INTRODUCTION

The life and career of Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, bears vivid testimony to the axiom that the shape and texture of Britain's landscape has had a major influence on its people. Egerton's world was the northern borderland of England and Wales, an area which comprised Cheshire, Denbighshire, Flintshire, and northern Shropshire. Known as the northern lowland region of the Welsh marches,[1] this area of Britain had been in the backwater of Britain's historical development from the mid-fourteenth century to the advent of Tudor rule. But it witnessed in the sixteenth century a significant revival. The intensification of dairy farming, together with the mining of coal and iron ore, broadened the region's wealth and increased its exports. This invigorated economic foundation spurred the growth of the port of Chester and the market towns of Oswestry, Whitchurch, and Shrewsbury. A new Anglo-Celtic gentry class, acquiring the lands of the decimated feudal nobility, developed in both town and country to provide the basis of a new ruling elite. Grammar schools were founded, contributing to an increase in literacy, the development of the arts, and a religious reformation.[2] Thus in the sixteenth century the people of this region had economic, social, cultural, and religious experiences which began to bring them into the mainstream of English life on the Midland plain that stretched below them.

[1] Dorothy Sylvester, *The rural landscape of the Welsh borderland* (1969), 35–8. The region was bordered on the north by the Dee estuary and the Wirral peninsula, on the west by the Welsh massif, on the south by the upland promontory of southern Shropshire, and on the east by the south-west flank of the Pennines. Sylvester's book is an outstanding examination of the features of the area. To assess the historical relationships, see the essay of D. E. C. Eversely in *An introduction to English historical demography* (1966), 14–43.

[2] The best general account is that of Penry Williams, 'The Welsh borderland under Queen Elizabeth', *Welsh Historical Review* 1 (1960), 19–36. See also A. H. Dodd, *The Industrial Revolution in North Wales* (Cardiff, 2nd ed. 1951), 5–18, 55–61, 169–91, 300–7; and *The agrarian history of England and Wales, 1500–1640*, ed. Joan Thirsk (Cambridge 1967), 124–47, 265–73, 360–81, 587–616. Some of these themes are assessed for Cheshire by J. S. Morill, *Cheshire 1630–1660* (Oxford 1974), 14–24; and for northern Wales by G. Dyfnalt Owen, *Elizabethan Wales* (Cardiff 1964), 12–38, 58–103, 123–9, 149–58, 169–84.

The future Lord Chancellor was raised in the Dee valley, a stretch of rich greensward which forms the western half of this lowland region. The Dee valley is separated from the more sparsely settled Wever valley to the east by a wooded central ridge which bisects the region from north to south. From this central ridge, which runs from Frodsham down to Nesscliffe, one can overlook the 'valley of the goddess', a prosperous land lying between the central ridge and the Welsh massif amidst the serpentine winding of the Dee. Stretching for more than forty miles from the Irish Sea to Llangollen, the valley is dominated by the ancient city of Chester, which rests at the foot of the Dee. Access to the English Midlands is through the Midland Gap, a belt of morainic country that spreads between the southern reaches of the central ridge and the Pennines.[1]

Throughout the centuries the economy of the Dee valley had been largely pastoral and the agrarian landscape open field. The land was moderately populated, the demographic structure consisting of either closely settled nucleated villages or multi-parish townships. The people represented a mixture of Celtic (Welsh) and Anglian (English) blood and customs, the Welsh adopting the social structure of Anglian society, and the English absorbing the family tribal characteristics of their Celtic neighbours. This blending marked these people with a bold and egregious spirit. With their total dedication to the family, its servants and relations, this group placed their emphasis on the local power and influence of a group of interrelated people rather than on money. Thus any kind of business or profession was acceptable as long as it had its uses. This attitude led not only to an acquisitive participation in a variety of economic ventures, but also to a wide range of cultural pursuits.[2]

The home of these activities, the Dee valley also comprised the borderland of two English and Welsh counties; and the homogeneity of its communities made administrative distinctions merely nominal. The absence of great lords and effective institutions of government had left by the sixteenth century a distinct influence on political and

[1] Sylvester, *Welsh borderland*, 257–75, 293–313, 463–70. Some detailed sketches near contemp, are those of John Speed, *Histoire of Great Britaine* [1611] (3rd ed. 1632), 61–70; and Daniel Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain* [1724–7], ed. G. D. H. Cole (1927), I, 464–71.

[2] The most perceptive reconstruction of this society is that of Owen, *Elizabethan Wales*. See also the comments of David Mathew, *The Celtic peoples and Renaissance Europe* (1933), 76–92, 230–61.

social development.[1] The conflicting authority of bodies such as the Council in the Marches of Wales, the County palatine of Chester and its courts of Great Sessions and Exchequer, the Western Assize Circuit, and the four county administrations enabled the communities to ignore established authorities and develop autonomously.[2] Allegiance was owed to prominent families whose manor house, chapel, market, lake, and park dominated the immediate surroundings. Only the ruins of the occasional castle served as a reminder of the habit of ducal and provincial authority which had existed in the not too distant past.

The lower section of the valley, which culminated in the environs of Chester, was called the Dee Vale Royal. On this gentle lowland drift prosperity unfolded rapidly in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, contributing to a large increase in population and to the foundation of satellite villages. With prominent royal estates in the area, the sons of gentry families became attracted to the universities and the inns of court of south-east England in search of further education and advancement. Educated at the centre of English life, those individuals who were successful returned to the Vale Royal to use their newly won prestige and influence to marshal the family and its connections in the quest for land and power. Spilling over into other parts of the lowland area, they first concocted ancient pedigrees to add a measure of distinction to an inconspicuous past. Securing both royal and local offices, they then utilised their influence and credit to make attractive marriages and to gather land. Capitalising their sources of agrarian production, several families emerged in the later decades of the sixteenth century to play the role of the marcher lords of much earlier times.[3]

[1] Local riots became endemic throughout the first two-thirds of the sixteenth century. Examples for Egerton's relations can be found in A. H. Dodd, *A history of Wrexham* (1957), 34–51; and S. C. 5/A.23/22.

[2] For example, when a Chester royal steward was asked if he owed his obligations to the sheriff or to the exch. court, he replied that he would not speak until instructed by the Earl of Leicester: C.R.O. Cholmondeley MS E. 112. Some of the admin. problems are still reflected in the records: --P.R.O. *Lists and Indices*, 40 (1963 ed.), iii–vi. The influence of these problems on one of the typical local communities has been assessed by W. B. Stephens and Norah Fuidge, 'Tudor and Stuart Congleton', in *History of Congleton*, ed. W. B. Stephens (Manchester 1970), 48–71.

[3] Dorothy Sylvester, 'The manor and the Cheshire landscape', *Trans. of the Lancs. and Cheshire Antiq. Soc.* 70 (1960), 1–15. The general background is in J. Beck, *Tudor Cheshire* (Chester 1969). The families are listed and discussed by William Camden, *Britannia* [1586], ed. Edmund Gibson (rev. ed. 1695), 554–63.

Thomas Egerton was such a man: born in the eastern section of the lowland region – the Wever river valley – of a newly squired family, the Egertons of Ridley.[1] The family seat was established at Ridley in 1514 by Sir Ralph Egerton, the second son of Sir Ralph Egerton of Oulton who had been rewarded for his heroism in the French wars of Henry VIII. The second son made his own family seat at Ridley, near that of his father and older brother. His son and heir, Richard Egerton, fathered an illegitimate boy, Thomas, in 1541 as a result of a teenage affair with Alice Sparke, a servant girl from the neighbouring village of Bickerton.[2] Shortly afterwards, Richard married Mary Grosvenor of Eaton Hall, the daughter of the old and prominent Grosvenor family which had remained a prominent force in the Vale Royal for several centuries. While the evidence is not explicit, it appears that Mary Grosvenor became responsible for providing for Thomas, and she sent her husband's illicit offspring to the home of a neighbouring Welsh family only a few miles from Eaton Hall, the Ravenscrofts of Bretton.[3] The Ravenscrofts were a newly risen Welsh gentry family who in the past decades had intermarried into the well-established Grosvenor and Stanley families. Together, the Grosvenors and Ravenscrofts, but particularly the Ravenscrofts, assumed responsibility for the bastard son. The strong ties between foster parents and their children that characterised the region[4] would prove in this instance to be enduring ones.

Although Thomas Egerton's early education cannot be identified, it is quite possible that he attended one of the early grammar schools founded in Denbighshire in the 1540s. Certainly his thoroughly disciplined life reflected the rigour of a grammar school education in

[1] E. W. Ives, 'Patronage at the Court of Henry VIII: the case of Sir Ralph Egerton of Ridley', *Bull. of the John Rylands Lib.*, 56 (1973–74), 346–8.

[2] There is no record of his birth. The approximate date is Oct. 1541 to Jan. 1541/2. The author has derived this from notes of his daughter Mary and his grandchildren in family tables and calendars at the Hunt. Lib. – Ellesm. MSS 995, 997, 998; and *A brief Treatise containing many proper Tables and easie rules*, ed. Richard Grafton (1599), Hunt. RB 61189–90. Contemp. oral opinion was rehearsed in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 84 (1914), pt. 1, p. 225. Sir Ralph Egerton had so many illegitimate daughters that he could not remember their names: P.C.C. Porch 33.

[3] Ellesm. MS. 415; George Ormerod, *The history of the County Palatine and City of Chester* (2nd ed. 1882), II, 833–6: and Robert Glover's 'Visitation of Cheshire' [1580], Chetham Soc. 97 (1876), 97. The background is sketchy: J. H. Hanshall, *The history of the County Palatine of Cheshire* (Chester 1823), 805–6. Contemp. opinion was noted by Dr Godfrey Goodman, *The court of King James the First* [Chas. I], ed. Edmund Gibson (rev. ed. 1839), 273.

[4] For example, SPD 12/107/4–14.

the northern Welsh Marches.[1] Raised by the Ravenscroft family, he matriculated to Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1556. Brasenose had become a university centre for students from north-west England in the first half of the sixteenth century, and at the date of Egerton's matriculation eighteen of the twenty-one College fellows originated from the western border counties.[2] Egerton spent three years at Brasenose. Entering the mainstream of English intellectual life, he adopted a great reverence for the college and the university that he retained throughout his later career. Afterwards he sent his sons and those of his estate agents to Brasenose,[3] bearing personal testimony to the importance of a university education as a prerequisite for success in the renaissance state. Moreover, he aided other individual scholars with financial assistance, provided the College with many gifts, exercised an influence in the appointment of its officials, and intervened to resolve internal disputes.[4] But Egerton's future participation in the life of Brasenose was not in itself an isolated phenomenon. He also became a permanent figure in the university community, where he assisted in the affairs of other colleges and in the relations of the university to the town, eventually becoming Chancellor of Oxford University in 1610.[5]

Egerton's university education served as a means to a larger end. He did not graduate from Brasenose College. Instead, after spending three years at Oxford he went to law school – the inns of chancery and of court in London. Furnivall's and Lincoln's Inn had several students

[1] A. H. Williams, 'The origins of the old endowed grammar schools of Denbighshire', *Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions* 2 (1953), 26–7; and Owen, *Elizabethan Wales*, 198–208. The background of such schools and their curriculum has been cogently and fully assessed by Joan Simon, *Education and society in Tudor England* (Cambridge 1966), 197–268, 299–332.

[2] Compiled from the *Brasenose College register 1509–1909*, Oxford Hist. Soc. 50 (1909), 1, 18–28. The subject is discussed by the Rev. David Mathew, 'Wales and England in the early seventeenth century', *CymRS* (1955), 36–45.

[3] *Brasenose register*, 1, Index. Many of his later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century family descendants also matriculated at Brasenose.

[4] His work and influence can be seen, for example, from the letters of Richard Dalton and Richard Kylbens in Ellesm. MSS 51, 423, 430, 1927; and the accounts given in G. H. Wakeling, 'History of the College 1603–1660', *Brasenose quatercentenary monographs* 2 (Oxford 1909), pt. 1, no. 11, pp. 8–11. His gifts are noted in A. J. Butler, 'The College plate', *Brasenose register* III, 16–20. For his attempts to settle disputes see H. E. Salter, *Oxford City properties*, Oxford Hist. Soc. 83 (1926), 358–62.

[5] Ellesm. MSS 424–6, 1926, 1928, 1942, 1959, 1962, being personal and official univ. corresp. His election of 2 Nov. 1610 in *CSPD James*, IX, 135.

from the Cheshire–Shropshire area.[1] Since neither the Ravenscrofts nor the Grosvenors had any family member in the law profession, it is possible that they used their connections with the Bishop of Chester and the Earl of Derby to have their foster son at college preferred to an inn of chancery. The union of England and Wales in 1536 made the Anglo-Welsh families realise that they had to gain expertise in the English land law and make useful connections in the English law profession.[2] The development of extra-curricular forms of education at the universities in the sixteenth century had enabled students to matriculate there for the purpose of receiving instruction suitable for political and legal careers rather than participating in the statutory curriculum, which was devoted largely to studies for the Church.[3] Thus, although there is no evidence of the course of study which Egerton undertook at Brasenose, his own papers indicate that he studied classics, logic, history, and civil law,[4] subjects crucial to the development of a legal mind in any age.

In the autumn of 1560 Egerton entered Furnivall's Inn, an inn of chancery which introduced students to common law studies before going on to an inn of court.[5] Furnivall's was administered by Lincoln's Inn, one of the four inns of court in London, and in the autumn of the following year Egerton matriculated to the senior institution.[6] His early common-law studies were not restricted to the classroom. Raised in the rather lawless borderland country, where the love of sport and conflict was strong, he seems to have spent his summers outdoors. Thus in the summer of 1562 we find him cited in a Star Chamber deposition for riding through an estate in the Dee valley sword in hand with several compatriots, who allegedly demolished an enclosure.[7] The charge implies that Egerton and the others had sought to frighten the complainant into settling a land dispute out of court. This was justice 'northern style' by 'the well-tempered sword.'[8]

[1] Wilfrid Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the early Stuarts 1590–1640* (1972), 32–8.

[2] I would like to thank Dr G. Dyfnalt Owen for his suggestions on this topic.

[3] Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in transition, 1558–1642* (Oxford 1959), 107–48.

[4] His studies at Brasenose College and Lincoln's Inn are discussed in Chap. I.

[5] *Early records of Furnivalls Inn*, ed. D. S. Bland (Newcastle 1957), f. 93.

[6] *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn*, Vol. I – *admissions* (1896), 67.

[7] S. C. 5/B.2/9 (S.C. Trin. 1562).

[8] Roger North on circuit, quoted in J. S. Cockburn, *A history of English assizes 1558–1714* (Cambridge 1972), 40. Lawlessness in Egerton's area is described by Dodd, *Wrexham*, 34–51.

But northern-style justice was becoming irrelevant in this crucial period in the history of English common law studies as agrarian, industrial, and commercial change were affecting English life pervasively. The Courts of King's Bench and Chancery were being confronted with endless lists of suitors, and new developments in the forms of action and the pattern of litigation had also increased the complexity of the law. Moreover, the growth in jurisdiction of conciliar and provincial courts to handle the increasing problems of enforcement contributed to the proliferation of law suits and the uncertainty of the law itself.[1] Thus the new aristocracy came to demand, more than ever before, expert legal counsel to assist in dealing with the manifold problems which confronted them. And so did the Tudor State. The demand for lawyers had become nearly insatiable.[2]

The inns of court, moreover, were no longer concerned solely with legal studies. They were also becoming fashionable centres for intellectual, social, and cultural activities which had come to express the ideals of humanistic study.[3] The humanists of early Tudor England had addressed themselves to the deficiencies of the curriculum at the inns, and they demanded that these institutions adopt the love and respect for pure learning which was being nurtured at the universities. Prominent Tudor publicists such as John Rastell and Sir Thomas Elyot recommended a humanistic education at the universities as a prerequisite for legal studies at the inns.[4] Seeking a transformation of the ruling elite, they proclaimed that the power of learning was so great that its graduates could – in Elyot's words – 'become men of so excellent wisdom that throughout all the world should be found in no common weal more noble counsellors, our laws not only comprehending most excellent reasons but also being

[1] S. F. C. Milsom, *Historical foundations of the common law* (1969), 59–73, and Chaps. VIII–IX, XI–XII *passim*; and Sir Charles Ogilvie, *The king's government and the common law 1471–1641* (Oxford 1958), 79–86, 118–29.

[2] Louis A. Knafla, 'The matriculation revolution and education at the Inns of Court in Renaissance England', in *Tudor men and institutions*, ed. A. J. Slavin (Baton Rouge La. 1972), 234–41; and J. H. Baker, 'A history of the Order of the Serjeants at Law' (Univ. Coll. Fac. of Law, London; Ph.D. diss. 1968), 266–97.

[3] Knafla, 'Matriculation revolution', 245–8; and the approach of Wilfrid Prest, 'Legal education of the gentry at the Inns of Court, 1560–1640', *P&P*, 38 (1967), 20–39.

[4] A theme of Pearl Hogrefe, *The Sir Thomas More circle* (Urbana Ill. 1959); Leland Miles, *John Colet and the Platonic tradition* (La Salle Pa. 1961); and Mark Curtis, 'Education and Apprenticeship', *Shakespeare and his own time*, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge 1964).

gathered and composed of the pure meal and flour sifted out of the best laws of all other countries'.[1]

Lincoln's Inn had begun to form an influential community of interest in mid-sixteenth-century England. Its graduates included John and William Rastell, and Richard Tottel, the most important legal printers of the age.[2] These men, exercising a monopoly of printing legal publications, had a considerable influence on common law studies. Moreover, they were also editors devoted to the promotion of humanistic ideals through the study of *bonae literae*. Having connections with intellectual circles and the royal court, they had a considerable influence on the students at Lincoln's Inn. Thus Thomas Egerton not only pursued common law studies at the Inn, but he also developed more fully his general interests in law, philosophy, and history which he had begun in tutorials at Brasenose College.[3] Altogether Egerton spent eight years at Lincoln's Inn and a few more as an attorney out of chambers. These years, bestowing upon him the knowledge and skill of the legal profession, formed the decisive period in his intellectual development.

The beginning of Egerton's law career proper dates from his call to the Bar in 1572. He seems to have made a lucrative career before the courts, conducting legal affairs firstly for the Grosvenor and Ravenscroft families and their relations,[4] and secondly for the Bishop of Chester and the Earls of Derby and Leicester – two of the most prominent men in the northern Marches.[5] Egerton established his legal practice before the Council in the Marches of Wales, the Western Circuit of the Assize courts, the Chancery, and the Court of King's

[1] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* [1531], ed. Foster Watson (1907), 64. See also John Rastell, *Of Gentylnes and Nobylyte* [1525] ed. A. C. Partridge and F. P. Watson (1950), Epilogue.

[2] A. W. Reed, *Early Tudor drama* (1926), 1–27, 104–17; H. J. Byrom, 'Richard Tottel – his life and work', *The Library*, new. ser. 8 (1927), 220–2; Howard Graham, 'The Rastells and the printed English law book of the Renaissance', *Law Lib. J.* 47 (1954), 7–18; and L. W. Abbott, *Law reporting in England 1485–1585* (1973), 9–81, for a discussion of the early printers within the ms. tradition to 1558.

[3] These subjects are discussed at length in Chap. I.

[4] For example, he was the executor or overseer of the wills of Richard and Anthony Grosvenor by 1575: *Wills and inventories* Chetham Soc. 51 (1860), 153; and P.C.C. Daughtry 20. Examples of family case work are C.2/B.8/21; C.2/E.4/42, 61–2; C.3/60/11; C.3/248/42; C.3/268/9, 22, 30; P.R.O. Requests 2/165/152; and Harl. MS 2007.

[5] His briefs of early cases are in Ellesm. MS 482, especially at ff. 90–147. For the Derby–Leicester–Egerton relationship see Cotton MS Vespasian C. VIII, f. 30r; for Egerton and Leicester, Goodman, *Court of James*, 271–5, 280–3; for Egerton and Derby, *Eg. Papers*, 96, 131. Later cases are in Ellesm. MSS 5647–5713, 5810–92.

Bench. As a lawyer he placed a high premium on original research. He made the effort to go back to the sources, and to frame a historical outline of the major factors. He would then construct a logically unimpeachable case, and present it in a grave, yet dynamic manner. His brief for the Dean and Chapter of Chester against the Crown is a useful example.[1] The Dean and Chapter sought a writ of entry for manors originally granted them by the Crown, but their entrance had been barred because of the defects of certain statutes which were alleged to confirm the letters patent from the Queen. Since that time the monarch sought to bestow the lands to royal favourites. Egerton wrote an elaborate essay on how an analytical reconstruction of the words, phrases, and sections of the statutes, within the context of their intentions, made irrelevant the defects of the acts and confirmed the right of the Dean's entrance. Briefs such as these brought to him the success which resulted in his appointment to serve as legal counsel for the Crown in 1581.

Success as a lawyer also brought the acquisition of wealth, and Egerton relied extensively for advice and assistance on those families who stood behind him in his law career. His earliest purchases of land in the 1560s were made, and placed in secret trust for him by George and Ralph Ravenscroft, who also served as his trustees.[2] Later, their successors William and Thomas Ravenscroft would perform similar roles. Egerton's first two estate agents, John Allen and Thomas Whitby, had worked for the Ravenscroft family.[3] And in 1576 he married Elizabeth Ravenscroft, the youngest daughter of the family who had taken him into their home. When Egerton set up his own household, he chose Henry Johns and John Panton (both of whom had worked for the Ravenscrofts) as his servants.[4] Afterwards, Panton's son became the first person whom Egerton as a bencher of

[1] Ellesm. MS 482, ff. 34–52. Egerton's own agents became the holders of the fee farm. Some of the local background which surfaced is sketched by Michael B. Pulman, 'An interjection of the royal prerogative into the legal and ecclesiastical affairs of Cheshire in the fifteen seventies', *Albion* (1974), 226–36. See as well the *Bracebridge Case*, the briefs in Ellesm. MS 482, ff. 124–9; documents in C.2/B.b.8/21; and the reports in Plowden, *Commentaries*, 416–24, for background.

[2] Some of the lands held in trust were noted in Thomas Wilbraham's will: C. R. O. Tollemache MS DTW Q. Misc. 2/2 (1612). See also Ellesm. MS 560.

[3] Documents in the C.R.O. Cholm. MSS, and the Ellesm. MSS.

[4] The Ravenscrofts of Bretton, their relations and lands, have been recorded for the period from the Ellesm. MSS, and the N. L. W. Glynne, Plas Gwyn, and Plymouth MSS. For Panton and Johns, see Ellesm. MSS 636–7, 658–62; and N. L. W. Gen. MSS 9086–9101 (Panton papers).

Lincoln's Inn would have 'specially admitted' to an inn of court. The two elder Ravenscroft daughters who were raised with Egerton, Maude and Alice, married into the Hope of Greenhope and Massey of Aldeford families, and the Hopes and Masseys provided Egerton with agricultural advice and managed some of his lands.[1] A third Ravenscroft daughter, Katherine, married Robert Davies of Gwysaney who, together with the Ravenscrofts themselves, would oversee Egerton's Denbighshire estates.[2] The Grosvenor family was also influential in his affairs.

The Grosvenors, from as early as 1570, had written Egerton into their wills as the recipient of gifts of money, as the Earl of Derby did in 1572.[3] The Grosvenors had intermarried often in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the Ravenscrofts, the Pulestons of Emrall, and the Wilbrahams of Woodhay.[4] Roger Puleston and Richard Wilbraham served as two of Egerton's early stewards, as their sons did later. They also made him large loans.[5] Other men who provided him with services by the 1580s included Thomas Dymocke, and Ellis and Richard Younge, who had served the Grosvenor and Puleston families; Richard and Roger Brereton of Tatton and Worsley, who were major figures with the Derby family; and Thomas and William Mostyn of Talacre, whose family had intermarried often with the Ravenscrofts.[6] Local families who also participated in the development of Egerton's interests included the Mainwarings of Drayton, Salop, who had worked for the Derby family and were related to the Masseys and Breretons; and the Duttons of Dutton, a family who had served the Earls of Derby and Leicester, and loaned Egerton funds for

[1] Refs. to the Hopes and Masseys have been located only in the Ellesm. MSS.

[2] Robert Davies – U.C.N.W. Davies of Gwysaney MSS.

[3] Thomas Grosvenor, P.C.C. Lyon 20 (will proved in 1601); Anthony Grosvenor, C.142/180/21, and P.R.O. Wards 7/19/127 (1577); Elizabeth Grosvenor, P.C.C. Woodhall 51 (1601); and William Grosvenor, P.C.C. Woodhall 53 (1601). The will of Edward, Earl of Derby, P.C.C. Daper 38 (1572); and of Henry, Earl of Derby, P.C.C. Dixy 66 (21 Sept. 1593).

[4] Corresp. in Ellesm. MSS 132, 227; and N.L.W. Add. MS 251/D. The Pulestons of Emrall, their relations and lands, have been noted from N.L.W. Puleston MSS; the Wilbrahams of Woodhay from C.R.O. MSS DDX/28, 210; and the Grosvenors of Eaton from Chester Town Hall, Grosvenor MSS, and C.R.O. Cholm. MSS H. 127–55.

[5] Ellesm. MSS 1176–7.

[6] Letters, for example, in Ellesm. MSS 8, 10, 15A, 54; Harl. MS 1926, ff. 53v-108r; U.C.N.W. Mostyn MSS 101–2; N.L.W. Wynn of Gwydir MSS 1458–60; and C.R.O. Cholm. MSS H. 121–70, B.70–84, C.468–85, 958. For the Mostyns, U.C.N.W. Mostyn MSS, and N.L.W. Thorne MSS; and for the Breretons, Ellesm. MSS, Hasts. MSS, and C.R.O. Cholm. MSS.