

MEYSYDD BRWYDRO HANESYDDOL YNG NGHYMRU

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

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

HISTORIC BATTLEFIELDS IN WALES

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

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

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

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

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

				<p>Cloddfa (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2013)</p> <p>Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012)</p> <p>Excavation (Archaeology Wales, 2013)</p> <p>Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)</p>
Campston Hill	1404	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	402328	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p>
Cilgerran	1258	Sir Benfro Pembrokeshire	405201	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)</p>
Coed Llathan	1257	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	403587	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013)</p> <p>Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)</p> <p>Non-invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)</p>
Castell Coety (gwarchae) /Coity	1404-05	Morgannwg	545701	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013)</p>

Castle (siege)		Glamorgan		Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Coleshill	1157	Sir y Fflint Flintshire	402325	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (2009) Documentary and historical research (2009)
Craig y Dorth	1404	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	402327	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)
Crug Mawr	1136	Sir Aberteifi Cardiganshire	402323	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)
Castell Cymaron (gwarchaeau) / Cymaron Castle (sieges)	1144 1179 1195 1215	Sir Faesyfed Radnorshire	545328	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Cymerau	1257	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	404717	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)

				Non-invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh Castle (siege)	1282	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545687	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh Castle (siege)	1294-5	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545613	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh Castle (siege)	1460	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545718	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh Castle (siege)	1468	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545720	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh Castle (siege)	1646	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545789	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dryslwyn (gwarchae) / Dryslwyn Castle (siege)	1287	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	545605	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Carregwastad - Abergwaun (ymosodiad) / Carregwastad Point - Fishguard (invasion)	1797	Sir Benfro Pembrokeshire	308824	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)

Gŵyr/ Gower	1136	Morgannwg Glamorgan	404856	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Grosmont	1405	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	402333	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012)
Hyddgen	1401	Sir Drefaldwyn Montgomeryshire	402310	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Pont Irfon (Llanganten) / Irfon Bridge /	1282	Sir Frycheiniog Brecknockshire	403411	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Cydweli / Kidwelly	1258	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	404729	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Castell Talacharn (gwarchae) / Laugharne Castle (sieges)	1189 1215 1257-8 1644	Sir Gaerfyrddin	545245 545341 545436 545746	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)

Maes Gwenllian	1136	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	402324	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012)
Maes Moydog	1295	Sir Drefaldwyn Montgomeryshire	403416	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)
Trefaldwyn / Montgomery	1644	Sir Drefaldwyn Montgomeryshire	405168	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Mynydd Carn	1081	Sir Benfro Pembrokeshire	300319	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)
Castell Newydd Emlyn (gwarchae) / Newcastle Emlyn (siege)	1287-8	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	545606	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical

				research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Newydd Emlyn (gwarchae) / Newcastle Emlyn	1645	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	545768	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Gwrthryfel y Siartwyr, Casnewydd / Newport Chartist Uprising	1839	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	405003	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Documentary and historical research (Border Achaeology, 2009)
Painscastle	1198	Sir Faesyfed Radnorshire	402326	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012) Cloddfa (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012) Excavation (Archaeology Wales, 2013)
Pennal	1472/4	Meirionnydd Merioneth	403495	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Pentraeth	1170	Ynys Môn Anglesey	404315	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Pwllgwdig	1078	Sir Benfro	405188	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol

		Pembrokeshire		(Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Pwll Melyn	1405	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	402320	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)
Castell Rhaglan (gwarchae) / Raglan Castle (siege)	1646	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	545797	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Sain Ffagan / St Fagans	1648	Morgannwg Glamorgan	307776	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2013)
Twthill	1461	Sir Gaernarfon	403421	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009)

		Caernarfonshire		Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)
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Grŵp Llywio Meysydd Brwydro, Hydref 2016

Battlefields Steering Group, October 2016

WELSH BATTLEFIELDS HISTORICAL AND DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH

Denbigh – 1460

County: Denbighshire

Community: Denbigh

NGR: SJ0515765771

NPRN: 95209

Report Author: Dr Adam Chapman

Date: February 2013



Llywodraeth Cymru
Welsh Government



Denbigh (1460)

Summary

The brief siege of Denbigh undertaken by Jasper Tudor in early 1460 fits into one of the periods of extreme political instability which accompanied the political fluctuations of the mid-fifteenth century. The Marcher lordship of Denbigh had been granted to Roger Mortimer on 13 September 1327 and in time passed into the hands of Richard, Duke of York (d. 1460). Following the defeat of York at Ludford Bridge on 12 October 1459, York was exiled and his estates confiscated. Denbigh as one of these confiscated estates was granted to Henry VI's half-brother, Jasper Tudor on 5 January 1460. This grant was resisted by the occupants of the castle occasioning a siege in the following months.¹ Jasper Tudor's success in taking Denbigh was negated very shortly afterwards with the victory of Richard's son Edward, subsequently Edward IV, at Towton, Yorkshire, on 29 March 1461. At Denbigh it is known that gunpowder artillery was deployed in the course of the siege and that this was supplied from the royal resources. It may be speculated that the Yorkist garrison only controlled the inner ward – the castle itself – and that artillery was employed against the gates since there is no obvious evidence of damage or repair in the standing archaeology. On this occasion, no major damage seems to have been visited on the borough and assumptions that it was appear to originate with the mis-dating of a key document which granted money for reparations to the borough. Although commonly dated to the first year of the reign of Edward IV, it in fact dates from the first year of the reign of his brother, Richard III and fulfils only the final instalment of the reparations.

Context

The conflict for control of England in the second half of the fifteenth century, was named 'The Wars of the Roses' by Sir Walter Scott in the nineteenth century. The origins of the conflict were part dynastic and part pragmatic in their character. Following the loss of Henry V's conquests in Normandy in the late 1440s and the loss of Gascony in 1453, only Calais remained of England's possessions in France. This had seismic effects on the domestic politics of England and for the stability of Henry VI's grip on power. His mental fragility and subsequent lack of capacity as king resulted in conflict, at first political and later with armed force, for control of the king and therefore

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1452-61*, 534, 550, 565, 574.

the country with Richard, duke of York (d. 1460) at the head of one faction and the descendants of Henry V and his half-brothers, the Beauforts, on the other. The ensuing civil war began with the first battle of St Albans in 1455 ended at the battle of Bosworth Field in 1485. The pattern of the war consisted of short, sharp periods of conflict punctuating long periods of politicking and factional lawlessness.

Wales played an important part in the conflict, owing to the fact that Richard, duke of York had inherited the estates of the earldom of March which included the lordships of Denbigh, Maelienydd and Gwrtheyrnion, Caerlleon and Usk together with a number of minor lordships while one of his principal supporters, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick held the largest of the Marcher lordships, Glamorgan. The king, of course held the lands of the 'Principality'; Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire, Merioneth, Anglesey and Caernarfonshire, together with parts of the Marcher shire of Pembroke and other estates as part of the Duchy of Lancaster. The prominence of local potentates, notably William ap Thomas and his son William Herbert at Raglan for York and Gruffudd ap Nicholas in Carmarthenshire for Lancaster added to the importance of Wales. Herbert became a major figure on the English stage after the victory of York's son, Edward earl of March at Towton in March 1461 and his enthronement as Edward IV. From a Welsh perspective he was also the chief victim of the wars; following his defeat at Banbury in 1469 he was executed ending two decades of personal dominance.

Primary Sources

One consequence of the turbulence of this part of the fifteenth century is that documentation recording governmental action in detail was frequently disrupted. There are only a very few references to the siege in government records. The Patent Rolls, which record official commissions and public correspondence, provide no more than a basic chronological framework and some details of equipment used and the recruitment of soldiers. They do not, however, tell us when or how the siege was concluded, how many troops were involved, or the identities of those within or without the castle though other evidence from after the accession of Edward IV in 1461 can assist in identifying those likely to have been involved in the Yorkist defence of the castle.

Estate accounts for the lordship of Denbigh appear not to have survived in quantity for this period. There is a series of Auditor's accounts and valors for later in the decade, but these provide no clues

regarding the siege. Surviving royal financial records provide few indicators as to the cost of the siege or the damage caused by it.

There is some surviving praise poetry addressed to Jasper Tudor and other important figures in the period, but none makes explicit mention of Denbigh in 1460, though there is much that can assist in assessing the situation in the later 1460s.

Later sources

This siege seems often to have been conflated with the events of the summer of 1468 in later sources. John Leland, relates the burning of the borough and the memoirs of John Wynne of Gwydir provide some details which clearly relate to this period. Unfortunately, these have survived in the form of anecdote and are thus mostly undated and confused in the picture they present.

Narrative of the Siege

Jasper Tudor was granted the offices of constable of the castle of Denbigh, stewardship of the lordship and the office of master forester of the lordship with their associated revenues for life on 4 January 1460.² The remainder to the revenues and rents due from the lordship, together with those of all the other lordships confiscated from Richard, duke of York following his attainder were left in Henry VI's hands. A month later Jasper was clearly present in Denbigh and in a position to begin attempts to bring the castle under his control. Negotiation of some form or another appears to have been attempted and those within the castle were clearly known in the locality though none are named in the surviving documents. Jasper was authorised to take their lands and their revenues into his hands: this was normal practise for the property of rebels and criminals. By 19 February 1460, it is apparent that these attempts were proving unsuccessful and a commission was made to Richard Bungey and John Wheler to assemble carpenters and cartwrights to transport bombards to Denbigh.³ These are likely to have been sourced from the Tower of London, the chief royal arsenal in England. The increasing use and sophistication of gunpowder artillery was a significant development in the course of the second half of the fifteenth century and became a key part of any siege action though it was not always effective and it is uncertain as to where it was employed here.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1452-61*, 565

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1452-61*,

On 22 February, Jasper was granted a commission of array to recruit men-at-arms and archers from Wales 'to resist Richard, duke of York and earl of March, Richard, earl of Warwick, Richard earl of Salisbury and Edmund earl of Rutland attainted of rebellion' and to take muster of them. If such a muster was taken it has not survived.⁴ The commission also licensed Jasper to admit into the king's grace any rebels of Denbigh castle willing to submit with the exception of a few unnamed individuals from England, Wales and Ireland. He was also empowered to try and execute all rebels and traitors of the same area. What effect these orders had is not known. A further commission was made to John Smith on the same day for the transport of artillery to Denbigh.⁵ On 13 March, Jasper was granted 1000 marks (£666) from the revenues of York's lordships in Wales to pay for the siege. The castle clearly fell into Jasper's hands after a period of months, though the surviving sources do not allow us to judge when or by what means. It is probable that the siege ended before April when Jasper was made a knight of the Garter.⁶ Given the formidable strength of the castle and its defences it is likely that it was shortage of supplies or negotiation rather than assault that ended the Yorkist occupation.

Aftermath

The castle was placed in the hands of Roger Salusbury by Jasper who, following the defeat and capture of Henry VI at the battle of Northampton on 10 July 1460, was requested to surrender the castle to the nominee of the duke of York on 9 August.⁷ It is obvious, however, that Jasper's men continued to hold the castle until at least February. This is confirmed by a surviving letter from Jasper to Roger Puleston and John Eyton dated at Tenby on 25 February 1461 and a second to Puleston alone, delivered by his receiver in Denbigh, Gruffudd Fychan, again dated at Tenby on 23 July of the same year.⁸ Despite attempts at conciliation to Salusbury by Edward IV after he acceded to the throne on 4 March 1461, with the new king confirming various grants made by his father confirming offices and annuities within and from the revenues of the lordship Denbigh appears to have surrendered to Yorkist forces sometime between the point where Jasper's resistance was reported to be at an end on 4 October and the battle of Twthill outside Caernarfon on 4 November

⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1452-61,*

⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1452-61,*

⁶ Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, 67.

⁷ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council VI*, 303.

⁸ Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, 84.

1461.⁹ Edward IV is known to have granted 1500 marks (£1000) to the burgesses of Denbigh for the repair of the town following damage caused by rebel activity. Unfortunately, the only evidence for this grant is to be found in 23 February 1484 when Richard III ordered the final 200 marks of the sum to be discharged.¹⁰ Hemp quotes this document in full and, like Williams, Evans and Owen gives the date of the original grant as 1462.¹¹ There is no internal evidence in this grant for that date and while this is a reasonable assumption, there is no clear evidence that 1462 was indeed the date in question: the reasoning here seems to be derived from Williams' confusion over the nature of the grant. He assumes that this text restates the earlier grant and that 'anno primo' refers to the first year of Edward IV's reign. In fact, since this grant of 200 marks is given by Richard III, it relates to February 1484. The document merely records the original grant, it does not reiterate it so the date is unknown. The monies, incidentally, were granted to the town and burgesses directly from the revenues of the lordship which would otherwise have gone to the king in any event.

British Library Harleian Manuscript 433, fo. 154b. [the spelling has been modernised and punctuation inserted where appropriate from the transcription published by Hemp].

Richard &c. To the Receiver of our Town and lordship of Denbigh that now is and that for the time shall be greeting. Whereas our dearest brother of noble memory king Edward the iiiijth whom God assoill, considering the great losses hurts and damages that our well-beloved subjects and tenants, the Burgesses and inhabitants of our said Town had and sustained afore time by occasion of bringing of the same Towne violently down by certain our Rebels and traitors gave and granted unto them toward the re-edifying and new building thereof the sum of fifteen hundred marks. It is so now that on the behalf of our said burgesses and tenants we understand that two hundred marks residue of the said sum resteth yet unpaid unto them for the contentacion whereof they have besought us to shewe luito them the favour of our grace whereupon we considering the premises with the faithful hurts and services which they at all times have borne and shewed unto Us and our blood be content and agreeable that they shall have and wholly perceive the said cc marks of the issues, rents, fines and mises coming and growing of our said lordship that is to say of one hundred marks at Michaelmas and the other hundred marks at Michaelmas than next ensuing. Wherefore

⁹ Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, 86.

¹⁰ Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, 37 n. Hemp, 'Denbigh Castle' 73-4 citing British Library Harleian MS 433 fo. 154b.

¹¹ Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, 37; Hemp, 'Denbigh Castle', 74; Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, 86; Owen, 'Denbigh', 181.

we will and charge you that accordingly ye make unto our said Burgesses and inhabitants due and full satisfaction in that part and these our letters shall be therein your sufficient warrant and discharge at your accounts before our auditor to beholden. Given, etc, the xxijth day of February anno primo.¹²

1462 must be considered a possible date for the original grant. The original petition from the burgesses of Denbigh is unlikely to have been put before the king until the castle was in Yorkist hands in late 1461 but seems not to have survived. It may, however, relate to damage caused by Jasper Tudor in 1460. It is possible that the earlier date may be supported to the grant to John Henbur, described as an alderman of Denbigh, as Rhaglaw and Woodward in the lordship on 28 November 1461.¹³ If artillery was employed, it is likely that a number of domestic buildings beyond the walls of the borough were extensively damaged. Later sources, however, notably Camden and Leland date changes to the pattern of settlement – a great reduction of the number of occupied plots within the walled borough – to 1468. Both were writing within living memory of 1468 so their testimony should be treated with respect, but not uncritically. Both suggest that the suburbs of Denbigh were only begun at this point.¹⁴ To say that this was a new development is wholly erroneous; in 1305 there were fifty-two occupied burgess plots within the walls, there were well over twice that number, 183, outside them and that this distinction was apparent from the very earliest days of the borough.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the surviving rental from 1476 gives no obvious indication of damage to the borough but the indication is that, within the walls at least, whenever the damage was caused, it was relatively limited. Sixty-five burgages were occupied within the walls and 276 outside. This compares favourably with an account of 1411 which records the total number of burgage plots as 440 of which only 292½ were occupied a total which fell still further by 1426 to 180.¹⁶ The damage may not, therefore, have been directly to the fabric of the town, but spread over a wider area. The documentary record offers no unambiguous evidence and dating of the damage which occurred cannot be established. The 'New Town' referred to by both Leland and Camden is more likely to refer to renewal of the built environment evident in the surviving structures on the High Street.

¹² Hemp, 'Denbigh Castle', 74, n. 1.

¹³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1461-7*, 62.

¹⁴ Camden, 679; Leland, 97. The change is readily apparent in Speed's 1610 plan of the borough, reproduced by Owen, 164.

¹⁵ Owen, 'Denbigh', 182 citing TNA DL 29/1/2.

¹⁶ Owen, 'Denbigh', 182 citing NLW Deposit 163b; TNA SC 6/1183/13, 16.

Troops and casualties

Beyond the presence of Jasper Tudor and his household, likely numbering a few hundred, nothing can be established as to the initial size of the besieging forces in January 1460. The size of the artillery company provided to secure the castle is also unknown, though a range for this is more easily established. A minimum size would be around a dozen men; gunners, their assistants, smiths to effect repairs, masons to fashion the gun stones and carpenters to assemble carriages and mantlets for the guns. Together with a small company of archers, this would be a typical number for the artillery maintained by the king's lieutenant in Normandy in the 1440s. The importance and capacity of artillery increased during the Wars of the Roses and so did the size of ordnance companies. The artillery company despatched to Harlech in 1468 was 100 strong. The number of men-at-arms and archers arrayed in late February or early March 1460 is wholly unknown, but the sum of 1000 marks suggests that it was substantial, perhaps numbering 1-3000 men employed for several weeks.

Relatively few men would have been required to hold the castle securely but once again there is no surviving evidence. For the purposes of comparison only, the known garrisons of Denbigh during the Glyndŵr rebellion varied between five archers and 30 men-at-arms and 120 archers.¹⁷ Neither of these figures is representative: a more sensible comparison would be the fifty prisoners taken by William Herbert on his capture of Harlech in 1468. Who the Yorkist defenders were is unknown, though it is probable that they were a mix of local men and Yorkists from Cheshire or possibly including Irishmen. Their fates are similarly unknown.

Assessment

The siege of Denbigh conducted over a few months in 1460 and its subsequent retention by Lancastrian loyalists after the fall of Henry VI was representative of many struggles for control of castles and property in the Wars of the Roses. Estates changed hands frequently through death, disinheritance, military defeat and political whim. This was especially apparent in the royal shires of Wales and the Welsh March. Obtaining control of the castle of Denbigh was a strategic need and a political statement. The physical damage inflicted on Denbigh appears to have been confined to the town beyond the borough and castle wall. For this damage, the town was compensated by Edward

¹⁷ TNA E 101/36/1 [1401]; TNA E 101/43/9 m. 2 [Michaelmas 1401].

IV but may have suffered again later in the decade. Strategically, however, possession of Denbigh was of relatively limited value: it was Lancastrian control of the coastal castle of Harlech which was to cause the Yorkist regime of Edward IV most difficulty and, eventually, enormous expense.

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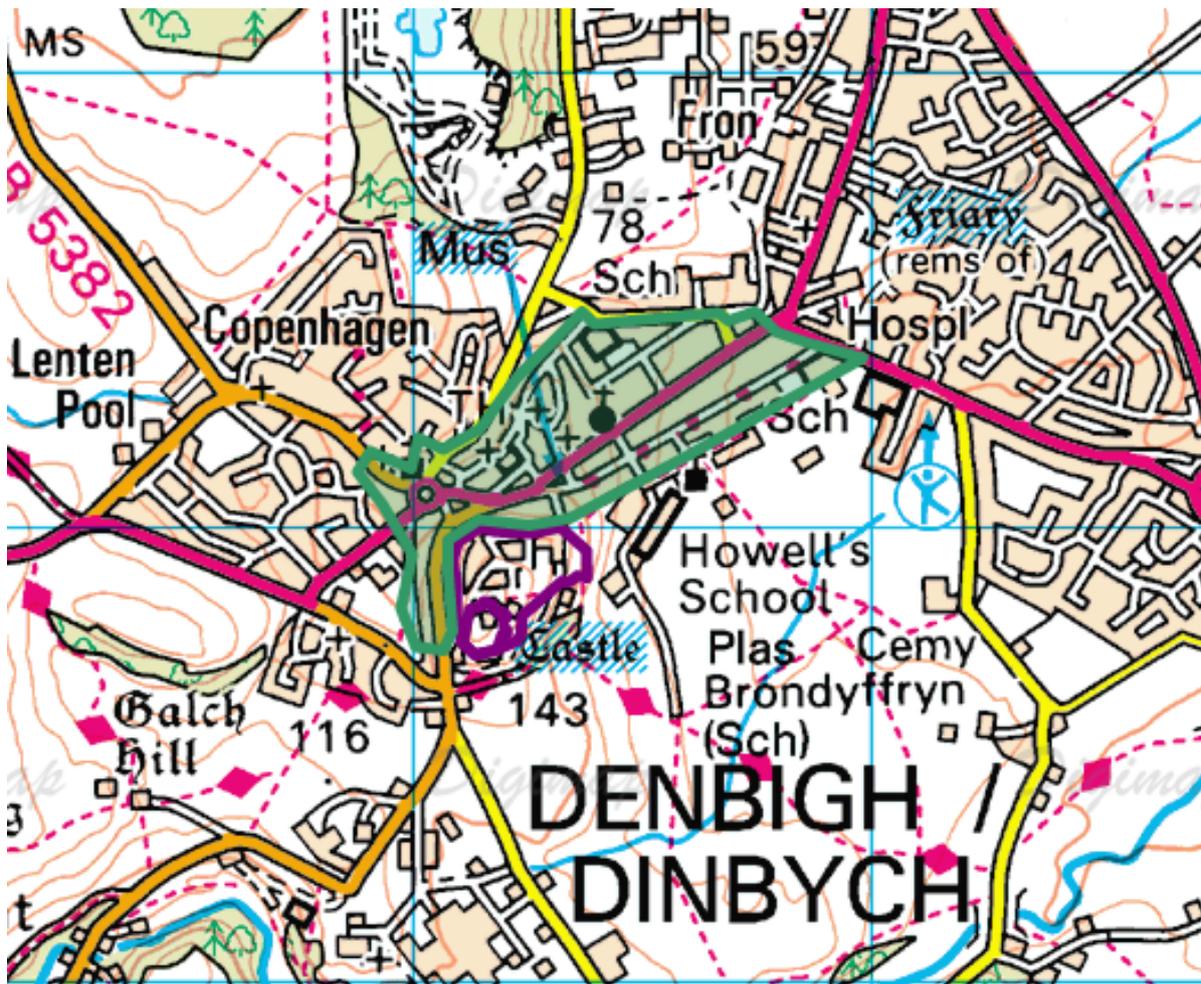
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The green area shows the approximate scope of the medieval 'suburbs' or the borough beyond the walls. The purple outline shows the inner and outer wards of the castle. These walls were a substantial obstacle to besieging forces. A large part of the area outside of the walls was probably burnt in 1468 during the raid led by Jasper Tudor who had besieged the castle – at least in part using gunpowder artillery – in 1460.