

People Listed with John Nanney
in Sussex County, Virginia

Major Tiller
Samuel Alsobrook
Joseph Thorpe
William Wommack
Ephraim Parham
James Gent
James Wynche
Edward Lundy
Edward Harris
Henry Gee
David Mason
John Reed

Sussex County, Virginia
Order Book - 1754-1756

Nanny, John

pg. 2 - on road with James Wynche; Southside of Nottoway River
pg. 435 - Wallis vs. Alsobrook

(The index to this book is in very bad condition. If you can read the name, you the page number has been torn away. If you can read the page, you can only read the last few letters of the last names.)

Order Book - 1757-1761

Alsobrook

pg. 112 - Dec. 16, 1757; John Nanney Appraiser.
pg. 152-153 - appraisal returned.
pg. 279 - Aug. 17, 1759; Samuel Alsobrook account is returned by widow Agnes Alsobrook now Bass. (She had remarried to a Bass.)

Nanney

pg. 332 - May 16, 1760; John Nanney is surveyor of the road in place of Major Tiller (a neighbor).

People Listed With John Nanney & Sons
in Brunswick County, Virginia

Joseph Thorpe
? Pennington
Owen & William Myrick
Charles Jones
Mordecia Hagood
John & James Ledbetter
Howard Clary
William Corbin
Henry Williams
William Howard
Edward Fahem - Witness
Drury Moore - Witness
George Harmon
Arthur Emmerson
John Reeves

Brunswick County, Virginia
Order Book 7 - 1757-1759

pg. 109 - Sept. 27, 1757 - The last will and testament of Susanna Wallis deceased was presented in Court by John Lifsay and William Davis the Executors therein named. Who made oath thereto according to Law and the same being proved by the Oaths of William Davis and Frederick Davis the Witnesses thereto is ordered to be recorded and on the Motion of the said Executor who Entered into bond the penalty of five hundred pounds with John Merterson and Henry Wynche their securitys Conditional according to Law Certificate is granted him for obtaining a probate thereof in due form.

pg. 151 - Jan. 1758 - An Inventory and Appraisement of the Estate of Susanna Wallis was returned, audited, and ordered to be recorded.

pg. 232 - July 1758 - An account current of the Estate of Susanna Wallis was returned and audited and ordered to be recorded.

pg. 287 - Jan. 23, 1759 - An Indenture of gift and Testament between John Nanny of the one part and Thomas Nanny of the other part was acknowledged by the said John party thereto and ordered to be recorded.

Brunswick County, Virginia
Order Book 8 - 1760, 1783, 1784

pg. 103 - Jan. 22, 1783

William Ward, Admr. of Thomas Nanny decd. vs. Jesse Jones (in debt)

The Defendant being called and not appearing It is ordered that unless he appears at the next court and pleads to Issue Judgment be entered against him and Stephen Biggs Security for his appearance for the Debt in the declaration mentioned and costs.

pg. 116 - Feb. 24, 1783

William Ward, Admr. of Thomas Nanny decd. vs. Jesse Jones (in debt)

The Deft. being again called and not appearing I is considered by the Court that the plt. recover against him and Stephen Biggs, Security for his appearance for three pounds eight shillings with Interest from the 25th December 1781 to the time of payment and the Costs.

pg. 290 - Nov. 24, 1783

William Ward Admr. of Thomas Nanney Decd. vs. William Blalock and Joseph Seward (In debt on a Replevy Bond)

Judgment by default as above for six pounds eight shillings and seven pence with Lawful Interest from the 15th Day of June 1783 and Costs.

Brunswick County, Virginia
Order Book 9 - 1765 - No Nanneys

Brunswick County, Virginia
Order Book 10 - 1765-1768

Myrick - pg. 7 - Deed; Francis Myrick to William Myrick; Owen Myrick is a witness.
pg. 104,335,430,508 - William Myrick vs. Isaac Ledbetter
pg. 148 - Owen Myrick as witness for Moses Johnson
pg. 215 - John Ledbetter to William Myrick; deed; Mar. 23, 1767

Howard - pg. 196 - Jeremiah Brown to Robert Howard deed.
pg. 127 - Horton to Robert Howard deed.
pg. 225 - Robert Howard
pg. 377 - John Howard to Drew & Hardy.

Lifsay - pg. 133, 480, 459, 519 - John Lifsay is guardian of Sally Lifsay.

Ledbetter - pg. 74 - Partly proved deed the first names are blank.
pg. 215 - John Ledbetter to Owen Myrick deed on Mar. 23, 1767.
pg. 222 - Drury Ledbetter
pg. 281 - Charles and William Ledbetter; deed.
pg. 311,349,448,495 - Mary Ledbetter vs. Elizabeth Walton
pg. 395 - ? Ledbetter to Daniel Marmaduke; no sale.
pg. 459 - William and Charles Ledbetter; Deed to Allen Love & William Edwards
pg. 480 - Ledbetter vs. Hall
pg. 591 - Ledbetter to Moore, Fletcher, Clanton deeds.
pg. 127 - Drury and Richard Ledbetter; deed
pg. 314 - Charles Ledbetter surveyor of a road in place of Lewis Malone; John Cocksay
in place of John Ledbetter.

Jones - pg. 8 - John Jones to Cargill & others, deceased; deed.
pg. 519 - John Jones to James Adams; deed
pg. 417 - Jones vs. Parham and Walton.
pg. 203,214 - John Jones vs. Robert Gee, Jr.

Wynche - pg. 131 - Sloman Wynche surveyor of road.
pg. 319-320 - George Wynche to Thomas Wynche; deed.
pg. 209, 201 - George and Henry Wynche to repair bridge over Fountain's Creek.
pg. 195 - Deed from ? Wynche to ? Reeves partly proved.

Reeves - pg. 198 - William Reeves to be paid to maintain bridge over Mehrin River at Taylor's Quarter.

Brunswick County, Virginia
Order Book 11 - 1768-1772

Howard - pg. 4 - John Howard's will; Joseph Freeman and John Hay witnesses.
pg. 24 - John Howard deceased with no administrator.
pg. 106 - Alexander Howard.
pg. 331 - William Howard on road with Nanneys.
pg. 387 - Howard Heirs; Robert & Sarah Howard & John Vinson to Joseph Vinson,
deed. David Mason is witness.
pg. 531 - Mar. 7, 1772 - Robert & Sarah Howard enter John Howard's acct.

Cato – pg. 28 – David & John Cato.
 pg. 454 – Francis Harris vs. Henry Cater

Jordan – pg. 22 – Thomas Jordan inventory; Sept. 6, 1768.
 pg. 226 – Drury Jordan & Mary to Micajah Webb.

Ledbetter – pg. 202 – Drury Ledbetter overseer of road; William Ledbetter vs. John Wesson, dismissed.
 pg. 226 – Jan. 7, 1770 – John & Amy Ledbetter to Owen Myrick; deed; Isaac & Richard Ledbetter are witnesses.
 pg. 319 – Drury & Winifred Ledbetter to William Vaughn; deed.
 pg. 369 – William Ledbetter witness for William Myrick vs. Isaac Ledbetter.
 pg. 381 – Deed from John Cocksey to Richard Ledbetter; Isaac is witness.

Wesson – pg. 318 – see copy.
 pg. 319 – William Wesson & Elizabeth Wesson to Paul Hartwell.

Nanny – pg. 317 – Feb. 5, 1771 – John Nanny to John Nanny Jr.; deed (see copy).
 pg. 317 – " " – John Nanny to William Nanny; deed (see copy).

Jones, Charles – pg. 25 – Charles Jones will is entered; John Fletcher & Owen Myrick are witnesses to the will.
 pg. 32 – Charles Jones's estate to be appraised.
 pg. 178 – Sept. 25, 1769 – road.
 pg. 411 – John Jones vs. Arthur Emmerson.
 pg. 541 – Winnifred Jones to Hugh Williams; deed.

Emmerson – pg. 372 – Rev. Arthur Emmerson to Owen Myrick; deed.
 pg. 430,449 – Rev. Arthur Emmerson & Anne vs. Rev. John Nevison, deceased.

Haygood – pg. 44 – Mordacei Haygood appointed guardian to George Durham's children.
 pg. 141 – Richard Haygood to Mordacei Hagood & Graham; deed.
 pg. 302 – John Haygood; money to paid him for bridge over Great Creek and Lucas Quarter.
 pg. 423 – John Haygood; money to be paid him for bridge.
 pg. 514 – John Haygood, Jr. to Johnson; deed.

Myrick – pg. 116,149,300,403 – William Myrick vs. Isaac Ledbetter
 pg. 178 – Owen Myrick; overseer of road.
 pg. 226 – William & Sarah Myrick to Arthur Emmerson; deed.
 pg. 295 – Owen Myrick & John Fletcher to let bridge over Pea Hill Creek.
 pg. 330 – Owen Myrick; hands added to road of John Cocksey.
 pg. 371 – Owen Myrick; his Negro adjudged in court to be 12 years old.

Moore – pg. 90 – Jul. 24, 1769 – John Moore to Drury Moore; deed.
 pg. 530,542 – Garrett Moore to Allen Love; deeds

Reeves – pg. 419 – John Reeves; under sheriff;
 pg. 516 – William Reeves

Brunswick County, Virginia
Order Book 12 - 1772-1774

pg. 233 - Apr. 27, 1773

An indenture of bargain and sale between John Coxey, Sr. of the one part and Amos Nanney of the other part receipt was endorsed and proved by the oaths of John Warren, and Samuel Wright two of the witnesses.

pg. 536 - Apr. 25, 1774

An indenture of bargain and sale between William Ledbetter of the one part and James Ledbetter of the other part and receipt thereon were fully proved by oath of Uriah Nanney of the witness thereto and are ordered to be recorded.

pg. 542 - Apr. 25, 1774

William Batte against the estate of Richard Ledbetter and John Coxsey who have removed themselves out of the county owing William Batte 60 pounds since 1762. Guarantees for defendants were Richard Ledbetter and William Johnson and they not showing.

Jones - pg. 330 - Allen Jones to Edwards.

pg. 379 - Allen Jones to Love; deed.

Ledbetter - pg. 25 - June 1772 - Isaac Ledbetter surveyor of road in place of John Fletcher.

pg. 109 - Sept. 23, 1772 - Isaac Ledbetter to Love; deed.

pg. 498 - Feb. 28, 1774 - William Ledbetter, Sr. to John Ledbetter.

pg. 507 - William Ledbetter to James Ledbetter; deed

Myrick - pg. 313 - Owen Myrick and Paul Hartwell to let bid to build bridge at Hartwell's Mill.

Reeves - pg. 153 - Timothy Reeves; Bill of Sale.

pg. 156 - Timothy & Robert Reeves; deed

Brunswick County, Virginia
Order Book 13 - 1774-1782

pg. 214 - Aug. 4, 1778 - Amos Nanney to Caleb Morning; deed.

pg. 321 - Nov. 2, 1779 - William Nanny to William Ward; deed

Oaths - Amos Nanny, James Nanny & Uriah Nanny.

pg. 370 - Nov. 7, 1780 - Ordered that Harwood Clary, James Ledbetter, Owen Myrick, & Rice Nanney or any three of them do appraise the slaves and personal estate of Thomas Nanney deceased, according to Law and return the appraisement thereof to court.

pg. 375 - Jan. 22, 1781 - Appraisement of Thomas Nanney's estate returned.

pg. 512 - Nov. 25, 1782 - William Lanier, Foreman, Robert Gee, Edward Avery, James Vaughn, Thomas Penn, Elisha Clark, John Troublefields, James Williams, Charles Smith, Daniel Walton, Joel Woolsey, Stephen Smith, John Betty, James Green, John Simms, Aristotle Eldridge, Amos Nanny, and Joseph Wright were sworn to a grand jury.

pg. 522 - Thomas Nanney, deceased & William Ward, Admr. vs. ? (debt)

pg. 356 - Jul. 25, 1780

Drury Moore is appt. surveyor in the place of James Upchurch.

pg. 467 - Jun. 24, 1782

A bill of sale from George Williams to Owen Myrick was proved by the oaths of Amos Nanney and John Salesbury.

- P.212 CHARLES HAYES. D. Apr. 1, 1757. R. May 24, 1757.
Wife: Jane. Wife's son: Michael TILLEY. Daughter:
Mary McCONE.
- P.215 WILLIAM LIFSEY. D. Mar. 17, 1757. R. June 28, 1757.
Wife: Jane. Children: John; Mary SMITH; Phebe SMITH.
Grandchildren: Sally LIFSEY; Lucy SMITH, daughter of
Mary; Temperance SMITH, daughter of Phebe. All land is
given to son John.
- P.216 WILLIAM SCOGGIN. D. May 26, 1757. R. June 28, 1757.
Wife: Martha. Children: William; Frances; Sarah
BOLING; Susanna KING; Rebecca, wife of Matthew EVINS;
Leucetia; Christian. Grandchild: Garner SCOGGIN.
- P.218 JOSEPH HENSLEY. D. Mar. 27, 1757. R. June 28, 1757.
Wife: Bathia. Legatee: Jesse BENTON, son of Samuel.
- P.227 JAMES CLACK. D. June 3, 1757. R. Aug. 23, 1757.
Wife: Mary. Children: John; William; Dolly; Sary
MACLIN; Betty ANDERSON.
- 34 lbs
P.228 SUSANNA WALLACE. D. Jan. 1, 1757. R. Sept. 27, 1757.
Legatees: John LIFSAY; Lucy, daughter of William
LIFSAY, Jr.; Eady SMITH; Jean LIFSAY; Phebe SMITH;
John NANNY, Sr.; Jeremiah BROWN; John PETERSON;
Martha, wife of Timothy THORP; John HILL; Martha
WOMMACK; Mary SMITH. Residuary legatees: children of
Christopher ROBERTSON; children of Henry ROBINSON,
deceased; children of Mary BOBBIT; children of
Elizabeth HILL, deceased; children of Francis HILL,
deceased.
- P.233 ROBERT HYNDS. D. July 21, 1757. R. Nov. 22, 1757.
Grandson: James HANDERSON. Son-in-law: Ninian
MITCHELL. Land is given grandson James Handerson,
246 acres.
- P.245 WILLIAM TOMLINSON. D. Feb. 16, 1758. R. Mar. 28, 1758.
Wife: not named. Children: Thomas; Ann; Sary; William;
Mary FISH; Rebeccah. Land is given as follows: Thomas,
215 acres; William, 215 acres.
- P.246 METCALFE DICKERSON. D. Apr. 21, 1754. R. May 23, 1758.
Wife: Winifred. Children: Tarpley, Betty (children
are not of age). Land is given to son Tarpley, 249
acres.
- P.248 JOHN BITTLE. D. 22 Apr. 1758 R. May 23, 1758.
Sister: Lucy BITTLE. Land is given sister, Lucy, 307
acres in Southampton Co.

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after embarking with the army for the invasion of Georgia, they were stationed at Pensacola, at which they arrived in January 1779 after a stop-over in Jamaica. When Pensacola fell to the Spanish, in May 1781, they were imprisoned in Havana, and a month later they were paroled to New York.

The Virginia Loyalists were raised in November 1775 by Lieutenant Colonel Jacob Ellegood and served at the battle of Great Bridge. Lieutenant Colonel Ellegood was captured early in the campaign and spent most of the war as a prisoner. This regiment went to New York in 1776 and was later merged with the Queen's Rangers, serving throughout the war in that regiment. Musters or pay rolls for their service as the Queen's Loyal Virginia Regiment have not been located. The Royal Ethiopian Regiment was recruited in Virginia by Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia. As noted in the Preface, their regimental muster and pay rolls have not been located either. The Loyal Foresters were raised in New York in 1781 by Lieutenant Colonel John Connolly of Virginia. Connolly was captured twice by the Americans while on recruiting missions, and he spent much of the war in American prisons.

The Philadelphia Light Dragoons were raised in Philadelphia by their commander, Captain Richard Hoven den. They served with the Queen's Rangers and the British Legion and in 1782 were merged with the King's American Dragoons.

The British Legion was raised in New York in July 1778 from other companies. Their field commander was Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton, who was much admired by his soldiers. They were sent to Savannah in December 1779 and served in the siege of Charleston in 1780. They were in many battles in the Carolinas and Virginia and were feared by the Americans. In the battle called Buford's Massacre Tarleton's horse was shot from under him, and his men, thinking he had been killed, took vengeance on the soldiers they thought had killed their leader. The expression "Tarleton's Quarter" was coined to describe the lack of mercy shown to Americans trying to surrender. This regiment was also captured at Yorktown.

Also serving in the Southern Campaign were the Guides and Pioneers, a regiment recruited in New York in the fall of 1776. They served in the Philadelphia campaign in 1777, in the siege of

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Charleston in 1780, and in the raid into Virginia in 1781. Their commanders were Major Simon Frazer and Major John Aldington. The Queen's Rangers were raised in New York and Connecticut and combined with the Queen's Own Loyal Virginia Regiment in 1776. They were in the 1777 campaigns at Philadelphia, Brandywine, and Germantown, and later fought at New York and Monmouth. In 1781 they were sent to Virginia and surrendered at Yorktown.

Murtie June Clark
Crofton, Maryland
March 1981

*Loyalists in the Southern Campaign
of the Revolutionary War, Vol. II
By Murtie June Clark*

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QUEEN'S RANGERS

U. S. GRAVES SIMCOE, Esq., Lieut Colonel Company, Queen's Rangers, February to 24 April 1780

Rank Private

Name

Barry, David

Williams, Thomas

Read, Patrick

Wall, John

Penning, Herman

Losack, Robert

Armstrong, William

Cuffy, John

Washburn, William

Moran, Alexander

Wilson, Edward

Coudey, James

Brown, John

DeBerra, Francis

Aldred, Edward

Garety, Bartholomew

Billings, Jonathan

Brown, John, Sen.

Peck, Joshua

Simons, John

Jones, Charles

Purdy, Jacob

Howard, Joseph

Toner, Joseph

Castalin, Abraham

Banks, Jameson

McFee, Joseph

Collins, John

Cochran, James

Stokes, John

Kelly, Barnabus

Pennington, James

Gass, Henry

Marschal, Edward

Madding, John

Wardle, John

Alderman, Thomas

Attest: James Kerr, Captain

deserted March 18

discharged Mar 15

Queen's Rangers

Invalided

prisoner with rebels

Rank

Private

Name

Kerr, James

Fitzpatrick, Nathaniel

Miller, Henry

Cathart, Hecabiah

Russel, Alexander

Dunlop, John

Bates, Alexander

Reading, Joshua

McBroom, Henry

Anson, George

Martin, Terrance

Private

Drummer

Rank

Private

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Read, Patrick

Wall, John

Penning, Herman

Losack, Robert

Armstrong, William

Cuffy, John

Washburn, William

Moran, Alexander

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Brown, John

DeBerra, Francis

Aldred, Edward

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Billings, Jonathan

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Peck, Joshua

Simons, John

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Dunlop, John

Bates, Alexander

Reading, Joshua

McBroom, Henry

Anson, George

Martin, Terrance

Private

Drummer

Rank

Private

Name

Kerr, James

Fitzpatrick, Nathaniel

Rank	Name	Remarks
2	Sergeant	Dunlop, John
3	"	Garland, Gilbert
1	Corporal	McBroom, Henry
2	"	Banks, Jameson
3	"	Bates, Alexander
1	Drummer	Anson, George
1	Private	Barry, David
2	"	Read, Patrick
3	"	Williams, Thomas
4	"	Martin, Terrance
5	"	Brown, John, Sen.
6	"	Wall, John
7	"	Crow, Thomas
8	"	Garety, Bartholomew
9	"	Pennington, James
10	"	Armstrong, William
11	"	Cochran, James
12	"	McFee, Joseph
13	"	Cuffy, John
14	"	Penning, Hermon
15	"	Collins, John
16	"	De Errarra, Francis
17	"	Cavanaugh, Thomas
18	"	Soper, Joseph
19	"	Hawley, Richard
20	"	Coudery, James
21	"	Howard, Joseph
22	"	Wilson, Edward
23	"	Brown, John, Jun.
24	"	Hawney, Thomas
25	"	Higgins, Francis
26	"	Soley, Henry
27	"	Marshall, Edward
28	"	Collins, James
29	"	Fash, Francis
30	"	Devine, John
31	"	Aldred, Edward
32	"	Belings, Jonathan
33	"	Peck, Joshua
34	"	Stokes, John
35	"	Kelly, Barnabias
36	"	Dowling, John
37	"	Martin, Thomas
38	"	Banks, Jameson, promoted to Corporal
Attest: James Kerr, Captain		
Mathaniel Fitzpatrick, Lieutenant		
Queen's Rangers		
invalidated in N. Y.		
prisoner with rebels		
dead 1 Nov		
enlisted 12 Nov		
enlisted 4 Nov		
enlisted 12 Nov		
enlisted 12 Nov		
on duty		
on duty		
returned to duty 17 Nov		

QUEEN'S RANGERS

Name	Rank
J. Graves Simcoe, Esquire, Lieut Colonel, Commandant, from 25 August 1780 to 24 October 1780	Nr
MUSTER ROLL OF Captain James Kerr's Company, Queen's Rangers,	
Remarks	
Anson, George	Drummer
Reading, Joshua	Corporal
Private	1
Studying the life, NY	2
Higgins, Francis	3
Barry, David	4
Read, Patrick	5
Williams, Thomas	6
Wall, John	7
Pennig, Hermon	8
Armstrong, William	9
Cuffy, John	10
Wilson, Edward	11
Condrey, James	12
Brown, John, Jun.	13
DeBarra, Francis	14
Aldred, Edward	15
Garity, Bartholomew	16
Billings, Jonathan	17
Brown, John, Sen.	18
Peck, Joshua	19
Howard, Joseph	20
Soper, Joseph	21
Banks, Jamison	22
McFee, Joseph	23
Collins, John	24
Cochran, James	25
Hawley, Richard	26
Martin, Thomas	27
Crow, Thomas	"
enlisted 25 August	28
25 August	29
from the Hussars,	"
prisoner with rebels	"
a deserter	"
deserted 26 Sept	"
"	33
"	34
"	35
"	36
"	37
"	38
"	39

Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Kerr, James
1	Lieutenant	Fitzpatrick, Nathaniel
1	Ensign	Miller, Henry
1	Sergeant	Russell, Alexander
NR		on duty with Light Comp'y General Hosp., N. Y.

MUSTER ROLL of Captain James Kerr's Company, Queen's Rangers, J. Graves Simcoe, Esq., Lieut Colonel Commandant, from 25 October to 25 Dec 1780

QUEEN'S RANGERS

MUSTER ROLL of Captain James Kerr's Company, Queen's Rangers,
J. Graves Simcoe, Esquire, Lieut Colonel Commandant, from 25
October to 23 February 1781

Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain Kerr, James	
1	Lieutenant Fitzpatrick, Nathaniel	
1	Ensign Miller, Henry	
2	Russel, Alexander	
3	Dunlop, John	General Hospital, N. Y.
1	Garland, Gilbert	
2	Bates, Alexander	
3	McBroom, Henry	
1	Banks, Jameson	
1	Anson, George	
1	Drummer Martin, Terence	
2	Barry, David	
3	Wall, John	
4	Williams, Thomas	
5	Read, Patrick	
6	Marshall, Edward	
7	Wilson, Edward	
8	Brown, John, Sen.	
9	Hawney, Thomas	
10	Billing, Jonathan	
11	Condey, James	
12	Crow, Thomas	
13	Collins, James	
14	Pennington, James	
15	Armstrong, William	
16	Cutley, John	
17	McFee, Joseph	
18	Cochran, James	
20	Collins, John	
21	Caravan, Thomas	
22	Penning, Hermon	
23	Hawley, Richard	
24	DeBarra, Francis	
25	Howard, Joseph	
26	Devino, John	
27	Brown, John, Jun.	
28	Soler, Henry	
29	Higgins, Francis	
30	Soper, Joseph	
31	Garety, Bartholomew	
32	Fash, Francis	
33	Alfred, Edward	
34	Peck, Joshua	
35	Dowling, John	
36	Stokes, John	
37	Kelly, Barnabus	
38	Banks, Jameson	
	Martin, Thomas	
	Attest: James Kerr, Captain	
	dead, 1 Nov 1780	
	promoted to Corporal	
	invalided at N. Y.	
	prisoners with rebels	
	Queen's Rangers	

(PAC, RG81 "C" Series, Volume 1864)

LOYALISTS IN THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN, VOLUME II

MUSTER ROLL of Captain James Kerr's Company, Queen's Rangers,
J. Graves Simcoe, Esquire, Lieut Colonel Commandant, from 25
June to 24 August 1781

Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain Kerr, James	
1	Lieutenant Fitzpatrick, Nathaniel	
1	Ensign Miller, Henry	
1	Russel, Alexander	General Hospital, N. Y.
2	Garland, Gilbert	
3	Bates, William	
1	Bates, Alexander	
2	Banks, Jameson	
3	Stokes, John	
4	Liddy, Patrick	
1	Anson, George	
1	Drummer Martin, Terence	
2	Higgins, Francis	
3	Marshall, Edward	
4	Barry, David	
5	Read, Patrick	
6	Williams, Thomas	
7	Wall, John	
8	Armstrong, William	
9	Cutley, John	
10	Coudrey, James	
11	Brown, John, Jun.	
12	Brown, John, Sen.	
13	DeBarra, Francis	
14	Alfred, Edward	
15	Billing, Jonathan	
16	Howard, Joseph	
17	Collins, John	
18	Cochran, James	
19	Hawney, Thomas	
20	Stokes, John	
21	Kelly, Barnabus	
22	Dowling, John	
23	Soler, Henry	
24	Meritt, Robert	
25	Thorn, Richard	
26	Potter, Levi	
27	Church, John	
28	Wills, John	
29	Peck, Joshua	
30	Meritt, Robert	
31	Thorn, Richard	
	Attest: James Kerr, Captain	
	enlisted 28 May 1781	
	" 20 " " "	
	transferred to Hussars	
	29 Jun	
	returned from desertion	
	July 16	
	enlisted 25 Jun	
	" 20 " " "	
	enlisted 28 May	
	prisoner with rebels	
	General Hospital, N. Y.	
	appt Corporal 11 Aug	

(PAC, RG81 "C" Series, Vol 1864)

HUGH NANNY HEN (c. 1646—1623),
SQUIRE OF NANNAU
I NANNAU IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

Hugh Nanny Hen, the fiery patriarchal figure whose personality was so deeply impressed on the history of Merioneth in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, was the representative of a family whose roots were deep in the county and whose achievements had laid the foundations of his power. The family of the Nanneys of Nannau traced its origins to Bleddyn ap Cynllyn, Prince of Powys, who died in 1075. The Nannau pedigree for the period under consideration is opposite page 206. It was Xnyr Vychan of Nannau who, at the time of the English conquest in the thirteenth century, first laid the foundations of his family's future greatness. It was he who inaugurated a period of co-operation with the alien administration which, together with their ability to take advantage of the break-down of the tribal system and the introduction of new land tenures, led to the emergence of this family in the sixteenth century under Gruffydd Wyn and Hugh Nanny Hen as a 'gentry' family. The Nanneys and their ancestors are an example of an indigenous family who were thoroughly Welsh in outlook and patrons of the traditional native culture, but who yet co-operated to the full with the new administrators and were allied at every crisis to the English Crown. They also managed to avoid the pitfalls of the economic situation at a time when little was stable owing to the disappearance of the old native economy, and thus established themselves as proprietors of a growing estate at the expense of their neighbours.

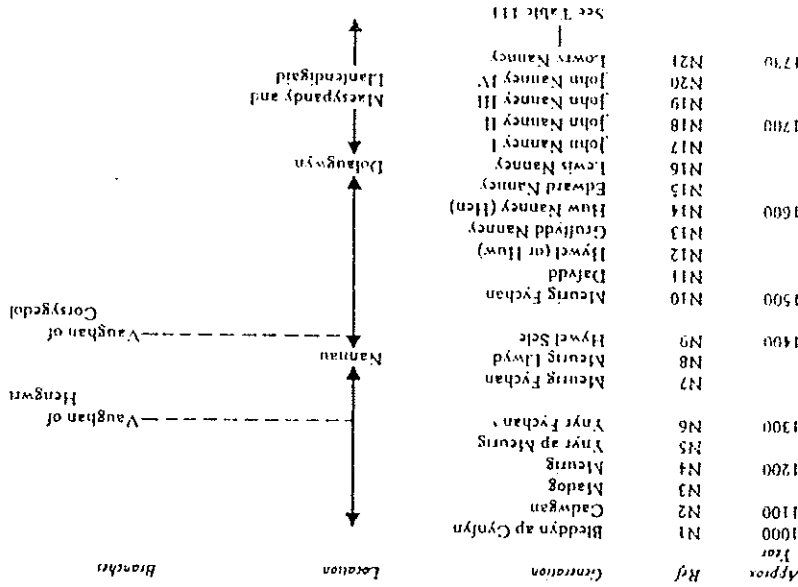
About the twelfth century a permanent settlement or *gwely* of free tribesmen was created at Nannau which had expanded so considerably by the second half of the thirteenth century that a *gwelygordd* or clan of over seventy families controlled the wastes or common over a great part of the parish of Llanfachreth, and the original *gwely* settlement had become 'a sprawling mass of dispersed arable holdings', made up of over seventy *tyddynod*.² One of these *tyddynod* was *Tyddyn Celyn Llanfair*, which was to become known in Tudor times as Plas Nannau, the centre of a large

¹Wido E. D. Jones, 'The Family of Nannau of Nannau,' *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society*, 1953, p. 6ff.
²T. Jones Pierce, 'Ancient Merioneth,' *Journal Mer. Hist. Rec. Soc.*, 1919, pp. 12-20.

ARGHAFWYD GAN
J. D. LEWIS A'I FEIRION OYZ.
OWASO GOMER, LLANDYSDUL

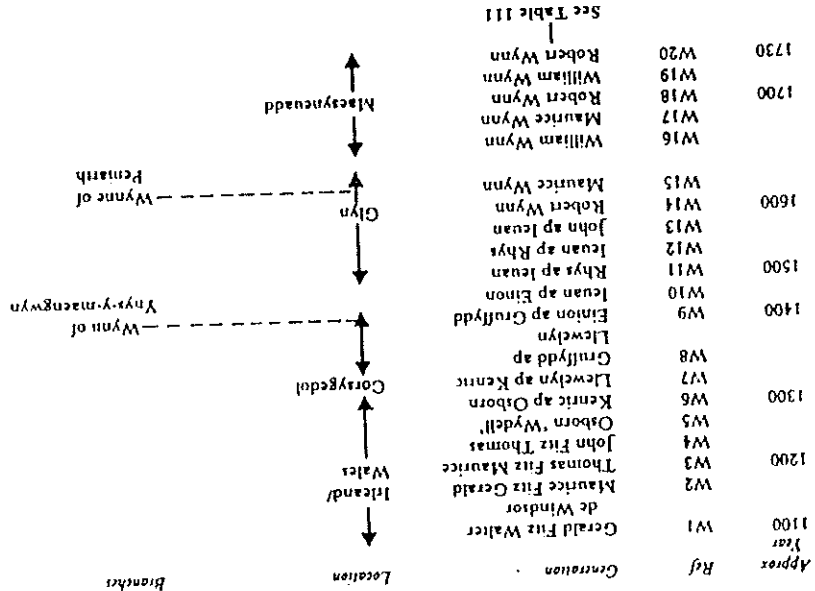
Nannau estate provides a poignant example. However, there are also signs that some of the younger sons of North Wales are increasingly willing and enthusiastic to return to their old domains, or even to the remains of them. The region's social and cultural survival must to some extent depend upon it's old families' commitment to the land that provided so well for their ancestors. The challenge to rebuild in Wales, to help stimulate national self-confidence and to enrich Welsh society is one offered to those with an incomparable spiritual and physical homeland. This essay has dwelt lovingly upon the past, but with the future very clearly in mind.

TABLE 1



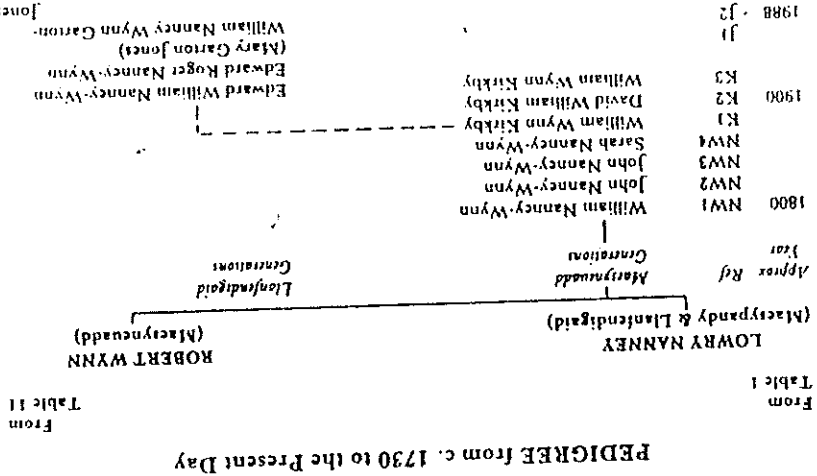
NANNEY PEDIGREE to c.1730

TABLE 11



WYNN PEDIGREE to c. 1730

TABLE 111



PEDIGREE from c. 1730 to the Present Day

place for the family. The author's family have a cottage on the estate near the house which provides another small element of security for the family on its old domain.

CHAPTER V FAMILY HOUSES

Introduction

Many factors at work throughout history have resulted in the Welsh country house having features which distinguish it from its English cousins. A full and scholarly discussion of these can be found in *The Lost Houses of Wales*, but in order to fully appreciate the houses that are described here, a very brief summary is useful.

Above all, Welsh country houses are generally small and lacking in flamboyant decoration. This is largely the result of a comparatively 'poor' gentry class, but also to some extent the unpretentiousness of that class. However, what the houses lack in size they often compensate for by their sheer antiquity. Although a Victorian building and re-building boom did penetrate Wales, the old families (who were more than usually conscious of their ancestry), often chose to maintain their ancient houses more or less intact. All the houses dealt with here are distinctly Welsh in character and all trace their foundations at least as far back as the 17th century. They are all intact today, but only Llanfendigaid remains in the family. Over the past hundred years losses amongst fine Welsh houses have been devastating, and perhaps the insane destruction of Ynysmaengwyn, which lay between Dolauwryn and Llanfendigaid, illustrates at once the potency of this threat and the Nanney-Wynns' good fortune in escaping the full force of this process.

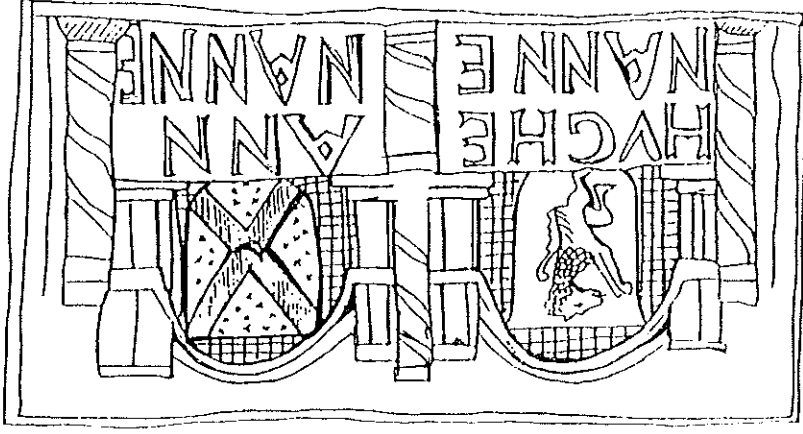
NANNAU

It would be quite easy to devote most of this essay to Nannau—the ancient township, the family and the house. What we see today is a late 18th century country house, but there have been 'palaces' and seats on the site since the 11th century. The successive houses and the families who occupied them for seven hundred years have been renowned throughout Wales. It has been seen that the branch of the Nannau family that primarily concerns us sprang from Edward Nanney, second son of

Hugh Nanney Hen (c. 1550-1623). Thus it is the first five hundred years of Nannau history, rather than the later centuries, which will occupy us for the most part.

Nannau means watershed, or the place where several valleys begin, and situated more than seven hundred feet above sea level, with resulting majestic views, the origin of the name is easily discerned. The house enjoys one of the finest sites in Wales. Behind it, 'Moel Offrwm' (or Bald Hill of sacrifice) rises splendidly to remind visitors of the earliest settlers at the site (whose early camps may be seen here). To the front there has always been a natural park and it has been famed for the herd of fallow deer, and also for the white cattle of the early 19th century. From the park a steep road descends some two miles to Dolgellau, the county town, a proximity which has inevitably increased the power of the Nanney and the Vaughan families in their heydays.

It is thought that there have been at least five houses on or near the site of the present structure. The first was, according to the highly respected 17th century antiquary of Hengwrt, Robert Vaughan, 'the staliest structure in all North Wales'. It was reputedly built by Cadwgan, son of Bleddyn, Prince of Powys, from whom the Nannau family were directly descended. A later rebuilding is reputed to have been burnt down by Owen Glyndwr, c. 1404 because the family of Nannau had 'stood stiffly for the Kinge', rather than for their true prince.



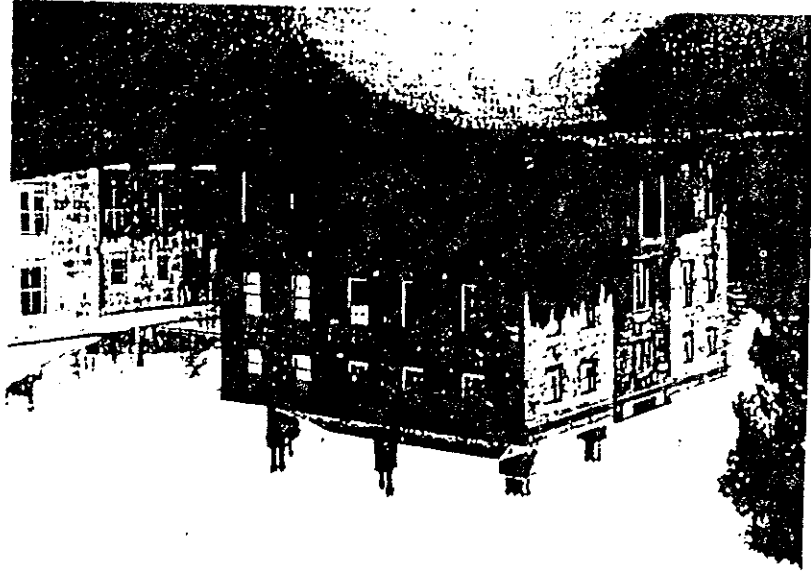
The remains of the heraldic table from Hugh Nanney Hen's 'Palace' of 1581. Now installed at LlanfendigaId.

Hugh Nanney Hen built a 'Palace', c. 1581, of which the armorial stone at LlanfendigaId is one of the few fragments to remain. This was, according to legend, destroyed by the Round-heads. Certainly other local houses Ynysysmaengwyn (near Tywyn), and Caergrai were burnt, and the Nannau family were still then standing 'stiffly for the Kinge'. There was furniture at Nannau that was said to have been given to the family by Charles II, in particular a fine painted cabinet. There was also a large oak table in the drawing room around which the regicides reputedly sat to sign the death warrant of Charles I. As this had been removed from Corsygedol, its significance may be coincidental.

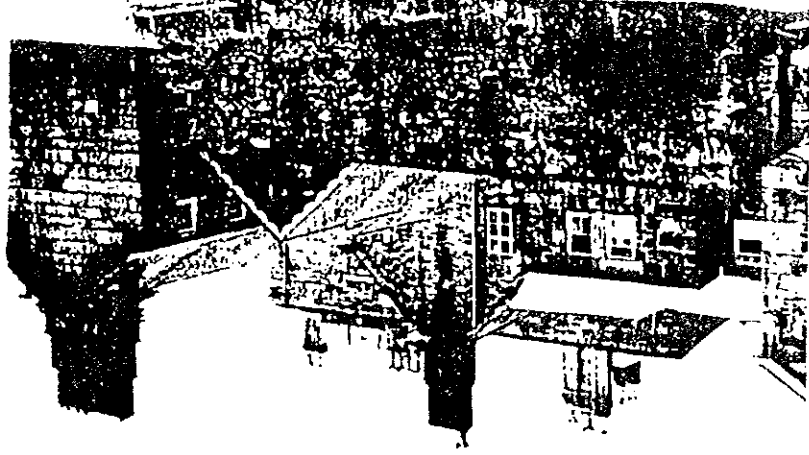
One of the most remarkable Nanneys was Colonel Hugh (the last male member of the 600 year old line), who rebuilt the house c. 1697. The result is pictured in Moses Griffith's drawing of around a century later. This appears in a sketch book, and on the next page is a view of the new house (pretty much as it appears today, but with the wings intact). It may be that Griffith relied upon old descriptions for his drawing of the building of 1697 but the result appears convincing.

The new house painted by Griffith was started by Sir Robert Howell Vaughan in 1788, (it was completed by his famous son) and was almost certainly built around the older structure. The extent of this is unclear, but there is certainly some evidence of older fabric in the north-east corner, and in a cellar window of 17th century origin. One of the draimpipes bears the date 1795, but the rebuilding evidently took some time as the fine staircase and plasterwork are better dated c. 1830. The long low wings ending in small pavilions were designed by the Shrewsbury architect J. Bromfield c. 1805, the addition of which created a perfect late Georgian mansion.

The London architect, P. F. Robinson, published plans for several lodges and estate cottages at Nannau, but although several interesting lodges can still be seen on the Bala road, and Robinson's designs probably formed the basis of several lodges, the final details were the work of Sir Robert Vaughan himself. As with many land-owners of his day, the design of picturesque lodges and follies (at Nannau the two were successfully combined in Hywel Scle Lodge at the Deer Park entrance), was a popular activity. The old gate house can still be seen with its clock hands painted at five to six to assure the weary traveller that he was in time for dinner! Moses



Nannau. The house as rebuilt by the Vaughan baronets 1788—c.1830 and excepting the wings, as it looks today.
(Courtesy RCAM Wales)



Nannau. Rear of the house showing many periods of development.
(Courtesy RCAM Wales)

Griffith's painting of the house of 1805 shows the old drive leading from this gate house, but now it is disused. The lodge incidentally was called Garthbleddyn Lodge (see discussion of Foundation of Nannau Estate, p. 11).

Our information about the house and the site in the time of the Nanneys is limited, given the scarcity of records in the Middle Ages and Tudor times. What is known is that the traveller was always struck by the environs of the place and by the legends that surrounded it. This is clear in the extract from Thomas Pennant's celebrated *Tours of Wales*, of 1781. He had the following to say regarding his visit.

"I visited Nannau, the ancient seat of the ancient family of the Nanneys now of the Vaughnans. The way to it is a continual ascent of two miles, so perhaps, this is the highest situation of any gentleman's house in Britain. The estate is covered with fine woods which clothe all the sides of the dingles for many miles. On the roadside is a venerable oak in its last stage of decay and pierced by age into the form of a Gothic arch, yet its present girth is twenty seven and a half feet. The name is very classical Derwen-yr-Ellyll, the hollow oak, or haunt of demons. How often has not warm fancy seen the fairy tribe revel around its trunk; or may not the visionary eye have seen the Hamadryad burst from the bark of its coeval tree?

Above Nannau is a high rock with its top encircled with a dyke of loose stones. This had been a British post, the station perhaps of some tyrant it being called Mowel Offryn, or the Hill of Oppression. The park of Nannau is remarkable for it's very small but excellent venison".

The gardens at Nannau of the time were also noted for their extent and exquisite design regardless of expense. The Demon Oak described by Pennant was one of the most celebrated sights of the district in the 18th and early 19th centuries. It fell to the ground on 13 July 1813, the night after it had been recorded in its dying glory by the antiquary and artist Sir Richard Colt Hoare on a visit to Nannau. There are several versions of the story of the oak and of the events surrounding Hywel Sele's death, but that which I believe to be correct is recorded here.

During the early 15th century, the Welsh were fighting against the English. The Welsh leader was Owen Glyndwr, and being a Merioneth man he had considerable local support against King

the house it was sold in 1966 with just ten acres of land (the main bulk of the estate being retained by Brigadier Vaughan's family). Shortly afterwards the wings were demolished to make the house more manageable. It can be argued that the wings, being later, were not an important part of the fabric, but they were a decorative example of the process of architectural evolution.

Before the house was sold, there was a sale of the contents, but fortunately all the primary artefacts and portraits relating to the Naney and Vaughan families were retained by the Vaughans—some consolation perhaps. It is still a tragedy that the house, in the hands of Cadwgan's ancestors for nearly nine hundred years, should have been sold.

When one considers that the estate itself by 1966, (a greatly reduced three thousand five hundred and seventy eight acres) was only producing income of £1,402 (£10,000) a year, it is obvious that great extra expenditure would have been needed to maintain the house. Several cottages were being let at five pence per year, a luxury the Nannau estate could ill afford.

Since becoming a hotel in 1979, Nannau has changed little from the outside. However, the house has been brutally vandalised internally. The drawing room houses a modern 'bar', and has been generally adapted to look like a second rate Liverpoolian pub. The house has recently been put up for sale in London, with a reserve of £450,000—a figure some seven times what it fetched in 1979. It was offered with 'planning consent for substantial holiday developments'. The reserve was not reached, and so the future remains uncertain. What is sure, is that one of North Wales's most historic sights is in grave danger of being condemned to an ignoble and pathetic end.

NANNAU, THE NANNEYS & THE BARDS

For centuries, Nannau—house and family—had very close ties to Welsh poetry and the bards, elements of Welsh culture the importance of which cannot be overestimated. Such ties were indicative of the family's great traditions of hospitality and power. This patronage stretched far back into the family's history. In the early 14th century, Llewelyn Goch, poet and uncle to two Nannau brothers Meurig and Hywel, wrote a 'cywydd' (a poem of rhyming

Henry. However, Hywel Sele of Nannau (a cousin of Glyndŵr), was a Royalist and invited Henry Hoispur to Dolgellau to attack the Welsh troops.

Battle commenced at the foot of Cader but there was no decisive outcome and when Hoispur departed Glyndŵr was bent upon revenge. He laid siege to Nannau and took Hywel Sele prisoner. Before long however, the ever resourceful Abbot at Cymmer Abbey brought about a reconciliation between the two men, and at length Hywel, upon agreeing to abandon the Lancastrian cause, was set free.

All appeared well and Glyndŵr soon visited Nannau to formalise the treaty which was to be sealed with a hunting expedition in Nannau park as a sign of goodwill. However, Hywel's treachery was still brooding inside him and, putting up a dog, he took aim only to turn upon Glyndŵr and fire the arrow at him instead. But the evil act was fruitless as the arrow fell from the chain mail that Glyndŵr had thoughtfully concealed beneath his tunic. In a fit of rage Glyndŵr slew Hywel Sele and concealed his body in the nearby hollow oak tree.

It may be then that Nannau was razed by Glyndŵr in his anger. One piece of evidence lends weight to this story. Pennant describes the remains of Hywel's mansion in 1778 as 'a mere compost of cinders and ashes'. What is certain is that the body was not discovered for many years and the tree survived until 1813 in the legends of North Wales as the favourite place of Y Tylwyth Teg (the Fairies), and more sinisterly of Sele's ghost.

This is undoubtedly the most famous legend of Nannau, but there are others. A fierce serpent designated Gwyber-y-Mloch, plagued Nannau in the early years and the then Lord of Nanney offered a reward for its death. One day a shepherd found the beast sleeping, and borrowing an axe from Cymmer Abbey slew it with the Abbot's blessing. A cairn was heaped over the monster and it is known to this day as Carnedd-y-Wiber or Cairn of the Monster. About two miles beyond Nannau, towards the nearby village of Llanfarcheth, is an arch of stone known as Y Garreg Mawr (the Big Stone). Legend has it that this was dragged about ten miles from the Roman Steps by tenants who had not paid their rent.

The fate of Nannau and the once great estate, are well known. The estate was gradually reduced in the late years of the last and early years of this century, and despite valiant efforts to maintain

couples), on their common pursuits of legal studies, reading ancient Welsh manuscripts and following greyhounds.

Edward Jones "Bardd-y-Brenin" (1752-1824), the famous harpist and musical antiquary, talked of a special recess in the hall at old Nannau for the seat of the chief bard. Another interesting record genealogically, is the poem composed by John Rhydderch to celebrate the marriage of Catherine Nanney (heiress of Hugh Nanney), to William Vaughan of Corsygedol in 1732. His poem surveyed the genealogical history of the Nanney family, and his list of its members includes the founders of all the great houses of North Wales. The founder of the tribe of the Nanneys, Prince Bleddyn ap Cynlyn (died 1075), is given a particularly glowing tribute:

"He was most amiable and merciful of all kings . . . he injured no one; he was gentle to his kinsmen; just to the poor, and merciful towards Pilgrims, orphans and widows; he was the defender of the weak and the strength of the wise, the honour of the churches, and the foundation and delight of the bards, generous towards everybody, terrible in war, amiable and gentle in peace, and a protector for everyone".

Certainly nobody could ask for a worthier ancestor!

Rhydderch also stressed the close links with Corsygedol, recalling no less than five previous Nannau-Corsygedol matches, how four brides had come to Nannau from Corsygedol, and how one had followed in the opposite direction.

An earlier bard who had revelled in the Nanney family's ancient ancestry was William Lleyn. Writing c.1560, he could look back over five hundred years of the family's history, and he pronounced that all the ancestors had lived well and lived long. They were honest and trustworthy in office, and always advocated peace. He was writing at the time of the strong minded Hugh Nanney Hen, and the emphasis on peace may have been thinly disguised advice. The bards of course were dependent upon the generous patronage of their masters for their livelihoods, so that glowing eulogies of their forbears were to be expected!

Much of their work involved relatively routine verse making for times of feasts, births and weddings. Hence eulogies to hospitality commonly survive. One anonymous verse to the hospitality of Meurig Fychan of Nannau reads:

"I am sitting by a blazing fire
In the parish
In the house of Meurig Fychan
I have had lodging, house and fire
Tomorrow I shall have money".

The greatest period of bardic achievement at Nannau was reached in the early years of the 17th century, when Rhisiart Phylip was the chief bard to the household. Nothing could confirm this situation more clearly than the great number of eulogies composed by him and others in 1623 to mourn the passing of the great Hugh Nanney Hen. The one common theme of the eleven eulogies is the praise heaped upon Hugh for his rebuilding of the house at Nannau. The house was described as the most imposing structure they had ever seen and the bards marvelled at the expense incurred, especially in view of Hugh's lengthy litigation and the five daughters he had to provide for! There are further eulogies on Anne Nanney's death at Dolauwgwyn in 1627.

The bardic tradition was exceptional at Nannau for its longevity and for the quality of the work inspired there. The tradition eventually withered in the face of changing trends, not least the insipid influx of English fashions to Wales, and Nannau is believed to have had the last of the Welsh household bards—John Davies of Penlllyn. He died c.1694, probably as a result of his overfondness of the riches of the kitchen and the temptations of the cellar.

MAESYNEUADD (The Hall in the Field)

Hail Guest!
We ask not what thou art:
If friend we greet thee hand and heart:
If stranger such no longer be
If foe, our love shall conquer thee.

(Old Welsh verse inscribed over a door at Maesyneuadd)

Maesyneuadd, is in the parish of Llandecwyn, near the old Merioneth county town of Harlech. The house is dramatically situated high above the coast, with wide ranging views over the sea and the

modern estate made up of a concentration of tyddynod belonging to the *gweily* of *tre/ Nannau*.⁹

This process of amalgamating neighbouring holdings and the general expansion of the Nannau lands which was to take the family at Nannau into the forefront of the ranks of the Tudor gentry appears from the surviving documentary evidence to have been concentrated into the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the period covered by the years 1450—1540.¹⁰ During this period Meurig Vyohau, his son Dafydd, and his grandson Hywel extended their patrimony in Nannau, Llwyngrwl, Garthgynfawr, Talysgarreg, Rhydericw, Penrhyneddudraeth, Migneint, Garthmael, Brithdir, Dyffrydan and Cregennau, mainly at the expense of their fellow free tenants.¹¹ The only two exceptions were the purchase in 1453 of lands in Penrhyneddudraeth and a tenement in Llanbhanogel from Vivian Falignone, a burgess of Harlech, and the purchase in 1486 of two tenements in Migneint, in the commote of Penlllyn, from William Elyton of Bromfield.¹² The lands and tenements purchased appear in most cases to have been tribal lands, the patrimony of their less fortunate neighbours who were themselves free tenants and who were forced by some unknown circumstances to sell the whole or part of their inheritance and sink eventually to the level of landless labourers and leasehold tenants. In 1513, for example, Ieuan ap Gruffydd ap David and his nephews Ieuan ap Rees ap Gruffydd ap David and Gutyn ap Gruffydd ap David quitclaimed to Hywel ap Dafydd ap Meurig Vyohau of Nannau all their right and title to the properties they had inherited from Gruffydd ap David in the townships of Garthmael and Dyffrydan.¹³ Another deed, dated at Nannau 10 July 1523, further illustrates this process. In 1523 Thomas ap Mores ap Gruffydd ap Meurio, a free tenant of the township of Nannau, conveyed to Hywel ap Dafydd ap Meurig Vyohau his right and title to all the lands and tenements in Nannau which belonged by descent to Gruffydd ap Meurio ap Meredith.¹⁴

While it is impossible to ascertain the extent to which consolidation had occurred by the middle of the sixteenth century, it is evident that the lands of smaller free-holders were intermingled with the Nannau estate. We know that there were lands in the township of Nannau itself which had not yet been acquired by the family. In 1572, for example, Griffith ap Morris ap Gwilym conveyed to Gruffydd Nannau and Hugh Nanney Hen all his right, title and interest in lands in the township of Nannau.¹⁵ Further, in a deed of exchange dated 6 May 1576, Rhys Hughes of Maesy-

⁹ P.R.O. L.R. 2/230 p. 12 verso: an extent of the villa of Merioneth, 1592, where Hugh Nanney is recorded as occupying a messuage 'vocat y place ym Nanne aive Tyddyn keaven llanaitre'. I am indebted to the late Professor T. Jones Pierce for this reference.
¹⁰ The first recorded instance of the acquisition of land by Meurig Vyohau, however, is a lease of 1436 whereby he obtained a *tyddyn* in Llwyngrwl from Llwyngrwl ap Euan ap Owen, another free tenant, for four years at an annual rent of twenty shillings. (U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 2).
¹¹ U.C.N.W. Nannau MSS. 6, 9-15, 17, 22, 25, 26, 28, 30, 33, 39, 43, 45; N.L.W. Peniarth Deeds 1940, 1667; Merioneth Record Office D/M/1.
¹² U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 20.
¹³ U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 11, 16.
¹⁴ U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 33.
¹⁵ U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 106.

¹⁶ Hugh Nanney Hen (c. 1546—1623), *Squire of Nannau*
18

The success of the Nanneys, descendants of the thirteenth century free tribesmen of Tyddyn Cefn Llanafr, in accumulating this extensive estate and attaining to the prominent position in sixteenth century Merioneth can be attributed to several factors. At a time when the transformation of the old tribal society was being hastened by the increased growth of a money economy and the combined effects of the Flag of 1349-50 and the Glyndwr rebellion, three generations at Nannau were enabled to take full advantage of this transition from medieval to modern agrarian conditions. Nannau, 'into soe little p'ces... by many descents chopp our inheritance being at first large'.¹¹ According to Robert Vaughan the antiquary, Meurig Llwyd had four sons who all shared the patrimony.¹² From the eldest of these, Hywel Sele, descended the family at Nannau. When he died (c. 1402) his estate passed in a single main line through his son Meurig Vyohau and his grandson Dafydd to his great-grandson Hywel (died c. 1540). Hywel Sele's portion of the *gweily* inheritance was thus handed down intact during these three important generations—the period when the Meuric were buying lands in South Caernarvonshire and Bartholemew de Bolde and his fellow burgesses were accumulating tribal lands in the Conway valley, as also were certain native freeholders.¹³

That the Nannau family were able during this period to purchase the lands of their less fortunate neighbours was probably due above all else, however, to their policy of active co-operation from the outset with the new English administration established in Wales by Edward I. The head of the Nannau family at the time of the Edwardian conquest was Xnyr Vyohau. He was one of that large body of Welshmen who worked closely with the new order, thus both aiding the task of conquest and furthering their own personal ambitions. Professor Glyn Roberts has shown how the Glynne family of Glynllifon, the descendants of Xstrywth ab Eadnywain, who was an adviser and diplomatic agent to Llywelyn the Great, after the English conquest accepted at once the new system.¹⁴ The later medieval period saw the growth of a Welsh 'official' class in the Principality. From the earliest years of the Edwardian settlement much of the work of administration and of the preservation of law and order within the commotes was done by Welshmen holding ringlildres and taglodres, those commote offices which, like the commotes themselves, had formed a part of the native Welsh administration before 1282.

The family at Nannau were typical of this class; they held the offices of *rhaglau* and *rhingyll*, woodland and other minor official posts in the commote of Talybont.

¹⁰ U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 115.
¹¹ Sir John Wynm, *The History of the Gwydir Family*, ed. Ballinger (1927), p. 35.
¹² R. Vaughan, 'Notes on the House of Nannau', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1863, p. 131.
¹³ T. Jones Pierce, *Glenmawr Letters and Papers (National Library of Wales Journal, Supplement 1917)*, introduction; idem, 'The Galvel in Bangor MS. 1939', *Transactions of the Hon. Soc. of Cyngwraeth*, 1942, p. 158ff.
¹⁴ Glyn Roberts, 'The Glynnes and the Wynns of Glynllifon', *Caernarvonshire Historical Society Transactions*, 1948, p. 25ff.

relative, Meurig Maellan, nephew to Ynyr Vychan,¹⁶ was deputy sheriff under Walter de Mauny in 1347/8.¹⁶ Ynyr Vychan himself, in fact, in the first really serious revolt after the conquest sided with the English and claimed to have captured Madoc ap Llywelyn, the leader of the rebellion of 1294-5.¹⁷ Ynyr claimed to have received the raglotry of the commote of Tal-y-bont, free of any rent or rendering, for this service, a claim which was disputed by John de Havering, the man appointed after the restoration of order in 1295 as Justice of North Wales. Ynyr's claim to have captured Madoc, however, was not disputed by Havering, and it is significant that a Merioneth man, one who was to associate himself very closely with the new order, should have made this claim as we know that the search for the defeated rebel centred around that county in March and April, 1295.¹⁸ The King had offered a reward of five hundred marks for his capture. There is no record of Ynyr's receiving the reward, however, and Havering, as we have seen, cast doubt on his claim to the office of *rhaglaw*. Yet Ynyr Vychan was definitely *rhaglaw* of Talybont in 1303/4, and he held this office until 1329/30.¹⁹ He was one of three men from the township of Nannau who, in 1301, did homage and fealty to the first English Prince of Wales at Conway.²⁰ In March, 1322, moreover, Ynyr Vychan, at that time *rhaglaw* of Talybont, followed the sheriff of Merioneth, Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, the most prominent representative of the new 'official' class, in an attack on the castle and town of Ruthin, presumably as part of Gruffydd's campaign against the baronial opposition in the Marches of Wales in support of Edward II.²¹

Ynyr's son, Meurig Vychan, followed his father's example in co-operating with the new administration. He took over the office of *rhaglaw* of Tal-y-bont from Ynyr Vychan in 1331/2 and he continued in this office until 1339/40.²² In 1338 he received in addition the bailiwick of the bond vill of Dolgellau.²³ His brother Hywel was coroner of Ardudwy, Tal-y-bont and Ystumanner from 1337/8 to 1343/4.²⁴ Meurig Vychan's eldest son, Meurig Llwyd, held the office of *rhaglaw* of Tal-y-bont in 1391/2 and shared the farm of the havotry of Tal-y-bont with his brother, Hywel ap Meurig.²⁵ a minor office which they also shared in 1395/6.²⁶ Meurig may have become involved in 1397 in the treason of the Duke of Gloucester as a Meuruc Lloid was granted a pardon in November 1398 'for all treasons and felonies committed before Thursday the last day of January last, except murders and rapes, on condition that he was not indicted before that date for a common thief, or approver, nor appealed of murder,

¹⁶N.L.W. Peniarth MS. 74, p. 68.

¹⁷P.R.O., Lists and Indexes IX (Lists of Sheriffs), p. 260; Arch. Camb., 1847, p. 123.

¹⁸Registrum Vulgariter Nuncupatum 'The Record of Caernarvon' (Record Commission, 1838), p. 220.

¹⁹J. Griffiths, 'The Revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn 1294-5,' *Caerns. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, 1955, p. 20.

²⁰P.R.O. Min. Acc. SC6/1231/2-5, 7-12, SC6/1232/1-5.

²¹Edward Owen, *A List of those who did Homage and Fealty to the First English Prince of Wales in A.D. 1301*, (privately printed, 1901); *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1343-5, p. 231.

²²B. R. Parry, 'A Note on Sir Gruffydd Llwyd,' *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, Vol. XIX, Part IV, pp. 318-8.

²³P.R.O. SC6/1232/6-11.

²⁴Cal. Fine Rolls, 1337-47, p. 83.

²⁵R. Vaughan, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

²⁶P.R.O. SC6/1203/2. ²⁶P.R.O. SC6/1203/4.

nor compassed the King's death.²⁷ Whatever may have happened in 1397, however, he is recorded in 1399/1400 as woodward of Tal-y-bont and joint farmer of the havotry of Merioneth.²⁸

Meurig Llwyd's son, Hywel Sele, was in 1399/1400 granted the farm of the *amobr* of Tal-y-bont and the piscary of Barmouth.²⁹ These are the only documentary references to Hywel Sele, but his name is indissolubly linked with the Glyndŵr revolt, and tradition has cast him in the kind of 'pro-English' rôle that the history of his ancestors would lead one to expect. According to the traditional tale Hywel Sele, who had already refused to join with his cousin, Owain Glyndŵr, was captured by Glyndŵr in a sudden raid on Nannau in 1402. During a conciliatory visit to Nannau arranged by the Abbot of Cymer, however, Hywel Sele is reputed to have treacherously shot an arrow at his guest, only to be foiled by a coat of mail that Owain was wearing under his clothes. Glyndŵr then, in revenge, slew his cousin and, for some unexplained reason, thrust the corpse into the hollow trunk of an old tree—to become known as 'Ceubren yr Ellyll'—where it remained undiscovered for forty years.³⁰ In addition, Glyndŵr 'spoiled and burned his house which was the stateliest structure in all North Wales'.³¹ Whatever may have been the truth of all this—and the story first appeared in the seventeenth century from the pen of Robert Vaughan, the antiquary, of Hengwrt³²—what evidence there is would suggest that Hywel Sele was not likely to join a rebellion against the English Crown. It is much more probable that, like Gwilym ap Gruffydd of Penrhyn, he would have been a political opportunist who would have joined Glyndŵr with reluctance and deserted him at the earliest possible opportunity.³³ Hywel's father, grandfather and uncle had all worked with the new administration, and he himself had held minor offices under the Crown. Moreover, his brother, Gruffydd Derwas, and his own son, Meurig Vychan, continued to serve the English Crown in Merioneth. Gruffydd Derwas, indeed, was holding various minor offices in 1414/15, within nine years of the time when Glyndŵr was at the height of his power.³⁴ There is one small piece of corroborative evidence for part of the story—the burning of Hywel's mansion by Glyndŵr—in Pennant's description of the ruins of the old house in Nannau park in 1778 as 'a mere compost of cinders and ashes'.³⁵

²⁷Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1398, p. 453.

²⁸P.R.O. SC6/1203/5.

²⁹ibid.

³⁰T. P. Ellis, *Dolgelley and Llanelltyd* (1928), pp. 72-4.

³¹R. Vaughan, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

³²ibid., pp. 131-2; also in Pantton MS. 53, transcribed in an appendix to *A History of the Island of Anglesey* (1775 ed.), p. 68 ff., as 'Memoirs of Owen Glendower'. The title page states that the memoirs were written by Thomas Ellis, Rector of Dolgellau, but J. E. Lloyd (*Owen Glendower* (1931), p. 148) claims it is the work of Robert Vaughan as found in Pantton MS. 53. Sir J. E. Lloyd, in fact, seems to have been so suspicious of the late appearance of the story that he makes no mention of Hywel Sele in his biography of Glyndŵr.

³³J. R. Jones, 'The Development of the Penrhyn Estate up to 1431' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1956), pp. 132-3.

³⁴P.R.O. SC6/1203/7.

³⁵T. Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, ed. Rhys (1883), Vol. 3, p. 311. An anonymous contributor to the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1884 notes that 'the blackened ruins of his [Hywel Sele's] burnt castle were cleared away some years ago to build a lodge for Nannau deer park.' ('A Glimpse of Wales a Hundred Years Ago,' *Cornhill Magazine*, 1884, p. 417).

Several of Hywel's relatives played an equally active part in the native Welsh opposition to Glyndŵr. His son-in-law, Gruffydd ap Gwyn of Ardudwy, was reputed to have attempted unsuccessfully to rescue him on the occasion of his capture in 1402, losing most of his men in the attempt.³⁶ Another son-in-law, Ieuan ap Meredydd of Ystumcegid, had two houses—Cefn-y-Fan and Cesail Gyfarch—and, in the words of Sir John Wynn, 'for that Ieuan then Counstable of Cruketh clawe faste to the kinge. Owen glyndoor burned them bothe to coulede ashes.'³⁷ Hywel's grandson, Meredydd, the son of Ieuan ap Meredydd, married into the strongly Lancastrian family of Rhiwaedog and 'soe he clawe fast to that house in the tyme when Owen glyn door rebelled in wales so that in the tyme of that warr he and m'edith ap hulkyn lloyd of Glynlivon had the charge of the towne of Caern'von and an Englishe capteyne was over the castell in revenge whereof Owen burned his two hoswes.'³⁸

Meanwhile, Hywel Sele's brother, Gruffydd Derwas, who also acted as guardian at Nannau to the two-year old Meurig Vychan who, if Robert Vaughan's account can be accepted, had been left an orphan by the slaying of his father by Glyndŵr,³⁹ was recorded in the Ministers' Accounts for 1414/15, in the very wake of the rebellion, as *rhaglaw*⁴⁰ of Tal-y-bont, farmer of the *//rith* of Penantigi, woodward of Tal-y-bont and farmer of the *amobr*. Gruffydd held these offices and others, including the farm of the bond vill of Dolgellau, at various times until 1458/9.⁴¹ He became an 'Esquire of the body of King Henry Sixth' and could be described as 'the chiefest man of command in our country all his tyme.'⁴² His son Hywel carried on the family tradition, taking over the farm of the vill of Dolgellau from his father in 1448/9, becoming a *rhingyll* of Tal-y-bont in 1456/7, a *rhaglaw* in the following year and farmer of the *//riddoedd* of Penantigi, Gwanas and Llanfihangel in 1471/2.⁴³

Hywel Sele's son, Meurig Vychan, was joint farmer with his uncle of the mill of Llanfachreth from 1444/5 to 1458/9, when the Accounts cease owing to the Wars of the Roses. There is no record of any member of the family actively participating in these wars, and although Meurig Vychan was a cousin to Dafydd ap Einion,⁴⁴ commander of Harlech castle, they were not among the members of his garrison.⁴⁵ Meurig Vychan's son Dafydd served as a *rhingyll* in Tal-y-bont from 1471/2 through-

³⁶R. Vaughan, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-2.

³⁷Sir John Wynn, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Recent excavations at Cefn-y-Fan have shown that although 'the destruction of the house in 1403, by Owen Glyndŵr, can be accepted with some confidence, yet 'the excavation showed that the destruction had not been by fire.' A. H. A. Hogg, 'A Fourteenth Century House, Site at Cefn-y-Fan.' *Caerns. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, 1953, pp. 1-7).

³⁸Sir John Wynn, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³⁹In the post-rebellion Extent of Merioneth (c. 1419/20) printed in the 'Record of Caernarvon' (p. 280) Meurig Vychan was recorded as co-heir with Gruffydd Derwas and others to a *gwely* of free land in the township of Nannau.

⁴⁰P.R.O. SC6/1203/7.

⁴¹P.R.O. SC6/1203/9, 10, 13, SC6/1204/1, 2, 4-7, SC6/1205/1-5.

⁴²R. Vaughan, *op. cit.* p. 133.

⁴³P.R.O. SC6/1205/1, 3, 5, 6.

⁴⁴H. T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses* (1915), p. 145n. 1; J. E. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Families* (1914), pp. 189, 200.

⁴⁵H. T. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

out the reign of Edward IV.⁴⁶ But, although he did not die until 1494,⁴⁷ his name is not recorded in any of the Ministers' Accounts during the reign of his fellow-countryman Henry VII. Whatever the reason, it must have been only a temporary check as his son Hywel⁴⁸ became an esquire to Prince Henry, later King Henry VIII,⁴⁹ and held one of the traditional family offices—that of farmer of the mills of Llanfachreth and Llanegryn—from 1512/13 until the end of his life.⁵⁰

Hywel ap Dafydd ap Meurig died c. 1540. By this time the family at Nannau had emerged as Tudor 'gentry'. The earliest surviving reference to a member of the family as a gentleman ('generos') was in 1538 when Hywel ap Dafydd was so described in a bond dated 16 September.⁵¹ By this time the family surname had made its appearance, with Tudur Aled's reference to the young Hywel as 'Huw Nannau'.⁵² By this time, moreover, there was in existence a 'modern' consolidated estate based on the mansion at Nannau which must have been built to replace the house burnt by Glyndŵr. The family's wealth and status was reflected in the will of Hywel's father, Dafydd, dated 1494.⁵³ An analysis of this will bears out the claim that 'David ap Meurig Vychan of Nannau was the representative, in his day, of probably the greatest family in the county of Merioneth.'⁵⁴ The total financial bequests made by Dafydd ap Meurig amounted to £16.18s., plus £3.6.8. for the payment of debts, and four nobles. Dafydd's real wealth, however, lay in his estate and cattle. Two hundred and twenty three head of cattle was shared between his five younger daughters, and an unspecified number was bequeathed to his eldest daughter. His son Hywel, a minor also received an unspecified number of beasts, together with the rest of his father's goods, both movable and immovable, plus, presumably, the house and the whole of the estate.

The family's wealthy and prominent status is evident from its centuries old reputation for hospitality and its patronage of the bards. This support for the native culture, going back to the years immediately following the English conquest, places this family's co-operation with the new administration in a proper perspective. In the early years of the fourteenth century, for example, the poet Gruffydd Llwyd found an excellent exchange of gold for good poetry at Nannau, and Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hên, uncle to the two Nannau brothers, Meurig Vychan and Hywel, described in a *cynwydd* the common delights of his two nephews—reading the law and the old Welsh chronicles, playing the *crwth* and following greyhounds. Hywel Sele's daughter Maltt was one of the patrons of Lewis Glyn Cothi, while Tudur Penllyn eulogised Hywel's brother, Gruffydd Derwas, thus:

⁴⁶P.R.O. SC6/1205/6-10.

⁴⁷*Arch. Camb.*, 'Original Documents,' Vol. I, 1877, p. 143.

⁴⁸Hywel had been left a minor on his father's death (E. D. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 10, quoting Tudur Aled).

⁴⁹*ibid.*

⁵⁰P.R.O. SC6/5160/Henry VIII, SC6/5161—SC6/5223/Henry VIII.

⁵¹U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 63.

⁵²E. D. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 10. The surname does not appear in a document until 1549, however (U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 61).

⁵³*Arch. Camb.*, 'Original Documents,' Vol. I, 1877, p. 143.

⁵⁴*ibid.* (introductory note by W.W.E.W[ynne]).

'Gruffydd Derwas, gwanas gwŷr,
y blaen o bobl Ynŷr'

and wrote of the wine he would receive at Nannau :

'a gwin yn Nannau a gaf.'

Gruffydd Derwas's nephew, Meurig Vychan, was particularly noted for his hospitality and generosity. Guto'r Glyn praised him and his wife Angharad and their son Dafydd and his wife. He also wrote an elegy on the deaths of Meurig and Angharad in which he thanked them for their many gifts of gold. He wrote another poem thanking their son Dafydd for the gift of a horse, and when Hywel ap Dafydd ap Meurig succeeded to the estate Tudur Aled sang a *cywydd* in praise of the young lord. An anonymous *englyn* of this period gives a concise and effective picture of the hospitality offered at Nannau :

'Eistedd yr wyf wrth eirias dân—ymhlwy
ym mhlas Meurig Vychan,
cefaïs lety a thŷ a than,
yforŷ, mi gaf arian.'⁵⁵

II. NANNAU UNDER HUGH NANNEY HÊN

Hugh Nanney Hên continued this family tradition of active support of the poets of the day. It was in the latter part of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth centuries, in fact, that 'the peak of bardic eulogy at Nannau was reached',⁵⁶ when Richard Phylip was the household bard and Hugh Nanney Hên was squire of Nannau. During this period there was some rivalry between Richard Phylip and his brother Siôn for bardic precedence at Nannau, with Siôn attempting unsuccessfully to oust his brother from his position of *bardd teulu*.⁵⁷ Hugh Nanney Hên was so concerned with maintaining his family's tradition of hospitality that, according to Edward Jones, *Bardd y Brenin* (1752—1824), when he re-built Nannau he made special provision for the accommodation of the *bardd teulu* : 'Yn yr hen blas yn Nannau ir oedd lle wedi weithio ar waith ffenestr ym mur y neuadd oddifewn lle i byddai'r Brenhinfaidd yn eiste neu'r Cyff Cler.'⁵⁸ In view of Hugh Nanney's other activities it is worth remembering this aspect of his character, revealed es-

pecially by the number of elegies that were written on his death in 1623—by Richard Phylip, Huw Machno, Gruffydd Hafren, Richard Cynwal, James Dwnn, Siôn Clywdog and Robert Dyfi. Elegies were also composed on the death of his widow in 1627 Richard Phylip referring to the fact that she and Hugh Nanney had feasted barc together at Nannau for sixty years.⁵⁹

On neither occasion, of course, did the bards refer to Hugh's extra-marital misdemeanours. There are two records extant of sentences passed against him for incontinence. In 1588 a verdict was given in the Court of the Council in the Marche in a case in which Hugh Nanney Hên was the defendant. The case concerned 'the severall supposed incontinent living of the defendant with Mary verch Hugh, Katharine verch John and Elen verch Meiricke.' Whereas Hugh Nanney 'hath confessed that he about xiii yeres last past offended incontinently with the sayd Katharine verch John and begate one Child upon her bodye' and 'ys not as yet ponished' the Court ordered him to pay a forty shillings fine and forty shillings costs, adding that 'forasmuch as there falleth out no sufficient proof against the defendant of the supposed offences layed to the charge of the defendant with the said Ellen verch Meiricke and Mary verch Hugh or eyther of them, yt is therefore by the sayd Councel further ordered that the defendant be of the supposed offence with the sayd Ellen and Mary dismissed out of this Court.'⁶⁰ In 1594 he was ordered by the Bishop of Bangor, because of his adultery with Katherine and with a certain Elizabeth verch Lewis, to do penance in the churches of Llanfachreth, Dolgellau, Trawsfynydd Maentwrog, Beddgelert and Bangor.⁶¹

However incontinent he may have been, Hugh Nanney Hên paid a good deal of attention to the future of his legitimate issue. He was rather unfortunate in having five daughters for whom to provide :

'rhoi pum merch ar hap mawr,
bu mawl hyn i bum mhlaenawr' (Tudŷr Penllyn).⁶²

He succeeded in marrying his daughter Margaret into the Rhiw-goch family, Jane into the Rhiwaedog family, Elin into the Caer-gai family, Gwen into the Maesypandy family, and Mary to Edward Tanat of Neuadd Wen in Montgomeryshire. Of his five sons, three remained single, his son and heir (who pre-deceased him) Gruffydd Nanney married a daughter of the Rhiwlas family and Edward Nanney married a daughter of Lewis Gwyn of Dolau-gwyn. Hugh Nanney himself had married Annes, a daughter of Corsygedol, and his grandson and namesake, Hugh Nanney the Younger, was likewise to marry an Annes of Corsygedol.⁶³

Hugh Nanney also provided for the education of his children. We do not know what education he himself received, but we do know that his ancestors were wel-

⁵⁵E. D. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-10 ; *Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill*, ed. H. Lewis, T. Roberts, I. Williams (1937), pp. 119-121 ; *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, ed. I. Williams (1939), pp. 153, 155, 227 ; *Gwaith Tudur Aled*, ed. T. Gwynn Jones (1926), Vol. I, p. 228 ; N.L.W. Peniarth MS. 287, Part 1, p. 306.

⁵⁶E. D. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁵⁷W. Ll. Davies, 'Phylipiaid Ardudwy—A Survey and a Summary', *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. 42, pp. 155—269.

⁵⁸N.L.W. Sir John Williams MS. 111B, Part 2, p. 20.

⁵⁹E. D. Jones, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁰N.L.W. Peniarth MS. 410D, Vol. I, p. 58.

⁶¹N.L.W. Peniarth MS. 410D, Vol. I, p. 55.

⁶²E. D. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁶³J. E. Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

educated. Guto'r Glyn tells us that Hugh Nanney's great grandfather Dafydd ap Meurig Vychan knew three languages:

'Gŵr mawr ei ragorau maith,
Gŵr diorwag, gŵyr deiriaith.'⁶⁴

Hugh Nanney prepared three of his sons for public life by providing them with the fashionable university education of his day. Gruffydd, the eldest, matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1585.⁶⁵ It is interesting to find him referred to as 'Mr. Case's scholar,' as John Case had obtained permission from the University authorities to read logic and philosophy to young men, chiefly Roman Catholics, in a private house.⁶⁶ This may not be particularly significant as 'Mr. Case's scholars' do not all appear to have been Roman Catholics. Neither of the other two brothers, Edward and Richard, who both matriculated at Jesus College in 1596, was a scholar of Mr. Case and Richard in fact was appointed to the rectorship of Nettleswell in Essex in 1607, became vicar of Llangelynin in 1617 and vicar of Towyn in 1623.⁶⁷ A fourth brother, Robert, turned to trade and became a grocer in London.⁶⁸

As a result of this education and the consequent widening of their horizons the Nanneys took an interest in affairs outside their native county. Sometime c. 1603, for example, Edward Nanney wrote a letter home from Chancery Lane to his brother Gruffydd telling him the latest London gossip and the political news of the day.⁶⁹ Edward wrote of the scandals of King James's court, especially of 'soe many fleminge ladies dayly in curt commencinge now affares out of all reason more then you have in Merionith Shire,' and touched on the political news of the day, on the prospect of 'great love betwixt us and Spaine', of the defeat of the Spaniards at sea by the Dutch, and of a rift between England and France. In a rather obscure passage, moreover, he hints at another aspect of the activities of the Welsh gentry of this period—their search for a patron at court. Hugh Nanney Hên had himself found a patron in the person of Sir James Croft, Lord Deputy of Ireland in Edward VI's reign and Comptroller of the Royal Household under Elizabeth.⁷⁰ Edward Nanney appears to have been attached to Lord Zouch, Lord President of Wales.⁷¹

The education the Nanneys had received proved a useful training for the better fulfilment of their duties at home, both in the management of their lands and the discharge of their public offices. The family had already shown a considerable flair for the acquisition of land,⁷² and the dissolution of the neighbouring monastery of Cymer was to provide them with further opportunities to expand the estate. The

⁶⁴Gwaith Guto'r Glyn, p. 228.

⁶⁵J. Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis 1500—1714*, p. 1050.

⁶⁶D.N.B.

⁶⁷J. Foster, loc. cit.; N.L.W. Peniarth Deeds 1939, 1606.

⁶⁸U.C.N.W. Nannau MSS. 865, 866.

⁶⁹N.L.W. Peniarth MS. 327, Part 1.

⁷⁰P.R.O. St. Ch. 5/N/12/21; D.N.B.; P. Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I* (1958), pp. 236-7.

⁷¹N.L.W. Peniarth MS. 327, Part 1; E. Breese, *Kalendar of Gwynedd* (1873), p. 21.

⁷²On at least one occasion they gained lands by encroachment on common land, when Gruffydd Nanney, son of Hugh Nanney Hên, 'did make inclosure of Cortoine parcells of a Comon called Idovalit scituato and lying in the parishes of Llanfachreth.' (P.R.O. St. Ch. 8/221/24).

vast majority of the Cymer lands passed first to English speculators and came into local hands only after a complicated process of buying and selling. There were exceptions, of course. An undated lease, for example, records the grant to Gruffydd ap Hywel ap Dafydd (i.e. Gruffydd Wyn, later Nanney) of a *hafod* called Bryn-y-llyn and another tenement called Cwm Cedryn in Trawsfynydd.⁷³ These properties were later granted in 1589 to Hugh Nanney, his wife and son during their lives at an annual rent of 26s. 8d. and a fine of three years' rent.⁷⁴ The Nanneys had already obtained a lease of these properties, which were quite sizeable and which were described in 1608 as 'Twoe Messuages, Fower Tofts, Twoe Gardens, Forty Acres of Pasture, Thirty Acres of Wood and Twenty Acres of Furr and Bruer,'⁷⁵ from the Abbot of Cymer in pre-Dissolution days.⁷⁶ The original lease, which was granted in 1500, had been for a period of ninety nine years at an annual rent of 26s. 8d.⁷⁷ The Crown therefore simply took over the original lease, receiving exactly the same rent as had previously been paid to the abbey and renewing the lease periodically. Even so, the Nanneys must have bought the properties, for Gruffydd Nanney sold them in 1608 to Sir John Wynn of Gwydir.⁷⁸

The more usual practice with the Cymer lands, however, appears to have been for the Crown to grant them to an English speculator and for them to pass through several hands before coming into the possession of the local gentry. The Nannau archives contain several examples of the involved devolution of such lands. The important tenement called Garth Bleddyn in Nannau was given by the Queen in January 1574/5 to two Englishmen, John Dudley and John Ayscough. They then sold the land in February 1574/5 to John Salesbury of Rug and a certain Henry Dynne. They in turn sold it to Hugh Nanney by a deed dated 8 November 1575.⁷⁹ This *tyddyn*, too, had been leased by the Abbot prior to the Dissolution to a local man, Hywel ap Gruffydd ap Ednyfed, alias 'hoell coff' (Hywel ôf—the smith)⁸⁰ and was occupied by his family until the 1570's.⁸¹

A somewhat similar course may be traced in the history of nine parcels of land in Llanfachreth.⁸² In this instance the properties were granted by the Queen to a certain John Parry and John Goodrich by Letters Patent dated 4 April 1562. On 8 April of the same year Parry and Goodrich sold them to Robert Multon,⁸³ late one

⁷³E. A. Lewis and J. C. Davies, *Records of the Court of Augmentations relating to Wales and Monmouthshire* (1954), p. 429.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 433.

⁷⁵U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 916.

⁷⁶U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 915.

⁷⁷U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 914.

⁷⁸U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 916.

⁷⁹U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 880.

⁸⁰U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 872.

⁸¹U.C.N.W. Nannau MSS. 876, 881.

⁸²U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 892. The properties were: (1) two tenements called Tyddon Mayse Kynoghe and Wenalte (2) a tenement called Kay Devett, lately in the tenure of Hugh Nanney's grandfather (3) a tenement called Kelly glewcraghe (4) a tenement called Lloyn kynthell (5) a tenement called Havod Jeuan (6) a tenement called hire Havod Newod (7) a tenement called Y Toyno Fryde (8) a tenement called Yre Hengrott (9) a messuage or tenement called Brech Bodo, with all their associated buildings, mines and quarries.

⁸³U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 904.

of the Auditors of Thezoequer.⁸⁴ One of the clauses in a lease by Multon of some of these lands to two local yeomen in 1564 illustrates the use to which such lands were put by these English speculators: 'EXCEPT and oute of this presente Lease and graunte allwayes reserved to the said Roberte Multon his heires and Assignes All woodes underwoods tymber and Trees nowe standing growinge and beinge and that hereafter shall stand growe or be of in and uppon the premisses and every parcell thereof Together with free ingresse egressse regresse passage course and recourse into and from all and singuler the premisses to and for the said Roberte Multon his heires and assignes with his and theire horses carts and Carryags to fell outt downe and carrye all and singuler the same woods underwoods and trees from tyme to tyme.'⁸⁵ Robert Multon died in 1579,⁸⁶ and in November 1582 his son Thomas Multon of Maple Durham, Oxford, quitclaimed to his widowed mother Elizabeth Multon all his claims to the Llanfachreth tenements, 'late parcell of the late dissolved monastery of kimmer.'⁸⁷ One of the witnesses was a certain John Hill who in the following December bought these lands from Elizabeth Multon for £500.⁸⁸ Eventually, in August 1584, Hill, who had meanwhile married the widow Elizabeth Multon, sold them to Edward Price of Cynfael in Merioneth, at that time at Bernard's Inn.⁸⁹ Finally, by a deed dated 8 August in the same year (1584), Price sold the lands to his fellow countryman, Hugh Nanney of Nannau.⁹⁰

Another tenement—Cwm Hespyn in Trawsfynydd—was acquired by the Nanneys in much the same way as the Llanfachreth properties. Like many of the Cymer Abbey lands, Cwm Hespyn had been leased before 1536 by the Abbot to a local man.⁹¹ After the Dissolution it was granted, with other lands, by the Queen to Henry, 9th Baron Scrope of Bolton, in June 1588. In the following month Scrope sold it to Edward Powys of Cymer, whose son and heir, John Powys, sold it in July 1589, to a certain David Lloyd ap Howel ap Ithel of Trawsfynydd.⁹² Eventually the tenement came into the possession of the Nanneys when they bought it from David Lloyd in 1598.⁹³

One other Cymer Abbey tenement was acquired by the Nanneys—Y Glasdir in Cefnyrowen—purchased in 1602 by Gruffydd Nanney from a certain Gruffydd ap John Lewis.⁹⁴

⁸⁴U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 892.

⁸⁵U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 890.

⁸⁶U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 892.

⁸⁷U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 891.

⁸⁸U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 892.

⁸⁹U.C.N.W. Nannau MSS. 893-898.

⁹⁰U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 899.

⁹¹U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 918.

⁹²U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 921. His grandfather, John Powys, had been attached to Henry III's household as a Sergeant at Arms, and at the Dissolution he secured for himself the post of King's Bailiff and Collector of Cymer Abbey property, and in 1537 he was granted, among other property, the site of the Abbey itself. He is described in one document as one of the King's Surveyors, and he held leases of Conway as well as Cymer Abbey lands. (E. A. Lewis and J. C. Davies, p. cit., pp. 22, 41, 54, 114, 121, 123, 206, 238, ; E. G. Jones, *Exchequer Proceedings (Equity) Concerning Wales, Henry VIII—Elizabeth* (1939), p. 47. Cromwell addressed him as "My loving friend" (*Y Gymrodor*, Vol. 29, p. 22).

⁹³U.C.N.W. Nannau MSS. 923, 924.

⁹⁴U.C.N.W. Nannau MSS. 926, 928.

These acquisitions consolidated the achievements of the previous century in expanding the Nannau estate which, by the end of the sixteenth century, had grown considerably. The actual extent at this time is not known, the earliest surviving Nannau rent roll being for 1701, by which date the estate extended into the parishes of Tywyn, Talyllyn, Llangelynin, Dolgellau, Trawsfynydd, Llanelltyd, Llanaber Llanfachreth and Llanuwchllyn, with tenements in Mawddwy. The total rental then came to £791.⁹⁵

The Nanneys were determined to develop their estate in any way possible. They were intent on exploiting the timber on their lands just as Robert Multon, as we have seen, had done with the monastic lands which he had obtained. Hugh Nanney Hên's father, Gruffydd Wyn (later Nanney), was in fact accused of the spoil of certain woods which had belonged to the Abbey of Cymer in the parishes of Llanfachreth and Dolgellau, including four hundred oaks which he had felled and carried away.⁹⁶ Hugh Nanney himself exploited the timber and mineral wealth of the locality in conjunction with two English speculators, John Smith and William Dale, between 1588 and 1594, when he and his son Gruffydd Nanney sold all the trees growing or Penrhos Common to the Englishmen for use in an ironworks in the Ganolwyd valley.⁹⁷ This was to lead to a Star Chamber prosecution⁹⁸ as Penrhos was claimed to be Crown land. Meanwhile Hugh Nanney further exploited the mineral wealth of his estate in 1596 by leasing an ironworks to John Smith who attempted rather unsuccessfully to develop it with capital from Dale and William Grosvenor of Shropshire.⁹⁹

The Nanneys appear to have been meticulous in their record keeping and comparatively orderly in the management of their estate accounts. In 1601, for example Gruffydd Nanney began an inventory of 'a Rolle of all Writtinges scripts and miniements in my custody the xviith day of September and from thenceforth as any Writtinge of moment came into my custody: specifeinge the boxes in my study wher they are kept.'¹⁰⁰ From 1599 to 1608 the Nanneys kept an account book which has survived,¹⁰¹ and which shows extremely careful purse management (e.g. 'to himself the day after Harlech fayre—xxs.' and 'to his wif upon Whitsunday—xls.'). In addition to lists of debts and of receipts and expenditure, the accounts include lists of cattle, sheep and horses and payments for digging, walling, ditching and railing. Also given is the following statement of the Nannau annual income and expenditure

	£	s.	d.
Received	696	13	
Spent	338	6	5.102

⁹⁵U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 467.

⁹⁶E. A. Lewis and J. C. Davies, op. cit., p. 124.

⁹⁷B. R. Parry, 'A Sixteenth Century Merioneth Ironworks', *Journal Mer. Hist. Rec. Soc* 1963, pp. 209-211.

⁹⁸P.R.O. St. Ch. 8/223/17.

⁹⁹B. R. Parry, op. cit., p. 211; H. R. Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry* (1958), p. 129n. 1.

¹⁰⁰U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 215.

¹⁰¹N.L.W. Additional Peniarth MS. 332A.

¹⁰²ibid., p. 62dorso.

which is confirmed by the findings of an official inquisition c. 1606 in the course of the Penrhos Common dispute when Hugh Nanney Hên's 'livinge and his sonnes livinge' were 'found to 314 li. per annum.'¹⁰³

This account book contains, in addition, notes on law and much important material connected with their work as justices of the peace. Despite the family's long tradition of office-holding during the later medieval period, their advent into local public administration in Tudor times was rather belated. It was not until 1586 that Hugh Nanney was appointed to the office of sheriff,¹⁰⁴ thus becoming the first of his family to serve in this capacity, although an uncle of his, Lewis Gwyn, was one of three candidates from whom the sheriff of Merioneth was chosen in 1552.¹⁰⁵ We first hear of Hugh Nanney Hên as a justice of the peace in 1584,¹⁰⁶ and in 1606 he, Gruffydd Nanney and a number of other justices were accused of misconduct in their office.¹⁰⁷ A recognizance book for 1601–1605 depicts Hugh Nanney Hên and Gruffydd Nanney taking recognizances and granting alehouse licences to thirty three persons in Talybont Uwcheregenan, twenty seven of these being within the town of Dolgellau.¹⁰⁸ In 1601 Gruffydd Nanney was one of three justices who issued an edict at Bala which included regulations for alehouses and unlawful games and the assessment of the rates of pay for artificers and labourers.¹⁰⁹ Hugh Nanney Hên was eventually appointed Deputy Lieutenant for Merioneth in 1617 by the newly created Lord Lieutenant of Wales, William Compton, Earl of Northampton.¹¹⁰ Meanwhile, Gruffydd Nanney had at the age of twenty five been elected as Member of Parliament for Merioneth in the Parliament summoned to meet in February 1593, and which was dissolved in the April of the same year.¹¹¹ He was also one of those appointed in 1595 to levy three lay subsidies according to an act passed in the 1593 Parliament.¹¹²

The election of the young Gruffydd Nanney as M.P. in 1593 marked a stage in the emergence of a party of local gentry opposed to the dominance of the Plas Iolyn—Rhiwlas-Llwyn faction within the county.¹¹³ It also coincided with the beginning of a prolonged and bitter feud between the Nanneys and their neighbours the Owens of Llwyn, both families competing for precedence in Dolgellau.

The very fact that final satisfaction was sought in the law courts is indicative of the spread of more settled conditions into the county—'the Countrey growinge to more Civilitie, Sutes increased.'¹¹⁴ Yet when the Nannau—Llwyn feud began only

¹⁰³U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 1168.

¹⁰⁴P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, p. 260; U.C.N.W. Nannau MSS. 153, 154, 158.

¹⁰⁵Cal. Fine Rolls, 6 Edward VI. printed as appendix to Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1553, pp. 375, 387.

¹⁰⁶B. M. Lansdowne MS. 212/737, f. 174 verso.

¹⁰⁷P.R.O. St. Ch. S/221/24.

¹⁰⁸N.L.W. Additional Peniarth MS. 332A.

¹⁰⁹T. O. Mendenhall, 'A Merioneth Wage Assessment for 1601,' *Journal Mer. Hist. Rec. Soc.*, 1955, p. 208.

¹¹⁰N.L.W. Peniarth Deeds 1303/1134A, 1303/1134B.

¹¹¹W. R. Williams, *The Parliamentary History of the Principality of Wales, 1541–1895* (1895), p. 115.

¹¹²U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 191.

¹¹³H. G. Owen, 'Family Politics in Elizabethan Merionethshire,' *B.B.C.S.*, Vol. XVIII, Part II, pp. 185–191.

¹¹⁴William Gorard, 'Discourse on the State of Wales,' appendix to D. Ll. Thomas, 'Further Notes on the Court of the Marches,' *Y Cymrodor*, Vol 13, p. 149.

forty years had passed since Baron Owen of Llwyn had been murdered by the survivors of the Red Bandits of Mawddwy, 'felons and outlaweys . . . which from the civile warres between Yorke and Lancaster abounded in ye countrey and never left robbing, burning of houses, and murthuring of people, in soe much that being very numerous they did often drive great droves of cattel sometymes to ye number of a hundred and more from one countrey to another at midle day, as in the tyme of warre without feare, shame, pittie or punishment.'¹¹⁵ Conditions in the county had improved by the end of the century but, as the Nannau—Llwyn feud shows, blood was still being spilt. Matters were not helped by the growing problem of the alehouse,¹¹⁶ and by the geographical isolation of Merioneth, 'the fag end of Creation,'¹¹⁷ whose roads were so bad that on the journey from Bala to Llwydiarth in 1684, for example, the traveller was 'directed by guides by reason of dangerous boggs in the passage after the precipitous ascents and descents near Llan.'¹¹⁸

It was among these 'spired hills clustered together so near and so high'¹¹⁹ that the Nanney-Owen feud broke out in 1594. The feud began with the defeat of the Llwyn interest at the 1593 election. It appears to have originated in a dispute over lands¹²⁰ and was also rooted in a conflict over control of the town of Dolgellau. The Nanneys, as we have seen, had controlled the town in the fifteenth century,¹²¹ but both families were powerful in the next century, and in 1606/7 John Lewis Owen of Llwyn claimed to have obtained a demise from the Crown of the town of Dolgellau and the surrounding wastes and commons during the three annual fairs and the weekly markets.¹²² It has been claimed, in fact, that this feud 'was the direct cause of a long and bitterly waged feud between the inhabitants of Dolgellau and Llanfachreth, which continued well into the xviiiith century.'¹²³

In the year following Gruffydd Nanney's election John Lewis Owen of Llwyn, his three sons—Lewis Owen, John Owen and Henry Owen—and his nephew Robert Owen of Hengwrt threw down an inclosure belonging to Gruffydd Nanney at Tyddyn Bach. Gruffydd brought an action against them at the Court of Star Chamber, and

¹¹⁵Robert Vaughan, in T. Nicholas *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (1872), Vol. II, p. 657. The lawless state of Merioneth in the fifteenth century is described in R. Vaughan, 'Notes from the Records of Inquisitions held for the County of Merioneth,' *Arch. Camb.*, 1846–8. Vide Edward Owen, *A Catalogue of the MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum* (1908), pp. 819–820, and W. Rees, 'The Union of England and Wales,' *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1937, p. 52, for accounts by the deputy sheriff and by Bishop Rowland Lee of lawlessness in the county in the early sixteenth century.

¹¹⁶c.f. Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, ed. Nuttall (1840), Vol. III, p. 548: 'In Dolgellau there are more alehouses than houses. Tenements are divided into two or more tipling houses and chimneyless barns used to that purpose.'

¹¹⁷E.B., *A Trip to North Wales* (1700), quoted by W. J. Hughes, *Wales and the Welsh in English Literature from Shakespeare to Scott* (1924), pp. 38–41.

¹¹⁸Thomas Dineley, *The Account of the Official Progress of the First Duke of Beaufort through Wales*, 1684, ed. Banks (1888), p. 107.

¹¹⁹John Speed, *England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland Described*.

¹²⁰P.R.O. St. Ch. 5/N/12/21, f. 9. Evidence of Robert Owen of Dolserau.

¹²¹The Nanneys are reputed to have spread the story that the Llwyn family were at this time 'so depressed that, when Lewis Owen [the Baron] was a child, his mother led him about the streets of Dolgellau, bogging.' (*Bye-Gones*, October 1872, pp. 98–9).

¹²²T. I. Jeffreys Jones, *Exchequer Proceedings concerning Wales in tempore James I* (1955), p. 224.

¹²³T. P. Ellis, op. cit., p. 83.

the Owen faction did not deny breaking the inclosure. Their only defence was that it had been built on common land.¹²⁴ Gruffydd was able to produce eleven witnesses at a later hearing of the case at the Court of the Council in the Marches in 1602 who could dispute this.¹²⁵

Meanwhile, in 1599, the rivalry between these Merioneth factions had resulted in bloodshed. In that year, at Bala, a Thomas ap John ap Humphrey was murdered by a gang reputed to have been led by Hugh Nanney Hên's son-in-law, Ellis ap William Lloyd of Rhiwaedog.¹²⁶ The Lloyds of Rhiwaedog were eventually to join the anti-Nanney group, but at this time Ellis was in full support of his father-in-law. No charge was preferred against him in this instance. Further blood was spilt in 1601 when John ap Humphrey (presumably the father of the Thomas murdered at Bala in 1599), two of his sons, Robert and Edward, his brother-in-law, Robert Owen of Hengwrt, and two of the nephews of John Lewis Owen of Llwyn murdered a certain Edward ap David, 'servant in livery' to Hugh Nanney Hên.¹²⁷ They bore 'intestine malice and mortall hatred' to Edward ap David because he 'had begotten with Child one Ursula the Cossen germaine of him the said Robert Owen and for diverse years lived with her incontinentlie.' She was a daughter of John ap Humphrey, who presumably felt that the murder of a son and the dishonouring of a daughter were sufficient cause for taking the law into his own hands. They took their revenge when their victim was playing bowls with Edward Nanney at a bowling alley on the Marian 'upon the last daie of the Faier in dolgellei towne, being midsomer daie.'

When he heard of the murder Hugh Nanney, as a justice of the peace, issued warrants for the arrest of those responsible and ordered the impanelling of a coroner's jury. Two indictments of this jury led to two separate trials at the Great Sessions held at Bala in September, 1601, when Robert Owen of Hengwrt and a certain David ap Robert were acquitted 'to the great dislikinge' of the Justices, and Robert Simon Owen and Lewis Simon Owen of Garthangharad, nephews of John Lewis Owen of Llwyn, and John ap Humphrey were likewise acquitted.¹²⁸

Hugh Nanney Hên was not satisfied, and in June he presented a Bill of Complaint in the Court of Star Chamber against two of the jurors in the first Great Sessions trial on a charge of perjury, using Star Chamber as a court of appeal.¹²⁹ The Star Chamber documents consist of the usual charges and counter-charges but, in this instance, the documentation is very full, with only the verdict missing, and one can weigh the evidence presented by the one party against that of the other. Hugh Nanney, for example, claimed that the two defendants—Henry ap Ieuan Lloyd of Hafodunos in Denbighshire and Ellis David ap Thomas—and four other jurors were

¹²⁴P.R.O. St. Ch. 5/N/10/34, 5/N/6/34, 5/N/13/24.

¹²⁵U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 220.

¹²⁶H.M.C. *Hafield MSS.*, Vol. XII, p. 481.

¹²⁷P.R.O. St. Ch. 5/N/12/21; U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 1169.

¹²⁸It is impossible to check these verdicts with the Great Sessions records as they have not survived for Merioneth for these years.

¹²⁹c.f. Ifan ab O. Edwards, *A Catalogue of Star Chamber Proceedings relating to Wales* (1929), introduction, p.v. The jurors in the second trial were, at the instigation of the Great Sessions Justices, bound by recognizances to appear before the Council in the Marches to answer for returning this verdict (P.R.O. St. Ch. 5/N/12/21, f. 6).

bribed at the Great Sessions trial to find the prisoners not guilty, and had forced the rest of the jury, 'beinge farre meaner and simpler persones than themselfs' to agree in acquitting them. When the rest of the jurors had at first refused to be intimidated they were kept without food for two days untill, 'almost starved and famished, they were forced' to yeald for safeguard of their lives to agree for the acquittinge of the said prisoners.' This may be typical Star Chamber hyperbole, but it is worth noting that the defendants did not refute the charge. When it was claimed, however, that Hugh Nanney had himself forced the coroner's inquest to indict the defendant by influencing the foreman of the jury, John ap Howell, 'Calling him by divers lewde names as theuff and knave, declaringe he would hange him for theufft if he would not finde the bill,' John ap Howell's own evidence, produced by the defence disproved the charge. He agreed that Hugh Nanney had taken a high-handed attitude and had used threatening words—'And that in some radge as one somewhat more'—but deposed that the coroner's jury had indicted the defendants simply 'because there were xiii en wittnesses that deposed herein And that he . . . doth not knowe of any labore that the said Hughe Nanney hadd don to any of the said Juris to indict the said prisoners of murther but accordinge to their evidence.'

A comparison of the evidence of the witnesses produced by Hugh Nanney on the one hand and the defendants on the other leaves one in little doubt that the men tried at the Great Sessions at Bala were involved in the murder of Edward ap David. The defendant Henry ap Ieuan Lloyd, in fact, in reply to Hugh Nanney's interrogatories admitted that Robert Owen and David ap Robert took part in the assault but claimed that the fatal blows were struck by the two sons of John ap Humphrey 'which fledd for the said facte.' He had to admit, moreover, that at least one of the Great Sessions Justices had remonstrated with him over the verdict brought by the jury.¹³⁰ Although no verdict has survived in this Star Chamber case the guilt of the Llwyn faction would appear to be confirmed by the fact that these two sons of John ap Humphrey were 'as yet outlawed' in 1609,¹³¹ and 'fledd beyond sea.'¹³²

Yet more blood was spilt in November of this year (1602), this time at Llanfrothen when, presumably in a continuation of the feud, William ap John ap Humphrey and others murdered a certain Ellis ap Robert Wyn.¹³³ No further details appear to have survived, however.

From this date the feud followed a comparatively bloodless course—at least, no more murders were committed. The Llwyn faction had received a setback in 1602, but they were to launch an extremely virulent counter-attack in the courts. In 1604 the Attorney General, at the instigation of the Llwyn party, began an action in the Court of the Exchequer against Hugh Nanney Hên, Gruffydd Nanney and two Englishmen, Willam Dale and John Smith. They were charged with 'takeinge, carryeing away and convertinge to their own use' thirty thousand oak trees on a common called Penrhos, above Nannau, which was claimed to be Crown land, between

¹³⁰P.R.O. St. Ch. 5/N/8/37.

¹³¹P.R.O. St. Ch. 8/223/17.

¹³²U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 1170.

¹³³H.M.C. *Hafield MSS.*, Vol. XII, p. 483.

the disturbance at Dolgellau parish church. On 28 May more trouble came their way with the presentation of a Bill of Complaint at the Court of Star Chamber by a member of the Cefndeuiddwr branch of the family accusing Hugh and Gruffydd Nanney and other Merioneth justices of the peace of misconduct in office.¹⁴⁷ Gruffydd Nanney was accused of conspiring with his brother-in-law John Vaughan of Caergai in gathering a riotous company of men who pulled down the house of a certain Morris ap Humphrey. Hugh Nanney Hên was accused of refusing to bind over to the next sessions a servant of his—William ap Edward¹⁴⁸—on a charge of stealing, in May 1604, the clothes which David ap Rees of Llanelltyd, 'a very honest poore man and using the tade of a Fuller and Clothmaker,' had hung out to dry overnight. Then in July 1606 a writ of attachment was sent from Chancery to Sir William Maurice of Clennau, sheriff of Merioneth, against Gruffydd Nanney for non-payment of a £200 debt to Sir Thomas Myddelton and a writ of sequestration was directed against him.¹⁴⁹ Events were well summed up by a witness in the Penrhos Common case: 'ther fell great variance and suts in law between theym . . . And a great deale of money spent about it.'¹⁵⁰

Despite all these troubles, however, Hugh Nanney Hên was not friendless. Sir Thomas Myddelton, to whom the Nanneys had become indebted, had in the previous year written to Gruffydd Nanney attempting to help him and his father 'prevent the extreme malice of yor adversaries,'¹⁵¹ and, despite the writ of sequestration and a writ of attachment against Gruffydd Nanney,¹⁵² Myddelton continued to help them with mortgages.¹⁵³ Meanwhile on 26 September thirty three Merioneth gentlemen sent a petition on Hugh Nanney's behalf to the Privy Council.¹⁵⁴ That he was not altogether without friends in high places is also shown by a note of business to be transacted in London, dated 7 May 1608, when he was a free man again, which included the following: 'Item yeald thanks to the E of M and to Sr W.H. and Mr. C. and to deale wth the Earle of Pembroke.'¹⁵⁵ Hugh Nanney is probably referring in the latter part of this note to an undated letter from Gruffydd Nanney to William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, complaining that Richard Nanney of Cefndeuiddwr 'pretendinge hymself to be your honors servant in lyvery' had been extorting sums of £5 or more from several of his poorer neighbours by threats of actions in such expensive and distant courts as Star Chamber and the Exchequer.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁷P.R.O. St. Ch. 3/221/24.

¹⁴⁸He had been one of Hugh Nanney's witnesses in the Star Chamber action against Henry ap Ieuan Lloyd for perjury at the Edward ap David murder trial at Bala Great Sessions.

¹⁴⁹U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 240.

¹⁵⁰P.R.O. St. Ch. 3/223/17.

¹⁵¹N.L.W. Peniarth MS. 327, Part 1.

¹⁵²U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 240.

¹⁵³The Nanneys were forced by the cost of this feud into several mortgages to Myddelton from 1593 onwards (U.C.N.W. Nannau MSS. 189, 207, 229, 239, 240, 250, 251, 258, 268, 273, 287, and Additional Nannau MS., unscheduled, 14th November, 1610). As debtors to Myddelton, however, they were in good company (Vide E. D. Jones, 'An Account Book of Sir Thomas Myddelton,' *N.L.W. Journal*, 1939, p. 85).

¹⁵⁴U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 1175.

¹⁵⁵U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 1183.

¹⁵⁶N.L.W. Peniarth MS. 327, Part 1.

During his imprisonment Hugh Nanney was busy sending petitions to Sir Lawrence Tanfield (Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer), Lord Ellesmere (Lord Chancellor) Thomas, Earl of Dorset (Lord Treasurer), Robert, Earl of Salisbury, the Privy Council, and to the King,¹⁵⁷ pleading the hardship which had befallen him and his dependents: 'an old man above 60 years, having 37 children and childrens children besides a great families of other his neigh kinsmen and houshold. All which himsel and his wief are turned to the wide worlde.'¹⁵⁸

When he came out of prison in 1608 his natural obstinacy had been stiffened by a desire to avenge himself upon his enemies. It seems he had not only refused to pay the original fine of £1,500 but had refused even to meet Sir Robert Brett to discuss a compromise, as appears from the report of a conversation an unknown correspondent writing to Gruffydd Nanney about this time¹⁵⁹ had in London at 'the meremayd in Bredstreet . . . at the table after supper' with a Sir Daniel Morton, 'and was prepared to act as mediator but to no avail as . . . Nanney will not come to try speech.'¹⁶⁰ Hugh Nanney's will had weakened temporarily on one occasion during his imprisonment, however, and he had closed his petition to the King with the prayer 'that your Majestie will mittigate the said some of 1500 li to a reasonable porcon accordinge to the qualities of the said supposed offence, and to appoint Convenient stallments for the payment therof yerely.'¹⁶¹

All such thoughts were forgotten, however, when he was released from prison. Instead of seeking a compromise Hugh Nanney re-opened the Star Chamber case in February 1609,¹⁶² attempting to show that Rowland ap Ellis and Henry Owen had committed perjury by giving false evidence at the 1604 Exchequer trial. He questioned their statements about the extent and area of Penrhos Common and the number, quality and value of the trees growing there, and he denied that Penrhos was Crown land. The case dragged on until September 1610. Hugh Nanney spared no efforts to clear himself and produced thirty four witnesses, while the defendants produced no more than eight. Eventually, in November 1610, following the mediation of friends, a compromise was reached between Sir Robert Brett and Hugh Nanney Hên whereby the original fine was reduced to £800.¹⁶³ The case was not over yet, however, and Hugh Nanney's perseverance was proved to have been justified to some extent when, in 1614/15, Rowland ap Ellis was sentenced in Star Chamber for perjury in the Penrhos common case.¹⁶⁴ He was fined £100, imprisoned and sworn to good behaviour, displaced from the Commission of the Peace, and ordered to pay the complainant, Hugh Nanney, £100.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁷U.C.N.W. Nannau MSS. 1168—1174, 1178—1180.

¹⁵⁸U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 1178.

¹⁵⁹1608/9. Gruffydd Nanney died in 1609 (U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 253).

¹⁶⁰N.L.W. Peniarth MS. 327, Part 1.

¹⁶¹U.C.N.W. Nannau MS. 1171.

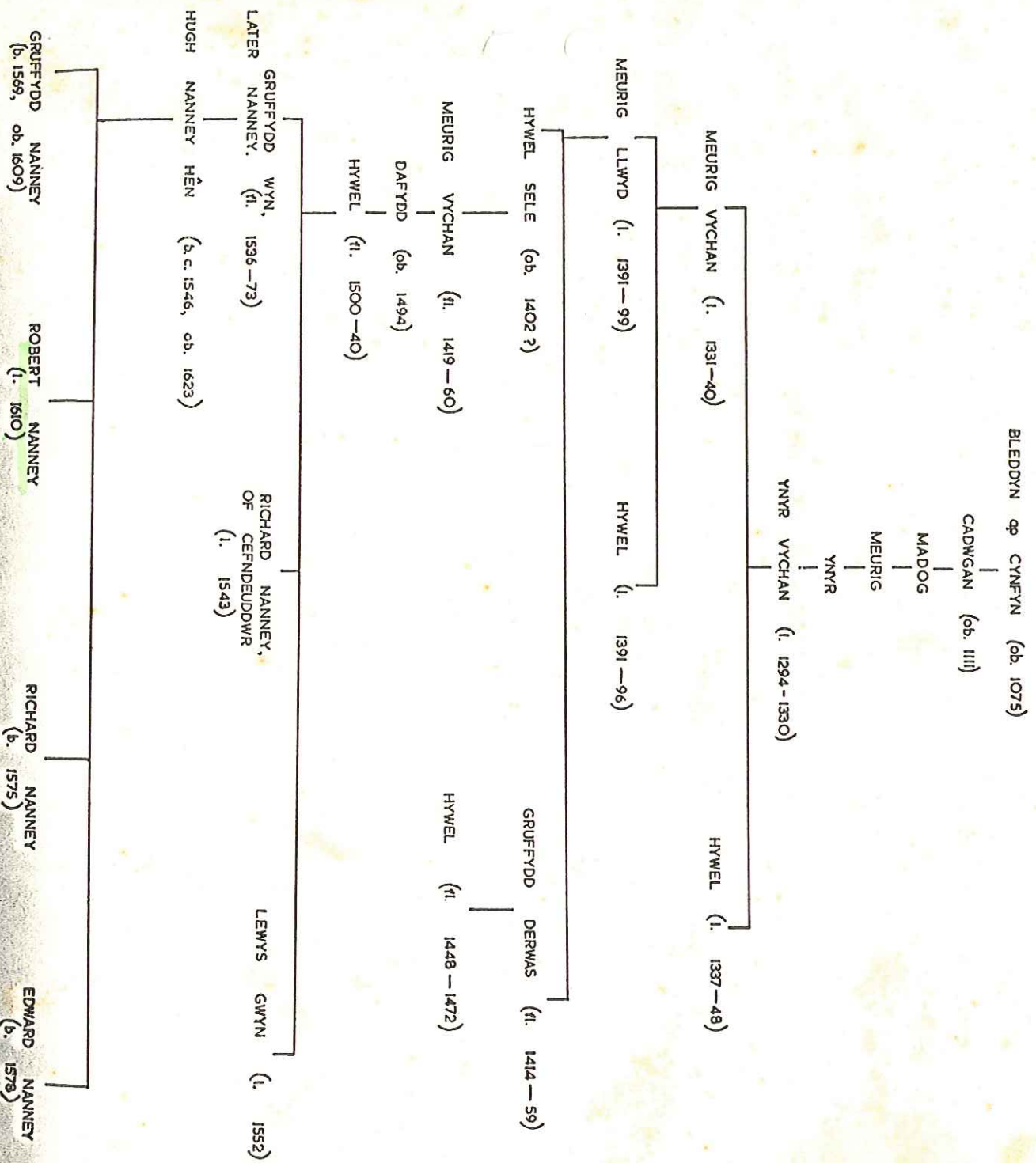
¹⁶²P.R.O. St. Ch. 3/223/17.

¹⁶³U.C.N.W. Nannau MSS. 1185—1187.

¹⁶⁴*Collectanea Juridica*, Vol. I, p. 76 (quoted by Ifan ab O. Edwards, op. cit., p. 185).

¹⁶⁵B.M. Stowe MS. 397, ff. 30a—31a.

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THE NANNAU PEDIGREE

Madog.
Meyrick.
Ynyr.
Ynyr Vychan.
Meyrick Vychan.
Meyrick Llywd.
Howel Selyf.
Meyrick.
Dalydd.
Ellin, d. of Howel ap Rhys ap Dalydd ap Howel.

Richard Nanney, of Cefndudwrt, living 1552.	Elizabeth, d. of Lewis Owen, of Peniarth, Vice-Chamberlain of North Wales, ap Owen ap Howel ap Llewelyn ap David, of Cwmbychan. p. 345.	Lewis Gwyn.
Gniffith Nanney, p. 300.	Griffydd ddu ap Ieuan ap Cadwgan, by Margaret, d. of Robert Puleston ap John Puleston <i>Hm.</i> p. 363.	
acc. p. 200.		

Lewis, Ellw. d. of Rhys ap Nanney, Hugh, of Macey Pandy, p. 20.
 Richard, David, Elin. d. of Elias ap Howell ap David Lloyd Griffith, Lewis, Gwen, David, of Llandanwg, Evan, d. of Humphrey, David, of Llandanwg, David, Gwen, Margaret, John, d. of Elias ap Howell ap David Lloyd Griffith, Lewis, Gwen, David, of Llandanwg, Evan, d. of Humphrey, David, of Llandanwg, David, Gwen, Margaret, Mary, Morris ap Humphrey ap Evan, of Llanchaeth, near Dolelley, Margaret, Griffith ap Meyrick ap Evan, of Vriog, Llanchaeth, co. Merioneth.

Richard Nanney, d. of William ap David Llywd, of Gwensynydd.
 David—Elizabeth, d. of Howel ap David Llywd. Elizabeth.
 Lewis Nanney, living Gwenn, d. of Robert Llywd, of Rhiwgoch, M.P. for Merioneth 1866 and 1871, H.S.M. 1896, 1903,
 1915, and 1923; her mother was Margaret, d. of Hugh Nanney, of Nannau. p. 186.
 Margaret.—Evan ap Hugh ap Evan ap Hugh ap Evan
 ap Edward, of Berthlwyd. p. 301.
 Catherine.—H

Richard Nanney, Ann, d. of Richard Owen, of Moiben, co. Rowland. H.S.M. 1679-80.	Robert Nanney, will proved 1718.	Lewis Nanney, no imbecile.
Mont, and sister to Lewis Owen, of Peniarth. p. 123.	Martha, d. of Richard Edwards, of Nanhoron (p. 161), relict of Griffith Tregar, will proved 1755.	Hugh—Alice, d. of Hugh Owen, of Gillaich. Margaret.
Robert. Rowland. Hugh—Jane, d. of Henry Morris. John. Ann—John Vaughan, Jane—John Rowlands. Margaret—John Vaughan, Elizabeth—Richard ap John of Brynmawr.	Sept. 3, 1727.	p. 213.

Richard Nanney, A.M., Vicar of Clonynagh, Wynn, ob. Wern., Pen- morfa, ob. Feb. 23, 1760, aged 56. p. 343.	Richard Evans, Grocser at Car- narvon, ob. July 14, 1764, aged 71.	Robert, ob. Zachau. Owen, Catharine, d. of William Nanney, x., Aug. 5, 1729— Catharine, d. of William Lewis, Margret, x., Feb. x., Aug. x., 1805.
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[illegible]

p. 164.

books, at Chester,
Elizabeth.—Rev. Hugh Jones, of Llangower.
Elizabeth.

Owen Jones B
Nov. 17, 1843.

Richard, nat. July 18, x^s.
Catherine Nanny, nat. July 14, and Wine Merichant,
Malbew Hayes, Cathendred, Nanny, Mary, d. of Hugh Jones,
Wynn, x^s, Recto of
of Hengwrt, Wm. co.
Grav. Sep. 2nd, 1840.
John Jones, Am, x^s, Oct. 13, 1789, ob.
Vicar of M

[illegible]

P. 317
Brunswick Co. VA
Feb. 5, 1771

The Oaths of James Wall junr. and David Mason

thence

An Indenture of Bargain and Sale between John Nanney Cert. of the
Part and John Nanney junr. of the other Part was proved by the Oaths of

Doery Moore and William Howard two of the Witnesses thereto.

An Indenture of Bargain and Sale between John Nanney Cert. of the one
Part and William Nanney of the other Part was proved by the Oaths of

Edward Tatum and Amos Nanney two of the Witnesses thereto.

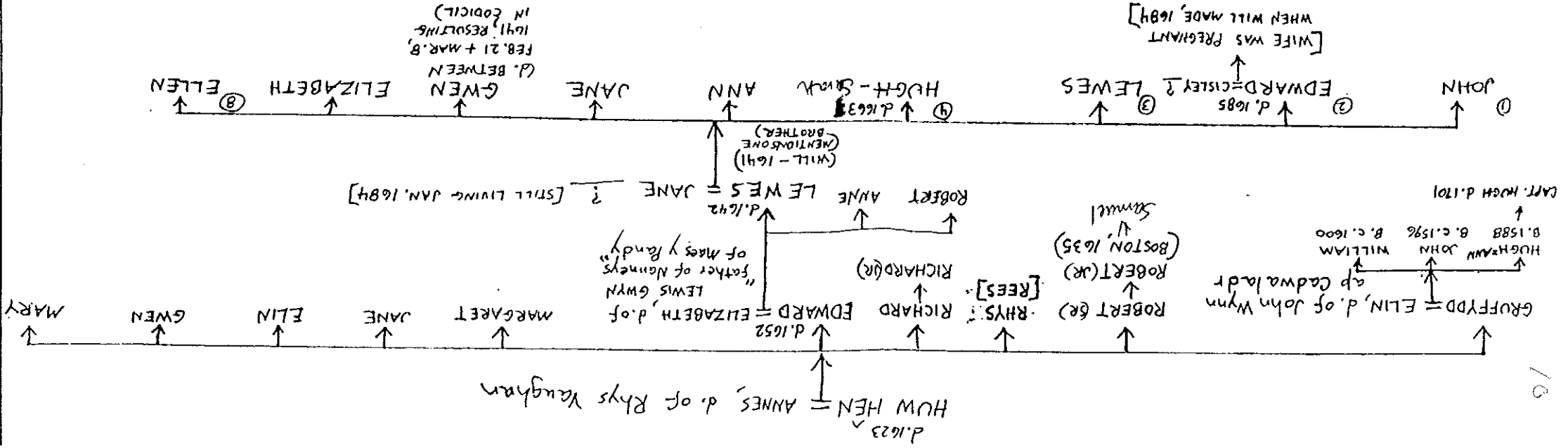
An Indenture of Bargain and Sale between John Sims and Honour
his Wife, John Allen and Frances his Wife of the one Part and Edmund

Wilkins of the other Part, and Memorandum of Livery of seisin
thereunder written were acknowledged by the said John Sims and

Honour his Wife (she having been first privately examined as the
directs) and proved as to the said John Allen by the Oaths of Wil-

son and Benjamin Larier two of the Witnesses thereto.

An Indenture of Bargain and Sale between George Boardman of the
Part and the Oaths of



QUAKER-CONNECTED ELEMENTS IN PA:

Rowland Ellis 1687 (via Barbados) - arrived with colonists - 1697 returned with family
Elizabeth 1731 died, buried in friends' burying ground, Plymouth
Catherine "cousins"
Ellis Lewis 8. in Wales c. 1680. 29 OCT 1750 - WILL PROBATED, NEW CASTLE, DEL.
["Descended from John ap Griffith, of Nannau"]
Bro. of HEN? ↓
2nd wife - Margaret Cadwalader (d. 1748)
REES
ELIZABETH b. c. 1732
ANN
MARY d. 1777
WILLIAM d. Whitpain, PA 1804
SARAH
JACOB d. 1752
*ISAAC (apparently the Isaac Nanny tried in Rth. Co. NC, 1786)
ABRAHAM d. 1809, PA
GRACE b. 5/25/1716 -
BY Elizabeth Coulston (m. 2/17/1714):
- died in Philadelphia Co, PA 1747
REES/RICE/REESE NANNY/NANNA/NANNAU [late of N. Wales]
GWYNEDD TOWNSHIP, MONTGOMERY TWP, PA
- died in Philadelphia Co, PA 1747
* Rowland Ellis was son of Ellis Rice + Ann Humphrey, a cousin of Richard Nanney (Gr), grandson of Hadden.

* LEWES WILL WAS WITNESSED BY WILLIAM + REES NANNY, CODICIL BY 3 UNCLES-ROBERT, REES, + RICHARD. (WILLIAM WAS PROBABLY SON OF GRUFFYDD) AND FATHER (EDWARD) WERE COUSIN (HUGH) WERE OVERSEERS.