the Welsh. (147)

Madog ap Llywelyn, a son of Llywelyn ap Maredudd, who had made an unsuccessful attempt to secure Meirionnydd by an action before royal justices in 1278, was given an estate in Anglesey. (148) Madog ap Llywelyn, a descendant of Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd, one of the four sons of the last lord of Meirionnydd, dispossessed by Llewelyn ap Gruffydd in 1256, and a member of the dynasty of Gwynedd. On 20 October Edward I arranged for Criccieth and Harlech to be supplied with food and stores as they had become the main centres of resistance against the enemy in Eifionydd and Merionethshire. It would appear that John de Havering had been successful in landing seven extra men for Vivian de Staundon's garrison at Harlech on 18 December thus bringing the number of defenders to 26 men who, together with the townsfolk who had retired to the safety of the castle, made a total complement of 37 men. The women of the garrison with those from the town numbered 19 while the three small boys and four infants who were already in the castle were joined by 21 children of the burgesses. (149) Thus before the end of 1294 the whole of Gwynedd and Anglesey, apart from Criccieth and Harlech castles, was in the hands of the Welsh; Edward I reached Conway on 26 December. Vivian de Staundon was constable of Harlech castle and was kept well supplied from Ireland with food and stores consisting of corn, coarse and fine barley, herrings, salted and dried fish, salt, canvas, iron, wax and tallow, sea coal, crossbow quarrels, bows and arrows, domestic utensils and footwear. (150) They were able to withstand any attacks during the whole period of the war. By March 1295 Madog had been defeated by the Earl of Warwick near Caereinion, and the main resistance in North Wales was crushed. On 6 March Reginald de Grey set off from Rhuddlan to track down Madog who had been located in a wood in the "strongest place in the whole of Ardudwy", and reported that steps were being taken to fell trees in an effort to reduce this position. The inhabitants of the *commote* of Talybont made their formal submission. On 12th May 1295 Edward I at Dolgelley received the homage of the men of Merionethshire. No opposition was encountered and the troops moved to Harlech and Towyn and then to South Wales. Madog was captured by early August and spent the rest of his life in the Tower of London. (151) Madog ap Llywelyn's son Maredudd ap Madog served in the royal household, and received a grant of the lands of his deceased uncle Dafydd ap Llywelyn in Llanllibio, Anglesey. (152) In December 1294 Madog, ap Llewelyn, prince of Wales, at Pennant Machno, granted to Bleddyn Fychan lands in Maenol Llanaber and half a small tref called Caer Hepnewid, perhaps land above the church with Castell above. The witnesses to this transaction included Tudor ap Gronw "our steward", his brother Goronwy Fychan, Gruffin ab Tudyr, Tudor ab Karwed, Griffin ap Rhys, Deikyn crach, D'd ab Rissard, Ieuaf ab Ririt and others. (153)

Tudur ap Goronwy (Tudur Hen, grandson of Ednyfed Fychan) had probably followed his father in the Prince's service prior to 1282. His father, uncle and grandfather had all been steward or seneschal to the princes of Gwynedd. Like many of the rebels, Tudur seems to have suffered no permanent ill-consequences. In 1301, he was one of those who swore fealty and homage to Edward of Caernarvon when Edward became the first English Prince of Wales, and there is nothing to suggest that Tudur again waived in his loyalty. Tudur died in 1311, his son Goronwy ap Tudur died in 1331. (154) Gruffydd ap Rhys was almost certainly Tudur ap Goronwy's second cousin. (155) It is now thought that Bleddyn Fychan was not a member of the Corsygedol family, but was probably a landowner in the lordship of Denbigh, and that Kaer Hepnewid may be identified with Caerhebenewith, which on the evidence of the survey of Denbigh in 1334 was located in the parish of Gwytherin in the *commote* of Rhufuniog Uwch Aled. (156) Bleddyn Vychan's support for the rebellion appears to have been secured by the grant of land in an area neighbouring his own and also in more distant Ardudwy. (157) It is of interest that this grant involved land in the neighbouring parish to Llanddwywe in which Urien ap Tegwared lived, and that several of the witnesses were his distant relations, all being of the stock of Marchudd. This may have been mere coincidence or may it suggest that Urien ap Tegwared may have known about the transaction, and indeed may have himself also supported Madog ap Llywelyn.

In Llanddwywe parish, the next highest taxpayer in 1292-3 to Urien ap Tegwared was a Goronwy ap Heilin who died in the uprising, having supported Madog ap Llywelyn. Cynfrig ab Iorwerth's grandson Goronwy ap Heilyn appears as the servant of both Llywelyn ap Gruffydd and Edward I. It would seem from the designation Sais (the Englishman) applied to Heilyn that he had strong English connections. (158) A "Goronwy ap Heilyn, probably descended from the same stock as Ednyfed Fychan; he had served Llywelyn and Edward I, but sided with Llywelyn in the final crisis of 1282". (159) In 1277 Goronwy ap Heilyn was a minister of Llywelyn involved in the outworking of the Treaty of Conwy. He was Ednyfed Fychan's nephew. (160) He was the servant of both Llywelyn ap Gruffydd and Edward I in turn in the years 1277-81 and was the grandson of Cynfrig ab Iorwerth. (161) He was one of the magnates who led the Welsh uprising

of 1282-3 and in 1283 was *distain* to Dafydd ap Gruffydd, so it is of great significance that the Denbigh survey of 1334 contains references in its description of the lands of Wyrion Eden to the escheated holdings of Goronwy ap Heilyn Sais ap Cynfrig, who died against the peace. It would seem from the designation *Sais*, (the Englishman) applied to Heilyn that he had strong English connections. (162) In early winter 1281, Goronwy ap Heilyn, Llywelyn's leading henchman in the Perfeddwlad, was said to have encouraged people there to avail themselves of the new procedure of a sworn inquest / inquisition. (163) "The men of Rhos think themselves contented with their laws, because their bailiff, Goronwy ap Heilyn, conducts himself well by encouraging them to enquire always the truth of the matter" (164) Goronwy ap Heilyn was *rhaglaw* of Dinorben under Edward I in the period 1279-81 and was the grandson of Cynfrig ab Iorwerth. He, with other prominent officials, was taken into honourable captivity in England. (165) Gron ap Heilyn ap Ken' ap Ior' ap Goug' ap Idnerth who was escheat according to the Survey of the Honour of Denbigh, Table II; Gron' ap Heilyn Sais referred to in the same Table. He died in 1283 against the peace. (166) If this is correct, he cannot have been the Goronwy ap Heilyn of Llanddwywe who died after December 1294 in the Madog ap Llywelyn uprising.

During the rebellion some substantial figures maintained their allegiance to the Crown. Gruffudd ap Dafydd of Hendwr, a baron of Edernion served in the royal armies, and was rewarded in 1295 when he was granted the royal forests of Penllyn, Ardudwy and Meirionnydd; he served as sheriff of Merioneth in 1300-01 and then as *rhaglaw* of Ardudwy and Penllyn. (167) Robert Staundon had succeeded Master James as constable of Harlech and it was resolved to enclose the castle rock to the north with a wall of stone and lime. A new tower was built over or near the Water Gate. The residents of the borough were able to return to normal life. (168) Madog had significant support in Meirionnydd and Goronwy ap Heilin (assessed in 1292-3 at 10s 4d, just ½d less than Urien) of Llanddwywe in Ardudwy was amongst those who died fighting. Adda ap Wion of Harlech, Dafydd ap Cynfrig of Llanfair and Llywarch ap Goronwy of Trawsfynydd were prominent men amongst the 77 from Merioneth and Caernarfon listed as taken into captivity. (169)

The crown lands in Ardudwy included detailed arable plots in the villis of Trawsfynydd, Maentwrog, Llanenddwyn, Llanaber, Llandwywe, Llandecwyn and Festiniog. (170) The repressive ordinances promulgated by Edward I after the rebellion of Madog ap Llywelyn in 1294-5 could, if strictly applied, perpetuate the distinction between English and Welsh. It applied only to those areas which had been under the direct rule of Llywelyn, and its main effects were felt in the new shires of Anglesey, Caernarvon and Merioneth. They in no way debarred trustworthy Welshmen from holding office, apart from the constableness of the castles. During the fourteenth century the descendants of Ednyfed Fychan appear as bailiffs of *commotes*. They were escheators, deputy sheriffs, and recipients of Crown rights; many had fought in France under Edward III and the Black Prince, and they were in the personal service of Richard II. ... The pattern is similar in the history of other families. The ancestors of the family of Vaughan of Corsygedol in Merionethshire were holding office in that county in the fourteenth century, leasing Crown revenues and farming the shrievalty. Again, the Nannau family monopolized the commotal offices in their locality before and after the Glyn Dwr revolt. (171)

In 1295, an Englishman, John le Colier was the wealthiest man in Harlech in terms of moveables. He had built the mill below the castle, and in 1305 petitioned the prince that he might hold the same without rendering farm for it. He was a resident of Harlech in April 1295. He was bailiff of Harlech in 1300-01 and *ringold* of Ardudwy in 1307. (172) By 1316 he was a successful dairy farmer, securing the right to supply the castle when need be with 2,000 of his own cheeses. The fortunes of his house were subsequently bound up with the rearing of stock and the marketing of dairy produce. During Owain Glyn Dwr's revolt the Colier family suffered considerable losses, including more than 200 cattle. Nevertheless they survived and remained prominent burgesses of Harlech until Tudor times. Throughout the middle ages they followed the lead of their founder and served both borough and at times commotal offices. (173) His descendants married those of Urien ap Tegwared. In 1297 a force of soldiers including 1,000 archers from Anglesey, Caernarfon and Merioneth served the king in Flanders. They were led by Gruffudd Llwyd, a descendant of Ednyfed Vychan, whose father Rhys ap Gruffudd was amongst the most powerful of the men of Gwynedd to adhere to the king in the wars of 1277 and 1282-3. In 1307 Gruffudd Llwyd led another force, including 94 men of Merioneth to fight for the king in Scotland. (174)

Part 2 section 6 Footnotes

- (123) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, lxxxviii-xc
- (124) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, *Government and Society 1283-1536*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 66
- (125) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, *Government and Society 1283-1536*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 6)
- (126) K Williams-Jones, ed., *Cal of Merioneth Quarter Sessions Rolls 1*, 1965, 18
- (127) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 52
- (128) C Thomas, *Rural Society, Settlement Economy and Landscape*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 194
- (129) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, cxiv-cxviii
- (130) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, cxx; BBCS, IX, 1937-9, 53, 58, 60
- (131) K Williams Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll 1292-93*, 1976, lxxvi; Stamp, *The Land of Britain*, Part 33, p 197; *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, 247-8
- (132) K Williams Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll 1292-93*, 1976, xc, 54, 56, 60, 63,73
- (133) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 54
- (134) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 57-8
- (135) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 58
- (136) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 62
- (137) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 63
- (138) UWB, *Mostyn ms 3776*
- (139) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 63
- (140) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 54-5
- (141) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 69
- (142) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 69
- (143) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 71
- (144) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 71
- (145) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 73-4
- (146) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, xxx
- (147) R R Davies, *The Age of Conquest-Wales 1063-1415*, 383-5; E A Lewis, *Medieval Boroughs of Snowdonia*, 226)
- (148) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, *Government and Society 1283-1536*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 66
- (149) BBCS, viii, 147-8
- (150) BBCS, viii, 150-9
- (151) J Griffiths, *The Revolt of Madog ap Llewelyn*, 1294-5, TCHS, 1955, 12-24
- (152) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, *Government and Society 1283-1536*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 66-68
- (153) PRO Duchy of Lancaster, *Ancient Deeds L3569 now PRO, DL25/3569*; Royal Commission of Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales: *Merionethshire*, 1921, 40-1; D Hooke, *Llanaber: a study in landscape development*, JMHRs, vol VII, part 3 (1975) 223
- (154) Glyn Roberts, *Aspects of Wales*, 1959, Wyrion Eden: *The Anglesey Descendants of Ednyfed Fychan in the fourteenth century*, 186-7
- (155) D Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd*, 1984, 106 n 54
- (156) Cledwyn Fychan, *Bleddyn Fychan a gwrthryfel Madog ap Llywelyn*, *Trans. Denbighshire Historical Society* 49, 2000, p 15-22; *Survey of the Honour of Denbigh 1334*, ed P Vindograft and F Morgan, 1914, 185-7
- (157) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, *Government and Society 1283-1536*, in *History of Merioneth*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 67
- (158) D Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd*, 1984, 106
- (159) Glyn Roberts, *Aspects of Welsh History*, 1959, Wyrion Eden, 302
- (160) D Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd*, 1984, 9, 17
- (161) P Vindogradoff & F Morgan, *Survey of Denbigh*, 1914, 239, 295, 297
- (162) D Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd*, 1984, 104
- (163) T Jones Pierce, *Welsh Medieval Society*, 377-8
- (164) C. Chanc R. Various, p 198; D Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd*, 1984, 42
- (165) D Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd*, 1984, 120, 122, 129
- (166) P Vindogradoff & F Morgan, *Survey of Denbigh*, 1914, 297
- (167) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, *Government and Society 1283-1536*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 69
- (168) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, *Government and Society 1283-1536*, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth*, Vol II, *The Middle Ages*, 2001, 69
- (169) H Owen & J Beverley Smith, *Government and Society 1283-1536*, in *History of Merioneth*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 67, 69-70; K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, 56; *Trans Hon Soc Cymmrodorion*, 1902-3, 316 n 2; Cledwyn Fychan, *Bleddyn Fychan a Gwrthryfel Madog*, *Transactions Denbighshire Historical Society*, 49, 2000, 15-22 – (*in Welsh, no Arddudwy names*); J Griffiths, *Documents relating to the Rebellion of Madog 1294-5*, BBSC, 8, 1935-7, p 149-50, *in Latin*
- (170) E A Lewis, *Medieval Boroughs of Snowdonia*, 226
- (171) Glyn Roberts, *Aspects of Wales*, 1959, *Wales and England: Antipathy and Sympathy*, 1282-1485, 303, 306-7
- (172) P.R.O. E372/146; P.R.O. S.C. 6/1170/5
- (173) K Williams-Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1976, cvi-cvii, 65
- (174) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, *Government and Society 1283-1536*, in *History of Merioneth*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 71
- (174) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, *Government and Society 1283-1536*, in *History of Merioneth*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 71

PART 2: Section 7. Urien ap Tegwared – ancestor to the later Tyder family of Egryn.

Urien ap Tegwared was probably the Vrien who was a rich adult tax payer in Llanddwywe in 1292/3 and *rhaglaw* of Ardudwy some 25 years later. His father Tegwared may well have fought in the wars leading up to the Conquest of Wales in 1282. Tegwared may possibly have been the Tegwared Hen of Llanenddwyn in 1292/3. (175) Urien ap Tegwared could have been one of several brothers in Ardudwy. He may have been born around the 1270s, lived through the conquest of the Welsh, have watched the building of Harlech castle and seen the failure of the revolt of Madoc. He may have decided that for economic and social reasons, it was most advantageous to support the English king. In 1292/3 Vrien was the highest taxed person, at 10s 4½d, in Llandewey – i.e. Llanddwywe. By 1294/5, as the two richest men in the parish, Urien ap Tegwared and Goronwy ap Heilin must have known each other before Goronwy ap Heilin was killed in the Madog revolt. (176)

Hendre Eirian, Llanddwywe, was formerly called Hendre Urien. (177) It is probably the same Hendre Urien listed in Bartrum. (178) As Hendre Urien is in the parish of Llanddwywe, the same parish that Urien ap Tegwared lived in in 1292-3, it is quite possible that it is the site of Urien's home. It adjoins the present farmland of Egryn. The family goes back to Ffifion, Colier and the Paleysaid. The following 1617 poem is at present the earliest reference to Hendre Urien: a *cywydd* by Tudor Owen to Dafydd Llwyd ap Tomas of Hendre Urien; 1st line: “*Saeth hiraith sywaith oer fu*”. (179) Another elegy is “*Marwnad Dafydd Llwyd ap Thomas of Hendre Urien*”, a long elegy by Tudor Owen. (180) A Mostyn manuscript includes three elegies to Dafydd Lloyd ap Thomas of Llanaber: first the elegy referred to above by Tudor Owen, second an elegy by Gruffyth Owen. 1st lines “*Troesi ni byth tros y byd / Trvain or byd trown ir bedd*” and third an elegy by Sion Cain - 1st lines: *Gwae fi byth o gofio bedd / A gymrai hwn gymro hael*” where Number 160 is not the first line of the first *cywydd* listed above. (181)

In 1300 Edward I appointed Gruffudd ap Dafydd of Hendwr, a baron of Edernion and a Welshman, as sheriff of Merioneth; he was the first Welshman to hold such a post in Wales. (182) In 1301 Edward I granted the royal lands in Wales to his eldest surviving son, Edward “of Caernarfon”, and probably invested him with the title and insignia of prince of Wales at the same time. (183) There are lists of those who paid homage and fealty to the first English Prince of Wales in AD 1301. Of about ninety uchelwyr included on April xxij at Rhuthlan **Urien ap Tegwared**, probably he of Llanddwywe in 1292/3, was the only one from Ardudwy. (184) It is not known why Urien ap Tegwared offered fealty at Ruthin, when all other recorded Merioneth and Ardudwy men went to Conway. It is possible he still had family living in the Ruthin area. It is noted that on “April xxvj at Rothelan (Rhuddlan)” there were no names from Meirionydd, and on “April xxvj at Rothelan (Rhuddlan)” there were ten named men from Ardudwy, one being David ap Gwyn. There was a gafaél D'd ap Gwyn in Llanwenwyn i.e. Llanddenwyn. (185) On “April xxjx at Conway” there were many from Merioneth including Gronne Gough of Trawsfynydd; David ap Yerword of Llanfair; Iorword ap Tegwared of Llandecwyn & other parishes; Maddock ap Guilin of Maentwrog. There were over 660 men listed from Wales & England. (186) Service in arms was matched by a readiness to accept responsibility for the administration of the localities, and the list of those who did homage and fealty to Edward of Caernarfon, after his investiture as prince of Wales in 1301, includes a number who may be identified as members of lineages who were to provide service as local officers for generations to come. These were members of families of some substance and ever anxious to improve their position by winning the rewards of service to the Crown. (187)

In 1306 the Harlech castle building account refers to the use of “two great bent beams called crucks” in the building of a new bakehouse. (188) The reign of Edward II lasted from 1307 until 1327; he was a weak king, married to Isabella, sister of the King of France. Edward was thought to be homosexual and was eventually deposed in 1326 and then murdered. (189) Devastation resulting from the wars meant that taxes had to be reduced or remained uncollected for long periods. Increased fiscal burdens, placed upon an already depleted population suffering an economic crisis, totally undermined social cohesion and old-established systems of agrarian organization. Nowhere was this more true than in the bond villis where monetary and other obligations were shared equally among the inhabitants, irrespective of their numbers. If half the population died in war or pestilence, or fled during the upheavals, the increased exaction fell on the remainder. Meanwhile, among freemen, holdings had become so fragmented that they were no longer viable agricultural units and failure to pay increased cash quitrents often provided yet another occasion for forfeiture. (190)

In 1308-09 a Tudor ap Tegwared of Ardudwy is named in the Sheriff Rolls of Merioneth. (191) One and a half bovates of land held by Tudor ap Tegwared located in Ardudwy were confiscated when he was outlawed for murder. (192) They were valued at 1s 4d in 1308-9; in 1317 the rent had been increased to 2s 8d. Most rents had doubled between 1308-9 and 1321, implying an intensification of economic pressure as nominal revenue declined in real value. Of seventy-six occupiers involved in compulsory land transfers, only fourteen were deprived of their holdings on account of conviction for felonies, the remainder presumably having to forfeit on grounds of flight, failure of heirs or inability to meet obligations. (193) In Wales, as in Europe generally, the fourteenth century was an era of unprecedented calamities. The weather may well have deteriorated; summers were shorter and wetter, winters longer and colder. Great storms battered the coasts and shifting sand dunes buried large tracts of coastal lowlands. There was serious famine across Wales and western Europe. There was the possibility of a pan-Celtic alliance against the English. Gruffydd Llwyd, the most powerful figure in native Welsh society had secret negotiations with Robert Bruce of Scotland. But revolution was avoided in north Wales. (194) In Ardudwy by 1315-17 the burgesses of Harlech had been granted the royal mill of Ystumgwern and at least 175 acres of land, including the former prince's demesne, in nearby townships, in addition to the right to levy tolls on goods passing through the weekly markets and fairs, which numbered six each year by 1335. (195)

The following gives a background to the famine years of 1315-1317. The *hafod* was a prime necessity of agricultural life. The winter feeding of animals in many districts had to be strictly rationed, with hay and forage being reserved for the more "useful" animals, though in the coastal and low-lying areas of Gwynedd "wintering" must have been a happier experience, especially when the weather was mild, for here was ideal country in many ways for grazing animals. The success of harvest was crucial to survival whether in lowland and upland areas. That was the basic fact of economic life, subservient as it was to the needs of cattle, the prime source of wealth; lack of diversification made the economy vulnerable. The great "agrarian crisis" in the second decade of the fourteenth century, which struck as cruel a blow to the pastoral economy of England as it did to arable cultivation there, could have severely crippled Welsh farming. It took longer to recover from loss of stock than from loss of crops. With murrain and cattle disease the famine years following 1315 exposed the shortcomings of Wales' pastoral economy. In 1318 Merioneth's contribution to the subsidy of a fifteenth fell from £556 in 1292-3 to only £227. Wholesale damage to stock, through lack of fodder or disease, could prove much more serious than damage to crops because building up herds took a long time while fields could be tilled from year to year. Moreover, on the social side, the constraints imposed by the Welsh law of inheritance acted as depressants. (196) In addition to political and emotional factors, there remain the social and economic ones. The fourteenth century was an age of crisis throughout Europe; it was the result of a combination of causes which included a change in the climate around the end of the thirteenth century which led to longer and colder winters and shorter and wetter summers. Climatic change was followed by a more frequent harvest failure and increased mortality in a population which had risen beyond its optimum level; this had led to more and more marginal land being taken into cultivation and with a deterioration in the climate much of this ceased to be cultivable. The great famine of 1315-17, when harvests failed for three successive years, was only a beginning; in Britain it was followed by a series of livestock epidemics and a decline in agricultural prices. (197)

The landed endowment available to the burgesses of Harlech remained small; a petition presented in 1316 drew specific attention to the fact that although there were many dwelling within the borough of Harlech, only five held land outside the town, with the direct result that no corn could be reaped nor beasts fed on account of the deficiency of pasture. Information relating to the burgesses' lands in the coastal lowlands of Llanaber, Llanddwye and Llanenddwyn etc is available in SC6/1232/10. (198) The burgesses of Harlech secured the fee-farm of their town for a sum of £22 in November 1316, although earlier in that year the town, together with the king's mills and the royal escheats in Ardudwy, had been granted at will to "the burgesses and commonality of the town" by the king. (199) In 1318 there was "a great dearth of victuals that was then in those parts", a reference to the effects of the terrible famine that swept most of northern Europe in 1315-17. (200) In 1320-1324 Jor[werth] [Voi]ll. of Eifionydd thus requests the King (Edward II): he is of the *commote* of Eythionydd (co. Caernarvon) and is in arrears in his account of £32; he requests time to pay the same by instalments viz., 40 shillings at Michaelmas each year, until the arrears are paid, otherwise he will be destroyed for ever, for dear Lord, *the people of Wales have nothing to sell except their cattle for which they can do nothing, and their cattle are dead by the murrain so that they are all destroyed*. Jorwerth has served the King long, and your noble (father), as appears by the letters he has from the King. He prays for the King's writ of deliverance (not dated; French; MS defective) Endorsed: i. Coram. Rege. li: Let the Justice be commanded that if the petitioner find sufficient surety to pay half the arrears at Easter next and the other half at the feast of St Michael next, that he be allowed respite". (201) He may also be the Jorwerth the Welshman who appealed against the payment of arrears of £8 16s 10d in 1320. (202) He seems

to have tenements in Llanfrothen and in Egryn; he died in 1324. (203) The stimulus given by the early fourteenth century to the Welsh cattle trade, and by implication to the Welsh economy as a whole by royal and other households, was of immense importance, but murrain took its toll from time to time, especially around 1320, and in any case, markets for pastoral produce naturally contracted as population fell in the fourteenth century. (204)

There was baronial opposition to Edward II. In 1314 Gruffydd ap Rhys, better known as Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, a faithful servant of Edward I and Edward II, was employed in arraying Welsh troops in North Wales for service in France and Scotland. He had served as sheriff of Caernarfonshire from 1301-1305, and in Merioneth from 1314-16 and 1321-27. In 1321, ordered by Edward II to raise troops in North Wales, Gruffydd Llwyd led them to capture the castles of Holt, Welshpool and Chirk, and enabled Edward of Caernarfon to triumph for the time being over his enemies. (205) Sir Gruffydd Llwyd (died 1335) was a descendant of Ednyfed Vychan (and thus a very distant relation of Urien ab Tegwared). When in 1321 in one of the recurrent crises of his reign, Edward found himself faced by a hostile coalition of Marcher lords, led by Roger de Mortimer of Chirk, then justice of Wales, Edward ordered Sir Gruffydd Llwyd to raise troops in North Wales and link up with the king's suppressing army on his way. Accordingly, in January 1322 Gruffydd attacked and captured a number of castles, including Holt, Welshpool and Mortimer's stronghold of Chirk, whereupon the Mortimers submitted to Edward without further resistance. In reality Gruffydd acted in the closest concert with the king, and by capturing Chirk did him a crowning service. He remained a consistent partisan of Edward II till his death in 1335. (206) He was a vital link between the monarchy and the native community of north Wales. (207) Edward II may have cut a poor figure as king of England, but he forged strong ties of loyalty with the men of north and west Wales. They stood staunchly by him in the crisis of 1321-22 and were in the forefront of the movement to restore him in 1327 and subsequently to overthrow Roger Mortimer. (208) Gruffydd Llwyd, also of Tregarnedd, led a group of Welshmen whose loyalty to the unfortunate Edward II is so remarkable a feature of the period. When in 1322, Edward II succeeded in turning the tables on his baronial enemies, the victory was due in part to Sir Gruffydd Llwyd's successful attacks on the strongholds of the king's enemies in the Welsh Marches. The final downfall and death of Edward II in 1326-7, and the triumph of Mortimer, meant the eclipse of Sir Gruffydd Llwyd and his followers, some of whom were imprisoned at Caernarvon. They had been released well before Edward III turned the tables on Mortimer in 1330. (209)

In the 1322 assault of Ruthin, John de Grey claimed that the group of men had been sent by Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, who was among the most prominent of Edward II's supporters in North Wales. When Edward II successfully counter-attacked his baronial enemies in the winter of 1321/2 Sir Gruffydd Lloyd, leading a band of men from North Wales, joined him in an attack on the main body of the baronial opposition in the Marches of Wales under Hereford and the Mortimers. Sir Gruffydd Llwyd was appointed Sheriff of Merioneth at Michaelmas 1321. The attack on Ruthin appears to have been made by the Merionethshire contingent of his troops. These men were amongst the most important in Merionethshire. No reason is given in Grey's petition for the raid. It may not have been part of Sir Gruffydd Llwyd's campaign in the Welsh Marches in support of the king. The raid may have been part of the conflict that existed at this time between the native Welshman, even members of the new "official class" like Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, and the English settlers of the towns. Another explanation might simply be that the comparative riches of Dyffryn Clwyd were too much of a temptation for the men of the fastnesses of Merionethshire. These men, who had recently fought a successful campaign in the border country, might have turned aside to attack Ruthin for no other reason than the promise of plunder. (210) It was a member of this same kindred (Ednyfed Fychan), Sir Gruffydd ap Rhys, or Gruffydd Llwyd of Dinorwig in Caernarfonshire and Tregarnedd in Anglesey, who served at different times as sheriff of all three of the counties of north Wales, who was knighted by Edward I and who led the royalist party in the north during the troubles of the reign of Edward II. (211) When in 1321 King Edward II rallied support in the principality of Wales for his efforts to reverse the supremacy of the barons who had opposed him, Mortimer prominent amongst them, he found a ready response in the counties of North Wales. During the conflict of the early months of 1322, for reasons not altogether clear, a force of Welshmen instigated by Gruffydd Llwyd made an attack on John de Grey's lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd. On 11th March, 1322, over 100 men made an assault on the castle of Rhuthun and plundered the town. These included **Urien ap Tegwared** of Llanddwywe. (212) Grey had retaken Harlech castle in 1294/5. It is possible that there was an element of revenge for that and for the death of Urien's neighbour Goronwy ap Heilin of Llanddwywe. However, Goronwy seems to have fought with Madog. In 1322 March Ynry Vychan, (1294-1330), and ancestor of the Nannau family) *rhaglaw* of Talybont, followed the sheriff of Merioneth, Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, the most prominent representative of the new "official" class, in an attack on the castle and town of Ruthin, presumably as part of Gruffydd's campaign against the baronial opposition in the Marches of Wales in support of Edward II. (213)

In 1322 Urien ap Tegwared, and Griffith his son, along with a number of prominent Merioneth men, “crown tenants of Meryonnyth, Penthlyn, Ardude, Edeyrnion, Glyndoverdu and Dymael”, were accused by Lord John de Grey of Ruthin of having attacked Dyffryn Clwyd. They were said to have made an assault on the town of Ruthin, began to burn the town destroyed two houses, killed two gentlemen and injured almost forty others. They wrecked his parks, drove away his wild and domestic animals and his entire stud and carried away the goods and chattels of Grey’s tenants to the value of £80, as well as those chattels which were in the mill. Altogether they were accused of devastating the countryside and causing damage to the extent of £1,000. (214) Everything suggests, therefore, that Urien ap Tegwared was a firm supporter of the crown. (215) Urien ap Tegwared, Griffith his son and others in the 15th year of Edward II (March 1322), attacked the Castle of John de Grey, at Ruthin, set fire to the town and killed two men. (216)

In 1326 Iorwerth Gethin of Ardudwy was amerced “at the suit of the vill of Llanaber because he kept his animals in the common pasture of the *hendref* after the community of the vill had betaken itself and its animals to the mountains” The vill exercised firm control over communal pastureland, waste and meadow; it determined the seasonal chronology of the communal agriculture of the vill. (217) At the Ardudwy hundred court in 1326 a man was prosecuted for failing to fulfil his part of a contract to plough five acres in return for a sum of money and flour. Adaf ap Teg’ is mentioned on page 156; David ap Gwyn is named on page 163. No names are mentioned which matched the known names of Urien’s descendants. (218) The *hendre* mentioned in Llanaber may have been the sites of the later farms of Hendre Eirien or Hendre Fechan, or of Hendre Forion on the Mawddach estuary. David ap Gwyn was found guilty in 1326 of pasturing his animals in the pasture of Llanaber when he should not have done so. (219) In 1301 April xxvj at Rothelan (Rhuddlan) there were ten named men from Ardudwy, one being David ap Gwyn; there was a *gafael* D’d ap Gwyn in Llanwenwyn i.e. Llanddenwyn (220) These may refer to the same man. Much later, in 1659/60 on January 22nd, Hugh Johnes wrote to Sir Owen Wynn at Gwedir [co. Carnarvon] regarding the preparation of a bill of complaint against Mr. Tudder of Egrin; the advisability of proceeding against Mr. Tudder alone; the relevance to the case of grants by Queen Elizabeth to Richard Vaughan [died 1588, of Corsygedol] of *Gavell Ievan dauid ap Iorwerth*, *Gavell hulkin*, and *gavell gwenllian Tew* in the parish of Llanddwywe, and *gavell dauid ap Gwyn* in Llanenddwyn [all in co. Merioneth]. Their failure to find the will of Rees Vaughan [dead by 1586], father of the said Richard, which ‘would discover all the wholeall petikree of those gavells’. (221)

In 1326 the vindictive Queen Isabella and her lover Roger Mortimer of Wigmore landed in England, defeated and captured the King Edward II. Sir Gruffydd Llwyd the sheriff and five other chosen Welshmen of Merioneth refused to find sureties for their attendance at the Parliament at Westminster in January 1327. A loyal adherent of Edward II, he declined to attend the Parliament which was to witness the King’s degradation and the triumph of Isabella and Mortimer. Between 1327 and the Act of Union of 1536 the Welsh shires and boroughs were not represented in parliament. (222)

In Michaelmas 1327, late in Edward II’s reign & I Edward III, Urien ap Tegwarret was *rhaglaw* of the *commote* of Ardudwy. (223) The *commote* retained its former native officers, the *rhaglaw* or *rhaglot* who dealt with the free tenants and the *rhingyll* or *ringild*, the bailiff of the bond tenants. The sheriff was also mayor of the newly established burgesses, who had trading privileges under the protection of the Castle. He presided over the newly established County Court which met monthly at Harlech or Dolgellau and twice a year he made a tourn of the *commote* courts, the Ardudwy court meeting at Harlech. (224) The most important commotal office was that of *rhaglaw*, a quasi-shrieval office which lay in the custody of the most affluent subjects. He had important administrative, judicial and fiscal functions to perform in the *commote*. A mid fourteenth century *rhaglaw* of Ardudwy who rendered £4 a year for the office, received a share of all the fines and amercements imposed on the inhabitants of the *commote*, a percentage of the proceeds from all mead and beer exposed for sale in the *commote*, a tenth share of reliefs paid to the prince, and 20s for every meeting of the turn. (225) The local power gave the holder scope to line his pockets and administration could be manipulated in favour of kinsmen and followers. After 1282 the office of *rhingyll* or bailiff was often executively of greater importance. In Merioneth only those assessed at well over 6s 8d – that is the leading *uchelwyr* – are known to have claimed the office. In Harlech in 1292-3 the wealthiest inhabitant held the office of *rhingyll* of Ardudwy in the early fourteenth century. (226) Prior to 1282 the *rhaglaw*’s role in judicial administration and in the supervision of lesser officials was paralleled by his responsibility for raising the prince’s revenue. In the fourteenth century the *rhaglaw* collected the lord’s dues. (227)

In 1327 Edward II was murdered; Mortimer and Queen Isabella ruled briefly. Edward III was crowned when aged 14. Court ethos was derived from the romances of chivalry, promoting the cult of St George and

King Arthur. (228) In 1327 Urien, son of Urien son of Tegwaret of Ardudwy received a pardon from Edward III for the death of Eynoun son of Groneu de Meremyth, killed before the coronation. (229) The Crown was less sympathetic after 1327 and the management of its Welsh lands was less dependent on the leaders of the community but in the last resort it did not threaten their control of their localities. (230) A steady deterioration had set in under Edward III in the character and administration of the Principality. Central authority was capricious, local officers were extortionate and tyrannical. Under Edward I. the policy had been firm; even under Edward II, it had been well-meaning; under Edward III it was neither. The Welsh official class, built up by Edward I and Edward II, was alienated by the failure of Edward III to punish those local officials who, under Mortimer, had both worked against the king and tyrannized over his Welsh subjects. In the general atmosphere of inefficiency and dissatisfaction, with Welsh Officials out of favour and administration out of gear, it was fatally easy for racial hatred between the Welsh and the English settled in their midst to flare up. (231) In 1330/1 the Caernarfon burgess William de Shalford was accused by Hywel ap Gruffydd of Anglesey of having precipitated Edward II's death by warning Mortimer of a plan to rescue Edward II. All Hywel's sureties were Welsh men of standing in the Welsh community and all Shalford's sureties were from English burgesses from Caernarfon, Conwy, Harlech and Bala, with not a single Welshman among them. (232)

From 1332 to 1372 Walter de Mauny was Sheriff of Merioneth and constable of Harlech castle. In 1330 young Edward III got rid of Mortimer, (his mother's lover), the queen gave birth to Edward, the Black Prince, and one of her entourage, Walter de Mauny, worked for the King in the invasion of Scotland. In 1332 Mauny was made sheriff of Merioneth for life; he never visited the county, but appointed a deputy. In 1337 Mauny was entitled to a ransom for prisoners of war of £8,000 by Edward III, who being unable to pay, in 1341 transferred virtually the whole revenue accruing in Merioneth to Mauny. (233) In 1341 Mauny was appointed as sheriff of Merioneth for life. (234) He was a native of Mauny near Valenciennes in the county of Hainault, near the present French / Belgium border. He had accompanied Philippa of Hainault when she came to England to marry the young Edward III. (235) In 1337 the "Hundred Years War" began against France. Edward III's son, Edward, prince of Wales, known as the Black Prince, assisted the king in France. Many Welshmen fought with the king in France. Edward III was a strong but compassionate soldier king who turned feudal England into a highly organised, sophisticated country. Under his reign England experienced its longest period of domestic peace in the Middle Ages. From 1360 the king became enfeebled in mind and body; from 1370-76, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, acted for the king. (236) In a 1341 document witnesses included Robert le Collier, John le Colier, William Pallegus. These were all families of Harlech burgesses who later intermarried with the descendants of Urien ap Tegwared. (237) In 1343 Edward III placed Wales under the rule of his eldest son (the Black Prince) who was created Prince of Wales, aged around 13 years. Edward III was driven by the war with France to exploit to the limit all the sources of income available to him. (238) Mauny paid the demanded *commorth* in 1347. (239)

EDNYFED ab Urien ab Tegwared (adult in 1343)

In June 1343 “Edne(vet) ap Vrien and Griffith ap Vrien were amongst around 25 men who gave fealty from the communities of the commote of Merionyth” on the accession of Edward the Black Prince to the Principality of Wales. (240) Ednyfed ab Urien married Nest Ddu, daughter of Llywelyn. (241) Urien ap Tegwared was probably frail or dead by 1343, when his sons gave fealty to the Black Prince.

In 1345 “North Wales was in a state of unrest and tension. In February the prince’s own deputy, Henry de Shaldeford had been murdered by Tudur ap Gronwy, one of the native magnates of Anglesey, and his cleric brother Hywel. Among those charged with conspiracy in March 1345 were the dean of St Asaph and the abbot of Conway, while other leading clerics, including the archdeacon of Bangor and the rural dean of Llyn, were still at large”. (242) About the time of Shaldeford’s murder, the Privy Council had lists of seventy-four Welshmen attainted of conspiracy and felony. Many of whom were still at large. Some of them at least represented families whose loyalties to Edward II had been beyond question. (243) It was the climax of anti-English violence in north Wales in the 1340s, which had already included the murder of the sheriff of Merioneth and the seizure of his records. (244) In August 1346 at the Battle of Crecy Welsh long-bow men made up about one third of King Edward’s army.

The Black Death, 1349-50, the most devastating of many outbreaks of bubonic plague, killed between one third and one half of the population. (245) In 1348-9 “Two parts of the Welsh people” died. (246) There was a death rate of 43% in Hereford. No episcopal records survive showing the death rate, but mass ordinations suggest efforts to bring the priesthood up to strength. Many were rushed through holy orders from acolyte, sub deacon, deacon & priest within three months. (247) The impact of cattle plagues, famine and disease in the fourteenth century must have been significant, but details have not survived. Serious depletions in the revenue of North Wales led to the making in 1352 of a survey or extent of the Prince’s lands in North Wales. Merioneth was not surveyed, possibly because Mauny declined to allow a survey, or because nothing from Merioneth came into the Exchequer at Caernarfon. Mauny drew a large and more or less steady income, probably of £750 a year, from 1332 until his death in 1372. (248) In 1349 there came the first and most serious visitation of bubonic plague. Arable land was left untenanted and often given over to grazing. In the short term there was a shortage of labour and high wages; in the long term landlords gave up direct exploitation of their demesnes which were leased to individual tenants. These tenements were, in effect, family farms and this meant a decline in the demand for labour. Mills became derelict because of the effect of a decline in arable farming and the gradual depopulation of bond communities whose lands were then let as pasture. (249)

In 1356 at the Battle of Poitiers, Edward, the Black Prince, aged 26, defeated the French army. By 1360 Edward III’s sovereignty was recognised over Calais and Aquitaine. (250) In 1364/5 March 6: Royal licence granted by Edward, “first-born of the illustrious king of the English, prince of Aquitaine and Wales, duke of Cornwall and earl of Chester” to Griffith ap Llewelyn ap Kenwric, free tenant of the township of Landowey to purchase in fee 2 messuages and 6 acres of arable land and ½ acre of meadow in the township of Lanulltud from Enion ap Griffri ap Gronw and Vryen his brother, and Iorwerth ap Ieuan ap Griffri, free tenants of the township of Landowey. Given at Caernarvon, 6 March, 22nd year of our principate of Wales. (251) No link with the Urien ap Tegwared family has so far been found.

Wales suffered further visitations of the plague in 1361-2 and 1369, especially in S E Wales. In addition there was a poor harvest in 1368 and famine in 1369. This may have been a factor in the support by some for Owain Llawgoch and his hope to rule Wales. (252) In 1369 war broke out again between England and France. Owain Llawgoch returned to France and joined the French side. He may have been supported by people from Wales. He set forth his claim to Wales, a challenge to Edward III and the Black Prince. The company of Owain was largely Welsh, in 1374 the muster indicates the Welsh origins of his men-at-arms: Harlech, Bangor, Maelor, Anglesey, & Llyn are represented; in 1381 Flint, Merioneth and Caereinion. In 1372 Rhys ap Robert ap Gruffydd ap Hywel ap Gruffydd ab Ednyfed Fychan, of the Tudor lineage, was found to be a supporter of Owain Llawgoch. Rhys was escheator of Caernarfonshire and Merioneth between 1347 and 1350. If a man like Rhys was a supporter of Owain Llawgoch, the movement was a major treat to royal authority throughout Wales. In 1374 thirty seven Welshmen are listed as being in the company of Owain, traitors across the sea. The list includes Hywel Ddu ap Gruffydd ap

Dafydd ab Iorwerth from Rhos and Gruffydd ab Ieuan Cadwgan from Merioneth. In 1375 a Gruffydd ap Dafydd ap Madog ap Meurig from Rhos, of the stock of Marchudd, the same line as Ednyfed Fychan, was later proved to have been in the King's service. In 1378 Owain was assassinated by John Lamb, probably on behalf of the English. His company was taken over by Ieuan Wyn who is named until 1384. (253)

LLYWELYN ab Ednyfed (c mid / late 1300s)

He married Lleuki daughter of Sir Howel y Fwyall (who died c1383) ab Gruffydd ab Howel ab Mareddydd ab Einion ab Gwgan ab Merwydd ab Collwyn (ab Tangno). (254) It is not known why this marriage was arranged or whether a large dowry or any lands were gained. Nothing else is at present known about Llywelyn ab Ednyfed except that Gruffydd Lloyd was his son.

Author's question re Lewis Dwnn to Gareth Haulfryn Williams with his reply in 2007:

Q: Was it Llywelyn or Gruffydd ap Ednyfed, esq, who married Lleucu?

A: I wouldn't be surprised at inconsistencies (leaving out names for a whole generation or confusing two brothers) especially when the family tree is just a male descent several generations back from 1500 – it happens a lot, a one just has to take one's pick unless there is evidence from another source. Even J E Griffith is inconsistent with the same tree sometimes!

Ednyfed also had **Griffri ab Ednyfed ap Urien** ap Tegwared of Ardudwy, who married first Nest, daughter of Dafydd Gethin (255) whose daughter & heiress Margaret was mother of John ab Vivion of Harlech. John was alive in 1440. (256) Margred, daughter of Gruffydd ab Ednyfed ab Ifior, **of Egryn, Esq**, married Ifion, governor of Harlech Castle, during the reign of King Edward I. His ancestry was: Als – Meredydd – Rhys - Ifan - Colier. (257)

Second Ednyfed married Mallt, daughter of Hywel Pickill; (258) and their son was **Llywelyn Sais** – so called because he was brought up among the English of Harlech (259)

GRUFFYDD LLOYD, son of Llywelyn ab Ednyfed (late 1300s–early 1400s)

Gruffydd Lloyd married Mali daughter of Peredur ab Aron ab Ednyfed. (260) There is a 1376-77 account by Richard de Abbersbury, the prince's steward from Tywyn, Harlech, Criccieth, Caernarfon etc. (261) From 1376 to 1381 Men from Merioneth & Harlech are listed amongst Owain Lawgoch's contingent in France. (262) Between Mauny's death in 1372 and that of the Black Prince in 1376, the prince's officers probably used the opportunity created by the resumption of the county of Merioneth to examine the prince's fiscal income in some detail after their long exclusion. They reassessed rents in each commote in 1373-5, and these may have been the basis for the extent of 1419-20. (263) In 1376 Joan, widow of the Black Prince, was granted the castle of Harlech and the county of Merioneth, along with other estates until her death in 1385. Merioneth was then granted in 1385 to Anne, queen of England until her death in 1394. (264)

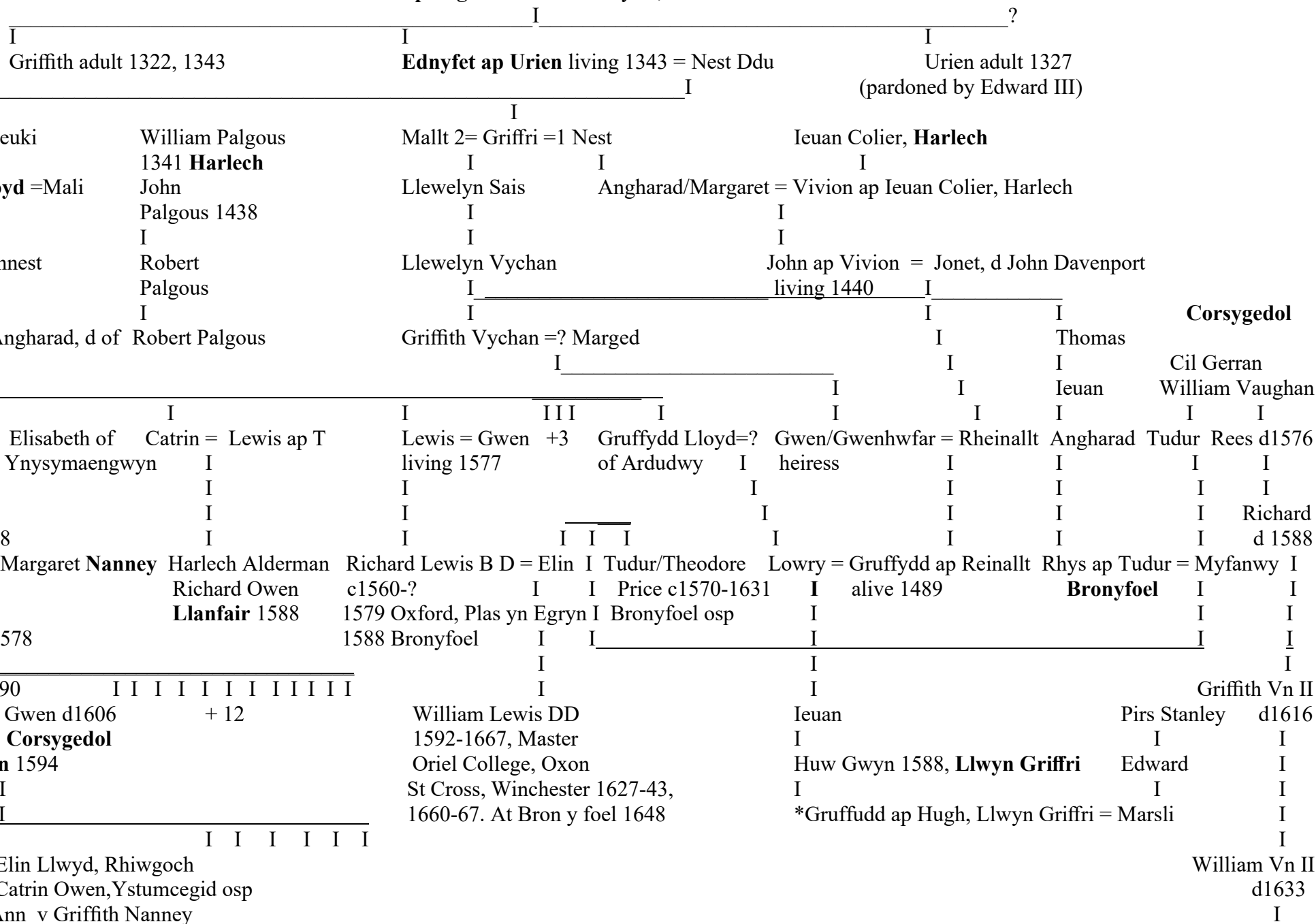
Richard II reigned from 1377-1399; he was the son of the Black Prince, and was crowned when aged 10; a Council of State was formed during his minority, and was led by John of Gaunt, Richard's eldest uncle, until 1389. The country was full of disbanded soldiers skilled in the use of the longbow and keenly aware of its power to lay low the mighty. (265) Richard II was to spend his reign in conflicts with his barons and, again like Edward II, he was finally to be deposed by them, and probably murdered, in 1399. He undoubtedly looked to Cheshire and North Wales for support against his enemies. (266) In 1381 in the diocese of Bangor the bishop had to seek permission to unite parishes because they were so poor that no one would accept them. (267) Richard II married Anne of Bohemia in 1382 and, after her death in 1394, Isabella of France. He recruited from Ireland, Wales and Cheshire a substantial private army; he arrested and executed or exiled his enemies. John of Gaunt (a faithful servant of the crown and third surviving son of Edward III) died in 1399. His son Henry Bolingbroke's exile was extended to life and his Lancastrian inheritance seized. In May 1399 Richard II set off for Ireland and Bolingbroke sailed from France to claim his inheritance. In July Richard returned to Wales, where he had most personal support. Richard was deserted and imprisoned by Bolingbroke in the Tower. He was forced to abdicate in 1399 and died in 1400 in Pontefract castle. (268) In the summer of 1399 Richard II returned from Ireland to south west Wales, travelled northward, traversing Merioneth on a route which may have taken him through Harlech on his way to Conwy. (269) The 1391-2 accounts for Harlech; John Banham, sheriff, refer to freeman and bondmen in Ardudwy Uwch Artro - rents not paid. (270)

There are 1394-5 accounts for Merioneth. and also 1399-1400 accounts for Merioneth, Ardudwy Is Artro. (271)

In 1399 Henry IV came to the throne. It was an insecure government with rumours of plots. The psychological disarray of the country was compounded by many elements: deep doubts about the legitimacy of the dynastic revolution of 1399, recurrent noble conspiracies, resentment of high taxation, anticlericalism and heresy, invasion scares, bad harvests and poor weather. There were many rumours, even in Wales, that large sums of money were being dispatched by abbots, priors and laymen to subsidise Owain Glyn Dwr's activities in Wales. (272) On October 13 1399: The title "prince of Wales" was conferred on the eldest son of Henry IV, young Henry "of Monmouth", the later king Henry V. (273) October 1399 to 1413 covered the reign of the Lancastrian Henry IV, the son of John of Gaunt and Blanche of Lancaster. The autumn of 1400 saw the start of an intractable guerrilla war in Wales. In 1403 the king's most powerful supporters, the Percys, revolted. Henry Percy (Hotspur) had grievances against the king; he was also related to Glyndwr by marriage. Hotspur was killed at the battle near Shrewsbury on 21 July 1403. Harlech castle was starved into submission in 1409. From 1406 Henry IV was frequently immobilised by illness; he died in 1413. (274)

EGRYN Appendix 3: Family Tree of URIEN ap TEGWARED

Urien ap Tegwared of Llandwywe, adult 1292/3 – 1327.



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(201) This would seem to be the same petitioner as in A.P. 3830-1 also the subject of enquiry in Cal. Inq. Misc. I, No 1744 and Cal. Inq. Misc. II No 746 (1324) (202) Rot. Parl. I 378 (12); Record of Caernarvon, ed Sir H Ellis, 215, 225
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PART 2: Section 8. The GLYNDWR REVOLT

The role, if any, of the Egryn family in the Owain Glyndwr uprising, or in the 1405 parliament held in Harlech, is not known, nor is it known whether their properties were destroyed during the uprising in the early 1400s.

It is probable that the motive of Glyn Dwr's Tudor cousins, who supported him to the end, was resentment at the dethronement of Richard II, in whose personal service they had been – that dethronement occurred just twelve months before the revolt broke out. One gets the feeling that the passion which clearly went into the uprising from the Welsh side, was largely generated by those social and economic changes which, in Wales as in England, were dissolving the medieval order. In its sheer wanton destructiveness it has about it much of the quality of a peasants' rising against conditions felt to be intolerable. The material devastation left by the revolt was still visible a century later. (275) In late July / early August of 1399 Richard II returned from Ireland to southwest Wales & travelled via the castles of Harlech, Caernarfon, Beaumaris & maybe Flint. In August Richard was taken into captivity and deposed. (276) In the summer of 1399 Henry IV came to the throne. By September 1400 Owain Glyndwr was proclaimed prince of Wales; the whole of north Wales was involved to some degree in the rising. In September 1400 Henry IV led a lightening campaign into north Wales and left a garrison of 20 men at arms and 80 archers to defend the castles of Caernarfon, Criccieth and Harlech. (277) During the uprising no specific reference has yet been found to Llanaber or Egryn. However, there must have been significant effects due to the proximity of Harlech.

Early in 1401 the King sent spies in Merioneth to try to track down Owain Glyndwr. In the summer of 1401 Harlech was besieged by the Welsh; a force of 500 was sent to relieve it in the autumn, but in later winter Owain and his forces were still laying siege to Harlech. (278) Royal government over Merioneth had evidently been terminated by the end of 1401, and it would be some time before it was restored. (279) In 1402 English boroughs were a prime target of Owain's initial assault; houses were burnt and there was loss of goods, stock and trade. John Colier, the leading townsman of Harlech itemized his losses: 165 head of cattle, 40 horses, 100 sheep, and goods to the value of £40. (280) None of the subsidy due from Merioneth could be collected "because of the new insurrections of Owain Glyn Dwr". (281) In 1403 Harlech and the other north Wales castles were isolated outposts of English, frequently besieged. The revolt was by now a national revolt. (282) In May 1403 Prince Henry raided Owain's main residence at Sycharth. (283)

In 1404 Vivien Colier of Harlech was commended for his resolve in leading the surviving defenders in a last stand. It is probable that Harlech then became the centre of Owain's principality. (284) But early in 1404 the Constable of Harlech castle was captured and the castle fell in late 1404. (285) Owain in effect established an alternative power structure in north-west Wales; Adam of Usk implied that Caernarfonshire and Merionethshire were "at his beck in respect both of governance and of war" This is also supported by the reports that Owain held two parliaments in 1404-05 and by evidence that the wheels of ecclesiastical administration were turning quite effectively in areas under Owain's control. (286) In August 1405 Owain Glyndwr summoned a parliament to be held at Harlech, which four of the more influential persons from each *commote* throughout Wales would attend. (287) But by the summer of 1406 the English controlled Anglesey and by May 1407 the only area in which Owain could be said to have any sustained hold were probably Caernarfonshire, Merionethshire and northern Cardiganshire. (288)

By late 1407 the revolt of Owain Glyndwr was reverting to a guerrilla war conducted from the fastnesses of north and west Wales. (289) In December 1408 Harlech was put under siege by royal forces, including a massive cannon. (290) In February 1409 Harlech castle fell due to lack of supplies and a Welsh war effort exhausted by hard winters, not by cannon-ball and guns. (291) Owain's wife, two of his children and three of his granddaughters were captured, along with all their household goods. His son in law, Edmund Mortimer had already died in Harlech during the siege. (292) Harlech town had been seriously damaged. It was claimed that 45 houses had been burned, chattels to the value of over 500 marks had been destroyed, and much of the wealth of the burgesses in livestock had been plundered, the total losses amounting to well over £500. (293) In 1412 an effort was made to quell the last signs of the Glyndwr disobedience in Merionethshire by posting 180 men at Cymer and Bala, but by then nervousness had become chronic and doubtless explains the inquiry into unlawful congregations in Wales in November 1412. (294)

In March 1413 Henry V ascended the throne and he reigned until 1422. (295) By November 1413 Henry V had issued a comprehensive pardon to the counties of North Wales not only in respect of all treason and other felonies but also with regard to all debts and arrears still outstanding on 5 November, 1411. As the

year drew to a close he ordered the chamberlain (or chief financial officer) of North Wales to spend £200 on the purchase of cows and sheep to help the tenants of Caernarfonshire and Merionethshire to restock their holdings. (296) In November 1413 the four royal counties of north Wales (Anglesey, Caernarfonshire, Merionethshire and Flintshire) agreed to pay an enormous collective fine of £1,400 (2,100 marks) over the next six to eight years to secure communal pardons for their offences, including treason against Henry IV, and for the cancellation of their debts still outstanding in November 1411. (297) “All the country then was but a forest, rough and spacious as it is still, but then waste of inhabitants and all overgrown with woods, for Owain Glyndwr’s wars, beginning in Anno 1400, continued fifteen years, which brought such a desolation that green grass grew on the market-place in Llanwrst called Bryn-y-boten, and the deer fed in the churchyard of Llanwrst, as it is reported, for it was Owain Glyndwr’s policy to bring all things to waste, that the English should find not strength nor resting place in the country. The country, being brought to such a desolation, could not be replanted in haste. In those days the country of Nanconwy was not only wooded, but also all Caernarfonshire, Merionethshire and Denbighshire seemed to be but one forest and wood, having few inhabitants over that it has this day”. (298)

In March 1414 a group of royal justices held their solemn sessions at Bala (county Merioneth), Caernarfon and Beaumaris (county Anglesey). At each venue huge numbers of local men appeared before the justices to make the most abject submission, to crave pardon, and in particular to secure title to their lands (technically forfeit as a result of the rebellion), right of hereditary descent according to Welsh law, and protection of widows. Their pleas were successful, but again at a price - a further £833 6s 8d (1,250 marks) from the three counties of the north-west. (299) On 10th March 1414 at Bala there was a gathering of the king’s tenants from Merioneth of over 600 men. Those who spoke for the community immediately asked for the king’s grace and his peace and, throwing themselves on the ground, solemnly swore that they would thereafter remain the king’s faithful servants and never again rise in rebellion. (300) In 1415 negotiations were still being conducted with the Glyndwr rebels in Merionethshire and officers refused to discharge their revenue-raising duties there for fear of the Welsh. By 1415 the English monarchy had virtually exhausted its opportunities for exploitation. (301)

A 1416-17 Account for Penllyn and Ardudwy was an attempt to restore the bond renders. In post-rebellion Account rolls for Merioneth, Ardudwy freemen were to pay £37 rents to the crown. (302) In 1416 a sum of £12 was assessed (by the Crown’s officers) on the bondmen of the *commote* and the responsibility for its levy was placed for four years on Madog ap Madog “in the name of the community of bondmen”, increasing by £2 in the last two years, with a condition that twelve houses be built on bond lands. (303) In 1416-18 small garrisons were retained at many Welsh castles; there were thirteen men at Harlech. (304) In May 1417 a memorandum submitted to the king’s council saw the control of Merionethshire as the key to the whole security situation in north Wales; “if that county is well and adequately guarded, the whole of north Wales will be at peace”. (305) In 1420 Merioneth still had the characteristics of a no-go area; in July the government empowered the sheriff of Caernarfonshire and Merioneth to receive any Welsh rebels submitting to the king. (306) The most striking feature of the social landscape and pattern of government in Wales by 1421 was the degree to which it was dominated by men who had once been prominent supporters of Glyn Dwr and his lieutenants in their respective districts. The government of Henry V (1413-1422) was in no mood to be vindictive; it could in any case satisfy any thirst for revenge in the practical and profitable form of heavy community fines for pardons. It was painfully obvious that local government could only be restored in Wales by vesting it once more in the hands of those who had exercised it before the revolt and who had temporarily defected in droves to Glyn Dwr’s cause when it was in the ascendant. (307) Extensive devastation was wrought in Merioneth during the course of the rebellion. Mills were destroyed as were innumerable houses in bond townships, possibly thought of as assets of the Crown. Widespread damage was possibly done by those in rebellion so as to deny an invading army the opportunity to live off the land. After the fall of Harlech the presence of royal forces may have been to bring a particularly recalcitrant community to heel. On the other hand, the prince of Wales, wrote with some satisfaction of the destruction of houses and lands in Edernion. Thus it is possible that the damage done in the *commote* of Ardudwy and elsewhere to which the account rolls bear ample witness, could be the work of royal armies during their successive incursions. Only a fraction of the income due from Ardudwy Is Artro was received in 1399-1400; after the rebellion the total Ardudwy charge of £62 was met with a yield of only £36. (308) As a result of the destruction, the Crown’s senior officials came to an understanding with the communities whereby the assessed rents of the freemen were levied at an agreed sum for one named person, the *rhingyll*, and the community of the *commote* shared responsibility; in Ardudwy the sum was £37. (309) The combined calamitous effects of plague and rebellion of the population, particularly in bond villis in Ardudwy, resulted in deserted holdings in Henry V’s reign (1413-1422). These became the battlefield for rival gentry families hungry for land. There was a more fluid land market in the post Glyn Dwr period and after the

plague, and the better-placed families were not the only ones to benefit from it. Competition from undue numbers had been reduced by then: plague and rebellion were appalling disasters for the peasantry as a whole, but for those who survived the opportunities had never been better. (310)

The reign of Henry V lasted from 1413 to 1422. He had been created Prince of Wales in 1399, aged 12, at his father's coronation, and was soon taking an active part in the administration of the principality. In 1403 Henry was victorious against Hotspur (Henry Percy) at the battle of Shrewsbury. In the October 1415 Battle of Agincourt, victory brought the king great popularity. In 1420 Henry married Catherine of France. Henry V died of dysentery in France in 1422. (311)

Part 2 section 8 Footnotes

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- (298) Sir John Wynn, *History of the Gwydir Family and Memoirs*, ed J Gwynfor Jones, 1990, 51, 158
- (299) R R Davies, 1997, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndwr*, 308
- (300) KB9/204/3 mm 25-6 & mm 22
- (301) R R Davies, 1997, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndwr*, 300, 308
- (302) See PRO SC6/1203/11 and /12, in *History of Merioneth vol II* ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 97 n248 & 99 n254
- (303) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, *Government and Society 1283-1536*, in *History of Merioneth, Vol II*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 99
- (304) R R Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndwr, 1997*, 303
- (305) R R Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndwr, 1997*, 299
- (306) R R Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndwr, 1997*, 300
- (307) R R Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndwr, 1997*, 312
- (308) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, *Government and Society 1283-1536*, in *History of Merioneth*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 93, 96-7
- (309) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, *Government and Society 1283-1536*, in *History of Merioneth*, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 97
- (310) K Williams Jones, *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll 1292-93*, 1976, lvi-lvii, lix
- (311) A Fraser, *The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England*, 1998, 120-127

PART 2: section 9. The 1419-20 Extent of Merioneth

In the 1420 Extent of Merioneth, Ardudwy was the most intricate area, socially and institutionally. The *gafael* was the main form of landholding, not only in the mixed townships of Llanaber, Llanddwywe and Llanenddwyn, but also in the exclusively free townships of Llandecwyn, Maentwrog and Trawsfynydd. In Is Artro, Llanelltud was inhabited by the heirs of two unmanned free *gafaelion*; Llanddwywe held by five *gafaelion*; and Llanenddwyn was home for occupiers of four *gafaelion* which made up the *maerdref* of Ystumgwern, thirteen other bond *gafaelion* and seven *gafaelion* said to be held by *tir mal* tenants. Across the commote generally, *gwelyau* form only a small minority of units (31 compared with 167 *gafaelion*, that is less than one in six), and are virtually confined to the townships of Llanaber (four bond, together with a parcel of free land at **Egryn**), Uwch Cefn-y-Clawdd (sixteen bond), Llanfair (three free) and Llanaber (sic), Llanddwywe and Llanenddwyn. The Extent notes that there were eight free *gwelyau*, divided for a long time, particulars of which were not known, although their names were given and they seemed to be dispersed throughout the townships of Llanaber, Llanddwywe and Llanenddwyn. (312) “The latter half of the 14th century and the first decades of the 15th century are seen as a time of widespread desertion of settlements (plague, Glyndwr revolt, escheat lands, bond vills vacant etc). Llanaber is exceptional in the remarkable preservation of its tenurial system and in the predominance of bond vills in 1420; there was one free *gafael* of Egryn. (313) The general deterioration of economic and administrative order into confusion and chaos provided the opportunity for escape or neglect. Three dozen complete *gwelyau* or *gafaelion*, almost exclusively of bond status, were vacant and without known heirs. These included three of the five bond *gafaelion* in Llanddwywe, and five in Llanenddwyn. (314)

In 1419-20 bond land called Keirtreff (or Teirtref) is identified in Llanaber township in the Extent of Merioneth. (315) The greater part of the Llanaber township appears to have been held in bond tenure, for the four *gwelyau* listed in the Record of Carnarvon as *Wele yr offeriad*, *Wele wyrion Trahaiarn*, *Wele bach* and *Wele wyrion Gwythir*; are further described in the proceedings of the Court of Requests for 1520 as “amountynge to the more and greater parte of the landes wthin your said towne”. (316) In 1420 their tenants are found owing suit to the king’s mill at Ystumgwern and doing carriage duties for the king. A free holding, known as Golodd, was held by the heirs of one Madoc and although the bounds of its lands were unknown to the commissioners, the name reappears as a farm in Llanaber-uwch-Mynydd at the head of the Dwynt Valley. **Egryn** was also a parcel of free land, with its own milling rights, and today is still a holding running down from the ridge of Llawllech to the coast. (317)

The following notes refer to named holdings which can still be identified as having later belonged to the owners of Egryn. In Llanenddwyn in the 1420 extent thirteen bond *gafaelion* are set down; one is *gafael y Gronant/Gornant*, and a holding of land on the rising ground to the east of St Enddwyn’s church has retained the name in the form of Gornant. This holding was vacant in 1420. (318) “And the said *gafael ygor-nant* is vacant, and gives the Lord Prince, at each of the four terms, 6d. Total 2 shillings”. (319) By 1623 Gornant was part of the Egryn estate. (320) It was sold in 1702 to the Corsygedol estate. In Llanenddwyn township another *gafael* of bond land was named *gafael of Griffri’ bach*. “And the said *gafael Griffri’ bach* is vacant and gives thereof, to the Lord Prince, each term, 8d. Total 2s 8d.” (321) Also in Llanenddwyn township it was recorded that “In this township there are seven *gafaelion* of land called Tir Mal, namely: ... *gafael Cadwgan ap Heilyn*, is vacant and gives the Lord Prince at each of the four terms 7½d. Total 2s 6d. It is not known how or when these three holding became part of the lands held by the ancestors of the Tudur family of Egryn.

The 1420 Extent of the *Commotes* of Merioneth in Ardudwy Is Artro, for Llanaber township records “In this township there is a certain **parcel of free land called Egryn**. It is chargeable in the account of the township of Llanfrothen Uwchartro. Iorwerth Fychan, Morus Du and others are the hereditary tenants of the said *gafael Iorwerth ap Hoell*, and they give to the Lord Prince, at each of the four terms, aforesaid [value omitted] in respect of this. Total per annum... [value omitted]. And of the rent called *twnc*... [value omitted]. And they pay to the Lord Prince, 10s. for relief, 10s. for *gobrestyn*, and 10s. for *amobr*, when and as often as it occurs. And they owe suit at the *commote* and hundred courts, and they have their own mill. Under Llanfrothen Uwch artro it is recorded “In this township there are 51 *gafaelion* of free land, namely ... *Gafael Iorwerth ap Hoell* 3s. 8d. [this is the *gafael* called Egryn] (322) On 22 January 1659/60 a document from Hugh Johnes to Sir Owen Wynn at Gwedir [co. Carnarvon] notes “the preparation of a bill of complaint against **Mr. Tudder of Egryn**; the advisability of proceeding against Mr. Tudder alone; the relevance to the case of grants by Queen Elizabeth to Richard Vaughan of *Gavell Ievan dauid ap Iorwerth*, *Gavell hulkin*, and *gavell gwenllian Tew* in the parish of Llanddwywe, and *gavell dauid ap Gwyn* in Llan-

enddwyn [all in co. Merioneth]; their failure to find the will of Rees Vaughan, father of the said Richard, which “would discover all the wholeall petikree of those gavels”. (323)

In the 1420 Extent of Merioneth under **Ardudwy uwch Artro** it is recorded that in **Llanfair** there is a certain parcel of free land called *Irosdyffrwe* [*? Y Rhos Ddwyffrwd*], *Caer y Thubluog* [Gerddi Bluog, south of Moel y Gerddi], *Rryd yr Eirin* [**Rhyd yr Eirin**, below Moel y Gerddi], which is charged in the account of the townships of Trawsfynydd and Maentwrog. It is also recorded that in **Llandanwg** there is a certain parcel of land called *Ymmwlch* [**Ymwlech** is just east of Llandanwg church] and *Hafodwen* near Merthyr, charged in the account of Trawsfynydd township. (324)

In the 1420 Extent of Merioneth some of the tenants of the free *gafael* in Llanaber township are listed; none of the names appear to match the ancestors of the Tudor family, suggesting that the family may have been living elsewhere, possibly in one of the eight free gwelyau dispersed throughout the townships of Llanaber, Llanddwywe and Llanenddwyn where they held land by 1623. The following summarises the holdings named in 1420 which later belonging to the Egryn estate:

Egryn, Llanaber – free land: charged in the account of Llanfrothen. 3s 8d. *Gafael Iorwerth ap Hoell*, called Egryn.

Ymwlech, Llandanwg - charged in the account of Trawsfynydd

Rhyd yr Eirin, Llanfair – free land: charged in the account of Trawsfynydd & Maentwrog.

Ygornant, Llanenddwyn - bond *gafael*: vacant. 2/-d.

Cadwgan ap Heilyn, Llanenddwyn bond *gafael* (Tir Mal): vacant. 2s 6d.

Griffri' bach, Llanenddwyn – bond *gafael*: vacant. 2s 8d.

There are also occasional records of ecclesiastical lands and personnel which seem to be extra parochial. One is of some Beddgelert Priory land in Ardudwy. The Extent of Merioneth of 1420 records that there was a parcel of land in Llanfair (juxta Harlech) called “tir stent of the **Prior of Bethkelert**, and it gives the Lord Prince yearly 2d”. (325) This became the farm of Tir Mair, & must have been the triangular piece of land which was glebe in the Tithe Map. It later became Hafod-y-bryn and is now near the Llanbedr airfield. 'In the Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll of 1292-3 the second highest assessment in Taltreuddyn was **Gervase Presbyter**, paying 8s 9d. In the early church a presbyter was one who had management of the affairs of a local church, so this was doubtless the priest appointed by the Prior of Beddgelert to serve the church at Llanfair and settled on the Extent land, which he farmed and so owned goods that were taxable. Since there was a peppercorn rent of 2d. this had to be recorded in the Extent of 1420 unlike other church land, and was there set down in the parish of Llanfair. This land may have been given by the Lords of Ardudwy before the Conquest to the Prior of Beddgelert for the support of the church at Llanfair and the pilgrims who visited (the cult of the Virgin Mary) at Llanfair.' References in the Edwardian Extent of 1284 sets down, under Prysor, payments due from the freemen of Ardudwy & includes: "From Master Gervase Foel for that which was Gwyn Foel's and held by the gift of Prince Llywelyn 10s. The said Gervase says that he ownes no render." Here we have two tonsured priests, and Gwyn, the predecessor of Gervase, would have received Tir Mair at the hands of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, who was the principal patron of Beddgelert.” (326) It could however have referred to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. No Beddgelert priory land in Merionethshire was recorded in 1286 by Bishop Anian or Edward I, nor is it recorded in the 1535 Valor Ecclesiasticus.

The reign of Henry VI (1422-1461/71) commenced when he was aged 1; his uncle, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester was Protector & there was a Council of Ministers. His mother had formed a liaison with a Welsh squire, Owen Tudor (no relation to the Egryn family). Henry VI established King's College, Cambridge in 1441 and married Margaret of Anjou in 1445. By 1450 Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset (descended from John of Gaunt) had a longstanding feud with Richard, Duke of York (descended from John of Gaunt's elder and younger brothers). Both stood a chance of inheriting the throne; Somerset was killed in 1455. By 1451 the Duchy of Aquitaine was lost to England and 1453 saw the end of the Hundred Years' War against France. The birth of the heir Edward occurred in 1453. From 1453-5 king Henry VI was deemed temporarily insane. (327)

As a result of the penal laws imposed on the Welsh following the 1400-1415 Glyndwr uprising, the devastation caused during the uprising and the great distrust between the two nations, there was much unrest in the early fifteenth century. “Many thousands of Welshmen crossed the sea to take part in the French wars. The archer's pay was twice that of a labourer. Service abroad was a relief from disabilities and bondage at home”. Eventually they returned home to the desperate conditions in Wales. “The peasantry retaliated upon the insolence and ferocity of the municipal officials of North Wales with organised raids upon Conway, Dolgellau and Beaumaris on market days, which sometimes ended in bloodshed. John Meredith, cousin of

Owen Tudor, fought out his feuds alternately with William Griffith, chamberlain of North Wales, and the Thelwalls of Dyffryn Clwyd. (328)

Gradually burgesses acquired land by confiscation and re-lease by the Crown. In 1424, a free tenant of Llanaber, in all probability the heir to one of the eight free *gwelyau* in that part of Arddudwy, conveyed a *tyddyn* or tenement to John Salghall, a burgess of Harlech and constable of its castle, for a term of four years in consideration for £3 0s 8d. (329) In 1425-6 Accounts note that while the effect of the destruction on the income from the bond communities continued to be recited, the authorities strove to restore the receipts to their previous levels. (330)

In 1433 there is evidence of efforts to resolve a difficulty which arose from the depopulation of the bond vills, already thought about in 1416-17. Following the destruction wrought during the rebellion, the consequent poverty of the bondmen, and the departure of very many from the king's lands, few remained to pay the bond rents. (331) In the 1440s the justice's sessions levied fines on named individuals. (332) In 1441-2 there was a Great Turn of the county which is largely a formal record of the presentations made by all the communities of the townships, each said to come "by five" often with no record of any offences. It gives the names of the cluster, that is the officer elected by the community of the township to be responsible for the collection of assessments and other revenue, an officer who appears far more prominent in Merioneth than in the other counties of North Wales. Where fines are levied in the roll for this year they are often occasioned by offences such as the illicit brewing or sale of ale, occasionally more serious matters of theft or bloodshed. (333) The role of office holder was a reflection of the influence that these men exerted by virtue of that combination of lineage and landholding which was already evident in the period of the conquest. The names of those who swore fealty to Edward, Prince of Wales, in 1301, provides an early indication of the emergence of a stratum of powerful freemen within the community of the county. Their status reflects processes of social differentiation already indicated in the tax assessments enumerated in the subsidy roll a decade earlier. They are the precursors of the gentry whose estates are well documented in the evidence of the second half of the sixteenth century and later. (334)

By the 1450s the county of Merioneth was judged to be well-nigh ungovernable. A serious breakdown in government had occurred, partly attributable to the period in which the land was subject to the authority of men who, closely linked though they might be to the central organs of government in England, failed to fulfil the Crown's duty of providing good government to the community. Matters did not improve following the accession of Edward IV in 1461. (335) From 1448 to 1459 Accounts of Merioneth survive for the local officers, escheators and sheriff. (336) In 1452-3 the Crown subsidies returned by Merioneth were very low. (337) Around 1453 "the government became alive to the need of stringent supervision in Wales. Sir Thomas Stanley, chamberlain of North Wales was commissioned to compel the payment of arrears of debts and revenues from Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire and Anglesey, and to make inquisition touching trespasses, services, and customs concealed from the king, officers negligent of their duties etc. Cymmer Abbey was committed to the charge of the duke of Somerset and Ellis ap Griffith ap Einion". "The Lancastrians could now claim supremacy in the Principality - Anglesey, Carnarvonshire and Merionethshire". (338)

Part 2 Section 9 Footnotes:

(312) C Thomas, Rural Society, Settlement, Economy and Landscapes, in History of Merioneth, Vol II, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 193

(313) Martin de Lewanderwicz, 1981, Relict Fields & Associated Structures in Llanaber Parish, Meirionydd, University of Wales Bangor thesis, The Later Medieval, 29-40

(314) C Thomas, Rural Society, Settlement, Economy and Landscapes, in History of Merioneth, Vol II, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 216

(315) H Ellis, ed, 1838, Record of Carnarvon 277-80

(316) PRO, Court of Requests, Proceedings Henry VIII Bundle 8, 133

(317) D Hooke, Llanaber: a study in landscape development, JMHRs vol VII, part 3 (1975), 223

(318) C A Gresham, Ystumgwern and Prysor, JMHRs, 1986, 100-118

(319) H Ellis, ed, 1838, Record of Caernarvon p H Ellis, ed, 1838, 277-80

(320) NLW, 12731 E, D E Jenkins1; UWB Mostyn 3623; Dolgellau Record Office Z/DH/72

(321) H Ellis, ed, 1838, Record of Caernarfon, 277-80

(322) H Ellis, ed, 1838, Record of Caernarfon, 277-80

(323) NLW Wigfair (3), ms 2795

(324) H Ellis, ed, 1838, Record of Caernarvon 277-280; Extent of Merioneth, The Record of Caernarvon 277-280, translated by D Longley, October 2006

(325) H Ellis, ed, 1838, Record of Caernarvon, 281

(326) C A Gresham, 1986, JMHRs, 110

(327) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, 128-138

(328) H T Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, 1998 edition, 19, 22

- (329) UWB, Mostyn 3612, UWB Nannau ms 1; Mostyn 3794, 3832, 3630, 3666, 3708-10; Merionnydd Record Office Tanybwlch DV 5, 7-8, 11, 17-18, 21, 29, 31, 34, 39-40, 43; C Thomas, Rural Society, Settlement, Economy and Landscapes, in History of Merioneth, Vol II, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 219
- (330) PRO SC6/1204/1, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, History of Merioneth, Vol II, The Middle Ages, 2001, 99 n255
- (331) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, Government and Society 1283-1536, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, History of Merioneth, Vol II, The Middle Ages, 2001, 105
- (332) SC6/1203/4, SC6/1204/2 /5, /6; SC6/1202/2 in History of Merioneth vol II, 97 n248 & 102 n279-282
- (333) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, Government and Society 1283-1536, in History of Merioneth, vol II, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 102; PRO E216, facsimile in Meirionnydd Record Office, ZM/5439 - seen, but illegibly to this author
- (334) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, Government and Society 1283-1536, in History of Merioneth, Vol II, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 10)
- (335) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, Government and Society 1283-1536, in History of Merioneth, Vol ii, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 120-6
- (336) SC6/1205/1-5, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, History of Merioneth, Vol II, The Middle Ages, 2001, 119 n365
- (337) SC6/1217/21, in J & Ll Beverley Smith, History of Merioneth, Vol II, The Middle Ages, 2001, 119 n364
- (338) H T Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, 1998 edition, 50, [54](#)

PART 2: Section 10.

EDNYFED ap Gruffydd Lloyd ap Llewelyn ap Ednyfed ap Urien, living 31 Henry VI (1453)

In 1453 Ednyfed ap Gruffith Lloyd is listed in the Records of Inquisitions from Harlech, as is Ithel ap Iorwerth ap Enion (Ynysmaengwyn family) He was one of the Grand Jury, on 31 July 31 Henry VI (1453). (339) The Grand Jury consisted of the chief leaders of the community who decided which cases had sufficient evidence to go forward to the Court of Great Sessions. Most of the document relating to the Grand Juries has now been lost. (340) The Grand Jury was a general jury of enquiry with local freeholders selected to 'present' or indict matters for attention to the Great Sessions/ Assize or whatever. They basically said there was a case to answer. A specially empanelled 'petty jury' would decide on guilt. They lasted up to the 19th century when magistrates' courts took over. (341)

"Ar" means esquire in medieval times when it related to a lord's closest soldiers drawn from his chief undertenants, or sons of such, but by 16th century it refers to landowners with substantial estates, usually in more than one parish, of noble descent, and living mainly on rental income although with their own farming activity. They were by definition without an 'English' title such as Sir or Lord. The eldest son was usually the only one to carry the title, younger sons being 'gentlemen'. All sons of VERY major esqs might be esq (e.g. Glynllifon, Corsygedol) and all sons of baronets/peers. I know of no watertight definition; I think my MA thesis has done the most work on this definition; more needs doing. (342)

Ednyfed ar (Esquire) married Anes/*Annest* daughter & co-heiress of Thomas ab Dafydd Gam ab Cynwrig ab Goronwy ab Huw ab Ierwerth ab Gwgan ab Idnerth ab Edryd. (343) [*Her mother was Gwenhwyvar, daughter of Robert ab Goronwy Llwyd (G Llwyd was one of the Jury for taking the extent of Nantconwy in 1352) ab Y Penwyn of Melai*] Melai is near Llangernyw, Denbighshire. (344) It is not known whether Anes / Annest brought any inherited land to this marriage. The mother of Annes verch Thomas ap Dafydd Gam, Gwenhwyfar verch Gronwy Llwyd ab y Penwyn carried 3 boars' heads in silver in a Y-shaped pall torn off. (345) Thomas ap Dafydd Gam's ancestor Idnerth ab Edryd was brother to (or the same person as Ednyfed's ancestor Ithel ap Edryd. (346) Ednyfed and both Anes's father's and mother's side descended from Marchudd. (347) Maybe this distant relationship was a reason for this marriage.

The Wars of the Roses from circa 1460 to 1485 were between the Houses of Lancaster (Royalists) and York, beginning in 1460 when the Duke of York claimed the throne of England and concluded at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485 with Henry Tudor's victory against Richard III. On 10 July 1460 the Lancastrians were overwhelmed at the battle of Northampton. Queen Margaret fled to Harlech castle with the young prince Henry aged six years; she left Wales in October for Scotland. (348) It was elsewhere noted that in 1460 Queen Margaret, wife of Henry VI, had eluded capture at Northampton and had taken refuge with the prince behind the battlements of Harlech castle. She took ship for Berwick on the Scottish border and appeared in mid-December at the head of a new Lancastrian host. In December 1460 Richard Duke of York was killed at Wakefield. (349) In 1461 on 2 February the Lancastrians were defeated at the battle of Mortimer's Cross and Owen Tudor (Plas Penmynydd family) was killed. (350) From 1461 to April 1483 during the reign of the Yorkist Edward IV the Wars of the Roses continued between the Lancastrians and the Yorkists each supporting rival claimants to the throne. The Lancastrians supported Henry Tudor, who was living in exile in Brittany. From 1471 Edward IV's authority remained unchallenged. He died of fever in 1483. (351) In March 1461, the Duke of York's eldest son, Edward IV, was installed as King at Westminster. Edward then defeated Henry VI and Margaret at Towton. They took refuge in Scotland. For three years Henry hovered on the outskirts of his lost kingdom at Harlech and at the Northumberland fortress towns of Berwick and Bamburgh, while Margaret schemed to enlist the Scots and the French in his cause. (352)

The impact on north Wales will now be considered. On 4 October 1461 it was reported that all Welsh resistance to the Yorkist crown was at an end, and that Jasper Tudor had taken refuge in the mountains of Snowdon, the last stronghold of so many lost causes and the nursery of as many new enterprises. ... But Harlech castle had not submitted, and was to remain inexorable for another seven years. Jasper Tudor and the North Wales Lancastrians were brought to bay near Carnarvon. They made their last stand at Tuthill, just outside the walls of that town, on 16 October, 1461. ... The Yorkists once more triumphed ... Jasper Tudor escaped to Ireland. ... The Yorkists did not pursue their advantage to compelling Harlech, the only remaining Lancastrian stronghold in Wales, to surrender". In autumn 1461 it was held by local Welshmen

against the Crown in the name of Henry VI. (353) By the autumn of 1461 Harlech castle was in the hands of a number of Welshmen of the county under the leadership of Dafydd ab Ieuan ab Einion. They defied the authority of Edward IV for seven years, exercising an influence beyond its battlements and the entire county was removed from the officer's authority. ... They held Henry VI to be their true sovereign lord. The king's tenants petitioned king Edward IV that they had been "daily taken prisoners and put to fine and ransom as it were a land of war" and robbed of their goods and cattle. The petition listed seventeen men who had joined Dafydd, including men from the Corsygedol lineage and Jenkyn ap Iorwerth (probably of Ynys-maengwyn). (354)

In 1463 "David ap Ieuan ap Einion (of Pengwern, Festiniog) was constable of the Castle of Harlech, and held it for several years for King Henry VI against the hostile faction of the Yorkists. It was, during his custody of that fortress, that the unfortunate monarch, accompanied by his intrepid Queen, (Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou) found a refuge within its walls in 1463. An account of David's gallant bearing, when constable of Harlech, will be found in the Autobiography of Lord Herbert of Cherbury; and a petition, and other proceedings consequent on his refusal to surrender the Castle, in the Rolls of Parliament for the first and fourth years of King Henry IV." (355) On 26 October 1464 at Wycombe: Sir William Herbert, Richard Herbert etc to receive into the King's allegiance all rebels within the king's castle of Hardelagh and county of Merionnyth in N Wales And promise pardon and letters of pardon under the Great Seal. (356) In 1464 the temporalities of the sees of St Asaph and Bangor were forfeited on account of the bishop's participation in these Lancastrian movements. Herbert was once more empowered to pacify Wales. In October 1464 he obtained a commission to receive into the king's allegiance all rebels, with few exceptions, within Harlech and Merionethshire". (357)

On 13 June 1465 at Westminster: Commission to the king's kinsman, Edmund, earl of Kent and Lord of Ruthyn, of authority to receive into the king's allegiance and pardon all rebels within the king's castle of Hardelagh and county of Merionnyth in N Wales on the day of the delivery to him of the said castle and county. (358) On 28 August 1465 at Westminster: Appointment for life of the king's kinsman Edmund Grey, earl of Kent, as chief justice of the county of Merionnyth in N Wales with full power of doing in that county all that pertains to the office of justice in N Wales, and grant that during his life the county shall be distinct and separate from the power and jurisdiction of the justices of N Wales. Grant him also for life of the office of constable of the king's castle of Hardelagh in the same county with powers to appoint and remove all stewards, sheriffs, escheators, coroners, bailiffs, reeves, foresters, *ringilds* and other officers and ministers to the king within the said county, receiving £26 13s 4d yearly for himself and 4d daily for each of the 24 soldiers staying in the safe-custody of the castle and all other profits and emoluments belonging to the offices of constable of the castle and chief justice of the county. By p s. (359) In 1465 Henry VI was captured and imprisoned in the Tower. (360)

In 1468 the Lancastrian-held Harlech castle fell on 14th August to a force of maybe 7,000 Yorkist men under William Herbert. There was a much more orderly administration in Merioneth during the rest of the century. (361) The attack on the castle was perhaps the culmination of a campaign in which Herbert's forces ranged widely not only over Merioneth but over Gwynedd as a whole; alternatively, the army may have first secured the castle and then set out on a campaign designed to extinguish Lancastrian resistance forever. Guto Glyn's account conveys that Herbert's forces were engaged in a decidedly destructive onslaught:

"Three armies from your three lands
Moved through Gwynedd like thunder ...
Your tracks led over rocky ground,
You turned Snowdonia into tilled land.
Your men advanced in three cohorts
Through moorland and barren land.
If you kindled a fire awhile
Through all the killing and conflict,
The breaking of Gwynedd and its subjugation
Was its chastening for disobedience." (362)

"Because of its disobedience, the province of Gwynedd was struck a heavy blow and devastated". In 1461 Ieuan ap Robert ap Maredudd and other of the Lancastrian faction wasted by fire and sword the suburbs of the town of Denbigh and all the lordship of Denbigh. In revenge whereof Edward IV sent William, earl of Pembroke, with a great army to waste the mountain counties of Caernarfonshire and Merionethshire and to take the castle of Harlech, held then by Dafydd ab Ieuan ab Einion ... which earl did execute his charge to the full, as witnesseth this Welsh rhyme: "At Harlech and Denbigh every house was in flames, and Nanconwy in ashes; in the year of my Lord 1400; and sixty and eight more". ... Henblas and Brynsyllty (in

Mathebrwd, Uwchdulas near Llanwrst), escaped the earl of Herbert's desolation, though the same consumed the whole of the borough of Llanwrst and all the vale of Conwy besides to cold coals whereof the print is yet extant, the very stones of the ruins of many habitations in and along my demesnes carrying yet the colour of the fire. (363) The country, being brought to such a desolation, [at the time of Owain Glyndwr] could not be replanted in haste, and the wars of York and Lancaster, happening some fifteen years after, this country, being the chiefest fastness of north Wales, Dafydd ap Siencyn, a captain of the Lancastrian faction ... wasted it ... and lastly by the earl Herbert, who brought it to utter desolation". (364)

Further accounts note that on 14 August 1468 Harlech castle, held by Lancastrians, fell to Sir William Herbert of Raglan, [a Yorkist, later that year elevated, to the Earl of Pembroke] approaching from the south, and his brother Sir Richard Herbert who had approached down the Conwy and through Eryri. He left a trail of destruction and "unparalleled desolation" of burning buildings. It is said that this was when the skirmish at Bwlch y Batel (on the slopes of Cnicht near Beddgelert) was said to have occurred. Pennant (365) describes Nant Gwynant as "the scene of many a bloody skirmish in the time of Edward IV between William, (later) Earl of Pembroke and the Welsh Lancastrians, under Ieuan ap Robert (of Gesail Gyfarch, Penmorfa). By November 1468 Edward IV had issued a general pardon to all. (366) "The entire Snowdon district experienced such unparallel destruction that it had barely recovered more than a century later. ... Llanwrst was destroyed and the devastation was followed by plague". (367) After the capture of Harlech castle in 1468 by Sir Richard Herbert, having held out for the Lancastrian cause in the Wars of the Roses, the county was ravaged for backing the wrong horse, and this set its economy back for a long time. (368) In the spring of 1470 rebellion broke out in Wales ... Edward IV put the rebels to flight. (369) In 1470 the deposed Henry VI was said to be King again, albeit a puppet king, led by Warwick. Henry VI's son Prince Edward was killed at the battle of Tewksbury in 1471. Henry VI was killed 1 May 1471, as King Edward IV had returned to London from victory at Tewkesbury. (370)

"A 1480 English poem indicating the things in Welsh life that struck the eye of an impartial observer: ... The custom of the Welsh families living in isolated homesteads instead of in clusters of villages has been described by Giraldus in the twelfth century, and this is again commented upon in 1480: **Ther houses be lowe with all; And made of yerdes small; Not as in cities nyghe; But fer asunder and not to hihe.**" (371) In 1483 Edward V, aged 12, was murdered in the Tower just before his coronation. From 1483 -1485 Richard III reigned and spent much time in service in the north of England. He claimed the throne but failed to gain support, and was soon involved in waiting for Henry Tudor to invade from France. He was killed at the battle of Bosworth, 22nd August 1485. (372) The role of the future Egryn family in the Wars of the Roses and the effect of the taking of Harlech castle on the family are not known. The following notes on the Vaughan family of Corsygedol could well interlink as the houses are not far apart. (373) Osborn Wyddel settled in Ardudwy in the mid thirteenth century, marrying an Ardudwy heiress of Cors y gedol who was a ward of Llewelyn the Great c1227. Following generations were Cynwrig, Llewelyn of Cors y gedol, Gruffydd, (1391 grant from the Pope, died 1397/9), Einion (HSM 1351-59) and Gruffydd Vychan who may have built Ty Gwyn, Barmouth. He was a staunch Lancastrian, held out at Harlech castle in the 1460s against the Yorkists, and was a firm supporter of Henry Tudor. He was appointed Governor of Cilgerran castle in 1485. (374) His eldest son was William Vichan I (dates unknown, but he was an adult in 1519, and 1525). The Battle of Bosworth, 22nd August 1485 ended the Wars of the Roses; and the accession of Henry VII (1485-1509) heralded the start of the Tudor dynasty. In 1486 Henry VII married Elizabeth of York. Arthur was born in September 1486; Margaret in 1489 and in 1503 Margaret married James IV of Scotland; Henry in 1491 and Mary in 1497. Elizabeth of York died in childbirth in 1503. Although he was never popular, when he died in April 1509, aged 52, Henry Tudor had brought internal peace and prosperity to England and given her a reputation in Europe she had not enjoyed for a century. (375)

In May 1495, two free tenants of Llanfrothen and Llandecwyn concluded an agreement over a grant of no fewer than eight *tyddynnod* in that locality. (376) In 1489 Henry VII's eldest son Arthur, was made prince of Wales, till his death in 1502. The Crown continued to attempt to recover revenues and fines. In summer 1498 there was insurrection in Merioneth. In May 1498 the deputy chamberlain set out from Caernarfon with a force of 65 soldiers and progressed from *commote* to *commote* in the county in a determined effort to hold the great turn. They met with serious resistance at Dolgellau. ... A force drawn from the community of the county took possession of Harlech castle. ... Those held responsible for the taking of Harlech were subsequently removed for trial at the Merioneth sessions held at Caernarfon, but neither their names nor the judgment passed is recorded. ... The community was fined £533 6s 8d, by which they were pardoned for the offences of the previous summer, and an armed force was then brought to take security for its payment. (377)

In 1504 Henry VII granted the first of two charters of liberties to the communities of the three counties, and finally resolved a number of issues regarding inequality in the legal process. (378) In 1507 a second charter to North Wales by Henry VII gave the free the right to sell their land and the bond the right to quit, thus making available a new source of land for the avaricious gentry. (379) Bondmen were granted “a general emancipation and liberty”. Freemen were now allowed access to bond land. ... These charters were seen by the burgess communities of the “English walled towns” of Conwy, Caernarfon and Beaumaris as detrimental to their interests. ... and were suspended. ... The other eight towns, including **Harlech** and Bala, were said by Conwy burgesses to be “*utterly in decaie and desolate of wellthe or English men*”. (380)

King Henry VIII reigned from 1509-1547 and was 17 years old when crowned. He married the 23year old Spanish Catherine of Aragon. In 1511 their son Prince Harry was born and died; in 1516 Princess Mary was born. From 1514-1529 the king delegated much to Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, who also Lord Chancellor, but fell from favour, and died in 1530. In 1521 the King wrote a tract against Luther: the Defence of the Seven Sacraments. In 1533 the King secretly married Anne Boleyn, who bore Elizabeth in September 1533. The Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher of Rochester were executed for not concurring with the King’s marriage annulment. In 1536 Catherine of Aragon died and Anne Boleyn was executed.

In 1536 King married Jane Seymour, who in 1537 bore him Edward, Prince of Wales. (381)

The Tudor period witnessed the emergence of the landed gentry and estate expansion. The breakdown of Welsh land law was hastened by the concept of escheat, that is the confiscation of land to the Crown for a variety of reasons, thus removing it from clan control. These were usually related to incurring royal displeasure or lack of legal heirs. After the outbreaks of pestilence in the 14th century, many bond townships and summer pastures passed into the hands of the king. Farmsteads with rights of pasture and wood could be released for terms of years by the crown agents to speculators and others lacking personal links with the district. Land could also be mortgaged by *prid*, that is, by an agreed payment for a period of four years, allowing outsiders conditional occupation. In 1505 there was a conveyance by *prid* of Pant Trefor in Festiniog to a Llanaber tenant (382) In this way the burgesses of Harlech established a foothold in the surrounding countryside at an early date, particularly in the ancient *maerdref* of Ardudwy at Ystumgwern. (383) Details survive of conveyances in Llanaber, Llanddwywe and Talreuddyn in Llanfair in the mid15th century, for example in 1424 in the parish of Llanaber, witnesses: John Palgous, John Vivian etc. No names were recognised. (384) and again in 1455 in the parish of Llanaber. Witnesses: John Palgous, John Vivian etc. No names were recognised. (385) In 1525 a feofment signed by William Vaughan of Corsygedol lists, in addition of the capital messuage of Corsygedol issa and Corsygedol ucha, lands claiming to incorporate 100 tenements and over 7,000 acres in Ardudwy and Talybont. (386) (Only eight houses were named; no recognised names). Thus, by using inherited or borrowed capital considerable estates could be built up. (387)

Part 2 section 10 Footnotes

(339) WWEW, Notes from the Records of Inquisitions, Arch Camb, 1847, 20-24; The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 251, note4

(340) Prof A D Carr, pers. comm. Nov 2006

(341) pers comm. Gareth Haulfryn Williams Oct. 2007; See Calendar of Caernarvonshire QS Records, pp. xii-xciii for a fuller explanation.

(342) pers comm. Gareth Haulfryn Williams, Oct. 2007

(343) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 251

(344) p 18 in P C Bartrum, Welsh Genealogies, AD 300-1400, vol 4, 695

(345) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 251

(346) G P Jones, Rhos & Rhufonig pedigrees, Arch. Camb. 1925, 289-306; Need to check in P C Bartrum, Marchudd 18)

(347) See Gareth Haulfryn Williams’ Egryn family tree

(348) H T Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, 1998 edition, 69, 72, 76

(349) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, 128-138

(350) H T Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, 1998 edition, 69, 72, 76

(351) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, 146-148

(352) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, 128-138

(353) H T Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, 1998 edition, 86; H T Evans, 1915, Wales and the Wars of the Roses 69, 91

(354) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, Government and Society 1283-1536, in History of Merioneth, Vol II, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 122-3

(355) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 216 n1

(356) NLW, Cal Patent Rolls, Edw IV 1461-67, 355

(357) H T Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, 1998 edition, 90-91

(358) NLW, Cal Patent Rolls, Edw IV, 1461-67, 457

(359) NLW, Cal Patent Rolls, Edw Iv, 1461-67, 467

(360) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, 128-138

(361) H T Evans, 1915, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, 69, 91

- (362) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, Government and Society 1283-1536, in History of Merioneth, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 125
- (363) Sir John Wynn, History of the Gwydir family and Memoirs, ed J Gwynfor Jones, 1990, 33, 134
- (364) Sir John Wynn, History of the Gwydir Family and Memoirs, ed J Gwynfor Jones, 1990, 51, 158
- (365) Thomas Pennant, Tours in Wales II, 1781, 347
- (366) JMHRs, Emyr Wyn Jones, 1985, The Quest for a Crown, 8
- (367) H T Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, 1998 edition, 100
- (368) E D Evans, Harlech: a Forsaken Borough, JMHRs, 2004, 198
- (369) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, 146
- (370) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, 128-138
- (371) Trans Cymm, 1948, p 362-3 in an article on Heraldry; Footnote gives: Caxton, Description of Britayne, 1480. The poem was later printed in "The Descrypcyon of Englande" in 1498
- (372) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, 152-159
- (373) J E Griffith, Pedigrees of Anglesey & Carnarvonshire Families, 1914, 279
- (374) UWB, Mostyn ms 3628 gives 1497
- (375) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, 162-170
- (376) UWB Nannau ms 243; C Thomas, Rural Society, Settlement, Economy and Landscapes, in History of Merioneth, Vol II, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 220
- (377) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, Government and Society 1283-1536, in History of Merioneth, Vol II, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 130
- (378) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, Government and Society 1283-1536, in History of Merioneth, Vol II, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 130-3)
- (379) Martin de Lewanderwicz, 1981, Relict Fields & Associated Structures in Llanaber Parish, Meirionydd, University of Wales Bangor thesis, The Later Medieval, 29-40
- (380) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, Government and Society 1283-1536, in History of Merioneth, Vol II, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 130-33
- (381) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, 171-184
- (382) GAS, Merioneth Record Office D/V 31
- (383) PRO SC 6/1231/9 and 10
- (384) UWB, Mostyn Ms 3612
- (385) UWB, Mostyn Ms 3794
- (386) UWB, Mostyn Ms 379
- (387) (C Thomas, Patterns and Processes of Estate Expansion in the 15th and 16th centuries, JMHRs, 1972, [333-342](#))

PART 2 Section 11.

GRUFFYDD ap Ednyfed ap Gruffydd Lloyd

In 1509 **Gruffydd ap Ednyfed ap Gruffydd Lloyd** was witness to a deed relative to property in the parish of Llanaber, the adjoining parish to Llanenddwyn, dated 1 September 1st Henry VIII (1509). (388) It is not known where he was living when he was witness to this deed.

EGRYN was for a while later called Egryn Abbey. 1510 is the earliest dendrochronology date for the felling of timbers in the Egryn domestic building. It is possible that the 1509 deed related to Egryn or elsewhere in Llanaber. It is not known who lived at Egryn in 1509 nor who built the hall-house. It is possible that Gruffydd ap Ednyfed built it, or that someone else – family or otherwise – built it and Gruffydd ap Ednyfed inherited or purchased it. It may have come through marriage. It may have been a completely new build, replacing a former dwelling, possibly of half-timbered construction on or near the site, or it may have been built on a new site marking the establishment of a new holding just a few years after the adoption of the English system of inheritance.

The following notes are from the dendrochronology report on **Egryn Abbey** (389) (VA 35, 2004, p73-113).

a) Primary phase: Felling dates- Summer 1507; Winter 1507-8; Winter 1508-9; Winter 1509-10. **Principal rafters** (3/4) **1506** (16½C, 17½C), **1507**(25C); **Rafters 1508**(25C), **1509**(19C, 24C);

Site Masters (a) 1433-1509 LLANABRI (t=7.2 PLASMWR; 5.9 ARDEN2; 5.8 OLDWORD2;

A remarkable gentry hall-house, stone-walled, but with refined carpentry, a characteristic Snowdonia combination. The outer room has been replaced by a nineteenth-century cross wing but otherwise the house is virtually complete and retains its multi-cusped roof. A cusped aisle truss stands at the entrance to the hall and has twin bowtail mouldings on the posts. The hall roof is divided into two unequal bays by an arch-braced collar-beam truss with cusped apex, and a cusped louvre-truss is perched on the purlins of the larger (inner) bay. The dais-end beam has a two-tier post-and-panel partition set under the tiebeam. The early sixteenth-century date for the hall refines the “after 1496” obtained by Esling before the roof was fully accessible. (390) It may be compared with the “after 1476” date obtained for Penarth-fawr, a similar late aisle-truss house. (391) (392)

Gruffydd married Angharad daughter of *Robert Palkws /Palgus / Palgous* ab John P. [?Arms: Argent, a bull passant gardant, ... armed & unglued or.] Palgus of Harlech was a descendant of Marchudd via Ednyfed Vychan. (393) Ellin verch Gruffudd Derwas was the mother of Angharad verch Robert Palcws. (394) (*arms are silver lion walking, facing gold claws*). Gruffudd Derwas is listed in the c1453 in Records of Inquisition from Dolgellau. (395) The following are notes on the Palegus family, spelled in various ways; William Palegus was a witness in 1341. (396) John Palgous, was a witness in Llanaber in 1424. (397) In 1438 Vivian Palous, burgess of Harlech, was a witness. (398) Johannis filii Vivion Palkws was an adult in 1453 in Records of Inquisition from Harlech. (399) In 1455 Vivian Palgus, burgess of Harlech, released Tyddyn Efa Llwyd in Llanfihangel y Traethau to Meurig Vychan of Nannau. (400) Gruffydd and Angharad therefore had common ancestry. They had the following children:

i) **Tudyr** was the oldest son (see below in 1577 and in detail under section 12).

ii) **LEWIS ap Gr ap Ednyf ab Gr Lloyd o Ardudwy ab Gr ab Ednyfet ab Urien ab Tegwared**, and from Ednyfet Vyn to Marchudd. Lewis married **Gwen**, daughter of Nicholas ab Thos (living 1545), ab David ab Ieuan ab Einion. (401) Gwen’s mother was Jonet Ireland, daughter of Robert Ireland val John ab Dd Lloyd of Machynlleth. The mother of Jonet Ireland was Margaret, daughter of John ap Mereddudd of Y Clennau, Gwynedd. Lewis & Gwen had 6 sons and 2 daughters: Ieuan, John, William, Richard Lewis Bachelor of Divinity, Tudyr and Gr, and daughters: i) Mawd married John ab Wmphy ab Tudr Gwyn; ii) Lowry married Wm ap Tudr Vyn etc (402) On 28 October 1577: 1. **William Tudor of Llanaber**, co Merioneth, gent., **Lewis ap Gruffith ap Edenevet** of Llanenthoin, co Merioneth, gent. [William’s uncle] and Ievan Thomas ap John Madryn of Llanthothwey, co Merioneth, gent. [William’s son (brother?) in law] 2. Richard Vaughan of Lloyndyrrys, co. Caernarvon, esq. paid a bond in 500 marks for the performance by the said William Tudor of covenants contained in a pair of Indentures of equal date. (403) These Indentures have not been traced. Richard Vaughan was also of Corsygedol and his family are referred to as chronologically appropriate.

Lewis ap Gr ab Ednyfed & Gwen had 6 sons and 2 daughters-

- a) Ieuan ap Lewis ap Gr ab Ednyfed ab Gr Lloyd of Ardudwy ab Gr ab Ednyvt ab Urien ap Tegwared (Rolls of Parliament) and from Ednyvet Vyn cam gymerieth from Marchudd. Ieuan ap Lewis married Catrin daughter of Wmphy ab Tudr. Gwyn (v p clvii) and their children were Wmphy, Gr, Huw & Gwen.
- b) John married Marged daughter of Owain Williams (Gollwyn 5(D)); their children were Wmphyre, Morys, Thos, Ieuan, Grufd, Richard, Tydyr & Jane.
- c) William ap Lewis married Catrin daughter of Gr ap Dd ab Ieuan ab Mered and their children were Elizabeth & Elin.
- d) **Richard Lewis***, Bachelor/Doctor of Divinity (1555-1620) [see below*] married Elin daughter of Rhys ap Tudur ap Wm Vychan of Gil Gerran (Osborn 1(A1)). Elin's mother was Marsley daughter of Edward Stanley. Rhys ap Tudyr's mother was Angharad, daughter of *Ieuan ab Thos ab Llew ab Lew Sais ab Griffri ab Ednyvet ab Urien*. (404) They had children Wmphy and Gwen – RV 874 Richard Lewis was at Bron-y-foel on 14 October 1588. (405)
- e) Tudyr; f) Gr; g) Maud married John ab Wmphy ab Tudr Gwyn; h) Lowry married Wm ab Tudr Vyn.

*The following are assorted references to **Richard Lewes*** (1555-1620), the fourth child of Lewes ab Gr ab Ednyfed and Gwen: M.A. 1579 (Incorp. from Oxford), son of Lewis, of Llanaber, Merioneth. Matric. from Hart Hall 1572, aged 17; B.A. (Oxford) 1573-4; M.A. 1575-6; B.D. 1584; D.D. 1594. Rector of Kelmarsh, Northants, 1579-1620. Vicar of Brackley 1600-20. Author, *Sermon*. Buried at Brackley, 18 December 1620. Father of William (1609). (406) In 1579 Richard Lewis was living at **Plas yn Egryn**, educated at Oxbridge. (407) Rich. Lewes was noted on 27 January 1575 in Fasti Oxoniensis Col 198. (408) Bachelor of divinity, May 10 [1584] Richard Lewes was the author of a sermon preached at St Paul's Cross, entitled "Isaac his Testament etc on Gen 21, v 1-10, Oxon 1594. Dedicated to Sir Henry Unton of Wadley in Berks, knight, and no doubt of others but such I have not yet seen". Richard Lewys, of co. Anglesea (sic) arm, Hart Hall, matric entry under date 1572 aged 17; B.A. 18 Feb 1573-4; M.A. 13 March 1575-6. (Incorporated at Cambridge 1579); B.D. (perhaps) from Christ Church 6 July 1584; D.D. 29 June 1594. (son of Lewis ap William ap Tudor, of Egrin, in the parish of Llanaber, co Merioneth) (409) Richard Lewes, or Lewis, **son of Lewis ap William ap Tudor**, of Egrin in the parish of Llaneber, Merionethshire, received his education at Oxford, where he proceeded B.A. 27 Jan. 1575-6. In December 1576 he addressed a letter to Lord Burghley requesting that he might be a client of his lordship. This may have been William Cecil, 1st Baron, Lord Treasurer, Elizabeth's trusted servant till his death in 1598. (410) Richard Lewes afterwards commenced M.A., and was incorporated in that degree here (Cambridge) in 1597. He proceeded B.D. at Oxford 10 May 1584. He appears to have subsequently been created D.D., but at what university we cannot ascertain. He is the author of "A Sermon preached at St Paul's Cross, concerning Isaac his Testament etc on Gen. xxi 1-10". Oxford, 8vo, 1594. Dedicated to Sir Henry Unton, knt, of Wadley Berks, "his most loving and magnificent patron". By his wife, who was sister of Dr Theodore Price, he had sons, Humphrey, Owen or Gwen, and William. (411) The sister of Theodore Price of Bron y foel married Richard Lewis (c1555-1620), son of Lewis ap William ap Tudur of Egrin, Llanaber. Richard Lewis was an adult at Bron-y-foel on 14 October 1588. (412) **Richard Lewis, Bachelor/Doctor of Divinity** married Elin daughter of Rhys ap Tudur ap Wm Vychan of Gil Gerran (Osborn 1(A1)). Elin's mother was Marsley daughter of Edward Stanley. Rhys ap Tudyr's mother was Angharad, daughter of **Ieuan ab Thos ab Llew ab Lew Sais ab Griffri ab Ednyvet ab Urien**. (413) They had children Wmphy and Gwen – RV 874. William Lewis (1592-1667) had a sister Gwen Lewis who married Edward Llwyd, Cwm Bychan, who died in 1668. William Lewis was chaplain to Lord Chancellor Bacon and to Charles I. (414) This may indicate that Richard Lewis (c1555-1620) or his father Lewis ap William ap Tudur, was of Egrin, Llanaber. Alternatively, Richard Lewis' father may have been Lewis ap Gruffydd ap Ednyfet ap Gruffydd Lloyd, as suggested by Bartrum; this probably makes more sense. Lewis ap Gruffith ap Edenevet of Llanenthoin, co Merioneth, gent, was a brother of Tudur.

In summary: Gruffydd ap Ednyfet ap Gruffydd Lloyd was living in 1509

His sons Tudur (adult in 1552) *maybe and Lewis*

William ap Tudur I married 1558, 1594. *Richard Lewis (c1555-1620)*

i) Hugh (ap Wm) Tudur I (adult 1585, died 1644) *William Lewis (1592-1667)*

ii) Lewis ab William Esq

William (ab Hugh) Tudur (adult 1616, died 1669)

Hugh Tyder (HSM 1675, living 1695)

Dwnn (written 1588-94) seems correct & is copied by Bartrum; Athenae Cantab, (written 1861) seems mistaken.

Further children of Gruffydd and Angharad:

iii) Robert; iv) Jeun / Einion / Evan married Elsbeth daughter of Dd Llwyd. (Osborn 1(A1)). They had Angharad married D'd ab Owain (Ll ap Br 5(A3) (415) v) John; vi) Gruffydd's daughter Catrin married Lewys ap Tudur Vyn (416) & was mother to an ancestor of Richard Owen, who was alive 11 October

1588, an Alderman of Harddlech from Llanfair wrth Harddlech (417) vii) Gruffydd had a son, Gruffydd Lloyd of Ardudwy ab Gr ab Ednyvt ab Gruffydd Lloyd, whose daughter Lowry married Gruffydd ap Reinallt; Gruffydd ap Reinallt was party to deed relating to a property in Llanaber dated 1489. This deed has not been traced. (418) However it may have been Lowri, seventh child of Gruffydd and Angharad who married ***Gruffydd ap Rheinallt of Llanaber*** whose mother Gwenhwfar was a daughter of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn Fychan ap Llewelyn Sais, a relation. (419) Named Vaughan family members of Corsygedol are noted here as they were acquiring land locally. William Vaughan I was an adult in 1519 and 1535. (420) In 1525 he obtained 100 tenements in Ardudwy & Tal-y-bont and was known as William Vaughan of Corsygedol; the date of his death is unknown. His heir Rhys Vaughan, married in 1525/6. (421)

From 1533-5 there was an interesting case concerning John Powes' demands: Complainant: Ednevet ap Howell and all other tenants and freeholders of the township of Llanaber (about 300 persons). Defendants: John Powys / Powes the king's servant and lessee of Llanaber. Context: Lands in Llanaber (Co Merioneth) alleged to be holden by the plaintiffs in desmesne as of fee of Henry VII, deceased, "as of his Pryncypalite of North Wales" by the names of foue gwelys, "which is to say ffoure resting places which be named Gwely y ffiriad, Gwely wyrion Traayarn, Gwely Gweller and Gwely bagh"; defendant as lessee of the township ignored Henry VII's charter (2 March 22 Hen VIII) e.g. Reliefs now more increased than they were when the plaintiffs were in bondage, etc. (422) Probably soon after 1535 submissions brought to the court of chancery by Ednyfed ap Howell and others acting on behalf of three hundred persons of the township of Llanaber in Ardudwy. Describing themselves as freeholders holding their land in demesne as of fee, they explained that they had held these lands of Henry VII in four *gwelyau* and did bond service for the lands until the king, by his letters patent, allowed the inhabitants of the three counties who then held their lands in bondage to demise their lands in fee simple, fee tail or for term of life, every bondman gaining manumission and being set at liberty. The inhabitants of Llanaber had gained the benefit of this liberty until John Powers "a man of great power and substance", who had been granted a Crown lease of the township of Llanaber, made demands on them contrary to the purport of the late king's letter patent. With their very possession of their lands put at risk by an action brought before the justices of North Wales by John Powers, the tenants sought an injunction of the court of chancery that would allow them to hold their lands in accordance with the tenor of the king's letters of manumission. The submission of the tenants of Llanaber, probably made soon after Henry VIII's grant to John Powers of a thirty-year lease on the township in 1535, anticipated the extensive litigation of the reign of Elizabeth and defined the tenurial problems indicated by the surveyors who compiled the great survey of the county of Merioneth in 1592. A record of 1564 indicates a readiness on the part of the tenants to come to a settlement concerning the rights claimed, and refers to a lease granted to John Powers in 1535. (423)

1536 and 1542 Act of Union unified Wales politically within itself. The Welsh "Marcher" Lordships were swept away and Wales was divided into thirteen shires controlled by sheriffs. After 1536 Welsh men were able to hold the offices of Justices of the Peace, and Knight of the shire. Public status for the Welsh language was denied. The Act of 1536 introduced English common law to the whole country, making specific provision that lands should be inherited by English tenure and not be partitioned as they would be if they were inherited by Welsh tenure.

The Act of 1543 confirmed the circuits of great sessions and quarter sessions, retrospective legislation endorsing previous decisions. (424)

The dissolution of the monasteries (1536-39) included Cymer Abbey. At this time "the laity were sceptical of the Church's need for its vast estates. These large endowments had outlived the sense of idealism and purpose which had once justified them. Administrator-bishops, worldly abbots, absentee chapters, and shrunken convents appeared to many an ambitious and acquisitive layman to be grossly over endowed with temporal goods. As stewards, bailiffs and farmers to the clergy, they had few illusions about how little the latter did to justify the revenues they enjoyed. Lay influence had even before the Reformation, penetrated deeply into the management of church possessions. They had long become, in the eyes of the gentry, not the inviolable patrimony of the Church, but valuable assets to be controlled and exploited". (425)

"In view of the complete collapse of the clergy in Wales, high and low, regular and secular, before the hammer-blows of Henry VIII and his vicar-general, the passive acceptance of the Reformation can hardly come as a great surprise. The reasons why the clergy should have offered no resistance has already been adduced: the absence from Wales of some of the most enlightened clerics of Welsh origin, the willingness of the higher clergy to do the king's bidding, the cleavages between the higher and lower clergy, the lack of training among the parish priests and the secularisation of the religious orders. ... Many of the Welsh clergy were as susceptible to the popular appeal of the Tudors as were the laity". (426) "There is no indication that contemporaries in Caernarvonshire, or indeed anywhere else in Wales, made any vigorous protest against

the disappearance of the monasteries. It does seem as if monastic life was so far decayed that its disappearance could hardly be the cause of great regret. What created more of a stir at the time was the suppression of shrines and pilgrimages, many of them associated with houses of religion. The destruction of these aroused much more popular indignation than the closure of the monasteries themselves, and strenuous efforts were made to save some of them. ... Far reaching as the consequences of the break with the papacy or the dissolution of the monasteries were, they were not of a kind to affect every-day life very much. ... Such changes as the king had introduced had made remarkably little practical difference to the worship, appearance or language of the Church". (427) From 1536 to 1539 Thomas Cromwell dissolved the smaller and then the greater monasteries; the English Bible based on the work of Coverdale and Tyndale was placed in all churches. In 1540 Henry VIII married Anne of Cleves, seeking alliances with Protestant states; they soon divorced. Thomas Cromwell was condemned. Henry VIII married Catherine Howard, who was executed in 1542. In 1543 Henry VIII married Catherine Parr, who outlived him and he died on 28th January 1547. (428)

Soon after 1536, in his "The Itinerary in Wales", John Leland gave an account of his travels through Merioneth. He noticed that corn was grown on the coast of Ardudwy. W Camden, in "Britannia" in 1695, commented on the breeding of cattle. Fairs and markets, which sustained the rural economy were held at Harlech ..., but maintaining the cattle and woollen trades, the twin pillars of Merioneth economic life, were essential. (429) Additional contemporary members of the local and influential Vaughan family of Corsygedol are noted here as they would probably have been well known by the families living at Egryn. The date of the death of William Vaughan of Corsygedol is unknown. His son Rhys Vaughan, heir of Corsygedol, (c1500-pre1576) married Gwen Anwyl of Llwyndurys, Lleyrn in 1525/7. He was M.P. in 1545, living 1554, but dead by 1586. There are references to him in 1546; (430); in 1552 (431), in 1553 (432) in 1562 (433) and in 1568. (434) They had 6 children including Richard Vaughan I (c1528-1588) of Corsygedol & Llwyndurys, who built Corsygedol in 1576, and was HSC in 1578. (435)

"Families of lower status, many of them cadet branches of major households, also rose to a position of some prestige in Merioneth society although their rent-rolls and social contacts were generally less impressive. As yeoman-freeholders and modest gentlemen they formed the backbone of the rural community and many of these families ... were highly esteemed in their localities. ... These families formed part of the vast network of inter-kindred relations characteristic of the close-knit communal structure which was the most significant feature of Merioneth society. Despite the attention normally given to the major families, the reputation which smaller households enjoyed and the emphasis placed on their ancestral and territorial affinities is an equally remarkable feature of Merioneth, and indeed Welsh rural society. The role of such families in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in maintaining the Welsh language in their respective communities is a notable achievement in an age when social reorientation and the withdrawal of the sons of major gentry from the customary patronage of native culture ... was gradually becoming a noticeable trend". (436) "The local governors had responsibilities ranging from holding commissions of the peace to acting as escheators, bailiffs of *commotes*, and commissioners of relief, subsidies, goods of churches and fraternities and so forth, in addition to attending, especially as sheriffs, to shire finances, musters and the supervision of the county goal. Regular defence procedures entailed the mustering of soldiers and the supply of men, arms and horses for military service, especially in the 1540s and 1550s and the 1580s and 1590s". (437) Gruffudd Williams, vicar of Llanaber, was one of several Elizabethan clergy receiving accolades for their spiritual ministrations and intellectual prowess. ... and their patronage of the bards. (438)

Part 2 section 11 Footnotes:

(388) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush

Meyrick, vol II, 223 - Llanenddwyn, Bron y Voel yn Ardudwy, Byrlllys; & 251n

(389) VA 35, 2004, 73-113.

(390) Studia Celtica 30, 1996, 246

(391) VA 23, 1992, 45

(392) VA, 35, 2004, 111

(393) P C Bartrum, Welsh Genealogies AD 300-1499, vol 4, 1974, p 175, Marchudd 8

(394) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 251 & CLXIII; CLXVII

(395) WNEW, Notes from the Records of Inquisitions, Arch Camb, 1847, 20-24

(396) UWB, Nannau ms 351

(397) UWB Mostyn ms 3612

(398) UWB, Mostyn ms 3519

(399) W W E W, Notes from the Records of Inquisitions, Arch Camb, 1847, 20-24

(400) UWB Nannau ms 11; C Thomas, Rural Society, Settlement, Economy and Landscapes, in History of Merioneth, Vol II, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 219

(402) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 223

(403) UWB, Mostyn ms 3889

- (404) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 223, Llanenddwyn, Bronyfoel yn Ardudwy & Byrlllys
- (405) above references from P C Bartrum, Welsh Genealogies 1400-1500 vol VIII
- (405) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 223; & Llanenddwyn, Ardudwy (W 80v) above references from P C Bartrum, Welsh Genealogies 1400-1500 vol VIII 1326
- (406) Cooper, II.174; Al. Oxon; H I Longden; Alumni Cantabrigiensis, 81, compiled by John Venn and J A Venn, Part 1: from the earliest times to 1751. Vol III, Kaile-Ryves. Cambridge University Press 1924
- (407) Peter Smith, 1955, brief note to Rodney Bryne of Egryn; no source given
- (408) Athenae Oxoniensis) Col 277; 1584
- (409) Alumni Oxoniensis, 909, Cooper, ii, 174; & O.H. S. xii, 38
- (410) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, 203
- (411) Wood's Fasi, ed. Bliss, I, 198, 227, 437. Herbert's Ames, 1406. Unton Inventories, lxiii. Ms Lansd. 23. art. 48; Athenae Cantabrigiensis by Charles Henry Cooper, F.S.A. and Thompson Cooper, F.S.A. Volume II, 1586-1609. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.; and Macmillan and Co.; London: Bell and Daldy, Fleet Street, 1861. 174-5
- (412) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 223; & Llanenddwyn, Ardudwy (W 80v); P C Bartrum, Welsh Genealogies 1400-1500 vol VIII 1326
- (413) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 223, Llanenddwyn, Bronyfoel yn Ardudwy & Byrlllys
- (414) T C Griffith, 2003, Achau rhai o deuluoedd hen Siroedd Caernarfon, Meirionnydd a Threfaldwyn, [113, 114]; Lewis W Lloyd, The Last Lloyd of Cwm Bychan, JMHRs, 1975, vol VII 255
- (415) P C Bartrum, Welsh Genealogies 1400-1500 vol VIII 1326
- (416) P C Bartrum, Welsh Genealogies 1400-1500 vol VIII 1326, Osbwrn 1 (A2)
- (417) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 222-3, clxi
- (418) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 221, Llwyn Grifri, Llanddoywe
- (419) P C Bartrum, Welsh Genealogies 1400-1500 vol VIII p 1326; Morgan Hir 5(A)
- (420) UWB, Mostyn ms 3709
- (421) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire, 279
- (422) Inventory of the Early Chancery Proceedings concerning Wales, E A Lewis, 1937 27, 291; valuable document [B., Temp. Cf. see ECP 784/1 (1533-8) about the same case]
- (423) Rec Augm, 441; D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, Government and Society 1283-1536, in History of Merioneth, Vol II, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 133-4
- (424) D Huw Owen & J Beverley Smith, Government and Society 1283-1536, in History of Merioneth, Vol II, ed Beverley Smith, 2001, 134-5
- (425) Glanmor Williams, 1962, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation, 554-55
- (426) Glanmor Williams, 1962, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation, 557
- (427) Glanmor Williams, 1966 TCHS, The Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Caernarvonshire, 52, 53
- (428) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, 171-184
- (429) J Gwynfor Jones, Government and Society 1536-1603, in History of Merioneth, vol II, Ed Beverley Smith, p 649, n 1, 2, 650
- (430) UWB, Mostyn ms 3717
- (431) UWB Mostyn ms 3723
- (432) UWB Mostyn ms 363
- (433) UWB, Mostyn ms 3725
- (434) UWB, Mostyn ms 3616
- (435) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire, 279
- (436) J Gwynfor Jones, Government and Society 1536-1603, in History of Merioneth, vol II, Ed Beverley Smith, 656-7
- (437) J Gwynfor Jones, Government and Society 1536-1603, in History of Merioneth, vol II, Ed Beverley Smith, 666
- (438) J Gwynfor Jones, Government and Society 1536-1603, in History of Merioneth, vol II, Ed Beverley Smith, 684-5

PART 3: The Tudur dynasty

PART 3: Section 12. TUDUR ap Gruffydd ap Ednyfed (c1500/10-post 1552)

Tudur was the heir of Gruffydd ap Ednyfed and Angharad, a daughter of Robert Palgous. As Tudur's heir William was married in 1558, William was probably born soon after Tudur's marriage maybe c1530. Tudur may thus have been born c1500-1510. He was recorded as an adult in 1531.

On 8th August **1506** a quitclaim was recorded between 1. Lowri verch David ap **Gruffith ap Ednyfet**, free tenant of the township of Llanfair in the commote of Ardydwy, co Merioneth, 2. Elen verch Griffith ap Meirick, free tenant of the same township. QUITCLAIM of a tenement called **Talysarn hir and tyddyn y drain** in the parish of Llanfair, co Merioneth. (439) On 20th July **1531** a document was recorded between 1. Rees Wyn ap Robert ap Rees, free tenant of the township of Llanfair in the commote of Ardyddwy, co Merioneth; 2. Morgan ap Robert ap Rees, brother of 1. GIFT of messuages, tenements and lands called **tal y sarn here, tuthyn y drayn & tythyn mabe sym** and 2 parcels of land lying in a close called **mais cayrey** in the township of **Llanfair**, co Merioneth. Witnesses: *Lewis ap Tudur Vichan*, **Tudur ap Gruffith ap Ednevet** and Ievan ap Rees ap William. Given at Llanfair. 20 July 23 Henry VIII. Seal pendant. Brown wax, initials WV. (440) No signature & no parish was given for Tudur ap Gruffith ap Ednevet. (Tudur was "of Llanddwywe" in 1552, so he was not then at Egryn, unless he owned land in both parishes. *Lewis ap Tudur Vychan* may have been Tudur's son; is so, Tudur may have married c 1510, early than previously thought. It is possible that David and Tudur were brothers; if so, David's daughter Lowri was of age in 1506). On 24th July **1531** a mortgage was recorded between 1. Morgan ap Robert ap Rees. 2. Llewelyn Vichan ap Gruffith Vichan, gent., MORTGAGE of two tenements called **tuthyn tale y sarn hir and Tuthyn y drayan** in the township of Llanfair, co Merioneth. Consideration 20 marks. (441) On 10th July **1538** July 10 a document records a Release by Indenture between Tudur Vychan ap Gruffydd, [this may be **Tudur ap Gruffydd ap Ednyfed**] free tenant of the Crown in the township of Nanney, and Gruffydd Wyn [Griffith Nanney] ap Howel ap David ap Meirick, conveying all his messuages and lands in Nanney. (442)

It is not known what lands, if any, came to Tudur on his marriage. Tudur married Elisabeth daughter & co-heiress of William ab Jenkyn ab Iorwerth of Ynys y Maengwyn. (Her mother was Lowry, daughter of Gruffydd ab Rhys ab Davydd ab Howel ab Gruffydd ab Owain; William's mother was Elin, daughter of *Gruffydd Derwas of Cemais* (443) Her grandfather Jenkin was living in 1494 when her brother Howel died of plague; her sister Catherine died in 1585. (444) The following was recorded by Lewis Dwnn: The mother [of William ap Tudur], Elsbeth, was co-heiress with Ellin and Catrin [who married Richard ap Robert] and they were the daughters of William ab Ieuan and Lowry. She was the daughter of Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Dafydd ab Howel ap Gruffudd ab Owen and Margaret verch Robert ap Gruffudd Goch ap Dafydd ap Madog ap Meirig ap Dafydd as previously from [i.e. descended in the same way as] Lowry verch Tudur Vychan ap Gruffudd of Rhuddallt. Her mother was the mother of William [ap Tudur]. (445)

Outline Ancestry of the family at YNYSMAENGWYN by generations

1. Osborn Wyddel of Corsygedol A.D. 1237.
2. Cynrig married Nest
3. Llewelyn married Nest, d & H of Gruffydd ap Adda, of Dol goch, & **Ynysmaengwyn**, ap Gruffydd ap Madog ap Cadifor ap Cynhillin ap Gwaithfod, Lord of Ceredigion
4. Gruffydd married Eva
5. **EINION** married Tanglwst
- 1st son: Gruffydd, of Corsygedol (446)
- 2nd son: Ieuan, ancestor of the Lewis' of Pengwern, & Wynnes of Peniarth
6. 3rd son: **IORWERTH**
- 4th son: Tibot (447)
- 5th child: Mali

IORWERTH, living 1425 married Angharad; their children were:

- i). Ithel – had Gelli Iorwerth. In 1452 Ithel ap Iorwerth ap Enion is listed in the Records of Inquisitions. (448) In 1453 Ithel ap Iorwerth ap Enion is listed in the Records of Inquisitions from Harlech, as are Gruffith Vychan ap Llewelyn Sais and Ednyfed ap Gruffith Lloyd, probably both descendants of Urien ap Tegwared. (449)

ii). Ednyfed (450) of Hendwr married Elisabeth d of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Hwlkin;
 7. iii). **JENKIN**, of Ynysmaengwyn, living 1494 married Elliw, daughter of **Griffith Derwas**, of Cemmaes, ap Meyrick Vychan ap Meyrick Lloyd, of Nannau.
 Siencyn ap Iorwerth married Mary, daughter of **Sir Roger Kynaston** of Hordley, constable of Harlech castle. (451) Jenkin ap Iorwerth of Ynysmaengwyn “being ye foreman at ye inquest of the Great Tourne kept at Towyn by Thom. Burnby then shiriffe” 31 Henry VI (c1453). (452)
 In 32 Henry VI (1454) Jenkin ap Iorwerth ap Enion is listed twice in the Records of Inquisitions from Towyn. (453) Jenkin was the farmer (Lessee under the Crown) of the mills of Kevyng and Caethley and the ferry of Aberdovey in 36 Henry VI (c1458). (454)
 Jenkin & Elliw had i) Howel who died of the plague in 1494, having married Mary daughter of **Sir Roger Kynaston**, Constable of Harlech Castle. Dafydd Llwyd wrote a poem to Hywel ap Siencyn, who fought for the Lancastrians at Pennal in 1468 in a skirmish after the fall of Harlech castle to the Yorkists. (455) They had 5 other children. Humphrey inherited Ynysmaengwyn.
 8. ii) **WILLIAM** (456) married Lowry, daughter of Gruffydd ap Rhys of **Maesmor**, near Corwen. (457) She was living 24 Jan 1526/7. (458)
 iii) Morgan married Jane, d of Edward Trevor of Wigginton.
WILLIAM & Lowry had
 i) Thomas ap Wm, who married Ellen but had no children. The original of the probate of his will at Peniarth; date 24 Jan 1526, proved 30 July 1529. (459)
 ii) Elliw, wife of Richard ap Rhys ap David Lloyd of Gogerthan. (460)
 iii) *Catherine* heiress died 1585 married Richard ap Robert of Plas Newydd, Llandwrog d 24 March 1539. (461) They had Tomas ap Rhisiart (see poem 5)
 In 1544 there was a Deed of exchange between Rees Vaughan ap Griffith ap Hoell of Llanenddwyn and *Katherin* vch William ap Jenkin, widow. Rees Vaughan grants to Katherin the tenement of Tyddyn Llwyn Tegwared in Ardudwy. She grants him Bryn Madryn and Yr Hirfron in Dolgledr. Katherin was daughter and heiress of Ynysmaengwyn, married to Richard ap Robert of Plas Newydd, Llandwrog (462) If Katherin had had a son and was widowed by 1544, her sister Elizabeth may well have been married by the 1530s-1540s.
 9. iv) **Elizabeth** co heiress married **Tudur ap Gruffydd ap Ednyfed** (an adult living 1531 & 1552). (463) It is not known what Elizabeth brought to this marriage
 Not yet checked: Dolau Gwyn; Nannau; Owens of RHIWSAESON, Montgomery; Corbet. The Ynysmaengwyn estate was sold in 1874 to John Corbett (a separate family). (464)

TUDUR ap Gruffydd ap Ednyfed & ELISABETH had 12 children: (465)

(* identifies 6 children named in (466a); (+identifies 4 children named in (466b).

An elegy to William ap Tudur states that William was his mother's only son and his sisters' only brother presumably meaning the only son then still living. Dwnn suggests that only William, Catrin, Lowry, Margaret & Gwen and maybe their brother, were living in 1594.

Their children were: i) (see above) 9. *+ William ap Tudur, of Llanaber by his 1558 marriage. William ab Tudyr married Margaret daughter Gruffydd ab Howel of Nannau. (467)

ii) Edward dead by 1594; (468)

iii) Griffith dead by 1594; (469)

iv) another Griffith dead by 1594; (470)

v) Robert dead by 1594; (471)

vi) *+ Catrin married Jenn ab Lewis (or Ievan ap Rhys) ab Jenn ab Dafydd of Trawsfynydd; (472)

vii) *+ Lowry married John ab Dafydd ab John / Jenkin. (473) Lowry verch Tudur Vychan ap Gruffudd of **Rhuddallt**- her mother was the mother of William [ap Tudur]. (474) It is not clear which of them was “of Rhyddallt” – Lowry, Tudur or Gruffud; it was probably Tudur. There is a Rhyddallt on the north shore of the Mawddach between Bont Ddu and Llanelltud. (475)

viii) * Margaret was a widow living in 1598. (476) She had married ... Madryn ap *Thomas ap John Madryn* (see 1577); (477)

ix) *+ Gwen married William ab Dafydd Lloyd ap Howel. (478) Tudur ap Griffith of **PLAS EGRYN** had a daughter Gwen who married William Llwyd, Blaenglyn, Abergeirw, whose father Dafydd Llwyd, fought at Bosworth in 1485. A twenty-first century descendant is Hefin Llwyd, NLW, Aberystwyth. (479)

x) * Mary married Griffith ap Dafydd Lloyd ap Owen; (480)

xi) Elin, dead by 1594; (481)

xii) Angharad, dead by 1594. (482)

Edward VI reigned from 1547-1553: aged only 10 – 16 years; he was a protestant king, born on 12th October 1537 to Jane Seymour. He was well educated and later founded many grammar schools. In 1549 Thomas

Cranmer's English Prayer Book was issued; a second was issued in 1552 declaring the service of Holy Communion to be no more than a commemorative rite. Gone were the veneration of the saints and remembrance of the departed; in churches there was widespread iconoclasm, for monuments were defaced, wall-paintings covered with whitewash and stained-glass windows removed if they betrayed any hint of medieval superstition. In summer 1549 there was a rising in the west country in protest at the English Prayer Book. In Norfolk, Kett's Rebellion was largely a movement against the enclosure of common fields, where the insurgents were routed by John Dudley. Edward VI died on 6 July 1553, having altered the succession in favour of a staunch Protestant, Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Mary, sister of Henry VIII. (483)

There was a violent swing towards Protestantism; the Reformation was positively and effectively introduced. Leading figures were the Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, the scholar Nicholas Ridley and the preacher Hugh Latimer. It is unlikely that a man of Bishop Bulkeley's standpoint had much difficulty in accommodating himself to the Protestant doctrines and practices which came in with Edward VI, and which the old king had held at arm's length. On the general attitude of the clergy and laity in the diocese we have little evidence. (484) The religious changes now enforced struck home to all sections of the public. There were the attacks on church property, secondly, the extinction of many of the features of church property, thirdly, the attempts to establish Protestant forms of belief and worship by means of a Book of Common Prayer enforced by Act of Parliament. (485)

In 1549 the Act of Uniformity became law. All endowments were swept away; there was an assault on many features of medieval worship that were obnoxious to Protestants; images and pictures in churches were shattered or removed, roods and rood lofts removed. Pilgrimages and holy days were abrogated; altars were thrown down and replaced by tables. Many people undoubtedly felt a strong sense of loss of those things which had been interwoven with the fabric of their lives since childhood. The first English Book of Common Prayer was printed. In 1551 William Salesbury published his Welsh version of the epistles and gospels of the Prayer Book. English language services must have been almost totally incomprehensible to the overwhelming majority of parishioners. The Reformation made very little impression until an effort was later made to present the new doctrines in Welsh. (486)

In 1552 on July 6: a document between 1. **Tudor ap Griffith ap Edenevet**, free tenant of the township of Llanthoywe, co Mer. (Llandwywe) and 2. Res Vichan ap William, esq records the gift of a tenement called **tithyn y sarn vaen, alias tithyn y morfa**, lying in a place called *y Werglodd elestrok* in the township of Llanthoywe, excepting 2 acres of land called **tiddyn grono**. Witnesses: Tudor ap William, Gruffith ap John ap Ievan ap Eignion, Richard Smyth & others. Given at Llanthoywe. 6 July, 6 Edward VI. Seal pendant, red wax, initials "R P".

(487) It is indistinctly **signed by Tudr ap Griff ap Eden**. In Morfa Dyffryn a large area called Forhescan is in Lot 15 (South of Mochras) in the Corsygedol estate sale catalogue of 1920. (488)

From 1553-1558: Mary Tudor's "reign of terror" attempted to restore the power of the Roman Catholic church. Born on 18 February 1516, in 1544 she married the widowed Philip II of Spain. Mary suffered much illness throughout the 1540s. Cardinal Pole reconciled England with the Church of Rome. (489) By 1553 Edward Stanley was constable of Harlech castle, a royal official and sheriff and the same year young John Salesbury became MP for Merioneth. Lewis Owen, Llwyn, Dolgellau, was an MP from 1554 until his murder in October 1555. (490)

From April if married clergy agreed to part from his wife - and most of them did - he was allowed to minister elsewhere after doing penance. Of the humbler clergy, of whose repeated tackings before the gusts of changing wind of policy and pressure, we can know nothing; nor of their parishioner's reactions either. (491) In 1555 and 1556 Queen Mary, a bigoted and intolerant Catholic, yet a religious woman, attempted to restore Catholicism and the authority of the pope to Britain. She had up to 200 church leaders who refused to leave their protestant beliefs burnt at the stake, including Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer. In the Marian period 16 married clergy in the Diocese of Bangor were deprived of the livings; four ousted clergy seemed to have regained their position, including at Llanfrothen. This may have occurred during the bishopric of the tolerant Rowland Meyrick (1559-1565). (492) Married priests were forbidden to say mass or minister. In general, restoration of Catholicism seems to have been accomplished smoothly enough among the laity. (493) In 1558 England, allied with Spain against France, lost Calais, her last possession in France. Mary died on 17 November 1558. (494) Under Mary, marriage, not heresy, was the main cause of trouble; under Elizabeth it was the failure to take the oath of supremacy. (495)

The underlying principle that lay at the root of the Reformation was the rejection of Papal supremacy. The home of the Tudors was situated in the heart of the Bangor diocese and in a conflict between the Tudor sovereigns and the papacy, patriotism would lead the Welsh to sympathise with the former. Apart from this, the spiritual appeal of the papacy had possibly been weakened by the remembrance that only a few generations earlier the clergy and people of the diocese had taken definite steps with Owen Glyndwr, in his rebellion and in his support of the Pope at Avignon to whom Glyndwr adhered, as against the rival Pope at Rome. It is even possible that tradition may have handed down the remembrances of the early days of the British Church, when the church in the diocese stood apart from the Western church as centred at Rome. A more decisive influence in reconciling the clergy and people to the Reformation movement, would be the publication of the Scriptures in Welsh, followed at a later stage by the Welsh Book of Common Prayer. (496)

Queen Elizabeth reigned from 1558-24 March 1603; her coronation was held on 15 January 1559. She required outward conformity by attendance at church on Sunday; if men chose also to hear the Roman Mass privately or to attend a sectarian meeting there would be no harm done. But after 1570 both practising Catholics and Puritans were considered traitors. The burning of three Protestants took place in South Wales. By April 1559 Lord Robert Dudley, became her favourite, and later became Earl of Leicester. He died in September 1588. In 1572 Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was executed for his part in the Ridolfi conspiracy relating to Mary of Scotland. (497)

Rowland Meyrick, of Bodorgan, Anglesey, was bishop of Bangor from 1559-1565/6. He was prominent in the ranks of the reformers. He had been chancellor of St David's under Edward VI. His appointment marks the real beginning of the Reformation in Caernarfonshire. A substantial rise in the number of ordinations seems to indicate a readiness among the educated class from whom the clergy were drawn, to accept the Elizabethan order. (498) An early report noted that he only two licensed preachers among his clergy, although he hopefully added a list of thirty names of "such as be able to preach and may do well". He reported the widespread survival in Wales of traditional medieval religious practices among the people. (499)

The conservative nature of the countryside and the poverty of the clergy made it inevitable that there was little impetus for change and little active support for the Old Faith or for Protestantism among the illiterate and monoglot peasantry. Gatherings of peasant folk on mountainsides in rural north Wales were practising a mixture of religious rites and superstitious beliefs. Most of the gentry and high-ranking clergy identified themselves increasingly with the Elizabethan regime and loyally defended the new Protestantism. The new Church, based on the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity of 1559, was institutionally combined with the monarchy, law and parliament to form the major bastions of unity and uniformity. (500)

Footnotes Part 3 Section 12:

- (439) UWB, Mostyn, ms 3795
- (440) UWB, Mostyn ms 3796
- (441) UWB, Mostyn ms 3797
- (442) UWB, Mostyn ms 43
- (443) Powys Fadog, vol V p 109; P C Bartrum, Welsh Genealogies 1400-1500 vol VIII p 1326 –Osbwrn 2(g1).
- (444) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire, p237, p266
- (445) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, 251. Transcribed by Gareth Haulfryn Williams, 2007
- (446) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire, p279
- (447) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire, p189
- (448) WREW, Notes from the Records of Inquisitions, Arch Camb, 1847, p20-24
- (449) W.W.E.W., Notes from the Records of Inquisitions, Arch Camb, 1847, p20-24
- (450) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire, p14
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PART 3 Section 13. WILIAM AP TUDUR (I) (c1530s – c1590s)

William ap Tudur (1) was “**of EGRYN, Llanaber**” by the time of his **1558 marriage to Margaret**, daughter Gruffydd ab Howel of Nannau. (501) In 1588 William ap Tudur married Margaret, daughter of Gruffudd ap Howel Nanney. Gruffudd was living in 33 Henry VIII (1542). (502)

Margaret’s brother was Hugh Nanney Hen (c1546-1623, High Sheriff of Merioneth in 1587). (503) There is a 27th November 1558 Bond of obligation in £500 by **William ap Tudur of Llanaber** to Griffith ap Hoell ap David ap Meyrick [Griffith Nanney] to observe the terms of the marriage settlement of the aforesaid William ap Tydur with Margaret, daughter of Griffith Nanney. This William Tudur of Egryn’s name in full was William ap Tudur ap Griffith ap Ednyfed, according to the Ms catalogue. (504) This bond is dated after the death of Queen Mary and before the coronation of Queen Elizabeth.

This 1558 marriage bond is the first contemporary mention of Egryn. The age of William ap Tudur in 1558 is not known, but it seems likely that he was in his 20s; that would suggest that he was born c1530s. He is thought to have been the eldest surviving son of Tudyr and Elisabeth, who were therefore probably married about a year before William’s birth.

It is not known whether Tudyr and Elisabeth lived at Egryn, but it seems likely that their unmarried heir would give his parents’ home as his abode in his marriage settlement. Alternatively, William could have bought Egryn prior to his marriage in 1558.

If Tudyr and Elisabeth did live at the Egryn hall house, it is possible that it was Tudyr’s home, and that he was born there in the early 1500s, and that Tudyr’s father Gruffith ap Ednyfed had lived at Egryn and maybe inherited / bought the holding and built the hall-house c1510. A later Bond from a Will. Tudur of Egryn to make a settlement has been mentioned elsewhere but the reference has not been traced and could refer to a different generation. In 1561 Robert ap Morgan, LL B, was the Priest of Llanaber. (505)

William ab Tudyr and Margaret who married 1558, had 12 children, apparently still living in 1594 (See Dwnn, vol II, p 251). However, 13 children: 7 sons and 6 daughters are named according to Elegy to Yr Hen William ap Tudur by Sion Phylipp. (506)

i) (probably born c1560) **Huw ap William (Tudur)** Esq. the heir, married **Gwen**, 2nd daughter of Richard Vaughan of Corsygedol. (507) who was HSC in 1578. Richard Vaughan, Corsygedol, married Jonet, daughter of Richard Vaughan, Talhenbont. They had 6 sons & 6 daughters, one of whom was Gwen who married (*sic*) *Richard Tudor* of Egryn. W W E Wynne’s note corrects this to Hugh ap William Tudur. (508) Gwen’s brother Griffith Vaughan rebuilt most of Corsygedol in 1592/3 & died in 1616. (509)

ii) John ab William Esq.;

iii) Thomas ab William Esq.;

iv) Edward /Edmund ab William, Esq.;

v) Dafydd ab William, Esq.;

vi) Lewis ab William, Esq. married Mary daughter of Huw ab Gruffydd ab Rhys;

vii) Jane married Robert ab Humphrey ab Jeun ab Gruffydd;

viii) Anes;

ix) Elin;

x) Elsbeth married Lewis ab Richard ab Robert Palkws;

xi) Mary;

xii) Gwen. All the above were alive as described above on 28th July 1594. (510)

xiii) another son, presumably dead by 1594, but listed, unnamed, in Hen William ap Tudur’s elegy. [See elegy] As William ap Tudur and Margaret married in 1558 and had 13 children, the children were probably born between c1560 – 1580s.

William Tudor’s daughter Jane, heiress of Egryn, married Hugh Owen of Cae’r Berllan (511) *Notes below in italics where there is additional information in Powys Fadog to that given in Lewys Dwnn.* [This is an error: Jane was the heiress daughter of the *third* William Tydder.]

In 1564 regarding Llanaber tenants: Lessee Griffith ap Llewelyn ap Ieuan to the use of tenants “they will make provision for the saving of the said lands from being surrounded with sand, whereof some part thereof is already surrounded”. (512) There is a 4th May 1564 Indenture between Katherin vch William, widow, (on the dorse Catrin vch Will. Sienkyn) of the township of Dinlle, co Carn., and Thomas Owen of Penarth, same county, to levy a fine at Great Sessions upon the hereditaments of the said Katherin in Garthgynfor, Llanenndwyn, Dolgledr etc in co Merioneth; after the fine is effected the lands will remain in the hands of Thomas Owen, John Owen and **WILLIAM TUDDER** for the use of Thomas ap Richard ap Robert, son of

the said Katherin, then to William ap Thomas, son of Thomas ap Richard and Lowry Owen his wife. This Thomas ap Richard ap Robert undoubtedly appears as married to Lowry (Owen) daughter of Owen ap Griffith ap Morris of Plas Du by Llanarmon. (513) Thomas Owen was Lowry's brother, High Sheriff of Carnarvonshire in 1569, and father to John Owen, the Latin epigrammatist. Katherin vch William's name in full was Katherin vch William ap Siencyn ap Iorwerth of Ynysmaengwyn. (514)

Further information regarding the VAUGHAN family of Corsygedol

*Rhys Vaughan died pre1576, his heir was **Richard Vaughan I** (c1528-1588) of Corsygedol & Llwyndurys, who built Corsygedol in 1576, was HSC 1578, died 1588, who married Jonet Vaughan of Talhenbont. Alive in 1573; 1575; 1577; 1577; they had 12 children including: Griffith Vaughan II who died 1616 & Gwen his sister who married Hugh ap William ap Tudur of Egryn. (515)*

A bond dated 16th September 1577 involved 1. Hugh Nanney of Nanney, co Merioneth; **William ap Tudor of Llanaber, GENT.**; and Ellis ap Ievan ap William of Nanney, yeoman.

2. Rees Vaughan and Richard Vaughan, esqs. BOND in £60 for the performance of covenants contained in a pair of Indentures of equal date. (516) Another bond dated 28 October 1577 was between 1. **William Tudor** of Llanaber, co. Merioneth, gent., Lewis ap Gruffith ap Edenevet of Llanenthoin, co. Merioneth, gent. [William's uncle] and Ievan *Thomas ap John Madryn* of Llanthothwey, co. Merioneth, gent. [William's son (or brother?) in law]; and 2. Richard Vaughan of Lloyndyrrys, co. Caernarvon, esq. BOND in 500 marks for the performance by the said William Tudor of covenants contained in a pair of Indentures of equal date. Signed Willm Tudr +. (517) On 16th May 1578 a document between 1. **William ap Tudor**, gent., free tenant of the township of **Llanbedr**, co Merioneth; and 2. Rees Vaughan & Richard Vaughan Esq., records a Bargain & Sale enrolled of a tenement in a place called Mochres, containing 20 acres of arable land "de mesura vchartro" and one meadow in the township of Llanbedr, co Merioneth. (518) It is not clear whether William Tudur, who was of Llanaber in 1558, listed "of Llanbedr" in 1578 solely because he held land in Llanbedr? The original document says **Llanbedr**, but is not signed.

Further information regarding the VAUGHAN family of Corsygedol (519)

*Richard Vaughan died in 1588. His heir was **Griffith Vaughan II** who rebuilt most of Corsygedol house in 1592-3; was HSM in 158 and 1604; he also built the family chapel adjoining Llanddwywe church in 1615; he died 1616. In 1591/2 he obtained 403 acres of concealed lands sold on by the widow of the earl of Leicester. (520) Gwen his sister married Hugh ap William ap Tudur of Egryn.*

(See Poem 5) A *cywydd* to **William ap Tudur ap Gr[uffydd]** was composed by **Lewis Menai** requesting a buckler for his kinsman, Tomas ap Rhisiart of Anglesey. (521) The following is a prose summary of a poem asking for a **buckler from Wiliam Tudur ap Gr[uffydd] for his cousin Tomas ap Risiart.**

"**Wiliam Tudur** is greeted and praised for his **military prowess**. His lineage is described as being the heir of Tudur, of the stock of Tewdwr, a grandson of Gruffydd (a connection with Anglesey is made here), of the stock of Ednyfed (and perhaps Don). He is praised for his skill in many feats. He is handsome, wise, happy, brave, courageous, the object of vaticination. References to both ancestors and exemplary heroes are multiplied: Einion, Beli (Mawr), *Siencyn ap Iorwerth*, *Cynfin*, Rhiwallon, Nudd, Hwfa, Tudur Trefor, Gwalchmai.

After more praise, this time for generosity and kindness as well as courage, the suppliant **Tomas ap Rhisiart is introduced as Wiliam Tudur's cousin**. The buckler he requests is described successively as a moon, a baby (because carried on the arm), a gold insula, a shield with golden knots and latticed back, a steak against a wound, a blacksmith's work, a (protective) load on the back of the hand [...], his heart's desire decorated with a gold frieze; the buckler will have gold peas on its face; it will be a golden torque, but made of steel to avoid a head wound; its structure as regards laths and nails can be discerned, steel coils like a silver corselet, jewels like angles of fine gold; under its beak the poet saw a fine steel apple, a glistening and shining island (of metal) much to be admired not derided, gold peas in a silver container and powdered like diminutive heads, (or like) cranberries set on steel ridges, a steel structure as a rustless breast(plate) [...] [...], a [protective] heap over the knuckles, an intensively-worked semblance of a turret and stars, a loaf and the image of a mackerel sky.

It is good that a faultless cousin should have a fine toy to protect me and I have had a fine prize, a protection against the fear of lance or arrow.

May the cousin who gave it have a blessed life and good fortune!" (522)

Lewis Menai lived in the second half of the sixteenth century; he visited many of the large mansions. (523) **Thomas ap Rhisiart** was William ab Tudur's cousin; he was William's mother (Elisabeth)'s sister and co-heiress Catherine's son. Catherine had married Richard ap Robert of Plas Newydd, Llandwrog. (524)

(See poem 4) prior to the poet **William Cynwal**'s death in 1587/8: **William ap Tudur** is amongst twenty-five men mentioned in a *cywydd* by William Cynwal, requesting heifers for Edward Trevor of Hope. (525)
 "This poem belongs to a well-known genre of request poem, in which the poet asks his patrons for a specific gift, often of behalf of someone else. Here Cynwal asks for a gift of 25 heifers from 25 named gentlemen of Merionethshire and Montgomeryshire on behalf of Edward Trevor of Hope. The third gentleman named is William ap Tudur: "William ap Tudur of fresh sharp-speared courage, A leader in the world." (526)
 William Cynwal's parents were Sion and Lowry. Lowry's father was Sion and his ancestors were Robert Palcws, then Ffion Palcws, Sion Palcws, Constable of Harlech and Sheriff of Merioneth and then Robert Palcws, Sion's father. William Cynwal therefore had ancestors in common with William ap Tudur. Edward Trevor of Hope: see Edward Trevor of Brynkinallt (527)

(See poem 1) Prior to 1587/8: **William ap Tudur** was eulogised as a generous patron in a *cywydd*, pre the death in 1587/8 of **William Cynwal** of Dolgynwal / Ty'n y Berth. (528)

Eulogy in praise of William son of Tudur, from Egryn in the parish of Barmouth

The man of the stature (lit. length) of ancient Garwy
 With steel armour and the weight of an oak,
Thou art William, a second Medwyr,
 Tall of body, above men.
 Brave eagle on the nape of an oak,
 Thou art high above birds;
 You have one virtue above others,
 You have a lion's confidence to excel all others.
Tudur's heir of an honest mien,
 Grandson of pure *Gruffydd*, with the steadiness of a clear faith.
 From father to father bold is your leave (?),
 From the old lineage of generous *Marchudd*.
 Hawks are low, proud where they are,
 Compared with the peacock of *Ierwerth son of Einion*.
 Great you are because of this pedigree
 If the blood of good *Maesmor* was great.
 The blood of Aaron worked well,
 It never failed, another succulent tree.
 Of the lineage of Tewdwr, do not neglect your part,
 Derwas Cynan was turned by you (?)
 A pillar from Holland, the weight of two countries,
Palkus and his luck, fortunate seed.
 From the lineage of cheerful *Sir Hywel*
 And pure Yale, an army follows you.
 The purest blood, all names strong,
 Who has the same respect? – the chief one for judgement.
 An excellent man, thou art above men,
 And thou art a man of lineage and of words.
 Your body, where you come to battle,
 Is no smaller than a giant's, your fear was made out of love;
 And if you are still great, fit for *Urien's* size,
 Reincarnation of old Eudaf,
 Your body – all well-formed –
 Is full of every purity, trees' unity (?)
 If courage, put (?)
 Your word goes forth, no man compares.
 In everything, there is the luck of eight ages,
 In all man's dealings, a generous son during your lifetime.

The blood of your **generous wife** is good,
 Let God leave her, she is not vacuous.

She gives to the old, from mercy,
 A gift or wine, **Margaret of Nannau**,
 The Eigr of Gruffudd of *Nannau*,
 Beautiful tall sagacious tree, a straight honest man.
Salesbury and his type (?), in an unfettered manner,
 He and *Penwyn* thrived.
 Her mother's side is no lower,
 The side of Einion, faultless men:
Herbert, Kinnester (?*Kynaston*), the port (?) of song,
 And there was a numerous crowd from Tankerfield (?)
 The seed of Tegeingl, no empty blood,
 And the breed of Eyton (?), trees with ancient roots,
 Gray, Gloucester, they heard the truth,
 The best blood, to top a hundred.
 Let God allow her, the remarkable Margaret,
 Of an appearance which excels all women, to be praised.

And thou, Wiliam Glyn, when seen,
 In strength, is the purest in Christendom.
 You will get a word of praise, - is there a greater giant? –
 The golden lock of a debate, Ardudwy's omen.
 He fights the strong, the deer of good blood,
 Protects the weak, he does not leave anything lacking.
 Thou dost not bend, you are a tall man,
 Like Dyfnwal thou art fearless.
 No one dares to threaten you, by magic or a harsh word,
 A lion of no timidity.

Thou art a second duke, a satireless lion,
when giving a feast, with a pure face.
 As to the term (?) on both sides of Barmouth
They come to your house high up in the area:
All musicians, everyone, you were honoured,
If ever there was a parish, everyone went to your mansion.
What a tower, a place of human happiness,
Of numerous grades, the court of Egryn,
Famous for its gold and silver,
A better golden court for the benefit of the weak.
We get heaving tables and wine,
Beer, brawn, as if he was the king.
The (agr?) of the hot dishes is healthy,
It is honourable to mention it.

Thou art truly pure, the butterfly of our language,
 If anyone is pure, pregnantly full of hope.
 Thou art liberal and generous, it is easy to receive a gift,
 If any born human was ever generous.
 Of an easy demeanour as was your temperament,
 You went through them, today you are famed for it,
 And at the peak of your life,
 For the sake of God, find fame in your lifetime. Wiliam Cynwal

(Translated by Dr John Rowlands, pers. comm. July 2007)

(See poem 6) Pre the death in 1620 of the poet Sion Phylip, & probably pre 1600:

An **elegy to OLD William ap Tudur (I)** was composed by **Sion Phylip**, (c1543-1620) (529)
Translation undertaken for Mrs Tucker:

A1: Balm it is to complain today, songster,	It is easy for an hundred of us to lament today
A2: Ease to man's encouragement;	Farewell to a hero's magnanimity
A3: Easy, fun down cheeks	It is unhindered that there flow down a cheek
A4: Pouring tears for life's happenings	Copious tears for a life made manifest
A5: Man's life that deserves to be loved,	The life of a hero who deserved to be loved
A6: Busy short life , that was enchanting	A poured-out short life, it was an enchantress
A7: A great waste son on mother's breast	It is very vain for a male child on his mother's breast
A8: To wail for you William	To call for you with a cold cry, William
A9: ap Tudur , it is a black day	Ap Tudur , it is a dark world
A10: Empty life will be without you	To be alive without you is but a trifle
A11: What will be our eternal complaint, we sing?	What is our constant complaint, all 900 of us
A12: Live after you, why should we.	That we have to live now that you are gone, if we must do so!
A13: To you yesterday, no blacker day	To you yesterday (no darker day has befallen us)
A14: I well know to say goodbye:	I know truly that I bade farewell
A15: No joyful farewell this, but complaining	This is no health, but a matter of complaint,
A16: But farewelling after you;	To bid you farewell at your departure
A17: It was good, living in your company	It was rude health to be alive and to greet you
A18: But miserable now to me	From now on ill-health will be my lot
A19: You did not hate anyone who loved you;	Non who have loved you will be able to have you back
A20: Only loving well, brave one	If this cannot be had, farewell, brave one!
B1: Well even though fate had imprisoned you	Farewell to a hero's role of you have been made captive
B2: One with a splendid heart	One with a noble and generous heart
B3: Well done brave spirit who left inspiration	Farewell, courageous and bountiful one with a hard flame
B4: After you, well done William!	In your wake – farewell William!
B5: Useless talk, while calling for wine	It is idle work when wine is called for
B6: Watching you kind encouraging rogue:	To find your match, wine-nurtured hawk
B7: To find your like (second), believe the pangs suffer-	To find your like – believe me when I speak of the spear-thrust I
B8: Will be difficult during my life	Will be difficult in all the days of my life
B9: The world recognises from its source, flaws	I know the world in its debilitating vice
B10: Man recognises on another,	I know a hero and another man
B11: A chick or seed recognises a scamp	I know a fledgling or a full-grown hawk
B12: Posterity recognises an unpretentious one,	I know the stance of a humble man
B13: Even though ripe corn will grow of his cairn,	Let summer-growing grain grow from its rocky eminence
B14: Strong trees will also grow	For sturdy trees also grow
B15: Corn grows awhile for us	Let corn grow for a while for us
B16: Never will one grow of your sort	No-one like you will ever grow
B17: Good came from your sure kind of roots	It is good that one of your lineage's unfailing root
B18: To grow to fearless progressive man	Should grow into a fearless flourishing hero
B19: And grow he did too!	And [that root] grew also
B20: And you living wisely in the world,	As you lived wisely in the world.
c1: Unto you, to men of your kind,	Within you, as befitted heroes of your stature
c2: Your fullness of generosity,	I gave credence to your heart
c3: Your heart I trusted (cherished)	It was delightful to have it between the two stalls of my ribs
c4: Strange you were between two circles	And the true expression of clemency
c5: A true easy wearer of civilisation,	You relieved through your bearing of good nature
c6: You did while possessing a good nature.	
c7: Healthy and happy your outlook,	Your countenance showed no suffering, no sadness
c8: Honest kind-hearted you were,	You were generous and kind
c9: unknown to fraud, good man,	No good man accused you of deceit
c10: They did not mention in your life here,	While you lived here you did not disappoint
c11: Your kindness and justice, good to the weak people	You were gentle with upright person, you were good to weak
c12: The good you did to the pathetic man	To the wretched man you gave generously

c13: Of feeble body, good on behalf of a friend, Gentle of body, you were good on behalf of a kinsman,
 c14: Very wise and good neighbourly Wise, astute and sociable
 c15: To the old and the young, worthy dead To old and young (costly [for them] in your death)
 C16: In every sphere you were a lover of people To all degrees you loved children
 C17: Where I saw you with a crowd following Where I once saw you with a host following you
 C18: (Let all remember this) (a place: woe is me that I well remember it)
 C19: They said attitudes improved I now see a ravaged cheek, [this is] a true confession
 C20: The old rift improved between villages and towns. I see a worse condition for a long time to come in parish and township.

D1: Woe to him you saw and worse the second time Woe to then who saw you – it is worse to be reminded of this a second time

D2: many times Many times giving alms
 D3: Woe to your relations, brave spirit. Woe to your kinsmen of courageous blood
 D4: Woe to the empty hearted man following you Woe to the heart of a man left empty-handed now that you are gone
 D5: Weak and feeble wanderer Weak and powerless I know my progress to be
 D6: Feeble folk are the frequenters of wine houses A maintenance of winehouses is weakened henceforth
 D7: The place where you lie The slope where you lie
 D8: Hides a special splendid man Covers a noble and fine warrior
 D9: God put you (what an expensive journey) God, since you were laid – a costly journey-
 D10: Under the soil (true/pure man that you were) Under the earth (you were a pure man)
 D11: A sore tragedy came over me, William Pain has come upon us because of you, William
 D12: A tragedy until death from thy mother's ribs It has pierced, so as to bring her to the grave, through your mother's side
 D13: While you lived, her only son When you were alive you were her only son
 D14: This sorrow was in her life Grief overtook her during her lifetime
 D15: And your sisters, bad day As it did your sisters on that inauspicious day
 D16: In grave sorrow **for one good brother** In them a spear's weight under jet-black dress
 D17: A painful load under life's guise
 D18: Tearing the heart of your sad wife Rending the heart of your sad wife
 D19: Great dark sorrow, so persistent In great and black grief, how persistent
 D20: Is the sorrowful cry of **fair Margred** Is the sharp sad cry of **generous Margaret!**

E1: A coffin shelters you, the ugly cold from your people A coffin conceals you – a cold cry that you have been concealed in it -

E2: Especially one lady from Nannau. The support of [the?] one daughter of Nannau
 E3: From your life together for a blissful while From your living together for a time in righteousness
 E4: From your two bodies sanctity/health we find From your two bodies health will come to us
 E5: A bush is like clovers or stars There is a proof like clover or like stars
 E6: Young and vigorous not wasteful flow A lineage of young people, no worthless accession
 E7: Thirteen came from your young blood Thirteen [children] of fresh blood,
 E8: These will grow to maturity These would grow according to the life of the ancient blood
 E9: There won't be saplings from the greenery beyond Trees stemming from the fresh woods under
 E10: Future time will confirm. Will take only a very short while to grow branches
 E11: **Seven sons**, in which I find cause to rejoice, Seven sons, for whom I was put to work to praise
 E12: **And six bright gorgeous stars**, And six splendid amiable daughters [lit. stars]
 E13: Your heir **HUW**, will come into the limelight Your heir Huw, if he comes to the highway
 E14: Masses of your nation will follow him A host of his kinsmen will follow him,
 E15: With spirit and progress Given [long] life, a mutual flourishing
 E16: An apparent heir, with the power An enduring good name and the present ability
 E17: To hold court and call for wine To maintain the court, with is sustenance of wine-provision
 E18: To bless the wheat grains of Egryn Of Egryn, burgeoning like wheat-grain
 E19: And better we would not wish I would desire no greater gift
 E20: But his father's love for him. Than his father's love for him.

F1: You are a man who has as word goes accurately, You are a person that would have, if the report about you goes out

F2: A beloved name who loves men The love and fame and good report of [other] men
 F3: And from good judgment, I know that And as the result of true judgment, I know there abides
 F4: You have faith in God Belief in the Word of God within you
 F5: And a good catholic faith And a good Catholic enough faith
 F6: And I witness that you said this And I was witness when you declared this
 F7: With a love, doubly merited And charity, a fourfold deserving
 F8: Perfect and total trust And a complete faith

F9: Your body went, with true faith	Your body has gone, after [testifying to] true faith
F10: To a happy land we hear	Into the ground of Llawen the reader:
F11: The picture of a man, no less than Urien	The form of a hero no less than Urien
F12: Who lies in the soil of fair Llanaber	Fills the soil of holy Llanaber
F13: From your God given happy faith	As a result of your unblemished and joyous faith
F14: And your belief in Christ's death	And your belief in the death of Christ
F15: A spirit that went way	The soul has therefore gone
F16: To the fair ranks of angels above.	To the holy dignity of angels above.

Sion Phylip sang this.

This suggests Williams' mother and several sisters were still alive, as well as his wife Margred from Nannau, and that he and Margred had had seven sons and six daughters.

The Phylipiad bards of Ardudwy:

The family were descended from John Palcus, his heiress Catherine having married Ieuan de Colier. Palcus, it appears had settled in the Harlech area sometime after Edward I had built his castle there. **Sion Phylip** was a native of Ynys Mochras in Llandanwg, his father being Phylip ap Morgan ap Richard. Sion Phylip drowned in 1620, aged 77, in Pwllheli, and left a widow & six children. (530) **Richard Phylip** was John / Sion's younger brother; he was writing in 1587 and died in 1641. He lived in Llanwchllyn and was the family bard to Nannau. In 1641 **William Phylip**, possibly a relation, of Hendrefechan wrote an elegy to Richard Phylip (531) **Gruffydd Phylip** was a son of John Phylip and died in 1666. William Fychan of Corsygedol was his patron. **Phylip John Phylip** died 1676-78; he was of the parish of Llandanock and wrote an elegy on the **Royalist poet William Phylip** of Hendrefechan. (532)

Footnotes Part 3 Section 13:

- (501) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, Vol I, pclxiv; P C Bartrum, Welsh Genealogies 1400-1500, vol VIII p1326, (BI ap C 51(A); The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, vol II, p231; RV 874; GX 476
- (502) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p200; The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, Vol II, 1846, p227, cxlxiv
- (503) B R Parry, Hugh Nanney Hen, (c1546-1623) Squire of Nannau, JMHRs, 1967, p185-206; Seen the earliest Nannau estate rent roll: 1701 UWB Nannau ms 467
- (504) UWB, Nannau ms 79 – house name given as EGRYN in para 2 line 7
- (505) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, Vol II, p220 n11; Willis's Bangor, p267, p270
- (506) (See poem 6)
- (507) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, Vol II, p251, clvii
- (508) W W E Wynne, The Vaughans of Corsygedol, Arch. Camb., 1875, p9
- (509) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p279
- (510) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, Vol II, Egryn p 25.) No shield of arms.
- (511) History of Powys Fadog, Lloyd, 1887, vol IV p288, p290; History of Powys Fadog, Lloyd, 1887, vol VI, p 420-1
- (512) Lewis and Davies, Record Court of Augmentations, p441
- (513) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p266
- (514) UWB, Nannau A, 90
- (515) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p279
- (516) UWB, Mostyn ms 3888; not signed; no indentures included
- (517) UWB, Mostyn ms 3889
- (518) UWB, Mostyn ms 3639; document incomplete – lost around edges
- (519) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p279
- (520) J Gwynfor Jones, Government and Society 1536-1603, in History of Merioneth, Vol II, 2001, ed Beverley Smith, p 662; 1587- Mostyn 3684; 1595; 1596; 1597
- (521) Poem 5: (1st line: Mil hannerch er mawl hynod – MD has copy in manuscript only). (Glenys Davies, Noddwyr Beirdd ym Meirion, Dolgellau, 1974, p 71-74; Llawysgrifau Ywchwanegol y Llyfrgell Genedlaethol, 1559, 650)
- (522) NLW, Llawysgrifau Ywchwanegol y Llyfrgell Genedlaethol, 1559, 650, loosely translated by Prof Geraint Gruffydd, Sept 2007, pers. comm
- (523) Dictionary of Welsh Biographies, 1940, p245
- (524) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p237, p266, p205; see 1544 and 1564 documents
- (525) Poem 4: 1st line: Y ddwy sir, mae'n weddus son, quote especially lines 13-14: Wiliam ir waywlym wryd / Ap Tudur, benadur byd). Glenys Davies, Noddwyr Beirdd ym Meirion, Dolgellau, 1974, p 71, 74; Geraint Percy Jones,

Astudiaeth Destunol o Ganu Wiliam Cynwal yn Llawysrif (Bangor) Mostyn 4, Cymru, NLW Thesis 1969/103Q, no 33, p66

(526) Translation and comments by Prof Geraint Gruffydd, pers comm. Aug 2007

(527) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p254

(528) Poem 1: Title: Moliant Wiliam ap Tudur o EGRYN ym Mhlwyf Y Bermo, 1st line: Y gwr o hyd Garwy hen) Glenys Davies, Noddwyr Beirdd ym Meirion, Dolgellau, 1974, p 71- 74; NLW Thesis 1965/100, no 9, p 27, Rhiannon Williams, Testun Beirniadol o Casliad Llawysgrif Mostyn III (M 111 17b; M 1, 307) o Waith Wiliam Cynwal ynghyd A Rhagymadrodd, Noddiadau a Geirfa, Cymru, 1965, 9

(529) Poem 6:1st line: Hawdd gwynwn heddiw gannwr. (Glenys Davies, Noddwyr Beirdd ym Meirion, Dolgellau, 1974, p 71-74; NLW, Brogyntyn 1. 2, 29b – have copy in manuscript only; also in NLW 12731-3, D E Jenkins 1938; and NLW ms 8341 and Wynnstay (1) 7; Mawnadau No 60 p 242) Ms sources: B 31097, 230b; Brog 2, 29b; J 17,48.

(530) J Gwynfor Jones, Phylipiad Ardudwy, JMHRs, 2001, pp313-347

(531) W LL Davies, Phylipiad Ardudwy – A summary and Survey, London, 1931 & in Y Cymmrodor, XLII, 1931 p198

(532) W LL Davies, Phylipiad Ardudwy – A summary and Survey, London, 1931 & in Y Cymmrodor, XLII, 1931 pp155-268

PART 3 Section 14. HUGH ap WILLIAM (I) (c1560s-1606/1611)

A document dated August 1585 records a lease between 1. **Hugh ap William of Llanaber**, co. Mer, Gent., and 2. Sir Richard Thymelbie of Harlech, co Merioneth, Kt. This LEASE for 21 years of messuage and lands in a “certeyne isle” called Mochras, in the parish of Llanbeder, co Merioneth. Rent 10s p.a. is signed **Hugh ap William**. (533) A 1467 document survives regarding land of the isle of Moghres - not involving the Egryn family. (534)

Other important events: 1588 August: Spanish Armada; 1588 September: death of Robert (Dudley), by now Earl of Leicester. William Morgan’s Welsh Bible was also printed in 1588.

On 10th August 1588 a document records 1. Thomas ap John Llywelyn Vychan of Llanfair and Edward Humphrey of Llandecwyn, gent. and 2. Robert ap Ieuan ap Morgan and Richard ap Rhys ap Robert, gent., agree a FEOFFMENT of Tyddyn y Doctor, a mill called Melin Maesyneuadd, Moel y glo, Gerddi Blyawg; a tenement called y Ddol Wreithiog in Llanfawr and Llanbedr and **the lands of Hugh ap William Tudor**. Tyddyn y Doctor is another name for Maesyneuadd. (535)

The economy of Ardudwy, upon which Harlech depended, was, entirely geared to the rearing of cattle and sheep, the former mainly, and Harlech was but one market where they were sold. (536) Enclosure of common land was a frequent practice from the sixteenth century onwards, mainly for sheep grazing, and frequent were the protests of “sheep eating up men”. ... There was a remarkable increase in population throughout Wales after 1550, attributed to the re-entry into the upland areas. (537) The greatest impact of the expanding wool trade was found in the transformation of the open fields from common arable land to individually owned, enclosed pasture land, for arable land was once thought to be much less important in the agriculture of the Atlantic border of Europe because of its physical environment, its peripheral position in relation to economic diffusion and its cultural history. ... However, recent research has demonstrated that similar incentives, for example general urban and industrial growth, were provoking equally profound and simultaneous repercussions in these relatively remote regions. (538) There are a number of early LEASES in Harlech and Ardudwy which the author has not seen: Elwes 14; Brogyntyn 4569, 4558, 4617; Soughton Hall 470; Maesyneuadd 3612. (539)

In 1563 Robert Dudley, the earl of Leicester, was appointed lord of Denbigh and Chirk, and, in 1573 as chancellor and chamberlain at Caernarfon with authority over the three north-west Wales counties. Leicester was granted a commission to investigate illicit encroachments upon Crown land which implicated many landlords in the three counties. In 1564 Ellis Price, Plas Iolyn, became his steward, searching out concealed lands and assessing arrears of rent due from them from past years. Leicester, Queen Elizabeth’s favourite, had the right to appropriate to himself whatever was found. Arrears of rent for past years’ occupation of illicit land, often settled by distraint of property, caused much aggravation among landholders. The earl of Leicester had served in the Netherlands and in Ireland. In 1592 Lord Burleigh was Queen Elizabeth’s secretary. (540) Leicester died in 1588, leaving his estate to his brother Ambrose, earl of Warwick who died in 1590, leaving it to his wife. She sold it to Lord St John of Bletsoe.

In 1570 overseers were appointed in each parish and township to assist magistrates in maintaining order and to attend to routine administrative affairs, such as the regulation of alehouses and the supervision of the able-bodied and disabled poor, the unemployed and the vagrant population. (541) During the 1575-1590s

Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester (died 1588) as Ranger of the Forest of Snowdon was given a commission to investigate the extent of encroachments and concealed lands in the **Forest of Snowdon**. Much information can be gleaned from a rental of Crown lands dated 1592 which excludes Ardudwy and a list of encroachments of a similar date. (542) The encroachment inventory was probably related to the Forest of Snowdon and produced after the death of the Earl of Leicester in 1588. It lists over 10,000 acres in Ardudwy, Penllyn, Talybont and Ystumanner. In the encroachment inventory, 23 parcels totalling by estimation 603 acres, lying mainly in Llanenddwyn and Llanddwywe with some in Trawsfynydd, Llanbedr, Llanfair and Llanfihangel y traethau is attributed to Richard Vaughan of Corsygedol. (543) There is no definitive date for it, though that may appear in PRO Lists and Indexes, or might be postulated by some detective work on personnel in relation to names. (544) Nineteen pieces of land first granted in 1576 by the Queen to the Earl of Leicester, and subsequently sold by Lord St John of Bletsoe, were in 1595 sold to Richard Vaughan. (545)

The accumulation of land by the gentry led to litigation on a grand scale and the compilation of surveys and inquisitions, not least because a proportion of holdings in Merioneth was considered to form part of the Forest of Snowdon. The numerous disputes concerning the Forest caused serious repercussions in landholding society in Gwynedd from the mid 1570s onwards. ... The commissions that were set up, and the ensuing dissatisfaction expressed by encroachers whose illicit dealings had been exposed, led to fierce litigation and recrimination. In 1591 John St John, Lord St John of Bletsoe, declared that all the arrears of rent to the Crown were to be recovered in full... One undoubted consequence of that is the Crown survey of 1592 which contains the names of freeholders and tenants, plots, farmsteads and rents as well as a variety of tenements, and an inventory of encroachments following the appointment of a Commission to investigate landholdership in the Forest of Snowdon ... including Ardudwy. (546)

It is evident that whereas meadow and marsh enclosures hardly ever exceeded a few dozen acres, enclosures on to the *ffriddoedd* were carried out on a much larger scale and often contained a high proportion of moorland above 1,000 feet. It cannot be assumed that these intakes from the waste were subject to improvement after their enclosure due to effort and capital outlay but as many of these large units had been grazed by cattle and sheep since their colonisation by monastic houses in the thirteenth century, it would seem logical to expect the greatest change in the landscape in such encroachments. Activity on the edges of coastal and riverine marsh is clearly revealed by the appearance of large intakes on Morfa Dyffryn. With the most favourable pastures and potential arable soils already occupied, expansion from the medieval bases could only have proceeded in either of these directions. Where sufficient detail permits valid generalization, the overwhelming conclusion to be drawn from the inventory is that colonization of the moorland fringe was directed from existing farm holdings, whose limits were extended in an irregular manner on to the commons, thus providing a marked contrast with the geometrical field patterns associated with the implementation of the nineteenth-century Parliamentary Enclosure Awards. ... The more modest enclosures were located in sheltered positions easily accessible from existing farmsteads, but the real targets for aspiring magnates were the wide expanses of former monastic granges, part of which had been leased to local gentry even before the dissolution of the monasteries. ... There are few records of squatter settlement, suggesting that the land rush of the sixteenth-century did not proceed from either a need or a desire to create independent farms, but was rather the visible product of an internal struggle for wealth and power between already-established landowners. Early medieval settlement had gravitated towards the small scattered areas of well-drained soils on the lower slopes and subsequent expansion of township communities radiated from these zones. With the gradual decay of the medieval institutional and economic framework, several families emerged in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a well-defined upper stratum of Welsh society, becoming increasingly influenced by the aura with surrounded the English gentry. This was particularly true in the generations after the Acts of Union in 1536 and 1543 when local magnates were entrusted with lucrative offices, and it is almost entirely among factions within this stratum that economic and legal clashes occurred, especially in the form of keen competition for leases of Crown lands, on which quasi-freehold enclosures were made. ... Enclosure undermined once and for all parochial and community-based economic life. ... Within their own and neighbouring townships, those listed by the commissioners were well-known to each other, and indeed many had probably acted in concert to extend their contiguous farm boundaries and to reclaim heath or marshland, pushing out as if in a phalanx from their own freeholds or tenancies. Among the most vivid examples was the patchwork of fields on the eastern edge of Morfa Dyffryn, created from salt marsh by at least ten individuals to augment their homesteads near the medieval *maerdref* at Ystumgwern: in Llanbedr, within sight of this ribbon, their leader Richard Vaughan also held several parcels, one bearing the incriminating name 'y Kay Newith' (547)

It was an age when the conspicuous among the landed gentry hastened to advance their fortunes. 434 acres of concealed lands were obtained in 1591-2 by Gruffudd Vaughan II who built "Corsygedol chapel" (1615)

as part of Llanddwywe church, and who rebuilt the Corsygedol house (1592-3). He purchased them from Leonard Baker and Thomas Androwe of London to whom they had been sold by John St John of Bletsoe, the purchaser of the Forest of Snowdon from the Countess Anne, widow of the earl of Leicester. (548) His heir, William Vaughan, who built the gatehouse at Corsygedol, encroached on 603 acres in Llanenddwyn, Llanddwywe, Trawsfynydd, Llanbedr, Llanfair and Llanfihangel y traethau. (549)

circa 1590s PRO SC 12/30/24 Rental of encroachments in Merioneth (550)

folio 39

Llanenwyn Ricens Vaghan, armiger, Ricens Owen, Robert ap Hoell ap Rees, vend' Gr. William ap Hoell ap llyn. ap Eign, Ieuan Greth? Johnes, Thomas ap Vaghan Hoell ap Rees, and Dd. ap Ieuan convicted? of divers encroachments 65 acres all hold this parcel of waste without? Mor called **ydded werne**, known by the name of **Gwerne honor**, containing 220 acres extending from a place called **y Morva Meryon** to the free tenement of Ricens Vaghan ssuben of **eccljesia of Llanthoywy**, and from a place called **y Brynner** to the encroachment of **William ap Tudor in dded werne**. 120 acres

Gr. Vaghan; John ap Hoell ap Griffith; Robert ap Hoell ap Rees

folio 40

Llanendwyn Ricens Vaghan, armiger, and **William Tudor, gent.**, encroached a Llandoyway parcel called **Gwayn y llan**, extending from the free tenement of vend' Gr. Ricens Vaghan to *marisc. sine coiam* called **Toywen Merryon**, and Vaghan, arm. From encroachment of **William Tudor** to *coias* called **Gwerne y Chappell**... 15 acres 60 acres

Llanbedo The same Ricens Vaghan holds a parcel of land called **y Vron dosten Hugh ap** extending from **Crag Curven** to the encroachment of John ap William, **Wm Tudor** and from the free tenement of Robert ap Ieuan ap Morgan to the land Robert ap Ieuan Morgan of **William Tudor**. 3 acres

Llanaber **William Tudor holds** 2 parcels of land extending from a place called **Ynys yr ychine** to the encroachment of Dd. ap Owen ap John, and from the free tenement of William Tudor to the adjoining *mariscum* 6 acres Hugh ap William Tudor

This could mean that William ap Tudor was still alive in c1592, or that it was William ap Tudor who had previously made the encroachments.

(1627/8 Jan 15: Bodwilim, a meadow called **Ynys yr Ychen** (551) In 1839 **Ynys yr Ychain** was the name of field 115 on Bodgwilim farm, owned by John Griffith Watkins (minor), Llanfairisgaer & Brynodol estate. Tenant Griffith Griffiths. (See Bodwilim file)

folio 41

Llanaber David ap Owen holds a parcel of land extending from the Gr. Dd. ap **encroachment of William ap Tudor** to the encroachment of Ricens Owen Vaghan, and from the free tenement of David ap Owen ap Jenkyn to *marisco detent sine* encroachment. 12 acres

Note that all those tenants in Llanaber do refuse to compound because they be the Queen's tenants in the Township of Llanaber.

Featured in considerable detail in both sources (552a) [the rental of Crown lands of 1592 and the Rental of encroachments in Merioneth of approximately the same date] are enclosures created on the moor or waste variously referred to as "Y Ddee Werne" and "Y Morfa Meirion", in other words in the general area between the present road running from Llanbedr to Tal-y-bont and the coastal dunes of Mochras and Morfa Dyffryn. From the boundaries and placenames given in the documents it is clear that a concerted attack was being made upon the common marshy meadows which lay to the west of the ancient *maerdref* of Ystumgwyn and that several freeholders and tenants were simultaneously pushing out the limits of their farmsteads parallel to each other in order to acquire increased pasture and hay resources. The nature of the land, potentially rich meadow perhaps dotted with rushes and alder or willow scrub, is indicated from the names – Gwern Fawr, Gwern-y-capel, Gwaun-y-llan, and so on. (552b)

If the names of those who encroached land in Llanaber, as listed in P.R.O. S.C. 12/30/34, are compared with those listed in a Meirionydd Lay Subsidy Roll of 1599/1600 it is found that the families of Plas yn Egryn and the nearby Plas Canol were guilty of encroachment. (552c) Details of the lands in question are hard to follow, but they are undoubtedly coastal lands. After the mid 14th century, expansion of population onto marginal lands would be unlikely before the turn of the 16th century due to economic decline, plague, rebellion and their aftermath. Thus ... we must look to the 16th century as the period of origin for the land use discussed in this section. The building of Egryn [Abbey] implies the trend towards individualism ... had resulted in the subdivision of the Gafael Egryn. **The Plas yn Egryn was occupied c1590 by that Hugh ap Gwilym Tudor** mentioned in P.R.O. S.C. 12/30/24 and in P.R.O. E.222/325. (553) He had encroached land

at Ynys Ychein, at the mouth of Ceunant Egryn, and was challenged for doing so. It is the writer's view that this expansion onto the coastal margin was accompanied by expansion onto the *ffridd*. Colin Thomas's analysis of data in P.R.O. S.C. 12/30/24 (554) shows that of the 10,500 acres allegedly encroached, 9,600 acres were *ffridd* (91.4% of plots involved) In certain cases Thomas was able to trace the actual boundaries of the encroachments (555) and his diagram is here reproduced. (Fig 3) He further pointed out that it is likely that this expansion was directed from established farms. From Thomas's plans of the encroached areas one may deduce that the lands were probably leased out, possibly to men made landless as a consequence of the social dislocation of the 14th and 15th centuries and the subsequent cupidity of the gentry, probably in exchange for cash rents. In the cash and land based social hierarchy of the Tudor period, **minor gentry such as Hugh ap Gwilym Tudur**, stood to gain wealth, land and status by such action.

It is suggested that Plas yn Egryn and Plas Canol formed parts of the division of Gafael Egryn, and that each held rights to areas of *ffridd* and upland grazing. As well as encroaching land on the coast, **Hugh ap Gwilym Tudur** sought to improve his lands and gain cash rents by leasing parts of his *ffridd* to landless men. The walls and lynchets within the survey area delimit small areas of tenure, each with its own house and separated from the rest. The putatively 16th century land divisions above Egryn Abbey compare well with those of known encroachment plots (Fig 3). But in leasing this land Hugh was within his rights given in Henry VII's Charter of 1507 (556) While he was answerable for his taking of land at Ynys Ychein, the enclosure of land on Plas yn Egryn *ffridd* was probably unrecorded." (557) See c1613 James 1: 2 cases re lands in p Llanaber – Y Farch Ynys, Cae Gwyon etc. (558)

Circa 1590 William Vaughan II of Corsygedol founded a school at Harlech, about which very little is known. ... There were schools at Rhuthun, St Asaph and Hawarden. ... In Merioneth as elsewhere in Wales, the influence of the Renaissance, albeit limited, was felt among the sons of the gentry who entered institutions of learning to realize their educational aspirations. The Inns of Court were centres which gave them a degree of legal knowledge and also introduced them to areas of public affairs and political debate. ... Admissions to the higher seats of learning and the Inns from Merioneth between 1540-1642 were as follows: 109 to Oxford, 10 to Cambridge and 33 to the Inns of Court. Most were registered as plebeians with very few resources to pay their way. Only a few from wealthy families were described in the matriculation lists as *generosi* or *armigeri*. (559)

A document dated 24th October 1593 records a release by Hugh ap William Tyddr of EGRYN, Merioneth-shire, to Griffith Nanney, of closes called Cae Goch, Merian Ddu, Dol y Meibion, in the township of Garthmaelan, late in the possession of Hugh ap David ap Owen. There is no signature. (560) This was the Griffith Nanney (1569-1609, MP Merioneth in 1592) who was 1st cousin to Hugh ap William Tudur, being the son of his mother Margaret's brother. It is not known why Hugh ap William Tudur was selling land. It is possible that he needed to finance the building of a first floor at Egryn I or for building Egryn II.

On 20th January 1594/5 a document notes a transaction between 1. Hugh Nanney of Nanney, co. Mer, Esq. and 2. Griffith Vaughan of Corsygedol, co. Mer. Esq. This was an assignment of a Crown lease of 3 *gavells* of land meadow and pasture in the township of Llandwiwey, co Merioneth, 2 of which are called gavel Halkyn and Wen Tew, and 1 *gavell* called gavel Dd Gwyn in the township of Llanwenyn, co Merioneth. The document recites a lease of the premises from the Crown by letter patent, 6 Dec 1592, to Edmund Frost of London, gent., for 21 years and assignment thereof by Frost to Walter Thomas of Netteswell, county Essex, clerk, 23 Jan 1592/3, and by Thomas to Hugh Nanney, 25 July 1593. (561)

M Dunn's question to Gareth Haulfryn Williams with his reply (2007)

Q: Does the "ar" mean esquire? What condition did one have to meet to use that title?

A: "Ar" means esquire. In medieval times when it related to a lord's closest soldiers drawn from his chief undertenants, or sons of such, but by 16th cent it refers to landowners with substantial estates, usually in more than one parish, of noble descent, and living mainly on rental income although with their own farming activity. They were by definition without an 'English' title such as Sir or Lord. The eldest son was usually the only one to carry the title, younger sons being 'gentlemen'. All sons of VERY major esqs might be esq (e.g. Glynllifon, Corsygedol) and all sons of baronets/peers. I know of no watertight definition; I think my MA thesis (for want of anything better or more detailed than I have seen) has done the most work on this definition; more needs doing.

Lewys Dwnn, Herald for Wales, visited Merioneth in 1588, 1592, 1594, 1595, 1596 and up to 1611. (562)

On 28 July 1594 Lewys Dwnn visited **PLAS YN EGRYN** and recorded the following: Huw ab William, ar (ie esquire), gentleman, son & heir of William ab Tudr ab Gr (Gruffydd was witness to a deed 1st September 1st Henry VIII (i.e 1509) ab Ednyfed (Ednyfet ap Griffith Lloyd was one of the Grand Jury for the county

of Merioneth, in an inquest held in the 31st year of Henry VI i.e 1453) ab Gr Lloyd ab Llewelyn ab Ednyfed ab Urien (Urien ap Tegwared was *rhaglor/t* of the *commote* of Ardudwy, at Michaelmas 1st Edward III 1327) ab Tegwared ab Iorwerth ab Iddon ab Ithel ab Edryd ab Enathan ab Siofeth ab Carwed ab Marchudd, one of the 15 tribes of Gwynedd and to Goel Goedhebog. No shield was shown. (563) This was transcribed below by Gareth Haulfryn Williams in 2007:

The children of Huw ab William Esquire were William ab Huw, Harri, Richard. The mother of these was Gwen verch Richard Vychan.

The mother [of William ap Tudur], Elsbeth, was co-heiress with Ellin and Catrin [who married Richard ap Robert] and they were the Daughters of William ab Ieuan and Lowry. She was the daughter of Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Dafydd ab Howel ap Gruffudd ab Owen and Margaret verch Robert ap Gruffudd Goch ap Dafydd ap Madog ap Meirig ap Dafydd as previously from [i.e. descended in the same way as] Lowry verch Tudur Vychan ap Gruffudd of Rhuddallt. Her mother was the mother of William [ap Tudur].

Ellin verch Gruffudd Derwas was the mother of Angharad verch Robert Palcws see p.clxiii.

The mother of Annes verch Thomas ap Dafydd Gam, Gwenhwyfar verch Gronwy Llwyd ab y Penwyn carried 3 boars' heads in silver in a Y-shaped pall torn off.

“arvau Huw ap Wm yw 6 phais yn Gwartog heb na burr na defrans” (Lewis Dwnn, II, p 251) ie “The **arms of Huw ab William** are 6 coats of arms quartered without either stripes or difference” [a heraldic device to show difference from other coats of arms] It is not known if it is possible to reconstruct the arms of Huw ap William, or which of the following six coats of arms would have been included: Marchudd, Nannau, Palcws, Griffith Derwas, Ynysmaengwyn, Owen of Dinmael & Rug.



Pal = an ordinary* in the shape of a Y; Eraz^d = Erased [torn off to leave ragged edges (e.g. animals' heads)] *Ordinary = Pall or Shakefork: An uncommon charge in the shape of a Y. Normally the *shakefork* is shown with the ends of the limbs couped and pointed, and the pall or pairle with the limbs extending to the edges of the shield, but the matter is not clear-cut. *Azure a pall or* is shown below. A document dated 20th April 1595 records the following transaction between 1. Leonard Baker of Clifton, co Bedford, gent and Thomas

Androwe of London, gent; and 2. Gryffithe Vaughan of Korse y gedol, co Merioneth, esq.; BARGAIN & SALE of (many lands listed including)

65 acres being part of a parcel of waste or moor called Y ddedwerne, part of which is called Gwerne Vawr, lying in Llanenddwyn and extending in length from a place called Y Morfa merion to the freehold of Richard Vaughan beneath the church of Llanthoywey, and in breadth from a place called Y Bennar to the encroachment of **WILLIAM AP TUDDER** in Ddedwerne; plus 22 acres in Llanenddwyn;

15 acres part of a parcel of land called Gweyne y llan in Llanenddwyn, extending in length from the freehold of Rice Vaughan to the marsh or common called Toywen Merion, and in breadth from the encroachment of **WILLIAM AP TUDDER** to the common called Gwerne y Chapple; + 7 acres; + 60 acres; + 62 acres; + 13 acres; + 58 acres; + 18 acres; pools; + 6 acres; + 8 acres; + 15 acres; + 2 acres; + 18 acres; +100 acres; + 5 acres; + 15 acres. Parcels of land amongst other lands were first granted by the Queen by three Letters Patent dated 11 July 1676, 22 July, 1577 and 31 July 1578, to Robert, late earl of Leicester, deceased, and sold by John, Lord St John of Blettisho to 1. 24 Feb 1591/2. (564) This could indicate that William ap Tudder was still alive in 1595, or that it was William ap Tudder who had previously made the encroachments.

A document dated 14th February 1595/6 noted a transaction between 1. Hugh ap William Tudor, free tenant of the township of **Llanbeder** and 2. Griffith Vaughan, esq. concerning a GIFT of a messuage or tenement called **Tyr William ap Tudor** containing 20 acres of arable land and half a length of meadow in the island of Mochres in the township of Llanbeder. (565) Signed Hugh William. [The catalogue wrongly transcribes the township as Llanaber] On the same date, 14th February 1595/6 a bond is noted between 1. Hugh ap William of **Llanaber**, co Mer., gent and 2. Griffith Vaughan esq.: BOND in £40 for the quiet possession of the premises mentioned in no 3619. Hugh ap William is signed clearly. (566) On 18th July 1596 another transaction notes a quitclaim between 1. Hugh ap William Tudor of Llanaber, co Merioneth, Gent. and 2. Griffith Vaughan esq. Quitclaim of a messuage or tenement called **Tir William ap Tudor, alias Pant y gwlechlyn** situate on an island called Mochres in the township of Llanbeder. Signed clearly by Hugh ap William. [The catalogue wrongly transcribes the township as Llanaber.] (567)

On 16th February 1597/8 a quitclaim is noted between 1. William Philip of Llanthoywey, gent., & Mary his wife; Elen verch Tudor of the same, widow, Agnes verch Tudor of the same, spinster; Lowrie verch Tudor of the same, spinster, and 2. Griffith Vaughan of Corsygedol, esq. A Quitclaim of a close called Cae gwryd,

in the township of Llanenthoyrn, co. Merioneth. Signed by William Phillip. (568) It is not known whether these ladies were related to Hugh ap William Tudor. They may have been his aunts as Tudur did have a daughter Lowri. It is not known if William Phillip was one of the Philipiaid family; he does not seem to have been the Wm Phylip of Hendre Fechan.

The defence of Merioneth during the war between England and Spain (1585-1604) revealed deficiencies in supplies and administration. ... In Merioneth it is estimated that as much as 3.5% of its population (10,470 and upwards by the end of the century) served in the Irish campaigns between 1594 and 1602. ... Economic stringency in the mid-1590s also hindered the effective provision of forces. ... In 1597 John Wynn of Gwydir said it was an onerous task for shire officials in Caernarfonshire and Merioneth to provide men and victuals for the navy, and corn scarcity had forced them to buy from other countries. (569)

The visitation of Lewys Dwnn took place on 28th July 1594. Wiliam ap Tudur and Margaret his wife were apparently both still living.

Their heir Huw ab William Esq. / Hugh Tudur and Gwen verch Richard Vychan were already married, probably in the 1580s, and had three unmarried sons. (570) According to a Peniarth document they had further children before Gwen died in 1606:

Robert osp; Jon osp; Elis osp; Catrin. (571)

If Gwen was aged 33 years when she died in 1606 (see Edward Urien's reference to the age of Christ), she would have been born in 1573 and would have been 16 years in 1589. That would just give time for her to have had three children by July 1594.

i) William ab Hugh/*William Tudor of Plas yn Egryn*; probably born at Egryn c1590.

ii) Harri; living 1594;

iii) Richard living 1594.

M Dunn's question to Gareth Haulfryn Williams with his reply (2007)

Q: In para 2 of your text attachment, does the "Her mother was the mother of William [ap Tudur]" mean LOWRY verch Tudur Vychan ap Gruffydd of Rhuddallt's mother? If so, Lowry was the sister of William [ap Tudur], and their father was known by Dwnn's time as Tudur Vychan ap Gruffydd.

A: The paragraph seems to suggest that Wm ap Tudur and Lowri ferch Tudur had the same mother. I do not see why Tudur ap Gruffydd would not have stuck a Vychan into his name, since virtually every Ardudwy family seemed to want to do so at the time, and surnames were still pretty much in flux.

M Dunn's question to Gareth Haulfryn Williams with his reply (2007)

Q: Who was "of Rhuddallt"? Maybe Lowry with her husband; Tudur Vychan? (unlikely as he was "of Llanddwywe" in a 1552 deed), or Tudur's father Gruffydd? This is unlikely as he was witness in a 1509 deed re property in Llanaber. The location of Rhuddallt is not confirmed. It is not in Griffith's index. There is a Rhuddallt close by the north bank of the Mawddach near Bont ddu.

A: I think Gruffydd was 'of Rhuddallt', and I suspect it was the Rhuddallt at Bontddu – there are plenty of places with this name however, including a township of Llanwnda parish (now Waunfawr) in the Gwyrfai valley; and there was a Rhuddallt near Glyndyfrdwy, which was a major holding in the 13th century.

In 1598 Sir Robert Salesbury M.P. was instructed to investigate charges against the deputy-lieutenants John Lewis Owen (Llwyn) and Cadwalader Price (Rhiwlas) for embezzling arms belonging to the militia, but he was obstructed from gaining access to the armoury at Harlech by Lord Pembroke (who died in 1601). (572)
In **1599/1600: Hugh ap Wm Tudor** (presumed of Plas yn Egryn) paid XXs in the Merioneth Subsidy Roll, 42 Elizabeth (573)

The reign of James I lasted from 1603-1625; he had already reigned for 36 years as King of Scotland since he was 13 months old. In 1589 he had married Princess Anne of Denmark; they had Henry and Charles and four daughters. He ordered the Authorised (King James) Version of the Bible. In 1605 the Gunpowder plot was planned by Roman Catholics to blow up the Houses of Parliament. From 1613 much of his reign was absorbed in foreign affairs. He died on 27 March 1627. (574)

Huw and Gwen continued the tradition of welcoming bards to Egryn. Both Edward Urien (575) and Sion Cain (576) composed elegies to **Gwen**; she pre-deceased her husband in 1606. (577)

1606 Part of Welsh poetry: *Mar: gwraig* (death of the wife of) **Huw ap Wm. tudyr o egryn**.

1st line: Gwae ni / n / y byd gan un bedd

last line: Da / r ioed gida duw ir aeth. By Edward Vrien. (578)

(Poem 2) Elegy on the death of Gwen, wife of Huw son of William Tudor from the Great Hall, Egryn c. 1606

Woe unto us because of one grave
To see the misadventure of the land of Gwynedd,
The grace and greatness of Merionethshire,
Undoubtedly the summit of dignity, has fallen.
We feel cold anger, the blessed God Jesus
Has taken away a dawn, most solemn deed,
The True Jesus took a backward step
Regarding the warm blood of *Corsygedol*.
Where is the county of yore? For some star,
Moreover, there is pain, if *Gwen the daughter of Richard Vaughan*,
Warm her welcome, my sigh yonder is sad.

The grandson of *Rees Vaughan* of the unblemished life
Went to a very captive grave.
Woe unto us because of the world, a wrong frontier,
Harsh it is after the great grandson of *William*.
There is a cold shiver for a white moon,
The good effect of *two Griffiths*.
Jesus struck down the very tribe of *Einion*,
A life of pure dawn.
He chilled the pure blood of the family of *Perrot* now,
In a golden failure.
He turned a full flood around the lineage of Gwgawn,
A full share of pain.
There is a chilly voice like a trumpet
After locking in earth the descendent of the blood of *Clement*,
The earl blood of Caron. [*Tregaron*]
Of the stock of *Einion son of Gruffudd* from great Eifionydd,
In the ice of January.
A swoon of full grief
Was felt by the lineage of *Llwyndyrys*.
If the moon from *Sir Gruffudd Llwyd* was buried,
Oh! for the bright gift.
God shook the foundation
Of the pure blood of the earls of *Salesbury* and *Dôn* (?)
The good, true tribe of Stanley
Has been plundered, everyone has been tied up.
Oh God, severe without the two ages of an oak (?),
It was to **take Gwen away yesterday at an early age.**

It is cold for her husband
To behold the harshness of her fair countenance,
He, **Huw son of Wiliam**, from the strict chastisement,
Will not be without grief.
The generous one was killed, from the court of righteousness,
The **lion of splendid Urien**, we are full of woe.
The extensive cry of the splendid generous stag
Caused the wall of fine Egryn to shudder.

God gave, in the manner of a good estate,
Gwen's berries to Gwynedd.
Six pillars with strong roots,
And one moon, succulent candle:
Wiliam the heir, an eagle with a sharp spear,
God's splendid lamb, the men's soul.
Famous Harri, tall ash tree,
A civilised stag with his lovely amiable smile.

**Richard also, our treasure,
And John, a son with a great name,
Robert with some attractive virtue,
Elis Wyn of the appearance of Elijah.
Let Christ the protector, keep the one dawn, pure Catrin,
The crest of a vine.**

To the virtuous faultless dawn
It was a chilly fate, a daughter well-pleasing to her mother.
That is a succulent tree of a golden lineage,
A splendid bush in one place.
To her four brothers, a loveable twig,
They sigh for their sister for a while.
They cry, stags left behind,
The beautiful fair stalks of Corsygedol.
For her in the pew
Three golden-torqued sisters were found.

God and his hand went to the house of Lywen,
It was a gentle deed, took Gwen.
Sixteen hundred and six, a word of warranted truth,
The star [i.e Gwen] was the age
Of Mary's salvific most exalted Son. [? i.e. 33 years]
Old Llanaber is now full.
If her cheek is covered by oak wood under a secret earth
And soil,
A pity that the so-called wood of Gwen's bier
Didn't wither
Before she was taken, bright island,
A hundred years from a court full of feasts.
Yesterday was the funeral of a good, pure dawn
A white woman was taken, causing a great lament.
Oh! weaklings, go from Gwynedd,
If a woman, moreover, went to her grave.
Woe unto God, on the world's planet
It is cold to be without Gwen.

She was tender during her lifetime,
Her equal will never come our way.
No one will be found so credible to her country
Apart from her daughter.
As a result of sending her from her court,
Her old bards say that they have been killed.
Let us poets retreat, oh God of Heaven,
Let us all lament, - where shall we sing? –
We get weaker – where shall we go during a festival? –
Woe unto us the taking away of dear Gwen.
She had a righteous journey, wise and obedient,
She was constant and very much lacking in pride.

Good Gwen of the festival, a gift with no weakness,
We weep angrily, God has called her.
Gwen's growth shall be good every day,
God will be sorry to take the star.
Good on the earth, righteous knowledge,
Always good, she went with God. By Edward Urien (579)

It is not certain who the bard **Edward Urien** was (580) He called Huw his **uncle**. Why did Edward choose the name Urien? Might he have been a descendant of Urien ap Tegwared, or from Hendre Urien, or referring back to the Early Middle Ages hero Urien? Edward Urien (c1580-1614) was a man of Arddwy who

visited Corsygedol, Taltreuddyn & Sylfaen; he spoke of Ruffydd William, the Llanaber parson, as well as of others further afield. (581)

(Poem 3) 1606: Elegy to Gwen Fychan, wife of Huw ap Wiliam ap Tudur of Egryn, by Sion Cain. A prose summary:

"First Gwen's pedigree is traced: daughter of Richard of Corsygedol, granddaughter of Rhys Fychan of the lineage of Einion, of the bloodline of Osber (=Osbwrn), ad descendant of Glyndwr, Clement, Llwyndyrus, Owain Gwynedd, Tewdwr.

Then her husband's lineage is set out: Huw ap Wiliam ap Tudur of Egrin (a placenoted for its hospitality), a descendant of Vrien. Gwen was buried in Llanaber, leaving Dyffryn Ardudwy desolate. Their children are enumerated and praised: **William the heir; Harri; Rissart; Sion;** Robert; Elis and finally Katrin.

The loss of the needy is stressed and Egrin's hospitality praised. The grief of Gwen's brothers and sisters is mentioned and, indeed that of her family as a whole.

Finally Gwen is again praised, the certainty of her salvation is asserted and a prayer is offered for her husband's salvation also". (582)

The HOUSES at EGRYN were dated using dendrochronology. The date of 1606/7 was given for the flooring over of the main hall in the earlier house, and probably for the insertion of the dormers. (583) However, the 1606 elegy to Gwen, wife of Huw ap Wiliam, speaks of the GREAT HALL, Egryn. This may indicate that the hall had not been floored over while Gwen was alive.

John Speed's map of Meirionydd of 1608-10 notes memorable places and describes Llanthoway (Llanddwywe, Ardudwy) thus: "the West side altogether washed with the Irish-Seas, whose rage with such vehemencie beateth against her bankes ... In form this Shire somewhat resembleth a Welsh-Harp, though small is the Musicke that to her inhabitants she makes, being the roughest and most unpleasant to see in all Wales ... The Ayre for great pleasure nor Soile for great profit, I cannot greatly commend, unless it be for the many and mighty windes, that for the most parte therein do rage and the spired hills clustered together so near and so high...

The mountains formerly did abound with wolves... and now their faces are covered with fruitfull flocks of Sheepe, besides Neate and other cattle that therein abundantly do grase, wherein the only riches of this Shire doth consist: for by reason of the unevenesse of the soil and rocks so neare the face of the earth, the plough cannot be drawne, nor the Corn prosper, which some have imputed to the idlenesse of the Inhabitants, wherin they have been greatly wronged".

Poem 9: An Elegy for Huw ab Wiliam Tudyr of Egryn by Edward Urien. (1st line: Dilawen feirdd dywm fod.) A prose summary:

"We poets should be sad, since water has overwhelmed us. God has covered the land of Meirion with a sea. This is because of the constant weeping because of the loss of **Huw ab Wiliam**, an ox who bore the heaviest yoke. This he pulled with all his might, the grandson of Tudur, the [great-grandson?] of Gruffydd, of the lineage of **Ednyfed, Urien**, Collwyn (sic), Nannau, Bleddyn and Cynfryn, Salesbury, Donne, Balkus, Caedell, Herbert, Godwin, Kynaston(?). He is compared to Cunedda Hir [= Cunedda Wledig], Nudd (with regard to his **ownership of Y Neuadd-fawr**, where he maintained lavish hospitality).

His heir was Wiliam, who has siblings Harri, Rhisiart, Sion, Robert, Ellis, Catrin. His brothers and sisters also mourn him, with his nephews and nieces. He offered consolation rather than deceit, and hated oppressors. The poet imagines that he can speak to the dead man and tells him that he (the poet) no longer has friends or supporters on earth (he addresses him as '**my good uncle**'). He had not expected his death, but was chagrined to learn of **his illness**.

The men of Egryn carried his corpse to the chancel of Llywen. His passing spells ill-fortune and sadness: he subdued oppressors and supported weaklings. He will not be forgotten and the grief for him will persist. **He died three years and three months ago**. He is as much missed by his kinsmen, he who is with the saints. If Christ has taken him to heaven, may his heir William live long." (584)

If Edward Urien died in 1614, and his elegy to Huw ap William Tudur states Huw died 3 years and three months before the elegy was written, then Huw must have died **before** 1611. Edward Urien calls Huw his uncle, so it may be that Edward Urien was using the name of his ancestor Urien as

a *nomme de plume*. The reference to *Y Neuadd Fawr* – the great hall – suggesting that Egryn hall was still an open hall, whether with a central hearth, or a new lateral chimney.

In 1611 Lord Eure was appointed Constable of Harlech castle and ex officio mayor of the borough. In 1614: he was Lord President of the Council of the Marches. (585) The government in London, assailed by the fear of foreign invasion as well as civil discontent, continued to rely more upon officials like sheriffs, justices of the peace and, especially deputy-lieutenants to assert its authority rather than those elected by the people. Thus, in 1567, the Council of the Marches addressed an elaborative directive to the JPs in Merioneth to be communicated down to the overseers of hundreds, detailing under twenty-nine headings how they should deal with breaches of the peace. In 1567 the bishop of Bangor wrote that “the people live in much obedience, freedom and quiet”. He also complained of the slowness of progress towards reform in religion, with idolatrous practices and superstitions still prevailing. Yet, he might have added that there had been no resistance to religious changes either to Protestantism in Edward VI’s reign (1547-53) or back to Roman Catholicism in Queen Mary’s reign (1553-1558). Fortified by the Welsh translation of the Bible in 1588, the Church of England had established itself firmly in Merioneth by Ellis Wynne’s time. (586) In the parliament of 1604 with such a supercilious Member as Sir Edward Herbert, Merionethshire had to look elsewhere for attention, but they did not have far to look, since Sir William Maurice of Clennau, MP for Caernarfonshire in that parliament, was a near neighbour who had property in the county. He was also a burgess of Harlech and had served the borough as a bailiff, and the county of Merioneth as sheriff in 1591 and 1606. He was familiar with the gentry of Ardudwy, especially its chief family, the Vaughans of Corsygedol. Thus he served as an unofficial MP for Merioneth, and was very active concerning it. (587)

Footnotes: Part 3 Section 14:

- (533) UWB, Mostyn ms 3641, ms 3639
- (534) UWB, Mostyn ms 3628
- (535) UWB, Maesyneuadd, ms 249
- (536) E D Evans, Harlech: a Forsaken Borough, JMHRs, 2004, p206
- (537) E D Evans, Harlech: a Forsaken Borough, JMHRs, 2004, p20)
- (538) C Thomas, Enclosure and the Rural Landscape of Merioneth in the Sixteenth Century, JMRS, 2007, p129
- (539) History of Merioneth, vol II, ed Beverley Smith, p24)
- (540) E D Evans, Politics and Parliamentary Representation in Merioneth, JMHRs, 2006, p19-20, 25
- (541) J Gwynfor Jones, Government and Society 1536-1603, in History of Merioneth, vol II, Ed Beverley Smith, p669
- (542) PRO LR 2/236; PRO SC 12/30/24
- (543) PRO SC 12/30/24 ff 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 60, 61, 71, 73, 74, 123
- (544) PRO LR 2/236
- (545) UWB, Mostyn 3861; C Thomas, Patterns and Processes of Estate Expansion in the 15th and 16th centuries, JMHRs, 1972, p333-342
- (546) J Gwynfor Jones, Government and Society 1536-1603, in History of Merioneth, vol II, Ed Beverley Smith, p660
- (547) PRO Sc 12/30/24ff. 39-40; C Thomas, Enclosure and the Rural Landscape of Merioneth in the Sixteenth Century, JMHRs, 2007, p130-41
- (548) J Gwynfor Jones, Government and Society 1536-1603, in History of Merioneth, vol II, Ed Beverley Smith, p 662; Mostyn ms 3861
- (549) J Gwynfor Jones, Government and Society 1536-1603, in History of Merioneth, vol II, Ed Beverley Smith, p 662, n91; SC12/30/24ff. /39 /40 /42 /43 /44 /60 /64 /71 /74 /123
- (550) PRO SC 12/30/24 Rental of encroachments in Merioneth
- (551) UWB, Maesyneuadd, ms 204
- (552a) PRO LR 2/236; PRO SC 12/30/24
- (552b) C Thomas, Patterns and Processes of Estate Expansion in the 15th and 16th centuries, JMHRs, 1972, p333-342
- (552c) Owen 1954, P.R.O. E.222/325
- (553) Owen, 1954 P.R.O. S.C. 12/30/24 and in P.R.O. E.222/325
- (554) Thomas 1965, unpub PhD thesis, Aberystwyth, 166-8
- (555) Thomas, 1965, unpub PhD thesis, Aberystwyth, Fig 30
- (556) Anon, Henry VII’s Charter, Arch Camb 11, 1847, 215-222
- (557) Martin de Lewanderwicz, 1981, Relict Fields & Associated Structures in Llanaber Parish, Meirionydd, University of Wales Bangor thesis, The Later Medieval, p29-44
- (558) Exchequer Proceedings for Wales in temp James 1, Jeffrey Jones, 1955, p230-1
- (559) J Gwynfor Jones, Government and Society 1536-1603, in History of Merioneth, vol II, Ed Beverley Smith, p 687-8
- (560) UWB, Nannau, ms 185
- (561) UWB, Mostyn ms 3836
- (562) M Siddons, Heraldry, in History of Merioneth, vol II, Ed Beverley Smith, p632
- (563) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, Vol II, p251
- (564) UWB, Mostyn ms 3861
- (565) UWB, Mostyn, ms 3619
- (566) UWB, Mostyn, ms 3620
- (567) UWB, Mostyn, ms 3621
- (568) UWB, Mostyn ms 3749

- (569) J Gwynfor Jones, Government and Society 1536-1603, in History of Merioneth, vol II, Ed Beverley Smith, p668-9
- (570) The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, Vol II, p251
- (571) NLW, Peniarth ms 287
- (572) E D Evans, Politics and Parliamentary Representation in Merioneth, JMHRs, 2007, p142-169
- (573) P.R.O. E. 179. 222/325; Bob Owen, JMHRs, 1954, vol II, part 11, p151-6
- (574) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, p216-223
- (575) Tegwyn Jones, Testun Beirniadol o Farddoniaeth Edward Urien a Gruffudd Hafren, gyda Rhagymadrodd, Nodiau a Geirfa, Wales, 1966, 27
- (576) NLW, Peniarth, 117, 527
- (577) Glenys Davies, Noddwyr Beirdd ym Meirion, Dolgellau, 1974, p71-74
- (578) J Gwenogvryn Evans, Report on Welsh Manuscripts, 1901, Vol II part I p187
- (579) Translated by Dr John Rowlands, Pers. Comm, 2007
- (580) M R Thomas, Fychaniaid Corsygedol II, JMHRs, 1991, p153
- (581) Tegwyn Jones, Testun Beirniadol o Farddoniaeth Edward Urien a Gruffydd Hafren, gyda Rhagymadrodd, Nodiau a Geirfa. NLW thesis 1966 / 180Q, no 27, p127 (typescript –title: I Wen Wraig Huw ab Wiliam Tudur o'r Neuadd-Fawr, Egryn
- (582) NLW Peniarth 117, 527; loosely translated by Prof Geraint Gruffydd, Sept 2007, pers comm.
- (583) No [29] Egryn "Abbey", VA 35.111. Dendrochronology report
- (584) Loosely translated by Prof Geraint Gruffydd, Sept 2007, pers. comm; typescript copy; Title: I Huw ab Wiliam Tudur o'r Neuadd-Fawr yn Llanegryn. (sic) 1st line: *Dilawen feirdd dywm fod*; Glenys Davies, Noddwyr Beirdd ym Meirion, Dolgellau, 1974, p71-74; Tegwyn Jones, Testun Beirniadol o Farddoniaeth Edward Urien a Gruffudd Hafren, gyda Rhagymadrodd, Nodiau a Geirfa, Wales; NLW thesis 1966/ 180Q no 24 p114; See also a manuscript copy in NLW Mostyn Ms 144, 678. title: *Mawrnad Huw ab Wiliam Tudur*; 1st line: Dilawen feirdd dywm fod; last line: Ar i ol iw aer Wiliam. Copy in the Red Book of Nanney p239. On page 332: "This book was presented to Griffith Vaughan Esq 10 (?October) 7th 1678, by his humble servant Henry Williams of Hendre Vechan".
- (585) E D Evans, Politics and Members of Parliament, JMHRs, 2007, p155
- (586) E D Evans, Politics and Parliamentary Representation in Merioneth, JMHRs, 2007, p152
- (587) E D Evans, Politics and Parliamentary Representation in Merioneth, JMHRs, 2007, p154-5

He was the heir of Hugh ap William and Gwen and c1602-1610 he married his **first wife, ELLIN**, daughter of Robert Lloyd, Rhiwgoch, who was MP for Merioneth in 1586 & 1601; HSM in 1596, 1602, 1615 & 1626. Rhiwgoch, Trawsfynydd has a date of 1610 and the initials M/R LL for Robert and Mary Lloyd over the front door. (588) Ellin was the childless widow of Cadwaladr ap Morris ap Robert Wynn of Glynn who died after May 1602, but before his father, who died c1610. (589) Ellin's brother Ellis Lloyd of Rhiwgoch was MP for Merioneth in 1614 he died in 1623; he was married to Jane, daughter of Griffith Vaughan, Corsygedol. (590) William and Ellin's daughter *Ann* married Richard Glynn, parson / rector of Edern, 1637. He was a son of Thomas Glynn of Nantlle, HSC 1626-7, and died in 1659. (591) (Arch Camb Vol II, p13) Thomas Glynn was of Plas Newydd, Llandwrog. (592) Richard Glynn and Ann's daughter Ann married Thomas ap Richard Lewis of Rhiw [Plas yn Rhiw]; both were alive in 1687. Their son John Lewis of Rhiw married Jane, daughter of Morris Griffith of Methlan. (593) It is not known when Ellin died nor William Tudur II remarried.

William Tudur II's **second wife** was **CATHERINE OWEN**, daughter of John Owen of Ystumcegid. It is not known when his second wife died. They were said to have been childless. (594) Catherine may have died in childbirth within a year or so of the marriage.

William Tudur II's third wife was an **ANN VAUGHAN**, possibly a daughter of Gruffydd of Nannau (595a) and named in William Tudur's 1644 will. They had Hugh Tudur II and Gwen and probably two other children. (595b) Gwen was alive in 1644, & is named in Hugh Tudur's will.

Additional information about the VAUGHAN family of Corsygedol

Griffith Vaughan II died in 1616. William Vaughan II, HSM 1613 & 1631. His heir Richard Vaughan II was born in 1606, William Vaaighan built Plas Hen in 1607 and Corsygedol gatehouse in 1630. He died in 1633. (596)

A document dated 19th March 1616/17 records a quitclaim between 1. William Tudur (II) of Eigryn, county Merioneth, gent., and 2. John Wynn of Conway, county Carnarvon, esq.; Quitclaim of one ffrith called **y Ffrydd Newydd and Tir Mair** in the township of **Llanfair**, in the commote of Ardyduy, county Merioneth. £10. This is clearly signed by William Tudur. (597)

The earlier EGRYN HOUSE: the dendrochronology gave the following results:

Egryn "Abbey" **a) Primary phase:** Felling dates- Summer 1507; Winter 1507-8; Winter 1508-9; **Winter 1509-10.** **a) Principal rafters** (3/4) 1506 (16½C, 17½C), 1507(25C); **Rafters** 1508(25C), 1509(19C, 24C); Site Masters (a) 1433-1509 LLANABRI (t=7.2 PLASMWR; 5.9 ARDEN2; 5.8 OLDWORD2)

b) Flooring over hall: felling date range: 1592-1622. b) Lower girt 1584(3). Site Masters (b) 1447-1584 egr8 (t=5.8 PENWERN; 4.8 NWTNNTTG; 4.8 LLANABR2). (598) A remarkable gentry hall-house, stone-walled, but with refined carpentry, a characteristic Snowdonia combination. The outer room has been replaced by a nineteenth-century cross wing but otherwise the house is virtually complete and retains its multi-cusped roof. A cusped aisle truss stands at the entrance to the hall and has twin bowtail mouldings on the posts. The hall roof is divided into two unequal bays by an arch-braced collar-beam truss with cusped apex, and a cusped louvre-truss is perched on the purlins of the larger (inner) bay. The dais-end beam has a two-tier post-and-panel partition set under the tiebeam. **The seventeenth-century date of an inserted beam in the aisle truss relates to the modernisation of the hall and presumably dates the distinctive first-floor dormers and ovolo-moulded windows.**

The early sixteenth-century date for the hall refines the "after 1496" obtained by Esling before the roof was fully accessible. (599) It may be compared with the "after 1476" date obtained for Penarth-fawr, a similar late aisle-truss house. (600)

Hugh ap William Tudur, (born c1560 - died 1606/1611), may have rebuilt Egryn hall house, inserting a lateral fireplace, and then a first floor with dormers to accommodate any of his twelve siblings still at home and / or his own seven children. His first wife Gwen's family had recently enlarged & rebuilt the 1576 Corsygedol in 1592 and 1593, and built Plas Hen in 1607, with their lateral and gable end fireplaces. Gwen had died in 1606. The date of 1606/7 was given for the flooring over of the main hall in the earlier house, and probably for the insertion of the dormers. However, the 1606 elegy to Gwen, wife of Huw ap Wiliam, speaks of the **GREAT HALL**, Egryn. This may indicate that the hall had not been floored over while Gwen was alive.

William Tudor II (born pre1590 - died 1623/pre1644) of Egryn, probably built the second, misnamed, “old” house, the storeyed “Snowdonia” type house dated c1620. The timbers appear to have been gathered after the death (1606-1611) of his father, Hugh ap William Tudyr. It is not clear from dendrochronology whether the hall-house was “modernised” before or after the building of the second house. It is possible that the second dwelling was built c1620 and the whole family lived there while the hall-house was then “modernised” pre 1622. The second building may have been considered a better and fashionable house, being fully storeyed and possibly with dormer windows. It was not a dower house for William Tudor II’s mother Gwen, as she had died young in 1606, nor for his third wife Ann, as he lived until after 1623.

c1620: The Egryn (misnamed) “Old House” was built after the first phase of Egryn (misnamed) “Abbey” Its timber felling dates are: Spring 1615; Winter 1617-18; Spring 1618. This four-bay, stone-built range, latterly an agricultural building, lies parallel to Egryn “Abbey”. It was originally domestic, probably built as a dower house when the principal house was modernised. It is a fully storied dwelling of Snowdonia plan-type with cross-passage and end chimneys. Partitions have been removed but the beams and three chamfered collar-beam trusses survive intact, as well as one timber mullioned window with ovolo mouldings. It is worth noting that the timber used for the beams and trusses had been seasoned or cut from dead trees. The construction date is therefore c.1620. (601)

The 1623 Rental of chief rents issuing to the crown out of the hundred of Ardudwy ywch Artro and out of Isartro (county Merioneth) record that Wm Tyddyr / Tudur paid the rent for the following farms:

In Uwchartro: in the following parishes:

Llandanwg Wm Tyddyr of Ymylch0-9d

Llanfair Wm Tyddyr of Rhyd yr erum2-0d

Wm Tudur of Rhos ddwyfford1-2d

Wm Tudur of Fryth newydd0-6d

In Isartro: in the following parishes:

Llanenddwyn Wm Tydur of Ynys gwertheyrin8-10d

Wm Tydur of Llwyn Cadwgan6-8d

Wm Tydur of Gafel y gornant2-0d

Llanddoywen Wm Tudur of Tyddyn Mawr6-8d

Llanaber Wm Tudur of Egryn14-8d (602)

Caer Llwyn & Caerau were not included in this list. It is not known when William Tudur II died. It was probably after 1623 or at least after the rental information was gathered. It is not known whether it was before or after his heir Hugh Tudyr II married Jane Owen after 1623. William Tudur II and ANN (named Vaughan in 1644) had HUGH TUDYR II and Gwen. Plus two more sons, Gruffydd and John, and maybe another daughter (see 1644 in Poem 8) unless Hugh Tudyr II’s step sister, Ann, daughter of Ellin was being referred to.

Footnotes Part 3: Section 15:

(588) See Cadw listing schedule

(589) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire Ped 180, 217; The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn. Pub 1846, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, Vol II, p 233, clxvii

(590) E D Evans, Politics and Parliamentary Representation in Merioneth, JMHS, 2007, p155-6

(592) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p174, 266

(593) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire Pedigrees p174, 271; however, see NLW, Peniarth 287, p873-5. J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p266 gives Ann as the daughter of Hugh Tudur of Egryn

(594) NLW Peniarth ms 287 p 873-5

(595a) NLW, Peniarth 287

(595b) Griffith Tudr and John Tudr listed in NLW, Peniarth ms 287 p 873-5

(596) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p279

(597) UWB, Mostyn ms 3808

(598) VA, 35, 2004, p111

(599) Studia Celtica 30, 1996, p246

(600) VA 23, 1992, p45

(601) VA, 35, 2004, p111

(602) NLW, 12731E, D E Jenkins 1 p28-39

PART 4 Section 16. HUGH TUDYR (II) (c1610- pre 1644)

After 1623 Hugh Tudyr II married JANE OWEN, daughter of Robert Owen of YSTUMCEGID. Robert Owen, HSC in 1621, was the second son of Owen Wynn and had married Lowry, daughter of William Glynn of Plas Newydd, Llandwrog. Their two daughters had been born by 1612; Catherine married Robert Wynne of Glyn, Talsarnau in Merioneth when she was no more than a child, probably before her father died in 1626/7. (603) The earlier site of Ystumcegid, Dolbenmaen, Caernarfonshire, may have been at the ruined farm at NGR SH 50204127. The present Ystumcegid Uchaf / Bellaf is of two blocks, both probably dating to the late seventeenth century. (604)

After 1623 Jane Owen, the co-heiress of Ystumcegid, married Hugh Tudyr II of Egryn. (605) They had seven children. According to Hugh's will dated 1644 their children were: William Tudyr; Robert Tudyr; Arthur Tudyr and Griffith Tudyr, who were all under 21 years in 1644, and so were born after 1623. Also Lowri Tudyr, who was under 12 years in 1644 and thus was born after 1632. According to one manuscript they also had Richard o.s.p. and Owen o.s.p. who may well have died before their father's 1644 will was written. (606)

Additional information about the VAUGHAN family of Corsygedol

*William Vaughan II died in 1633. His heir **Richard Vaughan II** (1606-1636) became very fat! He was M.P. for Merioneth and married Elizabeth, daughter of John Owen, Clenneney. They had a son and a daughter. His heir William Vaughan III (1632-1669) was only 4 years old when his father died. Richard Vaughan had controlled the estate for only three years. (607)*

It was a period of transition and growth of importance of sermons in the religious activity of clergy and congregation. Testators made bequests for repair of churches in seventeenth century. There had been extensive improvements and restorations in the early Tudor days, so little was required in the seventeenth century. The population was increasing at a slow rate, if at all, so accommodation was adequate. (608)

The reign of Charles I lasted from 1625-1649. He was born on 19 November 1600, the second son of James I; he was created Prince of Wales in 1616. In 1625 he married Henrietta Maria, sister of King Louis XIII of France. England was at war with both Spain and France. Parliament complained about mismanagement of the war and royal financial methods. The Long Parliament of 1640 dealt with the problems over raising money. The King refused to yield to Parliament over both the reform of the Church of England, which Parliament held was being catholicised by the King's High Church Bishops; and also over the control of the militia, the only permanent armed force apart from the King's own guards. In 1641 the King returned from Scotland to find those against him in Parliament had fled. Peace talks failed and civil war ensued. (609)

Additional information about the VAUGHAN family of Corsygedol

*In 1636 Richard Vaughan II, M.P., died aged 30 having controlled the estate for only three years. His heir was **William Vaughan III** (1632-1669), being 4 years old when his father died. William married Ann, daughter of Gruffydd Nanney of Nannau (1640-1701). They had 2 sons Griffith Vaughan (1653-1697) o.s.p. and Richard Vaughan III (1665/6-1734) and 4 daughters. (610)*

On 10th March 1637/38 a very large fish 20 yards in length – probably a whale – was thrown up on the beach between Llanaber and Barmouth, and was the subject of a poem by William Phylip. On 29th December 1641 a letter is documented from John Bodwrda to Owen and Moris Wynn at Gwydir. Hears a London ship, with Spanish wool, was cast ashore in Merionethshire, but all were saved. (611)

Poem 7a, 7b **Pre 1641**: Rhisiart Phylip (died 1641, a brother of Sion Phylip) composed a *cywydd* requesting a “shining weapon” for **Huw** from *Gruffudd ap Huw*, a member of the Llwyngriffri family. (612) A poem to ask for a rapier from Huw Gruffydd on behalf of Huw ab Wiliam of **Egrin**. By Rhisiart Phylip.

A prose summary: “Huw **Gruffydd** is greeted and praised. He is connected with a certain Huws and a *Huw Gwyn* [his father] and his genealogy traced through *Ifan ap Gruffudd ap Rheinallt* to the lineage of Sion Ffifion, Colier, the king of Gwent, Llewelyn Sais (legitimising his **bearing the arms of Urien**), Tudur Gwyn[?], Einion, Derwas, Tomas, Gollwyn, Sion Amhredudd. Huw's [**Gruffydd's**] wife is then mentioned and praised: **Marsli** daughter of Edwart son of Pirs of the lineage of Stanley and also of [the Salesburys of] Lleweni which connects her with Meredydd of Gwydir, Moris ap Sion (from Merwydd), Cynan and Einion.

Gruffydd is then praised for his military exploits, as well as his contribution to Meirionydd society: he went with the [Earl of] Essex to Spain, and also fought in Portugal, the Netherlands, Ireland and “all Europe”, gaining much acclaim thereby. Huw ab Wiliam ap Tudur (of Wmfort), the heir of Urien and Egrin, who is praised for his gifts as a reconciler, asks for a rapier which is then described in detail: if Huws’ complies with Huw’s request, and Huw is named as Huw’s kinsman, God will repay him.” (613) Richard Phylip was Sion Phylip’s younger brother; he was writing in 1587 and died in 1641. He lived in Llanwchllyn and was the family bard to Nannau. The Llwyngriffri and Egryn families had common ancestors.

16th May 1644 is the date of the will of Hugh Tudyr of Egryn (**Hugh ap William Tudur**)

In the name of God, Amen. I **Hugh Tudyr of Egryn** in the parish of Llanaber and diocese of Bangor, **Gentleman**, sick in body, but of perfect memory, praise be God, do make this my last will and testament, the sixteenth day of May in the year of our Lord 1644, in manner and form following, first I commend and bequeath my soul to the hands of my Redeemer and my body to be buried in the parish church of Llanaber after Christian burial;

Item, I do give and bequeath towards the reparation of the said church of Llanaber ten shillings, and I do give and bequeath towards the reparation of the cathedral church at Bangor two shillings;

Item, I do give devise and bequeath all messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments with the appurtenances situate lying and being within the parishes of Llanaber aforesaid, Llanenddwyn and Llanfair within the county of Merioneth,

except the lands and tenements assigned unto and **now enjoyed** by my natural **mother Anne Vaughan** for her third and

except also the lands and tenements stated and settled upon **Jane Tudyr my well-beloved wife** for her jointure and in lieu and recompense of her third, to have and to hold the said messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments with the appurtenances before mentioned and not excepted unto **my three younger sons viz: Robert Tudyr, Arthur Tudyr and Gruffith Tudyr** for and during and until such time as my oldest son William Tudyr shall or might attain to the age of one and twenty years for towards the preferment of my younger sons and so that they my said younger sons do permit and suffer my beloved wife Jane Tudyr, and my much respected **mother in law Lowry Owen** or the survivor of them to sett and lot or otherwise to dispose of the said messuages lands and hereditaments during the said time, and that out of the rents, issues and profits thereof the said Lowry Owen and Jane Tudyr my wife whom by this my last will and testament.

I do likewise authorise and appoint for so set and let the said messuages, lands and tenements for and during the minority of my said oldest son may and shall find and maintain with meat, drink schooling and all other necessities my said three younger sons or survivor or survivors of them, and that every one of them myne aforementioned younger sons may have and reserve for and in the name of a portion and in satisfaction for all manner of amounts to be made to them or any one of them for the said lands the several sum of **six score pounds** (£120 each) to be payed to every one of them the said Robert, Arthur and Gruffith as they be in seniority of birth, and as issuing out of the aforementioned lands and tenements; and if it shall happen that any one of my younger sons or more die before the time limited for the payment of his or their portion or portions as aforesaid then my will is that the son or sons before appointed for his or their portion or portions shall remain and be unto the survivor or survivors of him or them.

Item: I give and bequeath to **my daughter Lowry one hundred pounds** to be paid unto her **at her age of twelve years**, and for and towards the further advancement of my said daughter in case my oldest son William Tudyr shall not and will not within three years next after the attaining to his full age of one and twenty years pay the full sum of three hundred pounds more to my said daughter Lowry to devise give and so grant my messuages lands and tenements known by the name or names of **Rhyd yr Iryn, Tythyn yr Rhos, y Gornant ucha, y Gornant issa, Cravenant and Kayre** unto her my said daughter Lowry, her heirs and assigns until that out of the rents issues and profits thereof she my said daughter be satisfied and paid of the said sum of three hundred pounds, and in case my said daughter happen to die before the end of the aforementioned three years after that my said oldest son shall attain to the age of one and twenty years my will and meaning is that two hundred pounds be paid to my eldest son to my younger sons or to the survivor or survivors of them within three years next after that my oldest son shall attain to the said age of one and twenty years, and in default of payment as hereby appointed I do give and devise the messuages, lands and tenements last before recited to my said younger sons or to the survivor or survivors of them until they or the survivor of them be satisfied as afore limited.

Item: I do give and bequeath to **my sister Gwen Tudyr** twenty pounds, and if it shall happen that my mother departs this life within nine years next after my decease I do hereby give devise and bequeath **Tythyn Mawr** with all other the lands now in my mother’s possession unto my said sister Gwen for the space of one whole year next and immediately ensuing such my mother’s decease.

Item: I do hereby give appoint and further grant the guardianship, government, nurture and education of my said oldest son and heir apparent William Tudyr unto Jane Tudyr my wife if she the said Jane shall so long live; and if it happen that she the said Jane shall depart this life before my said son William shall attain to his full age of one and twenty years, I do hereby give and grant the guardianship, government, tutorship and education of my said oldest son and heir apparent William Tudyr unto my much respected mother in law Lowry Owen.

Item: I do ordain, constitute and appoint my well-beloved wife Jane Tudyr to be sole executrix of this my last will and testament unto whom I give devise and bequeath all and singular my goods and chattels, credits and duties hereby not devised given or bequeathed.

Item: lastly I do nominate and appoint overseers of this my last will and testament, and of the performance thereof Griffith Nanney, Esq, Robert Wynne Esq, Arthur Williams Esq and Ellis Edwards gentleman in witness whereof I the said Hugh Tudyr have signed sealed and published this to be my last will and testament revoking all others by me heretofore made in the presence of Thomas Vaughan clerk Edward Morgan.

Latin document ;2 pages not translated:

[listed at top] Thomas Lloyd, William Phylip (probably the royalist poet from Hendre fechan), Maurice Lloyd, Thomas Williams and Hugh Tudor

[listed at end] Signed Jane IT Tudyr.

Wm Roberts, surr., Robt ?Richards gent, Thomas Vaughan Clerk, Maurice Lloyd, John Jones, Notary Public. (614)

Comments: Minutes in Latin of the Consistory Court in Bangor; administration was granted to Jane Tydyr, the widow. The original will was returned to the family so they could carry out the instructions. It was to be returned to Bangor if required.

Someone took the will & inventory to the probate court in Bangor where the diocesan surrogate – often an archdeacon or Notary Public or some other legal officer of the diocese dealing with probate – checked the will that it had been signed & witnessed etc. Probate would normally be granted to the executor, for which they had to pay a fee. If there was no will, someone would swear oaths to administer the estate and prepare an inventory. Sometimes there was an oral, or nuncupative will when the testator had died after saying what he intended but before he could sign a written copy. If the will bequeathed property, the family kept the original & other recipients had a copy to keep with their deeds. Thus wills can be found in other collections. Probate could be granted very quickly, but normally within 1-2 months, and sometimes many years after the death.

The condition of this obligation is such that whereas Hugh Tudyr of Egryn within the parish of Llanaber, county of Merioneth and diocese of Bangor, gent., deceased made and declared his last will and testament in writing, and whereas the said will being the original and his last will and testament written in paper and proved by the testimony of two sufficient witnesses before me Robert Rowlands clerk and one of the surrogates of the Consistory Court of Bangor, is (the day of the date hereof) by the decree and order of the said court / by reason of certain lands, tenements and hereditaments, therein devised, given and bequeathed granted to be delivered to the above bounden Jane Tudyr widow the said deceased's relict and sole executrix of his said will if therefore the said Jane Tudyr do and will redeliver and give up the said original will of the said deceased written in paper as aforesaid, when and at first time as she shall be thereunto lawfully called and required without blotting defacing or of the same and without any further delay; that then this present obligation to be void and of none effect or else the same to stand and remain in full force, strength power and virtue

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

Robert Rowlands Clerksigned by the said IJ Jane Tudyr

John Jones N P, Thomas Vaughan,

Maurice Lloyd,

William Wynne.

Comments by M Dunn:

1. **Hugh Tydyr** died between 16 May and 9 July 1644.
2. He owned lands in the parishes of Llanaber, Llanenddwyn and Llanfair.
3. His natural **mother Anne Vaughan** (possibly her name after remarrying) was still living and had her third portion.
4. His **wife Jane Tydyr** was still living and had her jointure / third portion.
5. His **sons William, Robert, Arthur and Gruffith** were in 1644 all under the age of 21 years; on attaining 21 years they would each receive £120. William must have been born after 1623, if so, Hugh and Jane

would have been married by or after 1622, later if William was younger. See above discussion on dates for the second Egryn house.

6. His **mother in law Lowry Owen** was still living and, with Jane Tydyr (his wife), was to rent / dispose of the said messuages lands etc for the advancement of the children.

7. His **daughter Lowry** was under the age of twelve years and was on attaining 12 years to receive £300 or from the rents of Rhyd yr Eirin, **Tythyn yr Rhos**, y Gornant ucha, y Gornant issa, **Cravenant** and Kayre in Llanaber, Llanenddwyn and Llanfair.

8. His **sister Gwen Tudyr** was to receive £20, and if his mother died within nine years next after his decease **Tythyn Mawr** with all other the lands now in his mother's possession was bequeathed to Gwen for one year next ensuing such his mother's decease.

9. Jane Tydyr, and if she dies, then her mother Lowry Owen, would act for the children especially the boys.

10. Jane Tydyr was sole executrix.

11. Trustees: Griffith Nanney, Esq, Robert Wynne Esq, Arthur Williams Esq and Ellis Edwards gentleman.

12. William was a son of Jane, so the younger three sons and Lowry must also have been Jane's children.

13. 1644 July: re Hugh Tudor. Witnesses: Thomas Lloyd, William Phyllip, Lloyd, Thomas Williams. Initialled IJ by Jane Tudyr, (Hugh Tudyr's widow). William Phyllip was probably the royalist poet who lived at the neighbouring Hendre fechan.

A Recognisance / Administration Bond dated 9 July 1644 states: Know all by these writings that we **Jane Tydyr of Egryn** in the parish of Llanaber and county of Merioneth and **Thomas Vaughan** of the same in the said county **Clerk** are bound and firmly obligated to the Reverend Father in God Lord William divine primate bishop of Bangor in £1,000 of good and legal money of England owed to the same Reverend Father William Bishop and Lord or his certain tournies and executors and administrators as his assignees and we and our heirs executors and administrators are bound in that debt well and faithfully made Given under our seals dated 9th day of July in the reign of our Lord Charles by the grace of God king of England Scotland France and Ireland and defender of the faith etc, 20th year (of his reign) and in the year of our Lord 1644. (615)

Comment by M Dunn:

Jane Tydyr was the executrix and Thomas Vaughan clerk the second witness. The bond of £1,000 would have been around twice the value of the estate, and would have to be paid if the directions in the will were not correctly properly carried out. Hugh Tydyr would have been dead and the legal paperwork completed, and Jane Tydyr would have travelled to the Consistory Court at Bangor before 9 July, 1644.

Poem 8: In 1644 Wmffre ap Hywel composed an **elegy to Huw, son of William** (Tuder) and **Ann**, daughter of Gruffydd Nannau. She was William's third wife. Huw died young; he had five children) (616)

An elegy for Hugh Tudyr of Egrin, by Hwmffre ap Hywel.

A prose summary: "Following a general expression of grief for the uncertainty of life, the **shortness of Hugh Tudyr's of Egrin's** life-span is lamented: he is described as the heir [i.e. the son] of William, the grandson of Huw, of the lineage of Vrien, Maredudd, the two goodly Einions, Gollwyn, Bodfel, Nannau, the Salesburys, Maesmor, Balcws, Rhywlas [=Rhiwlas], Marchweithian, Gwedir.

His wife and mother's grief is stressed: his **wife was Sian of Ystymkegid** [=Ystumcegid], daughter of Robert Owen of the lineage of Owain Gwynedd; *his mother Ann, daughter of Griffith Nannau* is also made to grieve.

After Hugh Tudyr all **his children** are praiseworthy: especially his heir **William** Tudyr, also Robert, Arthur, Gruffydd, and Lowri (who is like her grandmother of the same name [Lowri Owen]). His **two brothers and two sisters**, and also all his relations and acquaintances are in a state of mourning.

Hugh Tudyr was gentle, humble, of high descent: no one can [properly] convey the virtues of the heir of Egrin, who is again lavishly praised: he now enjoys the fruits of his labours in heaven. He is buried in Llanaber, leaving Dyffryn sad at his being placed in the ground. This happened in **1644**. Hugh Tudyr was young when he died, but is praised for living devotedly on his own property. He did not belong to this evil world: he now lives in heaven with his body in the grave, from which God will raise it when the world ends. (617)

To his wife and well-born mother
There is much grief because of his bier
Fair Sian of Ystumcegid
Sighs because her beloved is laid in earth
The paragon of Robert Owen, a well-respected and
Of pure fame and respect, flourishing warrior

[May he have] an accession of comfort, [he of the] bright countenance
A luminary [descended] from the prince of Gwynedd;
Catastrophe has overcome the protector,
The lament of his mother is prolonged yonder,
Ann the daughter of Gruffudd Nannau
Has been rendered sad because this person has been laid in the earth. (618)

Comments: Anne, daughter of Gruffydd Nannau, born 1591, died without heir, no husband named. (619)
She is not noted as married. However, JANE not ANNE is named as the wife of Hugh Tyder II in his 1644 will. Anne Vaughan was named as Hugh Tyder II's natural mother. It is not known why she is surnamed VAUGHAN in 1644. She had been a widow since William Tudyr died leaving her c1623-44 with at least four children. It is not known whether she remarried, possibly to a Vaughan? It is possible that she, not Ann her daughter in law, married Howel Vaughan. **Hugh Tudur's widow Jane**, youngest daughter of Robert Owen of Ystumcegid, county Caernarvon, became the first wife of Howel Vaughan, of Vaner, county Merioneth, HSM 1672, buried at Dolgellau in 1675. He was the heir of the antiquarian Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (1592-1667). They had Robert Vaughan who died without offspring. Howel Vaughan later married Lowry, widow of Humphrey Pugh of Aberffrydlan, and had Howel Vaughan of Hengwrt, HSM 1697. (620)
However, Jane Tydder's will of 1687 suggests otherwise. It is not known whether Robert Vaughan, the antiquarian, lists his family; this might help solve this confusion.

First Civil War Summer 1642-1647

1642 August 22: King Charles I raised his standard in Nottingham; 1642 The battle of Edgehill.

Although the Merioneth squirarchy was nominally sympathetic towards the King's cause, few of them gave it practical support. An undated 'articles of agreement' entered into by the three counties of Anglesey, Caernarfon and Merioneth in 1643, is very revealing of the attitude of the gentry of those counties to the war. They agreed to band together to keep the peace, maintain the religion and laws of the country and to suppress rebellions. A force was to be raised from among the militia towards which Merioneth was to contribute 500 men as against 800 each from Anglesey and Caernarfon. A proviso was entered, however, that the force was not to be used outside the three counties. Harlech castle was to be garrisoned with twenty men under Colonel William Owen, and was to be provided for. These proposals were to be put to Prince Rupert, commander of the King's forces, but it is not known that they were ever submitted. In fact, they only confirmed the status quo, since, in the past, the three counties had been spared service outside their boundaries except for Ireland, being charged with the defence of their seaboard. The King, when he considered bringing over an army from Ireland, reminded the Merioneth gentry that they had thus far been spared many of the burdens of war such as billeting soldiers, and expected them to provide clothing and victuals for the army, which however, did not materialise. Lord Byron, the royalist commander in north Wales, deplored the inactivity of the gentry and even Sir William Owen, the local governor of Harlech, complained that provisions for his garrison were tardy. Only four Merioneth gentlemen were fined as delinquents for adhering to the King: William Price of Rhiwlas (£200), Humphrey Hughes of Gwerclas (£333), Colonel William Salesbury (£781), and Robert Anwyl of Parc (£1,200). Probably, the ordinary inhabitants of Merioneth suffered most, from marauding bands living off the land, but more so, from the dislocation of trade. Seventeen gentlemen, nominally from north Wales, but mostly from Merioneth headed by Rowland Vaughan (Caer gai, sheriff of Merioneth), petitioned the King in 1643 for a safe conduct for drovers and clothiers through the territory held by his armies. (621) Another petition which reflects the Merioneth economy more than elsewhere, pleads that the area was "sowing little or noe corne at all and trust merely to the sale of their cattle, Wool and Welch cottons for provision of bread". (622) The treat of famine was real since the county was dependent on imported corn by sea, which was now interrupted. (623)

Royalist Cavaliers versus Roundhead Parliamentarians: much of north Wales supported the King, although some families and neighbourhoods were divided. The families at Bron y foel isaf and Hendre fechan, for example, were known Royalists; Harlech castle was naturally a Royalist stronghold. The paucity of documents in Merioneth results in a lack of named local people receiving pensions for injuries received at Naseby (1645) and other battles. There seems to have been no Parliamentary activity in Ardudwy, although men such as John Jones, Maesygarndd, were ardent anti Royalists. Morgan Llwyd of Trawsfynydd, (1619-1659) was a Puritan and mystic. Only a small minority of Welshmen was intransigently committed to radical Puritanism and parliamentary liberty. Ardent puritans like Morgan Llwyd went to war in order to rid their fellow countrymen of what they saw as the spiritual tyranny imposed upon them by zealous Laudians. Colonel John Jones of Maesygarndd, a Puritan zealot and republican, saw the wars as a means of advancing God's cause by force of arms. (623) In 1645 on June 14 the Royalists were defeated at battle of Naseby. On 3 February 1646 Chester capitulated to the Parliamentarians whose forces were now free to surge into Wales to mop up royalist castles. On 4 June 1646 Caernarfon surrendered, and Beaumaris, Rhuddlan and Flint quickly followed suit. Conway surrendered in November, Holt in January and the last stronghold to fall was Harlech Castle in March 1647. (624)

Siege of Harlech Castle: During the civil wars, this fortress was ably defended by Sir Hugh Pennant, till deserted by his men, when it fell into the possession of the parliamentary forces; was again re-possessioned by the loyalists; and finally taken in March 1647, by a force under General Mytton. (625) The use of Harlech castle by the Royalists in the Civil War until its surrender in 1647, was merely a side-show of little military significance. (626) Harlech castle surrendered or was vacated on 15 March 1647, with Col William Owen as governor. (627) Most of the action seemed to have been in north east Wales and later along the north Wales coast. In May 1646 Col John Jones of Maesygarndd was one of three commissioners sent to Anglesey by Major-General Thomas Mytton to negotiate for the surrender of the island to the Parliamentarians. (628) In 1647 King Charles I was captured by the victorious Roundhead army led by Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell.

1648-9 Second Civil War:

In north Wales, grievances, aggravated by growing agitation among supernumeraries in the army, excessive fiscal exactions, and the economic results of the poor harvest of 1647, were smouldering fiercely during the summer of 1648. (629) In May 1648 the Second Civil War in North Wales was mainly a revolt led by Sir John Owen, Clenennau. Sir John Owen, at the head of a hundred volunteers rode into Dolgellau. They stayed two nights, “paid for their quarters” and “did no harm”. They rode to Dyffryn Ardudwy, thence to Carnarvonshire, and back to Ardudwy. Meanwhile the Parliamentary Col Twisleton having ridden from Denbigh, arrived at Dolgellau after Sir John had departed. Col Twisleton rode to Pennal & Towyn, capturing some footmen before returning to Dolgellau with the prisoners whom they then marched via Bala to Denbigh. Sir John heard that his enemies were in Dolgellau, so he turned back from Ardudwy, but learning that he had missed his quarry, he headed for Caernarvonshire. Sir John clashed with the Parliamentary High Sheriff William Lloyd near Glynllifon; the sheriff was taken prisoner and died later at the clash at Y Dalar Hir on 5 June, 1648. Sir John was captured, but later released in London. (630) The route from Dolgellau to Dyffryn Ardudwy is most likely to have been the old route passing below Caerau farm and over Bwlch Rhiwgwr before sloping down behind Egryn to Dyffryn Ardudwy.

Many Welsh royalists were made to pay for their sins through loss of property by sequestration and confiscation, or by payment of fines through compounding with Parliament. (631) The wars clearly disrupted the functioning of local administration in the provinces. Roads and bridges were neglected, offices remained unfilled, funds and records went missing. Wild life flourished as never before. Local justices in Caernarfonshire were as much worried by the predatory habits of foxes, polecats, weasels and stoats as by the declining fortunes of Charles Stuart. County houses were looted and destroyed – Rowland Vaughan’s home at Caer gai was razed in 1647. Not until the closing years of the First Civil War did the inhabitants of north-west Wales have to endure the bloodshed of civil strife. The war also brought economic dislocation and suffering in its wake. The 1640s were trying years for Welsh drovers and clothiers in north and central Wales, for they could find no vent for their cattle and cloth. Archbishop John Williams complained bitterly that poor drovers “the Spanish fleet of North Wales which brings hither that little gold and silver we have” were being denied access to essential markets. (632) Farmers claimed that the prohibition of free trade prevented them from paying taxes and imperilled the lives of thousands of families. Ready cash was pitifully scarce in rural communities and a succession of harvest failures after 1646 drove up food prices and exacerbated the plight of the poor. (633)

King Charles was executed on 30 January 1649. William Phylip (of Hendre fechan)’s famous elegy on the death of Charles expressed the general sense of outrage. Yet a small minority of Welshmen hailed the king’s death as the dawn of a new era. John Jones, Maesygarnedd was among those who signed the death warrant which authorized the execution of the king. He was husband of Cromwell’s sister and became one of the Protector’s Council of State. (634)

1649-1660. The Commonwealth / The Interregnum.

Episcopacy had been banished in 1643 with the Prayer Book in 1645 during the course of the Civil War. The dean and chapter of Bangor cathedral were dissolved, the Episcopal manors confiscated. (635) Increasing importance was placed on view that the “rule of the Saints” and the fifth monarchy of the world - that of Christ Himself - was imminent. This failed to affect Caernarvonshire. Nevertheless, the work of weeding out parsons unacceptable to the commissioners was well underway by 1650. The difficulty was to fill their places, and it took some time before even the skeleton of a Puritan parochial ministry had been formed in Caernarvonshire. (636)

Archbishop John Williams died in 1650. In the same year, an Act for the Better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales was passed and was intended to provide for the state of religion in Wales. Many Anglicans had withdrawn or were removed from their livings. (637) In July 1652 “The humble petition of many thousands of the six counties of North Wales showing that since the ejection of the ministers from their churches, silencing them, and sequestrating the tithes under the colour of an Act made February 22 1649, for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, divers parishes have for two years past been left vacant on the Lord’s Day without any minister to officiate and administer the Sacrament of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper or to marry or to visit the sick to the scandal and decay of religion. They therefore petition to have their tithes accounted for and that the health of their souls, which they value above all earthly things, may be provided for by settling able and pious ministries in the parish churches was signed by Thomas Myddleton & Owain Wynn. Also in 1652, Taylor, the poet, in his Tour of Wales noted “that in many places and parishes they have neither service, prayer, sermon, minister or preacher or any church door opened at all”. (638)

The sterner section of the Puritan party was in power. The 1649 Act expired in 1652 but continued in force. (639) The county of Merioneth was less affected by the upheaval, because the clergy / parishes were on minor importance, both in character and in financial value. Church life was much as in normal times. (640) There was little impact of the Propagation on the county of Caernarvonshire. There were insufficient Welsh speakers who satisfied their demands, so there were either vacant parishes or new pluralisms. It is likely that although the Prayer book had technically been illegal since 1645 its use, if only from memory, survived at least in remote parishes much as in an earlier age, “popish” practises had escaped the vigilance of Tudor governments. (641) From 1669 the Second Conventicle Act was a more efficient instrument for the repression of nonconformity because it was less ferocious and therefore more likely to be applied by hesitant magistrates against those meeting illegally.

William Phylip, (c1580-1670) born at Ty’n y Berth, near Tal y bont, and the poet farmer of Hendrefechan, just north of Egryn, was a staunch Royalist who suffered persecution during the Cromwellian period. “William Philip of Ardudwy, near Barmouth, for writing a pathetic elegy on the death of Charles I, fell under the violent resentment of the ruling power; his property was alienated – and himself, in his seventy-third year, was compelled to abscond and take refuge among the furze bushes and clefts of the rocks of the mountains of Ardudwy. William Philip, at length growing tired of his life as an outlaw, made his appearance, compromised matters with his persecutors, and returned to his house at Hendre. He was appointed tax-gatherer – high collector of Isartro in 1653 under the Protectorate. (642) He too found it prudent to remind people of his royalist sympathies and his hopes of a restoration of the monarchy as he wheedled taxes from his neighbours. (643) In the wake of the king’s execution, a flurry of changes occurred in the composition of local committees. Royalist sympathisers lost their positions, whilst those who feared that Parliament was bent on destroying traditional values withdrew their support. Smaller gentry, freeholders, yeoman, tradesmen and Roundhead soldiers filled many of the breaches. Not all county gentry, however, shunned office. (644)

From February 1654 onwards the power to sequester the estates of proven delinquents was transferred to a single official in each county. Welsh gentlemen were notoriously hostile to social change and uncompromising in their belief in the sanctity of property, and harboured deep-rooted resentments against sequestrators and tax-collectors. Following the Civil Wars, a wave of land sales was launched as Parliament strove to pay its debts and achieve solvency. Crown and church lands were placed on the market and swiftly snapped up by profiteers and speculators. ... Colonel John Jones, Maesygarneidd, was a shrewd bargainer who did well for himself by amassing estates in North Wales and Ireland. But, unlike many men in his position, Jones denounced greedy profiteers and had the interests of small freeholders at heart. His correspondence with his kinsman Edward Llwyd, also testifies to his personal piety and his genuine devotion to the Puritan cause. (645)

Additional information about the VAUGHAN family of Corsygedol

*In 1636 Richard Vaughan II, M.P., died aged 30 having controlled the estate for only three years. His heir was **William Vaughan III (1632-1669)**, being 4 years old when his father died. William married Ann, daughter of Gruffydd Nanney of Nannau (1640-1701). They had 2 sons Griffith Vaughan (1653-1697) o.s.p. and Richard Vaughan III (1665/6-1734) and 4 daughters. (646)*

Comments: **Hugh Tudur's widow Jane**, youngest daughter of Robert Owen of Ystumcegid, county Caernarvon, became the first wife of Howel Vaughan, of Vaner, county Merioneth, HSM 1672, **buried at Dolgellau in 1675**. He was the heir of the antiquarian Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (1592-1667). They had Robert Vaughan who died without offspring. Howel Vaughan later married Lowry, widow of Humphrey Pugh of Aberffrydlan, and had Howel Vaughan of Hengwrt, HSM 1697. (647a) However, Jane Tydder's will of 1687 suggests otherwise, unless Jane had reverted to her first married surname after Howel Vaughan's death in 1675. It is not known whether Howel Vaughan left a will. It is not known if they lived at Vanner, Llanelltud circa 1651-1675. They may have lived at Egryn in the 1650s while Jane's children were growing up. There is a Howel Vaughan at Glanyllyn who was first husband to Catherine, mother by her second husband to Ann Vaughan who married Hugh Tudyr of Egryn. (647b) On 1st August 1650 there is a record of a Bond of obligation in £200 by Richard Lewis and others of Dyffrydan to **Howell Vaughan of EGRYN** to observe the terms of a pairs of indentures of equal date. (648)

On 1st May 1651 the following is recorded between 1. Evan ap Hugh ap Evan ap Edward of Berthlwyd, Gent.; 2. **Howel Vaughan of EGRYN**, Gent. and Hugh ap John of Gotre. p Llanylltud; and 3. Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, Esq. A Marriage settlement (fecofment) between Hugh Evans, son of 1. and Anne Vaughan daughter of Robert Vaughan, and £100 and Berthlwyd, p Llanylltud etc. (649) On 12th September 1651 accounts are noted to Mr Howell Vaughan of Egryn £20. (650) A 1658 covenant records 1. John Wynne of Llwyn Griffri, gent., and Prudence, his wife; 2. **Hywel Vaughan of Vaner**, Esq and Samuel Poole of Argoed, gent. Covenant (unexecuted) to levy a fine upon Kae'r Crydd, Tu coch, and Llwyn hir in Llanfair; Llwyn Griffri, Eythin Vynydd, Tythin y felin and a house called y Tu yn Talybont, in Llanaber and Llanddwywe. (651) (Later in 1794 see Griffith ap Howell Vaughan Esq. Sale catalogue, maps, field details etc). (652) A 3rd October 1657 lease between 1. William Vaughan of Corsygedol, county Merioneth esq. and 2. William Owens of Porkington, county Salop, Esq for four years (of the Corsygedol estate including 66 messuages, lands and tenements in the parishes of Llanaber, Llantheywe, Llanenddwyn, Llanbedr, Llanvaire, Llandanwge, Trawsfynydd, county Merioneth. names Llecheiddiar, Y Ty'n Talybont, 'R Hafod, Y sarn vaine, Bron y foel uchaf, Bron y foel Issa, Mochras etc. (653)

The 1660s Hearth Tax returns for the Llanaber parish returns have not survived. The reign of Charles II was from 1660 -1685: "The Restoration of the monarchy". A new prayer book was drawn up; an Act of Uniformity was passed; some 2,000 clergy left their parishes. The Great Plague occurred in 1665 and the Great Fire of London in 1666. In 1670, in alliance with the French, Charles II waged war of the Dutch, until 1678. There was a growth of anti-Catholic feeling. The Popish Plot was in 1678 and the 1679 Test Act excluded Roman Catholics from sitting in Parliament. Also in 1679 the Cavalier Parliament was dissolved. There was a contest between the Tories, the King's supporters, and Whigs led by Shaftesbury. Charles II died on 6 February 1685, having been received into the Roman Catholic church. (654)

Footnotes: Part 3: Section 16:

- (603) C A Gresham, 1973, Eifonydd, p26-7; J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p232
- (604) RCAHMS, Caerns Vol II, Mon 895, p 72
- (605) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p232
- (606) NLW, Peniarth 287
- (607) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p279
- (608) A I Pryce, 1929, Bangor through Three Centuries pxix
- (609) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, p224-231
- (610) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p279
- (611) Calendar of Wynn Papers (of Gwydir) 1515-1690, Aberystwyth, 1926, ms 1701
- (612) 1st line: Llwydd wyt wych llwyddid dy wedd; Glenys Davies, Noddwyr Beirdd ym Meirion, Dolgellau, 1974, p 71-74; NLW, Llanstephan, 133, 521
- (613) NLW, Llanstephan, 133, 521. manuscript loosely translated by Prof Geraint Gruffydd, Sept 2007, pers comm.
- (614) NLW, B1644/32W Rd Recognisance / Administration Bond; Also in Wills appendix
- (615) B1644 / 32 Rd : Recognisance / Administration Bond; top half of page is written in Latin
- (616) Glenys Davies, Noddwyr Beirdd ym Meirion, Dolgellau, 1974, 71-74; NLW, Brogyntyn 5, 173-4; 1st line: "Annedwydd iw'r newidion"
- (617) have typescript only: NLW, Brogyntyn 5, 173-4. Loosely translated by Prof Geraint Gruffydd, Sept 2007, pers. comm.
- (618) translated by Prof Geraint Gruffydd, Dec 2007, pers. comm.
- (619) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p200
- (620) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p201
- (621) Calendar of Wynn Papers (of Gwydir) 1515-1690, Aberystwyth, 1926

- (622) Arch Camb., 1922, pp 249-50
- (623) E D Evans, Politics and Parliamentary Representation in Merioneth, JMHRs, 2007, p167-8
- (624) G H Jenkins, The Foundations of Modern Wales 1642-1780, 1987, p7
- (625) The Cambrian Traveller's Guide, 1813, 2nd edition, p574
- (626) E D Evans, Harlech: a Forsaken Borough, JMHRs, 2004, p198
- (627) N Tucker, North Wales & Chester in the Civil War, 2nd edition, 2003, p93
- (628) N Tucker, North Wales & Chester in the Civil War, 2nd edition, 2003, p73
- (629) G H Jenkins, The Foundations of Modern Wales 1642-1780, 1987, p22
- (630) N Tucker, North Wales & Chester in the Civil War, 2nd edition, 2003, p96-7
- (631) G H Jenkins, The Foundations of Modern Wales 1642-1780, 1987, p24
- (632) Calendar of Wynn Papers (of Gwydir) 1515-1690, Aberystwyth, 1926, p287
- (633) G H Jenkins, The Foundations of Modern Wales 1642-1780, 1987, p28-9
- (634) G H Jenkins, The Foundations of Modern Wales 1642-1780, 1987, p31-33
- (635) A H Dodd, A History of Caernarvonshire, 1968, p156
- (636) A H Dodd, A History of Caernarvonshire, 1968, p139-140
- (637) D Walker, Ed., 1990, A History of the Church in Wales, p75
- (638) A I Pryce, Diocese of Bangor during Three Centuries, pxxvii
- (639) A I Pryce, Diocese of Bangor during Three Centuries, pxxvii
- (640) A I Pryce, Diocese of Bangor during Three Centuries, pxxix, xxx
- (641) A H Dodd, A History of Caernarvonshire, 1968, p155
- (642) W Ll Davies, Phylipiaid Ardudwy, Y Cymmrodor, 42, 1930, p217
- (643) G H Jenkins, The Foundations of Modern Wales 1642-1780, 1987, p38
- (644) G H Jenkins, The Foundations of Modern Wales 1642-1780, 1987, p35-36
- (645) G H Jenkins, The Foundations of Modern Wales 1642-1780, 1987, p38-39
- (646) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p279
- (647a) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p201
- (647b) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p200-1
- (648) UWB, Nannau A, 359
- (649) Meirionnydd Record Office, Z/DV(1)/332; very large folded parchment
- (650) UWB, Nannau 467; Book of miscellaneous accounts written up to 1655, p36
- (651) UWB, Maesyneuadd, ms 211
- (652) NLW Farms; Wales; Llanelltud, Maps. Ms
- (653) UWB, Mostyn, ms 4090
- (654) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, p234-23

PART 3 Section 17. WILLIAM TUDUR (III)

(post 1623-between Jan 1668-Nov 1669)

William (ab Hugh) Tydder (born after 1623 and under 21 years in 1644) married Catherine and they had Jane, William's heiress, who married Hugh Owen, Cae'r Berllan. *They may also have had Hugh Tyder who appears to have no descendants.*

1658 May 19: 1. Lewis Patricke of Llanegryn, yeoman and Jane Stanley his wife.

2. Lewis Owen of Peniarth in the same parish Esq

3. Ellis Edwards of Llwyndu, parish of Llanaber, gent.

Assignment of mortgage from 1. to 3. to the use of 2. touching a messuage called Y Tu newydd, the close called Y Kay Gundwn, adjoining the same, the lands called Y Cornell, adjoining the same, the "ould house" called Y Tu yn glan'r Avon, the meadows called Y Weirglodd canol, Y Kae Canol and the close called Y Kay newydd, all in the township of Llanaber, commote of Ardudwy. Consideration: £40. Tags (2) for seals (missing)

Witnesses to sealing and delivery: **WILLIAM TUDD(ER)**, Evan ap Owen, John Edward John, Rees ap Edward John, Edward Morgan, (655)

1594/5 references to *gavel Halkyn*, *gavel Weu Tew* and *gavel Dd gwyn* in Llanwenwyn (not copied in full). (656)

1659/60, January 22. Hugh Johnes to Sir Owen Wynn at Gwedir [co. Carnarvon].

The preparation of a bill of complaint (?) against **Mr. Tudder of Egrin**; the advisability of proceeding against Mr. Tudder alone; the relevance to the case of grants by Queen Elizabeth to **Richard Vaughan** of *Gavell Ievan dauid ap Iorwerth*, *Gavell hulkin*, and *gavell gwenllian Tew* in the parish of Llanddwywe, and *gavell dauid ap Gwyn* in Llanenddwyn [all in co. Merioneth]; their failure to find the will of **Rees Vaughan**, father of the said Richard, which 'would discover all the whoeall petikree of those gavells'. (657)

2. Rhys Vaughan of Corsygedol, M.P. in 1545, living 1554, **dead by 1586** married in 1525/7 Gwen Anwyl of Llwyndurys, Lleyn. (658) They had 6 children including:

3. Richard Vaughan I of Corsygedol & Llwyndurys, built Corsygedol in 1576, HSC 1578, **died 1588**, who married Jonet Vaughan of Talhenbont. Mentioned in 1573; 1575; 1577 & 1577.

(Poem 10) 25 August **1663: William Tudur (III)** is mentioned in a cywyd by Edward Morris, (1607-1689) drover / bard of Perthi Llwydion, Cerrig y Drudion. (659) "This is a light-hearted poem in a "free" (i.e. accentual) metre by Edward Morris (died 1689), a very gifted poet. It purports to give an account of a legal process to prevent the country's **barley crop** from being turned into bread (i.e. rather than beer). This involved appointing a commission of 17 gentlemen, including the poet, as well as a jury of 12 and 16 prosecution witnesses. The seventh and eighth of the commissioners are:

"Affable William Tudur from Egrin,

and the irate man from below the pass of Coed Dyffryn;

Captain Humphreys will throw himself into the fray

Lest the barley be turned into bread".

Edward Morris wrote a second poem giving the point of view of the women, who opposed the legal process" (660)

1668 **William Tydder, Egrin**, Llanaber, Merioneth, Gent. WILL. 18th January 1668.

In the name of God Amen

I William Tydder of Egrin in the parishe of Llanaber in the County of Merioneth & diocese of Bangor gentl. Being sicke in body but of sound & perfect memory laude & praysd bee to the Almighty God did on the eighteenth day of January in the yeare of our Lord Acordinge to the Computation used in the Church of England 1668 doe make his last will & Testament in manner & forme followinge Firstly he did comitt his soule to the hands of Jesus Christ my saviur & Redeemer & his body to bee buried in the Church of Llanaber & For my worldlely good he did dispose of as followeth he gave & bequeath to his daughter Jane Tydder the somme of 400li. To bee Rayسد out of his lands that he Reserved A power to himselfe to dispose of Fore somme terme of yeares after his decease he did Constitute his beloved wife Catherine Tydder to bee his sole executrix & desired her to pay all his debts he did appoynt Mr William Vaughan of Corseygedol both his Fathers in law & his Uncle William Roberts to bee overseers of this his will & of his Children & hoped they will not see them wronged.

Will. Roberts

Moris Lloyd

Testamentum hoc nuncupativum Vicessimo tertio die Novembris 1669 Probatum fuit pro testes annexos Coram me Hum. Thomas Surr'. [This nuncupative will proved before me Humphrey Thomas, Surrogate, by the annexed witnesses the 23rd November 1669] (661)

In the name of God, Amen. I **William Tydder of Egrin** in the parish of Llanaber in the county of Merioneth and diocese of Bangor, **gent.**, being sick in body but of sound and perfect memory laud and praise be the Almighty God did on the eighteenth day of January in the year of our Lord, according to the computation used in the Church of England 1668, do make his last will and testament in manner and form following – First he did commit his soul to the hands of Jesus Christ my Saviour and Redeemer and his body to be buried in the church of Llanaber “- for his worldly goods he did dispose of as followeth he gives and bequeaths to his **daughter Jane Tydder** the summe of £400 to be payed out of his lands that he reserved power to him self to dispose of for some term of years after his decease he did constitute his **beloved wife Catherine Tydder** to be his sole executrix and he desired her to pay all his debts He did appoint Mr William Vaughan of Corsygedol both his fathers in law and his uncle William Roberts to be overseers of this his will and of **his children** and hope they will not get them wronged.”

Witness William Roberts, Morris Lloyd.

This nuncupative will was made 23 November 1669, by the annexed witnesses before me John Thomas surrogate.

Probate granted 23 Nov 1669; signed John Thomas, surrogate. (662)

M Dunn's comments:

1. William Tudder's will was dated 18 January 1668 but was not signed by him and was probably made verbally just before he died. The will varies between the first person and third person, and was possibly altered from the former to the latter by 23 November 1669 when probate was granted.
 2. He was called “Gentleman”, not Esquire – gentleman being a lesser status.
 3. He bequeathed £400 to his unmarried daughter Jane.
 4. He appointed his wife Catherine Tydder as executrix.
 5. He appointed Mr William Vaughan, Corsygedol, both his father in law and his uncle William Roberts to be overseers of this his will and of **his children**. (plural)
- However, Mr William Vaughan, Corsygedol, died in 1669 aged 37 years, so would not have been an overseer for long. (663)
6. It is not known why his son Hugh Tudur is not mentioned. He was probably young enough to have children, unless he was known to be impotent. Maybe the father and son had fallen out. It is not clear whether Hugh Tudur was actually William's son or brother.

Footnotes Part 3 Section 17:

(655) (GAS, Meirionnydd Record Office, Z/DC/1)

(656) UWB, Mostyn ms 3836

(657) NLW Wigfair (3), 2795

(658) In 1546: Mostyn ms 3717; ms 1552: Mostyn ms 3723, Mostyn ms 1553: Mostyn ms 3634; Mostyn ms 1562: Mostyn ms 3725; Mostyn ms 1568, Mostyn ms 3616; Mostyn ms 1573

(659) 1st line: *Y ddau Farsial fawr o Feirion*; (in typescript) Gwenllian Jones, “Bywyd a Gwaith Edward Morris, Perthi Llwydion, NLW thesis 1941 / 11, no cxlvi, p 458; Glenys Davies, *Noddwyr Beirdd ym Meirion, Dolgellau*, 1974, p71-74; Gwenllian Jones, *Bywyd a Gwaith Edward Morris, Perthi Llwydion, Wales*, 1941

(660) Translation and comments by Prof Geraint Gruffydd, Pers comm. August 2007

(661) Transcribed by Gareth Haulfryn Williams 2007

(662) 1669/118; Register of Bangor Diocese Wills; have photocopy of will

(663) J E Griffith, 1914, *Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire* p279

PART 3 Section 18. Hugh Tyder, Esq. (HSM in 1675)

It is not known why Hugh Tudur is not mentioned in the will of William Tudder dated 1668. It is possible that he was a son of Hugh Tydyr and Jane, rather than of William Tydyr and Catherine. Or he could have been born after Hugh Tudur wrote his will on 16 May, 1644.

It seems unlikely that those involved with the probate of Jane Tudyr's will in 1687 would have called Hugh Tudur Esq her son if he was her grandson. (664) That might also explain why Hugh Tudur is not named in the 1668 will of William Tudder. However, in 1697 John Owen, the child of Jane Tydder & Hugh Owen is called "nephew" of Hugh Tudur, making Hugh to be Jane's brother. In addition, the will mentions children, not one child.

Additional information about the VAUGHAN family of Corsygedol

*William Vaughan III died in 1669. His eldest son **Griffith Vaughan (1653-1697)** had no children. The second son was **Richard Vaughan III (1665/6-1734)**; M.P for Merioneth 1701-34; Constable of Harlech castle: 1704-16. Pre 1706 he married Margaret daughter & heiress of Sir Evan Lloyd of Bodidris; she died in 1758. They had two sons and three daughters. (see the 1702 document). Their sons were **William Vaughan IV (1707-1775)** and **Evan Lloyd Vaughan (1709/10-1791)**. (665)*

Before May 1675 Hugh Tudur of Egryn married Anne, a daughter and heiress of John Vaughan, who was living 1648, of Cefn Bodig and Catherine Nanney, relict of Howel Vaughan of Glan y Llyn (Tegid). (666) Anne outlived her husband, who died pre 1700, without offspring. **Cefn Bodig**, Llanycil, lies half way along the north side of Llyn Tegid at NGR SH 897340 several poems were written about Ann by Edward Morris, died 1689 and Sion Dafydd Las died 1694. (667) John Vaughan, Cefn Bodig, had three heiress daughters, Ann, Catherine and Jonett; all three married. (668) On 23 July 1670 a marriage is recorded between Evan Evans, Plas Tan y Bwlch, gent, who had died by 1686, and Jonett, youngest daughter of John Vaughan, Kefnbodig, Esq. (669) In 1714 Madam Ann Vaughan, of Llanllyn or Cefnbodig, left £5 to the poor of the parish of Llanuwchllyn. (670)

Between 18th November 1674 and 11th November 1675, during the Restoration period, Owen Wynne of Glyn, Esq., and **Hugh Tudyr, Esq., of Egryn were appointed High Sheriff of Merioneth**. He was said to be a son of William ap Tudyr, of the tribe of Marchudd ap Cynan, married Gwen, daughter of Richard Vaughan of Cors y gedol. (671) However as has been stated earlier, it was his ancestor Hugh ap William Tudur I who married Gwen of Corsygedol.

A letter dated 4th May 1675 is recorded from **Anne Tydder**, Cefn Bodig, to her "honoured cousin" Hugh Nanney Esq. of Nannau (who died at end of 1676): "After my humble ?service unto you, Dear cozin, I was advised by counsel that I must rise an administration of y' goods of my uncle John Nanney, if I must doe soe I hope you will looke after it, not doubting by your own distraction and diligence prevail better than her that is, Yr cozin, Anne Tydder."

This refers to the death of her uncle John Nanney and the advice given her by Counsel to "rise" an administration of his goods; prays Nanney to "looke after" the necessary procedure. This Anne was the daughter of Catherine Nanney (herself daughter to Hugh, died 1647) and full cousin to the Hugh addressed in the letter. Catherine was married first to Howel Vaughan of Glan Llyn (Tegid) and second to John Vaughan of Cefn Bodig. John Nanney was brother to Catherine. Anne was married to the second (or third?) Hugh Tudor of Egryn. These Tudors were inextricably interwoven by marriage with the Vaughans of Corsygedol, the Nanneys of Nannau and the Williams of Meillionydd. (672)

A bond dated 18 May 1675 to produce inventory notes: 1. Hugh Nanney, Maylan, gent.; Anne Vaughan, Corsygedol, widow; **Hugh Tudyr, Cefn Bodig and *Ann his wife**; Evan Evans, Tanybwlch and *Jonet his wife; David and *Catherine Lloyd, Croes Onnen, county Denbigh, [* these three are sisters] and 2. Registry of the Consistory Court of Bangor.

"The condition of this obligation in such that if the within bounden Hugh Nanney, Anne Vaughan, Anne Tudyr, Jonet Evans and Catherine Lloyd to whom this tion of all and singular ye goods, cattle and chatells of John Nanney late of the parish of Llanfachreth in the county of Merioneth aforesaid deceased intestate where remaining unadministered by Richard Nanney and Ellin Nanney now both deceased is granted and promised etc etc

doo make or range to be made a true and perfect INVENTORY of all and singular the goods chattels and credits of the said deceased now remaining unadministered as aforesaid which have or shall come to the hands and possession of knowledge of them the said Administrators or into the hands and possession of any

other person or persons for them and the same soo made so made doo exhibite or range to be exhibited into the Registry of the Consistory Court of Bangor att or before the fourth day of ... next ensuing the date of these presents and the same goods and all be chattels and credits of the said deceased now remaining un-administered as aforesaid which shall come to ye hands or possession of them ye said administrators or into the hands or possession of any other person or persons for them doo well and truly administer according to law and further do make or range to be made a true and just attempt of their said administration att or before the fourth day Xmass next likewise ongoing the date thereof; and all the rest and residue of the said goods chattels and credits which shall be found remaining upon the said administrators attempt the same being first examined and allowed by the Judge or Judges for the being of the said Court shall deliver and pay unto such person or persons respectively as the judge or judges by his or their decree or sentence pursuant to the true intent and meaning of an Act of parliament in ye behalfe made and provided (entituled an Act for the better settling of Intestates Estates) shall limit and appoint, and if it shall appear yt any last will and testament was made by the said deceased and the Executor or Executors therin named doo exhibit the same into the said Court, making request to have it allowed and approved accordingly if the said Administrators within Court on being thereunto required doo render and deliver the said Letters of Administration (approbation of further testament being first had and made) in the said Court, then this Obligation to be void and of none effect or else the same to plans and remain in full force and virtue.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of:

by ye within bounden Hugh Nanney EsqHugh Nanney seal

Anne VaughanAnne Vaughanseal

John HughesAnne Tydderseal

Robert CorbettJonett Evansseal

Rich MorisKatherine Lloydseal

Elin Ellis

Robert Caddw (673)

Dated 8th August 1677: Assignment by Anne Vaughan of Corsygedol, widow, **Hugh Tudur Esq., of Cefn Bodig**, Evan Evans of Tanybwllch and David Lloyd of Eglwysbach, (county Denbigh) to Owen Anwyl of Llwyn, of messuage of Hafod Owen [plus 7 other named messuages]. (674) Evan Evans, Tanybwllch, had married Anne's sister Jonet; David Lloyd had married Anne's other sister Catherine; his father David Lloyd was of Eglwysbach (675)

In 1676 the bishop of Bangor expressed considerable alarm at the work of Welsh nonconformist printers producing Welsh Christian literature. There was an emergence of a Welsh form of pietism nurtured by the godly tradition which was to be found in the Anglican Church and in the puritan sects. The emphasis on Bible reading, the promotion of godliness by means of devotional reading, the belief in the value of education, are all characteristics of pietism. So far as the Nonconformists were concerned, the years of persecution had compelled them to make lavish use of cottage-meetings and informal gatherings of intimate neighbours. It was from this type of concentration on the spiritual life and upon informal worship that the "religious societies" were eventually to emerge, not least among the Anglicans, and it was these, in turn, which provided the pattern for the Methodist "Societies". (676)

In 1685 an Agreement was made between **Hugh Tyder of Egrin**, Esq., and Thomas Robert, gent., of Tyddyn Du in the parish of Llanaber whereby the latter had right of way for his cattle to his meadow called **Ynys y brwyn** through the meadow of the former called **Ynys Eingian** for 15 days annually from 1 May, and within seven days before August "to mowe and harvest the haye or croppe of Ynys y brwyn", and after harvest at Egrin until 1 January; and to be allowed, further, to pass on foot through **Ynys Eingian** at all times without opening the gap "to fence the said meadow", provided he undertook in return to "secure or looke unto the gape leading to the meadow of the said Hugh Tyder" in case of trespass. (677) Ynys y Brwyn is shown on the 1840 Tithe map.

The reign of James II lasted from 1685 until 1688. Before becoming king he had earned a high reputation as a soldier serving the French and then the Spaniards. He converted to Roman Catholicism in 1668 and was the Duke of York and later Lord High Admiral. In 1687 the Declaration of Indulgence aimed at complete religious toleration. In 1688 his son and heir was born, so a Catholic succession was probable. However, Parliament invited James' nephew and son in law, William of Orange, to come to England to "protect liberty". James II fled to France where he died in 1699. (678)

On 1st September 1687 there was an Obligation on Hugh Tudyr, on will of his *mother* Jane Tudyr, deceased. **Bond** (Latin). bound in sum of £300. (679)

SUMMARY: Names Hugh Tudyr of the parish of Llanaber, Esq(Egrin)

Hugh Owen of the same, gent.,(?second Egrin)

David Griffith, parish of Llanenddwyn, county of Merioneth(not known)

The condition of this obligation is such that if the above bounden **Hugh Tudyr Esq**, lawful son of Madam Jane Tudyr late of Llanaber deceased to whom letters of administration of all and singular the said deceased's goods, cattels, chattels and credits is granted and committed, doe and will well and truly administer all and singular the said deceased's goods etc and pay all the deceased's debts so far forth as the said goods etc shall thereunto extend, and as the law will binde him in that behalf And also make a true and perfect inventory of the said deceased's goods etc, and likewise render up a true and just Account of his said Administration when and as often as he shall be thereunto lawfully required; and finally shall and will save, defend and keep harmless the Right Reverend Father in God aforesaid for and touching the granting of the said Administration, that then this present obligation to be void and of none effect, or else the same to remain in full force power and virtue.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of (Latin)

Rich. JonesHugh Tydder

Robert Humphrey clerk

Owen MorrisHugh Owen

Mark of the above bounden

David Griffith

Comments by M Dunn:

1. Hugh Tudyr's mother was Madam Jane Tudyr, who was dead by 1 September 1687.
2. The administration of her will was being undertaken by Hugh Tudyr.
3. If Hugh Tudyr was bounden for £300, then the estate was probably valued around £150.
4. Hugh Tudyr was an Esquire. An Esquire is a higher status than gentleman, indicating lands were held beyond the holding where he lived.
5. This indicates that Hugh Owen and his wife Jane Tudyr were probably living in the second house at Egryn in 1687.
6. If Hugh Tudyr's mother **was** Jane Tydyr, then Hugh may have been born after his father Hugh ab William Tudur II died in 1644, and named after him.

However, is stated, without giving sources, that Jane, youngest daughter of Robert Owen, Ystumcegid, county Caernarfon, and **relict of Hugh Tudur of Egryn** was the first wife of Howel Vaughan of Vanner, county Merioneth, HSM 1672, buried at Dolgelley 1675. (680) This is probably incorrect if this was her 1687 Administration bond. Or it may have been ANN, *verch* Gr Nannau, the third wife and probably a young widow of Wiliam Tudur **who married Howel Vaughan**. In the 1644 will of Hugh Tudur, his natural mother is named as Ann Vaughan, perhaps suggesting that she had married again, this time to a Mr Vaughan.

By 1670, the population of Merioneth had increased by 85%. Uplands abandoned because of depopulation caused by the Black Death and intermittent warfare, were again restocked. (681)

Footnotes Part 3 Section 18:

(664) NLW, B1687-96B

(665) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p279

(666) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p200

(667) Glenys Davies, Noddwyr Beirdd ym Meirion, 1974, p27, Cefnbodig. "Yn ol Edward Lhuyd, (died 1709) gwr Ann ydoedd Huw Tudur o Egryn, "ond nid oes obaith o blant" (?Par, II, 66)

(668) UWB, Nannau A, 366 notes

(669) GAS, Meirionnydd Record Office, Z/DV/4/29

(670) NLW, Ifan ab Owen Edwards, 1925, MA Dissertation "A Study of Local Government in the Principalitie of Wales during the 16th and 17th centuries, as illustrated mainly by the extant data relating to the county of Merioneth, p147, parish records of Llanuwchllyn

(671) Annals & Antiquities of the counties & county families of Wales, 1872, Vol II, p692

(672) UWB, Nannau 408

(673) GAS, Meirionnydd Record Office, Z/DV/3/84

(674) UWB, Nannau A, 414

(675) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p200

(676) D Walker, 1990, A History of the Church in Wales, p88-89

(677) The Jones-Williams Deeds & Documents [deposited at Dolgellau by D W Jones-Williams Esq., M.C., Ll.B. Preswylfa, Bontddu Ref D/M 7], JMHSR, 1956, vol II, p303

(678) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, p240-246

(679) NLW, B1687/96B

(680) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p201

(681) E D Evans, Harlech: a Forsaken Borough, JMHSR, 2004, p207

PART 3 Section 19.

c1675 JANE TYDUR of Egryn married Hugh Owen, Cae'rberllan.

Hugh Tydder & his wife Ann also lived at Egryn.

In January 1668, when her father wrote his will, Jane Tydur of Egryn was unmarried. William Tydur's heiress daughter, Jane, married Hugh Owen of Cae'r Berllan, and the two estates were later merged. Hugh's father John Owen died in 1681 at Caerberllan; his mother was sister to Lewis Owen of Peniarth (1625-1691); Hugh Owen had four sisters. (682)

By around 1675 Hugh Owen had married Jane Tudur and was living at Egryn. Between 1676 and 1677 John, son of Hugh Owen and Jane, was baptised at Llanaber. (683) In 1677, Susanna, daughter of Hugh Owen & Jane was baptised at Llanaber. (684)

OTHER OWENS in the Llanaber register, but no place names given. (685)

1676-9 Daughter of John Owen & Jane was baptised; 1694 June 18: Robert Owen was buried; 1729 Dec: Catherine Owen was buried; 1731 Dec 25: Evan son of John Owen & Jane was baptised; 1734 March 15: Catherine Owen was buried; 1734 May 19: Lewis Owen was buried; 1734 Sept 18: Griffith Owen was buried; 1742 Apr 8: Owen Owen married Catherine Evans. None of these seems to have been related to Hugh Owen and his wife Jane.

On 23rd October 1677 a lease was recorded between 1. Thomas Pryse of Ynisgrigog, county Cardigan, Esq & Thomas Pryse his son and heir apparent, of Rosey gareg, county Montgomery, gent; and 2. **Hugh Owen of EGRIN**, county Merioneth, gent.; LEASE of messuages called [blank] and penyrallt goch both in the township of Henllys, and two messuages called Kymmere in the township of Skykor y coed, all in the parish of Llanfihangel Gener glyn, co Cardigan (mutilated). (686)

The 1st September 1687 Obligation referred to above on Hugh Tudyr, on will of his *mother* Jane Tudyr, deceased. Bond (Latin); Bound in sum of £300; names Hugh Owen as being of Egryn. Names Hugh Tudyr of the parish of Llanaber, Esq (Egrin); **Hugh Owen of the same, gent.**, (maybe at the second Egrin house) and David Griffith, parish of Llanenddwyn, county of Merioneth (not known). (687)

The reign of William of Orange and Mary "The Glorious Revolution" lasted from 1688-1702. They married in 1677; William had successfully led the Dutch against France, leading to peace in 1678 when he was considered a Protestant champion of Europe. By the 1680s the French had overrun most of Europe; the Anglo-Dutch treaty was renewed in 1685. William refused to agree with James II to repeal the anti-Catholic Penal and Test Acts since so many government ministers were Catholic and might carry England into the French camp. William and Mary came to England late in 1688 when William's father-in-law, James II had left for France. They were crowned in 1689. An Act of Indulgence permitted Christian non-conformists to worship freely subject to specific conditions. Other constitutional changes took place. William's main concern was averting another major European war against France's domination. Mary died in 1694 of smallpox and William died on 8 March 1702. (688)

Additional information about the VAUGHAN family of Corsygedol

*William Vaughan III died in 1669. His eldest son **Griffith Vaughan (1653-1697)** had no children. The second son was **Richard Vaughan III (1665/6-1734)**. M.P for Merioneth 1701-34; Constable of Harlech castle: 1704-16. Pre 1706 he married Margaret daughter & heiress of Sir Evan Lloyd of Bodidris; she died in 1758. They had two sons William Vaughan IV (1707-1775) and Evan Lloyd Vaughan (1709/10-1791), and three daughters. (689)*

On 18 September 1688 there was a Release with clause of warranty between 1. **Hugh Tyddur of Egryn**, gent. and 2. Roderick Owen of Crafnant, gent. Concerning a Parcel of land called Crafnant bach, otherwise Cae yn Crafnant, with appurtenances and parcels commonly known as Kefen y coed, y Coed ucha, y caedd yn ar y ty, Coed cae Grigog, Cae y Scrubor, Kefen Gwynn, Cae Cannol, Bryarth coch bach, Bryarch bach hen, Pum cyfer y dolevawr, Gwerne y cadnow, Y taller Hylog and Llechidd y llech Thu, all in the parish of Llanvair and in present possession of Roderick Owen. Consideration £10.

Endorsement. Sealed and delivered in presence of Griffith Vaughan, Yver Vaughan, (this may be Ynyr Vaughan of Hengwrt accidentally shot in 1688), William Griffith, Owen Prichard, Thomas Williams. I Humphreys. Seal: single, red pendent. (690) On 14 August 1647 Roderick Owen of Crafnant (also of Dole

Gwenllian, Llanbedr) had a grandson & heir – Richard ap Owen ap John ap Roderick. Other grandchildren were: Richard ap Owen ap John ap Roderick, Thomas ap Owen ap John ap Roderick and Gwen *verch* Owen ap John ap Roderick. (691)

In 1689 the Act of Toleration enabled non-conformists to build chapels, secure licenses for the preachers and buildings, and to cultivate their religious convictions. (692) Humphrey Humphreys, was bishop of Bangor from 1689-1701; after this he was Bishop of Hereford till 1712. He was a staunch supporter of S.P.C.K. and several popular Welsh devotional books were dedicated to him. (693)

Circa 1690: from the **LAND TAX** assessment for the *commote* of Ardudwy;
Llanaber is y mynydd **Mr Hugh Tydder** £11s0d
Llanddwywe ys y graig **Execs Llwyngriffy** 8s0d
?Execs parte **Egrin** 1s0d Mawr
Llanenthwin **Gwen vch Wm Tyddr** 7s0d
Llanylltyd **Robt Tyddr & Griffith John Robert** 2s 0d (694)

On 11 August 1694 Robert Wynne wrote to Mrs Elizabeth Wynne at Porkington
Thanks her for the news letters which she sends him frequently. Touching her accounts, he has paid what came to his hands according to her order. What is yet unhad from the tenants are not worth carrying to Mr Jones until some of this year's rent comes in. Thomas Jones's money is due and they say ready ... **Bodwil-lin** is quite burnt because of the dry summer. The writer has had no much trouble with it that he would not take £5 to undergo another year. The following are set: Y ffridd & cae yn y mynidd £ 4.7.6; Cae drill y porth £1.15.0; y dday Cae yr pistill £1.5.0; house and garden £1.5.0; the meadow by **Eggrin** £1.3.0. Has offered Caer Lloie to Griffith Evan for 18/-, but he would not give so much for it. The writer has made use of it for his yearling calves. On 24th June at 2 pm he found in the meadow next the sea a servant of Griffith Evan of **Llwyndu** walking among a hundred head of sheep belonging to his master ... As for the other two meadows he has sent men to mow them from hence for he could get none about Llanaber. He made a bargain with **Mr Tudder** who was to find mowers for all the arable grounds that are unset and to make it into cocks and he to have a third part of the hay. Two or three fields have been done, but **Tudder** finding that there is not so much on the ground as will pay the mowers falls off on his bargain ... If the work had been done there was some hope of good after-grass and value for the hay and thus the old rent would have been made up before the end of the year ... Will observe her order to pay for 'my' aunt. Thinks he paid Mrs Meyrick £3. There is no certainty whether Mrs Anwyl parts with Llwyn, but she intends to leave off holding the lands. The writer's sister Ellen, Samuel Poole's wife, was buried last Wednesday, and the writer's mother is to be buried tomorrow. (695)

1695 Aug 17: 1. Hugh Tydder of Egryn, Esq. 2. Jonett Evans of Tanybwlch, widow.
QUITCLAIM in consideration of the surrender of the residue of a term unexpired (unspecified) granted by Hugh Tydder to Jonett Evans and Anne Vaughan of Glanylllyn, spinster, for the **payment of Hugh Tydder's debts**, and in consideration of the sum of **£674 9s 8d** actually paid by them, of all accounts touching the aforesaid term, all suits, debts, complaints etc, agreed to by Hugh Tydder, which he might have against Jonett Evans. (696)

"Know all men of these presents that I Hugh Tydder of Egryn in the county of Merioneth Esq in consideration of a surrender of the residue of the term unexpired by me granted to Jonett Evans of Tan y Bwlch in the said county, widow, and unto Anne Vaughan of Glanylllyn in the aforesaid county, spinster, for the payments of my debts in consideration of ye sume of six hundred seventy four pounds nine shillings, eight pence, actually paid by them the said Jonett Evans and Anne Vaughan which I consent unto and agree of as appears by an amount hereunto annexed , and an amount of ye arrears of rent, and for diverse other goods and consideration me hereunto mouding have granted confired released and for ever quit claimed and by those presents for me my heirs Exons administrators etc doe freely and absolutely grant release for ever quit claims unto ye said Jonett Evans all and all suites debts complaints debates reckonings amounts and demands in law or equity whatsoever touching the sayd amounts truly stated agreed and consented unto by me which I ye said Hugh Tydder my heirs executors or Administrators or any of us heretofore had now have att any time hereafter may might ought or could have against her the said Jonett Evans her executors or Administrators or any of them for or by reason of matter thing or range of the said termes or amounts whatsoever from the beginning of the world until the day of the date of these presents. In witness whereof I have thereunto putt my hands and seal the 17th day of August 1695. Hugh Tydder.
Witnesses present: Griff Pugh, Morris Humffrey, John Roberts. (697)

1695 Hugh Owen, husband of Jane Tyder, Cae'r Berllan died. Grant of administration to his son, John Owen. Inventory (have a copy) See under the OWEN family. (698)

2nd January 1697 is the latest reference seen to Hugh Tyddur of Egryn, Esq.; this wife Ann was also alive. It is not known when they died and their estate was inherited by John Owen. (See document in full under the OWEN family)

1. Hugh Tyddur of Egryn, county Merioneth, Esq.,

2. William Pugh of Mathavern, county Montgomery, Esq.;

Richard Owen of Peniarth, county Merioneth, Esq.;

Edward Owen of Gwastadfrin, county Merioneth, Gent.;

Edward Wynne of Llangower, county Merioneth, Gent.;

3. John Owen of Caer Berllan, gent., **nephew of the said Hugh Tyddur;**

Release, being a mortgage of the capital messuage called Eggrin & other lands (document badly mildewed) co Merioneth. Consideration £800.

Eggrin, in occupation of Morris Humphrey; ...

water corn mill called Melin Eggrinsaid Morris ...

Tythyn Mawr in occupation of Robert John...

Caerllwyn Widow

Ynys Gwrtherinin occupation of David Griffith

Llwyn Cadwygan Hugh John

Ymwylch Maurice Williams

Rhyd yr Erian David Richard

Cae issa (?Caerau) William ap Evan

Y Gornant issa Evan John Edward

Y Gornant uchaf David John (699)

Footnotes Part 3 Section 19:

(682) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p323, 363

(683) NLW, Bangor Bishops Transcripts

(684) NLW, Bangor Bishops Transcripts

(685) NLW, Bangor Bishops Transcripts

(686) NLW, Peniarth ms 57, p96 of catalogue

(687) NLW, B1687/96B

(688) A Fraser, The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England, 1998, p247-253

(689) J E Griffith, 1914, Pedigrees of the Families of Anglesey & Caernarfonshire p279

(690) GAS, Dolgellau Record Office, Z/DG/3 Ceilwart & Crafnant papers

(691) GAS, Dolgellau Record Office, Z/DG/3 Ceilwart & Crafnant papers

(692) D Walker, ed., 1990, A History of the Church in Wales, p95

(693) D Walker, ed., 1990, A History of the Church in Wales, p109

(694) UWB, Mostyn ms 3903

(695) NLW, Clenennau 2 (E), 934

(696) GAS, Meirionnydd Record Office Z/DV/44

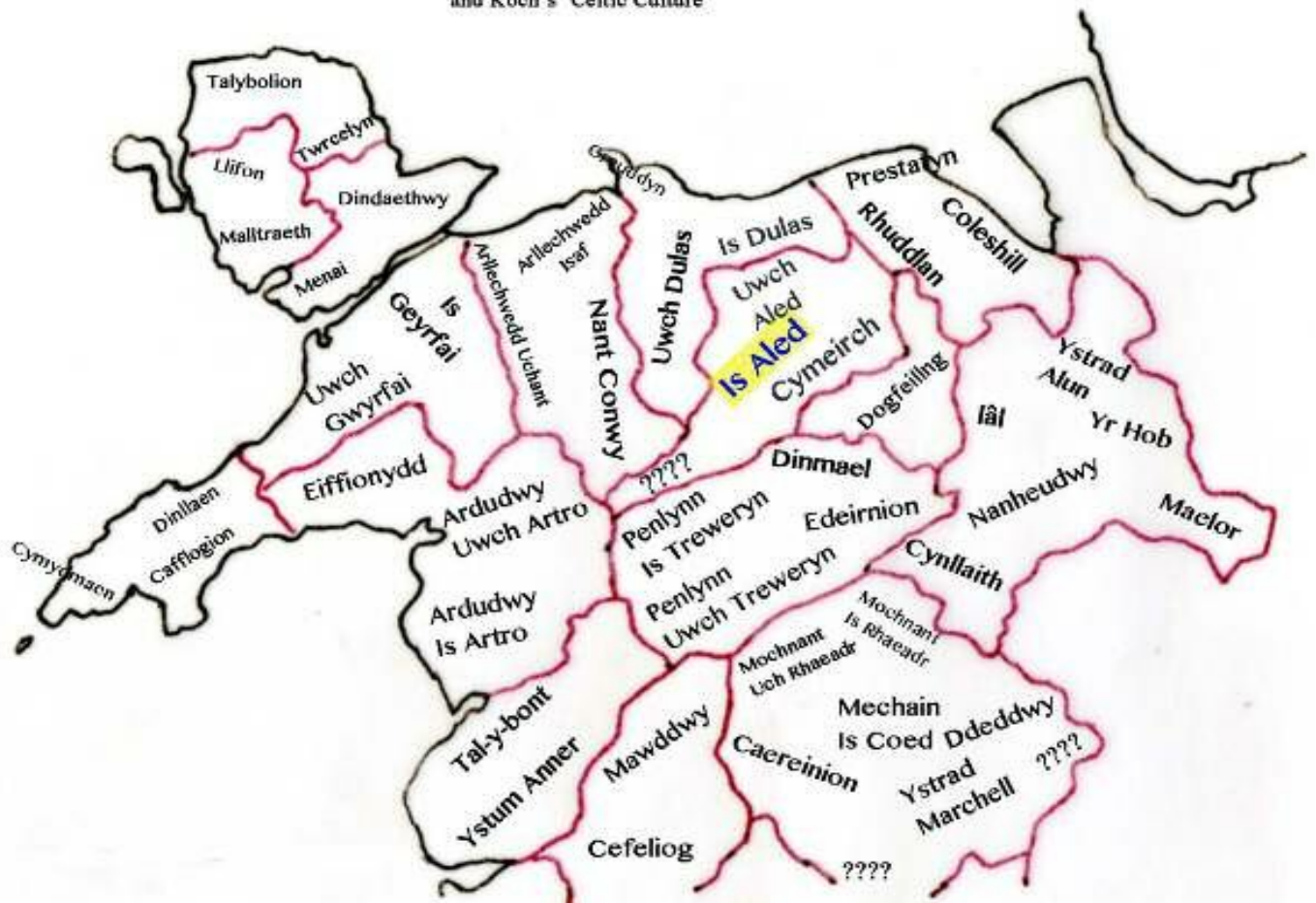
(697) GAS, Meirionnydd Record Office Z/DV/44

(698) NLW, B1695/76 R

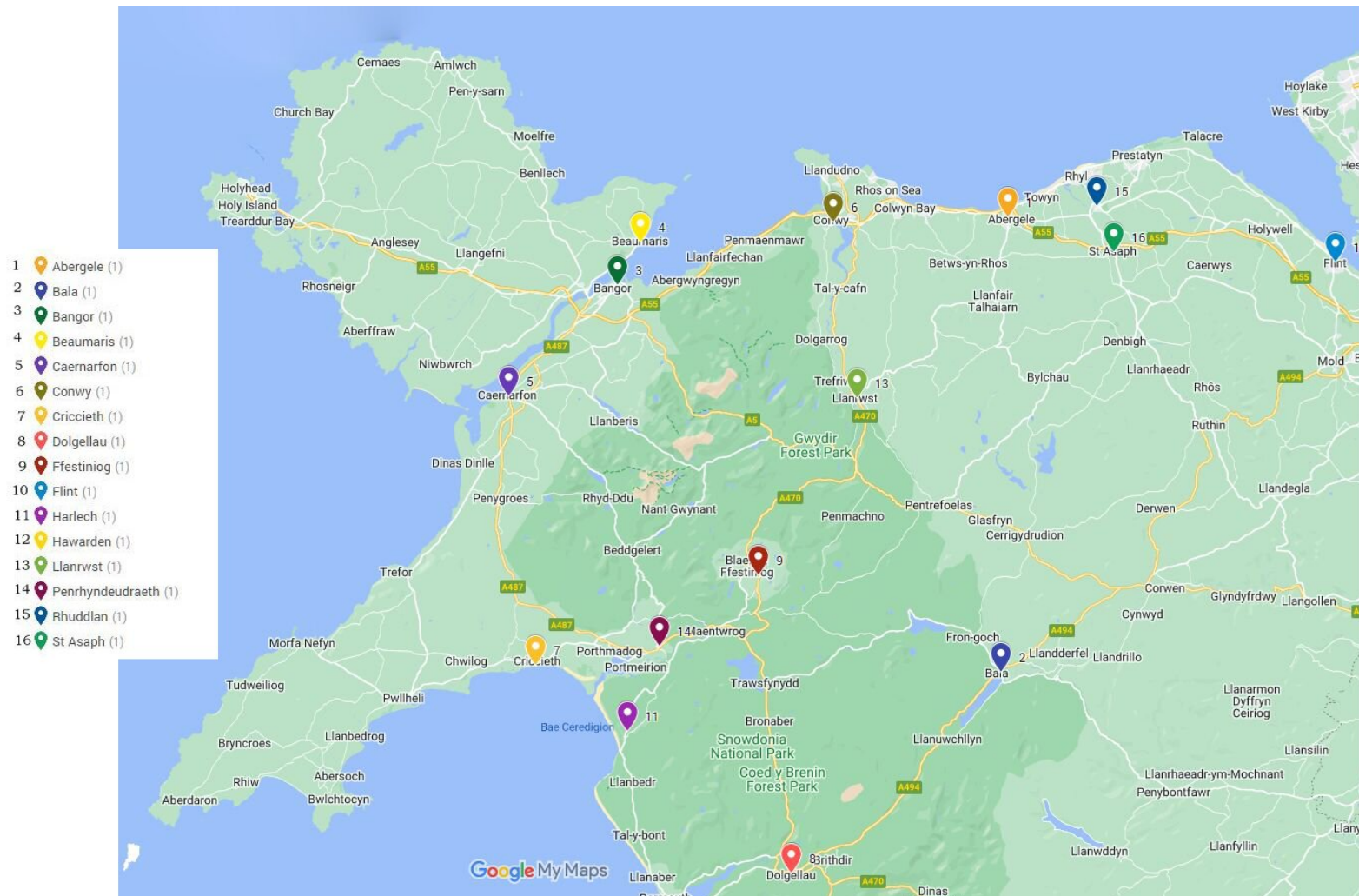
(699) UWB, Mostyn ms 3623

The Commotes of Medieval North Wales

Based on Lloyd's History of Wales, Vol.1
and Koch's 'Celtic Culture'



EGRYN MAP Location of Towns



EGRYN MAP Location of Places

