

A HISTORY OF ANCIENT TENURES OF LAND IN NORTH WALES AND THE MARCHES

Containing Notes on the Common and Demesne Lands of the
Lordship of Bromfield, and of the parts of Denbighshire
and Flintshire adjoining; and Suggestions for the
Identification of such Lands elsewhere: to-
gether with an Account of the rise of the
Manorial System in the same Districts

By
ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER,
and
EDWARD OWEN, F.S.A
Barrister-at-law

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Preface

OVER a quarter of a century has elapsed since the publication of the first edition of the present work, and the favourable reception which it has always met with from the select class to which it was addressed, has given rise to the hope that a new and enlarged edition will receive equal approbation.

Although the illustrations of the working of the Welsh system of land tenure are drawn from a somewhat wider area than that covered by the earlier edition, the present work remains essentially a history of that system as it manifested itself in the great lordship of Bromfield and Yale. The present authors are quite conscious of the danger of yielding to the seductive tendencies towards broad generalizations from either very minute or narrowly localized facts, but great as has been the advance in the study of the social and economic phenomena of land tenure in the past quarter-century, they are of opinion that the expressions employed in the preface to the former edition are still applicable to the Welsh phenomena. It was then said—

The complaint of such readers as are not specially interested in the district treated is likely to be that a

great subject is discussed from a purely local standpoint. This is, however, the only way in which a subject so great can, at the present stage of it, be treated. The enunciation of general principles is less needed than the accumulation and marshalling of pertinent facts. And these facts, which the historian seeks, can only be obtained as the result of a minute and careful investigation of particular districts conducted by men who live within those districts, and who are well acquainted with their present condition and past history. This is a task which has been attempted for a portion of the counties of Denbigh and Flint, and especially for the lordship of Bromfield—a district in which Englishmen and Welshmen contended for the mastery, and in which the systems of land tenure of England and of Wales are instructively commingled.

But the constant accretion of fresh material, and the close and friendly intimacy of fellow-students, has resulted in a different presentation of much of the evidence, and an alteration in the point of view from which that evidence has been regarded. The partnership has also admitted of a broader consideration of the difficult problems involved in the inquiry, and a wider outlook for similar problems elsewhere in North Wales.

Whilst, therefore, the general scheme of the first edition has been preserved, there is not a single paragraph that has not been re-considered, and much of the work has been entirely re-written.

The chief fresh authorities which have contributed to the present edition are :—

- (1) A valuable extent of the entire lordship of Bromfield and Yale, made in the year 1507.
- (2) A fine survey of the lordship, of the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII.
- (3) A very complete extent of the same area, taken in the year 1562.

The importance of the first of these arises from the circumstance that it was taken whilst the Welsh system of land-holding was still in active operation over a large portion of the lordship. By the year 1562 every vestige of Welsh tenure by gwely or gafaél, and descent of lands by gavelkind had vanished from the records. The intermediate survey, taken only a few years after the legislative incorporation of Wales into England, marks the opening of a new social epoch.

Numerous subsidiary official documents, such as the yearly accounts of various manorial officers, deeds and other small sources, have contributed to the picture which is here presented.*

* It has been known for some time that a survey or extent of the lordship of Bromfield and Yale was taken in the 15th year of Richard II (1391), but as diligent and oft-repeated searches at the Public Record Office failed to discover it, it was feared that it was no longer in existence. Since this book was written, however, it has been found. And not only so, but portions of a still earlier extent of the reign of Edward III have come to light. The present writers hope to issue both at an early date.

Owing to the unexpected death of the intended publisher, this book is issued by the authors, whose addresses are appended.

ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER,
Inglenook, Bersham Road,
Wrexham, North Wales.

EDWARD OWEN,
5, Old Palace Yard,
Westminster, S.W.

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CHAPTER I

THE COMMON FIELDS

THE ancient arable area of the township of Wrexham Regis, or a great part of it, is called in old deeds and surveys "The Town Fields," or "The Common Fields." Nearly all the closes lying within this area were formerly divided into separate strips, composed of single butts or groups of butts, lying parallel each to each, and held by different persons. These strips, now commonly called "quilletts," were, in later times at any rate, not divided from each other by balks¹ or strips of unploughed land, but their extent was marked at the four corners by what were called "mearstones."²

Various scattered quilletts are still found within the ancient arable areas of other townships in the same district. Fields also frequently occur which are wholly divided into many quilletts of nearly equal size. In the latter case the field, or one of the fields, so divided, is generally known

¹ But see p. 30 and p. 42, and notes.

² For a fuller description of the common fields of Wrexham Regis, see Palmer's *History of the Town of Wrexham*, etc., pp. 100-104. See also pp. 182-185 of the same book for an account of the common fields of Wrexham Fechan.

as "Maes y dre," or as "The town field"—the English equivalent of the Welsh name, or simply as "Y maes" (the field), as though it were "The Field" in a sense quite special and peculiar; or again, it is called by a name containing a reference to the township in which it lies, as "Maes Hope Owen" (Hope Owen field) in Hope Owen, and "Maes Sesswick" (known to have formerly contained quilletts) in Sesswick.¹ Many small closes, much longer than broad, each known as "Yr henfaes" (the old field) are included within an area in Overton Madoc over which various quilletts are scattered. Three of the quilletted closes of Erbistock are called "The village fields." Now, these names are all very significant, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the fields to which they belong are remnants of the old "cyfardir" or common ploughland of the townships in which they occur, while the quilletts they contain represent the intermixed strips which, under the "common field" system, pertained formerly to the several householders of the old village communities.

"Cyfai," or joint field, is another name which should receive attention. In old deeds it is generally spelled "Kyvie" or "Covey"—

¹ The following other examples may be noted: "Maes Burton" in Burton, "Maes Gwersyllt" in Gwersyllt, "Maes Gresford" in Gresford (note 1, p. 29), "Maes Trefalyn" in Trefalyn or Allington, and "Darland Town-field" in Darland, a district of Allington (note 2, p. 29). Some of these quilletted areas will be discussed hereafter.

"Kyvie mawr," "Kyvie bach," "Bryn y covey," etc.; and many of the closes so designated are described as containing "the purpart of so-and-so."

It should be understood that the closes into which the common fields of north-east Wales were divided were, in most cases, small, and seldom contained more than six or eight quilletts, thus presenting a striking contrast to the common fields of England.

In that district quilletts are, or were formerly, called "drylliau" (*pieces*), "clytiau" (*patches*), "darnau" (*portions*), "rhanau" (*shares*), "cefnau" (*butts*), and even "gerddi" (*gardens*), though this last name is rare. They were also apparently known as "ysgythrau" (*cuttings*), "lleiniau" (*pieces*), and "dadau,"¹ which last seems to mean *patches* or *pieces*. And these names, and the forms in the singular number corresponding to them ("dryll," "clwt," "darn," "rhan," "cefn," "gardd," "llain," "ysgwthr," and "dad") are in fact very common in those tracts in which quilletts once existed. But they are not peculiar to those tracts, and when occurring as names of fields, before they can be accepted as proving the former existence of quilletts therein, note must be taken of the shape of the fields so

¹ Many long narrow fields called "dadau," which look like enclosed quilletts, surround a farmhouse in Treuddyn (co. Flint) known as "Tyddyn Dadau," and the name "dad" occurs rather commonly in the ancient quilletted areas of other townships.

designated. Closes which once were quilletts are no other than enclosed butts, as will hereafter be shown, and are always, therefore, very much longer than broad, and generally lie parallel each to each. Quilletts are often known by the English names "slang" and "loon."¹

The earliest instance hitherto found of the use in the district now under review of the word "quillet," with the meaning herein given to it, is in a deposition of the year 1602 relating to certain lands in Maelor Saesneg.²

Another class of names must also be mentioned, though their significance at this stage of the inquiry cannot be fully estimated. When no quilletted fields are actually found, their former existence is often indicated by such names as "Y Cefnau" (The butts), "Yr wyth cwysiad" (The eight plits or plough strips), "The five pikes," "The Pikey" ("Peiciau" or "Peicè" = The Pikes), and "Pum talar" (The five headlands). These are all actual field names, and others might be given. Butts are the parallel ridges of land in a ploughed field that lie between

¹ A quillet in Stansty is called a "lawnd of land" in a deed bearing date December, 1435. At Llanymynech, in Shropshire, quilletts were called "furlongs," while in Cheshire they were known as "lands," "loons," and "lownts." But it would seem that while "lands" were arable quilletts, "loons" and "lawnds" (or "lownts") were quilletts of meadow. For example, a quillet in a meadow called "The Helt" is described on the tithe map of Overton Madoc (Flintshire) as "a loon in the helt."

² P.R.O., *Chancery Depositions*, 44 Eliz., No. 19.

the "gutters" or "reens"; they are the "seliones" of the Latin deeds, the "riggs" of the north, the "lands" of the south. Pikes or cuttings, called in some parts of England "gores," are the short butts that do not run the whole length of the fields. Headlands are the strips at the two ends of the field on which the plough teams are turned; they are generally held with the quilletts on which they abut, and then are frequently used in common as cartways, but they sometimes constitute distinct quilletts at right angles to the rest. The quilletts of the lordship of Bromfield are formed of single butts or groups of butts, sometimes combined with single pikes or groups of pikes, or with one of the two main headlands. These quilletts are intermixed in the same field with other quilletts belonging to various persons; and fields, the butts, pikes and headlands of which are separately owned, often acquire names such as the above, and are liable to retain them after all the quilletts therein have been absorbed. Names of this class, therefore, seem generally to imply that curious division of ownership which is characteristic of the common-field system.

Formerly many of the arable quilletts bore specific names, which names frequently contained the word "erw." Thus we have "Erw'r ardd," "Erw fechan," "Erw glai," "Erwau'r ysgubor," and many others. This fact might lead us to suspect that in Bromfield quilletts had at one time been called "erwau" (plural of "erw"); which

turns out to have been actually the case. The usual phrase applied to quilletts in the town fields of Wrexham in legal documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is "errowes or parcels of land"—in Latin, "erua" or "erwa"; and this phrase is applied to them without regard to their area, which varied a great deal. The word "erw" is still in common use in Bromfield for any small strip of land; it is in fact the exact equivalent for the English "slang." But it may be safely asserted that throughout the whole of Wales the term "erw" once denoted a piece of land having a *definite* area; and it is reasonable to suppose that if in Wrexham quilletts were once commonly called "errowes," this was because an erw was assumed to be the normal area of each. More will be said later as to the original local signification of the word "erw." Meanwhile, the remarks just made will serve to introduce the general question of the area of quilletts in the district of east Denbighshire.

It has been stated that the quilletts which exist in that part of the principality vary considerably in size. In the endeavour to arrive at a probable conclusion as to their normal area, those quilletts that have obviously been pikes or headlands must, of course, be excluded from consideration. So, too, must those which have plainly been formed by the consolidation of two or more quilletts that once adjoined in the same field. Such quilletts as appear to have been due to the opera-

tion of the custom of gavelkind are also for the present excluded from notice. Confining our attention to those quilletts which remain, we find that most of them equal, or slightly exceed, half a statute acre. Put according to the Welsh way, we may assert that they each contain about a "cyfar." Now, the cyfar of 2,560 square yards was the old customary acre of the north-eastern part of the principality, and, though not now in common use there, it is not forgotten by the older farmers, and its area is always carefully distinguished from that of the statute acre. No field names in Hopedale or Moldsdale are more common than such as give the area of the fields designated in terms of the ancient cyfar.

It is, however, an interesting if somewhat inexplicable circumstance, that the use of the word "cyfar" is almost if not quite unknown in the great lordship of Bromfield, nor does it enter into the composition of any names of fields known at the present time in the lordship.¹

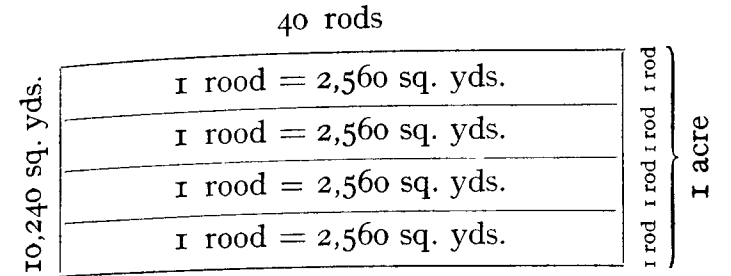
¹ The lordship of Bromfield, or Maelor Gymraeg (Welsh Maelor), in Denbighshire, is a border district of Wales, the position of which is perhaps sufficiently indicated by the statement that it contains the ancient parishes of Wrexham, Gresford, Ruabon, Marchwiel, Erbistock, the chapelry of Holt, and that portion of the parish of Bangor is y coed which lies on the left side of the Dee. Bromfield was formerly made up of the two commots or rhaglotries of Wrexham and Merford (now Marford). Allington is a township in the northern half of the commot of Merford, and in a survey of 23rd Henry VII, the only mention of "kevers" in Bromfield which

But it is pretty certain that the thing itself once flourished in the district, though under another name—that of “erw.”

We first note that a division of the customary acre of Bromfield—the rood, or “quarter”—is identical with the cyfar of Flintshire. The references to it in John Norden’s survey of 1620 enable us to give an accurate account of its area if not of its shape. Norden states that the acre in which he has expressed his areas is the “olde and accustomed acre in theis partes and in most countries next adjoyninge,” which acre contained “a hundred and three score perches to the acre and fowere and twenty foote to the pearche or pole.” That is, it contained 10,240 square yards and was thus more than twice as large as the statute acre.¹ It corresponded in fact to the area of the customary acre of Cheshire and south Lancashire. This acre of Bromfield Norden divides into four “roods,” each exactly equalling in area the Flintshire cyfar. Nothing, however, is told us of the *shape* of this acre, with its four “roods” and 160 perches. If it conformed to the usual shape of the acres of England it would be plotted out somewhat thus (the figures are not to scale) :—

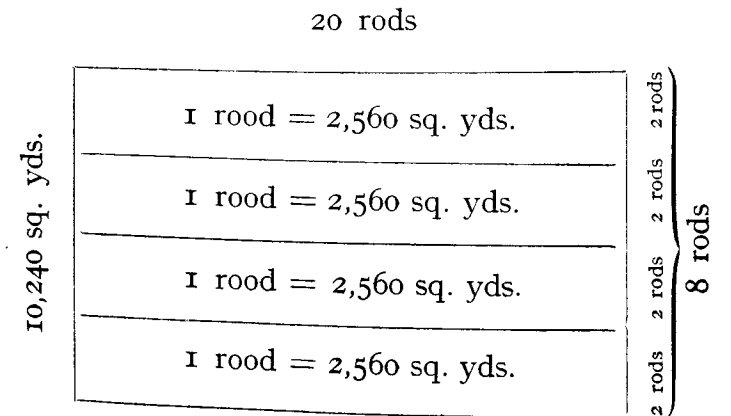
has been met with occurs therein. John Almer had then fifteen “kevers” (*cyfeiriau* or *cyfars*) for the stipend of his office as King’s attorney.

¹ To convert numbers stated in terms of this customary acre into statute acres, multiply by 2.115; that is, 100 customary acres are equal to 211.5 statute acres.



or $\frac{(24 \times 40) \times (24 \times 1)}{9} = 2,560$, and $2,560 \times 4 = 10,240$.

In other words, according to this scheme, the acre would be ten times and the rood forty times longer than broad. On the other hand, if the area were plotted according to the scheme of the Welsh *ystang* (colloquially called *stang*), where the rood is treated acre-wise, we should get an acre where the rood was only ten, not forty, times longer than broad.



or $\frac{(24 \times (20) \times 24 \times 2)}{9} = 2,560$, and $2,560 \times 4 = 10,240$.

In this latter case both the acre and the rood are half the length and double the breadth of the former; but the important point to note is that whatever may have been the *shape* of the acre, the area of the rood, in any case, was that of the Flintshire cyfar.

Still, the question of the shape of the acre has its importance. It raises the further inquiry whether the old customary acre of Bromfield and Yale (for the same acre belonged also to the adjoining and sister lordship of Yale) was of Welsh origin, or derived from Cheshire. To which it may be replied that few, if any, of the one-cyfar quilllets known in Bromfield are in length forty times their breadth. And it would be natural to expect that the local acre of this district would follow the Welsh pattern rather than the English. So that the balance of probability would be in favour of the belief that Bromfield once had an acre exactly like the Flintshire cyfar, but that it was called an *erw*.¹

¹ *Archæologia Cambrensis* for January, 1896, contains a tolerably full account of the contents and origin of Welsh measures of land, to which we must refer the reader for further information on the question; and attention may be drawn to the records in the Public Record Office of a suit heard in the 9th Elizabeth (1567) to determine the area of the Welsh acre in the manor of Skenfrith (Co. Monmouth). There is, of course, no reason to suppose that the early *erwau*, *cyfeiriau*, etc., had the precision which was ascribed to them in later times. The late Prof. Maitland, in his *Domesday Book and Beyond*, has well pointed out that the notion of superficial area hardly

However this may be, it is certainly a fact that before the seventeenth century the Cheshire acre had well rooted itself in agricultural custom both in Bromfield and Yale. The very name was taken over. "Acr," which once denoted the customary acre (of 10,240 square yards), is obviously only the Welsh form of the English word "acre"; the "rood" became the "rhwd" or "cwarter." The 160th part (64 yards square) of this customary acre, curiously called in Cheshire "a square rood," appears here under the un-Welsh guise of "y rhwd sgwâr," which last-mentioned name, however, must be comparatively late. But the "acr" (with its plural "acrau," colloquially "acrè" or "acrey") was already well established in Bromfield and Yale by the year 1620, and, as already shown, not the name only, but the thing itself. And the acre in question, both in its area and divisions, but not perhaps in its general plan, was identical with the acre of Cheshire and south Lancashire.

The explanation of much of this approximation and divergence must be sought in the political history of the district. At the time of the Domesday Survey (A.D. 1086) the eastern part of Bromfield was included in Cheshire, and the acre of that county was probably then used in the part named. Soon after, it passed under the sway

entered into the conceptions of early tillers of the soil. Given the rod, it was the breadth only of the furlong which they measured; the length varied according to circumstances.

of the Welsh princes of Powys Fadog. It seems likely that when, still later—in A.D. 1282—not only all Bromfield, but Yale also,¹ became English lordships, the new lords imposed the Cheshire rod² and acre throughout the two lordships; just as Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, is known to have introduced into the lordship of Denbigh a new rod of his own, and consequently a new acre.³ The adoption of the Cheshire acre was doubtless considerably facilitated by the fact that the area of the old “erw” and the area of the new quarter acre were the same.

The “square rood” above referred to was probably a still later introduction, as indeed its name testifies, and spread with the extension of Cheshire methods of agriculture through Flintshire and Denbighshire into Carnarvonshire and Anglesey, and so back through Cardiganshire, Merionethshire and Montgomeryshire into southern Shropshire and Herefordshire, acquiring in the course of its journey the name of “the Welsh rood.” The customary acre of Bromfield and Yale has long since been displaced in those lordships by the statute acre, but the 160th part of it, the square rood just named, is still employed in connexion with potato-growing and

¹ All Bromfield and Yale, except the ecclesiastical manors of Llandegla and Valle Crucis, and the parts attached to Maelor Saesneg.

² The lineal rod of 24 feet or 8 yards, called in Cheshire “a rood.”

³ British Museum, *Harley MS.* 3632, fo. 1.

sod-paring. The old lineal rod of 24 feet is also often used for hedging, ditching, draining, walling, etc., and was in common use within the memory of persons lately living.¹

When the old customary acre was displaced by the statute acre, the name “acr” was transferred from one to the other, while the name “erw” ceased to designate any exact area, and came to mean a quillet in a common field.

We have thus seen that lying open in various “common” fields are many separately-owned strips of land; that the area of these strips cannot be expressed precisely in the terms of the statute acre; that the area of the greater number

¹ In a lecture delivered at Chester in February, 1883, by Mr. Robert Holland, of Frodsham, an admirable example of the rare combination of agriculturist and antiquary, the following sentences occur, and may here be quoted: “The rood, as it is called (*i.e.* rod), of eight lineal yards, is the foundation of all measurement in Cheshire. Such piece-work as hedging and ditching, draining, putting up rails, etc., is done at so much per rood. Square or land measure is as follows: 64 square yards, that is 8 by 8, 1 square rood; 40 square roods, or 2,560 square yards, 1 quarter; 4 quarters, or 10,240 (square) yards, 1 acre. This Cheshire acre is in constant use throughout the county, and also in south Lancashire. Farmers cannot understand statute acres at all, but always reckon their fields by the Cheshire acre. Mowing, reaping, spreading manure, etc., are always ‘set,’ that is, let, at so much per Cheshire acre. I feel very sure that a good many mistakes are made every year in filling up the agricultural returns by farmers putting down Cheshire instead of statute acres. Practically, the Cheshire acre is very convenient, and labourers can reckon their work to a nicety, for 101 yards stridden each way is quite near enough to an acre for the payment of piece-work” (101 × 101 = 10,201).

of them is nearly equal to that of the old quarter-acre of Cheshire; and that this quarter-acre is identical in area, if not in form, with the cyfar of the adjoining parts of Flintshire.

Now, the Flintshire cyfar was a strip representing a day's ploughing, in size ten times longer than broad, and containing 2,560 square yards; which account would also be a fairly accurate description of the quilletts that measure a cyfar each. If, therefore, we had to speak of a field containing, say, half a dozen such quilletts, we should, in stating the area of the whole field in terms of the cyfar, also indicate the number of quilletts which the field included. And, seeing that etymologically a "cyfar" is a joint-ploughing, the inference follows that the cyfar came to be used as the unit of superficial measure because it was the area of what we now call the quilletts in the common fields, that is to say of the strips ploughed in those fields in a day by the plough-team.¹ The

¹ From the Welsh Laws we learn that a day's ploughing was taken to end at noon, and was done in a single yoking. The cyfar was, therefore, ploughed at a single yoking. Now, within Moldsdale and Hopedale there are many fields bearing such names as "The two yokings," "The three yokings," "The five yokings," and the like. From the fact that these names are English, it follows that they are of comparatively recent origin. They also show that not very long ago farmers were still accustomed to express the area of their fields by a statement of the number of "yokings" it was necessary to make in order to plough them. It appears from a survey made in 1757 of one of the largest estates in the lordship of Mold that field-names such as those quoted were very common about the middle of the eighteenth century. Since in the

facts presented point, however, to a still more instructive form of the statement to which we have been tending. If we could say that each quillet was at first a single butt or ridge of land in the common fields, a very interesting form would be given to this statement. And there is some ground for the suggestion that in the case of many of the quilletts this was really so.¹ But there is much in the evidence that does not seem to be in accord with this conclusion; and it must be admitted that if a normal quillet was at first no more than a single butt of land, there must have been, in a great many cases and at an early date, a rearrangement of the quilletts of such a kind that the latter (which before were identical with the butts of the common

survey the area of every field is given, it becomes easy to ascertain that a yoking was as nearly as possible equal to a Flintshire cyfar. It would seem indeed as though in the lordships of Hope and Mold a "yoking" was formerly the common English name for that which the Welsh-speaking inhabitants called a "cyfar." But, while the Welsh name of this latter recalls for us the fact that the cyfar was at first ploughed *in concert*, the English reminds us that it represents the quantity of land ploughed *at one yoking* by the cattle of the plough-team.

¹ The identification of the land ploughed in a day by the common plough-team with a single butt in the common fields is due to Dr. Frederic Seebohm, whose important work on *The English Village Community* appeared in 1883, while the first edition of this book was being written. The authors are glad to recognize other obligations to Dr. Seebohm, the chief of these being the recognition of the operation of the common plough, and a certain shifting of the point of view from which common arable lands were regarded. Common lands, other than arable, Dr. Seebohm has scarcely touched upon.

fields) came to contain two or more butts, while still preserving, by estimation, their original area. Such a result would happen if, for example, the quillets which at first lay along the length of the field, came afterwards to be arranged across its breadth. The quillets which remained in the Allington town field about sixty years ago, measuring only about half a cyfar apiece, stretched in this way across its breadth, and are accordingly described as consisting of three butts each. It is doubtful whether this explanation will cover all the cases observed of quillets of normal area which contain more than one butt, though it is not unlikely that further researches will result in the formulation of a theory based upon the suggestion above offered, and applicable to most of the cases here referred to.

If, on the other hand, it be contended that the cyfar was never used in Bromfield, and that the area of the quillets is expressed properly in terms of the Cheshire acre, we shall have to seek in Cheshire for the explanation of them.

Now, the tithe map of Mobberley, in Cheshire, and also an old map of a portion of the same parish dating from the early part of the seventeenth century, mark the "Town field"; and in this field and in two or three adjoining closes, stretching between the inhabited village and the parish bounds, are shown the "lands" or "holdings" which in Bromfield are called "quillets." The maps show a common-field area exhibiting more the phenomena with which we are familiar in

Bromfield than those phenomena in the common fields of England generally which Dr. Seebohm has so well illustrated. He has shown that through the greater part of England the intermixed and separately-held strips in common fields represent the land ploughed in a day by the common plough-team, by eight oxen in general; that those strips were by custom 40 rods long and 4 broad; that they were called "acres"¹; and that the statute acre represents, broadly speaking, their area.

The main difficulty that presents itself in applying these results to the past conditions of agriculture in Cheshire arises from the inordinate size of the Cheshire acre (10,240 square yards). If, elsewhere in England, a statute acre was considered to be the normal area ploughed by a full team of oxen in a legal day, it is obvious that such a team in Cheshire could not plough more than twice that area in the same time. The probable explanation is that the ancient Cheshire unit of gross superficial measure was not the "acre," but the "quarter," which is identical with the cyfar of the adjoining parts of Wales; and if these "quarters" were always grouped in bunches of four, so as to make a compound unit (the Cheshire acre), this was because a group

¹ It appears from an extract of a thirteenth century deed relating to Weston near Oswestry, in the adjoining county of Salop, as though what in Bromfield are called "quillets" were there formerly known as "acres" (*Arch. Camb.*, 2nd Series, iii, 37).

of four scattered "lands," measuring a Flintshire cyfar each, was the smallest holding taken account of under the land system of ancient Cheshire, and because all larger holdings there included a number of "lands" which was some multiple of four. And this explanation enables us to offer the same account of the quilletts under discussion, upon the supposition that they are quarter acres of Cheshire, as we gave of them upon the supposition that they were cyfars of Flintshire.

The majority of the quilletts in the Bromfield district contain, or seem to have contained, about a cyfar each.¹ But the quilletts in certain fields were of about twice this area. In Dininlle Ucha in 1620 many of the quilletts which bore names containing the word "erw" were half a local acre.² A few quilletts of the same size in other

¹ The area of sixty-four only of the Wrexham quilletts described in 1620 by Norden, is given, but most of these contained half a Cheshire acre, by estimation, or two Flintshire cyfars apiece. The quilletts that remained until recently in "Gresford town field" contained almost exactly three cyfars each; but quilletts having this area are exceptional, and we know that in the case just named there was some alteration effected in them upon the construction of the new road to Chester at the end of the eighteenth century; in other words, the shape and area of these quilletts, as shown in the title map of 1843, cannot represent their shape and area seventy or eighty years before, when the new road was made across the Gresford town field, a work which must have involved exchange and consolidation of the strips.

² Here is Norden's account of two of the Dininlle quilletts, the first-named lying open in the field, the second an enclosed

manors of Bromfield had also at that date names composed of this same word. These facts may suggest that half a local (Cheshire) acre (containing 280 square yards more than the statute acre) constituted formerly in Bromfield the local "erw," and was known by that name. Such an erw would then be equal to two Flintshire cyfars. But if we could have seen these two-cyfar quilletts, it is very likely that we should have found them to have been formed by the consolidation of two adjoining one-cyfar strips. The joining of quillet to quillet was a process that in 1620 was already in full operation. And if in Dininlle Ucha most of the quilletts to which the name "erw" was applied were twice the area of the cyfar, others were of the same area, and others again more than twice that area. The truth is that by the beginning of the seventeenth century the word "erw" had ceased to designate a fixed area, and had become a generic term for all the strips of land in the common fields, whatever their size might be. In deeds of that century the Wrexham quilletts were all called "errowes," although they then varied in area. But if the strips of land that are now known as quilletts were in the seventeenth century known as "erwau" (plural of "erw") or "errowes," this must have

quillet: "(Idem Will'mus tenet) un' pec' in parcell' terr' vocat' kae dan y ty p' estimac'on' 2r"; "(Ricardus ap David tenet) un' claus' vocat' Erw yn kae yn y wern p' estimac' 2r." These are half-acres of customary, not of statute, measure

been because an erw was, at a still earlier date, taken to be the normal area of each.

What, then, was the original erw of Bromfield? This question cannot be answered with absolute certainty, but the most probable conclusion is that the "erw" and the "cyfar" were at first identical, or, rather, that the strip of ploughed land which in Flintshire was called a "cyfar," was in Bromfield called an "erw"; and this strip may henceforth be called the "erw, or cyfar, of northern Powys." When, through the discontinuance of the system of joint ploughing, the arrangement of land in scattered strips, containing an erw each, became inconvenient, holders endeavoured to enlarge their quillets; but the enlarged quillets were still called "errowes," and the word "erw" ceased to stand for a definite measure of land. A new word for the old unit of gross superficial area had therefore to be introduced, and the quarter-acre of Cheshire, which was precisely identical with the old erw of Bromfield, was, under the name "cwarter acr," adopted instead. In other parts of Wales one or other of the words "cyfar" or "erw" was until recently applied to the local "acres," which, though they varied in their superficial contents, were not, except in some cases, widely different in this respect from the cyfar of Flintshire. During the last century or more, however, these customary measures have been falling into disuse, and the names "cyfar" and "erw" are now transferred, generally speaking, to the statute acre.

Having thus put forward the conclusions derived from purely local researches, let us now glance at the Welsh Laws, and examine the erw described therein. This is not the customary acre, erw, or cyfar to which we have been referring, but a miniature rood, using the word "rood" in its usual sense of a quarter of an acre's length. The erw of the Demetian code was eight times longer than broad, the erw of Gwent nine times longer than broad, and the erw of Gwynedd ten times longer than its breadth. The rod upon which the erw of Gwynedd was based contained 16 feet of 9 inches, or 12 feet of 12 inches, and this rod continued in use to a recent date. It was the "long yoke" of the Laws, and a "rod equal in length to that long yoke in the hand of the driver,¹ with the middle spike of that long yoke in the other hand of the driver, and as far as he can reach with that rod, stretching out his arm, are the two borders (*deu eiryonyn*), that is to say the breadth of the legal erw; and thirty of that is the length of the erw."² If the ploughman put his hand on the middle pin or spike of the long yoke and stretched his arm in one direction with the 12 feet rod, his arms would extend over about 2 yards, or 6 feet, and the rod would then measure 12 feet more, or 18 feet in one direction. The same process would next be repeated in the other direction, and so 18 feet more would be

¹ "Geilwad," strictly speaking "caller," the ploughman going before the plough.

² Venedotian Code, Book II, ch. xvii, sec. 6.

obtained, or 36 feet in all for the breadth of the erw, and 360 feet should be the length. Thus the erw would contain 1,440 square yards ($\frac{36 \times 360}{9} = 1,440$) and be a "rood," "stangel,"¹ or "butt," and three of these stangels or roods ($1,440 \times 3 = 4,320$) lying side by side would give the old customary acre of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire containing 4,320 square yards, while four of them so lying, would give another customary acre of 5,760 square yards, which latter does not, however, appear to have been used in North Wales.²

From all this it is clear that the erw of ancient Gwynedd cannot be made in any way to coincide with the erw of northern Powys or north-east Wales. The erw of the Gwentian and Demetian codes do not appear to have survived, and besides, their area was so small as to make them unintelligible as the day-work of the plough.³ The "erw"

¹ "Stangel" diminutive of "stang," a rood.

² It was in use in Cornwall. (See *Appendix to the Report of the Commissioners of Weights and Measures*, 1820.)

³ According to the Welsh codes the erw of Gwent would contain 729 square yards

$$\frac{(13.5 \times 2) \times (13.5 \times 18)}{9} = 729,$$

and the erw of Dyfed 512 square yards

$$\frac{(12 \times 2) \times (12 \times 16)}{9} = 512.$$

In the first case, the rod of Howel Dda, equated with $13\frac{1}{2}$ statute feet, was used, and in the second, the rod equated with 12 statute feet.

of the codes was in fact a "stangel," rood, or butt, and in most parts of Wales the name has long since been transferred to designate a customary acre consisting of four roods, butts, or stangels, side by side, but having often not merely a different area, but also a different proportion of length to breadth, from the acres of the greater part of England. Perhaps the codes in describing the stangels or roods assumed that three or four of them would, by custom, go to the composition of the erw, and were thus in fact describing the erw itself; an assumption which would remove most of the difficulties which have been stated. However this may be, the fact remains that most of the erw of Bromfield and Yale of known area, appear to have roughly equalled a Flintshire cyfar, and the erw which come next to these in point of number, seem to have approximated in area to two Flintshire cyfars or half a Cheshire acre. In any case it is believed that the erw of Bromfield which we find mentioned in old deeds and surveys stood for the land ploughed in a day by the common plough-team.

It has been stated above that some existing quilletts, containing approximately two cyfars, seem to preserve their original dimensions,¹ though the majority of such quilletts have obviously been formed by the consolidation of two smaller ones. Besides what we have ventured to call the "normal" quilletts, containing about a cyfar each, and perhaps the two-cyfar quilletts just named, there

¹ See p. 18.

seems to be evidence sufficient to establish the existence of another class, the quilllets of which contain a half-cyfar each. Many of these were until recently found side by side, and did not appear to have undergone any substantial alteration in form since they were first laid out.¹

In addition to the quilllets which belonged to one or other of the three classes above enumerated are a few irregularly intermediate in area between the two-cyfar strips on the one hand, and the half-cyfar strips on the other. The existence of these is probably explained in some cases by the consideration that the cyfar, or erw, was not an absolutely unalterable quantity of land, but a quantity which varied with the varying amount which in different soils a yoke of oxen could plough in the same time. The question of the quilllets due to gavelkind has also to be considered.

All the quilllets whose normal area has already been discussed are butts. Those that remain are either pikes or headlands; these have no normal area, and need not be further mentioned.

We may say, then, that the quilllets which lie scattered over the fields of so many townships

¹ Quilllets not conforming to any normal or ideal area we shall speak of hereafter (see p. 37). And it may be observed here of some of the erwes in the fields of Wrexham in 1620, that their boundaries were not always represented by straight lines. Thus, one quillet was known as "Yr erw gam" (*The crooked erw*), while a group of butts was called "Tiroedd ceimion" (*crooked lands*). The bounds of most of the quilllets were, however, straight, as we see by those plans and maps that have come down to us.

in this district were at first the separately-held butts, pikes or headlands of the "cyfardir" or common fields of these townships.

But what does the word "common," as applied to these fields, signify? It means (1) that the quillet-holders, whether by free or leasehold tenure, had a common share or interest in them; (2) that the common fields were once ploughed by a team to which all contributed; and (3) that they were probably cultivated according to a definite system of rotation of crops and fallow, binding usually upon all. There is, however, no direct local evidence for this last-named statement, which, indeed, rests mainly upon the commonsense working of the open-field system.

The composition of the common plough-team and the mode of distribution of the ploughed strips, have been elucidated by Dr. Seebohm in the clearest manner from passages of the Welsh Laws relating to these points—passages which had long awaited satisfactory explanation. The number of erwes assigned to any one person was determined by the number of oxen contributed by him to the common plough-team. "He who contributed one ox was entitled to one erw in the twelve. He who contributed a whole yoke of four oxen would receive four erwes, while only the owner of the full team of eight could possibly do without the co-operation of others in ploughing" (*English Village Community*, p. 123). Eight erwes in the twelve being assigned to the owners of the eight oxen in the team, the four erwes remaining were

the portions respectively of the ploughman ("amaeth"), of the driver ("geilwad"), and of the owners of the wood-work and irons of the plough in a particular order (see *Welsh Laws*, Venedotian code, vol. I, p. 314). Inasmuch, now, as the owner of two oxen in the plough-team had two erws in every successive twelve, it is obvious that if he had twelve erws altogether, these must have been widely scattered and intermixed with the erws of other owners. And here must lie the explanation of the curious dispersal of the quilletts belonging to each holder over the arable area, and of their intermixture with the quilletts belonging to the other holders of land within that area. Little inconvenience would attach to this arrangement so long as the old system of co-operative ploughing continued, and the ploughed strips were redistributed every year. It is possible that in many cases a yoke of only four oxen was used. For a fuller account of these important explanations the reader is referred to Dr. Seebohm's book; but enough has been learned to enable us to understand the significance of the name "cyfardir" (*land of joint ploughing*), which in the Welsh legal triads is given to the common fields.

It is interesting to note that the ancient arable areas of most townships include closes which, in their names, bear reference to certain crafts and callings pertaining to early folk-life. Thus we have "Cae'r person" (*The parson's field*), "Cae'r maer" (*The maer's or bailiff's field*), and others. Now there is strong reason to believe that names

of this class, when really ancient and found within the common arable areas, belonged to closes that included quilletts assigned at some early period to the persons exercising the crafts or fulfilling the functions which the names denote.¹ Some of the closes which contained these quilletts would naturally acquire names indicative of the latter, and retain them when the usage was forgotten to which those names referred, and when the closes themselves had ceased to be subject to the conditions which formerly attached to them. The only public functionary of early times whose succession has been maintained down to our own day is the parish priest, and, as a matter of fact, the glebelands of nearly every parish in the lordship of Bromfield and its neighbourhood include, or formerly included, various scattered quilletts. In the case of the manor of Erbistock three of these quilletts lie in a field called "The parson's field," a name which has been applied to it for at least

¹ It is possible that some of these quilletts may have been held by the craftsmen or functionaries named without having been assigned to them in virtue of their craft or calling. It is necessary to insist on the cautious use of names of this class; common sense and due attention to historical probability are presupposed. There were two quilletted closes in Wrexham formerly adjoining each other, called respectively "Pant y crydd" (*The shoemaker's hollow*) and "Pant y glover" (*The glover's hollow*), but it would be wrong to assume that any quilletts in either of those fields had ever been assigned to any one to enable him, as shoemaker or glover, to supply the wants of the community. The fields got their name because some particular shoemaker or glover had quilletts in one or other of the closes.

two and a half centuries. The importance of names of the class under consideration is thus established, and they will even be found useful in cases when other names fail, as indicating where the common arable areas to which they belonged lay; and on the whole it may be said that there will seldom be found any difficulty, in the case of townships that once contained common arable areas, in recovering, by aid of the hints given from existing field-names alone, not merely the general position of those areas, but also their former limits.

When the position of the old common fields of any township has been determined, they will generally be found to have stretched from the actually inhabited village towards the township bounds; in which case they were often continuous with the common fields of the adjoining township. When the common fields did not extend to the borders of the township, this was because those borders were often occupied by common lands of another kind, as the common wood, the common pasture, or the common turbary. In general, also, they will be found to include the best arable land which the township affords.

The following townships within the lordship of Bromfield and neighbouring district still contain, or can be shown to have formerly contained, quilled areas¹ :—

¹ The townships are grouped according to the ancient parishes to which they belong.

- In parish of Wrexham* : Wrexham regis, Wrexham fechan, Burras Hovah (Hwfa), Stansty.
In parish of Gresford : Gresford,¹ Burton, Llai, Gwersyllt, Allington,² Marford, Cacca Dutton, Dutton Diffaeth, Dutton y brain, Sutton.
In parish of Bangor is y coed : Bangor, Pickhill, Sesswick, Overton Foreign.
In parish of Marchwiell : Marchwiell.
In parish of Erbistock : Erbistock.
In parish of Ruabon : Ruabon, Dininlle ucha.
In parish of Llangollen : Bachè.
In parish of Llansantffraid Glyn Ceiriog : Llan-santffraid.
In parish of Mold : Mold,³ Bistre, Gwysannè, Nerquis, Treuddyn.

¹ The last portion of "Gresford town field" to retain that name was the triangular piece of land which has Gladwyn and The Pikey at its base and Gresford Cross at its apex. In Norden's survey of 1620 it is called "Maes Gresford." The lands on both sides of Chester Road from Gresford Cross to the border of Acton township, and much land adjoining, belonged formerly to the common fields of Gresford. Many enclosed quilled areas may still be seen along the aforesaid road recognizable by their great length in comparison with their breadth (see note 1, p. 18).

² The common fields of Allington lay to the north of Harewood Lane, and one of the quilled areas along that lane is still called "The town field." A large part of this quilled tract was in 1620 known as "Maes Trefalyn" (that is, "Allington field"), and in one passage of Norden's survey, the name "campus communis," or *common field*, is actually applied to it. Northwards, this area extended towards Darland, where was the "Darland town field," in 1620 and afterwards full of quilled areas.

³ In an old map of Mold dated 1731, not merely are two quilled areas marked in "Maes y dre" (Town field), where the tin-

In parish of Hope: Estyn, Hope Owen, Rhanberfedd, Uwch y mynydd ucha.¹

There are some noteworthy differences between the common fields of this district and the common fields of England. In the latter the "acres" are in most cases separated one from another by parallel strips of unploughed land called "balks." These balks are found in the adjoining county of Chester, but in Bromfield are now quite unknown, the quilletts being everywhere marked off by mear stones, though it is quite possible that many of the quilletts in the district which are now, and long have been, divided one from another by mear stones were formerly divided by balks; and there are three quilletts with regard to which we can show this to have been the case. Two of these were situated in Marchwiel and belonged to the glebe of the parish, whereof one is described in 1791, in the parish terrier, as lying in "Cae ucha," consisting of two butts of land,

plate works now are, or recently were, but also a number of "town plots" here and there on each side of High Street and Wrexham Street.

¹ It would have been easy to have lengthened this list considerably if we had gone a little further afield; to that part of Montgomeryshire, for example, which is nearest to Oswestry, and to parishes of Flintshire not named above. We will just mention a deed of the year 1651 relating to Holywell (Flintshire) whereby various closes and quilletts of land are conveyed. Three of those quilletts are thus designated:—"Y tri chefn yn y maes vcha" (*The three butts in the upper field*), "Y tri chefn yn y maes issa" (*The three butts in the lower field*), and "Y kefen wrth berth y terfyn" (*The butt by the boundary bush*).

measuring a quarter of an acre,¹ and bounded on one side by the hedge of the field, and on the other by a "narrow green balk." The second Marchwiel quillet is described in the same terrier as lying in "Erw cut (cwt) y defaid," consisting of one butt and two pikes, measuring the third part of an acre,² and bounded on one side by the hedge of the field, and on the other by two or three oak trees and a few bushes.³ The third quillet mentioned above is declared in 1639 to be in Worthenbury (Maelor Saesneg), and to be meared on two sides by balks whereon trees or withies and hawthorn bushes were growing, and on the third side by a headland. This particular quillet will be described more fully hereafter (see p. 42, and note). In the Welsh Laws, and in the recensions of them, the balks between the erws are thus indicated: "The mear of two erws, two furrows, and that is called a 'synach' ⁴ (balk)." The balks between the erws of Gwent were also two furrows wide, and

^{1, 2.} The area of this quillet, as appears from the Tithe Commutation survey, is much nearer to half a Flintshire cyfar than to a quarter of a statute acre. From the same survey we learn that the quillet in Erw cwt y defaid contains 3 roods 33 perches. It may be interesting to add that Erw cwt y defaid is a field behind Bryn y grog House, and that one of the mear stones which now mark the quillet in it is quite close to the public path which crosses the field.

³ In England trees and bushes often grew upon the balks between the acres, and indicated the permanency of both.

⁴ *Cyvreithiau Amryval*, Book IX, chap. xxv, 4. There is no corresponding passage to this in any of the regular codes. "Synach," as the Welsh word for "balk," seems to be obsolete, and replaced by the borrowed word "balk."

since the breadth of the furrow, according to the Demetian code, was taken as one foot, we gather that the normal breadth of the balk was two feet. As the balks (where they existed) are now everywhere ploughed up and added to the quilletts, we must be prepared to find that most of these last, which still retain approximately their ancient area, are slightly larger than one cyfar, two cyfars, or half a cyfar.

In one other respect also there was a real difference between the common fields of England and those of this part of Wales. The common fields of England were very large, and did not in general exceed three in number, or some small multiple of three. Those of this district are, on the other hand, comparatively small and very numerous, and the examination of many local deeds shows this state of things to have existed here in the time of Henry VI. The quilletted fields, too, are always enclosed with hedges, and are therefore not comparable with the "shots," or unfenced divisions of the English common fields, which Dr. Seebohm has described. Dr. Seebohm has shown that the normal villein holding, or yardland, in the open fields of England, contained about thirty scattered acres. Similarly, the normal hide, or land of one family, contained about 120 acres. In Bromfield, however, and elsewhere in this part of Wales, the number of quilletts attached to a single farmstead is very small, and many seem to have contained but one erw of Bromfield, or cyfar of Flintshire, each. What we find is

that in the arable area which represents the old common fields of certain townships, to most of the ancient farmsteads or messuages¹ there belong several closes of varying size,² and a few quilletts, seldom now more than two or three.

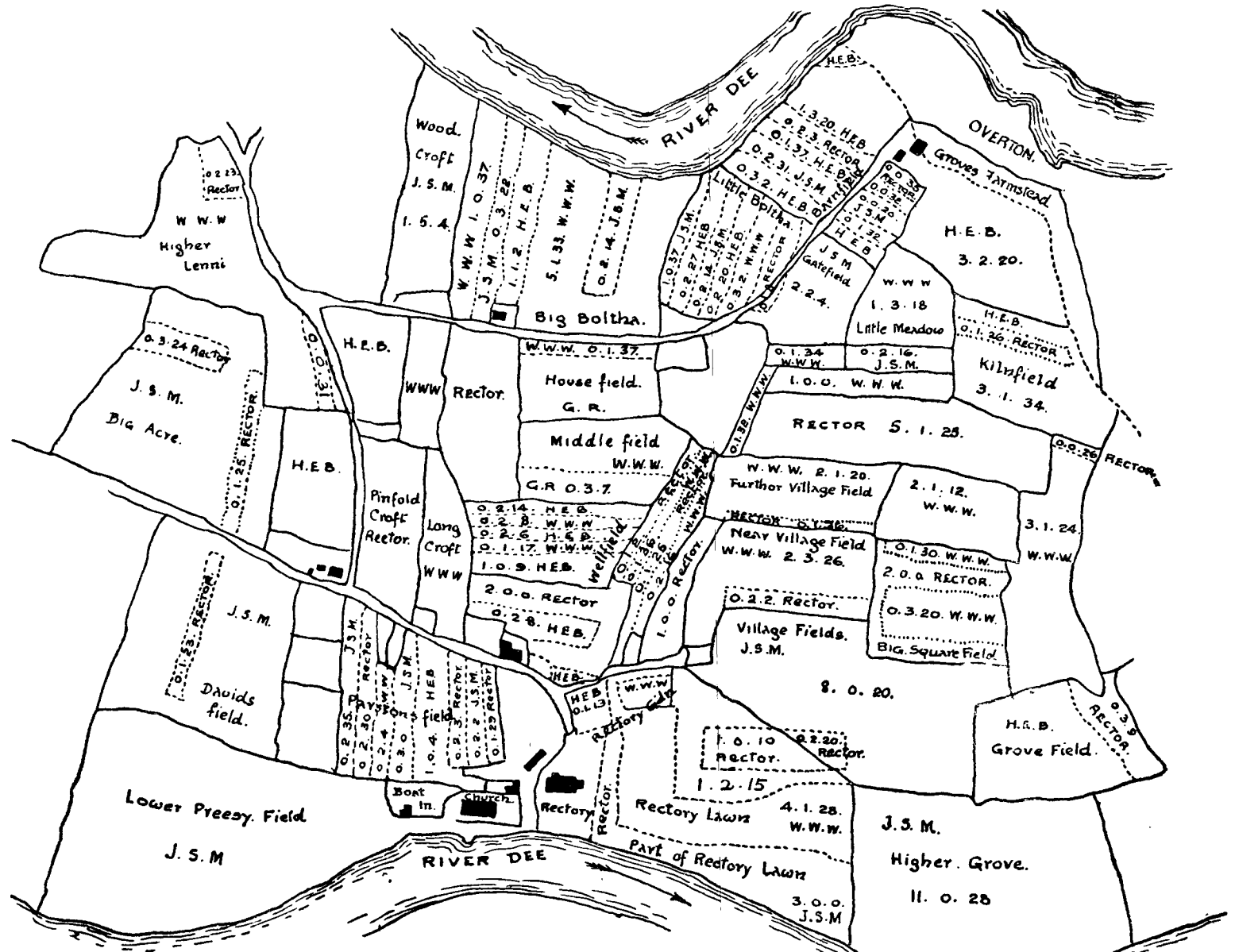
In the case of the village fields of Erbistock, a parish of Bromfield, we see, nevertheless, what, upon partial examination, appears to present a much closer approach to the conditions of tenure revealed by Dr. Seebohm and others. Not that the actual number of quilletts now belonging to the several owners of lands within those fields is very much larger than usual. But it is known that numerous consolidations of quilletts have taken place there in order to provide room for the erection of houses, extension of gardens, and rearrangement of holdings. This has been effected mainly by exchange. As a result, various small closes, each wholly belonging to a single owner, have been formed within the ancient cultivated area. And each close is, roughly speaking,

¹ That is, tenements of moderate size, having about 50 or 60 acres of land. On the larger holdings representing an old Welsh estate, at the head of which is a "plas" or hall, there are seldom any quilletts at all, except when such estates have been enlarged by the absorption of smaller holdings, each represented by a "tyddyn" or farmstead.

² Some of these closes represent, doubtless, a corresponding number of quilletts that have been consolidated, while others have been enclosed from the waste. When the position of the closes is known, and the relative situations of the old common fields and the waste have been ascertained, it will not be difficult to say in most cases whether such closes belong to the former or to the latter class.

the equivalent of a certain number of quilllets, formerly existing, that have been absorbed. Thus the holdings of the several owners within the common fields represent a much larger number of quilllets than at present are found there. What, then, is the number of quilllets which these several holdings represent? Now, before this question can be answered, the total area of the old common fields and meadows of Erbistock must be ascertained as nearly as possible. And here it is very important to note that none of the Erbistock quilllets is subject to the payment of tithes. Moreover, with two or three exceptions,¹ all the quilled fields that lie within the quilled area enjoy the same immunity. Why is this? The answer suggested is that the parson's tithe due from this

¹ Corresponding to these two or three closes within the tract mentioned, which are titheable, are two or three closes lying on the outer edge of that tract which are untitheable, though there is no reason to believe that they ever contained quilllets. The explanation probably is that the fields of Erbistock, or parts of them, as has already been said, have been rearranged. Some of the new closes formed would come to include a portion of the land that lay within the old common fields, and was untitheable, and a portion which had never been within those fields, and was subject to the payment of tithe. This state of things, so far as the collection of tithes was concerned, would be found very inconvenient. A compromise was, therefore, probably arrived at whereby, for example, it was agreed that the whole of the new close should be treated as untitheable, provided that another of the same owner, hitherto untitheable, should thenceforth become subject to tithe. The area of the untitheable tract would thus remain approximately the same, though its boundaries would be slightly altered; and this is all that we are now concerned to be assured of.



— A portion of the quilled fields of ERBISTOCK. —
 — taken from the tithe map of 1844 —

area has already been paid by the assignment to him of certain quilletts or other land within the same area.

The conclusion, then, is that the ancient common fields of Erbistock are nearly identical in area with the existing untitheable tract of arable and hay land within that parish ; and we are now able, in some fashion, to answer the question as to the number of quilletts represented by four several holdings in the common fields there.

Annexed is a map of the untitheable quilletted tract of Erbistock, showing not merely the quilletts, but giving the area of every quillet and close within the tract, together with the initials of the four chief quillet holders of 1844.¹ The map shows various quilletts and closes representing absorbed or consolidated quilletts within the common fields of Erbistock, largely exceeding in number that which elsewhere in this district pertained to a single holding, although very unequally distributed among the owners. Accordingly, if we assume that in the mediaeval period the quilletts belonging to the several occupiers within those fields included an amount of land nearly equal to that enjoyed by their modern representatives, we should have to infer that the normal holding of quilletts in Erbistock approximated somewhat

¹ In the tithe map the initials H.E.B. stand for the late Colonel H. E. Boates, of Rose Hill, J.S.M., for Mr. J. S. Manley, of Manley Hall, and W.W.W., for Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, in right of Erbistock Hall.

closely to the area of the normal holdings or villein yardlands of the manors of England. But this conclusion must not be accepted too readily. It can be proved, for example, that the quilllets belonging to one of the present owners were formerly in at least three separate bundles, and were acquired at so many different times.¹ And it is known that the other holdings that now exist in the quilled area of Erbistock have been in like manner formed by the union of several smaller ones. Norden's survey of 1620 of this township is somewhat meagre, and it is very probable that some of the tenants mentioned in it held quilllets who are not described in distinct terms as so holding; but, in addition to the quilllets of the glebe, eight groups of quilllets are distinctly indicated where now there are but four. Assuming, then, that in 1620 the glebe was equal to the present extent of it, and that all the rest of the common fields lay in quilllets, and was distributed equally among the eight other groups, these latter would contain not more than about twenty-one erw quilllets apiece. It is certain, however, that either the number of holdings in the remaining portion of the common fields of Erbistock was greater than eight, or that there were then already many unquilled closes belonging to one or other of the eight within those common fields. The average number of quilllets or erws contained in each of those holdings must

¹ The quilllets appurtenant to the messuage now represented by Manley Hall are described in 1620 as "twelve butts in Acre y ffordd."

therefore have been considerably less than twenty, and did not, it is probable, much exceed the average number of quilllets contained at the same date in a single arable holding in other parts of this district.¹ The number of quilllets attached to a single holding in the lordship of Bromfield seldom exceeded twelve.²

It is now necessary to say something concerning those quilllets which may be called "non-normal" quilllets, namely, those which, while of about equal size in the same field, were each of them too large to be regarded as a day's work of the common plough-team, and not explicable solely by the consolidation of two or more strips into one strip. Many areas having all the external characteristics of quilllets, especially in the free townships, must have been

¹ It should be said that these quillet groups were, in fact, very far from being equal in their contents; one of them in 1620 contained 16 parcels or butts, another 15, and another only a single quillet.

² In the early part of the fourteenth century, however, Thomas Wysey, taverner, of Overton Madoc, granted to William de Doncastre and Felicia his wife 24 acres (? erws) of land in the fields of "Herbestock." Of course it by no means follows that the other holdings in Erbistock were equal to the holding just cited at the same period. Probably they were not, and this instance may be exceptional; but it should not be ignored. The same Thomas Wysey had in 1315 one messuage and 60 acres of land in Overton Madoc, and indeed had other messuages and lands there; but Overton was a newly-constituted English borough in Maelor Saesneg, and should perhaps hardly be quoted in this connexion. A large part of Erbistock on the left side of the Dee then pertained to Overton Madoc, as it continued to do until the year 1896.

given those characteristics as the result of the operation of the Welsh custom of equal sharing among sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, or, perhaps, of gavelkind which was abolished in the 27th year of Henry VIII.

Gavelkind was unquestionably the rule under which the descent of heritable lands in Wales was regulated at some period precedent to the adoption or imposition of the counter-practice of inheritance by the eldest son only, and the rule was probably nearly universal. But it is quite certain that soon after the Edwardian conquest of North Wales, and probably from the first settlement of the great English barons in South Wales and the marches, upon the death of a proprietor in fee, land began to pass to the eldest son, to the disfranchisement of all younger sons. The struggle between the two methods, and the sure though gradual adoption of the English law of primogeniture has not been worked out from the historical point of view. The revolution, though of fundamental and far-reaching character, was a silent one, and was permitted to work out its consequences unaffected by the irritating methods of legislation or the fussy interferences of local administrators. It is more than likely that from the very first the law set its face steadily against the old method, and clear as is the ordinance of Rhuddlan admitting the validity and guaranteeing the continuance of the Welsh custom of gavelkind, it is equally clear that the forms of writs prescribed by that ordinance, and the processes

of the law administered under it, had an irresistible tendency to constitute succession under gavelkind a special tenure, which would have to be proved on every disputed occasion, just as a claim of Kentish gavelkind is now. Social and economic reasons would add their weight against it, and so much of the land of Wales had become held by primogeniture that when gavelkind was abolished as a system in 1535 the change aroused none of the feeling that so drastic an alteration would have occasioned had the custom been universal. None the less do we find it to have existed in active operation to that date, and an interesting record of its survival in the immediate neighbourhood of the area with which we have hitherto been mainly concerned, the lordship of Bromfield, has been preserved in some fragmentary documents constituting *Harley Roll*, D. 26, in the British Museum. In the 26th year of Queen Elizabeth (A.D. 1594) occurred a law-suit in which the question of gavelkind heirship was directly raised, and as but few contemporary instances of the working of the custom occur, and fewer still have been made public, it may be well to give the following brief abstract. Richard Colly, of "the mylne," in the township of Iscoyd (Maelor Saesneg), died, leaving three sons, John, Bartholomew, and Richard, besides a daughter married to one Estwick. John Colly, as eldest son, laid claim to all the real estate of his father, subject to dower of his mother, who lived in the messuage or mansion house upon the property. The two younger

sons claimed equal partition according to gavelkind, and made an entry. During the dispute many questions arose into which we need not enter, but the Court of Exchequer directed a local inquiry to be made, and interrogatories to be administered to witnesses. One of these interrogatories was: Did Richard Colly, the father, die before the 27th year of Henry VIII? and another: Were the messuage, mill and lands, in Iscoyd, belonging to Richard Colly the father, and other messuages and lands there, formerly departible according to the custom of gavelkind, or after the form of the Welsh laws and customs that all the sons should equally inherit? According to such of the evidence as has survived the answer to both questions was in the affirmative. Two of the witnesses gave interesting testimony. Thomas ap Richard, of Halghton, Maelor Saesneg, gent., aged 35, said that his grandfather, Richard ap Howel ap Morgan gent., of Allrhey, Bangor, died seised before the statute for abolishing gavelkind was enacted, leaving two sons, Ellice and Richard, which Richard was the deponent's father; and that a writ of partition was sued between the two brothers, under which certain tenements and lands were allotted, the deponent then enjoying the lands that had been assigned to his father. John Lloyd, of Iscoyd, gent., aged 57, deposed that David Lloyd, his grandfather, died seised of various messuages, lands and tenements within the lordship of Maelor Saesneg before the 27th year of Henry III,

and that after the decease of the said David Lloyd the same came to Robert, John and Humphrey Lloyd "accordinge to the custume of gavelkynd and the forme of the Welsh lawes and custumes," and witness knew that partition was made of the said messuages, lands and tenements accordingly.

These instances suffice to establish the existence of gavelkind as a living custom up to the date of its legal abolition. There seems to have been no difficulty about the partition of large estates, but when the property to be divided was small, and consisted mainly of a few scattered strips in various fields, it is probable that all the parts belonging to one portioner were joined together a little before, or soon after, the date of the statutory abolition of gavelkind. The size of the equal quillets of non-normal area would thus be explained. It is quite possible that about the same time, or even earlier, some of the quillets of normal area also became fixed to their then holders, though no clear evidence is producible as to this. On April 14, 1605, an inquiry¹ was made by commissioners at Farndon concerning what had long been known as "the Lord Alford's lands" in Maelor Saesneg, lying mostly in Overton and Knolton, together with a parcel in Worthenbury, of which a survey had been taken in the 29th year of Queen Elizabeth. One of the witnesses testified that Lord Alford's lands in Overton parish

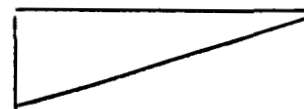
¹ P.R.O., *Exchequer Depositions by Commission*, 3 Jas. I, Easter term, No. 34.

were largely composed of quilletts "mixed within other men's lands in the parish, and that there was only one dwelling-house . . . upon the same lands." As to the parcel in Worthenbury, there was subsequent trouble, and a fresh inquiry on April 9, 1639, when John Downward, of Worthenbury, aged 87, said that for seventy years he had known the said parcel, which lay in a field called "Tir Lle'n lloyd" (*Llewelyn Lloyd's land*), and was divided southward from the rest of the field by two oaks and certain withy trees, and northward by other withy trees and hawthorn bushes, having a "hadland" (headland) at the east end adjoining *Erw y croppa*.¹ Another witness, Edward ap Richard, of Worthenbury, aged 67, said that this parcel adjoined on the north side to a place called "Old Dee," or "Yr henddwr." It was, in fact, a quillet lying within a field which belonged to another person, and having known bounds. The first witness also deposed that he had heard John Wyn Gethin, then apparently dead, who had been tenant, say that in ploughing he had not broken up the mears dividing the said parcel from lands adjoining. The quillet, therefore, had for a long time occupied a fixed position in Tir Llewelyn Lloyd, and it was arable. Thus we see that Lord

¹ As adding a picturesque touch to John Downward's evidence it may be said that he remembered the father of one of the parties to the suit meeting the father of the other in "tir Lle'n lloyd," under an oak, "standing on the meer" between the said lands, when the one showed the other some evidences out of a round box, and they parted loving friends.

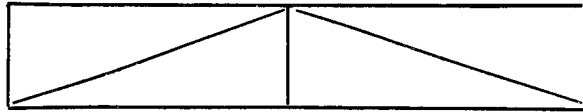
Alford's lands in Maelor Saesneg lay for the most part in scattered quilletts, dating probably from the time when co-aration was still in vogue; but the evidence is insufficient to enable us to say at what period the strips in any particular field ceased to be moveable. Nevertheless, it is pretty clear that the Act of 27 Henry VIII conduced to the fixing of those quilletts that were not already fixed, and that then, or soon afterwards, all the strips in one close allotted to each portioner were joined together, forming the first stage in the process of consolidation. All the separate plots in the particular field, abnormally large as they had thus become from the point of view of an earlier time, would then be equal as far as might be. The exceptionally large area of some of the quilletts in Gresford town field (see p. 18, note ¹), a few whereof were already of disproportionate size in 1620, is probably thus explained.

It is quite possible that under gavelkind methods quilletts were themselves shared. We could thus understand better how some strips are so very small in size. A quillet in the fields of Hope Owen had in 1849 somewhat the form of a right-angled triangle, thus:—



It only contained 25 perches, did not include the headland, and extended but to the middle of the field or meadow in which it lay. It was

perhaps the fourth of a normal and larger quillet, which was shared thus:—



Other examples are to be found, but their explanation is not easy.

Let us next see what is to be made of the evidence as to the “gafael” and “gwely,” as they appeared in the three commots which made up the lordship of Bromfield and Yale. For any satisfactory treatment we are at present only able to go back to a survey taken in the 23rd year of Henry VII.

To begin with the commot of Merford in Bromfield. This commot is interesting for the reason that at the time of Domesday it belonged to the county of Chester, and was English. It soon after became a part of Powys Fadog and was subject to Welsh customs and fiscal arrangements, though directly adjoining England.

We will deal first with the southern half of the commot, because at the time named that half contained both gafael (or “gafaels,” plural of “gafael”) and gwelys, while the northern half contained gwelys only.¹

¹ We shall henceforth continue to use the English plurals for these two words, calling them “gafaels,” and “gwelys” respectively. It may be added that there was in use an English form—“gavell”—of the Welsh “gafael,” applied to the holding of land in the special sense here indicated, which may also be occasionally employed. The form “wele” was frequently used for the more grammatical “gwely.”

A portion of the manor of Isycoed¹ was occupied by the gafael of Madoc ap Gwrgeneu (“Gavell Madoc ap Gorgene”), of Hewlington, and rendered 8 malets² of corn, 3s. 4d. in money rents,³ and 9s. 4½d. “twnc” rents. The gafael was broken up into seven groups, each group being responsible for differing quantities of corn and money rent, and only a few of those who paid “twnc” being identical with those making the other renders. In the township of Sutton were the gafael of Madoc ap Elidir⁴ and the two gwelys of Santhe (Sandde) and Myler (Meilir).⁵ And be it here observed that Sandde and Meilir had, as Madoc also had, Elidir (ap Rhys) for their father, the three progenies belonging to the same free tribal family; so that we perceive that there was no difference of principle between a gafael and a gwely. The three holdings, however, paid dissimilar quantities of corn and money, and in some cases a particular amount of corn was levied on certain persons within the holding, thus indicating several ownership though perhaps to a limited extent only. For instance, in Gafael

¹ See Appendix I, p. 217.

² There were two hoops in a malet or melliet.

³ These money rents were probably commutations for labour services. The origin and condition of this particular gafael will be discussed more at large in chap. ix (see p. 146, *et seq.*).

⁴ See Appendix I, p. 220.

⁵ These two progenies, together with three other progenies, all claiming descent from Elidir and named after him, had also gafael in the ringildry of Ruabon (see p. 49).

Madoc ap Elidir, David ap Griffith ap David Sutton and David ap Madoc Gwyn were each assessed to the fourth part of a hoop of corn, while Ieuan decka ap Griffith ap David Lloyd was accountable for half a hoop.

In Dutton y brain were the two gafael of Ieuan ap Ednowen and Cynddelw ap Ednowen.

In Bieston were "Gavell Dweyd," rendering corn only, and two other gafael—Gafael Bleddyn Vychan and "Gavell Eden", paying small money rents. All the aforementioned seem to have been free.

In Dutton Diffaeth was one free gafael—Brochwel's Gafael. But the same township contained "nativi" also, in four groups,¹ the first group then holding by copy, and the fourth being represented by a single man.

"Twnc" rents were only paid in Hewlington, Dutton Diffaeth and Dutton y brain. Except in the case of Hewlington, it was only a portion of the townships named that was gavelled, the remaining part being escheat or waste, and let out at new or increased money rents to many persons. Cacca Dutton, Erdelesham (now Erlas), Borasham (now Burras) and Gourton were in this condition. Pickhill and Sesswick, two other townships in the southern half of Merford commote, are barely mentioned in the survey, and Ridley is not mentioned at all, being a part of the manor of Morton (*see* Appendix II).

To turn to the northern half of the commot

¹ See Appendix I, p. 219.

of Merford. In the "native" manor of Merford and Hoseley, the "caput" or head of the entire commot, the renders were very heavy, consisting of money, wheat, oats, lambs, hens and autumn works. There were here no gafael or gwelys, which is tantamount to saying that hereditary right (apart from that derived from strict legal grants) was not fully recognized within the manor, except perhaps within a small portion of escheat land. This manor, on account of the peculiar interest attached to it as being purely rural, will be more fully discussed in a later chapter. The rest of this part of the commot was occupied by the ringildry of Burton, containing the townships of Burton and Allington (with their hamlets), Gwersyllt and Gresford. A very large part of all these townships had escheated, and was let out at new rents, or granted by charter. In Allington, however, were five free gafael, all of the progeny of Ithel, namely Gafael Iorwerth ap Einion (ap Ithel), Gafael Rhirid Sais (ap Ithel), Gafael Trahaiarn (ap Ithel), Gafael Howel ap Ithel and Gafael Einion Goch (ap Ithel). "Twnc," amounting to 9s. 9½d., was charged on the heirs and tenants of various persons, in small sums of from 1d. to 8d., and the gafael rendered unequal amounts of corn and money, and were themselves composed of diverse holdings. It is evident that in the 23rd year of Henry VII, the Welsh system within the commot of Merford was in the last stage of dismemberment.

We pass now to the other commot of Brom-

field, that of Wrexham, the western part of which had never been English. It is not necessary to dwell upon the condition of Wrexham itself, because, being urban, it was liable to change, although some of the tenants still rendered hens as well as money, and were liable to summer and autumn works—the signs of a servile township.

In Dininlle manor or provostry, which included part of Cristionydd, there were four “ native ” gafaels—Gafael Asser, Gafael Meilir ap Trahaiarn, Gafael Seisyllt, and Gafael Rhiwallon, rendering wheat, oats, money, twnc and hens—hens at Christmas, oats at the feast of the Apostles Philip and James (May 1). All the holdings in Gafael Rhiwallon were at one time held by Howel ap Bady ap Hwfa, a native who became outlawed for felony. The whole of the ungavelled part of the provostry was escheat.

In the free ringildry of Eglwysegle, containing the townships of Trefyddbychain, Acton, Stansty Ucha, Morton Wallicorum, Eglwysegle, Broughton and Erddig, three of the four gafaels described seem to have been in Trefyddbychain, the whole of which township was chargeable with 7s. 7d. twnc, payable at the feast of St. Martin, and there was one gafael in the township of Eglwysegle—“ Gavell Edn’ ap Kenr’ de progenie Hova.” The gafaels in Trefyddbychain seem to have been of the progeny of the same Hwfa—Gafael Caradoc, Gafael Madoc ap Hwfa, and Gafael Griffri Sais—and to have been of unequal contents.

They were manifestly free, rendering corn and money only.

The ringildry of Abenbury contained the townships of Abenbury Fawr, Sontley, Eyton, and Erbistock. Here were three free gafaels—Gafael Gwrgeneu, Gafael Ieuan ap Rhiwallon, and Gafael Rhiwallon (in Sontley). These rendered *siligo* (winter wheat) instead of *frumentum* (corn), and were of unequal size, John Luter, receiver, holding all Gafael Gwrgeneu, for which he paid 6os. among the escheat rents.

The ringildry of Ruabon, made up of the townships of Ruabon, Ruyton and Marchwiel, had six gafaels, those of the descendants of Elidir (some of whom had also, as we have seen, a settlement in Sutton), namely, Gafael Sandde (ap Elidir), Gafael Math (ap Elidir), Gafael Iorwerth ap Madoc ap Elidir, Gafael Meilir ap Elidir, Gafael Llewelyn ap Madoc ap Elidir, and Gafael Madoc Warwyn (ap Elidir), each rendering diverse amounts of corn and money.

The gafaels in the ringildry of Esclusham are interesting, for in two cases we find indicated under each gafael a number of progenies which render an almost equal amount of corn, while the money paid is represented as standing for other quantities of corn. It will be useful to put the two cases in evidence :—

Gafael Nyniaw, 41 (? 40) malets of corn, and 13s. 4d., namely, for each malet, 4d.—

Progeny of Iorwerth ap Ieuf . 4½ malets.

Progeny of Griffri ap Ieuf . 5 malets and half a hoop.

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Progeny of Einion Goch ap Ieuaf	5 malets and half a hoop.
Progeny of Ieuaf Fychan (ap Ieuaf)	3 malets.
Progeny of Awr ap Ieuaf	5½ malets.
Progeny of Llywarch ap Ieuaf	3 malets.
Progeny of Howel ap Ieuaf	3 malets.
Progeny of Gwyn ap Ednowen and Einion Sais ap Ieuaf	10 malets.

The other gafael mentioned is that of Tudor "velynge" or "velynne" ("velyn," *yellow*), paying 18 malets of corn in all, and arranged under the following progenies:—

"Gavell Tudor velynne—

Progenies "Trethveyne."
„ "Covelaud" (? Codflawd).
„ Thomas ap Tudor.
„ Ior' ap Dees (? Deio).
„ Hova ap Gron'.

There was another set of family holdings in Esclusham ringildry at this time:—

Gavell Ior' ap Plethyn	xviii m' fr'i et vjs. ob.
Gavell Mad' ap P'll'n ¹	xx m' fr'i et vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
Gavell Phi' ap P'll'n	xx m' fr'i et vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
Gavell Ieuau ap P'll'n	xx m' fr'i et vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
Gavell Kenr ^c ap P'll'n	xij m' fr'i et iiijs. <i>vd</i> .
Gavell Ken' vachan	xvj m' fr'i iiijs ^a p's hop' et ijs. ix <i>d</i> .

No "twnc" was charged anywhere in this ringildry, except 2s. 6*d*. due on St. Martin's day, upon the last-named gafael, that of Cynwrig Fychan.

¹ "P'll'n" is the usual abbreviation for "Pellyn," and the "Plethyn" of the first-named gafael is also probably intended for "Pellyn," not "Bleddyn."

Esclusham was the only part of Bromfield where we discern anything approaching principle or regularity in the assessment of the gafael or gwely in relation to the tref or township. The townships of the Domesday period had been taken over, and the Welsh system had been fitted into them imperfectly, or changes had disturbed the clearness of the arrangement as first set out. All through Bromfield, moreover, large areas were escheated and let out at money rents, or granted by charter to persons to hold in free socage, being thus liberated from the operation of gavelkind.

We now turn to the third commot of the lordship, the commot of Yale. Here, at the date of the survey now under consideration (A.D. 1508), very much land, being of the condition of escheat, was let out to persons, or groups of persons, in "gavells," "half gavells," and other aliquot parts of a gafael. This was especially the case in Yale Prepositura, where a "gavell" generally contained twenty-two "errowes," and was rented at 14s.; and we now seem at last to have arrived at the conception of an ideal holding in Welsh tenure. However, some of these gafael (in Eryrys, Gwenffynnon, Bodidris, Chweleiriog, Buddugre'r Iarll, Llandynan, Cymo, and Bryntangor),¹

¹ The gafael in these servile townships (and in two cases aliquot parts thereof) were in 1450 also let out at 14s. a gafael. The acreage is not given, but the probability is that all the gafael in this provostry were equal in extent, and contained each 22 "errowes" (Public Record Office, *Ministers' Accounts*, 1,234/14).

according to the survey¹ were let at will, others were subsequently granted by copy, and others claimed to be held by hereditary right. But nowhere in Yale, at the date named, were there any free gwelys or gafael.

The holdings at customary rents, or most of them, within the great lordship of Chirkland, were called "gavells" in the reign of Richard II, and there were gwelys called "Gwely Cuhelyn," "Gwely Owen," and "Gwely Ionas" in Maelor Saesneg. Although there is in existence a list of the collectors for the gwelys last named from 1416 to 1508, little relating to the internal organization or actual working of the holdings has yet been discovered.

Fuller and more accurate information as to the gafael and gwely on other ground, and at an earlier date, is to be obtained from the survey of the lordship of Denbigh made in the year 1334.² Careful study of the evidence furnished by this "extent" seems to show that a gafael is there regarded as a family holding lying within a township or tref, or within a group of townships treated as a larger unit in this respect, and held jointly responsible for the payment of the twnc pound yearly, or for some other fixed amount of twnc. A gafael was not necessarily a subdivision of a gwely.³ In one sense a gafael *was* a gwely.

¹ See Appendix I, p. 223 *et seq.*

² See transcripts in Dr. Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, Appendix B.

³ A gwely was sometimes smaller than a gafael. Thus,

Like the gwely it was a family holding lying within a township or group of townships, such as is indicated above, and was utilized as a fiscal unit for a portion of the twnc pound, and for other renders due from some larger unit.¹

in the township of Prÿs (just north of Denbigh) we read that a sixth part thereof, in the tenure of the progeny of Canon ap Llywarch, lay in $3\frac{1}{2}$ gafael, while another sixth part, in the tenure of the progeny of Pyll ap Llywarch, lay in 8 gweys; that is, certain gafael were more than twice the area of certain other gwelys. So also the holdings of the seven sons of Canon ap Llywarch were called gafael, while the holdings of the eight sons of Pyll, Canon's brother, in the same township were called gwelys. And again, the same holding is described indifferently in the extent as Gwely Prydydd Moch and Gafael Prydydd Moch.

¹ Thus, at some time before the year 1334 a certain progeny of free tenants had held the whole townships of Deunant, Grugor, Chwibren, Penplogor, and Pennauelot (that is, Penaled), half the township of Hendrenunnyth (that is, Hendrenenig), a third part of the township of Preslegot (Prysllygod), and a thirteenth part of the township of Petrual, all within the commot of Uwchaled. The total amount rendered for twnc by this progeny was 16s. $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, so that if it had held the whole of all the said townships, the progeny would have rendered yearly 19s. $6d.$, which is nearly the amount of the twnc pound. In the township of Ystrad Canon the progeny of Canon ap Llywarch held four gafael, paying 10s. twnc. These gafael extended into the township of Nantglyn Canon, but paid no twnc there. However, it appears as though the townships of Nantglyn Sanctorum and Gwaunynog Canon had formerly belonged to this progeny, so that it seems as though townships were sometimes grouped to form a larger unit for the commutation of the gwestfa rents. On the other hand, the two townships of Prÿs and Tybrith each paid the full twnc pound, but were divided into hamlets. Barrog was not so divided, but was assessed for twnc at 20s. In other cases the assessment of townships for twnc appears very anomalous.

When such a holding was called a "gafael," the fact that was emphasized was that of tenure, of obligation. When called a "gwely," what was emphasized was the fact that it was subject to the rules of partition and inheritance characteristic of family land. In accordance with this, the gafael is the more common holding in the bond townships, and the gwely in the free townships. It appears that in some instances a gafael was held by a single occupier; but often the actual holdings were fractional parts of a gafael, as two-fifths, a half, an eighth, a sixteenth, these fractional parts being occupied by single persons, or by a group of persons, often brothers, and nearly always kinsmen. The gafael, however, although divided and subdivided in the way that has been described, must have been single holdings at the first, nearly all being named after a particular individual, who doubtless was the original occupier of the whole gafael and the presumed common ancestor of the later occupiers. It should be noticed that the gafael were by no means always of equal area.

Of much more common occurrence was the family holding called a "gwely" (*a bed*), and in the surveys of Denbigh (A.D. 1334), and of Anglesey and Carnarvon (A.D. 1352), not merely are the gwelys numerous, but they are often carefully and minutely described. The distinction between the gwely and the gafael has already been touched on. But there are some cases in which it seems to have been due to the caprice or ignorance

of the scribe whether a family holding should be called a gwely or a gafael. However this may be, what concerns us here is that throughout North Wales those family holdings which were not known as "gafael" were called "gwelys." Of the gwely a fuller account will be given hereafter.

The foregoing remarks are in part preliminary to the attempt to elicit a more satisfactory answer to the inquiry whether in North Wales there was any normal or ideal arable holding, meaning by a "normal holding" an average number of erwes assumed to be appurtenant to a tyddyn or farmstead.

An oft-quoted passage in the Welsh Laws runs as follows:—"Four erwes (of co-tillage) are to be in every tyddyn; four tyddyns in every rhandir; four rhandirs in every gafael; four gafael in every tref; four trefs in every maenol; twelve maenols and two trefs in every cymwd three-score pence are charged on every two of the four that are in a maenol, and so subdivided into quarters in succession, until each erw of the tyddyn be assessed; and that is called the twnc pound; and the silentiary (*gostegwr*) is to collect it annually."¹

Now, it is at once seen that this statement does not accord with the facts as revealed in the fourteenth century surveys and elsewhere, but none the less must it have an explanation. If it does not wholly square with the facts known to us, there is the less reason for supposing it to be

¹ Venedotian Code, Book II, chap. xvii, sections 7-15.

a late interpolation. One thing is clear, namely, that the extract contains an assumed arrangement made for fiscal purposes. Something more than this is intended however. Confining our attention here to the tref, the gafael, and the erw, the following conclusions seem to emerge: (1) that there ought to be no tyddyn with less than four erws of co-tillage attached to it; (2) that there might be as many as sixteen tyddyns in a gafael; (3) that the gafael, the average family holding, should be taken as containing, roughly speaking, sixty-four erws; and (4) that four such gafael would then form a tref assessed to a fourth part of the twnc pound.

One feature of the tref, or township, in the original constitution of it, thus appears, according to the Venedotian Code, to have been the payment of a quarter of the twnc pound.¹ If, then, such a tref contained four gafael of sixty-four erws, fifteen pence, or sixty farthings, of twnc would fall upon the gafael, leaving four erws apparently untaxed. It may be suggested that as every erw of the tref was assessed for twnc, the four farthings due from the four residual erws of the gafael were retained by the silentiary for part of his fee as collector. But it may well be that fifteen pence for every ideal gafael, or five shillings for every tref, were reckoned as adequate commutations for what should be yielded (as

¹ As a matter of fact, five shillings did not represent the average amount of twnc payable by the trefs or townships described in the Denbigh, Anglesey and Carnarvon surveys.

“gwestfa”) to the tribal chief. The five shillings was a round number, and there is much virtue in round numbers. Whatever may be the true explanation, it is apparent that we have here to do with a highly artificial arrangement, whereon it would not be fitting to build far-reaching conclusions.

Yet, in spite of all reservations, it may be said that the arrangements indicated in the Venedotian Code, and interpreted as above, corresponded at one time, more or less closely, to an actual state of things.

We come now to the “erws of the tyddyn.” Instead of four, sometimes twice or even thrice that number of erws are described as belonging to the tyddyn. In South Wales the taeog’s (or boor’s) tyddyn is said in the Laws to have had four erws, and the uchelwr’s (or free tribesman’s) tyddyn, eight. And in the Venedotian Code (Book II, chap. xii, section 1) we read: “Thus brothers are to share land between them: four erws to every tyddyn. Bleddyn ap Cynvyn¹ altered it to twelve erws to the uchelwr (the free tribesman) and eight to the aillt (the villein, who was of the same rank as the taeog), and four to the godaeog (under-taeog): yet, nevertheless it is most usual that four erws be the tyddyn.”

It does not seem that the actual site of the tyddyn was comprised within these erws. They

¹ Bleddyn ap Cynvyn died in 1075; so this passage must be later than that date.

are called "lawful erwau of joint ploughing," and, according to the same code (Book II, chap. xvii, 13), were lumped together with the other sixty belonging to the gafael, which makes it evident that where one of the erwau of the tyddyn was, there were all the rest—in the common arable area of the tref. We read again and again in the Welsh Laws that every free Welshman was entitled to four erwau of land, which could hardly have constituted the site or the precincts of any tyddyn, but formed, as did all the other erwau of the gafael, a bundle of strips in the joint field, wherever this field might be found.

It would, however, be erroneous to assume that no tyddyn had more than four erwau appendant to it, for we know that to many tyddyns a very large number of erwau belonged. What probably we are to understand is that four erwau¹ constituted the share in the cyfardir to which every tribesman was assumed to be entitled.

In the same way with the gafael. It might contain one tyddyn only, or it might contain many tyddyns (tyddynod). Also the gafael in one tref might have a greater or smaller number of erwau than a gafael in another tref, though within the same tref each gafael was supposed to be equal.² Again, a tref might contain two,

¹ Or five according to the "Various Laws" (*Cyfreithiau Amryval*, Book XIII, chap. ii, 200).

² This, however, is found to be actually the case only in bond townships, and in free townships where the whole tref belonged to one progeny and was divided among near kindred.

three, four or many gafael, or it might include many gwelys, each of which was subdivided into two or more gafael or gwelys.¹

Although there often pertained many tyddyns, to the gafael or gwely one of these is often termed in the Laws the principal or privileged tyddyn, representing, it may be supposed, the original farmstead of the gafael. But if the original, it must have been at first the only tyddyn within the holding; for there can be no doubt that at its formation the gafael was an undivided and single holding.

A tribal family to the third generation (sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons) might grow up within the gwely or gafael. On the death of the first holder, after whom the holding was named, his sons might share among themselves; and on the death of the last surviving son, the grandsons might redistribute, as might also the great-grandsons. But afterwards, there could be no redistribution of the original gwely or gafael, the

¹ That there was no hard and fast line between the gwely and the gafael in the same township or group of townships appears from the following considerations:—In the extent of Wickwer (co. Denbigh) with its hamlets, made in 1334, it is said: "Of the first gwely which stands wholly in the tenure of freemen and is in all the township (of Wickwer) and hamlets (of Bodrychwyn and Cinmel), there were three gwelys or three gafael (*tria lecta seu tres gawelle*)." So, again, in the same survey Gwely Moreiddig ap Llywarch is marginally described as "Wele vel Gauell Moridyk." Although the names "gwely" and "gafael" were often interchangeable, gwelys, generally speaking, were of larger area, and sometimes composed of groups of gafael.

sons of great-grandsons being already established within that original gwely in right of their grandfather, according to the rules of heritable land (tir gwelyawg).¹ No doubt the system sometimes produced great subdivision, but in actual operation, even under old tribal conditions, that result would be largely counteracted by other agencies. War, famine and pestilence prevented the population from increasing largely, and as sons and grandsons were heirs to each other, the number of fresh gwelys, in the course of two or three centuries, did not increase very rapidly. What took place was rather a shifting, a re-arrangement, of gwelys within the same area. And there is good and sufficient reason to believe that soon after the English officials came upon the scene, the gwely became fixed as a unit for the collection of ascertained renders, gavelkind going on within it until the 27th year of Henry VIII, by which time the evils of indefinite subdivision had become apparent to the co-portioners themselves, so that most of them desired the abolition of a custom which had become intolerable.

But, while the gwely or gafael lasted in the tenure of the heirs of the first occupier of it, what was the position of the heirs? Did they occupy their holdings in anything like severalty? It would seem that they did to a limited extent. In the *Record of Caernarvon* (A.D. 1352), nearly

¹ For an admirably clear exposition of the rules of succession of tir gwelyawg in a hypothetical case, see Dr. Seebohm's *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, pp. 27-9.

every gafael is described as being held by so-and-so (usually more than one person), who paid such-and-such a sum as "twnc" levied upon the same. But after such an entry a note often occurs; for example, that a bovate of land within the said gafael is escheat to the lord, which bovate was formerly held by such-and-such a person, who paid for the same so many pence included within the fixed rent of the whole gafael. Thus, of a certain "Gauell Yarthur Blethe" in the tref of Castell and commot of Isgwyrfai, which paid yearly 7s. 8d., we read: "And there are in the gafael of Yarthur Bleyth (Iarddur Vlaidd) two acres of land, by estimation, of escheat, which was of Ieuan ap Stephen, now lying unoccupied in the hands of the lord; and it was accustomed to render at every one of the four terms one penny, charged within the rent of the same gafael" (*Rec. Caern.*, p. 4). Another portion of escheat in the same gafael is described as "a certain parcel of land" (*quedam particula terre*). So, also, in the survey of Denbigh (A.D. 1334), an eighth part of Gafael Cadwgan ap Daniel in Deunant is declared to have been in the hands of the lord since the time of the earl of Lincoln, which eighth part was of Cynwrig ap Madoc ap Iorwerth, who was outlawed for felony. These escheated portions appear really to have been holdings in severalty within the gafael or gwely, and, contrary to ancient custom, were treated in the survey on which the *Record of Caernarvon* was based as private property, instead of as portions of

family land subject to the rules of family succession and redistribution. In the Denbigh survey, on the other hand, all the several escheats were added together, and the sum of them taken out of the patrimony of the whole kin. So that if the total escheats came to a fourth part of the original gwely, occupying a township or group of townships, containing, say, 4,000 acres, the lord seized 1,000 acres and let them out at betterment rents. Here the liability of the whole kin, and of the district it occupied, was recognized and acted upon; but the fact of the individual, though not strictly, private holdings within the gafael or gwely is clearly established elsewhere.

As the surveyor of the lordship of Denbigh in the year 1334 carefully recorded the number of acres, roods and perches in each township, it would be quite possible to give the area of every gafael of each township. This area would, however, include not merely arable land, but woodland, waste and pasture,¹ although it should be remembered that wood and waste were as necessary as the arable erws to the holder or holders of the gafael.

This long excursus has not, it is hoped, been without use in some respects, though it must be admitted to have thrown but little light on

¹ In one case the area of the gafael of "P'dith bulgh" (Prydydd y moch, in Isdulas) is given as 50½ acres, apart from that portion of the waste which would pertain to it if split up. These acres were measured by the earl of Lincoln's special rod of more than 18½ feet and 1 inch.

the question raised as to the area of the normal holding; unless we conclude, as we seem entitled to do, that there was no normal holding in North Wales, according to Welsh law and custom, corresponding to the virgate or hide in England. In other words, the gafael as well as the gwely varied in the number of erws it contained according to the circumstances of each tribal family. All we may safely say is that a tyddyn, though it might have many more, was not supposed to have less than four erws of joint tillage appendant to it. And as regards the standard taken in the Venedotian Code, that a gafael for fixed purposes consisted of sixty-four erws of co-tillage, and that a tref contained four gafael, we can say that this assumption was not very remote from the average state of things. But, as a fact, the areas of the trefs or townships varied very considerably both in size and in the number of gafael or gwelys lying within them. Indeed, so numerous were the causes of fluctuation, that an extent or survey of a district would require correction after a certain period, not merely as to the gafael it comprised, but even as to the trefs, unless the development of the system had been stopped by a paramount authority from without.

The foregoing remarks upon ancient Welsh holdings have been made because some sort of understanding of the latter is necessary to a clear appreciation of local phenomena; and what has been already written as to the gafael and gwelys of Bromfield and Yale must be considered with

due relation to the stage of growth at which they had arrived when they were brought into contact with a totally different system of land tenure.

The preceding examination of the Welsh Laws has brought to light a fact which may not be without significance in connexion with the origin of the old customary acre of Bromfield, which was equivalent to the Cheshire acre. It will be remembered that this Cheshire acre contains 4 roods, each rood equated with the erw of Bromfield and cyfar of Flintshire. It has been pointed out that the number of erws belonging to the tyddyn was, according to the Welsh Laws, never less than four, and in many actual instances, not less than two or three times four. It thus appears that the arrangement of the erws (afterwards called "quarters") in bundles of four was one which at the time of the compilation or recension of the Welsh Laws already existed. The bundle of four was the minimum holding, and was contained in all the larger holdings recognized by those Laws. It came therefore to be regarded as a compound unit of land measure.

We might also be tempted to identify this minimum holding of four erws with the grouping of four roods or quarters (each equal in area to an erw) to form a Cheshire acre; but this conclusion would be hazardous. For the four grouped erws spoken of were, as we have seen, not homogeneous, but scattered over the common field; just as most of the quilllets, containing about an erw each, persisting in this district until fifty

or sixty years ago, still continued scattered, though their area had been fixed, as appears in many cases, so early as the time of Henry VI. The roods or quarters of the Cheshire acre, on the other hand, were an integral part of the acre, and were not dispersed. The explanation probably is that the formation of acres and stangs, each containing an area of land equal to four erws, and lying side by side, although "olde" in 1620, arose from the action of fourteenth century English surveyors, and from the introduction and gradual diffusion of new methods of agriculture. Mensuration by "carucates" was already used by English officials in Anglesey in A.D. 1294. The names "acr" and "stang" are non-Welsh, and show that the areas denoted by them were of somewhat late origin. We conclude that the practical equality of the erw and cyfar with the "quarter" of Cheshire is simply due to the fact that each represented a day's work of the common plough team.

In bringing this chapter to a close, it may be of interest to say that during the latter part of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries, it was a common practice in Bromfield to describe an arable field, not as comprising so many erws, acres, or butts of land, but as containing so many "measures of seedness" (*modii seminantis* or *modii seminacionis*).¹ Here the

¹ In Norden's Survey of the manor of Burton (A.D. 1620), two separate parcels in Burton Field are declared to be "recipi-

area of the field is described in terms of its fertility, or rather of the quantity of seed required to sow it, the "modius" probably being the Chester measure weighing 75 pounds of wheat. In Montgomeryshire the terms "bushels," "strikes," or "hoops of seedness"¹ were employed. A strike, or measure, appears to have contained a varying number of quarts in different districts, and it seems impossible now to disentangle all the discrepancies of the old measures of capacity in North Wales, although great pains have been taken to do so.

On previous pages the question of the practical working of the custom of gavelkind in Bromfield and in Maelor generally has been discussed. To what has been already said may be added that so far as it worked normally, its action seems to have been limited to the sons or brothers of a deceased person. But cases are upon record in which a man's estate became distributed after his death among his more remote kinsfolk. Perhaps different customs prevailed upon different lands. What really appears to have happened in Bromfield on the decease of a proprietor in Welsh tenure was that when he left sons his land was parted among them on payment of the customary heriot of 7s. 6d. in court and doing fealty. Similarly, end' ad seminandu' modiu' et dimidiu' hordei sementitii Wintoniensis."

¹ In one case a parcel is described simply as a "hobbett of land." In the terrier of Llandrinio parish (1630) "two ridges of land containing by estimation three hoopess seednes" are mentioned.

when the deceased proprietor (who might have only a share with others in the land) left a brother or brothers, only. But if he left neither sons nor brothers, the lord took his lands or his share of land, until his next kinsmen gave 10s. or 20s. or 40s. for entry, according to the remoteness of the suing ancestors, besides the customary heriot of 7s. 6d. So that wherever gavelkind operated in Bromfield beyond the sons and brothers, the remoter kinsfolk had not merely to sue in court for the dead man's land and tenements, but a fee for entry was imposed upon them, increasing in proportion to their remoteness in kin from the deceased. These conditions would, doubtless, tend to limit the partition of family land to those of nearer kindred.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMON MEADOW

IN many cases where the ancient arable area is divided into quilllets there are also tracts of "gwairdir," or hayland, which are similarly divided. These tracts may be called "common meadows," and the strips which lie, or formerly lay, in them "doles," thus restricting for the most part the name "quilllets" to the strips of arable land in the common fields. "Dole"¹ is an English word (to be distinguished from the Welsh "dôl," a meadow, though pronounced in the same way), which is applied to the several portions yearly doled or assigned in the English common meadows to those who had a right therein. It has not been found possible to discover with certainty what was the special Welsh name (if there was any such) used in connexion

¹ There were in the year 1884, in the low-lying meadowland of Burton, county Denbigh, three adjacent closes called respectively, "The eight doles," "The nine doles," and "The thirty doles," but all belonged to a single owner, and there were no separately-held meadow strips within them. It is pretty certain that they do not represent ancient common meadows, and the names have doubtless been introduced from Cheshire within a recent date.

with the above-named strips, unless it may have been "gwaith gwr" (a man's work).

The doles of Bromfield are not numerous enough to warrant a positive statement as to their normal area, but there is reason to believe that the strips which measure between 3 statute roods and 1 statute acre represent roughly the ideal common meadows of the district.

It is, however, hardly fitting to express the areas of the doles in terms of the acre. The quilllets in the common fields were the pieces of land which the common team ploughed in a day; but the doles of the common meadows must have been set out, or calculated, by some other process. What was this process?

Now it is very remarkable that there existed in Bromfield, as well as in the adjoining county of Chester and elsewhere, a method of expressing the area of hay-grounds distinct from that used in the case of land that is ploughed. It is often said of a meadow that it contained so many "days' math."¹ "A meadow of six days' math" is one

¹ The evidence of wills and terriers shows that the same mode of denoting the area of meadows was formerly very common in Montgomeryshire; and in some parts of Lancashire the size of meadows is still stated in "day works of land." In Montgomeryshire the phrase "task of land" was also employed. Its use may be illustrated by the following examples: "one parcel of meadow containing by estimation three (penny) taskes of hay lying within a common field there" (terrier of Llandrinio, 1630); "halfe a three-penny taske of meadowe ground" (will of Thomas Jones of

which a single man can mow in six days, or six men can mow in one day. We may therefore infer that as the strips in the common fields were the measure of a day's work of the common plough-team, so the doles were the measure of a day's work of a man mowing in the common meadow; and the evidence is sufficiently strong to justify the assertion. In Trefalyn meadows, which were the old common hay-ground of Allington,¹ are four closes lying side by side, two whereof are called "the twelve day math," and the remaining two "the eight day math" and "the ten day math," respectively. In an old map, dated 1787, which is here reproduced, these are represented as part of a group of meadows, most of which are divided into strips. Now, if we calculate the average measure of a day math from the area of the four meadows above-named, we find it ranging from 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ roods, statute measure; and this may be taken as the approximate area

Penstrowed, 1587); "one threepenny taske or parcel of meadow ground" (will of Edmund Savage of Trefeglwys, 1653); and "one penny taske," rendered in Latin as "quartam partem unius falcariae terrae" (inquisition relating to Montgomeryshire, dated 5 February, 28 Elizabeth, 1585-6).

¹ *Allington*. "Thomas Ffoster tenet libere . . . vnam parcellam prati iacen' in prato vocat Smeath Meadowe."

"Joh'es Allington tenet . . . duas demethas foeni in prato vocat smeathe meadowe."

"Robertus Santhey tenet . . . quinque dieru' messuras foeni in smith meaddowe, duas quoque parcellas terr' adiungen' le smith meadowe, una vocat y dolyth."

Norden's Survey, A.D. 1620 (*British Museum, Harl. MS. No. 3696*).

of the ancient doles or strips of meadow in this district. In practice, no doubt, the day maths varied somewhat.

If a day math represented the amount of land mowed by a man in a day, "gwaith gwr" (a man's work) would be a very good name to apply to it. And the name actually occurs in the Bromfield district as designating some sort of measure of land, though it has not been found employed in the special sense here indicated.¹

In Gwern y brenin, within the township of Dutton y brain, are five quilletts of meadow, of about 2 statute acres, belonging to three owners. This is a modern arrangement. Gwern y brenin contained in 1562 at least eight separate "acres of meadow," allotted to three several tenants and one group of tenants; and it is probable that these eight were not "customary acres," but day maths, in which case it becomes possible to bring all the strips within the area of the close, which amounts to only a little over 9 statute acres. This example, therefore, does not invalidate the inference drawn from many instances, that a quillet of meadow, or day math, contained on an average about $3\frac{1}{2}$ statute roods, more or less.

It is important to remember that some of these meadows, when they have fallen wholly into the hands of certain large owners, have been

¹ The Rev. John Fisher informs us that he has heard "gwaith gwr" used in connexion with hay-mowing in the county of Carmarthen.

by them reset in quillets for the use of their tenants. The new quillets thus constituted have been, of course, made to conform in their area to modern measures of superficies. All the quillets of meadow measuring an acre, or more than an acre, each, probably belong to this class, and are thus distinguished from the true doles. There is also another distinction between the ancient meadow-strips and the modern. All the former which adjoin belong to different owners, though they may be let, as they sometimes are, to the same tenant. The modern quillets above referred to, however, while all in the same field belong to one owner, are always held by different tenants; and this distinction is fundamental.

The evidence derived from field names, available for the identification of the old common meadows, is by no means so satisfactory or so conclusive as that relating to the common fields. Yet in whatever township the latter can be shown to have existed, the contemporaneous existence of the former may be inferred. Wherever, therefore, in such a township we find an area naturally fitted for the raising of hay, the field nomenclature of which includes such names as "meadow," "math," "dôl," "gweirglodd"¹ (hay-field), and perhaps "loon" (see p. 4, note), but no names that are ancient which imply the drive of the plough, we may fairly conclude that we have discovered the area in which the common

¹ "Gwergloth," or "Werglodd," is now the constant colloquial form of this word.

meadows lay; and, unless there be good evidence to the contrary, we may regard the quillets which remain in that area as the unabsorbed "doles" or quillets of those meadows.

In the case of the common meadows, just as in the case of the common fields, we find examples of field names referring to various trades, offices and callings. "The steward's meadow" in Allington had two doles in it in the year 1787 (see the map).¹

The common meadows are generally found occupying those low river-side tracts which in Wales are often called "dolau" or "dolydd" ("the meadows"), and in Cheshire and south Lancashire "ees." "Helt" is a name which three or four centuries ago was commonly applied to river-side meadows in Bromfield, but it is not now in living use; it was probably introduced from Cheshire, where, however, it is now also obsolete. In Bromfield it became so Cymricized as not only to yield the form "yr helt" (the helt), but a plural "helti." In Overton, on the right bank of the Dee, a meadow containing a quillet is described in the tithe map schedule as "a loon in the helt." But it

¹ The name "Smith meadow," applied to one of the old common meadows of Allington, is a corruption of "smeath meadow," itself an old form of "smooth"; and "the constable's meadow" and "the receiver's meadow," in Dutton Diffaeth, did not belong to the common meadow area of that township. These three last-named are, therefore, not cases in point, and are only mentioned as a warning against too hasty conclusions.

should be understood that the word "helt" is no more distinctive of common meadow areas than "dôl," "gweirglodd," or any other similar meadow name, taken by itself, can reasonably be.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMON PASTURE (Y BORFA GYFFREDIN)

THE very tradition of the common arable and meadow lands has almost everywhere perished in north-east Wales. The common pasture lasted longer; it has in some townships been appropriated and enclosed within living memory, and in a few cases has never been enclosed at all, and still lives on as such. When no longer existing, the memory of it is sometimes perpetuated in the names of fields which occupy a portion of its site, fields still called "the common," "the old common," or even (as in the hamlet of Almer) "the common pasture." "The green" is also a name which cleaves to tracts that once constituted the common pasture of the townships in which they occurred.¹ "Y Waun"

¹ Thus Sutton Green, which is now of about 21½ statute acres, was the common pasture (or one of the common pastures) of Sutton Isycoed in the lordship of Bromfield. In the year 1542 it was leased to the inhabitants of the township by the Crown, at that time the direct overlord of almost the whole of the lordship, for a term of years, at a yearly rent. In 1562 it is described as escheat land, and called "Hoell Sutton, alias Sutton green." Before "Hoell Sutton," should come the words "late of," and we should probably also be right in understanding that it pertained to the progeny of Elidir Sais,

(gwaun, leyland) ¹ is another such name. In townships containing much mountain land the "common pasture" must be distinguished from the "waste," but in townships of comparatively small extent both may nearly always be taken to be included under the same term. In view of this latter fact a new group of names becomes available for the identification of the common pasture in small townships. To this group will belong such names as "Rhos" ² (moor), "Dif-

from whom the family of Sutton, the owners of nearly the whole township, was descended.

Lightwood Green, containing in 1837 about 39½ acres of land, formed the greater part of the common pasture of Overton in Maelor Saesneg.

Rosset Green has only been entirely enclosed within the last eighty years.

¹ A portion of the old common pasture of the township of Gwersyllt was called "Y Waun." In the year 1620 another portion of that pasture was known as "Cefn Gwersyllt," or Gwersyllt ridge.

² The ancient common pasture of the township of Stansty was "Rhos Stansty" (Stansty moor). On the parish map of 1844, 3½ acres of it are still marked as unappropriated. A century earlier a part of "Rhos ddu" (Blackmoor) in Stansty was described as "waste and common."

"Rhos Berse" in the township of Bersham, now enclosed, is marked as an open common on a map published in 1840, and then contained a little over 7¼ acres.

The "common moor" of Burton, co. Denbigh, which is mentioned in 1620, as well as much earlier, lay along the northern boundary of the township, and extended into Kinner-ton parish. John Norden's Survey of that year shows that a portion of Burton common moor, containing by estimation 240 customary (about 507 statute) acres, was called "Gwern Grydey" (Gwerydau), and that a fourth of it had been granted in free socage to Sir Richard Grosvenor, knight. The rest

faeth" (waste), "Gwastad" (plain), "Mign" (bog), and their English equivalents. Since, too, the common turbary was almost always situate upon the waste, the name "y fawnog" (the turf-land), wherever it occurs, deserves attention.

That portion of the waste which lay nearest the inhabited area was liable to encroachments on the part of those who lived upon its verge. The strips so appropriated are often called "clytiau," "darnau," "drylliau," and the like. These names, as has already been said (p. 3), are often given to the quillets of the common fields, so that the origin of the several closes bearing such names can only be determined by reference to the other names belonging to the area in which they lie, and of the significance of which there is no doubt.

The name "ffrith" (in north-west Wales pronounced "ffridd") should also be mentioned. It is a name given in the Bromfield district in comparatively recent times to a piece of mountain land which has been enclosed or brought under cultivation in accordance with regulations having the force of custom. According to these customary

remained unappropriated, and the jurymen of the survey, "in their own names and in the names of the rest of the Prince his tenants of the said Mannour of Burton, doe humbly pray that they may be admitted and ordered to have their auncient Com'on in the said moore as auncient Tennautes of the same Mannour have formerly had therein." "Gweryd" (plural "gwerydau") seems here to mean "moss," as that word is understood in the north of England and south of Scotland, and so to signify a flat mossy waste.

regulations the tenant farmer was entitled to the "ffrith" which he had enclosed, at a nominal fixed rent for a certain number of years, at the end of which time it fell wholly to the owner, who was then free to rack-rent it.

The name "ffrith" seems elsewhere in North Wales to have been formerly applied to the "havotries" or summer pastures, of which it is necessary to say something. "Havotry" is an English corruption of the Welsh "havot-tir," or more correctly "hafod-dir," "land of the summer dwelling." It was customary in early summer for the herdsmen, with their families and cattle, to migrate from their houses in the lowlands to their summer dwellings ("hafodau") in the hills, and there to remain until the autumn.¹ When certain available tracts in the lowlands yielded the sort of summer pasture required, these were used as hafods. Hafod y Wern (an estate in Wrexham), Hafod y bwch (a hamlet of Esclusham îs y clawdd), and Hafod (a hamlet of Ruabon), are names which probably mark the position of such tracts in the lordship of Bromfield; but, as a rule, the summer pastures were in the hills. The hut wherein the herdsman and

¹ The herdsmen of Sweden, Norway, Switzerland and other parts of Europe still pursue the same custom, and it is followed in some of the western islands of Scotland. The "havotries" of Wales are called "vaccariae" in a Latin plea of 1287, a word which we may freely translate into English as "cow-runs." In the forest of Rossendale, among the hilly parts of Lancashire, "vaccaries" are also found, the vaccary huts being there called "cow booths."

his family lived, called the "hafod," or "y bwthyn" (the booth), was often very rude, and generally built of timber, with wattled walls. According to the "Welsh Laws" the "hafod-wr" had the right to cut the roof-tree, the forked uprights for holding the roof-timbers, and the wattling ("bangor") from any wild wood he pleased.¹ When wood was difficult to obtain the "hafodau" or "bythod" (booths) were built of the huge stones which often lie about the hills, and many unmortared huts which may still be seen in sheltered spots among the mountains of North Wales are the remains of former hafodau.² These havotries were probably erected with the connivance of the lord, and there is a passage in the "Various Laws"³ which shows that the huts just named formed one of the sources of the lord's revenues. Edward I, who, while just, was not the man to forego any right which came to him as successor to the Welsh princes, in 1284 leased to Walter de Manny the havotries of the cantred of Aber, and in 1287 those of the cantreds of Meirion and Penllyn, at a yearly rent, and de Manny must in turn have made his profit of the summer lettings. But, subject to rendering their proper dues and special rents, the joint proprietors of the lowland gwelys (represented

¹ *Cyvreithiau Amryval*, Book XIII, chap. ii, 237.

² Their ruins are easily distinguished from the circular huts called "cyttiau Gwyddelod" (Goidels' hovels) often met with in the same districts.

³ *Cyvreithiau Amryval*, Book XIV, chap. x, 6.

in most cases by their herdsmen) had probably a customary right to take a certain number of their cattle to the havotries,¹ though these were not "common" in the same sense as the common pastures were.

According to the "Laws" one tract of mountain pasture in every commot was assigned to the lord as "hafod-land," for his own use, and that of his servile tenants. The position of the tract thus reserved in Bromfield for the commot of Wrexham is precisely known.

Along Pulford brook, in the township of Allington, was at least one stinted common pasture into which the occupiers of certain free tenements were entitled to turn a limited number of cattle.² If such a pasture was taken by custom to include accommodation for twelve cattle, it was then said to contain twelve "beast-leys." The pasture just mentioned, still bearing its ancient name of "the Wefn," which by 1843 was divided into eleven hay quillets,³ had in 1620

¹ The havotries described in *The Record of Caernarvon* (p. 10) under Dolwyddelan each sustained a fixed number of animals.

² The Gilfach within the same area seems to have been another.

³ The Wefn is one of four closes affording examples of quillets for hay, all laid out in recent times, belonging to the same owner, and nearly all containing a statute acre each, which have been mentioned on p. 72 as illustrating the difference between true "doles" and modern hay quillets. The Bottoms Meadow and Bather's Meadow, also in Allington township, and the Rough Meadow in Burton, co. Denbigh, were the other three closes.

two free tenants with five and six beast-leys respectively.¹

Whenever under an Enclosure Act the waste lands of a township have been enclosed and allotted at one operation to the several owners of land therein, the names of the fields representing the several lots assigned suffice to indicate the extent of the area enclosed. A great many of these will always be called "Allotment"; many more, notably in Flintshire,² will bear names indicative of their area, as "Cyfar," "Dau Gyfar" (two cyfars), "Tri Chyfar" (three cyfars), "Pedwar Cyfar" (four cyfars) and so forth, while the rest will be designated by names wholly lacking the variety and picturesqueness characterizing the field nomenclature of the older enclosed areas. The identification of old common waste land, divided and allotted in one operation at a recent date, proceeds, in fact, upon the recognition of the poverty of the modern imagination in the matter of name giving.

The waste must also have included the site of

¹ Norden's Survey: "*Allington*. Idem Thomas (Powell) tenet . . . gramen pro quinque pecoribus vocat' le Weuen continen' per estimac'o'em quindecim acras customar'."

"Robertus Santhey tenet. . . pro sex vaccis gramen et pro vna juvenca vocat' y Weuen, etc."

² The area of the enclosed waste land in the old parish of Mold is so large that not far short of a fourth of the total number of field names occurring in that parish belong to the type above indicated. It must be remembered that the cyfar was in Flintshire the ordinary unit of superficial measure. The Mold Enclosure Act was passed in 1792, and the Hope Enclosure Act the year before. These two parishes had over 7,000 acres of waste and commonable lands.

all houses called "Clod-hall," "Caban ûn nos" (one-night hovel), or "Ty ûn nos" (one-night dwelling), and of the huts and hovels (though not so called) which are known to have been built in accordance with the curious custom to which these names refer. This custom, in modern times presumed the right of any newly married resident to the cottage which he had himself, with the help of his friends, built upon the waste land of the township in a single night (smoke seen issuing from the chimney in the morning being claimed to be sufficient evidence of completion), and also to a certain small area of land round the cottage. The custom has only ceased to be claimed in the upland wastes of Bromfield within the last sixty or seventy years; and there are many "tai ûn nos" still surviving in this district. No reference to this custom is to be found in the Welsh "Laws" or Surveys; and it probably arose from the negligence of the crown officials during the last two or three centuries.

As regards enclosures from the waste upon a large scale: while it is undoubted that much common land in this district has been wrongfully converted to private use, it should be said that the greater part of that appropriated has been enclosed according to strict process of law. It must also be observed that the commonly entertained notion that all lands are public which lie open or waste is not always correct. But, when there were common arable fields in a township, and the custom of

co-aration was followed, a common pasture, no less than a common meadow, was absolutely essential to the sustenance of the beasts of the plough.

Elizabeth (1577), by the constable of Harlech castle, of three roods of turbary lying in a place called Ye Gorsse, between the turbary of Sir Richard Thymelbie on the north and that of Thomas ap David Lloyd on the south.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMMON TURBARY

“COMMON of turbary,” or the right of cutting turf upon the waste, is often conveyed in old deeds of sale and lease. The names “y fawnog” (the turbary) and “mawndir” (peatland) still cleave to certain tracts which can be shown to have lain within, or adjoined, the wastes or common pastures of the township in which they are found. It seems probable that these tracts represent, in fact, the old common turbaries of those townships.

The jurors of the manor of Esclusham (see Appendix II), serving upon the survey of the lordship of Bromfield in the year 1620, declared that “the commons in and about this manor doth yield turfe, furse, heath, and fearne, w'ch the tennaunts and inhabitaunts of this and other mannors adjoininge doe take and use for fuell as they neede, and think ye same doe belong to them as appurtenaunces to their landes and leases.”

The name “cors” (marsh) or “y gors” (the marsh) when found as a farm or field name is deserving of attention. British Museum *Additional Charter* 45961, is a grant dated the 19th

CHAPTER V

THE COMMON QUARRY

THERE are many spots in the district of Bromfield which it is believed were formerly used for common quarries, but there has been so much dissension concerning most of them, and the evidence as to their strictly commonable character is so inconclusive, that it is undesirable to mention them here by name. Still, it appears clear that in all the groups of free townships there was at least one common quarry, and two references may be mentioned in support of the view. In the year 1620 the jury of survey for the manor of Ruabon declared that "there is a rough and rocky common within the townshippe of Ruabon called Nant y belan, and belongeth to his highness' tenaunts, who pay for the same to the ricavor's (receiver's) baylyff of this man'or xvij. yearlie. . . ." In the same year the jury of survey of the manor of Esclusham declared: "Also there is within this mannor quarrys of lyme w'ch are taken upp and carried by the Prince his ffreeholders and the tennautes of Bromfield for the bettering of their groundes, without restraint or paying anything for the same." In the first instance the claim of the lord to a small yearly fee for the use of the common quarry is admitted by the jury, but not in the second.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMMON WOOD

IN the times when every village had to supply almost all which the community required, a common wood was not less indispensable than the other common areas that have been mentioned. The common woods yielded material for the repair of buildings ("house-bote"), of agricultural implements ("plough-bote") and of hedges ("hay-bote"), wood for fuel, and also boscage for cattle and mast for the village swine. They were, in fact, common pastures of another kind, supplying "estovers" and "tinsell," in the same way as many of the open pastures supplied turf and stone. A wood of some sort, for most of the uses just indicated, was essential, even in the case of the servile townships, for the maintenance of the tenements, hedges and enclosures, the obligation of keeping which in due repair was laid upon the tenants; and "bote" for such purposes was allowed under the view of the head forester or his officers. Firewood was also granted, under like oversight, although a special yearly tax was levied for the same.

The lordship of Bromfield contained many

ancient wooded areas, but with only three or four of them can common rights of any kind now be connected. The name "Common Wood" belongs, and for nearly five hundred years has belonged, to a considerable tract of common land which occupies the northern border of the franchise of Holt (otherwise Lyons), the *caput* of the mediaeval lordship. In the year 1411 it was granted by the lord to the burgesses of Lyons as a common pasture, but even then it bore the name of "comon woode," showing to what purposes it had before that time been applied. The greater portion of the upper part of the township of Bersham is called "Coedpoeth" (Burnt wood),¹ and has been called so for centuries. It is described in 1411 as a waste, and in 1620 as a common. A great part of the township of Brymbo has also for centuries been known as "Harwood" (that is, Hare wood), and this tract, mentioned in 1508 as one wherein coals were dug, is returned in 1620 as "common." Both Coedpoeth and Harwood were doubtless at first wooded wastes in connexion with which rights of common existed. Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, according to the tithe schedule of Wrexham parish, was entitled, in 1840, as lay rector, to the tithe of the "agistments" in Bersham, and as lay impropiator of Ruabon parish was declared to be "impropriate owner of certain agistments"

¹ "Burnt wood" rather than "hot wood"; compare "poeth offrwm," burnt offering, and "poethfel" or "poethwel," that which was left after the burning of furze and heather.

within the same. "Agistments" were pasturage rights in the lord's woods, as well as the sums paid to the lord in respect of such rights.

The common woods were, in the last resort, the lord's woods, as the common pasture was the lord's waste. But the lord seems always to have had more control over the common woods than over the common pastures. And there were some woods wherein the rights of the community were conspicuously subordinate to those of the lord, and others again in which they were of an ampler sort.

As to Chirkland (Swydd y Waun), though it is not possible to say precisely where the common woods of that great lordship lay, our knowledge of the rights of the free tenants within them is considerable. This is derived from a charter granted 1 October, 1324, by Edmund, earl of Arundel and lord of Chirkland, which is recited in a later charter granted 3 December, 1355, by earl Richard his son.¹ By virtue of this charter the free tenants of Chirkland might hunt and take bucks, hares and foxes throughout the lordship, except in certain reserved districts; they might have, by view of the "penfforestwr" (head-forester) wood to repair their houses, "caewydd" (underwood for hedging, hedge-bote), firewood, and the like; "mesyryd" or pannage² for their swine;

¹ This charter is known from a badly-executed Welsh translation of it made in 1548, now in the British Museum. The copy will be found in vol. iv (pp. 23-8) of Lloyd's *Powys Fadog*.

² "Pannage," the pasturing of swine in the woods; also

honey in every wood, except in the reserved areas ; they were not to pay "treth fforest" (forest tax), or any tax except "treth am ud,"¹ as paid in the times of the lords of Wales ; and, finally, they were to have common of pasture for their cattle at all times of the year ;² and for the restoration of these rights they agreed to pay the lord 1,200 marks at the rate of 100 marks per annum for twelve years. The privileges so confirmed had for a while been lost, and the possibility is obvious that the freemen in other parts of North Wales may not have been so fortunate as those of Chirkland in recovering their ancient rights, even on payment of a fine. But the instance proves the dues paid for the same. In the Welsh Laws pannage (in the former sense) is called "mesyryd," and in the latter "mesobr" (that is, mast-fee).

¹ "Treth am ud" ; this cannot be "treth am yd" (tax for corn) of which one at first naturally thinks, because what is here intended is a wood tax of some sort. It is probably that which in documents is called "treth muyt." It denotes the custom known as "mut," described in Eyton's *History of Shropshire* as prevailing in the Welshery of Oswestry lordship, and payable by the men of Shotover in time of war for keeping their cattle at Oswestry. "Mut" or "muyt" has apparent connexion with the word "mudo," to remove, and would indicate the fee paid for the removal of the tenants' cattle in war time from the woods to a safer place. The men of Shotover in 1276 paid 2s. a year as "mut."

² These rights in the common woods are, it should be remembered, those of the freemen, called in the charter "uchelwyr," and, in a slightly later inquisition relating to Chirkland, "liberi tenentes." The rights in the woods of the "meibion eillion" (or serfs) dwelling on the "tir caeth" (or bondland), who are mentioned in the same charter, are not set forth. Whatever privileges were enjoyed by them in the common woods were doubtless strictly limited.

that in one case at least there had been, following upon the conquest of Wales, a limitation of the very ample privileges which the freemen had previously enjoyed in the common woods ; and also, that in the earlier period of the Welsh princes, every wild wood was not common, certain tracts of woodland being reserved to those princes. What the immunities were which of old were enjoyed by the freemen of the land afterwards the lordship or honour of Chirkland, we learn from an inquisition taken at Chirk in April, 1331.¹ The jurors declare that there had been no forest or warren in the land of Chirk before it was given to Roger Mortimer (the uncle of the then lord), nor for twelve years after the same Roger had seisin of the same ; that the men and tenants of the aforesaid land had neither common of pasture for their animals, nor hunting, nor other profits in those woods, as before the time of the said Roger they had been accustomed to have ; that "treth fforest" had not been exacted before the time of the said Roger, and that instead of 5s. 7d. which of right they ought to render by the name of "treth muyt" (see p. 90, note 1), they were now called upon to pay £6 14s. 5d. ; that no pannage had been rendered before the said Roger's time ; and that the free tenants had been accustomed to have their own mills without rent, whereas Mortimer had taken from them £7 yearly for the same mills.²

¹ See the inquisition in *Powys Fadog*, vol. iv, pp. 21, 22.

² In later documents reference is made to a customary

In the year 1202, Madoc ap Gruffudd, prince of Powys Fadog, granted to the monastery of Valle Crucis all the pasture (including, no doubt, the pasture of the woods) of all his land "except that which the heirs of the same provinces have occupied to their own use."¹ The prince might have a large, but not an exclusive, right to the common pasture; his right was concurrent with that of the heirs of the provinces, who here appear to mean the uchelwyr, the co-proprietors, of the various free holdings within his principedom.

A still more apposite example of the point that, in the times of the Welsh princes, the freemen, or uchelwyr, had ampler privileges in respect of parks and woods than they had after the conquest, is afforded by the case of Parc Eyton in the township of Erbistock in the lordship of Bromfield. In an undated deed, Gruffudd ap Madoc (1236-70), successor of the Madoc ap Gruffudd already named, with the consent of his heirs, endowed his wife Emma with (among other things) his manor of "Eytune in Malaur Kemerac" (Eyton in Maelor Gymraeg), together with a certain close of the park of Eytune which lord Howel (his uncle, Howel ap Madoc) bought from

payment in connexion with the woods of Chirkland called "Treth danie adde woodward," which is evidently to be interpreted as "Treth tanwydd y woodward" (the woodward's firewood tax). There was apparently a woodward or forester to every commot in this lordship.

¹ See the charter set forth in *Archæologia Cambrensis* (1886), 3rd Series, vol. xii, p. 414.

the "heirs of Herbystoke" (Erbistock), and also with another parcel in the same park which the "heirs of Erbystoke" gave to the said Gruffudd of their free will, rendering twelve gallons of beer at Michaelmas for the close first named.¹ Were it not for the charter of Gruffudd, it could not have been supposed that the freemen of Erbistock had any common, still less any proprietary rights in Parc Eyton, the district of which still bears its ancient name, although long ago disparked.²

There were other ancient parks in the lordship of Bromfield: Parc Dinille in the parish of Ruabon; Marsley Park in the township of Allington; Parc Glyn Clywedoc (or Glyn Park) in Wrexham, Esclusham and Erddig. These, together with Parc Llwydcoed, and the "forest of Rusty" (both in Hopedale), are called the lord's woods when they are first met with.

In the year 1399 the lord leased the agistment and pannage of Llwydcoed park, and in 1407 of the pasture, pannage and honey of the same park; in 1359 the agistment of the forest of "Rusty" was leased. It would therefore

¹ This charter is printed in Appendix D of Dr. Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, together with another charter by the four sons of Gruffudd confirming their father's gift, whence it becomes clear that the twelve gallons of beer—a peculiarly Welsh render—were paid to the "heirs of Erbistock," and not to the heirs of the prince.

² In the years 1388 and 1389 the receiver of Bromfield and Yale accounted for empaling the park of Eyton, the whole park then belonging to the lord.

appear that although Llwydcoed and "Rusty"¹ were not common woods at the dates named, they served to some extent the purposes of such for the tenants of Hopedale. And as to Glyn park, the jury of survey declared in 1620 that the underwoods thereof the tenants "doe take and use for tinsell (kindling, or firewood) as need requires."

In the chapter on the "Common Pasture," the present actual meaning of the word "ffrith" (ffridd) in the Bromfield district has been given. This meaning does not merely contain no reference to the presence of trees or underwood, but distinctly excludes such a reference. A piece of mountain land that was wooded would not be enclosed for tillage, and would not therefore become a "ffrith." It is, however, certain that in some districts the meaning of the word "ffrith" was formerly different. Not only was it applied to areas in the plains as well as in the hills, but it also denoted tracts more or less wooded. In several inquisitions and warrants of the fourteenth century relating to the county of Merioneth not merely are the "agistments of the frythes" mentioned, but the "frythes" themselves are in one instance equated with havotries, and described as the special hayes in the lord's forests used for "havotas," and for sheltering and sustaining wild beasts, etc. They may indeed be regarded as reserved portions of wild land,

¹ It seems probable that Llwydcoed was in the township of Shordley, and "Rusty" in the Uwch y mynydd or Cymmau area of the old parish of Hope.

including both uncleared wood and open waste, which, although in the middle ages still to be found in the plains, were already chiefly confined to the mountains. These friths (ffriddoedd), though they were not common woods, might, by an arrangement with the lord, and upon due payment, come to be used in some respects as such. Nant y ffrith in Brymbo is, in 1620, described as a common, but has long ceased to be so.

In the lordships of Hope and Mold one of the commonest generic names for fields is "coetiè" or "coetia," evidently the same word that in old deeds and surveys is sometimes written "kwitie," and the name is not unknown in Bromfield. "Kwetkie" (a commoner term in Bromfield) points to "coed-gae" (wood-field), and indicates that a very large portion of the land now under the plough was once wooded. As a matter of fact, it occurs frequently in those areas known to have once contained large tracts of woodland.

The common woods, when identified, will generally be found stretching along the township bounds, occupying either the interval between those bounds and the outer limits of the common fields, or else the outer margin of the common pastures.

The Welsh "Laws" have little relating to the subject of this chapter. We read¹ that the swine went to the woods on the feast of St. John, hence

¹ *Cyvreithiau Amryval*, Book V, chap. i, 5.

called "Gwyl Ieuan y moch" (the feast of St. John of the swine, August 29).

Although the facts relating to the woods and forests of this district are curious and important, they throw little light upon the word "common" used in connexion with them. Nor do we learn much of the conditions under which common rights or common privileges were exercised.

It does seem possible to say, however, that such rights as existed in the woods that have been named were diminished by the conquest of Edward I; and also, possibly in consequence of that conquest, that there was a tendency to regard all the woodland areas as in an especial sense the property of the lord.

CHAPTER VII

THE DEMESNE

MATERIALS supplying grounds for fairly accurate judgment as to the position, and even as to the extent of the old demesne lands of the several manors of the lordship of Bromfield and Yale (and doubtless of many manors elsewhere) are in many cases still available, and that quite apart from the evidence of tradition or of written records.

The word "demesne" (*terra dominicalis*) is here used in the narrow sense of indicating the portion of the manor held by the lord in his own hands, or let out at short leases (for twenty-one years generally in Bromfield and Yale) having no provision for renewal attached.

There need be no hesitation in referring to the demesne the sites of those castles which are known to have been the heads of lordships, such as the castles of Chirk, Overton, Hope (Caergwrle), Dinas Bran, and Holt (Castrum Leonum).

Most of the older parks must also have formed an important part of the lord's demesne, and though these older parks have all been broken up, their position can often be ascertained by attending to the names of the fields into which they

have been divided, or of the houses standing within the area which they once included. The position of all the ancient parks mentioned in the previous chapter can in this way be recovered. For example, the name "park" belongs to two or three fields near Holt castle, which can be proved to have lain within the lord's park of that castle.

The tract of land in the hills, in later years called "Esclusham Below, Detached," and including the "Park" farm and the "Park" mine, belonged formerly to the owners of Wrexham Abbot (the abbot and convent of Valle Crucis), and constituted their "havod-dir" or summer pasture. And the larger tract adjoining it on the north and east known as "Esclusham Above, Detached" (and sometimes "Hafod y wergir"), was in 1620 called "Hafod yr arglwydd" (the lord's hafod, or summer dwelling), and described as "demesne." It was the "havod-dir" of the lord of Bromfield, and in it (as we learn from a grant of the year 1631) was "the receiver's meadow"—the receiver being one of the officers of the lordship. It must not be taken, however, that every area now called "park" was formerly part of the demesne; but names such as "hafod yr arglwydd," just cited, may always be trusted, implying as they do the lord's ownership. A similar name, "Gwern y brenin" (the king's alder marsh), has been mentioned in chapter ii (p. 72); the meadow so designated in the township of Dutton brain belonged in 1562 wholly to the

lord, although set out in doles and leased to various tenants.

A "receiver's meadow" has just been mentioned. There was another meadow of the same name in the township of Dutton Diffaeth, and adjoining it was "the constable's meadow"—still so called—both wholly at the lord of Bromfield's disposal, and generally leased by him to his receiver and constable of Holt castle respectively. These are always significant names.

Names such as "y llys" (the hall) or "y cwrt" (the court), referring as they generally do to the residence of the lord of the manor, and place of holding the manor courts, should not be neglected. A field in Chirkland called Maes y Court is mentioned in the year 1616 amongst the "terrae dominicales" there. A farm called "the Court" in the parish of Llanmerewig (co. Montgomery) is described in the Ven. Archdeacon D. R. Thomas's *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph* as paying thirteenths ("the thirteenth sheaf and thirteenth grass-cock") instead of tithes. Now "thirteenths" are a kind of modus, and the relation of modus-paying lands to the demesne should always be borne in mind.¹

¹ Moduses are small fixed sums rendered by immemorial custom instead of tithes, in respect of certain estates. They are in the nature of reduced tithe payments allowed to a former owner of the estates in respect of some special service rendered to the parson of the parish, as the building of his chancel or parsonage-house. Services of this kind would in many cases be rendered by the lord. There appears, however, no reason why free tenants should not have yielded

“Maerdref” or “y faerdref” (generally shortened to “y fardre,” the maerdref) is an important word in the present connexion. It does not signify merely the township of the maer, the reeve or bailiff of the lord, but in its strict and ancient sense it signifies also the demesne township over which the maer (bailiff) exercised authority in the supervision of the works and duties owing by the men of the township to their lord. It should, however, be clearly understood that a maerdref was something more than an ordinary servile township; it was the one township, or part of one township, in every commot which in a special and exclusive sense belonged to the lord, though in later times the name was loosely used for the home or dairy farm on a large estate.¹ The economy of the maerdref will be discussed hereafter; the present point is, that when really ancient, the name is never found outside the demesne.

So with the name “Maerdy,” often corrupted into “Mardy” (the maer’s house). It probably designated the house or dairy farm, which the maer (bailiff) of the maerdref occupied during his term of office; and the custom of “maeron-iaeth,” or supply of milk for the lord’s use, whereof

such services, and received such an acknowledgment of them. Nevertheless, nearly all the modus-paying lands of this district whose history is known lay within the demesne.

¹ “Llwyn y fardre” (the maerdref grove) was in the year 1750 the name of two fields in Bersham. But it is not mentioned in Norden’s Survey of 1620, and it is almost certainly a late and fanciful name.

we read in the extent of Anglesey of A.D. 1294,¹ was no doubt connected with the maerdy or was under the regulation of the maer. In comparatively modern times the word “maer” came to designate in Welsh a mere farm bailiff,² so that we might suppose that such a name as “maerdy” would sometimes be found elsewhere than in the demesne. But no such instance has been discovered. “Mardy” is the name of a farmstead in the parish of Llan-drinio (co. Montgomery), which, since a modus was paid in respect of it, stood almost certainly on the lands that belonged to the lord, in the special sense here employed.³ We may, therefore, with some confidence regard both “maerdy” and “maerdref,” in almost every case in which those names occur, as notes of the demesne.

As already said, the maerdref was not originally a farm upon an estate; it was that particular tract of land in a commot which in a special sense belonged to the lord of the commot, and was always within or near to the lord’s “llys” or official residence. The name “maerdref” still survives, or until recently survived, as the name of one township or hamlet

¹ Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales*, Appendix A, a.

² In the parish register of Ruabon, for example, under date October 21, 1633, is the following entry: “John David y maer,” and in 1662 we read of “the relict of Rhese the mayor” as living in Brymbo.

³ There was also a Mardy in Merford township, which was demesne.

in a commot.¹ According to the so-called *Record of Caernarvon* (A.D. 1352), the maerdref of the commot of Creuddyn (co. Carnarvon) was Deganwy, which is known to have been the site of the castle of the lord; and according to Canon R. Williams' *History of Aberconwy*, Deganwy castle was, in 1635, still called "Castell y faerdre." The maerdref of the commot of Maen (co. Carnarvon) was at Newgolf, called in one passage "Newgolf Meiri" (Newgolf of the maers), where was the residence ("neuadd" or "llys") of the lord. The maerdref of the commot of Malldraeth (co. Anglesey) was a hamlet of the township of Aberffraw, the chief residence of the ancient princes of Gwynedd. The maerdref of the commot of Menai was in Rhosfair, whereto belonged the lord's house and mill of the commot. From the extent of Denbigh (A.D. 1334) we learn that the maerdref of the commot of Isdulas was a hamlet in the township of Dinorben, where stood the "capital mesuage" or manor-house of that commot.² And finally, it is to be noted that the maerdref was not

¹ In the 11th year of James I "Y Faerdre" was one of the townships in the commot of Isclawdd within the lordship of Chirk; in a grant of the 13th James I the hamlet called "Y Faerdre" in one of the commots of Arwystli (co. Montgomery), is mentioned among the demesne lands of the lord; and there is still a township so called in the parish of Llandrillo yn Edeyrnion.

² In the adjoining township of Cegidog ucha, wherein is also the parish church of Llansansior (St. George), still stands a house called "Y Faerdre."

always the demesne township itself, but sometimes a hamlet within that township.

The services due from the other servile townships of the commot did not for the most part include agricultural labour (except sometimes a few days of "autumn work"), and it was upon the men of the maerdref that the lord chiefly depended for ploughing, sowing and reaping his arable land, threshing his corn, mowing his meadow, and doing other necessary work of a like kind. This is seen more clearly in the early extent of Anglesey made in 1294, than in the fourteenth century extents or surveys of the same island. The heavy and varied work rendered by the villani of Rhosfair, Llanfaes, Aberffraw and Penrhos, which were what we may call the dominical trefs (or townships) of the commots of Menai, Dindaethwy, Malldraeth and Twrcelyn respectively, is particularly noticeable. Of these four, one is afterwards described as itself a maerdref, and two others as each including a maerdref. Taking the manor of Rhosfair, and excluding from consideration all renders which may possibly be regarded as rent,¹ it is found that the villani of Rhosfair had to find for harrowing 240 horses with as many men, to mow with 400 men for one day, to carry corn with 72 men and 72 horses

¹ For example, maeroniaeth (that is, supply of milk), payments of wheat, oats, oatmeal, barley meal, hens, falcons, eggs, lambs, provender for the lord's palfrey, and straw. Some of these renders were, however, very characteristic of a maerdref.

for one day, to draw manure with 14 horses, and to find a fire for the lord.

The twin (reduced) townships of Merford and Hoseley formed the maerdref for the commot of Merford (co. Denbigh), Wrexham being the demesne township for the other commot of the same great lordship of Bromfield; and it will be shown hereafter that many of the dues and customs of the *nativi* of Merford were very similar to those of the *villani* of Rhosfair and of other townships or hamlets in North Wales which fulfilled the functions of maerdrefs.

If we turn to the Welsh "Laws" we learn that in the part of North Wales called Gwynedd two trefs or townships inreach commot were set apart for the use of the king or lord of the commot, one of them for his *havod-dir* or summer pasture (see pp. 79 and 98), and the other to be maerdref-land to him.¹ The residence of the chief (*llys y brenin*), if not actually situate within the maerdref, must have nearly adjoined it. This is clear from the direction contained in the code of Gwynedd that the doorkeeper of the court was to act as the "*rhingyll*" or apparitor to the maerdref, and to summon the men of it to their work;² and from the further provision that the maer was to sleep in the king's buttery (*bwyd-dy*).³ We are further told "that the men of the maerdref are to make a kiln and barn for the king,

¹ Ven. Code, Book II, chap. xvii, 12.

² Ven. Code, Book I, chap. xxvi, 10.

³ Ven. Code, Book I, chap. xxxiv, 15.

and to supply them when it may be necessary. . . to thresh, kiln-dry, reap, harrow, and mow hay, and provide straw and fuel for the fire as often as the king visited the court (*llys*); and when the king comes to the court they are to present him, according to their ability, with either sheep, or lambs, or kids, or cheese, or butter, or milk."¹

The maer, provost, or bailiff of the maerdref must be distinguished from the commot-maer, or "*maer y cymwd*," who was always an "*uchelwr*" (free tribesman), and one of the chief officers of the commot; and the inferior status of the demesne or maerdref maer is indicated by the undignified title "*maer y biswail*" (the cow-tending maer) which is given to him in the Venedotian Code, where his duties are thus further described²:— "The maer biswail is to regulate the king's palace and what may pertain to it, such as ploughing, sowing, tending the king's cattle, his *hafods* (summer dwellings), and other things which may be necessary . . . and he is to swear for the '*tir bwrdd*' (board land) of the palace, and the *hafod* land, if it be needful to defend them, and the things which may pertain to them."

The "Laws" and the records thus supplement and confirm each other in the matter now under discussion. The important economic point to remember is that maerdref land was always part of the ancient demesne of the princes of Wales.

¹ Ven. Code, Book II, chap. xx, 9.

² Ven. Code, Book II, chap. xx, 5. 8.

Mention has just been made of "tir y bwrdd" or board land. This, according to an old legal definition, was that part of the demesne which the lord kept in his own hands for the supply of his table or board. Accepting this definition for the present, let us put on record some general Welsh evidence relating to this interesting feature of tribal landlordism. A "tir y bwrdd" is included, in the 13th year of James I, among the "terrae dominicales" of the commot of Arwystli uwch coed, the tithes whereof belonged to the lord. It appears also, from the Ven. Archdeacon D. R. Thomas's *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, that certain lands called "board lands" in Melyniog fawr in the parish of Llansantffraid yn Mechain (co. Montgomery) pay two-thirds of their tithes to the lord of the neighbouring (mesne) manor of Dinas. Amongst the papers of the late Sir Richard Puleston (*Hist. MSS. Com. 2nd Report*) is said to be a document of the seventeenth century "touching the tythes issuing out of the lord his demesne, otherwise called bord land, in the lordship and parish of Chirk"—land not now to be identified with certainty. These instances suffice to show that board lands pertained to the demesne, and that there was something peculiar concerning the tithes issuing therefrom.

Further light is thrown on this subject by a consideration of the board lands in the parish of Gresford (co. Denbigh). As in the case of all other lands of that nature, the tithes of the Gresford board lands have an assignment distinct from

that of the other tithes of the parish, being neither vicarial nor rectorial. They belong mostly (but not exclusively) to the representatives in blood or title of the family of Trevor of Trefalyn, lords of the manor of Merford and Hoseley, which was purchased by one of the Trevors from the crown as part of the lordship of Bromfield and Yale. These lands are mainly in Allington, but they also extend into the adjoining townships of Burton and Merford, and contain over 890 acres.¹ Norden's survey of them in 1620 says that the tithe thereof at one time belonged to a free chapel within the castle of Holt, which was in the gift of Henry VIII (as lord of Bromfield), and the land thus titheable was called "Pastland et Tyre Borough."² These lands had already been augmented, to the extent of about 230 statute acres, by exchange for another group of board lands lying in the southern part of the same commot, but this exchange only affected between a third and fourth part of the Gresford board lands, all of which, therefore, represent ancient board lands.³

¹ In Allington, 407 a. o. r. 23 p.; in Burton, 282 a. 1 r. 23 p.; and in Merford, 200 a. 2 r. 26 p.; a total of 890 a. 1 r. 1 p.

² "Tyre borough" is an Englishman's way of rendering "tir bwrdd," which is Welsh for "board land."

³ As to about 150 statute acres of the land so transferred, the exchange was made at an early date, during the rule of one of the earls of Arundel, the last of whom died lord of Bromfield in 1415. Evidence as to this transaction was produced at a survey of the lordship taken in 1562, and it was also shown that the tithe of this last-named group of board lands had pertained to the free chapel within Holt castle; or, in other words, that these (as in the case of all the Gresford

Now we know that the area of the Gresford board lands included the important site called "The Rofft," a flat-topped mound commanding the commot. Adjacent to the mound (which is clearly a military position of early Norman type) is a piece of ground called "Grofft y castell" (the castle croft). There can be but little doubt that the Rofft was the site of the lord of the commot's "llys" or residence, or of that of his "rhaglaw" (deputy), and represents the early *caput* of the commot of Merford.¹

The Gresford board lands also contain the district of Rossett (formerly known as "Yr orsedd goch," the red high seat), the enclosure still called Rossett Green (whereon in the eighteenth century was a gibbet), and the Upper Rossett mill. What is more to the purpose, they include the site of St. Peter's chapel, otherwise known as "the

board lands) were those parts of the demesne which had been assigned for the sustenance of the chaplain of the lord's castle. But Holt castle, afterwards the head of the whole lordship of Bromfield and Yale, was only built at the beginning of the fourteenth century; so that what had probably taken place was that when one of the earlier Warrennes became lord of Bromfield, he transferred the tithes of such part of his demesne as had hitherto been appropriated to the lord's (or board land) chapel situate elsewhere, to his new chapel in Holt castle.

¹ The distinction between the original area of the Gresford board lands and the later accretions is evidenced by the survey of 1562, when the names of the additional closes are given. Thus it seems possible to get back to the time when Bromfield was under the sway of Welsh princes; that is, to the time before the year 1282 when the district was granted to John, earl of Warrenne.

board land chapel," mentioned under that title in 1562, and not pulled down until about the end of the eighteenth century. This building represented the Welsh chieftain's chapel, and long continued as a chapel-of-ease to the parish church. The evidence afforded by a district, containing (as it did) the lord's stronghold, his chapel, his mill, and his "gorsedd" (whatever may be the precise signification of this term)—all distinctive marks of the lord's immediate and personal ownership—is of great importance, and proves the contention that board lands everywhere were part of the ancient demesne, even though it may not always be possible to account for the non-liability to parochial tithe with the convincing certainty of the Gresford instance.

A word as to the appropriation of the tithes accruing from the board lands. Those tithes belonged in every case to the ancient chiefs of the commots, or to such as afterwards represented them in title. From the Welsh "Laws" we learn that the king or prince could apply a third part of the tithes due from his own land to the support of the "offeiriad teulu," or priest of the household.¹ Now, these tithes must have been due in respect of some part of the township wherein stood the "llys" or hall of the commot, which township (as has been shown) contained the "tir bwrdd." There can be no doubt therefore, that as the men of the board land lived near

¹ Ven. Code, Vol. I, Book I, chap. viii, 8.

the chief's residence, they enjoyed the service of the lord's priest; and on this account the lord would be allowed to appropriate the tithes arising from their land in the demesne to the payment of his priest. In other words, the board land tithes of each commot were held in recognition of the provision by the lord of a duly served chapel, which the men of the board land were free to use. It is therefore not surprising to find that in Wrexham (which was the *caput* of the second commot of Bromfield), the tithes of the demesne lands there were accounted for to the lord as "decimæ capellæ" in 1379, and that they continued to be paid so late as 1508.¹

Some additional evidence upon the status of "tir bwrdd" in Anglesey is to be obtained from the *Record of Caernarvon* (A.D. 1352). There was a "tir bwrdd" in the township of Cemmes, the head of the commot of Talybolion, and another

¹ The chapel of St. Hilary, Denbigh, is known to represent the domestic chapel of the lord of the commot of Isaled; its advowson was in the gift of the lord of Denbigh, but the history of its tithes has not been unravelled. The parish church of Llansansior (St. George), near Abergele, seems to have been at first the board land chapel of Dinorben and of Isdulas commot. It stands in the same township (Cegidog ucha) as the maerdref (see p. 102, note 2). Its advowson was in the hands, not of the bishop, but of the lord of Denbighland, in which lordship Isdulas was, and passed afterwards to the crown, whilst its tithes belonged to the prebend of Y Faenol in St. Asaph cathedral. But further knowledge is necessary as to the early history of this church before any certain conclusions can be drawn relating to the points raised in this chapter.

in the demesne township of Penrhos, the head of the commot of Twrcelyn. In each case the township was divided into three parts (*de trinâ natura*), whereof the first was in the tenure of "gwyr male" (that is, gwyr mâl), or men who rendered money in commutation for grain, the second of "gwyr gwaith," or men who gave work; and the third of "gwyr tir borth" (gwyr tir bwrdd), men of the board land. Each of these classes held its land in gafaels. The township of Rhosfair, the head of the commot of Menai, was also divided into three parts, one part being occupied by "free natives," and another by "pure natives" or maerdref men, corresponding apparently to the "gwyr mâl" and "gwyr gwaith" of Cemmes and Penrhos; but the third part, which we should expect to correspond with the board lands of those townships, was in the tenure of "gardynemen," who occupied not gafaels, but "gerddi," or gardens. These men did not answer to the ordinary board land tenants, but are comparable rather to the crofters of north-west Scotland and of the western isles. As a matter of fact, the "gwyr gwaith" in two instances, and the maerdref men of Rhosfair, built and kept in repair various buildings pertaining to the lord's llys (manor-house),¹ as well as the lord's mill, and carried timber and victuals; the "gwyr mâl" and free

¹ The repair of the lord's manor-house in Cemmes formed a charge upon other tenants, free as well as native, of the cantred of Cemmes, which included the commots of Talybolion (in which was the township of Cemmes) and Twrcelyn.

natives of the three townships rendered mainly money. It is therefore pretty certain that the board land in Cemmes township was part of the demesne, and formed a hamlet of demesne land called "Tir Bwrdd."¹

Whatever might have been the case in England, it is improbable that in Wales the demesne extended into the common fields, or that the lord had any permanent share in the latter. There certainly are (or were) in the lordship of Bromfield quillets bearing such names as "Erw sete" and "Erw sheet," which one is tempted to regard as characteristic of the lord's demesne; and there can be no doubt (as indeed Norden's survey of 1620 makes abundantly plain), that "sete" stands for "escheat." In that year the whole of one field in the manor of Pickhill and Sesswick was called "Tyre sete" (escheat land), and it contained many quillets held by various tenants under leases. The name "erw'r arglwydd" (the lord's erw) might also be quoted; but such instances are not sufficient to establish the existence of anything more than an accidental share by the lord, as such, in the common fields and meadows.

It is interesting to note that the whole community, villata, or township, was sometimes charged with the issues of escheat lands within it. Many examples of this practice are found recorded in the survey of the lordship of Bromfield and Yale of 23rd Henry VII. Thus, various townships of Yale are said to be severally

¹ *Record of Caernarvon*, p 65.

responsible for the land of so-and-so, and in Ruabon (in Bromfield) the villata had to account for corn and money rents due from certain escheat lands there. But the most illuminating example supplied in the survey is that of the manor of Merford and Hoseley, where the villata had to render, as issues of escheat lands within its limits, not merely money rents of escheated selions, but autumn and mowing works, oats, corn, hens and lambs, or the commuted price of the same.

CHAPTER VIII

DETACHED PORTIONS OF TOWNSHIPS

THE causes of the detachment of certain portions of one township from the body of that township have their origin in certain arrangements, some of which appear to ascend into the period of Welsh rule, and will repay our consideration.

I. In the great lordship of Bromfield (Maelor Gymraeg), the abbot of Valle Crucis had some land in separate and detached pieces. Until the year 1884 five portions of the township of Wrexham Abbot were enclosed within the township of Wrexham Regis; the largest piece (about 123 acres) was a portion of the old common pasture of the ancient undivided township of Wrexham; three others of quite small area adjoined the old common fields of Wrexham Regis, and were probably once part of those fields; a fifth portion is difficult of explanation, and may be left.

II. Two other townships of the same great lordship, Cacca Dutton and Dutton Diffaeth in the parish of Isycoed, lay, until the year 1885, each in detached portions, which may be explained in part as representing other townships, differently

named, which they had absorbed, and in part as representing the claim of the lord of Maelor Saesneg to a part of Dutton.

III. So late as 1884 a portion of Esclusham lay detached within the very heart of the town of Wrexham, where it included the old vicarage and its garden, and other property belonging wholly to the parochial glebe. And until the same year a detached portion of the township of Gresford was surrounded by Hoseley and Burras Hovah. It contained the old vicarage of the parish of Gresford ("the Elms"), and (as in Esclusham) this insulated district belonged wholly to the parochial glebe. It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the old vicarage house of Gresford and its precincts, which belonged geographically to Hoseley, a servile township, were purposely attached for administrative reasons to the free township of Gresford, just as the old vicarage house of Wrexham and its precincts, situate in the middle of that town, which was composed of two servile manors, were attached to the free township of Esclusham. The object in both cases was probably to emancipate the priest of the church, and the lands directly attached to his house, from servile dues and obligations, such as autumn reaping and mowing works.

IV. Another group of detached portions of the same lordship exhibits some interesting features.

The detached portions of Esclusham adjoining Minera, called "Park" and "Hafod y Wergir"

(see p. 98), were the "havod-dir" or summer pasture of the lord of Wrexham Abbot and the lord of Bromfield respectively, and belonged to the demesne in each case.

As regards the detached portion of Allington which formed an *enclave* within the boundaries of Merford, Hoseley, and Gresford, it is important to remember that it contained the area (54½ acres) called "the Rofft," still partially enclosed by banks, not far from Rossett railway station. Here is the fine artificial mound specially known by that name, with the bailey or court and other land belonging to it. Now, it has been shown (p. 108) that there is reason to believe that in the Welsh period the Rofft was the site of the llys or residence of the Welsh chief, and the head of the commot (but not the township) of Merford. When the maerdref of Merford and Hoseley was formed into a manor of *nativi*, the Rofft and its precincts, being (as the chief's personal holding) "free," were (it would appear) attached to the neighbouring township of Allington because it too was free. It has already been pointed out as an interesting circumstance that the Rofft, having almost certainly formed part of the lord's demesne, first paid tithes, not to the regular parish church of Gresford, but to the boardland chapel at Rossett, and later to the lord's free chapel in Holt castle.

As regards the piece of land called "the Parkey" (*y parkè*, the parks), geographically situate in that part of the town of Wrexham formerly

known as the township of Wrexham Abbot, there is good ground for the belief that it was at one time regarded as a detached portion of Wrexham Regis, and identical with the area called "Parke y llis"¹ (the hall park), belonging to that township, described by Norden in 1620 as containing 24 (customary, or about 50 statute) acres. The suggestion naturally occurs that this tract pertained in some special way to the llÿs or court house of the old undivided township of Wrexham,² and that a little before the year 1202 it was "reserved," when all the land around it was granted to the abbey of Valle Crucis as the new manor of Wrexham Abbot. "Parc y llÿs," which was larger in 1620 than it now is, was not leased on a forty years' term, as was the case with nearly all the unfree land in Wrexham. There was evidently something peculiar about its tenure, and in any event it appears to have been of the nature of demesne; and this is the point which, in connexion with the present chapter, has to be borne in mind.

As a point of minute topographical interest, though it may have important parallels elsewhere upon Welsh ground, a distinction must be drawn between the site of the court house of the town

¹ "Parke y llis" for *Parcè 'r llÿs*," The *e* in "Parke" probably represents the local plural, and explains the later name "Parkey."

² In the accounts of the two bailiffs for the township of Wrexham Regis for the year 1449-50 the rent of the herbage of "three places around the hall of pleas there, formerly called parkllis," is returned.

of Wrexham and that of the castle of the commot (or hundred) of Wrexham. It is most unlikely that the castle of Wrexham commot stood within the Parkey. The surface of that area is irregular, but contains no strong defensive position at all comparable to the Rofft. That fortified post probably represents the old castle of "Hodeslea" (Hoseley), and was certainly the head of the commot of Merford, though detached from the townships of Merford and Hoseley and treated as a portion of a free township adjoining. By parity of reasoning we may suppose that the old castle of Wrexham is not likely to have been in Wrexham itself, because the latter commot was almost wholly in bond tenure, while the lord's castle would certainly stand upon "free" ground. This conjecture is borne out by the fact that less than a furlong to the west of the boundary of Wrexham, the little township of Erddig, which itself is made up of only 302½ acres, contains a fortified post having many analogies with the Rofft, and forming an immensely strong defensive position at the confluence of two streams. The castle, which is of the mound-and-bailey order, possessed inner and outer enclosures, the course of which can still be traced.¹ The work stands just east of Wat's Dyke, which is cleverly utilised to provide an additional defence. There is fairly abundant evidence that this post was

¹ The inner ballium forms an irregular square, 82 yards wide in one direction, and 73 yards in another. The corners are rounded

called "y castell" (the castle) down to comparatively recent times, a name betokening the residence of the lord of the district. In 1619 "Cae'r Castell" (Castle field) in Erddig is named, and in 1620 "Top y castell" (castle summit), and "Dol dan dop y castell" (the meadow below the castle top) are mentioned; and it unquestionably is the "castell great" thus described by a traveller in 1574: "Within a quarter of a myle (of the town of Wrexham) toward Ruabon, in park glyn, standeth the ruynes of a castell great which somtymes was the chief howse of the prince of Bromfelde" (British Museum, *Harley MS.* 473, fo. 24).¹ We may therefore confidently assert that the imposing mound of Erddig formed the site of the old castle of Wrexham, the head not of the town but of the commot of that name.

The well-known castle of Dinas Brân, above the town of Llangollen, did not stand within the commot of Yale, but was in the adjoining township of Dinbren. Dinbren was in the commot of Isclawdd alias Y Waun, and in Chirkland.²

¹ Quoted in Owen's *Catalogue of the MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*, p. 153. "Park glyn," within or close to which stands this great earthwork, was one of the ancient parks of Bromfield, named in full "Parc Glyn Clywedog" (the park of the dale of the Clywedog), and lay in the demesne. Park Glyn extended into the townships of Wrexham and Esclusham, and that part of Erddig township which did not belong to the demesne was free.

² Dinas Brân and its precincts formed apparently a wholly detached *enclave* in the township of Dinbren, the rest of

In the commot of Yale the moated mound of Tomen y faerdre is not in the township of Llanarmon, the caput of the commot, but in that of Creigiog is glan, and separated from Llanarmon by the river Alyn.¹ Somewhat similar phenomena appear sometimes in England.²

Two detached parts of the township of Overton Villa (in Maelor Saesneg), containing respectively about $28\frac{3}{4}$ and $25\frac{3}{4}$ acres, are surrounded by the township of Knolton, but of them no certain knowledge seems now attainable; but Asney, the third detached portion of the same township, of about 5 acres, on the bank of the Dee below Overton bridge, formed very probably the site of the lord's mill of Overton, which is known to have stood on the river. If so, this detached portion must also have been demesne land. It is quite clear, from a charter dated 1292, that Overton castle, which of course would be in demesne, stood close to Asney.³

which township belonged to the commot of Isclawdd, as noted above. Isclawdd extended on both sides the Dee and Offa's dyke, and took its name from Clawdd y Mynydd or Clawdd Du, a dyke whose identity has been confused with the better known work of Offa. It is difficult to withstand the suggestion that the name Dinas Brân did not grow out of Dinbren, but there is no evidence either way.

¹ The portion of Creigiog is glan not in demesne appears to have been of free status, being attached to the manor of Yale Raglaria (the free community area), and not to that of Yale Praepositura (the area of the lord's provostry).

² See Maitland's *Township and Borough*.

³ Overton castle was washed away centuries ago during one of the rages of the Dee, but while it stood it was the head of Maelor Saesneg, and by that fact belonged to the demesne.

The detached portion of Merford, which until 1884 lay by Rosset bridge, included the well-known mill called Merford mill.¹ This was aforesaid the lord's "custom mill" for the tenants of Merford and Hoseley, and still belongs to the modern lords of the same manor. It must therefore have been upon demesne land.²

Enough has probably been said in proof of the view that though the lord's castle, park, court house, hafod, mill, or meadow may have been detached from the area with which they were politically and economically connected, the land which they occupied should always be regarded as falling within the lord's part of the manor. In other words, the land was always part of the lord's demesne.³

¹ Also called the Rossett lower mill.

² The history of Merford lower mill is a complicated one. It was first built about the year 1474, apparently to take the place of the upper mill near at hand, but reckoned to be in Burton township. It would appear that the lords of Hopedale had claims to (amongst other places) the township of Burton, and a rearrangement of the bounds of Burton, Merford and Allington seems to have taken place. Therefore, although Merford mill and its surroundings were part of the demesne, their detachment does not seem to be due to the same circumstances as prevailed in the instances previously given.

³ A possible instance of enclaves of meadow or other lands in demesne may here be cited. In 1620 three fields (two called respectively "the six acres," and one "the thirteen acres") were situate in the franchise of Holt, and belonged to the demesne of the castle there, though attached to the servile manor of Hewlington. The most probable explanation of this fact would seem to be that at a much earlier date the men of Hewlington owed and rendered some kind of work in respect of

V. A few words further may be permitted on several areas which owe their detachment from their main body to peculiar circumstances. Portions of Bodidris in Yale, and Erbistock¹ in Bromfield, owed their attachment to the lordship of Maelor Saesneg (whereof Overton was the head) to the desire of king Edward I to strengthen the English power in the border borough of Overton. We learn that on April 11, 1300, a writ was issued to Richard de Massy, justice of Chester, to bargain with certain Welshmen who held lands adjoining the king's town of Overton, and to exchange those lands for certain of the king's demesne lands in Bangor (is y coed), Erbistock, and Bodidris, if such exchange should be agreeable to the said Welshmen and be to the profit of the king, who desired to enlarge the area of the lands to be holden by his burgesses of Overton (*Close Rolls*, 28 Edw. I, m. 8).

Situate by geographical position in Bromfield, the township of Abenbury Fechan, or a great portion of it, was as late as 1884 regarded as annexed to the lordship of Maelor Saesneg; but why this should have been cannot at present be explained. Part thereof was delivered in 1385-6

these fields, perhaps mowing or reaping the lord's meadow, as we have seen the chief's tenants in Anglesey owed duties to the neighbouring "llys."

¹ A small part of Erbistock, namely a portion of Eyton park (see chap. vi, p. 92), had been granted in 1278 to Robert de Crevequer, with the rest of Maelor Saesneg, and seems to have followed the fortunes and come to be regarded as a portion of it.

to John, son of Roger Lestrangle, lord of Maelor Saesneg, having previously been held in dower by Alina, wife of the said Roger. Another part, portion of the manor of Morton in Bromfield, was attached to that manor throughout the mediaeval epoch, and as late as the end of the reign of queen Elizabeth. But, when the manor courts of Morton ceased to be held, the Bromfield part of Abenbury Fechan either fell into the main portion of Abenbury Fawr, or became absorbed in the Maelor Saesneg share of Abenbury Fechan. Also attached to Abenbury Fechan were three small areas lying scattered throughout Abenbury Fawr. One of these, containing 11 acres and a water corn mill (Pumrhyd mill) may have supplied common pasture for the tenants of the main portion of Abenbury Fechan, but the two other areas (Tyfod and Hwla) are so insignificant that any suggestion relating to them would be valueless.

By far the greater number of the detached portions of townships in this district is thus accounted for; and it seems probable that if the opportunity of examining more documents belonging to the remaining portions had presented itself, they would have been found equally capable of explanation.¹

From what has been said concerning these detached portions, it will readily be seen that

¹ In some cases a stream changing its course has cut off certain areas from the main bodies of the townships to which they belong; but these are not "detached" portions in the sense treated above.

important hints may often be derived from their position as to the former arrangement of the common and demesne lands of the townships in which such portions occur. Observations upon the detached portions of townships take their place accordingly among the other apparatus of investigation which has to be considered.

It is perhaps necessary to say in conclusion that none of the principles of identification laid down in the foregoing chapters, taken singly, can be regarded as absolute. But when the inferences derived from the application of many of them to a particular case agree, those inferences, rationally interpreted, may safely be trusted. And it may be added that although these same principles of identification have been deduced from the examination of a single district, there is reason to believe them equally applicable to other districts within the marches of Wales, and, in a less degree, to some of the counties of England itself.

CHAPTER IX

THE PRE-MANORIAL EPOCH, AND THE RISE OF THE MANORIAL SYSTEM

MOST of that which has hitherto been said has related in the first place to the ancient tenures of land as they existed under the manorial system in the eastern district of the modern county of Denbigh, known as the lordship of Bromfield and Yale. Where reference has also been made to the conditions of the preceding system and epoch, this has only been made to the extent requisite for illustrating the conditions which were being specially treated. It is now necessary to inquire in what relation these two systems and epochs stood to each other. Was the manorial system built upon the ruins of that which preceded it ; or did it grow out of the earlier system ; or was it in part a development, and in part a new order imposed from without ? To the affirmative answer suggested by the form of the last question an unhesitating adhesion may be given. The manorial system, as it existed in Powys, and indeed throughout Wales, was undoubtedly a development of the landed system described in general and roughly approximate terms in the Welsh Laws, a development determined in the course

it took by the results of the subjection of Wales to the English power. As to the precise course of this development, and the extent to which, when first introduced, the intrusive element operated in particular districts, there is much that remains doubtful. But the general lines upon which it proceeded are fairly clear. What has now to be attempted is a description of the chief points of contact between the earlier system and the later, the suggestion of some of the probable channels of change by which one passed into the other, and, as far as possible, the indication of the historical events by which that process was influenced or accompanied. The labour involved in this attempt will not be thrown away if any light be thereby shed upon a subject which, while here and there obscure, is as attractive as it is important.

It may be well to remind the reader that in the period immediately preceding the Norman conquest of England, Wales was divided into four princedoms or provinces—Dyfed (Demetia), Gwent, Gwynedd (Venedotia), and Powys, corresponding roughly, but not exactly, to the four dioceses, St. David's, Llandaff, Bangor and St. Asaph. There were also some petty divisions under minor chieftains. Powys came to be divided into two parts, Powys Wenwynwyn and Powys Fadog, forming the southern and northern portions of the province respectively, each under its own ruler or "brenin" (king). The first-named of these divisions of ancient Powys is now generally called

"Powysland," as though it formed the whole of that province; but Powys Fadog was probably the more important half of the original Powys, by reason of its contiguity to England, and it is of it that we shall mainly treat.

The principal seat of the chief of Powys Fadog was Dinas Brân near Llangollen, and that of the chief of Powys Wenwynwyn was Mathrafal in co. Montgomery.

From what is conveniently but not very accurately termed the Venedotian Code of the Welsh Laws, we learn what were the leading features of the social and political organization of North Wales before the conquest of that district.¹

The princedoms, kingdoms and under-kingdoms of Wales were divided into "cantrefydd" (plural of "cantref") or groups, presumed to contain a hundred townships.² Each cantref (a term often Englished into "cantred") is supposed throughout the Venedotian Code (see especially Book II, chap. xvii, 12) to contain two "cym-

¹ The oldest version of the Venedotian Code is contained in the codex called "The Black Book of Chirk" (Peniarth MS. 29), and, according to Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, "seems to have been written about 1200." The first Latin version of the Laws is still older, but appears to relate more particularly to South Wales. The *Cyvreithiau Amryval*, a title which Mr. Aneurin Owen translated as "Anomalous Laws," instead of "Various (or "Miscellaneous") Laws," although too late in date to be "laws" properly so called, contain an uncertain amount of traditional matter handed down from an earlier time, but they are to be used with caution.

² The English "hundred" for fiscal purposes was assumed to contain a hundred hides.

ydau" (plural of "cymwd") or "commots." Although in the time of purely Welsh rule a more or less close connexion must have existed between the various commots of the cantred, the tendency was for the commot to be self-contained. Except in a few cases,¹ it was treated as an almost independent district, having its own llÿs, maerdref, havod-dir, etc., for the lord's sustenance, and also its own set of officers. In the oldest lists of cantreds and commots, while the names of the latter are given, generally with accuracy, the names of the cantreds, to which they are supposed to have pertained, are often omitted, having been in fact forgotten. And,

¹ Two or three of the exceptions may perhaps be noted. In Anglesey the commots of Malldraeth and Llifon, forming the cantred of Aberffraw, held together because the chief palace of the princes of Gwynedd was situate in the tref of Aberffraw (in Malldraeth), and the work on that palace was such as to require the services of all liable to labour on the prince's hall from both commots, there being no similar llÿs or hall to maintain in Llifon. So in the adjoining cantred of Cemmes, composed of the commots of Talybolion and Twrcelyn, the prince had a llÿs in either commot, which the commots were grouped together to sustain. The prince of Gwynedd often lived also at Aber near Bangor, in county Carnarvon. Now the cantred of Aber was comprised of three commots, Arllechwedd ucha, Arllechwedd issa, and Nant Conwy, and men of the first-named two commots either worked at or compounded for the repair of the prince's dwelling at Aber, and so were connected; while the third commot was liable to no such obligation, and was practically self-contained. The case of Englefield (Tegeingl), having three commots, but forming for certain purposes one administrative unit, is again exceptional; but the statement that the commot tended to be complete in itself, may be taken to represent the normal state of things.

as against the fictitious arrangement described in the Laws, it should be said that as a matter of fact the cantreds of Wales are found to have more often contained three commots than two.¹

To resume the examination of the Laws. The two chief officers of the commot were the "maer" or mayor, and the "canghellor" or chancellor. The first, whom we may call "maer y cymwd," to distinguish him from the maer of the maerdref (see chap. vii, p. 105), is described as administering the affairs of the commot, and as being responsible for the lord's dues; he was a sort of seneschal or steward, and was always a freeman. The canghellor was also a freeman; he held the pleas of the lord, and was largely associated with the maer in the civil government of the district. Another officer of the commot was the "rhingyll," that is the usher, summoner or bailiff, called in English the "ringild." Besides the chancellor there was in each commot a judge, that is, an official exercising strictly judicial functions; and there were other officers who need not here be named.

The commot was assumed to be divided into twelve maenols (maenolydd), or tracts, each of which contained four trefs or townships. Forty-eight of the fifty townships supposed to be included in the commot are thus accounted for, the remaining two townships not being included within any

¹ In South Wales the two-commot cantred is an exception; most cantreds there contained three commots, and some more than three.

maenol. These are assigned for the special use of the lord, one as his maerdref, and the other his waste and havod-dir. Of the twelve maenols eight were free, and four more or less servile. So far the Laws.

Now, we have already seen (pp. 52, 53) that in the survey of the lordship of Denbigh of the year 1335, a free kindred sometimes occupied a group of townships, and the same custom prevailed in the lordship of Bromfield, where the third part of Ruyton, the fourth part of Marchwiel, and the whole of Gwersyllt and Sutton Isycoed were held together by one kindred. Furthermore, some of the free townships of Bromfield were arranged in groups called "ringildries," which may have corresponded to the "maenols," though this designation was never, so far as is known, applied to them. The name "maenol," or in its definite use as a place-name, "Y Faenol,"¹ has not in fact lived on in north-east Wales to our own days, except as the name of two townships—one in the old parish of St. Asaph, and the other in the parish of Llanarmon Dyffryn Clwyd.

Reverting to the Venedotian Code, the farmsteads or "tyddyns" of the free maenols were occupied for the most part by the "uchelwyr" (plural of "uchelwr"), sometimes called "gwyrda," and by their tenants. The word "uchelwr," literally translated, signifies "high man," and

¹ The Welsh F is pronounced as the English V. The South Wales form of the word "maenol" was more often "maenor."

"gwrda" "a man of substance."¹ In the Latin editions of the Laws "uchelwr" is translated "optimas," which means a man of rank, and from the point of status he was, as Dr. Seebohm has aptly termed him, "a free tribesman." The uchelwyr were assumed to be of free and pure descent, and possessed of the franchises and immunities which that descent conferred. They were grouped in tribes or kindreds ("cenedlau" or "cenedloedd"), in which all the members claimed to be descended from the same common forefather, or, as it was more common to say, from the same "gwely" or bed; and the land they occupied was called "tir gwelyog" or bedded land, meaning land the right to which was based on heredity. These tribes had in general each its own "pencenedl" or chief of kindred, who had great power and influence.

The responsibility of the tribe or kindred has been amply discussed by Dr. Seebohm in his *Tribal System in Wales*, but for our present purpose it is more important to note that the kindred kept together to the fourth generation as a land-holding unit, after which the land became partible amongst the kin-family then living. The land thus subject to division lay in gwelys or gafaels; but how the English conquest of Wales affected the partition of these gwelys and gafaels remains uncertain. In many, probably in most

¹ "Da" in South Wales is often used for cattle, and the "gwrda" was the *proprietary* of flocks and herds.

instances, where the power of the crown officials was brought to bear directly upon the Welsh system, the gwelys became fixed in the then holders, though division amongst their heirs, *inter se*, continued where gavelkind prevailed. We read of the "heirs and tenants" of many such holdings; and it is quite possible that the custom which arose whereby the heirs let the gwely to tenants, and divided the rent among themselves, up to the third generation after the first proprietor, according to certain ascertained methods of inheritance, may, under English influence, have been grafted upon the rules of Welsh gavelkind.¹

In Maelor Saesneg, until the 27th year of Henry VIII, which abolished gavelkind, lands subject to that custom continued to be equally divided among the sons of the deceased proprietor (see the instance discussed on pp. 39-41. But two centuries earlier, according to the survey of the lordship of Denbigh, heirship in the third degree of land of Welsh tenure was fully recognized in that lordship, and so no doubt generally throughout North Wales.

The payment of a heriot, which was practically universal, might be regarded as evidence that the land from which the heriot was due was not Welsh *tir gwelyog*, that is, not heritable according to Welsh laws of succession; but it probably signified no more than the visible expression of

¹ Ven. Code, Book II, chap. xii, 3-5, and see Seebohm's *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, pp. 27-9.

the sons or brothers taking their place among the heirs of the gwely.

From each maenol occupied by free tribesmen the lord of the commot received a "gwestfa" or fixed render of food in winter,¹ which probably took the place of the entertainment that, at an earlier time, the lord could exact from the uchelwyr at their tribal dwellings. Where gwestfa was not rendered a pound of 240 pence, called the "punt dwnc" (the "tunk" or fealty pound), was paid; and this payment, under the name of "tunk rent," has survived in many parts of Wales down to our own day.

Along with the gwestfa, twenty-four pence were paid as supper-money ("arian cwynos") to the king's (or lord's) servants. The uchelwyr were not subject to "cylch" (circuit or progress), except the great progress of the household in winter.²

There were also due from the uchelwyr military service for six weeks in the year outside the country, and at any time within it,³

¹ It consisted according to the Venedotian Code (Book II, chap. xxvi, 1) of a horse load of the best meal; the carcase of a cow or ox; a full "cerwyn," or vat, of mead (or two vats of "bragot," or four of beer); seven thraves of oats (a thrave in the adjoining county of Chester being 24 sheaves); a three-year-old hog or sow; a salted flitch, three fist-breadths in thickness; and a vessel of butter, three hand-breadths deep and three broad. The word "cerwyn" is still used in the lordship of Bromfield for a kind of mashing or brewing tub; and "bragot" or "bragawd" was a spiced mixture of beer and mead.

² Ven. Code, Book II, chap. xix, 6.

³ Ven. Code, Book II, chap. xix, 7.

and also work at the castles¹; “*ebediw*” (from the Latin “*obitus*,” death), corresponding to the English “*heriot*,” a render payable on the death of each *uchelwr*, and varying according to circumstances; and “*amobr*,” a payment on the marriage of the *uchelwr*’s daughter, also variable in amount.

The characteristic occupiers of the eight free *maenols* of the *commot* were *uchelwyr*. The four remaining *maenols* of the *commot* were in servile holding and inhabited by “*eilltion*” (plural of “*aillt*”) or “*taeogion*” (plural of “*taeog*”), a class of men called “*villani*” in the Latin editions of the Laws, whom we shall therefore henceforth designate, wherever possible, “*villeins*,” or servile tenants.

The *villeins* of the bond townships (*taeog-drefydd*) were not slaves. In the codes they are treated as kinless men, men of little privilege, who were undergoing the process of being made into Welshmen capable of holding unprivileged (that is, servile) land. But this was a long process, and there is nothing in the Venedotian Code to show that it prevailed to any large extent.² The land of the servile townships was known as

¹ Ven. Code, Book II, chap. xix, 8. This provision is an echo of the well-known obligations of Anglo-Saxon custom, and may have been derived therefrom.

² A *taeog* who became a scholar, a smith, or a bard by permission of his lord was thereby emancipated (Ven. Code, Book I, chap. xliii, 11), but this permission could relate only to a few cases, and there is no actual evidence of its operation.

“*tir cyllidus*,”¹ that is tributary or taxable land; and in the Venedotian Code (Book II, ch. xii, 6-7) it is laid down that such land was not to be divided between brothers, but shared equally between all in the *tref* (township) by the *maer* and *canghellor*. On that account it was called “*tir cyfrif*,” or register land, and in such a servile township there could be no extinguished or escheated *erw* (“*erw ddiffodedig*”); but if any *erw* should be liable to escheat, the *maer* and *canghellor* were to share it in common among all. No *villein* was to be removed from his legal *tyddyn* if an equivalent could be obtained from other land. It is possible that in these arrangements we have an archaic state of things wherein heirship was not recognized, but equality of holding was ensured by each man having his own *tyddyn* or farmstead, as far as might be.

However, bonds of kindred amongst the *villeins* similar to those that cemented the free tribesmen together, prevailed at the time of the English surveys, for unfree land is shown to be held in heritable *gwelys* and *gafaels* as often and apparently as abundantly as free.

The food render from the bond *maenols* is called in the Laws a “*dawnbwyd*,” one being due in summer and the other in winter. These food-gifts were not heavy, but the tenants of the bond groupings had to perform work upon the lord’s

¹ But in the year 1404 *Mochnant ringildry*, which was mainly free, rendered an annual payment called “*kyllyt*” (*cyllid*), (*Ministers’ Accounts*, 1234-9).

hall ("neuadd"), and at six of the other buildings appurtenant thereto (among which the lord's chapel is not named), to furnish a hatchet-man from every tref to form encampments in the hosts, and to do other work not distinctly mentioned in the code. It is clear that labour of a very onerous kind was the most important render to which the men of the servile townships were liable.¹

The maer and canghellor had a circuit ("cylch") among the villeins once in the year during the winter, and upon the servile tenants also fell the support of the lord's dogs, huntsmen, falconers, and youthful followers ("macwyaid"² or "gweision bychain"). The status of the "alltudion" (strangers) will be discussed at a later stage of this inquiry. Many of them are quite naturally found settled upon the chief's maerdref or demesne, or on escheated or waste land, where, if they remained, they became (according to the Laws) in the fourth generation a kindred holding as villeins. In like manner an uchelwr might place alltuds on land of his own, where it was possible for them to become at last native to the kindred. The whole subject has been discussed so lucidly by Dr. Seebohm in his *Tribal System in Wales* (pp. 120-125) that the reader is referred to that statement. However, it may be observed that these alltuds seated on native

¹ Ven. Code, Book II, chap. xxvii, 1-3.

² Ven. Code, Book II, chap. xix, 2.

land are to be identified with the "advocarii" of the English surveys and extents, and as such they will be discussed more fully later on.

So far as reference has hitherto been made to the "brenin," or prince, he has been regarded, for the most part, as lord of the commot. Commots and cantreds within the principedom were in theory divisible among the members of the princely family, and sometimes they were so divided in practice, according to the rules of Welsh succession, a practice qualified by internecine wars, by massacre and mutilation. There was therefore a tendency to vest the principedom in the eldest or most capable man of the family, who ruled through his raglots in the commots or cantreds where he did not usually live. The Welsh chieftain, in fact, even in the period covered by the Laws, tended to become a semi-feudal ruler, who, if he allowed his near relatives to assume the control of commots and cantreds, only did so as sworn men and sub-reguli to him.

So far we have summarised the evidence of the Venedotian Code upon such features of Welsh land-holding as may be presumed to have influenced the very different system which succeeded it.

But before entering upon the tenurial condition of the great lordship of Bromfield in the two or three centuries following the conquest of Edward I, a few remarks are necessary upon the earlier history of the district, and that of Maelor Saesneg.

The conquests of Aethelfrith¹ and Eadwin, kings of the Northumbrian Angles, important as in some respects they were, lacked the character of permanency, and could have had little influence upon the social organization of the people of these districts. Offa, king of the Mercian Angles (755–796), was probably the first of the English rulers who really established his authority here. The great work he caused to be made, stretching from the mouth of the Dee to the mouth of the Wye, which Welsh and English alike call after his name “Clawdd Offa”—Offa’s Dyke—took in that part of Wales which he found himself able to retain by the importation of Mercian settlers. It was, however, only the eastern part of what is now the county of Denbigh which was in any way effectively settled by Englishmen, and even at the present day there are large tracts of country on the English side of the dyke where Welsh is quite as commonly spoken as English. Indeed, less than three hundred years ago, except in the town of Holt on the English border, Welsh was the language spoken by the great majority of the people throughout the lordship of Bromfield. We might suppose, then, that seven hundred years earlier, between the reign of Offa and the Norman conquest of England, the inhabitants of Maelor, although subject to the English power, would

¹ Aethelfrith was the victor at the battle of Chester, when many of the monks of Bangor is y coed were put to the sword. This happened in A.D. 613, according to the *Annales Cambriae*, but in 617, according to the latest English authorities.

be almost exclusively Welsh in blood and speech. The dominant power is nevertheless shown in the fact that while the field and farm nomenclature of the district was, up to three centuries ago, almost wholly Welsh, and still is largely so, most of the townships bear English or half-English names, and that all these names are very ancient. Eyton is mentioned as early as 1043,¹ and at the date of the Domesday Survey, or a little earlier, it was held (with other neighbouring lands) by the great Mercian ecclesiastical centre of Lichfield. Besides Eyton, the following townships of Bromfield are included in the Domesday of Cheshire: Sutton, Allington, Odeslei (Hoseley), Chespuic (Sesswick), and Grefford (Gresford). These are clearly not Welsh names that have been Anglicized. As regards the great lordship of Maelor Saesneg the township names are predominantly English, and three of them appear in Domesday as belonging to Cheshire, namely Beddesfeld (Bettisfield), Hurdingerie (Worthenbury), and Burwardestone, the latter probably represented by the modern “Burton’s Wood”; and in this district the bishop of Lichfield, as the representative of St. Chad, claimed lands part whereof his predecessor held in the time of Canute.² All the before-named townships, or manors (as it may now be more accurate to term them), are

¹ In that year Leofric, earl of Mercia, gave Eyton to the minster which he had founded at Coventry in honour of St. Chad.

² Two hides in Bettisfield, lost since the time of Canute, and a hide and a half and a salt work in Burwardestone.

described in the Survey as having been held in the reign of Edward the Confessor by English over-lords. Other English place-names in the district are also found which, when first met with, at a much later date than Domesday, show that they must have been in actual use for a long period. Among these many are undoubtedly partly English and partly Welsh, but the purely Welsh names are almost entirely confined to the western part of the district.¹ It is probable, as has been already suggested, that although not mentioned in the Domesday Survey, these names were really then in use, and had arisen during the English period.

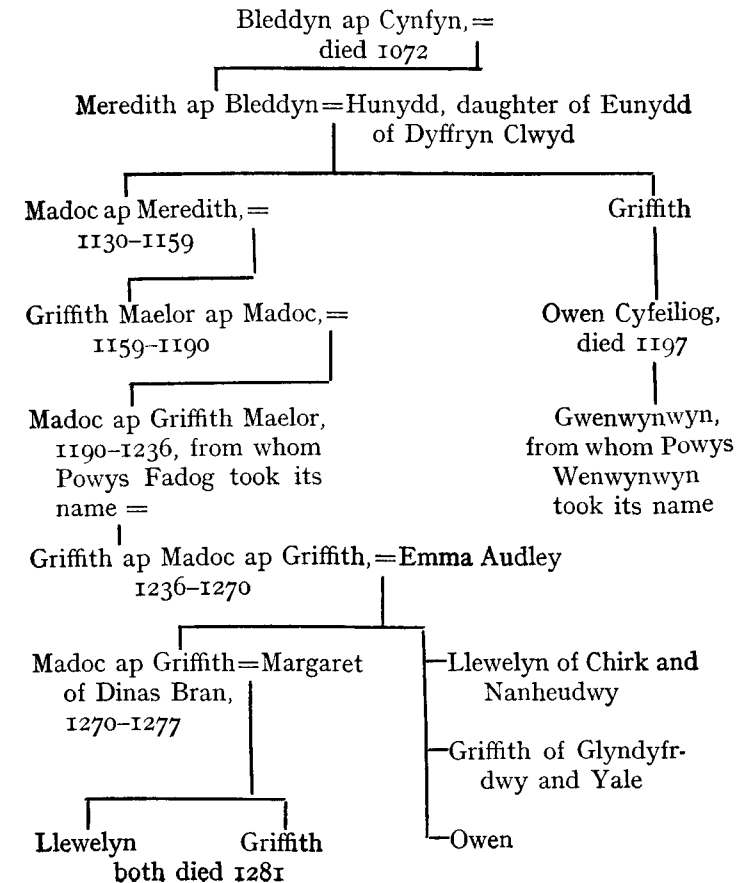
Not very long after A.D. 1086 all the district that afterwards became east Denbighshire passed directly under the sway of the Welsh princes of Powys Fadog (northern Powys)—a pedigree of whom is given on the opposite page—and so remained for about two hundred years.

Now, it is during this very period, or immediately after it, that many of the English names just quoted are first found. But they are then mentioned as names well established; and since it is difficult to believe that they could have arisen during the two centuries of Welsh supremacy (1100–1282), we shall probably be right in referring them to the earlier period of English predominance. The same remark may be made as to “Bromfield,” the English name of the greater part of the dis-

¹ For the nomenclature of townships and hamlets in the area now in question, see Appendix III.

trict now under discussion. Griffith ap Meredith, prince of Powys Fadog, who was its chieftain from 1230 to 1270, describes himself in an undated document as “lord of Bromfield” (*dominus de Bromfeld*), which he would not have done if the English name of the district (not less than the

CONDENSED PEDIGREE OF THE LATER PRINCES OF POWYS



Welsh name "Maelor") was not already fully recognized. We also learn from the *Chronicle of St. Werburgh*, that Hugh Cyfeiliog, earl of Chester, took (temporarily) "the whole of Bromfield on Whit Monday, June 13, 1177." The name, however, does not occur in Domesday, all the townships or manors in Bromfield which are therein named being described (with Hope—an unmistakably English name) as lying in the Cheshire hundred of Exestan. What in fact happened is that for some time subsequent to the reign of Offa, the process of Anglicization went on only a little less completely than it was proceeding in Shropshire, and it continued so far that in the eastern parts nearly all the townships, and in the central parts more than half of them, acquired English names. Changes so far-reaching as these must have been accompanied by a certain displacement of the original population. The extension of the pre-Norman English element in the district reached its furthest limits when the power of the English was at its height, and was arrested when that power was sapped by the Norse invasions of England. In fact, during those invasions the Welsh pressed hard upon the English, and managed to regain some of their lost ground. Domesday has a significant entry under Eyton in Bromfield that king Edward gave to king Griffin "all the land which lay across the water called Dee." The Edward here mentioned was king Edward the Confessor, and the king Griffin was Griffith

ap Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, the most powerful Welsh chieftain of the period. We may be quite certain that king Edward would not have given the land across the Dee (that is, Maelor Saesneg) to Griffith, if the latter had not already taken it. The entry probably denotes acquiescence in Griffith's retention of it, on the condition that it should be held of the English king as overlord. But when the Welsh prince, presuming on this weakness of Edward, allied himself with Alfgar son of Leofric, the banished earl of the East Angles, and marched into Herefordshire harrying and burning (A.D. 1055), he brought Harold, afterwards king, upon his heels, and Maelor Saesneg, and that part of Bromfield which was inhabited by Englishmen, came again to be reckoned part of England. Domesday Survey tells us that when Griffith forfeited this land, king Edward took it from him and gave it to the bishop of Chester and his men, who before had held the same. The bishop of Chester, Lichfield, or Coventry (for all three titles are indifferently used) was the lawful claimant of the possessions in Eyton, Sesswick, Sutton, Worthenbury and Bettisfield, which St. Chad had once held, but had irrecoverably lost, although due claim was made in respect to them by the bishop. And it was apparently the lands in the last of the two manors just named, which Griffith seized and was allowed for a while to retain. In the confusions attendant upon the Norman conquest the Welsh in Bromfield probably made a further advance

eastwards, at the expense of the English settlements. What we find, at any rate, is that at the time of the Domesday Survey the greater part of the region of Maelor Gymraeg (Bromfield) was in the hands of the Welsh, all that was still part of Cheshire being a mere fringe of territory along the Dee; and of many of the manors or townships lying within this fringe the remark is made that they were "waste," "found waste," or "wasted in the time of king Edward," or (as in the case of St. Chad's lands in Maelor Saesneg) "lost since the time of king Canute."

It is important to note that we now for the first time come across the term "manor." The strip of land of which Domesday Book takes account under Cheshire, was divided into manors. We read of the "manors" of Gresford, Allington, Sutton and Eyton (in Bromfield), and of the "manors" of Bettisfield, Worthenbury and Burwardston (in Maelor Saesneg), but these are not the names by which any of the manors of the district were known at a later, or what we may call the second English period. These Domesday manors were, in their organization and main features, exactly like those of the adjoining parts of England, and there is no reason to doubt but that the district was, not formally merely, but actually and organically, a part of Cheshire. However, it is scarcely worth while to spend time in inquiring into the character of the manorial organization of the territory before the time of the Domesday Survey, because the whole district

fell into the hands of the Welsh soon after that survey was taken, and all English institutions previously existing within it passed once more into the crucible.

The evidence for the early history of Bromfield, and of Maelor generally, based upon contemporary documents and a consideration of the place-names of the district, is supported by the early Welsh genealogies, which in such an inquiry as that in hand should not be neglected. It must be remembered that in Wales land had its status as well as the owner of the land, and that title to land frequently depended upon the descent of the uchelwyr, or Welsh gentry, from common ancestors; so that the best accredited genealogies of families resident during the medieval period in this district ought to yield help in our present researches, in so far at any rate as concerns the stock-fathers from whom the subsequent holders claimed to derive their rights of heredity.

To take as an example the case of the old undivided Denbighshire parish of Gresford. Most of the free tenants of this parish claimed to be descended from one of the three kindreds of Sanddè Hardd, Elidir ap Rhys Sais, or Ithel ap Eunydd. Eunydd is said¹ to have lived in the time of David ap Owen Gwynedd (1169-1204), and yet to have come into Bromfield during the reign of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn (who died in 1072), to have fought against the English, and to have received as his reward the townships of Gresford and Allington;

¹ British Museum, *Harley MS.*, 1969.

which, of course, is impossible. Eunydd could never have been in possession of Gresford or Allington towards the middle of the eleventh century, for Domesday, which describes both these "manors," knows nothing either of him or of Sanddè;¹ nor could Bleddyn have afterwards conquered the two townships named, and given them to Eunydd of Dyffryn Clwyd, for Bleddyn died some years before the compilation of the great survey. Nevertheless, many circumstances concur to make it not merely credible, but probable, that the sons of Ithel ap Eunydd were among those who wrested the land from the English, and shared part of it among themselves. It is even possible that Ithel himself, along with his sons, took part in that unrecorded war. So late as the year 1508 (see chap. i, p. 48) five of the tribal holdings in Allington bore names which are described as those of the sons of Ithel (ap Eunydd). On the same ground, there is no reason to doubt that Sanddè Hardd was the progenitor of those families in the western part of the parish which traced their descent from him. The township of Sutton also, which at the date of Domesday was reckoned as a part of Cheshire, and had been so reckoned in the time of Edward the Confessor, was, probably soon after

¹ It is possible to date approximately both these men. Meredith ap Bleddyn, prince of Powys, who died in 1130, had for his first wife Hunydd, daughter of Eunydd of Dyffryn Clwyd, and sister of Ithel. So also Cadwgan ap Bleddyn (brother of Meredith), slain in 1109, had a daughter Angharad, who was the wife of Sanddè Hardd.

Domesday, in great part seized by the sons of Elidir; and in 1508 one gafael and two gwelys in Sutton were still named after three of his sons, namely, Gafael Madoc ap Elidir, Gwely Sanddè (ap Elidir), and Gwely Meilir (ap Elidir). This Elidir was, according to the genealogies, a son of Rhys Sais, the "Rees of Erpestock" (Erbistock), named in the Domesday Survey as having formerly held that "manor"; and—there being no inherent improbability in the statement—it will be seen that Elidir was very conveniently placed for grasping, when the time was ripe, the low-lying fertile tract along the Dee which included the present parishes of Bangor and Isycoed.

When, therefore, we proceed to inquire under what conditions, about what date, and by whom, the district with which we are now concerned was seized, so as to pass from English (or Norman) to Welsh overlordship, and to become Welsh in language, and in social and political organization, it is obvious that the evidence of the old pedigrees, critically and rationally treated, is of high importance.

The date of the Welsh submergence of the district of Bromfield must, in short, be placed somewhere about the year 1100. After that event the earls of Chester made occasional raids, and sometimes occupied the castles of Hoseley and Wrexham, but long before A.D. 1200 the area now under consideration had become part of the possessions of the princes of Powys Fadog, and the position was ultimately recognized by the

kings of England, doubtless in consideration of the help rendered by those princes in wars against Gwynedd. It is likely, moreover, that the Welsh invaders were welcomed rather than opposed by the English inhabitants, who found it better to be allods of a Welsh proprietor than villeins of a Norman lord.

Anyhow, there can be no doubt as to the completeness of the Welsh conquest of Bromfield, or as to the permanency of its effects. The children of the English that remained learned to use the language of their conquerors, and became in due course as Welsh in feeling as they. Nor was this predominance of Welsh speech and sentiment seriously threatened until two or three centuries after Edward I had brought the district under his power, and had regranted it to English lords. And herein lies the explanation of the fact that while the names of so many townships of Bromfield and Maelor Saesneg are English, those of the farmsteads and fields were formerly almost exclusively Welsh, and still are largely so.

Before entering on the next stage of the enquiry it seems desirable to make a few preliminary remarks on the cantreds and commots of this part of the Marches of Wales, using the earliest and most trustworthy lists, and supplementing the account therein given by the results of the examination of medieval ministers' accounts and other similar documents.

The cantred (cantref) of Maelor contained the

three commots of Merford, Wrexham, and Maelor Saesneg.¹

Maelor Saesneg appears to have been so called, not merely because it was more English than the rest of Maelor in the character of its population, but because it continued to be attached ecclesiastically to the see of Lichfield, while the other parts of Maelor passed under the episcopal control of St. Asaph. These other parts, the two commots of Merford and Wrexham, came to be called "Maelor Gymraeg," and to be identical with Bromfield. But in the time of Domesday the later Maelor Saesneg was in the hundred of Dudestan (Dodleston), and not in that of Exestan wherein the rest of Maelor lay. Its connexion with Maelor Gymraeg, as well as the name itself, must be attributed to the second Welsh period. However, for centuries "Bromfield" has in English so completely ousted the name "Maelor," that when we speak of the "hundred of Maelor" we mean not Bromfield, but Maelor Saesneg.

The cantred of Ystum Dyfrdwy, according to a list preserved by Leland, confirmed by other trustworthy authority, also contained three commots, namely, "Estradelun," "Hobeum," and "Yael" (Yale). "Estradelun" is, of course, Ystrad Alyn, the English name for which is "Moldsdale"; and

¹ The list given in Leland's *Itinerary*, which is here followed, although badly copied, is believed by Mr. Egerton Phillimore to be based upon a manuscript of the thirteenth century.

reservation of their rights, are also important. Next, in an undated grant, Griffith (son of Madoc, above named), prince of Powys Fadog, endowed his wife Emma, daughter of Henry de Audley, by the consent of his four sons, with all the country called "Maylor Seysnec" for her life, namely, the manor of Overton, with mill and weir, the vills of Hanmer, Lanerpanna (Llanerch panna, Penley), Cnolton, with appurtenances, and all vills in "Mailorseysnec." In another undated deed, to which his sons are witnesses, the same Griffith endows his wife Emma, for life, with all his "manor of Eyton in Malaur Kemerac," together with a close of the Park of Eytune, which a certain lord Howel (his uncle, Howel ap Madoc) bought from the heirs of Herbystoke (Erbistock), rendering for them at Michaelmas twelve gallons of beer, or the price of the same, and a certain parcel of land lying within the same park which the heirs of Erbistock gave Griffith ap Madoc of their free will. Lastly comes a deed, dated on the morrow of St. Thomas the Apostle, 1270, executed by the four sons of Griffith ap Madoc, called "Griffinus filius Madoci, dominus de Bromfeld," confirming their father's gift to their mother for her life.¹

¹ It is interesting to find that Parc Eyton was in existence in 1270 (being probably a survival from the first English period), and, for our purpose, still more interesting to learn that it was then, as now, reckoned a part of the township of Erbistock—facts which favour the opinion that the boundaries of the townships of Bromfield were, on the whole, at that time very much what they were until a quite recent date.

In this deed the two districts of Maelor Saesneg and Maelor Gymraeg are named, and Madoc ap Griffith is described as exercising full regal rights over them. It should also be noted that a township in Maelor Gymraeg was in the occupation of a free tribe, "the heirs of Herbystoke"; that is, the land was what we have already described as "tir gwelyog." Welsh proprietors are also mentioned who had rights of sale or gift over their land.

Finally, in the list of grants to Combermere Abbey, given in Helsby's edition of Ormerod's *Cheshire* (vol. iii, p. 402), occurs the following, under the date 1195: "Carta Owini filii Griffini de Bromfield de eisdem decimis tam in manerio de Bromfield quam in Overton." Here both Bromfield (Maelor Gymraeg) and (the manor of) Overton (Maelor Saesneg), are mentioned as being in the possession of Owen ap Griffith Maelor, who undoubtedly succeeded to them on the death of his father in 1190.

We thus see that a large area which, during the reign of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror, and long before, was part of England, and English in the nomenclature of its townships, became, at a time well antecedent to 1200, part of the Welsh principedom of Powys Fadog, and was thoroughly Wallicized and subdivided into commots.

On the other hand, we have seen that the deeds make mention of the "manor" of Overton and the "manor" of Eyton. Are we then to understand that during the second Welsh period,

that is, between the years 1100 and 1282, manors were already in existence in the two Maelors? It would certainly appear so; but the use of the word "manor" is not in itself conclusive upon the point. We have already remarked (p. 130) that there were certain divisions of the commot called "maenols" in Gwynedd, and "maenawrs" in Dyfed and Gwent. The words "maenol" and "maenawr"—the latter of which would inevitably become "maenor"—were rendered into Latin by the same term as the English word "manor," that is, by the word "manerium." So that the use of "manerium" in a Latin document, when dealing with Welsh land and belonging to the period above mentioned, must not be taken to indicate indubitably a manor of the same type as the manors of medieval England. The documents above recited afford striking instances of the confused use of the term by its application to a commot, as in the case of Overton (Maelor Saesneg), and to a group of townships within a commot, as in the case of the manor of Eyton. Still, in spite of essential differences, both the commot and the groups of free maenols (or maenawrs) and townships within it, must have had certain features in common with what had come to be recognized as a "manor," as to admit of their description in a Latin deed by the same term. At Overton was the Welsh chief's "llys," whereto the men of Maelor Saesneg owed something like suit, so that the whole commot might be

loosely described as the "manor" of Overton. So again the men of Eyton, although free, might owe certain duties to the head of the commot of Wrexham, and their territory have, so far, certain features of an English manor. The tendency towards manorialization is clearly setting in, but the points of dissimilarity between the manors of England and the "manors" of Wales are still so fundamental as to make the use of the same term for both misleading and productive of confusion. When we read of the "heirs" of the province of Maelor Saesneg and of those of the territory of Eyton, and of rent reckoned in gallons of beer, we see at once the vital difference. What Griffith ap Madoc gave his wife when he endowed her with the "manor" of Eyton was nothing more than his princely dues, whatever they might be, accruing from a district that, in such services, displayed affinities with the ordinary English manor; he did not give the land itself, except such part of it as was already in his personal possession.

Such evidence, therefore, as is available, dating from the second Welsh period in Bromfield, is distinctly in favour of the conclusion that the systems of tenure and of society described in the Welsh Laws were then more or less fully established. Those systems may have been, must have been, modified from their earlier forms, but that they were in actual operation in this district the abundant relics thereof in the later manorial system of Bromfield do not allow us to doubt.

After the death of Llewelyn and Griffith,

children and heirs of Madoc ap Griffith, the last reigning prince of Powys Fadog (see pedigree on p. 141), Edward I took all the dominions to which they were entitled into his own hands, giving (October 7, 1282) the two commots of Wrexham and Merford to John, earl of Warrenne and Surrey, together with the commot of Yale and the castle of Dinas Brân, hitherto held in virtue of gavelkind by Griffith ap Griffith, alias Griffith Fychan, the lads' uncle, and reserving the land of Hope (Hopedale) for future disposal. Thus was constituted the lordship of Bromfield and Yale. Maelor Saesneg had already, in 1278, been granted to Robert de Crevequer, on the death of Emma, widow of Madoc ap Griffith. To Roger Mortimer were given the commots of Isclawdd,¹ Glyn² (Ceiriog), Nanheudwy³ (*alias* Llangollen) and Mochnant,⁴ and half of the commot of Cyn-

¹ The commot of Isclawdd, *alias* Cymwd y Waun, comprehended the townships of Tref y waun (where was Chirk castle, but not Crogen), Y Faerdre, Gwern Ospin, Hendregynan, Manatton, Pen y clawdd, Trefor Issa, Trefor Ucha, and Dinbren.

² The commot of Glyn comprised the townships of Crogen Iddon (wherein was Castell Crogen), Crogen Wladys, Cilcochwyn, Erwallo, Nantgwridd, Hafod Gynfor, and Tal y Garth.

³ Nanheudwy, or Llangollen, commot contained the townships of Llangollen Fawr, Llangollen Fechan, Bachè, Pengwern, Nantir, Cilmediw, Rhysgog, Y Feifod, Cysylltau and Glyn Vechan. Llangollen Abbot, geographically in this commot, pertained to Valle Crucis.

⁴ In Mochnant commot were Trebanhadl, Cil and Llangedwyn, Scrwgan, Garth Eryr, Trebrys, Tregalw, Trewern, Henfachè, and Mynydd mawr townships.

llaith¹ (Cynllaith Tir Iarll), these forming the lordship of Chirkland,² called in Welsh "Swydd y Waun." The lordship of Denbigh, formed out of the cantreds of Rhos and Rhufoniog, excepting the commot of Creuddyn,³ was granted on October 6, 1282, to Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln; and the cantred of Dyffryn Clwyd, or "Ruthinland,"⁴ was conceded on October 23 of the same year to Reginald de Grey. The king kept the cantred of Tegeingl, or Englefield, with its three commots, for disposal otherwise.

It thus appears that the ancient Welsh cantreds and commots were clearly defined tracts of country, and that out of them, or groups of them, the new English lordships, created after the conquest

¹ The other half of Cynllaith (Cynllaith Owen) was conceded in 1283 to the above-named Griffith ap Griffith (ancestor of Owen Glyndwr) to be held by barony, but afterwards was temporarily restored to Chirkland, and is now part of the possessions of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn. The whole commot contained the townships of Llansilin, Bodlith, Lledrod, Rhiwlas, Tregeiriog, Llanarmon D.C., Tre Llywarch, Moelfre, Ystum Wallen, Sycharth, Priddbwll and Lloran.

² The single township of Carreg Hwfa, in the parish of Llanymynech, belonged to Chirkland, and was then sometimes treated as a commot, and sometimes as a detached township of Cynllaith.

³ The commot of Cinmerch is to be equated with the Ystrad commot of Leland's list. It contained a later manor of Ystrad Owen. The three cantreds of Rhos, Rhufoniog, and Dyffryn Clwyd formed what was called "y Berfeddwlad" or Middle country, to which a fourth cantred, Tegeingl, was sometimes attached.

⁴ Ruthinland contained the three commots of Llannerch, Dogfeilyn, and Coleigion or Coelion, with some detached portions in other commots.

of Wales, were formed. The process whereby a single commot became a lordship may perhaps be taken as the normal one, the lordships containing more commots than one being regarded as multiple. The commot of Ystrad Alyn (in Cantref Dyfrdwy) became the lordship of Moldsdale or Mold, and the commot of Maelor Saesneg (in Cantref Maelor) became the lordship of the same name, while the two other commots of Cantref Maelor, with the commot of Yale, formed the lordship of Bromfield and Yale. It was seldom that the commots, in course of transference into feudal lordships, were partitioned, any further than had already been effected by grants made to churches and so forth. The part of North Wales that had formed the principedom of Llewelyn, and that king Edward retained in his own hands, was never manorialized in the sense in which Welsh estates granted *in capite* before the year 1290 were manorialized, though its administration under English officials doubtless tended more and more to the manorial methods with which those officials were acquainted.

In 1282, when Bromfield was granted to John de Warenne, reservation was made¹ of the castle and territory of Hope. At the date of the Domesday Survey Hope belonged to the English hundred of "Exestan" (later "Easton," Welsh "Estyn"), along with the other manors in that

¹ Hopedale, or the land of Hope, had already been granted, as early as 1272 apparently, to John de Warrenne, for the term of his life.

hundred which a little later formed the Welsh commot of Merford in Maelor (Bromfield). It is well known how important is a knowledge of the area of the ancient deaneries in determining the bounds of the old commots and cantreds; and it is therefore interesting to note that in the Valor of Pope Innocent (A.D. 1254), as well as in the later Valor of Pope Nicholas (A.D. 1292), Hope was included with the other parishes of Bromfield in the deanery of Maelor. We may therefore take it that in the first English period Hope and Merford were situated within the same administrative district—the hundred of Exestan, roughly coincident with the later commot of Merford. But in the second Welsh period a rearrangement was effected by which Hopedale was taken from Merford, made a commot of itself, and annexed to the cantred of Ystumi Dyfrdwy. However, the memory of the connexion of Hope and Merford subsisted, notwithstanding that Edward I in granting Yale and Bromfield (which included Merford) had, no doubt with intention, excluded Hopedale. At the feast of St. Hilary, 1435, the earl of Huntington, then lord of Hope, claimed the northern portion of the commot of Merford in Bromfield as part of Hopedale, and actually obtained possession of it, the jurors declaring that the townships of Llay, Burton, Hunkeley and Trefalyn (Allington)—all within the commot of Merford—had been from time immemorial parcel of the lordship of Hope and Hopedale, which lordship was wholly within the county of

Flint. The lord of Hope recovered, in fact, more than the townships named; he obtained also the manor of Merford and Hoseley, the court of that manor on 4 November, 1437, being held in his name. And here we have the solution of the otherwise contradictory phenomenon that for some time in the fifteenth century the northern and southern parts of the commot of Merford were separately administered, the lord of the southern part being the lord of Bromfield, and the lord of the northern being the lord of Hopedale. In the inquisition *post mortem* of John, duke of Exeter and lord of Hopedale (20 October, 1448), Llay, Burton, Hunkeley, and a moiety of the township of Trefalyn are declared to have belonged to him at the time of his death (5 August, 1447); but in 1450 all the above-named region (Burton, Llay, Gwersyllt, Hunkeley, Merford and Hoseley) was again included in Bromfield, and (with the exception of Merford and Hoseley, finally added to Flintshire in the 33rd year of Henry VIII) has remained so ever since. So that the case of Bromfield, when closely examined, is no exception to the statement that the commot, or a group of commots, tended regularly to become the feudal lordship.

As the commot was readily convertible into the feudal lordship, so was it also convertible into the civil hundred. The commots of Maelor Saesneg, of Hobeu (Hopedale), and of Yale, became the hundreds bearing the same names. The case

of Bromfield, which contained two commots, has already been discussed. A superficial glance at the *Record of Caernarvon* would make us suppose that the commot and hundred were not coterminous, some persons, or groups of persons, being found to owe suit to the courts of both, others to the commot court only, and others again to the hundred court only. But a closer examination makes it clear that suit to the commot and suit to the hundred merely represented the render of two sets of dues, corresponding to two sets of institutions within the same area, the first old and of Welsh origin, the second of recent introduction. The following is one example out of many instances which might be given. In Dinlle (commot of Uwchgwyrfai) was the third part of Gwely Cyfnerth, the other two-thirds whereof were in the adjoining commot of Isgwyrfai; the heirs of which owed suit to commot, hundred, and lord's mill within each commot.¹ What "secta ad comotum" exactly implied is now difficult of explanation, but it may be surmised that one of its incidents was attendance at, or work upon, the lord's hall or neuadd within each commot. In any event it is seen that the commot and hundred were coter-

¹ *Record of Caernarvon*, p. 20. "Treflan" in Isgwyrfai: Heirs of this gwely "deb' sectam ad molend' d'ni infra istum comotu', et sectam ad com' et Hundr'm d'ni istius comoti." Also p. 24, Dinlle in Uwchgwyrfai: The same heirs "deb' secta ad com' et Hundr'm d'ni tam in isto comoto q'm in comoto de Iscor' Et sectam ad molend' d'ni infra istum Comotu'."

minous, although the suit to one and the other was distinct.

The great tourn of the sheriff, ordained by the administrative ordinance of Rhuddlan, of the year 1284, to be held in the new counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth, and in the county of Flint, was a most effective instrument in saving the old commots from oblivion. It was held twice in the year, soon after Easter and Michaelmas, and all freemen or native tenants holding land within the commot were ordered to do suit at it. The bailiff of the hundred was the raglot or ringild of the commot. The sheriff proceeded from commot to commot within each cantred, the bailiff empanelling in each case a jury of twelve (or more) freemen who made presentments, answered questions as to the prince's rights, and levied amercements. Suit to the hundred court represented a different set of obligations from those represented by suit to the commot court, although both sets of obligations arose from and were exercised within the same area.

The *Record of Caernarvon* throws much light on the actual working of the sheriff's tourn, to which suit was due. Under Bodysgallen,¹ it is stated that the fine there levied was never paid before the time of Griffith ap Rhys, formerly sheriff of Carnarvonshire; under Penmachno,² a woman is found rendering suit to the hundred as well as to the commot, and many freemen render suit

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

to the commot only, and not to the hundred. In Gwydyr,¹ Dwygyfylchi,² and elsewhere, only such heirs of the free gwelys owed suit to the hundred (or to the commot) as had four bovates of land, a fact pointing to minute subdivision within those holdings. But in all cases the villeins and "advocarii" (a class of men to be dealt with hereafter) of freemen, and men holding under ecclesiastical corporations, and also the villeins and advocarii of the prince, owed suit to the hundred.

In the lordship of Bromfield and Yale a similar great tourn was held twice in the year; not, however, by the sheriff, but by the steward of the lord, who at first went from commot to commot. The proceedings of many of the great tourns held for the commots of Wrexham and Merford are preserved at the Public Record Office.

In much the same way as the ancient Welsh commots were readily convertible into feudal lordships, so the maenols of the Venedotian Code, wherever they existed, were doubtless convertible into some corresponding medieval division of the lordship. It has already been shown that this name is not general throughout Wales, though there is no reason to suppose that the subdivision of the commot to which it was occasionally applied was not one of the regular subdivisions of the tribal organization. But

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

it would appear that what generally happened was that such subdivisions became mesne manors, which, when free, were called ringildries. This is almost certainly what occurred in the great lordship of Bromfield and Yale. These medieval mesne manors of Bromfield were fitted up with all the details of manorial machinery, as far as might be,¹ having their courts baron held

¹ A few instances from the records may be quoted. A court baron (*curia parva*) for the manor of Bedwell, before Sir John Chilston, steward of Bromfield, and other ministers, was held on July 29, 1525, for the surrender and regranting of leasehold lands. A *curia bondorum* was held for Pickhill and Sesswick on July 10, 1411. The courts baron of Wrexham Abbot and Stansty Abbot were kept every three weeks during the year 1523, and those of Merford and Hoseley during a great part of the eighteenth century. All these were courts of servile manors, that is, manors in which, in the Welsh period, the tenants had been unfree. Regular tri-weekly courts were kept for the free manor of Eglwysegle as early as 1449, and as late as 1530. A court leet for the commot of Wrexham was held at Wrexham, April 27, 1737, although only the presentment of "the five men" for the township of Esclusham, signed by the two constables (of Esclusham-above- and Esclusham-below-Dyke), has been preserved. Absentee homagers, and stiles out of repair, were presented. "The five men" are not named, and as a matter of fact were non-existent. The phrase was a relic of the ancient custom of Bromfield, that each township within the commot, whether bond or free, was represented at the two general commot courts of the year (the manorial courts leet) by suitors who "venerunt per quinque." During the fifteenth century, when for a time the northern half of the commot of Merford, called the ringildry of Burton (see p. 160), was attached to Hopedale, every township in the ringildry was represented by five men at the six-monthly general

every three weeks, and their courts leet held twice in the year, at the time of the two great tourns; but containing also, as we might naturally expect, some curious and interesting features of tribal land-holding which practical convenience had recommended to the new English lords. In the year 1399 the council of the lord consisted of the steward, receiver, constable, forester and other officers; they sat at Holt castle, the head of the lordship by virtue of its selection as the residence of the great baron, who from his strong castle administered his domains as a small *imperium in imperio*; and all the courts of the mesne manors were presided over by the steward of the entire lordship. With the decay of the manorial organization the courts baron

courts. So in the southern half, called the ringildry of Isy-coed, each township appeared "per quinque." Whether the mesne manors of Bromfield were in every case provided with houses for holding their courts baron every three weeks, is uncertain. In 1388-9 the "manor-house" of Hem was repaired, and in 1440 the sites of the manors (manor-houses) of "Heulyngton," "Pykhull" and "Sessewick" are declared to be of no value. The borough of Holt had, of course, its "booth hall," or "town hall." But most of the mesne manors appear to have utilised for their courts baron, either the Hall of Pleas at Wrexham, or the manor-house at Merford, for which latter (after Merford in the 33rd year of Henry VIII became a part of Flintshire) was substituted "the Welsh court house" near Holt castle. But, by the end of the reign, all the courts of every kind, within the whole lordship of Bromfield and Yale, appear to have been kept either at Wrexham or Holt, according to the convenience of the steward, except the borough courts of Holt which were always held there.

were discontinued, and gradually no courts for serious business were kept in any of the manors, except the court of the borough of Holt, while that borough lasted. The courts leet of Merford and Wrexham are still held at intervals, but as courts of mesne manors, not as courts of the commot within which they lie.

The following is a copy of the summons issued in 1884, requiring attendance at the court leet of Wrexham Regis:—

“ Lordship of Bromfield and Yale. To Mr.
Manor of Wrexham Regis. Of

“ By virtue of a warrant from John Allington Hughes, gentleman, the deputy steward of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, baronet, steward of the said lordship, to me directed and delivered, you are hereby summoned to be, and personally to appear, at the next court and view of frankpledge, together with the court baron of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, to be held at the Common Hall of Pleas, Wrexham, in and for the said lordship,¹ on the . . day of, at . . . o'clock in the . . . noon, to be empanelled to serve upon a jury and homage between our Sovereign Lady the Queen and the body of the said lordship,¹ whereof have notice, dated this . . day of 1884.

“ From

“ Bailiff of the said manor.”

The two commotal areas of Wrexham and Merford have been consolidated for centuries,

¹ For “lordship” in these two cases the word “manor” should have been used. Otherwise the summons is correct in form. The notice sent forth in February, 1907, was a call to a court baron instead of a court leet, and for the whole lordship, in place of the manor of Wrexham Regis. “The Common Hall of Pleas” is the Shire Hall, usually called “the

and in the time of Henry VIII the two townships of Merford and Hoseley were added to the county of Flint, thus reducing the “hundred of Bromfield” to its modern bounds. A list of the mediæval manors of Bromfield is given in Appendix II.

The divisions of the co-lordship of Yale were the following: the ecclesiastical manor of Llan Egwestl, belonging to Valle Crucis Abbey, and the ecclesiastical manor of Llandegla, belonging to the see of St. Asaph; the rest of Yale, parcel of the lordship of Bromfield and Yale, was divided into two manors, called respectively “Yale Raglaria” (that is, the portion mainly occupied in the Welsh period by free tribesmen, under the charge of the rhaglaw or raglot), and “Yale Praepositura” (that is, the portion mainly occupied during the same period by the aillts, or alltuds, under the provost or maer).¹

The commot of Yale, as already hinted, presents features of interest to the archæologist as well

Town Hall,” or, rather, is a room reserved therein. Within the last twenty years the courts of Wrexham Abbot were kept at the Old Swan in Abbot Street, and a little earlier at the Bowling Green Inn, Pen y bryn. In 1622, a house at the bottom of Bridge Street, and on the west side thereof, is described as being “neare to the Abbott’s Court house there, from the high way leading from a bridge called Pont Lleaney (now the Horns’ Bridge) to a place called Pen y bryn, east.”

¹ The subsistence of this fundamental principle of cleavage in Welsh primitive society—the distinction between the free and the unfree man—is also traceable in the great lordship of Chirkland, where the old commots of Cynllaith and Mochnant were manorialized as Cynllaith Raglaria and C. Praepositura, and Mochnant Raglaria and M. Praepositura.

as to the student of economic progress. The enclosure, with its moated mound, which formed the residence of the Welsh chieftain in the adjacent commots of Merford and Wrexham is repeated, but the mound is here wrought out of the solid rock. It stands in the township of Creigiog is glan, and, as in the instances with which we have already dealt, was surrounded by an ancient park (Park Creigiog). In the manorial period this park was part of the lord's demesne, which means that in the precedent Welsh period it was the maerdref land of the commot, and, consequently, was native or unfree land. But the chieftain's residence could not partake of the servile character of the land by which it was surrounded, so that the llys itself, though geographically within the borders of the tref of Creigiog, was economically attached to the tref of Llanarmon; and such an arrangement seems to point to the same phenomena as engaged the attention of the late Professor Maitland in his *Township and Borough*.

Of the trefs (trefydd) or townships, most retained their old bounds until the end of the last century, though many exceptions occur, and the detached portions of townships have to be taken into account. A few small townships (as Eyton Fawr, Eyton Fechan, Crew Fawr and Crew Fechan, all in Isycoed) have been merged in larger townships adjoining. The same fate has happened to certain hamlets. And at various dates, not all of which can be given with certainty, the

bounds of some townships were deliberately altered.¹

Grants of free estates in servile townships were occasionally made throughout medieval times, and had doubtless great effect in breaking down lingering Welsh customs. In Cobham Isycoed, earl Warrenne, lord of Bromfield and Yale, granted by charter, 13th Henry IV, an area described in 1620 as having been held by the predecessor

¹ Various circumstances concur in showing that a large part of Allington and a smaller part of Burton belonged formerly to Merford; that portion of the old township last named appertaining to the lord's castle of the Rofft, and not in maerdref tenure, being granted in free socage to various persons. A certain Sir Ralph de Warrenne had a large estate, not merely in Allington, Burton, Isycoed, and Gwersyllt, but also in Merford, holding by money rent only. The provost or maer of Merford and Hoseley mentions in his account for 1472-3 the acres of Sir Ralph de Warrenne in his provostry, but the rent thereof (17s. 11d.) was not paid to him, but to the ringild of the free manor of Burton, within which Allington lay. It is clear that although traditionally in one manor, this estate was regarded as being in another, and on the way to being severed completely from Merford. So also the tract of land whereon Trevalyn Hall stands (intervening between the main body of Merford and the detached parts thereof wherein Merford mill is situate) was evidently a part of old Merford. In 1563 it was apparently attached, as a distinct estate, to the remote manor of Isycoed, so as to be subject to no servile obligations, but it soon afterwards became (so far as the greater portion of it was concerned) absorbed in the township of Allington. And here is doubtless the explanation of the "detachment" of Merford Mill. We read also, in the survey of 23rd Henry VII, of "the acres" of John Wyngefeld, Alain de Warrewyke, Thomas Wyngefeld, and Richard Pyke, mostly in Isycoed, apparently scattered holdings granted long before to the tenants whose names are thus preserved, to strengthen the English interest in Bromfield.

in title of Owen Brereton, then free tenant thereof, to him and his heirs for ever. In 1562 there were only two freeholders in the servile manor of Pickhill and Sesswick—John ap Howel ap Llewelyn and John Broughton. The last-named was the successor in title of Iorwerth Vaughan, son of Edward ap Grono, to whom John de Warrenne, lord of Bromfield, granted certain waste lands in Sesswick, in Welsh service, at the feast of St. Martin in the 10th year of Edward II, at an annual money rent of 7s. 8d.

In these cases there had been no question of alteration of the bounds of the townships in which the estates were situate.

Estates, heritable by English tenure, were also formed in the free townships by grants of lands which had come into the lord's hands by escheat, forfeiture through defect of heirs, and so forth. In other cases of forfeiture lands were let at yearly rents throughout the medieval epoch, and large tracts of land were assimilated in the conditions of their tenure to the tenure existing in England.

In spite of all this, much land in *tir gwelyog*, that is land wherein were free *gwelys* or *gafaels*, remained in Bromfield up to the time of the abolition of gavelkind. When we are first able to examine the internal organization of a tribal holding, Bromfield is found to be split up internally into divisions, held sometimes by "heirs" or progenies, and sometimes by tenants of heirs, and ready to fall to pieces when the link (joint liability for rent) which held them together was removed

and the portions finally assessed in severalty. The same man often appears among the heirs of two or three divisions of the same *gwely*, and often in different *gwelys*. Sometimes there seems to have been actual occupation of the portions by the heirs, and in other cases these heirs let their portions to tenants, dividing the rent among themselves. We can see, in short, that the tribal holding had virtually broken up, but the very relics of it point to a time when it was in full working order.

If we endeavour to go back to that time in Bromfield, we shall find that the tribal holding having become fixed to the "heirs" occupying it at the period when its development was arrested, and to their successors, the lord, so long as his rents and dues were paid, did not interfere with arrangements within it, except when escheats happened. Who then at each internal readjustment of the *gwely* or *gafael*, assigned to every progeny its respective parts, according to the Welsh rules of partition? Undoubtedly some one representing the kindred, and fulfilling the functions of a *pencenedl*, or at least of a *penteulu* (the head of the family). When persons were actually invested at a redistribution with their portion within the holding, the lord of Bromfield does not seem to have levied an investiture fee, or "*gobr estyn*," as did the princes of Gwynedd. In Gwynedd the prince exacted *gobr estyn* as the price of his recognition of investiture, perhaps because in that province the tribal holding, whether

called "gwely" or "gafael," was more of a living organism than in Bromfield, where it was a territorial unit fixed outwardly if no escheat occurred, and subject only to rearrangement within. The sharing of family land was also practised in Bromfield to, at any rate, the third generation—that is to say, certain land was divisible among second cousins having a common great-grandfather, as may be fairly inferred from certain known facts ;¹ but in Maelor Saesneg, as has already been said, the division by gavelkind seems to have been understood as involving equality among brothers only. And of the seventh, still less of the ninth, generation (Venedotian Code, Book III, chap. i), no account appears to have been taken in this district, after it had finally passed under English rule.

¹ Occupancy through tribal succession by right of the great-grandfather might have been stated, as regards Bromfield, perhaps more positively. Take two cases only, both mentioned in the survey of 23rd Henry VII. In Gafael Madoc ap Elidir (see Appendix I), described under Sutton, one of the five portions into which the gafael was divided was then held equally by David ap Griffith ap David Sutton and David ap Madoc ap Gwyn, being formerly the land of Griffith ap David and his brother, where the great-grandfather and the sharing of land among his sons are both clearly indicated. So also in Gafael Einion Goch, described under Allington, Rawlyn ap Meredith (elsewhere in the survey called Rawlyn ap Meredith ap David) and his co-portioners were then charged for one of the eight divisions of the gafael, which division was formerly the land of Iorwerth Fychan, living in 1347, and being (according to the Meredith pedigree) father of David ap Meredith ap Rawlyn above-named. Here again the great-grandfather and the division of his lands are indicated.

The existence of a tribal officer fulfilling some of the functions of a pencenedl, penteulu, or chief of kindred, is clearly apparent at an assembly held in the reign of Henry V, where the pencenedl is named as an actual officer among the uchelwyr.¹ The partition of lands in the exact form prescribed by the Welsh Laws was also claimed at this assembly, and appears then to have been actually in use. Gavelkind was not inconsistent with the full maintenance of the manorial system, and is still the rule of succession on many manors of Kent and other counties of England. In Wales its continuance was permitted by the Statute of Rhuddlan. But, as a result of increased communication with England, many of the Welsh proprietors began to desire its abolition, so as to devolve their property in accordance with English notions of heirship. Permission to do this, and to break the ancient custom in Bromfield and Yale, was granted by charter² of the 20th year of Henry VII. But this charter was held to be invalid, so far as liberation from the

¹ British Museum, *Additional MS.* 9876, copied by the late Mr. Charles Ashton, translated by Mr. J. E. Lloyd, M.A., and published in the *Powysland Club Transactions*, December, 1895. The trustworthiness of this MS. has been doubted. But in the Ministers' Accounts (1234-9) for Chirkland 15s. are mentioned as received from Cynllaith Ringildry during a part of 1399, as "treth Penteillio," that is, treth penteulu (tax of the penteulu). This tax was formally abolished throughout the lordship of Chirk in 1506.

² A similar charter was granted to the inhabitants of Chirkland 21st Henry VII, and to those of Carnarvon and Merioneth 20th Henry VII.

bonds of gavelkind was concerned, although valid probably in respect of the various dues ("trethi" and "cylchau") mentioned therein. A device for escaping the obligations of gavelkind was a surrender of the lands to the king, and a regrant in capite or socage, but this could only be accomplished by the assent of all the interests in gavelkind.

The servile townships contained differences within themselves. The *Record of Caernarvon* draws a distinction of tenure between nativi holding in "trewelyog" (that is, in servile gwelys or gafaels), and those holding in "tregevry" (that is, in tregyfrif). Tenure in tregyfrif is thus defined under Dinorwic in the commot of Isgwyrfaï: "This township is of the nature of Trefgewry, and is of such kind that although there should be only one tenant in the same township, he ought to be charged with the whole rent of the township," etc., the explanation doubtless being that such surviving tenant, holding all the township, could by the help of tenants easily discharge all the obligations due therefrom. Holding in "tregyfrif" was a different sort of unfree tenure from that in "trewelyog," but not necessarily a baser sort, as has been maintained. A single tenant, although "native," holding a whole tref or township, would have indeed a higher personal status than an obscure member of a native gwely or gafaël. Nor does there appear to be any reason why both forms of servile tenure should not be combined in the same tref. This

combination was actually in existence in Gêst, in the commot of Eifionydd, at the period of the *Record of Caernarvon*.¹ It also existed within the diocese of St. Asaph in 1357, when, upon the death of bishop John Trevor, and the election of a new bishop by the chapter without the prince's licence, the temporalities of the bishopric were seized into the hands of the prince of Wales, and an account thereof rendered,² wherefrom it appears that the three townships of Pengwern, "Landid" and Henllan contained gwelys; and yet of each it is said that if all the tenants die except one, that one should have the whole township, so long as he should answer to the bishop for the rents and services.

Though the conquest and land settlement of Edward I had certainly the effect of arresting the development of the Welsh free gwelys and gafaels in the area administered by the king's officers, and by his grantees, it is probable that in the servile townships of Bromfield, at any rate, the formation of quasi-tribal holdings did not come to an end.

The occupiers of native land in the township of Dutton Diffaeth, described in the survey of 23rd Henry VII (*see* Appendix I), were arranged in four very unequal groups, wherein no trace

¹ Gest: "Eadem villa est de natura de Treweloge. Et sunt in eadem villa sex Wele . . . sunt de tali natura quod licet fuit nisi unus tenens in eadem quod solueret totum redditum integrum."

² P.R.O., Ministers' Accounts, 1143-13.

of Welsh heredity in its true sense can be discerned, and the land of one of the groups had been already granted by copy to David and Ednyfed, sons of Iolyn ap Griffith, having formerly been that of Iorwerth ap Madoc ap David ap Einion Goch. The holdings are not called gafael, bear no names, and appear to have been of recent creation.

The four bond gafael in Dinille (now called Dinille issa) in the same 23rd year of Henry VII, on the other hand, seem to be old, and to present cases of arrested development. Their names (see p. 48) remained¹ as designating certain areas, but each division of every gafael was held by "a native of the lord," and there is no trace of kinship or hereditability within the areas. In the Minister's Account for 1472-3 for this manor, the natives are described as paying "twnc," hens, or the price thereof, and other peculiarly Welsh contributions.

As regards the bond gafael in Yale, described in the same survey of 23rd Henry VII, these holdings (or aliquot parts thereof), of which each gafael rendered 14s. only (or each part of the same an exactly corresponding proportion of 14s.), look highly artificial, and as though they were small farms arranged anew in com-

¹ These names are not indeed specifically mentioned in the Minister's Account for 1472-3, nor in the Account for 1479-80, such mention not being necessary, but the sums yielded by the gafael were probably included in the assise rents (cvis. iiz. ob. de redd' ass'acr'ab antiquo arentat' in villa de Dynull' [Dinille issa]).

paratively recent times.¹ We first notice that no gafael has a distinctive name. A clean sweep had evidently been made, and fresh gafael established, the symmetry whereof was already disturbed by single persons holding a half, a third, a fourth part of a gafael, or a gafael and a half. In some instances hereditary right was established, but the later marginal notes make it clear that each gafael (or part of a gafael) was either held at will, or granted by copy to the actual occupier or heir. The above cases in Isycoed, Dinille issa, and the lordship of Yale, are very important in differing respects, and throw considerable light upon the processes by which holding in bond gafael passed into more modern and English forms of tenure.

How far security of tenure had been gained on native or unfree land is a highly important but very difficult subject. So long as the gafael or gwelys held together it is probable that the tenants could not be easily dispossessed, and the system of short leases may have become fairly common before the gafael finally disappeared. The "tenants of the acres of Cobham" (as they were often called) in Bromfield, holding various scattered pieces of meadow land, seem to have been granted four years' renewable leases at a somewhat early date.² And one at least of the

¹ They already existed in 1479-80, for they appear in the Minister's Account for that year (Bromfield and Yale, 1235-20).

² Already by 1545, many of the tenants of Cobham Isycoed were claiming to hold "to them and their heirs for ever."

tenants of Hem (another semi-servile manor in Merford commot of Bromfield lordship) acquired the same privilege. Under Hem, in the survey of 1562, Elis Broughton and Joan his wife are described as having a rood of land there by copy of court roll of the 19th year of Edward IV, granted to his predecessor "so that he and his may have and enjoy like liberties and privileges as the tenants of the acres of Cobham have been accustomed to enjoy," at a yearly rent "and other Welsh services, as the tenants of the acres of Cobham of the said manor."

Later the grant of "copies" for longer periods became very general throughout other manors and townships of Bromfield and Yale, and formed a great step in advance. In 1562 some of the copyhold tenants of Pickhill and Sesswick were a long way removed from the original conditions of "native" tenure. John Hanmer, a copyholder, for example, by the terms of his copy, granted July 20, 1538, was exempt from bond service, and paid only 8*d.* increment on his ancient rent. Another contemporary copyholder of the same manor, Elis ap Edward ap Eignus, not being a native, who had taken up a forty years' lease dating from the year 1538, had conceded to him and the heirs of his body, under his lease granted by John Shelston (Chilston), steward to the lord, the duke of Richmond, all those liberties and free customs which other free tenants of Bromfield and Yale called "uchelwyr" used and enjoyed for ever.

The case of bond tenants holding in maerdref

tenure will repay close examination, and fortunately the manor of Merford and Hoseley, which was the maerdref of the second commot of Bromfield, lies open to view in the medieval Ministers' Accounts, and seems to have undergone very little change at so late a time as the survey of 23rd Henry VII.¹

In the minister's (provost's) "computus" for this manor (1449-50) there are accounted for, under the head of "works and customs of land" 11*s.* 9*d.*, being the price of 94 autumn works of customary bondsmen, at 1½*d.* a work; 4½*d.* for pigs of such bondsmen, due at the feast of St. Martin; 4*d.* for "arrura" (a ploughing) and customs due at the feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Mary; 6*d.* for one harrowing at the same term; and 3*d.* rent of the said bondsmen, not having a lamb or kid, each giving the lord 1*d.*; and 12*d.* rent of customary bondsmen, having a lamb or kid, each giving the lord 4*d.* Under the head of "works and customs of escheat land" there are accounted for: 16*d.* rent of bondsmen, each of whom having a lamb or kid gives a lamb or 4*d.* at the feast of the Apostles Philip and James (May 1); 3*d.* rent of customary bondsmen, not having a lamb or

¹ Wrexham, which was the maerdref of one of the commots of Bromfield, was urban, and although in 1508 renders of autumn and other works, of hens, etc., were still levied in a few instances, that town had undergone such changes in tenure by the time of the surveys that no good would result from discussing it here.

kid, each of whom gives at the same feast 1*d.*, by the name of "exhennium" (elsewhere called "exitus," or issue); 1½*d.* for "arrura" and custom of bondsmen, having a bull in the plough, each of whom gives the lord ½*d.* at Michaelmas; 6*d.* for harrowing and custom of bondsmen, namely each bondsman with a horse in the harrow giving the lord 6*d.*; 5*s.* 7*d.*, being the price of 45 autumn works at Michaelmas; and 8¾*d.* in money, with rent of oats at the feast of the Apostles Philip and James.

The accounts for 1472-3 show 75*s.* 0½*d.* as rents of assise due at Michaelmas; 6*s.* 9¾*d.*, the price of 54 hens due at Christmas, each hen being valued at 1½*d.*; 2*s.* 4*d.* money rents and oats, due at the feast of the Apostles Philip and James, and of rents of various lands and cottages, with increment. The items under the heads of "works and customs," "issues of escheat lands," and of "works and customs of escheat lands," are very similar to those of the accounts of 1449-50, and need not be repeated. Under "ferm and contributions," there are accounted for: 25*s.* 7*d.*, ferm of the Welsh forestership; and 18*s.*, ferm of horses ("de firm' equis ib'm"). By reason of there being no "firmarius" (fermor of rent) that year, nothing was yielded from the butchers as licences for slaughtering, nor anything as licences for selling poultry outside the country. It appears from the accounts under the head of "issues of office of raglot and ringild," that from each of

the tenants of Merford and Hoseley having eight selions of land 4*d.* was due to the lord by the name of the raglot's fee, at the feast of the Apostles Philip and James, and one measure ("modius") of oats; and five tenants there, not having eight selions of land, rendered the lord at the same feast 4*d.* each by the name of the ringild's fee; and the eighth penny of the raglot's fee from fines and amerciaments of court, when the fines reached 12*d.* the raglot receiving 4*d.*; and stallage and prisage of ale belonging to the raglot, namely, 1*d.* for each horseload. However, it is to be added that the lord received nothing from this source that year, he having granted the office of raglot and all the fees to Jankyn ap Ieuan ap Llewelyn, but the tenants were, of course, liable to the raglot for that officer's full dues. Then comes the yearly rent (£4), under a lease for eighty years, of the new mill of Merford recently erected by the lord's help on a watercourse of the river Alyn, by Griffith ap Meredith ap Deio and Howel ap David ap Griffith Vaughan, the lessees. The next items, besides rent of assise and of escheat lands, are the value of 12 quarters and 4 malets of corn sold by the lord's officers, price 10*s.* 8*d.* a quarter and 16*d.* a malet (whereby it is to be gathered there were 8 malets in a quarter); also the value of 5 quarters, 7 hoops, and 2 parts of a hoop of oats similarly sold, at 3*s.* 4*d.* a quart(er). Then follows an item of 11*s.* 10*d.* of fuel tax ("exitus focal"), each tenant having a hearth giving the lord 12*d.*, and each

smith having a hearth 2s. for firewood. Lastly come the perquisites of court at the two "tours," and all the courts, making in all a sum of £28 8s. 9d. taken by the lord alone from this small manor in one year, not reckoning raglot's or ringild's fees.

Dealing finally with the survey of 23rd Henry VII. we find that most of the servile holdings in the township of Merford (*see* Appendix I) were either grouped so as to each render 4 malets of corn and 3 hens, 8d. for assise rent, 5 hoops of oats, 1½d., and 3 autumn works, or into holdings of half this render, the remainder being somewhat irregular, and a few yielding no corn, oats, hens, or autumn works. But most of the holdings were equal, revealing a near approach to the equality spoken of in the Welsh Laws (*see* p. 135). However, there was little actual equality, for the same man had come to possess more than one holding. The principle of heirship was recognized also; and, according to the later marginal notes to the survey, these holdings were already being let at money rents. Still, in 1508 there are some groups which look like half-normal holdings in one respect, that each gave the lord a hen and a half, presupposing another half-holding, the two halves rendering the full tale of hens, but these quasi half-holdings are not equal in regard to their other renders. There were also "reaping works," as appears from the description of the escheat lands of Merford given in the survey, and especially in the account

of one messuage and 2 selions of land granted at the "ancient rents and customs" to Ieuan ap Iorwerth, who rendered 10d., together with a lamb or 4d. at the feast of the Apostles Philip and James, 6 reaping works worth 9d., and 2 hens at Christmas worth 3d. No autumn works are named in the case of holdings of escheat lands, and the whole community was charged with sums of money, hens, lands and issues due from escheated holdings.

The above details have been given in order to show how heavily burdened were the native tenants of the maerdref of Merford and Hoseley during the medieval period, of which the survey of 23rd Henry VII may be taken as a convenient terminal point. Indeed, from a few years after this date, for more than two hundred years, the manor of Merford and Hoseley passes beyond our ken, having become attached in the 33rd year of Henry VIII to the county of Flint. The earliest existing court books in the charge of the steward (beginning in 1729) show no distinction between the customs of Merford (now always spelled and pronounced "Marford") and Hoseley, and those of an ordinary English copyhold manor.

We have also seen that in the accounts for 1472-3 the bondsmen of Merford and Hoseley were divided into two classes, namely, those who held eight selions of land, and those who held less than eight. The evidence is not sufficiently clear or continuous to enable us to equate the holding

containing eight selions with that yielding four malets of corn and other items, although it is probable that the two were identical. But even if this be so, we are far away from the equality *per capita* spoken of in the Welsh Laws.

It remains to inquire whether, in the times of the English lords of Bromfield, the alltuds ("alltudion," foreigners) mentioned in the Welsh Laws, were in any way represented. Their condition was officially designated as one of "advocaria" or avowry, the lord, whose liegemen they were become, undertaking to avow and defend them. The persons themselves are denominated in the Latin documents of the time as "advocarii," but they were called by the Welsh-speaking people "gwyr arddelw," or "gwyr arddel" (see p. 163), and by the English "arthelmen" and "arthelwomen." Where there was not a distinct officer specially appointed to receive them, to enrol their names, to maintain their rights and to enforce the fulfilment of their obligations, the raglot of the commot performed those functions. In the Minister's Account for Ruabon (A.D. 1471-2) we see for example that the ferm of avowry dues for the bailiwick (commot) of Wrexham is charged separately by the raglot of avowry. The "raglottus advocariae" was called in Welsh the "rhaglaw arddel." The Introduction to the "*Record of Caernarvon*" contains an interesting account taken from the

British Museum *Lansdowne MS.* 28¹ relating to the "advocarii" of Bromfield. We there read that when "adventivi" (incomers) and "forenseci homines" (foreigners), freely, and for whatever cause except for treason, desired to come into the avowry of the lord and to remain while they were of good conversation and behaviour towards the lord and his tenants, it was the duty of the raglot to receive them and arrange with them for a rent to be paid yearly to the lord in the accustomed form. And those so received he was to present in court to the seneschal of the court, and to enrol (as we read elsewhere) upon the raglot's roll, and those and others of the same tenure he was to maintain and defend, according to law and the custom of the country, in the court of the lord at suit of whomsoever, and so forth. And they were to be allowed the space of three days to depart with their chattels when it should please them. And if for a year and a day, without foreign suit or change of condition and tenure, they should have remained simply in avowry, then they were to dwell together in the lordship for their whole life, being liable to avowry rent, so that each of them should pay 4*d.* yearly, and 2*s.* for amobr, and one bushel of oats for "piture" (puture or sustenance) of the raglot's horse, and 3*s.* 9*d.* for heriot. "And if any adventitius (incomer), or any one not being in avowry, shall have remained

¹ This extract seems to date from the close of the fourteenth century.

with his goods, and his goods and chattels shall have been for three days and nights continuously within the said lordship, they (the goods) ought to be confiscated or forfeited, unless there should be special reason whereby they ought to be excused."

Ministers' Accounts 1235-1 is the statement of Ednyfed ap Griffith ap Eignus and Madoc ap Ieuan ap Madoc, raglots of avowry in the lordship of Bromfield, for the year 1472-3. There were still two raglots,¹ one for each commot in Bromfield, and there is a raglot's account for Yale for the same year. In the account now being dealt with the names of the "advocarii" are not given, but are accounted for as so many heads at 4*d.* per head ("arian arddel") in the several townships. There were more in Wrexham (26) and in Burton (33) than in any other township. We should expect this to have been the case so far as Wrexham was concerned, as it was the head of one commot, but should have anticipated more than the seven mentioned in Merford, the head of the other commot, and not so many in Burton, mainly a free township, until we remember that a large part of the old township of Merford had been thrown into the adjoining townships of Allington (wherein were 7 advocarii) and Burton (wherein were 33). In an earlier account of the ringild of Burton

¹ By 1479 the avowry rents for the whole of Bromfield had been leased to Robert ap Griffith ap Howel, but the avowry rents for Yale appear in the account of the escheator and collector there.

(A.D. 1401-2) the tenants in avowry, "on ancient land resident," are incidentally referred to. When occasionally the names of these tenants are mentioned they are mostly Welsh names which appear, not of men merely, but of widows, daughters, sons, and in one case of a wife. They were, in short, reckoned by count of heads. All this looks at first sight as though they were the most servile of tenants; but that does not appear to have been the case. Their yearly poll tax was 4*d.* only, and they paid on occasion a small amobr and heriot.¹ Their condition may be compared with that of the Jews in medieval England, with this important distinction, that racially they were not different from those among whom they lived. They did not hold land, except that on which their cottages stood, which was held at the will of the lord. These people seem to have been body-servants and labourers working for weekly wages, but not subject to the conditions of ordinary bond tenure. Among the lists are designations which show many of them to have been tailors, smiths, and walkers or fullers, the undercraftsmen of their neighbourhoods. For the smith

¹ In the charter of 20th Henry VII (1504-5), the "arian arddel," or poll tax of 4*d.*, paid by the arthelmen or advocarii, is mentioned as one of the imposts then abolished; yet three years later the names of all the advocarii are duly set forth. It seems clear that the provisions of the charter, so far as the abolition of tenure in avowry was concerned, as in the case of those other provisions in the same charter dealing with holdings in gavelkind, were inoperative. Nevertheless, after 1508 no advocarii of Bromfield are named.

and fuller there was room in the manorial system, as here organized, but for those working for them, their craftsmen, there was no room, unless these entered into the avowry of the lord; and the tailors who went from house to house might be apprehended as vagabonds unless some such relationship was open to them in the economy of the lordship. In Wrexham, as might be expected, we find a somewhat greater variety among the occupations of the arthelmen. Besides tailors, smiths and fullers, or those employed by them, we note a glover; and Benet Baxter, John Goldsmyth, John Barbor, Jenkyn Sadeler in all probability did not possess surnames, but assisted at the crafts indicated by the names applied to them.¹ But whether this suggestion be established or not, it is certain that many of the arthelmen of 1508, when not living by agricultural labour on other men's lands, were craftsmen, or fulfilled some function for which the manorial organization offered no scope. On the whole we should say that the advocarii of Bromfield, although of low status, were not in a particularly servile condition, and many probably possessed more of the amenities of life than some of the poorer freemen. The advocarii of Gwynedd, as their case is revealed in the *Record of Caernarvon*, are found occupying and tilling on their own account escheat lands

¹ Compare these names with the Welsh "Deyc' ove" (Deicws the smith), "Jankyn Banno'" (Jankyn the fuller), "Jankyn velynneth" (Jankyn the miller), and others, all names of arthelmen.

in free townships or in free gwelys, as paying "staurum principis," doing carting work for the lord, and as rendering their proportion of the fine levied at the two great tourns of the year, with the other "natives" of the lord or of freemen.¹ But they would seem to be of somewhat more free condition than the class of nativi, being not in villeinage, and (when not occupying land) ren-

¹ In the year 1304 (see *Record of Caernarvon*, p. 212), in reply to a petition, wherein the complaint was made that the ministers of the prince were used to compel all those not resident on their own hereditaments to be in the prince's avowry, the answer was made that those whose ancestors had been in the said avowry, and full freemen who had desired to come into the avowry of the prince, should remain in the same, and their heirs, and that villeins of freemen who should have departed from their lord by his licence, sharing their goods (with their lords) according to the Welsh custom hitherto used, ought to continue in the prince's avowry, and their heirs, as well also as all "adventitii" from outside lands ("de terris extraneis"), dwelling together in the parts of Wales; but that Welshmen so transferring themselves from one "patria" (cantref or commot) should not be treated as adventitii, nor be compelled on their coming to enter into avowry.

In a petition presented in the same year (*Record of Caernarvon*, p. 216), Llewelyn Voilram of Talybolion complains that the sheriff of Anglesey had disseised him of his three "natives," with their sequels, of whom he and his ancestors had been in peaceful possession from a time beyond which memory did not extend; and is answered that the three natives claimed to be of free condition, and that their ancestors had been adventitii from Ireland, and had freely placed themselves in the avowry of the lord; but that if it were possible, in the court of the lord prince, to prove them to be villeins (of the same Llewelyn) they should be removed from (the prince's) avowry.

dering an annual poll tax only. Among the names of the advocarii mentioned in the *Record of Caernarvon* of 1352, none indicating crafts occurs, and those exercising various functions necessary to the lord are grouped in free or native holdings.¹ But in another survey of the same district, made in what would appear to be the year 1347, "Ieuan y gegin" (Ieuan of the kitchen) is named as an advocarius in the commot of Lleyrn; and Adam the smith, who seems also to have been an advocarius in the same commot, held a messuage and one acre of free land, and made the ironwork of the plough and mill, the lord finding the iron and "pasture" for the smith.²

It is now time to consider what officers of the two commots of Bromfield belonging to the second Welsh period, lasted on until the later more fully developed manorial epoch which followed it, and what dues and customs, originating in that earlier period, continued in the later epoch.

And, first, as to the officers of the lordship and the relation wherein they stood to their predecessors.

As has been said already, the chief officers of

¹ For example, Gafael Offeiriad (the priest's gafael) in Eiriannws, Gafael Porthorion (the porters' gafael) and Gafael Porthwysion (the gafael of the ferrymen) both in Rhosfair, Gwely Hebbogyddion (the falconers' gwely) in Dinlle, the hamlet of Tregof (the township of the smith) containing two gwelys in the commot of Talybolion, and Tref Gwastrodion (the township of the grooms) composed of six gwelys in the commot of Malldraeth.

² *Record of Caernarvon*, pp. 98-9.

the commot, according to the Venedotian Code (p. 129) were the maer, the canghellor, and the rhingyll or summoner. The two former of these functionaries were entitled to a "cylch," (circuit or progress) among the taeogs or servile tenants. In one of the later redactions of the Welsh Laws¹ the "rhaglaw," or deputy, is for the first time mentioned as one of the chief officers; and the "raglot" (which was the common English form) in the later times of the English lords of Bromfield was still a very important functionary. Down to a period as late as 1467 the two ancient commots of Bromfield were often termed "raglariae" or "raglotries," and named after the raglots who administered them. Most of the other lordships of North Wales were also administered by raglots, and there can be no doubt that in those districts also they represented ancient officers of the commot, and that there were as many raglots as there were commots. In the great tourn of the bailiwick of Wrexham held November 25, 1339, the raglots of Wrexham, Merford and Yale (that is, of the three commots of the lordship) are mentioned as chargeable with the levying of an aid granted by the community of Bromfield and Yale to the lord. And at the great tourn of the same bailiwick, held May 3, 1340, Ken' ap Codblawd and Einion ap Rhirid were presented by the men of Moreton for collecting 11 hoops of oats beyond the

¹ Welsh Laws, vol. ii, *Cyvreithiau Amryval*, Book V, chap. ii, 4.

right measure under colour of puture of the raglot's horse, proving that it was not the custom which was disputed, but the amount leviabie under the custom.¹ And at another court, held June 24, 1340, the raglot of Wrexham (commot) presented four sheep taken in his bailiwick as estrays, valued at 2s., whereof the raglot had 3d., the ringild 4d., and the lord 17d.² The raglot was the chief officer responsible for fees arising from Welsh customs within the commot, and his responsibility is indicated by his Welsh name in its proper form, "rhaglaw," meaning deputy. Nevertheless, the raglots in the lordship of Bromfield were gradually ousted from most of their administrative duties by the English officials of Holt castle, now become the head of the whole lordship, their emoluments only remaining. Already by 1472, as we have seen (p. 181), the office of raglot of Merford had been granted by lease, and soon after no raglot, as such, was appointed in Bromfield. An extract already mentioned as taken from *Lansdowne MS.* 28,³ giving an account of the raglots of Bromfield and Yale, shows the

¹ P.R.O., Ministers' Accounts, 13th-14th Edward III.

² At the court of the same tourn the men of Dinille made a similar complaint against the above-named Cynwrig ap Codblawd and Einion ap Rhirid.

³ The dues relating to the "raglanship" of the county of Cardigan were still collected in 1579 (see Owen's *Catalogue of the MSS, relating to Wales in the British Museum*, pp. 45-46). These dues consisted of one teale (tél) of oats, Aberystwyth measure ("better than 4 Englishe bushelles"), from every free tenant not having any under tenant, and having in the plough an ox or heifer.

office a little before its disappearance, and, since it is important, may here be partly summarized and partly quoted.¹ It appears therefrom that the raglot occupied within the commot much the same position as the sheriff within the wider area of the county; he issued summonses and attachments, and made arrests in connexion with all disputes, whether of the lord or of other parties; he presented in court to the steward each of the aforesaid acts in due form; recorded in the courts, before the same officer, executions of briefs and returns thereof; levied, in his own person or by his bailiffs itinerant, all rents of "firmarii," and issues leviabie by his ringilds, and paid the same into the exchequer at the accustomed terms. "And from each freeman's tenant, and from each freeman not having tenants under him who has a bull or beast (*afrum*), he shall take for the piture ("pitura," that is "putura," sustenance) of his horse two pence and one hob² of oats at the feast of the Apostles Philip and James (May 1), and all the straw, namely with every two hobets of oats, half a thrave (a thrave = 24 sheaves) of straw; and from each tenant not having bulls or beasts in the plough he shall take, by the name of "piture" and sustenance of his horse, twopence only. And of tallages³ and

¹ Quoted, with some printers' mistakes, in the Introduction to the *Record of Caernarvon*, xi.

² "Hob," pronounced *hób* or *hoop*, a measure.

³ For "tallages" here should probably be understood "stallages." See the compotus of the ringild of Burton above noted.

“prise,” he shall take for every cart or horse-load of beer brewed within his bailiwick, or of other victuals exposed for sale there, for every cart-load fourpence, and for every horse-load twopence, and for every brewing of beer brewed within his bailiwick fourpence. And from each fine or amercement of what sum soever that shall, according to the roll of court, be due and in his charge to be levied, he shall take the eighth penny beyond that contained in the roll of court, full fines and amercements (“misericordia”) being answered for. And of the goods and chattels of felons, fugitives and intestates, he shall take all the vessels of wood and brass, and other things of the like sort. And of every property of a defendant pending in court, or seized into the hands of the lord and afterwards released to the possessor, he shall receive from the possessor fourpence, if it shall have reached that value.”

One of the raglot’s officers was the “ringild” (rhingyll); and the rhingyll is declared in the time of the Welsh Laws to have been an officer of the maer and canghellor. In the lordship of Chirkland, where the commots did not become separate manors, the ringild was the chief Welsh officer of the manor. In Anglesey, the ringild appears to have performed the duties which in many other commots elsewhere in North Wales were assigned to the raglot, although “cylch raglot” was still collected there at the time of the *Record of Caernarvon* (1352), and doubtless long afterwards. But in

Bromfield and Yale, where the commots had been divided into manors, the ringild had become a manorial officer, and this so conspicuously that the free manors were sometimes called “ringildries,”¹ as the commots were called “raglotries.” We read of the ringildries or manors of Burton, Abenbury, Isycoed, Ruabon and Eglwysegle, and of the ringilds of Burton,² Isycoed, Ruabon, Eglwysegle and Esclusham, but never of the ringild of a bond manor, such as Merford, Wrexham, Dininlle, where the bailiffs were called “provests” (praepositi). In Bromfield, the liability of the tenants to undergo the ringild’s cylch, or the payment in lieu of it, was abolished in 1505, and in Chirkland in 1506.

The ringilds’ account for the year 1401–2 for the manor of Burton in the lordship of Bromfield and Yale (Ministers’ Accounts, 1234–10), shows the raglot to have received at the feast of the Apostles Philip and James 2*d.* from each

¹ So also in 1405 within the three commots (Coleshill, Rhuddlan, and Prestatyn) of the cantred of Englefield (Flintshire) were nine ringildries—those of Northop, Cilcen, Whitford, Ysceifiog, Caerwys, Hiraddug, Llanasa, “Media,” and the parish of Rhuddlan, each, save the last, which was armed, having its own ringild. The raglot of Englefield was also raglot of each of the three commots, and held the usual courts in them (Ministers’ Accounts, 1191–3).

² There were in 1401–2, and in eight years of the reign of Edward IV, two ringilds (who describe themselves as “in the place of one raglot”) for the manor of Burton, that manor being very extensive. Two of the commots of Chirkland, namely Isclawdd and Glyn (Ceiriog), had in 1399 and 1400 two ringilds apiece.

tenant of freemen and from freemen not having tenants each of whom had a bull or beast in the plough, and the price of a hoop of oats for the puture of his horse, 2*d.* only being payable to the lord as his fee at the same term by tenants not having a bull or beast in the plough. And as to stallage or prisage the raglot took as his fee from each cart of beer 4*d.*, and the eighth penny of fines and amercements and other things in his charge accruing from the proceedings of court; and of escheats and forfeitures all vessels of wood and brass (accounted for that year under "perquisites of court"); and of waifs and strays and other small things, and of property seized, he claimed 4*d.* (also accounted for under "perquisites of court"). He received 1*d.* as his fee from each tenant rendering oats (to the lord), and all the straw of the said oats; and certain other forfeitures and escheats.

The foregoing account relates to the dues of the raglots and ringilds of Bromfield at the beginning of the fifteenth century, but as time went on many of these dues ceased to be exacted. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, the profits of the raglot were still in part derived from a render of oats and litter for his horse, and 1*d.* for himself. This due was abolished in 1505.

Associated with the raglot as one of the chief officers of the lordship was a functionary called in English "serjeant of the peace" or bailiff itinerant, and in Welsh "cais" or "pencais"; and the evidence warrants the conclusion that in the raglot

and the pencais we may have those two chief officers of the commot who in the Welsh Laws are called the "maer"¹ and the "canghellor" (see p. 129).

These names, even before the conquest of North Wales, were probably falling into disuse and being replaced by those of the Anglo-Norman period. In 1397-8 the office of serjeant of the peace, called "pensithith" (pencaisiaeth) in the three commots of Wrexham, Merford and Yale, was granted to John Hope. It is probable that at a prior date there had been a pencais for each commot, and in the court of the bailiwick (commot) of Wrexham, held on the morrow of Trinity in the 4th year of Edward III, a complaint was made against Llewelyn ap Adda, then serjeant, by reason of his seizing a mantle to secure a penny as his fee, in right of his office. But it is probable that soon after this date the pencais ceased to have any administrative duties, and received only a commutation for his "cylch,"² which, when it was abolished in 1505, was called "firma S'iant pacis aliter vocat' Cylch kais." In Chirkland in 1496-8 the offices of "kays" (cais) and pengrewr (chief stud-groom) were combined, having been granted

¹ That is, the "maer y cwmwd" (mayor of the commot), not the "maer y biswail," who was the bailiff of the maerdref.

² In the 6th year of Richard II the master serjeant of the peace for the hundred and forest of Macclesfield in Cheshire was also entitled to "puture or kelk" from most of the inhabitants. Kelk is undoubtedly "cylch" (see Ormerod's *Cheshire*, Helsby's edition, vol. iii, 64, note b).

by Sir William Stanley to Meredith ap Howel or his predecessor; and in 1399 and 1400 the ferm of the searchers (*exploratores*) of the cais is accounted for in the commot of Isclawdd, lordship of Chirkland (Ministers' Accounts, 1239-9).

Another chief officer of Bromfield was the "pen fforestwr" (chief forester). On September 28, 1397-8, John Mollington and John Tramoll were appointed foresters of Bromfield and Yale at the same fees as John Dekka, late forester. At each of the two courts of the great tourn for the commot of Wrexham held in 1340, the "attachments of the chief forester" were presented, and at the second of those courts he was complained of as having taken a cow as arrears of his "auxilium" (aid or cymhorth); but in 1505 the "comorth forester" was abolished by the charter of 20th Henry VII.

The receiver was the officer upon whom in later medieval times fell most of the administrative work of the old Welsh officials in Bromfield. By an easy corruption he was called in Welsh "y syfwr," which, when its origin was forgotten, took to itself a final excrescent *n*.¹

Of the other dues abolished in 1505, whereto the crown and manorial tenants of North Wales were liable, the "treth llys," explained as "repair of manor-house," was probably the most burden-

¹ Thus Receiver's Street (now Queen Street) in Wrexham, so called in 1563 and 1620, became Stryt y Syffern and Sovarn Street by 1699. Llyn y syfwr in Broughton, county Denbigh, is called "Llyn Sufern" in a deed of 1750-1.

some.¹ Most of the tenants of Gwynedd, free as well as servile, were, according to the *Record of Caernarvon*, subject to actual work on the manor-house in each cantred, or to a tax in lieu thereof. Next, probably, came the "treth y tân" or "treth dân" (fire money). It is the "fyre silvr" mentioned in 1467 as one of the dues payable by persons whose names the master forester was then ordered to bring in yearly, and probably the fuel tax (*exitus focalis*) of 1472-3 (see p. 181). And, finally, there were the "treth melyn" (mill tax), exacted "for not turning water to the mills" of the lord, and other work on the mills, and "arian arddel," the poll tax of 4*d*. levied on the advocarii (see p. 185).

The dues abolished in 1506 throughout Chirkland were much more varied, but we need only name the following: Treth gweision bychain, the tax paid in commutation of the quartering of youths upon servile tenants (see p. 136); "kylch ebolion et greor," the circuit of the colts and stud groom; "kylch equorum senescalli et garcionis sui," the circuit of the seneschal's horses and of his servant; "amobr"; and "arian arddel." The extents of Denbighland (A.D. 1334) and

¹ In 1449 and 1450 the tenants of the manor of Isycoed (in Merford commot) were charged their proportion of the repair of the manor-house of Merford, and in 1472 and 1473 the tenants of the manor of Wrexham (in Wrexham commot) were similarly charged their proportion for the repair of the manor-house of Wrexham. This charge was the "treth llys" above named, and was still leviabie upon all tenants, free and servile alike, of the two commots in 1480.

Gwynedd (A.D. 1352) show similar dues to have existed in those districts, but they appear to have been heavier, for the charter of exemption to the three counties of Gwynedd, issued in 1507-8, mentions in addition the customs called "stôr vavr" and "caryes" (enforced carriage or carting).¹

It should be noted that in the different emancipatory charters issued by Henry VII, except in that relating to Bromfield and Yale, "amobr" (the fee paid on marrying a daughter) was relinquished, as was in all cases "arian arddel" (see p. 186), which involved holding in avowry. Gavelkind was also intended to be abrogated everywhere, but did not in fact come to an end until the next reign.

In any case the abandonment by the crown of various obsolete and obsolescent taxes, customs and exactions, although they had long since been commuted into money payments,

¹ What these customs really amounted to in one case may be seen in the following translated extract from the *Record of Caernarvon*, (p. 9, under Penmachno):—"And the heirs of half of the aforesaid (native) gafael and all other nativi and advocarii of the lord prince of that commot (Nantconwy) pay 'staurum' to the lord prince yearly, at the feast of All Saints, namely, 3 bulls and 3 cows, taking from the lord prince 5s. for each bull and 3s. 4d. for each cow, and 6 crennocks of oats at the same feast, taking from the lord prince, when ordered, with a man and a horse, 2d. a day." In other cases the labour was still heavier, including repair of the lord's mill and watercourse and carrying timber and stones to the mill. The crennock, or more properly "crynog" of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire was also called a peget, and contained 8 Winchester bushels or 16 cibyns.

marked an extension of freedom in the holding of land; as the abolition of gavelkind, when actually effected a little later, denoted a still further extension in that respect.

Two or three curious survivals may, however, here be mentioned. In Wrexham Regis the Welsh and English tenants (that is the tenants holding by Welsh and English tenure respectively) had each their own bailiff. The English of Wrexham, moreover, paid the lord ten shillings yearly so "that they should not give tallages or tolls as the Welsh gave"; and it is interesting to find that this yearly render, called "treth y Saeson" (the Englishmen's tax), was not included in the charter of 1505, wherein so many Welsh taxes were abolished, and that it was still claimed in 1562. "Amobr" also was not specifically referred to in the same charter; and although the tenants in 1564 denied their liability to this payment, a letter written on June 27 of that year to the deputy steward of Bromfield and Yale, by William, marquis of Winchester, Sir Richard Sackville, and Sir Walter Mildmay (commissioners of queen Elizabeth), commands inquiry to be made "what ten'ntes there have since the sayd feaste (Michaelmas last past) married their daughters, and to streyt forth the custome monie called Amober, which is five shillings upon every such tenant for every such marriage, accordinge to their auntient custome."¹

¹ "Original Documents." (*Archæologia Cambrensis*), cxxx.

“Amobr,” “treth dan” and “arian arddel” (holding in avowry), were expressly abolished by the Chirkland charter of 1506. Cynllaith Owen, however, was not a part of Chirkland at the date of the charter, and was only added thereto by Robert, earl of Leicester, who obtained it by exchange (see p. 157, note 1); so that we find the profits of these customs in Cynllaith Owen sold by James I in 1613.

A few words on the devolution of Bromfield and Yale after the grant thereof in 1282 to John de Warrenne, earl of Surrey, until the lordship fell finally to the crown, may not be out of place.¹ On the death without issue of John de Warrenne, grandson of the first grantee, (June 30, 1347), the lordship descended to Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, through Alice de Warrenne his wife, sister of the second John de Warrenne, lord of Bromfield and Yale. This Richard was succeeded by his son of the same name, and on his execution, September 21, 1397, his dominions escheated to the crown. The lordship of Bromfield was regranted in the 1st year of Henry IV to Thomas

¹ It has already been remarked, but the iteration may be pardoned, that the geographical entities Bromfield and Yale included more than the lordship so named. To the abbey of Valle Crucis belonged Wrexham Abbot and Stansty Issa in Bromfield, and four townships in Yale; and the bishops of St. Asaph held two townships of Yale. Detached portions belonged also to Maelor Saesneg, forming isolated patches within the geographical Bromfield and Yale, but constituting no part of the lordship of that name. And, in the 33rd year of Henry VIII, Merford and Hoseley were annexed to Flintshire.

Fitzalan, earl of Arundel (son of the last lord), who held it until his death in October, 1415. Earl Thomas dying without heirs male, his sisters (or their children in right of them) became possessed of Bromfield and Yale. These sisters were (1) Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk; (2) Joan, wife of William Beauchamp, lord Abergavenny; and (3) Margaret, wife of Sir Roland Lenthall, kt.—all living on July 20, 1416. By 1450 the Beauchamps had dropped out, and the lordship was held in equal undivided moieties by John, duke of Norfolk, and the feoffees of Sir Edmund Lenthall, deceased. In 1467 John, duke of Norfolk, and Sir Edward Neville, kt., held the two parts, or moieties. Anne, daughter and heir of John, late duke of Norfolk, was affianced to Richard, duke of York, second son of Edward IV—one of the two young princes afterwards murdered in the Tower of London—and her moiety became vested in the crown, as did the other moiety, late of Sir George Neville, kt. On December 10, 1484, the whole lordship was granted to Sir William Stanley, kt., second son of the first lord Stanley, who continued to hold it, subject to the claim of the Nevilles to a moiety thereof—a claim soon extinguished by the forfeiture of Sir Edward Neville, brother of Sir George, and his execution, February 16, 1494-5. Bromfield and Yale thus fell once more into the possession of the crown, from which it was never again severed, except during the years 1534-6, when it was held in the name

of Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond and Surrey, an illegitimate son of Henry VIII who was only seventeen years of age when he died. Thus, in effect since the beginning of 1495, the lordship of Bromfield and Yale has been continuously retained in the hands of the crown.

This study will be brought to an appropriate close if we attempt to show in what condition the tenants of the lordship of Bromfield and Yale stood at the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, by which time gavelkind had been abolished, and the modern epoch fairly ushered in.

The tenants whom we have identified with the Welsh uchelwyr and with the medieval "liberi tenentes," are designated "freeholders"¹ by queen Elizabeth's commissioners in June, 1564. They were subject to a heriot, to suit of court, and to payment of a small fixed rent called "crown rent," a probable survival of the original rent and "twnc" payments; and, if not liable to investiture fee, they paid their proportion of "mise" (namely 600 marks = £400) on the accession of a new lord.² By this date the freeholders had established their right to dig and take away coal and ironstone under their own lands, and to lease the same to others, subject to the payment of what we should now call "royalties"; the

¹ "Original Documents" (*Archæologia Cambrensis*), cxxx.

² The tenants of the bishop of St. Asaph and of the dissolved monastery of Valle Crucis in Yale, also contributed to this mise, according to the survey of 1620.

right of the crown to dispose of the minerals under all wastes, as well as under copyhold, leasehold and demesne lands remaining unimpeached. It should be remembered that freehold lands were not confined to the old free townships (in many of which there was, also, much copyhold land), but extended to parts of some of the old servile townships, where freehold had been created by ancient charters. The glebes of the parish churches were, moreover, free.

Of the various classes of leaseholders and occupiers of unfree land we can distinguish the following: (1) Forty years' leaseholders, and customary tenants; (2) tenants of demesne land, which, after the death of Henry VII, was held to be capable of being leased for only twenty-one years; (3) tenants at will of the crown; (4) "tenants of the acres of Cobham," and of Hem (see p. 177), many of whom set up a claim "to them and their heirs for ever," a claim apparently disallowed by the court of Exchequer. The leaseholders cannot be called servile tenants, inasmuch as no sort of personal servility attached to their tenancies. Many were gentlemen holding lands in unfree townships under leases, and farming them along with their hereditary estates, or letting them to under-tenants. They could cut down trees only for the repair of their tenements, but, had no rights in the minerals.

Those of the first class represented the old "taeogs," "nativi," "villani," and other holders in villeinage, by severalty, or in native gafaels.

The history of the first of the above classes is one of great interest. At the beginning of her reign queen Elizabeth, on the plea that there had been a decay of rent "from auncient tymes" (the 15th year of Richard II), challenged the right of the copyholders and customary tenants, but offered them, if they surrendered their copies, new leases (to be applied for before Michaelmas, 1562) to run from forty years to forty years, on payment of an increased rent ("reviving their decayed rent"), and rendering a two years' fine on the issue or the renewal of the said leases. This was the so-called "composition of 4th Elizabeth," of which much was to be heard in the future. And later (in 1564) it was ordered that in every alienation of such leasehold land, or of any part thereof, a year's fine, or a proportionate part of the same, should be rendered to the crown.

At the taking of the survey of the year 1620 the copyholders of the mesne manor of Hewlington alleged that they had paid for their lands the rents appearing under their names, and had performed the other duties and services in their leases specified and accustomed for lands of that nature, "which landes in Auncient tymes in the beginning of the raigne of the late Queen Elizabeth of famous memorie and long time before were helde by the Tennauntes thereof and their Ancestors as their Inheritaunce and claymed by them as descendable to them and their heires, as well by copy of Court Roll as

by the Custome of the Countrey, and so by them held and enjoyed until the fourth year of the said late Queene Elizabeth her Raigne. At which time their estates in the said landes were called in question by the late Queene and her officers, and there was then found a decay of the same of one Hundred Five pounds six shillings yearely Rent, which in Auncient tymes had been Aunswered for the saide landes, which decay (as by the Auncient Records appeareth) did growe by reason of the great mortalitie and plagues which in former tymes had beene in the Reigne of Edward the Third and also of the Rebellion of Owen Glindor and troubles that thereupon ensued . . . by reason of which mortallity and Rebellion the Country was wasted, the Tenaunts and their Howses distroyed, in so much that the then Lords of the Soyle were constrayned to graunt the said landes at a lesser Rente than formerlie was paid for the same to such as could be gotten to take it." The jurors go on to say that in the 4th year of queen Elizabeth a commission was directed to William, marquis of Salisbury, lord treasurer, Sir Richard Sackville, kt., Sir Walter Mildmay, kt., and others, who sued a commission out of the court of Exchequer at Westminster to Robert Moulton, esq., auditor of Wales, John Gwynn, Robert Puleston, John Trevor, and Robert Turbridge, esquires, to treat with the said tenants for surrendering their customary estates then and formerly enjoyed by them and their ancestors, on the promise that if they would relinquish their

said pretended estates, revive the decayed rent, and pay two years' rent for a fine, the tenants should have leases granted to them for forty years, "and so from fortie yeares to fortie yeares in perpetuity of their Messuages, landes and Tenelements then in their severall tenures and occupations," etc. Upon this the tenants surrendered their "copies and customarie estates" for leases of forty years, and agreed to pay the ancient rents of their holdings, with a fine of two years' rent upon taking out of their new leases. The queen thereupon granted "to the said Tenaunts severall Leases for ye terme of fortie yeares of the Landes then in their severall tenures, and in everie of the said Leases did Covenaut and graunt, for her and her heirs and Successors, to and with the severall Lessees, their executors and assigns, that upon the determination of the said leases, or otherwise upon Surrender of the same, the said tenaunts, their executors and assigns, might and should have another newe demise or graunt of the premises in their severall tenures for the like terme and Rent and under the like Covenauts As by the said first l'res patent were graunted, reserved and specified: They the said Lessees and their Executors and Assignes paying to the said Queene, her heires and Successors, two yeares Rent of the premises onely for a Fine of the said new demise so to be made, over and above the Rent by the said new demise to be reserved, And by the said severall Leases the said Tennaunts were bounde to pay

mises, a yeare's Rent upon everie Alienation and chaunge or decease of Tennaunt, and to suit and service of Court, and many other valuable duties and services." It is further stated by the jurors of Hewlington that after the said composition, "the landes helde by Leases as aforesaide did ever descend to the heir as lands of inheritaunce, and not to the executors and administrators, as other ordinarie Leases do come, but were still preserved in the lyne and blood of the Auncient Tenaunts. Also ye wives of the said tenaunts have but onely a Third part of the same after the death of their husbands for their dower, and that onely during their lives, and after their decease the same comes to the heir, as in case of Freeholde. And the Tennants of the same doe pay mizes and do suit of Courtes from tyme to tyme, which tenaunts for yeares in ordinary Leases are not bounde to doe, as wee are informed." Further, the jurors showed that on the coming of James I to the throne the freeholders and forty years' leaseholders of the lordship had rendered him a mise of 600 marks, and had twice since rendered a mise of like value, first to prince Henry, and next to prince Charles, when the king granted the lordship to these two princes in succession, "upon the graunting and paying of which mizes in all former ages to the King's most noble progenitors, Kings and Queenes of England, and other the lords of the said Lordships, the said Tennaunts in lieu of the said mizes had all their Auntient Customs, privileges and ten-

aunces confirmed, And also white bookes graunted to them, which was a pardon of all fines, amerциaments and forfeitures in the Courtes, and also of suche Rents as were due to the said Lords at the graunting of the said mizes, inso-much as sometimes they had a wholle yeares Rent and sometimes half a yeares Rent and all fines remitted, As by the Auntient Records of the said Lordship yet to be seene may plainly appeare." The jurors also cite the case of Chweleiriog, a township in Yale, already leased under the composition by queen Elizabeth to the tenants, and afterwards granted to the earl of Leicester, who sold it to his servant Edward Lloyd (of Gelligynan), the tenants of which township, having no remedy under the common law, preferred a bill against the said Edward Lloyd in the court of Exchequer, and obtained a judgment in their favour, dated February, 38th Elizabeth (1595-6), whereby the composition of 1562 was declared to be a covenant real, binding as well the crown as purchasers from the crown; and Edward Lloyd, his heirs and assigns, were by the said court ordered "at all tymes thence after upon the expiracon or otherwise upon surrender of the same at the choice of the said Tennaunts to make to them, their executors and assignes, Newe Leases or grauntes of the said Townshipp for fortie yeares and so from fortie yeares to fortie yeares for ever, and to have onely two yeares Rent for a Fyne for everie such Newe Lease or Leases according to the said Composition

and Covaunant." This case was re-heard, and in June, 39th Elizabeth (1597), the first decree was affirmed. Two other cases are also mentioned which were decided favourably to the tenants; but no reference is made to the township of Ridley, leased by the queen to one John Green, the tenants of which township lost their case against the said Green in May, 1563, probably because the lease was issued prior to the composition. The Hewlington jurors go on to say that when the first leases under the composition were on the point of expiration, about the 44th year of queen Elizabeth, "sundry of the said Tennauntes became humble suitors unto her Ma'tie for renewing their Leases and Covenant, which for a tyme was denyed them by the Lord Buckhurst, then Lord Treasurer, and Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Chauncellor of the Exchequer, for that they were not fullie acquainted with the said Composition and Covaunante as the former Lord Treasurer and Chauncellors of the Exchequer. But after the said Tennauntes had trulie informed them of the contents of the same, and of the equitie of the suit, They did grant Leases [to them] that did then sue for the same."

At the beginning of the reign of James I, the tenants whose leases were already run out, or were on the point of expiration, sued for a renewal of their forty years' leases, upon which the commissioners issued to the auditor of Wales and to the clerk of the pipe a general restraint, ordering

that no leases should be made out to persons within the lordship until further order should be given. During this period of restraint Margaret verch Cadwaladr, daughter, legatee, and sole heir of Cadwaladr Morris of Eryrys in Yale, being left without remedy at the common law, and her land being granted to David Morris, her father's brother, and a serjeant-at-mace in London, became a suitor to the court of Chancery, which decided in 1609 that the said Margaret should be admitted to sue under the composition for a new lease, and that the lease to David Morris should be brought into the court to be cancelled. Notwithstanding, the forty years' copyholders of Bromfield and Yale, although they sued "from tyme to tyme and from terme to terme" for new leases, could not obtain them until May, 1608, when Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, lord treasurer, and various lords of the king's privy council, heard the case of the tenants, listened to all objections made to the same, and removed the aforesaid restraint, so that such as were then ready took out leases "under the like forme and Covenants as the former Leases were granted in the late Queene's time," and divers others in the years next following, until the king conferred the lordship upon prince Henry, when there was a new restraint upon the granting of leases. This continued after the coming of prince Charles into the lordship, and ever since, and the jurors of 1620 prayed the prince, his honourable council, and the commissioners of his revenue, that the

tenants might be admitted to take their leases according to the composition.

It would appear from the ex-parte statement of the tenants that the tenure in perpetuity by copies from forty years to forty years was in fact precarious, and that at the end of the first forty years great difficulty had been experienced in securing a renewal. The probability is that many did not apply for their leases until long after 1562, and so did not come up for renewal in 1602; others could not show their copies; while, in other cases, the copies produced did not mention lands in the occupation of the tenants when the time for renewal came.

We find in John Norden's survey of 1620 that many copyholders held by leases "yet in being," and others by leases which had expired, a fact partially explicable by the repeated "restraints" enumerated in the petition and statement already summarized.

Thus by 1620 the conditions under which the land was held by the representatives of the ancient customary tenants had again become chaotic.

Fortunately for those who claimed to be forty years renewable leaseholders, and for other holders of what had formerly been unfree land in this lordship, James I was at this time much in want of money, and on January 27, in the 22nd year of his reign (1624-5), he granted Bromfield and Yale to certain commissioners¹ and their heirs, to be

¹ The commissioners named in the letters patent were Sir

held of him by fealty only, in free and common socage, and not in capite or by knight service, with powers to make estates to any person or persons of the said lordship, reserving what rents they pleased. The commissioners soon after set to work, and for a fine, generally calculated at twenty-five years' purchase, granted various estates, not merely of ancient copyhold land, but of escheat and demesne land, subject to the old annual rents, to suit of mill and of court, and to payment of a heriot of 7s. 6d. Many of the actual occupiers of land, hitherto unfree, bought their holdings "to them and their heirs for ever," and in other cases free tenants bought such land over the heads of the actual occupiers, subject of course to the four incidents just named; and thus most of the land, excepting a small portion reserved by the crown, and the wastes, became enfranchised and held in fee simple. The new grantees of all sorts, or their successors, being now indistinguishable from ancient freeholders, began soon to deal with and dispose of the minerals under the soil of their estates, to which indeed all would seem to have been entitled, except such as purchased after the grant, December 8, 1631, to William Collins and Edward Fenn,¹ under which (among other things), the minerals passed.

Henry Hobart, kt. and bart., Sir James Fullerton, kt., Sir James Walter, kt., and Thomas Trevor, esq.

¹ Patent Roll, 7 Charles I, pars. xv.

At the present time there is no real suit of court or of mill, nor are heriots levied, but the crown rents, when they can be ascertained and are worth the trouble, are still sometimes collected, while in other cases they have been redeemed.

The history of Maelor Saesneg and especially of Bromfield, on its tenorial side, has thus been sketched out in outline from before the Norman conquest to the present time. It has been made clear that the manorial system as it existed in Maelor until the abolition of holdings in capite, was a development from the non-manorial or quasi-manorial landed system found to be in operation during the second Welsh period within the area which has been especially discussed. The new system was not made by piecing together the broken fragments of the old, but was rather a growth from it—a growth doubtless quickened and affected by the new conditions which the Edwardian interference established, but still, on the whole, a veritable growth, so that there was no serious solution of continuity, and no yawning break with the past. The grant of Maelor Saesneg and of Bromfield by Edward I to English lords towards the end of the thirteenth century no doubt hastened the decay of the Welsh landed system based upon kinship, but contemporary records prove that for some centuries things went on very much as before, except that the formation of new free family holdings in gwely or gafaél ceased. The abolition of gavelkind by Henry VIII, in

like manner, meant no more than the legal recognition of the practical disuse of a custom, already hopelessly antiquated, difficult to work, and liable to evasion. It is important to bear in mind that the statements made above, which in their entirety apply only to the lordship of Bromfield, are applicable also in some measure to other lordships in North Wales. The customs of the English manors differed in many particulars from those of the manors of Wales, but it is not impossible that upon even the manorial system of England the remarks that have been made may have some bearing.

Appendix I

EXTENT OF THE LORDSHIP OF BROMFIELD AND YALE, 23 HENRY VII (1508).

(*Public Record Office: Land Revenue Miscellaneous Books, No. 251*).

fo. 9b. **Gavell Madoc ap Gorgene de Heulyngton.**¹
[Corn Rents.]

Joh'es Eyton, Iollyn ap Jankyn, Howell ap Jankyn
et filii, heredes Iollyn ap Jankyn Vaughan, et
Thomas the Wylde, p' terr' nup' Mad' ap Ieuan
ap Mad', Jankyn ffrat' eius, Ieuan et Howell
filior' D'd Lloyd ij m' di' hop' fr'i
[*I.e.*, 2 malets and half a hoop of corn.]
D'd ap Rees ap Lln, p' terr' Mad' Goz ap Kenr' & m^d
Scoleheyd [elsewhere Madoc yscolheyge]
ij m' iij^a p's hop' fr'i
ffilii et hered' Deycus Baugham, p' terr' nup' Howell
ap Eignon Gough, Howell ap Howell Gough et
Ll'n Gough i hop' fr'i
D'd ap Howell ap Eignon, p' terr' d'c'or' Howell ap
Eignon, Howell ap Howell Goz et Ll'n Goz
i hop' fr'i
Gr' ap Meredith, Ll'n ap D'd, Ieuan ap D'd ap Eden',
Will'mus Roden, p' terr' nup' Morgan ap Ior'
Vaughan, Ll'n ffrat' eius, D'd ap Eden' ap
Atha, et Mad' ap Howell le Wyld
i hop' xv^a p's; i hop' fr'i

¹ All later erasures and alterations are omitted throughout, unless where specified.

Gr' ap Me'ddith, Ll'n ap D'd et Thomas ap Howell
 ap Mad', p' terr' nup' dict' Morgan ap Ior', et
 Ll'n fr'is eius . . . i hop', iij^a p's xii^a p's hop' fr'i
 her'des Deycus Bougham, Ieuan ap Eignon, p' terr'
 Gr' duy, Gryffry fr'is eius, et Ll'n ap Ior' ap
 Ll'n iij^a p's hop' fr'i
 De tenent' p'dictis de redd' defic' in p'ticipat'
 p'd'c'a i hop' iij^a p's hop' fr'i

S'ma, viij malett fr'i.

[NOTE.—There were 16 normal parts in a hoop or hop, and 2 hoops in a malet (melet or melliet), so that there should be 256 parts in 8 full malets. But, on this basis, the sum of the several items does not add up to 8 malets, even approximately. Probably, a few simple mistakes have been made in transcribing its original returns, not now available, into the office copy which has alone survived. Assuming that “iij p's,” “xv p's,” and “xii p's” were intended (instead of “iij^a p's,” “xv^a p's,” and “xii^a p's”), it would account for 255 out of the 256 parts.]

fo. 15. **Gauell Mad' ap Gorgene de hewlynton.**

[Money rents]

Her'des et tenent' Mad' ap Ieuan ap Mad', Jankyn
 fr'is eius, Ieuan et Howell fil' D'd Lloyd . . . xiiid
 Hered' Deycus Bougham p' terr' nup' Gr' duy ap
 Ll'n et Gr' fr'is eius, Ll'n ap Ior' ap Ll'n . . . jd, q'a
 Tenentes terr' nup' Mad' Goz ap Kenr' Lloid et
 Madoc Yscolheyge vd, ob.
 D'd ap Howell ap Eignon et hered' Deycus Bougham
 p' terr' nup' Howell ap Eignon Goz et Howell
 ap Howell iiijd, ob.
 hered' Morgant ap Ior' Vaughan et Ll'n fr'is eius,
 D'd ap Eden' ap Atha, Mad' ap Hova, et Eden'
 ap Ior' ap Mad', p' terr' quond' Howell
 Vaughan iiiid

Gr' ap Me'ddith ap Morgan et Ll'n ap D'd, p' terr'
 nup' Hova ap Howell iid, ob.
 Gwen [or Ellen] vergh Mad' Yscoleheyge, p' terr'
 nup' Howell ap Kenr' Voyll vd, ob.
 De tenent' p'd'c'is p' redd'u ib'm deficient' in
 p'ticipat' p'd'c'a et in vet' red' . . . iiijd, ob. q'a
 S'ma, iijs. iiijd.

fo. 20b. [**Gavell Madoc ap Gorgene de] Hewlynton.**

[Twnc rents]

Redd's de Tonge.

Tenent' terr' Mad' Iscolehaige viiid, ob.
 D'd ap Hoell ap Eign', p' terr' Eignoon goz . . . viid
 Hered' Deyc's Vaughan, p' terr' Hoell Gough . . . viid
 Tenentes terr' Hoell vychan xd, q'a
 Tenentes terr' D'd Lloit ap Mad' ap Ll'n . . . ixid, ob.
 D'd ap Mad' ixid, ob.
 Tenentes terr' Grono ap Ior' Gough ap Mad' . . . ixid, ob.
 Joh'es Eyton xixid
 Hered' Madoc Iscolehaig, p' terr' Howell ap Ken'
 voell xviiid
 Tenent' terr' Mad' Iscolehaige viiid, ob.

S'ma, viiis ixid ob. q'a.

fo. 10b. **Ditton Dyffayth, Nativi.**

David et Eden' filii Iollyn ap Gr', p' terr' nup' Ior'
 ap Mad' ap D'd ap Eignon Gough, q' soleb' r'
 xiiij m' ij p't hop' fr'i, modo conced' dict' D'd et
 Eden' p' cop' p' xiiij m' ij p't i hop' fr'i,
 inde in dec' iiiij m' di' ij p't' i hop' fr'i p' copiam
 David ap Howell ap Eignon (ni hop' d') heredes
 Deycus Bougham (i hopp), Kat'yn v'ch Mad'
 (i hopp, iiiij^a p't hop'), hered' Gr' ap Ieuan ap
 Eden' (i hop iiiij^a p't hop'), et Malle vergh Gr'
 ap Ieuan ap Ior' Duy (i hopp), et Howell ap
 Eignon Gough iiiij m' fr'i

David ap Howell ap Eignon (ij m'), D'd ap Iollyn
 ap Ieuan Decka (ij m'), p' terr' Angh' filie Ior'
 ap Eden' iij m' fr'i
 Ieuan ap Iollyn ap Hyllyn, p' terr' nup' Howell ap
 Howell, Ieuan ap Eignon ap D'd Lloid vi m' fr'i
 S'ma xxvij m' ij p't hop' fr'i. Inde in dec' iij m.'d.' ij
 p's hop' fr'i.

fo. II. **Gavell Madoc ap Elider** [in Sutton].

D'd ap Gr' ap D'd Sutton (i m' di' iij^a p's m') et D'd
 ap Mad' Gwyn, p' terr' nup' Gr' ap D'd Sutton
 et ffratr' eius iij m' di' fr'i
 David ap Deycus ap Ieuan ap Ll'n, p' p'cell terr'
 nup' Madoc et Ieuan filior' Ior' Lloid ap D'd
 i m' iij^a p's m' fr'i
 Iollyn ap Howell ap Eignon Lloid, p' p'cell terr'
 nup' eor'd'm Madoc et Ieuan i m' iij^a p's m' fr'i
 Mad', David, et Ieuan filii Iollyn ap Ieuan Decka,
 p' resid' eiusd' terr' d'c'or' Mad' et Ieuan
 im' iij^a p's i m' fr'i
 D'd ap Gr' ap D'd Sutton (iij^a p's hopp), D'd ap
 Mad' Gwyn (iij^a p's hopp), Grono et Ieuan filii
 Gr' ap D'd Lloid ap Kenr' (di' hopp), p' terr'
 nup' d'c'i D'd Lloid ap Kenr' et d'c'i Gr' ap
 D'd Sutton i hop' frument'
 Ieuan et Grono fil' Gr' ap D'd Lloid, David ap Deyc's
 et Ieuan ap Ior' ap Eignon Gethyn, et hered'
 Gr' ap Ieuan ap Eden', et hered' Iollyn, Mad',
 D'd, et Ieuan fil' Iollyn ap Ieuan Decka, p'
 terra nup' Eignon Gethyn et p'ticip' suor'
 ij m' fr'i
 Mad' ap Ieuan ap Ior' Routh (i mallet), et hered'
 Howell ap Ior' Roth, et Iollyn ap Howell, p'
 terr' quond' Eignon [ap] Mad' Roth, Howell
 ap D'd Lloid, et Mad' ap Ior' Lloid ap D'd ap
 Ior' Routh ij m' fr'i [altered to "j m' fr'i."]

Hered' Deycus Bougham, p' terr' nup' d'c'r' Ior'
 Lloid ap D'd et p'ticip' suor' ij m' fr'i
 Ithell ap Gr' ap Ieuan ap Ior' ap Ein', p' terr' nup'
 d'c'or' Eigno' et p'ticip' suor' i m' fr'i
 D'd ap Gr' ap D'd Sutton et D'd ap Madoc Gwyn,
 p' terr' nup' Ieuan Lloid, filior' D'd Sutton, et
 Mad' Routh i hop' iij^a p's hop' fr'i, equal'r
 dividend'
 Mad', D'd et Ieuan filii Iollyn ap Ieuan Decka, p'
 terr' nup' d'c'or' Ieuan ap Ieuan Lloid, filior'
 D'd Sutton, Ieuan chweyth, Mad' Roth, ac
 hered' et tenenc' Mad' ap Eignon voyle
 i hop' iij^a p's hop' fr'i, equal'r di'
 De tenent' p'd'cis de redd'u deficient' de d'c'a gavell'
 in p'ticipac' p'd'c'a i m' iij^a p's hop' fr'i
 S'ma, xvi m' fr'i.¹

fo. IYb. **Gwely Santhe** (in Sutton).

D'd ap Ll'n ap D'd, Mad' ap D'd ap Gr', Mad' ap
 Ll'n Vaughan et Thomas the Wyld, p' terr'
 nup' G' D'd Goz ap Ll'n, Gr' fr'is eius, et filior'
 Ll'n Vaughan x m' di' fr'i
 Iidem D'd ap Ll'n ap D'd, Mad' ap D'd ap Gr' ap
 Ll'n Vaughan, p' terr' D'd, Gr' et fil' Ll'n
 Vaughan ij m' ii p's hop' fr'i
 Madoc ap Ieuan ap D'd (tez in prat'), et al' tenent'
 terr' nup' Ieuan ap Ll'n ap Ior' et Howell,
 fr'is eius iij m' iij^a p's hop' fr'i
 Hered' Deycus Bougham, p' terr' nup' Rob'ti ap
 Howell i m' fr'i
 Tenentes terr' nup' Ieuan ap Ll'n ap Ior' & Howell
 fr'is eius, p' terr' nup' Howell ap Hova
 iij^a p's hop' fr'i
 Morgan ap Jankyn ap Ieuan ap D'd yrryg hered'
 Eden' ap Gr' et hered' Mad' Duy, p' terr' nup'
 Ieuan ap D'd yrryg et antea in te'a Ior' ap
 Eignon Duy d' hop' fr'i

¹ The money rents of this gafael amounted to 6s. 8d.

Madoc ap Ieuan Decka et Ieuan ffrat' eius, p' terr'
 nup' Mad' ap Mad' cant', et fil' Kenr' ap Meil'r,
 Morgan ap Jankyn, Gr' ap D'd ap Mad', her'
 [et] tenent' terr' nup' Kenr'c ap Meiler et nup'
 Atha Vaughan ij m' di', di' hop' iij p's hop' fr'i
 Edward ap Howell ap Ll'n ap Atha, Morgan ap
 Jankyn ap Ieuan, p' terr' nup' Howell ap Ior'
 Vaughan et Ieuan ap D'd yrek
 ii m' d' iii^a p's hop' fr'i
 Tenent' terr' quond' Mad' ap Gr' Graugh, et hered'
 Gr' ap Ior' ap Howell, p' terr' quond' Mad' ap
 D'd ap Cadogan iij^a p's hop' fr'i
 Tenentes terr' Ieuan ap D'd Lloid ap Mad', et Howell
 fr'is eius iij^a p's hop' fr'i
 Jankyn ap Atha ap Mad' Lloid et D'd ap Mad' ap
 Ieuan p' terr' nup' Atha ap Mad' Lloid et hered'
 Eignon Vaughan i hop' fr'i
 D'd ap Mad' ap Ieuan, p' terr' nup' Hova Stedum
 2 hop' di' iii p's hop' fr'i
 D'd ap Ior' ap Mad' Duy, et Gr' ap Atha ap Howell,
 p' terr' Gr', Ll'n, et Rob't ap Gryffry
 ii hop' di', di' hop' fr'i
 Tenent' et hered' terr' nup' Ior' ap Mad' ii p't hop' fr'i
 Tenent' terr' nup' Gr' ap Ior' ap Howell di' hop' fr'i
 Iidem tenent' p' terr' Ior' ap Owen Voyle iij^a p's hop' fr'i
 hered' et tenent' terr' nup' Jankyn ap Ieuan ap
 Mad' iij^a p's hop' fr'i
 De tenent' p'd'c'is de r' int' eosd' deficient in
 p'ticip' p'd'co i m' xii^a p's hop' fr'i
 inquis' De iij^a p'te unius hop' fr'i de hered' terr' nup'
 D'd lase rep't sup' examinac' istius Rent'l
 revenaconis r' siquousq'e examinac' ut sit de
 fr'o deficiente sup' nec ne.
 defic' d' hop' fr'i tam in isto quam in cet' rent' p'
 debit examinac'

S'ma, xxx m' fr'i.¹

¹ The money rents of this gafael amounted to 13s. 8d.

fo. 51. Gwentyfnon (in Yale).

. p' iij p'tib's unius gavell' nup' Ieuan
 Vergam p' annu' xs vjd
 p' di' gavell' nup' Mad' ap Ior' duy et r'
 p' annu'. vijs
 tenet iij^a p't' unius gavell' Ieuan ap Ior'
 ap Hylyn p' annu' iijs vjd
 Gruff' Gough ap D'd ap Heylyn tenet iij p'tes unius
 gavell' nup' D'd ap Heylyn, et r' p' annu' xs vjd
 tenet di' gavell' nup' Ieuan ap D'd ap
 Heylyn et r' p' annu' vijs
 tenet di' gavell' nup' Wylcock ap Atkyn,
 et p' p' annu' vijs
 tenet iij p'tes unius gavell' nup' Mad' ap
 Ior' ap Philipp et r' p' annu' xs vjd
 Gwendl' Nicholas relict' Ior' ap D'd ap Ior' tenet di'
 gavell' nup' Hulkyn ap Ieuan ap Philipp vijs
 Gwendl' ver' Ior' ap Grono tenet di' gavell' nup'
 Iokkyn ap Grono et r' p' annu' vijs
 Gr' ap Ieuan ap Iollyn tenet dimid' gavell' nup' Ior'
 ap D'd ap Mad' et r' p' annu' vijs
 tenet di'am gavell' nup' Phi' ap Atkyn et
 r' p' annu' vijs
 tenet dimid' gavell' t'r' nup' Ieuan ap
 Philipp ap Atkyn et r' p' annu' vijs
 D'd ap Gr' ap Ieuan ap Hylyn & Rees ffrat' eius
 tenent di' gavell' t'r' nup' Ieuan ap Heylyn,
 et r' vijs
 Gr' ap Mad' ap Ieuan ap Kenr'c et Gr' ap D'd ap
 Ieuan ap Kenr'c Gough tenent di' gavell' nup'
 Ieuan ap Kenr'c Gough, et r' p' annu' vijs
 Ll'n ap Plethyn ap Cadogan tenet di' gavell' terr'
 nup' Blethyn ap Cadogan et r' p' annu' vijs
 Gr' ap Hova ap Hylyn et Ll'n Gōz tene't di' gavell'
 terr' nup' D'd ap Kenr'c ap Mad' et r' p'
 annu' vijs

Gr' ap Hova ap Iokkyn tenet di' gavell nup' Hova ap
 Ieuan ap Kenr'c et r' p' annu' . . . vijs
 S'ma vj li vjs.

[NOTE.—There were at this date in Gwenffynnon nine full gafaels or parts of a gafael, each gafael at 14s., making up the sum of £6 6s. *od.*]

fo. 51b. **Bodydres** (Bodidris, in Yale).

D'd ap Ieuan ap D'd Gethyn tenet j gavell' terr' nup'
 D'd Gethyn, et r' p' annu' . . . xiiijs
 Tudr ap D'd ap Mad' Duy et Ieuan frat' eius tenent
 di' gavell' nup' D'd ap Mad' Duy, et r' . . . vijs ix*d*
 Ieuan ap Hova ap Eignon ap Atha tenet iiij' p't'
 vnus gavell', et r' p' annu' . . . iijs v*d*
 D'd ap Bady ap D'd ap Egn' p' iiij' p't' j gavell
 nup' Madoc ap Egn' . . . iijs v*d*
 D'd ap Bady ap Egnon tenet di' gavell' nup' D'd
 ap Egnon, et r' p' annu' . . . ix*s* vii*d*
 Deycus ap Ieuan ap Ior' tenet iiij' p't' vnus gavell'
 nup' Ithell Hagar, et r' p' annu' . . . iijs vii*d*
 S'ma xliis.

[NOTE.—There were in 1450 three full gafaels in Bodidris, charged at the rate of 14s. each, and yielding £2 2 0; at this time (1508) there were only 2½ gafaels, but the rent of the missing quarter-gafael was distributed among some of the holders.]

fo. 53. **Llandynan** (in Yale).

[Later
 memoranda]

di' eid' p' vjs { Deycus ap Ieuan ap Tudr tenet [jur'
 vii*d* p' cop'. { hereditar'] xj erows, v*3* di' gavell'
 j erowe min's, nup' D'd Gough,
 et r' vjs ii*d*

di' eid' p' iijs }
 iiij*d* p' copiam }
 ad t'm xxiiij' } Jankyn ap D'd ap Ieuan ap Tudr
 annor' p' rot' } tenet xj erowes nup' D'd ap
 cur' tent' x } Grono, et r' p' annu' . . . vjs ii*d*
 Dec. anno }
 xxxi [Hen. }
 VIII]

Deyc's ap Ieuan ap Tudr tenet jure hereditar' xj
 erows nup' Ieuan ap Mad' ap Plethyn, et r' p'
 annu' vjs ii*d*
 di' eid' p' iijs } Jankyn ap D'd ap Ieuan ap Tudyr xj
 iiij*d* p' cop' } erows nup' Gwyn ap D'd, et r'
 p'd'c'am } p' annu' vjs ii*d*
 di' eid' p' iijs } Deycus ap Ieuan ap Tudr tenet xj
 iiij*d* ad vol- } erows nup' Kenr'c ap Ieuan,
 untat'. } et r' p' annu' vjs ii*d*
 di' eid' p' iijs } P'fat' Jankyn ap D'd ap Ieuan ap
 iiij*d* p' cop' } Tud'r tenet xj erows nup' Ieuan
 p'd'c'am } ap Ior', et r' p' annu' . . . vjs ii*d*
 Guillym ap Ieuan ap Eignon tenet xj erowes nup'
 Ieuan ap Eignon, et r' p' annu' vjs ii*d*
 di' eid' p' iijs } Ieuan hyr et Atkyn ap Gr' Sayr
 iiij*d* ad vol- } tenent immediatate xj erows
 untat'. } nup' Howell ap Eignon . . . vjs ii*d*
 di' eid' p' iijs } Hugo Tayllour tenet xj erowes terr'
 p', cop', } nup' Ieuan ap Mad', et r' p'
 annu' vjs ii*d*
 di' eid' p' iijs } Tona ap Iollyn tenet dimid' gavell'
 p' cop' } nup' Ior' ap Eign', et r' p'
 annu' vijs
 di' eid' p' iijs } Jankyn ap Ieuan ap Ll'n tenet di'
 iiij*d* ad } gavell' nup' Tudor ap Eignon
 volunt' } Lloid, et r' vijs
 di' eid' p' iijs } D'c'us Thona ap Iollyn tenet di' gavell'
 p' cop' } nup' Ieuan ap Eignon Lloid, et
 r' p' annu' vijs

di' eid' p' iijjs } Gr' ap Ieuan hyr tenet di' gavell' nup'
 iiijd p' cop' } Eignon duy, et r' p' annu' . vijs
 D'd ap Eynnion tenet [jure heredit'] di' gavell'
 nup' Ieuan Whympe, et r' p' annu' . vijs
 lev' lvs jd S'ma, iiij^{li} xjs iijd

[NOTE.—On the assumption that in Yale 22 erws make a gafael, there appear at this time to have been seven gafael in Llandynan. In 1450 there were but six gafael in this township, but the total render of the six was £4 11 0, almost identical with the sum above charged (£4 11 3) for the seven. The later marginal notes are here given to illustrate how the several holdings were subsequently leased, by copy or at will, and generally at lower rents, so that the total rent of the gafael of Llandynan became reduced to £2 15 1. All the marginal notes in this Extent appear to have been made a little before the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII.]

fo. 53b. Bryntangor (in Yale).

here's eiusd'	}	Jenkyn ap Ieuan ap Ll'n tenet j gavell' terr' nup' Ieuan ap Hova, et r' p' annu' xiiijjs		
terr', Ll'n ap				
Deycus ap				
Hova				
conced' eid'			Idem tenet d' gavell nup' Eden' ap	
simul cum			Atha ap M'redeth, et r' p' annu' vijs	
acr' eiusd'			Idem tez di' gavell' nup' Ior' ap.	
vill' p' xiijs			Ieuan ap M'd vijs	
iiiid p' cop'			Idem [tenet] una' gavell' nup' Ieuan	
ad t'min' xxii			ap Mad' Lloynoc et Hova fil'	
annor' p' rot'	eius, et r' xiiijjs			
cur' ten't xvj	Idem tez di' gavell' nup' Ieuan Lloid			
die Dec' anno	ap Kenr'c vijs			
xxxv				
lev' xiijs iiijd	S'ma, xlixs.			

[NOTE.—Thus in 1508 we see that there were three and

a half full gafael in Bryntangor, which, at 14s. a gafael, make the above-named sum of 49s. But in December, 1543, all were leased to one man at a total rent of 13s. 4d.]

fo. 94. Merford [township]. Extenta nativorum
(Corn rents and hens).

Thomas ap Hoell et David ap Deic's Goz, p' t'r'
 nup' Hoell ap Hova iiij m' fr'i j gall' di'
 Idem p' terris nup' eiusdem Hoell
 iiij m' fr'i j gall' di'
 Lollyn et Grono, nativi d'ni, filii Ieua[n] ap Ior' ap
 Grono, p' t'r' nup' Ior' ap Grono ap Dd vachan
 iiij m' fr'i iij gallin'
 Bady Gough et Grono ap Ieua[n], p' t'r' nup' John
 Gough et Ior' ap Mad' Gouz
 iiij m' fr'i iij gallin'
 Idem Bady, p' t'r' nup' Madoc ap Ieuan Gouz
 iiij m' fr'i iij gallin'
 Ieuan ap Ior' et Grono ap Deic's, p' t'r' John Gouz
 quond' David Gouz iiij m' fr'i iij gall'
 Llya v'z Howell p' t'r' nup' Ieuan ffoole et Mad'
 frat's sui iiij m' fr'i iij gall'
 Ieuan ap Ior' et Grono ap Dic's Goz, p' t'r' nup'
 John Goz iiij m' fr'i iij gall'
 Ieuan ap Ior' p' t'r' nup' Duyo Baz quond' Ior' ap
 Ior' Gouz ij m' j hopp iij^a p's hop' fr'i
 Idem Ieuan p' t'r' nup' Mad' Taillowr quond' David
 Lloyd ap Ior' Gouz ij m' j hopp iij^a p's hopp fr'i
 Idem Ieuan p' t'r' Duyo Baz quond' Ieuan ap Ior'
 Gouz ij m' j hopp iij^a p's hop' fr'i
 Howell hofte p' t'r' nup' Ior' ap Kenr'c ap Eign'
 ij m' fr'i j gall' di'
 Idem Hoell p' t'r' nup' eiusd' Ior' quond' Philipp
 ap Madoc ij m' fr'i j g'l di'
 Idem Hoell p' t'r' d'c'i Ior' et David ap Grono
 vaur iiij m' fr'i iij gall'

Grono ap Deic's Gouz nat's, p' t'r' nup' Ior' ap Grono
 quond' Eign' ap Ior' ap Hova ij m' fr'i . . ij gall'
 Howell hofte nat's, p' t'r' nup' Ior' ap David
 hofte iij m' fr'i
 Bady Gouz, Grono ap Deic's Gouz et David frat' suus
 nat' d'ni, p' t'r' nup' Ior' ap Mad' ap David
 quond' Mad' ap David hofte iij m' fr'i
 Grono ap Dic's Gouz et Ll'n vachan, p' t'r' nup' D'd
 ap Mad' ap Griff'r' et Mad' ap Ior' Duy ap
 M'd' ij m' fr'i . . ij gall'
 S'ma ffr'i, lviiij m', den' q'n' ad $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{xiiid, m' lviijs} \\ \text{xiiiij d, m' lxvijs viij d} \\ \text{xvid, m' lxxvijs iiiij d} \end{array} \right.$
 Gallin' xxxiiij, r' iiijs iij d

fo. 95b. Merford, Redd' den' ib'm p' t' Mic', Aven
 Phi' et Jac', op' t' Mic' (assise rents, oats,
 and autumn works).

Thom' ap Hoell ap Mad' et D'd ap Dic's Gouz, p' $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{t'r' nup' Hoell ap Hova ass' viiiid, v hop' aven',} \\ \text{et jd ob.} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{Et} \\ \text{iij} \\ \text{op'} \\ \text{aut'} \end{array}$
 Iidem Thom' et D'd, p' t'r' eiusd' Hoell r' ass' ix d, $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{v hopp aven', et jd ob.} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{op'} \\ \text{aut'} \end{array}$
 Iollyn ap Ieua' et Grono frat' eius nativi, p' t'r' nup'
 Ior' ap Grono ap D'd r' ass' viiiid, v. hopp aven',
 et jd ob, et iij op' aut'
 Bady Gouz et Grono ap Dic's, p' t'r' nup' John Gouz
 et Ior' ap Mad' Gouz . . r' ass' viij d, v hop aven,
 et jd ob, et iij op' aut'
 Idem Bady p' t'r' nup' Mad' ap Ieuan Gouz
 viiiid, v hop' aven', et jd ob, et iij op' aut'
 Ieuan ap Ior' et Grono ap Dic's, p' t'r' nup' John
 Gouz quond' Mad' ap D'd Baz . . viiiij d, v hop' aven',
 et jd ob, et iij op' aut'
 Llya v'z Hoell p' t'r' nup' Mad' ap Ieuan ffole
 viiiid, v hop' aven', et jd ob, et iij op' aut'

John Gouz p' t'r' Ior' ap Cadoc' et Ieuan ap Ior'
 viiiid, v hop' aven', et jd ob, [et] iij op'a [aut']
 Ieuan ap Ior' p' t'r' nup' Mad' Taillo' et Duyo
 Baz viij d, iij op' aut'
 Hoell hofte p' t'r' nup' Ior' ap Kenr'c ap Eign'
 r'. ass' viij d, v hop' aven', et jd ob, et iij op' aut'
 Idem Howell p' t'r' nup' Ior' ap Kenr'c et David ap
 Grono . . r'. ass' ix d, v hopp' aven', et jd ob, et iij
 op' aut'
 Grono ap Dic's Gouz p' t'a' nup' Ior' ap Grono ap D'd
 quond' Eign' ap Ior' . . vjd, ij hopp di' aven', et ob'
 q'a, et iij op' aut'
 Howell hofte p' t'r' nup' Ior' ap D'd hofte ix d
 Bady Coz p' t'r' nup' Ior' ap Mad' ap D'd ix d
 Grono ap Dic's Gouz et Ll'n vachan, p' t'r' nup' D'd
 ap Mad', Mad' ap Ior' ap M'd' et Mad' ap Ieuan
 Gouz . . ijs xd ob, ij hop' di' [aven'], et ob q'a, et iij
 op' aut'
 Llyno v'z Ior' p' t'r' nup' Mad' ap Atha . . xiiiij d ob,
 ij hop' di' aven', et ob' q'a, et iij op' aut'
 Grono ap Ieua' p' t'r' nup' D'd Dury'n . . iij d, et iij op' aut'
 Bady Gouz p' t'r' nup' Mad' ap Ieuan Gouz
 iiiij d ob' et iij op' aut'
 Lluya v'z Hoell p' t'r' nup' D'd vyr . . xviiij d, et iij op' aut'
 Dic's ap Dio Baz p' t'r' D'd ap M'd' Gwynne
 vjd, et iij op' aut'
 Hochon ap Hova p' curtil' nup' Sutoris viij d, et iij op' aut'
 De r' curtilag' nup' Eign' Gouz xij d, et iij op' aut'
 Dic's ap Dio Baz p' curt' nup' D'd ap Ior' Trelyn
 xij d, et iij op' aut'
 Ll'n vachan p' curt' nup' Atkyn ijs, et iij op' aut'
 David ap Dic's Gouz p' Erow Lawarch xij d
 Grono ap Ieua' p' t'r' David durrell
 iij d, ij hop' di' aven', et ob q'a, et iij op' aut'
 John Roden p' t'r' nup' Morgant Tranter et Kenr'c
 ap Ll'n vs
 Idem John (ijs), Madoc ap Mered' Bannor (viij d),
 et David ap Gr', p' t'r' nup' Kenr'c ap Ll'n iijs

Howell hoffe p' t'r' nup' Ithell ap Griff'r ijs et iii op' aut'
 Bady Coz p' t'r' nup' Mybion Miler . . . xiiid

S'ma, v₃ {denar' xxxii s ix ob'
 {Auuen' lx hopp
 {op'u' liiij

fo. 95. **Hosseley** (i.e. Hoseley; corn rents and hens).

Deic's ap Gr' Hyk et Jankyn fili's suus et John frater
 suus, p' t'r' nup' Ieua Baz ap D'd ap Ithell et
 Mad' ap David ap Hova . viij m' fr'i . . ij gallin'

John ap Ieuan ap Eden' ap Ior', p' t'r' nup' Hova
 ap Grono ap Mad' . . . iij m' fr'i . . iij gall'

., p' t'r' nup' Ieua ap D'd ap Hova
 ij m' fr'i . . ij gall'

., p' t'r' nup' Hova, Eign', Ieuan et Gr' filior'
 David Goz de Hossley . . iij m' fr'i . . iij gall'

D'd ap Iollyn ap Gr' (et Wenll' mat' sua), p' t'r' nup'
 Ieua Baz et Grono ap Mad' quond' Eign' ap
 Miler ij m' fr'i . . j gall' di'

Ieuan ap Duyo ap Grono et John frater eius nativi
 d'ni, p' t'r' nup' Grono ap Mad' ap Ithell
 ij m' fr'i . . j gall' di'

Idem Ieuan et John frat' suus nativi, p' terr' nup'
 Ieuan ap Ior' ap David ap Ithell

ij m' fr'i . . j gall' di'
 S'ma . . ffr'i, xxiiij m', den' q'n' ad {xijd m' xxiijs
 {xiiiij m' xxviiijs
 {xvjd m' xxxijs

Gallin', xv di', pr' xxiiid q'a

fo. 97. **Hosseley** (oats, money, and autumn works).

Deycus ap Gr' Hikke et filii sui, p' terr' nup' Philipp
 ad D'd iis, x hopp aven', et iij d, et iij op' aut'

Gwenll' verz Eignon et D'd filius eius, p' terr' nup'
 Eignon ap Miler viij d ob', ij hop' di' aven', et ob' q'a
 et iij op' aut'

Ieuan ap Deyo ap Grono nat's d'ni, et John frat' suus,
 p' terr' nup' Grono ap Mad' ap Ith' . . . iij d ob, ij hop'
 di' aven', et ob' q'a et iij op' aut'

Idem Ieuan et John frat' su's nat' d'ni, p' terr' Ieua
 ap Ior' ap D'd ap Ithell . . . iij d ob', ij hop' di' aven',
 et ob' q'a, et iij op' aut'

., p' t'r' nup' Eignon, Hova, Ieuan et Gr' filior'
 D'd Gouz . . viij d, v hopp' aven', et jd ob, et iij op'
 aut'

John ap Ieuan ap Eden' ap Ior' p' terr' nup' Houa ap
 Grono . . . xjd, v hopp' aven' et jd ob, et iij op' aut'

John ap Ieua carpentar' p' terr' nup' Ieuan ap D'd ap
 Hova . . . iij d, ij hop' di' aven', et ob' q'a, et iij op' aut'

John ap Ieuan ap Eden' ap Ior', p' terr' nup' Ior'
 Lloid ijs, et iij op' aut'

S'ma {denar' . . vijs ix d' ob'
 {Aven' . . xxix hopp di'
 {Op'um . . xxiiij

Appendix II

LIST OF THE MEDIEVAL MESNE MANORS
OF THE LORDSHIP OF BROMFIELD

(a) Commote of Merford.

<i>Name of Manor.</i>	<i>Townships composing the Manor.¹</i>
MERFORD AND HOSELEY	Merford and Hoseley. Tenure mostly servile.
HOLT, <i>alias</i> LYONS	. A borough. Mostly in free burgage tenure.
HEWLINGTON That part of the present parish of Holt which was outside the franchise of the same. Tenure quasi-servile.
BURTON The greater part of Burton (with its hamlets of Llay, Bradley, and Hunkley), Gwersyllt, Gresford, and Allington <i>alias</i> Trevalyn (which has absorbed Almer), Cobham Almer and the Hem. Tenure mostly free.
COBHAM In two portions, not townships proper, one in the north of the commot, called "Cobham Almer," the other in the

¹ Notwithstanding the apparent neatness of this arrangement there was scarcely a single township in Bromfield, here given under a particular manor, which had not holdings, or portions, in some other manor or manors.

<i>Name of Manor.</i>	<i>Townships composing the Manor.</i>
	south, called "Cobham Isycoed." Tenure, quasi servile.
RIDLEY Ridley (see under Morton in Wrexham commot). Tenure quasi-servile.
ISYCOED The greater part of Sutton, Dutton Diffaeth on Dee, Cacca Dutton, Dutton y brain, Woverton (now Gourton), Bieston, Erlisham (now Erlas), Borrasham Hwfa and Borrasham Riffri (now Burras), together with the absorbed townships of Crew Fawr, Crew Fechan, Eyton Fawr and Eyton Fechan. Tenure mostly free.
PICKHILL AND SESSWICK	Pickhill and Sesswick. Tenure mostly servile.
HEM In Allington, not a township proper. Tenure semi-servile

On October 24, 1385 (9 Richard II) all the above-named townships (except Ridley) answered to the court leet of Merford commot. On October 8, 1411 (14 Henry IV), all the townships in the southern half of the commot (again excepting Ridley) answered, each by five men, at the court leet of the ringildry of Isycoed, and on May 10, all the townships in the northern half of the commot were represented, each by five men, at the court leet of the ringildry of Burton. Ridley did not answer because it was then treated as a member of the manor of Morton. Hem and Cobham were probably represented by the men of the townships to which they belonged.

(b) Commot of Wrexham.

<i>Name of Manor.</i>	<i>Townships composing the Manor.</i>
WREXHAM	Wrexham Fawr and Wrexham Fechan, afterwards conjointly called "Wrexham Regis." Wrexham Abbot belonged to Valle Crucis Abbey, and did not form part of the lordship. Tenure mostly servile.
ABENBURY	Greater part of Abenbury Fawr, Eyton, Erbistock and Sontley. Tenure mostly free.
DINILLE or DININLLE	The greater part of what is now called "Dinhinlle Issa," Cristionydd Fechan (now called "Dinhinlle Ucha"), and detached areas elsewhere. Tenure servile.
RUABON	The greater part of the four hamlets of Ruabon township (Hafod, Belan, Rhuddallt and Bodylltyn) and of Ruyton (now Royton), and Marchwiel. Tenure mostly free.
MINERA	Minera. Tenure mostly servile.
ESCLUSHAM	Esclusham above and below (Offa's) Dyke, Bersham, Brymbo, and Cristionydd Kenric. Tenure mostly free.
EGLWYSEGLE	Eglwysegle in the old parish of Llangollen (apparently severed from Bromfield between 1545 and 1587), Trefyddbychain (now regarded

<i>Name of Manor.</i>	<i>Townships composing the Manor.</i>
	as in Yale), Broughton, Stansty ucha, Acton, Erddig, and Morton Wallicorum (<i>alias</i> Morton Above). Tenure mostly free.
MORTON	Had the township of Morton is y clawdd (or Morton Below) for its nucleus. In 1397 (and later) Bedwell and Ridley, which ultimately were treated as separate manors, belonged to it, and occasionally one of the two detached portions of Dutton Diffaeth, and a detached bit of Abenbury Fechan, answered to its courts. Tenure quasi-servile.
FABRORUM	Morton Anglicorum (<i>alias</i> Villa Fabrorum, <i>alias</i> Gevelié) and (in 1562 and 1620) Coed Cristionydd, with other outlying districts. Tenure quasi-servile.
BEDWELL.	Bedwell (see under "Morton manor") now merged in the adjoining townships of Marchwiel, Pickhill, and Sesswick. Tenure quasi-servile.

Appendix III

NOTES UPON THE NAMES OF TOWNSHIPS
AND HAMLETS OF BROMFIELD AND
OF MAELOR SAESNEG*(a) Commot of Merford.*

MERFORD, now always spelled and pronounced "Marford," but formerly always written "Merford," and doubtless so pronounced. "Merford" is become "Marford," just as "Merton" (Lancashire), "Merbury" (Cheshire), and "Merpole" (Derbyshire), are become "Marton," "Marbury," and "Marple" respectively. But in all the English place-names just mentioned "mer" is known to have stood for "mere," a lake. "Merford" would mean therefore the mere-ford, or the ford of the mere; and though the site of a mere is not now traceable, the township (and especially that area of low-lying ground adjoining which probably once formed part of it) may well have contained a mere. On the other hand, the first syllable of the name Merford may refer to "mere" in its meaning of a limit or boundary. "Merffordd" is the form occasionally occurring for "Merford" in the collections of seventeenth century genealogists, who were fond of arbitrarily altering all place-names ending in "-ford" into corresponding names ending in "-ffordd," thus giving them a Welsh appearance. "Merford" continued to be so spelled in the township rate-books until 1804.

HOSELEY. In Domesday this name appears as "Odeslei," and in 1161 as "Hodeslea," meaning Oda's lea or Hoda's lea. Later, the more common form was "Hosley" or "Hosseley," but for two or three centuries it has been spelled "Hoseley," and is now always pronounced "Hozeley." The adjacent estate called "Horsley" (which means horse-lea or horse-pasture) has sometimes led to the confusion of the two names.

HOLT, or as it used to be called "The Holt," is an English name for "wood"; but it has not hitherto been found as designating the town until about a century after the foundation of the borough. The older and alternative name of it, "Lyons," appears in Latin medieval documents as "Villa Leonis," or "Villa Leonum," but whether this name is based upon "Caerlleon," which may have been the Welsh name of the Roman station which was unquestionably founded here before the building of Chester is uncertain. Holt Castle was called "Caerleon" in 1526, when Lancelot Lothar, its constable, was appointed (see *Letters, Foreign and Domestic*, vol. iv, pt. i, p. 873).

RADENOURE (Radnor) is mentioned in Domesday, but has so long perished that the exact site to which the name was applied cannot now be identified with certainty. If not in the liberties of Holt, it must have been quite adjacent thereto, and that borough seems at one time to have been called in Welsh "Rhedynfre" (Fern Hill), a form which looks like a Welshification of "Radenoure" (see *Palmer's History of Holt*, p. 3).

HEWLINGTON, sometimes pronounced "Yewlington." No adequate explanation of this name, which is pretty certainly English, can be given.

BURTON, often formerly called "Boorton," "Bourton," or "Borton," a common name for towns and villages

in England; it is perhaps "Burh-ton" (town of the fortified place) or "Bur-ton" (town of the bower or hall).

LLAY is probably the guise assumed in Welsh by the English "lea" or "lay" (E.E. leah), that is, the Welsh form of an English name.

HUNKLEY or **HONKLEY**, an unexplainable English name.

BRADLEY, broad lea or meadow.

GWERSYLLT. If this comparatively modern form be correct, it is the Welsh "gweryll" (a camp), with the excrescent *t* common in this district. There is, however, no camp to be found in this township, and during the mediæval period, in ministers' accounts and elsewhere, the name is generally given as "Wershull" or "Wersull." In the Survey of the lordship *circa* 1546 the form "Gwershull" sometimes occurs, and twice "Wershham." It is possible that "Gwersyllt" is a Welshified rendering of some English name ending in "-hull," that is, "-hill."

GRESFORD is generally explained as a corruption of the Welsh "y groesffordd" (the cross road), but the latter does not appear before the fifteenth century, and then only (with two exceptions hereafter to be indicated) in the pages of imaginative genealogists. The nearest approach to the form "y groesffordd" in any respectable document is "Grosforthe," which occurs once in the Extent of 23rd Henry VII, the township being always named "Gresford" elsewhere in the same Extent. "Gresforth" also occurs once in the Survey of 1544, as well as the alternative forms "Greseworth" and "Gresham." In Domesday (1086) the place is called "Gretford," in the Norwich Taxation (1254) "Cresford," and in the Lincoln Taxation (1291) "Grefford." But these are plainly due to the mistakes of copyists, and, in any case, are more like "Gresford" than "Groesffordd." The evidence of deeds, charters, ministers'

accounts and surveys shows that locally the place was almost always called "Gresford," even during the centuries when it was almost wholly Welsh. The name is evidently of English origin, and must be compared with names like "Gresley," "Gresham," "Grescove," and the like. A probable explanation of the first syllable may be found in the Early English "gærs," often written "græs," Middle English "gres," and as a matter of fact, three local examples of the form "Grassford," instead of "Gresford," have been noticed.

ALLINGTON, Domesday form "Alentone," the town on the Alyn. In Welsh the township is called "Trefalyn," which has the same meaning. So far as existing documentary evidence goes, "Allington" is an older form than "Trefalyn," but both forms are very old.

ALMER, the name of a former hamlet of Allington, and still of a farmhouse there. It is either "Ealdmer" (old mere), or, as the form "Almore" sometimes occurs, "Eald mor" (old moor).

HEM, in Allington, may be Welsh or English, and in either case means "limit" or "border." The proper form of it has always been "The Hem."

LAVISTER, in Allington, cannot be explained. The accent is on the first syllable of the name. Its Welsh name in 1391 and 1620 was "Llawestyr" or "Llawystr," which is equally difficult to explain.

DARLAND, also in Allington, is an English corruption of the Welsh "y Dorlan" (the broken bank).

COBHAM took its name from a certain Ralph de Cobham, knight, to whom the lands composing this manor were granted in the early fourteenth century. He probably brought the name with him from whatever part of England whence he hailed.

RIDLEY is Reed-ley, the reed pasture.

SUTTON, the south township.

DUTTON, a common village name in England. The

Lancashire "Dutton" appears in Domesday under the form "Duntune," which would mean either the down-town or the dun-town, and "Dun," though undoubtedly Celtic, was a word thoroughly naturalized in the English tongue. In a "Minister's Account" of 1303-4 our Dutton is spelled "Dicton" (Dyke-town or Ditch-town), but this spelling stands alone. The form "Dytton" is frequently found in medieval accounts, but the short Welsh *y* was doubtless pronounced as the English *u* in "Dutton." Dutton lay in three distinct townships of Bromfield, in the names whereof the Welsh language is represented—Dutton Diffaeth, Dutton y brain, and Cacca Dutton, all included in Isycoed, the name of which is also Welsh. In connexion with "Dutton" should be mentioned "Dutford," the name of an old ford between Eyton and Erbistock.

GOURTON, formerly called "Woverton," an English name, but not to be satisfactorily explained. The suggestions in the first edition of this book are not convincing.

BIESTON, a village-name very common in England.

BURRAS, often formerly written "Borras" and "Borras-ham." The last name came into disuse because it was liable to be confounded with "Bersham," a quite distinct place. This confusion is still sometimes made by writers who do not know the district. What "Burras" means is uncertain. The derivation from the English "beorgas" (barrows, hills, or burial-mounds), has something to be said in its favour.

ERLAS, formerly written "Erdelesham" and afterwards "Erlisham." The form "Erdelesham" gave opportunity to the Welsh pedigree-revisers of the sixteenth century to alter it to "Erddlys" and the like. However, it is undoubted that "Erdelesham" is the earliest recorded name of the township, that

this became worn down into "Erlisham," and again into "Erlas," and it is now often pronounced "Arlas." It would seem to be a name of English origin.

PICKHILL. The English "pik" or "peak" (E.E. "pic") was perhaps adopted from the Welsh "pig" (a point, pronounced "peeg"), but became so completely appropriated that the English settlers of Offa's time might naturally have called any pointed hill or mound in this township "the Pike," which hill might then, by a process of duplication familiar to philologists, come to be known as "Pike hill." Or the first English settlers might have found the name "y Pig" already given to the hill or mound, and by the same process have produced the same result. The hill was probably small, or might have been no more than a conspicuous artificial mound, for the greater part of the township of Pickhill is low-lying, with only a few elevated areas in it.

SESSWICK, mentioned in Domesday under the name "Chespric." "Wick," with the meaning of "dwelling," is a common termination of English place-names. In view of the fact that in the Survey "Chespric" is returned as belonging to St. Chad, it is barely possible that the name may contain a reference to that saint, and be properly "Chadswick," but the form "Sesswic" was already well established in the year 1385.

The place-names already discussed are applied to townships or hamlets in the area which lay within the Cheshire ("Cesterscire") of 1056, and formed later, roughly speaking, the Welsh commot of Merford. Many are specifically mentioned in the Domesday record, and all (except Holt and Cobham) must have been then, and long before, in use. Soon after Domesday all this area became Welsh, and remained predominantly so for centuries. Yet it was during this period that most of

these names come to light as accepted designations of districts. The natural inference is that the area must have been thoroughly settled before the time of Edward the Confessor; otherwise the names given by the English to their "hams" and "tuns" would not have survived the subsequent long period of Welsh occupation.

(b) **Commot of Wrexham in Bromfield.**

WREXHAM. There are four curious but differing early forms of this name—"Wristlesham" (1161), "Wrettesham" or "Wrectesham" (1236), "Wyrcesson" (1291), and "Wrightlesham" (1316-7), which, being isolated, must properly be regarded as errors of clerks or transcribers. In the charter of Madoc ap Griffith to Valle Crucis of the year 1222 the town is called "Wrechcessam," in 1254 (Norwich Taxation) "Gwrexam," and in 1291 (Lincoln Taxation) "Gwregsam,"¹ and almost continuously since the name has been spelled either "Wrixham" or "Wrexham." What was the first proper form of the name is not certain, although we may be sure that it was given by English and not by Welsh, and it is extremely probable that it represented one of the most western "hams" of English settlers around the Wrekin. Dr. W. H. Stevenson, however, says that "the name of Wrexham appears to be unconnected" with that of the Wrekin.

ABENBURY, perhaps a hybrid name, half English, half Welsh. The first component is still represented by "Coed Aben" (mis-spelled "Coed y Bryn" in the old 1-inch Ordnance map), the name of a farm in the township. Variations of "Abenbury" were "Abyntbury," "Abynbury," and "Abembury,"

¹ In another part of the Taxation of 1291, one of the above-cited spellings ("Wyrcesson") occurs. "Gwrexam" is the Welsh form of the name "Wrexham" to this day.

the last easily explained by the change of *n* into *m* before *b*.

EYTON. The syllable *ea* or *ey*, so common a component of English place-names, means "water," and Eyton is probably "the town by the water," or Waterton. It may be of interest to observe that in Cheshire and South Lancashire the first syllable of this name, now spelled *ee*, is still applied to low, flat, river-side tracts, liable to occasional flooding. Eyton is not to be made into a Welsh word by spelling it "Wyton," as some of the older genealogists do.

ERBISTOCK means "Erbin's stoke," that is, Erbin's stockaded ford. St. Erbin was the old patron saint of Erbistock (not, as now, St. Hilary), and in the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" of Henry VIII "ye offryng of Saynt Erbyns" at Erbistock is recorded.

SONTLEY, notwithstanding its apparently English form, is probably Welsh. Until about three centuries ago it was spelled "Sonlley" or "Sonlli," but the name has not been satisfactorily explained.

DINHINLE. The older form was "Dinille," "Dinulle," "Deninlley," "Dinunthley," and the like, a word of three syllables. When such forms as "Dinlle" or "Dynull" occur they must be regarded as abbreviations, the marks of contraction being omitted through carelessness. In the modern form of "Dinhunlle" the *h* is late and intrusive. In any case, the word is Welsh.

RUABON. This is probably a corruption of the Welsh "Rhiw Fabon," though "Ruabon," is at least as old as 1391. The names of the four hamlets of Ruabon township are also Welsh.

MARCHWIEL, difficult of satisfactory explanation, but certainly not English.

RUYTON, pronounced "Ryton" and sometimes "Royton," undoubtedly an English name.

MINERA, a low Latin term meaning "ore" or "mine,"

and applied to this township (which has also a corresponding Welsh designation, "Mwnglawdd") as early as 1339.

ESCLUSHAM, pronounced "Esclewsham." This looks like a name half Welsh and half English: the first part of it is represented by a large farm now called "Esless" but formerly "Esclus," possibly for Ystlys (a side or slope), but the form "Esclusham" was already well established in 1391.

BERSHAM may have been made out of the simpler form "Bers," once a common and alternative name for the whole township, and still existing as the denomination of certain farms and places within it, Upper Berse, Lower Berse, Rhôs Bers, etc. Bers the Welsh genealogists called "Mers," arguing from the name "Plas yn Mers," which means simply "Hall in Bers," and Leland calls this hall "Marsche." It is a well-attested English personal name, and it occurs, for example, in the Cheshire Domesday Survey; so that "Bersham" is probably "Bers's ham." In the foundation charter of Valle Crucis (about A.D. 1202, it is spelled "Berercessham," where the second *er* is probably due to an intrusive contraction-mark.

"Coedpoeth" was not an early township- or hamlet-name, but the designation of an open waste, once covered with trees, in the uplands of Bersham.

BRYMBO, "Bryn baw" (mud hill), spelled "Brinbaw" in 1339 and in later times "Brombo" (for "Bronbaw"). It had an alternative English name, "Harewood" or "Harwood," corrupted in Welsh into "Harwd."

CRISTIONYDD must be of Welsh formation, and mean the land of one Cristion. "Cristion" has been recorded as a personal name in Bromfield.

EGLWYSEGLE, now "Eglwyseg," a Welsh name containing the word "Eglwys."

TREFYDDBYCHAIN, in English, "Little townships."

BROUGHTON. There is nearly a score of villages in England called "Broughton," and three are situated in that part of North Wales which was settled by Englishmen. They appear in Domesday as "Brochetune" or "Broctune," which can hardly mean anything else than "Brook-town." The brook which may have given the Bromfield Broughton its name is now almost always dry, but "Rhyd Broughton" (or Broughton ford) preserves the memory of it.

STANSTY must be an English name, the first syllable being probably the genitive case of "stan" (stone), and the second represented by the modern "sty," so that the whole would mean "a stone enclosure" or "stone stair." A part of Stansty was at one time called "Northcroft," both being well established names in 1254, at a time when every tenant in the township was Welsh.

ACTON, the "Oaktown."

MORTON, the "Moortown." One of the three townships bearing this name (Morton Above) is west of Offa's Dyke.

ERDDIG. This name appears in all sorts of forms in early documents—"Erthig," "Earthyg," "Eurthyg," "Irethig," being examples. But a still earlier and more extended form, occurring occasionally to the end of the sixteenth century, is some variation of "Eurdicot" (1339),¹ where the *d* represents *dh* = *dd*. The final syllable is doubtless the English "cote" (a dwelling), but Erddig (which is also found in "Tal-Erddig") is difficult of explanation.

BEDWELL seems to signify "bede-well" or "prayer-well." "Ffynnon Daniel" (Daniel's well) was near

¹ The other variations of the longer form noted are: "Eurthcote" (1479), "Earthicote" (1549), and "Erthickott" (1596).

it, and Tyddyn Daniel is within the township; the Daniel here being believed to be Deiniol.

Of the names of the twenty-two townships in the old commot of Wrexham which have been examined, ten are certainly English, seven certainly Welsh, and five hybrid. The undoubtedly Welsh names are confined to the mountainous part of the region, while nearly all the others are found in the large and fertile plain, or in the lower parts of the upland slopes, though three centuries ago over 90 per cent of the field-names in the plain were Welsh. Only Eyton and Erbistock, in the eastern part of the commot, are mentioned in Domesday, the whole of the remaining part of the area having already come under Welsh domination. The fact that the English township names of this part of the Maelor lowland lived through the subsequent centuries of Welsh occupation, shows that at some time before Domesday the Welsh settlement of it must have been fairly complete.

(c) **Commot of Maelor Saesneg.**

VERTON, the "over" or upper "ton," so named perhaps with reference to a Nether-ton, which name may have been replaced by "Maes y gwaelod" (the bottom ground), a large area in Overton Foreign. Besides Maes y gwaelod, there are four other districts in Overton which have long-established names—Asney, Musley, Cloy, and Lightwood. In Asney were, it is believed, Overton Castle and Overton Mill, both washed away by the Dee. With "Asney" compare "Osney" at Oxford. "Musley" (in a charter of 1292 spelled "Moseley") is often Welshified, against all probability, into "Maes Lewis." "Cloy," which extends into Bangor township, is generally written "Clay" in the older registers of Bangor parish, and in two charters

of 1299 and 1300 appears as "Claylee" and "Cleilegh." To "Lightwood" Leland gives a corresponding Welsh name, "Coed y goleu," which is also mentioned in 1595.

BANGOR, a Welsh name for "wattling," or a "wattled enclosure." In Bangor are three areas with well recognized and very ancient designations—Dungrey, Althrey, and Cloy (Clay), the first two of which are doubtless of Welsh origin.

WORTHENBURY, called "Hvrdingberie" in the Domesday Survey, but "Worthenbury" or "Worthembury" everywhere else. It is a purely English name: compare "Worthen," "Worthington," "Chatsworth," "Mackworth," and the like. In this township are four hamlets—Broughton (*see* p. 245), Wallington, Mulsford, and Wern, the first three being English names.

HANMER takes its final syllable from the great mere on the banks of which it stands. The first syllable is probably the same as that in Hanley, Hanbury, Hanford, and the like. Hanmer contained two hamlets, Gredington and Croxton, whose names survive as designations of residences. North, south, and east of Hanmer village was a great heath, now mainly enclosed, called in the Ordnance and Tithe maps "Arowry," in the Welsh pedigrees of the sixteenth century "Yr owredd," and in colloquial speech and actual usage "The Rowrey," a name difficult of satisfactory explanation in any of its forms.

BETTISFIELD, in the Domesday Survey "Beddesfeld," probably an entirely English name. There was a "Llys bedydd," a township or hamlet in Maelor Saesneg, found in a Ministers' Account for 1405-6, as "llysbeddyt," and an alternative name for some place, perhaps the "Burwardestone" of Domesday. The latter may be preserved in "Burton's Wood."

BRONINGTON, an established name in 1405. This township once contained a hamlet known as "Haulton," still commemorated by "Haulton Ring."

WILLINGTON. Compare the many Willingtons and Willinghams in England. Willington in Maelor Saesneg is mentioned in 1405.

PENLEY, an English name worn down from "Pendley" (1303), "Pendeleg" (1360), "Pendylegh" (1391), etc., all which forms can only mean "Penda's lea." The township had an exactly corresponding Welsh name, "Llanerch Panna" (1270, 1405, etc.), which has been revived as a new name for "Penley House."

ISCOYD, a Welsh name, standing for "Isycoed" (1405), and meaning "Below the Wood."

TYBROUGHTON in its present form is as old as 1405; it can only mean "Broughton's House."

THREAPWOOD, certainly English.

Thus, of the twenty-eight names of townships, hamlets, and areas in Maelor Saesneg, twenty-one are certainly English, five certainly Welsh, and two (Tybroughton and The Rowrey) hybrid or doubtful. Maelor Saesneg during the twelfth century was in full possession of the princes of Powys, and for centuries after, in respect of the nationality of its people, continued almost, but not quite, as Welsh as Maelor Gymraeg.

THE LORDSHIP OF BROMFIELD, COUNTY DENBIGH
 The lordship of Bromfield, county Denbigh
 shewing the areas of ancient townships
 prior to recent alterations together with
 the lordship of Yale divided into parishes
 but not townships.
 N.B. Names of townships printed in capital
 letters.



- A. Esclusham above, detached in Minera, nearly 205 acres = hawtir
- B. Wrexham Abbot, detached in Minera, about 128½ acres = hawtir
- C. Wrexham Abbot detached, now added to Wrexham Regis, 551 acres.
- D. Wrexham Abbot detached, now added to Wrexham Regis, 125 acres
- E. Aberbury Fechan, detached, 11 acres
- F. Dutton Diffaeth detached in Sulton = Lower Hall
- G. Erbistock in Maelor Smaeseg, county Flint.
- H. Erbistock in Bromfield, county Denbigh
- I. Allington, detached in Mayford and Hoveley, 54½ acres = the Roftt mount area.
- J. Gresford, detached between Hoveley and Burras = Gresford old Vicarage.

There is no room in a map of this scale to show the smaller detached portions of Wrexham Abbot, Aberbury Fechan, Esclusham and other townships.

Llanferris parish in Yale
 One Township
 LLYS Y CIL

Llanarmon parish in Yale.

Llanidloes in Yale

TREFYDD BYCHAIN
 in Llanidloes parish and
 in Bromfield lordship

EGLWYSEGLE a township
 in Llanidloes parish
 formerly part of Bromfield
 lordship

Llanfyllis parish in Yale

Bryn Eglwys parish in Yale

Llanfyllis parish in Yale

Valle Crucis

Diablen

Llanfyllis Ch

part of commot of Llanfyllis alias Llanfyllis

commot of Nanlleudwy alias Llanfyllis

Mountain Land of Ruabon parishes

Wrexham hamlet

Esclusham below dyke

Hafod y borch hamlet in Esclusham below

Matchwalter parishes

Wrexham hamlet in Ruabon

Below hamlet

St Martin's parish

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