

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)
--	--	-----------------	--	--

Grŵp Llywio Meysydd Brwydro, Hydref 2016

Battlefields Steering Group, October 2016

WELSH BATTLEFIELDS HISTORICAL AND DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH

Denbigh – 1468

County: Denbighshire

Community: Denbigh

NGR: SJ0515765771

NPRN: 95209

Report Author: Dr Adam Chapman

Date: February 2013



Llywodraeth Cymru
Welsh Government



Denbigh (1468)

Summary

It is probably wrong to call the events of the summer of 1468 in Denbigh a siege. There is no evidence that an attempt was made to take the castle. Jasper Tudor, who rampaged across north Wales in the name of the exiled Henry VI had successfully conducted a siege in 1460 over the course of several months and with the full support of royal finances and resources would have known – with a substantial army in the field under the command of Edward IV's 'Master Lock' in Wales, William, lord Herbert of Raglan – that any attempt would have been futile and likely to end in disaster. The action then had more in common with the *chevauchée*, a tactic of fast moving mounted raiding with the intent of devastation used extensively in France during the Hundred Years' War. Jasper is said to have held quasi-judicial sessions in King Henry's name to undermine the authority of the Yorkist king in one of his own lordships; this was a tactic that William Herbert himself had used against Jasper's interests in south Wales in 1456. This being done, it seems probable that Jasper burnt the borough of Denbigh outside the town walls and wrought destruction as far as Flintshire before being defeated by forces led by Lord Herbert's brother, Sir Richard Herbert, somewhere in the Conwy valley and being forced to flee. The impact on Denbigh was substantial; this was the second devastation of the borough in the course of less than a century; the first had been at the hands of Owain Glyndŵr. In 1468, significant damage, the scope of which is unclear, must have been caused which yielded a grant from Edward IV of 1500 Marks, the balance of which was only paid in the first year of the reign of Richard III, 1484.

Context

The conflict for control of England in the second half of the fifteenth century, named 'The Wars of the Roses' in the nineteenth century by Sir Walter Scott was part dynastic and part pragmatic in its 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. The king's mental fragility resulted in conflict, at first political and later with armed force, for control of the king and therefore 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 wars began with the first battle of St Albans in 1455 and ended at the battle of Bosworth Field in 1485

were characterised by 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 Marcher lordship of Denbigh had been granted to Roger Mortimer on 13 September 1327 and in time passed into the hands of his descendant, Richard, Duke of York (d. 1460). Following the defeat of York at Ludford Bridge in 1459, the duke was exiled and his estates confiscated. Denbigh was granted to Henry VI's half-brother, Jasper Tudor on 5 January 1460.

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 in Wales 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 dominance on the Welsh stage.

Prelude to the Siege

The siege – if such it was – of Denbigh in the summer of 1468, formed part of the 'Wars of the Roses' in North Wales and should be viewed in the context of the resistance of the castle of Harlech and the county of Merioneth to Edward IV following his victory at Towton, Yorkshire on 29 March 1461. After the fall of Bamburgh to Yorkist forces in 1464, Harlech was the last remaining Lancastrian stronghold in the English realm and formed the focus for Lancastrian refugees as well as the escape route for Henry VI's queen after Towton. A Lancastrian force under Jasper Tudor was defeated at Twthill, just outside Caernarfon, on 16 October of the same year, but Harlech remained in their hands until 1468. This resistance clearly spread far beyond the castle of Harlech: royal revenues in the principality shires of North Wales were greatly reduced and after 1466 nothing was forthcoming from Merioneth. North Wales was one of the most consistent sources of Lancastrian support. The

personal focus for this resistance was Jasper Tudor and several plots involving an invasion of England via Wales were made, notably in 1462, which resulted in the execution of John de Vere, earl of Oxford and his son Aubrey. Jasper was to land on Anglesey with the duke of Exeter in conjunction with other landings of Spanish, French and Danish troops on the east coast of England.¹ In 1464, among other minor and obscure uprisings across Wales, there is evidence that men from north east Wales, notably Jasper Tudor's one-time constable of Denbigh, Roger Puleston, with John and William Hanmer and Edward ap Madog, were engaged in active stirrings against the Yorkist regime and were hunted down by the duke of Norfolk, activity recorded by the younger John Paston.² It may be that Jasper had planned to land in Wales in the summer of 1464, but there is no record that he did so.

Although North Wales in particular remained unstable and several abortive attempts were made to take Harlech under a variety of captains, Jasper Tudor seems not to have planned to come to Wales again until 1468. Edward IV had been taking care to bolster his diplomatic position by building alliances against the king of France, Louis XI (d. 1483), most notably through the marriage of his daughter, Anne, to the duke of Burgundy. Edward seems also to have turned his attention to the threat from Wales. On 28 August 1467, the earl of Worcester was replaced as Justiciar of North Wales by William Herbert who at the same time was appointed titular constable of Harlech and constable of Denbigh.³ The capture by Herbert's men of a messenger apparently carrying communication between Richard Neville, earl of Warwick and the exiled queen Margaret in Wales in the autumn of 1467 implicating Warwick in treasonable activity suggests that the threat was real.⁴

Narrative of the siege/campaign

Jasper Tudor's landing in 1468 was clearly sometime in the planning but small in scale. A praise poem by Dafydd Llwyd of Mathafarn to one of Jasper's supporters, Dafydd ab Ieuan ab Einion, the captain of Harlech gives some indication of what was planned.

A daw herwe dewr, hirwallt,

A'i dai ar hyd y dwr hallt.

¹ Thomas, 'Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke', 197-8.

² *Paston Letters* II, 151-2.

³ Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1467-77, p. 41. Herbert, with Sir Walter Devereux and various other men from Herefordshire and the south eastern March were appointed to a commission of oyer and terminer in North Wales, touching clipping and falsification of money C.P.R. 1467-77, pp. 54, 57, also cited Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, 98, n. 14.

⁴ From Ross, Edward IV, 118 citing Worcester, *Annales*, 788-9; Waurin ed. Dupont III, 193 (report from England to Louis IX by his agent, William Monypenny, 16 January 1468).

Wedi'r wyl I daw'r eleirch
I dir Kent cyn medi'r ceirch
O flaen y byd aflonydd
Coedcrais ar Fenai a fydd.

The rather free translation with a conflation of lines below is from Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, 99:

The brave, long-haired invader will come with a fleet, and will hover around the North Wales coast until after the Feast. Meanwhile there will be disturbances in Kent before harvest-time, and the world will be in turmoil. Dafydd ab Einion [the cywydd is addressed to him] will keep Harlech true to Jasper and defy Edward.

Assuming this is more than hyperbole, any plans of invasion are likely to have been widely known: following Herbert's death Dafydd also composed an elegy to him. Equally, the summer and autumn of 1468 had their share of plots so the suggestion of further unrest in Kent is far from impossible. That Dafydd's *cywydd* is an accurate reflection of Jasper's intentions is confirmed by what is known of Jasper's eventual 'invasion'; one report states that he landed in North Wales just after the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June).⁵ His forces were conveyed in three ships, one of which according to pseudo-Worcester was later captured by Herbert.⁶ These details can be confirmed: the ships were [paid for by Louis XI who authorised Antoine Roguier, his treasurer of war, to provide Earl Jasper with three ships and 293 5. 5. *Livres Tournois* for his passage to Wales on 1 June.⁷ Jasper landed, probably at Barmouth, in late June. He seems to have recruited extensively following his arrival, raising perhaps 2000 men and marched across Snowdonia, possibly via Harlech, and as far as Denbigh unopposed. At Denbigh – a key centre of Edward IV's influence in north Wales – he is said to have held sessions in the name of Henry VI.⁸ He can only have been there for a short period, perhaps a matter of days, before he engaged with Sir Richard Herbert's forces in the Conwy valley. The walls of the borough and castle of Denbigh were strong and Jasper cannot have been adequately equipped to breach them. A blockade of whatever garrison was present, however, would have been easily achieved. Based on the few narrative sources, it seems that the damage occasioned to

⁵ Worcester, *Annales*, p. 791.

⁶ Worcester, *Annales*, p. 791.

⁷ Thomas, 'Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke', 210-11 citing Bibliotheque Nationale Fonds Français 20, 496 f. 91 (cited by Scofield, *Edward IV*, I, 458)

⁸ From the London chronicle of 'Gregory', printed in Gairdener, *Historical Collections*, 237.

Denbigh had more in common with a chevauchée (a mounted raid designed to cause havoc and destruction) than conventional siege activity.

Denbigh was not the only area to suffer. Sir John Wynne quotes lines from a well-known poem by Guto'r Glyn composed shortly after the capture of Harlech by Lord Herbert. The difficulty with this, however, is that these lines may well be a later insertion; the poem was composed immediately following Herbert's capture of Harlech on or around 14 August, but before he was made earl at the end of September; the inclusion of a date would therefore be superfluous and these lines have been rejected by recent editors of the text.

Harddlech a Dinbech pob dor – yn cynneu
Nan' conwy yn farwor
Mil pedwar cant oediant lor
A thr'igain ac wyth rhagor

Harlech and Denbigh every door flaming;
The vale of Conwy reduced to embers
In the year of our lord 1468.⁹

On 10 June 1467, however, the community of Flintshire had agreed to pay the king a subsidy of 1000 marks, but because of the poverty, the result of the depredations of Earl Jasper and his Lancastrian rebels, they were unable to pay it. The matter was outstanding as late as 9 April 1472. The devastation was significant enough to be recorded in a letter by the Milanese ambassador in Paris on 2 July 1468.¹⁰

The military action commissioned by Edward IV was not quite as reactive as has often been portrayed. The first payments in the issue rolls for a siege of Harlech in the summer of 1468 – on 10 June, £1333 6s 8d was paid to Herbert directly and £666 13s 4d paid to John Wode, master of the king's ordnance, for shipping of guns from Tower of London to Bristol and thence to Harlech – indicates that a plan of sorts was in hand.¹¹ Even allowing for this evidence of advanced planning,

⁹ Wynne of Gwydir, 28-9 – these lines do not appear in the most recent editions, Williams and Williams, ?? and gutorglyn.net – This poem was composed between the fall of Harlech c. 14 August, when Harlech fell, and 28 September, when Herbert was made earl of Pembroke. The date must have been added later; it is not known when.

¹⁰

¹¹ TNA E 403/840 m. 4

the fact that it was not until 3 July that Herbert and Walter Devereux were issued with commissions of array for Gloucester, Herefordshire and Shropshire and the Marches of Wales suggests that these plans were somewhat *ad hoc*.¹² The consequences for the country were stark as Sir John Wynne recorded a century and a half later.

‘William Herbert, earl of Pembroke in Edward the fourth’s time who come with a great army to recover the Castell of Harlech held by Dafydd ab Ieuan ab Einion for Jasper Earl of Pembroke (then beyond the seas) wasted with fire and sword all Nantconwy and all the country lying between Conwy and ‘Dyvve’ (Afon Dyfi/River Dovey).¹³

Primary Source Assessment

Although the lordship of Denbigh, part of Edward IV’s inheritance as Earl of March, was in royal hands (administered as part of the Duchy of Lancaster) in 1468, detailed records for the lordship have not survived in quantity. Equally, royal financial records, although they provide some useful detail, are limited in what they can tell us. The overall cost of the army raised by Herbert, his family and friends for Edward IV can be estimated but the allocation of this money and the nature of the army raised are not known. There are a handful of references to the capture of Harlech and the landing of Jasper Tudor in contemporary chronicles, notably pseudo-Worcester (an English prose chronicle attributed at one time to William Worcester), and in the London chronicle attributed to ‘Gregory’ but little can be determined with precision about Denbigh from these. There are several sources of anecdote which are attested by later sources which can be regarded as primary resources inasmuch as they give detail which is not obviously derived from other sources. Chief among these are the memoirs of the Wynne family of Gwydir assembled by Sir John Wynne. These are not without substantial limitations, notably the unreliability of dating given and the distance from the time they purport to describe. Despite this, however, several anecdotes are included which can only relate to the summer of 1468 and one of these is accompanied by a transcript of a letter protecting one of his ancestors, a Lancastrian, to travel to lord Herbert for the purposes of parley. Similarly, the early sixteenth-century Flintshire chronicler, Elis Gruffydd includes a story which may describe Jasper Tudor’s escape from north east Wales in 1468.

Added to this is a small amount of contemporary Welsh language poetry from Dafydd Llwyd of Mathafarn, Powys and from Guto’r Glyn, most significant of the poets who performed at Herbert’s

¹² *Calendar of Patent Rollsm, 1467-77*, p. 103.

¹³ *Wynne of Gwydir*, 28-9.

court. The latter composed a praise poem to Herbert in the immediate aftermath of the capture of Harlech (14 August) and his elevation to the earldom of Pembroke (28 September). There is another poem from a similar date by Hywel Dafi, a Yorkist poet from Brecon, but this is largely concerned with the assault on Harlech.

One consequence of the turbulence of this period 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 from 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.

The role of Denbigh in the events in North Wales in 1468 has been distorted by the poor quality of evidence and by later interpretations with vague or occasionally misleading chronology. John Leland, for example, stated that Edward IV was besieged at Denbigh and compelled to leave the realm from North Wales in 1468. This is wholly erroneous in just about every respect. His brief exile in 1469-70 was occasioned, indirectly, by the defeat of William Herbert at Banbury/Edgecote by Richard Neville, earl of Warwick. Warwick's influence eventually compelled Edward to flee to exile in Burgundy in 1470 but from Bishop's Lynn, Norfolk [now King's Lynn] rather than Wales. Camden, in his *Britannia* of 1586 also attributes damage to Denbigh and changes to the pattern of settlement there to the misadventures of the Wars of the Roses.

Secondary Sources

The history of the borough of Denbigh has been long studied and benefits from many surviving documents, notably the great survey of the lordship dating from 1334. Though not relevant to this particular event, this, and many other documents were published in 1860 by John Williams and had

informed his earlier (1856) descriptive history of the borough. Although not comprehensive, and subject to a few minor errors, Williams' interpretation has remained influential and his provision of the documents in printed edition is useful. The most recent and comprehensive account of the development of the borough which stems from an increased interest in the study of urban settlement in Wales is by Dorothy M. Owen and draws upon a wide variety of sources and academic work.

Matters relating to the civil wars of the fifteenth century in Wales generally defer to H.T. Evans' influential work of 1915, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*. Although not without its faults this volume brings together the scholarship available to the author and addresses the range of available primary sources with care and discretion.

The Aftermath

Following Jasper's defeat at the hands of Sir Richard Herbert, resistance collapsed relatively quickly, with Harlech surrendering, apparently after an artillery bombardment, on 14 August. The early sixteenth century Flintshire chronicler, Ellis Griffith records a story that Jasper was hidden by a gentleman of Flintshire (probably one of his many kinsmen), Hywel ab Ieuan Fychan of Pengwern and Mostyn. In order to make his escape by sea, it was said that the earl was forced to carry a load of peas-straw on his back like a peasant as he made his way to a ship moored at the nearby Picton Pool.¹⁴ Clearly Denbigh was affected by the lawlessness in North Wales in the 1460s and that 1468 was the end point for the worst of the trouble. The difficulty in assessing the aftermath of this is in separating out the events of the decade.

The damage in the Denbigh area seems to have been extensive. This is attested by both contemporary and later tradition. It indicates that suburbs and town in Denbigh were destroyed by fire and that this destruction was also visited upon large parts of the Conwy valley. The damage in the area of Denbigh is problematic: Wynn, writing a century and a half later suggests that this was the result of raiding activity by Lancastrian partisans two years earlier. It is also possible that this damage occurred during the siege conducted by Jasper Tudor against a Yorkist garrison in 1460. The damage and desolation described in the Conwy valley, however, may have been done by Sir Richard Herbert's forces. There is no doubt that damage was inflicted on the suburbs of Denbigh in the

¹⁴ The chronology of Ellis Griffith's account is often unreliable but this account only really fits with the events of the summer of 1468. Thomas, 'Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke', 214-5 citing NLW MS 3054D (Mostyn 158), f. 323 b.

course of the decade but it is difficult to accurately assess how much, if any was inflicted during the summer of 1468. The record provided by the Guto'r Glyn and Hywel Dafi, the former urging restraint, indicates that the devastation was severe. Leland, writing between 1536 and 1539 suggests that it was Herbert's forces that were responsible. A more likely hypothesis is that Jasper's forces burnt the town – its burgesses having retreated within the walls – and then affected his retreat.

The general policy in the aftermath of the revolt appears to have been one of restraint and conciliation with the individuals involved. Roger Puleston, for example, was granted a pardon early in 1469 and Sir John Wynne indicates that his ancestor Ieuan ap Robert ap Maredudd who, after Jasper's defeat was given safe conduct by Herbert to discuss the terms of his coming to peace:

Omnibus xr'I fidelibus ad quos presens scriptu' p'ven'it Willelmus Comes Pembroke Justic' in partibus Northwall' Salute. Sciatis nos deisse et p' present' concississe Jeu'n ap Robert de comoto Eviioneth in Com' Caern' van salv' et securu' conduct intrand' veniend' ambuland expectand' comorand' ac salvo eund' et redound p' et infra Com' Caern'van et Merionth p' se bon' et catall suis sine Arrestacione molestacione impechiamento dampno violenc', manu capcione p' turbacione seu gravamina aliquali tam ad sectam [d'ni] Regis qua' ad secta p'tis alterius p'sone cuiuscumque a die confectioni' presentiu' quousq' p' nos habuerit p' monicione' sex dieu' dat' sub s[igillo] n'ro die mensis Novembr' An'o Regni regis Edwardi quarto post conquest' Octavo.

[To all faithful in Christ by this present script [prevenerit] William, Earl of Pembroke Justiciar in parts of North Wales, greetings. Know that we grant and by this present concede to Ieuan ap Robert of the commote of Eifionydd in the county of Caernarfon [van] safe and secure conduct coming and going on foot ... in between the counties of Caernarfon and Merioneth by his goods and chatels without arrest, molestation, impeachment, fire or violence... dated under our seal, 6 November 8 Edw IV.]¹⁵

Troops and casualties

Consideration of military efforts focussed on North Wales in the summer of 1468 have rightly focussed upon the siege of the Castle of Harlech. Its fall to William Herbert brought the whole of the English realm under the authority of Edward IV. The surviving evidence however, although

¹⁵ Wynne of Gwydir, 31. He also notes a similar protection and pardon being granted to Evan ap Robyn, another of his ancestors, *ibid.* 37.

insufficient to construct a clear and precise chronology, a sequence of events can be established. Jasper Tudor landed, probably at Barmouth, with a small company around late June 1468. He gathered to him a force perhaps as large as 2,000 men (Pseudo Worcester) and proceeded to march around north Wales reaching Denbigh and probably Flintshire. This plan was known by Edward IV and William Herbert well in advance, and military preparations were put in train before Jasper landed with only 50 men and three ships: there is no evidence that he had artillery or other siege equipment with him.

Herbert's army was probably divided into three parts if the testimony of Guto'r Glyn is to be believed.

Tair plaid yn gapteniaid tyn,
Tair mil, nawmil yn iwmyrn,
frodyr, milwyr y medd,
Dy genedl i doi Gwynedd.
Dy werin oll, dewrion µnt,

three hosts of steadfast captains,
three thousand, nine thousand yeomen,
your brothers, warriors of the mead,
your kinsfolk, enough to cover Gwynedd.
Your common soldiers, they are all brave,¹⁶

There is some ambiguity in the size of the army. Guto's 'three hosts of steadfast captains, three thousand, nine thousand yeomen' could be read either as a total of nine thousand men or- and since Guto had been a soldier in his youth and was an eye witness to at least some of these events, making a soldier's distinction between men at arms – the captains – and the yeomen, the archers. This would give a total of 12,000. Other accounts, by another poet, Hywel Dafi and the author of the 'Annales' give 7000 and 10000 respectively.¹⁷ For practical purposes, what matters is that the forces were substantially greater than those available to Jasper Tudor and his allies.

¹⁶ Gutorglyn.net text 21 – Moliant i Wiliam Herbert o Raglan, iarll cyntaf Penfro, ar ôl cipio castell Harlech, 1468/21 – In praise of William Herbert of Raglan, first earl of Pembroke, after the capture of Harlech castle, 1468, ed. Barry Lewis.

¹⁷ Evans, *Wales and Wars of the Roses*, 168.

One was led by lord Herbert himself and this is likely the part that captured Harlech. The other two and their routes into North Wales are noted and that one was led by lord Herbert's brother, Sir Richard. The third seems likely to have been led by Walter Devereux, lord Ferrers of Chartley though this is not stated explicitly in any of the surviving sources, it was he who was commissioned with Herbert to array several border counties and Marcher lordships in south east Wales. These forces, numbering 7-10,000 men in total were deployed to retake the castle (under Herbert from the south), to pacify Merioneth and other rebels in the shires of North Wales, and to meet and defeat Jasper Tudor.

One division, under Sir Richard Herbert, and numbering perhaps 2-3,000 men appears to have engaged Jasper somewhere in the Conwy valley and to have defeated him.

John Wode, master of the king's ordnance, assembled 600 sailors and soldiers and 100 personnel connected with the artillery at Bristol. These had been shipped from the Tower of London but these men were explicitly directed towards Harlech.¹⁸

Assessment

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.¹⁹ Hemp quotes this document in full and, like Williams, Evans and Owen gives the date of the original grant as 1462. This date would suggest that the damage was occasioned by Jasper Tudor's siege in February and March of 1460 and the grant made following the return of the castle to Yorkist hands in November 1461.²⁰

There is no internal evidence in the document to date the original grant to 1462 and while this is a reasonable assumption, 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 the first year of his reign, that is, 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

¹⁸ TNA E 404/74/1 no. 64

¹⁹ Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, 37 n. Hemp, 'Denbigh Castle' 73-4 citing British Library Harleian MS 433 fo. 154b.

²⁰ Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, 37; Hemp, 'Denbigh Castle', 74; Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, 86; Owen, 'Denbigh', 181.

gone to the king in any event. Unfortunately, the original warrants for issue recording the first grant and any subsequent grants have not survived.²¹ The following is taken from British Library Harleian Manuscript 433, fo. 154b. [the spelling has been modernised and punctuation inserted where appropriate from the version 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 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 xxiiijth day of February anno primo.²²

The difficulty with the hypothesis outlined above is that there are other possibilities. Given the scale of dateable damage inflicted on Flintshire in 1468 and the independent accounts which depict the same year as a cataclysmic year for Denbigh and its locality a later date should be preferred.

Sir John Wynne, writing in the seventeenth century recorded the actions of some of his ancestors.

In those wars [between Lancaster and York] Ieuan ap Robert ap Maredudd even in the sixth of Edward the fourth with Dafydd ap Jenkin and others captains of the Lancastrian faction

²¹ Survival of these documents for the reign of Edward IV is very poor indeed.

²² Hemp, 'Denbigh Castle', 74, n. 1.

wasted with fire and sword the suburbs of the town of Denbigh and all the lordship of Denbigh.²³

If Sir John Wynn's account is to be taken seriously, it seems that the damage to Denbigh outside the walls may well have occurred at least two years before 1468. This possibility should not be ignored: in the summer of 1466 Sir Richard Tunstall, one of the exiled English Lancastrians, sallied forth from Harlech to threaten Holt Castle, Wrexham and, more seriously, Shrewsbury. The result was that the captains of Beaumaris, Caernarfon and Montgomery (a long way distant from Harlech) had to be reassured that they would have adequate reinforcements.²⁴

The most persuasive date is 1468 but there is no direct contemporary evidence one way or the other. 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.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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 180.²⁷ 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.

It is impossible, therefore, to assign either the damage which was undoubtedly caused to Denbigh to 1460, 1466 or 1468 with any certainty. Precisely what happened at Denbigh in the 1460s cannot be

²³ Wynne of Gwydir, 33.

²⁴ Scofield I, p. 423. See also *Historical MSS Commission 15th report*, Appendix Part X (Shrewsbury Corporation MSSS), 30. See also PRO signed bills file 1498, no. 4177, November 1466 and *Plumpton Correspondence*, 17 – edited T. Stapleton, Camden Society, 1839.

²⁵ Camden, 679; Leland, 97. The change is readily apparent in Speed's 1610 plan of the borough, reproduced by Owen, 164.

²⁶ Owen, 'Denbigh', 182 citing TNA DL 29/1/2.

²⁷ Owen, 'Denbigh', 182 citing NLW Deposit 163b; TNA SC 6/1183/13, 16.

stated with confidence and the date of the only source which could assist is not confirmed by the way in which it has survived.

Conclusions

The nature of the action that occurred in 1468 is difficult to grasp. The administrative record is poor and largely consists of summary accounts of the monies expended by the crown and by Lord Herbert. Most of these, however, are explicitly identified with the assault on Harlech. These scant records are supplemented by several surviving poems praising some of the protagonists and a number of references found in English chronicles. Their testimony must be treated with caution, but it is probable that the poets – at least one of whom, Guto'r Glyn, must have been an eye-witness to the assault on Harlech – can be considered reliable. In the context of the overall campaign led by William, Lord Herbert across North Wales, Denbigh was a secondary objective. The primary goal was to recover Harlech from Lancastrian supporters and to bring the county of Merioneth into Edward IV's hands. In this, the campaign was undoubtedly successful and Harlech fell after a sort assault in early August. Those Lancastrians present were captured and a handful of minor figures executed. Herbert was the principal beneficiary, being made earl of Pembroke as a direct result.

There is a very real likelihood that there was no siege at Denbigh in 1468 at all. The difficulty of taking this castle is evident from the other instances when the site was besieged. It was challenging enough in 1282 and 1294-5 when the present structure was either absent or incomplete. The siege mounted in 1460 was conducted against relatively ill-prepared opponents but still lasted between two and three months while in 1646 it is known that the commanders of the besieging army despaired of taking the castle by force even with the superior weaponry then available. They were, as it proved correct and the castle was surrendered on favourable terms for the defenders. The campaign led by Herbert and Devereux in 1468 was exceptionally short and there is no evidence that the castle was taken by Lancastrian forces. There would be no advantage for Jasper Tudor and his forces attempting to besiege such an intractable castle. There was little to be gained by this and Jasper must have known of this difficulty having besieged it once himself. Simply blockading the garrison within the walls of the castle would be quite sufficient and easily achieved. The references found in Wynne's work – a far from satisfactory source for Jasper's activities but which are nonetheless revealing about those who supported him – seem most likely to relate to the on-going instability of North Wales in the 1460s and references to a siege at Denbigh must relate to the

known events of the summer of 1460; those describing damage and burning of the town, however, are more ambiguous and could refer to either or possibly both.

Bibliography

The National Archives

E 101 - King's Remembrancer: Accounts Various

E 403 - Exchequer of Receipt: Issue Rolls and Registers

E 404 – Exchequer of Receipt: Warrants for Issue

Printed Primary Sources

Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1467-77

Plumpton Correspondence, ed. T. Stapleton, Camden Society, 1839

History of the Gwydir Family and Memoirs, ed. J. G. Jones (Llandysul, 1990)

The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the years 1536-1539 ed. L. Tomlin Smith (London, 1906)

Gregory's Chronicle. The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London, ed. J. Gairdner, Camden Society, 1876.

The Paston letters, AD 1422–1509, ed. J. Gairdner, new edition, 6 vols. (London, 1904)

'William of Worcester, Annales, in J. Stevenson, ed., *Letters and papers illustrative of the wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry VI, king of England*, 2 vols. in 3 pts, Rolls Series (vol 2, part ii.)

Historical Manuscripts Commission 15th report, Appendix Part X (Shrewsbury Corporation MSS)

William Camden, *Britannia : or, A chorographical description of the flourishing kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the islands adjacent; from the earliest antiquity* (four volumes, London, 1806)

Gwaith Guto'r Glyn, ed. I. Williams and J. Ll. Williams (Cardiff, 1961)

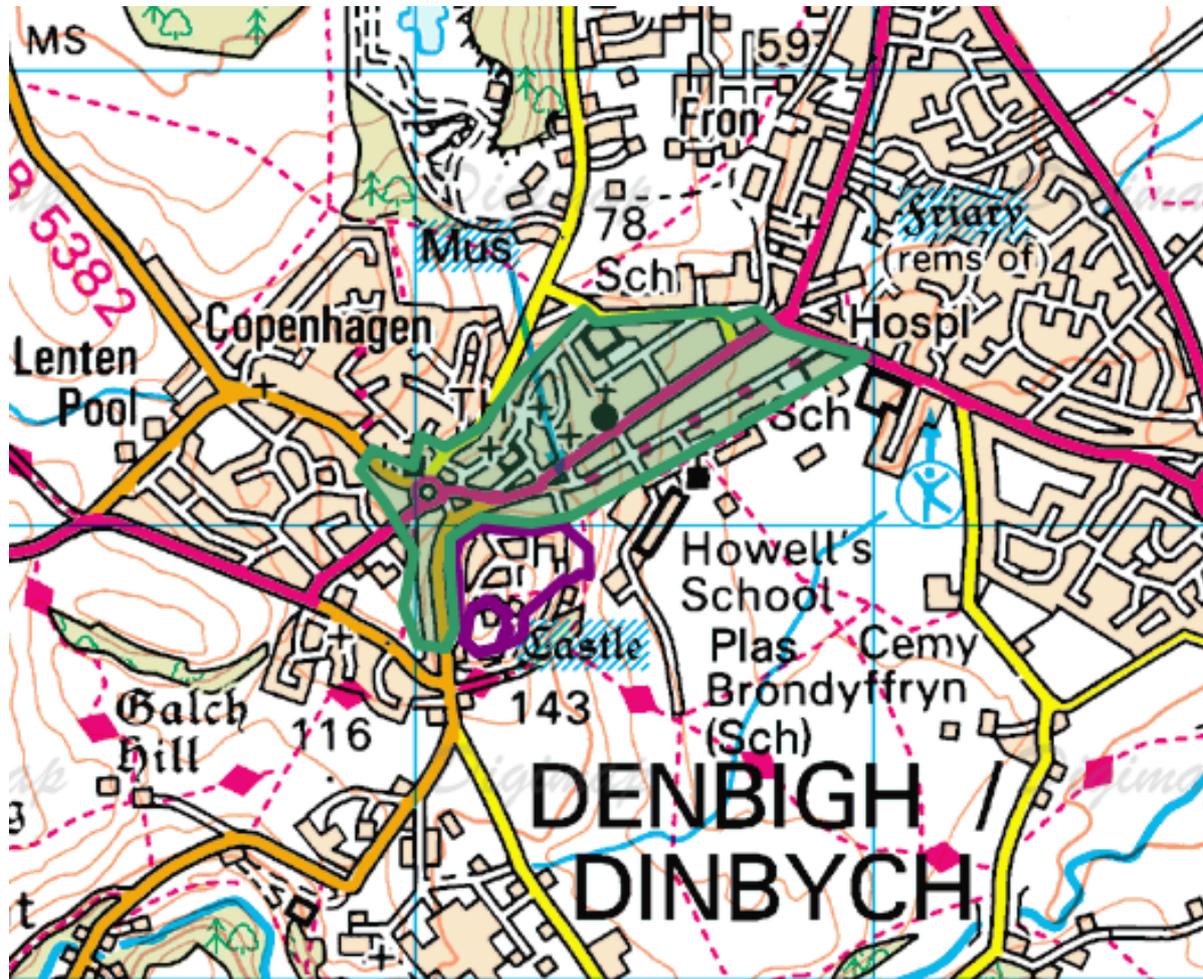
<http://www.gutorglyn.net> – new online edition of the poems of Guto'r Glyn

Secondary Works

Wilfred J. Hemp, 'Denbigh Castle' *Y Cymmrodor* 36 (1922), 64-120

- H.T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses* (1915, reprinted, Stroud 1992)
- R.A. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI: An Exercise in Royal Authority* (London, 1981)
- D. Owen, 'Denbigh' in *Boroughs of Medieval Wales*, ed. R.A. Griffiths (Cardiff, 1978), 165-187
- C. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth* (2 volumes, London, 1923)
- R.S. Thomas, *Jasper Tudor* (unpublished Ph. D thesis, University of Wales, Swansea)
- J. Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh, A Descriptive History of the Castle, Borough, and its Liberties* (Denbigh, 1836)
- J. Williams, *The Records of Denbigh and its Lordship: Bearing upon the General History of the County of Denbigh since the Conquest of Wales, Illustrated with Many Gems of Welsh Medieval Poetry Never Before Published* (Wrexham, 1860)

Map



© Crown Copyright 2013

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.